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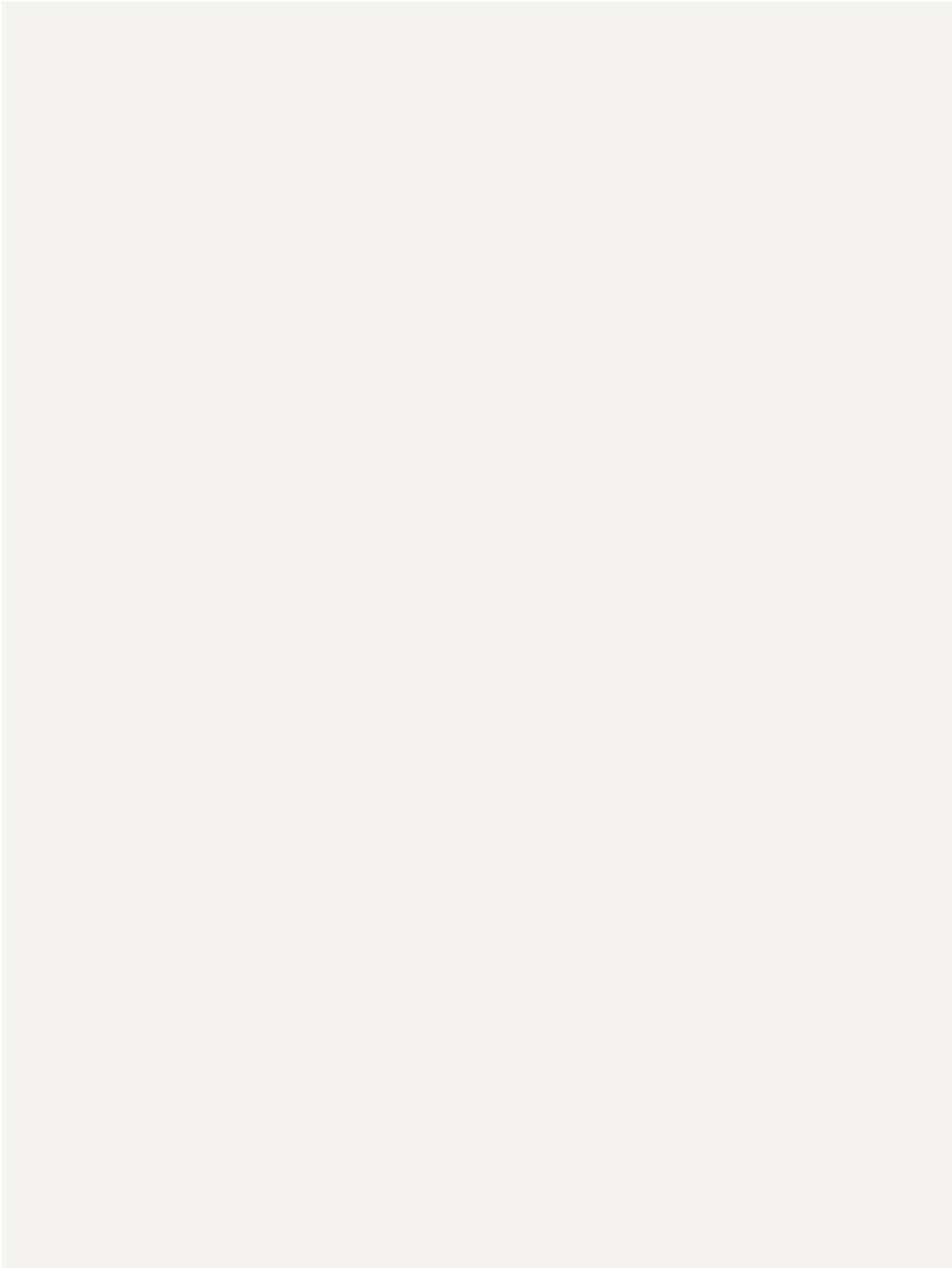
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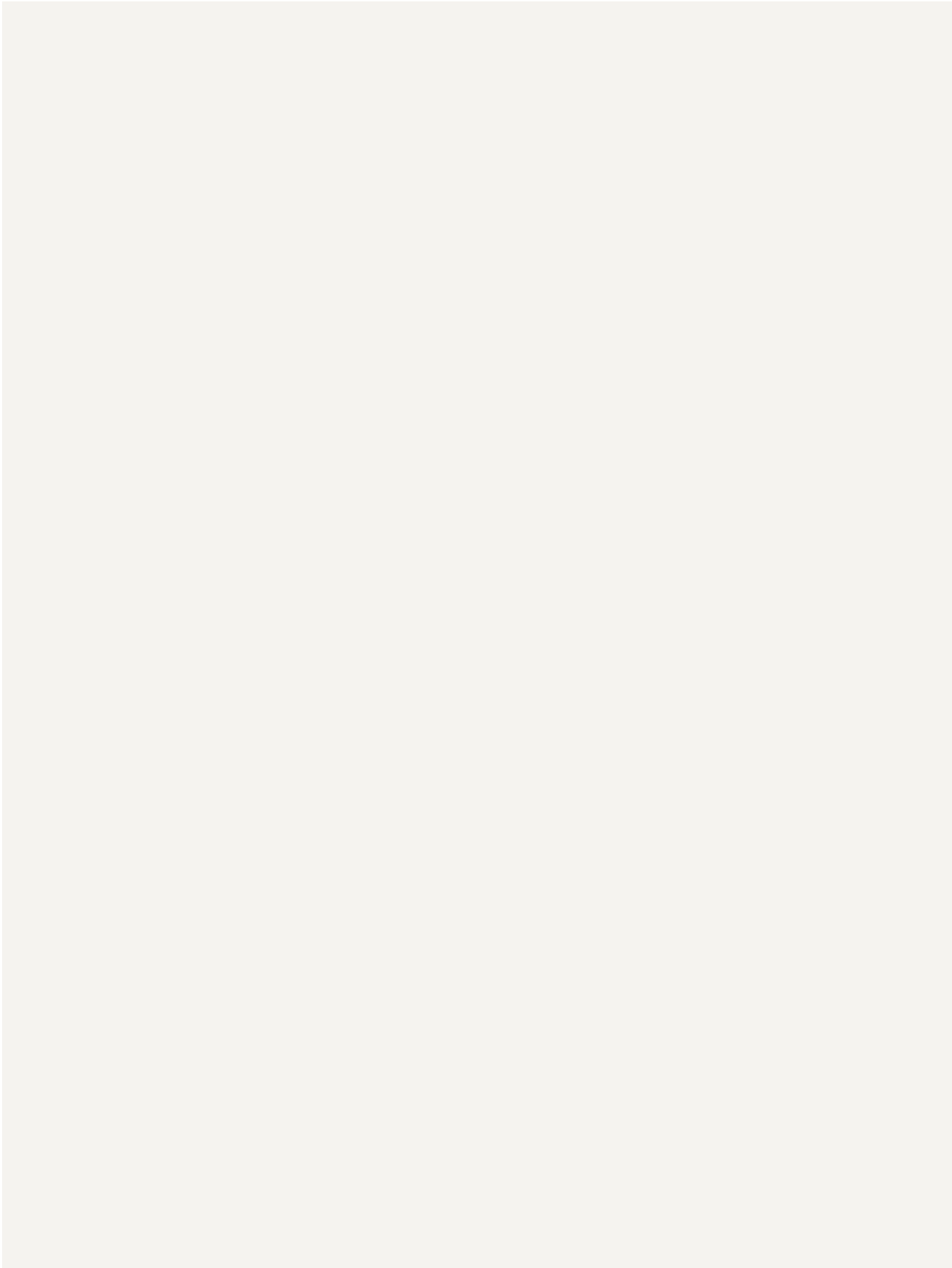
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Ana Plestenjak, Marko Stokin

Smernice upravljanja utrdbene dediščine na prostoru slovenske Istre

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Povzetek

V prispevku obravnavamo problematiko upravljanja dediščine in težave pri razvoju dolgoročnih strategij pri tem. Na študijskem primeru Kopra, njegovega zaledja in delno Kraškega roba preučujemo stanje upravljanja spomenikov utrdbene arhitekture. Da bi prepoznali prednosti in pomanjkljivosti posameznih modelov upravljanja, prikazujemo načine upravljanja teh spomenikov v preteklosti in danes. Pri tem se osredotočamo na zakonske določbe, povezane z upravljanjem spomenikov in z lastniško strukturo oz. z nosilci upravljaljskih dolžnosti. Na ta način ocenjujemo dejansko stanje, nato pa na podlagi dobrih praks iz Slovenije in tujine predlagamo smernice za izboljšanje stanja.

Uvod

Prispevek je nastal v sklopu projekta CAMAA (*Center za severnojadransko vojaško arhitekturo*), ki se je izvajal v okviru Evropskega programa za čezmejno sodelovanje Slovenija-Italija 2007–2013. Njegov namen je bil vzpostavitev čezmejne mreže za ohranjanje in vrednotenje vojaške arhitekture in skupnega trajnostnega upravljanja kot nadgradnje in utrjevanja že izvedenih skupnih evropskih projektov. Eden poglobitnih ciljev projekta je bil prispevati k spoznanju, da je lahko tudi tovrstna kulturna dediščina priložnost za gospodarski razvoj kraja, v katerem dediščina stoji, ter tudi njegove širše regije. Drugi cilj pa je bil oblikovanje smernic za enotno upravljanje spomenikov, ki bi upoštevale vse zgoraj omenjeno, hkrati pa bi povezovale vse spomenike vojaške narave, ki ležijo na prostoru severozahodne Istre in na slovenskem Krasu ter na bližnjem čezmejnem prostoru Italije.

Izziv je bila že sama raznolikost spomenikov, ki jih je bilo težko povezati v celoto in pripraviti enovite usmeritve za njihovo upravljanje. V prvi vrsti gre za arhitekturne ostanke gradišč, taborov, gradov, stolpov in utrjenih jam, torej struktur vojaške

in obrambne narave. Poleg tega pa so bili v projekt vključeni tudi nekateri srednjeveški tabori s sakralnimi objekti (Hrastovlje, Kubed ...). Ob tem je dodaten izziv pomenilo tudi dejstvo, da imamo opravka z različnimi zgodovinskimi pristopi pri razumevanju te dediščine in njenem upravljanju na obeh straneh meje. Prav tako pa so različne tudi zakonske podlage, s katerimi se tovrstna dediščina varuje.

Da bi bolje razumeli sedanje stanje upravljanja dediščine, smo preučili modele in načine upravljanja, ki so se na širšem slovenskem prostoru in tudi v tujini izvajali v preteklosti, in tiste, ki so v veljavi danes. Med zakonskimi in teoretičnimi podlagami ter prakso navadno obstaja neskladje. Zato smo za preverjanje dejanskega stanja opravili več pogovorov z lastniki spomenikov (Ministrstvo za kulturo RS, Mestna občina Koper), različnimi upravljavci oz. uporabniki spomenikov tako pri nas (Gojko Zupan z Ministrstva za kulturo RS, Ivana Štrkalj z Mestne občine Koper, Milan Graj, ki ima restavracijo na gradu Socerb, Kostanjevica na Krasu) kot v Italiji (Fondazione Aquileia, Citta di Palmanova, Comune di Ferrara) in s krajevnimi skupnostmi.

Na podlagi tega smo pripravili možnosti nadaljnega ravnanja z dediščino.

Modeli in načini upravljanja

Jugoslovanska izkušnja in današnja slovenska zakonodaja

Čeprav ima varovanje dediščine v Sloveniji dolgo tradicijo, pa je njeno upravljanje, nekoliko bolj siva cona. V času Kraljevine Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev (kasneje Kraljevine Jugoslavije) sta bila glavna cilja konservatorskih prizadevanj ohranjanje dediščine in vzpostavitev osnov pravnega varstva (Plestenjak 2013, 68–80). Slednje se je uresničilo šele po drugi svetovni vojni v novi državi s socialistično ureditvijo. V Jugoslaviji je na

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državni ravni sicer veljal krovni zakon o varstvu dediščine, vendar pa je imela vsaka republika svojo kulturno politiko in tudi podrobnejšo zakonsko ureditev. Te se načeloma niso bistveno razlikovale. V prvi vrsti je bila zakonska ureditev usmerjena v varovanje in ohranjanje dediščine. Vendar pa v državi, kjer so vladala socialistična načela, samo upravljanje ni bilo posebej izpostavljeno, saj je bila dediščina javna (družbena) last in je bilo načeloma tudi financiranje posegov vanjo na ta ali oni način javno (Plestenjak, 2013, 91–102).

Četudi to zakonsko ni bilo posebej urejeno, pa so v praksi dediščino upravljale različne institucije. V nekaterih primerih so bili to namensko ustanovljeni zavodi (npr. Postojnska jama, Škocjanske jame), pomembnejši objekti so pogosto postali protokolarni objekti države ali republike (npr. vila Bled, grad Brdo, vila Tartini), medtem ko je za sakralne spomenike, tako kot danes, skrbela Cerkev. Poleg tega so pomembne spomenike lahko upravljala tudi uspešna državna podjetja. Ta so kulturni spomenik lahko bodisi kupila bodisi najela in ga uporabljala v reprezentančne namene (npr. dvorec Betnava, dvorec Zemono, grad Otočec, samostan Kostanjevica na Krki).

S kulturno dediščino lokalnega pomena se lokalne skupnosti in občine (z redkimi pozitivnimi izjemami) niso posebej ukvarjale, čeprav so bila za njihovo sanacijo in konservatorske posege vanjo pogosto porabljena znatna sredstva tudi iz republiškega proračuna.

Tako ravnanje se je ohranjalo tudi po osamosvojitvi Slovenije. Zaradi nove družbene ureditve je sicer prišlo do sprememb v lastništvu spomenikov skladno z načeli privatizacije. Tisti spomeniki, ki so bili do tedaj v upravljanju podjetij (t. i. družbena lastnina v sredstvih podjetij in drugih pravnih oseb), so bili lastninjeni v skladu z Zakonom o lastninskem preoblikovanju podjetij ali so bili z denacionalizacijo vrnjeni prvotnemu lastniku ali pa so postali last podjetij (glej Zakon o lastninjenju spomenikov in znamenitosti v družbeni lastnini; v nadaljevanju ZLSZDL 1996). Z istim zakonom so spomeniki s spomeniški lastnostmi, zaradi katerih »bi bilo utemeljeno zagotoviti njihovo prezentacijo kot registrirano kulturno dejavnost«, postali last države (4. člen ZLSZDL 1996). Leta 1999 je bil sprejet nov zakon s tega področja, Zakon o lastninjenju kulturnih spomenikov v družbeni lastnini (v nadaljevanju ZLKSDL 1999). Ta je dodatno določal, da so spomeniki lokalnega pomena postali last občine (3. člen ZLKSDL 1999). Poleg tega pa je določal tudi, da »s spomeniki, ki s tem zakonom preidejo v last države, upravlja Ministrstvo za kulturo neposredno oziroma preko ustrezno usposobljenega zunanjega izvajalca, s spomeniki, ki pa postanejo last lokalne skupnosti, pa njen pristojen organ« (4. člen ZLKSDL 1999). Če je predhodno obstajal »imetnik pravice uporabe na nepremičnem spomeniku v družbeni lastnini«, bi moral z Republiko Slovenijo oziroma z občino, ki je lastnica spomenika, skleniti pogodbo o prenosu spomenika v posest v devetih mesecih po uveljavitvi zakona (5. člen ZLKSDL 1999). S tem zakonom je do leta 2001 42 spomenikov (p)ostalo last države; med njimi največ gradov (ZLKSDL 1999, priloga 1). Omeniti pa je treba, da celoten proces razprodaje državne lastnine še ni končan. V Resoluciji o nacionalnem programu za kulturo 2014–2017 (v nadaljevanju ReNPK14–17) je predvideno, da naj bi bili do

leta 2017 oddani v upravljanje, dolgoročni zakup ali prodani še štirje kulturni spomeniki (ReNPK14–17, 59).

Poleg lastniških sprememb je v času po osamosvojitvi treba omeniti tudi spremenjene načine financiranja. Zaradi pomanjkanja sredstev je leta 1998 Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije (v nadaljevanju MK) pričelo projekt »kulturni tolar«, ki naj bi pospešil obnovo spomenikov. Leta 1998 je bil za obdobje do leta 2003 sprejet Zakon o zagotavljanju sredstev za nekatere nujne programe Republike Slovenije v kulturi. Ker je bilo v petih letih realiziranih le 32 % namenjenih sredstev (skupna vrednost načrtovanih programov je bila 23.073.115.000 tolarjev), je Državni zbor Republike Slovenije sprejel novelo zakona in podaljšal veljavnost zakona za obdobje 2004–2008. V tem obdobju je bila realizacija 34,4-odstotna (29.319.500.000 tolarjev). Za obdobje 2009–2013 pa je država namenila sredstva v skupni višini 80.758.833 evrov (ZSNNPK-B).

Ministrstvo je ocenilo, da je »kulturni tolar/evro« ena izmed oblik reševanja propadajoče nepremične dediščine, saj je bilo zanimanje lokalnih skupnosti za projekt veliko, čeprav so občine morale participirati do 50 % vrednosti konservatorskih del na spomeniku. Vendar do zdaj ni jasno, kaj je projekt prispeval k obnovi spomenikov, saj ni uradnih dokumentov, prav tako ne nobenih analiz.

Vendar pa na samo upravljanje spomenikov to ni bistveno vplivalo. Dejansko je šele v letu 2008 s spremembo slovenske zakonodaje prišlo do prvih sprememb v razumevanju upravljanja. Država je prepoznala potrebo po bolj sistematičnem organiziranju upravljanja spomenikov in ne zgolj njihovega varstva/obnove.

V Zakonu za varstvo kulturne dediščine je upravljanje definirano kot »izvajanje nalog, ki so potrebne za izpolnitev namena, zaradi katerega je bila stvar razglašena za spomenik, in obsega predvsem vodenje in organiziranje vzdrževanja, uporabe, dostopnosti, predstavitve javnosti in spremljanje stanja« (37. točka 3. člena ZVKD-1 2008). Osnova pri tem naj bi bil načrt upravljanja. Zakon slednjega opredeljuje kot dokument, s katerim se določijo strateške in izvedbene usmeritve za celovito ohranjanje spomenika ali spomeniškega območja ter način izvajanja njegovega varstva (prvi odstavek 60. člena ZVKD-1, 2008). Predvideva ga za vse spomenike in spomeniška območja, za katere obstaja upravljavec. Isti zakon v 59. členu določa, da morajo imeti upravljavca vsi spomeniki, ki so varovani na podlagi mednarodnih pogodb, katerih podpisnica je Republika Slovenija, in vsa spomeniška območja. Lastnik oz. posestnik pa mora upravljanje spomenika zagotoviti v skladu z aktom o razglasitvi neposredno ali tako, da ga zaupa upravljavcu (Pirkovič, Šantej, 2012). Kdo je lahko upravljavec spomenika, ni določeno. Lahko gre bodisi za javno bodisi zasebno pravno ali nepravno osebo.

Med javnimi službami zakon omogoča Zavodu za varstvo kulturne dediščine, natančneje Centru za konservatorstvo, da upravlja spomenike v lasti države (13. točka prvega odstavka 85. člena ZVKD-1 2008) in tudi druge spomenike (7. točka drugega odstavka 85. člena ZVKD-1 2008). Na lokalni ravni pa zakon omogoča tudi ustanovitev lokalne javne službe varstva, ki bi upravljala spomenike lokalnega pomena (100. člen ZVKD-1 2008). V praksi ta model ni zaživel.

»Dobre« tuje prakse

V veliki večini evropskih držav so spomeniki nacionalnega pomena ali najpomembnejša kulturna dediščina v lasti države. Upravljanje je navadno domena državnega zavoda, ki skrbi za varstvo kulturne dediščine, različnih muzejev ali podobnih javnih ustanov, ki imajo svoje oddelke za upravljanje, prezentacijo, interpretacijo in trženje dediščine. Tako npr. *English Heritage* upravlja (tudi s koncesijo) 400 objektov kulturne dediščine v Angliji (<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>), v Franciji je to *Centre des monuments nationaux* (<http://www.monuments-nationaux.fr/>), ki skrbi za 100 spomenikov, na Madžarskem spomenike večinoma upravljajo pristojni muzeji, v Italiji pa je upravljanje v glavnem domena Nadzorništva (Soprintendenza) in občin. Te na podlagi koncesij nekatere spomenike oddajajo občinam, oziroma če se izkaže, da je država spomenike v preteklosti slabo upravljala, regija in občina ustanovita fundacijo, kot je npr. *Fondazione Aquileia* (www.fondazioneaquileia.it). Posamezne spomenike v lasti države ministrstvo na podlagi koncesije za določeno obdobje oddaja drugemu subjektu, vendar pa strokovni nadzor oz. monitoring in restavratorsko-konservatorska dela ostanejo v domeni pristojne spomeniškovarstvene službe. Na ta način pristojna služba lahko zagotovi širok interdisciplinarni izbor strokovnjakov, ki zagotavljajo redni monitoring in nujna restavratorsko-konservatorska dela.

Poleg javnih ustanov so upravljavci pogosto tudi javno-zasebne institucije, ki pa morajo za svojo dejavnost navadno pridobiti koncesijo. Take so organizacije, kot je npr. Društvo za ohranjanje norveških spomenikov (*Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring*), ki je bila kot prva taka organizacija že leta 1844 ustanovljena na Norveškem. Podobno funkcijo pa imajo tudi Državni sklad Anglije, Walesa in severne Irske (*National Trust of England, Wales and Northern Ireland*) v Veliki Britaniji in druge organizacije državnih skladov (*National Trust*), ki delujejo v ZDA, Avstraliji, Indiji itd. Prednost takih organizacij je možnost pridobivanja sredstev za upravljanje tako iz javnih kot iz zasebnih virov. Poznamo pa tudi organizacije, ki so povsem zasebne, npr. Sklad za arheologijo Yorka (*York Archeological Trust*). Tudi te za svoje delovanje dobijo koncesijo. Vendar pa, kot je ugotovil Paardekoooper (2012, 277) v svoji študiji o arheoloških muzejih na prostem v več evropskih državah, zasebne organizacije pogosto na začetku svojega delovanja temeljijo na učinkovitem in karizmatičnem direktorju, ki uspešno pridobi sredstva za zagon upravljanja parkov, kasneje pa nastopijo težave, saj ena oseba ne zmore več obvladovati celotnega upravljanja. Tako so številni arheološki parki in muzeji na prostem, ki so bili ustanovljeni kot zasebna podjetja, čez nekaj let prešli v upravljanje javnih institucij (Matrica center na Madžarskem je npr. prišel pod lokalni muzej, park Araisai v Latviji pa pod Narodni muzej). Paardekoooper (2012) opazuje, da je pri uspešnosti takih centrov pomembno sodelovanje z različnimi strokovnimi institucijami (univerze, muzeji, restavratorji ...).

Lastniki in upravljavci spomenikov, vključenih v projekt CAMAA, in njihove vizije upravljanja

Med spomeniki, ki so bili zajeti v projekt CAMAA na slovenski strani, so pretežno spomeniki lokalnega pomena in tudi nekaj spomenikov državnega pomena (Socerb, Hrastovlje). Skladno z zakonodajo naj bi prve upravljale občine, druge pa država, seveda z možnostjo sodelovanja zunanjih izvajalcev (upravljavcev). Pričakovali bi, da je kvalitetno upravljanje spomenikov in spomeniških območij v državni lasti ena ključnih nalog politike varstva na državni ravni. Enako bi veljalo za lokalno raven, saj je znano, da so kulturni spomeniki osnova za razvoj kulturnega turizma. Ta pa je najhitreje rastoča gospodarska panoga, ki prinaša dobiček različnim deležnikom zlasti na lokalni ravni, hkrati pa se z dobrim upravljanjem spomenika bogati tudi podoba kraja in krepi identiteta prebivalcev.

Izsledki raziskave so pokazali, da na obravnavanem območju dejanskega upravitelja, ki bi na podlagi načrta upravljanja celovito skrbel za spomenik ali večje spomeniško območje, ni. Tako za najnujnejše ohranjanje skrbijo lokalne skupnosti: za utrdbo Črni Kal skrbi Krajevna skupnost Črni Kal, za utrdbo Jama pri Ospu Krajevna skupnost Osp, za Tabor Jama v gradu pa Krajevna skupnost Podpeč pri Črnem Kalu. Glemski stolp je v privatni lasti, medtem ko naj bi za cerkev Sv. trojice v Hrastovljah skrbela Škofija Koper, česar pa pri terenskem ogledu ni bilo zaznati. Tabor Kubed skrbnika nima. Podobno je v mestnem jedru Kopra, kjer za srednjeveško obzidje skrbi Mestna občina Koper, mestni stolp na podlagi koncesije oddajajo, za piransko obzidje skrbi Mestna občina Piran, za Kaštelir na Kortah v sodelovanju z Univerzo na Primorskem skrbi Pokrajinski muzej Koper, medtem ko arheološki park v Simonovem zalivu¹ upravlja Univerza na Primorskem na podlagi tripartitnega sporazuma med Občino Izola, Univerzo na Primorskem in Zavodom za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije. Večina naštetih objektov dediščine z izjemo minimalnih oznak in posamičnih informativnih tabel ni deležna nikakršne interpretacije.

Da bi razumeli, zakaj je tako in kako se spomeniki dejansko upravljajo, smo (kot omenjeno) imeli več pogovorov z lastniki oz. upravljavci spomenikov.

Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije (MK)

Iz pogovorov je razvidno, da na nacionalni ravni z nekaterimi izjemami MK nima posebnega ciljnega programa, ki bi se ukvarjal s politiko upravljanja dediščine. V ReNPK14–17 je med ukrepi sicer navedena »vzpostavitev učinkovitega sistema upravljanja spomenikov v državni lasti« (ReNPK14–17, 57), vendar v smislu sprememb in dopolnitev področne zakonodaje, ki bo določila način in olajšala postopke oddaje oziroma prodaje kulturnih spomenikov. Kot rečeno, naj bi bili do leta 2017 oddani v upravljanje, dolgoročni zakup ali pro-

¹ Arheološki park Simonov zaliv ni bil vključen v projekt CAMAA, saj nima utrdbene arhitekture. Na tem mestu ga omenjamo zaradi drugačne upravljalvske strukture.

dani štirje kulturni spomeniki (ReNPK14–17, 59). Trajnostno upravljanje naj bi se izvajalo le na spomenikih s prepoznanim mednarodnim statusom. Gre za primere, kot so dediščina živega srebra Idrija, kulturna dediščina na območju parkov Ljubljansko barje in Škocjanske jame, partizanska bolnišnica Franja, Kobilarna Lipica ipd. To je namreč v skladu s strategijo za varstvo kulturne dediščine in naravnih vrednot v Republiki Sloveniji in v skladu z mednarodnimi pravnimi instrumenti in aktivnostmi, ki jih je vlada sprejela 26. junija 2006 s sklepom št. 62000-2/2006/4. V njem ugotavlja, da so pglavitni strateški cilji v Republiki Sloveniji naslednji:

- »izboljšana skrb za kulturno dediščino in naravne vrednote;
- izboljšano upravljanje s kulturno dediščino in naravnimi vrednotami;
- trajnostna raba kulturne dediščine in naravnih vrednot;
- oblikovanje ustreznih politik na področju financiranja in trženja dediščine in naravnih vrednot;
- boljša izobraževanje in ozaveščenost javnosti;
- bolj izoblikovana nacionalna identiteta;
- večja mednarodna prepoznavnost Slovenije;
- vzpostavitev nacionalnega poskusnega seznama;
- večja zastopanost na mednarodnih poskusnih seznamih;
- večja zastopanost na mednarodnih seznamih«.

ReNPK14–17 (58–59) predvideva tudi uvedbo dopolnilnih finančnih instrumentov za pospešitev vlaganj v kulturno dediščino in razvijanje dejavnosti za njeno dolgoročneje upravljanje. Pri tem se rešitve vidijo zlasti pri pridobivanju nepovratne finančne spodbude prek Finančnega mehanizma EGP, NFM ter skladov Evropske unije. Do leta 2017 je namenjeno 8.388.000 EUR iz razpoložljivih sredstev in 21.400.000 EUR, ki naj bi bili pridobljeni iz drugih mehanizmov Evropske unije.

Hkrati pa ReNPK14–17 prepoznava kulturni turizem kot primerjalno razvojno prednost Republike Slovenije. Zato naj bi se turistična ponudba pospešeno povezovala, razvijala in nadgrajevala z dediščinskimi vsebinami. V tem kontekstu se načrtujejo »prenove in oživljanja objektov ter območij, ki na kreativen način upoštevajo in nadgrajujejo značilno arhitekturo, vrtno arhitekturo, tradicionalne materiale in prostorske vrednote (npr. mreženje potencialov Krasa, muzeji na prostem, arheološki parki in poti ter zgodovinski parki, kulturna dediščina znotraj širših zavarovanih območij, na primer Škocjanske jame – naselbinska, stavbna dediščina, kulturna krajina, Triglavski narodni park – naselbinska, stavbna dediščina, kulturna krajina, Ljubljansko barje – prazgodovinska kolišča na Igu in Sečoveljske soline – kulturna krajina in tradicionalna pridelava soli)« (ReNPK14–17, 58–59).

Vendar pa vlaganje v obnovo ni enako upravljanju dediščine. V zadnjih letih so bila v obnovo posameznih spomenikov vložena precejšnja sredstva (na širšem območju Slovenije npr. pristava na ptujskem gradu, grad Snežnik, grad Grad ipd.), vendar pa danes uporaba teh objektov ni jasna in tudi ni bila definirana že pred začetkom obnavljanja. Razen pri državnih protokolarnih objektih, ki so v upravljanju javnega gospodarškega zavoda in v pristojnosti generalnega sekretariata (grad

Brdo, grad Strmol, vila Bled, vila Podrožnik, vila Zlatorog), ter pri posameznih primerih, kot so npr. otok Bled, ki ga upravlja Župnija Bled, grad Jable, kjer imata sedež Center za evropsko prihodnost in Služba za strateške in študijske analize Ministrstva za zunanje zadeve, ter grad Bled, ki ga upravlja Zavod za kulturo Bled, pri večini ostalih primerov ni jasno, kdo je njihov upravljevalec, ne kakšne so njegove naloge. Zato se zdi, da dolgoročne vizije in strategije upravljanja spomenikov v državni in lokalni lasti na ravni države pravzaprav ni mogoče zaznati.

Problem je, da na državni ravni ni krovne službe ali organizacije, ki bi dejansko skrbela za upravljanje teh spomenikov ali ga usmerjala. Na MK naj bi sicer deloval poseben oddelek, ki naj bi skrbel za upravljanje državnih spomenikov, vendar ni jasno, kakšne so njegove pristojnosti in cilji. V zakonskem smislu je del pristojnosti upravljanja spomenikov podeljen Centru za konservatorstvo, ki deluje v okviru Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine (85. člen ZVKD–1 2008), vendar se slednji s to dejavnostjo ne ukvarja. V zvezi s tem se postavlja vprašanje, ali se teh svojih pristojnosti sploh zaveda.

Poleg tega pa smo v našem pregledu stanja ugotovili, da je problem tudi predaja državnih spomenikov v upravljanje zasebnim upravljavcem. Za grad Socerb na primer, v katerem je že več kot 20 let urejena restavracija, leta 2001 pa je spomenik iz občinske prešel v državno last, ima najemnik sklenjeno pogodbo z MK Slovenije šele od lani. Posledično niso določene obveznosti, ki bi jih moral kot upravljevalec izvrševati. Iz tega izhaja, da grad kljub finančnemu vložku, ki je bil v preteklosti vložen vanj, danes nima zagotovljenega niti osnovnega vzdrževanja, kaj šele dolgoročnega upravljanja. Prav primer Socerba kaže na nerazumevanje trženja kulturne dediščine. Lokacija se namreč ponaša s številnimi zanimivimi kulturnimi spomeniki (poleg gradu še gradišče, jama, vojaška obrambna cona iz časa po drugi svetovni vojni itd.) in neokrnjeno naravno dediščino. Poleg tega leži neposredno ob državni cesti Ljubljana–Koper in v zaledju mest Koper in Trst, kar pomeni dokaj veliko število potencialnih lokalnih obiskovalcev. Socerb ponuja ogromen potencial za razvoj turizma, saj ima danes že samo kot razgledna točka veliko število dnevnih obiskovalcev. Z minimalnimi vložki v v smislu prezentacije in interpretacije ter z dodatnim razvojem delno sicer že urejene turistične infrastrukture (kolesarske poti) bi ta potencial lahko izjemno povečali.

Občine

V Mestni občini Koper se s področjem kulturne dediščine ukvarja Urad za družbene dejavnosti in razvoj, posebna javna služba pa v ta namen ni bila ustanovljena. Večina sredstev za nepremično kulturno dediščino se črpa iz različnih evropskih projektov, ki pa so za to področje redki (Rotunda Carmine, sv. Frančišek, palača Bessegio). Mestna občina Koper nekoliko večjo pozornost posveča nesnovni kulturni dediščini in raznim kulturnim prireditvam tržnega pomena (sejmi), ki jih organizira Turistično informativni center Koper (TIC Koper). Ta je usmerjen predvsem v trženje in promocijo mesta na velikih ladjarskih sejmih po svetu. Ob prihodu velikih

turističnih ladij pa organizira vodstva po mestu in okolici. Ob tem je lokalna skupnost v zadnjih desetih letih v obnovo in restavriranje kulturne dediščine vložila zelo malo sredstev. Izjema so projekti, ki so bili povezani z arheološkimi zaščitnimi raziskavami, pri katerih je občina v sklopu infrastrukturnih del krila stroške zaščitnih raziskav ter manjše prezentacije *in situ* (Ribiški trg, Belvedere, Soška ulica). Vendar pa niti ta dediščina niti drugi koprski spomeniki in ambientni niso ustrezno interpretirani in prezentirani. Na žalost lahko ugotovimo, da niti v koprskem TIC-u niti v Pokrajinskem muzeju Koper ne premorejo zloženke ali vodnika po mestnih znamenitostih in nimajo osnovne karte mestnih kulturnih poti. Na razpolago je samo vodnik po trgovinah z nekaj osnovnimi kulturnimi spomeniki in trgovinami, ki ponujajo predvsem popuste.

Nekaj korakov k boljši dostopnosti do spomenikov je v zadnjih letih bilo storjenih. Obiskovalec ima npr. možnost kupiti enotno vstopnico za muzej, stolp in Pretorsko palačo. Napredek v urejanju turistične infrastrukture je bolj viden v mestnem zaledju, kjer je bila v zadnjih letih aktivnost občine usmerjena v izvedbo različnih kolesarskih poti (Parenzana, Zanimgrad) in urejanje naravnih parkov (Park avtohtonih živali Hrastovlje, Škocjanski zatok). Problem pa ostajata promocija in trženje te in druge dediščine.

Društva

V zadnjem času se v Sloveniji vse več kulturnih društev zanima za kulturno dediščino. Čeprav ima pri večini teh društev prednost nesnovna dediščina (obujanje starih običajev, obrti in kulinaričnih dobrot), pa nekatera društva zanima tudi delovanje na področju upravljanja nepremičnih spomenikov. Že dalj časa tako npr. na območju Iga in Velikih Lašč deluje kulturno društvo *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, ki širši javnosti predstavlja utrdbe iz pozne antike. Ob arheoloških izkopavanjih v Mošnjah na Gorenjskem je lokalna skupnost izkazala interes pri prezentaciji rimske vile. Ustanovljen je bil manjši muzej, novoustanovljeno društvo pa upravlja prezentirane ostanke vile in vodi ogleda. Društvo Baška dediščina je npr. pripravilo tematsko pot Na svoji zemlji, po kateri vodi ogleda ipd. Tudi v Gračišču deluje Kulturno društvo Šavrini in anka Šavrinke, ki z različnimi prireditvami skrbi za turistično in kulinarično ponudbo ter urejanje podobe. Vendar pa društva delujejo skladno z lastnimi interesi. Kadar postanejo upravljalci spomenikov, morajo dobiti jasna navodila, strokovno podporo in nadzor.

Javni zavodi in zavodi, ki delujejo v javnem interesu

V zadnjih letih je bilo na širšem območju Slovenije ustanovljeno tudi nekaj javnih zavodov (npr. Krajinski park Ljubljansko barje, Center za upravljanje z dediščino živega srebra Idrija), ki naj bi skrbeli za dediščino, ki je na seznamu Unesca oz. lokalnega pomena Radovljica (Javni zavod turizem in kultura Radovljica).

Pojavljajo pa se tudi zasebni zavodi (npr. Zavod Parnas v Velikih Laščah, LTO Sotočje), ki skrbijo za promocijo lokalne dediščine, pripravljajo različne tematske poti (npr. *Geološka pot po Robu*, *Kobariška zgodovinska pot*, *Pot miru* ...) ipd. Velik problem pri teh ustanovah je dejstvo, da večinoma nimajo zaposlenega dovolj strokovnega kadra. Vendar pa je z dobrim sodelovanjem z drugimi javnimi ali zasebnimi strokovnimi institucijami te pomanjkljivosti moč preseči.

Na tem področju je npr. zelo uspešna ustanova Fundacija Poti miru v Posočju (Kobarid), ki se ukvarja z ohranjanjem, obnavljanjem, vzdrževanjem, interpretiranjem, torej celovitim upravljanjem ostalin prve svetovne vojne (Pot miru, ki vključuje šest muzejev na prostem). Fundacija se je razvila v pomoč lokalnim društvom, ki jim daje strokovno podporo, velik podarek fundacije pa je tudi na študijski in raziskovalni dejavnosti.

Muzeji

Glede na močne obstoječe službe (oddelki za izobraževanje ipd.) bi nepremično dediščino lahko upravljali tudi muzeji. V praksi se kaže, da za opravljanje tovrstnih služb pri muzejih pogosto ni pravega interesa.

Na širšem območju Slovenije je primerov tovrstnih praks več. Primera dobrih upravljalcev sta npr. Tolminski muzej (arheološka pot Čez most po modrost) in Kobariški muzej (Poti prve svetovne vojne, Tonovcov grad). Po ureditvi pristojnosti na ravni Občine Ljubljana je v zadnjih dveh letih tudi Muzej in galerije mesta Ljubljana (MGML) postal upravljalcev vseh nepremičnih arheoloških prezentacij v mestu Ljubljana (poleg arheoloških parkov Emonska hiša in Zgodnjekrščansko svetišče zdaj skrbi tudi za južno emonsko obzidje in druge prezentirane elemente).

Rimskokatoliška cerkev (RKC)

Rimskokatoliška cerkev (v nadaljevanju RKC) je lastnica večine cerkva in drugih sakralnih objektov ter jih tudi upravlja. Vendar pa ni vključena v sklop celovitega trženja kulturne dediščine. V Kopru je npr. tako za obiske dostopna samo stolnica, medtem ko je velika večina ostalih objektov, tudi takih, ki jih je konservirala in restavriral država (npr. rotunda Karmelske Matere božje), zaprtih. Podobna je zgodba večine sakralnih objektov v mestnem jedru Kopra in v okolici. Nekateri objekti so dostopni (Sv. Jurij v Piranu, Hrastovlje ...), vendar je za vstop pogosto potrebna vnaprejšnja najava.

Univerze in znanstveni inštituti

V tujini ni redkost, da posamezne spomenike upravljajo različni oddelki univerz ali znanstveni inštituti. V Sloveniji imamo en tak primer. Arheološki park z rimsko vilo v Simonovem zalivu upravlja Inštitut za dediščino Univerze na Primorskem. Ta ima sicer dovolj kadra in s posameznimi projekti skrbi za promocijo rimske vile že od leta 2010, vendar

pa je bil načrt upravljanja narejen šele leta 2013, zato za zdaj težko ocenjujemo izpolnjevanje zastavljenih smernic. Vsekakor pa je ena od prednosti tovrstnih institucij kot upravljavec zagotovo možnost pridobivanja različnih sredstev financiranja (od znanstvenih projektov do projektov, povezanih s prezentacijo, vključevanjem javnosti in turizma).

Italijanski primeri

Italijanski primeri upravljanja so v upravnem smislu na neki način podobni, navadno pa imajo pripravljeno dolgoročno strategijo upravljanja. Financiranje je porazdeljeno na državno, regijsko, občinsko in mestno oblast. Obstaja pa tudi možnost pridobivanja sredstev od donatorjev. Tak je primer Ogleja, kjer je spomenike nekaj časa upravljala država. Ker pa se je to izkazalo za slabo, sta regija in občina ustanovili posebno fundacijo (*Fondazione Aquileia*), ki je prevzela skrb za spomenike in prirejanje različnih drugih aktivnosti za njihovo oživitev. Ta primer se je izkazal kot zelo uspešen pri reševanju problematike upravljanja.

Drug model upravljanja je bil npr. uporabljen v manjšem mestecu Citadella, ki leži v neposredni bližini Castellfranca. Tu je bilo vloženih 25 milijonov evrov za obnovo celotnega obzidja (www.camera.it/_dati/lavori/stampati/pdf/16PDL0025860.pdf). Po obnovi lokacijo letno obišče več kot 60.000 obiskovalcev, s čimer je zagotovljen trajnostni razvoj mesta. Za spomenik skrbi turistično društvo Citadella (<http://turismo.comune.cittadella.pd.it/it/ufficio-iat/>), tako kot društva skrbijo za spomenike v mnogih krajih v Italiji (<http://www.italia.it/en/home.html>).

Povsem drugačno podobo pa kaže trdnjava Marhgera, ki jo je država za 10 milijonov evrov prodala občini Benetke, vendar pa slednja sedaj nima dovolj sredstev za njeno obnovo.

Sinteza ugotovitev o trenutnem stanju upravljanja

Čeprav je dolžnost ohranjanja dediščine zapisana celo v Ustavu RS (73. člen), je opazno pomanjkanje mehanizmov, ki bi premostili razkol med opredelitvijo dediščine kot vrednote in pomanjkanjem denarnih sredstev za njeno vzdrževanje (Vrenčur, Ivanc 2014, 3). Tudi naše ugotovitve potrjujejo, da v slovenskem prostoru nihče ni razvil vizije in strategije, ki bi bila usmerjena v vzdrževanje in v s tem povezano upravljanje spomenikov, tako tistih v lasti države kot vseh ostalih.

Pregled je pokazal, da je bilo samo v slovenski Istri v preteklosti vloženih veliko javnih sredstev. Ta so bila med drugim namenjena za obnovo cerkve in tabora v Hrastovljah, obnovljena je bila cerkev na Kubedu s stolpom in fragmentom obzidja, izvedene so bile raziskave in konsolidacija tlaka v cerkvi sv. Hieronima, obnovljeni so bili podpeški stolp, utrdba na Črnem Kalu, grad Socerb itd. Vendar pa se je s tem delo končalo. Spomeniki nimajo načrtov upravljanja, prav tako pa večinoma nimajo pravega upravljavca.

Razlog za takšno stanje je moč iskati v historičnem razvoju

konservatorske stroke pri nas, ki upravljanja dediščine ni razumevala kot del varovanja dediščine. Poudarek je bil predvsem na obnovi in tudi prezentaciji spomenikov, ne tudi pa na nadaljnjem vzdrževanju in trženju. Takšno stanje namreč ni značilno zgolj za območje slovenske Istre in Krasa, temveč se lepo kaže tudi v drugih delih Slovenije. V Ljubljani je npr. moč slediti kar 100-letni zgodovini razvoja in uporabe različnih tehnik in načinov prezentiranja arheološke dediščine (mesto se ponaša s 15 arheološkimi prezentacijami), vendar pa je bil sistem upravljanja te dediščine vzpostavljen šele v letu 2013.

Dodaten razlog, da se strokovna javnost premalo zaveda pomena prezentacij, interpretacij in trženja dediščine, je tudi izobraževalni sistem. Ta je tradicionalno razdrobljen na posamezne stroke (arheologija, umetnostna zgodovina, arhitektura, etnologija, restavracija ...). Študentje se z dediščino seznanjajo le znotraj teh okvirov, torej parcialno. Premalo je povezovanja vseh konservatorskih strok tako med sabo kot tudi z drugimi strokami (turizem, trženje ...). Celovito upravljanje dediščine tako pogosto sploh ni obravnavano v sklopu izobraževalnih dejavnosti.

Posledično je tudi premalo zavedanja, da niso pomembne zgolj investicije v obnovo, temveč tudi določitev bodoče uporabe spomenikov. Ob tem pa se je treba zavedati, da je tudi za vzdrževanje in druge vidike upravljanja dediščine nujno trajno zagotavljanje rednih sredstev. Ta je lažje zagotoviti, če dediščina služi družbenemu in/ali ekonomskemu namenu. Zato je treba dediščini iskati takšno (upo)rabo, da bo vključena v vsakodnevno življenje. To je namreč ključno za njeno preživetje v bodočnosti.

R. Vrenčur in T. Ivanc (2014, 14) ugotavljata, da je glede na trenutno stanje kulturnih spomenikov v Sloveniji moč ugotoviti, da je javna lastnina s finančnega vidika nezadostna, saj so sredstva države omejena, zaradi česar je primerna oskrba spomenikov nerealistična. Menita, da bi bilo treba razviti strategijo, kako naj bi državna last prešla v drugačno oskrbo, ter v zvezi s tem vzpostaviti primerne pravne mehanizme.

Čeprav se s slednjim načeloma strinjamo, pa menimo, da zgolj menjava lastništva ne bo rešila situacije. Zlasti očitno je, da manjka krovna institucija, ki bi skrbela za upravljanje spomenikov v državni lasti, izdajala koncesije za njihovo upravljanje (javno-zasebno, javno, zasebno) ter tudi izvajala nadzor nad upravljanjem spomenikov lokalnega pomena. Nekaj rešitev v zvezi s tem podajata že Pirkovič in Šantej (2012), ki za državne spomenike predvidevata:

1. ustanovitev skupne organizacije, pristojne za upravljanje;
2. ustanovitev novih zavodov, kot je npr. Center za upravljanje z dediščino živega srebra v Idriji (Pirkovič, Šantej 2012, 49);
3. podelitev pristojnosti sedanjim državnim javnim službam s področja dediščine (Muzeji, ZVKDS);
4. podelitev upravljanja pravnim osebam zasebnega prava na podlagi zakonodaje.

Na regionalni ravni je ustanavljanje novih javnih ustanov, ki upravljajo spomenike in spomeniška območja, lahko prednost, če so pristojnosti nad spomenikom razdeljene na večje število subjektov (kar je npr. v tujini zlasti praksa pri večjih spomeniških območjih, nominiranih na svetovni listi dediščine Unesca, sicer pa lahko tudi manjših najdišč) ali spo-

menikov, pri katerih je lastništvo razdrobljeno. Tak primer bi bile lahko npr. arheološke lokacije *Claustre Alpium Iuliarum*. Združevanje kompetenc in sposobnosti v okviru namensko ustanovljenega zavoda pomeni v določenih primerih ugodno rešitev za koordinirano in ciljno upravljanje spomenika ali spomeniškega območja. Vendar pa ustanavljanje prevelikega števila novih zavodov ni najbolj smiselno, saj je pogosto velik problem tovrstnih zavodov pomanjkanje strokovnega kadra. Prav tako je ustanavljanje novih zavodov trajnostno lahko neupravičeno in dolgoročno ni vzdržno.

Res pa je, da ima organizacijska struktura upravljalvskega zavoda močan vpliv na upravljanje spomenika ali spomeniškega območja. Čeprav izvršne funkcije opravlja izvršni odbor, na čelu katerega je direktor, pa zavod nadzira nadzorni organ, v katerega naj bi bili vključeni člani ministrstev, državnih raziskovalnih ustanov, pristojnih ustanov, ki so neposredno povezane z varovanjem dediščine (v danem primeru Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije). Poleg tega so v njem tudi predstavniki občin in lokalne skupnosti.

Prav vključenost lokalnih skupnosti v proces odločanja je nujna, če želimo najti rešitve, ki bodo dolgoročno omogočale vzdrževanje in ohranitev lokalnih spomenikov, hkrati pa bodo omogočale trajnostni razvoj kraja. Seveda pa lokalna skupnost, ki je vključena v upravljanje spomenika, od tega lahko pričakuje tudi direktne oz. indirektne koristi. Slednje se lahko kažejo ne samo pri pobiranju vstopnin, trženju lokalnih izdelkov, spominkov, povečanem obisku gostinskih objektov v neposredni okolici spomenika oz. predstavljene dediščine, temveč bi morale temeljiti na širšem razvoju kulturnega turizma z urejeno infrastrukturo, kot so različne tematske poti, kolesarske, pohodniške, konjeniške in druge poti z urejenimi conami za počitek, prostori za avtodome in počitniške prikolice, šotorišča ter raznovrstna lokalna ponudba hrane in nesovna dediščina, ki se predstavlja ob različnih prireditvah (npr. Solinarski praznik). Prav tako je treba kulturno dediščino povezati z naravnimi znamenitostmi vsakega kraja posebej ter tako razpršiti in povečati število znamenitosti.

Temelj vsakega upravljanja in razvoja so torej jasne ideje, za katere je načrt upravljanja bistveno orodje za racionalno sistematizacijo, planiranje in uresničitev. Zato je dolgoročno načrtovanje financ skladno z rednimi, časovno omejenimi ali izrednimi viri financiranja ter pričakovanimi prihodki, ki naj bi izhajali prav iz storitvenega dela, povezanega s spomenikom, nujno za dobro upravljanje dediščine. Na podlagi tega je namreč nujno določiti stopnje prioritet pri posegih in vzdrževalnih delih za racionalno in progresivno uresničitev vsaj delnih ciljev. Pri oblikovanju storitvene ponudbe pa je treba upoštevati tudi povpraševanje trga in predvideti posodabljanje ponudbe z zanimivimi interpretacijami.

Smernice za nadaljnje upravljanje

V okviru projekta CAMAA smo sicer zajeli manjši vzorec spomenikov, na katerih smo preučevali načine upravljanja, ki ne more biti reprezentativen in ga tudi ni mogoče aplicirati na raven celotne države. Vendar pa kljub temu menimo, da je

dober kazalnik trenutnega stanja upravljanja kulturne dediščine tudi na ravni celotne države.

Študija je lepo pokazala, da je bilo v obnovo dediščine pogosto vloženi veliko sredstev, medtem ko za njeno nadaljnje upravljanje, vzdrževanje in »monitoring« stanja večinoma ni zadostno poskrbljeno. Tako stanje lahko opazujemo tako na državni kot na občinski ravni. Velika večina spomenikov je brez upravljalcev in nima načrtov upravljanja. Hkrati pa so strategije za upravljanje dediščine na vseh ravneh zelo slabe in preohlapne.

Glede na izsledke vidimo usmeritve za boljše upravljanje dediščine zlasti v dvojem: (a) v podeljevanju koncesij za upravljanje dediščine in (b) v jasnem in natančnem definiranju nalog tako upravljalca kot lastnika dediščine.

Pri iskanju primernih upravljalcev dediščine vidimo možnost v podeljevanju koncesij za upravljanje. Službe, ki bi lahko prevzele to nalogo, že obstajajo, to so zlasti muzeji in nekateri novoustanovljeni zavodi. Na ta način bi združevanje prineslo racionalizacijo stroškov in povečalo sinergijo na področju interdisciplinarnosti in znanja. Tudi zasebnih in javno-zasebnih organizacij, ki so zainteresirane za tovrstno delo, je vedno več. Vendar pa so pogosto brez pravega znanja in ustreznih navodil za ravnanje z dediščino.

Posledično je pomembno tudi jasno in natančno definiranje naloge upravljalca in lastnika dediščine. Objekti bi morali dobiti upravljalvske načrte, ti pa ne bi smeli biti zgolj sami sebi namen in narejeni zgolj zato, ker jih predvideva zakonodaja, ampak bi morali biti to dokumenti, na katere se lahko upravljaavec v primeru nejasnosti ali težav dejansko opre. Poleg tega bi morale biti upravljalcem pri reševanju težav pri upravljanju spomenikov v pomoč tudi ustrezne strokovne službe. Zlasti to velja za primere, ko upravljalci nimajo primerno usposobljenega kadra. Navodila teh služb upravljalcem bi morala biti natančna, jasna in racionalna.

Menimo tudi, da bi bil na mestu razmislek o organiziranju skupine (službe/organizacije), ki bi skrbela za upravljanje spomenikov v državni lasti, saj je očitno, da jih MK upravlja neuspešno. Ta služba bi primarno pripravljala usmeritve za upravljanje, skrbela za pogodbe ali koncesije z upravljalci in preverjala izpolnjevanje določil. Lahko bi nudila strokovna pomoč tudi upravljalcem oz. lastnikom ostalih spomenikov.

Na področju upravljanja lokalnih spomenikov smo prepoznali potrebo po večjem vključevanju občin (tudi na področju zakonskih pristojnosti). Pri tem bi bil nujen večji poudarek na mreženju, saj že zdaj načeloma obstaja dovolj služb (muzeji, TIC-i, društva ...), ki bi lahko prevzele upravljanje. Obstaja tudi možnost širitve kompetenc že obstoječih zavodov, ki se sicer ukvarjajo z naravno dediščino (npr. Škocjanske jame, Zavod Strunjan itd.), tudi na nepremično kulturno dediščino. Ena od možnosti, ki so se že izkazale kot uspešne, pa je ustanavljanje fundacij (npr. Fundacija Poti miru v Posočju, *Fondazione Aquileia*). Vendar pa bi bilo treba organizirati močno strokovno podporo tem službam. Obstoječe strokovne službe bi morale prevzeti tudi nadzor nad fizičnim stanjem spomenikov v vsakoletnim poročanju (monitoring), potrebne bi bile analize obiskov itd.

Poleg tega pa velja posebej poudariti, da je treba v mreženje vpeti tudi objekte, ki so sicer v lasti/upravljanju RKC. Ti so

bili pogosto ne zgolj zgrajeni, temveč tudi obnovljeni z javnim denarjem, zato bi bilo treba zagotoviti javno dostopnost vsaj ob določenem času v dnevu, še zlasti pri objektih s pravilno zaščito (npr. Rotunda Carmine in rotunda sv. Elija v Kopru).

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Guidelines for the management of fortified heritage in Slovenian Istria

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Abstract

The article considers the issue of heritage management and the difficulties in developing long-term strategies for this. Through a case study covering Koper, its hinterland and part of the Karst Edge, we look at the current state of management of monuments of fortified architecture. In order to identify the strengths and weaknesses of individual models of management, we illustrate the methods used to manage these monuments in the past and in the present day. In doing so, we focus on legislative provisions relating to monument management and ownership structure, in other words on those responsible for managing monuments. In this way we assess the present state of affairs and then, on the basis of good practices in Slovenia and abroad, propose guidelines for its improvement.

Introduction

The article came about within the context of the CAMAA project (*Centro per le Architetture Militari dell'Alto Adriatico* = Centre for Military Architecture in the Northern Adriatic), implemented under the European Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Slovenia-Italy 2007-2013, the purpose of which was to establish a cross-border network for the conservation and evaluation of military architecture and joint sustainable management as an enhancement and consolidation of joint European projects already implemented. One of the principal aims of the project was to contribute to awareness that this type of cultural heritage can also be an opportunity for the economic development of the heritage location itself and of the wider region. Another aim was to formulate guidelines for the unified management of monuments that would take into account all the above considerations and would at the same time connect all monuments of a military nature in north-western Istria and Slovenia's Karst region and in the

immediate cross-border areas of Italy.

The first challenge was the diversity of the monuments themselves, which made it difficult to connect them into a single whole and prepare uniform guidelines for their management. Above all the monuments consist of the architectural remains of forts, fortification walls, castles, towers and fortified caves – in other words structures of a military and defensive nature. The project also included a number of medieval fortified churches (Hrastovlje, Kubed, etc.) A further challenge was the fact that we are dealing with different historical approaches in the understanding of this heritage and its management on both sides of the border. The legal bases on which heritage of this kind is protected are also different. In order to better understand the present state of heritage management, we studied models and methods of management used in the past across the wider area of Slovenia and also in other countries, and those that are in use today. Discrepancies commonly exist between legal and theoretical bases and practice. In order to verify the current state of affairs, we therefore conducted several interviews with the owners of monuments (Ministry of Culture, City Municipality of Koper), various managers or users of monuments both in Slovenia (Gojko Zupan of the Ministry of Culture, Ivana Štrkalj of the City Municipality of Koper, Milan Graj, who runs a restaurant in Socerb Castle, Kostanjevica na Krasu) and in Italy (Fondazione Aquileia, Città di Palmanova, Comune di Ferrara), and with local communities.

On this basis we drew up a list of options for heritage management moving forward.

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Models and methods of management

The Yugoslav experience and present-day Slovenian legislation

Although the protection of heritage has a long tradition in Slovenia, its management is rather more of a grey area. At the time of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), the two main objectives of conservation efforts were the preservation of heritage and the establishment of a basis for its legal protection (Plestenjak 2013, 68–80). The latter objective would not be realised until after the Second World War, in the new socialist state that emerged following that conflict. While an overarching (federal) heritage protection law was in force at the national level in Yugoslavia, each individual republic had its own cultural policy and was responsible for laying down more detailed legal arrangements. In principle, the arrangements in place in the individual republics did not differ significantly from each other. In the first place, legal regulation was oriented towards the protection and conservation of heritage. In a state run on socialist principles, however, there was no particular focus on actual management, since heritage was public (social) property and, in principle, the funding of heritage interventions was also, in one way or another, public (Plestenjak 2013, 91–102)

Although there was no specific legal regulation of the field, in practice heritage was managed by different institutions. In some cases these were ad hoc institutions (e.g. Postojna Cave, Škocjan Caves). More important buildings were often requisitioned by the state or republic for ceremonial uses (e.g. Villa Bled, Brdo Castle, Villa Tartini), while religious monuments were looked after by the Church, just as they are today. Major monuments could also be managed by successful state enterprises. The latter could either purchase or lease a cultural monument and use it for representative purposes (grand country houses such as Betnava and Zemono, Otočec Castle, the monastery at Kostanjevica na Krki, etc.)

With few positive exceptions, local communities and municipalities did not involve themselves particularly with cultural heritage of local importance, although considerable funds, including from the republic budget, were frequently spent on repairs and conservation interventions for such heritage. This approach was maintained even after Slovenia became independent, although the new social order did lead to changes in the ownership of monuments, in accordance with the principles of privatisation. Those monuments that until then had been managed by enterprises (so-called social ownership within the assets of enterprises and other legal entities) were privatised in accordance with the Ownership Transformation of Enterprises Act, were returned to their original owners through denationalisation, or became the property of undertakings (see the Privatisation of Socially Owned Monuments and Sites Act; hereinafter: ZLSZDL 1996). Under the same law, monuments with monumental characteristics by virtue of which »it would be justified to ensure their presen-

tation as a registered cultural activity« became the property of the state (Article 4 ZLSZDL 1996). A new law governing this field was adopted in 1999. This was the Privatisation of Socially Owned Cultural Monuments Act (hereinafter: ZLKSDL 1999). This law additionally provided that monuments of local importance would now become the property of the municipality in which they were situated (Article 3 ZLKSDL 1999). It further provided that »monuments that become the property of the state under this Act shall be managed by the Ministry of Culture, either directly or via a suitably qualified external contractor, while monuments that become the property of a local community shall be managed by the competent authority of that community (Article 4 ZLKSDL 1999). If a »holder of usufruct rights over a socially owned immovable monument« previously existed, such a person would be required to conclude an agreement with the Republic of Slovenia, or with the municipality that owned the monument, regarding the transfer of the monument to the latter's possession within nine months of the entry into force of the Act (Article 5 ZLKSDL 1999). By 2001, 42 monuments had become (or remained) the property of the state under this Act; the largest number of these are castles (ZLKSDL 1999, Annex 1). It should, however, be mentioned that the process of selling off state property is not yet complete. The Resolution on the National Programme for Culture 2014–2017 (hereinafter: ReNPC14–17) envisages a further four cultural monuments being entrusted to a manager, let on a long-term lease or sold by 2017 (ReNPC14–17, 59).

Besides the changes of ownership in the period following Slovenia's independence, it is also necessary to mention changes in methods of funding. In 1998, faced with a shortage of funds, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia launched the »cultural tolar« project, designed to speed up the restoration of monuments. In 1998 the »Act on the provision of funds for certain urgent cultural programmes of the Republic of Slovenia« was adopted, covering the period up to 2003. Since just 32% of allocated funds had been realised in five years (the total value of the planned programmes was 23,073,115,000 tolar), the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopted an amendment to the Act and extended its validity to cover the period 2004–2008. In this period realisation was 34.4% (29,319,500,000 tolar). For the period 2009–2013, the state allocated a total of 80,758,833 euros (ZSNPK-B).

The Ministry considered the »cultural tolar/euro« to be one of the ways of saving decaying immovable heritage, since the interest of local communities in the project was considerable, despite the fact that the municipalities themselves were required to contribute up to 50% of the value of conservation work on the monuments in question. It is still not clear, however, what the project contributed to the restoration of monuments, since no official documents exist and no analysis has been carried out.

Be that as it may, it did not have a significant effect on the actual management of monuments. It was not until 2008, with the change to Slovenian legislation, that the first changes in the understanding of management came about. The state recognised the need for the more systematic organisation of

monument management that went beyond mere protection/restoration.

The Cultural Heritage Protection Act defines management as »the implementation of those tasks that are necessary to fulfil the purpose on account of which an entity was proclaimed a monument, covering in particular the conduct and organisation of maintenance, use, accessibility, presentation to the public and monitoring of its condition« (point 37 of Article 3 ZVKD-1 2008). The basis for this was supposed to be the management plan. The Act defines the latter as a document by which strategic guiding principles and principles of implementation are determined for the integrated conservation of a monument or site, along with the manner in which protection is to be implemented (Article 60(1) ZVKD-1, 2008). The Act envisages such a document for all monuments and sites for which a manager exists. Article 59 at the same Act provides that all monuments that are protected on the basis of international treaties to which the Republic of Slovenia is a signatory, and all monumental sites, must have a manager. The owner or holder must ensure the management of a monument in accordance with the act of proclamation, either directly or by entrusting it to a manager (Pirkovič, Šantej, 2012). The law does not specify who can be the manager of a monument. It can be a legal entity that is a subject of either public or private law, or a natural person.

Among public services, the Act allows the Cultural Heritage Protection Institute, specifically the Conservation Centre, to manage monuments owned by the state (point 13 of Article 85(1) ZVKD-1 2008) and also other monuments (point 7 of Article 85(2) ZVKD-1 2008). At the local level, the Act also allows the establishment of a local public protection service to manage monuments of local importance (Article 100 ZVKD-1 2008). In practice this model has not been developed.

»Good« practices in other countries

In the great majority of European countries, monuments of national importance or the most important examples of cultural heritage are owned by the state. Management is usually the province of the state institution responsible for the protection of cultural heritage, various museums or similar public institutions that have their own departments for the management, presentation, interpretation and marketing of heritage. In England, for example, English Heritage (<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>) manages 400 examples of cultural heritage (including by concession). In France the *Centre des monuments nationaux* (<http://www.monuments-nationaux.fr/>) is responsible for 100 monuments, in Hungary monuments are for the most part managed by the competent museums, while in Italy management is mainly in the hand of supervisory authorities known as *Soprintendenze* and of *comuni* (municipalities). The former hand over some monuments to the latter on the basis of concessions. Alternatively, if it transpires that the state has managed monuments poorly in the past, the region and the *comune* form a foundation, as in the case of the *Fondazione Aquileia* (www.fondazioneaquileia.it). The competent ministry grants individual monuments

owned by the state to another subject for a specific period on the basis of a concession, but specialised supervision or monitoring and restoration-conservation work remain the responsibility of the competent monument protection service. In this way the competent service is able to ensure a broad interdisciplinary range of experts who carry out regular monitoring and urgent restoration-conservation work. Besides public institutions, the managers of monuments are frequently also public-private institutions, which usually have to obtain a concession for their activity. These include organisations such as the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Norwegian Monuments (*Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindermerkers Bevaring*), founded in Norway in 1844 and the first organisation of its kind. A similar function is held by the National Trust of England, Wales and Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom and other organisations of the national trust type operating in the USA, Australia, India, etc. The advantage of such organisations is their ability to obtain funds for the management of monuments from both public and private sources.

There are also organisations that are entirely private, such as the York Archaeological Trust. These, too, obtain a concession for their activity. However, as pointed out by Paardekoooper (2012, 277) in his study on open-air archaeological museums in several European countries, private organisations often rely initially on an effective and charismatic director, who successfully obtains funds to start running the archaeological parks or museums in question, but later run into difficulties, since a single person is no longer equal to all the demands of integrated management. Thus several archaeological parks and open-air museums established as private businesses have after a few years passed under the management of public institutions (the Matrica Centre in Hungary, for example, is now managed by a local museum, while the Araishi Archaeological Museum Park in Latvia is managed by the Latvian National History Museum). Paardekoooper (2012) observes that for such centres to be successful, cooperation with a range of specialised institutions (universities, museums, restorers, etc.) is important.

Owners and managers of monuments included in the CAMAA project and their visions of management

The monuments included in the CAMAA project on the Slovenian side are mainly monuments of local importance, with a few monuments of national importance (Socerb, Hrastovlje). In accordance with legislation, the former should be managed by municipalities and the latter by the state, with of course the possibility of the cooperation of external contractors (managers). We would expect the high-quality management of state-owned monuments and sites to be one of the key tasks of conservation policy at the national level. The same would apply to the local level, since it is well known that cultural monuments are the basis for the development of cultural tourism. This is the fastest growing sector of the economy and brings profit to various stakeholders, particularly at the local level, while at the same time the good manage-

ment of a monument enhances the image of a locality and strengthens the identity of its inhabitants.

The results of our research have shown that in the area in question there is no actual manager looking after every aspect of a monument or major site on the basis of a management plan. The most urgent conservation work is carried out by local administrative communities: the Črni Kal fort is looked after by the Črni Kal local administrative community; the cave fortification near Osp by the Osp local administrative community; and the Tabor Jama v Gradu fortified cave by the Podpeč pri Črnem Kalu local administrative community. The Glem Tower is in private ownership, while the Church of the Holy Trinity in Hrastovlje is supposed to be looked after by the Diocese of Koper, although there was no sign of this during our field inspection. The Kubed tabor has no custodian. A similar situation applies in Koper's historic town centre, where the medieval walls are looked after by the City Municipality of Koper, the town tower is let on the basis of a concession. In Piran the walls are looked after by the City Municipality of Piran, the Kaštelir hill fort in Korte is looked after by Koper Regional Museum in collaboration with the University of Primorska, the archaeological park in Simonov Zaliv¹ is managed by the University of Primorska on the basis of a tripartite agreement between the Municipality of Izola, the University of Primorska and the Cultural Heritage Protection Institute of Slovenia. The majority of the heritage sites listed benefit from no interpretation whatsoever, with the exception of minimal signage and individual information boards.

In order to understand the reasons for this situation and how these monuments are actually managed we conducted (as we have already mentioned) a number of interviews with the owners or managers of the monuments.

Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia

It is evident from the interviews that at the national level, with few exceptions, the Ministry of Culture does not have a special targeted programme dealing with heritage management policy. Although the ReNPC14–17 does mention the »establishment of an effective system of management for state-owned monuments« among measures to be implemented (ReNPC14–17, 57), this is in the sense of amendments to sectoral legislation that will define and streamline procedures for letting or selling cultural monuments. As already stated, four cultural monuments are supposed to be entrusted to managers, let on a long-term basis or sold by 2017 (ReNPC14–17, 59). Sustainable management is only supposed to be implemented in the case of monuments with recognised international status. This refers to examples such as the heritage of mercury in Idrija, cultural heritage in the Ljubljansko Barje wetland and the Škocjan Caves Park, the Franja Partisan Hospital, the Lipica stud farm, etc. This is, in fact, in line with the »Strategy for the protection of cultural heritage and va-

luable natural features in Slovenia in accordance with international legal instruments and activities« adopted by the government on 26 June 2006 by decision No 62000–2/2006/4. This states that the main strategic objectives in the Republic of Slovenia are the following:

- improved care for cultural heritage and valuable natural features;
- improved management of cultural heritage and valuable natural features;
- sustainable use of cultural heritage and valuable natural features;
- formulation of adequate policies in the field of the financing and marketing of heritage and valuable natural features;
- better public education and awareness;
- a more clearly defined national identity;
- a higher international profile for Slovenia;
- establishment of a national tentative list;
- increased presence on international tentative lists;
- increased presence on international lists.

The ReNPC14–17 (58–59) also envisages the introduction of supplementary financial instruments to promote investment in cultural heritage and the development of activities for its long-term management. Solutions are seen above all in the obtaining of grants via the EEA Financial Mechanism (EEA Grants), the Norwegian Financial Mechanism (Norway Grants) and the EU Funds. Up to 2017, €8,388,000 has been allocated from available funds, along with €21,400,000 to be obtained from other European Union mechanisms.

At the same time, the ReNPC14–17 identifies cultural tourism as a comparative developmental advantage for Slovenia. There should therefore be a rapid integration, development and enhancement of tourism with heritage content. This is the context in which planning takes place of »renovations and revitalisations of structures and sites which, in a creative manner, take into account and enhance characteristic architecture, garden architecture, traditional materials and spatial values (e.g. networking the potentials of the Karst, open-air museums, archaeological parks and trails, history parks, cultural heritage within wider protected areas, for example the Škocjan Caves – settlement heritage, architectural heritage, cultural landscape; the Triglav National Park – settlement heritage, architectural heritage, cultural landscape; the Ljubljansko Barje wetland – prehistoricpile-dwellings in Ig; and the Sečovlje saltworks – cultural landscape and traditional saltmaking)« (ReNPC14–17, 58–59).

Investment in restoration is not, however, the same as heritage management. In recent years considerable funds have been invested in the restoration of individual monuments (across Slovenia this includes the castle farm in Ptuj, Snežnik Castle, Grad Castle, etc.), although today the use of these structures is not clear, and neither was it defined before the start of restoration. With the exception of those buildings that are managed by the State Ceremonial and Protocol Service and fall within the competence of the Secretariat General (Brdo Castle, Strmol Castle, Villa Bled, Villa Področnik, Villa Zlatorog), and individual cases such as Bled Island, which is managed by the Parish of Bled, Jable Castle, which is home to the Centre for European Perspective and the Strategic Studies

¹ The Simonov Zaliv Archaeological Park was not included in the CA-MAA project since it has no fortifications. It is only mentioned here as an example of an alternative management structure.

and Analysis Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Bled Castle, which is managed by the Bled Culture Institute, in the majority of other cases it is not clear who the manager is, nor what the manager's functions are. It therefore appears that no long-term vision and strategy for the management of monuments in state or local ownership can be detected at the national level.

The problem is that there is no umbrella service or organisation at the national level to actually look after or direct the management of these monuments. Although there is a special department at the Ministry of Culture that is theoretically responsible for the management of national monuments, its competences and aims are unclear. In the legal sense some competences regarding the management of monuments have been assigned to the Conservation Centre, part of the Cultural Heritage Protection Institute (Article 85 ZVKD-1 2008), but the latter is not actually engaged in this activity. In this connection it is reasonable to ask whether it is even aware of these competences that it supposedly holds.

We further established, in the course of our review, that entrusting national monuments to the management of private managers can also be a problem. For Socerb Castle, for example, in which a restaurant has been operating for 20 years and which passed from municipal ownership to state ownership in 2001, the tenant has only had a contract with the Ministry of Culture since last year. As a result, the obligations to be met by the tenant as manager are not defined. It follows from this that despite the sums invested in it in the past, the castle today does not even have provision for basic maintenance, let alone for long-term management. The case of Socerb illustrates a lack of understanding of the marketing of cultural heritage. The location boasts numerous interesting cultural monuments (in addition to the castle there is a prehistoric fort, a cave, a military defence zone dating from the Second World War, and so on) and unspoilt natural heritage. Not only that but it lies directly off the main Ljubljana–Koper road and is close to the cities of Koper and Trieste, which means a large number of potential local visitors. Socerb offers enormous potential for the development of tourism: even today it sees a large number of daily visitors who come there simply to admire the view. With minimal investment in the sense of presentation and interpretation and the further development of tourist infrastructure that is already partly in place (cycling routes), this potential could be increased enormously.

Municipalities

Within the City Municipality of Koper, cultural heritage is the responsibility of the Office for Social Activities and Development, while no special public service has been established for this purpose. The majority of funds for immovable cultural heritage are drawn from various European projects, although projects in this sector are few and far between (the Rotunda of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, St Francis's Church, Palazzo Baseggio). The City Municipality of Koper devotes slightly more attention to intangible cultural heritage and various cultural events of commercial importance (trade

fairs) organised by the local Tourist Information Centre (TIC Koper). The latter is focused above all on the marketing and promotion of the city at major shipping trade shows around the world, although it also organises guided tours of the city and the surrounding area to coincide with the arrival of large cruise ships.

The local community has invested very little in the renovation and restoration of cultural heritage in the last ten years. The only exceptions to this are projects connected to protective archaeological digs, where as part of infrastructure works the city municipality has covered the costs of protective digs and small *in situ* presentations (Ribiški Trg, Belvedere, Soška Ulica). Yet neither this heritage nor other monuments and sites in Koper have been adequately interpreted and presented. We find, unfortunately, that neither TIC Koper nor Koper Regional Museum is able to offer a leaflet or guide to the city's sights or a basic map of cultural itineraries. All that is available is a shopping guide featuring a few of the principal cultural monuments and shops that mainly offer discounts.

A few steps towards better accessibility of monuments have nevertheless been taken in recent years. Visitors today can, for example, buy a single ticket granting admission to the museum, the tower and the Praetorian Palace. Progress in terms of the regulation of tourist infrastructure is more evident in the hinterland, where in recent years the municipality's activities have been focused on the implementation of various cycling routes (Parenzana, Zanigrad) and natural parks (Hrastovlje Autochthonous Breeds Park, Škocjanski Zatok Nature Reserve). However, the promotion and marketing of this and other heritage remain a problem.

Associations

In recent years, an increasing number of cultural associations have begun concerning themselves with cultural heritage in Slovenia. Although intangible heritage takes priority in the majority of these associations (e.g. reviving old customs, crafts and culinary traditions), some associations are also interested in operating in the field of the management of immovable monuments. For some time now, for example, the Claustra Alpium Iuliarum cultural association has been presenting fortifications from Late Antiquity to the public in the municipalities of Ig and Velike Lašče. Following archaeological digs in Mošnje in the Gorenjska region, the local community expressed its interest in the presentation of the Roman villa there. A small museum was set up and the newly established association now manages the presented remains of the villa and offers guided visits. The Baška Grapa Heritage Association has among other things created a themed trail called »On Our Land«, along which it guides visitors, and so on. In Gračišče, in northern Istria, the cultural association »Šavrini in anka Šavrinke« organises a variety of events connected with tourism, local gastronomy and beautification. But associations such as these act in accordance with their own interests. When they become the managers of monuments, they need to be given clear instructions, expert support and supervision.

Public institutions and institutions acting in the public interest

In recent years a number of public institutions have been established around Slovenia to look after heritage on the UNESCO World Heritage List (e.g. the Ljubljansko Barje Nature Park and the Centre for the Management of the Heritage of Mercury in Idrija) or of local importance (e.g. the Radovljica Tourism and Culture Institute).

Private institutions (such as Zavod Parnas in Velike Lašče and LTO Sotočje in the Tolmin and Kobarid area) are also appearing. These promote local heritage, create themed trails (e.g. the Rob Geological Trail, the Kobarid History Trail, the Walk of Peace), etc.

A major problem with these institutions is the fact that in most cases they do not employ sufficiently expert personnel. Nevertheless, these shortcomings can be overcome through cooperation with other public or private specialised institutions. One very successful institution in this field is the Walk of Peace Foundation (Kobarid), which is involved in the preservation, renovation, maintenance and interpretation – in other words the integrated management – of First World War remains in the Posočje (Soča Valley) region (in the form of the Walk of Peace, which includes six open-air museums). The Foundation has been developed to help local associations and provide them with expert support, while it also places great emphasis on study and research activities.

Museums

Given their strong existing departments (of education, etc.), immovable heritage could also be managed by museums. In practice, however, it often appears that there is no real interest on the part of museums in the provision of services of this kind.

A number of examples of such practices can be found across Slovenia. Two examples of good managers are Tolmin Museum (with the »Over the Bridge to Wisdom« archaeology trail) and Kobarid Museum (Routes of the First World War, the Tonovcov Grad archaeological site). In the last two years, following the regulation of competences at the municipal level, MGML (City of Ljubljana Museum and Galleries) has become the manager of all immovable archaeological presentations within Ljubljana (as well as the Emonan House and Early Christian Centre archaeological parks, it now also manages the south wall of Emona and other presented elements).

The Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church is the owner of the majority of churches and other religious buildings in the country and also manages them. It is not, however, included in the context of the integrated marketing of cultural heritage. In Koper, for example, only the cathedral is open to visitors, while the great majority of other buildings, including those that have been conserved and restored by the state (such as the Rotun-

da of Our Lady of Carmel), are closed. A similar situation applies to the majority of religious buildings in Koper's historic town centre and in the surrounding area. Some are accessible (e.g. St George's Church in Piran, the Church of the Holy Trinity in Hrastovlje, etc.), but can often only be visited by prior arrangement.

Universities and scientific institutes

In other countries it is not unusual for individual monuments to be managed by various university departments or scientific institutes. In Slovenia there is only one example of this. The archaeological park and Roman villa in Simonov Zaliv is managed by the University of Primorska's Institute for Mediterranean Heritage. While this institution has sufficient staff and has been looking after the promotion of the Roman villa since 2010, through individual projects, a management plan was not drawn up until 2013. For this reason it is for the time being difficult to assess whether the guiding principles are being followed. Nevertheless one of the advantages of institutions like this acting as managers is without a doubt the opportunity to obtain different sources of funding (from scientific projects to projects linked to presentation, inclusion of the public and tourism).

Examples in Italy

Italian examples of management are in a way similar in the administrative sense but usually have a longer-term management strategy in place. Funding is divided between the state, the region, the province and the *comune*. The possibility also exists of obtaining funds from donors. This is the case of Aquileia, where the monuments were for some time managed by the state. Since this proved to be unsatisfactory, the region and the *comune* established a special foundation (*Fondazione Aquileia*) that took over care of the monuments and the organisation of various other activities for their development and enhancement. This model has proved to be extremely successful at addressing the problems of management. Another model of management has been used in the medieval walled city of Cittadella in the province of Padua, not far from Castelfranco Veneto in the neighbouring province of Treviso. Here a total of 25 million euros has been invested in rebuilding the walls surrounding the city (www.camera.it/_dati/lavori/stampati/pdf/16PDL0025860.pdf). Since the restoration of the walls, the city is visited by more than 60,000 visitors a year, which guarantees its sustainable development. The monument is looked after by the Cittadella Tourism Office (<http://turismo.comune.cittadella.pd.it/it/ufficio-iat/>), just as monuments in many other parts of Italy are looked after by local tourism offices (<http://www.italia.it/en/home.html>).

An entirely different picture is presented by Forte Marghera, a medieval fortress which the state sold to the *comune* of Venice for 10 million euros, but for the restoration of which Venice does not have sufficient funds.

