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stone narratives

heritage, mobility, performance

Edited by Katja Hrobat Virloget, Irena Weber
• Daša Fabjan, Andrej Preložnik

KAMEN MOST

STONE NARRATIVES

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Stone narratives
Heritage, mobility, performance
Introduction

Katja Hrobat Virloget, Irena Weber

The monograph is one of the deliverables of the Kamen-Most Project (Stone-Bridge) carried out within the framework of the European territorial collaboration Slovenia–Croatia 2007-2013. The aim of the project has been to help preserve and promote the stone heritage, the traditional knowledge of the exploitation and use of stone, the construction and restoration techniques of dry walls and other similar constructions in the area of Karst, Istria and Kvarner.

Some of the articles are extended discourse studies derived from a selection of papers presented at the international conference *Stone & Story (Slovenian: Kamen pripoveduje, Croatian: Kamen priča),* held on 27 and 28 September 2014 in the Encuentros Centre of the University of Primorska, Faculty of Tourism Studies in Portorož-Portorose. Besides the authors of the conference papers, other experts have also been invited to contribute their reflections on the meaning and use of stone.

The objective of the monograph is to combine diverse stone narratives from different geographical regions, though the predominant geographical focus stems directly from the abovementioned research project. Thus in addition to the examples from Slovenia and Croatia, the narratives include comparative analyses from Great Britain, Romania, Brazil, Hawaii, the Caribbean and the United States of America. As part of cultural traditions, stones are considered within the conceptual framework of contemporary understanding of heritage, constructed, contested, commodified. The mobility concept on the one hand pertains to the ability of stones to move and be moved (by natural forces, animals and humans). On the other hand, it refers to the historical and contemporary mobility of travellers and tourists engaged in natural and cultural tourism. The stone worlds hold the potential of sublime experiences, whether in the from of the ancient monuments or »natural« awe-inspiring stony landscapes. One such landscape is described by Petra Kavrečič discussing the 19th century travellers to three caves in present day Slovenia, *Vilenica Cave, Škocjan Caves,* and the best known among contemporary tourists, *Postojna Cave.* Drawing on historical documents, travelogues and diaries, she looks into the perceptions and motivations of travellers in order to critically analyse the potentials of cave tourism.

In addition to the sublime stone world, at the other side of the scale there are playful performances of tourists collecting pebbles, stacking the rocks, designing the paths by lining the stones, throwing stones in rivers or wishing wells. They sit under the rock and they walk under it. One such example is presented in article by Irena Weber who discusses a biography of a particular rock that was imagined as a concept in the late 1960s and realized as an art sculpture at Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Belonging to the tradition of American Land art, the rock embodies several strands of temporality, geological time, historical time, personal time and kairic potential of cultural tourism.

Other papers discussed the stone in the broader aspects of its public interpretations and its various meanings from former to contemporary times. The various perceptions of stone from past to contemporary times are discussed by four ethnologists and cultural anthropologists. In the paper »Interpretations of stone in the Karst yesterday, today and tomorrow« Jasna Fakin Bajec analyses the various roles and meanings of stone from the past to nowadays in the region of Karst, which were changing in dependence to the processes of identity constructions (political, national, regional etc.): from the stone as the main building material through the symbol of poverty to today's symbol of the regional identity. Stone as a building material of fireplaces is the base of the paper »Fireplaces in the Vipava Valley« of Špela Ledinek Lozej. The author discusses the form, structure, meanings, and changes of fireplaces, which present different socially produced and constructed metaphors, among them the fireplace as a foundation of the household, and the fireplace as a metaphor of home and homeliness. The other two papers analyse the past perceptions of stone which were not bounded by the sharp divide between the inanimate and animate. In the article »Planting, growing and breeding stones« Bojan Baskar has collected some evidence of belief that stones grow, which can be traced to the ethnographic material from almost all continents but mostly in Europe. Before it was pushed aside by the modern science, this belief also influenced the Early Modern researchers in Europe. The paper with the title »Mythical Tradition in the Stone. The Snooty Babas as elements of rites of passage and social control« written by Katja Hrobat Virloget can be seen as a kind of upgrade of the previous research showing how the stones called *Babas* (Hags) were traditionally perceived as animate beings. Beside the idea that the form of the object can be life giving, she analyses the role of the folklore of these stones in the mythical tradition, the social and territorial rituals of passage and its role in the social control of children's movement in the home landscape.

In the field of heritage interpretation Nigel T. W. Mills in his article »Public Presentation of Stone Monuments« describes some opportunities and challenges in this field, focusing on his personal experiences as heritage interpreter and on the two examples of good practices which are Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework and Roman Frontier Gallery at Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle. In the frame of stone interpretation Boštjan Žvanut and Maja Frencl in the paper »Versatility of mosaics: psychological, sociological, aesthetic and organizational aspects« discuss the mosaic construction in the past and in the present with its role in the contemporary society - as a teambuilding tool, children's game, as an activation tool for citizens and institutions in the creation of the environment and as a tool in the human psychology.

The various approaches to stone in this monograph reflect the rich and various narratives of stone, which transcends the role of being solely building material. Stone has been perceived as a growing and animate being, the base for different social metaphors, an element of heritage, art performance and touristic attraction, an identifying (and non-identifying) element with different social and psychological roles, the piece of art.

Interpretations of stone in the Karst yesterday, today and tomorrow

Jasna Fakin Bajec

Introduction

The cultural landscape of the Karst, a limestone plateau in western Slovenia, is defined by numerous natural elements and processes (e.g., areas without water, underground water, commons, caves, the strong north-eastern wind *(burja)*, etc.). Especially stone elements and structures (e.g. dry stone fences, shepherds' cottages, dwellings made of stone, architectural details) have, owing to human creativity, become characteristic of the Karst and still give the Karst landscape a significant character. The importance of stone in the Karst area is indicated already in the classical name of the landscape; *Carasudus, Mons Carasad* or *Karusad, Carsus* and similar forms from Proto-Indo-European all derive from the lexical root 'ka(r)a/gara', which means 'stone' (Kranjc, 1994, p. 131). Stone has deeply marked the lifestyle of people in the Karst, as in the past, they lived in constant coexistence with nature by using, adapting and exploiting natural resources for their survival. Bare stone landscape forced the Karst people to adjust greatly to natural resources and be innovative in order to build a life in what would today be considered difficult living conditions. All this has created a particular landscape image, which has changed and adapted to global socio-political and cultural processes, climatic changes, and local cultural characteristics.

According to the European Landscape Convention, which defines the landscape as »a joint action of natural processes and human activities« (Bratina Jurkovič, 2008, p. 1), it is important to devote more social attention, protection, management and planning to the landscape, because intense socioeconomic globalisation processes have caused unification of landscapes and loss of landscape values and qualities. According to the European Landscape Convention, the landscape plays an important role in the fields of culture, ecology, environment and society. The landscape is a key element of landscape heritage, which by definition includes »special, distinguishable areas of the Earth's surface, whose characteristics and spatial arrangements are a result of action and mutual interaction of natural and human factors« (Internet source I). Besides, the landscape represents an important source of development of competitive economy, especially development of tourism and recreation. Moreover, as a physical entity with discernible material and non-material elements,

the landscape contributes to shaping, strengthening and introducing local, national and wider European identities.

From the anthropological point of view, the landscape is considered a social practice, or rather a result of historical activities which shape human experiences. Landscapes reflect social relations (e.g., the relationship between the Karst people and non-autochthonous inhabitants who have created their second home in the Karst), which shape the landscape image in the consciousness of the society. Certain individuals or groups are influential enough to define meanings embodied by physical, natural and human elements of the landscape by making their cultural truths universal through traditions, texts, monuments, pictures, and landscapes (Grahem et al., 2000, p. 31). Consequently, landscapes are considered cultural constructs with symbolic meanings which people use to better personify, understand and conceptualize landscapes. A symbolic or iconographic approach to the landscape clearly shows that the policy of presentation and interpretation depends on the power of certain involved actors, such as politicians, the media, tourists, experts, and economists. A representative example of the changing of the Karst landscape which depended on the political power was afforestation of the Karst in the 19th century. According to the state authorities and experts of the time, the Karst wasteland depreciated the former landscape that once boasted oak forests, and as such needed to be afforested with black pine trees (Marušič, 1999, p. 1).

This paper deals with the issue of stone as a significant identification element in the representation of the Karst. It presents different meanings of stone for the Karst and focuses on how the attitude of the local population, experts, political authorities and economists to stone and stone products was changing over a period of time and how this attitude was reflected in everyday life. Today, stone is not merely a basic building material for constructing residential dwellings; moreover, in the discourse of strengthening the Karst identity after the independence of Slovenia and confronting globalisation, stone has also become a principal identification symbol. There is not a single inhabitant of the Karst who would not answer stone, if asked what the Karst is characterised by. In the 1970s and the 1980s, however, this was not the case because people did not pay much attention to stone.

Attitude to and importance of stone in the Karst before World War II

Before World War II, stone in the Karst was a basic building material for constructing residential and commercial buildings, and dry stone fences (*ograde*), which separated properties of different owners and protected the soil from the *burja* wind. Some villagers earned their daily income from quarrying and working with stone in stonemason's workshops. There was hardly a family whose member was not employed in the quarry, either in the large quarries in Aurisina, Kopriva, Gabrovica, and Škrbina, or in the smaller ones (the so-called *jave*), which were intended for use in small-scale stonemasonry. There were plenty of master stonemasons, who made skilled products from stone, such as stone stairs, window frames (*jerte*), stone corbels (*konzole*) supporting the balcony (*ganjk*), the upper, visible part of the well – the stone rim (*šapa*), stone portals of the Karst courtyards (*kalune*), tables, vessels for storing dried meat products, etc. Limestone was calcined in lime kilns (*frnaže*) in order to produce lime, which was used to limewash residential and commercial

premises and spray vines in vineyards. In order to heat lime kilns, the Karst people cleaned up the commons, which are today mostly overgrown. An important element of stone heritage of the Karst are domed shepherd's cottages, in particular their skilful construction, because, like dry stone walls, they were built of stone without a binder. These cottages were simple provisional shelters for bad weather conditions on the pasture. According to the ethnologist Eda Belingar, the construction style of shepherd's cottages influenced the development of dwelling forms, in particular the construction style of using shaped, evenly placed stones, which gave the Karst house an ascetic look (Belingar, 2007, p. 5). Used in a specific way of wall construction, stone as a building material was a particularly good temperature regulator because, unlike a cement wall, a stone wall breathed and maintained the temperature better. In the times of manual labour, quarrying was a very tough and difficult work; therefore, people, especially stonemasons, quarrymen and stone-builders, who worked with it daily, established a special emotional connection with stone (for more information, see Renčelj, 2007, Kernel, 2003).

In the period before World War II, geographical features of the Karst landscape, in particular stone areas, marked the identity of the Karst people, which began to develop in the relations with the people of Trieste, where the Karst people went mainly for economic reasons. For the Karst farmers, Trieste was the first major urban centre, where they learnt about innovative ideas and other cultures. After 1719, more and more people from near and far Austrian places and provinces came to Trieste. Initially, they named themselves after

Figure 1: Kopriva, Quarry Kremenjak in the 1950s (The photo is property of Sonja Peroci, Kopriva).

places (e.g. Vipava), regions (e.g. the people of Karst, Istria, Friuli), or provinces (the Gorizia/Gorica identity) of their origin; however, after the first nationalist movements in the pre-March period, especially in the second half of the 19th century, people started to refer

to themselves as members of nations – Slovenians, Croatians, Italians, Germans, etc. The newspapers of the time defined the regional Karst identity through geographical features. In 1867, the newspaper *Domovina* wrote: »The Karst person is truly a man; your will and character is as strong as your Karst stone« (*Domovina*, 19 January 1867, paper 3, p. 1).

After World War II, stone becomes a symbol of poverty and backwardness

After World War II, as the Karst region got acquainted with new construction materials and techniques and technologically more developed stone processing machinery, and experienced socio-political and economic changes, stone started to lose its value. One of the indicators of this phenomenon was a general closing down of many quarries, which had until the 1960s provided a regular income for many people although they had to go through great pains to earn it. There were still twelve quarries in the Karst in 1960; fifteen years later, however, only the Lipica quarry remained (Guzej-Sabatin, 1988, p. 4). With the closing down of the quarries, experts, too, started to leave the region. Stonemason's products began to lose their former functional and aesthetic importance, which was reflected in the fact that these products were abandoned, destroyed, thrown away, built into the walls of new apartments or exhibited in museums.

What contributed to the changed attitude to and importance of stone after World War II was wider modernist influences, associated with industrialisation, which formed the grounds for a socialist ideology,[1] as well as local social and cultural circumstances in the Karst. New social values of the modern period, based on freedom, reason, and industrial and technological progress, were also reflected in the awareness of history and the perception of time. According to the English sociologist Kristian Kumar, modernity meant a complete separation from the past. Modernity no longer promoted learning from experiences of the former generations, as had been the case in the pre-modern period; instead, it favoured showing only social and historic achievements of a nation (Kumar, 1995, p. 79–80). Through consolidating centralized states and creating nationalistic programmes, remnants of the past became identification elements of defining, interpreting and presenting the national Yugoslavian identity. Following the industrial development and technological progress, economy and consequently the lifestyle changed; the countryside put industry above the farmer's culture. As the old farmhouse did not allow a decent life anymore and because the financial status of the household had improved, there was a tendency of building new, more spacious, lighter and warmer houses made of new materials and equipped with visual decorations. In the countryside, objects from the past lifestyle which symbolised manual peasant labour were destroyed or became museum exhibits and elements showing the collective identity and its development. People started to lead a new, different, more modern style of life.

1 The historian Peter Vodopivec explains that the impact of the Industrial Revolution in Slovenia was in fact visible already in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century; however, in 1941, when World War II began on the Yugoslavian territory, the Slovenian society and economy, despite the rapid development process in the first Yugoslavia, did not yet have a truly modern middle-class industrial image (Vodopivec, 2006, p. 363). Although a large part of the income was earned from manufacturing, industrial and other non-agricultural activities, the majority of the population earned a living from agriculture. The Hungarian philosopher G. M. Tamás similarly explains that all modernization attempts in the eastern Europe »failed miserably« and that »only revolutionary socialism was up to this enormous task« (Tamás, 1997, p. 205).

Due to wider socio-political changes, brought about by self-governing socialism, and the introduction of new architectural modernist styles, stone became a symbol of poverty for the Karst people, reminding them of the past, in particular of the period of fascist dictatorship, when due to high taxes they could not afford to renovate the existing buildings, let alone build new residential or commercial buildings. The first decade after World War II brought more poverty and other reasons for difficult times. Besides the necessary renovation of buildings that had been demolished during the War, a new state border was established which separated the Slovenian Karst from Trieste, where the farmers from the Karst went to sell their agricultural surpluses to get additional earnings. The industry in the area was not sufficiently developed to enable a decent life. When the borders opened in 1955, some people tried to save their economic position by selling architectural stone objects to Italians, particularly to the inhabitants of Trieste, whose attitude to stone products was different from that of the locals. An elderly man from Volčji Grad, a small village in the Karst of Komen, which used to be known for its stonemasonry, described the attitude to stone:

> *Nothing was appreciated. That was old, the modern has come. I remember so many times – and I feel bad – all those stone-framed windows, we threw them all out, broke them up and used the stone to build walls. Just so that the house would be finished as soon as possible.*[2]

An elderly man from the village of Kobdilj justified the negative attitude to stone on the basis of the introduction of new, mostly cheaper building materials, in particular concrete and steel – symbols of modernisation. A question arises as to why the residents of Trieste and its surroundings, mostly middle-class people, valued stone and stone products insomuch that they bought them, while the inhabitants of the Karst did not cherish any valuable family memory, sold stone products and were often even tricked in doing so, because they sold the products below the price. The answer lies in the (lack of) education and sophistication of the locals, who did not consider elements from the past as a historic memory which would be important for the future identification of the community. Due to the fascist dictatorship in the Primorska region, educated people fled to the interior of Slovenia or abroad, and did not return after the annexation of the region. The peasant class and the middle class, which similarly evolved from the lower, peasant stratum, were not aware of the importance of the material past; without thinking, they would often act in accordance with the values and actions of the political discourse in order to industrialize and urbanize the countryside as soon as possible and strengthen the broader Yugoslavian identity.

The reasons why stone and stone products lost their value can also be found in the socially weak and small-numbered professional staff, whose task was, apart from preserving and evaluating elements of the past also educating and raising awareness among people. The tasks of museum documentation and research of the history and lifestyle in the Karst were performed by the Gorica Museum, founded in 1952, which covered the Gorica region, the northern Primorska, the Upper Vipava Valley and part of the Karst. Due to a small number of experts,[3] who had to cover an extensive area of four municipalities,[4] their research work among the Karst people was not persuasive enough to stimulate interest and a positive attitude in the people to the remnants of the past. In the times of Yugoslavia, the eth-

2 From an interview with a retired farmer born in 1929 (August 2005).

3 An ethnology graduate was only employed in 1972, because the museum failed to find one before.

4 The municipalities of Nova Gorica, Tolmin, Ajdovščina, and Sežana.

nologist and curator of the Gorica Museum, Naško Križnar[5], performed the most comprehensive research of the material culture of the Karst in the late 1970s, which was rounded off with an exhibition in Sežana. At the initiative of the director of the Gorica Museum, Branko Marušič, local inhabitants could also sell stone products to the museum in organised actions of collecting old materials, so that the museum could acquire as many discarded objects as possible. Stone materials were later incorporated into the Kromberk Castle, which is now a museum. Nevertheless, according to Križnar, the Karst people preferred to sell stone products to Italian buyers as they were willing to pay more than the museum. The regional institute of the Protection of Monuments from Ljubljana was established in Nova Gorica in 1961 (Hazler, 1999, p. 68); its purpose was not so much educating the public, but rather recording, researching and protecting artistic and only later other historical, ethnological, and cultural monuments. Moreover, due to conservation guidelines for renovation of protected areas (e.g. the village of Štanjel), houses or architectural details, which observed the strict protection of the original state, experts often had disagreements with the owners of the buildings. At that time, institutions paid more attention to the history of the National Liberation Struggle (NOB); exhibitions were organized, books[6] were written, and more funds were provided for the restoration and protection of buildings and other things associated with the NOB. According to Hazler, folk architecture was more of a »hobby« for the then leading conservators and experts in the field of the protection of monuments (Hazler, 1999, pp. 56, 64); state money was given to the reconstruction of partisan hospitals, workshops, bunkers, and illegal printshops.[7] The Karst architect Ljubo Lah similarly explained that the general opinion seemed to be that only peculiar people, »antique-lovers«, would occupy themselves with renovation of old houses, and only exceptionally various institutes for the protection of culture heritage, interested in the cultural value of still well-preserved built monuments (Lah, 1994). Interestingly, Slovenian experts only began to raise public awareness about the importance of preserving natural and cultural features of the Karst landscape when this was suggested by experts from abroad. Zofija Klemen Krek, who was the Director and Secretary General of the Slovenian National Commission for UNESCO in the late 1990s, emphasized in two round-table discussions[8] in the Karst that national experts had failed to include the natural and cultural landscape of the Karst in their list of suggestions for the parts of the Slovenian landscape that should be included in the World List of Natural and Cultural Heritage. An expert of world renown had to come to Slovenia to stress that the Classical Karst of Slovenia is worldly considered the

5 Naško Križnar was employed at the Gorica Museum from 1972 to 1983.

6 See Makuc, Marušič, *Domoznanske publikacije o Primorski* [Publications of Local Studies on Primorska], 2005. Works of cultural and social history were published in great numbers only among the Slovenian minority in the Italian part of the Karst, which is partially connected with the attitude of the minority to the Slovenian national identity.

7 Evaluation of cultural NOB monuments sometimes exceeded the firm professional evaluation framework as accepted by the profession of the protection of monuments; however, for the sake of »peace of mind« and due to influential »prominent male and female revolutionaries«, the service for the protection of monuments often allowed a relatively low level of standards (Hazler, 1999, p. 65).

8 The round-table discussion from 1995 »*Ženska in njena vloga pri varovanju naravne in kulturne dediščine Krasa*« [Women and their role in protecting natural and cultural heritage of the Karst] and the round-table discussion from 1998 »*Zakaj izgineva avtentična kraška arhitektura*« [Why the authentic Karst architecture is disappearing]. Both meetings were organized by the *Kras* magazine and sponsors.

cradle of karstology, the study of karst formations, and as such without a doubt belongs to the List of World Natural and Cultural Heritage (Klemen Krek, 1999, p. 32; see also 1995, p. 56). Only then did the experts revise their proposal and added the Karst with its cultural landscape and all architectural and other monuments to the list of suggestions.

It has to be pointed out that mostly older generations, who lived in old farmhouses as children and youngsters, adopted a negative attitude to stone objects and stone architecture. The elderly man from Volčji Grad explained that the development after World War II was very fast and that new and more beautiful houses were built, which also the elderly wanted to live in. Stone was no longer valued.

The first important turning point in the re-evaluation of stone occurred in the 1980s. Already in the 1970s, the project office of the construction company Kraški zidar stood up for the so-called Karst building style in the Karst, that is:

> *a new Karst building tendency, not the old one. The project expressed a wish for the use of stone, but it was not mandatory to use it.* [...] *However, everyone who wanted a new wall, even those who were wealthy enough to build a stone wall, built one of concrete, because it was more modern at that time. This distinct renewed use of stone in the Karst may be ten years old or even younger.*[9]

Another man from Komen[10] explained that until the 1980s, stone walls were only built by those who had the knowledge of building and did not have enough money for a concrete wall, and not because people saw beauty in a stone wall or wanted to preserve the Karst culture.

According to the local newspaper *Primorske novice*, which reflected social and societal circumstances in the Primorska region of that period, interest in stone began to grow in the 1980s, when also the company of the Karst marble industry Marmor Sežana recorded an increased demand for its products. Consequently, in 1980, the company wanted to restore the reputation that the oldest activity of quarrying and stonemasonry in the Karst once had. The company established a business community of the Slovenian stone activity. Its main tasks were geological research and education of staff for this industry. It also organized stonemasonry workshops in primary schools, which must have been fruitful, as many students continued their studies in Ljubljana; curiously, fifteen years ago there was not a single local apprentice to be found (Guzej-Sabatin, 1988, p. 4). In the 1980s, also experts became aware of the value of stone elements and the importance of preserving characteristic Karst architecture, which was partly a result of the contribution of conventions and declarations of world organisations, such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe. In 1984, the Association of Conservators of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, sponsored by the Municipality of Sežana, organized the conference *Zaton kraške arhitekture* [Decline of the Karst Architecture], where lecturers from various professions, such as architecture, ethnology and art history, each from their own perspective highlighted the state of stone architecture in the Karst and spoke about how it could be protected, restored and brought back to life. Architecture as a fundamental feature of the social and landscape image of the Karst was a prevailing issue of the conference. In the introduction, Marjan Slabe wrote that:

9 From an interview with a retired engineer from Komen born in 1942 (August 22, 2008).

10 From an interview with a retired locksmith born in 1952 (January 8, 2008).

the time of great and [...] *arrogant complacency destroyed a considerable amount of our historical heritage, most often disguised in catchwords that it is not modern, that it is unworthy of a modern man, that it is not ahead of time, that it is obsolete. Unfortunately, this often happened as a result of inadequate consideration of a proper perception of human progress or our revival after the independence* (Slabe, 1987, p. 9).

This unplanned and uncontrollable modernisation, as described by Nace Šumi, an architect and participant of the conference, was the one to cause a distorted, unsophisticated and professionally unfounded perspective of both project planners, that is architects and engineers, and administration workers, responsible for space planning and renovation and adaptation of the housing stock (Šumi, 1987, p. 50). In the late 1970s, the locals came to realize that stone products were valuable, which the ethnologist Naško Križnar confirmed, explaining:

I noticed already during my research that some people would never for the life of them sell anything from the house, not a single thing. Even if it just lay there; they would not sell it.[11]

Figure 2: Kobjeglava, part of stone window frame incorporated into a house wall (Photo: Jasna Fakin Bajec, 2004).

11 Born in 1941; interview from November 19, 2008.

After the independence of Slovenia, stone becomes an important symbol of the Karst identity

Interest in the profession of a stonemason and in stone products increased in the 1990s as a consequence of various political and cultural factors. Formation of a new Slovenian state and an independent political nation demanded a change in the definition of the Slovenian identity. In the period after the declaration of independence, unlike in the previous historic periods, it became important to consolidate the confidence in the state, its actions, as well as the trust, and ability to gain recognition in the international community. A process of reconstruction, consolidation and expression of national identity began and a search for new symbols which the state could identify its independence with followed. At the same time, Slovenia was more intensely confronted with globalisation, which was characterised with two contradictory processes: the first one was expansion of the market and its growing deterritorialization, universalization, and cultural globalization; the second one was related to the first one in an existential sense of the loss of identity or a sense of alienation and loss of human personality. This lead to a new global phenomenon, the so-called re-localization, which meant that people began to identify themselves with local features connected with geographical characteristics, historical events, local customs and habits, and similar things. Besides, Slovenia was also more intensely facing postmodernist characteristics of remembering or rather remaking (recreating) the past in order to enrich the present. An approach to the present through the stereotyped past gave the present reality a historic charm and glare. Interest in the past and the creation of heritage derived also from the fact that the Slovenian economic market was confronted with the features of the new, post-industrial society, characterised by commodification of cultural creations, particularly for the heritage industry.

Stone as an important identification and market element of the Karst started to be appreciated in the 1980s by experts as well as the Karst politicians, in particular members of the Slovenian People's Party (SLS), which in 1996 gave considerable thought to founding a stonemasonry trade school. They thought that the stonemasonry school in Ljubljana »had little to do with the noble and once internationally renowned history of stonemasonry« (*Primorske novice*, 19 November 1996, no. 90, p. 8). The way to the implementation of the idea was long because it first had to work out in the minds of the public and the politicians. Initially, many people had doubts as to whether the young and the wider public were even interested in the stonemason's profession. However, under constant pressure from the local political authorities, the idea of a stonemasonry trade school was finally realized and the Higher Vocational College was established within the Srečko Kosovel School Centre Sežana (founded in 2004). The Higher Vocational College launched two study programmes in 2008, namely Designing Materials (stone, metal polymers) and Photography. There were a lot of other activities in the Karst whose aim was to stimulate a renewed appreciation of stone among the people of the Karst. Besides stonemasonry extracurricular activities, primary schools also organised research projects; for example, in the school-year 1993/94, the Primary School of Komen set up the project *Kamnita dediščina v mojem kraju* [Stone heritage in my town], in which architectural stonemasonry products of the Karst were recorded, documented, photographed, and described. There were many publications (see Pertot, 1994, 1997; Renčelj, 2002; Renčelj & Lah, 2004) and exhibitions; especially

worth mentioning was the exhibition *Dediščina stavbarstva Primorske in Krasa* [Architecture heritage of Primorska and the Karst] in the Construction Centre of Slovenia in Ljubljana in 1988, which focused on the characteristics of the Karst architecture (Uršič, 1998, p. 15). The exhibition displayed different rocks, a genuine dry stone wall (a wall constructed from stones without any mortar to bind them together), a village well, and three Karst houses (a thatched one, one covered with slates, and one covered with brick roof tiles). The exhibited houses also had stone window and door frames, stone gutters, typical Karst chimneys, and the *spahnjenica* (a stone recess on the external wall with a fireplace on the inside). Stonemasons from the Karst exhibited their stone products. The organiser of the exhibition, Iva Šubelj Kramar, was aware that stone products were expensive at that time; therefore, in the third part, besides wooden products (window frames and shutters), the exhibition displayed potential substitutes – stone product imitations made of concrete (*Primorske novice*, 3 February 1998, no. 9, p. 11). Between 2003 and 2004, for the purpose of the Higher Vocational School for cutting, designing and preserving of stone, the Municipality of Sežana, with the help of EU funds from the PHARE programme, carried out the project *Porton – središče za obdelavo, oblikovanje in ohranjanje kamna* [Portal – centre for cutting, designing and preserving of stone]. Its principal goal was to restore the position and the reputation that »the Karst stonemasonry once had and still deserves concerning the natural resources of the Karst landscape and the tradition of this activity« (*Kras*, February 2004, no. 63, pp. 26–27).

Another important social factor has to be stressed with regard to the renewed appreciation of stone in the Karst, that is the growing number of people from other parts of Slovenia, in particular from the central Slovenia, who came to the Karst to build a second home there and adjusted it to the old Karst architectural style. Not until recently did the people of the Karst want to admit that it was these newcomers – who settled in the Karst villages in weekend houses (second homes) or in old homesteads that they either bought or inherited and started renovating them in the regional/local architectural style – that revived the awareness of preservation, appreciation and restoration of old architectural elements. Today, the locals admit that this was the case, and explain that the newcomers were first laughed at, but later on, the locals also realized that *it was not so bad. [...] And then we also started looking for stone.*[12] However, an interviewed man from Komen explains that:

> *People from Ljubljana* [...] *came to the Karst with somewhat different desires.* [...] *Many of them were educated and saw in this old Karst architecture something which we locals did not see. Besides, they renovated these homesteads in order to use them as weekend houses and not to live there the whole year long.* [...] *That means that they had different criteria from those who would live there also in winter and windy days. They had some wish or other to maintain the past, but they also brought new elements with them that we did not know in the Karst before. But I see all this in a negative way, because they were not, they still are not ready to live in these renovated houses permanently, not them, nor their descendants.*[13]

Non-autochthonous inhabitants thus experienced the characteristics of the Karst architectural heritage as aesthetic. Buying and renovating an old house in the countryside, usually outside the urbanised environment, and spending their weekends and holidays

12 From an interview with an economist from Volčji Grad born in 1969 (January 27, 2006).

13 From an interview with a retired engineer from Komen born in 1942 (August 22, 2008).

there awoke in them nostalgic reminiscences of the past (childhood memories), longing for »the good old days«, or enjoying their stay in a relatively unspoiled nature close to the sea, in this »countryside idyll« (see Poljak Istenič, 2008, p. 357). On the other hand, the locals saw the characteristics of the architectural style from the period before World War II, such as small windows, dark rooms, and access to the upper floors from the outside, as non-functional with regard to the modern lifestyle; besides, it reminded them of the time of poverty, which the Karst struggled with up until the 1970s. The social structure of the newcomers influenced the re-evaluation of the Karst architectural peculiarities, because in the beginning, the newcomers were mostly people educated in the field of architecture. Eventually, also the locals started to educate themselves. Nevertheless, until recently, the inhabitants of the Karst, unlike the owners of other homes, still preferred to build new houses which they equipped with typical Karst architectonic elements, such as large stone entrance gates (*kaluna* or *porton*), wells, stone walls around the courtyard, stone consoles supporting the balcony (*ganjk*), etc. They applied the same practice to the so-called prefabricated modular

Figure 3: Škrbina, stone portals of the Karst courtyards in front of new buildings constructed in the 1990s (Photo: Jasna Fakin Bajec, 2004).

houses from the 1970s and the 1980s. These elements no longer performed a functional role in the protection of residential or commercial buildings, like they used to in the past; instead, their role today is more or less aesthetic or visual. Still, with their stone visual image, these housing units express their local and territorial belonging to the Karst landscape. In the contemporary world, stone is no longer considered a symbol of poverty, but an impor-

tant identification symbol, which gives rise to an imaginary sense of belonging to the collective Karst identity. The »rebirth of the Karst architecture«, as some experts and the media describe it, has definitely been made possible by a better social structure and financial status of the Karst people, who improved their standing by selling agricultural products, mostly wine. New wine cellars of bigger winegrowers and – makers are all built or renovated in the more or less Karst style with stone and stone details as prevailing building materials. Stone products and typical Karst architectural elements have also become an integral part of the representation of the Karst environment at tourism and trade fairs. Exhibition spaces of the companies from the Karst, especially those from the field of tourism, are usually furnished with stone vessels and other products from the Karst rural culture, such as woven baskets for leaves.

