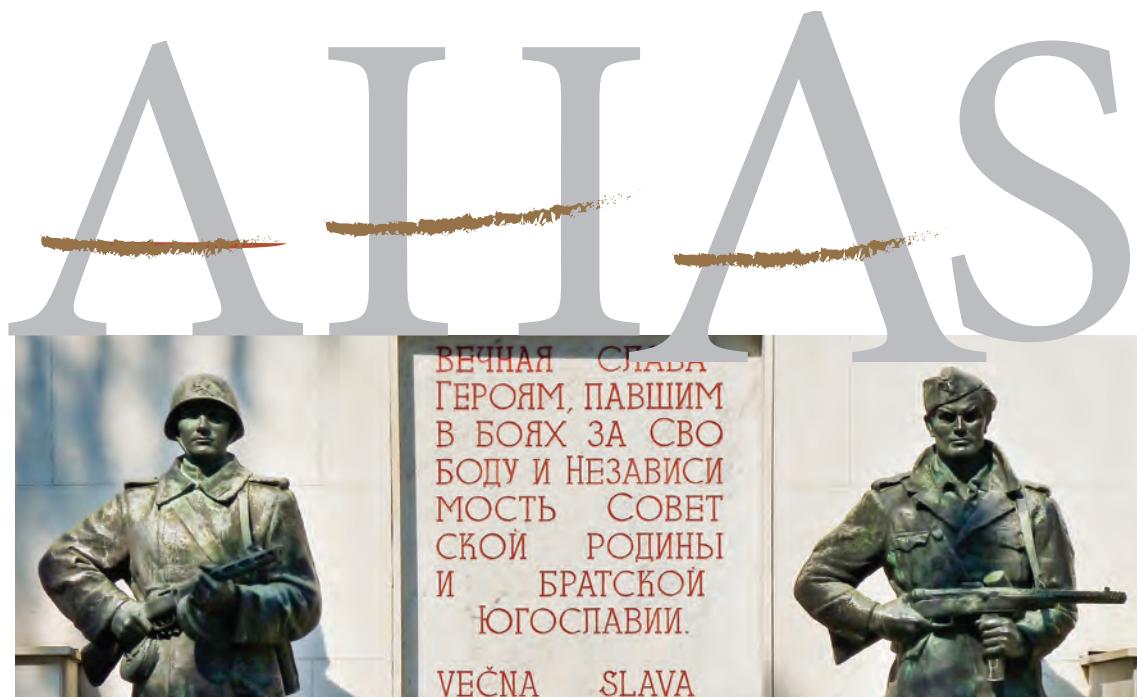


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ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS SLOVENICA

Visualizing Memory and Making History

Public Monuments in Former Yugoslav Space
in the Twentieth Century

18|2 • 2013

Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU

France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU

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PREFACE

The 2013 *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* comprises two thematic volumes dedicated to public monuments. In the past few years, researchers from the France Stele Institute of Art History at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts have started to conduct systematic research into public monuments, related topographic studies, and wider questions of public space and memory with regards to commissions and realised works. In the research programme *Slovenian Artistic Identity in a European Context* (Slovenian Research Agency, P6-0061) and several other research projects related to this programme, such as *Visual Arts and Architecture in the Spatial Context of the City of Maribor* (applicative project, co-financed by the Slovenian Research Agency, the Maribor Municipality and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, L6-4315), and *Artistic Exchange and the Creation of Yugoslav Identity in Visual Culture 1848–1990: Serbia-Slovenia/Slovenia-Serbia* (bilateral project in cooperation with the Department of Art History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade), scientific conferences were organized and international collaborative research projects were set up between researchers of public monuments and memory in Central and South-East Europe, especially the countries which once formed the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Yugoslavia. An important contribution to this collaborative research was made by the research network *Media & Memoria: Cultural Science Network for South-Eastern European Studies*.

In the history of public monuments, the twentieth century has a special significance. It was a period of ‘monumentomania’. Monuments are a very important visual medium; they contribute to the formation and foundation of various national identities and help spread various ideologies. Examples from Slovenia and Serbia clearly reveal the extent to which monuments followed contemporary social and political changes or how they promoted them, as well as how monuments determined collective memory. The First World War had altered the appearance of Europe thoroughly. The need to preserve the memory of the victims and the events of war resulted, together with the emergence of new states, in the intensive construction of public monuments. Alongside numerous public projects, burial monuments were commissioned by private individuals. The complexity of solutions in monument planning in the first half of the twentieth century is clearly demonstrated in the overview study by Damjan Prelovšek, which discusses monuments by the architect Jože Plečnik. One of the characteristics of monument production in the twentieth century was the erection of monuments to ethnic minorities. Vuk Dautović deals with the erection and symbolic aspects of the memorial to Jewish members of the Serbian army in the First World War at the Belgrade Jewish cemetery. In the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and in Yugoslavia, new monument types came into use. Renata Komić Marn analyses the role and reception of equestrian monuments in Slovenia using the examples of the monuments to Yugoslav Kings Peter and Alexander from the Karađorđević dynasty, which were erected between the two wars, and the monuments to General Rudolf Maister from the end of the twentieth century. The period after the Second World War, in which Communism became the new state ideology, represented a new chapter in the cultural and political life of Yugoslavia. Despite the ideological break, some artists were given commissions by both the monarchic and communist Yugoslavia. Jasmina Čubrilo shows the continuity of discontinuity with the example of two sculptures by Sreten Stojanović, the monument of King Peter

Karađorđević (1928) and the monument *Fight* (1949). As demonstrated in the article by Katarina Mohar, the *Victory Monument* erected to fallen Soviet soldiers in Murska Sobota testifies to the successful staging of the new ideology, by means of public monuments erected in central town locations.

In communist Yugoslavia, the cult of living personality was reserved for Tito, while the depictions of others were used as state propaganda only after their death. Barbara Murovec discusses the statue of Boris Kidrič in Ljubljana, also with regard to the arguments for its possible or necessary removal; although in the past the criteria for removing monuments were mainly political, in the twenty-first century they should be transferred into the field of ethics. With the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the emergence of the new states in the 1990s, the need for a different kind of planning of public space and for an emphasis on new state identities emerged in several former republics of Yugoslavia. Tanja Zimmermann analyses the Skopje 2014 project and presents the new monument complex that has been under construction in the Macedonian capital since 2010. This example clearly illustrates not only the close connection between politics and public monuments but also the process of establishing tradition and the crisis of identity.

This analysis of examples of monument activities, which took place in the (former) Yugoslav territory in the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, shows how important the role of public monuments has been in the planning and reception of public space, as well as in the formation of collective memory and the establishment of a new state ideology. They are not merely places of worship of individuals, events and ideas, but also an influential visual instrument in the creation of (new) societies.

Nenad Makuljević and Barbara Murovec

UREDNIŠKA BESEDA

Osemnajsti letnik revije *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* je posvečen javnim spomenikom. V preteklih letih so raziskovalci Umetnostnozgodovinskega inštituta Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU začeli s sistematičnim raziskovanjem javnih spomenikov, topografskimi študijami o njih in preučevanjem širših vprašanj o javnem prostoru in spominu, kot se kažejo skozi umetnostna naročila in realizirana dela. V okviru raziskovalnega programa *Slovenska umetnostna identiteta v evropskem okviru* (Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost, P6-0061) in projektov, ki iz njega izhajajo, kot sta zlasti *Likovna umetnost v prostoru mesta Maribor* (aplikativni projekt, ki ga sofinancirajo Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost, Mestna občina Maribor in Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, L6-4315) in *Umetnostna izmenjava in ustvarjanje jugoslovanske identitete v vizualni kulturi 1848–1990: Srbija-Slovenija/Slovenija-Srbija* (bilateralni projekt z Oddelkom za umetnostno zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Beogradu), so organizirali znanstvene posvete in sodelovali s tujimi raziskovalci, ki preučujejo javne spomenike in spomin na ozemlju srednje in jugovzhodne Evrope, zlasti nekdanje Avstro-Ogrske in Jugoslavije. Pomemben impulz za sodelovanje raziskovalcev predstavlja tudi raziskovalna mreža *Media & Memoria: Cultural Science Network for South-Eastern European Studies*.

Dvajseto stoletje zavzema v zgodovini javnih spomenikov posebno mesto. Gre za obdobje, v katerem vlada »monumentomanija«. Spomeniki so izjemno pomemben vizualni medij; prispevajo k oblikovanju in utemeljevanju različnih nacionalnih in državnih identitet ter pomagajo širiti različne ideologije. Primeri iz Slovenije in Srbije jasno kažejo, v kolikšni meri so spomeniki sledili aktualnim družbenim in političnim spremembam oziroma jih propagirali, kako so spomeniki določali spomin.

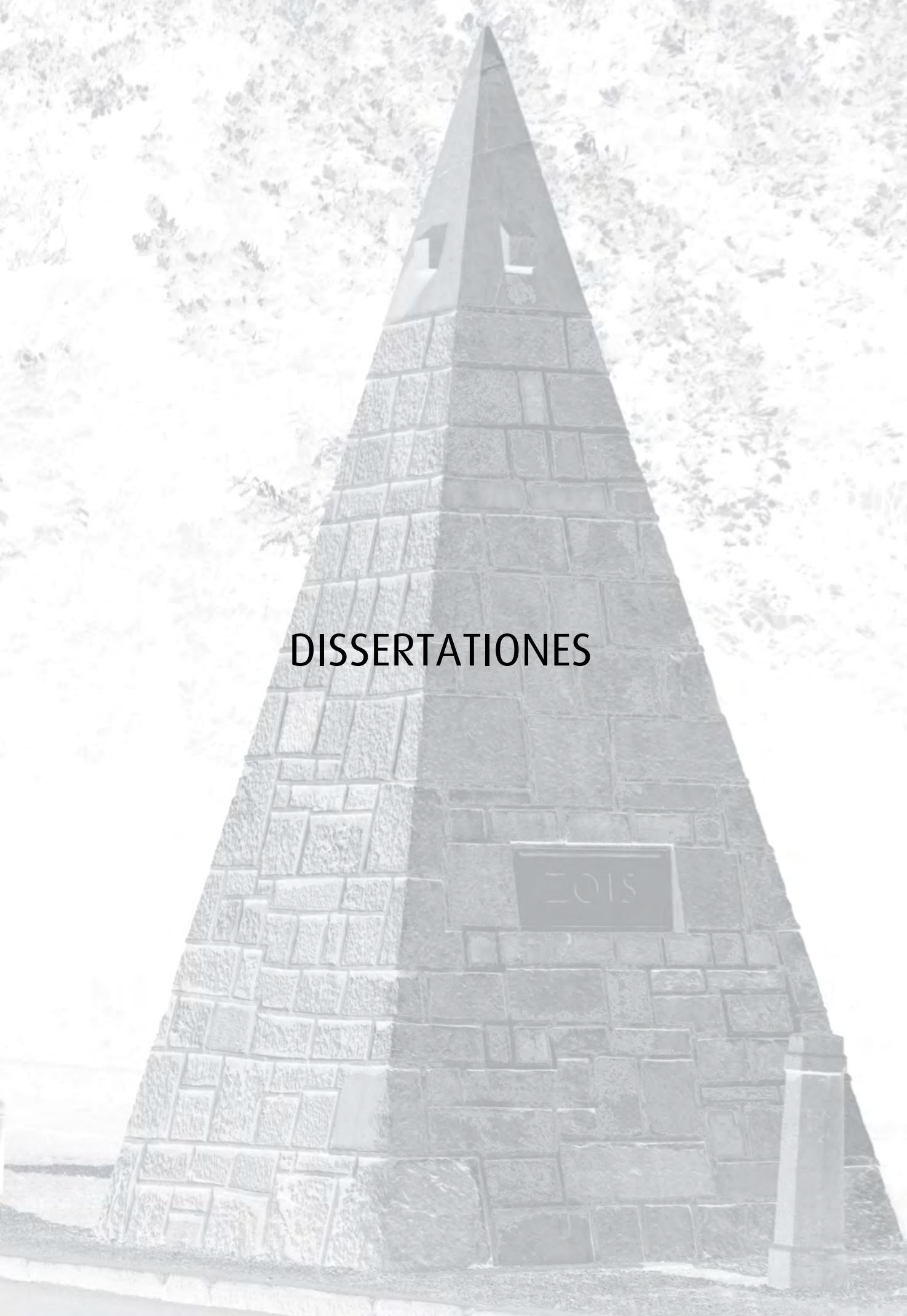
Prva svetovna vojna je temeljito spremenila podobo Evrope. Potrebe po ohranjanju spomina na dogodke in žrtve vojne so skupaj z nastankom novih držav vodile v proces intenzivnega postavljanja javnih spomenikov. Vzporedno s številnimi javnimi projekti so nastajali nagrobni spomeniki po naročilu zasebnikov. Kompleksnost spomeniških rešitev v prvi polovici dvajsetega stoletja jasno pokaže Damjan Prelovšek, ki v preglednem članku predstavi spomeniški opus arhitekta Jožeta Plečnika. Ena od značilnosti spomeniške prakse dvajsetega stoletja je postavljanje spomenikov manjšinskim skupnostim. O tem piše Vuk Dautović, ki obravnava nastanek in simboliko spomenika, postavljenega na beograjskem sefardskem judovskem pokopališču v spomin judovskim pripadnikom srbske vojske, padlim v prvi svetovni vojni. V novo nastali Kraljevini SHS oziroma Jugoslaviji so se kmalu uveljavili novi spomeniški tipi. Renata Komič Marn analizira vlogo in recepcijo konjeniškega spomenika na Slovenskem na primeru spomenikov kraljema Petru in Aleksandru iz dinastije Karađorđević iz časa med obema vojnoma ter spomenikov slovenskemu generalu Rudolfu Maistru s konca 20. stoletja. Čas po drugi svetovni vojni, v katerem je komunizem postal nova državna ideologija, predstavlja novo etapo v političnem in kulturnem življenju v jugoslovanskem prostoru. Ideološkemu prelому navkljub so posamezni umetniki ustvarjali tako za monarhično kot za komunistično Jugoslavijo. Jasmina Čubrilo analizira kontinuiteto diskontinuitete na primeru dveh skulptur Sretena Stojanovića, spomenika kralju Petru Karađorđeviću iz leta 1928 in spomenika *Borba* iz leta 1949. Kot pokaže Katarina Mohar, priča *Spomenik zmage*, ki so ga v Murski Soboti postavili v spomin padlim sovjetskim vojakom, o uspešni inscenaciji nove ideologije skozi javne spomenike na osrednjih mestnih površinah. Kult živeče osebnosti je bil v komunistični Jugoslaviji pridržan za Tita, liki vseh drugih so bili uporabljeni za monumentalno propagando šele po njihovi smrti. Barbara Murovec obravnava

ljubljanski kip Borisa Kidriča, posebej tudi z vidika potrebnosti oziroma nujnosti njegove odstranitve; čeprav so bili kriteriji za ohranjanje oziroma umikanje spomenikov v zgodovini predvsem politični, bi jih moralno 21. stoletje prestaviti v polje etike.