Synthesis of the findings with regard to the current state of management

Although the duty to conserve heritage is written into Slovenia's Constitution (Article 73), there is an evident lack of mechanisms capable of bridging the gulf between the definition of heritage as something of value and the lack of funds available for its maintenance (Vrenčur, Ivanc 2014, 3). Our findings also confirm that no one in Slovenia has developed a vision and strategy oriented towards the maintenance and – related to this – management of monuments, both those owned by the state and all others.

Our review has shown that considerable public funds have been invested in the past in Slovenian Istria alone. These have been used for, among other things, the restoration of the church and fortifications (*tabor*) in Hrastovlje, the restoration of the church in Kubed with the tower and a fragment of the walls, research and consolidation of the pavement in St Jerome's Church, the restoration of the Podpeč tower, the fortification in Črni Kal, Socerb Castle, and so on. The work ended here, however. The monuments do not have management plans and in most cases they do not have a proper manager either.

The reason for this situation may be sought in the historical development of the conservation profession in Slovenia, which has tended not to see heritage management as part of heritage protection. The emphasis has been above all on the restoration and presentation of monuments and does not extend to subsequent maintenance and marketing. Such a situation is not only typical of Slovenian Istria and the Karst: it may also be clearly seen in other parts of Slovenia. In Ljubljana, for example, it is possible to trace the 100-year history of the development and use of various techniques and methods for presenting archaeological heritage (the city boasts 15 archaeological presentations), yet a system for managing this heritage was only established in the year 2013.

An additional reason why conservation professionals are too little aware of the importance of the presentation, interpretation and marketing of heritage is the education system. This is traditionally divided into individual disciplines (archaeology, history of art, architecture, ethnology/anthropology, restoration, etc.). Students are only acquainted with heritage within these contexts, in other words partially. There is too little connection of conservation disciplines, both with each other and with other disciplines (tourism, marketing, etc.). Integrated heritage management is thus frequently not covered in the context of educational activities.

As a result, there is also too little awareness of the fact that it is not only investments in restoration that are important, but also the determination of the future use of monuments. It is also necessary to be aware that the permanent provision of regular funding is also essential for maintenance and other aspects of heritage management. This is easier to provide if heritage serves a social and/or economic purpose. Accordingly, a use needs to be sought for heritage that will see it incorporated into everyday life. This is the key to its survival in the future.

R. Vrenčur and T. Ivanc (2014, 14) consider that the current state of cultural monuments in Slovenia shows that public ownership is inadequate from the financial point of view, since state funds are limited, which means that adequate care of monuments is unrealistic. They believe that a strategy needs to be developed to enable state property to pass over to a different form of provision and care, and that appropriate legal mechanisms need to be established in this connection.

Although we agree with this in principle, we nevertheless consider that a mere change of ownership will not resolve the situation. What is particularly evident is the lack of an umbrella institution able to ensure the management of monuments in state ownership, issue concessions for their management (public-private, public, private) and provide supervision of the management of monuments of local importance. Some solutions in this connection have already been offered by Pirkovič and Šantej (2012), who envisage the following for national monuments:

1. the establishment of a common organisation responsible for management;
2. the establishment of new institutions such as the Centre for the Management of the Heritage of Mercury in Idrija (Pirkovič, Šantej 2012, 49);
3. the granting of competences to existing state public services in the heritage sector (museums, ZVKDS);
4. the entrusting of management to private legal entities on the basis of legislation.

At the regional level, the establishment of new public institutions to manage monuments and sites could be an advantage if responsibilities for a monument are divided among a larger number of entities (which in other countries is established practice, particularly in the case of large sites nominated for the UNESCO World Heritage List but also for smaller sites) or in the case of monuments under fragmented ownership. An example of this could be the archaeological locations of the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. The combining of competences and abilities in the context of an institution established for the purpose can in certain cases represent a favourable solution for the coordinated and targeted management of a monument or site. Establishing too many new institutions, however, may not be the best answer, since a major problem of such institutions is often the lack of professional staff. Similarly, the establishment of new institutions may be unjustified from the point of view of sustainability and may indeed be unsustainable in the long term.

It is, however, true that the organisational structure of the managing institution has a strong influence on the management of the monument site in question. Although executive functions are performed by an executive board headed by director, the institution itself is supervised by a supervisory body whose members should be drawn from ministries, state research institutions and competent institutions directly connected with heritage protection (in the case in question, the Cultural Heritage Protection Institute of Slovenia). They should also include representatives of municipalities and local communities.

The inclusion of local communities in the decision-making process is essential if we wish to find solutions that will en-

ble the maintenance and conservation of local monuments in the long term and at the same time facilitate the sustainable development of the locality. Naturally a local community that is involved in the management of a monument can also expect direct or indirect benefits from this. While the latter may be seen in the collection of admission fees, the marketing of local products and souvenirs and increased custom for catering establishments in the immediate vicinity of the monument or presented heritage, they should also be based on the wider development of cultural tourism with well-managed infrastructure such as various themed trails, cycling routes, hiking trails, bridle paths and other paths with organised rest areas, areas for campers and caravans, campsites and a diverse range of local food and intangible heritage presented at various events (e.g. the Saltworkers' Festival). Cultural heritage should also be linked to the natural sights of each individual location, in this way diversifying and increasing the number of attractions.

The basis of all management and development is therefore clear ideas – for which the management plan is an essential tool for rational systematisation, planning and realisation. The long-term planning of finances in accordance with regular, time-bound or extraordinary sources of funding and the revenues expected to derive from the services connected with the monument is therefore essential for good heritage management. It is on this basis that levels of priorities for interventions and maintenance work must be determined, in order to ensure the rational and progressive realisation of at least partial objectives. When designing the range of services offered, market demand should also be taken into account, while the enhancing of the offering with interesting interpretations should be envisaged.

Guidelines for subsequent management

In the context of the CAMAA project we took a small sample of monuments and studied the ways in which they are managed. This sample cannot, however, be representative, nor is it possible to apply it to the country as a whole. Nevertheless, we do believe that it is also a good indicator of the current state of the management of cultural heritage at the national level.

The study clearly shows that considerable funds have frequently been invested in the restoration of heritage, while in most cases insufficient provision has been made for its subsequent management, maintenance and monitoring. This situation may be observed at both the national and municipal levels. The great majority of monuments lack managers and management plans. At the same time, heritage management strategies are extremely poor and too lax at all levels.

In view of our findings, we identify two main focuses for better heritage management: (a) in the awarding of concessions for the management of heritage and (b) in the clear and precise definition of the tasks of both the manager and owner of heritage.

When it comes to seeking suitable heritage managers, we see an opportunity in the granting of management concessions.

The services that could take on this function already exist. Above all, they are museums and some newly founded institutions. In this way, combination would bring a rationalisation of costs and increase synergy in the area of interdisciplinarity and knowledge. An increasing number of private and public-private organisations are also interested in this type of work. Frequently, however, they lack the right expertise and adequate instructions for managing heritage.

Consequently, a clear and precise definition of the function of heritage manager and heritage owner is also necessary. Monuments should be provided with management plans, but these must not be simply an end in themselves, drawn up simply because envisaged by legislation. Rather, they should be documents on which a manager can actually rely in the case of doubts or difficulties. Adequate expert services should furthermore be available to managers to help them resolve difficulties connected with the management of monuments. This applies above all to cases where managers do not have suitably qualified staff of their own. The instructions provided by these services to managers must be precise, clear and rational.

We also believe that it would be appropriate to consider organising a group (a service/organisation) that would be responsible for the management of state-owned monuments, since it is clear that the Ministry of Culture is not managing them successfully. Such a service would in the first place prepare management guidelines, look after contracts/concessions with managers and verify that provisions are being met. It could also offer expert assistance to the managers or owners of other monuments.

Regarding the management of local monuments, we have identified a need for greater involvement of municipalities (including in the field of legal competences). A greater emphasis on networking is urgently needed here, since even now a sufficient number of services (museums, tourist information offices, associations, etc.) capable of taking over the management of monuments already exist. A further possibility would be to widen the competences of already existing institutions involved in the protection of natural heritage (e.g. the Škocjan Caves, the Strunjan Nature Park, etc.) so as to include immovable cultural heritage. One possibility that has already proved itself to be successful is the establishment of foundations (e.g. the Walk of Peace Foundation, Fondazione Aquileia). Strong expert support would however have to be organised for such services. Existing specialised services would also have to take on the role of monitoring the physical condition of monuments through a system of annual reporting. Analyses of visitor numbers and so on would also be necessary.

A further point particularly worth underlining is that the network should also include monuments that are owned or managed by the Roman Catholic Church. These have frequently not only been built with public money, they have also been restored using public funds, and it would therefore be necessary to guarantee access to the public at least at certain times of the day, particularly in the case of structures with proper protection (e.g. the Rotunda of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and the Rotunda of St Elijah in Koper).

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Ključne besede: arheološke raziskave, kakovost, skupina, vodenje, motivacija, komunikacija

Izvleček

V prispevku bomo predstavili vodenje arheoloških raziskav skozi prizmo medčloveških odnosov. Poudarek bo na izzivu vodenja, motiviranja in komuniciranja, ki ga ponuja ad hoc sestavljena ekipa, pri kateri zaradi specifičnosti zaposlovanja preko študentskega servisa in časovne omejenosti trajanja raziskav nimamo vzvodov stimulacije, prav tako delavci nimajo motivacije in želje po dokazovanju. Kvalitativno raziskavo smo osnovali na odgovorih, zbranih z »brainstormingom«, ki smo jih prejeli na postavljeno vprašanje: Kateri dejavniki vplivajo na kakovost arheoloških izkopavanj oziroma kaj vas pri arheoloških izkopavanjih najbolj moti? Vprašanje smo zastavili 11-članski ekipi na arheoloških izkopavanjih. Prevladovali so odgovori, povezani z medčloveškimi odnosi, sledili so jim odgovori, povezani z naravnimi dejavniki. Odgovore smo analizirali z nestatističnimi metodami kakovosti. Na osnovi analize odgovorov smo poskušali poiskati najprimernejši način vodenja, motivacije in komunikacije.

Arheologija se ukvarja z interpretacijo preteklosti na osnovi kontekstov z materialno zapuščino, kjer igrajo najpomembnejšo vlogo dobro opazovanje, prepoznavanje arheoloških ostalin ter kakovostno dokumentiranje. Vse arheološke raziskave sodijo med enkratne in neponovljive projekte. Razlikujejo se po vrsti najdišča, zahtevnosti izkopavanja in dokumentiranja, številnosti ekipe, časovni in finančni konstrukciji ... Kompleksnost arheoloških projektov je sestavljena iz več na videz samostojnih delov; npr. časovni rok in finančna konstrukcija, znotraj katerih mora biti projekt končan, sta odvisna od pravilno ovrednotenih para-

metrov. Parametre ocenimo glede na rezultate predhodnih arheoloških raziskav. Celoten projekt arheološkega izkopavanja razdelimo na dve fazi:

- prva faza zajema pravočasno in v okviru finančne konstrukcije končana arheološka izkopavanja na terenu. Zaključni se z izdelavo prvega oziroma preliminarne poročila;
- v drugo fazo, ki se zaključni s strokovno interpretacijo in objavo najdišča, sodi postizkopavalna obdelava gradiva in dokumentacije.

Drugi cilj je bil do nedavnega le redkokdaj realiziran zaradi pomanjkanja denarja, premajhne ekipe, drugih prioritet v delovnem procesu, včasih pa tudi zaradi pomanjkanja volje. Da bi se izognili dolgotrajnemu prašenju in depojskemu izkopavanju arhivov arheoloških najdišč, je ZVKD-1 omejil avtorske pravice za objavo na obdobje petih let (Uradni list RS, št. 16/08), še manj časa, dve leti, pa je za objavo določil Pravilnik o arheoloških raziskavah (Uradni list RS, št. 3/13). Naloga in odgovornost vodje je, da se izkopavanja na terenu zaključijo v skladu s strokovnimi standardi arheološke stroke, s številčno določeno ekipo, v časovno določenem roku, znotraj izračunane finančne konstrukcije¹ ter s končno strokovno objavo najdišča.

Razvoj arheološke stroke je pripeljal do splošno uveljavljenih standardov, ki se neprestano razvijajo in dopolnjujejo², ven-

1 Na žalost so arheologi oziroma stroka vse bolj podvrženi pritisku, ki ga lahko ponazorimo z dvema slovenskima pregovoroma, in sicer Čas je denar in pa Denar je sveta vladar.

2 Grosman, D., in Novakovič, P., 1994, *Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije I.* – Metode in postopki, Novakovič, P., idr. 2007, *Minimalni standardi izkopavalne dokumentacije: pregled stanja in predlogi standardov in Minimalnimi standardi in priložnik za izvedbo predhodnih arheoloških raziskav Centra za preventivno arheologijo*, Ljubljana, december 2011.

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dar še tako izpopolnjeni standardi, uvajanje novih tehnologij ter razvoj in prilagajanje računalniških programov potrebam arheologije pri dokumentiranju ne morejo izničiti človeških napak, kot so npr. metrična napaka, pomanjkljivo opisana ali pri dokumentiranju izpuščena stratigrafska enota, »prebitje« plasti, nenatančno zajemanje podatkov s tahimetrom ... Vse naštetu poudarja vlogo človeka ali delavca in odnosov pri zagotavljanju kakovosti arheoloških raziskav. V nadaljevanju bomo poskušali orisati raziskave skozi prizmo vodenja. Poudarek bo na iskanju dodane vrednosti oziroma na ugotavljanju, na kakšen način glede na specifičnosti sestavljanja ekipe in zaposlovanja njenih članov doseči, da bodo ti delo opravili, kot najbolje zmorejo oziroma po svojih najboljših močeh.

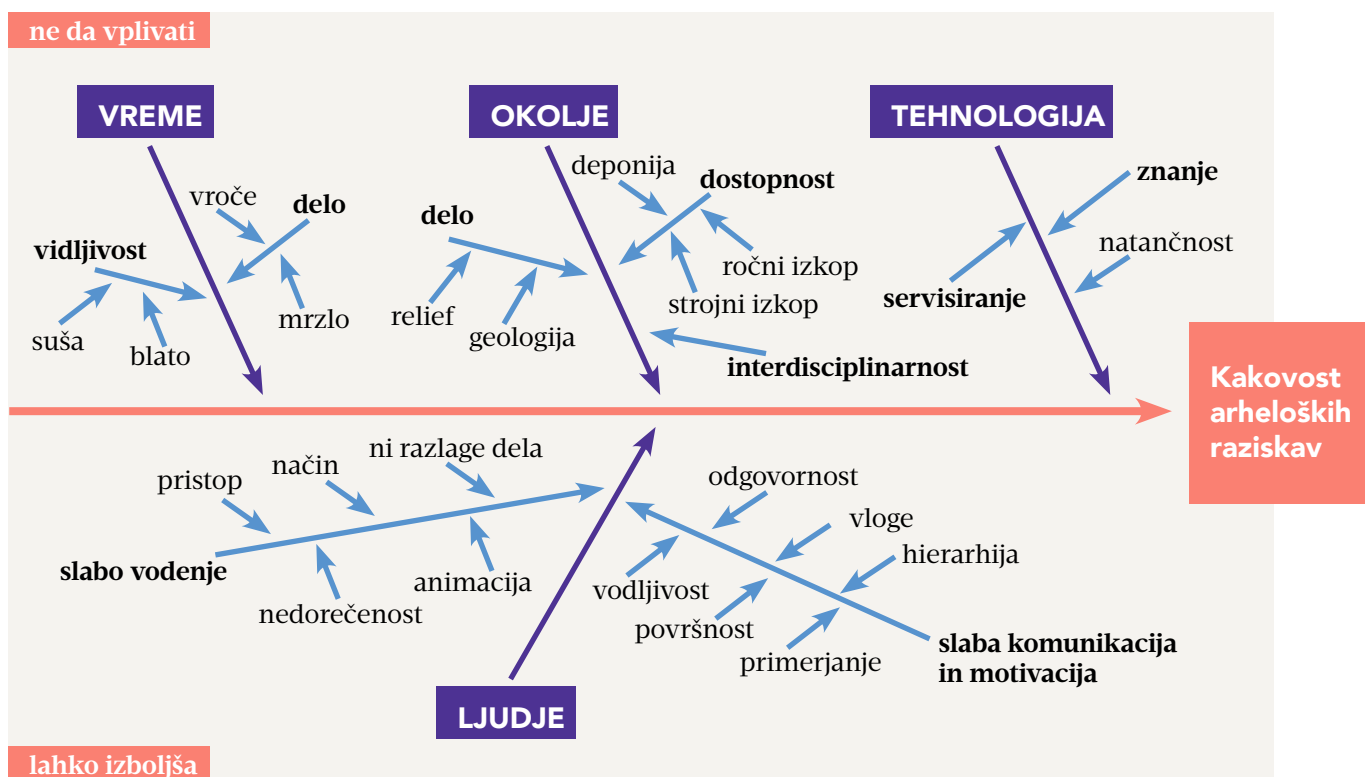
Zamisel, da bi orisali arheološke raziskave z drugega zornega kota, se nam je porodila ob opazovanju sodelujočih delavcev študentov oziroma med pogovori z njimi. Ugotovili smo, da so določeni komentari stalnica izkopavanj že več let, zato smo se odločili za **kvalitativno raziskavo**. Kvalitativne raziskovalne tehnike v družboslovnem raziskovanju vse bolj pridobivajo pomen. Bryman in Bellova (2011: 410–413) opišeta kvalitativno raziskavo kot ukvarjanje z besedami in ne s številkami. Blumberg in soavtorji (2005: 124–126) pojasnjujejo, da je kvalitativna raziskava osnova za kvantitativno raziskavo, s katero preizkušamo veljavnost hipotez, postavljenih s pomočjo kvalitativnega raziskovanja. Esterby-Smith, Thorpe in Lowe (2005: 111) kvalitativno raziskavo oziroma tehnike opredelijo kot zbirko interpretativnih tehnik, ki poskuša opisati, dekodirati, prevesti in drugače odkriti pomen določenih

bolj ali manj naravno nastalih pojavov v družbenem okolju, ne njihove frekvence.

Raziskavo smo osnovali kot intervju, pri čemer smo zastavili le eno vprašanje in za natančnejšo opredelitev predmeta raziskave še podvprašanje. Proti koncu izkopavanj smo zastavili vprašanje: **Kateri dejavniki vplivajo na potek arheoloških izkopavanj oziroma kaj vas pri arheoloških izkopavanjih najpogosteje moti?** Za analizo smo uporabili podatke, pridobljene z metodo klasičnega »brainstorminga« (Lipičnik, 1998: 286). Odgovarjali so arheolog, dva tehnika in osem fizičnih delavcev, starih od devetnajst do enaindvajset let. Pet od osmih delavcev je že imelo izkušnje z izkopavanji ali predhodnimi arheološkimi raziskavami in so delali pod vodstvom najmanj dveh arheologov. Za takšen pristop in način zbiranja odgovorov smo se odločili zaradi različne izkušnosti in poznavanja poteka del. Pri študentih, ki so bili prvič na izkopavanjih, so bili v ospredju dejavniki, povezani z vremenom. Pri tistih, ki so že izkopavali, so bili v ospredju dejavniki, povezani z medčloveškimi odnosi. Dejavniki so razporejeni po številnosti odgovorov.

Dejavniki, ki vplivajo na kakovostno izvedbo izkopavanj:

- vreme (suša in blato vplivata na vidnost arheoloških ostalin; dež, mraz, vročina vplivata na počutje),
- neenakopravnost oziroma premočno izražena hierarhija (delitev po statusu),
- primerjanje z drugimi (kdo se bolj trudi, nismo vsi enako fizično sposobni in večji dela),
- vloge niso jasno določene oziroma prihaja do njihovega nepriznavanja,



Slika 1: Diagram vzrokov in posledic (vir: lastni)

- način vodenja,
- znanje,
- izkušnje,
- motiviranost za delo,
- monotonija (enoličnost) dela,
- komunikacijska sposobnost ekipe,
- nedorečenost,
- simpatije in naklonjenost,
- razpoložljiv čas (pritiski na hitrost dela),
- kakovost orodja (ostro, majavo, dovolj dolgi ročaji ...),
- obvladovanje tehnik.

Iz zbranih odgovorov je mogoče razbrati, da lahko dejavnike razdelimo na tiste, ki jih je mogoče izboljšati, in na tiste, na katere se ne da vplivati. Na osnovi odgovorov smo izdelali diagram vzrokov in posledic (slika 1).

Večina vzrokov za nezadovoljstvo in nekompatibilnost ekipe izhaja iz medčloveških odnosov, kar se da s pravilnim vodenjem izboljšati. Vodenje zajema usmerjanje, komuniciranje, motiviranje in ravnanje z zmožnostmi zaposlenih.

Na vse vidike vodenja vplivata že način sestave in zaposlitve ekipe ter časovna omejitev trajanja projekta. Sodelujoči so zbrani z oglasi za delo na študentskih servisih in na fakulteti ter na osnovi priporočil drugih arheologov. Večinoma so to ad hoc sestavljene ekipe, zato pri njihovi sestavi zaradi nepoznavanja sodelujočih odpadejo vse znane tehnike izbire ljudi za sestavo skupine, kot so npr. tehnika dogovarjanja med kandidati, tehnika mandatarjev (Lipičnik, 1998: 276) ... Na osnovi predhodnega medsebojnega sodelovanja je večinoma izbran le strokovni kader, čeprav je zaželeno, da bi ekipa štela čim več poznanih in s potekom dela seznanjenih članov.

Pred začetkom raziskav se določi arheolog vodja, čigar naloga je **sestava ekipe**, logistična organizacija in predvsem skrb, da delo poteka tekoče, kakovostno in brez konfliktov. Vodja ima formalno ali legitimno moč, ki izhaja iz administrativnih in strokovnih nalog, vendar je zaradi specifičnosti sestave ekipe pomembnejša njegova socialna moč, s katero vpliva na sodelujoče in jih usmerja. Večje ko je najdišče po površini, številnejša je ekipa. Večja ko je ekipa, večji izziv in hkrati tudi stres je njeno vodenje.

Ekipa je formalno sestavljena skupina, zato se člani ne posvetujejo s cilji skupine, mimo njihovih interesov so določeni tudi cilji in vsebina dela, vloge so točno določene, kar povzroči slabo interakcijo, članstvo je netočno opredeljeno in kontrola nad delovanjem je slaba. Zaradi formalne sestavljenosti skupine se začnejo znotraj nje tvoriti posamezne podskupine oziroma neformalne skupine. Zaželeno je, da bi vodja, arheologi in arheološki tehniki poznali osnove psiholoških in socioloških značilnosti dela v skupinah, ker se zaradi vsega naštetega ne ve, kako bo ekipa funkcionirala. Koehler je ugotovil, da je najuspešnejša skupina sestavljena iz treh do največ šestih članov. Dokazal je, da se z dodajanjem članov (skupina nad 12) zmanjša trud posameznika tudi za 10 %, prav tako upade občutek pripadnosti skupini in oteži se komunikacija (Lipičnik 1998: 273). Osnovno jedro sestavljajo 1 arheolog, 2 do 4 tehniki in 3 do 6 delavcev, vendar je številnost ekipe odvisna od velikosti najdišča. Izjema so bila arheološka izkopavanja na avtocestah, kjer so ekipe štejele od

10 do 50 in tudi več članov.³

Ekipa, ki izvaja predhodne arheološke raziskave, je hierarhično grajena struktura. Na vrhu je arheolog vodja oziroma koordinator, ki vodi, usmerja, se odloča in sprejema strokovne odločitve ter skrbi, da delo poteka po standardih arheološke stroke znotraj predvidenih okvirov. Sledijo mu arheološki tehniki, ki so odgovorni za posamezne segmente dela, kot so npr. zajemanje podatkov s totalno postajo, fotografiranje in obdelava podatkov. Na koncu so še delavci študenti, ki izvajajo, kar jim je bilo delegirano.⁴



Slika 2: Organigram ekipe arheoloških raziskav

Vodja in t. i. vodstvena oziroma strokovna ekipa (arheologi in tehniki) bodo uspešni, če si bodo priborili priznavanje in spoštovanje sodelujočih, kar lahko dosežejo z zgledom, strokovnostjo in človečnostjo. Na delo skupine ima velik vpliv osebnost vodje oziroma njegove lastnosti, kot so inteligentnost, prijaznost, kritičnost do sebe in drugih, samozavest, odločnost, sposobnost empatije in opazovanja, etičnost, nevtralnost ... Našteto spada k čustveni inteligenci, ki se je v raziskavah izkazala za dvakrat pomembnejšo od delovnih izkušenj in inteligence vodje.

Vodenje je proces, pri katerem posameznik vpliva na skupino z namenom doseči skupni cilj (Northous, 2007: 2–3). Vodenje ni enkratno dejanje, ampak izmenjavanje večjega števila dogodkov, ki se nanašajo na usmerjanje in sprejemanje (Možina idr., 1994: 525). Uspešen vodja sodeluje s člani skupine v ustvarjanju ugodnega vzdušja, ki pripomore k doseganju organizacijskih ciljev. Uspešni vodje so zelo nadarjeni ljudje, so dobri organizatorji, strategji, komunikatorji, pogajalci, motivatorji, poslušalci, nadzorniki in še kaj (Mayer, 1994: 126). Vodja je svetovalec in učitelj, dopušča neodvisnost, je dober

³ Že na izkopavanjih v 19. stoletju je sodelovalo od 5 do 15 članov (Dular, 2003: 86).

⁴ Delegirati pomeni prenesti avtoriteto in odgovornost za izvršitev jasno določene in dogovorjene naloge pod tvojim nadzorom drugemu, odgovornost za uspešno izvedbo pa pri tem ostane tvoja.

poslušalec in neformalen pri delovanju, vendar se drži mod-ela integritete (Mosley, idr. 2001: 241). Veliko teoretikov pa o vodenju ne razmišlja kot o procesu odločanja, kaj je treba narediti in zakaj, temveč se osredotočijo na vprašanje, kako ljudi pripraviti do tega, da bodo sledili (Adizes idr., 1996: 18). Da izvira sposobnost vodenja v osnovi iz človeka samega, sta verjela že Sun Cu in Konfucij, medtem ko se večšin dobrega vodenja lahko priučimo in jih izboljšujemo. Veščine oziroma značilnosti so (Mayer, 2003: 369–371):

- pravočasno in dobro informiranje sodelavcev o ciljnih metodah dela,⁵
 - razvijanje delovnih sposobnosti ljudi,
 - učinkovito razporejanje ljudi z namenom, da se dosežejo cilji,
 - ustrezno reševanje problemov in morebitnih konfliktov.
- Gomišček in Marolt (2005: 97–99) pa med osnovne večšine voditeljstva uvrščata:
- motiviranje,
 - komuniciranje,
 - izboljševanje in uvajanje sprememb.

Delavci študenti delo opravljajo na podlagi študentske n-
potnice z vnaprej določeno urno postavko in časovno določenim trajanjem dela, zato sta vsakodnevno prihajanje na delo in stremenje k čim boljšemu opravljanju dela zgolj njihova moralna obveza in želja po zaslužku, ki pa lahko zaradi vodenja s pozicije moči hitro ugasneta. Vodenje na tak način sestavljene in temu primerno različne skupine je izziv, saj vodilni pri tem nimajo niti vzvodov moči niti možnosti stimulacije.

Sodelujoče je treba **usposobiti** za delo, zato naj bi vodilni pred začetkom raziskav in izkopavanj ekipi dobro pojasnili, kaj je arheologija, kakšen način dela se zahteva, kaj se pričakuje od udeležencev in kako se z najmanjšimi fizičnimi obremenitvami opravlja delo, ter naj bi za boljše razumevanje procesa dela orisali vrsto oziroma značilnosti najdišča, ki se bo raziskovalo. Pojasniti je treba zadolžitve in odgovornosti posameznikov. Uvodno predavanje bo sprostito napetost v komunikaciji in zmanjšalo občutek nelagodnosti pred neznanim. Sprva je pri delu zaradi nepoznavanja prisoten strah in s tem povezana previdnost pri delu, zato so v tej fazi potrebni nadzor, bodrenje ter sprotne pojasnjevanja in razlage. Vse, kar se odkrije, je novo in povečuje delovno vnemo. S trajanjem in enoličnostjo izkopavanj pa vnema vse bolj upada. Skupaj z njo upadeta pozornost in vodljivost, pojavljati se začnejo nezaželeno govorne popestritve in govornice, ki lahko močno otežijo komunikacijsko sposobnost ekipe. Naloga vodilnih je, da iz vseh sodelujočih izvabljajo najboljše, zato je treba na začetku ekipo pritegniti in navdušiti za delo ter jo med potekom dela vseskozi tudi motivirati.

Splošna opredelitev **motivacije** je, da je to usmerjanje človekove aktivnosti k želenim ciljem s pomočjo njegovih motivov. Motive delimo na biološke oziroma tiste, ki nam omogočajo preživetje, in na sekundarne, ki v človeku vzbujajo (ne)zadovoljstvo. Motivacijske teorije se delijo na:

- vsebinske, ki preučujejo, kaj povzroča motivacijo (hier-

arhija potreb po Maslowu, Herzbergova dvofaktorska teorija in Hackman-Oldhamov model obogatitve dela),
– procesne, ki priporočajo, kako motivirati vedenje, mednje uvrščamo teorijo pravičnosti (Tosi in dr., 1994 v Treven 1998).

Teorije, ki temeljijo na nagrajevanju oziroma odnosu po sistemu palica in korenček, so zaradi zgoraj omenjenih dejavnikov izključene.⁶ V nadaljevanju bomo predstavili za arheološke raziskave in izkopavanja uporabne motivacijske teorije, ki so osnovane tako na bioloških kot na človeških potrebah po osebni rasti ter socialni sprejetosti oziroma na medčloveških odnosih.

Hierarhija potreb

Najstarejša in najbolj razširjena motivacijska teorija, ki jo je osnoval Maslow, temelji na hierarhiji osnovnih potreb (Maslow, 1943: 370–396). Teorija velja za posameznike in skupine. Ko zadovoljimo osnovne, fiziološke potrebe, pridejo v ospredje potrebe po varnosti, socialne potrebe, potrebe po spoštovanju/ugledu in potrebe po samouresničevanju. Maslow trdi, da zadovoljena potreba ne motivira več. Potrebo po varnosti zagotavljajo oziroma zadovoljujejo pravila, na katera se posamezniki lahko zanesejo in jim zaupajo, ker bodo le tako lahko uspešno načrtovali delo in dosegali postavljene cilje. Za osnovno varnost ni pomemben le obstoj jasnih pravil, temveč tudi nadzor nad njihovim izvajanjem. Potrebi po varnosti sledi potreba po sprejetosti. Skupina mora članom omogočiti, da so lahko pristni in da izrazijo čustva in občutja, ki so povezana z delom in bi kot taka lahko ogrozila uspešno sodelovanje. Dobra sprejetost omogoča dobro vzdušje in visoko kolegialnost ter možnost sprotnega predelovanja konfliktov. Velik motivacijski dejavnik je potrditev oziroma pohvala. Potešitev te potrebe spodbudi pri človeku občutek samozavesti, sposobnosti, lastne koristnosti, pomembnosti in potrebnosti. Potešenost vseh potreb v skupini se kaže v dobrem sprejemanju inovacij, v splošni podpori in pri iskanju novih rešitev (Bečaj, 2001: 14–17). Sodelovanje pri raziskavah se zaključi, preden bi zadovoljevanje osnovnih potreb pre-rastlo v željo po zadovoljevanju višjih potreb na lestvici, to je po spoštovanju⁷, ugledu in samopotrjevanju.⁸

V obravnavanem primeru so primernejše Herzbergova dvo-faktorska teorija, imenovana tudi motivacijsko-higienska teorija, in Hackman-Oldhamov model obogatitve dela ter teorija pravičnosti.

Dvofaktorska teorija

Motivacijske faktorje je Herzberg razdelil na tiste, ki ust-varjajo zadovoljstvo, oziroma »motivatorje«, in na tiste, ki

5 V primeru arheoloških raziskav razložiti in pokazati metode dela. Me-toda dela vključuje fizično izkopavanje in dokumentacijske postopke.

6 Teorija ekonomske motivacije, teorija spodbujanja in teorija pričako-vanja (Likert, 1998: 164–170 in Treven, 1998: 112–124).

7 S spoštovanjem mislimo na strokovno priznanje in dokazovanje in ne na spoštovanje v smislu medčloveških odnosov.

8 Vključeni vsi sodelujoči in ne le strokovna ekipa, ki vidi možnost so-delovanja tudi v prihodnje oz. možnost kariernega razvoja.

ustvarjajo nezadovoljstvo, oziroma »higienike«. K motivatorjem spadajo samo delo, pohvala, priznanje, odgovornost, ki jo mora zaposleni sam izkazovati pri delu, rast in napredovanje, k higienikom pa se uvrščajo politika vodje, nadzor, medčloveški odnosi, delovne razmere, plača, status in varnost (Herzberg, 1968: 57). Motivatorji vplivajo neposredno na produktivnost dela, medtem ko higieniki preprečujejo upad morale in tako posredno vplivajo na uspešnost (Daft idr., 2001: 415).

Teorija obogatitve dela

Hackman in Oldham sta postavila tezo, da ljudje delajo dobro, če jih določeno delo zadovoljuje. Za visoko notranjo motivacijo morajo poznati rezultate svojega dela (povratna informacija), verjeti morajo, da so osebno odgovorni za rezultate svojega dela, prav tako morajo imeti občutek, da je njihovo delo pomembno (v Možina, 2000: 169). Ljudje, ki imajo občutek pomembnosti, dajejo vse od sebe, ker so notranje motivirani (Mesiti, 2003: 20). Včasih je sodelujoče težko prepričati o pomembnosti in smotru njihovega dela zaradi nerazumevanja arheologije in njenega prispevka h kulturi, kar izvira iz negativne podobe arheologije v javnosti; to potrjuje tudi kvantitativna raziskava, izvedena na temo komunikacijskih problemov med javnostmi in arheologijo (Plestenjak 2007: 204–205).

Teorija enakosti oziroma pravičnosti

Delavci po teoriji pravičnosti svoje vložke v delovni proces primerjajo z vložki in prejemi drugih. Vsak posameznik ve, v kakšnem razmerju so njegovi prejemi za opravljeno delo s tistim, kar vložijo v delovni proces (Treven, 1998: 124–125). Pri komuniciranju in dodeljevanju nalog ter pri raziskavah moramo biti pozorni na enakovredno in pravično obravnavo vseh sodelujočih.

Poleg motivacijskih teorij obstajajo tudi motivacijski modeli, ki so sestavljeni iz različnih elementov. Med bistvene elemente spadajo pričakovanje, enakost in pravičnost, dodali bi še spoštovanje. Ti naj bi pri ljudeh sprožili ravnanje in reakcije, ki jih želimo za doseg cilja (Lipičnik, 1998: 171–174). Vodja lahko na delavce najmočneje vpliva s svojim zgledom. Če sam svoje delo opravlja zagnano, ga bo večina posnemala. Vodja mora stremeti k temu, da bo sodelujočim pomagal prepoznati njihove prednosti in slabosti ter jim bo omogočil delo, pri katerem bodo lahko optimalno izkoristili svoje potenciale. Izkušenejši vodje bodo začetek izkopavanja izkoristili za opazovanje delavcev študentov. Z opazovanjem lahko prepoznamo določene sposobnosti in ugotovimo, ali so v ekipi ljudje s širšim spektrom znanj. Vedno se najdejo posamezniki, ki jih arheologija zanima in se hitro naučijo

»obrotniških« del ali pa študirajo tehnične stroke.⁹ Težava je neenakomerno naraščanje dela, saj je na začetku potrebnega več fizičnega dela, ki pa se z odpiranjem površine manjša, medtem ko se strokovno delo (dokumentiranje) povečuje. Velikokrat se zgodi, da se z delavci študenti omili pomanjkanje tehnikov, kar posledično delavcem tudi razbije monotonost dela.

Največ truda moramo vložiti v vzdrževanje motivacije, lažje jo vzbudimo, še najlažje pa jo zadušimo. Mihaličeva (2010: 48) navaja, kaj vse zaduši motivacijo; izmed več dejavnikov bomo našli le tiste, ki so aktualni za obravnavani način dela:

- ustvarjanje nepravilnih razlik med delavci,
 - dvojna merila,
 - nedemokratična in hierarhična komunikacija,
 - protekcionizem,
 - nestrokovnost,
 - nizka etična merila in
 - zelo visoka stopnja nadzora (slabšalni pomen, ki ga karikiramo z »vse zmorem sam«, »najbolje znam sam« ...).
- Nemotiviranost in nezadovoljstvo privedeta do nerednega prihajanja na delo, zamujanja, obotavljanja, ugovarjanja in manjšega prizadevanja ter širjenja in podpihovanja govoric. Likert (v Možina, 2000: 166) je ugotovil, da je produktivnost skupine odvisna od načina vodenja in stališč pripadnikov in vodij skupine, pri čemer je izpostavil **način komuniciranja**. Komuniciranje vključuje način informiranja, delegiranja, individualno in skupinsko odločanje ter tudi, ali so cilji individualni ali skupinski. Velik odstotek vodenja predstavlja komunikacija. Na izkopavanjih je odločanje zaradi različne strokovne podkovanosti večinoma individualno, cilje pa mora ponotranjiti vsaj strokovna ekipa, da teži k njihovi izpolnitvi.¹⁰

Po Polaku in tudi splošno je komunikacija nosilec vseh socialnih dogajanj. Obsegala naj bi dajanje in sprejemanje informacij ali napotkov, spraševanje drugih po dodatnih informacijah, sprejemanje in dajanje povratnih informacij v zvezi s posameznikovim delom in delom kolegov, spodbujanje, izražanje in sprejemanje pohval za dobro delo v skupini (Polak, 2007: 51). Njeno bistvo je podajanje razumljivih in jasnih informacij, saj morajo biti te predvsem razumljene oziroma sprejete in ne zgolj podane. Način komuniciranja mora biti poleg strokovnosti v ospredju predvsem pri časovno kratkih arheoloških terenih. Komunikacijski šum se pri arheoloških raziskavah največkrat pojavi zaradi napačno razumljene hierarhije in posledično zaradi nedorečenosti, nerazdeljene odgovornosti in nejasnosti vlog. Zavedati se moramo, da vodjo in strokovni del ekipe delavci študenti v prvih dneh podrobno opazujejo. Hitro ugotovijo, kje in med katerimi člani se bodo najprej pojavila trenja ter kako lahko to obrnejo sebi v prid. Paziti je treba, da poteka komunikacija

9 Poznavanje tako ročno kot računalniško izdelane tehnične risbe je pomembno pri zajemanju podatkov s totalno postajo. S čim natančnejšim zajemom podatkov in čim boljšo predstavo o tem, kako bi bilo to ročno narisano, se zmanjšajo napake pri nadaljnji obdelavi podatkov (razpečevanju fotoskic in risanju arheoloških ostalin).

10 Delavcem/študentom je vseeno, koliko časa trajajo izkopavanja, dlje ko trajajo, več zaslužijo, prav tako se ne obremenjujejo s kakovostno izvedbo, saj je po končanem terenskem delu zanje delo zaključeno.

brez konfliktov, da se trenja rešujejo sproti in ne pred očmi opazovalcev. Komunikacijske težave se, če jih ne opazimo ali prepoznamo, stopnjujejo do neslutnih razsežnosti, kar lahko povzroči izmikanje in prelaganje odgovornosti na druge člane ekipe¹¹, to pa vpliva tudi na vzdušje in motivacijo ter posledično tudi na kakovost izvedbe.

K dobri komunikaciji pripomore vzpostavitev že na začetku nenapisanih pravil oziroma norme obnašanja, ki se jih vsi člani držijo, vodja pa mora biti največji zgled. Na začetku izkopavanj je treba določiti odgovornost in zadolžitve tako za delo kot za opremo, ki se uporablja. Najpomembnejše je pojasniti vlogo posameznika v skupini. Ves čas je treba poudarjati, da si vsi člani skupine prizadevajo za končanje izkopavanj v za to določenem času s čim manj napakami in v čim boljšem vzdušju, zato ni ločevanja na bolj ali manj pomembno delo.

11 Arheolog je odgovoren in me mora opozarjati, da česa ne pozabim; on pa manj in slabše dela, bil sem na več terenih in več vem, čeprav nimam diplome ...

Dela bodo potekala kakovostno le, če bo vsak član skupine opravljal svoje delo odgovorno, zato je med vodjo in strokovno ekipo potrebna določena stopnja zaupanja in ni potreben popoln nadzor v slabšalnem pomenu. Potrebno je vsakodnevno pregledovanje dokumentiranja in nevsiljivo spremljanje poteka del (preglednica I).

Pri zadovoljitvi vseh navedenih potreb članov skupine odigrata največjo vlogo vodja in njegov **način vodenja**. Njegovo dobro opazovanje komunikacije na začetku dela in posledično razporejanje članov glede na osebnostno ujemanje ter pohvala nadomestita motivacijo, ki v obravnavanem primeru ne more biti pogojena s finančno nagrado, in omogočita visoko stopnjo medsebojnega sodelovanja.

Od konca 19. stoletja se razvijajo teorije o vodenju, kar naključno časovno sovпада tudi s prvimi navodili o izkopavanju. Prvi zametek navodil za izkopavanja je dal že davnega leta 1870 Sacken, ko je izenačil pomembnost najdb in njihovih kontekstov (Sacken, 1871: 38).

DEJAVNOST	ODGOVORNOST		
	ARHEOLOG vodja	TEHNIK	DELAVEC
LOGISTIKA	O		
FINANCE	O		
Gradbeni dnevnik, dnevnik izkopavanj	O		
KOORDINACIJA (usklajevanje s terminskim planom in razporejanje stroja)	O	S	S
terminski plan	O	S	S
VARNOST pri DELU	O	O	O
NADZOR	O	S/O	
IZKOPAVANJE	O	S/O	S/O
pravilno »STRGANJE«	O	S/O	S/O
OPISI SE-jev	O	S/O	
Jemanje VZORCEV za analize	O	S/O	S
FOTOGRAFIRANJE	O	S/O	
RISANJE	O	S/O	
GEODETSKE IZMERE	O	S/O	
PAKIRANJE NAJDB	O	O	S/O
IZDELAVA POROČILA	O	S	
INTERPRETACIJA	O	S	
PREDAJA ARHIVA IZKOPAVANJ	O		
POSTIZKOPAVALNA FAZA	O	S/O	
OBJAVA	O		

Legenda: O – odgovoren, S – sodeluje, S/O – sodeluje in je odgovoren za kakovost lastnega dela

Preglednica I. Prikaz odgovornosti pri opravljanju del (vir: lastni)

Najstarejša je klasična teorija organizacije z avtokratskim vodenjem, ki je bilo usmerjeno izključno v povečevanje produktivnosti, podrejeni pa so morali zgolj slediti navodilom. V sredini dvajsetih let 20. stoletja se je začela razvijati teorija medčloveških odnosov, kar je povzročilo zasuk v teoretičnem pristopu. Uveljavilo se je namreč demokratično vodenje s participacijo zaposlenih. Ponovna sprememba se je zgodila v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja, ko so se začele razvijati situacijske teorije vodenja s kombinacijo avtokratičnega in demokratičnega sloga. Izbira prvega ali drugega se je prilagajala situaciji. Osemdeseta leta 20. stoletja je zaznamoval porast preučevanja čustvenih in simboličnih vplivov na vodenje. Na podlagi zaključkov teh raziskav se je razvilo neokarizmatično vodenje, ki ga sestavljajo karizmatično vodenje, t. i. vodenje z vizijo ter transakcijsko in transformacijsko vodenje.

Vodja, ki ga odlikujejo strokovnost, samozavest in odločnost, bo sprejel tveganje pri odločanju do te mere, da strah pred napakami ne bo nikoli tako velik, da bi ogrožal uspešnost dela. Ne bo se obotavljal pri odkrivanju in dokumentiranju zgornjih ali premešanih plasti, ampak jih bo dokumentiral in izkopal. Samozavestno odločanje omogoča, da izkopavanja potekajo v enakem tempu brez hitenja in stopnjevanja pritiska, ko začne zmanjkovati delovnih dni. Že opisane karakteristike arheoloških raziskav otežijo vodenje, ker je pri tem potrebna velika iznajdljivost pri motiviranju in usmerjanju ekipe, kar so elementi transformacijskega vodenja. Zanj so značilni podajanje vizije med zaposlene, visoko samozaupanje, sposobnost empatije, moč pooblaščenja¹² ter usmerjenost k odnosom. Zaradi osredotočenosti na iskanje notranje motivacije posameznika tovrsten način vodenja vključuje inspiracijsko motiviranje, intelektualno stimulacijo in individualno pozornost. Temelji na motiviranju in navduševanju za timsko delo, s komunikacijo gradi zaupanje v lastne zmožnosti uspešnega izvrševanja nalog in doseganja skupnih ciljev. Takšni vodje pokažejo veliko optimizma in navdušenja. V ožji strokovni ekipi pride do izraza intelektualna stimulacija, ki je usmerjena v prevzemanje tveganja, inovativnosti in ustvarjalnosti. V primeru arheoloških raziskav bi jo bolj usmerili v prevzemanje odgovornosti za opravljanje dela (preglednica I). Na izbiro sloga vodenja in na njegovo uspešnost vplivata tudi pogled na podrejene in odnos do njih, ki se odraža v teorijah X in Y. Teoriji je razvil ameriški psiholog McGregor, ki je menil, da obstajata dve skupini ljudi. Za prvo skupino ljudi (teorija X) predvideva, da ne delajo radi, da se skušajo delu izogniti, čim je za to možnost, da potrebujejo navodila za delo, da jih je treba usmerjati in siliti k ciljem in delu. Nasprotje te teorije je teorija Y, ki predpostavlja, da ljudje radi delajo, da so pripravljene trdo delati, da pristajajo na cilje in se k njim sami usmerjajo ter da radi sprejmejo odgovornost za svoje delo (McGregor, 1992: 368–369, 375). Vodje z načinom razmišljanja, podobnim teoriji X, bodo za arheološke raziskave izbrali manj primeren slog vodenja. Odločali se bodo med avtokratskim ali transakcijskim vodenjem. Vodje s pozitivnim pogledom na sodelujoče se bodo obnašali po načelih ali demokratičnega ali transformacijskega sloga vodenja, kar

se dolgoročno izkaže za uspešnejšo različico tako pri raziskavah kot v organizacijah. Ne glede na različico vodenja, ki jo izberemo, pa je vsaka boljša kot nobena, poimenovana vodenje brez vajeti (izvirno *laissez – faire*). To je najbolj neaktiven in neučinkovit način vodenja in predstavlja najmanjšo stopnjo uspešnosti in zadovoljstva. Vodja se skuša izogniti vsakršnemu soočenju, zato se zakoplje v papirologijo in pusti stvarjem, da gredo svojo pot. Vsakdo dela, kolikor zna, zmore in hoče, saj je njegov cilj biti v dobrih odnosih z vsemi (Covey, 2007: 6). Nekateri raziskovalci pa poleg vseh teorij, slogov in stilov ločijo tudi ženski ali moški stil. Moški vidijo funkcijo vodenja kot nekaj formalnega in se nagibajo k direktivnemu, avtokratičnemu stilu vodenja, ženske pa kot nekakšno podporo drugim članom in sta jim bližje demokratični in participativni stil vodenja.

Raziskave so dokazale, da je dosleden in odločen vodja uspešnejši in pri podrejenih bolj spoštovan od tistega, ki si prizadeva biti priljubljen.

Naj obravnavanje arheoloških raziskav s stališča kakovosti medčloveških odnosov zaključimo z ugotovitvami pobudnikov celovitega obvladovanja kakovosti (Deming, Drucker, Ishikawa, Crosby). Ti menijo, da se glavni cilji pri obvladovanju kakovosti opirajo na resnično upoštevanje in globoko spoštovanje človeka – sodelavca v podjetju ali kupca. Zavedajo se njegovih meja in slabosti, vendar kljub temu stavijo na njegove sposobnosti (Jocou, 1995: 122).

Povzetek

Na arheoloških izkopavanjih smo 11-članski ekipi postavili vprašanje: Kateri dejavniki vplivajo na kakovost arheoloških izkopavanj oziroma kaj vas pri arheoloških izkopavanjih najbolj moti? Odgovore smo analizirali z nestatističnimi metodami kakovosti. Skupni imenovalci arheoloških raziskav so časovna omejenost izvajanja ter sestava in način zaposlovanja ekipe. Na osnovi analize, ki smo jo podkrepili z različnimi teorijami o motivaciji (teorija potreb po Maslowu, Herzbergova dvofaktorska teorija in Hackman-Oldhamov model obogatitve dela, teorija pravičnosti) in vodenju (avtokratski, demokratični, transformacijski), smo ugotovili, da so najboljše motivacija pohvala, spodbudna in prijazna beseda, nevsiljiva kontrola, dobra uvodna razlaga ter pravičen in spoštljiv odnos do sodelujočih. Vodenje naj bo avtokratsko samo s strokovnega vidika, pa še tu naj se vsaj na videz kažejo demokratičnost, predvsem pa usmerjanje pri strokovnem odločanju in podpora pri prevzemanju odgovornosti, kar je zlasti pomembno za člane strokovne ekipe, ki še nimajo veliko izkušenj. Nebirokratsko ozračje, razumljivost in jasnost nalog, spontana, sproščena in v vseh smereh tekoča komunikacija ter jasna pravila obnašanja ločijo učinkovite in uspešne skupine od neučinkovitih. Arheološke raziskave zaradi časovne omejenosti nikoli ne prerastejo organizacijske faze zgodnjega otroštva, zato so pri vodenju potrebni sprotno učenje, spodbujanje, opazovanje ekipe in prilagajanje situacijam.

12 Pooblaščenje pomeni zmožnost zaupanja zaposlenim.

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Quality of leadership in archaeological investigations through the prism of interpersonal relations

The right word in the right place

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Abstract

In this paper we will look at the leadership of archaeological investigations through the prism of interpersonal relations. The emphasis will be on the challenge of leadership, motivation and communication that is presented by an ad hoc team in which, owing to the specific characteristics of employment via the student employment service and the limited duration of investigations, we do not have the levers of stimulation available to us and workers lack motivation and the desire to prove themselves. We have based our qualitative study on the answers, collected by means of brainstorming, to the following question: What factors affect the quality of an archaeological excavation, or, what bothers you most during an archaeological excavation? We put this question to an 11-member team taking part in an archaeological excavation. Answers relating to interpersonal relations predominated, followed by answers relating to natural factors. We analysed their answers using non-statistical qualitative methods. By analysing the answers, we attempted to identify the most suitable style of leadership, motivation and communication.

Archaeology deals with the interpretation of the past on the basis of contexts with a material legacy, where the most important roles are played by good observation, identification of archaeological remains and high-quality documentation. All archaeological investigations are unique and unrepeatable projects. They differ by type of site, complexity of excavation and documentation, size of team, time available, budget, and so on. The complexity of archaeological projects con-

sists of several apparently autonomous parts; the deadline and budget within which the project must be completed, for example, are dependent on the correct evaluation of parameters. Parameters are estimated with regard to the results of preliminary archaeological investigations. The overall project of an archaeological investigation is divided into two phases:

- the first phase includes archaeological excavation in the field that is completed on time and within budget. It ends with the drafting of a first or preliminary report;
- the second phase, which ends with expert interpretation and publication of the site, includes the post-excavation processing of material and documentation.

Until recently, the second objective was only rarely realised, because of a lack of money, an inadequately sized team, other priorities in the work process or, sometimes, a lack of will. In order to avoid the archives of archaeological sites being buried in repositories and left to gather dust, the Cultural Heritage Protection Act (ZVKD-1) limited copyright for publication to a period of five years (UL RS 16/08), while an even shorter period – just two years – was defined for publication by the Rules on archaeological investigations (UL RS 3/13). It is the task and responsibility of the leader to ensure that excavations in the field are completed in accordance with the professional standards of the archaeological profession, with a team of a defined size, within a set deadline, within a calculated budget¹ and with the final publication of the site in the appropriate manner.

1 Unfortunately archaeologists, or the archaeological profession, are increasingly subject to the kind of pressure that can be illustrated by the expressions »time is money« and »money makes the world go round«.

The development of the archaeological profession has led to generally established standards that are constantly developing and being supplemented², but no standards, no matter how refined, nor the introduction of new technologies or the development and adaptation of computer software to the needs of archaeology when it comes to documentation, can avoid human errors such as errors of metrics, the inadequate description or omission from documentation of a stratigraphic unit, the “breaching” of a stratum, the inaccurate collection of data with a tachymeter, and so on. All this underlines the role of the human being (the worker) and relationships when it comes to ensuring the quality of archaeological investigations. Below we shall attempt to describe an investigation through the prism of leadership. The emphasis will be on looking for added value, in other words on identifying ways to ensure, in view of the specific characteristics of the composition of the team and the type of employment of

its members, that the latter will do the work as well as possible, in other words to the best of their ability. The idea of describing an archaeological investigation from a different point of view occurred to us when observing students participating in an excavation and talking to them about it. We established that certain comments have been a constant of archaeological excavations for years, and therefore opted for qualitative research. Qualitative research techniques are gaining in importance in social science research. Bryman and Bell (2011: 410–413) describe qualitative research as being concerned with words rather than numbers. Blumberg et al. (2005: 124–126) explain that qualitative research is a basis for **quantitative research**, through which we test the validity of hypotheses proposed with the help of qualitative research. Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2005: 111) define qualitative research, or qualitative techniques, as a collection of interpretive techniques that seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise discover the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.

Our study took the form of an interview in which we asked a single question, followed by a sub-question designed to elicit a more precise definition of the object of the research. Towards the end of the excavation we asked the following question: **What factors affect the progress of archaeological excavations, or, what bothers you most frequently during archaeological excavations?** For our analysis we used data obtained

2 Grosman, D. and Novakovič, P., 1994, *Arheologija na avtocestah Slovenije I – Metode in postopki* [Archaeology on the Motorways of Slovenia I – Methods and Procedures], Novakovič, P. et al., 2007, *Minimalni standardi izkopavalne dokumentacije: pregled stanja in predlogi standardov* [Minimum standards for excavation documentation: overview of the situation and proposed standards] and *Minimalni standardi in priročnik za izvedbo predhodnih arheoloških raziskav Centra za preventivno arheologijo* [Minimum standards and the Centre for Preventive Archaeology manual on the implementation of preliminary archaeological investigations], Ljubljana, December 2011.

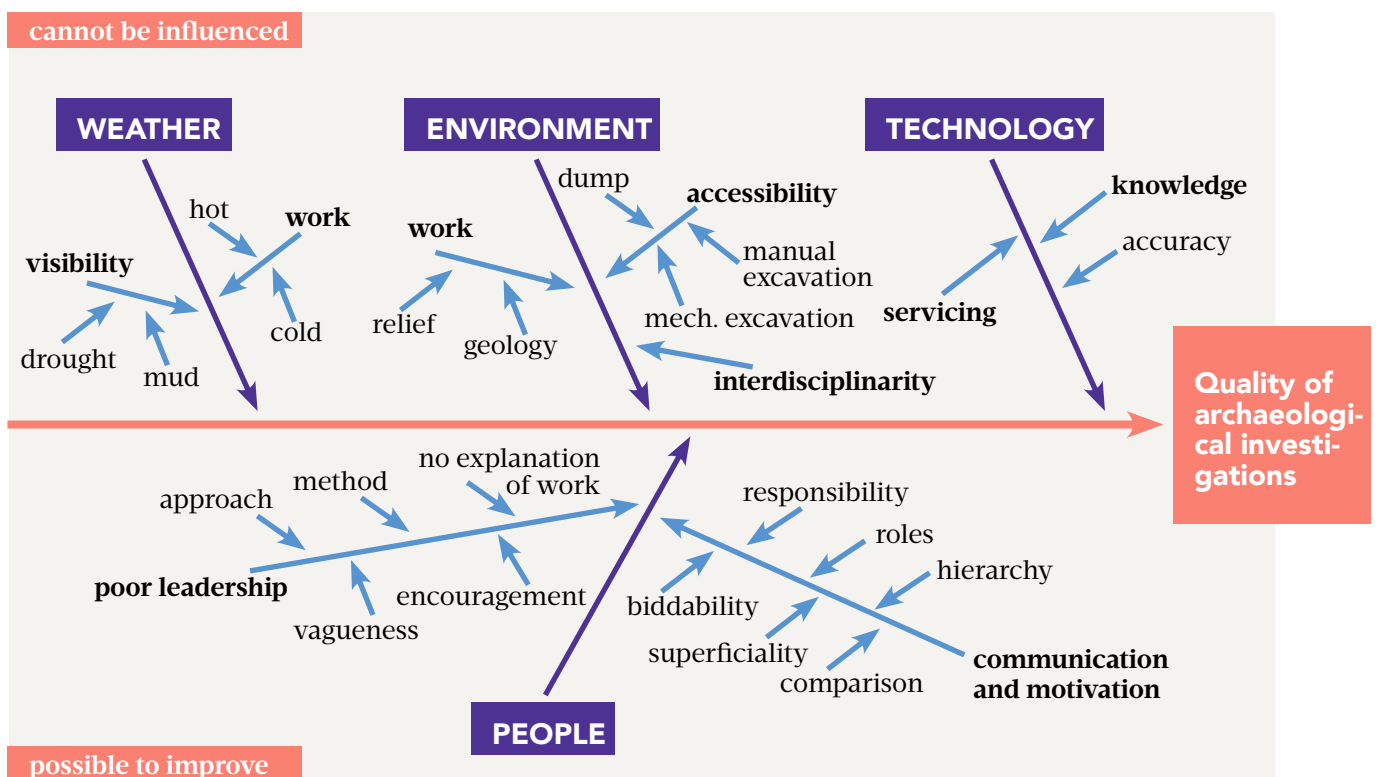


Fig. 1: Diagram of causes and effects (source: own data)

using the classic brainstorming method (Lipičnik, 1998: 286). Our respondents were an archaeologist, two technicians and eight workers aged 19 to 21. Five of the eight workers had already had experience of excavations or preliminary archaeological investigations and had worked under the leadership of at least two archaeologists. We chose this approach and method of collecting answers because of the different levels of experience and familiarity with the progress of the work. In the case of students who were taking part in an excavation for the first time, factors linked to the weather were in the foreground. Among those who had already taken part in excavations, factors connected with interpersonal relations were in the foreground. The factors are arranged in descending order in terms of number of responses.

Factors which influence the quality of implementation of excavations:

- weather (drought and mud affect the visibility of archaeological remains; rain, cold and heat affect how people feel),
- inequality or a too strongly expressed hierarchy (division by status),
- comparison with others (who works harder, we do not all have the same physical abilities and skills),
- roles are not clearly defined or can fail to be recognised,
- leadership style,
- knowledge,
- experience,
- motivation for work,
- monotony of the work,
- ability of the team to communicate,
- ambiguity of instructions,
- liking and goodwill,
- time available (pressures on the pace of work),
- quality of tools (sharp, rickety, handles long enough, etc.),
- mastery of techniques.

It may be seen from the answers collected that these factors can be divided into those which it is possible to improve and those which cannot be influenced. On the basis of the answers, we drew a diagram of causes and effects (Fig. 1).

The majority of causes of dissatisfaction and incompatibility within a team derive from interpersonal relations, which can be improved through correct leadership. Leadership includes orientation, communication, motivation and management of the abilities of employees.

All aspects of leadership are affected by the method of putting together and employing the team and by the time restrictions on the duration of the project. Participants are recruited by means of job advertisements at student employment offices and in the faculty and on the basis of recommendations from other archaeologists. In most cases these are ad hoc teams, so when assembling them the fact that the participants do not know each other means that the usual selection techniques used when putting together a group (the agreement among candidates technique, the elected leaders technique, etc.) are unworkable (Lipičnik, 1998: 276). It is usually only the professional members of the team who are selected on the basis of having worked together previously. It is therefore desirable for as many team members as possible to be people who are known to the leader and who are familiar with the work.

Before archaeological investigations begin, an archaeologist is designated as leader, with the task of **assembling the team**, looking after the logistics of the investigation and, above all, ensuring that work progresses smoothly and in a high-quality and conflict-free manner. The leader has formal or legitimate power deriving from administrative and professional functions, but owing to the specific nature of the composition of the team, the social power with which he or she influences and directs the participants is more important. The bigger an archaeological site in terms of area, the more numerous the team. The bigger the team is, the more challenging – and more stressful – it is to lead it.

A team is a formally assembled group, so its members do not identify with the goals of the group. The goals and content of the work are decided without taking into account their interests. Roles are precisely defined, which causes poor interaction, while membership of the group is imprecisely defined and control of its functioning is poor. As a result of the formal composition of the group, individual subgroups or informal groups begin to form within it. Ideally, the group leader, the archaeologists and the archaeological technicians will be familiar with the basics of the psychological and sociological characteristics of working in groups, because it is not known, in view of all of the above, how the team will function. Koehler found that the most successful group is made up of between three and a maximum of six members. He proved that by adding members (a group of over 12), the effort of the individual reduces by up to 10%, while the feeling of belonging to the group likewise diminishes and communication becomes more difficult (Lipičnik, 1998: 273). The basic nucleus consists of 1 archaeologist, 2 to 4 technicians and 3 to 6 workers, although the size of the team depends on the size of the site. An exception to this rule were the archaeological excavations on motorway construction sites, where teams numbered between 10 and 50 or even more members.³ The team that carries out preliminary archaeological investigations is a hierarchical structure. At the top is the lead archaeologist or coordinator, who leads, directs, makes decisions (including technical decisions) and ensures that the work proceeds according to the standards of the archaeological profession within the envisaged frameworks. Then come the archaeological technicians, who are responsible for individual segments of the work, such as the collection of data using a total station, taking photographs and processing data. At the bottom of the period are the student workers who do the work that has been delegated to them.⁴

3 Even in the 19th century teams of between 5 and 15 members would take part in excavations (Dular 2003: 86).

4 To delegate means to transfer the authority and responsibility for performing a clearly defined and agreed task under your supervision to another person, where the responsibility for its successful performance remains yours.



Fig. 2: Organigram of an archaeological investigation team

The leader and the so-called management or expert team (archaeologists and technicians) will be successful if they are able to earn the recognition and respect of the other participants – something they can do through example, professionalism and humanity. The personality of the leader – reflected in qualities such as intelligence, friendliness, the ability to self-criticise and criticise others, self-confidence, decisiveness, empathy, good observation skills, ethicality, neutrality, etc. – has a major influence on the work of the group. The characteristics listed are part of emotional intelligence, which studies have shown to be twice as important as the work experience and intelligence of the leader.

Leadership is a process in which an individual influences a group to achieve a common goal (Northouse, 2007: (2–3)). Leadership is not a one-off action but the alternation of a large number of events that relate to directing and accepting (Možina et al., 1994: 525). A successful leader cooperates with the members of the group to create a favourable atmosphere that contributes to the achievement of the goals of the organisation. Successful leaders are highly gifted people, they are good organisers, strategists, communicators, negotiators, motivators, listeners, supervisors and more besides (Mayer, 1994: 126). The leader is a consultant and a teacher, allows autonomy, is a good listener, is informal but remains a model of integrity (Mosley, et al. 2001: 241). Many theorists do not think about leadership as a process of deciding what needs to be done and why, but instead focus on the question of how to induce people to follow (Adizes et al., 1996: 18). The idea that leadership ability essentially derives from the individual is a belief that was probably shared by Sun Tzu and Confucius. Good leadership skills, on the other hand, are something that we can learn and improve. These skills or characteristics are (Mayer, 2003: (369–371)):

- informing colleagues adequately and in good time about the goals and methods of the work⁵,

- developing people’s capabilities,
- deploying people effectively in order to achieve goals,
- solving problems and resolving conflicts in a suitable manner.

Gomišček and Marolt (2005: 97– 99) include the following among basic leadership skills:

- motivation,
- communication,
- improvement and introduction of changes.

Student workers perform work on the basis of a student work referral with a predetermined hourly rate and a specified duration of work. This means that coming to work each day and striving to do as good a job as possible is merely their moral obligation and desire for earnings, which however can rapidly be extinguished by leadership from a position of power. Leading a necessarily diverse group that has been assembled in this way is a challenge, since those leading it have neither the levers of power nor the possibility of stimulation.

Participants must be **trained** for the work, so before beginning investigations and excavations, the leaders should explain clearly what archaeology is, what kind of work is required, what is expected of the participants and how to do the work with the minimum physical exertion. For the sake of better understanding of the work process, they should also describe the type or characteristics of the site that is to be investigated. The duties and responsibilities of individuals need to be explained. An introductory talk will release the tension in communication and reduce the sense of unease caused by fear of the unknown. To begin with a certain amount of fear will be present, because of the unfamiliarity of the work, and this leads to cautiousness. In this phase, then, supervision, encouragement and ongoing clarifications and explanations are necessary. Everything that is discovered is new and increases the participants’ enthusiasm for work. As the excavation goes on and becomes monotonous, this enthusiasm falls steadily. Attentiveness and the readiness to follow instructions also decrease, and unwanted comments and rumours begin to circulate, which can greatly hinder the team’s ability to communicate. It is the leaders’ job to extract the best from all participants, which means that they need to stimulate the team’s enthusiasm for the work at the beginning of the job and continue to motivate them as the work progresses.

A general definition of **motivation** is guiding a person’s activities towards desired goals with the help of their motives. Motives can be divided into biological motives, in other words those that enable survival, and secondary motives that create feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Theories of motivation are divided into:

- content theories, which study the causes of motivation (Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, Herzberg’s two-factor theory and the Hackman–Oldham job enrichment model),
- process theories, which recommend how to motivate behaviour and which include equity theory (Tosi et al., 1994 in Treven 1998).

Theories based on rewards or a carrot-and-stick relation-

demonstrating methods of work. The method of work includes physical excavation and documentation procedures.

⁵ In the case of archaeological investigations, this means explaining and

ship are excluded because of the factors mentioned above.⁶ Below we shall present some motivational theories that are useful for archaeological investigations and excavations and are based both on biological needs and on human needs for personal growth and social acceptance, in other words on interpersonal relations.

Hierarchy of needs

The oldest and most widespread theory of motivation, developed by Maslow, is based on a hierarchy of basic needs (Maslow, 1943: 370–396). The theory applies both to individuals and to groups. Once we have satisfied our basic, physiological needs, it is our need for security, our social needs, our need for respect/prestige and our need for self-realisation that come to the fore. Maslow argues that a need that is satisfied no longer motivates. The need for security is provided or satisfied by rules that individuals can rely on and trust, since only in this way will they be able to plan work successfully and achieve the set goals. It is not only the existence of clear rules that is important for basic security. Supervision of their implementation is also necessary. The need for security is followed by the need for acceptance. A group must allow its members to be themselves and to express feelings and sensations that are connected to work and could therefore represent a threat to successful cooperation. Good acceptance facilitates a good atmosphere and a high degree of collegiality, and with it the possibility of dealing with conflicts as they arise. Approval or praise is a major motivational factor. Satisfying this need encourages feelings of self-confidence, capability, usefulness, importance and being needed. If all the needs in a group are satisfied, this is reflected in good acceptance of innovations, in general support and in the search for new solutions (Bečaj, 2001: (14–17). Cooperation on archaeological investigations ends before the satisfaction of basic needs grows into a desire to satisfy needs that are higher up the scale, i.e. the need for respect⁷, prestige and self-affirmation.⁸ More suitable theories in the case in question are Herzberg's two-factor theory, also known as the motivation-hygiene theory, the Hackman-Oldham model of job enrichment and the theory of equity.

Two-factor theory

Herzberg divided motivational factors into those that generate satisfaction, or “motivators”, and those that generate dissatisfaction, or “hygiene factors”. Motivators include the job itself, praise, recognition, the responsibility that the employee must demonstrate on the job, growth and advancement;

6 Economic motivation theory, incentive theory and expectancy theory (Likert 1998: 164–170 and Treven 1998: 112–124).

7 Respect here is meant in the sense of professional recognition and affirmation, rather than respect in the sense of interpersonal relations.

8 This includes all participants, not only the professional team, who see an opportunity for collaboration in the future or the possibility of career development.

hygiene factors include management policy, supervision, interpersonal relations, working conditions, pay, status and security (Herzberg, 1968: 57). Motivators have a direct impact on productivity, while hygiene factors prevent loss of morale and thus indirectly influence performance (Daft et al., 2001: 415).

Job enrichment theory

Hackman and Oldham proposed the theory that people work well if a specific job satisfies them. In order to have a high level of internal motivation, they must know the results of their work (feedback), they must believe that they are personally responsible for the results of their work, and they must also feel that their work is important (in: Možina, 2000: 169). People who have a sense of importance give their all, because they are internally motivated (Mesiti, 2003: 20). Sometimes it is difficult to convince participants in archaeological investigations of the importance and sense of their work – because of their ignorance of archaeology and its contribution to culture, something that derives from the negative public view of archaeology; this is also confirmed by quantitative research on the subject of problems of communication between archaeologists and the public (Plestenjak, 2007: (204–205).

Equity theory

According to the equity theory, workers compare their own inputs into the work process with the inputs and outcomes of others. Every individual is aware of the ratio of their inputs in the work process to the outcomes they receive for the work done (Treven, 1998: 124–125). When communicating and allocating tasks, and during investigations, we must be careful to treat all participants equally and fairly.

As well as motivational theories, there are also motivational models, consisting of various elements. Significant elements include expectancy, equality and equity, and we could also add respect. These elements are held to trigger the behaviour and reactions we desire in order to achieve an objective (Lipičnik, 1998: (171–174). The biggest influence a leader can have on workers is through their own example. If the leader does their own work enthusiastically, the majority will imitate them. The leader should aim to help all participants recognise their strengths and weaknesses and enable them to do a job in which they are able to exploit their potentials optimally. More experienced leaders will take advantage of the beginning of excavations to observe student workers. Observation allows us to identify specific abilities and establish whether the team includes people with a broad spectrum of knowledge. We always find individuals who are interested in archaeology and who quickly learn the “skilled” aspects of the work, or who study technical disciplines.⁹ The diffi-

9 Knowledge of both manual technical drawing and computer-aided technical drawing is important when it comes to collecting data with the total station. The more accurate the data collection and the better

culty lies in the uneven growth of the work: at the start of an excavation more physical work is required, but this reduces as the area opens up, while the amount of technical work (documentation) increases. It often happens that a shortage of technicians is mitigated by student workers, which also has the effect of breaking the monotony of the work for the workers.

Maintaining motivation is the thing that requires the greatest effort. Providing initial motivation is easier, and stifling motivation is easiest of all. Mihalič (2010: 48) lists all the different factors that stifle motivation. We shall only list those that are relevant to the method of work in question:

- creation of unfair distinctions between workers,
- double standards,
- undemocratic and hierarchical communication,
- protectionism,
- unprofessionalism,
- low ethical standards,
- a very high degree of control (in the pejorative sense, as in “I can do it all myself”, “I know best”, etc.).

Lack of motivation and dissatisfaction lead to irregular attendance, lateness, delay, argumentativeness, reduced effort and the starting and spreading of rumours.

Likert (in: Možina, 2000: 166) found that the productivity of a group is dependent on the style of leadership and the positions of the members and leaders of the group, and highlighted **communication style**. Communication includes the manner in which information is provided, delegating, individual and group decision-making, and also whether goals are individual or collective. Communication represents a big percentage of leadership. During excavations, decision-making is for the most part individual, given the different levels of experience of the participants, but the goals must be internalised at least by the professional team, so that it strives to fulfil them.¹⁰

Polak states that communication is the basis of all social interactions – something that is generally accepted. In his view, it includes the giving and receiving of information or instructions, asking others for additional information, accepting and giving feedback in connection with an individual's work and the work of colleagues, encouragement, expressing and receiving praise for good work in a group, etc. (Polak, 2007: 51). The essence of communication is providing comprehensible and clear information, since information must above all be understood or accepted, and not merely given. As well as being professional, the style of communication must be that of foreground communication, particularly in archaeological fieldwork of short duration. Communication noise most often occurs in archaeological investigations as a result of an incorrectly understood hierarchy and, consequently, because

the understanding of how the information would be represented manually, the fewer the errors in the subsequent processing of the data (distribution of photo sketches and drawing of archaeological remains).

10 It makes no difference to student workers how long an excavation lasts. The longer it goes on, the more they earn. Neither are they particularly concerned with the quality of the work, since their job ends as soon as the fieldwork is over.

of vagueness, an incorrect division of responsibilities and a lack of clarity surrounding roles. We should be aware that student workers closely observe the leader and the professional part of the team in the first few days. They are quick to spot where frictions will first appear and between which members, and how they can turn this to their advantage. It is important to ensure that communication takes place without conflicts, that differences are resolved as they arise and not in front of observers. If we fail to notice or identify problems of communication, they can intensify to a startling extent, leading to evasion and the shifting of responsibilities to other members of the team¹¹, which in turn affects atmosphere and motivation and, consequently, the quality of the work.

Establishing unwritten rules or norms of behaviour from the outset contributes to good communication, provided all members stick to them. It is the leader's responsibility to set a good example here. At the start of an excavation it is necessary to determine responsibilities and duties regarding both the work and the equipment used. The most important thing is to clarify the role of the individual in the group. It should constantly be emphasised that all the members of the group are endeavouring to complete the excavation in the time allotted for this, with as few mistakes as possible and with the best atmosphere possible, so there is no distinguishing between more important than less important work. Good-quality work can only be done if every member of the group does his or her job responsibly. This means that there needs to be a certain degree of trust between the leader and the professional team, and that there is no need for total control (in the negative sense of the word). Documentation should be inspected on a daily basis and the progress of works monitored unobtrusively (Table I).

When it comes to satisfying all the above needs of the members of the group, the most important roles are played by the leader and his or her **leadership style**. Good observation of communication at the start of the work and the consequent deployment of the members of the team that takes into account personality compatibility, combined with praise for work well done, act as a substitute for motivation, which in the case in question cannot be contingent on financial reward, and enable a high degree of reciprocal cooperation.

Theories of leadership have been developing since the end of the nineteenth century – a period that happens to coincide with the first instructions on archaeological excavation. The first embryonic instructions for excavations were laid down by Eduard von Sacken in 1870, when he equated the importance of finds and the contexts in which they were found (Sacken, 1871: 38).

The oldest theory of leadership is the classic theory of an organisation with autocratic leadership, oriented exclusively towards increasing productivity, where subordinates were merely required to follow instructions. The mid-1920s saw the first development of the theory of interpersonal rela-

11 The archaeologist is responsible and it's his job to warn me if I forget to do something; he works less than I do and not as well, I've been on several digs and I know more about it, even though I haven't got a degree, etc.

ACTIVITY	RESPONSIBILITY		
	ARCHAEOLOGIST leader	TECHNICIAN	WORKER
LOGISTICS	R		
FINANCE	R		
site log, excavation log	R		
COORDINATION (coordination with the timetable and deployment of machinery)	R	C	C
timetable	R	C	C
SAFETY at WORK	R	R	R
SUPERVISION	R	C/R	
EXCAVATION	R	C/R	C/R
correct "SCRAPING"	R	C/R	C/R
DESCRIPTIONS of stratigraphic units	R	C/R	
Taking samples for analysis	R	C/R	C
PHOTOGRAPHY	R	C/R	
DRAWING	R	C/R	
SURVEYING	R	C/R	
PACKING FINDS	R	R	C/R
REPORT WRITING	R	C	
INTERPRETATION	R	C	
DELIVERY OF EXCAVATION ARCHIVE	R		
POST-EXCAVATION PHASE	R	C/R	
PUBLICATION	R		

Key: **R** – responsible, **C** – collaborates, **C/R** – collaborates and is responsible for the quality of own work

Table I. Responsibilities in the performance of work (source: own data)

tions, which caused a shift in the theoretical approach. A form of democratic leadership with the participation of employees now established itself. Another change occurred in the 1960s, when situational theories of leadership involving a combination of the autocratic and democratic styles began to develop. The choice of the former or the latter was adapted to the situation. The 1980s were marked by a growth in the study of emotional and symbolic influences on leadership. The conclusions of these studies formed the basis for the development of so-called neo-charismatic leadership, consisting of charismatic leadership, i.e. leadership with vision, and transactional/transformational leadership.

A leader with the qualities of professionalism, self-confidence and decisiveness will accept the risk associated with decision-making to the extent that the fear of making mistakes will never be so great as to threaten the successful performance of the work. Such a leader will not hesitate when it comes to uncovering and documenting upper or mixed strata, but will document and excavate them. Self-confident

decision-making allows the excavation to proceed at an even pace, without hurry and without an intensification of pressure when the number of available working days begins to run short. The characteristics of archaeological investigations described above make leadership more difficult and a considerable amount of inventiveness is required in order to motivate and direct the team – in other words qualities that are elements of transformational leadership. The latter is characterised by the articulation of a vision to employees, a high level of self-confidence, the ability to empathise, the power to delegate¹², and a focus on relationships. Because of its focus on looking for the internal motivation of the individual, this leadership style includes inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised attention. It is based on motivating and creating enthusiasm for teamwork. Through communication, it builds participants' confidence in their own abilities to perform tasks successfully and achieve com-

¹² Delegation means the ability to trust employees.

mon goals. Leaders of this kind demonstrate a high degree of optimism and enthusiasm. Intellectual stimulation oriented towards risk-taking, innovation and creativity finds expression within a narrow specialised team. In the case of archaeological investigations, we would orient it more towards assuming responsibility for the performance of work (Table I). The choice of leadership style and its successful application are also affected by how leaders see their subordinates and by their attitude towards them. This idea is reflected in Theory X and Theory Y, developed by the US psychologist Douglas McGregor, who believed that there were two types of people. It is supposed of the first group of people (Theory X) that they do not like working, that they try to avoid work as far as possible, that they need instructions in order to work, and that they need to be directed and compelled towards goals and work. The opposite of this theory is Theory Y, which assumes that people enjoy working, that they are willing to work hard, that they identify with the goals of the organisation and focus on them themselves, and that they enjoy taking responsibility for their own work (McGregor, 1992: 368–369, 375). Leaders whose manner of thinking is similar to Theory X will choose a leadership style that is less suitable for archaeological investigations. They will opt for autocratic or transactional leadership. Leaders with a positive view of their co-workers will act according to the principles of either the democratic or the transformational leadership style, which in the long term has proved itself to be the more successful variant, both in investigations and in organisations. Whatever version of leadership we choose, any leadership is better than none – or than so-called laissez-faire leadership. This is the most inactive and ineffective leadership style and represents the lowest degree of performance and satisfaction. Laissez-faire leaders try to avoid confrontation and therefore bury themselves in paperwork and tend to let things drift, since their main aim is to be on good terms with everyone (Covey, 2007: 6). Some researchers identify, along with all the other theories and styles, a specifically female or male leadership style. Men see the leadership function is something formal and incline towards a directive, autocratic style of leadership. Women, on the other hand, see it as a form of support for the other members of the group and are more likely to choose a democratic or participative style of leadership. Studies have shown that a consistent and decisive leader is more successful and more respected by subordinates than a leader who tries to be popular.

Let us conclude our consideration of archaeological investigations from the point of view of the quality of interpersonal relations by mentioning the findings of the proponents of total quality management (Deming, Drucker, Ishikawa, Crosby). They believe that the main objectives in quality management are based on genuine consideration and deep respect for the individual – whether colleague or customer. Being aware of a person's limitations and weaknesses but nevertheless betting on their abilities (Jocou, 1995: 122).