Conclusion

We can conclude that various social factors and practices have shaped and changed the meaning of stone and stone products. A decisive role was played by the political discourse, in particular by the Karst politicians, who in the search of the Karst identification and trade elements strove for the stonemasonry tradition to regain its positive meaning. Owing to the European project *Porton* [Portal], which organised several panels, lectures, and workshops, the Karst people began to change their attitude to stone and stonemasonry activities into a more positive one. The fact that municipalities financially supported many exhibitions and that the media published several educational articles drew further attention to the importance of this issue, which has been discussed on various formal and informal occasions. Besides the political discourse, another important role was played by the professional discourse. Experts from different research institutions as well as newcomers, who built their second home in the Karst, started discussing the role of stone heritage; however, in doing so, they might have unintentionally overlooked or intentionally restricted other debates or the understanding of the attitude to stone. In this way, it was often overlooked what many Karst people thought of stone, namely that the stonemason's work was expensive and that renovation of old Karst homesteads required not only money but also more time than the construction of a new house. For this reason, a lot of people still opt for an architecturally controversial action and build new, prefabricated houses, which according to experts spoil the Karst landscape. As due to financial difficulties some inhabitants of the Karst cannot afford stone elements, such as window or door frames, high walls around the house, or a portal with wooden doors leading to the courtyard, or as they would need skilled, but expensive master builders for the job, which a young family, for example, cannot afford, the above-mentioned publicly accepted discourses have led to disagreements between locals and experts. This is also reflected in the statements of the architect Živa Deu, who said that »the locals [...] despite examples of good quality still do not appreciate old things« (Deu, 2004, p. 12), and that the locals »want a new house as offered by the market of global architectural design« (Deu, 2004, p. 12). In her opinion, a transition to a more positive evaluation of stone heritage in the Karst is a result of »the actions of people from the city and less a credit of the locals« (Deu, 2004, p. 15). However, none of the involved in the so-called professional discourse has asked themselves why it is that people from the city, who come to renovate or build their second home in the Karst, can afford stone products, while

the locals cannot; none of the architecture experts has performed a detailed calculation of how much cheaper it is to renovate an old house compared to building a new one, and how much more time and money is saved in the case of renovating an old house in comparison with constructing a new one. While stressing the value of stone elements, which in fact define geographical features of the Karst landscape and a mutual relationship between man and nature, experts have not yet published a study on how cheaper materials would achieve the same effect as the one of stone in the Karst.

This article explicitly shows that the elements of stone heritage, such as stone, stone products, stone architecture, and other skills, which the local population of the Karst today perceives as valuable, had different meanings and interpretations in different historic periods. Due to past experiences, a small number of educated people, possibly conservative thinking, and other living conditions, the local population of the modern age evaluated elements of stone heritage negatively. Due to socio-political, cultural and economic circumstances, local cultural elements, which today represent an identification and trade element, were won over by other national symbols, such as NOB monuments, the mountain of Triglav, and Slavic rituals. For the locals, stone remained a symbol of technological backwardness, poverty, difficult life, and hard labour. Only after an intensive professional and political discourse in the 1990s, when the profession and the politics, influenced by the foreign experts, recognized its positive meaning, did stone regain its positive connotation, which was reflected in the everyday life of the local population. Besides its role as an identification symbol, stone today is an aesthetic product, which decorates old socialist buildings as well as new buildings that follow traditional Karst features, taking into account the principles of postmodernist architecture and the guidelines of sustainability. An important achievement will be reached when stone becomes an element of linking past and present innovative knowledge and skills. The process of establishing sustainable development requires that tradition and other values of cultural landscape as well as its advancement, modification and use be taken into account. Our predecessors, having experienced a different lifestyle and technological development, were already familiar with contemporary principles of sustainable politics and development of landscape; therefore, in order to set up a better quality of life, their knowledge and skills need to be understood, preserved and upgraded. Understanding and appreciation, however, can only be achieved through a interdisciplinary research of the history of the lifestyle of people from a particular landscape, who with their actions, ways of thinking, experiences, and ideas dictate or slow down development.

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Fireplaces in the Vipava Valley

Špela Ledinek Lozej

Introduction

This article discusses the form, structure, meanings and changes of fireplaces in the countryside of the Vipava Valley in the first half of the 20th century. The research was carried out using various sources: 1. realia, such as fireplaces and fireplace equipment, which were preserved either *in situ* or in other places, for example used in another function or kept in a museum collection; 2. pictorial sources; 3. written sources, such as literature, fieldwork records of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum staff and comparable scientific literature. According to their location, these sources were divided into three groups: 1. archival materials, such as inventories, plans and photographs, which are kept in the archives, as well as museum items and documentation from museums, private collections, regional units of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia and other institutions and associations; 2. published materials, such as monographs, periodicals or occasional publications as well as TV-programmes, films or materials published on the internet; 3. fieldwork materials, such as recordings and transcripts of conversations and interviews, photo documentation, sketches, notes and other materials which were obtained in the field.[1]

Fireplaces

It is reasonable to assume that fireplaces in the Vipava Valley, influenced by the Roman culture, were relatively early made rectangular and at least slightly lifted from the ground, and that due to continuous stone building, they were relatively early moved from the middle of the room to the fire-proof external wall or in the corner of the dwelling (Baš, 1984, p. 16). Free-standing fireplaces, which were common in the regions of Friuli, Brda, Breginj, the Soča Valley and Carnia (Scheuermaier, 1956, p. 62), were not documented in the Vipava Valley, at least not in the first half of the 20th century. In time, fireplaces became smaller and were lifted to the table-height. Lifting of fireplaces coincided with the development of smoke exhaust through the hood and the chimney.

1 When there is no reference in the text, the material was obtained in the field through observation, conversation or interviews. The author of this article keeps the fieldwork material at the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology at the Research Station of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Nova Gorica.

Development of smoke exhaust through the chimney

The chimney, which conducted smoke up from the fireplace, caused big changes in the dwelling culture (Keršič, 1990; Vilfan, 1970). The chimney also defined a special house form in the south-western Slovenia, which was already a century ago identified by Matija Murko (1962), Stanko Vurnik (1926; 1930), Anton Melik (1936; 1960), Rajko Ložar (1944), Vilko Novak (1960), Sergij Vilfan (1970) and Irena Keršič (1990).

Built chimneys are said to have been introduced separately in multi-storey buildings in European cities and castles already between the 10th and 12th century. They appeared on a larger scale in wealthy dwellings in Italian cities between the 13th and 14th century, and elsewhere in Europe from the 16th century onwards. According to researchers of architecture and dwelling culture in castles, monasteries and houses of the Primorska region, built chimneys are believed to have existed on the territory of today's Slovenia from the 14th century onwards, and on the wider Slovenian territory from the 16th century onwards (Baš, 1984, p. 17; Makarovič, 1986, p. 52). Although there is an unambiguous built cylindrical chimney with a crown documented on the roof of the building in the Hrastovlje fresco of Adam and Eve from 1490 (Makarovič, 1981, p. 53–54), we can, on the basis of pictorial sources, confirm the supposition of Tone Cevc (1990, p. 63) and Gorazd Makarovič (1986, pp. 53–54) that large-scale smoke exhaust through the chimney only began in the 17th century. The introduction of the chimney is also documented in *vedute* (city views); chimneys are visible on the buildings in the suburbs of Gorizia/Gorica in the mid-17th century graphic of Caspar Merian (Pillon, 1995, p. 128) and on the drawings of the Gorizia priest Giovanni Maria Marusig from 1681, published in his diary *Relazione del Contagio di Gorizia* in the time of the outbreak of the plague in 1682 (Cergna, 2005). Chimneys are likewise drawn on the graphic of the Vipava costume in Valvasor's *Slava vojvodine Kranjske* (2010, p. 306), and there are five of them drawn on the roof of the Lanthieri castle in Vipava in the sketchbook in *Topografija Kranjske* (Valvasor, 1970). According to the *vedute* of Giannantonio Capellaris from 1752,[2] chimneys appeared also on roofs outside castle walls in the 18th century (Marušič, 1978). We can therefore conclude that some peasant dwellings in the Vipava Valley already had smoke exhaust regulated through the chimney in the mid-18th century. Nevertheless, chimneys were not widely used until the 19th century, when they became legally required in fire and construction regulations (Vilfan, 1970, pp. 586–587).

Chimneys were built above the ridge of the roof. They were mostly rectangular, fewer were square, and only a few were circular (Ščukovt, 2007, p. 429). The only example of a cylindrical chimney, the so-called Turkish chimney (*turški raufnk*) was documented in Orehovica (Šarf, 1958b, p. 31). Older chimneys were robust and built of stone, while the newer ones were built of brick. Brick chimneys first appeared in the Lower Vipava Valley, where brickyards were established. In the brickyard of Bilje, special bricks were made for the construction of chimneys (Nemec, 1997, p. 187). Fresh cowpats were sometimes mixed into the mortar which was used for the construction of chimneys. Vents in the built part and on the cap of the chimney were intended to increase the draught and conduct flue gases, especially in the case of low air pressure. Chimney caps or crowns protected the flue against ingress of precipitation and the strong north-eastern *burja* wind. They came in different forms and

2 The originals are kept in the Regional Museum of Gorizia (in Italian: *Musei Provinciali di Gorizia*); the reproductions were first published in *Kronika* (Marušič, 1978).

were sometimes also decorated; they were most frequently covered with stone or brick roofing. Also decorations of the cowl and the crown, for example decorative garlands, which stood out due to their colour and plasticity, were made of brick. Bunches of chipped roof tiles (*korci*) or stone balls were placed on each corner of the cowl for decoration. Besides their functional role, chimneys also had an artistic and representational role because they were the only external representational element of the building, next to the visually highlighted portal (Makarovič, 1981, p. 56).

The development of smoke exhaust was also connected with the introduction of the so-called *spahnjenica* – a rectangular, rarely semicircular kitchen recess on the external wall of the dwelling with an open fireplace and a chimney – which was documented in the Lower Vipava Valley, although even more often in the Karst, Brda and Friuli (Guštin Grilanc, 2002, p. 29, 34; Renčelj & Lah, 2008, p. 165; Šarf, 1964, p. 364). *Spahnjenica* was a distinctly functional architecture element. In multi-storey castle or middle-class architecture, *spahnjenica* conducted smoke from lower floors. Smoke exhaust through the chimney of *spahnjenica* is documented relatively early in the urban architecture of Venice and Grado. From there, it spread to agrarian dwellings of Friuli (especially the eastern Friuli and around the city of Monfalcone/Tržič), Veneto and the Po Plain already in the mid-18th century. Besides the purpose of smoke exhaust, *spahnjenica* was primarily intended for fire safety (Scarin, 1943, f. 3/7). Unlike the thatched residential and non-residential parts of the building, *spahnjenica* was an incombustible fireplace recess with stone or brick roofing. While the construction of *spahnjenica* in Istria was under the direct influence of Venice (Šuklje, 1952, p. 1), it came to the Lower Vipava Valley, the Karst, Brda and the valleys of the Natisone/Nadiža River in the 19th century via Friuli, either directly or under the influence of the Friuli construction workers (Bancalari, 1896, pp. 114–120; Galluzzo, 1984, p. 37; Šarf, 1958; Lorenzi, 1914, p. 600; Makarovič, 1986, p. 53; Scarin, 1943, pp. 130–132; Sedej, 1990, p. 315). The earliest archive records of *spahnjenica* in the Lower Vipava Valley date from early 19th century. From then on, it was widely used until the first decades of the 20th century. Its usual floor plan was square or rectangular with possible cut-off edges. Due to demolition of the housing stock during World War I, a relatively small number of *spahnjenica* have survived in the Lower Vipava Valley until today; two examples in Batuje and Pedrovo, and one in Malovše and Ozeljan. In the Upper Vipava Valley, *spahnjenica* was rare. The only preserved example can be seen in the monastery manor house at Zajčji grad in Podnanos; however, according to the former owner Ana Tavčar, this *spahnjenica* was added later by the inn's owner Zajc, who thoroughly renovated the manor around 1900 and »built an extension kitchen in the Karst style« for the needs of the inn (Seražin, 2006, p. 36, 71; Sapač, 2008, pp. 49–51). There are different natural-geographical and socio-historical reasons why the Upper Vipava Valley did not to have any example of *spahnjenica*. Due to harsh winters people preferred building fireplaces and chimneys inside the dwelling so that the heat of the chimney would also warm up the rooms of the upper floor. It was possible to integrate the chimney and the fireplace inside the dwelling because of tile roofing, which became available in the 19th century, first due to craft and later industrial production of brick. People tended to separate thatched roofing, which was common in the Karst with no clay soil, from the fireproof *spahnjenica* with stone or brick roofing. Due to the close proximity to Friuli and due to the Friuli construction workers, who built the railway in the mid-19th century, the influ-

ence from Friuli was much more powerful in the Lower Vipava Valley, Brda and the Karst than in the remote Upper Vipava Valley.

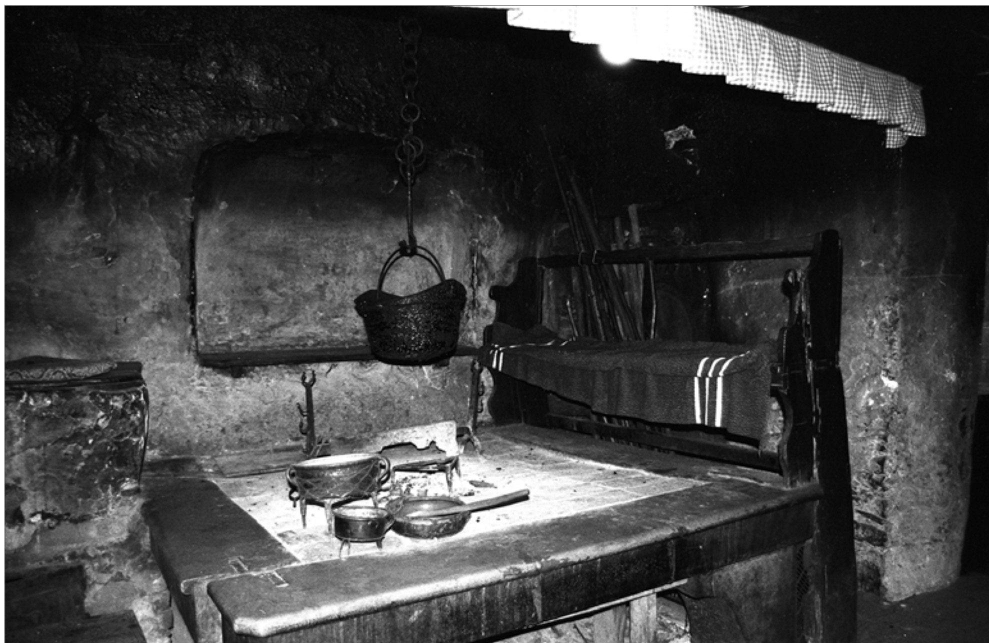

Figure 1: Fireplace at the homestead of Bežajevi, Podbreg (Photo: Špela Ledinek Lozej, 2004).

Fireplaces, fireplace equipment and kitchenware

The documented fireplaces from the 19th century were solid, low and spacious; their boundaries were delimited with a roughly cut stone or wooden edge or slates (*škrle*). Younger massive fireplaces from late 19th century were sometimes built of brick and plastered or painted with oil paint. They were placed on wooden, stone or built pillars, which were connected with wooden beams. Wooden boards were nailed to the bottom of the beams and filled up with soil. Slates (*škrle*) or bricks were then placed on the soil. The corners of the outer edge were fastened with iron bindings (Šarf, 1958a, pp. 32–39, 51, 85, 88–90; 1958b, pp. 6, 13–14, 23, 35; 1964, p. 365; Ščukovt, 2007, p. 426).

Fireplaces in houses of the wealthy were sometimes constructed of chiselled stone blocks from white limestone. Massive fireplaces were built by construction workers and stone blocks were chiselled by stonemasons from Manče and Vrhpolje in the Vipava Valley; the most prominent stone blocks, however, came from the Karst (from the villages of Kopriva and Aurisina/Nabrežina). Fireplaces were placed on square or occasionally round pillars. The front and frequently also the side of the fireplace featured a wide segmental or semicircular arch. As they were situated in the main dwelling place, fireplaces often displayed artistic design. In wealthy dwellings in the central Slovenian and Alpine areas, however, fireplaces were not positioned in the main dwelling place, but rather in the so-called 'black kitchen' (*črna kuhinja*), situated in or near the vestibule and separated from the rest

of the house; consequently, these fireplaces did not receive that much attention. The stone edge of the fireplace could be profiled. Pillars or voussoirs were decorated with geometric or plant motifs in relief. Carved in the keystone were the year of the construction of the fireplace, the initials of the owner or Holy Mary's monogram (Bizjak, 1958; f. 294; Šarf, 1958b, p. 17; 1964, p. 366).

Some fireplaces in the Lower Vipava Valley, built in the 20th century, featured a deep recess called *fornel* (a hob grate) in the corner.[3] The recess was covered with a metal grate on top; it could be open on the side of the fireplace and, if possible, covered with a metal door. The hob grate was created because of the tendency of closing the fireplace, which led to closed fire chambers and, finally, to stoves everywhere in Europe and America. Lack of firewood due to population growth and industrialization made people in some west-European areas look for a way to reduce the use of firewood already in the mid-16th century, but definitely from the 18th and 19th century onwards (Tränkle, 1992, p. 42; Weiss, 1959, p. 119). The fire chamber used less firewood for cooking, because the heat was centralized; besides, it reduced sparks and danger of fire. In the Vipava Valley and its neighbouring areas, the tendency of closing fire into a fire chamber was closely connected with the advantages of open fireplaces with a relatively good smoke exhaust through the chimney. The hob grate *(fornel)* is well documented in the archival and oral sources of the Lower Vipava Valley, Friuli, Brda (Reja & Sirk, 1997, p. 49), the Karst around the city of Trieste/Trst (Guštin Grilanc, 2002, p. 38) and the Soča Valley, especially in the cases of suburbs and inns (Scheuermaier, 1956, p. 67). Some hob grates from early 20th century even had a cast-iron hotplate incorporated over the fire opening and a metal door, and as such resembled simple stoves. However, unlike stoves, there was no regulated direct smoke exhaust from the fireplace in hob grates; instead, the smoke was conducted into the chimney through the hood. The fact that wealthy dwellings had hob grates as well as stoves proves that the hob grate was not a preliminary stage in the development of the open fireplace into the stove, but rather an act of separating the fire intended for quick and efficient food preparation from the fire intended for heating of rooms.

On the hearth, there was often a small hole where glowing embers were kept under ashes in order to start a fire next day. Under the fireplace, or more often in the wall under the oven or next to it, there was an ash pit. There could also be a bread oven or a coop for keeping chicken under the fireplace, but most frequently the space was used for drying and storing firewood, large kitchenware or baskets. If the fireplace was high, there were one or more stone or wooden stairs leading to it (Bizjak, 1958, f. 241, 279; Budal, 1993, p. 120; Šarf 1958a, p. 32, 35, 42).

If the fireplace took up the entire width of a room, or in the case of *spahnjenica*, where smoke gathered in a vault which narrowed into a chimney, a wooden plank would divide the fireplace from the rest of the room. However, a more frequent and newer solution was to attach a so-called hood, a funnel-shaped construction, plastered with earth, clay or limestone mortar, over the chimney opening at approximately one to one and a half meter above the fireplace. The documented hoods from the Vipava Valley were square or rectangular and made of wood. Round and bell-shaped hoods were common in Friuli, Brda and the

3 The word *fornel* comes from Italian *fornello,* a diminutive of *forno,* which means 'furnace', 'oven' or 'fireplace' (Scheuermaier, 1956, p. 66).

villages of Lig and Breginj (Reja & Sirk, 1997, p. 50–51), and woven hoods in Brda and the Karst. At first, hoods were spacious and they would stretch across the whole width of the kitchen; however, as the fireplace grew smaller, so did the hood. With certain exceptions, the hood was slightly bigger than the fireplace. There are no documented examples of stone pillars that would support the hood, which Filip Terčelj wrote about in his description of fireplaces in the Vipava Valley (1927a, p. 49) and Gorazd Makarovič recorded in Istria (1981, p. 143). The hood was intended to catch and conduct the smoke from the fire into the chimney. To better catch smoke and for draught, people would keep a door open or they would hang a curtain over the hood, which was in addition a nice decoration (Musil, 1955, pp. 182–183). Despite the chimney, smoke and soot remained a regularity of open fireplace kitchens until the development of direct smoke exhaust from the closed stove. The inside of the hood was intended for drying and smoking meat on wooden sticks, fruit on wooden boards and, if necessary, firewood. The outer side of the hood, however, was convenient for shelving vessels and other objects that had to be at hand at all times, but at the same time had to be kept away from children, cats and chicken (e.g. a fire steel and later matches, an iron, brushes, paraffin stock, and elder tree blowpipe or bellows for fanning the fire). Often there were upturned pots lined up on the shelf in order of size. Attached to the hood might also have been an oil lamp (Keršič, 1990, p. 344; Šarf, 1958a, p. 4, 12, 19, 25, 33, 43; 1958b, p. 4, 6, 13; Ščukovt, 2007, pp. 424–426).

The most common piece of fireplace equipment in the Vipava Valley as well as the wider western Slovenian Mediterranean area was the andiron *(zglavnik)*. Iron andirons were preserved in the Vipava Valley until the 20th century, but there are also records of the use of stone and wooden andirons. Next to a simple type of an andiron with four legs and a crossbar, there were two other types, namely an andiron with two shafts, each with consoles or cup-shaped holders, and an andiron combined with a tripod, with one leg of the tripod extended into the andiron and another shaft with consoles in the middle of the crossbar. A high andiron with two shafts joining into a crossbar was common in Friuli (Brisighelli, 1930, f. 1; Scheuermeier, 1956, p. 69), the area of Trieste, Istria (Makarovič, 1981, pp. 144–145) and Brda (Reja & Sirk, 1997, pp. 47–51), and was only documented in the Vipava Valley at a wealthy homestead in the village of Skrilje. The ends of crossbars, legs and consoles were sometimes decoratively spiral or ornamented with geometric patterns. Consoles were meant for hanging ladles and fireplace tools, placing the grate and supporting the handles of pans on the tripod; cup-shaped holders were intended for warming up drinks and food in clay pots. Some andirons also had a detachable metal screen to protect fire from draught (Bizjak, 1958, f. 184, 185, 235, 260; Feigel, 2009, p. 11; Makarovič, 1981, pp. 143–145; Šarf, 1958a, p. 42; 1958b, p. 24).

Common fireplace tools in the Vipava Valley were also tripods for dishes. Triangular tripods had one leg in each corner of the triangle, while the more stylish ones had curled-up tips of the legs on the outside or incurved triangle sides which enlarged the surface which dishes could be placed on. There was also a record of a tripod in combination with an andiron with a shaft which a pan could be stuck into. Tripods were sometimes substituted by three-legged clay or iron pots. Another piece of fireplace equipment was a round or square rack for roasting, a grill, which only few homesteads were wealthy enough to own (Bizjak, 1958, f. 21, 175, 185, 255, 226, 310; Makarovič, 1981, pp. 141–145; Šarf, 1958a, p. 4, 12). An iron

shovel was used to remove ashes from the hearth into the ash pit, while tongs were used to move glowing embers under tripods and dishes, and over the clay lid (*črepnja*) under which a bread was baked. Metal tools were usually made by village blacksmiths; only individual andirons were skilfully designed craftwork. Fireplace tools were always on the fireplace or they hung from the andiron or on pegs close to the fireplace (Bizjak 1958, f. 240; Šarf, 1958a, p. 12, 43; 1958b, p. 4).

From the chimney above the hearth hung a chain, suspended from wooden sticks, with a drill-like height-adjustable hook. From the hook hung a copper or cast-iron cauldron, which most of the food was prepared in (Budal, 1993, p. 120; Feigel, 2009, p. 11; Novinec, 2006, p. 11; Šarf, 1958a, p. 5, 26, 33, 42). Similar cauldrons were characteristic of the neighbouring areas, the Karst, Brda, Friuli and Istria (Scheuermaier, 1954, p. 26). Among copper kitchenware in wealthy homesteads, there are also records of pails for storage, ladles for water – to ladle with them and drink from them, and copper lids, which were placed in order of size behind the wire on the kitchen wall. Makarovič established correctly that the decorative purpose of the displayed lids was at least as important as their functionality (Makarovič, 1981, p. 242).

In addition to cooking in cauldrons, clay or cast-iron pots and dishes which were placed on tripods or which themselves had three legs were used for thermal food processing (Bizjak, 1958, f. 214, 215, 304, 310). Such three-legged clay or iron pots were called *kastrole* and are considered forerunners of tripods. Iron pans were used for frying grease, and coffee roasters, called *brštulin,* for roasting coffee beans. Clay pots were made by the people of Ribnica na Dolenjskem, who were well-known pottery makers and traders. In the Upper Vipava Valley, pottery could be bought at the fair on the Virgin Mary's Assumption Day in the village of Log or via a representative of the Ribnica people in Vipava. Clay pots were bound with a wire, which prevented the pots from cracking. People tied the wire to the pots themselves or had it done by the people of Rezija, who were specialized in this occupation. Clay and cast-iron pots were stored on the outer mantelshelf of the chimney hood. In humble dwellings, pots were stored in crates, on shelves in wall niches or on the wall (Feigel, 2009, p. 11; Makarovič, 1981, 230; Šarf, 1958a, p. 27; 1958b, pp. 4, 42–43).

From the second half of the 19th century, there was the so-called 'pig cauldron' of cast iron or copper built next to the fireplace, and in some places also a copper cauldron for distillation (Šarf, 1958a, p. 11). Besides being used for preparing food for animals, as the name suggests, 'pig cauldrons' were also used for heating water for laundry washing. The cauldrons were walled in with stone and from late 19th century encircled with brick and plastered. Underneath, there was a built-in hearth with an iron door. When the cauldron was not in use, it was covered with wooden planks, which gained space for depositing and storing things or even sitting. Cauldrons for distillation were made exclusively of copper, whereas 'pig cauldrons' were also made of cast iron.

Due to the shared smoke exhaust through the chimney, the mouth of the bread oven was situated in the wall right next to the fireplace. A semicircular mouth of the oven was in the kitchen and the vaulted interior of the oven was located in the wall, normally protruding into the next room or outside. In some cases, the bread oven was situated under the fireplace, which was common in Brda and Istria (Šarf, 1964, p. 368). In the Vipava Valley, there were no records of free-standing ovens, which were common in Istria (Keršič, 1990, p.

344). Fanči Šarf dated the construction of bread ovens to the last decades of the 19th century (1964, p. 368); however, bread ovens must have been known already in the early 19th century, at least in the households of the Lower Vipava Valley which were engaged in bread business. Older ovens were made of soft grey limestone (*brusenc*), the new ones were made of brick. Older ovens were bigger, although the size differed as it depended on how big the homestead was and whether the family was engaged in bread business. Some wealthy homesteads even owned two ovens, one for bread and the other one for *potica* (a sweet walnut roll) (Šarf, 1958a; Ščukovt, 2007, p. 428). The oven mouth was covered with a wooden or iron lid; smoke exited the oven through one or more vents. There was a fireplace tool set leaned against the oven: an iron fork on a long handle for pushing and adjusting firewood on the hearth, a wooden or iron scraper (*greblja* or *pastargauka*) for stoking up embers, a whisk broom made of *melca* (a genus of grasses *Chrysopogon*) or sackcloth for sweeping and removing ashes, a wooden bat for putting bread in the oven and an iron shovel (Bizjak, 1958, f. 176, 187; Budal, 1993, p. 120; Šarf, 1958a, pp. 32–34, 47–49, 64).

Spacious low fireplaces had footstools and three-legged stools for sitting. There were also benches leaned against the wall or placed into a window niche or a blind niche. Also wood-coated sills in blind niches or window niches were intended for sitting. Children often sat on round logs. The second half of the 19th century introduced a moveable bench called *škanj*. This bench had high plank-like legs, which were extended into armrests. Armrests as well as lower part of the legs were sometimes profiled (Bizjak, 1958, f. 176, 187; Budal, 1993, p. 120; Šarf, 1958a, pp. 32–34, 47–49, 64). The bench was sometimes attached to the hood (Šarf, 1958a, p. 43). Benches with a backrest were besides sitting intended for protecting fire from draught (Bizjak, 1958, f. 46, 182, 186, 191, 210, 224, 226, 267, 299, 302, 303, 305; Šarf, 1958a, pp. 4–6, 43; 1958b, p. 13; 1964, p. 366).

Fireplace – a multi-purpose centre of the household

Fireplaces were not only meant for food preparation; they were a distinctly multi-purpose centre of the dwelling. Next to thermal food processing, other instrumental functions included heating and lighting of the main dwelling place. Fireplaces were also a place for other household activities, such as spinning, knitting, repairing of tools, removing corn from the cob, and laundry washing. The fireplace was the centre of social interaction, community-building practices and rituals, such as eating, meeting and sitting together in order to tell and listen to stories, educate one another, pray and celebrate. Filip Terčelj once described it as follows:

> *What a big green oven in the house means for the people of Gora (the mountain), that is what a fireplace is for the people of the Vipava Valley and the Karst. It is at the fireplace where most of the family life events happen. /.../ Sitting at the fireplace, with sparkles in their eyes, children listen to stories told by an old man. Here, bargains are struck, and secretly, as embers under ashes, first love is kindled; sons and daughters come from abroad to gather for celebrations, the blurred eye of an old man stares into the dying embers on the hearth – a sign of human life. /.../ In winter, in the evening, the old and the young come together at the fireplace. The wind roars in the chimney. From time to time,* burja *comes down the chimney and blows the smoke across the fireplace. Never mind that! Faces grimace for a bit, a forced tear glitters here or there, but then the fire springs back to life again and lights up bright faces that are watching the woman of the*

house stirring polenta in the cauldron. At the fireplace, they would make butter in a big churn, remove corn from the cob, scrape potatoes, etc.« (Terčelj, 1927a, p. 49)

Food preparation and other household chores and farm work

Cooking at an open fire was, according to Irena Keršič, a tough activity, because the person who was cooking was exposed to cold and draught from the one side and to heat and smoke from the other (1990, pp. 337–338). While preparing the food, the person had to squat or kneel. Only when fireplaces were lifted to the table-height could food preparation and cooking be done standing and there was no more constant bending. With the introduction of hoods and chimneys in open-fire kitchens, the place was relieved of annoying smoke that prickled the eyes; nevertheless, smoke remained a regularity until smoke exhaust was regulated directly from the closed fireplace in the stove. In this regard, Gorazd Makarovič pointed out diseases which were associated with cooking at an open fire, such as eye diseases (1986, p. 65). The stone edge of the fireplace might well have been more distinguished, but the wooden one was more merciful to the one who was cooking and was forced to lean against it (Keršič, 1990, pp. 337–338; Šarf 1958a, pp. 32–39, 51, 85, 88–90; 1958b, pp. 13–14).

In order to cook, a fire had to be started first. Until the 20th century, fire was lit by rubbing the fire steel against the flint, which created a spark that ignited a processed tree mushroom. Later, fire was lit with matches and tinder, such as small pieces of broken twigs and branches from very dry bundles (which had been drying even up to two years), bark (which was left after making stakes) or dried corn cobs. Fire was often started with the smouldering embers that were kept overnight under ashes in a hole on the hearth or in the hob grate (*fornel*) (Budal, 1993, p. 68; Keršič, 1990, p. 337; Kosta, 2003, p. 58). People needed to watch the fireplace closely so that the fire would not die and add dry logs of an appropriate size to reach the desired temperature. In humble households, firewood mostly included driftwood and brushwood. People were frugal with firewood. In some places, they did not even saw or chop trunks into logs; instead, in colder parts of the year, they would burn whole trunks, pushing them slowly into fire. When they needed smaller logs, they would chop trunks into logs on the chopping block that stood in the kitchen. Fire was fanned with an elder tree blowpipe and sometimes with bellows. For the firewood to burn better, logs were leaned against the andiron. Ashes were removed from the hearth with a metal shovel and deposited into the ash pit under the fireplace or the oven (Šarf, 1958a, p. 12, 43; 1958b, p. 4, 6). The temperature was regulated through the selection of the type, size (thickness) and level of dryness of the wood that they put on the fire. For example, if they needed a fire that burnt fast and strong, they would burn bundles of branches and twigs. When cooking in a cauldron, the temperature was regulated by raising and lowering the chain, which the cauldron was attached to with a height-adjustable metal hook. When cooking in pots on tripods or in three-legged pots, the temperature was regulated by pushing or removing the smouldering embers under the pots. Special tongs were used to move embers; some housewives, however, had such toughened hands that they could move pots as well as embers with their bare hands.