Z razpadom Jugoslavije in nastankom novih državnih skupnosti se je v devetdesetih letih v nekaterih bivših republikah pojavila potreba po drugačnem oblikovanju javnega prostora in poudarjanju novih državnih identitet. Tanja Zimmermann analizira projekt Skopje 2014 in predstavlja novi spomeniški kompleks, ki od leta 2010 nastaja v makedonski prestolnici in v katerem lahko jasno prepoznavamo ne le vez med politiko in javnimi spomeniki, temveč tudi proces ustvarjanja tradicije in krizo identitete.

Analiza primerov spomeniških praks, ki so se izoblikovale v dvajsetem in v začetku enaindvajsetega stoletja v (nekdanjem) jugoslovanskem prostoru, kaže, kako pomembno vlogo so imeli in še vedno imajo pri gradnji in recepciji javnega prostora, pri oblikovanju kolektivnega spomina in uteviljevanju državne ideologije javni spomeniki. Ti niso zgolj »prostori« slavljenja osebnosti, dogodkov in idej, ampak tudi vplivno vizualno sredstvo ustvarjanja (novih) družb.

Nenad Makuljević, Barbara Murovec

A black and white photograph of a tall, triangular stone monument. The monument is built of large, rectangular stones and features a small, dark plaque mounted on its front face. The plaque contains the letters "DISSE".

DISSERTATIONES

DISSE

Monuments by the Architect Jože Plečnik

Damjan Prelovšek

Memorial architecture constitutes an important element in the oeuvre of the architect Jože Plečnik (1872–1957). While it has already been discussed widely, the present paper attempts a different, typology-based approach, allowing a fresh interpretation of the existing, already familiar body of research on Plečnik's memorial work. One of the unique features of Plečnik is that he insisted on returning to the concept of his early work throughout his life, although he found inventive and original ways and means to present them. In this aspect his production differs from the practice of his contemporaries; the paper, therefore, focuses on Plečnik's early years in Vienna as well as his later period in Prague. It is difficult, if not impossible, to draw parallels with his contemporaries, as this question concerns the metamorphosing of classical archetypes; however, the study could be expanded to Plečnik's impact on the Bohemian architects who watched his work at Prague Castle with respect and admiration. After all, the great attention paid to the genesis of the monument to the Czechoslovakian legionaries inspired the obelisks by Buhumil Hübschmann (Prague, Emauzy) and Josef Gočár (Hradec Králové). After having returned to his homeland, Plečnik exerted a profound influence on his students, who often attempted to imitate him, which was most obvious during the boom in memorial erection immediately after World War II. However, this is beyond the scope of this paper. For this reason, and from my desire to find a common thread in Plečnik's work, I have left out even some of his better known monuments or dealt with them briefly. Since the question of monuments is a complex one, it is unreasonable to distinguish between public and private commissions – sepulchral architecture belongs to the latter, for example – because both sorts of memorials were based on identical formal foundations and are therefore inseparably interconnected.

The second half of the nineteenth century was the heyday of public monuments in Vienna, which greatly influenced Plečnik as a young Slovenian student of architecture. While attending the Otto Wagner School, he threw himself eagerly into the problems of memorial architecture. At the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, he had a great deal of opportunity to become acquainted with sculptors' studios and to learn about the problems of large-scale monumental sculpture. Thus, he managed to develop an infallible sense for the coexistence of architecture and its sculptural decoration.

Plečnik won his first opportunity to enter the Viennese architectural scene as a result of his design for the Gutenberg monument,¹ for which a public competition was held in the autumn of 1897. He and the sculptor Othmar Schimkowitz received first prize but had to share it with the architect Max Fabiani – Plečnik's compatriot – and the sculptor Hans Bitterlich, whose proposal was less inventive and more academic, which was obviously why they were actually entrusted with the execution of the monument. Plečnik's idea was imbued with a youthful Art Nouveau zeal and was the earliest realization of the new style, which did not pass unnoticed in the avant-garde art circles of Vienna. In terms of iconography, his Gutenberg was still strewn with fin-de-siècle literary references. A globe, overgrown with laurel, figured as the central motif of the monument, similar to the

¹ Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Josef Plečnik. Wiener Arbeiten von 1896 bis 1914*, Wien 1979, pp. 30–31, 182.



1. Jože Plečnik (jointly with Othmar Schimkowitz): competition model for the Gutenberg monument in Vienna, 1897, whereabouts unknown

one simultaneously designed by Joseph M. Olbrich for the dome of the pavilion at the Vienna Secession exhibition. It was Plečnik's plan to surround the globe with the symbols of the five continents, while the power of mankind, personified by a young male figure of muscular physique, would have given the globe a new direction.²

The early death of his mother led Plečnik to study sepulchral sculpture. He attempted to find something that would have been anchored in the local tradition and his drawings suggest that he was attracted by the organic growth of the obelisk, featuring a flower sprouting or a cross rising from the top. The obelisk thus became a constant feature of Plečnik's spatial and urbanistic quest, although the proportions and decoration varied from work to work. His first genuine monument commission came in 1901 for a memorial to Benedict Schroll, the Sudeten founder of a textile factory in Broumov near the Polish border.³ In his drafts the architect made use of typical mouldings, of the type he was then employing in his designs for the stations of the Vienna *Stadtbahn* along the Danube canal. It is particularly interesting how daringly he trimmed the ornamentation on the lateral surfaces, thus providing the whole with an amazingly modern appearance. In the communist era the Schimkowitz bust of the industrialist was destroyed and replaced with the factory insignia, but after the end of the regime a surviving replica of the bust was reinstalled.

In 1904, the sculptor and painter Josef Anton Engelhart, Plečnik's fellow artist from the Vienna Secession, received a commission from the city councillors for a memorial fountain dedicated to the sixtieth anniversary of Karl Lueger, Mayor of Vienna.⁴ He began to prepare clay sketches of scenes from the life of Lueger's patron saint, St. Charles Borromeo, but he failed to achieve a satisfactory entirety. Two years later he turned for help to Plečnik, who had been lacking in major commissions after the completion of the Zacherl House. After several attempts, Plečnik decided

² France STELE, *Arhitekt Jože Plečnik v Italiji 1898–1899*, Ljubljana 1967, pp. 241, 270, 272.

³ STELE 1967 (n. 2), pp. 65, 183; Zdeněk LUKEŠ, Práce Josipa Plečníka v českých zemích 1901–1914, *Josip Plečnik. Architekt Pražského hradu*, Praha 1996, p. 507.

⁴ PRELOVŠEK 1979 (n. 1), pp. 111–114, 188.



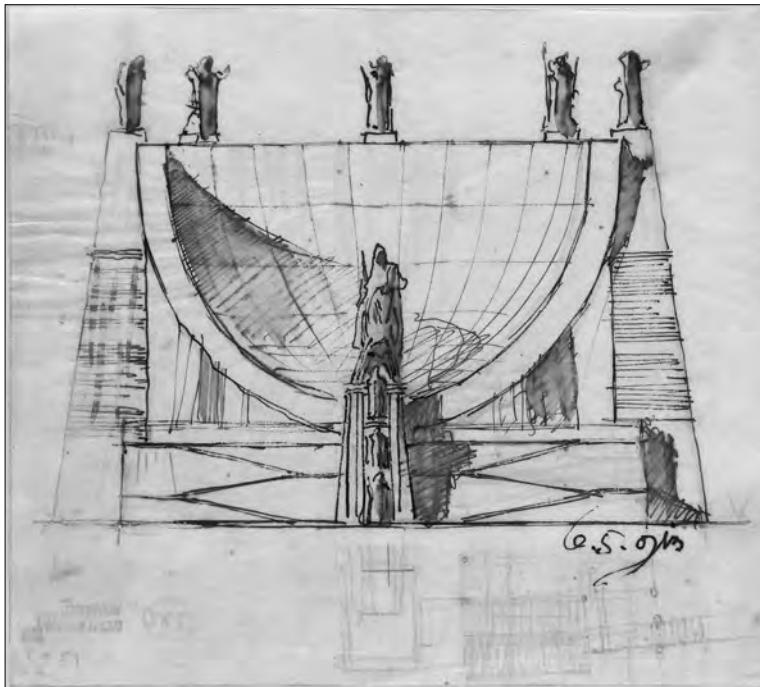
2. Jože Plečnik: monument to Benedict Schroll in Broumov (Bohemia), 1901–1902



3. Jože Plečnik (jointly with Josef Engelhart): St. Charles Borromeo fountain, Vienna, 1906–1909

to look back to his homeland examples. He deepened the space surrounded by four streets and delimited it with a low stone oval-shaped wall, thus creating a more intimate ambience, separated from the surrounding traffic. In terms of the distribution of architectural masses and sculpture, he relied on the Robba fountain in front of the Town Hall in Ljubljana. He replaced Engelhart's square plan with a triangular one and topped the fountain with a lower obelisk, successfully balancing the relation between the architectural section and the more heterogeneous sculptural share. He started modelling the clay himself in his friend's studio and made four vases with eagles and ibex, demonstrating an exceptional sense for classical forms. The four pieces reveal that he was also an accomplished sculptor, which makes it easy to understand why it was so difficult for his team-mates to meet his standards. He abandoned all the sculptural decoration he had envisioned in the vestibule of the National and University Library in Ljubljana, because nobody was capable of producing it in accordance with his ideas; he was convinced that local sculptors lacked the ability to imbue academic concepts with true antique life. The fountain in Vienna was finished a mere several years after Lueger's anniversary. Although Plečnik had already distanced himself from the Art Nouveau style and was no longer satisfied with the monument on its completion, the Charles Borromeo fountain testifies to his youthful inventiveness in the complicated placing of the monument in a space without a proper background.

Throughout his stay abroad, Plečnik kept abreast of developments in his native land. When a monument to the poet France Prešeren was unveiled in Ljubljana in 1905, Dr. Ivan Prijatelj, a literary and art critic, asked for Plečnik's opinion on the work, particularly on the sculptural section, executed by the sculptor Ivan Zajec. In the journal *Naši zapiski* (*Our Notes*) the architect not only expressed his criticism of the full-length statue of the poet – he believed that Slovene sculptors had not reached the maturity required for such monumental tasks – but also suggested that several smaller memorials should be made to follow the curve of the Mestni trg square, thus offering



4. Jože Plečnik: sketch for the monument to Jan Žižka in Prague, 1913, Archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design

young maturing artists practical experience.⁵ Plečnik had the monuments in Italian towns in mind as the desired models; the type he had seen during his travels after his graduation from the Vienna academy. He developed his idea and proposed several locations in Ljubljana which, according to him, simply called out for sculptural memorials.⁶ Among local memorials, he pointed out the happy combination of the monumental bust and the plain neo-Gothic pedestal of the Radetzky monument in Zvezda park. When the death of the priest Janez Evangelist Krek prompted the idea of erecting a memorial to him,⁷ Plečnik repeated his idea of how Ljubljana could be embellished with groups of sculptures. In this, he was probably not only thinking of Italian and classical examples, as he claimed, but also of Fabiani's hermae of prominent technologists in front of the Technical High School in Vienna, which Plečnik later imitated in his own way when he placed memorials of musicians in front of the Music Association (Glasbena matica) in Vegova street in Ljubljana.

In his letters Plečnik informed his brother Andrej that he intended to participate in some other competitions in Vienna, for the monument to Tsar Alexander II in Kiev, for example, in which he was supposed to collaborate with the sculptor Ivan Meštrović.⁸ However, such endeavours became more realistic only after he moved to Prague early in 1911. In this new milieu he became acquainted with the rich tradition of Bohemian monumental sculpture, with Josef Václav Myslbek at the fore. He made friends with Stanislav Sucharda, a few years his senior, and in collaboration with him attempted to realize a number of public monuments in Bohemia. Since Sucharda died during World War I, all they managed to prepare was a joint proposition for a monument to Jan Žižka in Prague

⁵ Ivan PRIJATELJ, Prešernov spomenik v Ljubljani, *Naši zapiski*, 3/10–11, 1905, pp. 149–151.

⁶ Cf. an undated draft of a letter of 1918 in the architect's legacy.

⁷ Cf. an undated draft of a letter of 1918 in the architect's legacy.

⁸ PRELOVŠEK 1979 (n. 1), p. 188.