Summary

We put the following question to an 11-member team involved in an archaeological excavation: What factors affect the quality of an archaeological excavation, or, what bothers you most during an archaeological excavation? We analysed their answers using non-statistical qualitative methods. The common denominators of archaeological investigations are the limited amount of time available and the composition and form of employment of the team. On the basis of analysis, supported by various theories of motivation (Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of needs, Herzberg's two-factor theory, the Hackman-Oldham job enrichment model, Equity theory) and management (autocratic, democratic, transformational), we found that the best form of motivation consists of praise, an encouraging and friendly word, unobtrusive control, a good introductory explanation and a fair and respectful attitude towards participants. Leadership should only be autocratic from the professional point of view, but here too there should be at least the appearance of a democratic approach and, above all, guidance in professional decision-making and support for the assumption of responsibility, which is particularly important for those members of the professional team who do not yet have much experience. A non-bureaucratic atmosphere, comprehensibility and clarity of tasks, spontaneous, relaxed and multi-directional communication and clear rules of behaviour are what separate effective and successful groups from ineffective ones. Owing to the time constraints, archaeological investigations never grow beyond the organisational phase of "early childhood", so leadership requires the ability to learn on the spot, provide encouragement, observe the team and adapt to situations.

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Ptujski mitreji – 100 let pozneje. Poskus kulturnozgodovinske interpretacije njihove predstavitve javnosti

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Povzetek

V prispevku je predstavljen razvoj, ki ga je konservatorska stroka v našem prostoru doživela v drugi polovici 19. stoletja, s poudarkom na obravnavi arheološke dediščine. Na takratno družbeno dogajanje sta v veliki meri vplivala naraščajoča politična moč liberalnega meščanstva in upad njegovega vpliva ob sočasnem vzponu nacionalizma proti koncu stoletja. Dinamika tega dogajanja se je odražala tudi v konservatorstvu, v katerem proti koncu stoletja prepoznamo tendence h kritiki historicistične kulture meščanstva in njegovih vrednot. Spremembe v konservatorskih poudarkih so močno vplivale tudi na dojetje arheološke dediščine, kar je ne nazadnje privedlo tudi do prve predstavitve rimskodobnih arhitekturnih ostalin v avstrijskih kronskih deželah – prezentacije leta 1899 odkritega prvega mitreja na Spodnji Hajdini pri Ptuj. Predstavitvi prvega mitreja sta sledila leta 1913 odkritje in prezentacija še enega Mitrovega svetišča – tretjega mitreja na Bregu pri Ptuj. Njuna prezentacija pomeni mejnik pri dojetju vrednosti arheoloških ostalin v konservatorstvu srednjeevropskega prostora in njihove predstavitve javnosti na mestu odkritja.

Uvod

Tako kot zgodovinopisje iz eksistenčne nujnosti ustvarja narod (Kreft, 2003: 66), tako ta narod iz nujnosti hote in nehote ustvarja svoje spomenike. Za razumevanje teh procesov jih je treba osvetliti z različnih zornih kotov sočasnega družbenega dogajanja. In kar velja za (re)konstrukcijo zgodovinskih

dogodkov, velja tudi za gradnjo arhitekturnih objektov in nič manj za njihovo konservatorsko obnovo. Vsaka gradnja objekta je namreč družbeni odraz časa, v katerem je nastal (in hkrati eden njegovih dejavnih elementov, ki ta odraz nadalje generirajo), pri tem pa njegova obnova, ki jo načrtuje konservator, ni nobena izjema (ICOMOS 2008: Preambula). Posledično je preteklo obnovo spomenika, da bi bila celovito ovrednotena, treba opazovati v kontekstu časa, v katerem je bila izvedena.

Po mnenju Aloisa Riegla (1858–1905) je konservator pri obnovi spomenika in poudarjanju njegovih posameznih vrednot vedno primoran iskati kompromise med poudarjanjem starinske vrednosti na eni strani, historične vrednosti na drugi strani in estetske vrednosti na tretji strani. Riegel starinsko vrednost (*Alterswert*) definira kot človekovo intimno občutenje starega predmeta. Dovzetnemu opazovalcu naj bi bilo namreč omogočeno, da z opazovanjem znakov staranja, ki mu je predmet podvržen in ki odraža njegovo nepopolnost, zasluži naravne procese krogotoka nastajanja in minevanja. Najbolj očitno takšno dojetje omogoča opazovanje nekonservirane in nerestavrirane ruine (Riegl, 1903: 22).

Razmerje med posameznimi poudarjenimi spomeniški vrednotami je v veliki meri odvisno od funkcije, ki se v objektu z obnovo načrtuje, in od konteksta njegove obnove. Tehnica se pri tem lahko nagiba od surovega, neolepšanega, avtentičnega prikaza vseh posameznih spomeniških elementov do druge skrajnosti, popolne rekonstrukcije izbranega določenega trenutka objektovega obstoja, ob hkratni negaciji vseh ostalih trenutkov.

Čeprav na razmerje med poudarki posameznih spomeniških vrednot pogosto vpliva več objektivnih dejavnikov, ki izha-

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jajo predvsem iz funkcije in konteksta spomeniške obnove, na konservatorja močno vplivajo vsakokratni sodobni konservatorski pristopi. Ti namreč določajo način konservatorjevega dela in s tem generirajo podobo spomenika. Lep primer konflikta med različnimi konservatorskimi pristopi je zaznan v polemiki o restavratorsko-konservatorskih posegih v gotski cerkvi v kartuziji Pleterje, katere osnova so bila nesoglasja med restavratorjem (slikarjem) in konservatorjem (znanstvenikom) glede izvedbe posegov (Škodlar, 1977).

Varstvo arheološke dediščine v 19. stoletju

Ob koncu 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja sta bila na Ptujju izvršena dva konservatorska posega, ki predstavljata mejnik varovanja arheološke dediščine v avstrijskih deželah: prezentacija prvega mitreja na Spodnji Hajdini in tretjega mitreja na Bregu pri Ptujju. Preden podrobneje pojasnimo njuno prezentacijo, naj za lažje razumevanje pomena teh posegov na kratko osvetlimo razvoj konservatorske dejavnosti v avstrijskem cesarstvu v 19. stoletju, s poudarkom na arheološki dediščini. Deželni muzej za Štajersko, Joanneum v Gradcu, je leta 1817 sprejel načrte za pričetek sistematičnih arheoloških raziskav ostankov rimskega mesta na prostoru današnjega Ptujja in okolice, ki je v pisnih virih izpričano kot Colonia Ulpia Traiana Poetovio. Le nekaj let pred tem ustanovljeni deželni muzej se je trudil za svoje nove zbirke pridobiti odmevne in reprezentativne arheološke eksponate iz celotne Štajerske. Glede tega je muzej svoj pogled usmeril tudi na prostor Petovione, ki nedvomno predstavlja eno najpomembnejših rimskodobnih mestnih naselbin na območju celotne Štajerske (Horvat idr., 2003). Kljub takšnim načrtom pa se Joanneum sam ni lotil arheoloških raziskav na Ptujju še več nadaljnjih desetletij. Z arheološkimi eksponati, prvenstveno rimskimi novci in epigrafskimi napisi v kamnu, so ga v zadovoljivi meri zalagali slučajni najditelji in lokalni kopači, od katerih je predmete odkupil. Tako je najstarejša pošiljka rimskodobnih artefaktov s Ptujja v Gradec prispela že leta 1817, poslal pa jo je cesarsko-kraljevi lekarnar Benedict Hauschka starejši (Vomer-Gojkovič in Kolar, 1993: 24).

Glavni motiv pošiljatelj arheoloških ostalin v muzej je bil prav gotovo finančne narave, saj so muzeji najdbe odkupovali. Vendar pa so k polnjenju muzejskih zbirk prispevali tudi uradni cesarski dekreti. Dvorna pisarna na Dunaju je leta 1812 izdala dekret, s katerim je naročila deželnim oblastem, naj zaradi prvenstvenega odkupa pošiljajo najdene arheološke predmete dvornemu kabinetu novcev in starin na Dunaju. Do takrat je bil v veljavi dekret iz leta 1782, ki se je pri tej zahtevi omejeval zgolj na najdene novce (Baš, 1953–1954: 14). Šele če dvorni kabinet na Dunaju za artefakte ni pokazal zanimanja, so ti našli pot v muzeje.

Omenjeni cesarski dekreti so prvi uradni dokumenti na prostoru monarhije, ki zahtevajo ohranjanje arheoloških ostalin in izvajanje lastninske pravice države nad njimi. Takšno dožemanje, ki velja še danes, izvira iz prepričanja, da kulturna dediščina (med katero uvrščamo tudi arheološke ostaline)

zadeva vse člane skupnosti. Zato od države pooblaščen konservatorska stroka iz tega terjaja pravico, da »skupno« odtegne posamezniku, interesni skupini in celo državi (kot individuumu) ter ga kot takega prenese na državo kot vsoto vseh posameznikov (Bacher, 1995: 10).

Pojem arheološke ostaline pred sredino 19. stoletja vsebinsko ni imel enakega pomena, kot ga ima danes. Po definiciji iz aktualnega Zakona o varstvu kulturne dediščine (Uradni list RS, št. 16/08, 3. člen (1) 3.) so arheološke ostaline med drugim pomembne za »odkrivanje zgodovinskega razvoja človeštva in njegove povezanosti z naravnim okoljem«. Za opazovanje povezanosti človeka z naravnim okoljem je v skladu z današnjimi nazori nujno dožemanje arheoloških ostalin na originalnem mestu njihovega deponiranja, na arheološkem najdišču. Arheološko najdišče ni zgolj vir za pridobivanje golih znanstvenih podatkov in muzejskega gradiva. Z degradacijo arheološke ostaline na artefakt so namreč prezrte druge temeljne vrednote arheološkega najdišča. Vse prvine arheološkega najdišča je treba jemati kot smiselno celoto in njegovo identiteto. Iz tega izhaja pojmovanje arheološkega najdišča kot kompleksne spomeniške vrednote, kot vsebinsko popolne in v svoji izpovednosti temeljne prvine časa in prostora, v katerem je nastal in iz katerega izhaja (Slabe, 1986: 122).

Takšno pojmovanje arheološkega najdišča je danes za raziskovalca arheološke preteklosti skoraj samoumevno, vendar je tovrstno dožemanje arheoloških ostalin plod postopnega razvoja spomeniških vrednot. Arheološke ostaline so bile po kategorizaciji, ki jo je vzpostavila Centralna komisija za preučevanje in ohranjanje stavbnih spomenikov, pojmovane kot premični spomeniki, ki se lahko brez škode za njihovo kulturno vrednost premestijo v ustrezne zbirke. V nasprotju s tem so stavbno dediščino (nepremične spomenike) raziskovali in ohranjali predvsem na kraju samem. Na podlagi te definicije sta bili znotraj Centralne komisije vzpostavljeni ločena konservatorska in muzejska dejavnost. Ob odkritju arheoloških ostalin je bila naloga konservatorja Centralne komisije predvsem skrb, da se najdbe ne uničijo in raznesejo ter da antičnemu kabinetu omogoči nakup vrednejših predmetov. Poročilo o okoliščinah najdbe, ki je spremljalo ponujene predmete, je bilo pogosto edina dokumentacija o izkopu. Če se antični kabinet zanje ni zanimal, je bila konservatorjeva naloga, da pozove deželne muzeje k nakupu najdb (Baš, 1953–1954: 16).

Iz navedenega lahko razberemo, da je bilo arheološko najdišče na začetku organizirane spomeniškovarstvene dejavnosti tako na našem prostoru kot tudi drugod po Evropi (Bahn, 1996: 53) pojmovano kot nahajališče artefaktov, ki jih je treba izkopati in razstaviti v muzeju. Znanstvena vrednost arheoloških ostalin, iztrganih iz najdiščnega konteksta, je bila omejena na željo po vzpostavitvi čim natančnejšega tipološko-kronološkega sistema, na podlagi katerega so bile konstruirane t. i. arheološke kulture.

Za razliko od navodil, ki jih je Centralna komisija izdajala konservatorjem v zadevi varovanja nepremičnih stavbnih spomenikov, navodila v zvezi z arheološkimi odkritji v ničemer niso presegla organizacije dobaviteljskega servisa, ki je muzeje oskrboval z arheološkimi eksponati. Čeprav je iz virov znano, da se je prvi konservator Centralne komisije za

Štajersko, J. Scheiger, poštni direktor v Gradcu, zelo zanimal za arheološke najdbe na Ptujju in v Celju, njegovo zanimanje dejansko ni preseglo antikvarskega značaja ukvarjanja z arheološko preteklostjo. Vendar takšnega dojemanja arheološke dediščine ne gre pripisovati njegovemu pomanjkanju čuta za spomeniškovarstvene vrednote, ampak splošnim razmeram, ki so v tem času oblikovale odnos do arheoloških ostalin (Baš, 1953–1954: 20).

Razvoj arheologije kot znanstvene discipline je bil na Slovenskem pospešen z ustanovitvijo oddelkov za arheologijo na Univerzi na Dunaju (1868) in v Gradcu (1868/69) (Novaković, 2004: 15). Na razvoj štajerske arheologije je najbolj vplivalo imenovanje Wilhelma Gurlitta za izrednega profesorja na stolici za klasično arheologijo na Univerzi v Gradcu leta 1877 (Österreichisches biografisches Lexicon: Wilhelm Gurlitt).

Gurlitt, ki je bil ob tem, da je bil profesor za klasično arheologijo in filologijo, tudi konservator Centralne komisije za umetnostne in zgodovinske spomenike za Štajersko (tako imenovane od leta 1873) (Kolar, 2001: 383, op. 1), je v letih od 1891 do 1895 s pomočjo strokovnih sodelavcev A. Premersteina in O. Fischbacha vodil prve znanstvene arheološke raziskave rimske Petovione. Zelo verjetno je, da je Gurlitt seznanil s ptujskimi arheološkimi ostalinami Franc Ferk, prvi izkopavalec Petovione in strasten raziskovalec antične kulture na Štajerskem, ki je v letih Gurlittovega delovanja na graški stolici za klasično arheologijo in filologijo poučeval na II. državni gimnaziji v Gradcu in postal tudi častni član historičnega društva v Gradcu (Godina – Golja, 2006: 208).

Gurlitt se je pri svojih raziskavah osredotočil zlasti na grobišče ob glavni itinerarski cesti na Zgornji Hajdini. To obsežno grobišče, ki je v poznejši literaturi dobilo ime zahodna petovionska nekropola, je izsledil Ferk, ki je v letih od 1889 do 1891 tam samostojno kopal, najdbe pa prodajal deželnemu muzeju (Lamut, 1993: 11).

Okoliščine odkritja petih mitrejev na Ptujju

V nadaljevanju arheološke raziskave se raziskovalci niso omejili zgolj na raziskovanje grobišča, ampak so se lotili tudi raziskave rimskodobnih stavbnih kompleksov, na katere so naleteli ob rimski cesti. Leta 1893/94 je na Zgornjem Bregu na svoje stroške raziskoval konservator Centralne komisije Samuel Jenny. Odkril je obsežno stanovanjsko četrt z bogatimi inventarji, med katerimi zlasti izstopajo talni mozaiki s figuralnimi in rastlinskimi motivi; te zdaj hrani graški Joanneum (Vomer–Gojkovič in Kolar, 1993: 27).

Gurlitt sam se je sprva še vedno osredotočal na raziskovanje hajdinskega grobišča, kjer je izkopal nad 2000 grobov, njihove inventarje pa predal pristojnemu deželnemu muzeju Joanneum v Gradcu. Leta 1895 je v bližini grobišča, na robu dravske terase na Spodnji Hajdini, odkril in raziskal svetišče dojnic – Nutrices Avgustae (Lamut, 1993: 11), na podlagi česar mu je Ministrstvo za kulturo in uk odobrilo državno podporo za raziskovanje na tem prostoru. Težava je nastala zaradi izključne pravice do izvajanja arheoloških raziskav na Spodnji

in Zgornji Hajdini, ki jo je pridobilo leta 1893 ustanovljeno Muzejsko društvo na Ptujju. To je Gurlittu ponudilo vodenje izkopavanj pod pogojem, da vse najdbe ostanejo Muzejskemu društvu in ne gredo v deželni muzej Joanneum (Kolar, 2001: 383, op. 1), na kar je Gurlitt tudi pristal. Med letoma 1898 in 1901 je v bližini svetišča dojnic odkril in raziskal svetiščni kompleks, katerega del sta tudi dve Mitrovi svetišči, t. i. prvi in drugi mitrej (Vomer–Gojkovič in Kolar, 1993:13, 32).

Dobro desetletje zatem, leta 1913, sta Viktor Skrabar, takrat krajevni konservator za Ptuj (Baš, 1953–1954: 24), in dr. Mihovil Abramič na Bregu pri Ptujju, v četrti rimskih vil, ki jo je raziskoval že Jenny, za Muzejsko društvo na Ptujju in ob finančni podpori takratnega Ministrstva za kulturo in uk (SI_ZAP6, št. dokumenta 1212) odkrila in raziskala še eno Mitrovo svetišče, t. i. tretji mitrej (Vomer–Gojkovič, M., 2001, str. 107). Čeprav trije zgoraj navedeni mitreji predstavljajo najpomembnejša odkritja, povezana z mitraizmom na Ptujju, pa niso edini dokazi za izvajanje tega kulta v Petovionii. Obstoj še enega Mitrovega svetišča, četrtega po vrsti, se domneva ob vznožju grajskega griča na Ptujju, ob Muzejskem trgu. Na tem mestu (ob dominikanskem samostanu) že Abramič omenja najdbo napisov, ki jih lahko povežemo z Mitrovim kultom (Abramič, 1925: 39). To domnevo potrjuje tudi odkritje dr. Ive Mikl Curk, takrat kustodinje Pokrajinskega muzeja Ptuj, ki je na tem mestu leta 1957 odkrila, sicer v sekundarni legi, marmorni blok z upodobitvijo Sola (Mikl, 1960/1961: 165–167). V strokovni literaturi je domnevni mitrej, katerega gradbene ostaline *in situ* sicer še niso bile odkrite, dobil ime četrti ptujski mitrej.

Peti in do tega trenutka zadnji mitrej sta leta 1987 ob gradbenih delih v bližini dijaškega doma na Ptujju, v obrtniški četrti na vzhodu Petovione, odkrila restavrador in konservator Zavoda za varstvo naravne in kulturne dediščine Maribor, Stan-ko Gojkovič in Ivan Tušek (Tušek, 1990).

Prvi trije odkriti mitreji so bili zaradi dobre ohranjenosti stavbnih ostalin in njihovega inventarja predstavljeni javnosti. Načini izvedbe posamezne predstavitve se med seboj razlikujejo, tako po kraju prezentacije in lokaciji odkritja kot tudi po različnem odnosu do avtentičnosti spomeniških elementov, vtakanih v prezentacijo. Razlike med prezentacijami bomo osvetlili v posebnem poglavju.

Poleg petih ptujskih mitrejev so bili na slovenskem ozemlju odkriti še drugi. V poročilih arheoloških raziskovalcev se že od 30. let 19. stoletja omenjajo odkritja Mitrovih svetišč s posvetilnimi napisi in plastikami ter podatki o arhitekturi svetišč. Zgodnja odkritja mitrejev niso doživela predstavitve javnosti na mestu najdbe (mitreji v Rušah, Modriču na Pohorju in Zlodjevem grabnu pri Veliki Pohanci), deli njihove notranje opreme pa so bili preneseni v lapidarija ptujskega in graškega muzeja (Korošec, 2001: 371). Posebna zanimivost je najdba v živo skalo vklesanega motiva Mitrove daritve v Rožancu v bližini Črnomlja. V bližini reliefa ni bilo odkritih nobenih sledov stavbe mitreja, zato je verjetna teza, da ne gre za mitrej v klasičnem smislu, ampak da imamo v Rožancu opravka z antičnim kamnolomom apnenca, v katerega steno je bil med njegovo uporabo ali po tem, ko so ga opustili, vklesan motiv Mitrove daritve (isti: 373).

Spremembe dojemanja spomeniških vrednot v teku 19. stoletja

Skozi celotno drugo polovico 19. stoletja se je v avstrijskem konservatorstvu krepil pomen ohranjanja objektov iz preteklih obdobij zaradi njihove zgodovinske vrednosti kot individualnih stopenj razvoja nekega področja človekovega ustvarjanja, ne glede na njihov etnični izvor (Riegl, 1903: 29). Ta doktrina, ki jo je udejanjala Centralna komisija, je bila gotovo utemeljena v humanistično-razsvetljenski-liberalni tradiciji, imela pa je tudi politične motive. Poleg humanističnega poslanstva naj bi spodbujala krepitev Avstrijskega cesarstva (med letoma 1804 in 1867, med letoma 1867 in 1918 avstro-ogrska monarhija) kot pravične domovine vseh narodov, združenih pod habsburško krono. Zato je poudarjala nacionalne, skupne vrednote, ki so bile lastne tako neabsolutistični ureditvi, ki je bila vzpostavljena po revoluciji leta 1848, kot tudi liberalnemu meščanstvu, ki je prišlo na oblast v 60. letih 19. stoletja. V tej vlogi se je torej znašlo avstrijsko spomeniško varstvo, ki ga je vodilo Ministrstvo za kulturo in uk in ki je bilo usmerjeno na povečevanje cesarjeve osebnosti in vladarske hiše, pri drugih narodih pa na ustvarjanje nacionalne zavesti ter ljubezni do domovine (Pirkovič, 1993: 19). S tem namenom se je poslanstvo Centralne komisije preko instituta lokalnih konservatorjev udejanjalo po celotni monarhiji.

Proti koncu 19. stoletja se je postopoma začela razvijati nova spomeniška vrednota (Alois Riegl jo je kot »*Alterswert*« teoretično utemeljil v razpravi iz leta 1903), ki za razliko od zgodovinske vrednosti spomenika (ki se nanaša na posamezni dogodek ali dejanje, ki se ga da objektivno dojeti) predpostavlja popolnoma subjektivno čustveno doživetje spomenika. Po Rieglvih besedah se ta vrednota razvije vzporedno s sodajšnja emancipacija individuuma v filozofiji. Starinska vrednota (*Alterswert*) za razliko od racionalno dojetega posameznega dogodka, ki tvori zgodovinsko vrednost, ceni v spomeniku zgolj subjektivno doživetje vzdušja (Riegl, 1903: 17). Kaže se predvsem v nepopolnosti spomenika, v njegovem razkrajanju oblike in barve, ki je posledica razgrajevalnih moči narave (isti: 22). Po Rieglu je doživetje tega naravnega krogotoka nastajanja in propadanja tisto, kar človeka razveseljuje in hkrati pomirja. (isti: 24). V skladu s tem prepričanjem imata varstvo narave in spomeniško varstvo iste korenine v intimnem vzdušju, ki izvira iz človekove duše, in to občutje presega pojem nacionalnega, estetskega in zgodovinskega (Pirkovič, 1993: 15).

Rieglovo zavračanje pomena historicističnega dojemanja spomenikov lahko vzporejamo s splošnim kulturnim gibanjem tistega časa na Dunaju, ki so ga njegovi sodajšnji kritiki imenovali *Jugendstil*. Splošna značilnost tega gibanja je izražanje dvoma o političnem liberalizmu, ki ga posebejajo meščanstvo in njegove kulturne manifestacije (obširno o tej temi Schorke 1994). Riegla z njegovo kritiko historicizma v konservatorstvu in poudarjanjem potrebe po intimnem doživetju spomenika smemo vsekakor šteti za pripadnika tega gibanja fin de siecla. S svojo definicijo starinske vrednosti je vzpostavil novo dinamiko pri doživetju spomenika, ki je

povezana s procesom njegovega razkroja. Stopnja njegove ohranjenosti namreč odločilno vpliva na razmerje med zgodovinsko in starinsko vrednostjo posameznega spomenika, ki je obratno sorazmerno. Zelo dobro ohranjen spomenik premore veliko zgodovinsko izpovedno moč, ki se udejanja v prepoznavanju vzvodov in okoliščin njegovega nastanka. S procesom propadanja spomenika njegova izpovedna moč in s tem njegova zgodovinska vrednost pešata, sledovi staranja pa istočasno krepijo njegovo starinsko vrednost. Stavbne ruševine, ki so jih procesi razgradnje (bodisi naravni bodisi človeški) dobesedno zravnali z zemljo (njih sledove pa lahko odkrijemo zgolj s skrbnim arheološkim raziskovanjem pod zemeljsko ali vodno površino), imajo v primerjavi s stoječimi objekti šibkejšo zgodovinsko izpovedno vrednost. Iz tega razloga zgodnje 19. stoletje, ki se je zvečine osredotočalo na zgodovinsko vrednost spomenikov, v našem okolju ni prepoznalo arheoloških gradbenih ostalin kot kategorije, ki bi jo bilo vredno ohranjati v prostoru. Kaj takega je omogočilo šele prepoznavanje kvalitete starinske vrednosti.

Konec 19. stoletja je bil Ptuj zaznamovan s konfliktom med ekonomsko in politično prevladujočo nemško meščansko elito, ki je bila po svojih političnih načelih liberalna, v nacionalnem smislu pa je zagovarjala velikonemško idejo, ter Slovenci, ki so se združevali okrog programa Zedinjene Slovenije in so se zavzemali za poudarjanje slovenstva in uporabo slovenskega jezika v javnem življenju. Obe struji sta svoje pozicije utrjevali z ustanavljanjem društev, preko katerih sta poskušali prebivalstvo ozaveščati o svojih prepričanjih. Pri tem se zdi, da je bila na Ptuj uspešnejša nemška struja, saj je imela v svojih rokah večino vzvodov ekonomske in politične moči (obširno o tej temi Šamperl Purg, 2001).

Eden od voditeljev nemške meščanske struje na Ptuj je bil Josef Ornig, po rodu sicer Slovenec, ki se je kot župan med letoma 1894 in 1918 aktivno ukvarjal z mestno razvojno politiko in pod čigar županovanjem se je mestna podoba močno spremenila. Zaradi šibkega industrijskega potenciala, ki se je kazal predvsem v pomanjkanju železniške povezave, je Ornig prepoznal razvojni potencial mesta v turizmu, zato je aktivno sodeloval v Tujsko-prometnem in olepševalnem društvu Ptuj (ustanovljenem leta 1886). V turistično ponudbo mesta je vključil tudi zbirke v Muzejskem društvu na Ptuj (Hernja Masten, 11). Kot prvi predsednik Muzejskega društva na Ptuj je Ornig v društvu okrog sebe zbral vplivne meščane, ki so lahko društvu pomagali s svojo ekonomsko močjo na eni strani, na drugi pa so imeli možnost razporejanja občinskih sredstev, saj jih je večina delovala v mestnem svetu in kreirala občinsko politiko (ista: 15).

Ustanovitev Muzejskega društva na Ptuj lahko torej, poleg tega, da je bila politično motivirana, razumemo predvsem kot željo popestriti turistično ponudbo mesta in s tem utrditi njegovo gospodarsko osnovo. To postane toliko bolj očitno, če si podrobneje ogledamo aktivnosti okrog ustanovitve društva. Najbolj zavzeti za to idejo so bili namreč pri Tujsko-prometnem in olepševalnem društvu Ptuj. Tam so 15. maja 1893 imenovali pripravljalni odbor, ki je državno namestništvo v Gradcu s pismom obvestil o nameri ustanovitve Muzejskega društva na Ptuj in muzeja (Vomer-Gojkovič in Kolar, 1993: 10). S pomočjo občinskega sveta so bili kmalu najdeni

prostori za krajevni muzej v dvoriščni stavbi novo zgrajene nemške višje gimnazije na Prešernovi ulici (Abramič, 1925: 47, Šamperl Purg, 2001: 135).

Zajeten del zgodnje ptujske muzejske zbirke so predstavljal predmeti iz zasebne muzejske zbirke, ki jo je Ferk v svoji rodni vasi Gomilica (Gamlitz) na avstrijskem Štajerskem postavil javnosti na ogled že leta 1878. Skrbelo ga je, da bo muzej v Gomilici po njegovi smrti propadel, zato je leta 1895 svojo zbirko, skupaj s 5000 goldinarji za njeno oskrbo, podaril Muzejskemu društvu na Ptuj. Želel je aktivno sodelovati z muzejem in prevzeti njegovo vodstvo, zaradi česar je prišel v spor s predsednikom društva Ornigom. Samo ugibamo lahko, kateri so bili globlji vzroki za njun spor, gotovo pa so pri tem igrali določeno vlogo tudi njuni različni družbeni nazori (Godina – Golja, 2006: 209, 215). Ornigu kot pripadniku nemške politične stranke, ki se je zavzemala za striktno delitev nemške meščanske kulture na eni in slovenske kmečke kulture na drugi strani, Ferkovo raziskovalno delu na področju slovenskega narodopisja gotovo ni bilo pogodu (Gestrin, Melik, 1950: 121). Ob Ferkovem poskusu prevzema aktivne vloge v vodstvu društva, v katerem se je Ornig obdal izključno z vplivnimi nemškimi meščani, je prišlo med njima do spora, v katerem je bil Ferk javno pozvan, naj zapusti Ptuj in se vanj ne vrača več. Ferk je zapustil Ptuj in se tja vrnil šele po koncu prve svetovne vojne, ko je bil imenovan za častnega člana Muzejskega društva na Ptuj (isti: 209, 216).

Kmalu po ustanovitvi je Muzejsko društvo pričelo spodbujati arheološke raziskave in si pri tem zagotovilo izključno pravico nad lastništvom najdb, s katerimi je nameravalo polniti svoje muzejske zbirke. Gurlitt, profesor klasične arheologije in filologije, je ob raziskovanju prvega mitreja na robu hajdinske terase v letih 1898/99 (ki je potekalo z izkopavalčevim soglasjem, da vse najdbe ostanejo ptujskemu muzeju) spoznal, da ima njegovo odkritje izreden pomen za preučevanje in razumevanje razvoja rimske civilizacije na Štajerskem in tudi v širšem prostoru. Zaradi relativno zelo dobre ohranjenosti stavbnih ostalin mitreja (zidovi so mestoma ohranjeni do višine čez 1,2 metra, Abramič, 1925: 164) se je odločil, da odkrite kamnite oltarje in skulpture predstavi javnosti na mestu odkritja samega, v originalnem kontekstu, vključno z ohranjenimi stavbnimi ostalinami.

S to zamisljivo je Gurlitt močno posegel v dojetje vrednosti arheoloških ostalin kot kulturnega spomenika, kakršno je bilo do tistega trenutka običajno na ozemlju avstro-ogrske monarhije. Predstava prvega mitreja je bila do takrat, kot je Gurlitt navedel v pismu ministrstvu, v katerem je zaprosil za finančna sredstva za gradnjo zaščitne stavbe, edina predstava rimskodobnih arheoloških ostalin pod milim nebom v kronski deželi Štajerski (Kolar, 2001: 383, op. 1). V svojem poročilu o raziskovanju prvega mitreja v glasilu Centralne komisije pa omenja celo, da je to edina tovrstna predstava v vseh kronskih deželah (Gurlitt, 1902: 96). Interes do predstave mitrejev je izkazala tudi lokalna oblast z županom Ornigom na čelu, kar je razvidno iz dopisov, naslovljenih na vladne organe (Kolar, 2001: 383, op. 1). Tako ravnanje lahko pripišemo zgoraj navedenim interesom na področju turistične gospodarske dejavnosti mesta.

Predstave oltarjev in skulptur znotraj ostankov svetišča, v

katerem so bile ob njegovi izgradnji postavljene in nato doživljane v religioznih obredih (torej premičnih arheoloških ostalin znotraj originalnega najdiščnega konteksta), se nam pokaže kot izreden miselni preskok, ki arheološke ostaline prvič ovrednoti kot nepremično kulturno dediščino. Ni odveč, če še enkrat izpostavimo dejstvo, da je v naših deželah konservatorsko doktrino ohranjanja originalne substance spomenikov v avtentičnem prostoru do tistega trenutka izvajala predvsem umetnostnozgodovinska sekcija Centralne komisije, in to na stavbni dediščini. Komaj v tej luči osvetljeno prepoznamo veličino Gurlittovega dela, s katerim mu je uspelo pojmovanje arheoloških spomenikov izenačiti s splošnimi načeli takratne spomeniškovarstvene stroke.

Gurlitt je ocenil, kar se danes zdi samoumevno, da arheološko najdišče ni zgolj vir pridobivanja golih, nekontekstualiziranih znanstvenih podatkov in muzejskega gradiva. Del identitete arheološkega spomenika, ki se nam ponudi v obliki ruševin, sega onstran njegovega zgodovinskega pomena, in zdi se, da je Gurlitt ta pomen ob pogledu na arhitekturne ostaline mitreja imel jasno pred očmi. Konservatorska teorija na prelomu iz 19. v 20. stoletje, kot jo je definiral Alois Riegl, objektom, ki so izgubili vsakršno možnost funkcionalne uporabe (kamor lahko prištevamo tudi arheološke ostaline), namenja dostojanstven razkroj, na katerega pogled naj opazovalca navdaja z občutkom zavedanja minljivosti življenja, krogotoka nastajanja in minevanja (Riegl, 1903: 9).

Prezentacije mitrejev – koncepti in okoliščine

Prvi mitrej

Wilhelm Gurlitt kot profesor klasične arheologije, izobražen na področju arhitekture antičnih svetišč (tema, iz katere je tudi doktoriral), je poleg starinske vrednosti ruševin, kot jo je definiral Riegl ob odkritju ostalin prvega mitreja, prepoznal tudi njihovo zgodovinsko vrednost. Arhitekturne ostaline mitreja z originalnim svetiščnim inventarjem predstavljajo pravo zakladnico podatkov o samem izvajanju Mitrovega kulta, tako v prostorskem kot tudi v duhovnem kontekstu (slika 1). Notranjost mitreja je bila namreč oblikovana tako, da predstavlja alegorijo svetega kozmosa (Djurič, 2011a: 22), ki so jo s postavitvijo oltarjev, posvečenih likom v Mitrovem kultu, razporejenih v skladu z zodiakalno simboliko v točno določeni kompoziciji, ustvarili častilci Mitrovega kulta (Djurič, 2011b: 25). Avtentična predstavitev te najdiščne celote je bila, kot se je zavedal Gurlitt, mogoča samo z ohranitvijo spomenikov v njihovem originalnem ambientu, znotraj arhitekturnih ostankov svetišča.

Poleg tega iz posvetilnih napisov na oltarjih izvemo veliko o organizaciji politične in gospodarske uprave mesta in province, konkretno o uradu ilirske carine, katere uslužbenci – v glavnem sužnji – so bili darovalci oltarjev (Gurlitt, 1902: 93). Arheološke ostaline grajenih objektov, kakršne med arheološkimi raziskavami odkrijemo na prostoru Petovione, so

običajno v fazi razkroja, pri kateri od volumna objekta ne ostane veliko *in situ*. Od zidanih stavb se običajno ohranijo deli temelja, v nekaterih primerih tudi kos nadgradne stene, še redkeje z ohranjenim ometom. Apnena malta, več stoletij izpostavljena relativno konstantni vlagi in temperaturi pod zemeljsko površino, je po odstranitvi zemljenega pokrova izpostavljena atmosferskim vplivom in se začne kaj hitro drobiti. S tem vezivo med kamni izgublja trdnost in ostanki zidov začnejo kmalu razpadati. S tem dejstvom je bil ob odkritju prvega mitreja soočen tudi Gurlitt.

V želji najdiščno celoto ohraniti na mestu odkritja in jo obenem zaščititi pred propadom zaradi izpostavljenosti atmosferskim vplivom, je Gurlitt ocenil, da je svetišče treba prekriti z zaščitno stavbo (slika 2). Pri koncipiranju stavbe se je trudil ohraniti originalno substanco odkritega spomenika. S stavbo ni na noben način posegel v originalno izpovednost svetiščnih ostalin. Kot je omenil že J. Korošec (1999: 323), zaščitna stavba previdno obdaja zunanje zidove svetišča, na da bi se z njimi spajala v skupno celoto. Njene stene jasno zamejujejo prostor, vendar se ne vsiljujejo kot del svetišča, ampak zgolj kot njegov okvir (nova zaščitna stavba, ki je nadomestila prvotno in je bila zgrajena leta 1910, se pri tem drži enakih načel kot originalna). Očitna je Gurlittova namera realizirati konservatorski koncept, ki ga poznamo kot konservirati, ne restavrirati!. Ta koncept, ki zahteva avtentičnost pri obravnavi spomenikov, je bil blizu teoretikom avstrijske državne spomeniškovarstvene službe na začetku 20. stoletja (Pirkovič, 1993: 19). Vendar pa velja na tem mestu poudariti, da je Gurlitt ta koncept realiziral nekaj let pred Rieglovo objavo temeljnega teoretičnega konservatorskega dela leta 1903, katerega izhodišča so povzeli poznejši teoretiki spomeniškega varstva. Pri arheoloških raziskavah prvega mitreja so bili odkriti gradbeni elementi, ki nakazujejo možnost, da je bilo svetišče prekrito s poslikanim visečim banjastim obokom iz prepletenega šibja, zamazanega z glino (Ertel, 1999: 170). Tovrstni elementi so bili odkriti pri celi vrsti mitrejev predvsem v italiskem svetu. Obok naj bi ponazarjal votlino prvotnega mitreja v gorah Perzije, ki jo je Zaratustra oblikoval v veselje (Djurić, 2011a: 22). Odkrite so bile tudi baze lesenih stebrov, ki so notranje razčlenjevale prostor. Kljub nekaterim podatkom o videzu svetišča Gurlitt z zaščitno stavbo ni izvedel rekonstrukcije mitreja. Zaščitna stavba ne po zunanji ne po notranji podobi ne daje podobe rimskega svetišča, ampak je v celoti umaknjena v anonimno vlogo funkcionalnosti vremenske zaščite in vzpostavitve zaprtega prostora.

Velike kulturne vrednosti ohranitve svetiščnega kompleksa *in situ* pa podporniki Muzejskega društva na Ptujju v času gradnje niso nedvomno priznali. Kot že omenjeno, je Muzejsko društvo pridobilo pravice do prenosa vsakršnih arheoloških najdb na Spodnji in Zgornji Hajdini v svoje muzejske zbirke. Franc Ferk, takratni predstojnik Muzejskega društva, ni videl razloga, zakaj arheološke ostaline iz Gurlittovih izkopavanj ne bi bile predane v ptujski muzej. Svoje nestrinjanje s prezentacijo arhitekturnih ostalin *in situ* skupaj z odkritimi kamnitimi oltarji in plastikami je odločno pokazal v času gradnje zaščitne stavbe. Pri izkopavanju odkriti kamniti spomeniki so bili v tem času začasno shranjeni v prostorih muzeja. Po dokončanju zaščitne stavbe nad mitrejem se je Ferk odločil,

da kamnitih spomenikov ne vrne na mesto najdbe, ampak jih obdrži v muzeju. Posredovati je moralo celo ministrstvo, ki je zahtevalo, da se kamniti spomeniki vrnejo na mesto njihove najdbe, in tam so pod zaščitno stavbo ostali vse do danes (Vomer Gojkovič, 2011: 18).

Ob obnovi zaščitne stavbe leta 2009, ki je pri tem ohranila vse prvine Gurlittove ureditve, je Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj sarniral manjše poškodbe na prezentiranih zidovih mitreja. Ob tej priložnosti so na mestu, na katerem je bil predvidoma prvotno nameščen relief Mitre ob zakolu bika, namestili veliko risbo, ki ponazarja neohranjeni reliefni prizor. Plošča z risbo, ki je obešena na tramove strešne konstrukcije, ni posegla v originalno substanco prezentiranega spomenika, vendar s svojo podobo moteče vpliva na dojemanje originalnih prvin spomenika (glej sliko 1).

Drugi mitrej

Arhitekturne ostaline drugega mitreja, ki ga je Gurlitt odkril leta 1901 kakšnih 20 metrov južno od prvega mitreja, so bile ohranjene veliko slabše kot pri slednjem. Tloris svetišča je bil ponekod razviden le še iz linije zidov, njihova originalna masa pa ni bila več ohranjena. Zaradi tega se pri drugem mitreju ni odločil za predstavitev *in situ*. Kamniti spomeniki so bili preneseni v novo pridobljene prostore Ferkovega muzeja v stavbi gimnazije in so bili tam razstavljeni. Po Gurlittovi smrti, ko je muzej dobil nove prostore v dominikanskem samostanu na Ptujju, je bila v eni od baročnih kript v samostanski cerkvi postavljena rekonstrukcija drugega hajdinskega mitreja. Rekonstrukcija je bila izvedena na podlagi tlorisa svetišča, ki ga je Gurlitt izdelal med arheološko raziskavo, le da so bile originalne dimenzije zmanjšane, kot je to narekoval razpoložljivi prostor v kripti. Posebnost te predstavitve (kar ji dodaja kvalitativno vrednost) je bila trojna razčlenitev predstavitvenega prostora z dvignjenima stranskima podijema, kakršna je bila odkrita pri raziskavi mitreja. Poleg tega pa je bila izvedena tudi rekonstrukcija odkritega odvodnega jarka in bazena. Na ta način je bil dosežen verodostojen prikaz ambienta, v katerem so bili razstavljeni kamniti spomeniki odkriti (Abramić, 1925: 68).

Drugi hajdinski mitrej je bil na ogled javnosti v cerkveni kripti v dominikanskem samostanu vse do začetka gradbenih del leta 2011, ko je bila cerkev, ki je do takrat služila kot muzejski razstavni prostor, spremenjena v kongresno in koncertno dvorano.

Tretji mitrej

S Ferkovo upokojitvijo leta 1905 (*Slovenski biografski leksikon*: Franc Ferk) in njegovim umikom iz ptujškega Muzejskega društva se je odnos lokalnih arheologov do predstavitve prvega mitreja *in situ* izboljšal. Viktor Skrabar in dr. Mihovil Abramić sta namreč po odkritju še enega mitreja (tretjega po vrsti) na Bregu pri Ptujju tudi sama predlagala predstavitev ostalin svetišča pod zaščitno stavbo. Vendar pa sta pri tem ubrala nekoliko drugačen koncept, kot ga je zastavil Gurlitt.

Gurlitt se je, kot smo že omenili, striktno držal načela, da je pri vsakršni predstavitvi arheoloških ostalin nujno ohraniti njihovo avtentičnost, brez dodajanja elementov, pa čeprav z namenom olajšati dojemanje »izvirnega« objekta, kakršnega naj bi ustvaril njegov graditelj.

Zunanost zaščitne stavbe tretjega mitreja na Bregu nam izdaja razlike v primerjavi s stavbo prvega mitreja na Hajdini. Zaščitna stavba nad hajdinskim mitrejem navzven ne daje slutiti, kakšno kulturno bogastvo se skriva v njeni notranjosti. V ničemer ne odstopa od lokalne vaške stavbne tradicije in nima ambicije biti del svetišča, ki ga varuje.

Pogled na zaščitno stavbo nad tretjim mitrejem na Bregu pa nam razkriva, kar je ugotovil že Josip Korošec, da tako njegova zunanost kot tudi notranost ponazarjata dejansko zasnovo mitreja (Korošec, 2001: 373). Zaščitna stavba nad tretjim mitrejem je zasnovana kot del svetišča samega oz. njegova rekonstrukcija (slika 3). K temu nas usmerja cela vrsta elementov, tako na njegovi zunanosti kot tudi v notranjosti stavbe. Pogled na njeno čelno fasado s štirimi stebri in trikotnim zatrepom s posvetilnim napisom Mitri v latinščini nam izdaja intenco graditeljev, naj opazovalec stavbo dojema kot sestavni del svetišča, pravzaprav kot svetišče samo (slika 4). Tudi pogled na okna, ki so razčlenjena na značilen »rimskodobni« način, kot lesena ograja, sestavljena iz kvadratnega okvirja, v katerem se križajo pravokotne in diagonalne prečke, nam želi vsiliti predstavo, da gledamo rimskodobno stavbo.

Originalni ostanki zidov mitreja v notranjosti zaščitne stavbe so bili sicer, podobno kot pri prvem mitreju, zgolj utrjeni, zato pa je bilo poškodovano originalno opečnato tlakovanje mesta nadomeščeno z novimi opečnimi tlakovci, ki se vizualno poskušajo čim bolj približati izvirniku. S tem je neukemu opazovalcu danes oteženo razlikovanje med originalnimi tlakovci in replikami.

Razmeroma drzna zamisel oblikovanja stavbe so tudi njene bočne stene, ki delno nadaljujejo originalne zidove svetišča (Korošec, 1999: 373), v želji, da dodajo horizontalni razsežnosti ostalin mitreja še vertikalno komponento in s tem povstvarijo volumen prvotnega svetišča. S to potezo so graditelji stavbe stopili na zelo spolzko področje rekonstrukcije objekta, ki so jo nadaljevali tudi pri oblikovanju obokanega stropa stavbe. Med arheološko raziskavo so bili namreč odkriti (podobno kot pri raziskavi prvega mitreja) večji kosi poslikanega glinenega ometa z odtisi prepleta iz šibja, po mnenju raziskovalcev ostanki ukrivljenega visečega stropa. Vendar ukrivljenosti, na podlagi katere bi se dalo sklepati, da gre pri najdenih kosih glinenega ometa res za ostanke ukrivljenega visečega stropa, ni bilo opaziti. Christine Ertel (1999: 170) celo meni, da najdeni kosi glinenega ometa sploh ne pripadajo stavbi mitreja, ampak spadajo h kakšnemu lesenemu objektu v bližini. Tako ne gre izključiti možnosti, da je bil mitrej prekrit z ravnim stropom (Ertel: C. 1). V tem primeru je banjasti obok zaščitne stavbe, ki se dviga nad originalnimi ostalinami, zavajajoč in ustvarja podobo, ki sicer sovпада s posplošeno domnevo o svetišču votlini, ki pa v tem konkretnem primeru z raziskavami ni bila potrjena. Tak primer rekonstrukcije, ki je bila izpeljana na podlagi pomanjkljivih vhodnih podatkov, močno odstopa od zahtev po avtentični predstavitvi kultur-

nih spomenikov javnosti, ki je bila tako očitno izražena nekaj let pred tem pri Gurlittovi ureditvi prvega mitreja na Hajdini. Ureditev tretjega mitreja torej odstopa od avtentičnega prikaza ostalin svetišča in se bolj približuje historicistični interpretaciji, če ne celo rekonstrukciji. V določenih segmentih se poslužuje celo elementov muzealske predstavitve. Pri tem mislimo na razstavo kamnitih spomenikov na lesenih polih, pritrjenih na stene zaščitne stavbe, tako rekoč na »zidove mitreja«. Tam so poleg odlomkov kamnitih spomenikov, ki so bili najdeni v ruševinski plasti nad arhitekturnimi ostalinami mitreja in jih lahko povežemo z Mitrovim kultom, razstavljeni tudi kamniti artefakti, ki ne spadajo v najdiščni kontekst tretjega mitreja, ampak so bili najdeni med raziskavami v bližnji soseščini. Med temi so tudi deli okrašenih grobnic in keramično posodje ter drugi dodatki z bližnjega grobišča (Abramić, 1925: 191). Zanimiv sklop najdb, ki pa vsekakor predstavljajo tujek v predstavljenem kontekstu, so votivni kamni iz mitreja v Modriču na Pohorju, ki ga je leta 1893 raziskoval Ferk, najdbe pa leta 1921 podaril muzeju (isti: 192).

Zasluge za tovrstno ureditev tretjega mitreja gre pripisati dr. Abramiću, ki je nadzoroval gradnjo zaščitne stavbe in obnovo notranjosti svetišča, pa tudi Skrabarju, ki je bil kot konservator Deželnega spomeniškega urada za Štajersko (ustanovljenega leta 1911) odgovoren za njegovo prezentacijo. Sama ureditev kaže tendence na novo zgraditi propadlo rimsko svetišče oz. ga rekonstruirati (Vomer-Gojkovič, 2001: 107). Željo po čim bolj celostnem, obiskovalcu prijaznem prikazu tretjega mitreja priča tudi namestitve replike osrednjega reliefa Mitrove daritve na steno zaščitne stavbe. Relief je kopija osrednjega reliefa iz mitreja v Osterburkeni (Badensko), ki ga je dalo izdelati Muzejsko društvo. Po besedah M. Abramića (1925: 178) je bila kopija osterburškega reliefa izdelana, ker si niso drznili izdelati rekonstrukcije iz borno ohranjenih originalnih ostankov tukajšnjega reliefa. Pri tovrstnem početju prepoznamo namero muzealca, ki poskuša razstavo ustvariti všečno za obiskovalca in mu z dopolnilnimi prikazi olajšati predstavo videnegega. Pri tem pa izkoristi zaščitno stavbo za muzejsko razstavišče. Gre celo tako daleč, da razstavi predmete iz popolnoma drugega najdiščnega konteksta, kot so že omenjeni predmeti iz mitreja v Modriču. Ta način prikaza arheoloških ostalin se seveda odmika od avtentičnega prikaza odkritih ostalin *in situ*, ki pa je bil za Gurlitta nedvomno ideal predstavitve arheoloških ostalin, s katero je javnosti želel zgolj predstaviti konservirane ostaline, ne pa jih rekonstruirati.

Prezentirana Mitrova svetišča v širši regiji

V sosednjih državah, znotraj območja rimskih provinc Panonije, Norika in Dalmacije, je bilo odkritih več Mitrovih svetišč, pri čemer po številu odkritih mitrejev prednjačijo rimska mesta Poetovio, Aquincum in Carnuntum, kjer jih je bilo skupaj odkritih čez 15 (Jenö, 1998: 124). Le nekaj odkritih mitrejev je bilo na različne načine predstavljenih javnosti.

V rimski koloniji Aquincum (današnja Budimpešta), glavnem mestu rimske province Pannonia Valeria, so v sklopu

arheološkega parka *sub divo* (brez vsakršne zaščitne stavbe) predstavljeni restavrirani in močno utrjeni temelji mitreja ter znotraj mitreja odkriti oltarji (Visy, 2003: 250; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mithraeum_of_Victorinus.jpg). Mitrej, ki je bil delno vkopan v zemljo, enako kot mitrej na Hajdini, je bil leta 1931 odkrit in raziskan v mestecu Jajce, v Bosni, na vrhu blagega pobočja nad reko Plivo. Stavbne ostaline so bile relativno slabo ohranjene. Po besedah raziskovalca naj bi bil mitrej sezidan v tehniki suhozida in prekrit z lahko strešno konstrukcijo, brez sledov malte ali opeke, verjetno s prepletom iz šibja. Ostaline svetišča so leta 1936 prekrili z zidano zaščitno stavbo (Sergejevskij, 1937: 11; Selem 1986: 189). Zaradi dotrajanosti so leta 2012 prvotno kamnito zaščitno stavbo odstranili in nad ostalinami svetišča zgradili sodobno kovinsko in betonsko konstrukcijo s steklenimi stenami, ki omogoča pogled na arheološke ostaline tudi od zunaj (http://www.vodic.ba/3996_sutra-otvaranje-obnovljenog-hrama-boga-mitre-u-jajcu?grad=jajce).

V rimskem municipiju Carnuntum (današnji Petronell v vzhodni Avstriji) so bili odkriti ostanki petih Mitrovih svetišč (Jobst, 1998: 37). Ostaline enega od njih so v skladu z dognanji o ureditvi mitraične ikonografije znotraj svetišča rekonstruirali v novi zbirki muzeja Carnuntinum (isti: 41).

Predstavitev Mitrovega svetišča, ki jo lahko primerjamo s ptujskimi mitreji, je v kraju Fertőrákos na madžarsko-avstrijski meji, južno od Nežiderskega jezera. Tamkajšnji mitrej je bil odkrit že leta 1866, vendar ni bil celovito raziskan vse do 90. let 20. stoletja. Svetišče stoji na dnu blagega pobočja, relief motiva Mitrove daritve pa je bil vklesan v živo skalo enako kot tudi del svetiščnega prostora samega. Stavba svetišča je bila naslonjena ob pobočje, tako da je ustvarjala vtis votline (isti: 227). Originalne arheološke stavbne ostaline so bile leta 1992 restavrirane in prekrite z zaščitno stavbo z banjastim obokom ter predstavljene javnosti (<http://www.mithras.hu/>).

Vrednotenje prezentacije ptujskih mitrejev z vidika sodobne konservatorske doktrine

Izkopavalci in avtorji prezentacije prvega ter tretjega mitreja na Ptuj so pri predstavitvi arheoloških ostalin izhajali iz prepričanja, da je dobro ohranjene ostaline treba ohraniti na kraju samem in jih zaščititi pred fizičnim propadanjem. Takšna obravnava arheoloških ostalin je od takrat stalnica v slovenski konservatorski stroki in je do danes sestavni del mednarodnih dogovorov o ohranjanju in upravljanju arheološke dediščine (ICOMOS 1990: 6. člen).

Ena redkih teoretičark arheološkega konservatorstva pri nas, dr. Iva Mikl Curk, se je v svoji razpravi o prezentaciji arheoloških ostalin iz leta 1970 med drugim dotaknila prezentacije ptujskih mitrejev. Ugotavlja primernost ureditve prvega mitreja, ki ustreza tudi sodobnim pogledom na prezentacijo arheoloških ostalin. Kot primerno označi predvsem neambiciozno oblikovano zaščitno stavbo nad arheološkimi ostalinami, ki jo odlikujejo primerne dimenzije ter name-

stitev vhoda in oken, s čimer je obiskovalcu omogočen vtis prvotnega prostora. V nadaljevanju razprave obravnava tudi zaščitno stavbo nad tretjim mitrejem, za katero meni, da se nekoliko spogleduje s historiziranjem, vendar ni vsiljiva in v glavnem tudi spoštuje prvotna prostorska razmerja mitreja (Mikl Curk, 1970: 51).

Zahteva po avtentičnem prikazu arheoloških ostalin, ki nekako ostaja osrednje vodilo konservatorske stroke, je bila v primeru ptujskih mitrejev zadovoljivo upoštevana. Vendar glede načina izvedbe prezentacije obeh mitrejev *in situ* lahko razvijemo tudi nekatere kritične pomisleke. Pri tem gotovo prednjači dejstvo, da so bile v obeh primerih z gradnjo zaščitnih stavb prezentirane ostaline ločene od prostorskega ambienta. Onemogočen pa je tudi prikaz časovne komponente razvoja prostora, ki naj bi pri uspešni prezentaciji bil vključen v celostno ureditev prostora (Slabe, 1974: 62). Iz Gurlittovega poročila o raziskavi prvega mitreja je razvidno, da je svetišče stalo zahodno ob tlakovanem dvorišču, ki ga je s severne strani obdajal cel sklop zidanih stavb, nekatere celo z ohranjenim maltnim estrihom. Več teh stavb je bilo na podlagi najdenega arheološkega gradiva interpretiranih kot svetišča, posvečena med drugim Vulkanu in Veneri. Mimo svetišča je proti severu vodila cesta (Gurlitt, 1899: 92; 94; 95; Abramić 1925: načrt str. 30). Enako situacijo imamo tudi pri najdiščnem sklopu okrog tretjega mitreja. Tudi tukaj iz načrta in poročila raziskovalcev razberemo celo vrsto objektov, ki so sestavljali »ograjen svetiščni dvor«, katerega pa niso v celoti raziskali. Eden od objektov je bil na podlagi najdenega kipa interpretiran kot svetišče Velike Matere (*Magnae Matris*) (Abramić, 1925: sl. 122; str. 174).

Gradnja obeh stavb, s katerima so graditelji zaščitili originalne arheološke ostaline prvega in tretjega mitreja, dodatno pa z njima ponazorili njihov prvotni volumen, ima kot nujno posledico ločitev izbranih arheoloških ostalin iz prostorskega ambienta. Tovrstna težava je bila, ob istočasno zagotovljeni fizični zaščiti arheoloških ostalin, v zadovoljivi meri rešena v primeru prezentacije zgodnjekrščanskega centra pri OŠ Majde Vrhovnik v Ljubljani, ki je bila dokončana leta 1976. Tam je načrtovanje ureditve arheoloških ostalin izhajalo iz načela, da je treba konservirati in prezentirati celotno odkopano območje (in ne samo osrednji, najvišje ovrednoteni del) in na tak način prikazati vse ohranjene razvojne stopnje. Drugo upoštevano načelo je bilo, da je treba osrednji del spomeniškega kompleksa z mozaiki in *piscino*, ki je bil najbolj občutljiv za vremenske razmere, zavarovati še s primerno streho in da je treba vključitev arheoloških ostalin v širše okolje obravnavati skupaj s celotno poznejšo ureditvijo kraja (Slabe, 1988: 16). Zaščitna strešna konstrukcija je bila izvedena na način, s katerim osrednji del prezentiranega arheološkega območja ni ločen od ostalih delov, ampak se z njim staplja v celoto in nakazuje skupno razsežnost, kar deluje v popolnem nasprotju z zaprtostjo ureditve zaščitnih stavb nad ptujskimi mitreji.

Sklep

Obe ureditvi arheoloških ostalin, ki sta bili na prostoru prvega in tretjega mitreja izvedeni v letih 1899 (oz. 1910) in 1914,

kažeta visoko raven dojetanja kulturne vrednosti odkritih arheoloških ostalin. Ureditvi sta bili opravljeni na način, s katerim je bil nazorno prikazan in poudarjen historični pomen odkritih arheoloških ostalin, ki je imel odločilno težo pri visokem ovrednotenju in posledični razglasitvi širšega prostora za kulturni spomenik državnega pomena leta 2003. Istočasno pa je bila z ureditvami zagotovljena fizična zaščita pred vremenskimi vplivi. Ureditvi mitrejev kažeta nekatere pomanjkljivosti, če ju preučimo s stališča sodobnih konservatorskih standardov. Vendar pa jima dejstvo, da sta bili načrtovani in izvedeni v času, ko prezentacije arheoloških ostalin še niso bile del splošne konservatorske prakse v srednjeevropskem prostoru, daje posebno vrednost. Pri njihovem interpretiranju in predstavljanju obiskovalcem bi bilo nujno poleg historične vrednosti poudariti tudi pomen za zgodovino konservatorske stroke. Predstavljata namreč več kot 100 let star primer subtilne ponazoritve kulturne vrednosti arheoloških ostalin, katerih ureditev na samem kraju najdbe je že takrat duhovno bogatila obiskovalce in jim predstavila historično komponento podedovanega prostora.

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1. Prvi mitrej na Spodnji Hajdini (foto Andrej Magdič, 2013)
1. The First Mithraeum in Spodnja Hajdina (photo: Andrej Magdič, 2013)



2. Zaščitna stavba nad prvim mitrejem na Spodnji Hajdini (foto Andrej Magdič, 2013)
2. Protective structure over the First Mithraeum in Spodnja Hajdina (photo: Andrej Magdič, 2013)



3. Tretji mitrej na Bregu pri Ptujju (foto: Andrej Magdič, 2013)
3. *The Third Mithraeum in Breg, Ptuj (photo: Andrej Magdič, 2013)*



4. Zaščitna stavba nad tretjim mitrejem na Bregu pri Ptujju (foto: Andrej Magdič, 2013)
4. *Protective structure over the Third Mithraeum in Breg, Ptuj (photo: Andrej Magdič, 2013)*

Andrej Magdič

The Mithraea of Ptuj – 100 Years On

An attempt at a cultural historical interpretation of their presentation to the public

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Abstract

The article presents the development undergone by the conservation profession in the Slovene lands during the second half of the nineteenth century, with an emphasis on the treatment of archaeological heritage. The life of society in that period was greatly influenced by the growing political power of the liberal bourgeoisie and the decline of its influence in the face of rising nationalism towards the end of the century. The dynamics of these developments were also reflected in conservation, where towards the end of the century we can identify a tendency towards criticism of the historicist culture and values of the bourgeoisie. Changes in the emphasis of conservation also had a strong influence on the understanding of archaeological heritage, which resulted in, among other things, the first presentation of Roman-era architectural remains in the Austrian crown lands – the presentation of the First Mithraeum of Mithras, discovered in 1899 in Spodnja Hajdina near Ptuj. The presentation of the First Mithraeum was followed in 1913 by the discovery and presentation of another temple of Mithras – the Third Mithraeum at Breg near Ptuj. The presentation of these two temples represents a milestone in the understanding of the value of archaeological remains within the conservation profession in central Europe, and of their presentation *in situ*.

Introduction

Just as historiography creates the nation out of existential necessity (Kreft, 2003: 66), so does this nation create its own monuments out of necessity, whether intentionally or oth-

erwise. In order to understand these processes, it is necessary to look at them from the different points of view of the social developments of the time. And what is true of the (re) construction of historical events is also true of the construction of architectural objects and, to no less an extent, of their conservation and restoration. Every building is in fact a social reflection of the period in which it was built (and at the same time one of its active elements, which then generates this reflection), and its restoration, planned by a conservator, is no exception (ICOMOS 2008: Preamble). Consequently, a comprehensive evaluation of the past restoration of a monument requires us to observe it in the context of the period in which it was carried out.

Alois Riegl (1858–1905) believed that when restoring a monument the conservator is always obliged to seek compromises when it comes to emphasising its individual values: on the one hand its age value, on the other its historical value, and then its aesthetic value. He defines “age value” (*Alterswert*) as the human being’s intimate perception of an old object. It should be possible for the sensitive observer to perceive, through observation of the signs of ageing, to which the object is subject and which reflects its imperfection, the natural processes of the cycle of growth and decay. The clearest perception of this kind is enabled by observation of unconserved and unrestored ruins (Riegl, 1903: 22).

The relationship between the individual monument values is to a large extent dependent on the function planned for the building through its restoration and on the context of its restoration. The balance can move from a raw, unadorned, authentic presentation of all the individual elements of the monument to the other extreme: the complete reconstruction of a selected specific moment in the building’s existence,

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with the simultaneous negation of all other moments. Although the relationship between the emphases on individual monument values is frequently affected by multiple objective factors deriving above all from the function and context of the restoration of the monument, the conservator is always strongly influenced by contemporary conservation approaches. It is these that determine the mode of the conservator's work and in this way generate the appearance of the monument. A good example of the conflict between different conservation approaches may be found in the controversies surrounding restoration and conservation work in the Gothic church of the Pleterje Charterhouse, the basis of which were disagreements regarding the implementation of the works at the level of restorer (artist) versus conservator (academic) (Škodlar, 1977).

Protection of archaeological heritage in the 19th century

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, two conservation interventions were carried out in Ptuj that represent a milestone in the protection of archaeological heritage in the Austrian lands: the presentation of the First Mithraeum in Spodnja Hajdina and the Third Mithraeum in Breg. In order to understand more clearly the significance of these interventions, before we analyse their presentation in detail let us briefly shed some light on the development of conservation activities in the Austrian Empire in the nineteenth century, with an emphasis on archaeological heritage. In 1817 the Joanneum in Graz – the *Landesmuseum* (provincial museum) of Styria – adopted plans to begin systematic archaeological research of the remains of the Roman town in and around present-day Ptuj, attested in written sources as Colonia Ulpia Traiana Poetovio. Founded only a few years earlier, the museum was making great efforts to obtain significant and representative archaeological exhibits from the whole of Styria for its new collections. It was in this context that the museum also directed its gaze at the area of Poetovio, which undoubtedly represents one of the most important urban settlements from the Roman era anywhere in Styria (Horvat et al., 2003). Despite these plans, however, several more decades would pass before the Joanneum itself undertook archaeological research in Ptuj. The museum was sufficiently supplied with archaeological exhibits – principally Roman coins and stone epigraphs – by chance finders and local diggers, whose finds it purchased. The oldest consignment of Roman artefacts from Ptuj arrived in Graz in 1817, sent by the imperial and royal apothecary Benedict Hauschka the Elder (Vomer-Gojković and Kolar, 1993: 24).

The principal motivation of those sending archaeological remains to the museum was undoubtedly financial, since museums paid them for their finds. At the same time, however, imperial decrees also contributed to filling museum collections. In 1812 the Court Chancellery in Vienna issued a decree obliging provincial authorities to submit archaeological finds to the Cabinet of Coins and Antiquities in Vienna in

order for it to exercise the right of pre-emption. Even before this a decree from 1782 was in force, which however limited this requirement to finds of coins (Baš, 1953/54: 14). Only in the event of the Cabinet in Vienna showing no interest in the artefacts did these find their way to museums.

These imperial decrees represent the first official documents within the empire to require the preservation of archaeological remains and the asserting of the state's legal title to them. This notion, which still applies today, derives from the belief that cultural heritage (including archaeological remains) is something that concerns every member of the community. The state-authorized conservation profession therefore claims the right to relieve the individual, the interested group and even the state (as an individual) of what is "common" and transfer it to the state as the sum of all individuals (Bacher, 1995: 10).

Before the middle of the nineteenth century the concept of archaeological remains did not have the same substantive meaning it has today. According to the definition found in the present Cultural Heritage Protection Act (*Zakon o varstvu kulturne dediščine*, UL RS No 16/08, Article 3(1)(3)), archaeological remains are inter alia important for: "*revealing the historical development of humanity and its connection with the natural environment.*" In order to observe the connection of human beings with the natural environment it is essential, in today's view, to try and comprehend archaeological remains in the original location in which they are deposited, in other words at the archaeological site itself. An archaeological site is not merely a resource for the supply of raw scientific data and museum material. If archaeological remains are degraded to the level of artefacts, other fundamental values of the archaeological site are overlooked. All the elements of an archaeological site need to be taken as a logical whole, and as its identity. From this comes the conception of the archaeological site as something of complex monumental value, as a complete and (in its message) essential element of the time in which it was created and the space it comes from (Slabe, 1986: 122).

Such an understanding of the archaeological site is today almost self-evident to the researcher of archaeological past, yet this mode of comprehension of archaeological remains is the fruit of the gradual development of "monument values". Under the categorisation established by the Central Commission for Research and Conservation of Historic Buildings (*Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*), architectural remains were understood as movable monuments that could be transferred to the appropriate collections without harming their cultural value. Unlike architectural heritage (immovable monuments), which were above all researched and conserved *in situ*. On the basis of this definition, separate conservation and museum departments were established within the Central Commission. With regard to the discovery of archaeological remains, the principal task of the Central Commission conservator was to ensure that finds were not destroyed or dispersed and that the Cabinet of Coins and Antiquities was given the opportunity to purchase the more valuable items. The report on the circumstances of the find that accompanied artefacts offered for sale was frequently the only documentation regarding the dig. In the

event that the Cabinet of Coins and Antiquities was not interested in the finds, it was the conservator's task to offer them for sale to provincial museums (Baš, 1953/54: 16).

It may be understood from this that in the initial period of organised monument conservation the architectural site was understood, in this part of the world just as elsewhere in Europe (Bahn, 1996: 53), as a location containing artefacts that needed to be excavated and exhibited in a museum. The scientific value of archaeological remains, removed from the context in which they were found, was limited to the desire to establish as accurate as possible a typological-chronological system on the basis of which so-called archaeological cultures were constructed.

Unlike the instructions issued by the Central Commission to conservators in connection with the protection of immovable monuments (buildings), instructions relating to archaeological discoveries went no further than the mere organisation of the service that supplied museums with archaeological exhibits. Although it is known from documentary sources that the Central Commission's first conservator for Styria – Josef Scheiger, director of the postal service in Graz – took a great interest in archaeological finds in Ptuj and Celje, his interest did not actually go beyond the antiquarian character of dealing with the archaeological past. Yet such an understanding of archaeological heritage should not be attributed to an inadequate sense on Scheiger's part of the values of monument conservation, but rather to the general conditions that shaped attitudes towards archaeological remains in that period (Baš, 1953/54: 20).

The development of archaeology as a scientific discipline was given a boost in the Slovene lands by the establishment of departments of archaeology at the universities of Vienna (1868) and Graz (1868/69) (Novaković, 2004: 15). The biggest impact on the development of archaeology in Styria came with the appointment of Wilhelm Gurlitt as associate professor of classical archaeology at Graz University in 1877 (*Österreichisches Biografisches Lexikon: Wilhelm Gurlitt*).

Between 1891 and 1895 Gurlitt – who as well as being a professor of classical archaeology and philology was the conservator for Styria of the Central Commission for Artistic and Historical Monuments (*Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*), as it was known from 1873 (Kolar, 2001: 383, Note 1) – conducted the first scientific archaeological research of Roman Poetovio, assisted by A. Premerstein and O. Fischbach. It is highly likely that Gurlitt was introduced to the archaeological remains in Ptuj by Franc Ferk, the first person to conduct a dig at the Poetovio site and a passionate researcher of ancient culture in Styria, who in the years that Gurlitt was working in the classical archaeology and philology department in Graz was a teacher at the second Staatsgymnasium in the same city, and who became an honorary member of the Graz Historical Society in this period (Godina-Golja, 2006: 208). Gurlitt's research focused above all on the burial site by the main *via publica* in Zgornja Hajdina. This extensive burial site, which in later literature was given the name of Western Necropolis of Poetovio, was discovered by Ferk, who conducted autonomous excavations here between 1889 and 1891 and sold his finds to the *Landesmuseum* (Lamut, 1993: 11).

Circumstances of the discovery of the five mithraea in Ptuj

As the archaeological excavations continued, the researchers did not limit themselves to investigating the burial site but also began exploring the Roman-era building complexes they encountered along the Roman road. In 1893/94 the Central Commission conservator Samuel Jenny carried out work in Zgornji Breg at his own expense and discovered an extensive residential district that yielded rich inventories, most notably floor mosaics with figural and plant motifs, today preserved in the Joanneum in Graz (Vomer-Gojkovič and Kolar, 1993: 27).

Gurlitt himself initially continued to focus on exploration of the Hajdina burial site, where he excavated more than 2000 graves, handing over their contents to the competent provincial museum, i.e. the Joanneum in Graz. In 1895 he discovered and investigated the "Temple of the Nurses" (*Nutrices Augustae*) near a burial site on the edge of the terrace of the river Drava in Spodnja Hajdina (Lamut, 1993: 11), resulting in the Ministry of Culture and Education approving state support for exploration in this area. A difficulty arose with regard to the exclusive right to carry out archaeological explorations in Spodnja (Lower) and Zgornja (Upper) Hajdina, which had been obtained by the Museum Society in Ptuj, founded in 1893. The latter offered Gurlitt the opportunity to lead the dig on condition that all finds remained in the hands of the Museum Society instead of being sent to the Joanneum (Kolar, 2001: 383, Note 1), a condition to which Gurlitt agreed. Between 1898 and 1901 he uncovered and researched a temple complex in the vicinity of the "Temple of the Nurses" which included two mithraea, the so-called First and Second Mithraea (Vomer-Gojkovič and Kolar, 1993: 13, 32).

More than a decade later, in 1913, Viktor Skrabar – at that time local conservator for Ptuj (Baš, 1953/54: 24) – and Dr Mihovil Abramič discovered and investigated another mithraeum, the so-called Third Mithraeum, in Breg, in the Roman villa district already explored by Jenny, for the Museum Society in Ptuj and with the financial support of what was then the Ministry of Culture and Education (SI_ZAP6, Document No 1212) (Vomer-Gojkovič, M. 2001: 107).

Although all three of these mithraea represent important discoveries relating to Mithraism in the Ptuj area, they are not the only evidence of the pursuit of this cult in Roman Poetovio. Another mithraeum – the fourth – is believed to have stood at the foot of the castle hill in Ptuj, in the present-day Muzejski Trg (Museum Square). The discovery in this location (next to the Dominican priory) of inscriptions that may be linked to the cult of Mithras was first mentioned by Abramič (1925: 39). This assumption is also confirmed by the 1957 discovery, on the part of Dr Iva Mikl Curk, then curator of the Regional Museum in Ptuj, of a marble block with a depiction of the god Sol in this same location, albeit in a secondary position (Mikl, 1960/61: 165–167). In specialised literature this putative mithraeum, whose remains have not yet been uncovered *in situ*, is referred to as the Fourth Mithraeum of Ptuj. The fifth and (so far) last mithraeum was discovered in

1987 by Stanko Gojkovič and Ivan Tušek, respectively a restorer and conservator from the Institution for the Protection of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Maribor, during construction work in the vicinity of a boarding house for secondary school students in Ptuj, corresponding to the artisans' district in the eastern part of Roman Poetovio (Tušek, 1990).

Thanks to the good state of conservation of their architectural remains and their contents, the first three mithraea to be discovered have all been prepared for public presentation. The methods chosen for the individual presentations differ both in terms of the location of the presentation with respect to the location of the discovery and with regard to the attitude adopted towards the authenticity of the elements of the monument that are incorporated into the presentation. The differences between the presentations will be discussed further in a separate chapter.

The five mithraea in Ptuj are not the only Mithraic temples to have been discovered in Slovenia. Reports by archaeological researchers from as early as the 1830s mention discoveries of mithraea with dedicatory inscriptions and statuary and offer details of the architecture of the temples. Early discoveries of mithraea did not lead to public presentations *in situ* (the mithraea at Ruše, Modrič and Zlodjev Graben) and parts of their internal fittings were transferred to the lapidaria of museums in Ptuj and Graz (Korošec, 2001: 371).

The discovery of a representation of Mithras slaying a bull (known as a tauroctony) cut into the live rock at Rožanec near Črnomelj is particularly interesting. No traces of a temple building have been discovered in the vicinity of this relief, a fact that lends plausibility to the theory that this was not a mithraeum in the traditional sense but, instead, that Rožanec was the site of an ancient limestone quarry into whose wall a depiction of the tauroctony was carved while the quarry was still in use or after it was abandoned (ibid.: 373).

Changes in the understanding of monument values during the 19th century

The importance attached to the preservation of buildings from past periods because of their historical value, as individual stages in the development of human creativity in a particular field, regardless of ethnic origin, continued to increase in Austrian conservation circles throughout the second half of the nineteenth century (Riegl, 1903: 29). This doctrine, which was put into effect by the Central Commission, was undoubtedly grounded in the humanist-Enlightenment-liberal tradition, but it also had its political motivations. In addition to its humanist purpose it was designed to strengthen the idea of the Austrian Empire (1804–1867) and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867–1918) as the true home of all the nations united under the Habsburg crown. It therefore emphasised supranational common values that belonged both to the neo-absolutist regime established following the revolution of 1848 and to the liberal bourgeoisie that came to power in the 1860s. This was therefore the role in which the Austrian monument protection service, led by the Ministry

of Culture and Education, now found itself: on the one hand focused on exalting the figure of the emperor and the ruling house, and on the other on generating national consciousness and love of homeland among the other peoples of the empire (Pirkovič, 1993: 19). It was with this purpose that the Central Commission's mission was put into effect throughout the empire by means of local conservators.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a new "monument value" gradually began to develop (Alois Riegl offered a theoretical explanation of it as "*Alterswert*" or "age value" in his 1903 essay). Unlike the historical value of a monument (which relates to a particular event or action that can be objectively understood), this new value presupposed the entirely subjective emotional understanding of a monument. According to Riegl this value develops in parallel with the emancipation of the individual in philosophy. Unlike the rationally understood specific event that creates historical value, age value (*Alterswert*) is concerned merely with the subjective understanding of atmosphere in a monument (Riegl, 1903: 17). It is revealed above all in imperfection, in a lack of completeness, a tendency to dissolve shape and colour that is a consequence of the disintegrative effects of the forces of nature (ibid.: 22). According to Riegl it is precisely the experience of this natural cycle of growth and decay that satisfies and at the same time reassures the observer (ibid.: 24). In accordance with this belief, nature conservation and the protection of monuments share the same roots in the intimate atmosphere that derives from the human soul, and this feeling goes beyond the concept of the national, the aesthetic and the historical (Pirkovič, 1993: 15).

We may draw a parallel between Riegl's rejection of the importance of the historicist understanding of monuments and the general cultural movement of that period in Vienna which contemporary critics referred to as *Jugendstil*. A defining characteristic of this movement was the expression of doubt in the political liberalism personified by the bourgeoisie and its cultural manifestations (this topic is covered extensively in Schorke, 1994). With his criticism of historicism in conservation and his emphasis on the need for an intimate understanding of the monument, Riegl may certainly be counted as a member of this *fin de siècle* movement. Through his definition of age value, Riegl established a new dynamic in the understanding of monuments that is linked to the process of their decay. The state of a monument's preservation in fact has a decisive influence on the relationship between the historical value of a given monument and its age value, which is inversely proportional. A very well preserved monument has the power to impart a great deal of historical information, where this power is realised through identification of the motives and circumstances of its creation. The process of decay leads to a decline in the monument's power to communicate, and thus a reduction in its historical value, but at the same time the signs of ageing increase its age value. Architectural ruins which the processes of disintegration (whether natural or caused by human beings) have literally razed to the ground (where we can only discover their traces through careful underground or underwater archaeological exploration) have less historical communicative value than

buildings that are still standing. For this reason the early nineteenth century, which mainly focused on the historical value of monuments, did not – in our context – recognise archaeological remains as a category worth preserving *in situ*. This only became possible with the recognition of the quality of age value.

In the late nineteenth century life in Ptuj was marked by the conflict between the economically and politically dominant German middle-class elite, which was liberal in its political principles while in the national sense advocating the idea of a Greater Germany, and the Slovenes, who were united around the United Slovenia programme and were committed to emphasising Sloveneness and the use of the Slovene language in public life. Both factions attempted to consolidate their positions by establishing societies through which they endeavoured to promote their views among the population. It appears that the German faction was more successful in Ptuj, since it held most of the levers of economic and political power (for more on this subject see Šamperl Purg, 2001).

One of the leaders of the German middle-class faction in Ptuj was Josef Ornig, himself a Slovene by descent. As mayor, he was actively involved in the town's development policy between 1894 and 1918 and the appearance of the town changed considerably during his mayoralty. Given the town's poor potential for industrial growth, evident above all from the absence of a rail connection, Ornig identified potential for development in tourism, and therefore cooperated actively with the Ptuj Tourism and Beautification Society (founded 1886). He included the collections of the Ptuj Museum Society in the town's tourist attractions (Hernja Masten: 11). As the first president of the Ptuj Museum Society, Ornig gathered around himself influential citizens who could help the Society thanks to their strong economic position, and who also had the opportunity of disposing of municipal funds, given that the majority of them were on the town council and responsible for creating municipal policy (ibid: 15).

Leaving aside the fact that it was politically motivated, we may thus understand the foundation of the Museum Society in Ptuj above all as a desire to enhance the town's tourist appeal and in this way strengthen its economic base. This becomes all the more evident if we look more closely at the activities surrounding the foundation of the Society. The keenest supporters of the idea were the members of the Ptuj Tourism and Beautification Society. On 15 May 1893 the latter appointed a preparatory committee, which sent a letter to the *Statthaltere* (governor's office) in Graz informing the governor of the intention to found a Museum Society and museum in Ptuj (Vomer-Gojkovič and Kolar, 1993: 10). With the help of the municipal council, premises were soon found for the museum in a courtyard building of the newly built German *Obergynasium* on Prešernova (Abramič, 1925: 47, Šamperl Purg, 2001: 135).