Food selection was limited due to a limited food supply and a way of cooking. Food prepared in the cauldron mostly included liquid dishes, such as different types of stew, for example *šelinka* of celery, *jota* of sauerkraut (sour cabbage) or turnip, beans and potato, *ječmenka* of pot barley, and a stew of kale *(vrzote)*.[4] In daily meals, bread was substituted with polenta. For the preparation of polenta, corn grits (coarsely ground maize kernels) had to be stirred continuously up to half an hour with a special type of wooden spoon with an extension for stirring. In the Vipava Valley, there is no record of special devices for stirring polenta, such as were documented in Brda, Natisone Valleys and Friuli (Reja & Sirk; 1997; Scheuermeier, 1956). After cooking, the cauldron was put off the fire and placed on a special coil made of corn husks. Grease was heated in a pan that was placed on a tripod; if necessary, the handle of the pan was stuck in the console of the andiron. Smaller amounts of food were warmed up in three-legged wire-bound clay or cast-iron pots or in pots that were placed on tripods. Dishes were stirred with a wooden spoon. Food was roasted on a grill above embers or fire; coffee beans and barley were roasted in a special coffee roaster – a cylindrical container with a long handle. Dishes and liquids were kept warm in pots that were placed into cup-like holders on the andiron. The hob grate (*fornel*) – a recess with a grate, ash space and good air circulation – enabled fast and efficient warming of smaller quantities of food and liquids. Sometimes, especially in summer, and always in the households without an oven, they would bake bread or flat cakes made of maize flour on the fireplace under an upturned clay, metal or tin pot or under a wet cloth or paper covered with ashes and embers (Bizjak, 1958, f. 241, 279, 302; Budal, 1993, p. 120; Godina Golija, 1998, p. 92; Keršič, 1990, p. 337; Plahuta, 2002, p. 95; Šarf, 1958a, pp. 10–15, 32–35, 42; 1958b, p. 4, 42–43, 75; Škrlep & Škrlep, 2010).

Bread was baked once a week in a bread oven whose mouth was due to the shared smoke exhaust right next to the fireplace. Preparing leavened dough and baking were technically the most demanding kitchen tasks. Until the second half of the 19th century, the dough was knead in an elongated shallow kneading trough (*nečke*), from the middle of the second half of the 19th century, in a table with a bread-kneading trough below it (*mentrga* or *vintula*), and from the first half of the 20th century, in a bowl or on a wooden board. Yeast was prepared from the previous dough; it could only be bought from the middle of the first half of the 20th century. The dough was left to rise in *mentrga*; the already formed loaves were left to rise on the cover of *mentrga*. Meanwhile, the oven was heated up with dry firewood. Some people used to burn brushwood, bundles of acacia branches or stakes for tying vines that were no longer in use, while the others burnt beech or acacia wood chopped into smaller pieces. Fire and embers had to be distributed evenly. The oven was hot enough when it became lighter. The embers were scrubbed from the oven with a wooden or metal scraper (*greblja*). After that, the oven was cleaned and, if necessary, cooled down with a broom, soaked in water, which was made from the upper part of the maize plant or from a stake wrapped in sackcloth. Before baking, they would throw a handful of flour into the oven to check whether it was hot enough. If the flour got burnt, the oven was too hot. Leavened loaves were put into the oven with a wooden bat. For festivals, they would bake a walnut roll (*potica* or *gubanca*) and butter bread (Budal, 1993, p. 120; Škrlep & Škrlep, 2010).

4 Ulrike Thoms drew a similar conclusion for the German territory, that is that stews were more common in dwellings with open-fire kitchens (1998, p. 52).

For preparing of food, drinking, washing of food and dishes, there had to be sufficient water supply in the kitchen provided from wells, spring water reservoirs or rainwater tanks. Water was kept in buckets or pails on a sill in a wall niche, on consoles or on a wooden shelf in the kitchen, hall or special room for washing and storing dishes called *vidrnik* or *šeglar*. Because of heavy work of hauling the water for the household and also because of occasional summer drought, people were extremely frugal with water. Large quantities of water for cooking and washing laundry and dishes were heated in cauldrons; later, water was heated in special walled-in cauldrons intended primarily for preparing food for pigs (Šarf, 1958a, p. 6, 22).

In addition to the above-mentioned tasks, other household chores took place on or at the fireplace daily or several times a week: crushing of coffee beans, pepper, dried figs, corn and horseradish with a metal pestle in stone, wooden or brass mortars, grinding of coffee beans and pepper in wooden or brass grinders, removing corn kernels from the cob with an empty cob or with an iron device, husking of barley in small mortars, kneading of dough for flat bread for the times of extensive farmwork, frying of farinaceous food for special occasions, making of butter, curdling and souring of milk, etc. (Budal, 1993, p. 68; Šarf, 1958a, pp. 3–4, 16–17, 34; 1958b, p. 24). Occasionally, they also prepared stores for the winter in the kitchen. Preparation of sufficient quantity of sour cabbage and turnip in autumn was extremely important. In woven bowls or on woven boards placed in the hood on wooden bars, they would dry fruit (apple and pear slices, plums, walnuts, figs) and herbs for making tea and coffee, but most of all, they would smoke meat products there, such as sausages, ham (*prosciutto*) and bacon. Meat was smoked only in the Upper Vipava Valley, while it was usually only dried in the Lower Vipava Valley. The last preserved fireplaces which were still in use were considered highly valuable just because of smoking and drying of meat in the

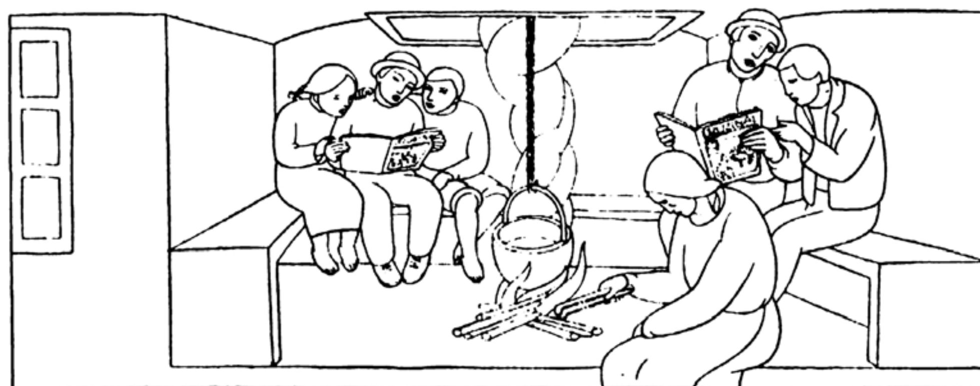

Figure 2: Illustration of a fireplace in the monthly Družina (Besednjak, 1929, p. 47).

chimney. Until the Italian occupation, when spirit distilling was prohibited, people would make spirits in autumn and winter in the cauldron for distillation, placed next to the fireplace (Bizjak, 1958, f. 26, 41, 42, 213, 297; Budal, 1993, p. 68; Godina Golija, 2008, p. 104; Plahuta, 2002, pp. 85–101; Rodman & Makarovič, 2000, p. 76; Šarf, 1958a, p. 2, 6, 18, 33–34; Ščukovt, 2007, pp. 423–431).

Venue of social interaction

The fireplace was not important only as a place of physical activities, but also as a venue and generator of social relations, negotiations and interaction among members and non-members of the household. The fireplace did therefore not only change raw food into dishes, as Claude Lévi-Strauss (1980) put it, but also transformed individuals into members of the shared household:

> *But the hearth is not just a symbolic centre; it is also instrumental in processes of transformation. It is in the hearth that the different elements that enter the house – meat and vegetable, kin and affine, the like and the unlike – may be said to be mixed and blended, veritably cooked together. Insofar as houses are continually transforming what passes through them, the hearth is both literally and figuratively the site where these transformations actually take place. (Carsten in Hugh-Jones, 1995, p. 42–43)*

The fireplace was the place in the dwelling where residents were daily, weekly and yearly engaged in repetitive social interaction, daily food preparation and eating, and celebrating of festivals of the calendar year or a life's cycle. The most common situations of social interaction were eating together, sitting and warming up at the fire, gathering together, meeting, communicating and negotiating with members and non-members, and certain other rituals, such as prayer.

Since the kitchen was the only warm and light place in the house, people stayed at the fireplace in long winter evenings. On spacious low fireplaces, they would sit on footstools, three-legged stools, benches or sills in window or blind niches; children would sit on round logs. Characteristic of the Vipava Valley was a moveable bench with a backrest (*škanj*), which at the same time protected the fire from draught. These benches were only placed at the fireside in winter and were removed in spring, on Saint Joseph's Day (19 March). People would also sit on covered cauldrons and on the edge of the fireplace. In winter, when it was very cold, they would bring the cradle to the fireplace (Bizjak, 1958, f. 46, 178, 182, 186, 191, 210, 224, 226, 267, 299, 302, 303, 305; Makarovič, 1981, p. 200; Šarf, 1958a, p. 4–6, 43; 1958b, p. 13; 1964, p. 366). In winter, they would eat on the fireplace (Šarf, 1958b, p. 4); the habit of eating at kitchen or dining tables was only established with the introduction of stoves and kitchen tables.

The fireplace was also a scene of certain rituals. In the mid-19th century, the priest and linguist Štefan Kociančič recorded a ritual of burning a yule log in the Vipava Valley. On Christmas Eve, a large wooden log (*panj*), which they called a little god (*božič*), was placed on the hearth instead of the andiron. The whole family would gather at the fireplace, crack walnuts and hazelnuts, pray, sing religious and secular songs and tell stories, while pouring wine from maiolica onto the yule log. According to Niko Kuret, this custom is believed to have been preserved in the south-eastern, southern and south-western parts of Slovenia un-

til the second half of the 19th century. It started to disappear after 1880. It was maintained in some places also in the first decades of the 20th century, but it definitely died out when fireplaces were no longer in use (Kuret, 1998, p. 279–280).[5]

Multigenerational extended families were common in the countryside of the Vipava Valley in the first half of the 20th century; fireplaces were therefore often a scene of intergenerational agreements and disagreements. Children were raised and socialized at the fireplace and two generations of housewives would meet there regularly. Arguments between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law were even sharper because, due to a virilocal residence pattern, the two would interact more frequently. The tension between the old and the young was pointed out already in the early 20th century by Filip Terčelj, who wrote: »The ''young'' one came to the house and wanted a ''stylish'' stove. An argument sprang up between the young and the old, who had over time somehow grown used to the fireplace and would not be separated from it without difficulty« (Terčelj, 1927a, p. 49). It was necessary to constantly adapt, withdraw, consider and accept one another. The daughter-in-law was supposed to take over the running of the household and daily meal preparation immediately after she was married into the family. However, she most often took over only when the mother-in-law could not perform her duties any longer and until then, she would take care of other kitchen chores and farm work. In the first half of the 20th century, due to an established division of labour in agrarian households, women performed most of the household chores, such as food preparation on the fireplace; however, if women from nuclear family households were engaged in profitable activities, men would take over the household chores.

The fireplace was a meeting place, where the household would interact with a wider community and the domestic would meet the foreign. It was a place of informal contact with relatives and neighbours. In long winter evenings, it was not only household members that would gather around the hearth, but also other villagers, so that they saved firewood. They would warm up at the fireplace, tell each other stories, crack walnuts and hazelnuts, roast chestnuts and perform certain other household chores or farm work. This is how Filip Terčelj described the fireplace of the first half of the 20th century: »Here, bargains are struck, and secretly, like embers under ashes, first love is kindled « (Terčelj 1927a: 49). In order to represent the household well, people would pay special attention to the stonework decoration of fireplaces and a decorative role of the upturned pots and copper lids, which were shelved in order of size on the hood and on the wall, and embroidered wall napkins with ornamental motifs and encouraging inscriptions. The kitchen did not only reflect, shape and adjust intergenerational, gender and other kinds of relationships among household members, but also relations between the household and the community and, due to the representational role of the kitchen, also wider social relations.

Conclusion

The fireplace was a place of household chores as well as social interaction; it was a diverse representation of personal and common cultural meanings. Due to its multi-purpose character – a cooking, meeting and working place for women, men, children and the elderly, and a place that was passed through and filled with diverse objects, people and activities – the

5 However, according to Niko Kuret, some people would still put a thick log in the stove on Christmas Eve in the second half of the 20th century (1998, p. 283).

fireplace represented different socially produced and constructed metaphors, of which two should be pointed out: first, the fireplace as a foundation of the household, and second, the fireplace as a metaphor of home and homeliness. The fireplace was a sign of an autonomous household and an element of fiscal policy already since the late Middle Ages (Netting, Wilk & Arnould, 1984, p. xxvi). In the land registry of Gorizia from 1507, there is a record of the so-called fireplace money (in German *fewr gelt*), a tax for the fireplace for the inhabitants of the village of Vipavski Križ (Pavlin, 2006, p. 73; 2007, p. 195). The fireplace represented a household element established through daily practices which connected members who lived and ate together into a community.

While the metaphor of the fireplace as a foundation of an individual household was expressed and realised in daily practices and was therefore socially produced, the fireplace as the metaphor of home and homeliness was a socially constructed (collective) representation popularised in differently motivated discourses. As it ceased to be used in the first decades of the 20th century, the fireplace, based on memories of past disappearing practices, interaction and images, became a constructed and accepted metaphor of home, family life, and values, the so-called »temple of family life« (Terčelj, 1927b). This socially constructed metaphor of the fireplace sometimes still referred to past practices (prim. Terčelj, 1924, p. 260); more often, however, it only appeared in the figurative sense (cf. Figure 2), as described with the following words: »May new houses, albeit without hearths, still be the hearths of good old Slovenian honesty!« (Terčelj, 1927a, p. 50). Moreover, in a local and national discourse, the fireplace was used to maintain community awareness:

> *As a symbol, it is held in common by its members; but its meaning varies with its members' unique orientations to it. In the face of this variability of meaning, the consciousness of community has to be kept alive through manipulation of its symbols. (Cohen 1985: 15)*

The fireplace as a symbol of home and a metaphor of a mutual traditional family life, which has not yet been corrupted by emigration, urbanisation, industrialisation and other vices of the modern lifestyle, found its place in the Christian and Catholic world as well as in the liberal literary and real metaphoric language and various professional discourses. In the first half of the 20th century, the fireplace was, in terms of cooking, replaced by the stove, and parallel to the introduction of the stove, a kitchen or dining table became the centre of social life. It seems that instrumental and social disuse of the fireplace contributed to the perception that the fireplace became a common metaphor of a disappearing, albeit representational lifestyle, social relations, and values.

Only a few fireplaces have been preserved in the Vipava Valley until the present day, of which one is constantly used and the other ones only occasionally. They have certainly lost their central place and role which they played in the past everyday life. Instead, their metaphoric dimension has been strengthened and, as the memories fade away, imagination opens up.

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Planting, growing and breeding stones

Bojan Baskar

Does stone grow? just curious ok?
A question posed to *Yahoo Answers*.[1]

It is reported by some of the Ancients, that in Cyprus there is a kind of iron, that being cut into little pieces, and put into the ground, if it be well watered, will increase into greater pieces. This is certain, and known of old, that lead will multiply and increase; as hath been seen in old statues of stone, which have been put in cellars, the feet of them being bound with leaden bands; where (after a time) there appeared, that the lead did swell, insomuch, as it hanged upon the stone like warts.
F. Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, 1627

Introduction

When it comes to stones and rocks, modern science is widely held guilty of impoverishing our imagination of them. By imposing a sharp divide between organic and anorganic, between dead and alive, between chemistry and alchemy, astronomy and astrology, the argument runs, the stone was largely disentangled from its earlier complex and rich imagery. Its highly polysemic and symbolically charged substance was boiled down to a dead, inert, unambiguous matter. Not that adjectives such as immutable, solid, hard, thick, resistant, durable, eternal, were not attributed to the stones before the advent of modern science, but they certainly became more pronounced, even domineering after.

Philosopher of science Gaston Bachelard, who also wrote books on the imagination of matter (the four elements, to be precise), has written two books on the imagination of the earth. In one of these (Bachelard, 1948), he also tackled the poetic imagination of stones, rocks and minerals. His analysis is largely based on poetry, and the bulk of poetry he takes into analysis originates from the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. Despite emphasizing poetic imagination as the richest form of imagination, his focus on poetry as a source material was not exclusive: he also made ample use of scientific, scholarly and philosophical works, especially those from earlier centuries. Contemporary scholarly works include a modicum of ethnology (in particular Michel Leiris, Marcel Griaule and André Leroi-Gourhan).

Despite privileging poetic imagination as his source material, Bachelard admirably expounded a complex mesh of themes which affords precious insights into how the learned elites imagined things telluric, lithic and metallic. It may come as no surprise that many of the poetic images and themes analysed in Bachelard's account do appear a little strange to us today, for example rocks as moral agents. One might equally miss certain themes that we nowadays deem inevitable when talking about stones and rocks, while Bachelard ignored them or preferred to omit them.

1 Https://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090513091...; accessed April 3, 2015.

The theme of *stones* (and/or metals) *growing in the earth*, which we explore in this chapter, was nevertheless dealt with in the mentioned Bachelard's book. For our intent, a combination of a historical epistemologist (i.e., the philosopher of science in a distinct French tradition which envisages sciences from the historical perspective and of which Bachelard is a pioneer) and a subtle thinker of elemental substances as well as an observer of the humans imagining the matter, whom Bachelard impersonates, is of particular relevance. While Bachelard granted poets the privilege of possessing an especially creative imagination, as most of them are free of external constraints, he subsequently subjected poetry to the same questioning as scientific texts. He did not separate them from one another when he wanted to see how they related to the developments of scientific discourse (or to the »progress of science«, to put it simply).[2] When dealing with the belief in the fecundity of mines, for instance, he maintained that romantic poets (despite their anti-scientific attitudes, one could add) were already »too timid« to advocate extreme claims such as the one that mines were actually a kind of a buried tree with roots, the stem, boughs, branches and leaves. For this reason (also called *germinative power*), metals were considered living beings, in the same way as plants and animals are (Bachelard, 1948, pp. 242–246). In the romantic period, says Bachelard, as a consequence of the progressing scientific spirit, such cosmic images were already dying or decaying. Some romantics would turn them into innocent metaphors, such as the poet Florian, who sang in his *Occitanie* that the fertile Occitanian soil produced grapevines and olive trees, and added: *Marble, turquoise and the gold are all products of your fertile soil* (1948, p. 246). We should bear in mind that before growing became a sheer metaphor, there was a belief that the metals and stones *literally* grew in the earth (soil) – in the same way as plants do.

Bachelard has often been celebrated for introducing the vision of scientific process as discontinuous – a view shared by the totality of the French epistemology of the previous century, which also found its way into poststructuralist philosophy. Yet seeing the scientific development as consisting of discontinuous developments (the view even more influentially pronounced in Georges Canguilhem) does not imply denying that science is embedded in a culture and that scientists are culturally conditioned. For Bachelard (or Canguilhem), epistemological break (Bachelard actually used the term *rupture*) does not mean that Isaac Newton, when producing such a break, made a clear break with all his earlier cultural and religious beliefs. Newton was a deeply religious person, attracted to the literal, therefore 'fundamentalist' interpretation of the Bible. He was, especially in the beginning of his scientific career, also very much absorbed in research in alchemy (or 'chymistry')[3] As a 'chymist', Newton was particularly preoccupied with the theory of mineral and metallic generation. His theory, as well as its earlier formulations (by Michael Sendivogius, Johann Grasseus and others), assumed that metals and minerals grow in the earth, but placed this belief in a wider and conceptually much more elaborated context. The growth of

2 Consistent with this, Bachelard also contributed to democratizing the access to poetry by denying the pertinence of the distinction between 'first class' and 'second class' poets. Both were equally prone to bring forward new poetic images. This methodological point was obviously inaccessible to the surrealist poet René Char when he quipped that he didn't want to read a man who quoted so many bad poets (Pouliquen, 2004, p. 122).

3 Alchemy was not clearly separated from chemistry in his time and recent research has also shown that, considered in its field, alchemy was much more coherent and based in greater extent on empirical evidence than it was previously believed.

metals and stones demand much more than good watering or rain. »The growth of metals in their mines is due to the same process as that of plants on the surface of Earth.« (Newman, 2009, p. 43)

Another hero of modern science, philosopher Wilhelm Leibniz, shared in his younger years the same belief as his contemporary Newton. In his treatise on geology, titled *Protogaea* (published posthumously), however, this belief appears no longer.

Europeans and their science

In the mid-seventeenth century, the belief in stones' and metals' growth was widely held, and it was a cultural belief as it were. Evidence of it is copiously available in various kinds of scientific literature, in folklore, arts, biographic writing, etc. Another hero of modern science, Francis Bacon, who was almost one century older than Newton and Leibniz, does not seem to have had any doubts about the possibility of planting and growing metals, even though he was a founder of a critical empiricist philosophy. In his *Sylva sylvarum*, which is a collection of 1000 experiments, either conducted by him personally or described by others, he claimed, in experiment no. 797, that if iron is cut into little pieces and put into the ground, it will, if well watered, grow into bigger pieces (Bacon, 1663[1627], p. 168). That was clearly an 'experiment' he did not made himself, but relied instead on a very popular travel book by George Sandys (1615), a poet and translator of humanist extraction who travelled to the Eastern Mediterranean and, regarding the growth of metals, himself relied on the beliefs of the Ancient Greek philosophers. The belief in the fecundity of mines which, when exhausted, may be closed for a hundred years allowing metals to grow again in the meantime, survived well into the eighteenth century. »What is a mine, if not a plant covered by earth«, asked the Renaissance polymath Girolamo Cardano (Bachelard, 1948, p. 244). But it is slightly shocking that we still find the same belief at the very end of the enlightened century, expressed by one of the leading philosophers of German Romanticism, namely F. W. H. Schelling (Bachelard, 1948, p. 24).

Newton and other alchemists considered all that grows vegetation. As clarified by Newman, the meaning of the term vegetation in Newton is somewhat different from our current meaning:

> *In early modern English, 'vegetation' was not limited to plants, but it meant more broadly 'growth' or the act of growing. Newton, however, uses 'vegetation' to distinguish a sort of organic growth from mere mechanical accretion. To him, vegetation implies a goal-directed process guided by tiny semina or 'seeds' implanted deep within matter (2009, p. 48).*

In Newton's distinction between the vegetal and the mechanical, the rocks and minerals are part of the vegetal world since they contain seeds (*semina*, *sperma*...) which make them grow. This explains why, as Newton claimed in his early writing titled *Humores minerales*, »metals grow, putrefy, and regenerate themselves within the earth, much after the fashion of trees on Earth's surface« (Newman, 2009, p. 46).

In comparing young Newton's view with the view of the Renaissance Neo-Platonist philosopher Marsilio Ficino, it can easily be shown that the belief in the growth of stones actually evolved through different theoretical elaboration and different cultural contexts. This apparently exotic belief should therefore not blind us to notice the incompatibility of the two theories. Newton's is a theory developed in the empiricist environment of 'chimis-

try' (both alchemy and chemistry) which includes laboratory experimentation and methodical observation. The questions he asks are the questions of emerging modern natural science. Ficino, on the other hand, is entirely speculative-minded and is an enemy of the material world. He proceeds from an organicist metaphor of a common soul of the Earth which animates everything. There are also individual souls possessed by animals and humans. »Many animals exist on the earth that have their own souls distinct from the common soul of the earth. For they move locally as the earth does not; they remain alive even when they are not in contact with the earth, which stones and plants (deriving life as they do from the soul of the earth, not from their own soul) do not do...« (Ficino, 2001, p. 265). Stones and plants, on the contrary, depend entirely on the common soul of the earth: »Stones grow too like its teeth, and plants like hairs as long as they are attached by the roots; but as soon as they are pulled up or torn out of the earth, they stop growing.« (2001, p. 249)

Enter ethnography

Ethnographers and folklorists have reported beliefs about growing and multiplying stones from different continents. On the beach of Punalua on the Big Island of Hawaii, »The black, smooth pebbles found here are famous throughout the Islands on account of their supposed power of self-propagation. The Hawaiians distinguish between male and female stones, the latter having smaller pebble enclosed in their cavities. These smaller ones, according to the persistent belief, became detached from the parent stone, and later on grow to full size and in their turn give birth to pebbles.« (Kinney, 1913, p. 71) In the same vein, folklorist Martha Beckwith claimed that porous pebbles, found on the nearby beach of Koloa on the same island, »were supposed to grow from a tiny pebble to a good-sized rock and to reproduce themselves if watered once a week« (Beckwith, 1970, p. 88). In another book, Beckwith also reported that a native child from a well-educated family, when asked »Where else did all the stones come from?«, displayed a »box of so-called 'breeding stones'« and offered his assurance that they would »produce young« (Beckwith, 1972, p. 56).

That stones not only grow when it rains but also breed, is what is today claimed for the *trovant* stones from the village of Costesti in southern Romania. These astonishing rotund forms, reminiscent of the champignons and put under the tutelage of UNESCO, are advertised by a web page as following:

> *It is known that the (sic) upon being exposed to water, the side of a Trovant swells up and starts growing. When the swollen part reaches a certain weight, it breaks off. However, the interesting fact is that the structure of this newborn Trovant is very similar to the parent rock, and the newborn will have their own nucleus. This process is reminiscent of budding – the reproduction mechanism of some unicellular organisms. This makes the scientists wonder whether Trovants might be an unknown to mankind inorganic form of life.*[4]

Also the villagers of Blaxhall in Suffolk possess a stone that grows. This erratic sandstone, weighing 5 tons, is known as Blaxhall Stone. In the mid-twentieth century, folklorist *George Ewart Evans reported that the villagers, especially the elders unwilling to accept the verdict of geologists, claimed that their stone was turned up by a ploughman more than a*

4 Http://tripfreakz.com/offthebeatenpath/trovants-the-living-rocks-of-romania. Accessed: 3 April 2015.

hundred years ago. He brought it from the field because it was entirely different from the local flints. At the time, it was no larger than two fists. Villagers eventually extended this belief onto their local stone. Some claimed that picking flints from the fields was useless as new flints will always grow in the field from previous flints (Evans, 1956). Apparently, Evans was not aware that he stumbled upon a widely held belief as he focused so sharply on the explanation of it by the strangeness of the faraway erratic which was pushed to its location by the Ice Sheet in prehistoric time. Already at the beginning of the century, another folklorist, Charlotte Sophia Burne (1996[1914], pp. 23–24), reported for Suffolk the following: »One may still meet with agricultural laborers who believe that *stones grow*. Suffolk farmers have been heard to state that the earth produces them spontaneously, and a piece of 'pudding-stone', or conglomerate, has been pointed out as a mother stone, the parent of small pebbles.«

One would not expect to come across the evidence of stone growing beliefs also in the work of famous Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget. Piaget was interested in the child's conception of the world through different stages of intellectual development. The technique of interviewing he applied to this research should not be mixed with ethnography, of course, but the underlying evolutionist assumptions that children and savages share most primitive beliefs is never far away. To stimulate children, he also showed them the pebbles he collected on the shore of the Arve River in Geneva. From the interviews, he concluded that many children aged between 4 and 6 think »that the pieces of stone grow like plants. There are stone seeds and stones grow from them. You plant them and they grow, etc.« (Piaget, 1929, p. 341)

Stones and syncretism

The cases of belief in growing stones that we described above come either from Europe or from other continents. When taken together, they suggest the belief in growing stones to be distributed across the continents. They do not suggest that local beliefs might be a result of an interaction between the continents, with Europe, as an imperialist continent, being an obvious part of the interaction. To be sure, such interaction cannot be excluded a priori. With Albert Camus' experience from Brazil we can take a step further as he takes us to a terrain of syncretic rituals. In the summer of 1949, Camus was attending a lecture tour across South America, organized by the French Foreign Ministry. In Brazil, he visited several places, not all of them part of the official program, to see *macumba* and *candomblé* dances. He wrote about these trips in his journal from the tour (published posthumously as *Journaux de voyage,* 1978). He was clearly attracted by them and admitted that he had a »reverse prejudice« towards the blacks (Camus, 1999, p. 93), but the entries in the journal suggest that he did not like the macumba and even less the candomblé. He referred to them as a »mixture of Catholicism and African rituals« and »Catholicism of the blacks here«; he *identified* Ogun with »our Saint George« and characterized the candomblé he saw in Bahia as »Mediocre dances expressing degenerated rituals« (1999, pp. 85, 104–105). In the town of Iguape, where Camus travelled from São Paulo to attend a big religious procession, he came across the ritual of carrying a heavy stone in the church:

> *In front of a grotto, some métis, mulattoes and the first gauchos that I've seen wait patiently to obtain some pieces of the 'growing stone'. In fact Iguape is a city where an effigy of the Good Jesus was found in the water by some fishermen who came to this grotto to wash it. Ever since, a stone grows there ineluctably, and people come to chisel off beneficent pieces of it. (1999, p. 124)*

The trip to Iguape and the carrying of the growing stone inspired Camus to write the short story *The Growing Stone* (*La pierre qui pousse), which was included in his collection of short stories Exile and the Kingdom (L'exil et le royaume, 1957). Festa do Bom Jesus de Iguape* is still taking place there every year with fresh chops of the stone available. (It was recently joined by the *Festival Literário de Iguape inspired by Camus' visit and his novella.)*

Now we move on to our last case, borrowed from the study of the local farmers' view of soil formation on two Caribbean islands of Martinique and Saint Lucia (Feller & Blanchart, 2010). Of all our cases, this one was given the most careful account. Feller and Blanchart are soil scientists, not ethnographers, but they nevertheless thought it necessary to discuss the topic in detail with several interlocutors on both islands. The general picture of the local farmers' view of lithogenesis that emerges (but it is shown that individual opinions can diverge) is strongly reminiscent of the theories from the previous centuries we took a look at in the beginning. The most striking correspondence is the notion that there is some 'substance' or 'cream' contained in the earth which nourishes both plants and stones. Plants and stones are hence competing for the same resources: »Thus, bad plant growth is attributable, in some cases, to a competition between plants and rocks (to the advantage of the latter) in the use of the 'earth substance'. This justifies why gravels should be removed from arable land, and why uncultivated fields will soon be loaded with rocks.« (2010, pp. 281–182)[5] 'Wounded stones' are also capable of competing with plants by emitting substances that are either toxic for plants or block the effects of fertilizers (2010, p. 282). Water is, as always, of critical importance for the growth of stone, since the 'substance' that is needed for rock formation »is found in the water of the earth and moves from earth towards the rock's heart. A rock grows at its periphery, the outer cortex being always moister than its heart and still looking like 'earth' (rock in formation)« (2010, p. 281). And seeds are also there. Most stones grow from earth, but pebbles in the river have different origin: they are »an earth rolled by rivers and transformed into pebbles« (2010, p. 280). Pebbles are »'like seeds' and have a life history: birth, life and death.« (2010, p. 281)

Feller and Blanchart's account contains other elements that we have not come across in other cases such as the notion of a wounded or broken stone (which is losing/emitting its substance and »giving back earth« (2010, p. 281)) and the influence of the moon. It is clear, though, that in this case the researchers asked more detailed questions than the folklorists who wrote about the Hawaiian and Blaxhall beliefs. But we should also bear in mind that the farmers in this case seem to be more deeply engaged with lithogenesis because they see it as a competitor to their growing food. More stones equals less food grown. What might be of particular interest in this case is that Feller and Blanchart produced rather rich ethnographic evidence without following usual anthropological agenda (reconstructing local cultural system or even local cosmology) but with a different aim. Their aim was (refreshingly for anthropologists tired of exoticism) to compare the scientific and the local farmers' view of lithogenesis. After describing both views they also proposed a scheme representing the differences between the two. Although they do not seem to have harboured structuralist ambitions, the scheme suggests a symmetric inversion between the two views to be the rule.

5 Inverse beliefs, i.e., that stones buried in earth stimulate the growth of plants seem to be much more widespread around the world, from Europe to Oceania. The Papuans have been reported to wrap selected stones in bast and bury them at sowing time; they would remove them from the earth during harvest (Varner, 2004, p. 66.)

But what particularly intrigued the two soil scientists was the fact that local farmers from two islands of volcanic origin would never acknowledge volcanic activity as a possible source of stones in their soil. If they conducted research on the beach of Punalua (which is a scene of intense volcanic activity, Big Island being the youngest island in the Hawaiian archipelago), they would likely ask the same question. European 'protogeology' of the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth century also ignored all about igneous rocks and their metamorphoses. When rocks of magmatic origin were discovered and recognized as the most important source of rocks on Earth, there was no need anymore to believe that the stones grow. Trying to see beyond the local construction cherished by so many anthropologists, Feller and Blanchart came to the conclusion that »the farmers' perceptions of earth-rock relationships and rock genesis from soil may also come from scientific discourses conveyed by colonizers two or three centuries ago (2010, p. 285). Interestingly, they were encouraged to look in this direction by anthropologist Jacques Barrau who »told us (pers. comm.) that a scientific theory very close to that of farmers was common in the 18th century concerning mines that were 'left for rest' so that they will 'build up again'« (p. 285).