5. Jože Plečnik: obelisk in the Third Courtyard of Prague Castle, 1924–1928

process of converting the castle into the spiritual centre of the new democratic country. An example of such a task is the medieval graveyard candelabra: Plečnik suggested installing the eternal light on the staircase of the Paradise Garden to shed light over the city, and the president enthusiastically welcomed the idea.¹⁰ On the grassy surface below, a large monolithic granite bowl should have stood, meant to echo the motif of the Spanish Steps in Rome with the obelisk and the fountain, which he remembered well from his post-graduate travels through Italy. On the top of the obelisk the Czech heraldic lion would have stood alongside the Slovakian double cross. The monumental idea came to nothing because of the technical difficulties arising from quarrying and transporting the stone for the obelisk. However, Plečnik would try anything to avoid abandoning the plan completely. He rejected the idea of an obelisk composed lengthwise of several pieces, which would have allowed the placing of a mechanism in its core for hoisting the eternal light; he also gave up the idea of an extremely long, thin, extra anchored stone; he finally decided to put a slightly smaller free-standing granite monolith, wide enough at the bottom, in the centre of the new stairway in the Paradise Garden. Desperate, he even suggested a bronze-coated concrete core for the obelisk. When a suitable block of stone was at last successfully brought from the granite quarry in Mrákotín to Prague Castle, its fifteen metres were nevertheless too low to reach the height of the upper cornice of the southern castle wing. Plečnik decided to place it in the Third Courtyard, where by that time archaeological

(1913),⁹ although it is not clear whether the artists submitted their draft to the contest commission at all. The architectural aspect of the proposal is particularly interesting: half of a chalice cup in front of which the equestrian statue of the Hussite leader was to be mounted on a high pedestal. Plečnik, who at that time was immersed in designing liturgical vessels for his brother Andrej, transformed the motif of a chalice, the symbol related to the Hussites, into a monumental spherical stone or concrete background and meant to support it with slanted piers. The idea was so original that newspapers would have certainly reported on it had the commission received it for judgement.

A new chapter of Plečnik's memorial art began after World War I, when he advanced to the position of Prague Castle architect. He quickly found common language with the president of Czechoslovakia, Tomaš G. Masaryk, on the issue of a monument to be erected to the fallen legionaries. It became one of the fundamental but never completed tasks in the

⁹ PRELOVŠEK 1979 (n. 1), pp. 162, 189.

¹⁰ Cf. particularly: Tomáš VALENA, Nádvoří a zahrady. Plečnikovy úpravy v kontextu Pražského hradu, *Josip Plečnik* 1996 (n. 3), pp. 281–284; Věra MALÁ, Dějiny obelisk, *Josip Plečnik* 1996 (n. 3), pp. 291–295; Vladislava VALCHÁŘOVÁ, Technické a materiálové aspekty Plečnikovy tvorby, *Josip Plečnik* 1996 (n. 3), p. 322; Věra MALÁ, Damjan PRELOVŠEK, Faktografický přehled Plečnikova díla na Pražském hradě a v Lánech, *Josip Plečnik* 1996 (n. 3), pp. 608, 612–613.



6. Jože Plečnik: obelisk on the Moravian Bastion of Prague Castle, 1922–1923



7. Jože Plečnik: monument to the Great War victims, Lány, 1926–1928

excavations had been finished and the site was paved with granite slabs. The decisive role played by historical examples can also be seen here. As the shape of Third Courtyard was slightly reminiscent of St. Mark's Square in Venice with the *piazzetta*, after some deliberation he set the obelisk in the courtyard on the approximate spot of the bell-tower of St. Mark's church. He was so absorbed in the task that he even invented a technical method of installation, which proved to be remarkably effective. The initially devised monument to the Czechoslovakian legionaries was thus transformed into an architectural accent of the monumental courtyard, which was ultimately left bereft of any special memorial content. Plečnik continued to consider devoting it to the approaching jubilee of St. Vaclav, subsequently to the late President Masaryk,¹¹ and after the end of World War II, to victory and freedom.¹² During the occupation, the castle officials cunningly saved it from the Nazis under the pretext that its removal would have been technically too demanding a task.¹³

¹¹ Damjan PRELOVŠEK, Plečnikova pisma arhitektu Rothmayerju, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 4, 1999, pp. 164–167; Damjan PRELOVŠEK, Češki odmevi v Plečnikovi umetnosti, *Vita artis perennis. Ob osemdesetletnici akademika Emilijana Cevca*, Ljubljana 2000, pp. 573–574.

¹² The sketches are kept in Plečnik's legacy; cf. also: Andrej HRAUSKY, Janez KOŽELJ, Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Plečnik v tujini. Vodnik po arhitekturi*, Ljubljana 1998, p. 151.

¹³ Zuzana GÜLLENDI-CIMPRICHOVÁ, *Architekt Josip Plečnik und seine Unternehmungen im Prag im Spannungsfeld zwischen denkmalpflegerischen Prinzipien und politischer Indienstnahme*, Bamberg 2010 (typescript of doctoral thesis), pp. 210–211.



8. Jože Plečnik: fountain in the park at Lány,
1929–1930



9. Jože Plečnik: monument to the Great War victims,
Breznica, 1928–1931

A by-product of the story about the obelisk was a slim ten-metre monolith that was placed on the Moravian Bastion (1923)¹⁴ in the South Garden of Prague Castle. Plečnik added an ionic capital and thus transformed it into a hybrid column. He planned to crown the gold-plated ball on the top of the obelisk with the Moravian heraldic eagle, but after testing the idea with a model he abandoned the plan. The gold-plated thunderbolts on the top of the capital refer to the Slovaks, since Masaryk wished they should be represented at Prague Castle on equal terms. With these thunderbolts, Plečnik symbolized the beginning of the second stanza of the then national anthem: *Nad Tatrou sa blyska / Hromy divo bijú* (“Lightning strikes over the Tatras / Wild roars the thunder”). As at that time he was also designing a pole for the banner of the ‘Orel’ (Eagle) gym association in Ljubljana, the two ideas do not differ greatly. The obelisk produced in 1926 to stand at Masaryk’s summer residence at Lány, although much slimmer and a few metres shorter, is equally daring.¹⁵ The monolith leans against a column-like prop and is additionally fastened, similar to a ship’s mast, with steel-wire ropes. Plečnik intended to furnish it with the inscription “I am as fragile as freedom itself”. During his renovation of the Prague Castle gardens, Plečnik also installed a horizontal obelisk (1925) in front of the Baroque monument to Vilém Slavata in such a way that they give the symbolic appearance of a large cross,¹⁶ which for the Czechs signified the loss of freedom after the Battle of the White Mountain

¹⁴ MALÁ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (n. 10), p. 615.

¹⁵ MALÁ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (n. 10), p. 625.

¹⁶ Tomáš VALENA, Plečniks Gärten am Hradschin in Prag, *Bauwelt*, 39, 1986, p. 1491.



10. Jože Plečnik: monument to the Illyrian Provinces, Ljubljana, 1929



11. Jože Plečnik: column of the Virgin Mary next to St. James' church, Ljubljana, 1938

(Bela Hora) in 1620. The obelisk also forms a fence above the difference in level of the terrain. The obelisk and monumental column continued to be constant elements in Plečnik's monument design. As has been explained, their origin lies in historical examples, which the architect managed to furnish with a suitable form and symbolism.

In his own original way, Plečnik was capable of supplying symbolic content even to the functional elements of architecture, thus transforming them into monuments. For instance, in 1925 he made a plan to set a monumental colonnade of five columns in front of the stairs leading from the southern castle gardens to the Third Courtyard.¹⁷ The five columns were meant to represent the five historical lands of the newly founded Czechoslovakian state. If viewed from the city, the colonnade would have also served as an illusory classical pedestal for the cathedral of St. Vitus. Due to the urgent, and highly expensive, works carried out to stabilize the terrain against the threatening downhill creep of part of the garden towards residential buildings, his plan was destined to remain on paper only. He did, however, implement it on a smaller scale with a fountain in the wall of the park at Lány Castle (1929–1930).¹⁸ On the five columns in the wall there are five heraldic lion heads from which streams of water pour down into a stone basin. From here, they drain off as one stream into a pond; this symbolized Masaryk's idea of the union of the Czechs, Slovaks, Moravians, Czech Silesians and Subcarpathian Rusyns in a common democratic state.

¹⁷ Damjan PRELOVŠEK, Ideový základ Plečnikovy tvorby, *Josip Plečnik* 1996 (n. 3), p. 94.

¹⁸ MALÁ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (n. 10), p. 624.



12. Jože Plečnik: Zois pyramid, Ljubljana, 1927

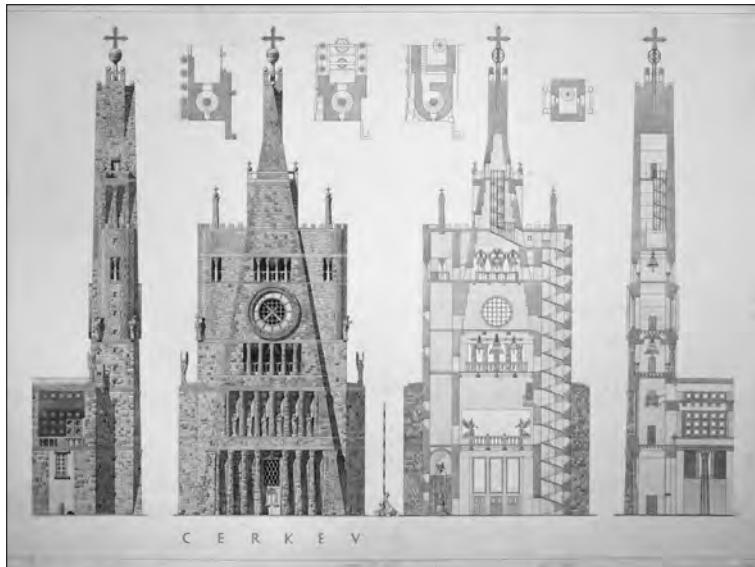
The possibilities offered to Plečnik by President Masaryk in Prague greatly stimulated the architect's imagination. When he had to compromise with cheaper materials and artificial stone back in Ljubljana, he still refused to give up his high ambitions and ideals. Architectural archetypes remained the foundation for all of his monument designs. However, he never simply copied them from the treasure trove of history, but he changed their proportions, articulation, rhythm, and meaning. This can also be said about his monument to war victims, which he erected in 1931 next to the church at Breznica in the Gorenjska region, at the request of a friend, Fran Saleški Finžgar.¹⁹ Although its basic form is an obelisk, Plečnik combined it with a type of altar and added a statue of St. Christopher with the Christ Child on his shoulder. He thus illustrated his view that the deceased would safely reach the Kingdom of God. The uppermost section of the monument is also interesting: a pyramid, set upside-down, with five crosses on it. It is a direct quotation of medieval Czech towers' and bell-towers' terminations.²⁰

Two years earlier, a diplomatic scandal almost erupted from the erection of the Illyiran (or Napoleon) monument in Ljubljana,²¹ under which the remains of a Napoleonic soldier were symbolically buried. The ambassador of France opposed the selected location in front of the Teutonic Knights monastery, claiming that it was too far away from the city centre. In the end, however, he enthusiastically decorated Plečnik with a French state order. The architect placed the monument in such a clever way that it stands, visible from afar, in the axis of Vegova street, yet it is not an obstacle to the traffic. He composed the obelisk of blocks of light stone from the isle of Brač, decorated it with relief heads of Napoleon and personified Illyria by the sculptor Lojze Dolinar, and crowned it with a gilded coat of arms which could readily be used as the official Slovene arms. On the advice of Josip Mal, director of the National Museum, he composed it of the Carniolan crescent and the stars of the Counts of Cilli. The technique of cutting the letters of the inscription at an angle of 90° into the roughly worked stone surface is also interesting; their contours consequently remain extremely sharp. The uppermost stone block attests to the fact that only a realized monument can confirm or deny the architect's expectations as to proportion choice; it was added by Plečnik in the course of

¹⁹ Andrej HRAUSKY, Janez KOŽELJ, Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Plečnikova Slovenija. Vodnik po arhitekturi*, Ljubljana 1997, pp. 122–123.

²⁰ PRELOVŠEK 2000 (n. 11), p. 573.

²¹ Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Josef Plečnik 1872–1957. Architectura perennis*, Salzburg-Wien 1992, pp. 282–283; Peter KREČIČ, Ana POROK, *80 let spomenika Napoleonu in Iliriji Jožeta Plečnika. Ob dvestoletnici ustanovitve ilirske provinca*, Ljubljana 2009.



13. Jože Plečnik: plan for the Temple of Glory, 1936, Archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design

construction to increase the height of the obelisk. Likewise, he subsequently added two sets of four minor corner pillars, creating a pyramidal appearance that was not initially planned. He complemented this aspect with a loop of junipers and two pyramidal poplars, of which only one survives and which outgrew the stone obelisk long ago. Vegetation was always an important constituent of Plečnik's memorial designs, since it adds life to the inanimate material of a monument. He envisaged greenery also around the Zois Pyramid (1927), and this was particularly characteristic of his sepulchral architecture, in which he wanted to achieve a contrast between the monumental form and the interlacing greenery or tiny metal decorations.²²

A good decade later, Plečnik replaced the derelict nineteenth-century column of the Virgin Mary next to the church of St. James with a much more imposing one (1938).²³ As a matter of fact, in terms of its form, the Virgin's column was the evolved version of a Plečnik design for a more modest monument from just before the Great War: it was planned to be erected in honour of the emperor, supposedly in the gunpowder factory at Kamnik, and executed by the stone-cutter Ignacij Čamernik.²⁴ In his homeland, the architect had to draw upon his inventiveness to quench his unrealizable desire for monolithic pieces and expensive, precious materials. The roughly finished surface and the unevenly rich veins of Podpeč limestone of the Virgin's column do not achieve the same effect as, e.g. the highly polished columns of the peristyle in the National and University Library, but they nevertheless genuinely demonstrate that the monument is not monolithic. A peculiar feature of the column of the Virgin Mary lies in the fact that its relation to the predecessor is most respectful. Plečnik attached a small Doric column below the inscription plaque with a short engraved history of the monument, thus also visually emphasizing the inscription. He even preserved part of the original monument, the statue of the Virgin dating from the seventeenth century, cast according to Johann Weichard Valvasor's instructions, while he grouped the four statues belonging to the later variant of

²² Andrej HRAUSKY, Janez KOŽELJ, Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Plečnikova Ljubljana. Vodnik po arhitekturi*, Ljubljana 1996, p. 53.