A considerable part of the early collection of the Ptuj museum consisted of items from Franc Ferk's private collection, which he had placed on public view in his home village of Gamlitz in Austrian Styria in 1878. Ferk was concerned that the museum in Gamlitz would not survive him, so in 1895 he donated his collection, together with 5000 florins for its

upkeep, to the Ptuj Museum Society. He wished to cooperate actively with the museum and take over the running of it, a desire that led him into conflict with Ornig, the president of the Society. We can only guess at the deep causes of their dispute, but there is no doubt that a role was also played here by their different social outlooks (Godina-Golja, 2006: 209, 215). As a member of a German political party that advocated a strict division between German middle-class culture on the one hand and Slovene peasant culture on the other, Ornig is unlikely to have approved of Ferk's research in the field of Slovene ethnography (Gestrin, Melik, 1950: 121). Ferk's attempt to assume an active role in the leadership of the Society, in which Ornig had surrounded himself exclusively with influential Germans from the middle classes, led to a quarrel in which Ferk was publicly invited to leave Ptuj and never return. Ferk did leave Ptuj and would not return until after the First World War, when he was made an honorary member of the Ptuj Museum Society (ibid.: 209, 216).

Shortly after its foundation, the Museum Society began encouraging archaeological research, at the same time as ensuring itself the exclusive right to ownership of any finds, which it intended to use to fill its own museum collections. During Gurlitt's exploration of the First Mithraeum on the edge of the Hajdina terrace in 1898/99 (in which he had agreed that all finds would be kept by the Ptuj museum), the professor of classical archaeology and philology realised that his discovery was of enormous importance for the study and understanding of the development of Roman civilisation in Styria and beyond. Given the relatively good state of conservation of the architectural remains of the mithraeum (in places the walls survived up to a height of over 1.2 metres; Abramič 1925: 164), Gurlitt decided to present the stone altars and sculptures to the public *in situ*, in their original context, including the surviving architectural remains.

This idea of Gurlitt's contrasted sharply with the understanding of the value of archaeological remains as cultural monuments that was usual in the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire up until that moment. As Gurlitt noted in his letter to the ministry requesting funds for the construction of a protective structure, the presentation of the First Mithraeum was at that time the only open-air presentation of Roman-era archaeological remains anywhere in the crown land of Styria (Kolar, 2001: 383, Note 1). In his report on the exploration of the First Mithraeum for the Central Commission's gazette, he even mentions that this was the only presentation of its kind in any of the crown lands (Gurlitt, 1902: 96). Interest in the presentation of the mithraea was also shown by the local authorities, headed by Mayor Ornig, as may be seen from letters addressed to government authorities (Kolar, 2001: 383, Note 1). This may be attributed to the interest of the local authorities in developing the town's economy through tourism, as referred to above.

The presentation of altars and sculptures within the remains of a temple in which they were placed on its construction and then used in religious ceremonies (i.e. movable archaeological remains within the original context of the site where they were found) represents a remarkable mental shift, where archaeological remains are for the first time evaluated as im-

movable cultural heritage. It is perhaps not superfluous to point out once again that in this part of the world the conservation doctrine of preserving the original substance of monuments in their authentic context had up until this moment for the most part been put into practice by the art history department of the Central Commission, in relation to architectural heritage. In this light we can begin to recognise the magnitude of Gurlitt's achievement in successfully equating the conception of archaeological monuments with the general principles of the monument conservation field of that time. Gurlitt believed – something that today appears self-evident – that an archaeological site is not merely a source of raw, uncontextualised scientific data and museum material. Part of the identity of the archaeological monument that offers itself to us in the form of ruins goes beyond its historical meaning. It seems evident that this meaning was clearly apparent to Gurlitt as he gazed on the architectural remains of the mithraeum. Late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century conservation theory, as defined by Alois Riegl, envisaged for buildings that had lost every possibility of functional use (a category in which we may also include archaeological remains) a dignified disintegration, the sight of which should fill the observer with an awareness of the fleeting nature of life and of the cycle of growth and decay (Riegl, 93: 9).

Presentations of the mithraea – concepts and circumstances

First Mithraeum

As a professor of classical archaeology trained in the field of the architecture of ancient temples (a subject on which he wrote his doctorate), Wilhelm Gurlitt recognised in the ruins of the First Mithraeum not only their age value, as defined by Riegl, but also their historical value. The architectural remains of the mithraeum, along with the original contents of the temple, represent a real treasury of information on Mithraism, in terms of both spatial context and spiritual aspects (Fig. 1). The interior of the mithraeum was in fact designed in such a way as to represent an allegory of the sacred cosmos (Djurić, 2011a: 22), created by the worshippers of Mithras through the placing of altars dedicated to figures in the Mithraic cult, arranged in accordance with zodiacal symbols in a precisely defined composition (Djurić, 2011b: 25). Gurlitt realised that an authentic presentation of this find as a complete whole was only possible by preserving the monuments in their original setting, within the architectural remains of the temple.

Dedicatory inscriptions on the altars, furthermore, tell us a great deal about the organisation of the political and economic administration of the town and the province, specifically about the Illyrian customs office, whose officials – for the most part slaves – were responsible for donating the altars (Gurlitt, 1902: 93).

Archaeological remains of buildings such as those uncovered

during archaeological research in the area of Roman Poetovio are usually at a stage of disintegration in which little of the volume of the structure remains *in situ*. In the case of masonry buildings, parts of the foundation are usually preserved, and in some cases perhaps also a section of the walls above them including – even more rarely – the original plaster. Lime mortar that has been exposed to relatively constant humidity and temperature over the course of several centuries underground begins to crumble rapidly once its earth covering is removed and it is exposed to the atmosphere. The cement between the stones loses its strength and the remains of the walls quickly begin to disintegrate. This fact was also something that confronted Gurlitt on discovering the First Mithraeum.

Desirous of preserving the find as a whole at the site where it was discovered, and at the same time of protecting it from decay due to exposure to the atmosphere, Gurlitt decided that the temple needed to be covered by a protective structure (Fig. 2). In the conception of this structure, an effort was made to preserve the original substance of the monument. The structure did not encroach in any way on the original informative value of the temple remains. As already noted by J. Korošec, 1999: 323), the protective structure carefully surrounds the external walls of the temple without joining with them to form a common whole. Its walls clearly mark off the space but do not impose themselves as part of the temple, instead acting merely as a frame for it (the new protective structure built in 1910 to replace the original followed the same principles as its predecessor). Gurlitt's intention to put into practice the conservation concept of “*conserve, do not restore!*” is evident. This concept, which demands authenticity in the treatment of monuments, was espoused by the theorists of the Austrian state monument protection service in the early twentieth century (Pirkovič, 1993: 19). It is, however, worth pointing out here that Gurlitt put this concept into practice a number of years before Riegl published his fundamental work of conservation theory in 1903, the starting points of which were recapitulated by later monument protection theorists.

The archaeological exploration of the First Mithraeum revealed structural elements indicating the possibility that the temple was originally covered by a painted, suspended barrel vault made of wattle and daub (Ertel, 1999: 170). Elements of this type have been discovered in a whole series of mithraea, above all in the Italic world. The vault is believed to have represented the cave of the original mithraeum in the mountains of Persia, which for Zoroaster bore the image of the cosmos (Djurić, 2011a: 22). Also discovered were the bases of the wooden pillars that divided the space internally. Despite possessing a certain amount of information on the appearance of the temple, Gurlitt did not use the protective structure for a reconstruction of the mithraeum. The protective structure does not give the impression of a Roman temple, either in its external appearance or in its interior. Instead it retreats entirely into the anonymous role of functional protection against the weather and the creation of a closed space.

The great cultural value of preservation of the temple complex *in situ* was not, however, unambiguously recognised by

the supporters of the Ptuj Museum Society at the time of its construction. As already mentioned, the Museum Society had acquired the rights to transfer all and any archaeological finds from Spodnja and Zgornja Hajdina to its museum collections. Franc Ferk, the president of the Museum Society at that time, saw no reason why the archaeological remains from Gurlitt's dig should not be handed over to the museum in Ptuj. He clearly stated his disagreement with the *in situ* presentation of the architectural remains, complete with the stone altars and statues, at the time the protective structure was being built. During the excavations, the stone monuments discovered by the archaeologists were temporarily stored in the premises of the museum. Once the protective structure over the mithraeum was complete, Ferk decided that he was not going to return the stone monuments to the site but would instead keep them in the museum. As a result, the ministry itself was forced to intervene, to request that the stone monuments be returned to the original site where they were found, and where they have remained to this day, beneath the protective structure (Vomer-Gojkovič, 2011: 18). During a 2009 renovation of the protective structure, which retained all the elements of Gurlitt's arrangements, the Ptuj Regional Museum repaired some minor damage to the presented walls of the mithraeum. The opportunity was also taken to install, in the place believed to have been originally occupied by a relief of Mithras slaying a bull (tauroctony), a large drawing showing the scene from the relief that has not survived. The panel with the drawing, which is hung from the roof beams, did not affect the original substance of the presented monument but it does have a distracting effect on the observer's understanding of the original elements of the monument (see Fig. 1).

Second Mithraeum

The architectural remains of the Second Mithraeum, which Gurlitt discovered in 1901 some 20 metres south of the First Mithraeum, were in a much poorer state of conservation than those of the latter. In places the ground plan was only still evident from the line of the walls, while nothing of their original substance survived. For this reason it was decided not to present the Second Mithraeum *in situ*. The stone monuments were transferred to the newly acquired premises of Ferk's museum in the *Gymnasium* building, where they were exhibited. Following Gurlitt's death, when the museum acquired new premises in the Dominican priory in Ptuj, a reconstruction of the Second Hajdina Mithraeum was created in one of the baroque crypts of the priory church. The reconstruction was carried out on the basis of the ground plan of the temple which Gurlitt had drawn during his archaeological investigation, although the original dimensions were reduced, as dictated by the space available in the crypt. A notable feature of this presentation (which gives it additional qualitative value) was the triple division of the presentation space by means of raised lateral platforms like those discovered during exploration of the mithraeum. A reconstruction was also made of the drainage ditch and pool discovered at the site. In this way an

authentic representation of the setting was created in which to display the stone monuments discovered there (Abramič, 1925: 68).

The Second Hajdina Mithraeum remained on public view in the crypt of the Dominican priory right up until the start of building work in 2011, when the church, which up to that time had served as a museum exhibition space, was converted into a conference venue and concert hall.

Third Mithraeum

With Ferk's retirement in 1905 (*Slovenski biografski leksikon*: Franc Ferk) and his withdrawal from the Ptuj Museum Society, the attitude of local archaeologists towards the *in situ* presentation of the First Mithraeum improved. Following the discovery of yet another mithraeum (the third) in Breg, Viktor Skrabar and Dr Mihovil Abramič themselves proposed the presentation of the remains of the temple beneath a protective structure. They did, however, follow a slightly different concept from that adopted by Gurlitt. As already mentioned, Gurlitt adhered strictly to the principle that in any presentation of archaeological remains it is essential to maintain their authenticity, without any addition of elements – even if the purpose of such addition is to make it easier to understand the “original” structure as it is believed to have been created by its builder.

The exterior of the protective structure of the Third Mithraeum in Breg reveals a number of differences in comparison to the structure protecting the First Mithraeum in Hajdina. The protective structure over the Hajdina Mithraeum offers no outward sign of the cultural riches concealed in its interior. It does not stand out in any way from the local architectural tradition of the village and has no ambition to be part of the temple it is protecting.

A look at the protective structure above the Third Mithraeum in Breg, on the other hand, reveals something already pointed out by Josip Korošec, namely that both its exterior and its interior illustrate the actual design of the mithraeum (Korošec, 2001: 373). The protective structure over the Third Mithraeum is designed as part of the temple itself, or as a reconstruction of it (Fig. 3). We are directed to this conclusion by a whole series of elements, both on the exterior and inside the building. A view of the façade, with its four columns and triangular gable with a Latin dedication to Mithras, reveals the builders' intention that the observer should understand the building as an integral part of the temple, or actually as a temple itself (Fig. 4). Even the windows, which are in typical “Roman” style, consisting of a square wooden frame with intersecting crosspieces set both at right angles and diagonally, want to give us the impression that we are looking at a building from the Roman era.

Although the original remains of the walls of the mithraeum inside the protective structure were merely consolidated, as in the case of the First Mithraeum, the damaged original brick pavement was in places replaced by new brick paving stones that attempt to visually match the original as closely as possible. This makes it more difficult for the uninformed

observer today to distinguish between the original paving stones and the replicas.

Another relatively bold idea in the design of the building are its lateral walls, which partly continue the original walls of the temple (Korošec, 1999: 373) in order to add a vertical component to the horizontal dimension of the remains of the mithraeum and in this way recreate the volume of the original temple. With this solution the builders ventured onto the extremely slippery ground of reconstruction, something they continued when designing the vaulted ceiling of the protective structure. Archaeological exploration had unearthed (rather as in the case of the First Mithraeum) some large pieces of painted clay plaster bearing the impression of a wattle framework. In the opinion of the researchers these were remains of a suspended ceiling of curved shape. However, the curvature on the basis of which it could be concluded that these pieces of clay plaster really were the remains of a curved ceiling could not be seen. Christine Ertel (1999: 170) even believes that the pieces of clay plaster found at the site do not belong to the mithraeum at all but to some wooden structure in the vicinity. The possibility cannot therefore be excluded that the Mithraeum was covered by a flat ceiling (Ertel: C. 1). In this case the barrel vault of the protective structure that rises above the original remains is misleading and creates an impression which, though it coincides with the generalised assumption about the temple as a grotto, has not been confirmed by research in this specific case. Such an example of reconstruction carried out on the basis of inadequate input deviates strongly from the requirements for an authentic presentation of cultural monuments that were expressed so clearly some years earlier in the case of Gurlitt's arrangement of the First Mithraeum in Hajdina.

Rather than being an authentic presentation of the remains of the temple, the presentation of the Third Mithraeum is closer to a historicist interpretation, if not even a reconstruction. In some segments it even makes use of elements of museum-type presentation. For example in the exhibition of stone monuments on wooden shelves fixed to the walls of the protective structure, as though to the "walls of the mithraeum". Exhibited here alongside fragments of stone monuments found in the rubble layer above the architectural remains of the mithraeum, which can be linked to the cult of Mithras, are stone artefacts that do not belong to the context of the Third Mithraeum but were found during archaeological research in the vicinity. They include parts of decorated tombs, ceramic pottery and other burial objects from the nearby burial site (Abramić, 1925: 191). An interesting set of finds, which are nevertheless extraneous in the context of the presentation, consists of votive stones from the Mithraeum at Modrič in the Pohorje range, explored in 1893 by Ferk, who presented the finds to the museum in 1921 (ibid.: 192).

The responsibility for the arrangement of the Third Mithraeum lies with Abramić, who supervised the building of the protective structure and the renovation of the interior of the temple, and also with Skrabar, who as conservator of the Monuments Office for Styria (founded in 1911) was responsible for its presentation. The nature of the arrangement reveals an inclination to rebuild or reconstruct the disintegrated Ro-

man temple (Vomer-Gojkovič, 2001: 107). The desire for a presentation of the Third Mithraeum that is as complete and visitor-friendly as possible is also shown by the installation of a replica of the central relief of the tauroctony on the wall of the protective edifice. This relief is a copy of the central relief from the mithraeum at Osterburken (Baden-Württemberg), commissioned by the Museum Society. According to Abramić (1925: 178) the copy of the Osterburken relief was made because the Museum Society did not dare make a reconstruction from the scant surviving original remains of the relief at the site. In actions like this we recognise the approach of a museum curator, who attempts to make his exhibition attractive to visitors and make it easier for them to understand what they are seeing by means of supplementary displays. In this case, the protective structure is used as a museum exhibition space and the presentation even goes as far as to exhibit artefacts from an entirely different site – such as the items from the Modrič mithraeum. This way of presenting archaeological remains of course differs from the authentic *in situ* presentation of remains which for Gurlitt undoubtedly represented the ideal approach, whereby conserved remains are merely presented to the public and not reconstructed.

Presented mithraea in the wider region

Several mithraea have been discovered in the countries lying within the area of the former Roman provinces of Pannonia, Noricum and Dalmatia. The most important locations in terms of the number of mithraea were the Roman towns of Poetovio, Aquincum and Carnuntum, where a total of more than 15 mithraea have been discovered (Jenö, 1998: 124). Only a few of the mithraea discovered to date have been presented to the public, and this in a variety of ways.

In the Roman colony of Aquincum (present-day Budapest), the capital of the Roman province of Pannonia Valeria, the restored and reinforced foundations of a mithraeum and the altars discovered inside it are presented *sub divo* (without any kind of protective structure) in the context of an archaeological park (Visy, 2003: 250; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mithraeum_of_Victorinus.jpg).

This mithraeum, which was partially dug into the ground, like the Hajdina mithraeum, was discovered and investigated in 1931 in the town of Jajce, in Bosnia, at the top of a gentle slope above the river Pliva. The architectural remains were in a relatively poor state of conservation. According to the researcher, the mithraeum was probably built using a dry-stone technique and covered with a light roof structure with no trace of mortar or brick – most probably made of wattle. In 1936 the remains of the temple were covered by a protective masonry structure (Sergejevskij, 1937: 11; Selem 1986: 189). The original protective structure was removed in 2012, having fallen into disrepair, and a modern steel and concrete structure with glass walls was erected over the remains of the temple, enabling a view of the archaeological remains from the outside (http://www.vodic.ba/3996_sutra-otvaranje-obnovljenog-hrama-boga-mitre-u-jajcu?grad=jajce).

The remains of five mithraea have been found in the Roman

municipium of Carnuntum (present-day Petronell-Carnuntum in eastern Austria) (Jobst, 1998: 37). The remains of one of these have been reconstructed in the new collection of the Carnuntinum museum in accordance with findings on the arrangement of Mithraic iconography within the temple (ibid.: 41).

A presentation of a Mithraic temple that may be compared to the mithraea in Ptuj is located in Fertőrákos on the Hungarian–Austrian border south of Lake Neusiedl. The mithraeum there was discovered in 1866 but was not fully explored until the 1990s. The temple lies at the bottom of a gentle slope and the relief of the tauroctony was carved into the living rock, like part of the temple space itself. The temple building rested against the slope, with the result that it created the impression of a cave (ibid.: 227). The original archaeological remains were restored in 1992, covered by a protective structure with a barrel vault, and presented to the public (<http://www.mithras.hu/>).

Evaluation of the presentation of the Ptuj mithraea from the point of view of contemporary conservation doctrine

The excavators of Ptuj's First Mithraeum and Third Mithraeum and those responsible for their presentation took as their starting point the belief that well-preserved remains should be conserved *in situ* and protected against physical decay. Since then, such treatment of archaeological remains has been a constant of conservation in Slovenia and an integral part of international agreements on the conservation and management of archaeological heritage (ICOMOS 1990: Article 6).

One of the few theorists of archaeological conservation in Slovenia, Dr Iva Mikl Curk, touched on the presentation of the Ptuj mithraea in a 1970 paper on the presentation of archaeological remains. She notes the suitability of the arrangement of the First Mithraeum, which also corresponds to modern views of the presentation of archaeological remains. Particularly suitable, in her view, are the unambitiously designed protective structure above the archaeological remains, which is of suitable dimensions, and the location of the entrance and windows, which allow visitors an impression of the original space. She also discusses the protective structure above the Third Mithraeum, which in her view flirts with historicisation but is not intrusive and for the most part respects the original proportions of the mithraeum (Mikl Curk, 1970: 51).

The demand for an authentic presentation of archaeological remains, which in a way remains the central guiding principle of the conservation profession, was adequately taken into account in the case of the Ptuj mithraea. However, with regard to the way in which the *in situ* presentation of the two mithraea was carried out, certain critical reservations are possible. Above all, undoubtedly, is the fact that in both cases the presented remains were separated from their spatial context by the construction of protected buildings. The presentation of the chronological component of the development of

the space, which in a successful presentation should be included as part of the overall arrangement of the space, is also rendered impossible (Slabe, 1974: 62). It is clear from Gurlitt's report on the investigation of the First Mithraeum that the temple stood on the west side next to a paved courtyard, the north side of which was flanked by a set of stone buildings, some of which still have a surviving mortar pavement. Several of these buildings have been interpreted, on the basis of the archaeological material found, as temples dedicated to Vulcan and Venus, among other deities. A road ran past the temples to the north (Gurlitt, 1899: 92; 94; 95; Abramić 1925: map on page 30). We find the same situation in the case of the complex surrounding the Third Mithraeum. Here too, the map and report of the researchers show a whole series of structures that created an "enclosed temple court", which however was not investigated in full. One of the structures has been interpreted as a temple of the Great Mother (*Magna Mater*) on the basis of a statue found here (Abramić, 1925: Fig. 122; p. 174).

A necessary consequence of the erection of the two structures designed to protect the original archaeological remains of the First Mithraeum and Third Mithraeum and to illustrate their original volumes is the separation of the selected archaeological remains from their original environment. A similar problem was satisfactorily resolved – with the simultaneous provision of physical protection of archaeological remains – in the case of the presentation of the Early Christian Centre at the Majda Vrhovnik Primary School in Ljubljana, which was completed in 1976. In this case the planning of the arrangement of the archaeological remains began with the principle that it was necessary to conserve and present the whole of the excavated area (not only the central part that was considered most valuable), and in this way show all the preserved stages of development. The second principle to be taken into account was the fact that it was necessary to protect the central part of the monument complex, including the mosaics and *piscina*, with a suitable roof – since this part was most sensitive to climatic conditions – and to address the inclusion of the archaeological remains into the wider environment together with later regulation of the location (Slabe, 1988: 16). The protective roof structure was conceived in such a way that the central part of the presented archaeological area is not separated from the other parts but instead combines with them to form a whole and to indicate the overall dimension – an effect that is the exact opposite of the closed nature of the arrangement of protective structures above the Ptuj mithraea.

Conclusion

Both arrangements of archaeological remains carried out at the sites of the First Mithraeum and Third Mithraeum in 1899 (or 1910) and 1914 indicate a high level of understanding of the cultural value of the archaeological remains discovered at these sites. The arrangements were carried out in a way that clearly illustrated and emphasised the historical importance of the archaeological remains, a factor that was of decisive

weight in the positive evaluation and subsequent proclamation of the wider area as a cultural monument of national importance in 2003. At the same time the arrangements ensured physical protection from the weather. The arrangements of the mithraea do reveal certain weaknesses if considered from the point of view of contemporary conservation standards. However, the fact that they were planned and implemented at a time when the presentation of archaeological remains was not yet part of general conservation practice in central Europe gives them a special value. Ideally, when interpreting them and presenting them to visitors, their importance for the history of conservation should be highlighted alongside their historical value. They represent, in fact, a more than 100-year-old example of the subtle illustration of the cultural value of archaeological remains, where the *in situ* arrangement of the site has been spiritually enriching visitors for more than a century by presenting to them the historical component of the space they have inherited.

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Uvod

S terminom lastniška cerkev (nemško: *Eigenkirche*¹) v juridičnem pomenu² označujemo cerkev, ki jo je na svoji zemlji za svojo dušno oskrbo in dušno oskrbo svojih podanikov postavil zemljiški gospod in jo oskrbel tako s premoženjem, potrebnim za njeno vzdrževanje, kot tudi z duhovnikom, ki ga je izbiral in nameščal po svoji volji. Odločbe cerkvenih sinod za časa Karla Velikega (u. 814) in Ludovika Pobožnega (814–840) vsebujejo nekaj predpisov, ki urejajo ta pojav. Predvsem je šlo za to, da je novozgrajeno cerkev moral posvetiti krajevni škof, da je lastnik moral za vzdrževanje duhovnika oddeliti eno vseh dajatev oproščeno kmetijo in da duhovnika potem, ko ga je namestil, ni mogel svojevoljno odpustiti; to je bilo pridržano škofu. Lahko pa je užival desetino. Prav to dejstvo, ki je razlikovalo lastniško cerkev od zasebnih cerkva pozne antike, je omogočilo, da je lastniška cerkev za lastnika postala tudi pomembna gospodarska postavka. Ti predpisi so za nekaj stoletij podali od cerkvenih oblasti priznan juridični okvir za obstoj in delovanje lastniške cerkve: zaščitili so tako pravice lastnika kot tudi ingerence krajevnega škofa. Na rimski sinodi papeža Evgena II. leta 826 je bilo v poglavju 21 (*De monasterio vel oratorio, quod a proprio domino soli aedificatum est*) konkretno določeno: *Monasterium vel oratorium canonice constructum a dominio constructoris invito non auferatur* (Samostan ali oratorij, ki je bil kanonično postavljen, se ne sme odtujiti gospostvu tega, ki ga je postavil).³ Na drugi strani to tudi pomeni, da je bila cerkev vezana na gospostvo in ne na lastnika kot subjekt. Zato je ni bilo mogoče izločiti iz gos-

postva, saj je bila njegov konstitutivni del.

Kljub omenjenim predpisom pa so lastniške cerkve ostale tujek v škofjski organizaciji župnij. Bile so odtegnjene nadzoru škofov, poleg tega so lastniki zlorabljali njihovo premoženje za osebno obogatitev. Proces njihovega reguliranja, ki je privedel do njihove vključitve v škofjsko mrežo župnij in jih s tem postavil pod nadzor krajevnega škofa, se je pričel v 10. stoletju in dosegel vrh v 11. stoletju (Höfler, 2013: 28–29, 39–43). Najbolj moteča pravica laičkih lastnikov je bilo svojevoljno nameščanje duhovnikov. Proti temu je nastopila lateranska sinoda pod papežem Nikolajem II. leta 1059 in laiško investituro prepovedala. Prepoved je bila v prvi vrsti naperjena proti investituri na visoki ravni, škofov in predstojnikov samostanov, ki so jo izvajali cesar in veliki fevdalci. To je pripeljalo do zgodovinsko pomembnih investiturnih sporov med cesarjem in papežem, a je zadevalo tudi nižjo raven. Reguliranje lastniških cerkva je v osnovi potekalo takole: lastnik je vso desetino in nekaj druge posesti odstopil krajevnemu škofu, ta pa mu je v zameno vrnil del desetine, cerkvi podelil krstno in pogrebno pravico, kar sta bili osnovni pravici župnijske cerkve, ter lastniku pravico do izbire duhovnika, ki pa ga je moral potrditi škof in je bil v duhovnih rečeh podrejen njegovi oblasti ali oblasti njegovega arhidijakona. Pravice, ki jih je s tem pridobil lastnik cerkve, so zajete v pojmu patronata. Zato ta proces označujemo kot pretvorbo lastniških cerkva v patronatne župnije. To se je dogajalo tudi pri tistih cerkvah, pri katerih je bil lastnik škof tuje dieceze (eksteritorialni škof), kot so bili bamberski, freisinški in briksenški škof na območju salzburske nadškofije in oglejskega patriarhata. Lastniške cerkve, pri katerih se je dotlej pokopavalo, a jih lastnik ni dal ali krajevni škof ni hotel preoblikovati v župnijo, so to pravico izgubile in v juridičnem smislu propadle.

Na slovenskem etničnem ozemlju se je pretvarjanje lastniških cerkva v patronatne župnije intenziviralo pod salzburskima nadškofoma Balduinom (1041–1060) in Gebhardom (1060–1088) ter oglejskima patriarhoma Rabenger-

1 Ital. chiesa proprietaria, chiesa propria, privata; angl. proprietary Church, ali še bolje, independant Church; franc. eglise proprietare ali eglise libre. V isto kategorijo sodijo tudi lastniški samostani (Eigenkloster).

2 Sumarično Höfler, 2013: 24–25 (z bibliografijo).

3 MGH Concilia II/I/2, 576. Z besedo oratorij (oratorium) so v tem času označevali lastniške cerkve. Njeno prevajanje z molilnico (Bethaus) zavaja.

jem (1063–1068) in Sigehardom (1068–1077) (Höfler, 2013: 39–43). Za salzburško območje ta proces ponazarja vrsta listin, od tistih iz časa nadškofa Balduina do onih iz prvih desetletij 12. stoletja, na oglejskem pa sta znani le dve takšni listini, obe zadevajoči eksteritorialnega škofa, briksenškega in freisinškega. Četudi je pogodba med patriarhom Rabengerjem in briksenškim škofom z datumom 6. junij, a brez letnice, zelo splošna, je mogoče iz nje razbrati pomembno razliko do delovanja salzburških nadškofov. Vse kaže, da so patriarhi zelo redko dopustili, da so se lastniške cerkve pretvorile v patronatne župnije, in to le pri laičkih lastnikih. V glavnem pa so jih v celoti prevzeli in z dodajanjem območij iz drugih gospošteb oblikovali obsežnejše župnijske teritorije z župnijami, ki so jih zadržali v svoji popolni oblasti, lastniki pa so se morali zadovoljiti z odvetništvom.⁴ S tem je mogoče pojasniti, zakaj je na Slovenskem na podlagi lastniških cerkva s praviloma majhnim območjem prišlo do obsežnejših župnij. Takšne župnije imenujemo patriarhatske reformne župnije. O starosti posamezne cerkve na določeni lokaciji, čeravno je ta bila pozneje prezidana ali pa jo je nadomestila nova zgradba, najbolje priča grobišče ob njej. Kadar se to uvršča v tako imenovano karantansko-köttlaško kulturo⁵, imamo opraviti s cerkvijo iz zgodnjega srednjega veka, praviloma do sredine ali konca 11. stoletja. Pri cerkvah, kjer je bil sedež pražupnije – glede na nova spoznanja jih je mogoče datirati v obdobje od druge polovice 10. do začetka 11. stoletja –, se to razume samo po sebi. Primeri za to so St. Daniel in Šmohor/Hermagor v Ziljski dolini (Knific, Mlinar: 2014, št. 15, 16), Lipnica/Leibnitz na Štajerskem (prav tam, št. 29), Rodine, Kranj, Mengeš in ljubljanski Šentpeter na Gorenjskem (št. 40, 43, 48, 52), tudi Predloka pri Črnem Kalu na nekdanjem območju tržaške škofije (št. 36). Grobišča karantansko-köttlaške kulture najdemo tudi pri tistih cerkvah, ki so postale sedež patronatne župnije – na Gorenjskem trenutno velja to le za Mošnje in Komendo (Knific, Mlinar: 2014, št. 41, 47) – ali patriarhatske reformne župnije, ki jo glede na to, da ne gre za sedež pražupnije, interpretiramo kot prvotno lastniško cerkev zgodnjega srednjega veka; zgled za slednje je za zdaj le Šmartin pri Kranju (prav tam, št. 44). Grobišča pri cerkvah brez kakršnekoli župnijske tradicije – pri njih se je pokopavalo le do vključno 11. stoletja – pa kažejo na to, da gre za lastniške cerkve, ki so takšne ob reformi v 11. stoletju v juridičnem pogledu propadle. Tako je s cerkvami v Mostah – Žirovnici, Spodnjih Dupljah, Zgornjem Brniku, Šmartnem pri Cerkljah in Šentpavlu pri Domžalah (Knific, Mlina, 2014:

4 Tako na podlagi pogodbe patriarha Sigeharda in freisinškega škofa Ellenharda iz leta 1074 za Loško in Dolenjsko (Bela Cerkev). Tudi iz pogodbe med Rabengerjem in briksenškim škofom Altvinom izhaja, da je Briksen razen pol cerkve v kraju Tristach na današnjem Vzhodnem Tirolskem izgubil vse cerkve, ki jih je dotlej imel na območju patriarhata. Pogodba z bamberškim škofom ni znana, a je iz razvoja dogodkov razvidno, da so vse bamberške cerkve s Sv. Martinom pri Beljaku in tistimi v Kanalski dolini pristale v rokah oglejskega patriarha.

5 Zadnji pregled lokalitet z zemljevidom in bibliografijo: Knific, Mlinar, 2014: 442–443, seznam št. 4. Tu v nadaljevanju bodo posamezne lokalitete navedene z zaporedno številko v tem pregledu. Pri nastajanju tega prispevka sem bil podpisani deležen pomoči dr. Timoteja Knificca, za kar se mu na tem mestu najlepše zahvaljujem.

št. 39, 42, 45, 46, 49), na Muljavi na Dolenjskem (št. 53) in na Legnu nad Slovenj Gradcem (št. 51). Tudi v primeru grobišča, ki kaže na krščanski pokop, pri katerem pa cerkve ni več ali je ni mogoče ugotoviti, lahko predvidevamo, da je ta obstajala, le da so jo po reformi odstranili ali pa je fizično propadla. Tako in tako so večinoma morale biti lesene.

Poleg pravnega položaja in njihove funkcije je pri pojavu lastniških cerkva pomemben tudi njihov stavbni kontekst. V virih se lastniške cerkve pogosto navajajo v isti sapi z dvori in lastništvom teh dvorov. Razume se, da je lastnik lastniško cerkev dal postaviti v svoji neposredni bližini, kar na arealu svojega dvora, in jo s tem tudi zaščitil. Kaže, da je v zgodnjem srednjem veku vsak dvor kot upravni sedež določene posesti praviloma imel cerkev, tudi kadar se ta v virih posebej ne omenja, ker je šlo za pertinenčno prvino (Amon, 1981). Na drugi strani pa so lahko dvori poimenovani le po cerkvi in njenem lastniku.⁶ Prevladuje vendarle označba »curtis cum/et ecclesia«. Ko motrimo geografski položaj teh dvorov, na katere lahko sklepamo po obstoju cerkve, se izkaže, da so ti ležali pretežno na ravnem, a često v sorazmerni bližini zidanih visokosrednjeveških gradov na višinah. Ker so ti gradovi praviloma nastajali šele od 12. stoletja in so večinoma dobivali nemška imena s končnicami –berg, –burg, –eck ali –stein, se sama po sebi ponuja misel, da so zaradi novih strateških vidikov pa tudi simbolične funkcije nadomestili stare nižinske dvore. Ti so zategadelj propadli, a cerkev je ostala. V nadaljevanju bomo ob vsakem primeru opozorili na to dejstvo, tu pa navedimo le najpomembnejše zglede: Radovljica in stari Lipniški grad, Kovor in Gutenberg, Komenda in Smednik, Nevlje in Kamnik, Sora in Goričane, na Štajerskem npr. Bistrica ob Sotli s cerkvijo sv. Petra in Kunšperg ter Braslovče in Žovnek.⁷ Dogajalo se je tudi to, da je novi grad ležal v drugi župniji kot stari dvor, kot je to z Gutenbergom in Smednikom, a se na podlagi virov da ugotoviti, da gre za iste lastnike ali njihove dediče ali kakršnekoli že naslednike. Seveda pa se je dogajalo tudi to, da so dvori preprosto propadli, ne da bi jih nadomestil grad, ali pa je grad zrasel na njihovi lokaciji.

6 Tako v vladarskih darovnicah salzburškemu nadškofu iz 9. in 10. stoletja – o njih v naslednjem odstavku –, zlasti tiste v Panoniji, npr. »ad ecclesiam Anzonis«, »ad ecclesiam Ellodis«, »ad ecclesiam Minigonis presbiteri«, »ecclesia Gundoldi«. Med cerkvami, ki sta jih po poročilu v *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* v Panoniji posvetila nadškofa Adalvin in Liupram (nazadnje Wolfram, 2012: 203ss), so štiri stale v krajih, tudi poimenovanih po cerkvi in njihovem lastniku, a v nemščini: »ad Lindolveschirichun« (Lindolfova cerkev), »ad Wiederhereschirichun«, »ad Isangrimeschirichun«, »ad Beatuschirichun«. V vseh teh primerih gre za dvore z lastniškimi cerkvami.

7 Rodbinski grad Žovneških, poznejših celjskih grofov, po Žovneku prvič imenovanih leta 1173 z Gebhardom »de So(u)nekke« (GZS IV/533). Zato je povsem mogoče, da je njihov rod obstajal še pred postavitvijo gradu, ko je imel v lasti dvor in cerkev v Braslovčah. Prvotno ime gradu je sestavljeno iz besede »Soune« (Savinja, Savinjsko), kakor so označeni prvi Žovneški (de Soune), in dodatkom –eck, kar kaže, da so ga ti zgradili šele v 12. stoletju in da ga ni mogoče opredeliti kot njihov izvorni grad. Zato je zelo verjetno, da so Žovneški potomci ali dediči Heminega odvetnika Preslava, čigar sedež zaradi njegovega imena tudi nekateri resni zgodovinarji postavljajo v Braslovče in ki mu je mogoče pripisati postavitev tamkajšnje lastniške cerkve. O tej problematiki gl. Podpečan, 2002.

Izraz dvor (curtis, hof) se v slovenskem zgodovinsko opisju običajno uporablja za enoto agrarnega gospodarstva (Hof, Gehöft) (Pleterski, 2011: 151ss in na drugih mestih; Vilfan, 1996: 59 in na drugih mestih).⁸ V našem primeru pa gre za posestniški upravni dvor (curtis dominicalis, Herrenhof), središče vilikacije oziroma zemljiškega gospostva ter nosilca fiskalnih obveznosti in juridičnih pravic, ki je v tej funkciji obstajal do razcveta gradov v 12. stoletju.⁹ Na slovenskem zgodovinskem ozemlju ga srečamo že v vladarskih darovnicah 9. in 10. stoletja, ki se nanašajo na dvore v kraljevi lasti; najpomembnejše so tiste za salzburskega nadškofa iz let 860 (GZS II/172; k temu Höfler, 2013: 55s), 890 (ali 880; GZS II/296; potvorba iz 976 ali 977) in 977 (GZS II/460; za oboje Höfler, 2013: 58ss). Kot je mogoče razbrati iz virov in iz tega, kaj se je z njimi dogajalo po podelitvi, lahko sklepamo, da gre za sedež obsežnejšega posestva s cerkvijo in pripadajočimi ji desetiniami. K dvoru »ad Sabnizam« (Hartberg na Štajerskem¹⁰) je na primer sodilo 50 kraljevih kmetij (manzov, hub). V listini iz leta 970, s katero je cesar Oton II. salzburskemu nadškofu podelil lipniški teritorij, zasledimo tudi že slovensko us-treznico »dvor«: »curtem ad Vduleniduor (Dolenji dvor), lingua Sclavanisca sic vocatam, Theotisce vero Nidrinhof nominatam« (Höfler, 2013: 72s). Stal naj bi nekje v bližini Deutschlandsberga¹¹, njemu pa je tudi pripadalo 50 kmetij. Leta 985 je cesar Oton II. grofu Rahvinu podelil Razvanje s 15 kmetijami (GZS II/487). Ko je Engelbert II. Spanheimski kot njegov daljni naslednik med letoma 1106 in 1124 Razvanje s šentpavelskim opatom zamenjal za Glodnico na Koroškem (GZS IV/22), je zanje zapisano »curtim et ecclesiam Razwei« s 15 vasmi. Cerkev sv. Mihaela še stoji in takšna po vsej verjetnosti sega še v 10. stoletje, sam dvor pa je pod Spanheimskimi nadomestil grad Hompoš (Höfler, 2013: 306s).

Po tem vzorcu je treba ocenjevati tudi zgodnesrednjeveške posestniške upravne dvore, ki so obstajali ali pa jih domnevamo na Slovenskem, ne da bi se spuščali v njihovo stavbno in fortifikacijsko zasnovo. Vsekakor pa je napačno, če jih interpretiramo po analogiji s poznosrednjeveškimi dvori, ki so bili skromnejša plemiška bivališča na podeželju (Kos, 1994: 7ss). Prvotno so v precej primerih pripadali vladarju, pozneje članom vodilnih grofovskih ali visokosvobodnih rodbin 10., 11. in 12. stoletja. Čeravno so ti njihovo upravljanje prepuščali uradnikom, so se s spremstvom često zadrževali v njih in iz-stavljali listine, po vsej verjetnosti pa tudi sodili. Zato so morali biti dvori tudi temu primerno urejeni in opremljeni. Torej jih ni mogoče postaviti v isto vrsto z dvori 14. in 15. stoletja.¹²

8 Latinski izrazi za takšno enoto (brez cerkve!) so curtifer, curtile/cortile, curtis stabularia (pristava, Mayerhof), curtis molendinaria ali molendina (z mlinom) in podobno; za latinsko terminologijo agrarnega gospodarstva v zgodnjem srednjem veku na Bavarskem, ki velja tudi za naše kraje, gl. npr. Gutmann, 1906: 47ss.

9 Gutmann, 1906, 52ss. Prim. tudi Vilfan, 1980. Za te dvore se v nemščini uporablja tudi termin Haupthof (curtis principalis).

10 S cerkvijo sv. Martina, ki je postala sedež salzburske pražupnije.

11 Z »Dolenjim dvorom« se povezuje leta 1998 odkrito arheološko najdišče pri cerkvi sv. Ulrika (nekdanj sv. Marka) na Ulrichsbergu (katastrska občina Hörbing), ki kaže na dvor iz 10. stoletja, a bi jo glede na položaj bilo bolje identificirati z nedokumentiranim »Gorenjim dvorom« (Gutjahr, 2005: 50).

12 Kot je to pri Dušanu Kosu (Kos, 1994: 7ss). Avtorjevo izhodišče so tiste

Dotakniti se moramo še zgodnjih gradov, v virih označenih kot »castrum« in pri nas še češče kot »castellum«. V dveh vladarskih darovnicah, iz leta 953 salzburskemu nadškofu (GZS II/400) in iz leta 979 säbenskemu (briksenškemu) škofu (GZS II/468), je govor o dvoru in gradu. V prvi darovnici gre za Althofen na Grobniškem polju (Krapfeld; curtem quandam et castellum), v drugi za Sv. Martin (St. Martin) pri Beljaku (curtem Fillac et castellum cum aeclesia ibi constructa). Formulacija nas napeljuje na misel, da imamo v fizičnem smislu opraviti z dvema, čeravno soodvisnima stavbnima sestavinama. Tudi viri, ki so nam na voljo za Bled, kažejo, da je bilo tako. V beljaškem primeru je stala cerkev v gradu, zato bi grad – a ne nujno – lahko imel vlogo rezidence (Eichert, 2012a: 175ss). Je pa drugod v Nemčiji dovolj primerov, ko je bil upravni sedež s pripadajočimi pravicami v dvoru, grad na vzvišenem položaju v njegovi bližini pa je služil kot zatočišče prebivalstva pred nevarnostjo, saj dvor načeloma ni bil utrjen (Eichert, 2012b, z bibliografijo). V zgodovini funkcija zgodnjih gradov kot pribežališč ali »bežigradov« (Fluchtburg, Fliehbürg) brez stalne vojaške posadke kot tudi brez upravne pristojnosti, a s peščico ljudi, ki je skrbel za vzdrževanje gradu in zaloge hrane, namreč ni neznana.¹³ Seveda si teh gradov ne smemo predstavljati kot zidane utrdbe po analogiji z visokosrednjeveškimi gradovi, marveč – zlasti v Srednji Evropi – le kot z okopi in palisadami zavarovane površine, na katerih so stala večidel lesena poslopja. Predvidevamo jih lahko tudi nad marsikaterim dvorom na Slovenskem, le da o njih v listinskem gradivu ni sledu. Ugotoviti bi jih bilo mogoče le po terenskih razmerah in z arheološkimi izkopavanji.

Z upoštevanjem zgodovinskih okoliščin je bilo mogoče na Slovenskem ugotoviti vrsto zgodnesrednjeveških dvorov s cerkvami od Furlanije na zahodu do Mure na vzhodu, tudi takšnih, ki v virih niso izpričani. Na tem mestu pa se bomo omejili na Gorenjsko, ki je v tem pogledu tudi najbolj raziskana, in pokazali še na lokacije s cerkvami, pri katerih zgodnesrednjeveška grobišča še niso evidentirana, a jih je kot lastniške cerkve mogoče ugotoviti na podlagi zgodovinskih okoliščin. S tem téma seveda še ni izčrpana, saj jo je z nadaljnjim raziskovanjem mogoče poglobiti, poleg tega se v

lokalitete, ki so v listinah izpričane kot »hof«. Seveda je med zgodnesrednjeveškimi dvori večina takšnih, na katere lahko sklepamo le po cerkvi in zgodovinskih okoliščinah in jih zato Kosov seznam nima. Na drugi strani pa teh dvorov iz 14. in 15. stoletja ne smemo zamenjati z dvori kot agrarnimi enotami, o katerih govori op. 8.

13 Nazadnje npr. Thompson, 2008: 337–340; o odredbi o gradovih v tej funkciji, ki jo je leta 926 ali 927 izdal kralj Henrik I. zaradi madžarskih vdorov, posebej Erdmann, 1943. Le bežen pogled v literaturo pokaže, da je bilo primerov lokalitet z dvorom in gradom (curtis et castellum/castrum) v zgodnjem srednjem veku dovolj, tako na Nemškem kot v Italiji, kar pomeni, da je bil grad le objekt na gospostvenem teritoriju (dominiju) dvora. Zlasti v severnoitalijanskih (padanskih) virih pogosta sintagma »curtis cum castello« (ali »curtis cum castro«) razkriva subordinacijo slednjega: nosilec fiskalnih obveznosti in juridičnih pravic je bil dvor; gl. npr. Violante, 1991: 361ss; Violante, 2000: 21, 41. Pač pa se prepričanje, da so ti gradovi nastajali zaradi obrambe pred Madžari, Normani in Saraceni, v novejšem času umika mišljenju, da je v prvi vrsti šlo za simbolično funkcijo. Ta je naposled pripeljala do tega, da so gradovi v 11. stoletju v upravnih zadevah začeli nadomeščati dvore.

prihodnosti še lahko pokažejo novi, tako arheološki kot zgodovinski momenti.

Pregled lokalitet

Moste – Žirovnica, c. sv. Martina. Grobišče z najdbami karantansko-köttlaške kulture (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 39) nakazuje, da gre za staro lastniško cerkev. V Mostah (in loco qui Hohenbruche dicitur) je med letoma 1154 in 1156 grofica Hedvika Bogenska izdala darovnico za vetrinjski samostan (GZS IV/338). Opraviti imamo torej z dvorom, ki je sredi 12. stoletja, ko je bil v posesti Bogenskih, še obstajal. Kdo so bili njegovi lastniki pred Bogenskimi, listinsko ni dokazljivo, po vsej verjetnosti pa gre za rod Heme Breško-Seliške oziroma Askvince, katerih posestva so v precej primerih pristala pri Bogenskih. Pozneje je dvor propadel.

Radovljica, c. sv. Petra. Patrocinj cerkve in zgodovinske okoliščine dovoljujejo domnevo, da gre za lastniško cerkev zgodnj srednjeveškega dvora, ki ga je v 12. stoletju pod Ortenburžani kot upravni sedež nadomestil stari Lipniški grad (Waldenburg, Waldenberg, Pusti grad). Stati je moral na kraju sedanje graščine poleg cerkve. Pomol, kjer stoji cerkev, je bil naseljen že v staroslovanski dobi, našli so tudi sledove grobišča (Valič, 1970; Sagadin, 1990). O tem, kdo so bili prvi lastniki tega dvora, obstajajo različna mnenja – ali kranjski mejni grofje ali rod Heme Breško-Seliške oziroma Askvinci. Verjetno kmalu po letu 1263, ko sta si Henrik in Friderik razdelila ortenburška posestva na Kranjskem, je Friderik, ki mu je pripadel Lipniški grad, dosegel, da se je župnijski sedež z Rodin preselil v Radovljico. Grobišče na Sandrovi polici v Predtrgu (Pleterski, 1990) je starejše (pozno 8./zgodnje 9. stoletje) in s tistim pri cerkvi nima povezave.

Bled – Grad, c. sv. Martina. Tudi tu prekopano in zasuto grobišče (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 38) dokazuje obstoj stare lastniške cerkve, morda že iz 9. stoletja, ki je s tem, ko je kralj Henrik II. leta 1004 posestvo Bled podelil säbenskemu (briksenškemu) škofu Albuinu, morala priti v last briksenške cerkve. Vendar ni bila povezana z blejskim gradom, saj je Briksen grad prejel šele leta 1011. Zato lahko tudi tu predvidevamo dvor, ki pa ga ne smemo izenačiti z dvorom pristavo, omenjenim v darovnici mejnega grofa Ulrika briksenški cerkvi iz let 1060–1070 kot »curtile« (GZS III/209; prim. Pleterski, 2011: 67s, 155). Obstoj tega dvora je izpričan v darovnici kralja Henrika III. briksenški cerkvi iz leta 1040 (GZS III/106), po kateri je podeljena posest segala »usque ad curtem prescriptę aeclesiae (sc. briksenške) Ueldes nominatam«. Razume se, da je Briksen leta 1004 s posestvom Bled moral prejeti tudi upravni sedež tega posestva s cerkvijo, ki je bil postavljen v času, ko je bilo posestvo še v vladarjevih rokah. Z malo domišljije lahko domnevamo, da se je dvor nahajal na lokaciji kmetije poleg cerkve (pri Žabjem potoku), ki je pri Pleterskem označena s številko 1 (Pleterski, 2011: 65, zemljevid) in je po tem avtorju edina, katere izvora se ne da pojasniti. Gre za kmetijo, ki jo na lokaciji »Crotenach« (tj. Krotenbach) navaja briksenški škofijski urbar iz leta 1253

(Bizjak, 2006: 188¹⁴). Kakšno vlogo je imel pri tem grad, lahko samo ugibamo. Ali je bil sedež kraljevega uradnika z vojaško posadko ali pa je vendarle šlo le za »Fluchtburg«, katerega zgodovina bi lahko segla še v obdobje župe? Kakorkoli že, ko je Briksen grad primerno prezidal in utrdil ter vanj prenesel sedež uprave, je nekdanji dvor kot nepotreben opustil in ga preuredil v kmetijo.

Glede na to, da ni dokazano, da bi briksenška škofija kadarkoli imela patronat nad cerkvijo sv. Martina, se je doslej mislilo, da je bila cerkev že leta 1004 v posesti rodinske pražupnije oziroma da ni bila več del kraljevega posestva Bled (Pleterski, 2011: 68; tako tudi še Höfler, 2013: 209). Pri tem je Andrej Pleterski (Pleterski, 2011: 155) izrazil domnevo, da je vladar cerkev že pred letom 1004 podelil nekemu velikašu, morda kranjskemu grofu. Ker bi mu v tem primeru podelil le cerkev brez dvora, ki mu je pripadala, to ni verjetno. Če poleg povedanega upoštevamo še to, kaj se je z briksenškimi cerkvami dogajalo v času patriarhatske reforme, mnenja, da Briksen leta 1004 ni prejel v last cerkve, ni več mogoče zagovarjati. Po pogodbi, ki jo je bil škof Altvin med letoma 1063 in 1068 prisiljen skleniti s patriarhom Rabengerjem (GZS III/227; Höfler, 2013: 41, 43), je Briksen izgubil tako rekoč vse lastniške cerkve v mejah patriarhata, na Vzhodnem Tirolskem in Gornjem Koroškem ter tiste v Podjuni, tako posledično tudi to na Bledu, ki je po naši rekonstrukciji pripadala dvoru pod gradom. Ker je listinsko izpričana šele v papeškem desetinskem seznamu iz leta 1296 kot »capella«, v resnici radovljiški vikariat, med patriarhatsko reformo ni bila preoblikovana v patronatno ali patriarhatsko župnijo kot marsikatera druge in je zato pripadla rodinsko-radovljiški pražupniji kot njena podružnica, pri tem pa tudi izgubila pravico pokopavanja. Kot sedež župnije se v virih pojavi šele v začetku 15. stoletja, a ostane v odvisnosti od radovljiškega župnika.

Bled – Otok, c. Matere božje. Pomembna arheološka lokaliteta na Blejskem otoku, tudi ta z grobiščem (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 37), sega še v predkrščanski čas. Več stavbnih faz zgodnj srednjeveške cerkve, postavljene na domnevem staroslovanskem kulturnem prostoru, kaže na lastniško cerkev, ki pa je bila v lasti nekoga na obali, morda župana (Pleterski, 2011: 152), in je imela vlogo romarske cerkve. Po letu 1004 je pristala v posesti briksenškega stolnega kapitlja, a jo je patriarh morda že med reformo prevzel, zaradi česar je prihajalo do sporov med briksenškim škofom in videmsko kurijo in po ustanovitvi ljubljanske škofije ljubljanskim škofom (Höfler, 2013: 211ss). Ostala je na ravni proštije kapele sicer z dokajšnjim premoženjem, a brez župnijskih pravic.

Blejski kot. Čeravno med intenzivnimi arheološkimi raziskovanji Blejskega kota, ki so prinesla pomembne rezultate, razen na prej omenjenih dveh lokalitetah ni takšnih, ki bi bili povedni za našo tematiko, nam viri razkrivajo nekaj lastniških cerkva, ki so bile verjetno šele v 12. stoletju preoblikovane v patronatne župnije. Na območju blejskega vikariata se kot otoka pojavljata župniji sv. Jurija v **Zgornjih**

¹⁴ Tako tudi Pleterski, 2011: 67, skica; v urbarju iz let 1306–1309 je označena »in Chrotenpach«; Bizjak, 2006: 192.

Gorjah in sv. Janeza Krstnika v **Zasipu**. V obeh primerih gre za prvotno lastniško cerkev, preoblikovano v patronatno župnijo (Höfler, 2013: 213–215). Spričo nove interpretacije listine o gradnji in posvetitvi Marijine cerkve v **Lescah** (GZS IV/542), ki se je doslej datirala v čas okoli leta 1173, zdaj pa v čas med letoma 1115 in 1121 (Bizjak, 2012), je obstoj cerkve v Zgornjih Gorjah dokumentiran vsaj že za sredino ali zadnja desetletja 11. stoletja. Ob nastanku omenjene listine je bila še lastniška z duhovnikom, tako tudi tista v Lescah, ki ji je takrat pripadla, a brez duhovnika in tudi brez pogrebne pravice. Predjožefinska župnija je imela enklavo v Podhomu v mejah zasipske župnije, gotovo iz časa, ko je bila v Gorjah še lastniška cerkev,¹⁵ imela pa je tudi nekaj njiv v Bregu pri Žirovnici onstran Save (Höfler, 1988: 220), kjer se domneva most iz tega zgodnjega časa. – Pač pa nam zgodnesrednjeveško grobišče priča o stari lastniški cerkvi sv. Andreja v **Mošnjah** (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 41). Omenja se leta 1154, ko jo je patriarh Ulrik II. predal Ulriku s Šumberka, škofu v Trevisu, v zameno za cerkev v Preddvoru; po vsej verjetnosti je že bila sedež patronatne župnije (Höfler, 2013: 219), katere prvi znani patroni so bili v 14. stoletju Ortenburžani. Prvi podatek o kakem dvoru v Mošnjah pa je šele iz leta 1359 (Adam, 2003).

Kovor, c. sv. Janeza Krstnika. Glede na listino, ki jo je v Kovorju med letoma 1050–1063 (1058?) izdal istrski in kranjski mejni grof Ulrik Weimar-Orlamünde (GZS III/143), lahko tu domnevamo dvor kranjskih mejnih grofov, morda še iz rodu Sempt-Ebersberg, ki so jim sledili Andeški, za njimi Goriški oziroma Goriško-Tirolski. V procesu reguliranja lastniških cerkva je v Kovorju nastala patronatna župnija (Höfler, 2013: 223s). Njen prvi in zadnji znani patron je bil Henrik Goriško-Tirolski, ki je njen patronat leta 1333 podelil kostanjeviškemu cistercijanskemu samostanu. Ker je v tej listini njena lega označena kot »prope castrum nostrum Gutenberg«, lastnik tega gradu pa je bil prav Henrik sam, je na dlani, da je ta nadomestil dvor v Kovorju, četudi je stal v kriškem vikariatu kranjske župnije. Arheoloških raziskovanj še ni bilo.

Naklo, c. sv. Petra. Lastniška cerkev kranjskih mejnih grofov (Sempt-Ebersbergi, Weimar-Orlamünde), ki je tako kot Kovor prek Andeških pristala pri Goriških, a zatem pri Ortenburžanih. Domnevno v drugi polovici 11. stoletja je postala sedež patriarhatske župnije. Prvotna cerkev naj bi po izročilu (Vrhovnik, Koblar, 1885: 45) stala na Gradišču nad Pivko, kjer bi bil lahko lociran zgodnesrednjeveški dvor. O njem v virih ni podatkov – po ustanovitvi župnije je verjetno propadel.¹⁶

Spodnje Duplje, c. sv. Martina (sv. Vida in Martina). Njen status določa grobišče z najdbami karantansko-köttlaške kulture v bregu severovzhodno nad vasjo (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 42), tam, kjer je cerkev stala do leta 1789, ko so zgradili novo v vasi. Do jožefinskih reform je pripadala župniji Križe, torej je ležala na državnem kranjskem ozemlju zunaj nakelskega. Zato ni gotovo, ali so Duplje, po katerih se imenujeta Albero in Henrik, ki v neki med letoma 1205 in 1208 izdani listini Henrika, mejnega grofa istrskega, nastopata kot priči (GZS V/96), Spodnje Duplje, saj sta bila očitno andeška ministeriala. Njun sedež bo treba iskati v smeri proti **Zgornjim Dupljam**, ki so sodile pod nakelsko župnijo, in sicer v sami vasi pri cerkvi sv. Mihaela.

Luže, c. sv. Janeza Krstnika. Glede na listino, ki jo je med letoma 1154 in 1156 v Lužah v korist vetrinjskega samostana izstavila grofica Hedvika Bogenska (GZS IV/339), lahko tudi tu, kot v Mostah, predvidevamo zgodnesrednjeveški dvor. Patrocinij cerkve kaže na krstno cerkev kranjske pražupnije. Po sredini 12. stoletja je moral dvor propasti, arheoloških raziskav pa tudi tu še ni bilo.

Zgornji Brnik, c. sv. Janeza Krstnika. Grobišče ob cerkvi (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 45) izdaja lastniško cerkev z dvorom, ki je moral obstajati še sredi 13. stoletja, ko se v ustanovni listini velesovskega samostana na strani patriarha Bertolda (1238) pojavlja vitez Rupert z Brnika (GZS V/699). Po vsej verjetnosti je bil andeški ministerial. Glede na to lahko dvor pripišemo kranjskim mejnim grofom (Sempt-Ebersberg, Weimar-Orlamünde), cerkev samo pa glede na njen geografski položaj in patrocinij opredelimo kot krstno cerkev mengeške pražupnije nasproti tisti v Lužah.

Preddvor, c. sv. Petra. Zgodovina te pomembne lastniške cerkve savinjskih grofov najkasneje iz prve četrtine 11. stoletja je v glavnem pojasnjena (Höfler, 2013: 221). K njej je sodila tudi cerkev sv. Klemena v Tupaličah. Pripadala je nekemu »Staremu dvoru«, na obstoj katerega je mogoče posledično sklepati ob poimenovanju samega Preddvora kot »Novi dvor« (curtis que dicitur Niwehouen).¹⁷ Tega so začeli graditi vetrinjski menihi, ko so (okoli leta 1147) dobili tamkajšnjo posest od sobrata Engelberta (GZS IV/235), ki bi bil lahko eden od Spanheimskih. Leta 1154 pa so menihi od patriarha Peregrina I. prejeli še cerkev v Preddvoru skupaj s tisto v Tupaličah in pripadajočimi kmetijami (GZS IV/323). Pred tem je bila v lasti treviškega škofa Ulrika iz rodu Šumberških,

iz visokega srednjega veka. Pač pa je velik del areala, kjer bi utegnili biti cerkev, ostal neraziskan. Iz virov, ki so podpisanimu trenutno na voljo, ni razvidno, ali so in kdaj so cerkev prestavili na današnje mesto. Iz indulgenčne listine vizitatorja Daniela de Rubeisa iz leta 1517, ki je na novo posvetil cerkev, se vendarle vidi, da je stala na višini in da se je do nje prišlo po kamnitih stopnicah (Vrhovnik, Koblar, 1885: 47). To se seveda ne ujema s položajem današnje cerkve v vasi.

17 Da je bil spomin na stari dvor v poznem srednjem veku še živ, pričata latinsko poimenovanje Preddvora kot »ante curiam« (1484 XI 3; Videm/Udine, Archivio arcivescovile, Acta curiae patriarchalis Vol. 15, fol. 719r) in nemško »vorm hof« (1488, vetrinjski urbar; gl. Kos, 1975: 476). Očitno se navezujeta na slovensko poimenovanje, ki je nastalo neodvisno od nemškega »Niwehouen« in zatem »Höfflein«.

15 Podhom v srednjem veku ni imel cerkve. Šele v letih 1606–1608 zgrajena cerkev Sv. trojice v Sebenjah na podhomskega teritoriju, ustanova radovljiške grofice Ane Marije Thurn, roj. Lenkovič, je zaradi tega položaja pripadla župniji v Zgornjih Gorjah. Zemlja, na kateri je bila cerkev postavljena, je morala v zgodnjem srednjem veku pripadati lastniku gorjanske cerkve, kar velja tudi za celotni Podhom. O zemljišču sebenjskega beneficija gl. tudi Pleterski, 2011, 59s.

16 Arheološka izkopavanja na Gradišču leta 1967, ki jih je opravil Andrej Valič (Valič, 1968), niso prinesla za našo temo relevantnih rezultatov. Po mnenju Timoteja Knifica je povsem možno, da stolp, katerega temelji so prišli na dan med izkopavanji, datira s konca zgodnjega ali celo

ki so bili dediči Heme Breško–Seliške. Povedno je tudi to, da je patriarh poleg omenjenih cerkva menihom podelil njune desetine, posebej pa še tiste v Novem dvoru. To pomeni, da je Novi dvor s svojo posestjo ležal zunaj teritorija preddvorske cerkve in tako zunaj prvotne posesti savinjskih grofov. Arheoloških raziskovanj še ni bilo. Neznana ostaja tudi lokacija Novega dvora, ki ga glede na povedano ne gre iskati v bližini cerkve oziroma na mestu današnje Wurzbachove graščine, kjer je nekdanj bržkone stal »Stari dvor«.¹⁸

Šmartin pri Kranju, c. sv. Martina; **Šenčur**, c. sv. Jurija. Poleg Kovorja, Naklega in Preddvora sta v mejah kranjske pražupnije stali še dve pomembni lastniški cerkvi, v Šmartinu pri Kranju in Šenčurju. Obe sta bili med reformo v drugi polovici 11. stoletja pretvorjeni v patriarhatsko župnijo (Höfler, 2013: 225–228). O njuni prvotni lastniški naravi pričata njuni enklavi v predjožefinski kranjski župniji, šmartinske v Žejah pri Spodnjih Dupljah in šenčurske v Hujah pri Kranju. Lokacija stare šmartinske cerkve ob mostu čez Savo (Gorenja Sava), ki so jo opustili po zidavi nove cerkve v Stražišču (1728–1734) in podrli, je pomembno arheološko najdišče z grobovi karantansko–köttlaške kulture (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 44) in potrjuje njen status, medtem ko do arheoloških raziskovanj v Šenčurju še ni prišlo.

Šmartno pri Cerkljah na Gorenjskem, c. sv. Martina. Lastniška cerkev propadlega zgodnjeredneveškega dvora z grobiščem (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 46). O lastništvu tega dvora ni podatkov, po vsej verjetnosti pa gre za kranjske mejne grofe. Domnevno v drugi polovici 11. stoletja so bližnje Cerklje, za katere je leta 1239 poleg novega (Cirkelach) izpričano prvotno ledinsko ime Trnovlje (Tirnovlach; GZS V/718), s cerkvijo Matere božje, postale sedež patriarhatske župnije, izločene iz mengeške pražupnije. O tem, da je bila cerkev v Šmartnem postavljena pred to v Cerkljah in prva v cerkljanski župniji, govori ljudsko izročilo, ki mu je pritegnilo tudi zgodovino–pisje (Lavrenčič, 1890: 24ss).

Komenda, c. sv. Petra. Zgodnjeredneveški dvor s cerkvijo, ob kateri so odkrili sledove grobišča (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 47) in ki naj bi v drugi polovici 11. stoletja postala sedež patronatne župnije, izpričane prek župnika v listini za vetrinski samostan iz let 1147 do 1154. Sklepati je mogoče, da gre za alod zunaj posesti kranjskih mejnih grofov, v lasti predhodnikov Svibenskih na Smledniku, ki so okoli leta 1223 cerkev predali viteškemu redu johanitov (ivanovcev) (Höfler, 2013: 239s). Pred Svibenskimi (in Planinskimi) so dvor bržkone imeli Spanheimski, ki pa verjetno niso bili njegovi prvi lastniki. Ko so njihovi nasledniki dobili Smlednik in tam sezidali grad, so dvor v Komendi opustili, a je ob predaji cerkve johanitom moral še obstajati.

18 »Novi dvor« je kot toponim za Preddvor zadnjič izpričan leta 1376 (Kos: 1975, 476), zatem pa ga v tej vlogi nadomesti Höf(f)lein, s čimer so poimenovali tudi predhodnico Wurzbachove graščine. Zato je mogoče domnevati, da so ga v 15. stoletju opustili in rezidenco prestavili k cerkvi.

Nevlje, c. sv. Jurija. Glede na zgodovinske okoliščine – arheoloških raziskav tu namreč še ni bilo – tu domnevamo lastniško cerkev z dvorom iz poznega 10. stoletja, s katerega so kranjski mejni grofje upravljali svojo zasebno posest. Kot kaže, so njihovi nasledniki Andeški najbrž že v prvi polovici 12. stoletja upravo prenesli na Mali grad v Kamniku, v svojo novo naselbino, do okoli leta 1300 pa je sledil še prenos župnijskega sedeža h kamniški Marijini cerkvi. Kljub pomeni Nevelj in Kamnika za tamkajšnje dinastije cerkev ni postala patronatna župnija, marveč jo je prevzel patriarh.

Ihan, c. sv. Jurija. Za Ihan relevantnih podatkov ni, le iz dejstva, da je tu obstajala patronatna župnija, bi se dalo sklepati na prvotno lastniško cerkev. Pač pa bi leta 1373 omenjeni dvor v Ihanu (Otošec, 1962: 1) lahko nasledil morebitni zgodnjeredneveški dvor kranjskih mejnih grofov. Podoben položaj kaže tudi c. sv. Martina v **Šmartnem pod Šmarno goro**, omenjena že okoli leta 1118 (Höfler, 2013: 43, 239). Vendar iz zgodovinskih podatkov ni razvidno, da bi tam obstajal dvor. Bila je brez desetine, okoli leta 1118 pa tudi še ni imela pogrebne pravice.

Šentpavel pri Domžalah, c. sv. Pavla. Ob cerkvi ugotovljeno zgodnjeredneveško grobišče (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 49) nakazuje obstoj propadle lastniške cerkve z dvorom. Relevantnih zgodovinskih podatkov ni, le v enkrat samkrat – prvič in zadnjič – leta 1374 omenjenem dvoru (Otošec, 1962: 1s) lahko vidimo sled prvotnega sredneveškega dvora. Takrat je pripadal bližnjemu gradu Dragomelj, ki bi bil lahko njegov pravni naslednik.

Križevska vas (nekdanj Sv. Križ) nad Dolskim, c. Sv. Križa. Arheološka odkritja na lokaciji prvotne, v 16. stoletju porušene cerkve (Vodnikova domačija; Knific, Mlinar, 2014: št. 50) in njihova interpretacija (Osredkar, 2009) kažejo na zgodnjeredneveško grobišče na mestu morebitne poznoantične cerkve. Cerkev Sv. Križa se s tem patrocinijem omenja že leta 1304 (auf dem Heiligenperge zu dem Heiligenchreutz; Schumi, 1887: 267), zato ne more biti starejša od 12. stoletja. Da bi bila lastniška, ni verjeti, tudi za obstoj dvora ni oprijemljivih podatkov. Pač pa je zanimiva označba Svete gore (Heiligenperg), ki naj bi potekala od Dolskega do Vrha sv. Miklavža in se omenja že v ustanovni listini za mekinjski samostan leta 1300 (in Monte Sancto; Schumi, 1887: 247; prim. Kos, 1975: 152). To bi pomenilo, da so se v tem času še videli ostanki ene ali več poznoantičnih cerkva.

Zbilje, c. sv. Janeza Krstnika. Več dejstev je, zaradi katerih ta v sredneveških virih nedokumentirana in arheološko neraziskana cerkev zasluži vso pozornost (Höfler, 2013: 238). Pripadala je mengeški pražupniji, zatem vodiški župniji in naposled smledniški. Njen patrocinijski govori za krstno cerkev mengeške pražupnije in jo s tem postavlja ob bok tiste v Zgornjem Brniku. Pomembna je tudi njena lega, saj je na tem mestu, na meji s šempetrsko in starološko pražupnijo, mengeška pražupnija prekoračila Savo. Okoli leta 1118, ko se v virih pojavijo podružnice poznejšega smledniškega vikariata in cerkev v Šmartnem pod Šmarno goro (Höfler, 2013:

237s), je nedvomno že obstajala, a ni bila v lasti smledniških vitezov. Po vsej verjetnosti gre za prvotno spanheimsko posest, podedovano ali kupljeno od neznanih lastnikov, ki je bila zgodaj odtujena tistemu kraljevemu ozemlju v mejah mengeške pražupnije, ki ga je v svojo last prejel kranjski mejni grof. Vse to govori za staro lastniško cerkev, ki se takšna ni ohranila.

Stara Loka, c. sv. Jurija. Po zadnjih ugotovitvah (Höfler, 2013: 243ss) ne gre za patriarhatsko pražupnijo, marveč za teritorij kraljevega dvora s cerkvijo, ki je s podelitvijo leta 973 neposredno prešel na freisinško cerkev. Obstoj dvora dokazuje pogodba med škofom Ellenhardom in patriarhom Sigehardom iz leta 1074, s katero je patriarh cerkev vključil v župnijsko mrežo in jo za nekaj desetletij zadržal v svoji polni oblasti (GZS III/284). Dvoru v Loki so poleg kmetij na tem območju (in pertinentia curtis suę [sc. freisinškega škofa] Lonka dicte) pripadale tudi novopridobljene kmetije na Vinjem Vrhu na Dolenjskem (apud Uuinperch cum integra trium eiusdem curtis arearum), pri katerih je škof nameraval sezidati cerkev. Po postavitvi gradu nad Škofjo Loko – če je stari grad na Kranclju v resnici precej starejši od loškega (Blaznik, 1973: 41ss), je slej ko prej služil kot »Fluchtburg« – so škofje upravo svojih posestev prenesli na grad, dvor ob cerkvi pa opustili. Ni odveč misel, da ga je nasledila starološka graščina.¹⁹

Sora, c. sv. Štefana. Zgodovinske okoliščine so pokazale, da gre za staro lastniško cerkev iz poznega 10. stoletja v mejah šentpeterske pražupnije in v lasti grofa Bernharda iz rodu furlanskega grofa Verihena (Höfler, 2013: 249), z dvorom, katerega obstoj je posredno razviden že iz druge podelilne listine freisinškemu škofu iz leta 973 in ki je izpričan leta 1154 prek Ort vina iz Sore in zatem še večkrat v tretji četrtini 12. stoletja prek Henrika iz Sore, spanheimskih ministerialov

¹⁹ Vsaj posredno je razvidno, da je freisinški škof prenesel upravo z dvora na grad med letoma 1160 in 1266. Leta 1160 (7. marca) je škof neko listino še izdal v dvoru (Actum in curia Lonca; Zahn, 1870: št. 110), leta 1266 (22. avgusta) pa na gradu (Datum in castro Lok; Zahn, 1870: št. 258). Če je pozneje kraj izdaje natančneje naveden, sicer zelo redko, je to vedno grad in ne dvor (prim. listine 1268 8/5, 1275 14/7 in 1286 18/6; Zahn, 1870: št. 273, 308, 395). – Pavle Blaznik (Blaznik, 1973: 19) vidi prvotni loški dvor v nekdanji vasi Stari Dvor pri Suhu (Althofen) in misli, da so ga pred letom 1291 premestili k župnijski cerkvi v Stari Loki, kjer se leta 1291 omenja »curia domini episcopi in Altenlok«. V freisinških *Noticia bonorum de Lonka* iz leta 1160 se navajajo trije celi dvori (Loka, tj. Stari Dvor; Bitnje; Žabnica) in en polovični dvor (Godešič), a so v izvorniku poimenovani kot curtiferi villicorum (Ille de Lonka, tummaior de Vitingen, curtiferus de Sahniz, dimidius curtiferus apud Nivsaze; Zahn, 1871: 12–13; GZS IV/410; Blaznik, 1963, 127). Dvora v Starem Dvoru torej ne gre poistovetiti z loškimi dvorom iz leta 1074, ki je moral biti tam, kjer je stala cerkev. V freisinškem urbarju iz leta 1291 (Zahn, 1871: 168ss; Blaznik, 1963: 129ss) termina curtifer ni več, namesto tega nastopa le villa, v Godešiču officium, od Starega Dvora pa je ostal le toponim (Altenhouen). Pač pa se v godeškem uradu omenja travnik, ki pripada škofovemu dvoru v Stari Loki (quoddam pratum attinens curie domini episcopi in Altenlok; Zahn, 1871: 186; Blaznik, 1963: 140) in ki ga kosijo tamkajšnji ljudje ter seno vozijo v škofovo žitnico. Ta curia je lahko le stari zgodnjerednjeveški loški dvor, ki je takrat še obstajal.

(Šilc, 2013). Spanheimski, ki so medtem pridobili to posest, so dvor opustili in njegove pravice prenesli na grad Goričane, prvič omenjen v delilni listini med Ulrikom III. in Filipom Spanheimskima leta 1256 (MC IV/1: št. 2627), cerkev pa je bržčas že v drugi polovici 11. stoletja postala sedež patriarhatske župnije. Prvotna cerkev je stala više od današnje iz let 1882–1884 in je bila opuščena in podrt zaradi usedanja terena (Koblar, 1884: 44). Tako kot Stara Loka tudi Sora še čaka na arheološke raziskave.

Gosteče, c. sv. Andreja. Kraj se skupaj z bližnjim Pungertom omenja šele v popisu pridobitev freisinškega škofa Otona II. (1184–1220), nastalem okoli leta 1215 (Zahn, 1870: št. 126; GZS V/243), cerkev pa ob posvetitvi leta 1334 (Koblar, 1884: 58–59), tudi arheoloških raziskav še ni bilo. Kljub temu jo uvrščamo v ta katalog kot morebitno lastniško cerkev iz druge polovice 10. stoletja. Ozemlje med Gostečim in Pungertom je bilo namreč leta 973, ko je cesar Oton II. freisinškemu škofu podelil loško posest, v lasti nekega Pribislava, ki je to ozemlje prejel s kraljevo darovnico. Ker je bilo takrat pomotoma priključeno loški posesti, je bilo po Pribislavovi intervenciji v drugi podelitvi freisinškemu škofu leta 989 iz loške posesti izločeno (Štih, 2013). Naravno bi bilo, da bi imel Pribislav – tako kot njegov sosed v Sori – svojo cerkev. Tudi njen patrocini, sv. Andrej, kot bo pojasnjeno v nadaljevanju, ne govori proti temu. Med patriarhatsko reformo je bila priključena skupaj z vsem ozemljem župniji v Sori kot njena podružnica. O tem, od koga je škof Oton odkupil Gosteče in Pungert, pa ni nič znanega.

Lanišče (občina Škofljica), c. sv. Uršule.²⁰ Prvotni patrocini cerkve, sv. Janez Krstnik, in dejstvo, da se župnija Šmarje pri Ljubljani (Šmarje – Sap) v začetku imenuje po Lanišču, govorita za to, da gre za staro lastniško cerkev in krstno cerkev šentpeterske pražupnije, ki je bila preoblikovana v patriarhatsko župnijo s sedežem v Šmarju (Höfler, 2013: 252–254). O prvotni lastniški naravi te cerkve priča enklava šmarske župnije v Sostrem. Z upoštevanjem zgodovinskih virov jo je mogoče pripisati savinjskim grofom oziroma rodu Heme Breško-Seliške.

Prostorski odnos do naselij

Tudi brez nadrobnega raziskovanja, ki se ga bo treba še lotiti, kaže, da so zgodnjerednjeveški dvori s cerkvami ležali na robu naselij, včasih na dvignjenem platoju in zadaj za varovani z vzpetino ali kako drugače. Na podlagi franciscejskega katastra (1823 in dalje) se to da ugotoviti za Bled – Grad (gl. tudi zemljevid v Pleterski, 2011: 65), Zgornje Gorje, Zasip, Mošnje, Moste, Spodnje Duplje, Luže, Kovor, Zgornji Brnik, Šmartno pri Cerkljah, Komendo, Nevlje, Zbilje, Soro, Gosteče, Ihan in Lanišče, torej za veliko večino cerkva, ki smo jih navedli v pregledu lokalitet. Podobno velja za dvor v

²⁰ Kraj uvrščamo v okvir Gorenjske zaradi njegove nekdanje pripadnosti šentpeterski pražupniji in pripadnosti šmarske župnije kranjskemu (gorenjskemu) arhidiaconatu (Höfler, 2013: 252ss).

Radovljici s cerkvijo sv. Petra v odnosu do Predtrga, preden so zgradili današnji trg oziroma mesto. Na zadnji strani ga je ščitil previs. Okoli Šentpavla pri Domžalah se naselje ni razvilo ali pa je zelo zgodaj propadlo.²¹ Precej na samem je ostal tudi stari kranjski Šmartin. Položaj v Preddvoru in Stari Loki ni jasen, zato pa je za zgodnesrednjeveške lastniške cerkve značilna lega cerkve sv. Mihaela v Zgornjih Dupljah. Kot smo zapisali, bi tu utegnil biti sedež dupljanskih vitezov in s tem dvor Andeških oziroma njihovih predhodnikov. Vstran od naselja leži tudi cerkev sv. Ulrika v Smledniku. Ker se ta omenja že okoli leta 1118, župnik pa osamljeno nekajkrat v 13. stoletju – cerkev je namreč pravno ostala na ravni vodiške podružnice in šele v 14. stoletju postala sedež vikariata (Höfler, 2013: 237s) –, lahko tudi tu predvidevamo dvor s cerkvijo, morda že iz 11. stoletja, ki pa leta 1118 ni imela desetine in tudi še ne duhovnika, torej je ne smemo opredeliti kot lastniško. Drugače je s cerkvami, sedeži pražupnij in patriarhatskih župnij, ki se po naših premisah niso izoblikovale na podlagi lastniške cerkve, marveč jih je patriarh zaradi učinkovitejše dušne oskrbe prebivalcev po svoji presoji izločil iz pražupnije. Kot pravilo, sicer ne brez izjem, lahko velja, da so jih postavljali sredi naselja ali pa se je naselje razvilo okoli njih. Na Gorenjskem so zgledi za to Rodine in Mengeš (pravzaprav Mali Mengeš) – Kranj je tu zaradi naselbinske kontinuitete iz predсловanskega časa poseben primer –, dalje Cerklje, Moravče, Šentvid nad Ljubljano, Šmarje pri Ljubljani kot nova cerkev, naslednica Lanišča, in sedež reformne župnije, na Dolenjskem in Notranjskem npr. Šentvid pri Stični, Šentrupert, Trebnje, Cerknica. Položaj v Dobu, tudi verjetni patriarhatski župniji, kaže prej na lastniško cerkev (s patrociniem sv. Martina), a zanjo ni podatkov razen tega, da leta 1123 kot priča omenjeni Viljem iz Doba, andeški ministerial (GZS V/371), nakazuje obstoj tamkajšnjega dvora.²² Drugače Šenčur. Tu cerkev stoji sredi naselja, zato ni verjetno, da bi neposredno nasledila domnevno lastniško cerkev. Po vsej verjetnosti so jo postavili po izoblikovanju župnije, o stari pa ni več sledu. Pozornost vzbuja tudi cerkev v Naklem. Tudi njena lega sredi vasi kaže, da je bila sezidana sekundarno in da je stara lastniška cerkev morala stati drugje – kot smo nakazali, na Gradišču nad Pivko. Poseben, a tudi drugačen primer pa je poleg Kranja ljubljanski Šentpetr, prav tako sedež pražupnije. Stoji na koncu šentpeterskega predmestja, ki je novejšega datuma in posledica razširitve mestne naselbine. O starosti cerkve tudi tu pričajo sledovi zgodnesrednjeveškega grobišča. A ko so cerkev postavili, je bila na samem, in tudi pozneje se okoli nje ni razvilo naselje; posebne, z mestom nepovezane in po sv. Petru poimenovane vasi tu ni bilo. To »anomalijo« je mogoče razložiti z več kot verjetno domnevo, da so jo postavili na kraju misijonskega središča iz 9. stoletja. Omenjene ugotovitve seveda ne veljajo za cerkve, ki so jih v

srednjem veku iz tradicijskih in duhovnih spodbud postavljali posamezniki ali vaše soseske zunaj vasi, na samem ali na samotnem višinskem položaju. Nekatere so lahko zgodnje, kot npr. Štefanova cerkev na Štefanji gori, omenjena po letu 1132 (GZS IV/116), ali Marijina cerkev na Šmarni gori, tudi ta najbrž že iz 12. stoletja in očitno romarska. Pregled višinskih cerkva na Slovenskem in raziskava o razlogih za njihovo postavitev ostajata deziderat.