Unfortunately, Feller and Blanchart do not say anything about the sociological and ethnological profile of their interlocutors besides revealing that they were communicating in the local Creole. Were they blacks (the great majority on these two islands), white Creoles or belonged to some other small minority?[6] Short of these data, it is impossible to venture into inquiry about a possible transcultural interaction between the beliefs from antiquated European scientific theories and beliefs from other cultural traditions.

Concluding remarks

The cases we have chosen – and our selection was inevitably rather limited due to the relatively scarce evidence of beliefs in stone growth – present highly uneven accounts regarding precision and detail, with some being only an indication of these beliefs. At this very early stage of research, we have not dared to propose any sketch of the geographical distribution of this kind of beliefs. While their distribution undoubtedly involves several continents, the difficulty of finding evidence for Africa is particularly tantalizing. Europe (perhaps Atlantic Europe) seems, on the contrary, to be very rich with this kind of beliefs. This applies both to Great Britain with Ireland (as partly suggested also by this article) and to France: the grand panorama of French folklore collected by Paul Sébillot witness to the presence of this kind of beliefs in virtually every corner of France (Sébillot, 1904). European settlers in 'New Europes' actively disseminated these beliefs throughout North America (where especially Appalachians conserved them until this day) and other continents. In Europe, this belief has through centuries been transmitted as part of the Classical tradition, as it had been shared by many authorities of Classical Antiquity, Democritus, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Pliny the Elder among others. It is therefore a minor paradox that the richest evidence of these beliefs originates from 'rationalist' Europe.

In a sense, though, these beliefs are not so radically incompatible with the modern science of geology. If our present-day imagination of stones is impoverished, if our notion of rocks is simplistic, modern science is not to blame. To hold it responsible for »the restricted life of modern stone, doomed at best to mere decay and chemical reaction« (Wiseman,

6 As Arthur and Juanita Niehoff (1960) have reported for the nearby Trinidad, the belief in growing stones was widespread among the local Hindu community.

2014, p. 94), is to misrepresent it. The general picture of rocks and minerals in modern geology is not one of restriction, passivity, statics and inert resistance to decay. The stone of modern science is not the opposite of »the Renaissance and early modern stone« which »participated in an animated natural dance« (Wiseman, 2014, p. 94). Present-day geology, on the contrary, vividly resembles the Renaissance and early modern view of rocks by its dynamic and metamorphotic view. Nothing is static and definite in present-day geology; only motion is perpetual. Igneous rock is being transformed into sedimentary rock and into metamorphic rock in a perpetual rock cycle (or 'natural dance', to use Wiseman's term). True, rocks are no more animated in modern science but their movement and transformations are nevertheless so rich and diverse that essentialist notions of rocks and stones are no longer viable in geology. Elementary introduction into geology must first question commonsensical notions of what rock is: Are rocks hard? Not necessarily. Are rocks solid? Well, some are far from being completely solid. Are rocks natural? Not entirely. Are rocks made of minerals? Many are not.[7] Some stones can be really hard and rigid, but the notion of the stone has to be flexible. As one geologist quipped, »Everyone knows what a rock is, until you ask what it is exactly«.

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Mythical tradition in the stone: The snooty *Babas* as elements of rites of passage and social control

Katja Hrobat Virloget

Stone *Babas* as animate mythical beings

Although much has been written about the folklore of the stone *Babas* (Eng. Hags) (see Hrobat, 2010; Hrobat Virloget, 2010; 2012; 2013, 2014), when discussing the meaning of stone, the subject of stones as mythical beings cannot be ignored. It is not merely the personification of mythical beings into the elements of the landscape and a kind of *longue durée* memory spatialized in the stones and the landscape, but what I wish to stress in this article are the traditions connected to the passage by those stones and their influence on the social behaviour of children.

At the beginning of my research into the monolith *Babas,* there were two such monoliths known from the folklore of the Karst in southwestern Slovenia: one in Rodik (Figure 1) and one in Opicine-Opčine above Trieste (Hrobat, 2007, pp. 41–43; 2008a; 2008b; Hrobat Virloget, 2012). People from the Karst recognized the *Baba* from Trieste in different ways: as a fountain, a place by the »sacred rock« (*Škala šanta*), and in its primary form as a stone monolith. Throughout the area, stone *Babas* were represented as personifications of a woman; a repulsive old woman. Similarly to other stone *Babas,* in Sežana and in other parts of the Karst, the *Baba* from Trieste was perceived as »an ugly and snotty woman with large warts, a nose dripping of snot, and ugly, ugly as hell (Hrobat, 2010, p. 187).« In Rodik, *Baba* was represented by a large stone monolith in which the local children saw »a shape of a woman's buttocks and breasts« (Hrobat, 2007, pp. 41–43; 2008a; 2008b; 2010, pp. 183–196). A *Baba* with a large head and pronounced hips and breasts, carved in rock at the entrance to the old town of Grobnik in Croatian Istria, stands as proof that these stone monoliths represented the personification of a woman (Vince-Pallua, 1995–1996).

Talking about stones, perceived in Western culture as inanimate objects, it should be noted that in traditional perceptions certain stones represented personifications of old women, *Babas,* therefore animate beings. It was by these stones, which children were afraid of, that certain rituals were performed when passing by. Stones can therefore become animate beings also in our so-called Western perceptions, as had already been established for other non-Western cultures, for example by Peter Jordan in his study of hunter-gatherers in

Figure 1: Baba monolith drawn by Majda Peršolja as she remembers it from childhood (Hrobat, 2007, Figure 4; Photo: Katja Hrobat Virloget).

Siberia. He found that in the Khanty perception breathing is not the only life strength, but can indicate the existence of life only if other characteristics are absent. In the Khanty terminology, all living things have *lil,* or life strength. However, the categories of animate and inanimate are not fixed. A stone can be both, inanimate, if stationary, or animate, if falling. And even in its stationary form, it can be animate as well. Any object with no distinctive form, like a hill, a stone, etc., is inanimate, but if the form resembles something animate or living, it is perceived as animate. Therefore a stone resembling a person or an animal (for instance a bear) or a shadow of a person, which has that person's form, or a sacred doll, can be perceived as animate. Therefore »the physical form itself is *ozhivotvoriashchii* (in Russian); that is, life giving (Jordan, 2003, p. 104).«

Such perceptions of stones as animate beings seem to explain the old traditional custom of stonecutting from Lokev on Karst.

Figure 2: *Baba* in the shape of a woman carved in the stone under the well on the entrance of Grobnik by Rijeka (Photo: Baptiste Virloget).

According to this custom, a peace of stone that was cut from the wall had »to calm down«, because it had been torn off the »mother wall« and was perceived as still alive for a certain time (Čok, 2015, p. 106).

Numerous stone monoliths called *Babas* have been found in Slovenia and other parts of the Slavic world (Hrobat, 2010, pp. 183–196; 2012; 2013; Pleterski, 2006; 2015; Vince-Pallua, 1995–1996) and new *Babas* have been discovered in the Karst and Brkini. In Brkini, information about stone *Babas* is still to be verified on the field, e.g., the *Baba* on Barka and one in Slope. While in the Karst a few recent discoveries of *Babas* have been confirmed, for instance the stone *Mati* (Mother) in Gropada (Figure 3), the stone *Baba* and *Dedec* (Grandfather, Man) from Prelože near Lokev (Čok, 2015, p. 128) and *Brajtnikova Baba* (named after the owner) in Lokev[1]. The stones from Gropada and Lokev are clearly connected to the water and rain prediction: When *Mati* from Gropada became wet, people used to say the stone has urinated thus predicting rainy weather (Hrobat Virloget & Kavrečič, 2015, pp. 79-80); the *Brajtnikova Baba* was called *uscanka* – »the one who pisses or has pissed«. Forecasting rain or stormy weather is known also in connection to other hills and mountains with the name *Baba*. In Slovenia, for instance, bad weather was forecast if black clouds appeared above the Matajur Mountain or *Vedrna Baba* (from where the stone Baba would control the weather, or above the hill named Železna Babica (»Iron granny/mid-

1 Information by Boris Čok from Lokev.

wife«) in Lokev in the Karst Region (Hrobat, 2010, p. 207; Čok, 2012, p. 64; Medveščček & Pleterski 2015). In Czech, Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian, the word »*Baba*'s corner« denotes the place where storm clouds roll over the hill (Piškur, 1965, p. 10; Šmitek, 2004, pp. 192, 238). Like the Slovene tradition, there is a tradition from Italian Ada and Mera Valleys of forecasting bad weather based on the changes in the landscape on the horizon named after the Old Woman/*La Vecchia* (Bracchi, 2009, p. 337). *Baba* was associated with water also through the names for different types of precipitation, e.g. *babje pšeno* (snow pellets) or through adjectives describing her as snotty, muddy (Hrobat Virloget, 2012; 2013). Other traditions link *Baba* also to windy and sunny weather (Hrobat Virloget, 2013, pp. 145–146), as told by the legend from Rodik, according to which *Baba*'s urine turns to rain, her flatus turns to wind, and when she raises her skirt, this brings nice weather (Peršolja, 2000, p. 27).

Figure 3: The stone called *Mati* (Mother), *Matjušk* by the road Gropada-Basovizza-Bazovica (Photo: Katja Hrobat Virloget).

Not only stone monoliths, but also other parts of the landscape throughout the Slavic world were named after *Babas*: for instance, hills, mountains. In local toponyms, parts of *Baba's* or grandmother's body (in Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian *Baba* means grandmother, old woman) are equated with mountain's elements (*Baba's* hip, knee, head, tooth, nose, belly, and *Baba's* cave) (Čausidis, 2008). The toponyms for parts of a mountain (especially for 'avalanche', 'snow slide', 'landslide', and 'lava') in Italy and France (Benozzo, 2011) named after an Old Woman confirm the connection between the mountain and the old woman also outside the Slavic world. In addition, according to a Karst tradition a per-

son who falls has kissed the snotty *Baba*, which could lead us to conclude that the snotty *Baba* can be nothing but the earth itself (Hrobat, 2010, p. 220). The same type of saying was known in north-eastern Italy. If a child fell, people would say »it went to kiss the buttocks of the Old Woman (It. *La vecchia*)« (Hrobat Virloget, 2012, p. 154).

Although the traditions connected to *Babas* seem very archaic, it is very difficult to demonstrate their antiquity. Nevertheless, a recent discovery by historian Aleksander Panjek shows that the oldest written reference of *Baba* dates back to 1703 (according to a map dated to the end of the 17th century; the Vienna Archives). *Baba* is drawn as a pillar / monolith under the village of Tinjan near Pazin in the Croatian part of Istria (an analysis is still to be published by Hrobat Virloget, Panjek in Studia Mythologica Slavica in 2016).

Although the aim of this paper is not to analyse the mythical dimension of *Babas,* some essential information should nevertheless be mentioned. In Slavic folk tradition, *Baba* refers to a female creature, a demon associated with atmospheric phenomena. She is characterized by atmospheric precipitations (rain, hail), rain clouds, sudden frost, and drought. Furthermore, she is associated with celestial objects like the moon or constellations, the rainbow, as well as with certain days and periods (*Baba Marta* in Macedonian, Bulgarian folklore as a personification of the month of March; in the majority of Slavic languages the term Indian summer is called *Baba*'s summer; *Baba*'s winter). She is the corn spirit, the last sheaf in harvest rituals, the name for a disease, a wicked old woman, a water demon, ceremonial bread in Serbia and Slovenia, etc. (Golant, 2013; Ternovskaja & Tolstoj, 1995, pp. 122–123; Tolstoj, 1995, pp. 38–39; Kuret, 1997a, p. 80; 1997b, p. 72; Petrović, 2000, p. 150–178; Vražinovski, 2000, pp. 44–45; Šmitek, 2004, p. 238; Ravnik, Šega & Ložar-Podlogar, 2007, p. 18). To sum up, it has been shown that in children's folklore, rituals, and other traditions about Baba and similar female figures, a certain archaic female mythical figure with both vital, fertile and degraded, old-age traits can be discerned (Hrobat 2010, pp. 183–226; Hrobat Virloget, 2012; 2013).

In some parts in Slovenia, different rituals or customs were recorded in connection to *Babas* as monoliths or places (hills, caves), especially in western Slovenia (Karst, Soča River) – offerings, dances and bonfires next to a *Baba* or on it, different rituals around stone *Babas* on equinoxes or Midsummer Days, divination and fertility rituals etc. (see Hrobat Virloget, 2012; 2013, pp. 143–145; Hrobat 2008a; 2008b; 2010, pp. 198–204; Medveščček, 2006, p. 43–8, 136–137, 199; 2013; 2015; Kuret, 1997, p. 72; Möderndorfer, 1948, p. 221; Marković, 1980, pp. 126–127; Pleterski, 2009, pp. 41–43, Trošelj, 2011, pp. 353–354, 364). Some of the locations of *Baba* were included in the *tročan* – the principle of triad, an age old-belief in three fundamental forces of nature (heaven-sun-fire, water, earth) (for instance in Golac, Police, Matajur etc.) (Pleterski, 2006; Medveščček & Pleterski, 2015; Hrobat, 2010, pp. 202, 204). It has been showed that *Babas* as folklore figures also live in the caves (in the Karst, in the Soča Valley) which were traditionally perceived as places of fertility. *Babas* are connected to new life and death: they can help in childbirth or bring new-borns, but on the other hand they also keep (dead) children in the caves or cook/bake them (Hrobat Virloget, 2015, pp. 156–157; Mihelič, 2013, pp. 71–72).

Recently Andrej Pleterski published a deep analysis of a (pre-)Slavic mythical tradition showing that the primary mythical female figure appears in two aspects, a young fertile (frequently called *Deva*) and an old non-fertile (usually under the name *Baba, Stara*

Baba – Old *Baba*) and she is linked to the two halves of the year (fertile, non-fertile). Together with the four-partite fertile and non-fertile female and male pair of deities (named in Prelože *Deva/Devač and Baba/Dedec*), the tripartite structure with this female figure (linked also to the god *Triglav* – Three-Headed) forms the basic (pre-) Slavic mythical structure (Pleterski, 2015, pp. 21–32; 2014).

Kissing the stone baba as a rite of passage controlling social behaviour

Beside their mythical tradition, monolith *Babas* are interesting because of their role in the movement within the landscape and in the social behaviour of children.

Parents from the Karst, the Vipava Valley, Istria and Kvarner told their children frightening legends about the *Baba*: namely, that they would have to kiss or puff up the buttocks of an ugly old *Baba* or swallow her snot on their first visit to a neighbouring town. Children from almost the entire Karst would fear *šmrkava Baba s Trsta* (the snotty *Baba* from Trieste) (Hrobat, 2010, pp. 183–96) or the one from Grobnik in Croatian Kvarner (at the entrance of the town) (Vince-Pallua, 1995–1996, pp. 285–286). As stated in a narrative from Rodik, a novice »has to fondle and smooch her snotty face /…/ has to puff up *Baba*'s buttocks« (Peršolja, 2000, p. 27). In different locations children were thus frightened of having to spit at the *Baba*, to beat her with a stick, to eat her snivel or to puff up her buttocks (Hrobat, 2010, pp. 197–198; Vince-Pallua, 1995–1996, p. 286). A case of a similar threat made to visitors was recorded in Ljubljana in the 18th century. When a person came to Ljubljana for the first time they would have to kiss a statue of Eve on the top of the town-hall (Vince-Pallua, 1995–1996, p. 289).

Examples of spitting at or beating a stone *Baba* with a stick upon traversing a certain piece of land (Vipava Valley; Hrobat, 2010, p. 198) or kissing the snotty *Baba* in the form of a hive upon entering the forest for the first time (Jasen; Pugelj, 2012, p. 107) indicate that this kind of tradition was not meant just for entering a nearby town but also for entering other territories for the first time. The following tradition, although not about kissing but about donation to the *Baba*, connects the rite to mountain pastures. The herdsmen made an offering of coins or a loaf of bread to the imaginary *Baba* at a place named after her (*Babji trebuh*, Eng. Baba's Belly or *Pasja peč*, Eng. Canine stove) to avoid hail when they took the animals to mountain pastures for the first time in a year (Cevc, 2006, pp. 132–133).

Although the traditions linked to *Baba* are widespread throughout the Slavic world, the kind of grotesque children's folklore about kissing the *Baba* when leaving one's own territory or passing by it on the way to another territory for the first time (in North Italy even for entering somebody's house for the first time) is restricted to a limited area extending from the Upper Adriatic through North Italy to the Atlantic Sea: from Kvarner in Croatia to Istria and the Karst, the Gulf of Trieste, North Italy (Ada and Mera Valleys, Liguria) and France up to Bretagne on the Atlantic Coast (see Hrobat Virloget, 2013, pp. 154–155; Bracchi, 2009, pp. 335–338; Vince-Pallua, 1995–1996).

These traditions indicate that the phenomenon of kissing the stone *Baba* cannot be interpreted as exclusively Slavic, but that it was known also in the Romance world (and perhaps also elsewhere). Although we are tempted to interpret the phenomenon as of pre-Slavic origin due to its wide spatial diffusion, caution is needed (however, Miha Mihelič (2013)

tried to demonstrate the connection of the tradition of the *Babas* with the Paleolithic imaginary).

Jelka Vince-Pallua (1995–1996, pp. 289–290) suggests linking this tradition to a kind of *genius loci* and local (Mediterranean) female cults. However, even more convincing is the interpretation of Raymond Delavigne, who links the French folklore and rituals of kissing *La Vieille* on entering a specific area (mostly towns, also area of oysters' field) to a remnant of a certain initiation rite (Delavigne, 1982, p. 422).

The rituals surrounding the *Baba*s can be interpreted in the context of a territorial *rite de passage,* linked to a specific point in the landscape in relation to leaving one's own or entering the territory of another. But at the same time, the rituals together with the grotesque children's folklore of fearing the *Baba* are also linked to rites of passage between different social positions in a person's life: it was only when the children grew up that they were allowed to pass *Baba* on their way to a certain part of the territory for the first time, to a town, or out of the valley etc. Because they feared kissing the old snotty *Baba,* children remained quietly at home when their parents went to a nearby town to run their daily errands. But when they were old enough to be able to help them, the frightening stories about *Baba* disappeared. Stanislav Renčelj gives an account of the childhood fear of the *Baba* from Trieste:

> *And the children were afraid /of Baba/. And then, when they became adults, they realized, that it's just a fairy tale and when the girl was 14, 15 years old, she was already good to carry things on her head and her mother said, come with me /to Trieste to help/. And she said, but where is she /Baba/?... And then she was gone /Baba/* (Hrobat, 2010, p. 187).

John B. Smith notes that this kind of threating folklore figures functioned as an effective element of the social control of children, for example preventing them from straying into the unknown in their adventures. He interprets *Perchta,* a similar figure to our *Baba* or to *Pehtra Baba*, as an effective element of a threat to children. She would punish slovenliness, sloth, disobedience, and other similar socially unacceptable behaviours and would also impart work ethics (Smith, 2004, pp. 167–86). Similarly, the terrifying and hideously snotty, muddy *Baba* proved to be effective in controlling and restricting children's movements in the local environment.

On the example of the Khanty people in Siberia, Peter Jordan notices that the material artefacts together with the elements of the landscape have no inherent meanings unless they are reproduced through social practices. It is the landscape imbued with meaning that guides actions relating to tenure, gender pollution etc. and complete with zones of *de facto* and *de jure* exclusion (Jordan, 2003, pp. 279–280). For example the ritual exclusion from certain sacred sites does not depend only on one's gender but also on the person's history (if the person was recently to a cemetery, they are perceived as unclean) (Jordan, 2003, p. 227). »Thus, there is nothing of essential significance about a place or thing and sets of meanings must be created and sustained through direct (e.g., ritual visits) or indirect actions (e.g., routine avoidance) (Jordan, 2003, p. 227).« The material does not have any deterministic force, but it can be interpreted as »physical resources to be drawn up and enculturated by the social collective, which in turn enculturates the individual subject(s)« (Jordan, 2003, p. 280). From this perspective, the tradition of kissing *Babas* gives meaning

to certain elements of the landscape, especially stones, and in turn enculturates the social individual – restricting a person's (a children's) movement through the landscape and determining their social statue.

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Visiting the Karst underground: development of cave tourism in Slovenia

Petra Kavrečič

Introduction

Cave tourism is one of the oldest forms of tourist activity to have developed in the Karst[1] region of the Slovene territory. The stony world of caves has captured the interest of many curious adventurers and researchers who were seeking to uncover the secrets of the Karst underground. Although mostly negative characteristics were attributed to its natural features, such as its bareness[2] and exposure to the bora wind (Shaw, 2007), the Karst region attracted curious visitors, scientists and adventurers already in the period before modernization brought new discoveries as well as scientific and cultural changes (industrial revolution, urbanization, new means of transport, cultural and philosophical perception). We are referring especially to visits to the stony underground of the Karst.

In the period before the development of modern tourism[3], visiting caves was subject to a number of factors, one of which was associated with faith. One example of this phenomenon was the Christian martyr St. Servulus, who was hiding at Socerb and died there in 284 A.D., shortly after which the cave became his sanctuary and a pilgrimage destination for Christians. The martyr's followers, believers, would visit the location every year on the day of his death (Kranjc, 1997, p. 99). Pilgrimages to the cave were also described by Valvasor and Schönleben in the 17th century, by Nagel and Hacquet in the 18th century and by Agapito in the 19th century. Nevertheless, the main motives for visiting this underground world were not of religious nature, but were mostly curiosity, research and a desire for adventure. Before the advent of modern tourism, people would visit caves such as the Postoj-

1 The first recorded formal use of the word Karst appeared in Wolfang Lazius map published in 1561 (printed in 1545). Before the first recorded use Shaw suggests that the name must have been in uses and known earlier as a regional name (Shaw, 2007, pp. 48–51).

2 As f. e. Cassas wrote his impressions about the territory: »*In these districts, highly-cultivated land is no longer to be seen: the soil is gravelly, dry, and barren, and from Senosequia to the valley of the Ruecca its appearance was melancholy in the extreme*« (Lavalée, 1805, p. 122).

3 Modern tourism is closely linked to economic development as well as to the consequences of the industrial revolution and technological modernization. The development of the tourism sector was also influenced by the cultural, existential and social dimensions (Paloscia, 2005, p. 263).

na Cave, Škocjan Caves, Vilenica, Planina Cave, Predjama, Magdalena Cave, Socerb Cave and others.

The Postojna Cave is believed to be the first known cave to be visited, since allegedly, an inscription was left there already in 1213 (Južnič, 2013, p. 10). In the Postojna Cave the Passage of Old Signatures (*Rov starih podpisov, Namen-Halle, Inschriften-Halle*), which can still be visited today, preserves inscriptions from visitors since the 14th century. However, some inscriptions described by Alois Schaffenrath, such as the oldest one dating back to 1213, are no longer visible. This is why we cannot be sure about their actual existence. Later on other visitors were also documented here, although until the 16th century and Valvasor's testimonies from the 17th century the cave had recorded a relatively low attendance and interest. The Vilenica Cave was recognizable as a«tourist« cave and is known as the first »tourist«[4] cave in the Slovene territory. Vilenica was indeed the first cave open for tourism in 1633, which means that an entrance fee, in addition to the fee for the guides through the cave and lightning, was collected. In the mentioned year, the owner of the cave, Count Petač (*Petazzi, Završki, Schwarzeneg*), left the cave to the Church of Lokev and the income from the entrance fees was divided between the Count and the Church (Habe & Kranjc, 1981, p. 29). The Škocjan and Postojna Caves became more frequently visited in the 18th century and especially in the 19th century. Their tourism-related development was emphasised in the beginning of the 19th century, when new discoveries took place in the Postojna Cave and its cave system (Postojna, Otoška and Črna Caves) and when access (Stairs) was arranged to the Škocjan Caves. It was the construction of the railway from Vienna to Trieste (1857) that also significantly influenced the development of tourism in Postojna. Modern cave tourism started developing in particular in the 19th century, when the two caves were opened to tourism. Other caves in the Karst were also visited, such as the Črna Cave (Magdalena), which is part of the Postojna Cave system, Predjama, Zelška Cave, Križna Cave, Divaška Cave, Clementina (Opčine), Grotta Gigante (Great Cave) and others (Kranjc, 2002; Shaw, 2008). Nevertheless, this paper focuses on »tourist«[5] visits to the most recognizable and successful caves of Vilenica, Postojna and Škocjan in the pre-industrial period, particularly before the modern means of transport (the train, the steam boat) were introduced and before professional speleological research yielded new discoveries in the caves. The focus is on the presentation and analysis of the diaries and records left by the visitors to the area, the aim of which was to deepen foreign visitors' knowledge of the territory before the introduction of guidebooks in the 19th century (Shaw, 2007).

Travellers in the Karst in the pre-industrial era. Impressions from journeys

Underground caves have been used by people since the Palaeolithic times when we cannot yet talk about speleological research or tourist visits – they were used as shelters, warehouses, for water supply or, as already mentioned, for religious purposes (the Socerb Cave) (Kranjc, 1997, p. 99). Caves were also visited out of curiosity or for research reasons already

4 A more appropriate expression could be »commercial« as used by Shaw (2007), but since the article is focused on the presentation of tourist activity we use the term tourism.

5 We are referring to the period prior to the development of modern tourism, to the so called pre-forms of tourism or *prototourism*.

in the pre-industrial era, mostly by foreign visitors (Hrobat Virloget, 2015)[6], in the era of pre-modern tourism, which represents a specific feature of the Karst region. The landscape of the Karst with its unusual natural features attracted numerous researchers and adventurers. In addition to underground caves, Lake Cerknica and Idrija (mercury mine/silver mine) were also locations attractive to visitors. Trieste played a strategic role as a port and as the starting point for (individual) itineraries and visits to the nearby areas of the Karst (Vilenica Cave, Škocjan Caves, Lipica, Socerb Cave). The proximity of the city allowed for a better visibility and accessibility of these localities both in the period before and during the development of modern tourism.

Travellers to these places often chronicled the moments and impressions of their travels and published them in the form of diaries and itineraries. Most travellers to this region came from England, Germany, France, Austria and Italy. Some were just crossing the territory, while others were intentionally visiting the area following a prearranged itinerary.

Travelling in the pre-industrial era was a long, arduous, expensive and even dangerous adventure because of bandits and thieves, who were preying on travellers along the side of the roads. Furthermore, some roads were poorly maintained and the journey was slow (Studen, 2006, pp. 52–53). We can read descriptions of long journeys due to poorly kept roads which was why many stops were required (for lubrication of wheels) along the way. Communication, too, would sometimes pose a challenge, especially if the locals did not speak any foreign languages. In less visited places, another problem was a lack of adequate accommodation and restaurants (Shaw, 1997, p. 172). Travellers in the Karst region were frequently surprised by the strong bora wind that would overturn carriages and cause a number of inconveniences.

Travel diaries and journals that were published by travellers differ in the style of writing, as well as in travellers' perceptions, experiences and interests. Thus, in many descriptions we can trace critical reports of local restaurants, roads, offer, accessibility and the way of life of the local population. The Karst region was no exception. Detailed reports and testimonies show that the visitors who explored and visited the Karst areas, especially the caves, had both scientific and »adventurous« interests. Their diaries and other testimonies (especially from the pre-industrial period) have already been thoroughly researched and published (see Shaw, Shaw and Adam Carmichael, Levental).[7] This paper focuses mainly on the identification of the impressions from »tourist« visits to the Karst and its distinctive features.

Among the most famous and earliest English travellers[8] from the modern period we should mention Walter Pope, a professor at Oxford, and one of the first members of the British Royal Society, who stopped at the Idrija mercury mine in 1664. His signature is preserved in the guest book of the Idrija Castle (Levental, 1989). Edward Brown, a member of the Royal Society and medical doctor, travelled through the Slovene territory in 1669. He visited Idrija, Gorica and Lake Cerknica. Upon his return, he published a book entitled *A Brief Account of Some Travels*, which was at the time the only available source in English

6 According to Hrobat Virloget (2015), the perception of the local population regarding the caves was as follows: »mysterious places, entrances to the other world, places of dwelling of supernatural beings and places for ritual activities« and people were usually afraid to enter.

7 A detailed research of the foreign visitors of the caves was made by T.R. Shaw (see also list of references).

8 The following part was partially published in Kavrečič 2011.

about Slovene lands for foreign travellers (Brown, 1685; Stanonik, 1992). Brown describes his journey and observations about the places he had visited. He accurately describes the landscape and its landforms, such as Lake Cerknica, its features, wildlife and fisheries. This is how he described the lake:

> *...famous strange Lake of Zirchnitz... I took Boat and spent some time upon the lake... This Lake is about two German miles long, and one broad, encompassed with Hills at some distance, an upon the South-side lies a Forest part of Birnbaumer Forest, which extends a great way, wherein are many Dear, wild Boars, Foxes, Wolves and Bard. Every year in some part of the Month of June, the water of this Lake descends under-ground through many great holes at the bottoms; and in the Months of September returns again by the same holes; and with a speedy ascent, springing and mounting up to the heighth of a Pike, and soon covering that tract of ground again. When the water is under-ground, the Earth makes a speedy production of Grass yielding food for Cattel in the Winter, and at the same time, Hares, Deer and Boars resort to this place out of the Country, and the fore-mentioned Forest, and are often taken by the people.«*

While staying in Cerknica he was hosted by the town Richter or judge, Andreas Wiser (Brown, 1669, p. 80). He also showed an interest in the habits and customs of the local population. When mentioning the Slavic names for the valleys surrounding the territory, he also notes that the language of the local population, *sclavonian,* sounds peculiar to him. He describes different dialects of the visited territories: *»The Carniolinas speak a Dialect of the Sclavonian, but in this parts* [the territory of what he calls the »Country of Goritia«, n. P.K.] *they have a Language called Lingua Fullana, or Friulana; he that speaketh Italian may understand much thereof«* (Brown, 1669, pp. 81–83).

At this point we should mention Janez Vajkard Valvasor, although not a foreign traveller, but an important researcher and reporter writing about the Carniola, who in his work entitled The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola (*Die Ehre des Hertzoghtums Crain, Slava Vojvodine Kranjske*) (1689) describes the Karst region and its natural features in great detail. In his work he describes about 70 caves, among which, in his opinion, the Postojna Cave was the largest, longest, and the most terrifying (Savnik, 1958, p. 138). Besides Kircher, Valvasor was the one who also described the Škocjan Caves and included with his description »the drawing of the two great dolinas«. Although Shaw maintains that his drawings are not very accurate, his work is still important as he showed »all four places where the water appeared and disappeared« (Shaw, 1998, p. 237). In Panjek's (2005, p. 154) opinion, Valvasor wished to promote the described area through the valorisation of its cultural and natural heritage. His approach to describing and exploring the landscape was quite innovative and modern for the late 17th century. Panjek (ibid.) believes that Valvasor tried to disseminate knowledge through this kind of promotion. Naturally this interpretation is based on a present-day perspective; but we can nevertheless identify in Valvasor's work an intent of spreading the knowledge about the described territory and an accurate ethnographic work. His book was kept in several inns and hotels where foreign travellers would usually stay when travelling through Slovene lands. Valvasor's Glory was commonly used as a source of information about the visited territory. In journals which were published later (e.g. Pococke, Davy, Tobin and Spenser), Valvasor's influence was clearly present, with other authors

copying or (often incorrectly) quoting his work (Stanonik, 1992, p. 114). His importance was significant.

Another member of the Royal Society of London (although German), Johann Georg Keyssler, travelled across the Slovene and Croatian territory in 1730. He stopped at Socerb, in Postojna (where he visited the Black Cave), Predjama, Planina, Cerknica, Idrija, Vrhnika, Ljubljana and Celje (Shaw, 1997). When mentioning the local population, he states that they speak a Slavic language, but that all classes of people also speak Italian and German (Shaw 2008, p. 67). Among other sights, he also describes the Socerb Cave:

> *About a German mile from Trieste, the castle of S. Servulo stands on a high mountain, which yields a very pleasant prospect. Near it is the entrance of a famous cavern [...] In the first cell you come into, mass is celebrated at certain times, for which purpose it is furnished with an altar* (Shaw, 2008, p. 66).