²³ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (n. 22), pp. 77–78.

²⁴ An undated sketch of a pillar with the bust of the emperor is preserved in the architect's legacy.



14. Jože Plečnik: model for a propylaea, 1937, Archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design

the monument on the sides rather than the corners of the top of the capital. The four statues now look toward the four cardinal points, and the original positions of the statues on the pedestal are signified with stone cubes. Plečnik deliberately chose the Tuscan type for the column, connecting it to his belief in the Etruscan origin of the Slovenes.²⁵ Mention should also be made of the contrast between the hard crepidoma and the ‘softer’ stylobate with a bolster-like top. Thus, the symbolism of a valuable object is indicated, such as the royal insignia, which can only be appropriately borne on a special cushion. Plečnik further emphasized the Marian concept by lining the edges of the place with large concrete balls to resemble the beads of the rosary. He did not discard the remains of the previous monument, but reinstated them in the garden of the Prelovšek villa, where he made use of the old column, topped it with a Corinthian capital from Solin (Croatia) and added a cast of the figurine of the Virgin by the artist Desiderius Lenz of Beuron.

Besides the obelisk, the pyramid also recurs in Plečnik’s monument design. While its significance is most likely symbolic, its purpose might also have been to shape the visual appearance of the town. This form already appears in one of the drawings for the Žižka monument (1913),²⁶ and realized examples of it can be seen in the memorial to the benefactor Žiga Zois (next to his house in Ljubljana), on Trnovo Bridge in Ljubljana (1931–1932), by Plečnik’s gazebo in Prague Castle’s Rampart Garden (1923–1925), and on the Roman Wall in Ljubljana (1936). In view of the fact that Plečnik often connected his pyramids to city walls – e.g. in the case of the Roman Wall, next to the memorial to Anton Aškerc at the corner of the Križanke (ex-Teutonic Knights Monastery) complex, in Zoisova street, all in Ljubljana, or in Prague – the form can also be understood as a reference to his model architect, Gottfried Semper, who is buried in the Protestant cemetery at the Cestius Pyramid in Rome, or, in Plečnik’s words, “he lies in the shade of the Cestius Pyramid”.²⁷ Such an interpretation is not totally unfounded, since he also honoured the German architect with

²⁵ PRELOVŠEK 1992 (n. 21), pp. 124–126.

²⁶ PRELOVŠEK 1992 (n. 21), p. 48.

²⁷ Undated letter to his brother Andrej (May 1911), kept in the architect’s legacy (no. 186).



15. Jože Plečnik: Franciscan graves
at the Holy Cross cemetery, Ljubljana, 1927



16. Jože Plečnik: National Liberation War memorial,
Ljubljana, 1951–1954



17. Jože Plečnik: monument to the World War II victims
of the Selška dolina valley, Dolenja vas, 1949–1950



18. Jože Plečnik: monument to Davorin Jenko, Cerknica,
1953–1954

a wall fountain bearing his name in the so-called Lion Hall of Prague Castle.²⁸ These pyramids also have an impact on urban-planning, e.g. the Zois pyramid optically holds back the street sloping downwards to the river Ljubljanica, and the pyramids set on the two balustrades of Trnovo Bridge underline the anchoring of the bridge's arch into the banks of the Gradaščica stream or, respectively, call attention to its slender tip. A different role is played by the pyramid in Prague's Rampart Garden: it connects the castle with the city and fuses with the bell-towers and domes of Prague churches into a uniform panorama.

Plečnik set up several hermae in Ljubljana in memory of selected eminent cultural figures. In front of the Music Association in Vegova Street, as has been said before, he installed bronze portrait heads of well-known musicians (1932–1937) on slim pillars made of Aurisina stone that were initially intended for the fence.²⁹ Mention should also be made of the hermae of the actors Ignacij Boršnik and Anton Verovšek in front of Ljubljana Opera House (1925),³⁰ executed by France Kralj. The busts were originally located inside the theatre. Although the two memorials are simpler, their socles excel in their exceptional moulding and appropriate height, in harmony with the viewer's distance.

The pinnacle of Plečnik's endeavours in memorial art was his idea for the Slovene pantheon (1932) to be erected on the site of the abandoned city cemetery (the grounds of the present-day Ljubljana Exhibition and Convention Centre).³¹ He called it the Temple of Glory after the Czech Slavin at Vyšehrad cemetery in Prague, and he envisioned it as an impressive church in which, following the Parisian example, the most deserving personages of the nation would find their final resting place. With its grandiose façade, composed of a rectangle and a triangular projection, similar to the contemporary design for the Žagar family vault at Rakek, it would have been a suitably monumental screen for this state-forming project. However, the plan was abandoned because instead of a church the Ljubljana diocese wanted a project for a seminary building. Therefore, it was only possible for Plečnik to arrange, with modest funds, the 'Navje' memorial park in the newer section of the cemetery, where several renowned authors, artists, scientists and clergymen were buried.

After the assassination of Alexander I of Yugoslavia in Marseille in 1934, the question of a monument to the king became particularly relevant. Two years earlier, Plečnik had already realized an equestrian monument to Alexander's father, King Peter I Karađorđević, in front of Ljubljana Town Hall.³² He set the statue, executed by Lojze Dolinar, on the top landing of the steps leading to the Town Hall, in front of one of the side arcades. In this way he set the horse against a suitable background, believing that there were very few examples that allowed a view of the rider from the back. The monument was pulled down during the Italian occupation of Ljubljana, and in the early 1990s the Podpeč quarry stone steps were also replaced, so that no trace survives of this inventive work by Plečnik. At almost the same time, in a similarly unconventional manner, he placed the Baroque statue of St. John Nepomuk by Francesco Robba under the gateway of the former main entrance to the church of St. Florian in Ljubljana.

Plečnik intended the Alexander monument to serve as the architectonic emphasis of the broader urban axis of the city core, leading from Križanke to Kongresni trg square, through the Zvezda park and

²⁸ PRELOVŠEK 1979 (n. 1), p. 126.

²⁹ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (n. 22), pp. 31–32.

³⁰ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (n. 22), p. 140.

³¹ PRELOVŠEK 1979 (op. 1), str. 306–307.

³² HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (n. 22), pp. 93–94.

a newly projected South Square to the present-day Prešernov trg square and onwards, to the old part of Ljubljana. At the border between the park and the planned square, which should have opened southward, – hence its name – he devised a caesura in the form of a propylaea with the king's equestrian monument.³³ He would tell his acquaintances, half in jest, that the monarch's portrait head would easily be interchangeable when a new sovereign ascended the throne, whereas the horse and the rider's body could remain the same, as was frequently the practice in classical antiquity. The idea of the propylaea was rejected because sculptors who saw the prospect of earning money from a free-standing monument were unanimously opposed to the architect, while Plečnik's friend France Stele's assurances that Ljubljana really needed a new monumental square surrounded by public buildings, something like St. Mark's Square in Venice, were to no avail. Plečnik warned against setting the statue in the Zvezda park and called attention to the slanting terrain and the absence of a proper background. The king's equestrian statue by Lojze Dolinar remained in place for only a few months, as it was destroyed when the Italian army occupied Ljubljana.

Plečnik's sepulchral architecture and post-World War II monuments,³⁴ scattered all over Slovenia, should also be discussed. His visual imagination and respectful attitude towards his fellow people gave rise to a typologically highly varied spectrum of tombs whose quality places them among the top tier of global sepulchral architecture. Plečnik always relied on antique models and would design the last place of rest as a mausoleum, a house which had a starry sky instead of a roof, or a miniature building. He also designed numerous tombstones, candelabra, obelisks, and the like. His idea that all memorial pieces should stand at one end of a stone frame, with flowers growing in the middle, is particularly appealing; this had been the practice in decorating simple rural graves for centuries. This was the style he employed in the design, modest but nonetheless heartfelt, of his parents' grave at 'Navje'. The burial site of the Society of Jesus in the central Ljubljana cemetery (1925–1927) is much larger-scale and more sumptuously designed; after the war, it became a model for many of his students' plans.



19. Jože Plečnik: monument to the World War II victims, Sevnica, 1956–1957

³³ Dušan GRABRIJAN, O Plečnikovih propilejah, in: Dušan Grabrijan, *Plečnik in njegova šola*, Maribor 1968, pp. 147–153; PRELOVŠEK 1979 (n. 1), p. 285.

³⁴ Cf. HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (n. 22), pp. 212–239, 251–252.

After World War II he also made use of his earlier sepulchral architecture in designing other public monuments.³⁵ As these were mainly commissioned by the committees of the veterans' associations, such monuments remained on the level of attractive architectural studies, but they betray the lack of the architect's close contact with the clients, which was a prerequisite for his insightful approach to creative work. He often relied on his own earlier creations. He therefore, for example, repeated his design for the Gutenberg memorial in Vienna in the National Liberation War Monument in the Trnovo quarter in Ljubljana (1951–1954).³⁶ The idea of the Illyrian Monument can be traced in a somewhat simplified form to his work for Radeče near Zidani most (1952),³⁷ or to that for Litija (1950–1951)³⁸ where it is not difficult to recognize his design for the column of the Virgin Mary by St. James' church in Ljubljana in the monument to war victims. In the multitude of Plečnik's post-war works the memorial canopy in Selška dolina valley (1949–1950) stands out for its emotional effect:³⁹ the architect hung wooden posts beneath the ceiling to recall the martyrdom of the hostages who had been shot, tied to the poles. The little building demonstrates his deep sense for placing monuments in a natural environment. This idea arose from his sincere respect for the initiator of the monument, Niko Žumer of Železniki. In almost all of Plečnik's war memorials, the cross as a symbol of Christianity is present in some form. The most characteristic examples seem to be two monuments: one in Vipava (1950–1952), in which stone blocks are put together in the form of a cross and grapes at the top serve as a symbol of Christ's blood, as well as a reference to the wine-growing Vipavska dolina valley; one in Laško (1951), where Plečnik also placed a triangular 'Eye of God' before the column with a horizontal lintel on the top.

A paper on Plečnik's monument design cannot be complete without mentioning one of his last works which, however, was realized only after the architect's death. We have in mind the war monument at Sevnica (design 1956), which has been largely overlooked so far, but is actually the swan-song of Plečnik's art. It is composed of two vertically set stone blocks, one atop the other, similar to the Aškerc memorial (1956) at the corner of the Križanke complex in Ljubljana. The monument in Sevnica is crowned with a group of half reclining figures similar to those that Plečnik had planned to install on the obelisk at Prague Castle in 1948. Above this group a form of bronze bell is set with a personification of Victory. It is not difficult to recognize in this the idea of the cast of the 'Winner', a statue by the Czech sculptor Jan Štursa, which was intended to crown Plečnik's obelisk in Prague after World War II. The monument at Sevnica thus concluded the long series of metamorphoses of the classical obelisk and also combined all the relevant ideas of the architect's most monumental variant in the Third Courtyard of Prague Castle, which had for decades captivated the artist's imagination.

After the Second World War, when Plečnik was only saved from oblivion by the granting of a national award, any other sort of monuments fell out of favour. One of the rare reinstated memorials after the war was the monument to Davorin Jenko at Cerkle in Gorenjska (1953–1954),⁴⁰ which Plečnik designed as a cone with a double fountain. The idea undoubtedly originated in the proposal a few years earlier for the Slovene parliament building, featuring a cone-shaped 'dome'. With the

³⁵ Peter KREČIČ, *Spomeniki NOB Jožeta Plečnika in njegove šole*, Ljubljana 1975; cf. also Peter KREČIČ, *Jože Plečnik*, Ljubljana 1992, chapter Povojna dela from p. 355 on.

³⁶ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (n. 22), pp. 74.

³⁷ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1997 (n. 19), p. 184.

³⁸ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1997 (n. 19), pp. 180–181.

³⁹ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1997 (n. 19), pp. 82–83.

⁴⁰ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1997 (n. 19), p. 65.

new Jenko monument Plečnik tried above all to save the surroundings of the parish church from the menacing new regulation plan. One idea which remained unrealized was his idea for a Prešeren mausoleum (1949) in Vrba, the poet's native village.⁴¹ The architect envisioned it as a circular building surrounded by columns, located near the poet's birthplace. Plečnik wanted to erect a classical monument in memory of Prešeren, thus underlining the poet's fundamental importance for the Slovene nation, but no-one then understood his intention correctly. This small, self-contained country thus rejected many an original idea of the great architect. Evidence of the fact that Plečnik, as one of the most original artists of the 20th century, still remains misunderstood among his compatriots is the belittling attitude towards his oeuvre and memory. His native city, upon which he bestowed all his skills and unmistakably marked with the idiom of his genius, has still not named a street after him. City councillors thought it sufficient to give Plečnik's name to the insignificant school courtyard of the former Ursuline grammar school.⁴²

⁴¹ Marjan MUŠIČ, Plečnik in Prešeren, *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske*, 8, 1972, pp. 467–473.

⁴² Translated by Alenka Klemenc.