Patrociniji

Vrsta patrocinijev, svetniških zavetništev cerkvenih zgradb, se v primeru obravnavanih lastniških cerkva ujema s splošnimi ugotovitvami o zgodnjih patrocinijih na Slovenskem (Höfler, 2013: 369ss). Prednjačita apostol Peter in Martin, škof v Toursu. O slednjem ni treba izgubljeni besed, saj gre za enega najstarejših in v karolinškem obdobju posebej priljubljenih patrocinijev. Pogost je zlasti na salzburškem območju. Na Slovenskem južno od Drave mu razen v Šmartnem pri Slovenj Gradcu in v Laškem ni posvečena nobena pražupnijska cerkev, pač pa obstaja vrsta lastniških cerkva s tem patrociniem in patriarhatskih župnij. Na Gorenjskem je tako z lastniškimi cerkvami v Mostah – Žirovnici, na Bledu – Gradu, v Šmartinu pri Kranju, Šmartnem pri Cerkljah, Spodnjih Dupljah, pogojno tudi v Šmartnem pod Šmarno goro. Prvotno lastniška bi utegnila biti tudi cerkev v Dobu, sicer patriarhatna župnija, kot je tista v Moravčah, prav tako z Martinovim patrociniem. Sv. Petru so posvečene lastniške cerkve v Radovljici, Naklem, Preddvoru in Komenidi. Pri obravnavi Petrovega patrocinija, tudi priljubljenega v karolinškem obdobju (Höfler, 2013: 375s), smo opozorili na to, da sta na oglejskem ozemlju vzhodno od Soče sv. Petru posvečeni le dve pražupniji, v Šentpetru pri Ljubljani in v Šempetru v Savinjski dolini, ki sta ta patrociniji podedovali od domnevnega misijonskega središča 9. stoletja. Zato pa so toliko številnejše lastniške cerkve, ki jih lahko pripišemo ali upraviteljem kraljevih posestev ali njihovim naslednikom, ki so pridobili ta posestva, posebej savinjskim grofom. Eden od namigov na zgodovinske okoliščine njihovega nastanka je bila prav bližina starega gradu: na Štajerskem sta to poleg tiste v Bistrici ob Sotli Vitanje in Rajhenburg (Brestanica). Med lastniškimi cerkvami je poleg Petrovega in Martinovega patrocinija pogost tudi sv. Jurij, tako tudi na Gorenjskem. Sv. Juriju je bila posvečena že cerkev kraljevega dvora v Stari Loki, ki jo je leta 973 prejel v last freisinški škof. Druge stare Jurijeve lastniške cerkve so v Zgornjih Gorjah, Šenčurju in Nevljah, domnevamo pa jo tudi v Ihanu.

Posebno skupino sestavljajo cerkve sv. Janeza Krstnika. Ta patrociniji smo povezali s pojmom krstne cerkve in kapele (Höfler, 2013: 415ss). Nadaljnje raziskovanje je pokazalo, da to seveda velja, a da so tudi lastniške cerkve ne glede na morebitno takšno funkcijo dobivale ta patrociniji. Na teritoriju cerkniške pražupnije in gospostva oglejskega patriarha so nastale kar tri, morda tudi štiri cerkve od petih lastniških, posvečene sv. Janezu Krstniku: na Malem Ločniku, pred-

21 Zgodnesrednjeveško naselje v samem Dragomlju s cerkvijo in dvorom v Šentpavlu po vsej verjetnosti ni povezano, poleg tega se datira že v 9. stoletje (Turk, 2002).

22 Terenske razmere in naključne arheološke najdbe v resnici kažejo, da je cerkev stala v okviru utrjenega dvora ali gradu, o katerem pa zgodovinskih podatkov ni in ki je moral že v srednjem veku propasti (Stražar, 1970: 76; večina oseb, ki jih avtor na tem mestu postavlja v Dob, izvirajo iz Pudoba pri Ložu).

hodnica Škocjana pri Turjaku, v Dvorski vasi, predhodnica Dobrepolja, in v Ribnici, predhodnica župnijske cerkve sv. Štefana Papeža,²³ po analogiji mogoče tudi na Sinjem vrhu, preden so postavili cerkev Sv. Križa v Poljanah (Starem trgu ob Kolpi), vse na območju, ki ga je do let 1245–1248 imel v rokah rod starih visokosvobodnih Turjaških. Na Gorenjskem Krstnikove cerkve stojijo v Zasipu, Kovorju, Lužah, Zgornjem Brniku, Zbiljah in Lanišču in jih glede na njihov zemljepisni položaj v odnosu do pražupnijskega sedeža lahko opredelimo tudi kot krstne.

Prave lastniške cerkve z Marijinim patrocinjem na Gorenjskem ni, z redkimi izjemami, kot je tista v Braslovčah, je ni tudi drugje na Slovenskem. Cerkvi na Blejskem toku in v Lescah sta sicer bili v individualni lasti, a sta služili za romarske potrebe. Presenečenje pa pomeni patrocinj cerkve sv. Pavla v Šentpavlu pri Domžalah, če je izviren, saj je pri nas razmeroma redek in pozen. Pač pa je nova pridobitev patrocinj sv. Andreja v Mošnjah, ki ga nosi tudi morebitna lastniška cerkev v Gostečem. Za ta patrocinj smo zapisali, da je prav značilen za zgodnje lastniške cerkve – že od 10. stoletja – na Koroškem in Štajerskem ter po nemškem zgledu tudi v Furlaniji (Höfler, 2013: 381). Čeravno je cerkev v Mošnjah dokumentirana šele leta 1154, jo glede na grobišče ob njej lahko datiramo vsaj v prvo polovico 11. stoletja in s tem dobimo en takšen primer tudi v sedanjih slovenskih mejah. Na Gorenjskem nastopi kot patrocinj lastniške cerkve tudi sv. Mihael, ki je sicer pogostejši pri pražupnijah; ima ga cerkev v Zgornjih Dupljah, pri kateri domnevamo obstoj zgodnesrednjeveškega dvora. Poseben primer pa je cerkev sv. Štefana v Sori. Kot smo zapisali, je tu stal dvor Bernarda iz rodu furlanskih grofov iz druge polovice 10. stoletja, pojav njenega patrocinja pa lahko spričo pražupnijskih cerkva sv. Štefana v Solkanu in Vipavi pripišemo vplivu Furlanije.

Na kratko lahko povzamemo, da so lastniške cerkve na Gorenjskem bile pretežno posvečene sv. Petru, Martinu, Juriju in Janezu Krstniku. Posamični, vendar zgodovinsko razločljivi pa so primeri cerkva s patrocinjem sv. Andreja, Mihaela in Štefana.

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23 Gre za kapelo sv. Janeza Krstnika v ribniškem gradu. Po Valvasorjevem poročilu v *Slavi* (knj. XI, 466) je bila stara in se je na praznik njene posvetitve v nedeljo po patrocinjju (24. junija) morala pri njej zbrati vsa župnija s podružnicami. Ker je to za grajsko kapelo zelo nenavadno, lahko v tem vidimo spomin na to, da je bila nekoč mati ribniške župnije.

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1. Bled, Blejski otok (foto: Miran Kambič)
8. Bled, Bled island (photograph: Miran Kambič)



2. Cerklje na Gorenjskem, cerkev Marijinega vnebovzetja (foto: Bernarda Filipič Jesenko)
2. Cerklje na Gorenjskem, Our Lady of the Assumption Church (photograph: Bernarda Filipič Jesenko)



3. Kranj, cerkev sv. Martina v Stražišču (foto: Bernarda Filipič Jesenko)
3. Kranj, St Martin's Church, Stražišče (photograph: Bernarda Filipič Jesenko)



4. Mošnje, cerkev sv. Andreja (foto: Bernarda Filipič Jesenko)
4. Mošnje, St Andrew's Church (photograph: Bernarda Filipič Jesenko)



5. Spodnje Duplje, cerkev sv. Vida (foto: Bernarda Filipič Jesenko)
5. Spodnje Duplje, St Vitus' Church (photograph: Bernarda Filipič Jesenko)



6. Zgornji Brnik, cerkev sv. Janeza Krstnika, sklepnik z glavo sv. Janeza Krstnika, vzidan na zunanjščini, kot edini ostanek srednjeveške cerkve, okoli leta 1430 (foto: Robert Peskar)

6. Zgornji Brnik, St John the Baptist Church, boss showing the head of St John the Baptist built into the exterior wall, the only remaining fragment of the medieval church, circa 1430 (photograph: Robert Peskar)

Proprietary churches of the Early Middle Ages in upper Carniola and their historical background

Review article

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Introduction

The term “proprietary church” (German: *Eigenkirche*¹) denotes, in the juridical sense², a church built by a feudal lord on his own land to provide pastoral care (*cura animarum* or cure of souls) for himself and his subjects, which he provided with the property necessary for its maintenance, and also with a priest, whom he chose and installed according to his own judgement. The rulings of synods during the reigns of Charlemagne (d. 814) and Louis the Pious (814–840) contain a number of regulations concerning this phenomenon. For example: the newly built church had to be consecrated by the diocesan bishop; the owner had to set aside one farm exempted from all tributes for the maintenance of the priest; and once he had appointed a priest, the owner could not arbitrarily dismiss him. This decision was reserved for the bishop. He could, however, collect tithes. This fact, which differentiated proprietary churches from the private churches of Late Antiquity, meant that a proprietary church became an important economic asset for its owner. For a number of centuries, these regulations set out a legal framework recognised by the ecclesiastical authorities for the existence and functioning of a proprietary church: they protected the rights of the owner and also limited the interference of the diocesan bishop. The Roman synod of Pope Eugenius II in 826 ruled specifically, in Chapter 21 (*De monasterio vel oratorio, quod a proprio domino soli aedificatum est*): *Monasterium vel oratorium canonicè constructum a dominio constructoris invito non auferatur* (A monastery or oratory, as long as it is erected canonically, may not

be removed from the dominium of its builder).³ On the other hand this also means that the church is tied to the estate or manor and not to the owner as a subject. It was therefore not possible to separate it from the estate, of which it was a constituent part.

Despite these regulations, proprietary churches remained a foreign body in the diocesan organisation of parishes. They were removed from the control of bishops, and at the same time their owners abused their property for personal enrichment. The process of regulation of proprietary churches, which led to their inclusion in the diocesan network of parishes and in this way placed them under the control of the diocesan bishop, began in the tenth century and reached its height in the eleventh century (Höfler, 2013: 28–29, 39–43). The most troubling right of lay owners was that of the arbitrary appointment of clergy. The Lateran synod held by Pope Nicholas II in 1059 opposed this practice and banned lay investiture. The ban was above all directed against investiture at a high level – of bishops and abbots – as carried out by the emperor and great feudal lords. This led to historically significant investiture controversies between the emperor and the pope, but also affected the lower level. The regulation of proprietary churches essentially took place as follows: the owner ceded the entire tithe and some other property to the diocesan bishop, who in exchange returned part of the tithe, bestowed on the church the right of baptism and burial (the basic rights of a parish church) and granted the owner the right to choose a priest, whose appointment however had to be confirmed by the bishop and who was subject to the authority of the bishop or his archdeacon in spiritual matters.

1 Latin: *ecclesia propria*; Italian: *chiesa proprietaria/propria/privata*; French: *église propriétaire* or *église libre*. Proprietary monasteries (*Eigenkloster*) fall into the same category.

2 Summarised in Höfler, 2013: 24–25 (with references).

3 MGH Concilia II/1/2, 576. The word »oratory« (*oratorium*) was used in this period to designate proprietary churches. Its translation as »house of prayer« (*Bethaus*) is misleading.

The rights thus obtained by the owner of the church are included in the concept of patronage. We therefore characterise this process as the conversion of proprietary churches into parishes subject to the right of patronage (*ius patronatus*). This also happened in the case of churches whose owner was the bishop of another diocese (extraterritorial bishop), such as the bishops of Bamberg, Freising and Brixen within the Archdiocese of Salzburg and the Patriarchate of Aquileia. Proprietary churches where burials had taken place up to this time but whose owners did not offer them for conversion to a parish, or which the diocesan bishop did not wish to convert to a parish, lost this right and ceased to exist in the juridical sense. Within Slovene ethnic territory the conversion of proprietary churches into parishes subject to the right of patronage intensified under the Salzburg archbishops Baldwin (1041–1060) and Gebhard (1060–1088) and patriarchs Rabenger (1063–1068) and Sigehard (1068–1077) of Aquileia (Höfler, 2013: 39–43). For the Salzburg territory this process is illustrated by a series of documents dating from the time of Archbishop Baldwin to the first decades of the twelfth century, while for the territory of Aquileia only two such documents are known, both regarding extraterritorial bishops (of Brixen and Freising). Although the agreement dated 6 June (no year is given) between Patriarch Rabenger and the bishop of Brixen is extremely general, it does reveal a significant difference with respect to the archbishops of Salzburg. It appears that the patriarchs very rarely permitted proprietary churches to become parishes subject to patronage, and only in the case of lay owners. Generally they took them over in their entirety and, through the addition of lands from other feudal estates, formed larger parochial territories with parishes which they retained under their full authority, while the owners had to content themselves with advowson (*advocatio*).⁴ This may explain why large parishes were created in the Slovene lands on the basis of proprietary churches covering, as a rule, a small area. We refer to such parishes as patriarchal reform parishes. The best indication of the age of an individual church in a specific location, even where it has later been rebuilt or replaced by a new building, is the burial ground next to it. Where the latter belongs to the so-called Carantanian-Köttlach culture,⁵ we are dealing with a church from the Early Middle Ages, generally from up to the middle or end of the eleventh century. In the case of churches that were the seat of an original parish (*Urpfarre*) – in the light of recent research these can be

dated to the period running from the second half of the tenth century to the beginning of the eleventh century – the age is self-evident. Examples of the latter are St Daniel and Šmohor/Hermagor in the Gailtal in (Austrian) Carinthia (Knific, Mlinar: 2014, Nos 15, 16), Lipnica/Leibnitz in (Austrian) Styria (*ibid.*, Nos 29), Rodine, Kranj, Mengeš and the Ljubljana parish of Šentpeter in upper Carniola (Nos 40, 43, 48, 52), and also Predloka near Črni Kal in the former territory of the Diocese of Trieste (No 36). Burial grounds of the Carantanian-Köttlach culture are also found by those churches that became the seat of a parish subject to the right of patronage – in the case of upper Carniola this currently only applies to Mošnje and Komenda (Knific, Mlinar: 2014, Nos 41, 47) – or a patriarchal reform parish, which, in view of the fact that they are not the seat of an original parish, we interpret as originally proprietary churches of the Early Middle Ages; for now the only example of the latter is Šmartin near Kranj (*ibid.*, No 44). Burial grounds by churches without any parish tradition – where burials only took place up to the eleventh century – indicate that these are proprietary churches that ceased to exist in the juridical sense with the reform in the eleventh century. This is the case of the churches in Moste-Žirovnica, Spodnje Duplje, Zgornji Brnik, Šmartno pri Cerkljah and Šentpavel pri Domžalah (Knific, Mlinar: 2014, Nos 39, 42, 45, 46, 49), Muljava in lower Carniola (No 53) and Legen above Slovenj Gradec (No 51). Even in the case of burial grounds that indicate a Christian burial but where there is no longer a church or the church cannot be identified, we may assume that a church existed here but that it was removed after the reform or fell into ruin. In most cases such churches would have been wooden.

Another important aspect of the phenomenon of proprietary churches, alongside their legal status and their function, is their architectural context. Proprietary churches are frequently mentioned in documentary sources in the same breath as a manor house (*curtis, dvor*) and the ownership of the same. Evidently the proprietor had them built in the direct vicinity of his manor house, on its land, and in this way also afforded them protection. In the Early Middle Ages, as a rule, every manor house – as the administrative seat of a feudal estate – would appear to have had a church, even when this is not specifically mentioned in sources, in that it was considered a pertinential element (Amon, 1981). On the other hand the name of a manor could consist simply of a reference to a church and its owner.⁶ The predominant designation is, however, “*curtis cum/et ecclesia*”. When we look at the geographical situation of those manor houses whose existence we can infer from the presence of a church, it ap-

4 As, for example, under the 1074 contract between Patriarch Sigehard and Bishop Ellenhard of Freising for the territory of Loka and lower Carniola (Bela Cerkev). The contract between Patriarch Rabenger and Bishop Altwin of Brixen also reveals that Brixen lost all the churches it had hitherto held in the territory of the patriarchate, with the exception of half a church in Tristach in present-day East Tyrol. The contents of the contract with the bishop of Bamberg are not known, but it is clear from subsequent developments that all the Bamberg churches, including St Martin's near Villach and those in the Val Canale, passed into the hands of the patriarch of Aquileia.

5 Last review of localities with map and bibliography: Knific, Mlinar: 2014, 442–443, List No 4. Individual localities will be indicated below by their serial number in this review. In writing this article I benefited from the assistance of Dr Timotej Knific, to whom I offer my sincerest thanks and acknowledgements.

6 Thus in royal deeds of gift to the archbishop of Salzburg in the ninth and tenth centuries – about which more in the next paragraph – particularly those in Pannonia, we find for example: »*ad ecclesiam Anzonis*«, »*ad ecclesiam Ellodis*«, »*ad ecclesiam Minigonis presbiteri*«, »*ecclesia Gundoldi*«. Among the churches consecrated in Pannonia by the archbishops Adalwin and Liupram, according to the report in *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (Wolfram, 2012: 203ff.), four stood in locations that were also named after a church and its owner, but in German: »*ad Lindoveschirichun*« (Lindolf's church), »*ad Wiedhereschirichun*«, »*ad Isangrimeschirichun*«, »*ad Beatuschirichun*«. In all these cases these were manors with proprietary churches.

pears that they mainly stood on level ground, although frequently relatively close to the stone hilltop castles of the High Middle Ages. Since as a rule these castles only appeared from the twelfth century onwards and for the most part had German names ending in -berg, -burg, -eck or -stein, it seems reasonable to assume that they were built – because of new strategic considerations or for their symbolic function – to replace the old lower-lying manor houses. The latter were consequently allowed to fall into ruin, but the churches remained. This circumstance will be pointed out in each of the examples listed below. For the moment, however, we shall merely cite the most important examples: Radovljica and the old Lipnica Castle, Kovor and Gutenberg, Komenda and Smlednik, Nevlje and Kamnik, Sora and Goričane; in Styria: Bistrica ob Sotli with St Peter's church and Kunšperg, Braslovče and Žovnek⁷. It can also happen that the new castle stood in a different parish from the old manor house, as in the case of Gutenberg and Smlednik, but it is possible to conclude on the basis of sources that the owners were the same (or their heirs or successors). Naturally there were also cases in which the manor houses simply fell into ruin without being replaced by a castle, or where a castle was built on the same site.

The expression “*dvor*” (*curtis*, *Hof*) is usually used in Slovene historiography to denote a unit of the rural economy (*Hof*, *Gehöft*) (Pleterski, 2011: 151ff. and passim; Vilfan, 1996: 59 and passim).⁸ In our case, however, it refers to the administrative centre of a lord's estate (*curtis dominicalis*, *Herrenhof*), the centre of a villication or feudal estate, and the holder of fiscal obligations and juridical rights, which existed in this function until the development of castles in the twelfth century.⁹ In Slovene historical territory we encounter it in deeds of gift from the sovereign in the ninth and tenth centuries relating to manors owned by the crown; the most important of these deeds are those in favour of the Salzburg archbishop from the years 860 (GZS II/172; see Höfler, 2013: 55f.), 890 (or 880; GZS II/296; forgery from 976 or 977) and 977 (GZS II/460; for both, see Höfler, 2013: 58ff). As may be understood from the sources and from what happened to them after they were granted, we may conclude that they were the seats of

extensive estates, each with the pertaining church and tithes. The “*curtis ad Sabnizam*” (Hartberg in Styria¹⁰) for example, counted 50 royal farms (*mansi*, *hube*). In the document from 970 with which Emperor Otto II granted the archbishop of Salzburg the Lipnica territory, we already find the Slovene equivalent “*dvor*”: “*curtem ad Vduleniduur [Dolenji Dvor], lingua Sclavanisca sic vocatam, Theotisce vero Nidrinhof nominatam*” (Höfler, 2013: (72f.): It is believed to have stood somewhere near Deutschlandsberg,¹¹ and it also had 50 farms belonging to it. In 985 Emperor Otto II granted Count Rahvin the estate of Razvanje with 15 farms (GZS II/487). When Engelbert II of Spanheim, his distant heir, exchanged Razvanje with the abbot of Šentpavel for Glödnitz/Glodnica in Carinthia between 1106 and 1124 (GZS IV/22), it is recorded as “*curtim et ecclesiam Razwei*” with 15 villages. St Michael's church is still standing and in all probability dates back to the tenth century, while the manor house was replaced by Hompoš Castle under the Spanheims (Höfler, 2013: 306f.).

This is also the pattern according to which the early medieval *curtes dominicales* that existed or are assumed to have existed in the Slovene lands should be considered, without going into details about their architecture and fortifications. It would certainly be incorrect to interpret them by analogy with late medieval manor houses, which were more modest noble dwellings in rural areas (Kos, 1994: 7ff.). Originally they belonged, in many cases, to the sovereign, and later to members of leading comital or *hochfrei* families of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although the latter left the running of these manors to stewards, they would frequently stay in them with their retinues and issue documents (and in all probability administer justice). The manor houses therefore had to be kept in good order and suitably furnished. For this reason, they cannot be placed in the same category as the manor houses of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹² Mention must also be made of early castles, which appeared in written sources under the designation *castrum* or – even more frequently in the Slovene lands – *castellum*. Two royal deeds of gift – one to the archbishop of Salzburg in 953 (GZS II/400) and one to the bishop of Säben (Brixen) in 979 (GZS II/468) – refer to a “manor and castle”. The first deed concerns Althofen in Krapfeld (“*curtem quandam et castellum*”); the second St Martin near Villach (“*curtem Fillac et castellum cum aeclesia ibi constructa*”). This formulation leads us to the idea that we are dealing here, in the physical sense, with two

7 The castle of the house of Žovnek, later counts of Cilli (Celje), who were first named after Žovnek in 1173 with Gebhard »de So(u)nekke« (GZS IV/533). It is therefore perfectly possible that the family existed even before the building of the castle, when they owned the manor and church in Braslovče. The original name of the castle consists of the word »Soune« (Savinja, Savinja region), as the first Žovneks are known (de Soune) and the suffix »-eck«, which indicates that they did not build it until the twelfth century and that it cannot be defined as their original castle. It is therefore very likely that the Žovneks were the descendants or heirs of Hemma's *advocatus* Preslav, whose seat some serious historians place at Braslovče, by virtue of its name, and who may be attributed with the building of the proprietary church there. For more on this question see Podpečan, 2002.

8 Latin expressions for such a unit (without a church!) are *curtifer*, *curtile/cortile*, *curtis stabularia* (farm, *Meierhof*), *curtis molendinaria* or *molendina* (with mill) and so on; for Latin terminology relating to the rural economy in the Early Middle Ages in Bavaria, which also applies to Slovenia, see e.g. Gutmann, 1906: 47ff.

9 Gutmann, 1906, 52ff. Cf. also Vilfan, 1980. For these manors the term *Hauptshof* (*curtis principalis*) is also used in German.

10 With St Martin's church, which became the seat of the original parish of Salzburg.

11 »Dolenji Dvor« [Lower Manor] also has a connection to the archaeological site discovered in 1998 by St Ulrich's church (formerly St Mark's) in Ulrichsberg (cadastral municipality of Hörbing), which points to the existence of a tenth-century manor, although in view of its situation it would be better identified with an undocumented »Gorenji Dvor« [Upper Manor] (Gutjahr, 2005: 50).

12 As Dušan Kos does (Kos, 1994: 7ff.). The author's starting point are those localities attested in documents as a *Hof*. Naturally the existence of the majority of early medieval manors can only be concluded on the basis of a church and historical circumstances, and therefore these are not included in Kos's list. On the other hand we should not confuse these fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manors with the units of the rural economy referred to in footnote 8 above.

separate building complexes that were nevertheless interdependent. Available sources for Bled also indicate that this was the case. In the case of Villach the church stood in the castle, so the castle could have had – although not necessarily – the role of a residence (Eichert, 2012a: 175ff.). There are, however, sufficient examples elsewhere in Germany where the administrative seat with the rights pertaining to it was in the *Hof*, while a nearby castle built on a prominence served as a refuge for the population in time of danger, since the *Hof* was not, in principle, fortified (Eichert, 2012b, with references). The function of early castles as a refuge (*Fluchtburg*, *Fliehbürg*) without a permanent garrison and also without administrative competence, and with merely a handful of people to see to their upkeep and keep them stocked with food, is not unknown in history.¹³ Naturally, though, we should not picture these castles as stone fortifications analogous to the castles of the High Middle Ages. Rather, particularly in central Europe, they were merely areas protected by ditches and palisades, inside which mainly wooden buildings stood. We can also envisage them above many manor houses in Slovenia, except that there is no trace of them in documentary material. Their presence could only be established through field research and archaeological excavations.

Taking into account the historical circumstances, it has been possible to identify a series of early medieval manors with churches in the Slovene lands, from Friuli in the west to the river Mura in the east, including some not attested in sources. We shall limit ourselves here to upper Carniola, which is the best-researched region from this point of view, and also point out locations with churches where early medieval burial grounds have not yet been recorded but which can be identified as proprietary churches on the basis of historical circumstances. This does not, of course, exhaust the topic. Further research would allow us to explore it in greater depth, while new factors, both archaeological and historical, may also reveal themselves in the future.

Review of localities

Moste-Žirovnica, St Martin's. A burial ground with finds from the Carantanian-Köttlach culture (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 39) indicates that this was an old proprietary church. In

Moste (*in loco qui Hohenbruche dicitur*), between 1154 and 1156, Countess Hedwig von Bogen issued a deed of gift for Viktring Abbey (GZS IV/338). We are therefore dealing with a manor which still existed in the mid-twelfth century, when it was in the possession of the Bogens. Who its owners were before the Bogens cannot be proved by documents but in all likelihood they were the descendants of Hemma von Friesach-Zeltshach (aka Emma of Gurk), i.e. the house of Asquin, whose possessions in many cases went to the Bogens. It later fell into ruin.

Radovljica, St Peter's. The patronage of the church and the historical circumstances permit the assumption that this was the proprietary church of the early medieval manor which in the twelfth century, when it was held by the counts of Ortenburg, was replaced as administrative seat by the old Lipnica Castle (aka Waldenburg, Waldenberg, Pusti Grad). It must have stood on the site today occupied by the baroque mansion next to the church. The elevation on which the church stands was already settled in the Old Slavonic period and traces of a burial ground have also been found (Valič, 1970; Sagadin, 1990). Opinions differ on who the first owners of this manor were – either Carniolan margraves or the descendants of Hemma von Friesach-Zeltshach (the house of Asquin). It is likely that shortly after 1263, the year in which Henry and Frederick divided up the Ortenburg possessions in Carniola, Frederick, whose share included Lipnica Castle, succeeded in transferring the parish seat from Rodine to Radovljica. The burial ground at Sandrova Polica (Sander's Ledge) in Predtrg (Pleterski, 1990) is older (late eighth/early ninth century) and has no connection with the one by the church.

Bled-Castle, St Martin's. Here too the presence of a burial ground, dug up and refilled (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 38), proves the existence of an old proprietary church, perhaps from as early as the ninth century, which must have passed into the ownership of the Diocese of Brixen with the granting of the Bled estate to Bishop Albuin of Säben (later Brixen) by Henry II in 1004. However, it was not connected to Bled Castle, since Brixen did not receive the castle until 1011. For this reason we can imagine a manor here, although we should not equate it with the manor/farm mentioned in the deed of gift of Margrave Ulrich to the Diocese of Brixen from the period 1060–1070 as a "*curtile*" (GZS III/209; cf. Pleterski, 2011: 67f., 155). The existence of this manor is attested in the deed of gift from Henry III to the Diocese of Brixen in 1040 (GZS III/106), under which the granted estate extended "*usque ad curtem prescriptae aecliesiae* [sc. Brixen] *Ueldes nominatam*". It may be understood that on receiving the Bled estate in 1004 Brixen must also have received the administrative seat of this estate together with the church, built when the estate was still in the hands of the sovereign. With a little imagination we may assume that the manor house stood on the site of the farm next to the church (by the stream today known as Žabji Potok – "Toad Brook"), indicated in Pleterski by the number 1 (Pleterski, 2011: 65, map) and according to this author the only one whose origin cannot be explained. This is the farm indicated in the location "Crotenach" (i.e. Krötenbach – "Toad Brook") by the Brixen diocesan land register of 1253

¹³ See, for example, Thompson, 2008: 337–340; for the decree on castles with this function issued in the year 926 or 927 by King Henry I in response to the Magyar raids, see Erdmann, 1943. Even a fleeting glance at the literature is enough to show that there are plenty of examples of localities with both a manor and a castle (*curtis et castellum/castrum*) in the Early Middle Ages, in both Germany and Italy, which means that the castle was merely a structure within the dominion of the manor. Particularly in northern Italian sources (from the Po Valley), the common phrase »*curtis cum castello*« (or »*curtis cum castro*«) reveals the subordination of the latter: the holder of fiscal obligations and legal rights was the manor; see, for example, Violante, 1991: 361ff.; Violante, 2000: 21, 41. In fact the belief that these castles were built for defence against the Magyars, Normans and Saracens has more recently given way to the idea that their function was above all symbolic. This eventually led to the situation in the eleventh century where castles began to replace manors in administrative matters.

(Bizjak, 2006: 188¹⁴). What role the castle played in this, we can only guess. It may have been the seat of a royal official with the military garrison or simply a “*Fluchtburg*” whose history could date back to the time of the *župa*. Be that as it may, once Brixen had rebuilt and fortified the castle and transferred the seat of the administration there, the former manor house, which was no longer needed, was abandoned and converted into a farm.

In view of the fact that there is no evidence that the Diocese of Brixen ever held the right of patronage over St Martin’s, it was believed until now that even in 1004 the church belonged to the original parish of Rodine, or that it was no longer part of the Bled royal estate (Pleterski, 2011: 68; also Höfler, 2013: 209). Andrej Pleterski (Pleterski, 2011: 155) conjectured that the sovereign had granted the church to some lord, perhaps a count of Carniola, even before 1004. Since in this case the sovereign would only have granted the church without the manor to which it belonged, this is unlikely. If we also take into account what happened to the Brixen churches at the time of the patriarchal reform, the opinion that Brixen was not given ownership of the church in 1004 can no longer be sustained. Under the agreement which Bishop Altwin was forced to sign with Patriarch Rabenger between 1063 and 1068 (GZS III/227; Höfler, 2013: 41, 43), Brixen lost practically all the proprietary churches within the borders of the patriarchate, in eastern Tyrol and upper Carinthia and those in the Jauntal, and consequently also the church in Bled, which according to a reconstruction belonged to the manor below the castle. Since it is not attested in documents until the papal tithe list from 1296, where it appears as a “cappella” (actually a vicariate of Radovljica), it was not transformed during the patriarchal reform into a parish subject to the right of patronage or a patriarchal reform parish like many others and therefore fell to the original parish of Rodine/Radovljica as its daughter church, thereby also losing burial rights. It does not appear in sources as the seat of a parish until early fifteenth century, when it continues to be dependent on the parish priest of Radovljica.

Bled–Island, St Mary Mother of God. An important archaeological site on Bled Island, with burial ground (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 37), it dates back to pre-Christian times. The several phases of construction of the early medieval church, built on the site of a supposed Old Slavonic place of worship, indicate a proprietary church owned by somebody on the lake shore, perhaps the *head of community* (Pleterski, 2011: 152) that had the role of a pilgrimage church. After 1004 it was held by the Brixen cathedral chapter but the patriarch took possession of it, perhaps even during the reform, which resulted in disputes between the bishop of Brixen and the curia of Udine and – following the establishment of the Diocese of Ljubljana – the bishop of Ljubljana (Höfler, 2013: 211ff.). It remained at the level of the provost’s chapel, with considerable property but without parish rights.

Blejski Kot. Although intensive archaeological explorations in the Blejski Kot microregion (the Bled and Radovljica basin) have produced important results, they have not yielded any information relevant to our subject, except in the two locations mentioned above. Nevertheless, documentary sources reveal a number of proprietary churches that were probably not transformed into parishes subject to the right of patronage until the twelfth century. In the area of the Bled vicariate, the parishes of St George in **Zgornje Gorje** and St John the Baptist in **Zasip** are like two islands. In both cases these were originally proprietary churches transformed into patronage parishes (Höfler, 2013: 213–215). In view of the new interpretation of a document referring to the construction and dedication of the Marian church in **Lesce** (GZS IV/542), which was previously dated to around 1173 but is now thought to date from the period between 1115 and 1121 (Bizjak, 2012), the existence of a church in Zgornje Gorje is documented at least for the middle or last decades of the eleventh century. At the time this document was written, it was still a proprietary church with a priest. The church in Lesce, which belonged to it at that time, was also a proprietary church but without an incumbent and without the right of burial. The pre-Josephinian parish had an enclave in Podhom within the boundaries of the Zasip parish, almost certainly dating from the period in which there was still a proprietary church in Gorje,¹⁵ and also some fields in Breg near Žirovnica on the other bank of the Sava (Höfler, 1988: 220), where a bridge from this early period is presumed to have stood. An early medieval burial ground is in fact evidence of an old proprietary church dedicated to St Andrew in **Mošnje** (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 41). It is mentioned in 1154 when Patriarch Ulrich II transferred it to Ulrich of Šumberk, the bishop of Treviso, in exchange for the church in Predvor; in all probability it was already the seat of a patronage parish (Höfler, 2013: 219), whose first known patrons, in the fourteenth century, were the Ortenburgs. The first information about a manor in Mošnje, however, is from 1359 (Adam, 2003).

Kovor, St John the Baptist’s. In the light of the deed issued in Kovor between 1050 and 1063 (1058?) by Ulrich Weimar-Orlamünde, margrave of Istria and Carniola (GZS III/143), we may presume the presence here of a manor of the Carniolan margraves, perhaps even of the house of Sempt-Ebersberg, who were succeeded by the house of Andechs, in turn succeeded by the counts of Gorizia (later Gorizia-Tyrol). In the process of regulation of proprietary churches, a patronage parish was created in Kovor (Höfler, 2013: 223f.). Its first (and last known) patron was Count Henry of Gorizia-Tyrol, who in 1333 granted the right of patronage over it to the Cistercian monastery at Kostanjevica. Since in this deed the church’s location is indicated as “*prope castrum nostrum Gutenberg*”, and

15 Podhom did not have a church in the Middle Ages. The church of the Holy Trinity in Sebenje, in the territory of Podhom, founded by Countess Anna Maria Thurn (née Lenkovič) of Radovljica, was not built until 1606–1608. Because of its situation it fell under the parish of Zgornje Gorje. The land on which the church was built must have belonged to the owner of the Gorje church in the Early Middle Ages, which also applies to the whole of Podhom. For more information on the land covered by the Sebenje benefice, see Pleterski 2011, 59f.

14 Thus also Pleterski, 2011: 67, sketch; in the land register for 1306–1309 it is marked »in Chrotenpach«; Bizjak, 2006: 192.

since the owner of this castle was Henry himself, it is plain that the latter had taken the place of the manor in Kovor, despite standing in the Križe vicariate of the parish of Kranj. No archaeological explorations have yet been carried out.

Naklo, St Peter's. Proprietary church of the Carniolan margraves (Sempt-Ebersberg, Weimar-Orlamünde), which like Kovor passed via the house of Andechs to the counts of Gorizia and then to the Ortenburgs. It presumably became the seat of a patriarchal reform parish in the second half of the eleventh century. The original church is traditionally held (Vrhovnik, Koblar, 1885: 45) to have stood at Gradišče nad Pivko, where an early medieval manor may have been located. There is no information on it in the sources – it probably fell into ruin following the establishment of the parish.¹⁶

Spodnje Duplje, St Martin's (St Vitus' and St Martin's). Its status is attested by a burial ground with finds belonging to the Carantanian-Köttlach culture on the slope above the village on the NE side (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 42), where the church stood until 1789 when a new one was built in the village. Until the Josephinian reforms it belonged to the parish of Križe, in other words it was part of royal territory outside the Naklo area. For this reason it is not clear whether the Duplje after which Albergo and Henry "of Duplje" are named (when listed as witnesses in a deed issued between 1205 and 1208 by Margrave Henry of Istria – GZS V/96) is Spodnje [Lower] Duplje, since they were clearly *ministeriales* of the house of Andechs. Their seat will need to be sought in the direction of **Zgornje [Upper] Duplje**, which came under the parish of Naklo, specifically in the village itself by St Michael's church.

Luže, St John the Baptist's. In view of the deed issued in favour of Viktring Abbey by Countess Hedwig von Bogen between 1154 and 1156 (GZS IV/339), an early medieval manor may be envisaged here, just as in Moste. The dedication of the church indicates a baptismal church of the original parish of Kranj. The manor must have fallen into ruin after the middle of the twelfth century, although archaeological research has not yet been carried out here.

Zgornji Brnik, St John the Baptist's. The burial ground by the church (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 45) suggests a proprietary church with a manor that must still have existed in the mid-thirteenth century when a knight called Rupert of Brnik appears in the deed of foundation of the monastery at Velesovo,

signed by Patriarch Berthold (1238) (GZS V/699). In all likelihood Rupert was a *ministerialis* of the house of Andechs. In the light of this, the manor may be ascribed to the margraves of Carniola (Sempt-Ebersberg, Weimar-Orlamünde), while the church itself, in view of its geographical position and dedication, may be defined as a baptismal church of the original parish of Mengeš, a counterpart to the one in Luže.

Preddvor, St Peter's. The history of this important proprietary church of the counts of Savinja from, at the latest, the first quarter of the eleventh century has for the most part been clarified (Höfler, 2013: 221). Another church, St Clement's in Tupaliče, came under its aegis. It belonged to a certain "Stari [Old] Dvor", the existence of which may be surmised from the naming of Preddvor itself as "Novi [New] Dvor" (*curtis que dicitur Niwehouen*)¹⁷. The latter began to be built by the monks of Viktring after (in around 1147) they received the estate from one Brother Engelbert (GZS IV/235), who may have belonged to the house of Spanheim. In 1154 the monks also received the church in Preddvor, together with the church in Tupaliče and the pertaining farms, from Patriarch Peregrine I (GZS IV/323). Before this it was the property of Bishop Ulrich of Treviso, of the house of Šumberk (heirs of Hemma von Friesach-Zeltshach). It is also significant that in addition to the churches mentioned, the patriarch granted the monks their tithes, and also (separately) those in Novi Dvor. This means that the new manor house (Novi Dvor) and its lands lay outside the territory of the Preddvor church and thus outside the original lands of the counts of Savinja. No archaeological explorations have yet been carried out. The location of the "Novi Dvor" also remains unknown. Given what has been said above, it will not be found in the vicinity of the church, in other words on the site of the present-day Wurzbach manor, where the "Stari Dvor" probably stood.¹⁸

Šmartin pri Kranju, St Martin's; **Šenčur**, St George's. As well as Kovor, Naklo and Preddvor, two further important proprietary churches stood within the borders of the original parish of Kranj: at Šmartin pri Kranju and at Šenčur. Both were converted into patriarchal reform parishes as part of the reform that took place in the second half of the eleventh century (Höfler, 2013: 225–228). Evidence of their original proprietary character is provided by their enclaves in the pre-Josephinian parish of Kranj: that of Šmartin in Žeje near Spodnje Duplje and that of Šenčur in Huje near Kranj. The location of the old Šmartin church by the bridge over the Sava (in the

16 The archaeological digs carried out at Gradišče in 1967 by Andrej Valič (Valič, 1968) did not bring any results relevant to our topic. In Timotej Knific's view it is entirely possible that the tower whose foundations were uncovered during the excavations dates from the end of the Early Middle Ages or even from the High Middle Ages. On the other hand, a large part of the area where the church may have stood remains unexplored. It is not clear from the sources currently available to this writer if and when the church was moved to its present location. Nevertheless, it may be seen from the indulgence signed in 1517 by the episcopal visitor Daniel de Rubeis, who reconsecrated the church, that it stood on high ground and was reached by stone steps (Vrhovnik, Koblar 1885: 47). This clearly does not correspond to the position of the present-day church in the village.

17 That a memory of the old manor still survived in the Late Middle Ages is demonstrated by the Latin designation of Preddvor as »*ante curiam*« (1484 XI 3; Udine, Archivio arcivescovile, *Acta curiae patriarchalis* Vol. 15, fol. 719r) and its German designation as »*vorm hof*« (1488, Viktring land register; see Kos: 1975, 476). These clearly correspond to the Slovene designation, which arose independently of the German »*Niwehouen*« and then »*Höfflein*«.

18 »*Novi Dvor*« as a toponym for Preddvor is last attested in 1376 (Kos: 1975, 476), after which it is substituted by »*Höf(f)lein*«, which was also the name given to the predecessor of the Wurzbach manor. It is therefore possible to assume that it was abandoned in the fifteenth century and the residence moved to the church.

Gorenja Sava district) – this church was abandoned following construction of the new church in Stražišče (1728–1734) and demolished – is an important archaeological site with Carantanian-Köttlach graves (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 44) and confirms its status, while archaeological research has yet to be carried out in Šenčur.

Šmartno pri Cerkljah na Gorenjskem, St Martin's. Proprietary church of a former early medieval manor with burial ground (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 46). No information is available regarding the ownership of this manor, although in all likelihood it belonged to the margraves of Carniola. It is supposed that in the second half of the eleventh century nearby Cerklje, for which in 1239 the original field name Trnovlje ("Tirnovlach") is attested alongside the new name ("Cirkelach") (GZS V/718), became, with its church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the seat of a patriarchal reform parish detached from the original parish of Mengeš. Popular tradition holds that the church in Šmartno was built before the one in Cerklje and was in fact the first church in the parish of Cerklje, and this has also been taken into account by historians (Lavrenčič, 1890: 24ff.).

Komenda, St Peter's. An early medieval manor with a church, next to which traces of a burial ground have been discovered (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 47) and which is believed to have become the seat of a patronage parish in the second half of the eleventh century, attested via the parish priest in a deed for Viktring Abbey from the period 1147–1154. It is possible to conclude that this was an allodium outside the estates of the Carniolan margraves owned by the predecessors of the lords of Svibno in Smlednik, who in around 1223 handed the church over to the Knights Hospitaller (the Order of St John) (Höfler, 2013: 239f.). Before passing to the lords of Svibno (and Planina) the manor was probably held by the Spanheims, although they are unlikely to have been its first owners. When their successors gained Smlednik and built a castle there, they abandoned the manor in Komenda, although it must have still existed at the time the church was passed to the Hospitallers.

Nevlje, St George's. On the basis of the historical circumstances – in that no archaeological research has yet taken place here – we assume the existence of a proprietary church with a manor house from the late tenth century, from which the margraves of Carniola administered their private lands. It appears that their successors – the house of Andechs – transferred the seat of the estate to the Mali Grad [Little Castle] in Kamnik, their new settlement, some time in the first half of the twelfth century. This was followed in around 1300 by the transfer of the seat of the parish to the church of the Virgin Mary in Kamnik. Despite the importance of Nevlje and Kamnik for the dynasties there, the church did not become a patronage parish and was instead taken over by the patriarch.

Ihan, St George's. No relevant data are available for Ihan and only the fact that a patronage parish existed here allows us to conclude that the church was originally a proprietary church.

The manor house in Ihan attested in 1373 (Otošec, 1962: 1) could in fact have succeeded an early medieval manor of the margraves of Carniola. A similar situation is apparent in the case of St Martin's in **Šmartno pod Šmarno Goro**, which is already attested circa 1118 (Höfler, 2013: 43, 239). It is not clear from historical data, however, that a manor house existed there. It did not have a tithe and circa 1118 it no longer had the right of burial either.

Šentpavel pri Domžalah, St Paul's. The early medieval burial ground discovered by the church (Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 49) indicates that a proprietary church and manor house once stood here. No relevant historical information is available, but a single mention of a manor in 1374 – when it was attested for the first and last time – offers us a trace of the original medieval manor (Otošec, 1962: 1f.). At that time it belonged to nearby Dragomelj Castle, which could have been its legal successor.

Križevska Vas (formerly Sveti Križ) **nad Dolskim**, Holy Cross. Archaeological discoveries in the location of the original church, which was demolished in the sixteenth century (the Vodnik House; Knific, Mlinar, 2014: No 50) and their interpretation (Osredkar, 2009) indicate an early medieval burial ground on the site of a possible late antique church. The Holy Cross church is already attested with this dedication in 1304 (*auf dem Heiligenperge zu dem Heiligenchreutz*; Schumi, 1887: 267), so it cannot date from before the twelfth century. It is unlikely that it was a proprietary church. No tangible data supports the existence of a manor either. The designation *Heiligenperg* (Holy Mountain), presumably referring to the hill running from Dolsko to Vrh sv. Miklavža (St Nicholas's Peak), is interesting. This name also appears in the deed of foundation for the convent in Mekinje in 1300 (*in Monte Sancto*; Schumi, 1887: 247; cf. Kos, 1975: 152). This would mean that the remains of one or more late antique churches were still visible at this time.

Zbilje, St John the Baptist's. There are several reasons why this church – unattested in medieval sources and archaeologically unresearched – deserves every attention (Höfler, 2013: 238). It belonged to the original parish of Mengeš, then to the parish of Vodice and finally to Smlednik. Its dedication suggests that it was a baptismal church of the original parish of Mengeš, which would place it on a par with the church of the same name in Zgornji Brnik. Its position is also important, since at this point, on the boundary between the original parishes of Šempeter and Stara Loka, the Mengeš original parish crossed the Sava. It undoubtedly already existed in around 1118, when daughter churches of the later Smlednik vicariate and the church in Šmartno pod Šmarno Goro appear in sources (Höfler, 2013: 237f.), but it was not owned by the knights of Smlednik. In all probability it was originally a Spanheim possession inherited or purchased from unknown owners which was alienated at an early stage from that royal territory within the borders of the original parish of Mengeš which became the property of the margrave of Carniola. All of this suggests an old proprietary church which has not survived as such.

Stara Loka, St George's. Recent findings (Höfler, 2013: 243ff.) indicate that this was not an original parish deriving from the patriarchal reform but instead a territory of the royal court that was granted directly to the Diocese of Freising in the year 973. The existence of a manor is demonstrated by a contract concluded between Bishop Ellenhard and Patriarch Sigehard in 1074, under which the patriarch incorporated the church into the parochial network and for some decades retained it under his full authority (GZS III/284). The possessions of the manor in Loka included, in addition to the farms in this area (*in pertinentia curtis suae* [sc. the bishop of Freising] *Lonca dictae*), the newly acquired farms at Vinji Vrh in lower Carniola (*apud Uuinperch cum integra trium eiusdem curtis arearum*), where the bishop intended to build a church. After building their castle above Škofja Loka – if the old castle on the Krancelj hill really is much older than Loka Castle (Blaznik, 1973: 41ff.) it probably served as a *Fluchtbürg* – the bishops transferred the administration of their lands to the castle and abandoned the manor house by the church. The idea that it was succeeded by the Stara [Old] Loka castle probably deserves consideration.¹⁹

Sora, St Stephen's. Historical circumstances have shown that this was an old proprietary church from the late tenth century within the boundaries of the original parish of Šentpeter and owned by Count Bernhard, of the family of Count Verihen of Friuli (Höfler, 2013: 249), with a manor house whose existence is indirectly evident from a second deed of grant to the bishop of Freising in 973 and which is attested in 1154 via Ortvin of Sora and then several times in the third quarter of the twelfth century via Henry of Sora (both were Spanheim *ministeriales*) (Šilc, 2013). The Spanheims, who in the meantime had acquired this estate, abandoned the manor

and transferred its rights to Goričane Castle, first mentioned in a deed of grant from Ulrich III of Spanheim to Philip of Spanheim in 1256 (MC IV/1: No 2627), while the church became the seat of a patriarchal reform parish, probably in as early as the second half of the eleventh century. The original church stood higher up than the present-day church built between 1882 and 1884 and was abandoned and demolished because of subsidence of the terrain (Koblar, 1884: 44). Like Stara Loka, Sora is still awaiting archaeological investigation.

Gosteče, St Andrew's. The only mention of this location, together with nearby Pungert, is in an inventory of the acquisitions of Bishop Otto II of Freising (1184–1220) drawn up in around 1215 (Zahn, 1870: No 126; GZS V/243), while the church is attested on the occasion of its consecration in 1334 (Koblar, 1884: 58–59).

Archaeological investigation has not yet taken place. Despite this, we can include it in this catalogue as a potential proprietary church from the second half of the tenth century. In the year 973, when the Emperor Otto II granted the Loka estate to the bishop of Freising, the territory between Gosteče and Pungert was in fact owned by one Pribislav, who had received it by royal gift. Since the territory was mistakenly included in the Loka estate, it was separated from those lands, following Pribislav's intervention, in a second deed of grant to the bishop of Freising in 989 (Štih, 2013). It would have been natural for Pribislav to have had his own church – like his neighbour in Sora. The dedication of the church to St Andrew would not appear to contradict this, as will be explained below. During the patriarchal reform it was annexed, along with the entire territory, to the parish of Sora as its daughter church. The identity of the person who sold Gosteče and Pungert to Bishop Otto is not known.

¹⁹ It is evident, at least indirectly, that the bishop of Freising transferred the administrative seat from the manor to the castle between 1160 and 1266. In 1160 (on 7 March) the bishop was still issuing documents in the manor (*Actum in curia Lonca*; Zahn, 1870: No 110), while in 1266 (on 22 August) he was doing so in the castle (*Datum in castro Lok*; Zahn, 1870: No 258). Where later the place of issue is indicated with precision, albeit infrequently, this is always the castle and not the manor (cf. documents 1268 8/5, 1275 14/7 and 1286 18/6; Zahn, 1870: No 273, 308, 395). Pavle Blaznik (Blaznik, 1973: 19) sees the original Loka manor in the former village of Stari Dvor pri Suhi (Althofen) and believes that it was transferred to the parish church in Stara Loka some time before 1291, in which year the »*curia domini episcopi in Altenlok*« is attested. Three whole manors (Loka, i.e. Stari Dvor; Bitnje; Žabnica) and one half manor (Godešič) are indicated in the Diocese of Freising's *Noticia bonorum de Lonka* of 1160, although they are named in the original as »*curtiferi villicorum*« (*Ille de Lonka, tummaior de Vitingen, curtiferus de Saffniz, dimidius curtiferus apud Nivsaze*; Zahn, 1871: 12–13; GZS IV/410; Blaznik 1963, 127). The manor in Stari Dvor should not then be identified with the Loka manor of 1074, which must have been where the church stood. The Freising land register of 1291 (Zahn, 1871: 168ff.; Blaznik, 1963: 129ff.) no longer contains the term *curtifer* but instead simply *villa*, or, in the case of Godešič, *officium*, while all that remains of Stari Dvor is the toponym (Altenhouen). The Godešič *officium* in fact mentions a meadow belonging to the bishop's manor in Stara Loka (»*quoddam pratium attinens curie domini episcopi in Altenlok*«; Zahn, 1871: 186; Blaznik, 1963: 140), which is mown by the local people, who then transport the hay to the bishop's granary. This *curia* can only be the old Loka manor from the Early Middle Ages, which still existed at that time.

Lanišče (municipality of Škofljica), St Ursula's.²⁰ The original dedication of the church to St John the Baptist and the fact that the parish of Šmarje pri Ljubljani (Šmarje-Sap) was originally named after Lanišče suggest that this was an old proprietary church and a baptismal church of the original parish of St Peter's, which was transformed into a patriarchal reform parish with its seat in Šmarje (Höfler, 2013: 252–254). The original proprietary nature of this church is demonstrated by the enclave of the parish of Šmarje in Sostro. Taking into account historical sources, it is possible to attribute it to the counts of Savinja or the family of Hemma von Friesach-Zeltshach.

Spatial relationship to settlements

Even without the detailed research that still needs to be undertaken, it appears that early medieval manor houses with churches stood on the edge of settlements, sometimes on a flat elevation and protected behind by rising ground or in some other way. On the basis of the cadastral survey carried

²⁰ We include this location in the context of upper Carniola because it formerly belonged to the original parish of Šempeter and because the parish of Šmarje belonged to the upper Carniolan archdeaconry (Höfler, 2013: 252ff.).

out during the reign of Francis I (1823 and after), this can be established for Bled–Castle (see also the map in Pleterski, 2011: 65), Zgornje Gorje, Zasip, Mošnje, Moste, Spodnje Duplje, Luže, Kovor, Zgornji Brnik, Šmartno pri Cerkljah, Komenda, Nevlje, Zbilje, Sora, Gosteče, Ihan and Lanišče, in other words for the great majority of churches covered in the review of localities. The same is true of the manor in Radovljica with the church dedicated to St Peter in relation to Predtrg, before the present-day market town or town was built. It was protected to the rear by an overhang. No settlement developed around Šentpavel pri Domžalah, or else it was abandoned very early.²¹ The old Šmartin (St Martin's) in Kranj also remained quite isolated. The situation in Preddvor and Stara Loka is unclear, but the position of St Michael's in Zgornje Duplje is typical of early medieval proprietary churches. As already noted, this could have been the seat of the knights of Duplje and thus a manor of the house of Andechs or their predecessors. Some distance away from the settlement there is also a church dedicated to St Ulrich in Smednik. Since this is already attested in around 1118, while the parish priest is only mentioned in isolation on a few occasions in the thirteenth century – from the legal point of view the church, in fact, remained at the level of a daughter church of the parish of Vodice and only became the seat of a vicariate in the fourteenth century (Höfler, 2013: 237f.) – we can also envisage a manor with a church here, perhaps from the eleventh century, which however did not have a tithe in 1118, or a priest yet, and therefore cannot be defined as proprietary.

The situation is different with churches that are the seats of original parishes and patriarchal reform parishes – which according to our theory were not formed on the basis of a proprietary church but instead were separated from an original parish at the discretion of the patriarch in order to provide more effective pastoral care. As a rule – though there are exceptions – these were built in the middle of a settlement, or the settlement developed around them. Examples of this in upper Carniola are Rodine and Mengeš (actually Mali [Little] Mengeš) – Kranj is a special case here because of the continuity of settlement from the pre-Slavonic period – and also Cerklje, Moravče, Šentvid nad Ljubljano and Šmarje pri Ljubljani as a new church, the successor of Lanišče and the seat of a patriarchal reform parish; examples in lower and inner Carniola include Šentvid pri Stični, Šentrupert, Trebnje and Cerknica. The situation in Dob, also a probable patriarchal reform parish, would appear to indicate a proprietary church (dedicated to St Martin), but no information is available, except that the mention of one William of Dob, *ministerialis* of the house of Andechs, as a witness in a document from 1223 indicates the existence of a manor there (GZS V/371).²²

21 The early medieval settlement in Dragomelj itself is in all probability not connected to the church and manor in Šentpavel and furthermore dates back to the ninth century (Turk, 2002).

22 Conditions in the field and chance archaeological finds actually show that the church stood within the context of a fortified manor house or castle. No historical data exist for this, however, and it must have fallen into ruin during the Middle Ages (Stražar, 1970: 76; the majority of the people whom the author here places in Dob originate from Pudob near Lož).

The case of Šenčur is different. Here the church stands in the centre of the settlement and it is therefore unlikely that it directly succeeded a putative proprietary church. In all likelihood it was built after the formation of the parish, although there is no trace of the old church. The church in Naklo is also worthy of attention. Here too, its position in the centre of the village shows that it was built subsequently, and that an old proprietary church must have stood elsewhere – in Gradišče nad Pivko as we have shown. Kranj is not the only special case: there is also Šentpeter (St Peter's) in Ljubljana, which is also the seat of an original parish. It stands at one end of the suburb of Šentpeter, which is of a more recent date and the result of expansion of the urban settlement. Evidence of the age of the church is provided by traces of an early medieval burial ground. At the time of its construction it stood on its own, but a settlement later developed round it. There was no separate village named after St Peter and unconnected to the city here. This seeming anomaly can be explained by the more than likely assumption that it was built on the site of a ninth-century mission centre.

These findings do not, of course, apply to churches built during the Middle Ages, for traditional or spiritual reasons, by individuals or village communities outside villages, either on their own or atop solitary peaks. Some of these can be early, such as the church dedicated to St Stephen on Štefanja Gora ("St Stephen's Mount"), attested after 1132 (GZS IV/116), or the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary on Šmarna Gora ("St Mary's Mount"), which is also likely to be from the twelfth century and is clearly a pilgrimage church. An overview of hilltop churches in Slovenia and an investigation of the reasons why they were built remain a desideratum.

Dedications of churches

The list of dedications to patron saints largely coincides, in the case of the proprietary churches discussed here, with general findings about early dedications in Slovenia (Höfler, 2013: 369ff.). The apostle Peter and St Martin of Tours are the most popular patron saints. The latter needs no explanation: one of the oldest patron saints, Martin was particularly popular during the Carolingian period. He is especially frequent in the Salzburg area. There are no original parishes dedicated to him in the Slovene lands south of the Drava, with the exception of Šmartno near Slovenj Gradec and Laško, but a number of proprietary churches and patriarchal reform parishes are under his patronage. In upper Carniola this includes proprietary churches in Moste–Žirovnica, Bled–Grad, Šmartin pri Kranju, Šmartno pri Cerkljah, Spodnje Duplje and (conditionally) Šmartno pod Šmarno Goro. The church in Dob, otherwise a patriarchal reform parish, could also originally have been a proprietary church, like the one in Moravče, likewise dedicated to St Martin. Churches dedicated to St Peter include proprietary churches in Radovljica, Naklo, Preddvor and Komenda. When looking at churches dedicated to St Peter, who was also popular in the Carolingian period (Höfler, 2013: 375f.), we noticed that there are only two original parishes dedicated to St Peter in the territory of the patriarchate of Aq–

uileia east of the Soča: in Šentpeter, outside Ljubljana, and in Šempeter in the Savinja Valley, both of which inherited this patron saint from a putative ninth-century mission centre. For this reason, proprietary churches which can be attributed either to the managers of the royal estates or to their heirs who obtained these lands, in particular the counts of Savinja, are all the more numerous. One indication of the historical circumstances of their creation was the proximity of an old castle: in Styria this applies to Vitanje and Reichenburg (Brestanica), as well as to Bistrica ob Sotli.

Another frequent patron saint of proprietary churches, besides St Peter and St Martin, is St George, and this is also the case in upper Carniola. The church of the royal court in Stara Loka, ownership of which was assumed by the bishop of Freising in 973, was dedicated to St George. Other old proprietary churches dedicated to St George are found in Zgornje Gorje, Šenčur and Nevlje, and may also be assumed in Ihan. Churches dedicated to St John the Baptist represent a special group. This dedication has been linked to the concept of a baptismal church or chapel (Höfler, 2013: 415ff.). Further research has shown that this is, of course, the case, but that proprietary churches, regardless of whether they had such a function, were also dedicated to this patron saint. Three or possibly even four of the five proprietary churches in the territory of the original parish of Cerknica and the lands of the patriarch of Aquileia were dedicated to St John the Baptist: in Mali Ločnik, the predecessor of Škocjan pri Turjaku, in Dvorska Vas, the predecessor of Dobropolje, and in Ribnica, the predecessor of the parish church dedicated to Pope St Stephen,²³ and by analogy perhaps also in Sinji Vrh, before the construction of the church of the Holy Cross in Poljane (Stari Trg ob Kolpi) – all of them in the area held between 1245 and 1248 by the *hochfrei* Auersperg family. In upper Carniola there are churches dedicated to St John the Baptist in Zasip, Kovor, Luže, Zgornji Brnik, Zbilje and Lanišče. Given their geographical locations in relation to the seat of the original parish, these may also be defined as baptismal churches. There are no true proprietary churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary in upper Carniola. With few exceptions such as the church in Braslovče, they are not found elsewhere in Slovenia either. The churches in Blejski Tok and Lesce may have been in individual ownership, but they were built to serve the needs of pilgrims. The dedication to St Paul of the church in Šentpavel pri Domžalah is a surprise, if original, since this dedication is relatively rare (and late) in Slovenia. The dedication to St Andrew of the church in Mošnje is a new acquisition. This is also the dedication of the possibly proprietary church in Gosteče. We have noted that this dedication is very typical of early proprietary churches – from the tenth century onwards – in Carinthia and Styria and, following the German example, in Friuli (Höfler, 2013: 381). Although the

23 The chapel of St John the Baptist in Ribnica Castle. According to Valvasor's report in *Die Ehre* (Book XI, 466), it was old and the entire parish, including daughter churches, was required to gather there for the festival of its consecration on the Sunday following the feast of its patron saint (24 June). Since this was highly unusual for a castle chapel, we may see in this a memory of the fact that it was once the mother church of the parish of Ribnica.

church in Mošnje is not attested until 1154, the burial ground allows us to date it to at least the first half of the eleventh century, which gives us one example of this dedication even within the present-day borders of Slovenia. Another patron saint of proprietary churches to appear in upper Carniola is St Michael, although this dedication is more frequent in the case of original parishes; the church in Zgornje Duplje, where the existence of an early medieval manor is assumed, is dedicated to him. The church dedicated to St Stephen in Sora is a special case. As noted above, this was the location of the manor of Count Bernard of Friuli in the second half of the tenth century, and this choice of patron may be attributed, in the light of the presence of original parish churches dedicated to St Stephen in Solkan and Vipava, to the influence of Friuli. In summary, we can say that proprietary churches in upper Carniola were for the most part dedicated to St Peter, St Martin, St George and St John the Baptist. There are also individual, historically explainable cases of churches dedicated to St Andrew, St Michael and St Stephen.

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Preliminarna ocena novoodkritih stenskih slikarij na območju mariborske območne enote Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije (1990–2013)

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Izvleček

Stensko slikarstvo vzhodne Slovenije so raziskovalci te umetnostne dediščine, v primerjavi z drugimi slovenskimi pokrajinami, v preteklosti nekoliko zanemarili (z izjemo Prekmurja), saj je dolga leta kot klasična dežela fresk veljala le Gorenjska, tej sta sledili še Dolenjska in Primorska, poznavanje stenskega slikarstva na območju mariborske enote Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije pa je bilo dolga leta omejeno zgolj na pomembna posamična odkritja, izstopajoča po umetnostni kvaliteti. V zadnjih dveh desetletjih je konservatorska služba tudi na obravnavanem območju gradivo sistematično preučila, kar je prineslo nova presenetljiva odkritja in spoznanja. Izkazalo se je namreč ravno nasprotno, kot se je doslej domnevalo: ne le, da je spomenikov stenskega slikarstva veliko več, kot se je predvidevalo, ampak tudi, da se posamezni spomeniki dvigujejo nad siceršnjo raven spomenikov drugod po Sloveniji in predstavljajo nadregionalno pomembne dosežke. Namen tega prispevka je, da z osnovnim umetnostnozgodovinskim orisom, poskusom umestitve v čas in milje nastanka, preliminarno ovrednoti tiste poslikave, ki poglobljene znanstvene analize in objave še niso bile deležne.

Uvod

Konservatorstvo na Slovenskem je leta 2013 obeležilo častitljivo obletnico 100 let, odkar je bil leta 1913 na Kranjskem ustanovljen deželni urad za spomeniško varstvo s prvim poklicnim konservatorjem Francetom Stelètom. Vsaj toliko pa sta na Slovenskem stara tudi zanimanje in poglo-

bljen strokovni interes za stensko slikarstvo, saj je bil prvi zaslužni raziskovalec te umetnostne dediščine ravno France Stelè. Prav njemu gre tudi zahvala za prve znanstvene objave (Stelè, 1975: 162–171; Stelè, 1928/29: 70–87; Stelè, 1940: 479–494; Stelè, 1950: 205–212; Stelè, 1957: 284–297; Stelè, 1959: 265–272; Stelè, 1964: 315–328) pa tudi monografske publikacije (Stelè, 1935; Stelè, 1969; Stelè, 1972), ki so si zastavile cilj stensko slikarstvo na Slovenskem topografsko popisati, ga postaviti v razvojno linijo in ga umestiti v širši geografski, torej kulturni milje. Vendar pa je bilo, kot v četrti knjigi korpusa Srednjeveške freske v Sloveniji ugotavlja Janez Höfler (Höfler, 2004: 7), v primerjavi z drugimi slovenskimi pokrajinami stensko slikarstvo vzhodne Slovenije nekoliko zanemarjeno, saj je dolga leta kot klasična dežela fresk veljala le Gorenjska, tej sta sledili še Dolenjska in Primorska, poznavanje stenskega slikarstva vzhodne Slovenije pa je bilo dolga leta omejeno zgolj na pomembna posamična odkritja, izstopajoča po umetnostni kvaliteti. V zadnjih dveh desetletjih je konservatorska služba tudi na obsežnem območju mariborske območne enote Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije (od tu naprej ZVKDS) gradivo sistematično preučila, kar je prineslo nova presenetljiva odkritja in spoznanja. Izkazalo se je namreč ravno nasprotno, kot se je doslej domnevalo: ne le, da je spomenikov stenskega slikarstva veliko več, kot se je predvidevalo, ampak tudi, da se predvsem spomeniki starejših dob dvigujejo nad siceršnjo raven spomenikov drugod po Sloveniji in predstavljajo nadregionalno pomembne dosežke.

K slednjim smemo brez dvoma prišteti predvsem poslikavo poznoromansko-zgodnjegotskega kvadratnega prezbiterija v župnijski cerkvi sv. Martina v Šmartnem na Pohorju, ki so jo odkrili leta 2000 (Balažic, 2001: 139–157). Poslikava pripada

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dvema fazama; prva je uglašena s splošnim poznoromanskim slogom severne Italije in Vzhodnih Alp iz časa okoli leta 1220, druga je prav tako v poznoromanskem slogu, predvidoma iz tretje četrtine 13. stoletja (Höfler, 2004: 216–221). Nič manj pomembno ni sistematično odkrivanje fresk, ki je potekalo v letu 2003 v župnijski cerkvi sv. Antona Puščavnika v Cerkvenjaku iz časa okoli leta 1390 (Sulič Urek, 2003: 43 in Balažic 2003: 2–8) ali pa v župnijski cerkvi presv. Trojice v Veliki Nedelji, ki so jo začeli odkrivati leta 1995 in jo prav tako smemo datirati še pred iztek 14. stoletja (Menoni, 2003: 25–57; Menoni, 2004: 253–265; Höfler, 2004: 236–238 in Menoni, 2007: 55–66).¹ Omeniti velja še celostno zastavljen projekt odkrivanja in restavriranja notranjščine podružnične cerkve Device Marije na Kamnu, v kateri so se dolgotrajna konservatorska dela pričela leta 1992 in končala leta 2000. Čeprav se freske niso dobro ohranile, je vendar mogoče ugotoviti vsaj tri faze poslikave, ki segajo od sredine 14. do začetka 16. stoletja (Kurelac in Peskar, 2000: 135–141 in Höfler, 2004: 248–252). Za razumevanje razvojne linije srednjeveškega stenskega slikarstva na slovenskem Štajerskem pa nista nič manj pomembni odkritje in restavriranje poslikave v podružnični cerkvi sv. Bolfenka v Jelovicah. Dela so potekala med letoma 1994 in 1998, freske pa datirajo v zgodnje 16. stoletje in dopolnjujejo podobo konservativne poljudne plasti našega stenskega slikarstva v prvih desetletjih 16. stoletja (Cevc, 1998; Menoni, 2000; Höfler, 2004: 113–116). Uvodni oris pomembnejših, znanstveno že ovrednotenih odkritij smemo skleniti z renesančno poslikavo, ki so jo ob konservatorsko-restavratorskih delih sredi devetdesetih let 20. stoletja v celoti odkrili izpod beleža na oboku ladje župnijske cerkve sv. Pankracija v Starem trgu nad Slovenj Gradcem, njen nastanek pa že datira v čas prve tretjine 17. stoletja (Stelc, 1936/37: 56; Rozman, 1964: 69; Kurelac, 1997 in Menoni, 2009: 169–170, kat. št. 30).

Čeprav je bilo srednjeveško stensko slikarstvo na ozemlju, ki ga obravnava ta članek, v preteklosti najmanj raziskano, pa je k posameznim citiranim študijam, ki so pod drobnogled vzele izbrane spomenike stenskega slikarstva na obravnavanem območju, treba pritegniti še v tipkopisih hranjena diplomska in doktorska dela, ki stensko slikarstvo Štajerske obravnavajo topografsko, in sicer diplomsko nalogo Tatjane Špitalar iz leta 1986 (Špitalar, 1986), v kateri je avtorica obravnavala novo odkrite gotske freske na slovenskem Štajerskem (na območju Zavoda za spomeniško varstvo Maribor), doktorsko disertacijo Tanje Zimmermann, ki se je lotila obravnave stenskega slikarstva 13. in 14. stoletja na Slovenskem (Zimmermann, 1996), za pregled stenskega slikarstva 16. in zgodnjega 17. stoletja obravnavane regije pa za zdaj ostaja osamljena študija v obliki doktorske disertacije spodaj podpisane (Menoni, 2009). Za razumevanje srednjeveške freskantske dediščine območja mariborske enote ZVKDS pa je gotovo najpomembnejša že omenjena četrta knjiga serije Srednjeveških fresk na Slovenskem Janeza Höflerja (Höfler,

2004), v kateri je bilo veliko spomenikov, predvsem tistih, ki so bili odkriti v zadnjem času, sploh prvič objavljenih. V tej razpravi se torej ob spomenikih stenskega slikarstva, ki so že doživeli objave in temeljite znanstvene analize, ne bomo ustavljali, pa četudi po kvaliteti morebiti presežajo spodaj obravnavane. Namen prispevka je z osnovnim orisom in poskusom umestitve v čas in milje nastanka ovrednotiti tiste, ki poglobljene znanstvene analize in objave še niso bili deležni, ob tem pa je potrebno zavedanje, da bodo nadaljnja proučevanja in raziskovanja, predvsem pa dokončanja konservatorsko-restavratorskih posegov marsikatero tukaj zapisano spoznanje precizirala, ponekod pa tudi korigirala.

Poljana – cerkev sv. Janeza Krstnika (EŠD: 3282)

Med slednjimi spomeniki s svojo bogato zgodovino stenskih poslikav gotovo izstopa podružnična cerkev sv. Janeza Krstnika,² kjer so sondažne raziskave odkrile (Kuhl, 2004), da je bila cerkev poslikana vsaj v treh različnih časovnih obdobjih. V prizadevanju, da bi cerkev doživela celovito prenovno, s tem pa seveda nadaljnje odkrivanje, restavriranje in tudi umetnostnozgodovinsko ovrednotenje stenskih slikarij, je bil na mariborski območni enoti ZVKDS že leta 2007 izdelan preliminarni konservatorski program, ki prinaša tudi prvo umetnostnozgodovinsko oceno stenskih slikarij v obravnavani podružnici; to je podal Janez Balažic (Balažic, 2007).

Cerkev je preprosta vaška podružnica, bržkone iz zgodnjega 14. stoletja, katere patrocinij opravičuje misel, da je bila zgrajena kot krstna kapela. Tudi sicer je njena arhitekturna zasnova kapelnega tipa, se pravi, da na zunaj ni vidna cezura med ladjo in tristranim prezbiterijem brez opornikov in talnega zidca. Nad slavolokom se dviguje zvonik, ki ohranja tradicijo koroških nadstrešnih stolpičev, pred zahodno pročelje s preprostimi šilastoločno zaključenim portalom je prislonjena vhodna lopa, na severni strani pa sta zakristija in Jobova kapela. Glede na sondažne raziskave je po površini najbolje ohranjena najstarejša plast poslikave, ki kljub skromnim sondam kaže visoko kvaliteto in zavezuje k nadaljnjim konservatorsko-restavratorskim posegom, saj bodo ti pripeljali do končne spomeniške prezentacije, ko bo o slikarji tudi moč podati končno oceno. Vendarle lahko z gotovostjo trdimo, da je najstarejša plast po vsebinski plati sledila v srednjeveškem slikarstvu ustaljenemu teološkemu konceptu, ki cerkev pojmuje kot nebeški Jeruzalem, v katerem apostoli s kodeksi v rokah zavzemajo osrednje mesto v prezbiteriju. Apostoli med izvirnimi šilastoločnimi okni na prezbiterijevih sklepnih stranicah stojijo pod ploskovito oblikovanimi suličastimi loki, ki posnemajo šilastoločne forme zgodnjegotskih odprtin. Apostolske figure so elegantne, sloke, z majhnimi glavami in simetrično urejenimi valovitimi pričeskami, nadrobnosti na obrazih pa so po večini žal izgubljene. Tudi sicer se je na nekaterih partijah ohranila le spodnja risba, večje ohranjene barvne ploskve zemeljskih tonov pa opredeljujejo draperije,

¹ Po najnovejših raziskavah spodaj podpisane se bo za slikarjem, ki je slikal v velikonedeljski in ormoški župnijski cerkvi treba ozreti v sosednjo Madžarsko, kjer je isti avtor poslikal tudi zunanje stene pokopališke kapele v Khestelyu. Članek na to temo je v pripravi.

² Za izposojdo dosegljivega gradiva in informacije se najlepše zahvaljujem odgovorni konservatoriki Svetlani Kurelac.

med katerimi je edinole vrhnje oblačilo apostola na zahodnem ostenju južnega prezbiterijevega okna bogato ornamentirano z dekorativnim trakastim vzorcem (slika 1). Vitke figure so postavljene pred enobarvna ozadja, sonde pa dovoljujejo domnevo, da je pod njimi neprekinjeno tekkel dekorativni pas, izveden v sivi monokromni barvi, ki imitira kamnit talni zidec, na katerem stojijo lahkotne figure apostolov.

Večje površine te barvne plasti so odkrite tudi na notranjem delu rahlo šilastoločno zaključenega slavoloka, kjer je po dosedanjih sondažnih raziskavah videti štiri monumentalne dopasne figure, stoječe pod polkrožnimi loki. Glede na svetniške nimbe, okrašene s stiliziranimi trilisti, smemo postave brez dvoma interpretirati kot izbrane svetnike (slika 2), natančneje – glede na svetle lase, spuščene po ramenih – dve svetnici na obeh zgornjih delih slavoloka ter diakona z na temenu obrito glavo na spodnji severni strani slavoločnega loka, čigar oblačilo krasi trakast grafizirajoč ornament. Čeprav konservatorsko-restavratorski posegi na slikarijah še niso bili opravljeni, je na tem delu poslikave videti nekoliko več nadržanosti na obrazih pa tudi dekorativnih elementov (nimbi), ki nam pomenljivo razkrivajo prefinjeno in izurjeno slikarsko roko, ob tem pa natančneje določajo okvirni čas nastanka poslikave. Omeniti velja še zavezanost obeh sondažno odkritih ženskih svetniških figur k frontalnosti, ki jo poudarjata simetrična frizura in sponka plašča na prsih. Domnevna figura na spodnjem južnem slavoločnem delu pa za natančnejše izsledke še ni v zadostni meri odkrita. Omeniti velja še, da so bile bržkone vse svetniške figure na tem delu opremljene z imeni, ki so v polkrožnem loku tekla nad njimi, kot to vidimo nad svetnico na severni strani slavoločnega loka, žal pa tudi tega napisa do posega restavratorja ne bo mogoče z gotovostjo razbrati.

Tudi prezbiterijeva stran slavoloka je bila v tem času v celoti poslikana. Sonde na severni polovici so razkrile medaljone z dopasnimi figurami svetnikov ali svetnic, za katere se kljub slabi ohranjenosti in trenutni pričevalnosti zdi, da so imele v rokah knjige ali verjetneje napisne trakove. Južna polovica prezbiterijeve strani slavoloka pa razkriva celopostavno figuro, od katere se je po večini ohranila le spodnja risba. Kljub temu sta dobro razvidna elegantna postava figure z desnico, dvignjeno k obrazu, ter meč, ki počiva ob levem boku figure. Na tej ravni raziskav je končna identifikacija svetnikov ali svetnic v medaljonih kot tudi figure na nasprotni strani prezbiterijeve slavoločne stene seveda nemogoča. Prav tako je v tej fazi raziskav nemogoča dokončna ikonografska opredelitev obsežnejšega prizora na severni steni prezbiterija, kjer v obrisih razbiramo dve celopostavni figuri s krili (angela); bolje je ohranjena desna figura. Figuri se s telesi obračata proti sredini prizora, kjer se da prepoznati nekoliko nad njunima glavama privzdignjeno posodo (kelih?).

Čeprav celovit teološki koncept poslikave na tej stopnji prezentacije ni povsem dorečen, pa slogovna in temu ustrezna časovna opredelitev najstarejše slikarske plasti v podružnici sv. Janeza Krstnika v Poljani že na tej stopnji odkritosti in raziskav nista prevelika uganka. Vitke postave, ki se odlikujejo po svoji eleganci, okrogli obrazu svetnic z lasmi, spuščenimi po ramenih, ter simetrično urejene valovite pričeske apostolov na sklepnihih stranicah prezbiterija, ki stojijo pod ploskov-

ito obravnavanimi, v skladu z oblikovnimi principi zgodnje gotike šilastoločno oblikovanimi loki, brez dvoma dovoljujejo datacijo v prvo tretjino 14. stoletja. Frontalnost odkritih figur na notranji strani slavoloka, grafizirajoča trakasta vzorca na oblačilih enega izmed apostolov in diakona na slovoločnem loku pa tudi odkriti dekorativni elementi govorijo za okvirni čas nastanka med letoma 1320 in 1330. Natančna spodnja risba, drža odkritih figur in nekateri ohranjeni detajli dovoljujejo sklep, da je v Poljani v stilnih okvirih visokogotskega linearnege sloga slikal razmeroma kvaliteten slikar. Bržkone tudi ne bomo daleč od resnice, če še pred opravljenimi konservatorsko-restavratorskimi posegi predvidimo, da bo ustrezne primerjave in izhodišča za slikarstvo treba iskati med izbranimi slikarskimi spomeniki na avstrijskem Koroškem, pri čemer se bojim, da so nadržanosti, ki bi precizirale primerjave in morebitne avtorske povezave, na poljanski poslikavi žal izgubljene.