Keyssler mentions celebrations and pilgrimages to the cave in honour of Saint Servulus, which were still practiced in the period of his visit. His visit was made easier by the vicinity of Trieste, where several travellers met and communicated. About the Postojna Cave he writes:

> *The sides are covered with all kind of figures, formed by the same exsudations, to which the imagination of the curious spectator frequently gives various forms never intended by nature; so that is not all strange that some people should make out the heads of horses, dragons, tygers, and several other animals, among these stalactical substances.*

Visits to the mysterious underground excited the visitors' imagination. Taking into account the fact that these visits were conducted almost entirely in darkness and that the slippery pathways (lit only by candlelight) made them even more dangerous and mysterious, such reactions are not surprising. Such were not only Keyssler's impressions but also those of other visitors during the pre-industrial period. The area's natural features were what attracted Keyssler most. He later mentions the underground river Pivka,

> *It is very remarkable that the river Poig, which rises in this mountain about a German mile from Adelsberg, runs again to it with an inverted course loses itself near the entrance of the cavern, and falls a great depth into the rock, as is evident from its roaring noise and the sound caused by flinging a stone into the hole* (Shaw, 2008, pp. 66–67).

During the period from 1736 to 1737, another eighteen-century traveller, Richard Pococke, travelled through Slovene lands, visiting Lake Cerknica, Idrija, Istria, Trieste and Pula. He travelled together with Jeremy Milles, who left records about their visits. They visited Postojna and the Black Cave (Črna jama, today part of the Postojna Cave system), which Milles describes in the following words »

> *This grotto* [Postojna] *is not about half a mile long, not very high but full of Stallactites...the most remarkable thing to be observed there is a natural stone bridge which seems to have been partly formed by the dropping of water from the roof.*

Pococke and Milles visited the Postojna Cave before the discovery of its second part which took place in the early 19th century. This could be the reason why other caves seemed more interesting and amazing to the visitors, such as the Black or the Magdalena Cave. The latter was, in Milles's opinion, »*...by far the most curious we ever beheld, far exceeding the above*

mentioned one in the quantity of Petrifications...« (Shaw, 2008, p. 78). Until 1818 (1819) when new discoveries took place, Postojna Cave was considered an interesting location, but not in the same sense as after 1819.

The physician and naturalist of the late 18th century, Alberto Fortis, member of the British Royal Society, travelled across the Adriatic between the years 1765 and 1791. In 1777 he visited the cave in Vilenica and mentions its favourable location:

> *The first important advantage of this Cornial cave is that it is not far from the post road which allows easy access for a good bit of the way...The entrance is very easy, the great entrance hall is light enough not to require torches to see the first two great columns...* (Shaw, 2008, p. 82).

Fortis emphasized the favourable location of the cave and its easy access, which was an important factor facilitating its visits. A good connection with Trieste as well as the vicinity of the Lipica stud farm increased the popularity of the cave also compared to the later much more famous and visited Postojna Cave or Škocjan Caves. Its accessibility was a crucial advantage to the Vilenica Cave, which was later, due to various reasons (road, administration of the cave), no longer popular amongst visitors.

Less frequent were records about the Škocjan Caves. The first reports focus more on the sinking of the river Reka beneath the village of Škocjan and its reappearing in the *dolines* before descending again. French painter L.F. Cassas, who visited the area in 1782 and depicted it in a drawing, describes his impressions of the wildness of this natural phenomenon,

> *It would be necessary also to examine those profound grottoes and caverns, into which the rays of the sun never penetrate; to cast the glare of flambeaux over the limpid brilliancy of the innumerable stalactities, with which their paths and vaults are embellished; to hear the formidable roar of those torrents and rivers, which fall from the tops of the mountains; and, rolling like thunder over the broken precipices, rebound, collect, and precipitate themselves into the abuses and gulphs, in which they are lost; and above all to behold the precipice , whence the Ruecca darts its foaming waves, in a perpendicular direction, to the depth of 600 feet, before they descend into the cavities of the globe* (Lavallée, 1805, p. 36)

Mostly only the surface part of the location was visited and described. Until the construction of stairs that enabled the descent into the cave, this part was left only to the visitors' imagination.

One of the most famous travellers of the early 19th century, Sir Humpry Davy, President of the Royal Society, first visited the Slovene lands in 1818, then in 1827 and also in 1828. He visited the Vilenica Cave and the Black Cave. His next travel in 1828 was with J.J. Tobin, who left records of their visit.[9] In his diary, Tobin wrote an account of his visit to the Postojna Cave (Magdalena) where he was guided by three guides. Contrary to what had been written by Keyssler almost a hundred years before, Tobin noticed that the knowledge of German was not that common, at least when mentioning his guides in the cave (only one of the three spoke German). Tobin also described an interesting event that occurred in the cave, *»On With-Monday the whole of the grotto illuminated, and hundreds flocks to behold this curious scene, the »Tournier-platz« being arranged as a ball-room, and in which the visitors dance till a very late hour«* (Tobin, 1832, pp. 159, 161–62). Apart from the celebration

9 Davy left some records as well (Šumrada, 1984).

organized on With Monday soon after the new discoveries of 1818, which had a positive and important impact on the visit, he also mentions the fact that a greater part of the cave was discovered long after the Magdalena Cave (Magdalena jama, today part of the Postojna Cave system). His diary was partly translated (the part about Slovene lands) and published in 1861 in the paper entitled «*Blatter aus Krain*« as was later reported in the Slovene paper »*Slovenec*« (Steska, 1926, pp. 4–5), which can be considered a sign of the importance of such a description.

While staying in Trieste, he wrote extensively about the city. Šumrada notices that the city must have made a great impression on him, since he wrote more about it than about (the boring) Ljubljana. From Trieste he took a trip to the Vilenica Cave, which he describes in the following words,

> *»The entrance was not, as I had expected, in the side of a hill, but in the open fields, and surrounded by a wall...we began to descent down some very slight wooden stairs...« which were »not only slippery, but quite rotten from the continual dripping. The entrance, or hall, is a fine lofty dark vault, supported in the middle by one enormous stalactite column. Beyond this the cave becomes narrower, and the numberless stalactites of all sizes present a greater variety of forms than it is possible to describe: immense cauliflowers, trunks of trees, fruits, rounds and ovals of all sizes...pyramids rising up from below...*

Contrary to the description of Fortis, Tobin thought that the entrance and the visit to the cave itself were quite dangerous (dark) because of the slippery path, as he also had an accident there, as he slipped and almost fell into the abyss (Tobin, 1832, p. 152; Šumrada, 1984, pp. 397–398). Such experiences could also have depended on the guides and lightning provided, as well as on the sole perception of an individual visitor. Fortis had visited more caves and was perhaps more used to visiting the underground, which could have influenced his opinion regarding the dangers of such a visit.

The stony caves of Vilenica, Škocjan and Postojna in the 19th century

The presented journeys[10] and visits to the Karst underground show a specific interest as well as the visitors' personal points of view, perceptions, experiences and background information. Their diaries and traveller logs describe their itineraries, distances, road conditions, economy, accommodation, restaurants and food, the landscape and the people, religion, language as well as the way of life, as well as some adventures, accidents and inconveniences that occurred during their trip abroad. The travellers to the Karst region were mostly attracted by the natural features of, in our case, the three briefly analysed underground caves of Vilenica, Škocjan and Postojna. The discussed caves were selected as being most representative in terms of tourism. The stony underground world of the Vilenica Cave had the most favourable location during the modern period and was the easiest to access. With its location not far from Trieste, the cave was very often the starting point for visit of travellers to the nearest location (besides for example the Cave of Socerb and the Lipica stud farm). Vilenica is situated in the village of Lokev, which was located along the main post road between Trieste and Vienna. This was an important advantage that played in favour of their popularity among visitors. A positive factor was also the vicinity of the royal stud farm in Lipica established in 1580 by the archduke Charles, which was supposedly also the reason for the visit of Vilenica by

10 In the article only selected cases were presented. A lot of material was also published by T.R. Shaw.

the Austrian Emperor Leopold I. in 1660 (Puc, 2000, pp. 24–28). Vilenica is known as the first tourist cave in Slovenia, since the introduction of the entrance fee in 1633, although the reason for such a measure was not the sole commercialization of its visits, but the need for an additional income of the cave owners, who were in debt with the Church of Lokev.[11] Due to its fairly accessible entrance, as described, for example, by Fortis, and due to its favourable location, Vilenica used to be one of the most frequented caves in the modern period, although during the 19th century it was slowly losing its importance. The secretary of the cave commission of the Italian Alpine Society (*Società Alpina delle Giulie – Commissione delle grotte*), E. Boegan, wrote in his report about its glorious past and its magnificent stony features, describing it as one of the most beautiful, most visited, described and widely acclaimed caves in the past, that due to the new discoveries that took place in Postojna, the ease of access to Škocjan Caves and the discovery of the Divača Cave fell into oblivion (Boegan, 1897, pp. 10–16; Janša, 1968, p. 30). Another negative factor was also associated with road connections, since at the end of the 18th century the state road from Trieste to Vienna was redirected through Opčine and Sežana (Puc, 2005, p. 27), and also since the railway from the port to the capital, constructed in 1857, did not pass through Lokev. The Alpine Society acquired the lease of the cave from the community of Lokev in 1886 and soon after began to regulate the way for easier access and cave lighting. Boegan (1897, pp. 10–16) presents a detailed and fascinating description of the cave, which he describes as a real underground world of wonders, with various sparkling crystal formations, big stalagmites various shapes and colours, gleaming walls etc. The *Società Alpina delle Giulie* managed the cave until WW2. Long forlorn, the cave was then passed over in favour of larger caves in the region.

In contrast to the »glorious« past of Vilenica, the area of the Škocjan Caves was not frequently visited by foreigners (or at least there are no official records of such visits), at least not until the 18th century.[12] The specific history of visiting the caves goes from a »shy« admiration of the great *dolines* from the surface to an admiration of the entrance and the final descend into the river caves (Shaw, 1998, p. 237). The problem was the demanding access to the caves that left most of the visitors on the surface (Kelsall, Hooper, Hornschuch, Laurent) admiring mostly the disappearing of the river. The scene was even interpreted as both appalling and wonderful:

> *»This river runs between rocks of a considerable height, whose ruggedness is insurmountable, even by the most adventurous herdsman... delight in the phenomena of nature, a spectacle the like of which is seldom to be found in the world«* (Lavalée, 1805, 122).

According to Agapito's guidebook, the territory represented a beautiful natural feature, but was relatively unknown until the 19th century (Shaw, 1998, p. 242; Agapito, 1823, p. 170).[13] However, due to other more significant factors, its favourable location (not far from Trieste) could not positively influence visits to the place. When explorations started to take place and the paths in the caves were made more accessible, visits became more frequent and a greater tourism-related development could be traced. The first important step was the construction

11 In 1809 the entrance was closed with a door under the instruction of the owner Adelmo Petač. All the income from the fee was transferred to the Church of Lokev (Agapito, 1823, p. 22).

12 It was Kircher who besides Valvasor mentioned and described the area in 1665.

13 Originally: *»Le grotte di S. Caziano, quantunque degne di maggiore attenzione di quante altre n'esistono in Carniola, è tuttavia assai poco conosciuta.«*

of stairs in 1823. The path was routed to the bottom of the Great Valley, which enabled visits to the Tominc Cave, named after Matej Tominc, a provincial councillor who started rebuilding the stairs in 1819. In fact, the year 1819 is known as the beginning of the development of tourism in the Škocjan Caves. This is the year when the guestbook was also introduced – *Liber Cavernae St. Canziani*.[14] Before these arrangements were made, the entrance and descent into the cave were quite dangerous – even life-threatening (Müller, 1890a, p.11).[15]

At the end of the 30s of the 19th century the first studies were conducted[16] by Ivan Svetina, an expert on wells from Trieste, who reached the third waterfall, about 150 metres from the sink in *Velika dolina*, in 1840. The following explorations took place between 1851 and 1852 and were led by Adolf Schmidl with a group of miners from Idrija headed by Ivan Rudolf. They penetrated up to half a kilometre farther, to the fourth, maybe even the sixth, waterfall. A sudden rise of the Reka River swept away their equipment and three boats, so they were forced to end their work earlier. In his descriptions Schmidl also notes that the visits to the caves were still relatively low in number, with about 150 visitors per year (Shaw, 2008, 52; Müller, 1887 and 1890).

The turning point in the exploration of the Škocjan Caves was the foundation of a speleology division by the Primorska Section of the German and Austrian Mountaineering Society of Trieste (*DuÖAV – Abtheilung für Grottenforschung*) in 1884, which also acquired the lease to the Škocjan Caves in the same year. Under the leadership of the »cave triumvirate« (Anton Hanke, Jožef Marinitsch and Friedrich Müller) and with the help of local people (Jože Antončič, Jurij Cerkvenik – Gomboč, Franc Žnideršič, Pavel Antončič, Jože Cerkvenik, Janez Delež), a systematic penetration along the river and exploration of the caves began. The regulation of the tourist path, building of bridges, guided tours and an entrance fee were arranged (Müller, 1887, pp. 9–10; Pazze, 1893, pp. 354–359; Shaw, 2008, pp. 51–52). Both scientific and tourism-related development successfully proceeded.

Unlike the Škocjan Caves, the Postojna Cave was fairly well known and visited by foreign travellers and tourists in the modern period even though only a part of the cave had been discovered by 1818. An accidental discovery by Luka Čeč opened the door to a very successful tourist destination. After this discovery the entrance was closed, an entrance fee was introduced, and a regulation of the pathways, provision of lightning and guide service was soon arranged. The administrative body of the cave was the Cave Committee, established in 1824 (1823). In 1919, the cave was opened as a tourist cave, and the first to sign the guest book was the Crown Prince Ferdinand (Čuk, 2003; Kariž, 2008). A crucial moment for the intensive development of cave tourism in Postojna occurred with the construction of the south railway from Vienna to Trieste in 1857. One of the stops was also Postojna. The railway enabled an easier, faster, safer, punctual and cheaper transport for many more passengers than in the pre-industrial era (Čeč, 2009). The modern transport connection also brought the Emperor Franz Joseph and Empress Elizabeth into town. The Postojna Cave had never before been so luxuriously illuminated. It was fitted with over 12.000 lights, 1.500 of them in the Great Hall alone. Three velvet litters were made for the Empress and her maids of honour, which could later be hired by other wealthy guests (Čeč, 2001, p. 37).

14 The book is no longer preserved.

15 The translation of Müller's work into Slovene was made possible by the Park Škocjanske jame in 2013.

16 The reason was the search of water supply for Trieste.

Indeed during the entire 19th century, the cave underwent various modernization processes. Owing to the railway, the Postojna Cave was visited by as many as 4.000 travellers in 1858. The guests who came to see the cave by train had a considerable ticket concession. The cave was advertised with bills and leaflets at all major railway stops along the line and its fame also spread through ads in newspapers, tourist guides and expositions. The cave railway was introduced on 16 June 1872 and electric lightning in 1884 (Kavrečič, 2007). The railway had a significantly positive impact on the development of cave tourism in Postojna, which became and is still today considered one of the main tourist attractions of Slovenia.

Conclusion

The paper focuses on the development of the attraction of caves for tourism, and outlines the most common experiences of travellers, their impressions from the journeys and of the underground stony world of the Karst region. Research was based on historical sources, such as diaries, journals, reports, and the first local guidebooks. Emphasis was given to three localities that had developed more substantially in terms of tourism, especially during the 19th century as the first tourist caves in the Slovene territory. Particular interest was placed on the impressions of the visited area expressed by foreign visitors during the pre-industrial period, the period before the development of modern tourism. The questions were why and what made these localities attractive and what the reasons for these visits were. What kind of descriptions and representations of the visited area can be found and did these sources actually contribute to a better knowledge of the territory?

The natural features of the stony underground intrigued the imagination of the visitors, as they represented a certain »world of wonders«. The caves were illuminated only by torches or candles which made the visit even more adventurous and sometimes dangerous, as described by Keyssler: *»...the sides are covered with all kind of figures...to which the imagination of the curious spectator frequently gives various forms never intended by nature...is not all strange that some people should make out the heads of horses, dragons...«* (Shaw, 2008, pp. 66–67). This kind of phenomenon was interesting both for scientists as well as for curious travellers even prior to the period of modernization, the construction of new transport links of the steam engine (railway and steam boat) and the spread of new means of communication (especially the guidebook) which changed the manner and characteristics of travel. With its natural features the landscape of the Karst region has attracted travellers, famous tourists, adventurers and intellectuals. Their visits and reports about the natural features represent a specific feature of the area under consideration, an early form of tourism that developed more intensively during the 19th century. This is a specific feature that is linked to the natural environment of the territory. Descriptions and impressions from the journeys contributed to a better knowledge of the territory, especially in cases when the journals were later published in the form of diaries, books or scientific or other papers. It should be noted that until the modern guidebooks by Murray or Baedeker, *»...until the 1880s the classical Karst was known mainly to those who had personal contact with it either as travellers experiencing its bareness and its winds, or as visitors...«* (Shaw, 1997, p. 56).[17]

17 Show in this article refers to the cases of Vilenica, Škocjan, Padriče and Trebče.

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Public presentation of stone monuments

Nigel T. W. Mills

Introduction to heritage interpretation – a personal journey

To tell the story of stone is to tell the multiple stories of planet earth, from the earliest origins billions of years ago, through the emergence of seas and continents to the appearance and development of life in all its varied forms. It is also to tell our own story, that of *Homo sapiens*, and our increasingly complex and difficult relationship with our planet and the rocks it is made of.

These are amongst the most fundamental, powerful and emotional stories that we human beings can tell, full of dramatic potential and opportunities to engage people of all nationalities and from all walks of life. Yet as a basis for storytelling, for public presentation, the basic raw material can be unpromising for it simply comprises piles of rock. Some rocks and many fossils, like archaeological objects, are intrinsically beautiful through their colour, shape and patterns. Many though are uninspiring. One pile of rocks looks very much like the next pile of rocks – so once you have seen one, what is the motivation for seeing another? It all depends on how you tell their stories.

Learning how to bring the stories of stone to life in ways which engage and inspire people, rather than simply exciting them, has been an underlying theme of my professional life: exploring, understanding and bringing to life the varied relationships between people and rocks – between people and landscape.

I was trained and undertook research as a landscape archaeologist at Cambridge and then Sheffield Universities in the UK, studying diachronic relationships between people and landscapes in prehistoric and early historical times, in southern and central France and in northern Italy (Mills, 1985; 1986a; 1986b; 1988). The core data I dealt with comprised mainly the stone objects left by the people who populated these landscapes, the soils in which the objects were found and the underlying geology, hydrology and topography.

Out of my academic studies developed an interest in bringing these relationships to life for non-academic audiences, for local people (the relationship between people and place) and for visitors – essentially the public presentation of stones!

It was in the 1980s as a Countryside Ranger and then Manager of Shipley Country Park, a 300 hectare publicly accessible tract of landscape in the East Midlands, that I was introduced to the pioneering work of Freeman Tilden (1977) and of Steve Van Matre (1979; 1990) in bringing to life, in *interpreting*, natural and cultural landscapes for local people and visitors. Shipley Country Park had as its core a historic landscape, managed as an aristocratic estate from the 17th to the early 20th centuries, subsequently extensively opencast mined for coal, then restored and landscaped as a Country Park for the recreational use of the nearby urban populations of Nottingham and Derby and surrounding towns. Over 200,000 people used the Country Park each year and interpreting the story of the Park's landscape to these visitors and to local people was a core function of the Park's countryside rangers. I and my staff learned the principles and approaches developed by Tilden and Van Matre through a series of courses taught by the Peak District National Park countryside training centre at Losehill Hall where Sue Cross was an inspirational tutor.

Freeman Tilden was born in 1883 and died in 1980. Through his work for the USA National Park Service he developed a set of core interpretation principles which underpin modern approaches to interpretation in the English speaking world and which he published in his 1957 book *Interpreting Our Heritage* (Tilden, 1977).

It is important here to digress a little to explore the use of the word *interpretation* by heritage interpreters on the one hand and by many archaeologists and curators on the other. For archaeologists and curators *interpretation* is used to refer to the academic explanation of scientific information. The interpretation of an archaeological site for instance is taken to mean the academic explanation of the site on the basis of the archaeological and other evidence (or information) associated with it. Tilden uses the word interpretation in a slightly different way. For him interpretation is more than explanation or the unadorned presentation of information; interpretation encompasses the idea of bringing to life what is being explained in ways that will engage and interest the public. Interpretation in this sense is nonetheless still anchored in the evidence itself and in scientific explanation – it simply goes further in focusing on those aspects and the techniques of presenting the information that are most likely to engage visitors. As expressed by Tilden in his first principle of interpretation:

»*Information as such is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.*« (Tilden, 1977, p. 9).

For Tilden, interpretation is a means or process of engaging people with what is being presented, so they understand rather than simply being passively informed:

»*Through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection.*« (Tilden, 1977, p. 9).

Good interpretation achieves understanding by enabling the visitor to relate to what is being interpreted:

»*Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.*« (Tilden, 1977, p. 9)

A key mechanism through which good interpretation can engage the visitor is by challenging them, encouraging and enabling them to reflect on what is being presented to them rather than simply observing:

»The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.« (Tilden, 1977, p. 9)

In this article the word *interpretation* is used in Tilden's sense. To put Tilden's approach to interpretation more simply, people are interested in people. To engage people with whatever it is we are presenting or interpreting we must find themes and techniques through which people can relate to the subject we wish them to find out about; we need to enable people to see the people in the stone.

Steve Van Matre is an environmental activist and educator whose approaches focus on practical and experiential learning in the outdoors and which include a holistic aspect that connects the participant with the subject. The educational techniques he advocates can be highly effective in engaging children and adults with the world around them and reflecting on their impacts and relationships. He founded the concept of Earth Education and has published a number of books about this, most notably *Sunship Earth* (1979) and *Earth Education: A New beginning* (1990).

With a dynamic, innovative and dedicated team of countryside rangers, we had great fun and much success in applying the principles of Tilden and Van Matre to interpreting the natural and cultural landscape of Shipley Country Park. Possibly our most successful project was an annual programme of interpretation activity focused on local children from former coal mining communities through which we sought to inspire their interest and understanding of the world around them. Each year this involved around 100 children and lots of volunteer helpers. One year following a simulated plane crash (the main marquee transformed into the cabin of a jumbo jet) the children found they had landed in the midst of an equatorial rainforest (an imaginatively transformed Country Park!) through which they were guided to safety by rainforest people, who passed on their local knowledge on the way. Another year the childrens' time machine landed in the midst of a 19th century industrial landscape.....and so on!

I later moved on to become the first Director of the Creswell Heritage Trust, responsible for the management and public presentation of the UK's most important publicly managed archaeological and geological site for the Ice Age, at Creswell Crags near Worksop on the Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire border (http://www.creswell-crags.org.uk/). One of the UK's largest scheduled monuments and a Geological Site of Special Interest, the site has in the past been proposed as a World Heritage Site because of its significance for understanding human life on the margins of the ice sheets during the last glaciation.

The site is a gorge carved by glacial meltwater in magnesian limestone rock, honeycombed with caves that have produced evidence of people, animals and environment between 45,000 and 10,000 years ago. Most recently, in 2004, the UK's most significant Ice Age cave art was discovered here by a team of Spanish and British archaeologists, comprising engravings of animals and birds including bison, deer and ibis in the roof of Church Hole cave (Bahn and Pettit, 2009).

Despite being featured as a major regional tourist attraction in the nineteenth century, the gorge at Creswell Crags had suffered from neglect over the years with a road built through it for transport of coal from neighbouring collieries and a sewage works construct-

ed at the east end. Over the course of fifteen years a major programme costing over £15 million was developed and implemented including raising over £4.5 million of private sector funds, resulting in the construction of a new road and sewage works away from the gorge, landscape restoration and the building of a new museum and education centre which opened in 2008.

Creswell Crags offers an inspirational environment through which to bring some of the most fundamental human and environmental stories to life, engaging visitors in the stories of our existence on earth and our relationship to our planet. Much of the source material for these stories is however, potentially uninspiring for the average visitor – stone tools, animal bones, sediments and rock.

Arts based interpretation proved to be a particularly effective means of engaging local people and visitors in this remote past which has little immediate or obvious connection with life in the 21st century. Through a close relationship with the local participatory arts Trust (Junction Arts) the team at Creswell Crags explored innovative ways in which to bring these stories to life. The whole gorge was used at times as a theatrical space in which local children enacted stories from the past through a variety of performing arts activities. Professional artists representing a wide range of art forms (poetry, sculpture, music, dance) were encouraged to use the physical space of the gorge and its stories to inspire artistic responses. Central to the interpretive offer was a programme of cave and gorge tours through which trained guides could bring the stories to life in face-to-face interaction.

The inanimate nature of stone lends itself to arts based interpretation, creating blank canvases, dramatic stage sets and resonating spaces for a wide range of artistic responses. The Jurassic Coast World Heritage Site in the UK (http://jurassiccoast.org/) is an example of best practice in the imaginative use of the arts to bring to life the site's 185 million year story, engaging local people and visitors. Creative Coast, published by the Jurassic Coast Partnership in 2013, is a case study of how the arts can contribute to the management of a natural World Heritage Site (Sutcliffe, 2013). An excellent example is a short video produced in 2013 which distills the story into 5 entertaining, engaging and informative minutes with many inspired interpretive devices – included referencing the age of the site in units of grannies! (Britton, 2013).

Applying the principles of Heritage Interpretation 1 – the Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework

After ten years at Creswell Crags and with the main projects on their way to being implemented, it was time to take up a new challenge – bringing to life the story of Hadrian's Wall – the largest stone monument in the Roman Empire. This was a big challenge, especially for UK audiences for many of whom the Romans seem remote and rather tedious; for many people, Roman monuments seem pretty much the same across the Roman world – once you have seen one you have seen them all. The monuments are often enlivened by re-enactors but these also tend to portray the same image wherever they appear, of the Roman legionary of the second century AD; lots of men dressed in short skirts wearing tin hats! The Romans are not helped by their history being taught in the early years of the national education curriculum, presented as a series of facts rather than information that can be considered from different viewpoints. The impression left in the childrens' minds is that

all we need to know about the Romans is known, it all happened in the past and is not very relevant to our lives today.

The situation is not helped by the way in which the Romans tend to be presented in museums and guidebooks. Such presentation tends to be quite academic, imparting knowledge (instruction) from specialist academics, professionals and curators to visitors, rather than enabling the visitor to relate what is being presented to their own personal experience. These specialists tend also to have a poor understanding of the principles of good interpretation, equating the *storytelling* of interpreters with the world of Disney and fairy tales; but as Tilden emphasises, all good interpretation is based on sound scientific information.

Objects presented in museums usually come from specific archaeological sites or monuments (their provenance). Presentation tends to focus on the site itself, the structures and objects found and the information they reveal about daily life at that site. Partly because of the contexts from which they derive (often military sites) the emphasis is on military life at the expense of broader social, cultural and economic and political themes. There is also a misleading emphasis on a particular use of the term *authentic* which is used to restrict interpretation to the objects actually found at a site despite the fact that other objects that could complement the interpretation may have been found at similar sites and similar contexts.

Rarely are the objects used to illustrate broader social, cultural, political or economic narratives despite the fact that one of the fundamental elements of archaeological training is the understanding that objects can convey many different types of information about the period they represent – functional, processual, symbolic, economic, social etc. It is a paradox that when it comes to presenting these same objects to the general public, the tendency is simply to display the object rather than use it to illustrate a story.

This is in stark contrast to the approach taken by Neil McGregor, Director of the British Museum in his BBC Radio 4 series in which he used 100 carefully chosen objects to illustrate the story of human civilisation (McGregor, 2010). To underline the point, Neil McGregor's background is as an art historian and he was Director of the National Gallery prior to becoming Director of the British Museum. Since his appointment the Museum has put on an acclaimed series of great exhibitions which have used objects to illustrate grand narratives associated with the histories of some of the most noted and influential leaders of civilisations world-wide.

Hadrian's Wall, and other linear structures created for defence, present a significant problem for interpretation since from the point of view of the visiting public one part of the structure is much the same as the next. In the case of Hadrian's Wall there are 11 main sites/museums open to the public. For over twenty years, apart from the opening of a new museum at Segedunum in 2000, there had been very little investment in public presentation. Most of these sites are essentially military and most are forts. At a basic level each site told essentially the same story concerning the construction of Hadrian's Wall and the forts and other installations along it, daily life in the forts as represented by the objects left behind, and the eventual breakdown of the Roman frontier. The objects on display are similar from one site to the next.

For the academic there are important differences in the information provided by each site but this is lost on the average visitor for whom each site is essentially a pile of stones,

as illustrated by a recent comment on Tripadvisor: »It's a couple of bricks in a bit of mud. More fun at a funeral. What do you expect from a wall though? Next time I fancy trekking through debris. I'll go to a construction site. P.S. Full of weirdos in Berghaus« (*TripAdvisor* 2014)

Once a visitor has seen one place, why should they go and see another as they all seem the same? There appeared to be a need for each place to tell a different story in different ways to appeal to different groups of visitors and to encourage them to visit more of the sites.

That this was the case was confirmed in an extensive programme of visitor research undertaken to assess what potential (rather than existing) visitors thought about Hadrian's Wall (Adkins & Holmes, 2011; Adkins, Holmes & Mills, 2013). The research was carried out in 2009–10 and comprised qualitative research involving four focus groups supported by quantitative assessment through over 300 telephone interviews. An important element in the focus group research was the use of mood boards through which to explore reactions to suggested interpretation themes and approaches.

A key conclusion from the research was that Hadrian's Wall is not well known and is not perceived as an attractive or easy place to visit as illustrated by the following response from a focus group participant: »I just thought it was a wall and a bit boring. I didn't realise there were different places to go, I thought it was all the same.« Other responses included the words »remote«, »desolate«, »moorland«, »cold and bleak«, »stones and ruins«, »wild open spaces« (Adkins & Holmes, 2011, pp. 15–16; Mills et al., 2013, p. 159) which, whilst they might appeal to certain audiences, are clearly off-putting for others. These responses reflect the Tripadvisor comment noted previously.

A second key conclusion was that widening the interpretive offer to encompass wider narratives would provide a clear opportunity to broaden the visitor offer and start to address issues of perception, appeal and attracting new audiences. Focus group respondents reacted strongly and positively to many of the mood boards, particularly one which captured the idea of Hadrian's Wall forming part of a frontier between the Roman Empire and the non-Roman world. »This held immediate fascination for all focus group participants. Unprompted, participants compared Hadrian's Wall to known modern frontiers, walls and barriers built to separate people for political, social and economic purposes; participants were able to relate contemporary issues and troubles to the past and, in doing so, could see the Roman world as complex and many-sided – just as they view 20th-century history and the modern world as studied at school and college.«

»This immediate and significant change in participants' knowledge and perception of Hadrian's Wall indicates how public knowledge and appreciation of the World Heritage Site could be improved through a broader approach to site interpretation and presentation. By interpreting Hadrian's Wall and its associated sites as part of the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire, instead of providing a narrow focus on the Wall and its archaeology, the scope for visitor understanding and experience is immediately enlarged.« (Adkins et al., 2013, 161)

A comment from a focus group respondent underlined gaps in current interpretation and opportunities to fill them: »Prior to visiting the site (Housesteads), I had a positive expectation as to what to expect. I knew that the Wall itself was just a wall, but I thought

that forts like Housesteads would be a lot more interesting than the Wall. I also knew that Housesteads had a museum which I hoped would not only explain information about the fort itself, but about life in Roman Britain and other things such as the Roman empire, Roman soldiers etc.« The respondent's expectations were unfulfilled by their visit to the site (Adkins et al, 2013, p. 165).

Hadrian's Wall from this perspective is part of a much broader narrative about the social, economic, cultural and political drivers of the Roman Empire. The Wall is not in itself the narrative; it is an object (admittedly a big one!) that illustrates a narrative. Once articulated this is clearly self-evident; to understand any frontier you must understand the context in which the frontier was created and the impacts it had (or has) on people either side of it. Immediately the narrative of the Roman frontier resonates with the modern world and becomes part of the visitor's life experience. This wider context and modern resonance becomes even clearer through the transformation of Hadrian's Wall from being an independent World Heritage Site into being part of the transnational Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site.

People are interested in people. At the simplest and most direct level, people are interested in the everyday life of people in the past because this is something they can relate to. Themes such as love, families, children, work, crafts, fashion, food and drink provide a direct connection between present and past. At a deeper level people are also interested in the broader context in which people lived their lives in the past including language, communications, ethnicity, social relations, religion, economics, nationhood and governance, provided these themes are presented in ways that enable modern visitors to connect. As suggested by the reaction to the frontier theme above, if presented in the right way these deeper, more complex themes have the potential to challenge and provoke the visitor and so to engage them more deeply with the past.