Plečnikovi spomeniki

Damjan Prelovšek

Spomeniška arhitektura predstavlja pomemben del opusa arhitekta Jožeta Plečnika (1872–1957). Doslej je bila že večkrat obravnavana, vendar gre v tem prispevku za poskus drugačnega, to je tipološko naravnega pristopa k problematiki. Bralec bo tudi znano gradivo marsikje lahko spoznal v čisto novih povezavah. Plečnikova posebnost je, da se je vse življenje vračal k mladostnim izhodiščem in svoje zamisli vedno spet reševal na nov izviren način in z drugačnimi sredstvi. V tem se njegova ustvarjalnost razlikuje od prakse sodobnikov. Zato je nekoliko več prostora posvečenega prav Plečnikovi mladostni dobi na Dunaju in njenemu zrelemu nadaljevanju v Pragi. Ker je šlo za metamorfoze antičnih arhetipov, o vzporednicah s sodobniki praktično ni mogoče govoriti, lahko pa bi raziskavo razširili na Plečnikov vpliv na češke arhitekte, ki so s spoštovanjem in občudovanjem spremljali njegovo delo na praškem gradu. Ne nazadnje je odmevno dogajanje v zvezi s postavitvijo spomenika češkoslovaškim legionarjem botrovalo tudi obeliskoma Buhumila Hübschmanna (Praga, Emauzy) in Josefa Gočárja (Hradec Králové). Po vrnitvi v domovino je Plečnik močno vplival na svoje učence, ki so ga pogosto skušali posnemati, kar je postalno očitno zlasti v času spomeniške konjunkture takoj po končani drugi svetovni vojni. To pa bi močno razširilo obseg članka. Iz istega razloga in iz želje po izpostavljivosti rdeče niti Plečnikovega dela sem opustil tudi kak njegov morda bolj znan spomenik ali pa se ga dotaknil le obrobno. Ker gre za celovito spomeniško problematiko, ni smiseln razlikovati med javnimi in zasebnimi naročili, kamor na primer sodi pokopališka arhitektura, saj so oboji spomeniki nastali iz enotnih oblikovnih izhodišč in so zato medsebojno neločljivo povezana.

Druga polovica devetnajstega stoletja je bila na Dunaju zlati čas javnih spomenikov, kar je imelo velik vpliv tudi na mladega slovenskega študenta arhitekture. Že v šoli Otta Wagnerja se je zavzeto poglabljajal v problematiko spominskih obeležij. Na dunajski likovni akademiji je imel dovolj priložnosti za spoznavanje kiparskih ateljejev in seznanjanje s problematiko monumentalne plastike. V tem pogledu si je razvil nezmotljiv čut za sožitje arhitekture s kiparskim okrasjem.

Prva priložnost uveljavljave na dunajski arhitekturni sceni se je Plečniku posrečila prav z osnutkom Gutenbergovega spomenika,¹ za katerega je bil jeseni 1897 razpisan javni natečaj. Skupaj s kiparjem Othmarjem Schimkowitzem je za svojo zamisel prejel prvo nagrado, ki sta si jo delila z rojakom Maksom Fabianijem in s kiparjem Hansom Bitterlichom, katerih osnutek je bil manj domiseln in bolj akademski, zaradi česar so ga tudi izvedli. Plečnikova zamisel je bila prezeta z mladostnim secesijskim ognjem in je predstavljala prvo uresničenje nove slogovne mode, kar na Dunaju v avantgardnih umetnostnih krogih ni ostalo neopaženo. V ikonografskem pogledu je bil njegov Gutenberg še poln findesièclovske literature. Osrednji motiv spomenika je predstavljala z lоворjem obrašla zemeljska krogla, kakršno je tedaj projektiral Joseph M. Olbrich za kupolo razstavnega paviljona dunajske

¹ Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Josef Plečnik. Wiener Arbeiten von 1896 bis 1914*, Wien 1979, str. 30–31, 182.



1. Jože Plečnik (skupaj z Othmarjem Schimkowitzem): natečajni model za Gutenbergov spomenik na Dunaju, 1897, hranišče neznano

Secesije, okoli katere bi stali simboli petih kontinentov, moč človeštva v personifikaciji mišičastega mladeniča pa bi to kroglo obračala.²

Zgodnja materina smrt je Plečnika napotila k študiju nagrobne plastike. Skušal je najti nekaj, kar bi rastlo tudi iz domače tradicije. Po risbah vidimo, da ga je privlačila organsko razraščena oblika obeliska, ki na vrhu vzbrsti v rastlinski cvet ali pa se iz njega iztisne križ. Obelisk v različnih razmerjih in različno okrašen je tako postal stalnica Plečnikovih prostorskih in urbanističnih iskanj. Prvo pravo naročilo za spomenik je Plečnik prejel leta 1901, in sicer za sudetskega ustanovitelja tekstilne tovarne Benedicta Schrolla v Broumovu blizu poljske meje.³ Na njem si je pomagal z značilno profilacijo, kakršno je tedaj rabil pri načrtovanju postaj dunajske mestne železnice ob kanalu Donave. Posebne pozornosti je vredno, kako je ornamentiko na stranskih površinah pogumno odrezal in s tem celoti zagotovil nenavadno moderen videz. V času komunizma so uničili Schimkowitzovo poprsje tovarnarja in ga zamenjali s tovarniško reklamo, po njem pa so ohranjeni dvojni kipa spet namestili na spomenik.

Naročilo za spominski vodnjak, posvečen šestdesetletnici dunajskega župana Karla Luegerja,⁴ je od mestnih odbornikov leta 1904 prejel Plečnikov kolega iz Dunajske secesije, slikar in kipar Josef Anton Engelhart. Začel je modelirati prizore iz življenja slavljenčevega zavetnika sv. Karla Boromejskega, vendar se mu nikakor ni posrečilo ustvariti zadovoljive celote. Za pomoč se je dve leti pozneje obrnil na Plečnika, ki po dokončanju Zacherlove palače ni imel večjih naročil. Po več poskusih se je Plečnik odločil za vrnitev k domačim zgledom. S štirimi ulicami obdan prostor je nekoliko poglobil in ga zamejil z nizkim kamnitim zidom ovalne oblike. S tem je ustvaril intimnejši, od okoliškega prometa ločen ambient, spomenik pa glede razporeditve arhitekturnih mas in plastike povzel po Robbovem vodnjaku pred ljubljansko mestno hišo. Engelhartov kvadraten tloris

² France STELE, *Arhitekt Jože Plečnik v Italiji 1898–1899*, Ljubljana 1967, str. 241, 270, 272.

³ STELE 1967 (op. 2), str. 65, 183; Zdeněk LUKEŠ, *Práce Josipa Plečnika v českých zemích 1901–1914, Josip Plečnik. Architekt Pražského hradu*, Praha 1996, str. 507.

⁴ PRELOVŠEK 1979 (op. 1), str. 111–114, 188.



2. Jože Plečnik: Schrollov spomenik v Broumovu na Češkem, 1901–1902



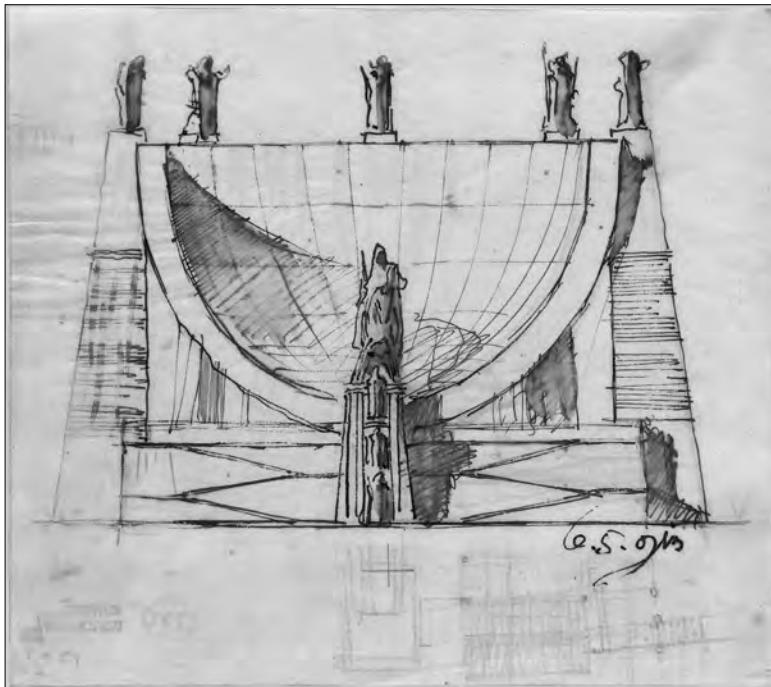
3. Jože Plečnik (skupaj z Josegom Engelhartom): vodnjak sv. Karla Boromejskega, Dunaj, 1906–1909

je zamenjal s trikotnim in vodnjaku na vrhu dodal krajši obelisk, s čimer je umiril razmerje med arhitekturnim in bolj heterogenim kiparskim delom. V prijateljevem ateljeju se je tudi sam lotil modeliranja in je z izrednim posluhom za klasično obliko ustvaril štiri vase z orli in kozorogi. Pogled nanje nam razodene, da je bil tudi izreden kipar, zato lahko razumemo, čemu pozneje zlepa ni bil zadovoljen s svojimi sodelavci. V preddverju ljubljanske knjižnice je tako na primer opustil vse načrtovano kiparsko okrasje, ker mu ga nihče ni znal uresničiti po njegovih predstavah. Domačim kiparjem je po njegovem manjkal smisel, da bi akademskim zasnovam vdihnili še nekaj pravega antičnega življenja. Dunajski vodnjak je bil gotov že dolgo po tem, ko je slavljenec obhajal svoj življenjski jubilej. Plečnik se je medtem oddalil od secesijskega sloga in z dovršenim delom ni bil več zadovoljen. Kljub temu pa vodnjak Karla Boromejskega priča o njegovi mladostni iznajdljivosti pri zapleteni umestitvi spomenika v prostor brez pravega ozadja.

Ves čas bivanja v tujini je Plečnik zavzeto spremljal dogajanje v ožji domovini. Ob odkritju Prešernovega spomenika v Ljubljani se je dr. Ivan Prijatelj za mnenje o Zajčevem delu obrnil tudi nanj. V reviji *Naši zapiski* je arhitekt razkril svoje misli ne le o pesnikovem kipu, za katerega je menil, da slovenski kiparji še niso čisto dozoreli za tako monumentalno nalogu, marveč je predlagal vrsto manjših spomenikov, ki bi sledili loku Mestnega trga in bi tako lahko postali šola dozorevajočim umetnikom.⁵ Vzor so mu bili spomeniki v italijanskih mestih, ki jih je srečeval med svojim študijskem bivanjem po diplomi na dunajski likovni akademiji. Zamisel je razvijal naprej in predlagal razne lokacije v Ljubljani, ki po njegovem kličejo po spomeniški plastiki.⁶ Med domačimi spomeniki je izpostavil posrečen spoj monumentalne glave s pustim neogotskim podstavkom Radeckyevega kipa v Zvezdi. Ko je po smrti Janeza Evangelista Kreka oživila pobuda za postavitev

⁵ Ivan PRIJATELJ, Prešernov spomenik v Ljubljani, *Naši zapiski*, 3/10–11, 1905, str. 149–151.

⁶ Gl. nedatiran koncept pisma iz leta 1918 v arhitektovi zapuščini.



4. Jože Plečnik: skica za spomenik Jana Žižka v Pragi, 1913,
Ljubljana, Muzej za arhitekturo
in oblikovanje

duhovnikovega spomenika,⁷ je Plečnik spet povzel omenjeni nazor, kako bi bilo mogoče z vrsto skupinskih plastik polepšati Ljubljano. Pri tem najbrž ni šlo samo za italijanske in antične vzore, kot je trdil, ampak tudi za Fabianijeve herme tehnikov pred Tehniško visoko šolo na Dunaju, ki jih je pozneje na svoj način ponovil s spomeniki glasbenikov pred stavbo Glasbene matice ob Vegovi ulici.

Iz pisem bratu Andreju izvemo, da se je Plečnik na Dunaju nameraval udeležiti še kakega spomeniškega natečaja, na primer za carja Aleksandra II. v Kijevu, kjer naj bi sodeloval s kiparjem Ivanom Meštrovićem.⁸ Vendar so ta prizadevanja postala realnejša šele po preselitvi v Prago v začetku leta 1911. V novem okolju se je seznanil z bogato tradicijo češkega monumentalnega kiparstva na čelu z Josefom Václavem Myslbekom. Spoprijateljil se je z nekaj let starejšim Stanislavom Suchardo in skupaj z njim skušal uresničiti nekaj javnih spomenikov na Češkem. Ker je Sucharda umrl že med prvo svetovno vojno, je prišlo le do skupnega predloga za Žižkov spomenik v Pragi (1913),⁹ čeprav ni jasno, če sta umetnika svoj osnutek sploh predložila natečajni komisiji. Zanimiva je zlasti arhitekturna plat variante v podobi polovične kupe keliha, pred katero bi na visokem podstavku stal husitski junak na konju. Plečnik, ki se je tedaj zavzeto pečal z izdelavo liturgičnega posodja za brata Andreja, je s husiti idejno povezan motiv keliha prelil v monumentalno sferično ozadje iz kamna ali betona in ga nameraval opreti na pošechnne slope. Zamisel je bila tako izvirna, da bi časopisje gotovo poročalo o njej, če bi jo komisija prejela v oceno.

Novo poglavje Plečnikove spomeniške umetnosti se je odprlo šele po prvi svetovni vojni, ko je napredoval v arhitekta praškega gradu. S češkoslovaškim predsednikom Masarykom sta hitro našla skupen jezik ob vprašanju spomenika padlim legionarjem, ki je postal ena temeljnih, vendar nikoli končanih nalog pri preurejanju gradu v duhovno središče nove demokratične države. Po vzoru

⁷ Gl. nedatiran koncept pisma iz leta 1918 v arhitektovi zapuščini.

⁸ PRELOVŠEK 1979 (op. 1), str. 188.

⁹ PRELOVŠEK 1979 (op. 1), str. 162, 189.