Ob koncu obravnave najstarejše plasti slikarije je treba še omeniti, da je bil prezbiterij po nastanku srednjeveške poslikave posvečen, saj so na nekaterih mestih vidni posvetilni križi. Morebiten podatek o posvetitvi podružnice bi nam tako razkril zanesljivejši podatek o času nastanka poslikave, saj smemo brez dvoma sklepati, da so podružnico posvetili kmalu po njeni slikarski okrasitvi. Ob sklepu je treba še omeniti, da je bila obravnavana plast najdena tudi na južni, pred prizidavo zakristije zunanji severni steni prezbiterija in na ustreznem delu podstrešja, odkriti fragmenti pa upravičujejo domnevo, da je bil tukaj v skladu s srednjeveško tradicijo poslikav na cerkvenih zunanjščinah naslikan sv. Krištof.

Sonde, ki so bile v cerkvi narejene na različnih mestih, razkrivajo, da je bila podružnica slikarsko opremljena tudi v kasnejših obdobjih, ki jih lahko – zaradi manjših odkritih površin – le okvirno časovno umestimo. V 16. stoletje moramo postaviti dekorativno okrašene medaljone z dopasnimi figurami apostolov na severni in južni ladijski steni ter notranji strani slavoločnega loka, saj sugestivne obrazne poteze apostolov in dekorativno okrašeni medaljoni ne sodijo več v srednjeveški slikarski patrimonij. Čez medaljone so bili v 19. stoletju naslikani dekorativni posvetilni križi, pričakujemo pa lahko, da so bile v obdobju 19. stoletja poleg Jobove kapele poslikane še kakšne partije v ladji in prezbiteriju. Odkriti fragment svitkovja, ki na ladijski strani sledi robu slavoločne odprtine, ter angeli glasbeniki nad njim pa pričajo, da je bila cerkev okrašena tudi predvidoma v prvi polovici 17. stoletja, ko je bilo okraševanje s tovrstnimi zavihki na Koroškem značilno,³ vendar bo za dokončno sodbo glede časovne umestitve tudi te plasti poslikave treba počakati na dokončanje konservatorsko-restavratorskih posegov.

Studencie – samostan dominikank (EŠD: 707)

V skrajnem južnem okenskem ostenju v vzhodni steni dvorane v nadstropju nekdanjega hospitala ob cerkvi samo-

3 Na primer v podružnični cerkvi sv. Ane v Lešah pri Prevaljah (cf. Me-noni, 2009: kat. št. 13, str. 53).

stanskega kompleksa v Studenicah,⁴ ki glede na ohranjene arhitekturne elemente datira še v čas prve tretjine 13. stoletja, se je ob celostno zastavljeni prenovi samostana za potrebe doma za ostarele, ki se je pričela leta 2005 (Horvat, 1999: 160–172), našla imenitna podoba Kristusovega obličja (slika 3). Že na prvi pogled je jasno, da gre za izjemno kvalitetno delo, ki pa je naš čas dočakalo zgolj fragmentarno ohranjeno, tako da njegovega celovitega ikonografskega koncepta bržkone ne bomo mogli nikoli docela razvozlati. Prav tako ostaja na ravni špekulacije vprašanje, ali je zgolj naključje hotelo, da se je v celotni stavbi nekdanjega hospitala ohranil le obravnavani fragment, ali pa je, kar je resda manj verjetno, poslikava krasila le enega izmed okenskih ostenij objekta. Če drži slednje, je bržkone šlo za samostansko celico takratne opatice, podoba pa je bila namenjena njeni intimni meditaciji.

Centralno nad majhnim pravokotnim oknom s kamnitim, porezanim okvirom se na trapezastem polju pred nami odpira frontalno postavljen Kristusov obraz s križnim nimbom. Ozadje podobe je dekorirano z gosto posajenim tekstilnim vzorcem, ki nam – skupaj z mestoma nakazanimi mehкими gubami in valovitim zaključkom ob robu bordure na levi strani – daje slutiti, da imamo pred seboj ikonografsko podobo *Vera icon*, torej Veronikinega prta s potnim odtisom Kristusovega obličja. Frontalno postavljen obraz zaznamujejo predimenzionirane velike oči, ki zaradi nekoliko preveč skupaj postavljenih rjavih zrkel na gledalca učinkujejo hipnotično. K izjemni lepoti Kristusovega skorajda deškega obraza pridajajo majhne rožnate ustnice z nakazanimi puhastimi brčicami nad njimi, mehko obkroglega obličja pa zaokrožujejo rahlo rožnata lica, ki jih obdajajo simetrično urejeni valoviti lasje. Slednji se iztečejo v dva svaljkasta kodra, med katerima je prav tako ob času nastanka modna simetrično razdeljena bradica. Glede na ohranjena fragmenta bordur s cikcak trakom – prvi uokvirja zgornji rob levega ostenja, drugi pa teče navpično na notranji strani desnega okenskega ostenja – smemo brez dvoma sklepati, da sta bili obe steni ob oknu v celoti poslikani. Fragment na desni strani, tik pod Kristusovo podobo, daje slutiti, da je šlo za obsežnejše prizore. Ohranjen je manjši obraz dekleta, morebiti angela, z valovitimi lasmi, ki jih krasi neke vrste biserni naglavni okras. Roke figura drži visoko predse, sklenjene v molitev, sila zanimivo pa je dejstvo, da se obrača v stran od mističnega Kristusovega obličja in se z molitvijo torej ne obrača nanj, kot bi pričakovali. Gotovi smo tudi lahko, da solze, ki so se nabrale v koticah oči figure, niso brez pomenskega akcenta, pa četudi njihovega pomena v tem trenutku ni moč zadovoljivo pojasniti. Tik pred obrazom je viden še del glave figure, ki se je po vsej verjetnosti v identični priprošnjiški drži prav tako obračala v stran od Kristusa. Za poskus vsebinske interpretacije prizora je prejkone pomenljiv še manjši fragment, ki ga vidimo na skrajnem zgornjem desnem robu desnega ostenja, v katerem bi morebiti lahko videli s kito na glavi v venček spletene lase neke ženske figure ali njeno tovrstno pokrivalo, manj verjetno del baldahina. Brez dvoma smemo namreč sklepati, da je žal izgubljena figura na tem mestu predstavljala posrednika

oziroma posrednico v priprošnji h Kristusu, saj se je od nje tudi vil napisni trak, katerega del z nerazpoznavnim napisom je k sreči še ohranjen. Nismo daleč od resnice, če predvidevamo, da je bil na napisnem traku kateri izmed običajnih priprošnjiških vzklikov. V spodnjem levem vogalu je videti še del rjave barve, ki bi lahko predstavljala spodnji del draperije na tem mestu stoječe figure. Prepričani smo lahko, da je bilo tudi ostenje ob levi strani okenske odprtine v celoti poslikano, žal pa se od poslikave, razen bordure ob vrhu, ni ohranilo nič. Prav tako smemo biti povsem prepričani, da je bila slikarija namenjena intimni meditaciji, bržkone opatice samostana, torej njeni pobožni zatopljenosti, ki so jo preko likovne uresničitve kultne podobe izjemne kvalitete omogočale telesne, nato pa v spekulaciji in kontemplaciji duhovne oči, »*ko se videnje prikaže očem duše, srca ali razuma*« (Mikuž, 2000: 154). Prejkone bi lahko sklenili, da gre pri obravnavanem primeru gotovo za eno izmed najlepših ohranjenih srednjeveških likovnih uresničitvev Kristusove podobe in njegovega mističnega pogleda, torej za podobo, ki je v simbolični komponenti srednjeveškega izražanja, namenjena videti onkraj resničnega videza stvari, torej preko pogleda duhovnih oči doživeti mistično pobožnost, zatopljenost in ekstazo (Mikuž, 2000: 153), dotakniti se svetosti. Manjšo uganko kot celotni ikonografski koncept poslikave ob okenski odprtini predstavlja slogovna in časovna umestitev nastanka slikarije. Kar zadeva slog, sta mehko Kristusovega deškega obličja in njegov lepotni kanon brez dvoma značilnosti t. i. mehkega ali lepega sloga, ki ga je razvilo češko slikarstvo v letih 1380–1390 s Třebonskim mojstrom na čelu. Ob sklepu je treba še enkrat poudariti, da fragment sodi v sam kakovostni vrh srednjeveškega slikarstva na Slovenskem, in pripomniti, da umetnostnozgodovinsko izjemno pomembna današnja župnijska cerkev v Studenicah, ki je barokizirana naslednica cerkve ženskega dominikanskega samostana, ustanovljenega leta 1237, v novejšem času še ni doživela ustreznih konservatorsko-restavratorskih raziskav, na podlagi katerih lahko v prihodnosti brez dvoma pričakujemo marsikatero ne le zanimivo, ampak tudi pomembno odkritje.

Oplotnica – graščina

(EŠD: 6912)

Čeprav je na izjemen umetnostnozgodovinski pomen graščine Oplotnica, ki so si jo skupaj s prisojnimi vinogradniškimi legami že v 12. stoletju pridobili žički kartuzijani (Šerbelj, 1990: 49), že pred obnovo opozarjala v strokovni literaturi opažena s štukaturo okrašena kapela, ki jo smemo brez dvoma uvrstiti med najpomembnejše spomenike zgodnjebaročnega štukaterstva v Sloveniji (Jaki, 1995: 26–29), je oplotniška graščina po drugi svetovni vojni doživljala nič kaj ugledno usodo in je ostala strokovni javnosti domala nepoznana. Celovita prenova, ki jo je graščina dočakala v razmeroma slabem stanju, se je pričela maja 2009 (Horvat, 2010: 254–256),⁵ ko so bili pri opravljenih sondažnih raziskavah sten na

4 Za informacije se toplo zahvaljujem odgovorni konservatoriki Alenki Horvat.

5 Odgovorni konservatoriki Alenki Horvat se toplo zahvaljujem za informacije in fotografske posnetke.

severni steni veže v nadstropju odkriti fragmenti poslikave v *secco* tehniki. Kljub slabi ohranjenosti je bilo ob odkritju razbrati skorajda v celoti ohranjenega leva (slika 4), v polju levo od njega fragment kril ptice, desno spodaj pa ostanke ušes, glede na višino ohranjenega polja, bržkone nekega goveda ali osla. Izbor odkritih živali bi lahko – predvsem glede na dejstvo, da je bila graščina v lasti žičkega samostana – namigoval, da smemo v upodobljenem prepoznati simbole štirih evangelistov (orla, leva, vola, manjkal bi le še angel), vendar bi zaradi stanja ohranjenosti ob odkritju in (pre)močne retuše pri konservatorsko-restavratorskih posegih slednje težko z gotovostjo potrdili; prizore bi namreč lahko razložili tudi s posvetno tematiko. Manjša uganka je čas nastanka slikarije, saj je bila po odstranitvi vseh nasutij nad oboki odkrita nekdanja zunanja severna stena graščine in na njej letnica 1527, slogovni fragmenti poslikave namreč nedvomno sovpadajo z odkrito letnico.

Ptuj – dominikanski samostan (EŠD: 588)

Ptuj s svojo zakladnico izjemnih umetnostnih dosežkov, ki kljub številnim raziskavam v preteklosti še ni povsem izčrpana, o čemer pričajo nova odkritja v tamkajšnjem dominikanskem samostanu, je bil kot pomembno gospodarsko, družbeno in kulturno središče še pred ustanovitvijo Zavoda za spomeniško varstvo Maribor leta 1959 seveda deležen najvidnejših znanstvenih objav in konservatorsko-restavratorskih raziskav.⁶ Na pobudo Mestne občine Ptuj se je namreč pričela adaptacija samostana za novo funkcijo kongresnega centra, zaradi česar so pod vodstvom Restavratorskega centra Slovenije v letu 2010 predhodno stekle obsežne konservatorsko-restavratorske raziskave. Do neke mere resda pričakovana odkritja so po obsegu in kvaliteti presenetila celo tiste, ki so najbolj optimistično (ali z očmi investitorja bržkone črnogledno) napovedovali kompleksnost projekta in dejstvo, da dominikanski samostan predstavlja enega izmed najpomembnejših kulturnih spomenikov ne le v Sloveniji, ampak tudi v evropskem merilu, ter opozarjali na to.

O srednjeveških poslikavah ptujskega dominikanskega samostana je bilo v preteklosti napisanega že veliko (Stelè, 1928: 185–191; Stelè, 1933: 232–241; Rozman, 1964: 55; Košan, 1987: 14; Menaše, 1994: 72, 278; Ciglencčki, 1995: 49ss; Zimmermann, 1995: 229–230, kat. št. 124–125; Zimmermann, 1996: 44–47, 76–80, 177–184, 214–215 in passim; Ciglencčki, 1997: 123–141; Ciglencčki, 2003: 94; Höfler, 2004: 164–169), vendar bo po končanju konservatorsko-restavratorskih del treba ne le parcialno ovrednotiti nova odkritja, marveč tudi v luči slednjih zastaviti celostni pogled na freskantsko bogastvo samostana.

S stališča stenskih poslikav je eno izmed največjih odkritij te obnove dominikanski samostan skrival v prej prezidanem prostoru ob južni stranici nekdanjega srednjeveškega prez-

biterija, ki je prvotno prejkone služil za zakristijo. Sonde so razkrile, da je bila poslikana celotna južna stena prostora, a se je v večji meri ohranila le poslikava osrednjega pasu. Pred nami se razgrinja bogata figuralna kompozicija Pohoda Sv. treh kraljev in njihovega spremstva, ki že na prvi pogled kaže, da imamo pred seboj izjemno kvalitetno delo, žal pa je sklepnih del upodobitve z Marijo uničen. Na skrajnem desnem robu vidimo delno ohranjeno arhitekturo, bržkone mestna vrata z mostovžem, kjer so se kralji poslovili od Heroda. Mladi kralj na belcu, z mečem ob boku, je že v sprevodu, za njim je skupina treh vojščakov na konjih v konverzijskem odnosu, med njegovim spremstvom pa ne manjka niti črnc s čutaro (ali rogom), ki ga vidimo desno spodaj (slika 5). Mladi kralj je upodobljen z deškimi obrazom in, kot je običajno, z daljšimi lasmi in golobrad, ob izstopajoči barvi oblačila in kroni na glavi pa ga zaznamuje še darilo (kelih, posoda) v desnici; med spremstvom pa izstopa predvsem figura v ozkem oblačilu z gumbi, posejanimi po životu, ki se je v ostrem zasuku obrnila k vojščaku za seboj. Pred skupino mladega kralja, ki ga od družine srednjega pomenljivo loči shematično naslikana krošnja drevesa, se sprevod umiri s skupino treh konjenikov v živahnem dialogu, podprtem z izrazito gestikulacijo rok (slika 6). Osrednja figura iz vrst spremstva srednjega kralja s koničastim pokrivalom na glavi je pred nas edina postavljena frontalno. Z izrazito kazalno gesto kaže k obrazu osebe, ki jaha za njo, pripadnost slednje pa je okarakterizirana z judovsko bradico in nekoliko karikiranimi obraznimi potezami s poudarjenim nosom, na hrbtu pa ji počiva del zašiljenega pokrivala. Gesta besednega dvoboja med »*starim in novim*« svetom ima bržkone simbolično sporočilno vrednost, ki z rojstvom Odrešenika namiguje na zaton starega sveta judovstva. Ob mladem kralju pa vnovični kompozicijski akcent pohoda predstavlja srednji kralj, ki se je na rvajcu obrnil nazaj in se vključil v konverzacijo z jahajočima za njim. S privzdignjeno desnico kaže predse, v levici pa tudi sam drži posodo (kelih); zaključek njegove skupine pa vnovič nakazuje delno ohranjena krošnja drevesa. Nadaljevanje trikraljevskega sprevoda s skupino starega kralja, ki je bil brez dvoma upodobljen ob razjahanem črncu in že v poklonu detetu, pa je žal vzela kasnejša vzdava vratne odprtine. Le ob zgornjem robu zaključne bordure razberemo obraz figure – obrača se nazaj k sprevodu –, katere glavo pokriva koničasto židovsko pokrivalo, nekoliko pod obrazom pa bi v tem stanju prezentacije z nekoliko domišljije morebiti smeli prepoznati del zakriviljene palice, na katero se naslanja; to nas utrjuje v prepričanju, da bi v upodobljenem smeli prepoznati Jožefa v prizoru Poklona. Sprevod modrih poteka pred enobarvnim modrim ozadjem – krajino simbolično označujejo omenjena shematizirano naslikana drevesa –, zaradi uničenosti pa žal ne moremo ničesar reči o tleh pa tudi ne o izteklih oblačil, ki so poleg obraznih tipik pomenljivi za slogovno opredelitev slikarije. Ta nam tako povzroča nekaj preglavic, vendar bo kljub pomislekom ob odkritju o zgodnjem nastanku slikarije (kmalu po letu 1300) treba opozoriti na dejstvo, da gre za ikonografsko razviti tip Pohoda Sv. treh kraljev, kjer se med drugim že kaže začetek razvoja številnih žanrskih elementov (črnc s čutaro); ti sprva slovesen sprevod treh modrih postopoma oživijo s številnimi spremljevalnimi posvetnimi

6 Zahvala za informacije in kvalitetne fotografske posnetke gre odgovornemu konservatorju dr. Robertu Peskarju in vodji restavratorske ekipe restavratorke Vlasti Čobal Sedmak.

domislicami. Tako zgodnjega časa nastanka med drugim ne dopušča tip krone obeh ohranjenih kraljev, ne nazadnje pa niti obrazna tipika vojaškega spremstva, ki nas že usmerja k sredini stoletja, ko pričnemo srečevati rahlo karikirane obrazne poteze. Dominikanski Pohod Sv. treh kraljev v zrelem visokogotskem linearnem slogu je za naše razmere nedvomno izjemne kakovosti, ki bo v vsej svoji spomeniški pričevalnosti zasijala šele ob dokončanju konservatorsko-restavratorskih posegov; do takrat bo tudi treba počakati na dokončno slogovno in časovno opredelitev. Ne bomo pa daleč od resnice, če Pohod glede na razvitost motiva (žanrski dodatki (črnc, ki pije iz čutare), razlikovanje starostnih dob kraljev in različne barve njihovih konj itd.), obravnavanje pokrajine (sorodno podajanje dreves) in ne nazadnje modo oblačil spremstva (tesno prilegajoče se oblačilo z gumbi na prsih) postavimo ob bok, denimo, Pohodu Sv. treh kraljev v podružnični cerkvi sv. Cecilije pri Murauu na avstrijskem Štajerskem, ki je datiran okoli leta 1360 (Lanc, 2002: št. 585 in 58), čeravno med poslikavama ne kaže iskati tesnejših povezav, saj je ptujška bistveno kvalitetnejša.

V srednjeveški patrimonij freskantskih odkritij v dominikanskem samostanu, razen fragmentov geometričnih poslikav na ostenjih prezentiranih srednjeveških okenskih odprtih v baročno prezidani srednjeveški ladji nekdanje cerkve, smemo prišteti tudi slikarski cikel v notranjem hodniku južnega samostanskega trakta, ki ga je kot sila redko ohranjeno ikonografsko temo *Defensoriuma* identificiral Branko Vnuk (slika 7).⁷ Isti avtor je tudi ugotovil, da dvovrstični latinski in staronemški napis, izpisan na debelejšem ometu v rdeči in črni gotski minuskuli, korespondira s posameznimi prizori obravnavanega cikla in jih vsebinsko pojasnjuje, zaradi debeline ometa pa obstaja domneva, da je ohranjen napisni trak zgolj obnova starejšega. V celoti so bili odkriti le štirje prizori, od petega pa le prva tretjina. Kljub slabi ohranjenosti je razbrati, da so prizori postavljeni v krajino, ki jo večinoma zaznamuje gričevnata pokrajina. Med odkritimi je najbolje ohranjen predzadnji prizor noja, ki opazuje jajca, ki jih vali sonce. Na podlagi opravljenih sond se predvideva, kot piše Branko Vnuk, da je celoten cikel stenske poslikave obsegal med 24 ali 26 prizorov, toda zaradi pomanjkanja finančnih sredstev se celovito odkrivanje poslikave ni začelo, tako da večina prizorov žal ostaja pod kasnejšimi beleži. Iz časa 15. stoletja bo bržkone tudi relativno dobro ohranjena podrisba, ki neprekinjeno teče na spodnjem pasu obravnavane severne stene južnega hodnika ob Dravi. Ker se šele v času nastanka članka izdeluje izris ohranjenih fragmentov risbe, je njena ikonografska opredelitev sila težka. Razbrati se da pokrajino, sredi katere je dobro razviden srednjeveški grad, utrjen z obzidjem (slika 9), iztek pa označuje dopasna figura s pokri-valom (krono?) na glavi, od katere se vije napisni trak (slika 10). Med drugim je med razvojem prizora dobro razvidno, da

so bili v spodnjem in zgornjem pasu razvrščeni posamezni grbovni ščitki, ki jih v tem stanju ohranjenosti žal ne moremo natančneje opredeliti. Omeniti je še treba, da je obravnavana podrisba lahko starejša od zgoraj navedenega cikla, verjetneje pa je, da gre za podrisbo istočasne poslikave, saj je cikel iz *Defensoriuma* v primerjavi s podrisbo nanesen le na tanko plast beleža.

Relativno visoko kakovost kaže tudi poslikava, ki se je prvotno raztezala po obeh stenah skupaj z obokom v nadstropju severnega trakta križnega hodnika, njena obsežnost pa se je razkrila šele z odstranitvijo kasnejših predelnih sten in izvedbo sondažnih raziskav. Nedvomno gre za motiv Kristusovih prednikov oziroma Jesejeve korenike, kjer so, kot je bilo običajno, v vitičevje vpletene figure upodobljene do pasu in v cvetni čaši, opravljene pa so v fantazijska vzhodnjaška oblačila in pokrite s prav takšnimi kapami, s kakršnimi so takrat v slikarstvu zaznamovali pripadnost oseb poganskemu, antičnemu ali pa tudi starozaveznemu svetu (slika 11). Obrazne nادرbnosti v tej fazi prezentacije žal niso razberljive, prav tako detajli oblačil, zato nam za časovno orientacijo nastanka poslikave služi le mesnata rastlinska dekoracija, ki je bogato prepredla vse razpoložljive prostore med figuralnimi upodobitvami in bi jo glede na oblikovne principe smeli postaviti šele v drugo polovico 15. stoletja. Gotovi pa smo lahko, da je ob nastanku poslikave hodnik žarel s svojo gostobesedno porastlinjenostjo, in le upamo lahko v nadaljevanje odkrivanja in restavratorsko-konservatorskih posegov tudi v tem delu samostana.

Tudi po izteku srednjega veka je bil samostan s cerkvijo deležen številnih slikarskih okrasitev. Na ostenju zgornjega severnega dela domnevnega ostanka letnerja nekdanjega srednjeveškega prezbiterija je odkrit fragment, na katerem slabo ohranjena *secco* slikarija kaže upodobitev ptic, psov in drugih živali v letu in teku (slika 12). Zdi se, da gre zgolj za dekorativno okrasitev brez večje pomenske teže, ki jo lahko ohlapno umestimo v 16. stoletje. V obdobje baroka pa sodi slikarska okrasitev vratnih odprtih s stebriščnimi arhitekturami, nad vrati sklenjenimi s trikotno atiko, katere vrh zapolnjujejo kartušasti medaljoni z upodobitvami izbranih, očitno dominikanskih svetnikov; okrasitev srečamo na južni steni južnega hodnika pa tudi v prvem nadstropju južnega dela samostana (slika 13). Arhitekture so zastavljene tridimenzionalno, kar pomeni, da likovno ustvarjajo vtis monumentalnega portala, skozi katerega vstopamo v sosednji prostor; arhitekturni pristop mehčajo le motivi vaz s cveticami, ki so naslikani ob straneh, žal pa se večina te plasti poslikave (še) skriva pod ometom. Vzore za tovrstno slikarsko monumentaliziranje vratnih odprtih je avtor gotovo našel v knjižni opremi italijanskih ali verjetneje južnonemških tiskov, v katerih pogosto srečamo podobno motiviko uokvirjanja bodisi svetniških podob bodisi širše zastavljenih prizorov; natančnejše raziskave bodo gotovo ponudile določnejše primerjave. Od portretnih upodobitev svetnikov sta se k sreči ohranili dve v južnem hodniku, in sicer podoba sv. Antonina in domnevna podoba papeža Pija V. (slika 14). Identiteto prvega, poleg upodobljenih atributov (lilija, sidro in križ), meniške kute in na temenu obrite glave, razkriva napis na knjigi, ki jo drži z desnico (SUMA ANTONINI), identiteto dru-

⁷ Gre za tekst avstrijskega dominikanca Franza von Retza (1343–1427), ki naj bi nastal nekje med letoma 1400 in 1425; v njem avtor na podlagi argumentov iz sveta klasične antike in primerov iz narave skuša razložiti Marijino deviškost pred porodom in med njim ter po njem. Zahvala za informacijo gre kolegu Branku Vnuku, ki je pripravil tudi prvo preliminarno objavo z natančnejšo vsebinsko opredelitvijo obravnavane poslikave (Vnuk, 2013).

gega pa bi – ob papeški tiari in Križanem, v katerega se predano ozira – nemara smeli prepoznati po izrazito poudarjenem sokolskem nosu. Obraza sta sugestivna, karakterne poteze upodobljencev poudarjene, gubanje draperij, še posebej pri papežu Piju V., pa razkriva, da se je slikar gotovo oplajal pri grafičnih predlogah starejšega izvora. Glede na opisano bi slikarske okrasitve vratnih odprtih smeli ohlapno postaviti v čas poznega 17. ali verjetneje zgodnjega 18. stoletja, saj je bil papež Pij V. šele leta 1712 kanoniziran za svetnika.

Ob sklepu obravnave poslikav, ki nam jih je v tej obnovi razkril dominikanski samostan na Ptujju, moramo še omeniti, da konservatorsko-restavratorska dela v času nastanka članka še niso zaključena, zaradi česar smo lahko povsem gotovi, da obravnavana odkritja niso zadnja, in smemo z zanimanjem pričakovati še kakšno presenetljivo odkritje.⁸

Sveti Duh pri Dravogradu – cerkev Sv. duha (EŠD: 3210)

Med zanimivejša odkritja obravnavane regije gotovo šteje tudi obsežna poslikava prezbiterija v podružnični cerkvi Sv. duha pod Ojstrico pri Spodnjem Dravogradu. Leta 1993 so v cerkvi stekla obsežna obnovitvena dela, med katerimi je bila izvedena rekonstrukcija poslikanega lesenega stropa, saj so zaradi slabega lesa morali original sneti. Poslikan kor in ograja, ki nista bila poškodovana, sta restavrirana z neznatno dodelavo in sta v celoti ohranjena. Konservatorska in restavratorska dela so se leta 1996 končala z obnovo fasade in zvonika ter notranjščine cerkve, kjer se je razkrila obsežna poslikava celotnega prezbiterija s slavoločno steno. Čeprav dela pri odkrivanju in prezentiranju poslikave še niso zaključena, saj so zaradi pomanjkanja sredstev nadaljnji konservatorsko-restavratorski postopki začasno ustavljeni, pa smemo že na tej stopnji raziskav skleniti, da imamo pred seboj enega izmed najceloviteje ohranjenih poslikanih prezbiterijev iz časa zgodnjega 17. stoletja. Na južni steni se je namreč ohranil napis: »*Disen Khurchen(?) haben(?) Mallen lassen ... Erbarb und Arbeitssamen als Adam K... ...Christoff Jamnickh Zochmaistern im 1616 Jar*«, ki sporoča leto nastanka poslikave in cehovska mojs- tra, ki kot predstavnika ceha stojita za naročilom poslikave. Omeniti pa velja, da ime slednjega srečamo tudi na poslikanem lesenem stropu v ladji, datiranem desetletje kasneje kot poslikava v prezbiteriju.

Velike površine severne in južne stene prezbiterija so zavzeli štirje prizori iz Kristusovega življenja, stene vzhodnega poligonalnega zaključka pa štirje celopostavni cerkveni očetje. Na zahodnem delu severne stene sta v en prizor združena Pohod

in Poklon Sv. treh kraljev. V prvem planu slikovnega polja je zgoščeno dogajanje Poklona (slika 15), figure so postavljene pred arhitekturno kuliso ruševine z antičnima stebroma. Razpadajoča arhitektura lesenega ali zidanega razrušenega hleva je namreč v podajanju Kristusovega rojstva ali Poklona Sv. treh kraljev severno in južno od Alp pogost element s simbolično sporočilno vrednostjo, ki namiguje na propad starega sveta judovstva. Prostor za razpadajočo arhitekturo zdrzne daleč v ozadje, kjer se med naslikanimi hribovitimi kulisami vije mnogofiguralni prizor Pohoda. Oba dogodka – v globino raztegnjeni Pohod in Poklon Sv. treh kraljev v ospredju – pa v enoten prizor povezuje s hrbtom proti gledalcu obrnjena figura pastirja, ki odhaja skozi polkrožno zaključeno odprtino med obema stebroma. Prizoru sledi zaradi kasneje vzdanega okna okrnjena upodobitev Molitve na Oljski gori. Dobro ohranjen je le angel s kelihom in križem, ki se z leve strani približuje Kristusu pri molitvi na gori. Za njim so vidni še žarki nebeške svetlobe, od spečih apostolov pa je v celoti ohranjen le eden izmed treh, ki so spremljali Kristusa na Oljski gori. Prizor na jugovzhodni strani prezbiterija žal še ni odkrit, predvidevamo lahko upodobitev Križanja, kaj več pa bodo nedvomno razkrila nadaljnja konservatorsko-restavratorska dela. Preostali prizor na južni steni predstavlja v odkritem gradivu srednjeveškega in tudi kasnejšega stenskega slikarstva na Slovenskem sila redko ali celo edinstveno upodobitev Kristusove poti v Emavs (slika 16). V prvem planu vidimo Kristusa med učencema, pot za njimi pa zdrzne v pokrajino z nekaj drevesi in kulisastimi hribi.

Na stenah vzhodnega poligonalnega zaključka prezbiterija po napisnem traku, ki se z imeni neprekinjeno vije pod njimi, prepoznamo štiri latinske cerkvene očete. Od desne proti levi sledijo sv. Ambrož, sv. Hieronim, sv. Avguštin in sv. Gregor. Prostostoječe figure s knjigami v rokah so postavljene pred nevtralno ozadje, prostor nad njimi zapolnjuje le domišljen ornament, ki se kot kovinsko okovje pripenja na okenske odprtine, na vsakem izmed njih pa sedi ptica. Čeprav monumentalne figure cerkvenih očetov delujejo statično, ne gre spregledati slikarjeve težnje po razgibanosti s kretnjami rok, ki segajo v prostor, zanimiv pa je tudi detajl draperije, nabrane okrog desnega rokava papeža Gregorja, ki spominja na zmečkane gube starejšega gotskega realizma nizozemskega in nemškega slikarstva. Poskus pretanjenih drž, s katerimi očetje držijo knjige, in gubanja oblačil je gotovo plod oplajanja ob grafičnih predlogah, a jim slikar zaradi omejenih slikarskih sposobnosti ni mogel slediti, postave namreč delujejo togo in okorno. Omeniti velja še dva celopostavna angela, ki zapolnjujeta prostor na skrajnih robovih vzhodnega zaključka prezbiterija, v večji meri je odkrit in ohranjen le angel s kadinico v rokah na jugovzhodnem koncu prezbiterija, k dekorativnemu učinku celote pa pridajajo še poslikana okenska ostenja, ki jih zapolnjuje ornamentika, tokrat ujeta v kartušaste okvirje različnih oblik.

Zadnja sodba na notranji strani slavloloka ne prinaša ikono-grafskih novosti. Zaradi oboka, ki je zakril zgornji del poslikave, je docela uničen Kristus, vidimo le svetlobno mandorlo z operutničnimi angelskimi glavicami in polkrožni lok mavrice pod njim. Od tradicionalne Deesisne skupine je ohranjena le pripročnica Marija na Kristusovi desni, dobro vidni pa

8 Enaintridesetega maja 2013 je Oddelek za umetnostno zgodovino na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru v sodelovanju z Mestno občino Ptuj in Pokrajinskim muzejem Ptuj Ormož v viteški dvorani ptujskega gradu pripravil enodnevni znanstveni posvet *Dominikanski samostan na Ptujju, Nova spoznanja ob prenovi in načrti za prihodnost*. O novoodkritih poslikavah v ptujskem dominikanskem samostanu je predaval dr. Janez Balažič, ta članek pa je bil oddan za objavo 23. aprila 2013.

so še apostoli, svetniki ter angeli s trombami. Del poslikave na južni strani slavoločne odprtine, kjer sta bila po vsej verjetnosti upodobljena vstajenje mrtvih in spreved izvoljenih na poti v Nebeški Jeruzalem, je skorajda v celoti uničen, k sreči pa se je ohranila dramatična upodobitev usode prekletih na nasprotni strani. Zgoraj vidimo peklenščka, ki si je na samokolnico naložil žensko s snopom žita – kot kaže, jo je ujel sredi dela na polju –, ob njej pa dva hudobca z inštrumenti, ki skrbita za glasbeno spremljavo na poti v pekel. Spodaj je upodobljen hudič s prsmi, verjetno je bila ženska tista, ki je pogubila na vrstico privezanega nesrečneža, pod njima pada v pekel prvi grešnik Adam, na skrajnem spodnjem robu pekla pa vidimo še Judeža z mošnjo cekinov v rokah; ta je namreč z izdajo Kristusa zaslužil najgloblje brezno znotraj človeku lastnih strasti, zablod in zmot.

Srednjeveški tradicionalni ikonografski shemi v bistvenih poudarkih sledi tudi poslikava oboka, ki so ga, glede na okrnjeno zadnjo sodbo na slavoloku, morali z grebenastim mrežastim obokom brez konzol ali sklepnikov obokati, ko je bila poslikava slavoloka že izvedena, saj razen kasnejše preslikave, ki je le »posodobila« starejšo na oboku, ni videti razlik in cezur med poslikavo sten in grebenastega oboka. Središčno polje je pridržano za upodobitev Svete trojice. Blagoslavljajoči Bog Oče s kroglo sveta v levici in Kristus trpin ob njem sta – glede na napis, ki se razteza med njima »SANCTA TRINITAS MISERERE NOBIS« – skupaj z golobom Sv. duha, ki je pred uničenjem prejkone lebdel nad njima, namreč sestavljala skupino Sv. trojice. Po ustaljenem principu srednjega veka bi osrednje polje obdajali simboli evangelistov, kot pa je bilo ob izteku 16. stoletja in v zgodnjem 17. stoletju običajno, so tudi tukaj upodobljeni evangelisti pri pisanju v medaljonih, pod in nad katerimi se vijajo napisni trakovi; ti so v skladu z razkrojem starega motivnega jedra t. i. kranjskega prezbiterija odrinjeni na robna polja oboka. Poslikava obočne sheme podružnice pod Ojstrico pa od ustaljenega srednjeveškega principa odstopa predvsem zaradi upodobitve celopostavnih apostolov z njihovimi atributi na oboku; apostoli so namreč tukaj obstopili osrednje polje s Sveto trojico. Bržkone so v tem primeru našli svoje mesto na oboku zaradi njegove obsežne površine in siceršnjega ikonografskega koncepta celotne poslikave, ki je na vzhodnem zaključku prezbiterija predvidel celopostavno upodobljene štiri latinske cerkvene očete, na velikih površinah severne in južne stene prezbiterija pa pripovedne prizore iz Kristusovega življenja. Ostala razpoložljiva polja, skupaj z bogato ornamentiko, zapolnjujejo angeli z orodji mučenja, angeli pri branju in angeli muzikantje, zahodni del poslikave oboka pa je žal v večji meri uničen.

Kljub slikovitemu učinku celote, ki ga je slikar dosegel z domala do zadnjega kotička poslikanim prostorom prezbiterija, moramo omeniti skrajno neobgljeno oblikovane roke in nedefinirane obrazne fiziognomije brez izrazne moči in individualnih potez. Figure so resda ujete v polnoplastične značilno poudarjene muskulature, a nas motijo številne anatomske nepravilnosti – v primerjavi z robustnimi stopali in lopatastimi rokami premajhne glave –, ki govorijo o avtorjevem omejenem slikarskem potencialu. Tudi slikarjeva prizadevanja za učinkovito organizacijo slikovnega polja, ki pri pripovednih prizorih iz Kristusovega življenja vključuje

tudi krajino, ostajajo podana zelo posplošeno, v smislu nekakšnega scenskega okvirja figuralnemu dogajanju. Krajina s preprostim hribovjem v ozadju deluje kulisasto, oddaljene figure pa igračkasto, saj slikar ni upošteval realnih prostorskih in velikostnih razmerij. Zdi se, da ga zanima le ospredje z zgoščenimi protagonisti, ki je močno poudarjeno, krajina z zmanjšanimi figurami in arhitekturnimi dodatki v ozadju pa deluje kulisasto, brez pravilnega prostorskega odmika od ospredja. Kot že rečeno, je domači mojster v iskanju motivnih in slogovnih vzorov brez dvoma segel po grafičnih predlogah, se pri njih oplajal, a ostal slikar provincialnega okolja ter s svojim duhovnim in slikarskim obzorjem po kvaliteti in svežini upodobitev ni segel nad povprečno obrtniško raven. Čeprav ostaja na preprostih, nekoliko robustnih ljudskih tleh, pa vendarle v naš prostor prinaša poljudno razumljeno kompozicijsko in figuralno napetost in zagato tako imenovanega poznorenesančnega eklekticizma, ki jo povzroča zgoščeno upodabljanje pripovednih prizorov s številnimi ornamentalnimi okraši.

Ob sklepu le še podatek, da bi po natančnejših primerjavah morebiti lahko v slikarju, ki je slikal v podružnični cerkvi Sv. duha na Ojstrici pri Spodnjem Dravogradu, prepoznali slikarja, ki je slikal tudi poslikavo ladijskega oboka župnijske cerkve sv. Pankracija v Starem trgu pri Slovenj Gradcu iz prvih desetletij 17. stoletja, omenjeno že v uvodu. Pri slednji je resda sodelovalo vsaj dvoje slikarskih rok, ki se močno razlikujeta po izvedbeni kakovosti. Boljšega slikarja odlikuje dobro poznavanje telesnih proporcev, njegova kvaliteta pa se kaže tudi v oblikovanju draperij, prefinjeno izrisanih laseh, predvsem pa v sugestivnih izrazih na obrazih figur. Slabši slikar, ki je poslikal veliko večino oboka, pa je zapisan poljudni robotosti, ki jo razkrivajo v prostor perspektivno nerodno postavljene lopataste roke, shematični obrazi in trde draperije. Ravno v slednjem bi morebiti smeli prepoznati slikarja, ki je v drugem desetletju 17. stoletja poslikal prezbiterij podružnične cerkve Sv. duha na Sv. Duhu pod Ojstrico nad Dravogradom, a nam natančnejše primerjave med obema poslikavama onemogočajo razlike v upodobljeni tematiki. Gotovo pa ne bomo daleč od resnice, če oba slikarja postavimo vsaj v isti slikarski krog ali delavnico, ki je prejkone imela sedež v bližnjem Dravogradu ter je pod svojim okriljem združevala različne domače mojstre.

Sneti fragmenti

Vuzenica – cerkev sv. Nikolaja (EŠD: 857)

Ob koncu obravnave je nujno omeniti še sneta fragmenta fresk, od katerih je prvi, spodnji del Marije Zavetnice s plaščem z zunanjščine severne stene severne kapele, prizidane k župnijski cerkvi sv. Nikolaja v Vuzenici v 14. stoletju – v 15. stoletju je bila ta podaljšana –, strokovni javnosti domala neznan. Cerkev je tudi sicer bogata zakladnica srednjeveškega freskantstva (Höfler, 2004: 243–248), ki jo bo

obravnavani fragment, snet leta 1994,⁹ pomenljivo dopolnil. Ohranjen je zgolj spodnji del razprtega Marijinega plašča, pod katerim se gnete nekaj figur; od teh sta vidna le osrednja protagonista, dolgolasi mlad kralj in žena z oglavnico, h kateri kralj intimno nagiba glavo, oba z rokami, sklenjenimi v molitev (slika 17). Od figur v ozadju delno vidimo zgolj glavo mladeniča med njima, ki se s pogledom ozira nekam v daljavo. Nasproti je upodobljena klečeča figura na nizkem podesetu, z zavitim napisnim trakom. Gre za duhovnika, župnika cerkve, ki se s priprošnjiškim klicem obrača na Mater Marijo, naj se ga spomni, bržkone ob uri smrti (slika 18). Tudi pod prostorsko prepričljivo podanimi tlemi, na katerih se odvija prizor, je tekel napis, od katerega pa je žal ohranjeno premalo, da bi lahko razvozlati vsebino. Karakterni obrazi, med katerimi še posebej izstopa duhovnikov, in oblikovanje draperij razkrivajo visoko kakovost, ki potrjuje imenitnost naročnika. Morebiti ne bomo daleč od resnice, če bi v duhovniku prepoznali Jurija Lebekarja, vuzeniškega župnika v letih 1478 in 1489, ki je imel visok položaj v duhovniški hierarhiji tega dela oglejskega patriarhata – bil je namreč, kot piše Höfler (Höfler 2004: 247–248), arhidiakon za Koroško –, saj bi freska glede na slogovne karakteristike, ki razkrivajo plastično zajete figure z logično izpeljanimi draperijami, ki se ob tleh zmečkajo v obliki trikotnikov, pa tudi glede na individualno obrazno karakterizacijo, ki jo razkriva predvsem obraz naročnika, lahko nastala nekje v zadnji tretjini 15. stoletja.

Cerkvenjak – cerkev sv. Antona Puščavnika (EŠD: 1069)

Ob odkrivanju v uvodu omenjene poslikave v ladji župnijske cerkve sv. Antona puščavnika v Cerkvenjaku iz časa okoli leta 1390 (Sulič Urek, 2003: 43 in Balažic, 2003: 2–8) je bil snet fragment iz prizora Pohoda Sv. treh kraljev. Razvidna sta del obraza srednjega kralja in v omet vrisana posoda (kelih). Fragment je trenutno hranjen v prostorih OE Maribor, posebej pa velja omeniti sneti fragment z nerazvozlanim napisom, ki je svoje mesto našel v zakristiji obravnavane cerkve; oba sta namreč sila pomenljiva za nadaljnja proučevanja omenjene poslikave, zaradi česar sta tudi zajeta v tej obravnavi.

Sklep

Odkritja zadnjih let dopolnjujejo doslej znano bogastvo stenskih slikarij na območju mariborske enote Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, ob tem pa osvetljujejo umetnostno podobo obravnavane regije. Navedena preliminarna spoznanja bodo z novih raziskavami, predvsem pa ob dokončanju konservatorsko-restavratorskih posegov na poslikavah, odkritih po večini zgolj sondažno, gotovo dopolnjena in ponekod korigirana. Na tej stopnji raziskav in ohranjenosti pa bo bralec v tekstu nedvomno našel osnovne podatke

⁹ Zahvala za informacijo in fotografske posnetke gre restavratorju mag. Binetu Kovačiču, ki je fragment, danes hranjen v vuzeniškem župnišču, leta 1994 tudi snel.

o vsebini in slogu v zadnjih dveh desetletjih odkritih, širši strokovni javnosti manj znanih poslikav, ki doslej še niso dočakale znanstvenega ovrednotenja.

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1. Poljana, c. sv. Janeza Krstnika, apostol (foto: Simona Menoni)

1. Poljana, church of St John the Baptist, apostle (photograph: Simona Menoni)



2. Poljana, c. sv. Janeza Krstnika, svetnica na notranji strani slavoločnega loka (foto: Simona Menoni)
2. Poljana, church of St John the Baptist, female saint on inner side of chancel arch (photograph: Simona Menoni)



3. Studenice, nekdanji hospital, Vera icon (foto: Alenka Horvat)
3. Studenice, former infirmary, vera icon (photograph: Alenka Horvat)



4. Oplotnica, graščina, lev (foto: Alenka Horvat)
4. Oplotnica, grange, lion (photograph: Alenka Horvat)



5. Ptuj, dominikanski samostan, Pohod sv. Treh kraljev (foto: Robert Peskar)
5. Ptuj, Dominican priory, Journey of the Magi (photograph: Robert Peskar)



6. Ptuj, dominikanski samostan, Pohod sv. Treh kraljev (foto: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)
6. Ptuj, Dominican priory, Journey of the Magi (photograph: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)



7. Ptuj, dominikanski samostan, *Defensorium* (foto: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)
7. Ptuj, Dominican priory, *Defensorium* (photograph: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)



8. Ptuj, dominikanski samostan, pelikan z mladiči (foto: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)
8. Ptuj, Dominican priory, pelican with chicks (photograph: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)



9. Ptuj, dominikanski samostan, podrisba gradu (foto: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)

9. Ptuj, Dominican priory, underdrawing of castle (photograph: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)



10. Ptuj, dominikanski samostan, podrisba figure (foto: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)

10. Ptuj, Dominican priory, underdrawing of figure (photograph: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)



11. Ptuj, dominikanski samostan,
Jesejeva korenika (foto: Vlasta Čobal
Sedmak)

*11. Ptuj, Dominican priory, Tree of Jesse
(photograph: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)*



12. Ptuj, dominikanski samostan, živalski motivi (foto: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)

12. Ptuj, Dominican priory, animal motifs (photograph: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)



13. Ptuj, dominikanski samostan, slikana arhitekturna dekoracija vratnih odprtín (foto: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)

13. Ptuj, Dominican priory, painted architectural decoration of doorways (photograph: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)



14. Ptuj, dominikanski samostan, Papež Pij V. (detajl) (foto: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)
14. Ptuj, Dominican priory, Pope Pius V (detail) (photograph: Vlasta Čobal Sedmak)



15. Sv. Duh pod Ojstrico pri Spodnjem Dravogradu, p. c. sv. Duha, Poklon sv. Treh kraljev (detajl) (foto: Simona Menoni)
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Preliminary assessment of newly discovered mural paintings in the area covered by the Maribor Regional Unit of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia (1990–2013)

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Abstract

Mural painting in eastern Slovenia has in the past been somewhat neglected by researchers of this segment of artistic heritage (with the exception of the north-eastern Prekmurje region) in comparison to other regions of the country, since for a long time only Gorenjska, and to a lesser extent Dolenjska and Primorska, were considered “classic” fresco areas, while knowledge of mural paintings in the area covered by the Maribor unit of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia (ZVKDS) was for many years limited to individual important discoveries that were significant for their artistic quality. In the last two decades the conservation service has also been systematically studying material within the area in question. This has resulted in some surprising new discoveries and knowledge. The opposite of what was previously assumed has turned out to be true: not only are there many more mural paintings than was previously thought, but individual examples rise above the general level of such works elsewhere in Slovenia and represent achievements of greater than regional significance. The aim of this article is to offer, through a basic art historical outline and an attempt at categorising the works in terms of the time and milieu of their creation, a preliminary evaluation of those paintings that have not yet received in-depth scientific analysis and publication.

Introduction

The year 2013 was a significant one for conservation in Slovenia in that it marked the centenary of the foundation, in 1913, of the provincial office for monument protection (*Landesamt für Denkmalpflege*) in Carniola, headed by France Stelè as the first professional conservator. Interest in and in-depth attention to mural painting in Slovenia are at least as old, since the first notable researcher of this aspect of artistic heritage was France Stelè himself. He was also responsible for the first scholarly publications on the subject (Stelè, 1975: 162–171; Stelè, 1928/29: 70–87; Stelè, 1940: 479–494; Stelè, 1950: 205–212; Stelè, 1957: 284–297; Stelè, 1959: 265–272; Stelè, 1964: 315–328) and a number of monographic publications (Stelè, 1935; Stelè, 1969; Stelè, 1972) that set themselves the aim of providing a topographical inventory of mural painting in Slovenia, placing it on a line of development, and situating it within the broader geographical – and therefore cultural – milieu. However, as established by Janez Höfler in the fourth volume of the corpus *Medieval Frescoes in Slovenia* (Höfler, 2004: 7), mural painting in eastern Slovenia was somewhat neglected in comparison to other regions of Slovenia, since for many years only Gorenjska was considered a “classic” fresco area, followed by Dolenjska and Primorska, and for a long time knowledge of mural painting in eastern Slovenia was limited to individual important discoveries of notable artistic quality. Over the last two decades the conservation service has carried out a systematic study of material in the extensive area covered by the Maribor regional unit of

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the ZVKDS, which has led to some surprising new discoveries and knowledge. The opposite of what was previously assumed has turned out to be true: not only are there many more mural paintings than was previously thought, but individual examples of mural painting from earlier periods rise above the general level of such works elsewhere in Slovenia and represent achievements of greater than regional significance.

Among the latter we may certainly include in particular the painting of the late Romanesque/early Gothic rectangular sanctuary of the parish church, dedicated to St Martin, in Šmartno na Pohorju, which was discovered in 2000 (Balažič, 2001: 139–157). The painting belongs to two phases: the first corresponds to the general Late Romanesque style of northern Italy and the Eastern Alps of the period around 1220, while the second is likewise in Late Romanesque style, probably from the third quarter of the thirteenth century (Höfler, 2004: 216–221). No less important is the systematic uncovering of frescoes carried out in 2003 in the parish church dedicated to St Anthony of the Desert in Cerkenjak, which dates from circa 1390 (Sulič Urek, 2003: 43 and Balažič, 2003: 2–8) or the uncovering of frescoes, beginning in 1995, in the parish church of the Holy Trinity in Velika Nedelja, which likewise dates from before the end of the fourteenth century (Menoni, 2003: 25–57; Menoni, 2004: 253–265; Höfler, 2004: 236–238 and Menoni, 2007: 55–66).¹ It is also worth mentioning the comprehensive project to uncover and restore the interior of the church of the Virgin Mary on the Rock (*Cerkev Device Marije na Kamnu*), where lengthy conservation work began in 1992 and ended in 2000. Although the frescoes are not well preserved, it is nevertheless possible to identify at least three phases of painting, dating from the mid-fourteenth century to the early sixteenth century (Kurelac and Peskar, 2000: 135–141 and Höfler, 2004: 248–252). No less important for understanding the line of development of medieval mural painting in Štajerska (aka Slovene Styria or Lower Styria, i.e. the portion of the former Duchy of Styria within the borders of present-day Slovenia), is the uncovering and restoration of mural decoration in St Bolfenk's (St Wolfgang's) in Jelovice. Work took place here between 1994 and 1998. The frescoes date from the early sixteenth century and complement our picture of the conservative, popular layer of mural painting in the Slovene lands in the first decades of the sixteenth century (Cevc 1998; Menoni 2000; Höfler, 2004: 113–116). We might conclude our introductory outline of significant discoveries that have already undergone scientific evaluation with the Renaissance painting discovered beneath the whitewash on the nave vaulting of the parish church of St Pancras in Stari Trg above Slovenj Gradec during conservation–restoration work in the mid-1990s, which has already been dated to the first third of the seventeenth century (Stelè, 1936/37: 56; Rozman, 1964: 69; Kurelac, 1997 and Menoni, 2009: 169–170, Cat. No 30).

1 The latest research by the present author suggests that the artist responsible for the paintings in the parish churches of Velika Nedelja and Ormož should be sought in neighbouring Hungary, where the same hand painted the outside walls of the cemetery chapel in Khe-zthely. An article on this topic is currently in preparation.

Although medieval mural painting in the territory covered by this article has received the least attention from researchers in the past, it is worth mentioning, in addition to the individual studies cited above that have focused on selected monuments of mural painting in the area in question, a number of bachelor's and doctoral theses, preserved in typewritten form, that have addressed mural painting in Štajerska from a topographical point of view. These include Tatjana Špitalar's bachelor's thesis from 1986 (Špitalar, 1986), in which the author considered newly discovered Gothic frescoes in Štajerska (in the area covered by the Maribor unit of the ZVKDS), the doctoral dissertation by Tatjana Zimmermann, which addressed thirteenth- and fourteenth-century mural painting in the Slovene lands (Zimmermann, 1996), and the doctoral dissertation of the present author, which for the time being remains the only study of the mural painting of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in this region (Menoni, 2009). The most important work for understanding the medieval fresco-painting heritage in the area covered by the Maribor unit of the ZVKDS is without a doubt the fourth volume of Janez Höfler's series on medieval frescoes in Slovenia (*Srednjeveške freske na Slovenskem*; Höfler, 2004), already mentioned above, in which many monuments, particularly those discovered in the recent period, are published for the first time. This study, then, will not cover those monuments of mural painting that have already undergone publication and thorough scientific analysis, even though they may exceed those discussed below in terms of quality. The purpose of the paper is to evaluate, through a basic outline and an attempt to situate them in the period and milieu in which they were created, those mural paintings that have not yet undergone in-depth scientific analysis and publication. At the same time, however, it should be borne in mind that further studies and research and, above all, the completion of conservation–restoration interventions will further refine many of the findings described here, and also correct them in places.

Poljana – Church of St John the Baptist (Heritage No: 3282)

Among the latter group of monuments, one that undoubtedly stands out for its rich history of mural paintings is the church of St John the Baptist in Poljana,² where soundings have revealed (Kuhl, 2004) that the church was painted in at least three different periods. As part of efforts to ensure the full renovation of the church, which of course includes the further uncovering, restoration and art historical evaluation of its mural paintings, a preliminary conservation programme was drawn up at the Maribor regional unit of the ZVKDS in 2007. This preliminary programme also includes the first art historical assessment of the paintings in the church, provided by Janez Balažič (Balažič, 2007).

2 I am very grateful to the responsible conservator Svjetlana Kurelac for lending me the available material and for providing me with information.

The church is a simple village chapel of ease, most probably from the early fourteenth century. Its dedication would appear to suggest that it was built as a baptismal chapel. Its architectural design is also of the chapel type, in other words there is no externally visible caesura between the nave and the three-sided sanctuary, the latter without buttressing or a plinth course. Above the chancel arch is the belfry, which maintains the tradition of Carinthian roof belfries. A porch abuts the west front, which has a simple pointed-arch portal. The sacristy and chapel of St Job stand on the north side. Soundings show that the best preserved layer of painting by surface area is the oldest layer. Despite the modest results of the probes, it appears to be of high quality, so further conservation-restoration interventions are necessary, since these will lead to final presentation, at which point it will be possible to give a definitive assessment of the work. We can, however, state with certainty that in terms of its content the oldest layer followed the theological concept established in medieval painting that sees the church as a heavenly Jerusalem in which apostles with codices in their hands occupy the central position in the sanctuary. The apostles stand between the original lancet windows on the side walls of the sanctuary beneath two-dimensionally represented pointed arches that imitate the forms of early Gothic door and window openings. The figures of the apostles are elegant and slender with small heads and flowing hair arranged symmetrically. Unfortunately the details of the faces are for the most part lost. In some sections only the underdrawing has survived. Elsewhere, larger painted areas in earth colours define the draperies, among which only the outer garment of the apostle on the west side of the sanctuary's south window is richly ornamented with a decorative ribbon-like pattern (Fig. 1). The slender figures are placed against monochrome backgrounds but the results of the soundings allow us to assume that a decorative band ran uninterrupted beneath them. Painted in monochrome grey, this imitated a stone plinth course on which the graceful figures of the apostles are standing. Larger areas of this paint layer have also been uncovered on the inside part of the shallow-pointed chancel arch. Previous soundings have revealed four monumental figures, depicted from the waist up, standing beneath round arches. Given the halos round their heads, decorated with stylised trefoils, we may interpret these figures without doubt as selected saints (Fig. 2) or, more precisely – in view of the fair hair falling loosely over their shoulders – two female saints on the two upper sections of the chancel arch and, on the lower north side of the arch, a tonsured deacon whose garment is adorned by a ribbon-like ornament. Although conservation-restoration interventions have not yet been carried out on the paintings, slightly more details are visible in the faces in this part of the painting, and also decorative elements (halos), which reveal to us the refined hand of a trained painter and at the same time define with greater accuracy the period in which the paintings were created. Also worth mentioning is the commitment to frontality in the figures of the two female saints revealed by the probes. This is emphasised by their symmetrical hairstyles and the clasps of their cloaks. The putative figure on the lower part of the south side of the chancel

arch has not yet been uncovered to a sufficient extent to allow more precise findings. It should also be mentioned that all the figures of saints in this section probably had names, running in a semicircle above them, as can be seen above the female saint on the north side of the chancel arch, although until the intervention of a restorer it will not be possible to decipher this inscription with any certainty.

The sanctuary side of the chancel arch was also entirely covered in painting in this period. Probes in its northern half have revealed medallions with figures of saints, either male or female, depicted from the waist up. Despite their poor state of preservation and currently reduced power of expression, it appears that they held books in the hands, or more probably ribbons bearing inscriptions. The southern half of the sanctuary side of the chancel arch reveals a full-length figure, of which for the most part only the underdrawing has survived. Nevertheless the elegant pose of the figure, with its right hand raised to its face, and the sword hanging on its left side are clearly visible. At this level of research, definitive identification of the saints in the medallions and of the figure on the opposite side of the sanctuary-facing wall of the chancel arch is of course impossible. Similarly impossible at this stage of research is a final iconographic definition of the extensive scene on the north wall of the sanctuary, where we can make out the outlines of two full-length winged figures (angels); the right-hand figure is better preserved. The bodies of these two figures are turned towards the centre of the scene, where a vessel (a chalice?) can be recognised slightly above their heads.

Although the complete theological concept of the painting is not fully established at this stage of presentation, a stylistic and corresponding chronological definition of the oldest layer of painting in the chapel of ease dedicated to St John the Baptist in Poljana are no great puzzle even at this stage. The slender figures distinguished for their elegance, the round faces of the female saints with hair hanging loose on their shoulders, and the symmetrically arranged flowing hairstyles of the apostles on the end walls of the sanctuary, standing above two-dimensional arches, pointed in accordance with the principles of the early Gothic, permit us to date the painting with considerable certainty to the first third of the fourteenth century. The frontal orientation of the figures uncovered on the inner side of the chancel arch, the graphic effect of the ribbon-like patterns on the garments of one of the apostles and the deacon on the chancel arch, and also the uncovered decorative elements suggest that they were painted somewhere between 1320 and 1330. The accurate lower drawing, the attitude of the uncovered figures and some surviving details allow us to conclude that a relatively good-quality painter was at work in Poljana within the stylistic frameworks of the High Gothic linear style. We would probably not be far from the truth were we to predict, even before completion of conservation-restoration interventions, that suitable comparisons and starting points for the paintings will need to be sought among selected painted monuments in Austrian Carinthia, where I am afraid that details that would define more precisely the comparisons and any authorship connections are unfortunately lost in the Poljana paintings.

We should end our treatment of the oldest layer of paintings by mentioning that the sanctuary was consecrated after the mediaeval paintings were created, since dedicatory crosses are visible in places. Any information on the consecration of this chapel of ease would therefore provide us with more reliable information on the data's painting, since we may conclude without any doubt that the church was consecrated shortly after the completion of its painted decoration. It should also be mentioned that the layer in question has also been found on the south wall, the external north wall of the sanctuary in front of the sacristy extension, and on the corresponding part of the attic. The uncovered fragments justify the assumption that St Christopher was painted here in accordance with the medieval tradition of paintings on church exteriors.

Soundings carried at various places in the church reveal that the building was also painted in later periods. Owing to the small size of the areas uncovered, these can only be approximately dated. The decorated medallions with figures of the apostles shown from the waist up on the north and south walls of the nave and the inner side of the chancel arch must come from the 16th century, since the expressive facial features of the apostles and the decoratively adorned medallions no longer belong to mediaeval painting heritage. Decorative dedicatory crosses were painted over the medallions in the 19th century and we may expect that other parts of the nave and sanctuary were also painted in the 19th century, along with the chapel of St Job. The uncovered fragments of scrollwork that follow the edge of the chancel arch on the nave side, and the angel musicians above it, show that the church was also decorated in, presumably, the first half of the 17th century, when decoration with this type of ornament was typical in Carinthia.³ It will, however, be necessary to wait for completion of conservation-restoration interventions before we are able to give a definitive judgement regarding the dating of this layer of painting.

Studenice – Dominican convent (Heritage No: 707)

During the course of the comprehensive renovation of the convent in Studenice for the needs of an old people's home, which began in 2005 (Horvat, 1999: 160–172), a remarkable image of the face of Christ (Fig. 3) was found on the intrados of the southernmost window in the east wall of the hall on the first floor of the former infirmary, next to the convent church.⁴ Surviving architectural elements indicate that this building dates from the first third of the thirteenth century. It is clear even at first glance that this is a work of extremely high quality, despite only having survived in fragmentary form, which means that it is unlikely that we will ever be able to fully unravel the entirety of its iconographic concept. Also

destined to remain at the level of speculation is the question of whether it is merely coincidence that the fragment in question is the only one to have survived in the entire former infirmary building, or whether, though this seems less likely, only one of the windows in the building was surrounded by painted decoration. If the latter is true, the window probably belonged to the convent cell of the Mother Abbess and the image would have served to aid her private meditation.

Positioned centrally in a trapezoidal field above a small rectangular window in a carved stone frame, the face of Christ with a cruciform halo appears frontally. The background of the image is decorated with a textile pattern that – together with the soft folds indicated in places and the undulating edge of the border on the left-hand side – suggests that what we are looking at is the iconographic image known as the *vera icon*, in other words the veil used by St Veronica to wipe the sweat from Jesus' face, an image of which remained imprinted on the cloth. The face is notable for its outsize eyes which, owing to the brown irises being placed slightly too close together, have a hypnotic effect on the viewer. The remarkable beauty of Jesus' almost boyish face is enhanced by the small rosy lips and the hint of a wispy moustache above them. The softness of the round face is further complemented by slightly rosy cheeks surrounded by symmetrically arranged wavy hair. The hair ends in two ringlets between which there is a symmetrically divided beard, in keeping with the fashion of the time. Judging from the surviving fragments of the borders with their zigzag band – the first frames the upper edge of the left intrados of the window, while the second runs vertically along the inner side of the right intrados – we can conclude that the walls on the either side of the window were entirely covered with painted decoration. The fragment on the right immediately below the image of Christ suggests that it was part of a more extensive scene. The small face of a girl, perhaps an angel, with wavy hair adorned by some kind of pearl head decoration, can still be seen. The figure holds her hands clasped in prayer in front of her. The fact that she is facing away from the mystical face of Jesus, meaning that her prayer is not directed towards him, as we might expect, is very interesting. We may also be certain that the tears that have collected in the corners of the figure's eyes are not without significance, although at this moment we cannot satisfactorily explain their meaning. Also visible immediately in front of the face is part of the head of a figure that in all probability is in the identical supplicant's pose, and likewise facing away from Jesus. The small fragment that we can see on the extreme top right edge of the right intrados of the window, in which we can perhaps see the braided hair of a female figure, or some form of female headgear, or – less likely – part of a baldachin, is probably significant in any attempt to interpret the content of the scene. We are in fact able to conclude with certainty that the unfortunately lost figure in this part of the painting represented the intercessor in an appeal to Christ, since a band with an inscription also hung from the figure, part of which has fortunately survived, although the inscription itself is unintelligible. We would surely not be far from the truth if we assumed that the ribbon contained one of the usual appeals for intercession. The area of brown visible in

3 For example in the chapel of ease dedicated to St Anne in Leše near Prevalje (cf. Menoni, 2009: Cat. No 13, p. 53).

4 My sincere thanks to the responsible conservator Alenka Horvat for the information.

the bottom left-hand corner may have represented the lower part of the drapery of a figure standing in this position. We may be sure that the intrados on the left-hand side of the window was also decorated in its entirety, but unfortunately nothing has survived of the painting except the border along the top. We may also be completely sure that the painting was intended for private meditation, most probably of the Mother Superior, in other words to aid her absorption in pious devotion, facilitated, via the artistic realisation of a devotional image of extraordinary quality, first by the physical eyes and then, in speculation and contemplation, by the spiritual eyes, “*when a vision appears to the eyes of the soul, the heart or the intellect*” (Mikuž, 2000: 154). We can probably agree that the example in question is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful surviving medieval artistic realisations of Christ’s image and his mystical gaze, in other words an image that belongs to the symbolic component of medieval expression, intended to see beyond the true appearance of things and thus to experience, via the gaze of the spiritual eyes, mystical devotion, absorption and ecstasy (Mikuž, 2000: 153), to touch the sacred. Providing a stylistic and chronological definition of the painted decoration around the window is less of a puzzle than its overall iconographic concept. As regards the style, the softness of Christ’s boyish face and the canon of beauty it follows are undoubtedly characteristics of the so-called soft or beautiful style developed by Bohemian artists, headed by the Master of the Třeboň Altarpiece, in the years 1380–1390. Finally, it is worth emphasising once again that the fragment belongs, in terms of quality, at the very pinnacle of medieval painting in the Slovene lands. It should also be pointed out that today’s parish church in Studenice – the “baroquised” successor to the church of the Dominican convent established in 1237 and exceptionally important from the point of view of the history of art – has still not been the subject of adequate conservation–restoration research on the basis of which we could undoubtedly expect many interesting and also important discoveries.

Oplotnica – Grange

(Heritage No: 6912)

Although attention had been drawn to the great art historical importance of the grange at Oplotnica even before its renovation, thanks to references in specialised literature to its elaborately stuccoed chapel, without a doubt one of the most important examples of early baroque stucco work in Slovenia (Jaki, 1995: 26–29), the destiny of this house after the Second World War was an ignoble one and it remained practically unknown in expert circles. Complete renovation of the grange – originally acquired by the Carthusians of Žiče in the twelfth century, together with its sunny vineyards (Šerbelj, 1990: 49) – began in May 2009, by which time the house was in a relatively poor state (Horvat, 2010: 254–256).⁵ At this time soundings in the north wall of the first-floor cor-

ridor revealed fragments of painting done in the *secco* technique. Despite the poor state of preservation, it was possible, at the time of discovery, to make out a lion preserved almost in its entirety (Fig. 4), a fragment of a bird’s wing in a field to the left of it and, lower down on the right, the remains of ears which, given the height of the surviving field, probably belong to an ox or ass. This selection of animals could suggest – particularly in view of the fact that the grange was the property of the Žiče Charterhouse – that they represent the symbols of the four evangelists (the eagle, the lion and the ox; only the angel would be missing), although because of the state of preservation at the time of discovery and the (excessively) strong retouching during conservation–restoration, it would be difficult to affirm the latter with certainty; the scenes could also be explained in secular terms. Dating the paintings presents less of a problem, since following removal of all the later fillings above the arches, the former outside north wall of the grange was revealed, and on it the date 1527, with which the uncovered fragments of painting also undoubtedly coincide.

Ptuj – Dominican Priory

(Heritage No: 588)

With its treasury of outstanding artistic achievements – still not exhausted despite a great deal of research in the past, as may be seen from the new discoveries in the Dominican priory – the city of Ptuj, an important economic, social and cultural centre, was of course the subject of scholarly publications and conservation/restoration studies even before the founding of the Maribor Institute for Monument Protection in 1959.⁶ Adaptation of the priory in readiness for its new role as a conference centre – a proposal of the City Municipality of Ptuj – is currently under way, and for this reason preliminary extensive conservation–restoration research was carried out in 2010 under the guidance of the national Restoration Centre. To some extent the discoveries, though expected, have in terms of their scale and quality surprised even those who most optimistically (or pessimistically from the developer’s point of view) predicted the complexity of the project and pointed out that the Dominican priory represents one of the most important cultural monuments not only in Slovenia but in Europe.

Much has already been written about the medieval mural paintings in the Dominican priory in Ptuj (Stelè, 1928: 185–191; Stelè, 1933: 232–241; Rozman, 1964: 55; Košan, 1987: 14; Menaše, 1994: 72, 278; Ciglencečki, 1995: 49ff.; Zimmermann, 1995: 229–230, Cat. No 124–125; Zimmermann, 1996: 44–47, 76–80, 177–184, 214–215 and passim; Ciglencečki, 1997: 123–141; Ciglencečki, 2003: 94; Höfler, 2004: 164–169), but following completion of conservation–restoration work it will be necessary not only to partially evaluate the new discoveries but also, in the light of the latter, to plan a comprehensive

5 My sincere thanks to the responsible conservator Alenka Horvat for the information and photographs.

6 Thanks are due for the information and high-quality photographs to the chief conservator Dr Robert Peskar and the head of the restoration team Vlasta Čobal Sedmak.

review of the priory's wealth of fresco art.

From the point of view of mural paintings, one of the biggest discoveries of this renovation of the Dominican priory was hidden in a previously rebuilt room on the south side of the former medieval sanctuary, which probably originally served as the sacristy. Soundings revealed that the entire south wall of the room was painted, but only the painting of the central band has survived to any great extent. Before us is revealed a rich figural composition representing the progress of the Biblical Magi and their retinue. Even at first glance it is apparent that we are looking at a work of remarkable quality, although the concluding part of the depiction with Mary has been destroyed. On the far right edge we see partially preserved architecture, probably representing the town gates topped by a gallery where the three kings took their leave of Herod. The young king mounted on a white horse, his sword at his side, is already on the move. Behind him a group of three mounted warriors in an attitude of conversation. His retinue also includes a black man with a drinking flask (or horn), visible in the bottom left of the picture (Fig. 5). The young king is depicted with a boyish face and, as is customary, with long hair and beardless. As well as by the prominent colour of his clothes and the crown on his head, he is distinguished by the gift (a chalice or vessel) in his right hand; the member of his retinue that stands out the most is the figure in a narrow garment with buttons down its front who is sharply turned round towards the warrior behind him. In front of the young king's group, symbolically separated from the company of the middle king by a schematically rendered treetop, the procession comes to a halt with a group of three horsemen engaged in lively dialogue, supported by a distinct gesticulation of their arms (Fig. 6). The central figure from the ranks of the middle king's retinue, with a pointed hat on his head, is the only one facing us frontally in the picture. He is clearly pointing to the face of the person riding behind him. The provenance of the latter is defined by a short Jewish beard and somewhat caricatured facial features, including a prominent nose. Part of a pointed hat rests on his back. The gesture of the verbal duel between the "old and new" worlds probably has a symbolic value, hinting at the decline of the old world of Judaism with the birth of the Saviour. Along with the young king, a new compositional accent is represented by the middle king, who is seated on a chestnut horse and turning back to participate in the conversation with the two riders behind him. With his raised right hand pointing forward, in his left hand he holds a vessel (a chalice); the conclusion of his group is once again indicated by a partially preserved treetop. The continuation of the procession of the Magi with the group of the old king, undoubtedly depicted next to a black horse, having dismounted from it, and already kneeling in adoration of the Christ Child, has unfortunately been lost owing to the later addition of a doorway here. Only along the upper edge of the border can we make out the face of a figure – turned back towards the procession – whose head is covered by a pointed Jewish hat. Slightly below this face, with a little imagination, given the state of presentation, we can perhaps recognise part of a shepherd's crook, on which the figure is leaning; this reinforces our conviction that the figure may be St Joseph in the

scene of the Adoration. The procession of the Three Wise Men takes place against a monochrome blue background – with the landscape symbolically indicated by the schematically rendered trees – but unfortunately the level of damage makes it impossible for us to say anything about the ground or the ends of the garments, which along with facial characteristics are significant elements that aid the stylistic definition of a painted work. Defining the work is therefore quite problematic, but despite uncertainties at the time of its discovery regarding its early creation (shortly after 1300), it should be pointed out that it is an iconographically developed type of Journey of the Magi, where among other things the beginning of the development of numerous generic elements (e.g. the black man with a flask) is already apparent; such elements gradually infuse the initially solemn procession of the Three Wise Men with numerous accompanying secular innovations. Such an early date is not supported by, among other things, the type of crown on the heads of the two surviving kings, or by the facial features of their military escort, which already direct us towards the middle of the century, when we begin to encounter slightly caricatured facial features. The Dominican priory's Journey of the Magi, in mature High Gothic linear style, is undoubtedly of remarkable quality for our conditions, but it will only be able to shine with all its monumental force once conservation–restoration interventions have been completed; until then we will have to wait for a final stylistic and chronological definition. Taking into account the level of development of the theme (generic additions such as the black man drinking from a flask, the differentiation of the ages of the kings and the different colours of their horses, etc.), the treatment of the landscape (similar representation of the trees) and, last but not least, the clothes of the retinue (tight-fitting garments with buttons down the breast), we would not be far from the truth were we to place the work alongside, for example, the Journey of the Magi in the chapel of ease dedicated to St Cecilia near Murau in Styria (Austria), which dates from around 1360 (Lanc, 2002: Nos 585 and 58) although closer connections should not be sought between the two works, in that the paintings in Ptuj are of significantly higher quality.

The medieval patrimony of frescoes discovered in the Dominican priory may also be considered to include, besides the fragments of geometric decoration surrounding the presented medieval windows in the baroquised medieval nave of the former church, the cycle of paintings in the inner corridor of the south wing of the priory, identified by Branko Vnuk as an extremely rare surviving example of the iconographic theme of the *Defensorium* (Fig. 7).⁷ The same author has also established that the two-line Latin and Old German inscription written in red and black Gothic minuscule

7 This is a text by the Austrian Dominican friar Franz von Retz (1343–1427), believed to have been written somewhere between 1400 and 1425, in which the author, on the basis of arguments from the world of classical antiquity and examples from nature, attempts to explain the Virgin Mary's virginity before, during and after giving birth. Thanks are due for this information to Branko Vnuk, who also prepared a first preliminary publication with a more detailed definition of the content of the painting under discussion (Vnuk, 2013).

on thicker plaster corresponds to individual scenes of this cycle and explains the content, although owing to the thickness of the plaster the assumption remains that the surviving inscription is merely a renovation of older one. Only four scenes have been uncovered in full, along with the first third of a fifth scene. Despite their poor state of preservation it is evident that the scenes are set in a landscape that is for the most part characterised by hills. Best preserved among the uncovered scenes is the penultimate scene of an ostrich observing its eggs being hatched by the sun. On the basis of soundings, it is believed, as noted by Branko Vnuk, that the entire cycle of mural paintings consisted of between 24 and 26 scenes. Owing to a lack of funds, however, the comprehensive uncovering of the paintings has not begun and the majority of scenes unfortunately remain below later layers of whitewash. The relatively well preserved underdrawing running uninterruptedly along the lower band of the north wall of the south corridor on the Drava side will probably also prove to be from the fifteenth century. Since a drawing of the preserved fragments of this underdrawing was still being made at the time of writing, it is almost impossible to offer an iconographic definition for it. A landscape can be made out, in the middle of which a medieval castle surrounded by a wall is clearly visible (Fig. 9), while the end of the drawing is characterised by a figure, shown from the waist up and wearing a hat (or crown?), from which a ribbon with an inscription unfurls (Fig. 10). As the scene develops it can also clearly be seen that individual escutcheons were arranged along the lower and upper bands, although unfortunately in this state of preservation we are unable to define them more accurately. It should also be mentioned that the underdrawing may be older than the cycle mentioned above, although it is more likely that it is the underdrawing of a contemporary painting, since the cycle from the *Defensorium*, in comparison to the underdrawing, is only applied to a thin layer of whitewash. The painting that originally extended along both walls and the vault on the upper floor of the north wing of the cloister also appears to be a relatively high quality. Its dimensions were only revealed with the removal of later partition walls and systematic soundings. There is no doubt that the subject of the painting is that of Christ's ancestors, known as the Tree of Jesse, in which figures entwined in the tendrils of a vine are depicted from the waist up in the calyx of a flower. They wear fanciful eastern garments and headgear of the kind used in the art of the period to indicate a person's belonging to the pagan, ancient or Old Testament world (Fig. 11). Facial features are unfortunately not legible at this phase of presentation. The same applies to the details of the clothes, with the result that the only element that serves to orient us as to the date of painting is the fleshy vegetable decoration lushly intertwined in all the available spaces between the depicted figures. In view of the formal principles embodied by this decoration, we would have to place it in the second half of the fifteenth century. We may be sure that at the time it was painted this part of the cloister glowed luxuriantly and we can only hope that discoveries and restoration-conservation work continue in this part of the priory too. Even after the end of the Middle Ages the priory and its

church underwent numerous artistic embellishments. A fragment uncovered on the upper part of the north wall of the presumed remains of the rood screen of the former medieval sanctuary contains a poorly preserved secco painting showing birds, dogs and other flying or running creatures (Fig. 12). This appears to have been of merely decorative character, without any greater meaning, and we may loosely place it in the sixteenth century. The decoration of doorways with painted columns and, above them, triangular broken pediments filled with cartouche-like medallions containing depictions of selected, presumably Dominican saints date from the baroque period. We find this type of decoration on the south wall of the south corridor and also on the first floor of the priory's south wing (Fig. 13). The architectural depictions are painted three-dimensionally, which means that they create the illusion of a monumental portal affording entry to the adjoining room; the architectural approach is softened by the depictions of vases of flowers painted on either side, although unfortunately most of this layer of painting is still hidden beneath the plaster. The artist almost certainly found his models for this monumentalisation of doorways in the book illustrations of Italian or, more probably, southern German printing presses, in which we frequently find a similar use of framing either of images of saints or of broader scenes; more detailed research will undoubtedly offer some more exact comparisons. Two of the portraits of saints in the south corridor have fortunately survived. These are the image of St Antoninus and what is presumed to be an image of Pope Pius V (Fig. 14). The identity of the former – suggested by the saint's attributes (a lily, an anchor and a cross), his monk's habit and his tonsured head – is revealed by the legend on the book he holds in his right hand (SUMA ANTONINI). A clue that may have allowed us identify the latter – along with the papal tiara and the crucifix at which the subject is gazing intently – is his distinctively aquiline nose. Both faces are expressive, with strongly emphasised features. The folds of their draperies, particularly in the case of Pope Pius V, are a clear indication that the painter drew on earlier prints or paintings as models. In the light of the above, we might loosely place the painted decoration around the doorways in the late seventeenth or, more probably, the early eighteenth century, since Pius V was not canonised until 1712.

To conclude these remarks on the paintings which the Dominican priory in Ptuj has revealed to us during this renovation, we should mention that conservation-restoration work was not yet complete at the time of writing and we may therefore be certain that the discoveries covered here and not the last. We await more surprising discoveries with interest.⁸

8 On 31 May 2013 the History of Art Department at the University of Maribor's Faculty of Arts, in conjunction with the City Municipality of Ptuj and the Ptuj-Ormož Regional Museum, held a one-day conference in Ptuj Castle entitled *The Dominican Priory in Ptuj. New Findings during the Renovation and Plans for the Future*. Dr Janez Balažic spoke about the newly discovered paintings in the Dominican priory, but this article was submitted for publication on 23 April 2013.