Informed by the visitor research, by the need to improve public presentation along Hadrian's Wall and by the principles of good interpretation, the Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework was developed to guide much needed investment to improve the visitor experience (Adkins & Mills, 2011; Mills & Adkins, 2013). The term *framework* was used very deliberately to distinguish it from a *strategy*. A strategy implies a clearly set out costed plan to be implemented over a set timescale. This has the disadvantage for a complex site like Hadrian's Wall, with multiple sites where investment is likely to take place as part of a rolling programme over a long time frame, that the environment in which the strategy was first developed will change. Funding opportunities for major investment are notoriously fickle, new technology may become available, there may be changes in management etc, all of which can result in the strategy quickly becoming outdated.

The Framework takes a more flexible approach, setting out basic principles and proposing a central concept and a range of themes which form a menu through which interpretation plans for sites along Hadrian's Wall can be developed in response to opportunities as they become available, enabling each site or museum to develop its own distinctive and complementary offer and to benefit through the experience of others. The Framework has the potential to be useful over a long time frame.

The interpretation themes suggested in the framework are not intended to be used rigidly, as a list, with different sites delivering interpretation focused on a different theme

regardless of the evidence and information available from the site itself. Rather, they are intended as suggestions for themes that could potentially be explored to extend the scope of interpretation beyond the basic information about the site and the objects and structures found at it. Selection of which themes might be most suitable to explore at a particular site will depend on the evidence available, the site history, location, facilities, relationship to other sites etc. Interpretation at any one site is likely to cover a mix of themes.

Whilst the Interpretation Framework emphasises the opportunities available through the use of objects to illustrate narratives, good interpretation and good display recognises that objects can also speak for themselves – it is all a question of balance. The new display of the remarkable series of milestones from the Antonine Wall at the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow illustrates eloquently how effective such an approach can be. Similarly, and although a replica, the sculpture

of a Roman cavalryman riding down a barbarian is a bold and striking image that set the tone for the whole Roman Frontier Gallery and needs no further explanation (see below).

The core interpretation concept that emerged through an extensive consultation process with stakeholders across Hadrian's Wall is:

> *Hadrian's Wall is at the centre of the dynamic story of the north-west Frontier of the Roman Empire. This frontier evolved from the first to the fifth centuries AD in response to changing political, social, economic and demographic forces within the Roman Empire, and the changing role and status of Britain as an Imperial Province. The heavily militarised frontier zone has left a rich physical legacy through which we can explore its story and understand its resonance with the modern world* (Adkins & Mills, 2011, p.30; Mills & Adkins, 2013, p. 176).

This concept moves the emphasis from the stone monument of Hadrian's Wall itself to understanding the frontier as a whole, its development and its evolution over 400 years. Interpretation can become dynamic, rather than fossilised in the physical elements of construction. It can explore the processes that led to the creation of the frontier and affected its later functioning, understanding it in relationship to the Empire as a whole, its legacies and its resonances with the modern world.

The themes through which this concept might be explored and that emerged through the consultation process were proposed as:

People of the Empire – the multicultural nature of the Empire, Citizenship, language, identity and culture *Frontier lives* – daily life of people in the forts and settlements across the frontier and personal stories as revealed by inscriptions, writing tablets, documents and graffiti *Edge of Empire* – Hadrian's Wall as part of the frontier ring around the Empire, inside and outside the Empire, trade & exchange *Britain, a Roman Province* – the Roman occupation of Britain, across the Empire, governance, economic returns from the Province to the Empire *The Roman Army* – organisation, recruitment, training, equipment, tactics, roles, supply, communications *Before and after* – the impact and legacy of Rome and the frontier, on people and culture *Power and control* – the concept of a frontier, the projection of Imperial power, the tensions and conflict associated with borders, UNESCO principles *The Frontier and its environment* – influence of landscape on the frontier, environment in Roman times, impact of the frontier on the landscape, legacy in the landscape *Exploration, discovery and*

values – the history and process of archaeology along the Wall, protection, research, significance and value (Adkins & Mills, 2011, p. 30; Mills & Adkins, 2013, p. 177)

An important supplementary recommendation of the Framework is that World Heritage Sites such as Hadrian's Wall should be much more explicit about their World Heritage status and about how they promote UNESCO's core vision of achieving peaceful co-existence and partnership between the nations of the world through respect, understanding, tolerance and co-operation (Adkins & Mills, 2011, p. 30; Mills & Adkins, 2013, pp. 173–4). This agenda is currently most effectively expressed through the UNESCO 'World Heritage in Young Hands' learning programme (http://whc.unesco.org/en/educationkit/). As a site whose significance and interest lies in its conception as a barrier between people, Hadrian's Wall and the Frontiers of the Roman Empire have enormous potential for promoting UNESCO's vision (Mills, forthcoming).

The Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework was published in 2011. The Framework was developed in parallel with a major programme of investment to improve visitor facilities across Hadrian's Wall. Development of the Framework was iterative, informing and being informed by the projects taking place at the Great North Museum (Hadrian's Wall Gallery), Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery (the Roman Frontier Gallery), Vindolanda, the Roman Army Museum, Housesteads). All of these investments had been completed by 2013 and the visitor offer across Hadrian's Wall transformed in the process. There is now a range of complementary experiences available for visitors, manifest at regional (Tyneside, Northumberland, north west Cumbria, Cumbrian coast) and site specific scales.

On urban Tyneside the focus of interpretation is the high class reconstructions of Roman military buildings at Arbeia and Segedunum including barracks, commander's house, gatehouse, bath house and a section of Hadrian's Wall, supported by the Hadrian's Wall gallery at the Great North Museum which provides an overview of Hadrian's Wall, its construction and functioning.

The Northumberland sites of Corbridge, Chesters, Housesteads and Vindolanda provide the classic offer of extensively excavated, well-preserved Roman sites with a wide variety of high class objects on display including the impressive collections of wood and leather artefacts exhibited at Vindolanda and the world famous writing tablets, set mostly within the dramatic and rugged landscape of the Northumberland National Park.

North west Cumbria is arguably now the most accessible and interesting part of Hadrian's Wall for families and non-specialists, comprising new, family friendly displays at the Roman Frontier Gallery and the Roman Army Museum, and the fine section of the Wall, its various installations and accompanying fort at Birdoswald. Set in a more bucolic landscape, the sites are easily accessible with convenient car parking nearby and high quality support facilities such as the tea rooms at Lanercost and the childrens' activity centre at Walby Farm Park.

The Cumbrian coastal defences lack the history of excavation (and visible remains) of other parts of the World Heritage Site and need investment to create a focal point of visitor interest. Investment in tourism infrastructure is however on the way with physical access improvements including cycling, walking and driving trails and an updated network of information panels. There is also an important programme of archaeological research in pro-

gress at several sites which may provide a catalyst for investment in interpretation (Haynes & Wilmott, 2011).

The extent to which these developments reflect or have explicitly adopted the principles and thematic structure advocated in the Interpretation Framework varies. The sites and museums across Hadrian's Wall are managed by a range of different organisations, each with its own views on interpretation. Currently the best and most comprehensive expressions of the approaches advocated in the Framework are to be found at the Roman Frontier Gallery, the Roman Army Museum and Vindolanda. Both the Roman Frontier Gallery and the Roman Army Museum are underpinned by strong, explicit and complementary thematic structures and are very family-friendly in their approach, incorporating a variety of interactive activities and media to support powerful narratives. The thematic approach is less evident at Vindolanda. Here there is a contrasting focus on display of quantities of the stunning and fascinating objects revealed through the ongoing programme of excavation which annually attracts hundreds of volunteers and is a powerful attractor for visitors. All three museums have received Tripadvisor Certificate of Excellence awards since the new galleries opened in 2011.

The Roman Frontier Gallery at Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery in Carlisle is currently the most explicit expression of the approaches advocated in the Interpretation Framework and is presented below as a case study.

Applying the principles of Heritage Interpretation 2 – the Roman Frontier Gallery

The Roman Frontier Gallery tells the story of how Hadrian's Wall fits into the story of the Roman occupation of Britain – it explores the political, economic and social context of the occupation and of the establishment and evolution of the frontier from the arrival of the Roman army in the north of Britain in the later first century AD to the end of Roman Imperial rule in the early fifth century. It also explores the resonance of the Roman frontier with modern frontiers both as a means of enhancing understanding of the Wall in its historical context and of exploring and promoting UNESCO values behind the concept of World Heritage (Mills et al., 2013, pp. 182–186).

Development of the concept for the gallery and for its thematic structure was founded in the particular strengths of the Roman collections at Tullie House and the nature of the Roman settlement at Carlisle which they reflect. Roman Carlisle was the major urban centre on Hadrian's Wall and in the north of England. It was the only urban centre in the north to be granted *civitas* status. The collections reflect the cosmopolitan and commercial nature of urban life and the juxtaposition of Roman and native traditions. More clearly than anywhere else along the Wall, they allow us to explore civilian as well as military life. The collections also cover the whole period of the Roman occupation of the north of England, from the first arrival of the Emperor Vespasian's troops in the winter of ad 72/73 and the construction of the first fort at Carlisle, to the rebellion and temporary creation of the Gallic Empire under Carausius, formerly Governor of Britannia, in the fourth century and whose name survives on an upturned milestone. The collections include many well-preserved wooden and leather objects including writing tablets, shoes and fragments of textiles.

David Mattingly's book *An Imperial Possession – Britain in the Roman Empire 54bc – 409ad* (Mattingly, 2007) provided the narrative framework through which the collections could be used to illustrate the story of the Roman occupation and the associated story of the frontier. In the book, Mattingly explores the narrative of the occupation of Britain by the Romans. »Its fundamental theme is the fate of Britain as an imperial possession during nearly four centuries of foreign domination« (Mattingly, 2007, 3). In his Introduction, Mattingly states that: »In attempting to write a new history for the globalised twenty-first century, I have been much influenced by recent dramatic changes of emphasis and interpretation. Studies of the pre-Roman Iron Age have been revolutionized by new theoretical approaches and Roman history is also starting to be affected by post-colonial perspectives. This book is very much concerned with the experience of people in Britain under Roman rule and as such it is far more social history than political history ... This is a post-colonial history, in the sense that it questions aspects of the consensus model and attempts to widen debate about the nature and impact of Roman rule in Britain.« (Mattingly, 2007, p. 3).

Development of the Roman Frontier Gallery provided the opportunity to move this debate from the academic to the public domain and in so doing to challenge visitors to think about the nature of the Roman occupation, its impact on native populations and its legacy. The overarching concept for the Frontier Gallery was to invite visitors to explore the narrative of the Roman occupation of Britain from the perspective of the north-west frontier of the Empire and of Carlisle, its most northern urban centre, in particular. The principles advocated in the Interpretation Framework were used in developing and applying this concept, in particular the belief that our cultural heritage should be accessible and inviting, dynamic and people oriented, and relevant (though potentially challenging) to their views, understanding of and interest in the world. A primary objective was to stimulate visitors to think and to ask questions about the Roman occupation and its resonances with the modern world.

Articulation of this concept into a structure for the Gallery was developed through dialogue between interpreters (Nigel Mills and John Scott from The Hadrian's Wall Trust, Genevieve Adkins from the Centre for Interpretation Studies, Perth College) and the museum curator, Tim Padley, Curator of Prehistoric and Roman Antiquities, Tullie House Museum. The structure was developed around five key themes. Throughout the exhibition objects for display were carefully chosen to illustrate the themes and do not carry traditional museum labels so as not to distract from the narrative. The axiom 'less is more' also informed selection; there is no point in displaying multiple examples of a type of object unless this adds to the story. A key and initially controversial decision was to use a replica of the tombstone of Flavinus in Hexham Abbey to introduce the exhibition. This tombstone is over 2.5 metres high and graphically depicts a Roman cavalryman riding down a barbarian, a classic piece of Roman iconography known across the Empire. The controversy concerned the use of a replica rather than a real object. Happily the value of the high quality replica as an interpretive device was fully recognised and its dominating presence at the entrance to the gallery effectively conveys the overarching concept of the exhibition.

The first theme (Figure 1) focuses on the relationship between Britain and the Empire. The Roman Empire encompassed a huge area and Britain was its most northerly territory or province. Conquest and occupation heralded new ways of living, trading, communicat-

Reflections
10% of the entire Imperial Roman army was stationed in Britain - a mere 4% of its territory
The equipment of Roman cavalrymen was designed to show the skill and status of Rome.
The Roman Empire
It Looks Like Home
Roman building styles were copied across the Empire. This helped to create a common identity among the provinces and promote the power of the Roman state.

Figure 1: The Roman Frontier Gallery – theme 1 – Britain and the Empire (© Redman Design).

The Changing
Frontier
400AD
300AD
200AD
100AD
100BC
SEVERUS
"The Conqueror"
IMP CAES TRAIANI
HADRIANI AVGVSTI

Figure 2: The Roman Frontier Gallery – theme 2 – Ebb and flow of the Frontier (© Redman Design).

ing and worshipping. Central to the concept of Empire was the manifestation of a common identity expressed through imperial power and imagery, language, ritual and beliefs, monumental architecture and the introduction of coinage and a monetary economy primarily through a paid, professional army. This theme is introduced through a varied and immersive experience in a dark space and includes two audio-visual installations. The relationship between Britain and the Empire is evoked through display of local objects (column capitals, sculptures of deities, tombstones) juxtaposed with their equivalents from places across the Empire (generously provided on long term loan from the British Museum).

The second theme (Figure 2) recognises that the Roman frontier in Britain ebbed and flowed according to the success of the army, imperial ambition, politics and external pressures.

Hadrian's Wall represents only part of the frontier narrative that began with the advance of Vespasian's troops into the north of England on their way into Scotland, included the construction of both Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall, and continued with the major third-century campaign under Severus and onwards to the end of Roman rule. This clearly challenges the popular and erroneous impression in the UK and elsewhere that Hadrian's Wall marked (and still marks!) the boundary between England and Scotland. Most people in the UK (including many Scots) have never heard of the Antonine Wall and are not aware of the extent of Roman occupation and influence north of Hadrian's Wall. To emphasise the point that Hadrian was not the only Emperor involved in this narrative, the Emperors Vespasian, Hadrian and Severus were chosen as key figures around which to construct the displays. An audio-visual installation graphically illustrates the ebb and flow of the frontier in Britain and the relationship to frontier issues elsewhere in the Empire. The location of this theme within the gallery is itself a border, a transition zone between the immersive first theme and the more open, expansive zone that follows. It includes also a reference to the archaeologically and historically poorly documented native people who would nonetheless have constituted the vast majority of the British population.

The third and fourth themes (Figure 3) explore the idea of Britain as a Roman province, generally and then with specific reference to the *civitas* of Carlisle.

Britain was, in the modern sense, a colony of the Roman Empire. The colony was expected to produce a return, to help pay for the army, the administration and to become a part of the Empire. The Empire achieved these aims through control of the colony and its people and the exploitation of its natural resources. Imperial officials administered the colony and the Roman way of life was promoted amongst the native elite and amongst a multicultural commercial class drawn from across the Empire. An urban way of life was a key element of *Romanitas*; towns were where trade and commerce was carried out, where the elite could show off and buy into the Roman lifestyle and where the influence and dominance of Rome could be expressed through public buildings. Carlisle was the largest town in the north of Roman Britain and was the military and administrative hub for Hadrian's Wall and the centre for trade and commerce in the region; it was the only town in the north of Britain to be given the status of *civitas* – to have its own civilian government. This theme is displayed in a light, open, spacious zone with more numerous objects, no audio-visual and an area where children and adults can explore fashion and dress using modern versions of Roman fabrics and jewelery.

A fifth theme, the Living Wall (Figure 4), was developed around the concept of resonances with the modern world and in particular the perspectives of people today, for whom the experience of frontiers is part of their daily life and worldview.

The decision to include this theme was inspired by two main considerations. The first was the application of sound interpretation principles; that good interpretation should stimulate and challenge visitors to think, and that one way of doing this is to relate what is being presented to the wider life experience of the visitor – not just the practicalities and emotions of daily life, but moral and ethical issues that affect us all. The second was the status of Hadrian's Wall as part of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site and in particular UNESCO's wider mission in promoting the concept of World Heritage, that of promoting peaceful co-existence and partnership between the nations of the world through respect, understanding, toleration and cooperation. The theme is displayed through a concrete Wall, reminiscent of modern frontier walls, inset with images and audio-visual presentations of modern frontiers. A semi-enclosed space at one end of the Living Wall is dedicated to the work of UNESCO in frontier zones across the world. The approach to presenting this theme reflects the fact that frontiers may be viewed differently by those inside and outside. It does not take sides, but encourages reflection. The exhibit includes a board on which visitors can post thoughts inspired by their experience.

The Roman Frontier Gallery opened in 2011. It's success is best illustrated by the positive reviews it has received from professionals and visitors and by the evident thoughtful engagement of visitors with the information, ideas and challenges it communicates:

»This gallery .....is brilliantly conceived and beautifully executed. I was struck by the obvious deep concentration of visitors. They lingered, pondered and considered. Museological provocation is a tricky art form. It is easy to excite folk sensually with artefacts, much harder to make them think« (Lewis, 2011, p. 49).

»This gallery is one, if not the most, innovative pieces of interpretation at any World Heritage Site (worldwide)« (Stone, 2013).

The Living Wall exhibit has been especially effective in challenging visitors to think about the impact of constructing the Wall on the native population and in stimulating reflection about modern frontiers:

»One visitor commented: 'I have visited Hadrian's Wall numerous times...this is the first time I have seriously considered the social and personal consequences of the Wall« (Lewis, 2011, 49).

Reflections left by visitors and noted by the author in August 2013 include the following:

»Unfortunately mankind is too intelligent not to manipulate the world around us – and too stupid to let go of the notion of 'us' and 'them'«

»As John Lennon said, walls are built to keep people apart, bridges are built to bring people together. Lets build more bridges!«

»We think we have advanced so much in 2,000 years. Looking at Hadrian's Wall and on modern day ones shows we haven't advanced at all!«

»Walls, like cathedrals are about power and control. Both are demonstrations of the hypocrisy of the builders.«

»Walls are needed to hold up the roof. The roof keeps us dry! (Profound!)«

gold
iron
Living
Bangladesh/India

Figure 3: The Roman Frontier Galle – themes 3 & 4 – Britain, an Imperial Province (© Redman Design).

Figure 4: The Roman Frontier Gallery – theme 5 – the Living Wall (© Redman Design).

80 miles long,
ans
arians,'
ptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Hadriani, 11.2
Century AD
Emirates/Oman

Conclusions

Stone is inanimate yet is the source for some of the most important and fascinating information about ourselves, our planet and the relationship between us. Often the study and story of stone is left to specialists who have difficulty in conveying these stories in ways that engage modern audiences. This paper has offered insights into many aspects of the public presentation of stone monuments, highlighting approaches designed to bring the stories inherent in stones to life by focusing on those aspects that people can relate to their own life experience and world view.

Arts based interpretation can be particularly effective in enabling engagement and understanding while challenging themes such as the Living Wall at Tullie House have the power to stimulate reflection and constructive debate. The Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework shows the value of audience research and provides a model for how complex sites containing essentially similar or repetitive features and multiple visitor facilities can create complementary visitor experiences. The Roman Frontier Gallery illustrates the structuring of a permanent museum gallery around a strong core narrative with key themes, a mix of media and atmosphere and careful selection of objects with a mix of originals, replicas and loans.

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Versatility of mosaics: psychological, sociological, aesthetic and organizational aspects

Maja Frencl, Boštjan Žvanut

Introduction

The art of mosaics is a craft in which various materials (e.g., stones, tiles, glass, plastic) are joined into different motives. Unlike other, more universal arts, mosaics were in the past limited to Europe, North Africa, and the Near East. However, some evidence of mosaics has also been found in the pre-Columbian cultures (Chavarria, 1999; Goodwin, 2001). It is hard to define the exact chronological beginning of this art. Many authors agree that the first archaeological remains which might be call mosaics are located in the region between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. Old civilisations in Mesopotamia and later also in Egypt documented that workers combined different materials of different shapes and colours in order to create various forms, panels, surfaces etc. (Della Vedova, 2008).

Early examples of specifically cut materials have been found in the ancient Greek culture (Goodwin, 2001). They had spread to certain Greek islands, Sicily, and also to certain parts of the present-day Turkey, which later became part of the Roman Empire. During this period, mosaics spread to temples and other public establishments and geographically also all around the empire (Chavarria, 1999; Goodwin, 2001; Honour & Fleming, 2002). During the Greek and in particular the Roman periods, the mosaic gained importance and was not treated as a decorative element only. As it was installed in important places, it also symbolized power and prosperity. The rise of Christianity led to the development of wall mosaics, which did not need to fulfil the functional purposes such as flooring and, therefore, allowed the use of new materials (Chavarria, 1999). This marked a substantial technical and artistic improvement in this art. In the Byzantine period, the mosaic also gained religious significance, especially in the Justinian period (Goodwin, 2001). Unfortunately, from the 14th century onwards, the mosaic was losing its status (Goodwin, 2001), but at the beginning of the 20th century, the art of mosaics received a significant stimulus from several artists, most notably Antoni Gaudí (Goodwin, 2001; Honour & Fleming, 2002).

According to the analysis of available literature and our previous experience in this field, we assume that today, with the development of human consciousness, the art of mosaics is gaining new dimensions. The mosaic as a technique is very interesting because it im-

plies multiple tasks of cutting, sketching, gluing and, finally, fitting the tiles by making a new object of a different form. It represents a materialisation of new meanings from the mental, social and aesthetic parts of everyday lives. Therefore, it is used also in art therapy sessions. In the therapeutic sense, it enables the individual to find and structure new meanings in the chaos of meaninglessness (Škrbina, 2013). Hinz (2009) explains that the medium of mosaic engages multiple components of the expressive therapy continuum, e.g., the kinaesthetic, perceptual, and cognitive components. The kinaesthetic component of mosaic construction can serve either for energy stimulation or tension reduction. It can also help the individual to find and express a soothing internal rhythm, to resonate with it or even to discharge energy in a slow and rhythmic fashion (Hinz, 2009). When the kinaesthetic component is combined with the materials that have an inherent structure such as mosaic tiles and stones and provide resistance, energy release is enhanced. Due to its perceptual component, the mosaic technique can provide the experience of changing one's perspective, seeing the whole picture and its part in a different manner. The cognitive component can be activated during the familiarisation with the mosaic technique and during all phases of the design and construction of mosaics (e.g., planning, gluing, placing tiles) (Hinz, 2009). Interestingly, the »Mosaic Projective Technique« (Miller, 2005), which is widely used in psychology, is an empirical technique used for detecting potential psychopathologies and evaluating outcomes of psychotherapy from the results of a simple mosaic construction. Although this technique is a valid, internationally recognised test, it does not have a clear theoretical background.

In this chapter a number of new functions of the mosaic are presented, which indicates an expansion of the functionalities of mosaics. These are presented in form of literature review as well as cases from our past workshops and mosaic construction projects.

New functions of mosaics

In the following subsections different new functions of mosaics, which we use in our work, are presented: mosaic as a team building tool, mosaic construction as a children's game, mosaic as a tool for the activation of citizens and institutions in the creation of the environment, and finally, the role of mosaics in personal development, meditation and stress management.

Mosaic as a team building tool

There are many definitions of team building. For example, team building can be defined as the »*ability to identify and motivate individual employees to form a team that stays together, works together, and achieves together* (BusinessDictionary, n.d.).« Bateman (1990) defines team building as »*an effort in which a team studies its own process of working together and acts to create a climate that encourages and values the contributions of team members*. » One of the key elements of team building is improving group cohesiveness (Moreland, Levine & Wingert, 1996). Carron and Brawley (2012) define it as

> *a dynamic process that is reflected in the tendency for a group to stick together and remain united in the pursuit of its instrumental objectives and/or for the satisfaction of member affective needs.*

The effectiveness of integration of art in team building has already been demonstrated by several studies. For example, Sheingold, Warson, Lunsford & Pintz (2014) showed

Figure 1: Mosaic as a team building tool (© Mosaics Of Intention, 2014, Photo: Maja Frencl).

on a group of nurses that interprofessional collaboration improves the opportunity for a meaningful team building by integrating arts. Furthermore, Erfer & Ziv (2006) showed that the integration of art is a valuable treatment modality for creating cohesion in groups of children who have previously been chaotic and disorganized. Reid (2013) in her study demonstrates how a simple and fun art exercise (e.g., a simple mandala) can establish a sense of cohesion in the group.

Mosaic construction is a demanding process and requires intense collaboration between team members, especially when they are not experienced in this technique (Reid, 2013). Intense collaboration among team members is a prerequisite for an effective team building, hence, is not surprising that mosaic construction was already confirmed to be a valuable team building approach (Reid, 2013). Although mosaic construction is widely used in team building workshops (e.g., Crafty Corner, n.d.; Mosaicos, 2014), there is a lack of scientific evidence of its effectiveness in different team building outcomes. Klein et al. (2009) present different team building outcomes. According to our experience, we can assume that mosaic construction is more useful for improving certain team building outcomes than others. For example, an intense coordination and collaboration, required for the construction of a mosaic, usually has a substantial effect on affective outcomes (e.g.,

trust, team potency), team processes (e.g., coordination, communication) rather than on cognitive outcomes (e.g., declarative knowledge of teamwork competencies) or team performance outcomes (e.g., volume of sales, productivity measures). One example of a team building workshop where a mosaic construction was performed is presented in the following case presentation.

Case presentation: DARWIN Eco-Système, Bordeaux

In June, 2014 a workshop was performed in DARWIN Eco-Système, Bordeaux, where a group of entrepreneurs work in a shared working environment, called coworking. Usually companies located in such settings consist of one or only a few employees. These small companies can join different resources and perform certain activities or projects together in a flexible and expeditious way. As these companies are usually independent legal entities, a high degree of individuality is still present in such environments.

We were invited by the coordinator of this group to improve the cohesiveness of these entrepreneurs by performing a mosaic workshop. It consisted of three activities: (1) mindfulness exercises were performed in order to increase the group's ability to be present here and now; (2) the presentation of techniques and tools; and finally (3) the mosaic construction. The tree of life motif was chosen for the following reasons: first, this motive alludes to the interconnection of all life on our planet and, thus, represents an explicit symbol for improving group cohesiveness; second, this group consisted of people of different nationalities and religions, hence, a motif used in various world theologies, mythologies and philosophies was selected. The result of an eight-hour workshop is presented in Figure 1. The participants of the workshop confirmed that after the workshop there was a substantial increase of social activities at the coworking site, which resulted also in new collaborations. Two team building outcomes, i.e., affective and team processes, were evident in this case.

Mosaic construction as a children's game

Children's play is an important developmental part of their life. It has many functions: e.g., learning relevant life roles (Elkonin, 1975 from Duran, 2003), enhancing creativity and problem solving, (Faizi, Azari & Maleki, 2012), gaining social skills such as collaboration and confrontation (Duran, 2003), physical and mental preparation for the learning process (Faizi et al., 2012).

Fostering children's creativity has become a very important issue in contemporary research (e.g., Ahmadi, Mustaffa & Ahmadi, 2014; Danescue, 2013; Faizi et al., 2012; Palei, 2014; Rizi, Yarmohamadiyan & Golam, 2011). It has many beneficial effects for children, for example it provides a sense of well-being, happiness, creative thinking, self-esteem, and activation (Rubin, 2005). It is also very important as creativity represents the fundament of the development and survival of the society (Danescue, 2013). Hence, caring about the children's creativity is, in effect, caring about the future of the society. Faizi et al. (2012) find that child's curiosity, play participation, stimulation by the natural elements and flexibility of function in residential space play an important role in the stimulation of creativity.

Mosaic as a technique requires all these elements. In this technique different natural and artificial materials become a new idea, a new structure, through the play of diversity of shapes and colours. Mosaics also allow the individual to tactilely experience and explore the materials used. As this is a relatively complex technique (Škrbina, 2013), it can help to improve the psychophysical development of the child. Hence, the use of the mosaic technique as a part of children's game can have a significant impact on the development of creativity.

Two cases of mosaic construction projects, performed as a children's game, are presented in the continuation of this subsection: the first project was performed in a kindergarten with preschool children, and second one at a summer festival where primary school

children participated. These two projects differ in some manner in the structure of the creation process due to different developmental states of the participants.

Case presentation: Kindergarten mosaic construction
This project took place in the »Vrapčić« kindergarten (which means sparrow in English), in Tenja, Croatia, in 2014. It was performed with preschool children aged from 3 to 6 years. The goal was to construct the kindergarten's logo, which is a little sparrow with a cap, in order to improve the children's identification with their kindergarten. The edges of the mosaic were constructed previously in the home laboratory on the top surface of a small low-cost table. Furthermore, to simplify the construction process the tiles were cut in advance and stored in separate containers. The table with the logo was presented to the children as a new kind of colouring book. Children recognized the picture of the logo and easily compared and chose the right colours for the mosaic. Some basic rules were initially presented to the children along with the materials and tools. As expected, tools were extremely interesting for the boys, while girls paid more attention to the colours of the tiles. A cement-based adhesive was used as glue and also as a grout. The adhesive was spread in phases, one for each part of the mosaic. Small groups of 5 children were placing and matching tiles inside the predefined edges. The groups rotated every 45 minutes, each group performing one phase. Every child had the opportunity to participate, even the smallest three-years-old boy, who placed his tiles with the support of the preschool teacher. Parents were also invited to participate in the creative play. Children proudly introduced to their parents the rules of making the mosaic and during the play some new ideas for home projects arose. The result of the four-hour workshop is presented on the right.

Figure 2: Mosaic construction as a children's game (© MosaicsOfIntention, 2014, Photo: Maja Frencl).

These two cases show that although the same materials and technique were used, completely different approaches for leading the workshop were required due to the difference in the age of participants. Younger children were less preoccupied with potential mistakes and more curious even to the point of testing the boundaries and putting tiles on the wrong side purposely. However, due to the inherent complexity of mosaic construction the pre-school children required more attention both in the preparation and during the mo-

Case presentation: Mosaic construction with primary school children
This project was performed within the summer festival »Country Without Borders« (Zemlja bez Granica) in Osijek, Croatia, in the summer of 2014. Participants were primary school children who signed up for the three day »The Breathing Tree« mosaic workshop. At the beginning of the workshop, the materials, tools, technique and the rules of mosaic-making were presented. Some breathing exercises were also performed, including deep breathing. Children and two leaders worked together in every part of the process, from the sketching the mosaic, tile cutting, preparation of the cement-based adhesive, and placement of the tiles. One parent participated in the workshop and helped the group at every stage of process. In the beginning, children were afraid of making mistakes. During the construction process they became more relaxed and sought more independence from the workshop leaders in the decision making and more collaboration with other participants at the workshop when compared with the preschool children. Growing cohesiveness and loss of restraints were identified from the direct observations and informal interviews with the group.

saic construction phase. On the other hand, the construction of the mosaic with primary school children was completely different. At the beginning of the workshop they behaved as if they were in school, not in an informal workshop. During the cutting and positioning of the tiles they were disappointed as tiles can be positioned in different ways in a mosaic. Their fear of making a mistake slowed down the construction process. The children needed some time to adapt their behaviour to a completely different type of work and atmosphere, where even a mistake can become an interesting feature of a final mosaic. In such an atmosphere, participants can experience cohesiveness and relaxation. These observations are in accordance with various studies which state that younger children can easily get involved in a creative process as they behave more naturally (Rubin, 2005; Danescue, 2013), they tend to be more curious, spontaneous, and original (Danescue, 2013). On the other hand, older children tend to be more restrained when they are introduced to the creative process and may need more support to build self-confidence (Rubin, 2005).

Mosaic as a tool for the activation of citizens and institutions in the creation of the environment

Helping people to engage in a community art practice can help them to (re)gain an awareness of their own capacities and enhance the sense of community. This is especially useful when a certain social group encounters life situations that produce feelings of helplessness and even isolation due to poverty, oppression, financial situation, natural disasters etc. (Levin & Levin, 2011). In the last decades, a new approach in therapy arose in this field, i.e., social action art therapy. It puts emphasis on societal factors and work to create social change, increase awareness of social problems, provide community service and increase the sensitivity to the social context (Kaplan, 2007).

In the expressive therapy continuum perspective, making art in a group can enhance empathy and finding a collective working rhythm through the kinaesthetic component of making a mosaic, which shows the participants that the group is more than just a sum of individuals; it can promote tolerance towards the diversity of views and beliefs, a growth in trust and relationship through the perceptual component and can also enhance negotiation skills through interaction and influence between participants, where the cognitive component is activated (Hinz, 2009).

Creativity is very important for the survival of culture and the act of creating is not just in »God's hands« or in the hands of talented individuals (Czsikszenmihaly, 1996). Designing an environment that fosters creativity is an important challenge for societies.