5. Jože Plečnik: obelisk na tretjem dvorišču praškega gradu, 1924–1928

srednjeveških pokopaliških svetilnikov je Plečnik na stopnišču Rajskega vrta predlagal večno luč, ki bi svetila nad mestom, in s tem navdušil predsednika.¹⁰ Na travnati površini pod njim bi bila velika monolitna vaza iz granita, s čimer je skušal ponoviti rimski motiv Španskih stopnic z obeliskom in vodnjakom, ki mu je dobro ostal v spominu še iz časa podiplomskega študijskega potovanja po Italiji. Vrh obeliska bi stal češki heraldični lev s slovaškim dvojnim križem. Monumentalna zamisel je propadla zaradi tehničnih težav z lomljenjem in prevozom kamna za obelisk. Plečnik je poskušal vse mogoče. Opustil je misel na iz več po dolžini sestavljenih delov obeliska, ki bi mu v sredini omogočili namesitev mehanizma za dvigovanje večne luči, odrekel se je izredno dolgemu in tankemu ter posebej sidranemu kamnu ter se nazadnje odločil, da sredi novega stopnišča Rajskega vrta postavi nekoliko manjši in spodaj dovolj širok prostostoječi granitni monolit. Obupan je predlagal celo z bronom obloženo betonsko jedro obeliska. Ko so primeren

kos kamna končno le srečno pripeljali iz mrákotínskega kamnoloma na praški grad in je bil ta z dobrimi petnajstimi metri vendarle nekoliko prenizek, da bi dosegel višino zgornjega zidca južnega grajskega krila, se je Plečnik odločil za njegovo postavitev na tretjem dvorišču, kjer so tedaj končali z arheološkimi raziskavami in prostor začeli tlakovati z granitnimi ploščami. Tudi v tem primeru so odločali zgodovinski zgledi. Ker je oblika tretjega dvorišča nekoliko spominjala na beneški trg sv. Marka s *piazzetto*, je po premisleku obelisk postavil na približno mesto zvonika cerkve sv. Marka v Benetkah. Naloga ga je tako prevzela, da je domislil celo tehnični način postavitve, ki se je izkazal za izredno učinkovitega. Prvotno zamišljeni spomenik češkoslovaškim legionarjem se je s tem spremenil v arhitektonski akcent monumentalnega dvorišča, vendar je na koncu ostal brez posebne spominske vsebine. Plečnik se je še naprej ukvarjal z mislijo njegove posvetitve bližajočemu se svetovaclavskemu jubileju, pozneje pokojnemu predsedniku Masaryku¹¹ in po koncu druge svetovne vojne zmagi in svobodi.¹² Med okupacijo so ga grajski uradniki zvito rešili pred nacisti z izgovorom, da naj bi bila njegova odstranitev tehnično preveč zahtevna.¹³

¹⁰ Gl. predvsem: Tomáš VALENA, Nádvoří a zahrady. Plečnikovy úpravy v kontekstu Pražského hradu, *Josip Plečnik* 1996 (op. 3), str. 281–284; Věra MALÁ, Dějiny obelisk, *Josip Plečnik* 1996 (op. 3), str. 291–295; Vladislava VALCHÁŘOVÁ, Technické a materiálové aspekty Plečnikovy tvorby, *Josip Plečnik* 1996 (op. 3), str. 322; Věra MALÁ, Damjan PRELOVŠEK, Faktografický přehled Plečnikova díla na Pražském hradě a v Lánech, *Josip Plečnik* 1996 (op. 3), str. 608, 612–613.

¹¹ Damjan PRELOVŠEK, Plečnikova pisma arhitektu Rothmayerju, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 4, 1999, str. 164–167; Damjan PRELOVŠEK, Češki odmevi v Plečnikovi umetnosti, *Vita artis perennis. Ob osmdesetletnici akademika Emilijana Cevca*, Ljubljana 2000, str. 573–574.

¹² Skice so ohranjene v Plečnikovi zapuščini; gl. tudi Andrej HRAUSKY, Janez KOŽELJ, Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Plečnik v tujini. Vodnik po arhitekturi*, Ljubljana 1998, str. 151.

¹³ Zuzana GÜLLENDI-CIMPRICHOVÁ, *Architekt Josip Plečnik und seine Unternehmungen im Prag im*



6. Jože Plečnik: obelisk na Moravski bastiji praškega gradu, 1922–1923



7. Jože Plečnik: spomenik žrtvam prve svetovne vojne, Lány, 1926–1928

Stranski produkt zgodbe o obelisku je bil tudi tanek desetmetrski monolit, ki ga je Plečnik dal postaviti na Moravski bastiji (1923)¹⁴ južnega vrta praškega gradu. Dodal mu je jonski kapitel in ga tako spremenil v križanca s stebrom. Na pozlačeni krogli vrh obeliska je nameraval namesiti heraldično moravsko orlico, a je po poskusu z maketo misel spet opustil. Pozlačeni bliksi vrh kapitela so namenjeni Slovakom, saj je Masaryk želel, da bi bili tudi oni enakopravno zastopani na praškem gradu. Plečnik je z bliksi ponazoril drugi del tedanje državne himne, ki se začenja z besedami: *Nad Tatrami se bliska, gromi besno udarjajo*. Ker se je tedaj ukvarjal z drogom za orlovsko zastavo v Ljubljani, obe zamisli tudi nista daleč druga od druge. Enako drzna je nekaj metrov krajsa granitna trska nasproti Masarykove letne rezidence (Lány) iz leta 1926.¹⁵ Prislonjena je ob stebrast opornik in, podobno ladijskemu jamboru, dodatno pritrjena z jeklenimi vrvimi. Plečnik je zanjo predvidel napis: Krhek sem kot svoboda. Pri prenovi praških grajskih vrtov je Plečnik ustvaril tudi ležeč obelisk in ga postavil pred baročni Slavatov spomenik (1925) tako, da se z njim simbolično zliva v podobo velikega križa,¹⁶ ki Čehom poseblja izgubo svobode po bitki na Beli gori. Hkrati tvori tudi ograjo nad nivojsko razliko v terenu. Obelisk in monumentalni steber sta ostala stalnici

Spannungsfeld zwischen denkmalpflegerischen Prinzipien und politischer Indienstnahme, Bamberg 2010 (tipkopis doktorske disertacije), str. 210–211.

¹⁴ MALÁ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (op. 10), str. 615.

¹⁵ MALÁ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (op. 10), str. 625.

¹⁶ Tomáš VALENA, Plečniks Gärten am Hradschin in Prag, *Bauwelt*, 39, 1986, str. 1491.



8. Jože Plečnik: vodnjak v parku dvorca Lány, 1929–1930



9. Jože Plečnik: spomenik žrtvam prve svetovne vojne v Breznici, 1928–1931

Plečnikovega razmišljanja o spomenikih. Kot smo videli, moramo njuno izhodišče iskati v zgodovinskih vzorih, ki jim je arhitekt znal dodati primerno obliko in simboliko.

Plečnik je bil sposoben tudi funkcionalnim delom arhitekture na izviren način dodajati simbolne vsebine in iz njih narediti spomenike. Tako je pred stopnišče iz južnih grajskih vrtov na tretje dvorišče nameraval postaviti monumentalno stebrišče iz petih stebrov (1925),¹⁷ ki bi predstavljali pet zgodovinskih delov novonastale češkoslovaške države. Istočasno bi za pogled iz mesta ustvarili navidezen klasičen podstavek praški katedrali sv. Vida. Zaradi nujnih in izredno dragih sanacijskih del, ko je bilo treba ustaviti grozeče premikanje dela vrta po pobočju proti hišam pod njim, je njegov načrt moral ostati na papirju. V manjšem merilu ga je uresničil z vodnjakom v zidu parka dvorca Lány (1929–1930).¹⁸ Iz petih stebrov ograje se vodni curki skozi heraldične levje maske enotno zlivajo v ribnik, kar ponazarja Masarykovo misel o združitvi Čehov, Slovakov, Moravanov, Šlezijcev in Podkarpatskih Rusov v skupno demokratično državo.

Možnosti, ki jih je Plečniku v Pragi nudil predsednik Masaryk, so močno razgibale njegovo domišljijo. Čeprav se je moral v Ljubljani zadovoljiti s cenejšimi gradivi in z umetnim kamnom, vseeno ni opustil svojih visokih idealov. Arhitekturni arhetipi so ostali izhodišče vseh njegovih spomeniških rešitev. Nikoli pa jih ni prevzemal dobesedno iz historične zakladnice, temveč jim je spreminjal razmerja, členitev, ritem in pomen. To lahko trdimo tudi za spomenik vojnim žrtvam,

¹⁷ Damjan PRELOVŠEK, Ideový základ Plečnikovy tvorby, *Josip Plečnik* 1996 (op. 3), str. 94.

¹⁸ MALÁ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (op. 10), str. 624.



10. Jože Plečnik: spomenik Ilirskim provincam v Ljubljani, 1929



11. Jože Plečnik: Marijin steber pri cervi sv. Jakoba v Ljubljani, 1938

ki ga je na prošnjo prijatelja Frana Saleškega Finžgarja leta 1931 postavil ob cerkev v Breznici na Gorenjskem.¹⁹ Čeprav gre za obelisk, ga je združil s tipom oltarja in mu dodal kip sv. Krištofa z božjim Sinom na ramenih in s tem ponazoril, da bodo mrtvi varno prispeli v božje kraljestvo. Zanimiv je tudi vrh spomenika v obliki navzdol obrnjene piramide s petimi križi nad njo. Gre za neposreden citat zaključkov čeških srednjeveških stolpov in zvonikov.²⁰

Dve leti pred tem bi ob postavitvi Napoleonovega stebra,²¹ pod katerim so simbolično pokopali ostanke napoleonskega vojaka, skoraj prišlo do mednarodnega zapleta, saj je francoski veleposlanik nasprotoval izbrani lokaciji ob križevniškem samostanu, češ da je preveč oddaljena od mestnega središča, a je na koncu arhitektu vendarle navdušen podelil državno odlikovanje. Plečnik je spomenik postavil tako srečno, da stoji daleč viden v osi Vegove ulice in kljub temu ne ovira prometa po njej. Sestavil ga je iz kosov svetlega braškega kamna in mu pridal Dolinarjevi glavi Napoleona in Ilirije, njegov vrh pa okronal s pozlačenim grbom, ki bi se lahko uveljavil za slovenskega. Po nasvetu ravnatelja Naravnega muzeja Josipa Mala ga je sestavil iz kranjskega polmeseca

¹⁹ Andrej HRAUSKY, Janez KOŽELJ, Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Plečnikova Slovenija. Vodnik po arhitekturi*, Ljubljana 1997, str. 122–123.

²⁰ PRELOVŠEK 2000 (op. 11), str. 573.

²¹ Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Josef Plečnik 1872–1957. Architectura perennis*, Salzburg-Wien 1992, str. 282–283; Peter KREČIČ, Ana POROK, *80 let spomenika Napoleonu in Iliriji Jožeta Plečnika. Ob dvestoletnici ustanovitve ilirskega provincec*, Ljubljana 2009.



12. Jože Plečnik: Zoisova piramida v Ljubljani, 1927

zaprav je bil Marijin steber v oblikovnem pogledu naslednik skromnejšega cesarjevega spomenika, ki naj bi ga kamnosek Ignacij Čamernik nekaj let pred prvo svetovno vojno po njegovi zamisli verjetno postavil v kamniški smodnišnici.²⁴ V domovini je moral Plečnik neuresničljivo željo po monolitnosti in rabi plemenitih dragih gradiv reševati z večjo izvirnostjo zamisli. Različno bogate žile podpeškega apnanca na Marijinem stebru zaradi grobo brušene površine ne pridejo tako do izraza kot pri stebrih peristila Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice, vendar vseeno pošteno pričajo, da ne gre za monolitnost. Posebnost Marijinega stebra je v skrajno spoštljivem razmerju do njenega starejšega predhodnika. Pod vklesano napisno ploščo s kratko zgodovino spomenika je Plečnik »prilepil« manjši ožlebljen stebrič in tako še vizualno ponazoril napis na njej. Ohranil je celo del prvotnega spomenika z Marijinim kipom iz sedemnajstega stoletja, vlitim po Valvasorjevih navodilih, novejše kipe svetnikov njegovega naslednika pa zbral vrh kapitela tako, da ne stojijo več v vogalih, ampak v štirih glavnih smereh. Njihova prvotna mesta je na podstavku le naznačil s kockastimi kamni. Zavestno je izbral obliko toskanskega stebra, ki ga je povezoval s svojo vero v etruščanski izvor Slovencev.²⁵ Omeniti velja tudi rahlo cezuro med stopničastim stereobatom in zaobljenim vrhnjim robom plošče nad njim. Gre za simboliko dragocenega predmeta, kot so na

in zvezd celjskih grofov. Zanimiv je tudi način pravokotno v grobo kamnito površino vsekanih črk, katerih obrisi zato ostajajo ostri. Da šele uresničen spomenik lahko potrdi ali ovrže arhitektova predvidevanja glede izbire razmerij, kaže vrhnji kamen, s katerim je Plečnik še med gradnjo povišal obelisk. Prav tako mu je pozneje ob vogalih dodal štiri manjše betonske slope, ki ustvarjajo sprva nenačrtovan piramidalni videz. Tega je še dopolnil z vencem brinov in dvema piramidastima topoloma, od katerih je ohranjen le še eden, ki je že zdavnaj prerasel kamniti obelisk. Vegetacija predstavlja pomemben del Plečnikovih spomeniških razmišljjanj, saj ozivlja mrtvo materijo spomenika. Tudi ob Zoisovi piramidi (1927) je Plečnik načrtoval ozelenitev, predvsem pa je bilo to značilno za vso njegovo nagroбno arhitekturo, kjer gre za hoten kontrast med monumentalno obliko, prepleteno z rastlinjem ali drobno kovinsko dekoracijo.²²

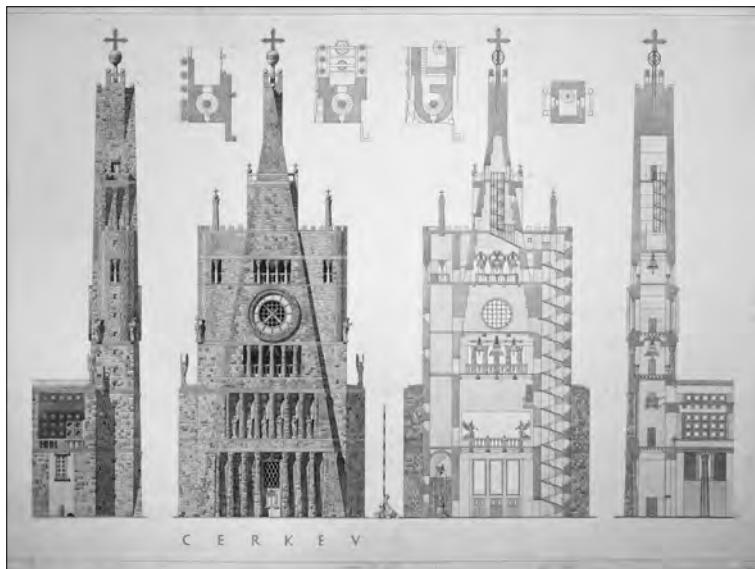
Dobrih deset let pozneje je ob šentjakobski cerkvi zamenjal dotrajan Marijin steber (1938) iz devetnajstega stoletja z veliko večjim.²³ Prav-

²² Andrej HRAUSKY, Janez KOŽELJ, Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Plečnikova Ljubljana. Vodnik po arhitekturi*, Ljubljana 1996, str. 53.