Sveti Duh pri Dravogradu – Church of the Holy Spirit

(Heritage No: 3210)

Among the more interesting discoveries in the region in question is without a doubt the extensive painted decoration of the sanctuary of the church (today a chapel of ease) dedicated to the Holy Spirit below Ojstrica near Spodnji Dravograd. Extensive renovation work took place in the church in 1993, including a reconstruction of the painted wooden ceiling, after the original had to be removed owing to rot. The painted choir loft and parapet, which were undamaged, have been restored with some minor finishing work and are fully preserved. Conservation and restoration work ended in 1996 with renovation of the façade and bell tower and the interior of the church, where extensive painting covering the entire sanctuary and chancel arch was uncovered. Although work on the uncovering and presentation of the painting is not yet complete, since further conservation–restoration processes have been temporarily suspended due to lack of funds, even at this stage of research we are able to conclude that we are dealing here with one of the most completely preserved painted sanctuaries from the early seventeenth century. A surviving inscription on the south wall – “*Disen Khurchen(?) haben(?) Mallen lassen ... Erbarnd und Arbeithsamern als Adam K... Christoff Jamnickh Zochmaistern im 1616 Jar*” – gives us the date of the painting and the names of the guild masters who stand behind the commissioning of the painting as representatives of a guild. It is worth mentioning that we also find the name of the latter on the painted wooden ceiling of the nave, dated ten years later than the sanctuary painting.

Large areas of the north and south walls of the sanctuary were occupied by four scenes from the life of Christ, while full-length depictions of four Church Fathers adorned the walls of the polygonal termination at the east end. The western part of the north wall shows the Journey of the Magi and the Adoration of the Magi combined into a single scene. The Adoration appears in condensed form in the foreground (Fig. 15), with the figures placed against an architectural backdrop of ruins with two ancient columns. The dilapidated architecture of a tumbledown wooden or stone stable is a frequent element in scenes of Christ's Nativity or the Adoration of the Magi both north and south of the Alps, with a symbolic message hinting at the decline of the old world of Judaism. The space behind the crumbling architecture extends far into the background, where a representation of the Journey of the Magi, featuring a large cast of characters, winds through painted mountainous scenery. The two events – the Journey extending into the background and the Adoration in the foreground – are joined into a single scene by the figure of a shepherd, his back towards the viewer, passing through a round-arched doorway between the two columns. The scene is followed by a depiction of Christ praying on the Mount of Olives, mutilated by the later addition of a window. The only well preserved element is the angel with a chalice and cross, who approaches Christ at prayer on the mountain from the left. Rays of heavenly light are still visible behind him, while only one of the

three sleeping apostles who accompanied Christ to the Mount of Olives has survived complete. The scene on the south east side of the sanctuary has unfortunately not yet been uncovered, but we can predict a Crucifixion scene. Further conservation–restoration work will undoubtedly reveal more. The remaining scene on the south wall represents, among uncovered medieval and also later mural painting in Slovenia, a great rarity or perhaps even the only depiction of Christ on the road to Emmaus (Fig. 16). In the foreground we see Christ between two disciples. Behind them the road disappears into a landscape with trees and a backdrop of hills.

On the walls of the polygonal termination of the sanctuary at the east end of the church, the names of four Fathers of the Latin Church may be discerned on the continuous ribbon that winds beneath them. From right to left they are St Ambrose, St Jerome, St Augustine and St Gregory. The free-standing figures with books in their hands are set against a neutral background. The space above them is filled only by imaginative ornaments attached to the window openings like metal fittings, a bird perched on each one. Although the monumental figures of the Church Fathers have a static effect, we should not overlook the artist's attempt to suggest movement through the gestures of the hands, stretching into space. Also interesting is the detail of the drapery gathered around the right hand of Pope Gregory, which is reminiscent of the crumpled folds of the earlier Gothic realism of Dutch and German painting. The attempt at refined attitudes with which the Fathers hold their books and the folding of their garments are undoubtedly a sign of the influence of earlier prints and paintings, serving as models which, however, the artist was unable to follow, due to his limited skills. The figures in fact have a rigid and clumsy effect. Also worth mentioning are the two full-length figures of angels filling the space at the far edges of the east wall of the sanctuary. Only the angel holding a thurible on the SE side has been uncovered and preserved to a greater extent. Adding to the decorative effect of the whole are the painted intradoses of the windows, filled with ornamentation framed in cartouches of various shapes. The Last Judgement on the inner side of the chancel arch does not offer any iconographic innovations. Because of the vault that concealed the upper part of the painting, the figure of Christ is entirely destroyed. All we can see is a mandorla of light with winged cherubs' heads and the semicircular arc of a rainbow below it. All that survives of the traditional Deesis group is Mary the intercessor on Christ's right, while apostles, saints and angels with trumpets are also visible. The part of the painting on the south side of the chancel arch, where the Resurrection of the Dead and the Procession of the Chosen on the path to the Heavenly Jerusalem in all likelihood appeared, is almost entirely destroyed, although fortunately the dramatic depiction of the Fate of the Damned has survived on the other side. At the top we see a devil who has loaded a woman and a sheaf of corn into a handcart – he appears to have caught her at work in the field. They are accompanied by two demons with musical instruments, providing a musical accompaniment on the road to hell. Below is a bare-breasted she-devil: presumably it was a woman who caused the damnation of the unfortunate with a rope round his neck.

Beneath them the first sinner, Adam, tumbles into hell, while at the very bottom of the inferno we see Judas with a bag of coins in his hands. His betrayal of Jesus earned him the deepest pit within the passions, aberrations and mistakes that are proper to humankind.

The traditional medieval iconographic scheme is also followed, in its essential emphases, by the painting of the vaulting. In view of the mutilated Last Judgement on the chancel arch, the ogival groin vault without corbels or bosses must have been built after the painting of the chancel arch was already complete, since with the exception of the later painting, which merely “updated” the older painting on the vault, no differences or caesurae are visible between the painting on the walls and the vault. The central field is reserved for a depiction of the Holy Trinity. God the Father, his right hand raised in blessing and his left hand holding an orb, and the suffering Christ by his side represented – judging from the inscription “*SANCTA TRINITAS MISERERE NOBIS*” extending between them – the Holy Trinity group, along with the dove representing the Holy Spirit that presumably hovered above them until it was destroyed. In accordance with the established principle of the Middle Ages, the central field would be surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, but here, as was the custom in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Evangelists themselves are also depicted in medallions, in the act of writing, with ribbons bearing inscriptions winding below and above them; reflecting the breakdown of the old core subject matter of the so-called Carniolan sanctuary, the Evangelists have been pushed to the outer cells of the vault. The vault painting of this chapel of ease below Ojstrica does, however, diverge from the established medieval principle, above all because of the full-length depictions of the apostles with their attributes on the vault. Here, in fact, the apostles surrounded the central field containing the Holy Trinity. It is likely that in this case they found a place on the vault because of its extensive surface and because of the iconographic concept of the mural paintings as a whole, which at the east end of the sanctuary encompassed full-length depictions of the four Latin Church Fathers and, on large areas of the north and south walls of the sanctuary, scenes from the life of Christ. The remaining available cells, together with rich ornamentation, are filled by angels holding the Instruments of the Passion (*Arma Christi*), angels reading and angels playing musical instruments. The section on the west side of the vault has unfortunately largely been destroyed.

Despite the picturesque effect of the whole, which the artist achieved by painting the entire space of the sanctuary practically down to the last corner, we ought to mention the very poorly designed hands and the undefined physiognomies without expressive power or individual features. It is true that the figures are portrayed with fully sculpted, prominently muscled physiques, but the numerous anatomical inaccuracies – heads that are too small in comparison to the big feet and spade-like hands – are disturbing and evidence of the painter’s limited artistic potential. The artist’s attempts at effective organisation of the painting field, which in the scenes from the life of Christ also includes the landscape, remain

very generalised, in the sense of a kind of scenic framing for the figural action. The landscape with its simply represented hills in the background has the effect of a backdrop, while distant figures appear toylike, since the painter has not taken into account realistic spatial relationships and dimensions. He appears only to be interested in the foreground with its protagonists compressed into a single space, which is strongly accentuated, while the landscape with its reduced figures and architectural details in the background has the effect of a backdrop, with no proper distance from the foreground. As already mentioned, the local master painter undoubtedly turned to earlier prints and paintings in his search for motivic and stylistic models, but despite drawing on them he remained an artist from a provincial environment and his own spiritual and artistic horizons did not allow him to reach above the average level of a master craftsman in terms of the quality and freshness of his depictions. Although he remains within the simple, somewhat rugged territory of popular art, he nevertheless brings to this area a popularly understood compositional and figural tension and the problem of “late Renaissance eclecticism” caused by the condensed depiction of narrative scenes with numerous ornamental decorations. To conclude this section, it should merely be added that following more careful comparisons it may be possible to identify the artist responsible for the paintings in the chapel of ease dedicated to the Holy Spirit in Ojstrica near Spodnji Dravograd, as the same artist who painted the nave vaulting of the parish church dedicated to St Pancras in Stari Trg near Slovenj Gradec in the first decades of the seventeenth century – already mentioned in the introduction. In the latter case it is true that the hands of at least two painters were at work, very different from each other in terms of the quality of their work. The better of the two is distinguished by his good knowledge of physical proportions, while his quality is also apparent from the design of the draperies, the finely drawn hair and, above all, the expressions on the faces of the painted figures. The less skilled painter, who painted the great majority of the vault, is characterised by a coarseness of technique that is evident in the clumsy perspective of the spade-like hands, the simply drawn faces and the solid draperies. It is in the latter that we may well be able to recognise the painter who painted the sanctuary of the chapel of ease dedicated to the Holy Spirit in Sveti Duh below Ojstrica, above Dravograd, in the second decade of the seventeenth century, although the differences in the subjects depicted make closer comparisons between the two works impossible. We will not be far from the truth, however, if we place both painters at least in the same artistic circle or workshop, which was probably based in nearby Dravograd and brought various local master painters under its aegis.

Removed fragments

Vuzenica – Church of St Nicholas (Heritage No: 857)

As we conclude this discussion it is also necessary to mention two removed fragments of frescoes, the first of which – the lower section of the fresco showing the Virgin of Mercy with her protective cloak from the external north wall of the fourteenth-century north chapel of the parish church of St Nicholas in Vuzenica, which was extended in the fifteenth century – is almost unknown in expert circles. The church is also in other ways a rich treasury of medieval fresco art (Höfler, 2004: 243–248) and this fragment, removed in 1994,⁹ will be a significant complement to it. Only the lower part of Mary's cloak survives, with a number of figures sheltering beneath it; of these, only the central protagonists are visible: a long-haired young king and a woman in a hood, towards whom the king inclines his head in an attitude of intimacy. Both have their hands clasped in prayer (Fig. 17). Of the figures in the background, we can only see part of the head of a youth standing between them, his gaze fixed somewhere in the distance. Opposite them is a kneeling figure on a low dais, with a furling inscription ribbon. This is a clergyman, the parish priest of the church, turning to Mother Mary with a plea for intercession, most probably at the hour of death (Fig. 18). Another inscription ran below the realistically depicted floor on which the scene takes place, although unfortunately too little of it survives for us to be able to decipher its content. The characterful faces, notably that of the priest, and the form of draperies are evidence of high quality, confirming the eminence of the person who commissioned the paintings. We would probably not be far of the mark were we to identify the priest as Jurij Lebekar, parish priest of Vuzenica in 1478 and 1489, who occupied a high position in the clerical hierarchy of this part of the patriarchate of Aquileia – he was, as Höfler notes (2004: 247–248), archdeacon for Carinthia – since judging from the stylistic characteristics of the fresco, including plastically realised figures and logically executed draperies that *crumple* on the floor in the form of triangles, and also the individual facial characterisation, evident above all in the face of the commissioner of the fresco, it may have been painted somewhere in the last third of the fifteenth century.

Cerkvenjak – Church of St Anthony of the Desert (Heritage No: 1069)

During the uncovering of the nave paintings in the parish church dedicated to St Anthony of the Desert in Cerkvenjak, dating from around 1390 and mentioned in the introduction (Sulič Urek, 2003: 43 and Balažic 2003: 2–8) a fragment of the scene of the Journey of the Magi was removed. Part of the

face of the middle king and a vessel (chalice) inscribed in the plaster are visible. The fragment is currently stored in the premises of the Maribor Regional Unit. It is also worth mentioning the fragment containing an undeciphered inscription that was removed from the sacristy of the same church. Both fragments are highly significant for the further study of the mural paintings in question, which is why they have been included in this discussion.

Conclusion

The discoveries of recent years complement the wealth of mural paintings already known in the area covered by the Maribor Regional Unit of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia and at the same time shed light on the artistic landscape of the region in question. With new research and, above all, following completion of conservation-restoration interventions on the paintings, for the most part only discovered through soundings, the preliminary findings offered here will undoubtedly be supplemented and, in places, corrected. At this stage of research and state of preservation, however, the reader will find in the text some basic details about the content and style of the mural paintings discovered in the last two decades and less well known to the specialised public, which to date have not undergone scholarly evaluation.

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⁹ Thanks are due to the restorer Bine Kovačič (who also removed the fragment, today housed in the presbytery in Vuzenica, in 1994) for the information and photographs.

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Jurij Dobravec

Podatkovna zbirka slovenskih orgel *Ars organi Sloveniae* – stanje in možnosti

Strokovni članek

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Izvleček

Orgle kot glasbilo in kot kulturna dediščina predstavljajo pomembno prvino razvoja sedanje evropske kulture. Slovenija ima pri tem velik pomen kot območje, na katerem so se v preteklosti prepletali različni oblikovni in zvočni orgelski slogi. Članek opisuje zasnovo, strukturo in delovanje podatkovne zbirke o slovenskih orglah kot večplastne kulturne dediščine. Digitalna zbirka nastaja od leta 2005 in je oblikovana na treh ravneh: digitalno skladišče gradiv, relacijska podatkovna baza in spletna predstavitev. Preizkušene ideje in rešitve te zbirke, na primer princip hierarhične mozaičnosti, bodo uporabne tudi pri oblikovanju podatkovnih zbirk drugih vrst kulturne dediščine. Upravljaev podatkovne zbirke je nevladna organizacija in aktivno sodeluje s sorodnimi ustanovami v tujini, s čimer vključuje slovensko orgelsko krajino v evropske tokove varstva kulturne dediščine.

Uvod in prikaz problema

Za strokovno in splošno poznavanje kulturne dediščine je značilna mozaičnost. Posamezniki se glede na izobrazbo, možnosti ali potrebe v določenem okolju in ne nazadnje glede na osebna nagnjenja ukvarjajo z različnimi tipi kulturne dediščine, različno poglobljeno in tudi z različnimi stopnjami uspešnosti. Orglam smo v organiziranem slovenskem kulturnovarstvenem prostoru doslej posvečali relativno malo pozornosti. V stotih letih, v katerih beležimo organizirano spomeniško varstvo (Pirkovič, 2014: 3), se zdi, da se je stroka še najbolj posvetila posameznim orgelskim omaram (prim. Koter, 2009), njihovem slogu in elementom, ki imajo – podobno kot elementi oltarjev – v danih razmerah slovenskega varstva kulturne dediščine nekako

bolj oprijemljivo vrednost.¹ Posledice zapostavljenosti orgelske dediščine so vidne predvsem iz tujine, kjer se slovenski kulturni prostor šele v zadnjih letih uveljavlja kot vzporeden in enakovreden sestavni del večstoletnega razvoja srednjeevropskega orglarstva in orgelske umetnosti (Rensch, 2011: 19–25). Posledično je opazna relativno površna obdelava našega kulturnega prostora v nekaterih mednarodnih znanstvenih organoloških razpravah, ki obravnavajo jugovzhodni alpski prostor (prim. Hainz, 2013).

Razloge za takšno stanje bi sicer prav lahko pripisali splošni polpretekli zgodovinski in družbeni nenaklonjenosti cerkvenim dejavnostim, s katerimi so orgle tradicionalno povezane. Vendar nikakor ne moremo trditi, da se nepremična in premična kulturna dediščina v času prejšnjega družbenega sistema ni strokovno sistematično obravnavala: v javnem smislu na državni ravni, v smislu vzdrževanja pa vsaj v okviru možnosti znotraj cerkvenih organizacij, ki še danes upravljajo skoraj celotno slovensko orgelsko dediščino.²

1 Ob pregledu zapiskov, ki so jih zapustili Stele, Zadnikar, Komelj, Curk in drugi in so dostopni na spletnem portalu Europeana, smo od 1955 datotek v pdf-formatu le v 87 našli slogovno označbo orgel. Orgle so omenjene sicer v nekaj več kot 300 cerkvah. Podobno se na steklenih ploščah, ki so jih posneli sodelavci državnih spomeniškovarstvenih organizacij in so objavljene na istem spletnem portalu europeana.eu, orgle upodobljene le na 30 fotografijah od 5807 dostopnih. V obeh podatkovnih zbirkah sicer sakralni spomeniki izrazito prevladujejo.

2 Nekaj poskusov sistematične strokovne obdelave orgel imamo tudi pri nas. INDOK center Ministrstva za kulturo (INDOK, 1987) na primer hrani kartoteko orgle, ki je nastala verjetno vzporedno s pripravo knjige *Orgle na Slovenskem*. Znani so tudi poskusi sistematičnega restavriranja najstarejših slovenskih orgel v 80. in 90. letih preteklega stoletja, pri katerih so v okviru Restavratorskega centra sodelovali predvsem Milko Bizjak, Boštjan Černe in Josip Korošec, v okviru Katoliške cerkve pa predvsem Hubertus Graf von Kerssenbrock in Edo Škulj.

Vendarle je očitno, da so bile evidence, obravnave in preнове sakralnih zgradb z javnim spomeniškovarstvenim statusom, njihove okolice ter posameznih notranjih predmetov, predvsem fresk, oltarjev in nekaterih drugih umetnin, bistveno bolj strokovno podprte kot posegi, povezani z orglami. Nika-kor tudi ne moremo trditi, da smo doslej o orglah na Sloven-skem malo vedeli. Hitra primerjava naših organoloških raz-prav z znanstveno literaturo v primerljivih državah po Evropi sicer kaže na precejšnje pomanjkanje poglobljenih znanst-venih analiz in razprav o posameznih glasbilih z veliko kulturnozgodovinsko vrednostjo, vendar imamo na razpolago obsežne zbirke opisov orgel in orgelskih dogodkov različnih strokovnih ravni, ki jih že več kot pol stoletja zbira in v knjižni obliki izdaja muzikolog dr. Edo Škulj.³ Med najpomembnejše lahko štejemo sistematične obdelave slovenskih orglarskih delavnic. Doslej so v samostojnih knjižnih izdajah izšle Jen-kova, Goršičeva, Milavčeva, Zupanova, Mayerjeva, Naraksova in Škrablova orglarska delavnica, poleg teh pa še Baročne or-glarske delavnice, Beneške orglarske delavnice in Goriške or-glarske delavnice, dva zvezka preglednih katalogov izdelanih orgel Orglarske delavnice Maribor (ob 10- in ob 25-letnici delavnice) ter Leksikon orgel in orglarjev. Kot poglobljeno analitsko delo velja izpostaviti knjigo Križmanova orglarska delavnica, ki do podrobnosti obravnava celoten opus sve-tovno priznanega slovenskega baročnega orglarja. Škuljevo organološko delo, izjemno uporabno predvsem kot izhodišče za poglobljene raziskave, v zadnjih nekaj desetletjih nima primerjave v Evropi in na svetu. Zdi se torej, da gre zapos-tavljenost orgel pri kulturnovarstvenih prizadevanjih pripi-sati predvsem šibki medsebojni povezanosti disciplin, ki se z orglami ukvarjajo.

Splošno o orglah kot kulturni dediščini

Ob orglah kot objektu kulturne dediščine se pojavi pomemb-no vprašanje, katere znanosti in stroke imajo v orglarstvu in tudi posameznem restavratorskem posegu ključno vlogo. Kot objekt izdelave in uporabe namreč v primarnem smislu stojijo na nekakšnem presečišču *orglarstva*, v katerem ob-ravnavamo zapletenost delovanja in izdelave – vključno z okrasjem orgelske omare, *akustike*, ob kateri njihovo zvočno podobo povezujemo z arhitekturo in umeščenostjo v izbra-ni prostor, in *izvajalske prakse*, kjer se interaktivno srečujejo skladatelji, glasbeniki poustvarjalci in poslušalci, pri novih orglah pa tudi izdelovalci. Kot predmet znanstvene obrav-nave bi orgle lahko uvrstili na presečišče različnih discip-lin s področij muzikologije, umetnostne zgodovine, organ-ologije, kulturne zgodovine, akustike, tehnologije materialov in drugih. Na terciarni ravni jih obravnavamo na sistemskih in upravnih področjih podatkovih zbirk kulturne dediščine, izobraževanja in kulturnovarstvene zakonodaje, kjer potem služijo različnim namenom, npr. načrtovanju in upravljanju kulturne krajine, organizaciji prireditvev, turistični ponudbi,

³ Avtor dr. Edo Škulj po sistemu Cobiss izkazuje ob koncu leta 2014 997 bibliografskih enot, od katerih se več kot tri četrtine nanašajo na orgle (Cobis, 2014).

uravnoteženemu prostorskemu in družbenemu razvoju ter drugim javnim ali zasebnim namenom.

Osrednja podatkovna zbirka o slovenskih orglah

Cilj in namen

Ars organi Sloveniae (ARSORS) je digitalna podatkovna zbirka podatkov o slovenskih orglah. Prva pobuda zanjo se je v nevladni organizaciji Društvu Jarina Bohinj, ki zbirko še danes formalno upravlja, pojavila leta 2005. Takrat je začela nastajati osnovna struktura baze na lokalnih računalnikih, programirana v programu MS-Access. Namen projekta ozi-roma zbirke je bil na enem mestu zbrati vse dostopne po-datke o slovenskih orglah, osnovno vodilo pa, da le iz kako-vostnih in sistematično urejenih podatkov lahko izvedemo kakovostno informacijo. Prvotno zamišljen projekt se je hitro razvil v samostojen program in stalno delujočo sekcijo, v kat-eri je že skoraj desetletje zaznati strm porast števila podatkov, sodelujočih notranjih in zunanjih sodelavcev, predvsem pa uporabnikov. Prvotno široko zastavljeni projektni cilji (Do-bravec, 2009: 14–16) so tako postali dolgoročni programski cilji:

- zbirati dosedanje znanje o orglah na Slovenskem na enem mestu,
- omogočati raziskave in analize stanja na podlagi dejanskih in objektivnih podatkov,
- dvigovati zavest o pastoralnem in kulturnem pomenu sakralne glasbe in zgodovine,
- izpolnjevati zavezo do drugih narodov evropske orgelske kulture, ki takšne zbirke že imajo,
- pripravljati strokovne osnove za restavratorske posege in kandidature na sredstva RS in EU,
- pripravljati osnovo za načrtovanje razvoja slovenske orgel-ske krajine,
- spodbujati konkretne obnove in restavriranje,
- dvigovati zavest o pomenu orgel v kontekstu evropske kulturne dediščine,
- vključevati slovenske orglavce in organiste in jih s tem ak-tivno ozaveščati o pomenu orgel,
- pripravljati gradiva, ki bodo koristila medsebojnemu povezovanju znotraj organoslovja in navzven.

Delo se je še posebej razmahnilo po javni objavi večjega dela podatkov na spletni strani www.arsors.org leta 2009. Spletna stran hkrati predstavlja pomembno komunikacijsko orodje. Za večino zastavljenih ciljev je mogoče v preteklem desetletju pokazati konkretne rezultate, vendar so osnova dejavnosti ostali podatki, torej prvi navedeni cilj.

Struktura podatkovne zbirke

Podatkovna zbirka ARSORS je zgrajena hierarhično in mozaično. V osnovi jo sestavljajo tri hierarhične ravni: (1) skladišče gradiv, (2) kartotečna relacijsko urejena zbirka in

(3) javni seznam z osnovnimi podatki. Vsaka od njih ima svoj standard, svojo strukturo, svoj sistem in specifično uporabnost. Osnovna enota skladišča gradiv je lokaliteta, osnovna enota kartoteke in javnega seznama pa posamezno glasbilo. Podatki v vsaki od treh ravni so zaradi narave obravnavanih objektov mozaični. To pomeni, da so za vsako osnovno enoto zbrani različni podatki in da nekateri podatki tudi manjkajo. Nadzor nad hierarhijo v javnem in kartotečnem delu se izvaja s pomočjo metapodatkov ob vsakem posameznem zapisu.

Skladišče gradiv

Skladišče gradiv ima dve osnovni vloži. Najprej predstavlja vhodno in s tem osnovno hierarhično raven. Hkrati gre za digitalno shrambo vsega dostopnega gradiva, s katerim je mogoče argumentirati navedbe v preostalih dveh hierarhičnih ravneh podatkovne zbirke. V skladišče kot vhodni modul prihajajo različna gradiva. Ločena so na zunanje in notranje vire. Zunanja gradiva niso nastala v okviru našega dela, notranji viri pa so rezultat različnih projektov in nalog Ars organi Sloveniae. Tu gre predvsem za zvočno in slikovno gradivo, zapiske s terena in primerjalne analize. Za še stoječe orgle so v začetnem obdobju prevladovala zunanja gradiva, v zadnjem času pa na podlagi lastnega terenskega dela vse večjo težo dobivajo notranji argumenti. V primerih nasprotujočih si argumentov ima običajno večjo težo terenski ogled, vendar gradiva z dvomljivimi, neargumentiranimi ali napačnimi navedbami niso zavržena, ampak s posebno oznako ostanejo v skladišču.

Za razliko od ostalih dveh ravni osnovna enota skladišča gradiv niso orgle kot glasbilo, ampak lokaliteta. Najbolj pogosto gre namreč za istega upravljavca oziroma lastnika. Ker so dogodki lokacije vpeti v isti mikrokulturni prostor, sta sledljivost in sosledje dogodkov na isti lokaciji tako najbolj optimalna in logična.

Delovanje skladišča gradiv je v celoti digitalno in za uporabo zelo preprosto. Dejansko gre za mape, ki nosijo imena lokalitet. Ime mape je identifikator, s katerim se mape relacijsko povežejo z drugimi razpredelnicami in objekti v podatkovni zbirki. Podmape se običajno uvedejo za fotografije ali zvočne posnetke s terena oziroma za kakšen specifičen pisni vir, ki ga sestavlja večje število datotek. Metapodatkovni sistem tu ni standardiziran, ampak ob vnosu v sistem velja samo zahteva, da se v ime mape ali digitalnega posnetka, ki je lahko v kateremkoli berljivem formatu, navedeta datum nastanka in oznaka avtorja vsebine, če je ta poznan. Ob vsakokratnem rezervnem arhiviranju gradiva se kot besedilna datoteka pripravi seznam vsebine celotnega skladišča gradiv.

V praksi zbiranje podatkov poteka tako, da se vsako prispelo gradivo, ki se ali bi se lahko nanašalo na orgle na določeni lokaciji, digitalizira in vloži v ustrezno digitalno mapo. Tako nastaja za vsako lokacijo s sedanjimi ali nekdanjimi orglami zbirka digitaliziranih in digitalnih gradiv brez določene standardizirane strukture, ki dobi svoj informacijski smisel v povezavi oziroma ob prevajanju virov v standardizirane podatke osrednjega dela podatkovne zbirke. Kljub navidezni neurejenosti, imajo gradiva v skladišču vsaj eno metapodat-

kovno oznako, po kateri jih ločimo na tri kategorije: obdelano, neobdelano in zavrženo. Kategorija *obdelano* predstavlja gradiva, ki so že prevedena v podatkovni sistem osrednjega kartotečnega nivoja. V kategoriji *neobdelano* so gradiva, ki smo jih že zbrali, vendar čakajo na obdelavo in vnos v sistem. *Zavrženo* je kategorija, s katero označimo pisne navedbe, ki so se na podlagi novejšega preverjanja in primerjav izkazale za zmotne. Zelo pomembno je, da v skladišču gradiv ostanejo, saj predvsem pri obravnavi zgodovinskih dejstev o orglah lahko pride do novih spoznanj, ki že zavržena dejstva prikažejo v drugačni luči. Tudi sicer je treba upoštevati, da kategorije zaradi narave obravnavanih objektov in različnosti gradiv (pisna različnih tipov, zvočna, slikovna, multimedijska ...) niso popolnoma enoznačne in strogo ločene. Tako kategorija *obdelano* ne pomeni, da iz nekega vira ni mogoče tudi kasneje še razbrati določenih podatkov. Na primer iz neke fotografije, ki jo že uvrstimo med obdelane, smo morda danes razbrali dispozicijo nekih orgel, ob obdelavi pa nismo bili pozorni na neki likovni element, po katerem bi lahko sklepali na doslej neidentificirano avtorstvo.

Moduli relacijske podatkovne zbirke

Osrednji del podatkovne zbirke ARSORS predstavlja relacijska podatkovna zbirka, ki jo sestavlja več modulov. Osnovni modul je večdelni kartotečni zapis, na katerega se veže več pomožnih razpredelnic in seznamov. Kartotečni zapis predstavlja ene orgle in ima več hierarhičnih plasti. V zgornji plasti je splošni zapis ugotovljenih dejstev o vsakem glasbilo, ki omogoča vpis čez 100 različnih podatkov tehnične, akustične, geografske, zgodovinske, upravne in personalne narave. Zasnova posameznih elementov in podatkovna struktura temeljita na nemškem vzoru ORDA (Pape, 1995, 2006: 1–7). Če je pri nekih orglah prihajalo v preteklosti do pomembnih vsebinskih sprememb, je splošni zapis lahko dodatno razdeljen na časovne podplasti, podobno kot jih ima avstrijska zbirka podatkov (Strobl, 2012: 4). Relacijsko vezane podtabele vsebujejo podatke o detajlih posameznih orgel, na primer seznam registrov z osnovnimi značilnostmi, dogodke ob orglah, osebe, ki so opravljale kakšna popravila, in podobno. V načrtu je izdelati tudi globlje hierarhične plasti, kamor bomo na primer vpisovali značilnosti in mere posameznih piščalich in drugih delov orgel. Ti podatki, večinoma menzure, se zdaj vodijo v ločenih razpredelnicah po obstoječih standardih (Bosch idr., 2007: 86).

Vsak kartotečni zapis ima obvezno tudi metapodatkovne oznake, iz katerih je jasno mogoče razbrati, koliko podatkov o nekih orglah imamo in katere oziroma kako veliko in kako kakovostno poznavanje nekega glasbila smo v okviru programa ARSORS dosegli. Del metanavedb o količini in vrsti podrobnih podatkov je objavljen tudi v javnem delu zbirke na spletnem seznamu. Metaoznaka kakovosti podatkov je v nekaterih primerih razvidna iz količine podatkov, v drugih pa jo določamo po specifičnih kategorijah ali izkustveno. Specifične kategorije se na primer vodijo za celovito oznako stanja orgel v povezavi s podatki o orglah, kjer opredeljujemo 17 kategorij. Med metapodatki velja izpostaviti še ugotovitve

stanja orgel, kjer ločujemo naslednje kategorije: (s) orgle stojijo, (sn) stojijo neuporabne, (sk) so shranjene v skladišču, (vs) verjetno stojijo, (x) so odstranjene ali uničene, (vx) so verjetno uničene, (d) deli orgel so ohranjeni, (nn) ni znano oziroma ni podatka. Metapodatki so hkrati orodje za preverjanje napredka in kakovosti dela, ki ga prikazujemo v letnih, projektih in drugih poročilih v tabelarni ali grafični obliki. Poleg osrednjih podatkov o orglah kot pomembne izpostavljamo *relacijsko vezane razpredelnice*, v katerih vodimo podatke o lokalitetah in izdelovalcih. Lokaliteta po eni strani predstavlja kulturnozgodovinsko in slogovno-akustično ozadje nastanka in uporabe orgel, po drugi pa se preko lokalitete povezujemo s sorodnimi podatkovnimi zbirkami v državi in v tujini. Kot povezovalni identifikator lahko služijo evidenčna številka dediščine (EŠD), ime kraja ali koordinate. EŠD je predvsem uporaben pri objektih, ki jih pristojne ustanove vodijo v seznamih kulturne dediščine (Zakrajšek idr., 1993: 15; Zakrajšek, Kovačec Naglič, 1998: 6). Vendar ga ni mogoče uporabiti pri novejših cerkvah, glasbenih šolah ali zasebnih lastnikih in pri orglah, ki so jih slovenski orglarji izdelali in postavili za tuje naročnike. Pri imenu kraja se soočamo s problemi historične tiponomije, različnih pravopisov in načinov zapisov posameznih imen krajev v arhivskih virih in obdobjih, razlikami v imenih župnij – upravljavcev in v uradnih imenih krajev, s problemi črkovanja imen krajev v tujini, pa tudi z nedoslednostjo izdelovalcev orgel pri navedbah krajev. Vsi podatki so geokodirani. Ocene topološke natančnosti so pokazale, da so največja odstopanja manjša od 40 metrov, povprečna pa pod 8 metrov, kar glede na velikosti cerkva za praktično uporabo povsem zadostuje. Pri določevanju nekdanjih cerkva, kot na primer na Kočevskem, in v primerih nekaterih porušeni gradov in mestnih objektov z orglami smo si pomagali s kartami franciscejskega, terezijanskega in jožefinskega katastra iz Arhiva Republike Slovenije.

Druga pomembna pomožna razpredelnica predstavlja podatke o orglarjih oziroma izdelovalcih in vzdrževalcih orgel in je nadgrajen že obstoječi seznam (Koter, 2003: 123–152). Dosedanje večinoma opisne podatke smo prestrukturirali v podatkovni sistem, ki ga je mogoče relacijsko povezovati in na njegovi podlagi izvajati različne vsebinske, prostorske in časovne analize ter pripravljati preglede, ki služijo drugim raziskovalnim nalogam. Pri tem modulu se večinoma srečujemo s problemi različnega črkovanja imen domačih in tujih orglarjev in pogosto z nejasnostjo generacijskih ali lastniških sprememb posameznih orglarskih delavnic.

Tretja razpredelnica, sistem bibliografije in uporabljenih virov, je v pripravi. Načrtovano je, da se bodo pisni tiskani viri lahko povezovali v sistem COBISS, arhivski na podatke SIRANET, iskalnik Arhiva RS in druge urejene državne sisteme, posamezni zapisi pa tudi v interno, zgoraj opisano skladišče gradiv.

Glede na potrebe vstopnih podatkov, notranjih analiz in konkretnih analitskih rezultatov se celotna struktura programske prilagaja, vendar jedro ostaja vedno isto. Pri spremembah strukture je poskrbljeno, da vsebina ostane konsistentna. Na primer, če osnovnemu kartončku dodamo eno polje (oziroma stolpec v neko razpredelnico), v katero bomo vnašali neko novo lastnost, dobijo vsi do tedaj vneseni

kartončki metapodatkovno oznako, da je bilo to polje naknadno dodano in da torej pri prej obravnavanih orglah še nismo vedeli, kako kasneje vpeljano lastnost opredeliti. Z revizijo podatkov za nazaj se take začasne označbe odpravijo, metapodatek pa izbriše.

Struktura relacijske podatkovne zbirke omogoča različna poizvedovanja, pripravo vrtilnih tabel in grafov, filtriranja z različnimi kriteriji in podobne analitske operacije, s katerimi je mogoče pridobiti dodatne podatke o posamezni skupini orgel ali celotni slovenski orgelski krajini. Kot produkt je mogoče posamezne sklope podatkov izvažati v različne oblike, ki so primerne za tematska, časovna in prostorska raziskovanja, pa tudi za končnega uporabnika, na primer pripravo strnjenih podatkov za uvoz v avtomobilske navigacijske naprave (GPS) ali tako imenovane pametne prenosne telefone (Dobravec, 2012: 6).

Hierarhična mozaičnost relacijske podatkovne zbirke

Kot je razvidno iz opisov posameznih med seboj povezanih razpredelnic, gre za večdimenzionalni hierarhični podatkovni sistem. Hkrati zaradi narave obravnavane vsebine in različne stopnje raziskanosti posameznih orgel, njihovih posameznih delov ali vzporednih dejstev ARSORS ni zvezno popolna podatkovna zbirka. Zato rečemo, da je stopnja poznavanja orgel mozaična, mozaik pa je na različnih hierarhičnih ravneh ali segmentih različno gost (Dobravec, 2000: 4–7, 2001: 401). Podatkovne zbirke s pomanjkljivimi podatki, ki so zelo pogoste v bazičnem naravoslovju ali ob zelo dinamičnih podatkih, so za analitsko delo običajno omejeno uporabne in zanje poznamo tudi posebne statistične pristope. Pristop hierarhična mozaičnost omogoča, da uporabnost nepopolne zbirke in statističnih metod vseeno znatno povečamo s kakovostnimi metapodatki ob vsakem zapisu. Hierarhična mozaičnost v bistvu pomeni, da vemo, kakšen je mozaik celotne podatkovne zbirke, oziroma predvsem, da je ob obdelavi jasno, česa in koliko ne vemo.

Javni seznam z osnovnimi podatki na spletni strani

Tretjo integralno raven podatkovne zbirke ARSORS predstavlja spletna predstavitev v obliki seznama, interaktivnega zemljevida in nekaterih drugih oblik predstavljanja in promoviranja slovenske orgelske dediščine. V zadnjih letih spletna stran www.arsors.org pravzaprav prerašča v celovit komunikacijski portal. Statistika v jeseni 2014 beleži mesečno povprečje okrog 90 obiskov na dan, kar je podvojeno stanje glede na lansko leto. Za relativno ozko nišno področje organoslovja in varstva orgelske dediščine je to zavidljiv rezultat.

Ključni del spletne strani ostaja podatkovni seznam orgel, ki je nekakšen izveček interne relacijske podatkovne zbirke. Osnovni modul predstavlja seznam orgel, v katerem so navedeni:

– kraj izdelave,

- čas izdelave,
- upravljavec,
- avtor,
- velikost inštrumenta (število klaviatur, število registrov),
- oznaka o stanju internega zapisa (metapodatek),
- izhodiščni vir podatkov.

Kot vir je zabeležen le tisti, ki predstavlja izhodišče oziroma začetek podatkovnega zapisa. Seznam uporabniku omogoča nekatera enostavna razporejanja in štetja po izbranih parametrih. Neposredno je mogoče priklicati prikaz lokacije izbranega glasbila na spletnem zemljevidu.

Uporabniku so na spletni strani dostopna še nekatera druga orodja interpretacije podatkov iz osrednjega dela zbirke, kot na primer interaktivni zemljevid z vsemi lokacijami, sezname števila opusov po orglarjih ter časovnica življenja in dela izdelovalcev orgel na Slovenskem. Vzoredno nastaja katalog, v katerem so posamezna glasbila podrobneje predstavljena z opisom, fotografijo in zvokom. Fotografsko galerijo, ki je nekaj časa domovala na tem spletnem portalu, smo nedavno preselili na mednarodno spletno stran www.georganum.net. Javno zbirko dopolnjujeta seznam slovenske orgelske literature in večjezični delovni slovarček orgelskih izrazov.

Posebnost javne ravni je obrazec, v katerega uporabniki lahko po spletu posredujejo podatke s terena v interno razpredelnico. Obrazec v obliki vprašalnika s 46 polji poleg osnovnega namena hkrati služi kot orodje za izobraževanje, čemur so sicer namenjena predvsem splošna poglavja javnega dela zbirke (o orglah, o zbirki, dnevnik, galerija, povezave). Portal je tehnično organiziran s pomočjo odprtih in brezplačno dostopnih orodij.

Orgle in kulturna dediščina v Sloveniji

Po dosedanjih klasifikacijah, na primer Zakonu o varstvu kulturne dediščine, je orgle najbolj enostavno in smiselno uvrstiti v premično dediščino. Dejansko so manjše orgle, predvsem tako imenovani pozitivni, kot objekt sam po sebi premakljive, kar dokazujejo tudi mnoge preместitve.⁴ Vseeno ostaja dejstvo, da so vsake srednje ali večje orgle specifično namenjene in predvsem zvočno prilagojene izbranemu prostoru. To pomeni, da so zaradi svojih zvočnih značilnosti neločljivo povezane z zgradbo, v kateri stojijo. V tem smislu orgle ne morejo biti premična kulturna dediščina oziroma se ob spremembi lokacije nujno spremenijo tudi značilnosti orgel. Za razliko od npr. oltarjev, ki jih brez znatnega kulturnega nasilja lahko prestavimo v slogovno soroden prostor, pri orglah preselitve ne moremo izvesti brez poseganja v njihovo osnovno substanco, zvočno podobno. Zvočna podoba je dejansko nesnovna kulturna dediščina, ki jo je kot tako tudi smiselno obravnavati. Podobno pri orglah, kadar jih obravnavamo kot muzejski eksponat, zanemarimo njihovo bistvo, ki je zvok oziroma glasba v avtentičnem prostoru.⁵ Ne

nazadnje orgle predstavljajo kulturno dediščino, ki ni ostalina preteklosti, kot mnogi drugi tipi dediščine, ampak je njihov osnovni smisel pravzaprav aktivna uporaba.

V Sloveniji je mogoče zaznati zelo šibko prakso izdelave konservatorskih oziroma restavratorskih načrtov za orgle, kakršne smo v okviru vseh dosedanjih predpisov poznali in še poznamo pri vzdrževanju drugih vrst premične kulturne dediščine. Za orgle jih večinoma pripravijo kar izvajalci del sami, torej orglarji v okviru svojih zmožnosti in znanja, največkrat v obliki kratkega pregleda stanja in predračuna predvidenih potrebnih del, ki jim hkrati služi kot delovni načrt. Stanje slovenske orgelske krajine, v kateri so orglarji pogosto hkrati sistemski načrtovalci, predlagatelji del, izvajalci in v nekaterih primerih celo sami sebi najboljše usposobljeni nadzorniki (razen pri posegih na orgelskih omarah), ni ustrezno. Žal smo zaradi takšnega pristopa v preteklih dveh desetletjih izgubili marsikatero dragocenost, predvsem zvočno.

V Sloveniji je opazna tudi relativno nizka stopnja uradnega znanja o orglah in orgelski krajini nasploh. Pristojne službe se zato v svojih mnenjih in odločbah, ki jih po zakonodaji morajo izdajati za posege v materialno kulturno dediščino, konkretnim rešitvam ali smernicam pogosto izognejo in investitorja napotijo na ustrezno komisijo na škofijo, včasih kar na izvajalca, ali v najboljšem primeru na Slovensko orgelsko društvo (SOD). Slednje ima sicer kot nevladna in neprofitna organizacija med člani res nekaj odličnih poznavalcev orgel, nikakor pa nima vzpostavljene organizacijske strukture za sodelovanje v upravnih postopkih. Podobno tudi mnoge škofije nimajo ustrezno institucionaliziranih organov, ki bi sistematično pripravljali celovita gradiva, obnovitvena dela pomagali načrtovati in jih kasneje nadzorovali na podlagi podatkov. Rešitve so zato pogosto subjektivne, odvisne od začetosti in nagnjenja posameznikov.

Možnosti za raziskave in organizacijo varstva dediščine

Podatkovna zbirka ARSORS je sistematično urejena zbirka podatkov o izbranem segmentu dediščine, orglah. Predstavlja argumente in strokovno podlago, na osnovi katere je upravljavcu, pripravljavcu uradnih dokumentov, izvajalcem del in nadzornikom omogočen kar najboljši vpogled v stanje in okoliščine nastanka posameznih orgel. Identifikator EŠD omogoča enostavno povezljivost v uradne evidence. Prostorski identifikatorji omogočajo enostavno umeščanje v lokalno ali širše prostorsko in razvojno načrtovanje.

ARSORS daje celovit vpogled v slovensko orgelsko krajino kot integralni del slovenske kulturne krajine. Predstavlja izhodišče za poglobljene raziskave posameznih glasbil, orglarjev ali območij, omogoča celovito načrtovanje orgelske krajine, predvsem pa nudi osnovo za vrednotenje. Kakovostno vrednotenje je ključna podlaga za ustrezne prioritete

⁴ V podatkovni zbirki ARSORS je evidentirano nad 160 selitev glasbil, domnevno pa je večina manjših glasbil, pozitivov, bila prvotno v grajskih kapelah sedaj zapuščenih gradov.

⁵ Morda velja na tem mestu opozoriti, da je eden od razlogov za zapo-

stavljeno obravnavo orgel na področju spomeniškega varstva morda tudi dejstvo, da stroka orgel ne obravnava kot predmet, ki nima le arhitekturne in likovne podobe, ampak predvsem zvočno.

posegov in ohranjanja starih objektov, s tem pa smotrne uporabe javnih finančnih sredstev in restavratorskega znanja, ki ga na Slovenskem ni malo.

Celovit pogled in možnost vrednotenja sta lahko kakovostna podlaga za zakonodajo, od splošnih predpisov do posameznih uredb in notranjih postopkovnih pravil organizacij, ki se s kulturno dediščino orgel ukvarjajo. Po zgledu odličnih primerov iz drugih držav bi bilo na primer mogoče pripraviti argumentirano uredbo o najbolj dragocenih zgodovinskih orglah oziroma o redkih in ogroženih orglah v Sloveniji.

ARSORS je ena redkih orgelskih podatkovnih zbirk na svetu, ki vsebuje vsaj en podatek za praktično vsake sedanje in nekdanje orgle v celotni državi. Kljub mozaičnosti obsega prostorsko in časovno celovitost. Leta 2016 je vsebovala čez 2250 zapisov o orglah znotraj meja Slovenije in okrog 550 zapisov o izdelkih slovenskih orglarjev zunaj države.

Vsebine podatkovne zbirke ARSORS so vpete v mednarodni prostor. Kot vemo, so orgle izvorno evropsko glasbilo, ki označujejo in hkrati povezujejo evropski pretežno krščanski kulturni prostor. Slovenija leži na zanimivem umetnostno-godovinskem prehodu med srednjeevropskimi in beneško-sredozemsko šolo, za katere so značilne manjše in srednje velike orgle, ki svojih kakovosti ne pokažejo s katedralno ogromnostjo, ampak predvsem z raznolikostjo.

ARSORS je zasebna podatkovna zbirka – kot edino orgelsko vsedržavno zbirko na svetu jo upravlja zasebna pravna oseba – in zato omogoča inovativne poslovne pristope v obliki zasebno-javnega partnerstva ter državnega in mednarodnega vertikalnega in horizontalnega povezovanja. Spletni del podatkovne zbirke predstavlja 10 do 15 % količine podatkov besedilnega dela osrednje zbirke ter precej manjši del zvočnega in slikovnega gradiva od tistega, ki je pripravljen v shrambi gradiv. Na portalu so v celoti objavljeni podatki, ki so bili pridobljeni v okviru projektov, ki so bili sofinancirani iz javnega denarja.

Hierarhično mozaična struktura celotne podatkovne zbirke ARSORS, njena tehnična odprtost za vsebinske in tematske širitve ter posamezne inovativne rešitve v nekaterih modulih omogočajo široke možnosti uporabe za evidence drugih tipov in zvrsti dediščine na državnih ali regionalnih ravneh ter povezovanje v obstoječe prostorske in tabelarične sisteme. Tako že preučujemo organizacijske in finančne možnosti za podoben pristop k obdelavi sorodnih področij, na primer zvonov in drugih cerkvenih zvočil, fresk z glasbili, glasbenih skrinj in avtomatov, starih glasbil, ki jih hranijo zasebniki, in podobno. Ob ustreznem upoštevanju zakonodaje s področja varstva osebnih podatkov bo mogoče take zbirke podatkov na primer oblikovati v navidezni ali celo dejanski vsedržavni muzej glasbene dediščine na prostem.

Sklep

Povečano zanimanje javnosti za orgle in porast uvajanja izobraževalnih programov za orgle v okviru državnih programov glasbenih šol v zadnjih dvajsetih letih kažeta, da poglobljena skrb za slovensko orgelsko dediščino nima velikega pomena le kot muzejska statika preteklosti. Ob sodob-

nih pristopih se intenzivno odpirajo možnosti poglobljenega raziskovanja, slogovno raznolikega pristopa, predvsem pa uveljavljanja tovrstnih vrednot na področju kulturnega in splošnega družbenega razvoja, prostorske uravnoteženosti kulturne ponudbe in trajnostnega turizma. Verjamemo, da podatkovna zbirka in spremljajoče dejavnosti Ars organi Sloveniae zaradi notranje kompleksnosti in komunikacijske preprostosti za vse te dejavnosti nudijo kakovostno izhodišče.

Povzetek

Ars organi Sloveniae (ARSORS) ali Orgelska umetnost na Slovenskem je program nevladne organizacije Društvo Jarina Bohinj, v okviru katerega skušamo javnost ozaveščati o pomenu slovenske orgelske kulturne dediščine. Osnova društvenega programa je zbirka podatkov o vseh orglah, ki so bile kadarkoli izdelane za kraje na območju Republike Slovenije, in o vseh orglah, ki so jih slovenski orglarji izdelali za kraje zunaj državne meje.

Podatkovna zbirka je sestavljena iz treh ravni, in sicer skladišča gradiv, kartotečne relacijsko urejene zbirke in javnega seznama z osnovnimi podatki. Vsaka od njih ima svoj standard, svojo strukturo, svoj sistem in specifično uporabnost. Osnovna enota skladišča gradiv je lokaliteta, osnovna enota kartoteke in javnega seznama pa posamezno glasbilo. Podatki v vsaki od treh ravni so zaradi narave obravnavanih objektov mozaični. To pomeni, da so za vsako osnovno enoto zbrani različni podatki in da nekateri podatki tudi manjkajo. ARSORS ni zvezno popolna podatkovna zbirka, zato rečemo tudi, da je stopnja poznavanja orgel mozaična, mozaik pa je na različnih hierarhičnih ravneh ali segmentih različno gost. Nadzor nad hierarhijo v javnem in kartotečnem delu se izvaja s pomočjo metapodatkov ob vsakem posameznem zapisu.

Podatkovna zbirka ARSORS je sistematično urejena zbirka podatkov o izbranem segmentu dediščine, orglah. Predstavlja argumente in strokovno podlago, na osnovi katere je upravljavcu, pripravljavcu uradnih dokumentov, izvajalcem del in nadzornikom omogočen kar najboljši vpogled v stanje in okoliščine nastanka posameznih orgel. Identifikator EŠD omogoča enostavno povezljivost v uradne evidence. Prostorski identifikatorji omogočajo enostavno umeščanje v lokalno ali širše prostorsko in razvojno načrtovanje.

ARSORS je ob sodobnih računalniških pristopih kakovostno izhodišče intenzivnejšega raziskovanja, slogovno raznolikega pristopa, predvsem pa uveljavljanja tovrstnih vrednot na področju kulturnega in splošnega družbenega razvoja, prostorske uravnoteženosti kulturne ponudbe in trajnostnega turizma. Skupaj s spremljajočimi komunikacijskimi dejavnostmi tvori celovito orodje za ozaveščanje strokovne in splošne javnosti o orglah kot izvorno in značilno vseevropski kulturni dediščini.

Viri in literatura

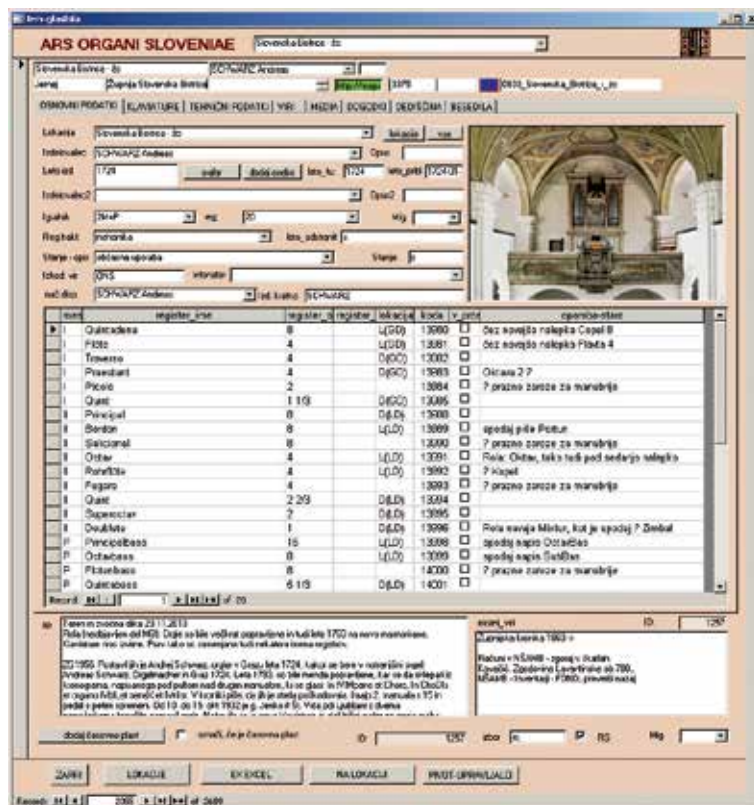
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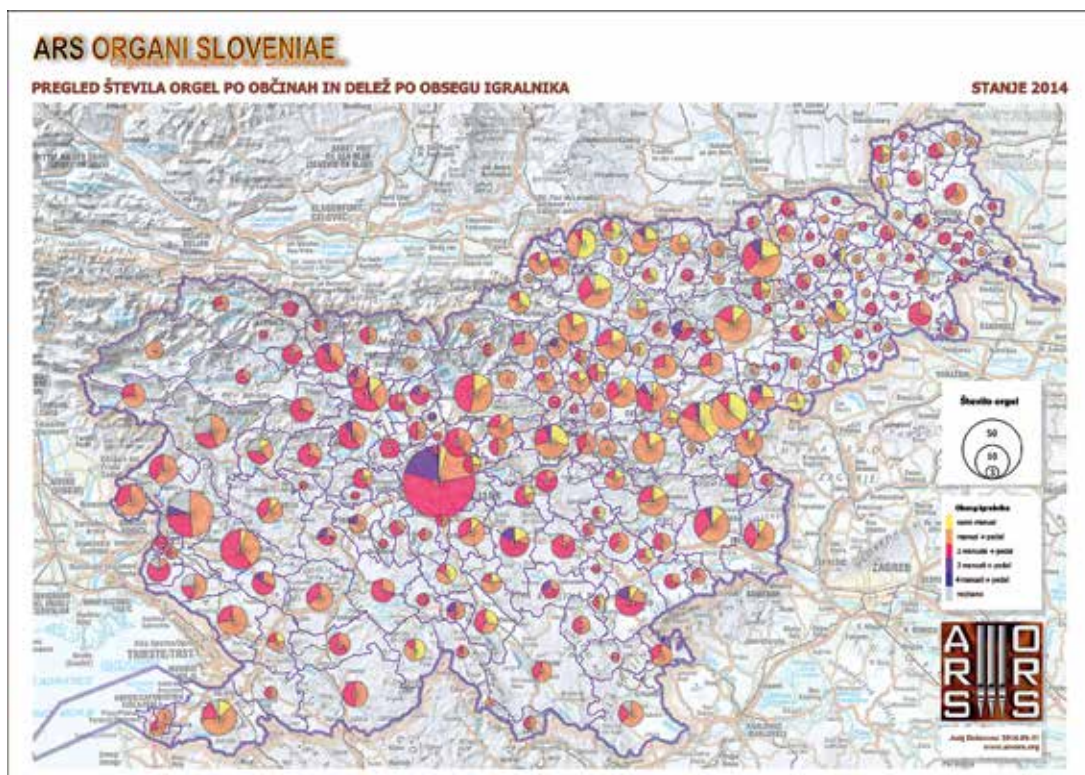
Arhivski viri, spletni viri in viri podatkovnih zbirk

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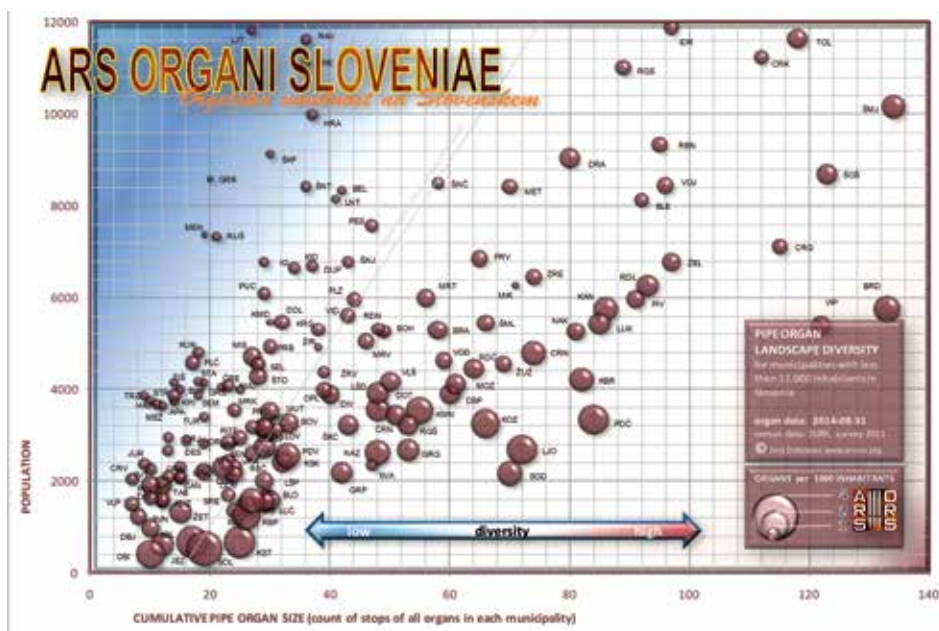
1. Osnovni vmesnik relacijske podatkovne zbirke ARSORS za vnos in pregled podatkov

1. Basic interface of the ARSORS relational database for data input and review.



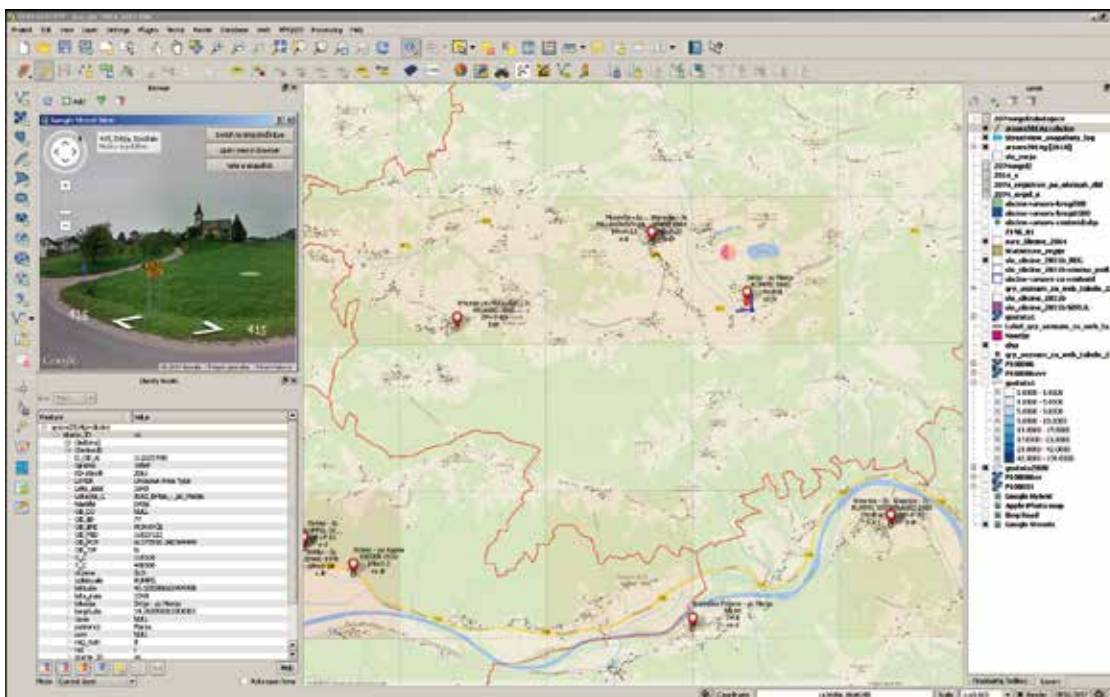
2. Pregled števila obstoječih orgel po občinah in delež po obsegu igralnika oziroma velikosti v letu 2014

2. Number of existing pipe organs by municipality and share by console size in 2014.



3. Urejena in kakovostno strukturirana podatkovna zbirka omogoča napredne prikaze orgelske raznolikosti, ki jih lahko uporabimo za zgodovinsko vrednotenje, ugotavljanje trendov, vključevanje kulturne krajine v razvojne programe izbranega območja ali kot podlago za ciljne promocijske dejavnosti izdelovalcev ali vzdrževalcev orgel.

3. An organised and well-structured database enables advanced views of pipe organ diversity which we can use for historical evaluation, identification of trends, incorporation of the cultural landscape into the development programmes of a selected area or as a basis for targeted promotional activities by organ builders or maintainers.



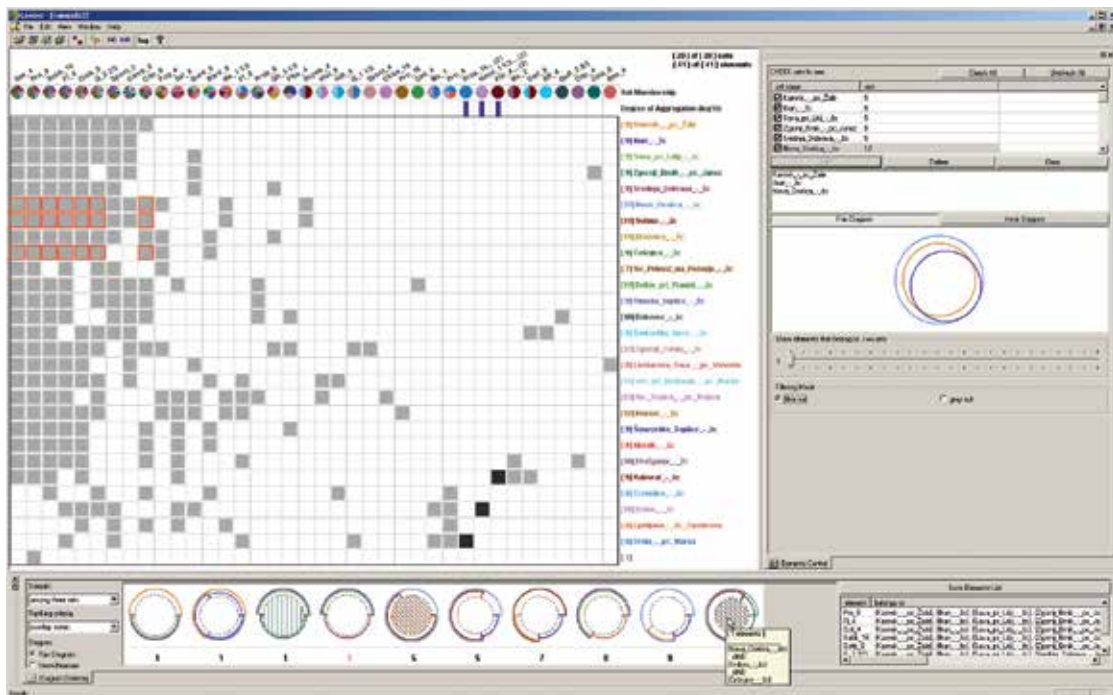
4. Primer interaktivne uporabe podatkovne zbirke ARSORS za potrebe analize, pregledovanja in načrtovanja terenskega dela. Na zemljevidu sta označeni lokacija opazovalca in kotna širina fotografije, ki je levo zgoraj. Uporabljen je sistem Google Street View in GIS- orodje QGis.

4. Example of the interactive use of the ARSORS database for the needs of analysis, examination and fieldwork planning. Indicated on the map are the location of the observer and the visual angle of the photograph in the top left corner. The system uses Google Street View and GIS tool QGis.



5. Primer pregleda stanja in preteklosti orgel za območje pristojnosti Razvojne agencije Sotla. Barve oznak označujejo slogovno obdobje. Zgodnji barok je dodatno poudarjen z znakom zvezde.

5. Example of an overview of the pipe organ situation, past and present, for the area covered by the Sotla Development Agency. The different colours indicate the stylistic period. The early baroque period is additionally highlighted by a star symbol.



6. Atributni podatki v bazi omogočajo analize, ki temeljijo na matrični ureditvi podatkov. Na sliki je pregled orgel izbranega orglarja (Peter Rumpel 1787–1861) in nekaterih njegovih orgel. Z Fanovimi in Vennovimi diagrami lahko nazorno prikažemo stopnjo podobnosti med posameznimi glasbili, čeprav nimamo na voljo numeričnih podatkov.

6. Attribute data in the database facilitate analyses based on a matrix arrangement of data. The figure shows an overview of a selected organ builder (Peter Rumpel 1787–1861) and some of his organs. Using Fano plane diagrams and Venn diagrams we can clearly show the degree of similarity between individual instruments even if we do not have numerical data available.

Jurij Dobravec

The Slovene pipe organ database

Ars organi Sloveniae – current situation and opportunities

Professional article

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Abstract

Pipe organs represent an important element in the development of modern European culture, both as musical instruments and as cultural heritage. Slovenia plays an important role in this context as an area in which different organ styles and sounds have interwoven over the course of history. The article describes the concept, structure and functioning of the Slovene pipe organ database as an aspect of cultural heritage operating at multiple levels. The digital database has existed since 2005 and consists of three levels: a digital repository of materials, a relational database and an online presentation. The tried and tested ideas and solutions of this database, for example the hierarchical mosaic principle, will also be applicable to the design of databases of cultural heritage of other types. The database is managed by a non-governmental organisation and actively cooperates with analogous institutions in other countries, in this way integrating the Slovene pipe organ landscape into the European panorama of cultural heritage protection.

Introduction and presentation

Knowledge of cultural heritage, whether specialised or general, is characterised by a mosaic-like quality. Individuals involve themselves with various types of cultural heritage to different degrees and with varying degrees of success on the basis of their education, possibilities or needs in a given environment, and also on the basis of their personal inclinations. Pipe organs have to date received relatively little attention within the organised cultural conservation sphere in Slovenia. In the hundred years since organised monument protection began (Pirkovič, 2014: 3), the profession appears

to have devoted itself above all to individual organ cases (cf. Koter, 2009), to their style and to elements that have – like elements of altars – a somewhat more tangible value in the given conditions of cultural heritage protection in Slovenia.

¹The consequences of this neglect of pipe organ heritage are visible above all when viewed from an international perspective, since it is only in recent years that the Slovene cultural space has begun to assert itself outside Slovenia as a component of equal importance in the centuries-long development of medieval organ building and the art of the organ (Rensch, 2011: 19–25). A relatively superficial treatment of Slovenia's cultural space is therefore evident in some international scholarly organological treatises covering the south-eastern Alpine area (cf. Hainz, 2013).

The reasons for such a situation may well be attributed to the general historical and social aversion to church activities, with which organs are traditionally connected, in the recent past. It cannot, of course, be claimed that immovable and movable cultural heritage did not receive systematic and specialised attention under the previous political system: both in the public sense, at the national level, and in the sense of maintenance, at least to the extent of the possibilities available within church organisations, which still manage almost the entirety of Slovenia's pipe organ heritage today.² Even so,

1 On examining the records left by Stele, Zadnikar, Komelj, Curk and others, we found stylistic characterisations of pipe organs in just 87 of the 1,955 PDF files accessible on the Europeana website. Organs are mentioned in slightly over 300 churches. Similarly, in the case of photographic plates made by employees of national monument protection organisations, also published on the Europeana website (europeana.eu), pipe organs are shown in just 30 of the 5,807 photographs available. This despite the fact that religious monuments are by far the largest category in both collections.

2 Some examples of attempts at a systematic approach to pipe organs

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it is clear that records, discussions and renovations involving religious buildings with public protected monument status, their surroundings and individual interior features, in particular frescoes, altars and certain other works of art, received significantly more expert support than interventions relating to pipe organs. Neither can we claim that little was known about pipe organs in Slovenia until now. While a cursory comparison of Slovene organological treatises with scholarly literature in comparable countries around Europe may suggest a lack of in-depth scientific analyses and discussions of individual instruments of great cultural historical value, we can nevertheless point to the extensive collections of descriptions of organs and organ-related events, with different levels of technical detail, that have been collected and published in book form over the course of more than half a century by the musicologist Dr Edo Škulj.³ Among the most important of these are systematic accounts of Slovene organ builders. Individual volumes have been published covering the Jenko, Goršič, Milavec, Zupan, Mayer, Naraks and Škrabl organ workshops. Other publications include books on baroque organ builders, Venetian organ builders and organ builders of the wider Gorizia region, two volumes of catalogues of organs built by the Maribor Organ Workshop (coinciding with the workshop's tenth and twenty-fifth anniversaries) and a Lexicon of Organs and Organ Builders. An in-depth analytical work worth highlighting is the book dedicated to the Križman organ workshop, which provides detailed coverage of the entire oeuvre of this world-renowned Slovene organ builder of the baroque period. Škulj's organological work, which is extremely useful above all as a starting point for in-depth research, has in recent decades had no equal anywhere in Europe or further afield. It therefore appears that the neglect of pipe organs in the cultural heritage sphere should be attributed above all to a lack of interconnection among those disciplines that deal with organs.

Pipe organs as cultural heritage

When considering the pipe organ as an object of cultural heritage, it is important to identify the disciplines and areas of expertise that play a key role in organ building and also in individual restoration projects. At the primary level, as artefacts that are built and used, pipe organs stand at a kind of intersection of *organ building*, where we deal with the complexity of their function and manufacture (including the decoration

can also be noted in Slovenia. The Ministry of Culture's information and documentation centre (INDOK), for example, has a card index of pipe organs which was presumably created in parallel with the preparation of the book *Orgle na Slovenskem* [Pipe Organs in Slovenia] (INDOK, 1987). We also know of systematic attempts at restoring the oldest Slovene pipe organs in the 1980s and 1990s, involving in particular Milko Bizjak, Boštjan Černe and Josip Korošec in the context of the Restoration Centre and Hubertus von Kerksenbrock and Edo Škulj in the context of the Catholic Church.

³ As at the end of 2014 the COBISS system credits Dr Edo Škulj with 997 bibliographic units, more than three quarters of which relate to pipe organs (COBISS, 2014).

of the organ case), *acoustics*, where we relate the sound of an individual organ to architecture and its location in a selected space, and *performance practice*, where composers, organists and listeners interact (along with manufacturers in the case of new organs). As the subject of scholarly treatment they can be placed at the intersection of various disciplines in the fields of musicology, history of art, organology, cultural history, acoustics, technology of materials, and so on. Lastly, at the tertiary level, we deal with them in systems and management contexts such as cultural heritage databases, education and cultural conservation legislation, where various purposes are served, for example the planning and management of the cultural landscape, organisation of events, tourism, balanced spatial and social development and other public or private purposes.

Central database of pipe organs in Slovenia

Aim and purpose

Ars organi Sloveniae (ARSORS) is a digital collection of data on pipe organs in Slovenia. The idea of creating such a database was first raised in 2005 by Društvo Jarina Bohinj, an association with NGO status based in Bohinj, which still formally manages the database today. The early period saw the development of the basic structure of the database on local computers using the Microsoft Access database management system. The purpose of the project, or of the database, was to gather all accessible data on Slovene pipe organs in one place. The guiding principle was that quality information can only be gleaned from good-quality, systematically organised data. The project as originally conceived soon developed into an autonomous programme and a permanent section of the association, in which for almost a decade now there has been rapid growth in the quantity of data, of internal and external collaborators and, above all, of users. The originally broad objectives of the project (Dobravec, 2009: 14–16) thus became long-term programme goals:

- to collect existing knowledge about pipe organs in Slovenia in one place,
- to facilitate research and analysis of the situation using real and objective data,
- to raise awareness of the pastoral and cultural importance of sacred music and history,
- to fulfil an obligation towards the other nations that are part of European organ culture and already have such databases,
- to prepare technical criteria for restoration work and applications for national and EU funding,
- to prepare a basis for planning of the development of the Slovene organ landscape,
- to promote specific renovations and restorations,
- to raise awareness of the importance of pipe organs in the context of European cultural heritage,

- to involve Slovene concert organists and church organists and actively raise their awareness of the importance of organs,
- to prepare material that will benefit interconnections both within the field of organ studies and outwardly.

The work experienced a significant upswing following the publication of a large part of the data on the website www.arsors.org in 2009. At the same time the website represents an important communication tool.

Although it is possible to show concrete results over the past decade for the majority of the goals set, the essence of the project's activity has remained data – in other words the first of the goals listed above.

Structure of the database

The ARSORS database is structured hierarchically and in mosaic fashion. It essentially consists of three hierarchical levels: (1) a repository of materials, (2) a relationally organised card-index system and (3) a public list containing basic data. Each level has its own standard, its own structure, its own system and its own specific application. The basic unit of the repository of materials is the locality, while for the card index and the public list the basic unit is the individual instrument. Given the nature of the artefacts involved, the data in each of the three levels are of mosaic character. This means that different data are collected for each basic unit and that some data are also missing. Control of the hierarchy in the public and card-index parts is carried out with the help of metadata for each individual entry.

Repository of materials

The repository of materials has two basic roles. To begin with it represents the input level and thus the basic hierarchical level. At the same time, it is a digital store of all available material which can be used to justify statements in the other two hierarchical levels of the database. The repository is the input module into which different types of material are entered. Materials are separated into external and internal sources. External sources are not derived from our work, whereas internal sources are the result of various *Ars organi Sloveniae* projects and tasks. In most cases this means audio and visual materials, notes from the field and comparative analyses. In the case of organs that are still standing, external materials were initially predominant, but more recently internal evidence has been gaining weight on the basis of our own fieldwork. In the case of contradictory evidence, inspections in the field usually carry greater weight, although materials with questionable, unsupported or incorrect statements are not rejected. Instead, they remain in the repository marked by a special tag.

Unlike in the other two levels, the basic unit of the repository of materials is not the organ as instrument but the locality. In most cases, in fact, the same administrator or owner is involved. Since the events of a location are placed in the same

microcultural space, the traceability and sequence of events in the same location are therefore optimised and logical.

The operation of the repository of materials is fully digital and it is very simple to use. It actually consists of folders bearing the names of localities. The folder name is the identifier by which the folders are related to other tables and items in the database. Subfolders are generally introduced for photographs or sound recordings from the field, or for a specific written source consisting of a large number of files. The metadata system is not standardised here. The only requirement, when entering data into the system, is that the name of the folder or digital recording, which may be in any readable format, should include the date of creation and an indication of the author of the content if known. During every backup/archiving of material, a list of the contents of the entire repository of materials is prepared as a text file.

In practice, data collection proceeds as follows: all submitted material that relates to or could relate to an organ in a specific location is digitalised and filed in the corresponding digital folder. As a result, a collection of digitalised and digital material (without a specific standardised structure) is created for every location with an organ, either present or past, which acquires meaning in the information-processing sense when it is linked to standardised data in the central part of the database (or when sources are translated into standardised data). Despite the apparent lack of organisation, the materials in the repository have at least one metadata tag by which they are separated into three categories: processed, unprocessed and rejected. The *processed* category consists of materials that have already been transferred into the data system of the central card-index level. The *unprocessed* category includes materials that have already been collected but which are waiting to be processed and entered into the system. *Rejected* is the category we use to denote written statements which on the basis of more recent verification and comparisons have turned out to be incorrect. It is very important that they remain in the repository of materials because, particularly when dealing with historical facts about organs in the past, new facts can be turned up that show already rejected facts in a different light. It is also necessary to take into account the fact that because of the nature of the objects under consideration and the variety of materials (written materials of various types, audio materials, visual materials, multimedia materials, etc.), these categories are not entirely clear-cut and strictly separated. Thus, for example, the category *processed* does not mean that specific information cannot later be gleaned from a source. It may be, for example, that a photograph which we have classified among processed materials has provided us with the disposition (i.e. specification) of a particular organ, but we have overlooked an artistic element which may have allowed us to identify its hitherto unidentified builder.

Modules of the relational database

The central part of the ARSORS database is a relational database consisting of several modules. The basic module is a multi-part card-index record to which several auxiliary

tables and lists are connected. The card-index record represents one pipe organ and has several hierarchical layers. The top layer contains a general record of identified facts about each instrument, which allows more than 100 different pieces of information of a technical, acoustic, geographical, historical, administrative and personal nature to be entered. The design of individual elements and the data structure are based on the German ORDA model (Pape, 1995, 2006: 1–7). If significant changes have been made to an organ in the past, the general record can be further divided into chronological sublayers, in a similar way to the Austrian database (Strobl, 2012: 4). Relationally linked subtables contain data on the details of an individual organ, for example a list of stops with their basic characteristics, incidents affecting the organ, individuals who have carried out repairs, and so on. We are also planning to create deeper hierarchical layers, in which the characteristics and dimensions of individual pipes and other parts of the organ will be entered. These data, for the most part relating to scaling, are currently kept in separate tables according to existing standards (Bosch et al., 2007: 86).

Each card-index record also has metadata tags from which it may clearly be seen what data and how much data we possess on a given organ, or in other words the quantitative and qualitative degree of knowledge of a given instrument that we have reached within the ARSORS programme. Part of the metadata on the quantity and type of detailed information is also published in the public part of the database in the online list. In some cases the data quality metatag is evident from the quantity of data, while in other cases data are defined by specific categories or empirically. Specific categories are, for example, recorded in order to give a full description of the condition of an organ in conjunction with organ data, where 17 categories are defined. Also worth highlighting among the metadata are indications of the condition of an organ, where we differentiate between the following categories: (s) organ standing, (sn) standing but unserviceable, (sk) in storage, (vs) organ probably standing, (x) organ removed or destroyed, (vx) probably destroyed, (d) parts preserved, (nn) unknown or not available. Metadata are at the same time a tool for verifying the progress and quality of work, which we present in annual reports, project reports and other reports in tabular or graphical form.

Other important data alongside the main data on organs are the *relational tables*, in which we keep data on localities and organ builders. On the one hand the locality represents the cultural historical and stylistic/acoustic background of the creation and use of an organ, while on the other it is via the locality that we link to related databases in Slovenia and abroad. The heritage number (EŠD), place name or geographical coordinates can serve as a linking identifier. The EŠD is mainly useful in the case of artefacts recorded by competent institutions in lists of cultural heritage (Zakrajšek et al., 1993: 15; Zakrajšek, Kovačec Naglič, 1998: 6). It cannot, however, be used in the case of more recent churches, music schools or private owners, or in the case of organs built by Slovene organ builders for clients in other countries. In the case of place names we are faced with problems of historical toponymy, variant spellings and different ways of recording individual

place names in archival sources and different periods, differences in names of parishes (owners) and official names of localities, spelling of place names in other countries and also inconsistency on the part of organ builders when indicating localities. All the data are geocoded. Assessments of topological accuracy showed the greatest deviations to be less than 40 metres and average deviations to be less than 8 metres, which given the size of churches is perfectly adequate for practical use. When trying to identify former churches, such as for example in the Kočevje (Gottschee) region, and in the case of some ruined castles and town buildings with organs, we used maps from the cadastral surveys carried out in the reigns of Franz I, Maria Theresa and Josep II, held in the National Archives.

Another important auxiliary table presents data on organ builders and organ maintainers and represents a supplemented version of an existing list (Koter, 2003: 123–152). Existing data, for the most part descriptive, has been restructured into a data system that can be linked relationally. On the basis of this system it is possible to carry out a range of content-based, spatial and chronological analyses and prepare reviews that serve other research functions. The problems most frequently encountered in this module have to do with variant spellings of the names of domestic and foreign organ builders and a lack of clarity regarding changes of generation or changes of ownership of individual organ workshops.

A third table, comprising the bibliography and list of sources used, is currently in preparation. It is planned that printed written sources will be able to be linked to the COBISS system, archive sources to SIRAnet (national archives search tool) and other national systems, and individual entries to the internal repository of materials described above.