Various studies show how particular features of space can change the creativity of individuals living or working there (Bisadi, Mozaffar & Hosseini, 2012; Faizi et al., 2011). Bisadi et al. (2012) find that beauty, diversity, privacy, and proximity increase the creative thinking in employees of research centres. Faizi et al. (2011) demonstrate that different colours, shapes, flexibility of function in a residential place enhance children's creativity.

The idea for this project was to engage and activate the citizens and institutions of Koper-Capodistria, Slovenia, in designing the features and activities of their town. A symbolic component is incorporated in this work, with the message of identification with oneself and the group, and of giving a collective hope for the future. These projects are presented in detail in the following two case presentations.

Case presentation: Multicultural and multigenerational mosaic construction
In this project, people of different ages and nationalities participated in the construction of a mosaic. Like in Bordeaux, the tree of life was chosen as the motif for the mosaic template. The mosaic was constructed in two workshops, one at the event »Oživela ulica 2013«, and other at Talıt fair (both in Koper-Capodistria, Slovenia). Due to time limitation, the workshops had to be optimised. In order to reduce the preparation phase, the material was cut into small, irregular pieces at the home laboratory. The background was constructed at both events by many children and people who were making the mosaic for the first time in their lives. Hence, the trunk is constructed regularly with one type of tiles, while the background is irregular and consists of different tiles, plates etc., all brought by the participants of the workshop. Despite the language diversity of the participants, the group was still able to communicate as the »language of the tiles« is universal. The mural is installed in the cafe in Muzejski trg, Koper-Capodistria, Slovenia. The participants of the workshop can identify themselves with the mosaic as their names are written on the description table. This is written in all seven languages spoken by the participants. The results of the eight-hour mosaic workshop are presented on the left side of Figure 3.

Figure 3: Mosaic as a tool for the activation of citizens and institutions in the creation of the environment (© MosaicsOfIntention, 2014, Photo: Maja Frencl).

Case presentation: Construction of Mural mosaic in Koper
The initial purpose of this project was to give to the city of Koper a new light, a new morning, a new hope. The mosaic workshop and its installation were performed in June 2014. The result exceeded all expectations. Rotar (2014) reported that this project represented a broader concept that embodies the idea of socializing, learning, coexistence and understanding of the environment and the city we live in, with all its features and natural resources. The mural mosaic combines the classical four elements: earth (γῆ), water (ὕδωρ), air (ἀήρ), and fire (πῦρ) in an early morning dance.
This relatively complex project consisted of five phases: (1) design of the detailed mosaic plan and materials selection; three phases similarly as in Bordeaux case: (2) mindfulness exercises were performed, (3) presentation of techniques and tools, (4) mosaic construction; special attention was also put to the phase (5), i.e., installation of the mosaic. The mosaic was generally well accepted by the public (e.g., e-Koper, 2014; Rotar, 2014; Television Koper - Capodistria Slovene programme, 2014), however, some discussions regarding the adequacy of installing amateur art work in public places arose (Radio Koper, 2014). The volunteers who participated in these phases were satisfied with the results and identified themselves with the mosaic. They perceive it to be a part of the idea of co-creation of the environment. The results of the project are presented on the right side of Figure 3. The mosaic is installed on a stairway above the passenger terminal of the Port of Koper-Capodistria, Slovenia.

The role of mosaic in personal development, meditation and stress management

The literature review shows no relevant studies about the role of mosaic construction in personal development, meditation, and stress management. However, art making, in the broadest sense of the word, is therapeutic in general (Kramer, 2000). It generates a feeling of happiness, activates the individual (Rubin, 2005) and can lead to self-healing (Simon, 2005). Czsikszentmihaly (1996; 2006) talks about moments of flow and optimal human experience while doing creative work, i.e., a special state in which disorder in consciousness becomes ordered.

According to Langer (1962; from Kramer, 2000), the primary function of art is to objectify the experience in order to contemplate and understand it. Based on different studies and theories, Kaplan (2000, p. 75) concludes that »participating in art and art-related activities satisfies something deep within us«, facilitates perceptual discrimination, language and self-esteem, assists in useful organization of thoughts and experiences, improves the quality of life, produces psychological growth and makes life worth living (Kaplan, 2000).

Artists often report about a special beneficial state of mind during the creation process. Czsikszentmihaly (1996; 2006) calls it flow and it consists of clarity of goals, knowing how well one is doing, balancing challenges and skills, merging of action and awareness, avoiding distractions, forgetting self, time and surroundings, and an autotelic experience (doing something just because of the feelings it provides). This description is close to the definition of mindfulness practice (Kabat-Zinn, 2006) according to which being present in the moment generates a feeling of acceptance. It is also similar to what neurofeedback practitioners call a combination of a relaxed state and concentration when training peak-performance (Gruzelier, Inoue, Smart, Steed & Steffert, 2010).

In the continuation of this subsection, three cases of mosaics construction for personal development and meditation are presented. In these mosaics, the author presents his perspective of the world. His observations and experiences produce feelings and thoughts that are organized in a unique way, which is expressed through his art. As stated by Pečjak (2006), artists and scientists process the same material: the world. However, the artists observe and explore the world in a more subjective manner where their emotions, beliefs, values, and similar inner characteristics play a prominent role.

Case presentation: Labyrinth
A labyrinth is an ancient symbol that represents the journey to our own centre and back again out into the world (Kezele, 2007). As it relates to wholeness it is a valuable meditation tool. The construction of mosaics represented the author's voyage to subconsciousness, to the true self. The meditator puts their finger at the labyrinth entrance, closes their eyes and finds the way, the essence of consciousness, the essence of love. The goal is to bring these qualities out of the labyrinth and show them to the world. The Labyrinth is presented on the left side of Figure 4.

Case presentation: Nkonsonkonson
Nowadays it is almost impossible to explain the importance of community to the people. Individualism is sadly becoming an imperative. The inspiration for the mosaic arrived from a big roundabout under the author's building. Even now many drivers using it fail to use the indicator lights to signal which exit they are about to take. As a result, other drivers waste time unnecessarily, waiting to enter the roundabout. But even a very small contribution by a large number of drivers can lead to a significant improvement in the speed and safety of the traffic. Similarly, an infinitesimally small contribution to the community, limited to the infinite number of possibilities where we can express it, can result in a great contribution to the community. This mosaic is presented in the centre of Figure 4.

Case presentation: The rising
A spiral reflects the universal pattern of growth and evolution. It represents fertility and life force energy. This symbol is often reflected in the nature. It belongs to everyone and excludes no one. The construction of this mosaic represented the author's new beginning, a new start. This mosaic is presented on the right side of Figure 4.

Figure 4: The role of mosaic in personal development, meditation and stress management (© MosaicsOfIntention, 2014, Photo: Boštjan Žvanut).

Conclusion

In the past, creativity was reserved to a few gifted individuals. Today, various arts have become more accessible to people. With the spread of arts in different fields, new mosaic functionalities emerged. This has an analogy in Prometheus' act of bringing fire to the mankind.

The literature review and the cases presented in this chapter indicate that the art of mosaic is gaining completely new psychological, sociological, aesthetic, and organizational dimensions. As shown in this chapter, it can be successfully implemented as a team-building tool, children's game, and as a tool for activation of citizens and institutions in the creation of the environment. The mosaic technique and materials are specific and interesting as they activate different human systems such as perception, movement and coordination, planning and anticipation, affections and cognition, symbolism. We believe that the mosaic has a considerable potential, and that new and to date unexplored functionalities will emerge in the near future.

One possibility for further research is to clarify the effect of mosaic construction on individuals (e.g. adults, children) and groups (e.g. group cohesion, dynamics, team-building outcomes). It would be particularly interesting to explore the states of mind and brain centers activated during the entire mosaic construction process. Special attention should be paid to the identification of appropriate research methods in order to obtain relevant and reliable results. Furthermore, special attention should be paid to the identification of potential commercial niches, where new dimensions of the mosaic could be implemented in practice (e.g., work with children with special needs, creative and spa tourism). In recent years creative tourism has increasingly become the focus of attention in the field of tourism. The integration of creativity and tourism has led to a specific form of creative tourism where people can develop their skills and creative potential in the co-creation and authentic experience of culture.

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»Wanna walk under the Rock?«: Land art, time, and tourist passages

Irena Weber

'tis a rock, 's not art, it came from nature! If he carved it and made something then we could see the sculpture then's different can't say »I'm an artist, this is my rock«, na-ah, you ain't create that bro'!
A spectator's statement in the documentary *Levitated Mass*

The rock is a constituent component of a sculpture that has essentially three components: the rock, which is the object, the articulation of the object is the slot in the ground, that material is air, negative space we moved from the ground, which is as unique as the object, so you have a lot of object and you also have a lot of absence of the most obvious object of all, the earth, it's air and rock, and it's defined by the concrete, which also functions, it holds it up, so components: slot, negative object, positive, the articulate, that is what defines it as a sculpture.
Michael Heizer's, statement in the documentary *Levitated Mass*

A lot of conceptual art, I think, is very difficult for people to relate to and to understand what's going on. The beautiful thing about this work, regardless whether we know anything about Heizer's work - it's a beautiful rock, the way it's sided along the concrete rails and the effect of watching people walk toward the rock, and they disappear under it and then come out the other side, I don't think you have to understand anything about the concept at all to appreciate it. It makes me *smile.*
An art collector's statement in the documentary *Levitated Mass*

Introduction

This is an American story. A particular biography of a certain rock, its existence as an idea and material, its road trip and its place ma(r)king. Staged and performed in California. Stemming in part from the mythopoetic places of American Southwest, its iconic deserts, roads and trails woven into the frontier literature and movies. Framed within the American land art of the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is, as it were, a site-specific story. Yet the spur to write this story did not arise from my being in South California[1] at the time, but from a tiny detail that stuck with me like one of Benjamin's fragments in the *One Way Street*. Namely the original drawings of the main protagonist of this story, a (conceptual) rock turned sculpture, entitled *Levitated Mass* by Michael Heizer, are part of the Egidio Marzona collection, donated to the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*. Before the sabbatical, I knew nothing of *Levitated Mass*, and was not familiar with Heizer's work. The first mention of the rock I came across was on the LACMA's[2] website when planning a trip to Los Angeles. Having had a rare opportunity to choose any form, shape or size of rocks, boulders, stones, pebbles to produce a story for the edited volume, I was initially drawn to the intriguing »sailing stones« of Death Valley, as well as everyday uses of stones I've encountered walking the neighbourhoods in San Diego, the rock gardens and stone designs in the canyon which was a delightful shortcut to the SDSU campus. Nearly every week there would be some new or at least amended stone arrangement in the canyon, at the side of the path or on the slopes. It seemed like a handy opportunity to make sense of stone designs by tal-

1 I am very grateful to San Diego State University, Department of Geography and Stuart Aitken in particular for hosting my research sabbatical in spring semester of 2015.

2 LACMA - Los Angeles County Museum of Art

king to people about their collections and focusing on potential travel stories attached to the stones. There was no shortage of interested from the local people to participate, yet something was holding me back.

Being ever so partial to Berlin, though not overly fond of Los Angeles, I had decided that seeing the rock at the LACMA was worth an effort before committing to the topic of the article.

The first visit was a family one and it was, due to other planned activities, also the shortest one. The access to *Levitated Mass*, designated a public sculpture, is free of charge, so we skipped the box office, asked for directions and found ourselves on the North Lawn. The first impression was very much in accordance to the cliché that celebrities tend to appear smaller/shorter in real life. The rock that I expected to be enormous, 340 tons after all suggests substantial mass, appeared at the first site almost »small«. We walked under it both ways, posed, (Figure 4) took pictures from all sides and left. We spent there but a moment, a practice not unusual for tourists with full itinerary. Still, is there any precise amount of time one is required to spend with a work of art? And what time are we referring to? Is it *real* time when we stand, sit or walk in front of, around or inside a work of art? Is it time inscribed, invested or interpreted in an artwork itself? Or perhaps time dedicated to knowledge we hopefully acquire which opens kairic spaces of dialogue and potential transformation? When art editor Stephen Knudsen spent entire day at the LACMA to contemplate the possibility of the postmodern sublime in Heizer's sculpture, his colleagues were perplexed as to why he needed an entire day just to see the rock. I recall a certain painting at the Musée d'Orsay that rooted me to the spot in a second and left me completely unaware of the surroundings, though I would be quite at a loss to explain why, while it took me at least twenty years to appreciate and enjoy some other painting.

That first time at the LACMA I was neither particularly moved let alone elated by *Levitated Mass*. Had not experienced »the aeons rolling by« like Simon Schama (2015) in front of Rothko's Seagram paintings in the Tate Gallery. As a matter of fact neither did he, when he first encountered the paintings in 1970. He only felt there was something there, prompting him to go on an unpredictable journey that culminated in his unique, exciting, utterly compelling and eloquent delivery on the power of art, decades later. Satisfied that *something* was there worth looking into, I decided to return to the LACMA for the second, and as it turned out, the third and the fourth visit.

The second visit, after some reading and watching the documentary, was again an add on to other family activities, yet it allowed for a wider gaze that was not focused on the rock alone, but the sculpture as a whole, the slot, the desert like floor around it made of crushed rock, the Euclidean forms, typical in Heizer's work from his large early paintings in New York, through several land art projects and gallery exhibitions, to *City*,[3] his lifework in progress. It was also an opportunity to observe how the visitors engage the rock in variety of ways in a trickle or a flow which was intriguing enough to plan the next two visits.

The third and the fourth visit were dedicated entirely to *Levitated Mass*, from the opening of the museum to the closing. The first time it was on Sunday, the 50th anniversary of the LACMA with a myrad visitors, the second was on a Monday, a quiet day with mainly school groups, local families with children, and individual tourists. During those two

3 No article, either definite or indefinite is attached to Heizer's *City*.

days, I took notes and pictures, but talked to no tourists, only to the employees of the museum. My intention was not to collect tourist stories but to observe their interactions with the sculpture. No doubt their stories would add some other dimension to what I have managed to observe myself, but that would require a different design and time commitment.

Subsequent readings on the subject of the land art, the sublime, time, art of walking, presence and absence, and finally a visit to Berlin provided also material for the present text. During preparation a small stone (Figure 1) from San Diego canyon – a travel reminder – kept me company, and it was a pleasant surprise when consulting Tim Ingold's book (2011) I came across his suggestion that the reader should go outside, find a stone, bring it inside, immerse it in a pail of water and keep it on his desk while reading this chapter on material and materiality in order to note how the stone changes during that particular span of time. Though my San Diego stone does not change markedly when immersed in water, it does react to the hand temperature and warms up quickly. So it was a tactile relation with the stone from the canyon that actively contributed to this narrative.

Figure 1: Placed/displaced (Photo: Irena Weber).

Placing the rock: Somewhere 'out there' and 'here' at the museum

I've reached the end, you see, for museums in this kind of thing. I need a place where I can build as big as I want and destroy as violently. The only two settings I can think of are the Sahara and the American desert.
Jean Tinguely

Somewhere in an indeterminate time zone between Old and New Wests loom the massive outdoor sculptures dubbed earthworks in the late 1960s, now more broadly defined as land art. /…/ All the artists are white; all but one are men (sporting cowboy boots and ten gallon hats).
Lucy R. Lippard

John Ford, eat your heart out!
Robert Morris

The 2015 feature documentary by James Crump *Troublemakers: The Story of Land Art*, plays into the well-established myth advanced both by popular media and some art historians, depicting the American land artists from the late 60s and early 70s as renegades and heroes, the pioneers, the cowboys of the Wild West who presumably left New York in a rather romanticized gesture of rebellion (not that they would want to be called romantic

for a second) against the established art, rejecting commodification, and leaving the galleries for the wide open spaces »out there«.

Whether presented as a »troika« (Crump, 2015) or as »high priests« (Dwan, 2012, p. 93), Robert Smithson, Michael Heizer and Walter De Maria are the three artists centrally positioned on any land art list of the period.

American land art, also referred to as earth art, or Earthworks (after the sci-fi book Smithson was reading while looking for the site for his art project) emerged in the second half of the 1960s as integral part of the social movements of the time, anti-war protest, nuclear tests, new technologies, landing on the moon with clear view of the Earth as painted, sculpted object. It was also a period of the revival of the 19th century American landscape painting (Menard, 2014).

At the time, a group of artists based in New York was searching for what they referred to as »larger canvas« (Crump, 2015). Working out of tradition of minimalism and conceptualism, they undertook monumental projects on land using earth as the main medium.

There appear to be three basic approaches to the history of 60s/70s land art, it is either »quintessentially American art form« (Kastner, 2015, p. 12), and all the main American artists firmly subscribe to that view, it differs from the British land art »simply in terms of the land available« (Hopkins, 2000, p. 176), or it is »an international phenomenon« (Kaiser and Kwon, 2012, p. 19), a view put forward in the critical exhibition at The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, entitled Ends of the Earth (which was Jean Tinguely's project in Nevada Desert). When invited to participate at the mentioned exhibition, both Michael Heizer and Walter De Maria refused by stating that their work is »out there« and needs to be experienced in situ, which implies a revered pilgrimage with a 4W drive and a solid map. The persistent construction and reconstruction of American desert as somewhat timeless wilderness is part of both American coded national identity and contemporary tourism imagery. Imagining the wilderness as »out there« is the »product of culture's craving and culture's framing« (Schama, 1996, p. 7)

Land art has always depended heavily on photographic records of the work done in »remote« areas, presented in galleries and museums but also on land art installations intended to be presented in the galleries and in museums. Regardless of the romantic conviction that artists walked away from the galleries, the relationship between them and the galleries has always been tangible, in funding, promoting and owning the art.

Several early earthworks that were not reclaimed by natural processes are considered iconic, among them is Heizer's *Double Negative*.

The importance of absence: a negative sculpture

There's nothing there but it's still a sculpture.
Michael Heizer

Heizer's celebrated Double Negative *precisely fits Edmund Burke's definition of the Sublime as 'an outrage on the imagination.'*
Edward Lucie-Smith

Double negative owned by The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, was part of the »solo exhibition« offered to Michael Heizer, sponsored by Virginia Dwan in 1969 and reworked in 1970. Heizer displaced 240,000 tonnes of earth and rock in the desert near Overton, Nevada. He cut two opposing slots from the slopes and surface of the Mor-

Figure 2: Michael Heizer in his *Double Negative*, 1970[4] (Photo: John Weber).

Figure 3: *Levitated Mass* at the LACMA 2015 (Photo: Irena Weber).

4 Retrieved from The New York Times, May 13, 2015, (http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/17/arts/design/michael--heizers-big-work-and-long-view.html?ref=topics&_r=0)

mon Mesa that were 9 meters wide, 15 meters deep, and 457 meters in length. The size has been compared to the Empire State Building set on the side (Pray, 2014). The emptied space is defined by Heizer as a negative sculpture, the object into which one needs to walk in order to experience it. The most important part of this sculpture is thus the absence, the thing that is not there – a displaced earth. The same principle that Kandinsky and Rothko were trying to achieve in painting is at work here, namely inviting the observer not to look at the picture but to enter it, which is easier when the sculpture allows the actual physical step in. The visitors record solitary, intimate and sublime experience (Hogan, 2008), standing within the sculpture and walking through it. The void may offer cultural tourist a kairic moment, in which temporality presents the possibility of transformation or innovation. It is however not readily accessible thus only the most dedicated cultural tourist venture to experience it.

Double Negative has been credited to have made a great impact in art history and a direct influence on such memorials as Vietnam memorial and the Ground zero. This claim is probably up for a debate as the absence in *Double Negative*, a void offered to solitary exploration and contemplation, is rather removed from the absence in Ground zero, intended to provide space of (social) memory, no matter how controversial the memorial.

However, there is no doubt that there is a direct link between the *Double Negative* and *Levitated Mass* in terms of use of negative space, (Figure 2, 3) in two different locations and the size is dramatically different.

Levitated Mass 1, 2, 3 …

Michael Heizer created the original drawings of *Levitated Mass* in 1969, (as already mentioned now part of Marzona collection in Berlin) when he acquired a solid granite rock in Spooner Summit, Nevada. He dug a slot in a dry riverbed on which he planned to position the rock. However, he was not able to complete the sculpture as the boulder broke the boom on the crane and it couldn't be moved to its intended slot.

At the time three other drawings of *Levitated Mass*, much more sketchy, were produced, among them *Levitated Mass Olympia* intended for Olympic games in Munich in 1972, which again, was never realized.

In 1982, *Levitated Mass*, though entire different in shape, horizontal and carved, was put in place as a public (fountain) sculpture on 590 Madison Avenue in New York. A granite slab »levitates« on a pillar completely covered by running water. The carved grooves represent the address, 5 and 6 grooves for 56th Street; 13, 1, and 4 for the letters M, A, D, in Madison Avenue. People can be observed sitting on the provided frame surrounding the slab, eating their lunch, chatting, laughing, texting … with two dominant sources of sound, the running water and New York traffic.

After the New York project, it took another twenty-three years, for the rock, needed to complete the original *Levitated Mass,* to present itself.

Blasted into existence: a pet rock

I didn't find the rock, the rock found me
Michael Heizer

The rock, a solid block of granite, materialized in 2005 out of the largest blast in the Riverside Quarry in California which required the evacuation of the surrounding area. In Pray's documentary (2014), the blast is staged for dramatic purposes followed by the photograph of the real 2005 blast, explained by the former supervisor in the quarry. The photo depicts a tiny figure in grey sitting half a mile from the blast, looking at the high, dense colourful clouds of rock, dust, and smoke on the background of the intense blue sky. As Heizer had been acquiring rocks from the quarry for years he asked the supervisor to give him a call if any solid big rock appeared. After the call, Heizer arrived the very next day, and according to the supervisor »recognized« the rock on the spot and ask him to safeguard it. Next Heizer placed a call to Michael Govan, a director of the LACMA who was familiar with Heizer's 1969 project and collaborated with him at DIA, Art Foundation in New York. After the conversation, in which Heizer referred to the rock as the *Colossi of Memnon*, the predominant discourse was established: this work, though a clear representation of an American art, will somehow be connected to the ancient cultures, Egypt in particular, so the references to that effect were made during the long production of the sculpture and at the opening ceremony, included also in the documentary.

Govan, with his fascinating enthusiasm put things in motion from the start, first by obtaining private funds to buy the rock from the Quarry, next by persuading the somewhat sceptical trustees that the project makes sense within the vision he developed for the LACMA campus. The vision included the connection to huge ancient forms combined with modern art forms while developing the identity that would be »specific to the place«, (Pray, 2014) and he was particularly excited to include »a California rock, and its California artist« (ibid.).

Thus the rock was bought, set aside, secured at the quarry while the logistical challenges of transporting the 340-ton mass from the quarry to the museum were considered. As the weight of the rock was much too great for the highway, the alternative was a 169 km trip through four counties: Riverside, San Bernardino, Orange, and Los Angeles, through 22 small towns, each of which had to provide permits for the transport. How to move the immovable bureaucracy at times appeared a more complex problem than moving the rock. Groups of engineers and other experts, both at the quarry and the museum, were working to figure out the transporter and the actual positioning of the rock on the slot, which was being built at the LACMA campus, based on drawings Heizer provided for the sculpture.

All the meanwhile the workers in the quarry were mystified by all the activities surrounding the rock, particularly why would anyone want to move it, saying »you don't move something that big, you blow it up but don't move it, you make smaller stuff out of it you don't move it« (Pray, 2014). After a while however they became rather attached to it, as one of them stated »we just set it aside and it stays there for a long, long time and becomes your pet rock, not part of your family, but pet rock« (Pray, 2014).

Eventually the rock was loaded onto a custom-built, 90 m long transporter. It effectively took seven years – a fairy tale number – from the appearance of the rock until it was ready to be sent on its particular road trip.

»The rock is rolling«. The road trip from the Riverside Quarry to Los Angeles (and one little transatlantic counterpart)

The media had a blast. Not only was the 'rock rolling', it was a ' new celebrity rock', a true 'rock star, sleeping by day, moving by night', to move the 'boulder was bold', the transport was 'rocking the crowd'. After its departure from the quarry in late February it took ten nights (plus one night resting) to make the slow 169 km journey.

The local people who were aware of the rock for years the first evening waited patiently on their folding chairs while the workers were given the last instructions and the leading people from the LACMA were hoping the journey will finally start. During the next 11 days, the small groups of people eventually turned into crowds of people, waiting for and escorting the transport, throwing parties, celebrating, discussing, posing. Estimated twenty thousand people or more participated in the procession.

The responses and the attitudes towards the rock transport were diverse. Some were wrapped in conspiracy theories. Since the rock itself was wrapped in the white cover, some people speculated that whatever was hidden under that wrap, it couldn't possibly be just a rock. Others compared the transport to the *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* mainly due to the men in escort wearing dark glasses during the night. There were gestures intimate and personal, like marriage proposal, or delight at the sight of the huge »kids wagons« passing by. For most people it was entertainment and a special event. »This is better than television«, or »nothing ever happens on this street and now something huge just happened«, were some of the comments. The scene could not be complete without the rock accidentally stopping right in front of the church of Our Lady of the Rocks, thus presenting opportunity for some bible quotes. There were predictable negative responses, based primarily on the fact that the transport cost was ten million dollars. Though the funds were privately raised there was a resentment of such amount being spent on what was perceived a silly thing in times of economic crisis. Yet the overall impression from the documentary montage is one of the community celebrations and spontaneous or organized parties. »I have never seen so many people in the pyjamas,« commented one of the workers escorting the transport. Some people were asking where Michael Heizer was during the spectacle; others thought it mattered not since this was »their rock« now. The photographic poses in Atlas style were established, grandparents taking pictures for their grandchildren to mark a »historical event«.

At the same time, simultaneously with the transport in California, on the other side of the ocean, in Nantes, France, a young artist Régis Perray performed an homage to Heizer by daily moving 340 grams of dust with a small dumper. He chose dust from the vault of the Chartres Cathedral, »a place that is younger than Heizer's rock, but older than the history of the United States.« (Perray, 2012). It was a transatlantic tribute with a sense of humour, which tried to illuminate the relationship between size and scale but also to point out that there is a possible dialogue between Heizer's »archeology of the future« embodi-

ed in his *City* and Perray's »archeology of the present« (ibid.) in his modest land performances in different parts of the world.

Engaging *the* rock: tourist passages

Stoniness, then, is not in the stone's 'nature', in its materiality. Nor is it merely in the mind of the observer or practitioner. Rather, it emerges through the stone's involvement in its total surroundings – including you, the observer – and from the manifold ways in which it is engaged in the currents of the lifeworld.
Tim Ingold

I have for many years searched for the possibility of letting the viewer 'stroll' in the picture, forcing him to forget himself and dissolve into the picture.
Vassily Kandinsky

After the rock concluded the journey at the LACMA, awaited by a crowd in the middle of the night, there was still considerable amount of work to be done to turn the rock into a sculpture. Michael Heizer arrived and camped on what was effectively a construction site. Several compromises were made in design due to safety requirements, thus *Levitated Mass* at the LACMA in contrast to the New York one, with a hidden support structure, has the steel plates on which it is positioned clearly visible. That represented somewhat of an anti-climax for some of the early visitors.

After the opening ceremony, when people actually jammed the slot, daily local visitors and tourist trickled down to the proportion where the passage may be experienced in solitary, in pair or a group, yet never a truly large one during my time of observation.

My observation spot was a lawn, no shade in a blazing sun, where many people passed before entering the passage. The recurrent phrase I heard – it felt like *The sky over Berlin* – was: Wanna walk under the rock?« – hence the title. It was a phrase of invitation, among friends, acquaintances, to take a stroll. Hardly anyone said no. I sat taking notes and taking pictures while nobody paid any special attention to my activities. On the day of the LACMA's 50th anniversary, people were informed that photos will be taken for the promotional purposes, so I was simply one more person taking pictures. Yet on the day when there were no crowds nobody was disturbed by my picture taking either which indicates the activity is entirely integrated in what is expected to be a museum experience. The LACMA brochure actually encourages tourists to take pictures and post them on social media by suggesting two spots in particular, the main entrance *Urban Light* installation and *Levitated Mass*. Yet, interestingly enough, less that one third of people I observed took pictures. Some did engage the rock by posing, majority by walking, and minority – mainly the children – by running (which is not permitted officially but is tolerated).

In his seminal work on photography *Camera Lucida* (2010) Barthes reflects on the social game of posing, of »making another body, transforming in advance into an image. » (Barthes 2010, p. 10). In contemporary practice of digital snapshots by tourists the image often appears to be constituted within the space of extimacy, where the exteriorizing of intimacy is both accepted and expected. The extimacy at *Levitated Mass* was at the forefront in posing performances by couples of all ages while the individual and group posing were closer to Barthes's notion of making another body, playing the social game of posing.

Figure 4: My family posing under the rock (Photo: Irena Weber).

Figure 5: The rock posing with a palm tree (Photo: Irena Weber).

However it was not the tourists posing that was particularly striking, it was the rock itself posing, not just being posed on the slot. Anthropomorphic on one side (Figure 5), Magritte like reflected in the Resnick pa-

vilion, showing the bottom from bellow or pointing towards the sky, involved with the observes, the light, the wind, the passage.

In her analysis of walking and sensing urban space in everyday life, Wunderlich (2008, p. 131) uses three modes of walking: the purposive, the discursive and the conceptual, each of which may be applied to tourists walking under the rock. Those engaged in purposive walk, use the passage as a shortcut, their pace is set, the rhythm constant. Some appear to be employees of the museum, others local inhabitants that stroll on museum grounds every day according to the guards of the sculpture (Figure 6). They walk quickly, when in pairs, often engaged in conversation. The second group of purposive walkers are tourists who engage in ticking off the walk, going through the passage and back, much as we have done on the first visit. Some enter and return maintaining a precise same pose like a father and son I observed walking through the passage. Going in father had his arms crossed, walking at a steady pace, while his son was a few steps behind engrossed in a video game. They returned in exactly same pose, not changing their respective body positions.

The second group of walkers, the discursive ones engage in pace and rhythm that varies according to their own inner rhythms (Figure 7) and are the closest to the Benjamin's *flâneur* which he depicted in his monumental and unfinished work on the Arcades Project (1999). The *flâneur,* an epitomised figure of modernity in search of the new imaginary is a person who walks in the rhythm of his own perceiving the space both as a landscape and a room at the same time. *Flâneur* may not walk through the passage at the same pace, he stops, turns, continues according to inner and outer rhythms, the rhythms of place.

The third group of conceptual walkers represent those tourists who think about their walk in advance, contemplate the entering, engage in »a creative response to the place« (Wunderlich, ibid.), draw as it were a mental walking map. Most of them not only walk through the passage, but at both sides of the sculpture, performing the place. When in a group, they may get involved in a lively debate.

Different groups of walkers intermingle during the day in cacophony of rhythms, yet may fall, for a short while, into a similar rhythm at sunset, when all movement appear to slow down, and more attention is paid to the fellow walkers.

In the evening before the closing time, the rock is surprisingly soft to the touch, warm from the sun. After spending some time with it, it emphatically does not remind me of the pyramids, nor the sun alignment at Stonehenge, it does not remind me of ancient structures I saw in Mexico. It remains site specific, making LA more likable among other things. It does make me want to visit *City* one day, though that seems unlikely and it did take me on an interesting journey. If I had to describe it with one adjective only I would say: gentle.

When asked how long he expects the rock to remain at the LACMA, Heizer answered: »For the next 3,500 years«. This then is not a sculpture intended to be subject to entropy, if not forever, then at least for a *longue durée.* There are several intertwined notions of time integrated in the sculpture. A geological time of the rock, a historical time of the concept, the personal time of the artist – decades of waiting for the rock to appear »Decades … that's not even a decrement of time for me« (Pray, 2014) – a kairic potential, Benjamin's *jeztzeit.*

Figure 6: Purposive walk (Photo: Irena Weber).

Figure 7: Strolling (Photo: Irena Weber).

Rock to *City*

As I went walking I saw a sign there
And on the sign it said »No Trespassing.«
But on the other side it didn't say nothing,
That side was made for you and me.
Woody Guthrie

On July 10, 2015, USA president Barack Obama issued a proclamation under the Antiquities Act, to create a Basin and Range national monument, which includes Heizer's life project *City* thus at least for the time being protecting it from the controversial plans to open nuclear waste repository nearby.

The proclamation describes and the area as an iconic American landscape and Heizer's work as a monumental piece of art that needs to be preserved in order to be experienced as an example of an American land art.

It is also stated in the proclamation that the LACMA holds a conservation easement over the area and that it plans to donate the easement to the USA upon the completion of the artwork.

Until then, the notice that this is a private property and all potential trespassers will be prosecuted remains standing at the entrance. *City* is not opened yet.

Post scriptum: Berlin A–Z.