²³ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (op. 22), str. 77–78.

²⁴ Nedatiran načrt stebra s cesarjevim poprsjem je ohranjen v arhitektovi zapuščini.

²⁵ PRELOVŠEK 1992 (op. 21), str. 124–126.



13. Jože Plečnik:
načrt za Hram slave, 1936,
Ljubljana, Muzej za arhitekturo
in oblikovanje

primer kraljevske insignije, ki jih lahko dostojo nosimo le na posebni blazini. Marijansko idejo je še poudaril z okroglimi mejniki, ki so okoli trga nanizani kot jagode rožnega venca. Ostankov starega spomenika ni zavrgel, temveč znova postavil na Prelovškovem vrtu, kjer je uporabil steber, nanj namestil korintski kapitel iz Solina in mu dodal odlitek Marijinega kipca beuronskega umetnika Desideriusa Lenza.

Poleg obeliska se pri Plečnikovih spomenikih pojavlja tudi piramida, ki ima lahko čisto poseben simbolen pa tudi mestotvoren pomen. Najdemo jo že na eni od risb Žižkovega spomenika (1913),²⁶ uresničeno pa v spomin na mecenega Žiga Zoisa ob njegovi ljubljanski hiši, na Trnovskem mostu (1931–1932), ob Plečnikovem razgledišču na praškem vrtu Na okopih (1923–1925) in na Rimskem zidu v Ljubljani (1936). Glede na to, da je piramida pri Plečniku pogosto vezana na mestno obzidje, kot je na primer na Rimskem zidu, ob Aškerčem spomeniku ob vogalu Križank, na Zoisovi cesti ali v Pragi, lahko spominja tudi na arhitektovega vzornika Gottfrieda Semperja, ki je pokopan na protestantskem pokopališču ob Cestijevi piramidi v Rimu oziroma, kot je zapisal Plečnik, »leži v senci Cestijeve piramide«.²⁷ Taka razлага ni čisto neutemeljena, saj je nemškega arhitekta počastil tudi s stenskim vodnjakom z njegovim imenom v tako imenovani Levji dvorani praškega gradu.²⁸ Naštete piramide imajo še poseben urbanističen pomen, na primer Zoisova, ki optično zadržuje zdrs ceste proti Ljubljanci, medtem ko piramide na ograji Trnovskega mostu podčrtujejo zasidranje mostnega loka v brežine Gradaščice oziroma opozarjajo na vitkost njegovega temena. Drugačno vlogo ima piramida na praškem vrtu Na okopih, ki povezuje grad z mestom in se z zvoniki ter kupolami praških cerkva zliva v enotno panoramo.

V Ljubljani je Plečnik v spomin na izbrane osebnosti kulturnega življenja postavil tudi več herm. Pred stavbo Glasbene matic (1932–1937) ob Vegovi ulici je, kot že omenjeno, bronaste portrete glasbenikov pritrdil na sloke podstavke iz nabrežinskega kamna, ki so bili sprva namenjeni

²⁶ PRELOVŠEK 1992 (op. 21), str. 48.

²⁷ Nedatirano pismo bratu Andreju (maj 1911) ohranjeno v arhitektovi zapuščini (št. 186).

²⁸ PRELOVŠEK 1979 (op. 1), str. 126.



14. Jože Plečnik: model propilej, 1937, Ljubljana, Muzej za arhitekturo in oblikovanje

za njeno ograjo.²⁹ Posebej velja omeniti tudi hermi igralcev Ignacija Borštnika in Antona Verovška pred ljubljansko Opero (1925),³⁰ delo Franceta Kralja, katerih poprsji sta bili sprva nameščeni v notranjosti gledališča. Čeprav sta oba spomenika preprostejša, se njuna podstavka odlikujeta z izjemno profilacijo in primerno višino glede na razdaljo do gledalca.

Vrh Plečnikovih spomeniških prizadevanj predstavlja misel iz leta 1932 o slovenskem Panteonu na nekdanjem mestnem pokopališču, kjer stoji sedaj Gospodarsko razstavišče.³¹ Imenoval ga je Hram slave po češkem Slavinu na praškem Višegradu, predstavljal pa si je mogočno cerkev po pariškem zgledu, v kateri bi bili pokopani najzaslužnejši sinovi naroda. Z mogočno fasado, sestavljeno iz pravokotnika in višjega trikotnika, sorodno sočasni zamisli Žagarjeve grobnice na Rakeku, bi predstavljal ustrezno monumentalno kuliso temu državotvornemu projektu. Načrt je propadel, ker je ljubljanska škofija namesto cerkve od Plečnika hotela projekt duhovniškega semenišča. Zato je s skromnimi sredstvi na novejšem delu pokopališča lahko uredil le spominski park Navje, kjer leži več znanih pisateljev, umetnikov, znanstvenikov in duhovnikov.

Vprašanje kraljevega spomenika je postalо aktualno zlasti po marsejskem atentatu leta 1934. Že dve leti prej je Plečnik pred ljubljanskim magistratom uresničil konjeniški spomenik njegovega očeta, kralja Petra I. Karađorđevića.³² Dolinarjev kip je postavil na magistratne stopnice pred eno od obeh stranskih arkad. Na ta način je konju dal ustrezno ozadje, prepričan, da je v celotni zgodovini le malo primerov, kjer bi si jezdeca lahko ogledovali tudi z zadnje strani. Spomenik so podrli med italijansko okupacijo Ljubljane, v začetku devetdesetih let so zamenjali še stopnice iz podpečana, tako da danes ni več sledu o tem izvirnem Plečnikovem delu. Skoraj istočasno je pri cerkvi sv. Florijana v Ljubljani na podobno nenavaden način prestavil baročni kip sv. Janeza Nepomuka v podboj nekdanjega glavnega cerkvenega vhoda.

²⁹ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (op. 22), str. 31–32.

³⁰ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (op. 22), str. 140.

³¹ PRELOVŠEK 1979 (op. 1), str. 306–307.

³² HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (op. 22), str. 93–94.



15. Jože Plečnik: frančiškanski grobovi na pokopališču pri sv. Križu v Ljubljani, 1927



16. Jože Plečnik: spomenik NOB v Trnovem v Ljubljani, 1951–1954



17. Jože Plečnik: spomenik žrtvam Selške doline v Dolenji vasi, 1949–1950



18. Jože Plečnik: spomenik Davorina Jenka v Cerkljah, 1953–1954

Aleksandrov spomenik je Plečnik snoval kot arhitektonski poudarek širše urbanistične osi mestnega središča, ki pelje od Križank do Kongresnega trga in mimo Zvezde ter novo projektiranega Južnega trga na današnji Prešernov trg in naprej proti stari Ljubljani. Na meji med Zvezdo in trgom, ki bi se odpiral proti jugu, od tod njegovo ime, je hotel kot cezuro postaviti propileje s kraljevim konjeniškim spomenikom.³³ Napol zares je znancem pripovedoval, da bi bilo po potrebi mogoče zamenjati samo monarhovo glavo, konja s konjenikom pa ohraniti, če bi na prestol pozneje sedel kdo drug, kot so to pogosto počeli v antiki. Zamisel je pokopala zavist kiparjev, ki so si obetali zaslužek od prostostojecega spomenika in so arhitektu složno nasprotovali. Ni pomagalo niti prepričevanje Plečnikovega prijatelja Franceta Steleta, da Ljubljana rabi nov monumentalen trg, obdan z javnimi poslopji kot Markov trg v Benetkah. Plečnik je svaril pred kipom v Zvezdi in opozarjal na poševen teren in pomanjkanje primernega ozadja. Dolinarjev kip kralja na konju je stal le nekaj mesecev, ob prihodu Italijanov pa so ga uničili.

Preostane nam še omemba Plečnikove nagrobne arhitekture in povojnih spomenikov,³⁴ raztresenih po vsej Sloveniji. Njegova likovna domišljija in spoštljiv odnos do soljudi sta nam postregla s tipološko zelo pisano paleto nagrobnikov, ki po kakovosti sodijo v svetovni vrh pokopališke arhitekture. Plečnik je imel vedno pred očmi antične vzore in je zadnje človeško bivališče oblikoval kot mavzolej, hišo, ki ima namesto strehe zvezdno nebo ali miniaturno stavbo. Ustvaril je tudi številne nagrobne kamne, svetilnike, obeliske in podobno. Še posebno lepa je njegova misel, da naj bi vsa obeležja stala na kamnitem okvirju, v sredi pa naj bi v novo življenje raslo cvetje, kar je bil že stoletja okras preprostih vaških grobov. Na takšen način je skromno, a zato nič manj doživeto ustvaril tudi grob svojih staršev na Navju. V večjem merilu in bogatejše oblikovano je njegovo grobišče jezuitov na osrednjem ljubljanskem pokopališču (1925–1927), ki je po vojni postalo vzor za prenekatero podobno rešitev njegovih učencev.

Po drugi svetovni vojni je svoje pokopališke zamisli s pridom uporabil tudi pri načrtovanju drugih javnih spomenikov.³⁵ Ker so jih naročali pretežno odbori združenj borcev, so ti spomeniki ostajali na ravni zanimivih arhitekturnih študij, manjkal pa jim je arhitektov neposreden stik z naročniki, ki so bili nujen pogoj za poglobljen odnos do ustvarjenega dela. Velikokrat se je pri tem skliceval na lastne starejše stvaritve. Tako je na primer v Trnovem s spomenikom narodnoosvobodilne vojne (1951–1954) ponovil zasnovno svojega Gutenbergovega prvenca na Dunaju.³⁶ Zamisel Napoleonovega spomenika najdemo v nekoliko poenostavljeni obliki spet v Radečah pri Zidanem mostu (1952)³⁷ ali pa v Litiji (1950–1951),³⁸ kjer v spomeniku vojnim žrtvam ni težko prepoznati zasnovne šentjakobskega stebra v Ljubljani. Iz vse množice Plečnikovih povojnih del pa po doživetju izstopa spominska lopa v Selški dolini (1949–1950),³⁹ kamor je pod strop obesil tramove, na katerih so umirali nedolžni talci. Z izrednim posluhom je postavljena v naravno okolje. Tej zamisli je bortovalo iskreno spoštovanje do pobudnika spomenika, Niku Žumra iz Železnikov. Skoraj pri vseh

³³ Dušan GRABRIJAN, O Plečnikovih propilejah, v: Dušan Grabrijan, *Plečnik in njegova šola*, Maribor 1968, str. 147–153; PRELOVŠEK 1979 (op. 1), str. 285.

³⁴ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (op. 22), str. 212–239, 251–252.

³⁵ Peter KREČIČ, *Spomeniki NOB Jožeta Plečnika in njegove šole*, Ljubljana 1975; gl. tudi Peter KREČIČ, *Jože Plečnik*, Ljubljana 1992, poglavje *Povojna dela* od str. 355 dalje.

³⁶ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1996 (op. 22), str. 74.

³⁷ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1997 (op. 19), str. 184.

³⁸ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1997 (op. 19), str. 180–181.

³⁹ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1997 (op. 19), str. 82–83.

Plečnikovih vojnih spomenikih je v takšni ali drugačni obliki prisoten tudi križ kot simbol krščanstva. Najbolj značilna primera sta morda spomenika v Vipavi (1950–1952), kjer so kamnite klade zložene v obliki križa, na vrhu pa je grozd kot simbol Kristusove krvi in hkrati spomin na vinorodno Vipavsko dolino, in v Laškem (1951), kamor je Plečnik pred steber z vodoravno preklado namestil še trikotno božje oko.

Zapisa o Plečnikovih spomeniških zamislih ni mogoče končati brez omembe enega zadnjih in šele po arhitektovi smrti uresničenih del. Gre za doslej prezrt vojni spomenik v Sevnici (načrt 1956), ki dejansko predstavlja labodji spev Plečnikove umetnosti. Oblikovan je iz dveh pokončno postavljenih kamnitih kvadrov, podobno kot Aškerčev spomenik (1956) na vogalu ljubljanskih Križank, na vrhu pa ga krasí figuralna plastika na pol ležečih oseb, kakršno je že leta 1948 predvidel za obelisk na praškem gradu. Nad njo je nekakšen bronast zvon s personifikacijo zmage. V tem ni težko prepoznati zamisli odlitka plastike Zmagovalca, češkega kiparja Jana Šturne, s katerim so po drugi svetovni vojni hoteli okronati Plečnikov praški obelisk. Spomenik v Sevnici tako zaključuje dolgo vrsto metamorfoz klasičnega obeliska in hkrati združuje vse relevantne ideje njegove najbolj monumentalne variante na tretjem dvorišču praškega gradu, ki so se desetletja pletle v umetnikovi domišljiji.