The overall structure can be adapted at the programming level to the requirements of input data, internal analyses and specific analytical results, but the core always remains the same. When modifications are made to the structure, it is ensured that the content remains consistent. For example, if we add one field to the basic index card (or a column to a table), into which some new characteristic will be entered, all index cards entered to date receive a metadata tag indicating that this field was added subsequently. In the case of an organ dealt with earlier, this indicates that we did not know at the time how to define the subsequently introduced characteristic. When data are retroactively reviewed, these temporary indications are removed and the metadata tag is deleted.

The structure of the relational database allows different types of queries, the preparation of pivot tables and graphs, filtering using various criteria and similar analytical operations, from which it is possible to obtain additional data about an individual group of organs or the entire Slovene organ landscape. As a product, it is possible to export individual sets of data in various formats that are suitable for thematic, chronological and spatial research, and also for an end user, for example the preparation of condensed data to be imported into a car sat-nav (GPS) device or a smartphone (Dobravec, 2012: 6).

The hierarchical mosaic character of the relational database

As may be seen from the descriptions of the individual interconnected tables, this is a multidimensional hierarchical data system. At the same time, because of the nature of the content and the different stages of research regarding individual organs, their individual parts or parallel facts, ARSORS is not an uninterrupted complete database. For this reason we say that the level of knowledge of organs is mosaic-like, and that the density of this mosaic varies at different hierarchical levels or in different segments (Dobravec, 2000: 4–7, 2001: 401). Databases with missing data, which are very common in basic science or in the case of extremely dynamic data, are usually of limited usefulness for analytical work. Special statistical approaches are also used for them. The hierarchical mosaic approach means that we can nevertheless significantly increase the usefulness of an incomplete database and statistical methods by means of high-quality metadata against every record. The hierarchical mosaic character of a database essentially means that we know what the mosaic of a full database would be like, or in other words that it is clear, when processing the data, what and how much we do not know.

Public list with basic data on the website

The third integral level of the ARSORS database consists of an online presentation in the form of a list, an interactive map and certain other forms of presentation and promotion of Slovenia's organ heritage. In recent years the website www.arsors.org has actually grown into a complete communication portal. In autumn 2014 statistics showed a monthly average of around 90 visits per day, which is double the situation last year. This is an impressive result for the relatively narrow "niche" field of organ studies and the conservation of organ heritage. The key part of the website remains the list of organs, which is a kind of extract of the internal relational database. The basic module consists of a list of organs with the following details:

- location
- date built
- current owner
- builder
- size (number of manuals, number of stops)
- indication of the state of the internal record (metadata)
- original data source.

The only source recorded is the one that represents the starting point or beginning of the data record. The list allows users to carry out some simple distributions and calculations by selected parameters. The location of the selected instrument can be shown directly on the online map.

The website also offers users certain other tools for the interpretation of data from the central part of the database, for example an interactive map with all locations, lists of the number of organs built by individual builders, and a timeline of the life and work of organ builders in the Slovene lands. A

catalogue where individual instruments are presented with a description, a photograph and a sound file is being developed in parallel. The photo gallery, which for some time was hosted on this website, has recently been moved to the international website www.georganum.net. The public database is complemented by a list of Slovene organ literature and a multilingual organ glossary.

A notable feature of the public level is a form which allows users to submit information from the field to an internal table via the web. This form is organised as a questionnaire with 46 fields and in addition to its basic purpose serves as an educational tool – as do all the general sections of the public part of the database (organs, the database, diary, gallery, links). In terms of its technical organisation, the website uses open code and free access tools.

Pipe organs and cultural heritage in Slovenia

According to earlier classifications, for example the Cultural Heritage Protection Act, the simplest and most logical way to classify organs is as part of movable heritage. Small organs, in particular those known as "positive organs" (or just "positives") are movable objects in themselves, as also demonstrated by the many examples of them being moved to different locations.⁴ The fact remains, however, that all medium-sized and large organs are specifically designed for and, above all, acoustically adapted to a chosen location. This means that because of the characteristics of their sound, they are inseparably connected to the building in which they stand. Seen from this point of view, an organ cannot be considered movable cultural heritage. A change of location necessarily also involves a change in its characteristics. Unlike, say, altars, which can be moved into a stylistically related space without significant cultural violence, an organ cannot be moved without interfering with its essential substance: its specific sound. The sound of a pipe organ is actually part of intangible cultural heritage and it makes sense to treat it as such. Just as in cases where we treat organs as museum pieces, we are neglecting their essence, which is their sound, or rather music in an authentic space.⁵ Last but not least, organs represent cultural heritage which is not a remnant of the past, like many other types of heritage. Instead, its essential sense actually lies in its active use.

The practice of drawing up conservation or restoration plans for organs, of the kind provided for in all legislation to date and still seen in the maintenance of other types of movable cultural heritage, is an evident weak area in Slovenia. In the

4 The ARSORS database records more than 160 movements of instruments. Presumably the majority of these smaller instruments (>positives<>) were originally located in the chapels of castles that are now abandoned.

5 It may be worth pointing out here that among the reasons why organs are overlooked within the context of monument protection may be the fact that the conservation profession does not treat organs as artefacts that not only have an architectural and artistic dimension but also and most importantly an acoustic dimension.

case of organs, such plans are prepared by the contractors themselves, i.e. by organ builders, within the scope of their abilities and expertise, most often in the form of a brief review of the current condition of the organ and an estimate of the work that needs doing, which at the same time serves them as a plan of work. The state of the Slovene organ landscape, where it frequently happens that organ builders (except in the case of interventions involving organ cases) are at the same time the planners and proposers of work, the contractors who carry out the work and, in some cases, even the best qualified supervisors of the work, is far from ideal. Unfortunately, as a result of this approach, we have lost much of value in the past two decades, particularly as regards sound. Another characteristic of the situation in Slovenia is a relatively low level of official knowledge about organs and the organ landscape in general. Accordingly, the opinions and decisions of the responsible authorities, which by law must be issued for any development affecting material cultural heritage, frequently avoid specific solutions or guidelines and direct the developer concerned to the relevant diocesan committee, or sometimes even to a contractor, or, in the best-case scenario, to the Slovene Organ Society (SOD). The SOD is a non-governmental and non-profit organisation which has some excellent connoisseurs of organs among its members, but it does not have an established organisational structure for participation in administrative procedures. In a similar way, many dioceses do not have suitably institutionalised bodies to systematically prepare comprehensive material, help plan renovation work and subsequently supervise such work on the basis of data. For this reason, solutions are frequently subjectively dependent on the commitment and inclination of individuals.

Opportunities for research and heritage protection organisation

The ARSORS database is a systematically organised collection of data on a specific segment of heritage, namely pipe organs. It presents arguments and background documentation which give heritage owners, drafters of official documents, contractors and supervisors the best possible insight into the condition of individual organs and the circumstances in which they were built. The use of the heritage number (EŠD) enables simple integration with official records. Spatial identifiers enable simple incorporation into local planning or wider spatial and development planning.

ARSORS gives a comprehensive insight into the Slovene organ landscape as an integral part of the Slovene cultural landscape. It represents a starting point for in-depth research of individual instruments, organ builders or areas, enables integrated planning of the organ landscape and, above all, offers a basis for evaluation. Good-quality evaluation is the key basis for determining appropriate priorities for interventions and conservation of old artefacts, and thus the reasonable use of public funds and restoration expertise (of which there is no shortage in Slovenia).

A comprehensive overview and the possibility of evaluation can serve as a good-quality basis of the legislation, from general regulations to specific decrees and the internal procedural rules of organisations that deal with pipe organs as cultural heritage. Following the model of best practices in other countries, it would for example be possible to prepare a properly reasoned decree on the most valuable historic pipe organs or on rare and endangered organs in Slovenia.

ARSORS is one of the few pipe organ databases in the world to contain at least one item of data for practically every present and past organ in a given country. Despite its mosaic-like character, it represents a complete spatial and chronological record. In 2016 the database contains more than 2250 entries on organs within the borders of Slovenia and around 550 entries on organs built by Slovene organ builders outside the country.

The contents of the ARSORS database are part of an international context. As we know, the pipe organ is an original European instrument that characterises and at the same time connects the European, predominantly Christian cultural sphere. Slovenia lies at an interesting point of transition between the central European and Venetian/Mediterranean schools, typified by small and medium-sized organs which do not show their quality through cathedral-like dimensions but above all through their diversity.

ARSORS is a private database – the only nationwide organ database in the world managed by a private entity – and therefore enables innovative business approaches in the form of public-private partnerships and national and international vertical and horizontal connections. The online part of the database represents between 10% and 15% of the quantity of data in the textual part of the central database and a considerably smaller part of the audio and visual material stored in the repository of materials. Data obtained in the context of projects co-funded with public money are published in full on the website.

The hierarchical mosaic structure of the overall ARSORS database, its technical openness to substantive and thematic expansions and individual innovative solutions in specific modules allow broad possibilities of use for records of other types and heritage types at national and regional levels, and integration with existing spatial and tabular systems. For this reason we are already studying the organisational and financial possibilities of a similar approach to processing related fields, for example church bells and other musical instruments in churches, frescoes depicting musical instruments, music boxes and automata, old instruments kept by private individuals, and so on. With the appropriate observance of legislation governing the protection of personal data, it will for example be possible to design such databases in a virtual or even an actual national open-air museum of musical heritage.

Conclusion

Increased public interest in organs and an upswing in the introduction of organ programmes in the national programmes of music schools in the last 20 years show that Slovenia's organ heritage has an importance that goes beyond a mere frozen record of the past to be conserved in museums. Modern approaches are resulting in an intensive opening up of opportunities for in-depth research, a stylistically diverse approach and, above all, the promotion of values of this kind in the field of cultural and general social development, a balanced cultural offering and sustainable tourism. We believe that the database and accompanying activities of *Ars organi Sloveniae* can offer, in their internal complexity, combined with simplicity of communication, a good-quality starting point for all these activities.

Abstract

Ars organi Sloveniae (ARSORS), literally “the art of the organ in Slovenia”, is a programme of the non-governmental organisation Društvo Jarina Bohinj in which we attempt to raise public awareness of the importance of Slovenia's organ heritage. The essence of the programme is a database on all organs built for locations within the territory of the present-day Republic of Slovenia and all organs built by Slovene organ builders for locations outside the present national borders.

The database consists of three levels: a repository of materials, a relationally organised card-index system and a public list containing basic data. Each level has its own standard, its own structure, its own system and its own specific application. The basic unit of the repository of materials is the locality, while for the card index and the public list the basic unit is the individual instrument. Given the nature of the artefacts involved, the data in each of the three levels are of mosaic character. This means that different data are collected for each basic unit and that some data are also missing. ARSORS is not an uninterruptedly complete database and for this reason we say that the level of knowledge of organs is mosaic-like, and that the density of this mosaic varies at different hierarchical levels or in different segments. Control of the hierarchy in the public and card-index parts is carried out with the help of metadata for each individual entry.

The ARSORS database is a systematically organised collection of data on a specific segment of heritage, namely pipe organs. It presents arguments and background documentation which give heritage owners, drafters of official documents, contractors and supervisors the best possible insight into the condition of individual organs and the circumstances in which they were built. The use of the heritage number (EŠD) enables simple integration with official records. Spatial identifiers enable simple incorporation into local planning or wider spatial and development planning.

Thanks to the use of modern computer-based approaches, ARSORS represents a high-quality starting point for more intensive research, a stylistically diverse approach, and above

all the promotion of values of this kind in the field of cultural and general social development, a balanced cultural offering and sustainable tourism. Together with accompanying activities relating to communication, it constitutes a comprehensive tool for raising awareness among the specialist and general public of the importance of pipe organs as an original and characteristic part of our Europe-wide cultural heritage

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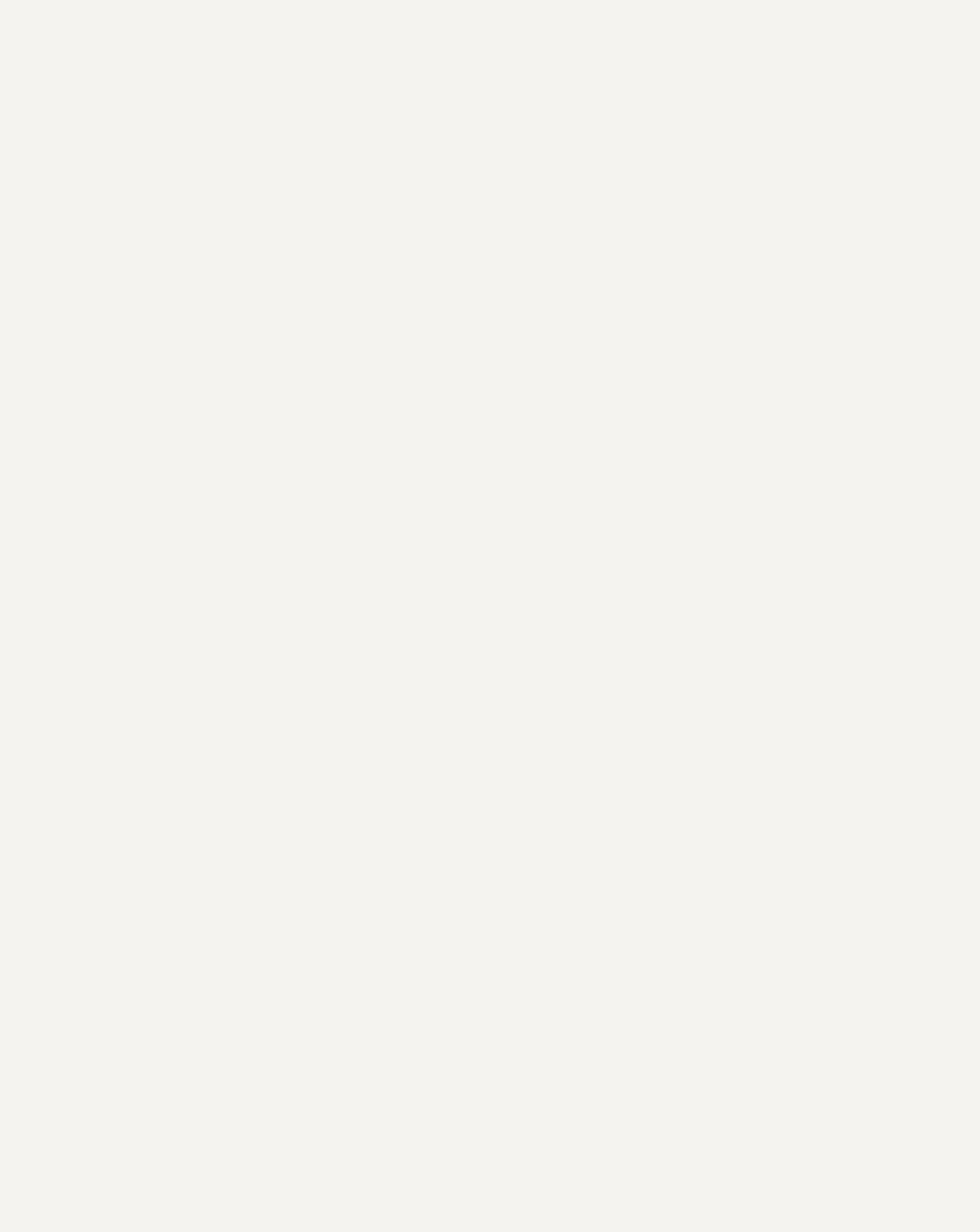
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Predstavitve / Presentations



Drago Bac (1953–2015)

akademski kipar, restavrator specialist, fotograf

Življenje, izpolnjeno s sijajnimi odgovori na neprestano vedoželjnost

Vrste varstvenikov kulturne dediščine je mnogo prezgodaj zapustil kolega mag. Drago Bac.

Bil je blag kot osebnost, zavezan visokim merilom stroke, neizmerno predan radovednosti, vedoželjen in brezkompromisen mož, ki je delo svojih rok radodarno delil po slovenskih kulturnih spomenikih. S svojimi mislimi in javnim nastopanjem je bil zadržan, odmerjal jih je le tistim, ki so se približali smislu resnega dela. V času, ki sprejema le pompozno in vsiljeno samopredstavitelje, je na videz neupravičeno ostajal v ozadju. Blag nasmeh in iskriča domislica sta bila zunanji znak, da si želi stikov z drugimi ljudmi, in tako je kljub dolgoletni diagnozi težke bolezni ostalo vse do njegovih zadnjih dni.

Na poklicni poti je velik del zgodnjih delovnih let usmeril v kolektiv kolegov restavratorjev, zbranih v Restavratorskem centru RS. Pravzaprav zgodaj, v času, ko to še ni bilo pogosto, se je odločil za pot samostojnega kulturnega delavca. Pestile so ga vse težave te negotove usode, a je bila pot posejana s svobodnimi odločitvami in neomejenim osebnim izobraževanjem.

Mag. Drago Bac nam je zapustil v palimpsest časa zapisa ne sloje posegov na kamnu, ometih, barvah in strukturah, podaljšanih v bivanje oblik in površin, podobe, zapisane v pretanjenih fotografijah.

Član ICOMOS je bil že v časih nekdanje skupne domovine, pobude in predloge je uresničeval v izvršnem odboru organizacije v treh mandatih, vse do leta 2013.

Ko se od kolega poslavljamo, ostajamo vsak s svojim preizpraševanjem lastnega prispevka k trajnosti kulturne dediščine na Slovenskem.

Jovo Grobovšek,
častni predsednik ICOMOS/SI
Srednja vas, 23. marca 2015



Navodila avtorjem za pripravo prispevkov v reviji Varstvo spomenikov

PREDSTAVITEV

1. Varstvo spomenikov je osrednja slovenska znanstvena strokovna revija za teorijo in prakso spomeniškega varstva. Izdaja jo Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije
2. Revija izhaja od leta 1946. Do leta 2010 je izhajala z eno številko na leto.
3. Revija se vsebinsko deli na dva dela. V prvem (daljšem) delu so objavljeni prispevki z oznakami COBISS (Co-operative Online Bibliographic System and Services) od 1.01 do 1.04, pri čemer pomeni 1.01 izvirni znanstveni članek, 1.02 pregledni znanstveni članek, 1.03 kratki znanstveni prispevek in 1.04 strokovni članek. Prispevki, ki so objavljeni v tem delu revije, so recenzirani in štejejo kot referenčni v domačem in tujih znanstvenih okoljih. Kategorijo prispevka predlaga avtor, končno odločitev pa sprejme uredniški odbor na podlagi predloga recenzenta.

Drugi (krajši) del, ki sledi prvemu, je namenjen objavi recenzij (oznaka COBISS 1.19), predstavitev (npr. knjig, projektov, dogodkov, predavanj, konferenc itd.), knjižničnim informacijam idr. Prispevki, ki so objavljeni v tem delu revije, se ne recenzirajo. Prvi del se imenuje Razprave, drugi del pa Predstavitve.

VRSTA, OBSEG IN SESTAVA PRISPEVKOV

4. Številke praviloma niso tematsko usmerjene. Objavljeni so prispevki različnih znanstvenih ved in disciplin (npr. arheologija, etnologija, umetnostna zgodovina, arhitektura, krajinska arhitektura, konservatorstvo, restavracija, geografija ipd.), ki sledijo znanstvenemu in profesionalnemu zanimanju avtorjev za varovanje, raziskovanje in upravljanje kulturne dediščine, mednarodne akte in nacionalno zakonodajo, prostorsko načrtovanje in informatiko na področju spomeniškega varstva, konservatorske študije, zgodovino in doktrino spomeniškega varstva itd.
5. Prispevki v Razpravah so objavljeni v slovenščini in angleščini. Za prevode praviloma poskrbi uredništvo.
6. Razprave praviloma obsegajo največ 1,5 avtorske pole (24 strani po 30 vrstic s 64 znaki oz. 46.000 znakov s presledki), prispevki iz sklopa Predstavitve in informacije pa največ 5 strani (9300 znakov).
7. Sestavine razprav si sledijo v naslednjem zaporedju: naslov prispevka, izjemoma tudi podnaslov, izvleček, ključne besede, besedilo prispevka, ki je razdeljeno na posamezna poglavja (uvod in sklep sta obvezni poglavji), viri in literatura ter povzetek. Naslov in podnaslov članka, ki primerno opisujeta vsebino prispevka, naj natančno, vendar kratko in jedrnatno označita bistveno vsebino. V prispevku najpomembnejši obravnavani pojmi naj bodo praviloma navedeni na začetku naslova oziroma podnaslova. Naslov naj ne presega priporočenih 140 znakov. Izvleček naj obsega največ 6–10 vrstic (do 650 znakov). Biti mora razumljiv sam po sebi, brez branja celotnega prispevka; vsebuje naj oris metodologije in rezultatov; uporabljajo naj se celi stavki, izogibati se je treba slabše znanim kraticam in okrajšavam. Kratice naj bodo ob prvi uporabi razvezane v slovenskem jeziku. Če to ni mogoče, kratico razvezemo v jeziku, v katerem je nastala. Ključne besede naj obsegajo 3–8 besed, ki označujejo vsebino prispevka; to naj bodo enostavni izrazi, zapisani v prvem sklonu ednine. Avtor naj poskuša izbrati take ključne besede, ki so že v splošni rabi v sistemu COBISS. Za UDK-vrstilec oz. klasifikacijsko oznako poskrbi uredništvo. Povzetek obsega 30–45 vrstic (največ 1900 znakov). V njem avtor jasno opredeli namene, glavne značilnosti in metodologijo raziskovalnega dela ter najpomembnejše rezultate in sklepe prispevka. Besedilo prispevka mora biti pregledno in razumljivo strukturirano z naslovi poglavij in podpoglavij. Dovoljeni sta največ dve ravni podpoglavij. Avtor lahko priloži tudi kratko zahvalo, ki bo objavljena pred seznamom virov in literature.
8. Zaradi zagotovitve anonimnosti pri recenzijem postopku mora(-jo) avtor(-ji) svoje ime in priimek navesti posebej, in sicer na prvi strani prispevka. Dopiše(-jo) naj tudi svoj akademski in pedagoški naziv ali znanstveni naziv ter diplomski naziv. Za diplomske nazive naj se uporabljajo uradne okrajšave, za pedagoške in znanstvene nazive pa naj se okrajšave ne uporabljajo. Avtorice naj napišejo svoje pedagoške nazive v ženski obliki (npr. docentka). Sledi naslov institucije, v kateri je avtor zaposlen,

oziroma drugi ustrezen naslov in naslov elektronske pošte. Če je avtorjev več, vrstni red določijo sami. Drugih podatkov naj prva stran prispevka ne vsebuje.

9. Za predstavitev knjig in za recenzije (oznaka COBISS 1.19), objavljene v drugem delu revije, mora avtor najprej navesti naslov prispevka. Ta je lahko poljuden in ni nujno, da je povsem enak kot naslov knjige ali dela, ki ga avtor predstavlja oziroma ocenjuje, vendar pa se mora nanašati na vsebino/recenzijo predstavljenega dela oziroma knjige, biti mora čim krajši in čim manj zapleten. Za naslovom mora avtor navesti še: izvirni naslov dela, ime in priimek avtorja(-jev), ime in priimek urednika(-ov), založbo in leto izdaje ter ISBN-številko.

OBLIKOVANJE IN JEZIK PRISPEVKOV

10. Prispevki morajo biti napisani z urejevalnikom besedil Microsoft Word. V celotnem prispevku naj bo uporabljen le en slog, in sicer privzet slog Normal. To pomeni, da morajo imeti prispevki enojni medvrstični razmik, tip črk Times New Roman, velikost črk 12, levo poravnava in 2,5-centimetre robove pri formatu A4. Ta normativ je nekoliko drugačen le pri grafičnih prilogah (tip pisave v grafičnih prilogah mora biti Arial, velikost črk pa ne sme biti manjša od 10). Strani v prispevku naj bodo zaporedno oštevilčene, številka strani pa naj bo na dnu strani postavljena na sredino.
11. Besedilo prispevka naj bo preprosto oblikovano. Ni dovoljeno uporabljati zamikov, deljenja besed, podčrtavanja, senčenja ali kakršnih koli drugih načinov oblikovanja, razen označitve krepke in ležeče pisave. Besedilo naj bo v celoti izpisano z malimi črkami (razen velikih začetnic) in naj bo brez nepotrebnih okrajšav. Če se okrajšavam ni mogoče izogniti, naj jih avtor pri prvi navedbi pojasni.
12. Izvirne izraze/termine lahko avtor zapiše ob izrazih, prevedenih v slovenski jezik. Izraz naj avtor zapiše v oklepaju za slovenskim prevodom, pri čemer napiše najprej okrajšavo jezika, v katerem je zapisan izvirni izraz/termin (na primer: angl. (za angleški jezik), nem. (za nemški jezik), fr. (za francoski jezik) itd.), nato izraz/termin, in sicer v ležeči pisavi. Slovenski prevod izraza/termina naj avtor postavi v narekovaje.
13. Pri naštevanju in navajanju enot, ki si v alinejah sledijo druga pod drugo, ni dovoljeno uporabljati funkcije za avtomatsko označevanje in oštevilčevanje, ki jo ima program Microsoft Word. Avtor naj enote, ki si v alinejah sledijo druga pod drugo, številči ali označuje ročno, čeprav zaradi tega besedilo ne bo poravnano v navpični liniji. Enako velja tudi za številčenje naslova, podnaslova, poglavij, podpoglavij, preglednic in slik. Če pri navajanju enot v alinejah avtor ne uporablja številčk, naj alineje označi s pomišljaji.
14. Prispevki, objavljeni v slovenščini, morajo biti napisani v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku in ob upoštevanju pravil Slovenskega pravopisa (2003, 2007).
15. Uporaba tujk v prispevkih v slovenskem jeziku je dovoljena le, če ne obstaja primernejši izraz v slovenskem jeziku.

PREGLEDNICE IN GRAFIČNE PRILoge

16. Za tabele se v prispevku uporablja poimenovanje preglednica. Preglednice so umeščene med besedilo prispevka in ne smejo presegati 2,5-centimetreškega roba. Vsaka preglednica mora biti razumljiva, pregledna in preprosta, brez dodatnega pojasnjevanja in opisovanja. Sestavljajo naj jo vrstice in stolpci, katerih vidne črte se sekajo v poljih. Polj naj avtorji ne senčijo. Preglednice morajo biti zaporedno oštevilčene z arabskimi številkami in morajo imeti naslove. Naslov preglednice naj bo nad preglednico. Med številko in naslovom naj bo dvopičje. Naslovi preglednic naj bodo čim krajši in čim manj zapleteni. Naslov preglednice naj se s piko zaključuje, če gre za stavčno poved. Avtor pod preglednico dopiše tudi vire za podatke v preglednici. Uporabljeni viri morajo biti (v celoti) navedeni v končnem seznamu virov in literature.
17. Za vsako grafično prilogo (fotografija, zemljevid, grafikon, skica in podobno) se uporablja enotno poimenovanje: slika. Slike ne smejo biti umeščene med besedilom prispevka. Oštevilčene morajo biti enotno z arabskimi

številkami in morajo imeti naslove. Med številko in naslovom mora biti dvopičje. Naslovi slik naj bodo čim krajši in čim manj zapleteni. Avtor za naslovom dopiše tudi vir(-e) grafične priloge, in sicer na način, kot je za sklicevanje na vire in literaturo med besedilom določeno v teh navodilih. Pri fotografijah in ilustracijah, ki niso vzete iz virov, ampak so avtorsko delo, se za naslovom slike dopiše ime in priimek avtorja fotografije/ilustracije. Naslov slike se za navedbo virov (ali avtorja fotografije/ilustracije/risbe) s piko zaključuje, če gre za stavčno poved.

18. Če se avtor med besedilom prispevka sklicuje na grafične priloge (npr. jih opisuje, komentira itd.) oziroma če grafična priloga dopolnjuje besedilo prispevka, mora biti v besedilu obvezno navedeno, na katero grafično prilogo se avtor sklicuje, oziroma mora biti na najprimernejšem mestu v besedilu navedeno, katera grafična priloga dopolnjuje besedilo. Pri sklicevanju na grafične priloge je treba uporabljati njihove številke: npr. (sl. 1), kot je razvidno s slike 1, kot prikazuje slika 1 itd.
19. Če sestavlja eno sliko več grafičnih podob (npr. vertikalni in/ali horizontalni niz fotografij, skic, tabel itd.), mora biti vsak posamezen sestavni del slike vidno in jasno oštevilčen. V podpisu k sliki naj avtor zapiše številko posameznega sestavnega dela slike in naslov/pojasnilo tega sestavnega dela slike, in sicer na način, kot je navedeno pri spodnjem primeru. Tak naslov grafične priloge se zaključuje s piko.
20. Če vsebuje grafična priloga besedilo (npr. napisi na skicah, legenda v grafikonu, napisi/besedilna navedba enot na abscisnih in ordinatnih oseh v grafikonih ipd.), mora biti to besedilo napisano v slovenščini in angleščini. Napisi naj bodo čim manj zapleteni in čim krajši (npr. če so v grafikonih napisi oziroma besedilne navedbe enot na abscisnih/ordinatnih oseh in na drugih mestih dolgi, je bolj smiselno, da avtor te enote označi s številkami, številke pa pojasni v legendi).
21. Tip pisave v vseh grafičnih prilogah mora biti Arial, črke pa ne smejo biti manjše od 10. Pisava mora imeti enojni medvrstični razmik in levo poravnavo pri formatu A4.
22. Grafične priloge (razen grafikonov) morajo avtorji oddati v digitalni rastrski obliki, z ločljivostjo vsaj 350 pik na palec (350 dpi), in sicer v formatu JPEG (v najvišji kakovosti) ali TIFF. Širina slike s tako ločljivostjo naj bo najmanj 14,8 cm. Če avtorji ne morejo oddati grafičnih prilog v predpisani obliki, naj se pred oddajo posvetujejo z urednikom.
23. Grafikoni morajo biti izrisani s programom Microsoft Excel.
24. Vsaka grafična priloga mora biti shranjena in oddana uredništvu v svoji datoteki. Naslov posamezne slikovne datoteke naj bo sestavljen le iz priimka (prvega) avtorja, okrajšave sl, podčrtaja in zaporedne številke, ki jo ima slika v besedilu: npr. Fister_sl_1.
25. Avtor naj prostor, ki naj bi ga grafična priloga zasedla v prispevku, šteje v obseg besedila kot 250 besed (pol strani) oziroma 500 besed (cela stran).
26. Avtorji naj bodo zmerni pri številu grafičnih podob, ki jih nameravajo vključiti v prispevek. Vključijo naj le tiste, za katere menijo, da so potrebne za boljše razumevanje vsebine prispevka.

ŠTEVILKE IN MERILA

27. Merske enote naj temeljijo na metričnem merskem sistemu. Pri številnih, večjih od 9999, se za ločevanje tisočic in milijonic uporabljajo pike (na primer 13.432 ali 1.514.800). Pri pisanju merila zemljevida se dvopičje piše nestično (na primer 1 : 500.000). Med številkami in enotami je presledek (na primer 135 m, 23,5 %), pred oznako za potenco ali indeksom števila pa presledka ni (na primer 143 km², b₅, 17 °C). Znaki pri računskih operacijah se pišejo nestično, razen oklepajev (na primer $p = a + c - b - (a + c : b)$).

OKRAJŠAVE

28. Uporabljajo se slovenske verzije okrajšav in bibliografskih oznak (ur.; idr.; isti.; ista; prav tam).

Okrajšava prim. se uporablja, kadar želimo opozoriti na stališče, ki je drugačno od našega ali od tistega, ki ga zagovarja avtor druge citirane knjige.

OPOMBE IN NAVAJANJE VIROV IN LITERATURE

29. Bibliografske opombe se pišejo med besedilom, vsebinske opombe pa kot sprotne opombe pod črto.
Vsebinske opombe, ki vsebujejo dodatno avtorjevo besedilo, so oštevilčene z zaporednimi številkami od začetka do konca besedila. Opombe naj ne bodo predolge.
30. Če je avtor znan, naj bo v besedilu sklic na literaturo tak: (Zadnikar, 1982: 20–23) oziroma npr. Zadnikar (1982) ugotavlja, da ... Če sta avtorja navedenega dela dva, se navedeta oba: (Buser, Cajhen, 1980) oziroma npr. Buser in Cajhen (1980) ocenjujeta, da ... Pri večjem številu avtorjev se zapiše le

priimek prvega avtorja, za druge avtorje se navede okrajšava idr., ki pomeni in drugi: (Benedetti idr., 2004) oziroma Benedetti idr. (2004) menijo, da ... Če je avtorjev šest ali manj, se v končnem seznamu virov in literature navedejo vsi avtorji, in sicer tako, kot je določeno v teh navodilih. Če je avtorjev več kot šest, se v končnem seznamu virov in literature navede prvih šest avtorjev, za druge pa se doda okrajšava idr., in sicer tako, kot je določeno v teh navodilih. Če je v prispevku uporabljenih več virov, ki imajo na začetku iste avtorje, je treba med besedilom navajati vse avtorje do vključno prvega različnega.

31. Dela enega avtorja, ki so izšla istega leta, je treba med seboj ločiti z zaporednim dodajanjem malih črk (a, b, c, č itd.) stično ob letnici izida (Božič, 1992a, 1992b) oziroma Božič (1992a, 1992b) navaja ... Tako jih je treba navesti tudi v končnem seznamu virov in literature. Dela različnih avtorjev, ki se vsa nanašajo na isto vsebino, je treba naštetih po abecednem redu glede na avtorjev priimek, med posameznimi navedbami je podpičje: (Fister, 1987; Stopar, 1990; Zadnikar, 1975). Pri navajanju več del istega avtorja se navedejo avtor in zaporedne letnice izidov teh del, ki jih je treba ločiti z vejico: (Zadnikar, 1982, 1988). Če v besedilu zaporedno navedemo sklic na isto delo, se pri drugem in vseh nadaljnjih zaporednih sklicih v istem odstavku uporabi navedba: (prav tam). Če je delo še v tisku, se v oklepaju namesto letnice izdaje navede: (v tisku) – na ta način se delo navaja tudi v končnem seznamu virov in literature.
32. Dobesedni navedki morajo biti označeni z narekovaji, in sicer z dvojnimi srednjimi (« »). Stran, na kateri je dobesedni navedek v delu, se napiše za dvopičjem. Pika kot končno ločilo je za oklepajem, v katerem je zapisan vir citata. Če je besedilo citata v citiranem delu na dveh ali več straneh, se med stranema (-mmi) postavi stični pomišljaj (Zadnikar, 1982: 36–37).
33. Daljši dobesedni navedki (več kot 40 besed) naj bodo postavljeni v samostojen odstavek, napisani naj bodo z ležečo pisavo, pred odstavkom in za njim pa naj bo izpuščena po ena vrstica. Začetek in konec dobesednega navedka se v tem primeru ne označujeta z narekovaji. Pika kot končno ločilo je za oklepajem, v katerem je zapisan vir navedbe.
34. Pri dobesednih navedkih, ki imajo vmes posamezne dele izpuščene, se uporablja tropičje v oglatem oklepaju: [...]. Za to oznako, če ni bil izpuščen samo del povedi, začnemo pisati ponovno z veliko začetnico. Če v citiranem delu to ni velika začetnica (npr. ker ni začetek stavka), označimo prvo črko z oglatim oklepajem.
35. Pri sklicih na vire, pri katerih avtor in urednik nista znana, se navedeta ime izdajatelja (v prispevkih v angleškem jeziku mora biti v tem primeru ime izdajatelja prevedeno v angleščino) in letnica izdaje dela, npr. za podatke, ki jih objavlja Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, se navede (Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2007). Za vire lahko uporabljamo tudi okrajšave, npr. za Statistični urad Republike Slovenije se uporabi okrajšava SURS, vendar mora biti v besedilu prispevka najprej navedeno ime vira v celoti, nato pa mora biti razloženo, da se bo za vir v nadaljevanju uporabljala okrajšava, ki jo avtor tudi razveže. Za navedeni primer (Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2007) bi se tako pri sklicu nanj v nadaljevanju uporabljalo (SURS, 2007).
36. Pri navajanju zakonov med besedilom se navedejo ime zakona, številka Uradnega lista Republike Slovenije in letnica, pri čemer se uporablja za Uradni list Republike Slovenije okrajšava: Ur. l. RS, npr. (Zakon o varstvu kulturne dediščine, Ur. l. RS, št. 16/2008). Pri dobesednem navajanju zakonov se doda še stran v Uradnem listu RS.
37. Če imajo zakoni uradne okrajšave, npr. ZVKD-1, se lahko te uporabijo, vendar mora biti v besedilu članka najprej navedeno ime zakona v celoti, nato pa mora biti razloženo, da se bo za ta vir v nadaljevanju uporabljala okrajšava, ki jo avtor tudi navede.

SEZNAM UPORABLJENIH VIROV IN LITERATURE

38. Vsa dela (viri in literatura), navedena v članku, morajo biti v abecednem seznamu navedena na koncu v sestavnem delu prispevka z naslovom Viri in literatura. Seznama avtor ne sme številčiti ali kakor koli drugače označevati (s pikami, pomišljaji). V primerih navedb, ki so prikazani spodaj, so ločila in oblika pisave (ležeče oziroma pokonci) navedeni točno tako, kot jih mora navesti tudi avtor v svojem prispevku.

Monografije in knjige (en avtor)

Fister, P. (1986): *Umetnost stavbarstva na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba.

Opomba: Priimek avtorja, Inicialka(-e) avtorjevega imena. (letnica izdaje dela): *Naslov dela: Morebitni podnaslov*. Kraj izdaje, Založba.

Monografije in knjige (od tri do šest avtorjev)

Pernet, L., Carlevaro, E., Tori, L., Vietti, G., Della Casa, P., in Schmid-Sikimič, B.

(2006): *La necropoli di Giubiasco (TI): Vol. II, Les Tombes de La Tène finale et d'époque romaine*, Collectio archaeologica 4. Zürich, Musée national suisse.

Opomba: Če je avtorjev šest ali manj, se v končnem seznamu virov in literature navedejo vsi avtorji. Če je avtorjev več kot šest, se našteje prvih šest, nato pa sledi okrajšava idr.

Monografije in knjige (avtorji niso znani, znan je urednik)

Dromgoole, S. (ur.) (2006): *Legal protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage: National perspectives in Light of the UNESCO Convention 2001*. Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff.

Diplomska in magistrska dela, doktorske disertacije, raziskovalna poročila

Uhač, M. (2003): *Brodolom na rtu Savudrija*. Diplomsko naloga. Sveučilište u Zadru.

Verbič, T. (2008): *Poročilo o ogledu arheoloških izkopavanj na lokaciji NUK 2*. Raziskovalno poročilo. Ljubljana, Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, Območna enota Ljubljana.

Prispevki ali poglavja v monografijah, knjigah, enciklopedijah in zbornikih konferenc, zborovanj, seminarjev itd.

Dumont, A. (2000): *Etat d'un cours d'eau à la fin du 18e siècle : la visite de la rivière d'Ourthe (Belgique)*. V: Bonnamour, L. (ur.): *Archéologie des fleuves et des rivières*, str. 25–27. Pariz, Éditions Errance.

Opomba: pri zbornikih konferenc, zborovanj, seminarjev itd. naj avtor ne navaja, za katero konferenco, zborovanje, seminar itd. gre, kje in kdaj je tovrstno druženje potekalo in kakšen je bil njegov naslov. Z ležečo pisavo je napisan naslov knjige, monografije, zbornika.

Prispevki v monografijah, ki izhajajo v seriji z lastnim naslovom

Svetličič, V. (1997): *Drobne najdbe iz kovine, jantarja in roževine*. V: Horvat, J.: *Sermin*. Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae, 3, str. 31–38. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.

Opomba: za naslovom knjige zapišemo tudi naslov serije in številko zvezka (če je zbirka oštevilčena). Oštevilčenje je vedno zapisano v arabskih številkah, tudi če so v knjigi rimske številke. Prav tako izpuščamo oznako za zvezek pred številko (*Band, Heft, Vol., No.*).

Prispevki v periodičnih publikacijah

Delak Koželj, Z. (2008): *Programski model delovanja etnologa konservatorja. Varstvo spomenikov*, 44, str. 256–262.

Raban, A. (1992): *Archaeological Park for Divers at Sebastos and Other Submerged Remnants in Caesarea Maritima*. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 21(1), str. 27–35.

Opomba: število 21 v oznaki 21(1) je letnik publikacije, 1 pa številka v posameznem letniku. Če publikacija nima številke (npr. če izide le ena publikacija v enem letniku), naj avtor napiše le letnik, vendar ne v oklepaju. Imena revij ni dovoljeno pisati z okrajšavami, napisana pa morajo biti z ležečo pisavo.

Gesla v enciklopedijah in leksikonih

Slovenski biografski leksikon, s. v. "Turner Pavel".

Ulčar, M. (1995): *Enciklopedija orožja: Orožje skozi sedem tisočletij*. Ljubljana, Državna založba Slovenije, s. v. "Enostrelne zadnjače".

Opomba: pri citiranju gesel razširjenih enciklopedij in leksikonov pišemo le naslov (ležeče) in pa izdajo, če jih je na voljo več, ni pa treba zapisati števila zvezkov niti kraja in leta izida. Naslovu sledita kratica s. v. (iz latinskega *sub verbo* – pod besedo) ter citirano geslo v narekovajih in pokončnem tisku. Kadar navajamo podatke iz manj znanega leksikona ali enciklopedije, moramo seveda v opombo zapisati vse podatke, ki jih pišemo pri monografskih delih.

Prispevki v dnevnikih časopisih

Petkovšek, J. (2009): *Potrebujemo zakon, ne le odlok*. *Delo*, 51(24), 30. 1. 2009, str. 9.

Zakoni

Zakon o varstvu kulturne dediščine. Uradni list RS, št. 16/2008. Ljubljana.

Publikacije, katerih avtor in urednik nista znana – npr. statistični viri, enciklopedije, zemljevidi

Statistični urad Republike Slovenije (2007): *Statistični letopis 2007*. Ljubljana.

Opomba: najprej je naveden izdajatelj, sledijo leto izdaje, naslov dela in kraj izdaje. V prispevkih v angleškem jeziku morata biti v tem primeru ime izdajatelja in naslov dela prevedena v angleščino.

Rokopisi in tipkopisi, ki niso objavljeni, vendar je letnica nastanka znana

Plesničar – Gec, L. (2000): *Emonski teater*. Tipkopis.

Opomba: najprej je naveden avtor rokopisa/tipkopisa, sledijo letnica in naslov ter podatek, da gre za rokopis/tipkopis.

Rokopisi in tipkopisi, ki niso objavljeni, letnica nastanka pa tudi ni znana

Snoj, D. (1999): *Poročilo o zaščitnih izkopavanjih na lokaciji NUK II*. Tipkopis (prejeto 24. 1. 1999).

Opomba: najprej je neveden avtor rokopisa/tipkopisa, sledijo letnica (kot letnica se navede leto, ko je avtor prispevka vir prejel), naslov, podatek, da gre za rokopis/tipkopis, v oklepaju pa je natančen datum prejetja dela.

Intervjuji, pogovori

Svetina, T. (1995): *Marijina kapelica na Mlinem pri Bledu* (osebni vir 25. 3. 1995).

Opomba: navedejo se intervjuvanec, leto intervjuja, kot naslov pa vsebina intervjuja. V oklepaju je natančen datum izvedbe intervjuja/pogovora.

Splošne opombe

- Če je delo še v tisku, se v oklepaju namesto letnice izdaje navede: (v tisku) – na ta način se delo navaja tudi med besedilom.
- Če je krajev izdaj več, mora avtor navesti enega od njih.
- Če je založnik fakulteta ali oddelek na fakulteti, je treba za krajem izdaje dela najprej navesti univerzo, nato fakulteto in na koncu morebitni oddelek.
- Če sta avtorja dva ali jih je več, se v končnem seznamu virov in literature navedba dela začne vedno s tistim avtorjem, ki je (kot prvi) naveden tudi med besedilom.
- Če isti avtor nastopa enkrat samostojno, enkrat pa kot prvi avtor v skupini več avtorjev, potem v seznamu virov in literature najprej navajamo njegova samostojna in nato skupinska dela; slednja razvrstimo po abecedni glede na priimek drugega (ali po potrebi tretjega) avtorja. Če se isti avtor pojavi večkrat, dela navajamo po letu izdaje – najprej starejša in nato novejša dela.
- Če je naslov citiranega dela v dveh ali več jezikih ali če je celotni prispevek v dveh ali več jezikih, mora avtor za prvo napisanim naslovom zapisati še naslove dela v drugem(-ih) jeziku(-ih), in sicer znotraj oglatih oklepajev. Če je teh naslovov več, jih mora med seboj ločiti s poševno črto (/), pri čemer pred njo in za njo ne sme pustiti presledka. Če je dvo- ali večjezični prispevek v publikaciji objavljen na različnih mestih, morajo biti številke strani navedene za vsakega posebej, kot je prikazano v spodnjem primeru:
Horvat, J. (2002): *The Hoard of Roman Republican Weapons from Grad near Šmihel [Zaklad rimskega republikanskega orožja z Gradu pri Šmihelu pod Nanosom]*. *Arheološki vestnik*, 53, str. 117–150 [150–192].
- Navedba strani se piše s stičnim pomišljajem; avtor naj bo pozoren, da uporablja pomišljaj (–) in ne vezaj (·).
- Vsaka navedba vira se konča s piko.

39. Pri navajanju arhivskih virov je treba v oklepaju navesti ime arhiva ali njegovo okrajšavo, ime fonda in njegovo signaturo, oznako tehnične enote (številko fascikla ali škatle) ter naslov in številko navajanega dokumenta, vse ločeno z vejicami. Poleg tega je – če je to mogoče – smiselno navesti še podatke, ki so na citirani arhivaliji, npr. številko in datum izdaje akta.

Primer navedbe arhivskega vira

Arhiv Republike Slovenije (ARS), Vicedomski urad za Kranjsko, AS 1, šk. 1, akt 942.

40. Vire s svetovnega spleta navajamo, kot je prikazano spodaj. Vedno na koncu navedemo tudi datum, ko je bil vir dostopen na spletu.

Primer navedbe spletnega vira, če je avtor znan

Avramov, D. (2006): *Social exclusion and social security*. <http://www.avramov.org/documents/document7.pdf> (dostop 20. 2. 2008).

Primer navedbe spletnega vira, če avtor ni znan

Internet 1: <http://www.international.icomos.org/charters.htm> (dostop 15. 9. 2008).

Opomba: v prvem primeru se med besedilom navede (Avramov, 2006), v drugem primeru pa (internet 1, 2 ...).

41. Seznam virov in literature vključuje le dela, ki so dejansko navedena v besedilu prispevka. Vsako enoto v teh seznamih zaključuje pika.

RECENZENTSKI POSTOPEK, LEKTURA IN AVTORSKE PRAVICE

42. Uredništvo sprejema prispevke vse leto. Prispevke morajo avtorji poslati po pošti na naslov uredništva

Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije
Varstvo spomenikov – uredništvo
Poljanska cesta 40
SI-1000 Ljubljana

43. Grafične priloge morajo biti v končni obliki shranjene v podatkovni mapi, ločeno od besedila prispevka. Gradiva ne pošiljajte po e-pošti, ampak ga zapišite na zgoščenko. Zgoščenci priložite iztis vseh datotek.

44. Uredništvo ima pravico, da prispevkov, ki niso v celoti pripravljene v skladu z navodili za objavo v reviji Varstvo spomenikov, ne sprejme v recenzentski postopek.

45. Uredništvo ima pravico, da prispevkov, ki niso napisani v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku, ne sprejme v recenzentski postopek.

46. Z rezultatom recenzije članka bo avtor seznanjen najpozneje v treh mesecih od oddaje članka. Če recenzent predlaga spremembe oziroma izboljšave, se članek vrne (prvonapisanemu) avtorju. Morebitne popravke ali spremembe lahko sočasno predlaga tudi uredništvo. Avtor vnese predlagane recenzentove in/ali urednikove popravke in vrne popravljeno besedilo v petih dneh. Vnesene popravke in spremembe preveri urednik. Dovoljeni so le popravki in spremembe, ki jih zahtevata recenzent in/ali urednik.

47. Če recenzija ne zahteva popravka ali dopolnitve članka, se avtorju recenzija ne pošlje. V tem primeru uredništvo pošlje (prvemu) avtorju le obvestilo, da bo prispevek objavljen.

48. O uvrstitvi objavljenih prispevkov v eno od tipologij dokumentov/del v bibliografskem sistemu COBISS odloča recenzent. Urednik preveri pravilnost odločitve recenzenta. Če se mu zdi recenzentova uvrstitev sporna, se glede uvrstitve dogovorita skupaj. O uvrstitvi nerecenziranih prispevkov v eno od tipologij COBISS-a odloča urednik.

49. Pred objavo so vsi prispevki, ki so napisani in oddani v slovenskem jeziku, še lektorirani. Avtorju se lektorirano besedilo pošlje v dopolnitev le, če lektor predlaga večje popravke oziroma vstavi svoje komentarje/pripombe, ki so povezani s strokovno vsebino. V takih primerih avtor popravi ali izboljša besedilo v skladu z lektorjevimi pripombami/komentarji in vrne popravljeno besedilo v treh dneh.

50. Prevod se opravi po recenzentskem postopku oziroma po vnosu morebitnih recenzentovih in/ali urednikovih popravkov in pregledu morebitnih predlaganih večjih lektorjevih popravkov oziroma komentarjev/pripomb. Za zagotovitev brezhibnosti prevoda prevedene prispevke pred objavo pregleda oseba, ki uporablja angleščino kot svojo materinščino. Če so predlagani manjši popravki, se prevod avtorju ne vrača, ampak uredništvo vnese popravke na podlagi predlogov govornca materinščine. Če je ugotovljeno, da je prevod jezikovno problematičen, uredništvo poskrbi za njegovo profesionalno lektoriranje. Avtor vrne lektorirano besedilo prevoda v petih dneh. Dopolnjeno besedilo prevoda se še enkrat jezikovno pregleda. Prispevek je objavljen, ko je potrjeno, da prevod ustreza pravopisnim pravilom angleškega jezika in pravilom v teh navodilih.

51. Tuji avtorji se za prevod prispevkov iz angleščine v slovenščino dogovorijo z urednikom. Prispevek morajo oddati v brezhibni angleščini. Tudi te prispevke jezikovno pregleda oseba, ki uporablja angleščino kot svojo materinščino.

52. Uredniški odbor lahko na predlog urednika ali recenzenta zavrne objavo prispevka.

53. Sprejeti bodo samo prispevki, ki še niso bili objavljeni. Če je isti prispevek že v postopku objave v drugi reviji, mora avtor to izrecno navesti.

54. Za avtorsko delo, poslano za objavo v Varstvu spomenikov, vse moralne avtorske pravice pripadajo avtorju, materialne avtorske pravice reproduciranja in distribuiranja v Republiki Sloveniji in v drugih državah pa avtor brezplačno, enkrat za vselej, za vse primere, za neomejene naklade in za vse medije neizključno prenese na izdajatelja.

55. Avtorji so za objavo grafičnih prilog, za katere nimajo avtorskih pravic,

dolžni pridobiti dovoljenje in ga poslati na naslov uredništva.

56. Za vse trditve v prispevku odgovarja avtor sam, zato objavljamo le podpisane prispevke.

57. Ob izidu prejme vsak avtor članka in vsak recenzent en brezplačen izvod publikacije. Članki niso honorirani.

Instructions to authors for the drafting of articles in *Varstvo spomenikov*

PRESENTATION

1. *Varstvo spomenikov* is Slovenia's main academic and professional journal devoted to the theory and practice of monument protection. It is published by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia.
2. The journal first appeared in 1946, with one issue published a year up to 2010.
3. The journal is divided into two parts. The first (longer) part contains articles classified according to the COBISS (Co-operative Online Bibliographic System and Services) typology under codes 1.01 to 1.04, where 1.01 means original scientific article, 1.02 means review article, 1.03 means short scientific article and 1.04 means professional article. The articles published in this part of the journal are peer-reviewed and are counted as reference articles in domestic and foreign academic environments. The category of the article is proposed by the author but the final decision is taken by the editorial board on the basis of the reviewer's proposal.

The second (shorter) part, which follows the first, contains reviews (COBISS code 1.19), presentations (of books, projects, events, lectures, conferences, etc.), library information, etc. Articles published in this part of the journal are not subject to peer review. The first part of the journal is called *Razprave* [Papers] and the second *Predstavitve* [Presentations]

TYPE, LENGTH AND STRUCTURE OF ARTICLES

4. The individual issues of the journal are not as a rule thematically oriented. The journal publishes articles from various fields and disciplines (archaeology, ethnology, history of art, architecture, landscape architecture, conservation, restoration, geography, etc.) which follow the scholarly and professional interest of their authors in the protection, research and management of cultural heritage, international acts and national legislation, spatial planning and information technology in the monument protection field, Conservation studies, monument protection history and doctrine, etc.
5. Articles in the *Razprave* section are published in Slovene and English. As a rule translations are arranged by the editorial office.
6. Papers should not exceed 24 pages (30 lines, 64 characters per line) or 46,000 characters with spaces. Articles from the *Predstavitve* section should not exceed 5 pages (9,300 characters).
7. The contents of papers should follow this sequence: title, subtitle (where appropriate), abstract, keywords, text divided into individual chapters (including an introduction and conclusion), list of references and summary. The title and subtitle of the article should accurately but concisely indicate the essential content. As a rule, the most important concepts dealt with in the article should be indicated at the start of the title or subtitle. The maximum recommended length of titles is 140 characters. The abstract should be no more than 6–10 lines long (up to 650 characters). It must be self-explanatory and intelligible to someone who has not read the whole article; it should contain an outline of the methodology used and results obtained; whole sentences should be used and little-known abbreviations should be avoided. Abbreviations should be explained in Slovene at first use. If this is not possible, the abbreviation should be explained in the language in which it originates. Keywords should consist of 3–8 words indicating the content of the article; these should be simple expressions in the nominative singular case. The author should attempt to select keywords that are already in general use in the COBISS system. The UDC call number or classification shall be provided by the editorial office. The summary should be 30–45 lines long (maximum 1,900 characters). In it, the author shall define the purposes, main characteristics and methodology of the research work and the most important results and conclusions of the article. The text of the article must be clearly and intelligibly structured with titles of sections and subsections. A maximum of two levels of subsections (subsections and sub-subsections) are permitted. The author may also include a short acknowledgements section which will be published before the list of references.
8. In order to guarantee anonymity during the peer-review process, the

name(s) of the author(s) should only appear on a separate cover page. Titles and degrees should be included. Official abbreviations should be used for degrees but titles are not abbreviated. Female authors should use the female form of their title (e.g. *docentka*). The cover page should also state the address of the institution where the author is employed (or other appropriate address) and an e-mail address. If the article is the work of more than one author, the authors themselves shall determine the order in which their names appear. The cover page should not contain other information.

9. For book presentations and reviews (COBISS code 1.19) published in the second part of the journal, the author must first indicate the title of the article. This does not necessarily have to be the same as the title of the book or work which the author is presenting or reviewing but must relate to the content/review of the presented work or book and should be as brief and uncomplicated as possible. Following the title, the author must also indicate: the original title of the work, the name of the author(s), the name of the editor(s), the publisher and the year of publication, and the ISBN number.

FORMATTING AND LANGUAGE OF ARTICLES

10. Articles must be written in Microsoft Word format. Only one style should be used throughout the article – the default Normal style. This means that articles must have the following characteristics: line spacing: single; font: Times New Roman; font size: 12 pt; alignment: left; margins: 2.5 cm; A4 format. These rules change slightly in the case of illustrations and tables, where the font must be Arial and the font size must not be smaller than 10 pt. The pages of the article should be numbered in sequence and the page number should appear at the bottom of the page (centred).
11. The text of the article should use simple formatting. The use of indentations, hyphenation, underlining, shading or any other forms of formatting except the use of bold and italics is not permitted. The entire text should be lower-case (with the exception of initial capitals) and should contain no unnecessary abbreviations. If abbreviations cannot be avoided, the author should explain them at first use.
12. The author may include original expressions/terms alongside expressions translated into Slovene. The author should include the expression in brackets after the Slovene translation, following an abbreviation indicating the language of the original expression/term (e.g. Eng. for English, Ger. for German, Fr. for French, etc.) and then the expression/term in italics. The Slovene translation of the expression/term should be placed in inverted commas.
13. Do not use the automatic bullets and numbering functions in Microsoft Word to list items. Items in a list should be numbered or marked manually even though this means that the text will not be aligned vertically. The same applies to numbering the title, subtitle, sections, subsections, tables and figures. If numbers are not used to indicate the items in a list, dashes should be used instead.
14. Articles published in Slovene must be written in standard literary Slovene and observe the rules of Slovene usage as set out in *Slovenski pravopis* (2003, 2007).
15. The use of foreign words in articles written in Slovene is only permitted if a more suitable expression does not exist in Slovene.

TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

16. Tables in the article shall be referred to (in articles written in Slovene) by the expression *preglednica*. Tables are incorporated into the text of the article and must not extend beyond the 2.5-centimetre margin. Each table must be intelligible, clear and simple, without additional explanation or description. Tables should consist of rows and columns intersecting in cells. Cells should not be shaded. Tables must be numbered in sequence with Arabic numerals and must have titles. The title of the table should appear above the table. The number and title of the table should be separated by a colon. Titles of tables should be as short and simple as possible. The

title of a table should only end with a full stop if it is a full sentence. The author must cite the sources of the data in the table below the table. The sources used must be listed (in full) in the list of references at the end of the article.

17. The uniform designation 'Figure' shall be used for all types of illustration (photographs, maps, graphs, sketches, etc.). Figures must not be embedded in the text of the article. They must be numbered in sequence with Arabic numerals and must have titles. The number and title should be separated by a colon. Titles of figures should be as short and simple as possible. The author shall also include the source(s) of the illustration in the manner set out in these instructions for in-text citation of sources and references. In the case of original photographs and illustrations not taken from sources, the name of the photographer/illustrator shall be given after the title of the figure. The title of the figure shall only end with a full stop placed after the citation of sources (or the name of the photographer/illustrator) in the case of a full sentence.
18. If the author refers in the text to a figure (describes it, comments on it, etc.) it must be stated in the text what figure the author is referring to; if a figure complements the text of the article, the figure complementing the text must be indicated at the most appropriate point in the text. When referring to figures in the text, their numbers should be used, e.g. 'Fig. 1', 'as can be seen from Figure 1', 'as shown by Figure 1', etc.
19. If a figure consists of more than one image (e.g. a vertical and/or horizontal sequence of photographs, sketches, tables, etc.), each individual element of the figure must be visibly and clearly numbered. The caption to the figure must include the number of the individual element of the figure and the title/explanation of this element, in the manner indicated in the example below. Such a title shall end with a full stop.
20. If an illustration contains text (e.g. labels on sketches, legends on graphs, labels/textual indications of units on the X and Y axes of graphs, etc.), this text must be given in Slovene and English. Labels should be as simple and as short as possible (if labels or textual indications of units on the X and Y axes of graphs and elsewhere are long, it is better to label these units with numbers and explain the numbers in a legend).
21. The font used in all illustrations must be Arial and the font size must be no smaller than 10 pt. Single line spacing, left alignment and A4 format must be used.
22. Illustrations (with the exception of graphs) must be delivered as bitmap images with a resolution of at least 350 dpi (dots per inch), in JPEG (highest quality) or TIFF format. The width of an image at this resolution should be at least 14.8 cm. If authors are unable to submit illustrations in the prescribed form, they should consult the editor before submission.
23. Graphs must be in Microsoft Excel format.
24. Each illustration must be saved and submitted to the editorial office in its own file. The filename of an individual image file must have the following format: surname of (first) author, underscore, abbreviation 'sl', underscore, number of the figure in the text, e.g. **Fister_sl_1**.
25. The author should count the space that the illustration will occupy in the article as an amount of text, in other words 250 words (half a page) or 500 words (whole page).
26. Authors should be moderate in their use of illustrations in the article. They should only use those they consider necessary to aid understanding of the content of the article.

NUMBERS AND MEASUREMENTS

27. Metric measurements should be used. In the case of numbers greater than 9999, commas should be used to separate thousands and millions (for example 13,432 or 1,514,800). When giving the scale of a map, a space should be used either side of the colon (for example 1 : 500,000). Numbers and units are separated by a space (for example 135 m, but 23.5%), but a space is not used before superscripts or subscripts indicating powers or indices (for example 143 km², b₂, 17 °C). Symbols in mathematical operations are separated by spaces, except brackets (e.g. $p = a + c - b - (a + c : b)$).

ABBREVIATIONS

28. The Slovene versions of abbreviations and bibliographic references (ur.; idr.; isti.; ista; prav tam) shall be used in articles written in Slovene. The abbreviation 'prim.' (cf.) is used to draw attention to a view which differs from that of the author or from that of the author of another cited work.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

29. Bibliographic references shall be given in the text. Explanatory notes shall

be given as footnotes.

Footnotes containing additional text by the author shall be numbered consecutively from the beginning to the end of the text. Footnotes should not be too long.

30. Where the cited author is known, the bibliographic reference in the text should be as follows: (Zadnikar, 1982: 20–23) or, for example, 'Zadnikar (1982) states that...' Where a cited work has two authors, both are cited: (Buser, Cajhen, 1980) or, for example, 'Buser and Cajhen (1980) consider that...' In the case of works by several authors, only the surname of the first author is given, and the abbreviation et al. (meaning 'and others') is used for the other authors: (Benedetti et al., 2004) or 'Benedetti et al. (2004) believe that...' If there are six or fewer authors, all six are cited in the list of references at the end of the article, in the manner specified in these instructions. If there are more than six authors, the list of references at the end of the article cites the first six authors and adds the abbreviation et al. for the others, as specified in these instructions. If the article uses multiple sources with the same initial authors, all the authors up to and including the first different author must be cited in the text.
31. Works by one author published in the same year must be distinguished by the addition of lowercase letters (a, b, c, d, etc.) closed up to the year of publication e.g. '(Božič, 1992a, 1992b)' or 'Božič (1992a, 1992b) mentions that...' This is also how they must be cited in the list of references at the end of the article. Works by different authors all of which relate to the same content should be cited in alphabetical order of the author surname, separated by semicolons: (Fister, 1987; Stopar, 1990; Zadnikar, 1975). When citing two or more works by the same author, cite the author and the years of publication of these works in chronological order, separated by a comma: (Zadnikar, 1982, 1988). If the text contains consecutive references to the same work, the abbreviation *ibid.* is used in the second and all subsequent consecutive references in the same paragraph. If a work is still in the process of being published, use the wording 'in press' in brackets instead of the date of publication – this is also the way to cite the work in the list of references at the end of the article.
32. Quotations should be placed inside single inverted commas. The page on which the quotation appears in the work is indicated after a colon. A full stop is placed as final punctuation after the bracket containing the source of the quotation. If the text of the quotation in the cited work is on two or more pages, an unspaced dash is placed between the page numbers (Zadnikar, 1982: 36–37).
33. Longer quotations (over 40 words) should be placed in a separate paragraph and written in italics. A blank line should be left before and after this paragraph. In this case inverted commas are not used to mark the start and finish of the quotation. A full stop is placed as final punctuation after the bracket containing the source of the quotation.
34. In the case of quotations in which words/sections are omitted, omissions are indicated by an ellipsis in square brackets: [...]. This symbol is followed by a capital letter, unless only part of a sentence is omitted. If a capital letter does not appear at this point in the quoted work (e.g. because it is not the beginning of a sentence), the first letter is enclosed in square brackets.
35. In references to sources of which the author and editor are unknown, the name of the publisher (in articles in English the name of the publisher must in this case be translated into English) and the year of publication of the work are cited. For data published by the Statistics Office of the Republic of Slovenia, for example, the citation should be as follows: (Statistics Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2007). Abbreviations may also be used for sources, e.g. SURS for the Statistics Office of the Republic of Slovenia, but the name of the source must first be given in full in the text of the article, followed by an explanation that from this point on an abbreviation, which must be specified, will be used for this source. For the above example (Statistics Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2007), further references to it will use (SURS, 2007).
36. When citing laws in the text, the name of the law, the number of the Official Journal of the Republic of Slovenia and the year shall be given, where the abbreviation OJ RS shall be used for the Official Journal of the Republic of Slovenia, for example: (Cultural Heritage Protection Act, OJ RS, No 16/2008). When quoting directly from laws, the page number in the OJ RS is added.
37. If laws have official abbreviations, for example ZVKD-1, these may be used, but the name of the law must first be given in full in the text of the article, followed by an explanation that from this point on an abbreviation, which must be specified, will be used for this source.

LIST OF REFERENCES

38. All works (sources and references) cited in the article must be listed in alphabetical order at the end of the article in a section entitled References. The list of authors must not be numbered or otherwise labelled (with bullets, dashes, etc.). In the case of the citations shown below, the punctuation marks and font style (italic or regular) are given exactly as they must

be given by the author in his/her article.

Monographs and books (single author)

Fister, P. (1986): *Umetnost stavbarstva na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba.

Note: Author's surname name, Author's initial(s). (year of publication): *Title: Subtitle if any*. Place of publication, Publisher.

Monographs and books (three to six authors)

Pernet, L., Carlevaro, E., Tori, L., Vietti, G., Della Casa, P., and Schmid-Sikimić, B. (2006): *La necropoli di Giubiasco (TI): Vol. II, Les Tombes de La Tène finale et d'époque romaine*, Collectio archaeologica 4. Zurich, Swiss National Museum.

Note: If there are six or fewer authors, all authors are listed in the list of references. If there are more than six authors, the first six are given and then the abbreviation 'et al.'

Monographs and books (authors not known, editor known)

Dromgoole, S. (ed.) (2006): *Legal Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage: National Perspectives in Light of the UNESCO Convention 2001*. Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff.

Undergraduate theses, master's theses, doctoral dissertations, research reports

Uhač, M. (2003): *Brodolom na rtu Savudrija*. Undergraduate thesis. University of Zadar.

Verbič, T. (2008): *Poročilo o ogledu arheoloških izkopavanj na lokaciji NUK 2*. Research report. Ljubljana, Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, Območna enota Ljubljana.

Papers or chapters in monographs, books, encyclopaedias and proceedings of conferences, conventions, seminars, etc.

Dumont, A. (2000): *Etat d'un cours d'eau à la fin du 18e siècle : la visite de la rivière d'Ourthe (Belgique)*. In: Bonnamour, L. (ed.): *Archéologie des fleuves et des rivières*, 25–27. Paris, Éditions Errance.

Note: In the case of proceedings of conferences, conventions, seminars, etc., the author does not state the name of the conference, convention, seminar, etc. or where and when it took place. The title of the book, monograph or proceedings is given in italics.

Papers in monographs published in a series with its own title

Svetličič, V. (1997): *Drobne najdbe iz kovine, jantarja in roževine*. In: Horvat, J.: *Sermin*. Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae, 3, 31–38. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.

Note: the title of the book is followed by the title of the series and the number of the volume (if the collection is numbered). Numbering is always given in Arabic numerals even if Roman numerals are used in the book. The volume designation (*Band, Heft, Vol., No* etc.) before the number is also omitted.

Articles in periodicals

Delak Koželj, Z. (2008): *Programski model delovanja etnologa konservatorja. Varstvo spomenikov*, 44, 256–262.

Raban, A. (1992): *Archaeological Park for Divers at Sebastos and Other Submerged Remnants in Caesarea Maritima*. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 21(1), 27–35.

Note: the numeral 21 in 21(1) refers to the year of publication while the numeral 1 is the number of the issue in that year. If the publication does not have an issue number (for example a single annual publication), the author merely gives the number referring to the year of publication, but not in brackets. Names of publications must not be given in abbreviated form and must be given in italics.

Entries in encyclopaedias and lexicons

Slovenski biografski leksikon, s. v. 'Turner Pavel'.

Ulčar, M. (1995): *Enciklopedija orožja: Orožje skozi sedem tisočletij*. Ljubljana, Državna založba Slovenije, s. v. 'Enostrelne zadnjače'.

Note: when citing entries from well-known encyclopaedias and lexicons, only the title (in italics) and the edition (in the case of there being more than one) are given. It is not necessary to state the volume number or the place and year of publication. The title is followed by the abbreviation s.v. (from the Latin *sub verbo* meaning under the word or heading) and the cited entry in inverted commas. Italics are not used for the cited entry.

When citing information from a less well-known lexicon or encyclopaedia, the reference must of course include all the information given in the case of

monographic works.

Articles in daily newspapers

Petkovšek, J. (2009): *Potrebujemo zakon, ne le odlok*. *Delo*, 51(24), 30. 1. 2009, 9.

Laws

Protection of Cultural Heritage Act. OJ RS, No 16/2008. Ljubljana.

Publications of which the author and editor are unknown – for example statistical sources, encyclopaedias, atlases

Statistics Office of the Republic of Slovenia (2007): *Statistični letopis 2007*. Ljubljana.

Note: the publisher is given first, followed by the year of publication, the title of the work and the place of publication. In articles in English, the name of the publisher and the title of the work must be translated into English in this case.

Unpublished manuscripts and typescripts of which the date of writing is known

Plesničar–Gec, L. (2000): *Emonski teater*. Typescript.

Note: the name of the author of the manuscript/typescript is given first, followed by the date of writing, the title and an indication that it is a manuscript/typescript.

Unpublished manuscripts and typescripts of which the date of writing is not known

Snoj, D. (1999): *Poročilo o zaščitnih izkopavanjih na lokaciji NUK II*. Typescript (received 24. 1. 1999).

Note: the name of the author of the manuscript/typescript is given first, followed by the date (in this case the year that the author of the article received the source), the title, an indication that it is a manuscript/typescript, and in brackets are the exact date on which the work was received.

Interviews, conversations

Svetina, T. (1995): *Marijina kapelica na Mlinem pri Bledu* (personal source 25. 3. 1995).

Note: the reference consists of the name of the interviewee, the year of the interview and, as a title, the content of the interview. The exact date of the interview/conversation is given in brackets.

General remarks

- If a work is still in the process of being published, use the wording 'in press' in brackets instead of the year of publication – this is also the way to cite the work in the text.
- If there is more than one place of publication, the author must cite at least one of them.
- If the publisher is a university faculty or a department thereof, following the place of publication the name of the university must be given first, followed by the faculty and then the department if applicable.
- If there are two or more authors, the reference in the list of references at the end of the article always starts with the author cited (first) in the text.
- If the same author appears both as the sole author of a work and as the first author in a group of authors, the works of which he/she is sole author appear before the group works in the list of references; the latter are arranged alphabetically by the surname of the second author (or if necessary the third). If the same author appears several times, works are cited by year of publication – starting with the oldest.
- If the title of a cited work is in two or more languages, or if the entire article is in two or more languages, the author must add the titles of the work in the other language (or other languages) in square brackets after the title in the first language. If there are several of these titles, they must be separated by a slash (/) without spaces. If a bilingual or multilingual article in a publication is published in more than one place, the page numbers must be given for each separately, as shown in the example below:
Horvat, J. (2002): *The Hoard of Roman Republican Weapons from Grad near Šmihel [Zaklad rimskega republikanskega orožja z Gradu pri Šmihelu pod Nanosom]*. *Arheološki vestnik*, 53, 117–150 [150–192].
- Page numbers are separated by an unspaced dash; authors should be careful to use a dash (–) and not a hyphen (–).
- Every reference must end with a full stop.

39. When citing archive sources it is necessary to give the name of the archive

or an abbreviation thereof, the name of the collection and its call number, the number of the unit (folder or box) and the title and number of the cited document, all separated by commas. It is also a good idea to cite, where possible, details that appear on the cited archive material, for example the number and date of publication of a document.

Example of a reference to an archive source

Arhiv Republike Slovenije (ARS), Vicedomski urad za Kranjsko, AS 1, Box 1, Document 942.

40. Internet sources are cited as shown below. The reference should always end with the date of retrieval (the date on which the source was accessed on the web).

Example of a reference to an internet source where the author is known

Avramov, D. (2006): Social exclusion and social security. <http://www.avramov.org/documents/document7.pdf> (retrieved on 20. 2. 2008).

Example of a reference to an internet source where the author is not known

Internet 1: <http://www.international.icomos.org/charters.htm> (retrieved on 15. 9. 2008).

Note: in the first case the in-text citation will be: (Avramov, 2006); and in the second case (internet 1, 2...).

41. The list of references should only include works that are actually cited in the text of the article. Each item in these lists is concluded by a full stop.

REVIEW PROCEDURE, PROOFREADING AND COPYRIGHT

42. The editorial office accepts submissions of articles all year round. Authors must submit articles by post to the following address:

Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije
Varstvo spomenikov – Editorial office
Poljanska cesta 40
SI-1000 Ljubljana

43. Illustrations must be saved in their final form in a folder which is separate from the text of the article. Do not send material by e-mail but write it onto a CD. Enclose a hard copy of all the files with the CD.

44. The editorial board reserves the right not to accept for review articles that are not fully drafted in accordance with the instructions for publication in *Varstvo spomenikov*.

45. The editorial board reserves the right not to accept for review articles that are not written in standard literary Slovene.

46. The author will be informed of the results of the peer-review process within a maximum of three months of submission of the article. If the reviewer proposes changes or improvements, the article is returned to the (first-named) author. Corrections and changes may at the same time be proposed by the editorial board. The author shall incorporate the changes proposed by the reviewer and/or editor and return the corrected text within five days. The corrections and changes are checked by an editor. Only those corrections and changes requested by the reviewer and/or editor are permitted.

47. If the review does not require the article to be corrected or supplemented, the review is not sent to the author. In this case the editorial board merely sends the (first) author a notification that the article will be published.

48. The decision on the classification of published articles within the typology of document/works in the COBISS bibliographic system is made by the reviewer. The correctness of the reviewer's decision is checked by the editor. If the editor does not agree with the reviewer's classification, the editor and reviewer decide on the classification together. The decision on the classification of unreviewed articles within the COBISS typology is made by the editor.

49. Before publication all articles written and submitted in Slovene are copy-edited. The copy-edited text is only sent to the author for amendment if the copy editor proposes major corrections or inserts his own comments in relation to substantive content. In such cases the author corrects or improves the text in accordance with the copy editor's comments and returns the corrected text within three days.

50. Translation is done following the peer-review procedure or following incorporation of any corrections proposed by the reviewer and/or editor and a review of any major corrections proposed by the copy editor or comments by the copy editor.

In order to ensure that the translation is flawless, the translated article is checked before publication by a native speaker of English. If minor corrections are proposed, the translation is not returned to the author but corrections are made by the editorial board on the basis of the proposals of the native speaker. If it is found that the translation is linguistically problematic, the editorial board will arrange professional copy editing. The author will return the copy-edited text of the translation within five days. The amended text of the translation is checked once again. The article is published once it has been confirmed that the translation corresponds to the rules of English usage and the rules contained in these instructions.

51. Foreign authors will make arrangements with the editor for the translation of articles from English to Slovene. The article must be submitted in flawless English. Such articles will also be checked by a native speaker of English.

52. The editorial board may refuse to publish an article at the proposal of an editor or reviewer.

53. Only unpublished articles will be accepted. If the same article is already in the process of publication in another journal, the author must state this explicitly.

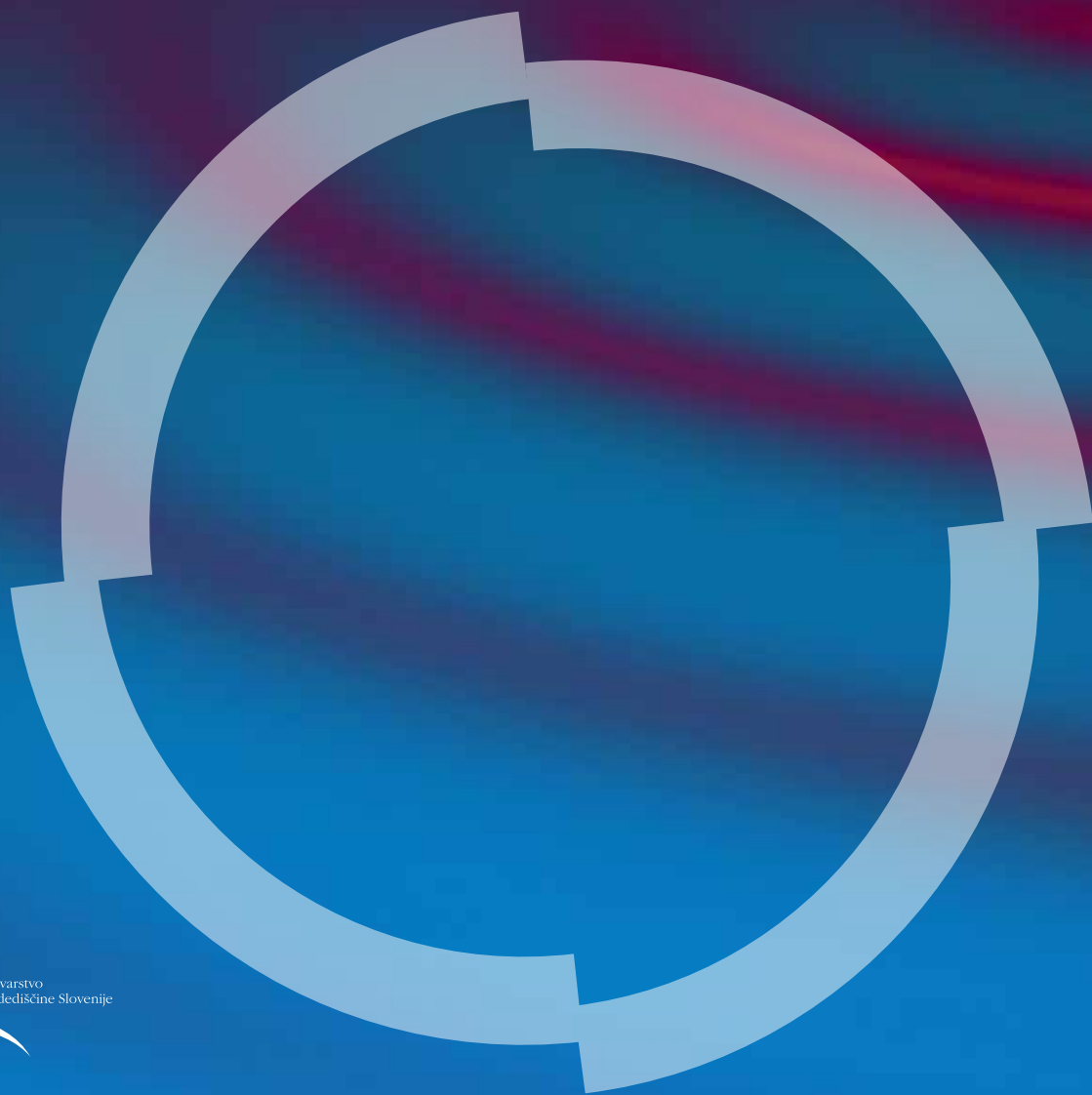
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55. Authors are required to obtain permission to publish illustrations over which they do not hold copyright and to forward said permission to the editorial board.

56. The author himself/herself is responsible for all claims made in an article, which is why we only publish signed articles.

57. On publication, every article author and every reviewer receives one free copy of the publication. Fees are not paid for articles.

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