Back on the other side of the ocean I've only just missed »O«, as in »*Ort*« (site), part of »MNO« installation that included Heizer's 1969 drawing of *Levitated Mass* of the Marzona collection. The exhibition A–Z in *Hamburger Bahnhof – Museum für Gegenwart in Berlin* changes the content of the exhibition every three months. A started with *Arte povera*, an important influence in land art and it will progress to Z during two years. I was tempted to ask the curators to let me see the drawing but decided against it when learned that eventually the whole Marzona collection will be on display. Working through the offered archive of the exhibition (Figure 8, 9) I have had an opportunity to (re)read the written records of Heizer's work, experiencing that strange dialogue with a person who was reading the files before me and underline them in red. Thinking about Heizer's work in the context of this Berlin museum with the exhibition of Joseph Beuys in the room nearby raised the question of the importance of the whole process involved in an artwork. Marzona firmly believes that documents are integral part of the artwork and are at times art itself (while Benjamin disagrees) particularly in form of postcards and letters. Personally, I remain in two minds on the subject.

Upon leaving the museum, I opt to sit in its quiet front garden to let images from the exhibitions float, swirl, settle, while I drift into familiar people watching. A toddler is displacing the soil around the plants (early earth artist), her father catching her before she can hit the ground every time, on the bench to the left a couple is engaged in a low key conversation that I easily tune out, on the opposite side a German speaking family is eating sandwiches and consulting a map, while the most striking figure in the garden, a young girl dressed entirely in black is lying flat on the white concrete wall at the entrance completely absorbed in a book, balanced, motionless. A few people are coming out of the museum, some going in, others turning towards cafeteria, all perfectly unrushed, so Berlin-like, unhurried intensi-

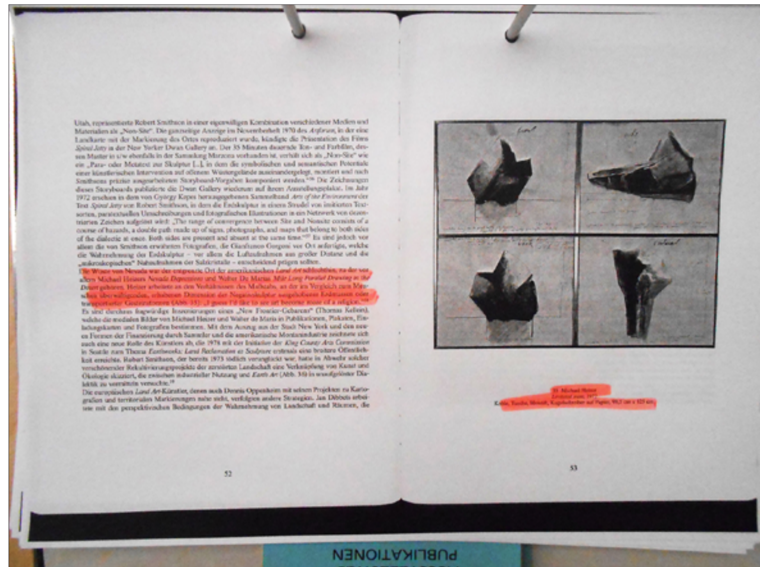

Figure 8: Underlined passages (Photo: Irena Weber).

Figure 9: Workspace (Photo: Irena Weber).

ty, a sound of the gravel under the footsteps combined with the background city noises. Somewhat unwillingly I finally get up and walk slowly towards the *Hauptbahnhof* with its giant *Rolling horse* sculpture, rain dripping as it does in Berlin even in summer, and the familiar wind blowing from the west, to catch – or rather to wait for – the S-Bahn to Friedrichstrasse. The street where, more than elsewhere in Berlin, thinking about Benjamin's urban archaeology becomes inevitably mixed with Lefebvre's city rhythms. The sounds, movements, layers, sediments, stories. I step out of the *Passagen*. Walking on both

sides of the street, alternating with no particular pattern, skipping on this occasion the usual stop at Dussman with their decent selection of books in English and wonderful *sencha* tea, continuing towards *Unter den Linder* that appears eternally under re-construction with each linden tree accounted for by number tags, continuing towards what used to be *Deutsche Guggenheim Museum* and is now spatially unchanged *Kunsthalle* where exciting, thought provoking, small exhibitions tend to happen. Today I go straight to the museum shop as I wish to acquire a catalogue of the exhibition celebrating 20 years of Villa Aurora as a residence for Germany-based artists in Los Angeles. The publication is aptly entitled: *Checkpoint California* and its focus is an idea of passage. It seems rather befitting, this *Checkpoint*, to end the particular transatlantic tourist passage in reverse. Walking under the rock. Coming out on the other side.

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Abstracts

Interpretations of stone in the Karst yesterday, today and tomorrow

Jasna Fakin Bajec

The aim of this paper is to present the process by which the karst stone as a typical element of the natural landscape has become the main identifying symbol in the discourse on the formation and consolidation of the regional identity of the Karst. This symbol does, however, bear several different interpretations. Despite the fact that the regional identity of the Karst began taking shape already in the 19th century, it was with Slovenia's declaration of independence that it began consolidating and deepening anew, in particular through a more intense confrontation of the people of the Karst with the processes of globalisation. Among other things, these processes stimulated a relocalisation or rediscovering of traditional elements of the natural environment and the local way of life, which have in modern times acquired certain functions and meanings different to those of the past. This article presents the various meanings of stone in the Karst throughout history (stone as the main building material, a symbol of poverty, a decorative element, a status symbol, an identifying element, etc.) with an emphasis on the expression of its identifying function and the role therein of various agents (local politicians, experts, businessmen, local residents). We can safely say that in the Karst today, stone no longer represents a symbol of poverty as it did only a few decades ago, but has become an important generator of linking the past way of life with the present. Moreover, there is now growing awareness that it should also become a source of sustainable development.

Keywords: the Karst, stone, local identity, heritage

Fireplaces in the Vipava valley

Špela Ledinek Lozej

The article discusses the form, structure, meanings, and changes of fireplaces in the Vipava Valley. The older fireplaces were low, large and made of stone. In time, fireplaces became smaller and were built off the ground. This lifting of fireplaces coincided with the development of smoke exhausts through the hood and the chimney. Newer fireplaces were placed

on wooden, stone or brick pillars; those in houses of the wealthy were sometimes constructed of chiselled stone blocks, artistically designed and decorated with geometric or plant motifs. The second part of the paper presents the usage and the meaning of fireplaces in everyday life, as well as their metaphoric dimensions, i.e. memories, representations and images, formed through daily practices and on the basis of the ascribed or agreed upon meanings.
Keywords: fireplaces, the Vipava Valley, stone construction

Planting, growing and breeding stones

Bojan Baskar

The beliefs that the stones grow (in the soil) and multiply are studied in this paper. This kind of beliefs can be traced on most continents. The richest evidence of these beliefs, however, is available for Europe which seems to have had a primacy in this regard. Before they were pushed in the background by modern science, these beliefs significantly impacted the thinking of Early Modern philosophers, chemists, physicists, mineralogists and others. For this reason, they are richly documented in the scientific literature up to the 18th century. This European tradition is compared in the paper with the ethnographic and folkloristic evidence from various continents.
Key words: belief, rocks, growing stones, metals, Early Modern science, ethnography

Mythical tradition in the stone: The snooty *Babas* as elements of rites of passage and social control

Katja Hrobat Virloget

This paper explores the folklore of stone Babas (Hags), which represent personifications of a repulsive old woman. The perception of stones as animate beings resembles similar perceptions of non-Western cultures according to which the form of the object is life-giving. The paper presents new findings about stone Babas from the Karst, Brkini and Istria. It summarizes recent findings regarding the mythological context of the Babas. In the folklore, beliefs and rituals associated with a certain archaic female mythical figure possessing both vital and fertile as well as degraded and elderly traits can be discerned. Although the figure of the Baba is widespread throughout the Slavic world, the grotesque children's folklore of kissing a slimy stone Baba on one's first visit to a town, piece of land or forest is found only in certain regions extending from the Upper Adriatic to France. Stone Babas are included in certain yearly rituals. This specific folklore tradition (legends and rituals) can be linked to remnants of certain initiation rites upon one's first entrance to a specific area or leaving one's own area, which could be further interpreted in the context of territorial and social rites of passage. At the same time these kinds of figures were used as a powerful element of social control of children. Therefore, the tradition of the Babas gives a richer meaning to parts of the landscape and in turn enculturates the social individual by restricting one's movement within the landscape and determining one's social status.
Key words: animate stone, Baba, Hag, rites of passage, initiation rite, folklore, Karst

Visiting the Karst underground: development of cave tourism in Slovenia

Petra Kavrečič

Cave tourism is one of the oldest forms of tourist activity to have developed in the Kras region of the Slovene territory. The stony world of caves has captured the interest of curious adventurers and researchers seeking to discover the secrets of the Kras underground. In the period before the development of modern tourism, visiting caves was influenced by a number of factors, one of which was associated with religious beliefs; however, the main motive for visiting the underground world was curiosity, research and a desire for adventure. Caves such as the Postojna Cave, Škocjan Caves, Vilenica, Planina Cave, Predjama, Magdalena Cave, Socerb Cave and others were frequently visited by foreign travellers.
The paper aims to present three underground localities, namely the caves of Vilenica, Škocjan and Postojna, showing their potential attraction in terms of tourism and the reason for their (lack of) success. The analysis is based on historical sources (diaries, journals) as well as on scientific literature, as caves were visited and described in travellers' journals and diaries, in which emphasis was placed on interesting, intriguing and sometimes terrifying natural stony images of the underground world. The most frequently visited locations were the ones which were easily accessible - whether located on a transitional road, in the vicinity of a bigger city (Trieste) or easy to access.
Keywords: travel in the pre-industrial period, Vilenica Cave, Škocjan Caves, Postojna Cave, cave tourism

Public presentation of stone monuments

Nigel T. W. Mills

The purpose of this article is to explore some of the opportunities and challenges in the public presentation of stone monuments, to suggest how principles of heritage interpretation can help to address these challenges and to provide examples of good practice in the application of these principles. The first two aspects are covered in the introduction through the personal experience of the author in developing his knowledge and skills as a heritage interpreter. The good practice examples focus on the Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework and the Roman Frontier Gallery at Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle.
Keywords: Interpretation Framework, interpretation, interpreting, presentation, stone, landscapes

Versatility of mosaics: psychological, sociological, aesthetic and organizational aspects

Maja Frencl, Boštjan Žvanut

The art of mosaic making is a form of craftwork, in which various materials (e.g. pieces of stone, tiles, glass, plastic) are combined to form different motifs. From the Bronze Age onwards and especially in ancient Greece and the Roman Empire, mosaic was not only a decorative element, but also a symbol of power and prosperity. Today, with the development of human consciousness, mosaic is gaining new dimensions. This chapter presents the various functions of mosaic that we use in our work: mosaic as a team building tool, mosaic

construction as a children's game, mosaic as a tool for the activation of citizens and institutions in the creation of the environment. The paper goes on to describe the role of mosaics in personal development, meditation and stress management. It is evident in all the aforementioned functions that every design and construction of a mosaic leads to a particular state of consciousness, which occurs on the individual and group level. This state is seen as a combination of calmness and concentration, i.e. mindfulness.
Keywords: mosaic, creativity, state of consciousness.

»Wanna walk under the Rock?«: Land art, time, and tourist passages

Irena Weber

The chapter deals with a particular biography of a granite rock, conceptually designed in 1969 and realised as an art project in 2012 at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA). Installed as a public sculpture, the *Levitated Mass* by Michael Heizer is considered within the tradition of American Land Art of the 60s and 70s, which designated iconic desert landscapes as sites of art interventions while retaining the ambivalent relationship with museums of large cities. The complex challenges of transporting the 340-ton rock from the quarry to the museum has been presented and contextualized in the film documentary *Levitated Mass* which serves as an aid to analyse both the nature of the work of art and the public response to it. Based on field observation of tourists interacting with the rock sculpture, the article looks at the practice of contemporary tourist photography, the manifold ways of *flanerie,* as well as the multi-layered temporal dimension of artwork, from geological time to the *kairic* potential of cultural tourism.
Key words: granite rock, Land art, Michael Heizer, LACMA, public sculpture, time, cultural tourism

Povzetki

Interpretacije kamna na Krasu včeraj, danes in jutri

Jasna Fakin Bajec

Namen prispevka je predstaviti proces, kako je kamen na Krasu kot značilen element naravne pokrajine v diskurzu izoblikovanja in utrjevanja regionalne identitete postal poglavitni identifikacijski simbol, do katerega pa imajo nosilci različne interpretacije. Čeprav se je kraška identiteta začela izoblikovati že v 19. stoletju, se je njen pomen vnovič začel utrjevati in poglabljati s osamosvojitvijo Slovenije, zlasti pa z intenzivnejšim soočenjem Kraševcev s procesi globalizacije. Ti so med drugim spodbudili tudi relokalizacijo oz. odkrivanje tradicionalnih elementov s področja narave in načina življenja, ki pa so v sodobnosti dobili druge funkcije in pomene, kot so jih imeli v preteklosti. V prispevku bodo predstavljeni različni pomeni kamna na Krasu skozi čas (glavni gradbeni material, simbol revščine, dekorativni element, statusni simbol, identifikacijski element idr.), s poudarkom na predstavitvi, kako se izraža identifikacijska vloga in kakšen pomen pri tem igrajo različni akterji (lokalni politiki, strokovnjaki, gospodarstveniki, lokalni prebivalci). Mirno lahko rečemo, da danes kamen na Krasu ne odraža več simbola revščine, kot je še nekaj desetletij nazaj, temveč je postal pomemben generator povezovanja preteklega načina življenja s sedanjostjo, postopoma pa prihaja v zavest, da bi moral postati tudi vir trajnostnega razvoja.
Ključne besede: Kras, kamen, lokalna identiteta, dediščina

Ognjišča v Vipavski dolini

Špela Ledinek Lozej

V prispevku so na podlagi preučevanja različnih virov predstavljeni oblika, struktura in pomeni ognjišč ter njihove spremembe v Vipavski dolini. Starejša ognjišča so bila nizka, prostrana in sezidana iz kamna. Z razvojem so se krčila po obsegu in višala. Dviganje ognjišč je sovpadalo z razvojem odvajanja dima prek nape in kamina. Mlajša ognjišča so postavljali na lesene, kamnite ali zidane stebrne nosilce; tista v hišah premožnejših pa so bila sestavljena iz klesancev in deležna likovnega oblikovanja in krašenja z geometrično ali rastlinsko motiviko. V nadaljevanju je opisana še raba in vloga ognjišč v vsakdanjem življenju ter metafo-

rične razsežnosti ognjišč, tj. spomini, predstave in podobe, izoblikovane v vsakdanjih praksah in na podlagi pripisanih oziroma dogovorjenih pomenov.
Ključne besede: ognjišča, Vipavska dolina, kamnita gradnja

Sajenje, rast in razmnoževanje kamnov

Bojan Baskar

Članek obravnava verovanja, da kamenje raste (v zemlji) in se razmnožuje. Na sledove teh verovanj naletimo na različnih kontinentih, daleč najbogatejša evidenca o njih pa izhaja iz Evrope, ki je v teh verovanjih po vsem sodeč prednjačila. Dokler jih moderna znanost ni počasi potisnila v ozadje, so bila ta verovanja močno prisotna tudi v razmišljanjih in raziskavah zgodnejših filozofov, kemikov, fizikov, mineralogov itn., zato so bogato dokumentirana tudi v znanstveni literaturi do 18. stoletja. Članek medsebojno artikulira to evropsko tradicijo z etnografskimi in s folklorističnimi pričevanji z drugih koncev sveta.
Ključne besede: verovanje, kamni, kamenje, ki raste, kovine, zgodnje-novoveška znanost, etnografija

Mitska tradicija v kamnu: »Šmrkave« babe kot elementi obredov prehoda in družbene kontrole

Katja Hrobat Virloget

Članek izhaja iz folklore o kamnitih babah, ki predstavljajo personifikacije odvratne starke. Percepcija kamnov kot živih bitij spominja na podobne percepcije ne-zahodnjaških kultur, po katerih je oblika tista, ki daje življenje. Avtorica predstavlja nekatera nova odkritja kamnitih bab s Krasa, Brkinov in Istre in povzema nekatera novejša odkritja o mitskem kontekstu bab. V folklori, verovanjih in obredih, povezanih z njo, je mogoče prepoznati določen arhaičen mitski lik s tako vitalnimi, plodnimi kot degradiranimi, starimi potezami. Čeprav je folklora o babi razširjena po vsem slovanskem svetu, je mogoče najti groteskno otroško folkloro o poljubu kamna, »šmrkave« babe, ob prvem obisku mesta, parcele ali gozda le v določenih območjih od zgornjega Jadrana do Francije. Avtorica povezuje to specifično tradicijo (povedke in obrede) z ostanki določenih iniciacijskih obredov ob prvem vstopu v določeno območje ali ob odhodu iz domačega območja, kar je nadaljnje mogoče interpretirati v kontekstu teritorialnih in družbenih obredov prehoda. Hkrati so bili tovrstni liki uporabljani kot močni elementi družbene kontrole otrok. Tradicija o babah torej daje pomen delom krajine in obratno, inkulturira socialnega posameznika – z omejevanjem gibanja nekoga po krajini in z določanjem njegovega/njenega družbenega statusa.
Ključne besede: živ kamen, baba, obredi prehoda, iniciacijski obred, folklora, Kras

Obiskovanje kraškega podzemlja: razvoj jamskega turizma v Sloveniji

Petra Kavrečič

Jamski turizem velja za eno izmed najstarejših turističnih dejavnosti na Slovenskem, ki se je razvila na območju Krasa. Kamniti jamski svet je buril duhove radovednih avanturistov in raziskovalcev, ki so iskali in odkrivali skrivnosti kraškega podzemlja. V obdobju pred razvojem modernega turizma so jame obiskovali iz različnih motivov, enega od teh povezujemo tudi z vero. Glavni razlog za obisk pa je vendar bila radovednost, želja po raziskovanju in

iskanju dogodivščin. Jame kot na primer Postojnska, Škocjanske, Vilenica, Predjama, Magdalena, Socerb in druge so obiskovali tudi tuji popotniki.
Prispevek se osredišča na predstavitev treh podzemnih jam, Vilenice, Škocjanskih in Postojnske, s prikazom turističnega potenciala in razlogov za obiskovanje. Analiza temelji na zgodovinskih virih (dnevniki, potopisi) in znanstveni literature. Jame oziroma vtise s potovanj so popotniki pogosto zabeležili v obliki dnevnikov, v katerih so opisali zanimiva doživetja, skrivnostne ter včasih strašljive podobe jamskega podzemlja. Najpogosteje so bile obiskane jame, ki so bile dostopnejše oziroma se nahajale v bližini večjih krajev (Trst) ali poti.
Ključne besede: potovanje v pred-industrijski dobi, jama Vilenica, Škocjanske jame, Postojnska jama, jamski turizem

Javna prezentacija kamnitih spomenikov

Nigel T. W. Mills

Namen prispevka je raziskati nekatere priložnosti in izzive v javni prezentaciji kamnitih spomenikov, razložiti, kako lahko principi dediščinske interpretacije pomagajo odgovoriti na te izzive in prikazati primere dobre prakse pri uveljavljanju the principov. Prva dva vidika sta predstavljena v uvodu skozi osebne iskušnje avtorja pri pridobivanju znanj in sposobnosti dediščinskega interpreta, primeri dobre prakse pa se nanašajo na interpretacijsko mrežo Hadrianovega zidu (*Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework*) in na Galerijo rimskega obmejnega pasu (*Roman Frontier Gallery*) v *Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery* v Carlislu.
Ključne besede: interpretacijska mreža, interpretacija, interpretiranje, prezentacija, kamni, pokrajina

Vsestranskost mozaika: psihološki, sociološki, estetski in organizacijski vidik

Maja Frencl, Boštjan Žvanut

Mozaičarstvo je umetniška obrt, kjer se razne materiale (npr. kamen, ploščice, steklo, umetne mase) povezuje v razne motive. Mozaik že od bronaste dobe, predvsem pa v stari Grčiji in Rimskem cesarstvu ni imel zgolj dekorativne vloge. Izražal je namreč tudi moč in blagostanje. Danes pa z razvojem človeške zavesti mozaik pridobiva nove razsežnosti. V pričujočem delu so predstavljene različne funkcije mozaika, ki jih uporabljava pri svojem delu: mozaik kot sredstvo za »team building«, izdelava mozaika kot igra z otroci in mozaik kot sredstvo za aktivacijo meščanov in institucij pri ustvarjanju okoliša. Prikazana je tudi vloga mozaika pri osebnem razvoju, meditaciji in pri upravljanje stresa. V vseh navedenih funkcijah mozaika je razvidno, da lahko vsako načrtovanje in konstruiranje mozaika vodi do posebnega stanja zavesti, ki se pojavlja tako na nivoju posameznika kot skupine. Slednje se kaže kot kombinacija umirjenosti in koncentracije, tj. čuječnosti.
Ključne besede: mozaik, kreativnost, delavnice

"Bi se sprehodila pod skalo?" Zemeljska umetnost, čas in turistični (s)prehodi

Irena Weber

Poglavje se ukvarja s posebno biografijo granitne skale, konceptualno oblikovane leta 1969 in realizirane v obliki umetniškega projekta leta 2012 v Okrajnem muzeju umetnosti v Los Angelesu (LACMA). Javna skulptura z imenom *Levitated Mass,* avtorja Michaela Heizerja, je obravnavana znotraj tradicije ameriške zemeljske umetnosti 60h in 70h let, ki je ikonične puščavske krajine definirala kot prostor umetniških intervencij, a hkrati zadržala ambivalentni odnos z muzeji velikih mest. Kompleksni izzivi transporta 340 ton težke skale iz kamnoloma do muzeja, predstavljeni in kontekstualizirani v dokumentarnem filmu *Levitated Mass,* služijo kot podlaga, tako za analizo narave umetniškega dela, kot javnega odziva nanj. Na podlagi terenskega opazovanja turistov in njihovih interakcij s skalno skulpturo, članek obravnava prakso sodobne turistične fotografije, večstranskih načinov flanerstva, kot tudi večplastnih temporalnih dimenzij umetniškega dela od geološkega časa do kairičnega potenciala kulturnega turizma.

Ključne besede: granitna skala, zemeljska umetnost, Michael Heizer, LACMA, javna skulptura, čas, kulturni turizem

Sažetci

Tumačenja kamena u Krasu jučer, danas i sutra

Jasna Fakin Bajec

Svrha ovog rada je prikazati proces, kako je kamen u Krasu kao tipičan element prirodnog krajolika u diskursu izgradnje i učvršćivanja regionalnog identiteta postao glavni simbol prepoznavanja, za koji nositelji imaju različita tumačenja. Iako se identitet regije počeo formirati u 19. stoljeću, njegova se važnost ponovno počela učvršćivati i produbljivati s nezavisnošću Slovenije, osobito sa intenzivnijim suočavanjem naroda Krasa s procesima globalizacije. Oni su, između ostalog, potaknuli relokalizaciju i otkrili tradicionalne elemente u području prirode i načina života, ali su u moderno doba dobili druge funkcije i značenja za razliku od onih u prošlosti. U radu će biti prikazani različiti načini upotrebe kamena u Krasu tijekom vremena (glavni građevinski materijal, simbol siromaštva, dekorativni element, simbol statusa, element identiteta, i dr.), s naglaskom na prezentaciju, kako se identificira uloga i kakav značaj imaju različiti akteri (lokalni političari, stručnjaci, gospodarstvenici, lokalno stanovništvo). Sa sigurnošću možemo reći da danas kamen Krasa više ne odražava simbol siromaštva kao prije nekoliko desetljeća, nego je postao važan generator koji povezuje način života u prošlosti sa sadašnjošću, postupno razvijajući svijest da bi trebao postati izvor održivog razvoja.

Ključne riječi: Kras, kamen, lokalni identitet, baština

Ognjišta u Vipavskoj dolini

Špela Ledinek Lozej

Na temelju proučavanju različitih izvora, članak predstavlja ognjišta prema obliku, strukturi i građi, te njihovoj promjeni u Vipavskoj dolini. Starija su ognjišta bila niska, prostrana i izgrađena od kamena. S razvojem ona se smanjuju u volumenu te postaju viša. Podizanje ognjišta podudarilo se s razvojem napa i dimnjaka za ispuštanja dima. Mlađa ognjišta postavljali su na drvene, kamene ili od cigle noseće stupove; ona u bogatijim kućama bila su sastavljena od klesanaca te su imala likovno oblikovanje i dekoraciju od geometrijskih ili biljnih motiva. U nastavku je opisano daljnje korištenje i primjena ognjišta u svakodnevnom

životu, te njegova metaforička dimenzija, tj. sjećanja, ideje i slike, oblikovane u svakodnevnoj praksi, a na temelju utvrđenih ili ugovorenih vrijednosti.
Ključne riječi: ognjišta, Vipavska dolina, kamena gradnja

Sadnja, uzgoj i razmnožavanje kamena

Bojan Baskar

U članku se iznosi uvjerenje da kamenje raste (u zemlji) i razmnožava se. Na tragove tih uvjerenja nailazimo na različitim kontinentima, a daleko najveći broj zapisa proizlazi iz Europe, koja je u tim uvjerenjima po svemu sudeći prednjačila. Dok ih je moderna znanost polako gurnula u drugi plan, ta uvjerenja bila su vrlo prisutna u mislima i istraživanjima ranijih filozofa, kemičara, fizičara, mineraloga, i dr., zbog toga su bogato dokumentirana u znanstvenoj literaturi 18. stoljeća. Članak međusobno povezuje tu europsku tradiciju sa etnografskim i folklornim svjedočanstvima iz drugih krajeva svijeta.
Ključne riječi: vjerovanje, kamenje, kamenje, koje raste, metali, rana novovjekovna znanost, etnografija

Mitska tradicija u kamenu: »Šmrkave« babe kao elementi obreda prijelaza i društvene kontrole

Katja Hrobat Virloget

Članak je nastao iz folklora o kamenim babama, koje utjelovljuju odbojne stare žene. Percepcija kamena kao živog bića podsjeća na slične percepcije ne-zapadnih kultura, prema kojima, oblik je taj koji daje život. Autorica iznosi neka nova otkrića o kamenim babama iz Krasa, Brkina i Istre i sažima neka novija otkrića u vezi s mitološkim kontekstom baba. Kamene babe su uključene u određene godišnje rituale. U folkloru, vjerovanja i običaji su povezali arhaičnu žensku mitsku figuru sa vitalnim i plodnim, ali degradiranim starim osobinama. Iako je lik babe raširen u slavenskih zemljama, groteskan dječji običaji ljubljenja kamena prilikom prve posjete gradu, zemljištu ili šumi, prisutan je jedino u određenim regijama od gornjeg Jadrana do Francuske. Autorica povezuje ove specifične folklorne tradicije (pripovjedke i rituale) sa ostacima određenih obreda inicijacije prilikom ulaska u određeno područje ili izlaska iz vlastitog područja, što može biti interpretirano u kontekstu teritorijalnih i društvenih obreda. U isto vrijeme, ove vrste figura su upotrebljavane kao snažan element društvene kontrole djece. Prema tome, tradicija baba daje značenje dijelovima krajolika i kulturno obrazuje pojedinca – ograničavajući kretanje u krajoliku i određujući socijalni status.
Ključne riječi: živi kamen, baba, obredni prijelaz, obredi inicijacije, folklor, Kras

Posjet krškog podzemlja: razvoj spiljskog turizma u Sloveniji

Petra Kavrečič

Spiljski turizam je jedan od najstarijih oblika turističke djelatnosti koji se razvio u krškom području slovenskog teritorija. Kameni svijet spilja zaintrigirao je znatiželjni duh pustolova i istraživača koji su tražili da otkriju tajne krškog podzemlja. U razdoblju prije razvoja modernog turizma razlog posjeta spiljama bio je predmet brojnih čimbenika; jedan od njih bio je povezan s vjerom, iako su glavni motivi za posjet podzemnim svijetu bili znatiželja, istraživanje i avanturizam. Spilje kao npr. Postojnska jama, Škocjanske jame, spilja

Vilenica, spilja Planina, Predjama, spilja Magdalena, spilja Socerb i drugi posjetili su inozemni putnici.
Rad je usmjeren na predstavljanje triju podzemnih lokaliteta, spilje Vilenica, Škocjan i Postojna, pokazujući potencijalnu atrakciju u turističkom smislu i razlog za (ne) uspjeh. Analiza se temelji na povijesnim izvorima (dnevnici, putopisi), kao i znanstvenoj literaturi, budući su spilje opisane u dnevnicima i putopisima posjetitelja, s naglaskom na zanimljivim, intrigantnim a ponekad i zastrašujućim prirodnim slikama kamena podzemnog svijeta. Često posjećene lokacije bile su one s pristupom, bilo da su se nalazile na tranzicijskoj cesti ili u blizini velikih gradova (Trst)ili lako dostupne.
Ključne riječi: putovanja u predindustrijskom razdoblju, spilja Vilenica, Škocjanske jame, Postojnska jama, spiljski turizam

Javna prezentacija o kamenim spomenicima

Nigel T. W. Mills

Svrha ovog članka je istraživanje nekih mogućnosti i izazova kod javnog predstavljanja kamenih spomenika, predložiti kako načela tumačenja baštine mogu pomoći pri rješavanju tih izazova i pružiti primjere dobre prakse u primjeni tih načela. Prva dva aspekta su pokrivena uvodom kroz osobno iskustvo autora u razvoju njegovog znanja i vještina kao tumača baštine. Primjeri dobre prakse usredotočeni su na okvir tumačenja Hadrijanovog zida i Galeriju rimske granice u Muzeju i umjetničkoj galeriji Tullie House, Carlisle.
Ključne riječi: interpretacijski okvir, interpretacija, interpretiranje, prezentacija, kamen, pokrajina

Svestranost mozaika: psihološki, sociološki, estetski i organizacijski pogled

Maja Frencl, Boštjan Žvanut

Mozaik je umjetnički obrt u kojem se različiti materijali (npr. kamen, pločice, staklo, umjetna masa) povezuju u različite motive. Još u Brončanom dobu, a najviše u staroj Grčkoj i Rimskom carstvu, mozaik nije imao samo dekorativnu ulogu. Simbolizirao je, također, moć i blagostanje. Danas, s razvojem ljudske svijesti, mozaik dobija novu dimenziju. U ovom poglavlju predstavljene su različite funkcije mozaika koje koristimo u svom radu: mozaik kao sredstvo za »team building«, izrada mozaika kao igra s djecom, kao sredstvo za aktivaciju građana i institucija u stvaranju okoliša. Također, prikazana je uloga mozaika u osobnom razvoju, meditaciji i upravljanju stresom. U svim navedenim funkcijama mozaika je očito da planiranje i konstruiranje mozaika može dovesti do posebnog stanja svijesti, koji se javlja kako na razini pojedinca, tako i na razini grupe. To stanje svijesti se može opisati kao kombinacija opuštenosti i koncentracije, tj. usredotočene svjesnosti.
Ključne riječi: mozaik, kreativnost, radionice

»Želiš hodati ispod stijene?« Land art, vrijeme i turističke rute

Irena Weber

Poglavlje se bavi posebnom biografijom granitne stijene, konceptualno oblikovane 1969. i realizirane u obliku umjetničkog projekta 2012. godine u Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA). Javna skulptura s imenom *Levitated Mass*, autora Michaela Heizera, obra-

đena je unutar američkog Land art-a 60-ih i 70-ih godina, koja je izvorne pustinjske kraje-ve definirala kao prostore umjetničkih intervencija, a istovremeno zadržala ambivalentni odnos sa gradskim muzejima. Izazovi transporta 340 tona teške stijene iz kamenoloma do muzeja, predstavljeni su i sastavljeni u kontekstu dokumentarnog filma *Levitated Mass*, slu-že kao podloga, kako za analizu prirode umjetničkog djela, tako i za javne reakcije na nje-ga. Na temelju terenskog praćenja turista i njihove interakcije s skulpturom stijene, članak obrađuje praksu suvremene turističke fotografije, višestranih načina *flanerstva*, a isto tako višeslojnih vremenskih dimenzija umjetničkih djela od geološkog vremena do *kairičnog* po-tencijala kulturnog turizma.
Ključne riječi: granitna stijena, Land art, Michael Heizer, LACMA, javna skulptura, vrije-me, kulturni turizam

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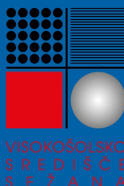

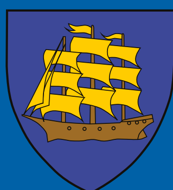

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