Čas po drugi svetovni vojni, ko je Plečnika rešilo popolne pozabe samo državno priznanje, ni bil primeren za drugačne spomenike. Med redkimi je bil po vojni obnovljen spomenik Davorinu Jenku v Cerkljah na Gorenjskem (1953–1954),⁴⁰ ki ga je Plečnik oblikoval kot stožec z dvojnim vodnjakom. Zamisel nedvomno izhaja iz nekaj let prej predlagane rešitve slovenskega parlamenta s stožčasto kupolo. Z Jenkovim spomenikom je prvenstveno reševal tudi z novim ureditvenim načrtom ogroženo okolico župnijske cerkve. Neizvedena pa je ostala njegova ideja Prešernovega mavzoleja v Vrbi (1949).⁴¹ Predstavljal si ga je kot okroglo stavbo, obdano s stebri, ki bi stala v bližini pesnikove rojstne hiše. Prešernovemu spominu je želel ustvariti klasičen spomenik in z njim poudariti pesnikov temeljni pomen za slovenski narod, česar pa tedaj nihče ni prav doumel. Majhna in



19. Jože Plečnik: spomenik vojnim žrtvam v Sevnici, 1956–1957

⁴⁰ HRAUSKY, KOŽELJ, PRELOVŠEK 1997 (op. 19), str. 65.

⁴¹ Marjan MUŠIČ, Plečnik in Prešeren, *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske*, 8, 1972, str. 467–473.

vase zaprta dežela je tako preprečila prenekatero izvirno misel velikega arhitekta. Da Plečnik kot eden najbolj izvirnih ustvarjalcev dvajsetega stoletja ostaja še vedno nerazumljen svojim rojakom, kaže omalovažajoč odnos do njegovega dela in spomina. Rojstno mesto, ki mu je razdal vse znanje in mu vtisnil nezamenljiv pečat svojega genija, še vedno ne premore ulice z njegovim imenom. Mestni očetje so se zadovoljili le s Plečnikovim poimenovanjem neuglednega šolskega dvorišča nekdanje uršulinske gimnazije.

A Monument to Fallen Jewish Soldiers in the Wars Fought between 1912 and 1919 at the Sephardic Cemetery in Belgrade

Vuk Dautović

Jewish inhabitants of the Balkans functioned for centuries as subjects of the Ottoman Empire by participating in the creation of its visual culture, economy and trade, and by constituting the culture of the Empire on an equal footing with other ethnicities, as a visible minority.¹ The first change to the position of Jews who inhabited this wide area of the Balkans was announced in the Tanzimat reforms, which took place in the Ottoman Empire during the 1830s.² Parallel to the reformist movement in the Ottoman Empire, there appeared across the Balkans a number of national revolutions and the idea of the creation and realization of national independent states. These were states in which subjects could enjoy the freedom to practice their own Orthodox Christian faith; its ceremonies and public manifestations of piety related to a celebration of the nation, aside from the enjoyment of civil freedoms. In this kind of environment, the Jewish community in the Balkans, during the nineteenth century, transformed its own visibility and ways of existence, adjusting to turbulent changes in its surroundings. The Sephardi Jews, as a dominant group in the Balkans, became subjects of the new Christian nation states in which they had to fight for their own rights and civil equality all over again, by emphasizing their identity and by searching for frameworks through which they could exercise their own customs and culture.³

If we take into consideration the gradual transfer of cultural models embodied in the shift from the realm of the Balkan-Ottoman civilization to the European civil cultural model, this area becomes more complex.⁴ This shift created a need for different strategies and ways of self-presentation, and also a visual expression of identity that was primarily based on religious diversity, strongly incorporated in what we call the Judeo-Christian civilization, while recognizing its inner antagonisms.

For the Jews who lived within the territory of the Serbian state, this implied liberation from Ottoman rule, through the creation and building of a state embodied in the life of the Principality and, afterwards, in the Kingdom of Serbia, from the changes of dynasty at the beginning of the

¹ Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ, Sephardi Jews and the Visual Culture of the Ottoman Balkans, *El Prezente. Studies in Sephardic Culture*, 4, Beer-Sheva 2010, pp. 199–212.

² For more information on the Tanzimat reforms see: Ilber ORTAJLI, *Najduži vek imperije*, Beograd 2004 (Ilber ORTAYLI, *Imparatorlugu en uzun yüzyili*, İstanbul 1999).

³ Ženi LEBL, *Do konačnog rešenja. Jevreji u Beogradu 1521–1942*, Beograd 2001, pp. 71–183; Bogumil HRABAK, *Jevreji u Beogradu do sticanja ravnopravnosti (1878)*, Beograd 2009, pp. 225–437; Vuk DAUTOVIĆ, Sefardske štampane ketube na Balkanu. Vizuelna dekoracija kao odraz ideja bračne harmonije i privatno-javnog jevrejskog identiteta, *Zbornik [Muzej primenjene umetnosti] / Journal [Museum of Applied Art]*, n. s. 8, 2012, pp. 65–76.

⁴ Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ, Kulturni modeli i privatni život kod Srba u 19. veku, *Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku* (ed. Ana Stolić, Nenad Makuljević), Beograd 2006, pp. 17–53.

twentieth century all the way through to the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS) and then Yugoslavia. In this sense, the means of preserving identity, customs and religious freedom in the framework of the newly established state models required intricate strategies, not only in the sense of adjustment but also in the sense of actual gestures such as the participation in war as the most obvious proof of loyalty according to the ethical principle of blood spilt for freedom in solidarity.

The Participation of Jews in Wars for the Unification and Liberation of Serbia

Under the Ottomans, Jews were forbidden to join the military, however the series of national revolutions and the increasing need for the military as a force capable of defending the still volatile state by liberating new regions and expanding the state's territory, led to the inclusion of Jews in the ranks of the Serbian military. In 1869 the Principality of Serbia passed a governmental decree authorizing the recruitment of Jews into the Serbian military. This important milestone led to the greatest integration of Jewish subjects who, as soldiers, could prove their loyalty to the state in which they had lived with the prospect of emancipation, in comparison to the Serbian population. When they entered military service, Serbian military authorities met the needs of Jewish soldiers by enabling them to eat meals in accordance with their religious code. War reports from 1877 brought news of Jewish soldiers being decorated with Serbian military honours and medals. Consequently, they gained full equality in a constitutional sense by the so called broad-minded constitution of the Kingdom of Serbia of 1888, which guaranteed complete equality to all state residents without distinctions based on religion or nationality.⁵ The change of dynasty on the Serbian throne did not stand in the way of the further integration of Jews into Serbian society and the King of Serbia himself, Peter I Karađorđević, laid down the cornerstone of the new Sephardic synagogue, Beth Israel, in May 1907, and attended its consecration with members of the government in September 1908.⁶

When in 1912, the proclamation for the mobilization of troops in order to liberate Serbs in the Ottoman Empire came into force, Jews heeded the call in large numbers and prayers were conducted in synagogues for the victory of Serbian forces, while Rabbis Isak Alkalaj in the Sephardic synagogue and Ignjat Šlang in the Ashkenazi synagogue called upon Jews to fulfil their civil duty towards the 'dear fatherland' as the real descendants of the Maccabees.⁷

Archival documents not only testify to the large numbers of Jews that heeded the call, but also of the importance this had for members of the Jewish community; such as in the creation of postcards, with a photograph and the name of a soldier, which are one of the most common forms of memorabilia from this period of European military history (fig. 1). The participation of Jews in the Balkan wars was best summarized by the German diplomat and Officer Karl von Richthofen in a pamphlet entitled *Are Jews soldierly people?*, in which he stated: "This booklet is dedicated to those Serbs of Moses who did by their conduct what it is impossible to confute. Everything stated in it is truthful, confirmed and sealed with blood. For example, the heroic death of Lieutenant Moše

⁵ Ignjat ŠLANG, *Jevreji v Beogradu*, Beograd 1926, pp. 92–106.

⁶ ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 104; David ALKALAY, Nova sinagoga «Bet Israel», *Jevrejski almanah za godinu 5686 / 1925–1926* (eds. Leopold Fischer, Mojsije Margel), Vršac 1925, pp. 73–82.

⁷ Zapis. Srpski Jevreji, *Ilustrovana ratna kronika*, 2, 25. 10. 1912, p. 15; ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 106–108.



1. *Isak A. De Majo, soldier in the 1912–1913 Balkan War, postcard*

journal from October 1916 by Officer Moša Mevorah, which is kept in the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, are particularly valuable.¹⁵ The end of the war fortified the syntagma about Jews as 'Serbs of Moses' faith', bringing with it the affection of the ruling house of Karađorđević towards the Zionist idea, which was brought closer by distinguished individuals such as Dr David Albala, but also bringing about the full emancipation and integration of Jews within the Serbian society.¹⁶

Amar in Ferizovići.”⁸ The pamphlet afterwards listed Jewish heroes and battles in which they had participated, laying down their lives on the altar to the fatherland.⁹ For example, the participation of Jews in the wars for the liberation of Serbia was documented in the famous Seventh infantry regiment of the Danube division of the second draft, which participated in the battle of Edirne, consisting primarily of the Belgrade Sephards,¹⁰ or by the individual displays of heroes such as Moša J. Pinto, awarded with the Takovo Cross and the medal of St. Sava.¹¹ The participation of Jewish doctors and nurses in military hospitals is also important, such as in the XXII reserve hospital of the Ashkenazi Jews from Belgrade.¹² The end of the Balkan Wars brought with it new attitudes towards Jews, who were initially stigmatized as timid people ill-disposed towards military service, but who emerged after the wars with a reputation for heroic deeds and enthusiasm for military engagement.¹³

During World War I, the participation of Jews continued both as a part of the Serbian military corps and the inner officer command staff.¹⁴ War testimonies such as the evacuation

⁸ ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 112–113.

⁹ ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 112–113.

¹⁰ Photograph from the Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, reg. no. 5828, k. 4-1-3: *Beogradski jevreji iz dunavske divizije sedmog puka drugog poziva, za vreme večernje molitve uoči napada koji je završen osvajanjem Jedrenja, 12. marta 1913.* (Belgrade Jews from the Danube division of the Seventh Regiment second draft, during evening prayer on the eve of an attack that ended in the conquering of Edirne, March 12 1913).

¹¹ *Illustrated 'Balkan'*, 9, 28. 4. 1913.

¹² ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), p. 108.

¹³ Dušan SLAVIĆ, *Ilustrovana istorija Balkanskog rata 1912.–1913.*, 1, Beograd 1913.

¹⁴ ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 114–119.

¹⁵ Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, reg. no. 5829, k. 4-1-4: Moše Mevorah, *Dnevnik sa puta evakuacije, od dana 28. oktobra 1916. godine* (Evacuation journal from 28 October 1916), manuscript.

¹⁶ ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 120–135.



2. Monument to Jewish soldiers fallen in wars for liberation and unification (1912–1919), Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade

In the aftermath of the wars, a period of memorialization of the fallen began, both within the Jewish community and in the name of the state for which the fallen soldiers had fought. The memory of the deceased, and their contribution to the wars, was primarily shaped through the production of a written testimony *Spomenica poginulih i umrlih Srpskih Jevreja u Balkanskom i Svetskom ratu 1912–1918*.¹⁷ Consequently, the memory gained permanent visualisation in the form of a monument whose building lasted almost a decade from the end of World War I, and which was finally created according to the idea of architect Samuel Sumbul at the Sephardic Jewish cemetery in Belgrade, Ruzveltova (Roosevelt), once Grobljanska (Cemetery) Street.

Erecting the Monument

The initiative for erecting a monument to Jews that had perished in the wars for liberation and unification came about at the beginning of the 1920s (fig. 2). It stemmed from both sectors of the Jewish community, Sephardic and Ashkenazi. For this purpose, a committee was formed at first presided over by Kalman Lebl, the brother of the student Lance Lieutenant Leon Lebl, who bravely fought and died at Kosmaj in 1914 at the age of twenty-two.¹⁸ The committee also included Nisim Benarojo, Aciva

¹⁷ *Spomenica poginulih i umrlih Srpskih Jevreja u Balkanskom i Svetskom ratu 1912.–1918.*, Beograd 1927 (publication by the committee for the construction of the monument to fallen Jewish soldiers).

¹⁸ LEBL 2001 (n. 3), pp. 256–257.



3. Top of the pillar with a two-headed eagle, Serbian coat of arms and Magen David, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade

and Moša Levi, Ruben Rubenović, Binja Nahum, Šalom Russo, Mika Mejuhas and others.¹⁹ The committee in charge of constructing the monument first published the abovementioned testimony in 1927, after which the monument itself was unveiled. The casualties of war from the period of 1912 to 1918 were listed in the testimony and, alongside their first names and surnames, photographs were included as well as the casualties' civil and war biographies, place of birth and place of death with the manner in which they died also described. The testimony lists in great detail one hundred and thirty-two soldiers, whose names were also carved into the plaque of the monument. In the foreword, the contribution of Jews was emphasized, as was the importance and the magnitude of their sacrifice during the war. This written presentation ends with the words: *Neka večni i nerazdvojni zagrljaj u smrti sa vašim palim srpskim drugovima, posluži poznjim naraštajima kao simbol trajnog bratstva između dva napaćena naroda na zajedničkoj grudi.*²⁰ The initiative to erect this important monument, whose construction was financed by voluntary

donations, was followed by several exhumations in order to relocate the remains of the fallen soldiers, whenever it was possible, and to bury them in the first soldiers' burial plot at the Jewish cemetery in Belgrade, where the soldiers who had been transferred there since the beginning of the Balkan Wars were also laid to rest. The Jewish press followed the construction of the monument closely, noting that under it lay twenty-three heroes whose graves could be identified.²¹ In this sense, this monument also has an important funerary function, representing a Pantheon of fallen Jewish hero-soldiers. Among the soldiers who were transferred and previously buried in the soldiers' burial plot were the painter Samuilo Elić, Hajim Davičo – descendant of one of the most prominent Jewish families in Belgrade, Moša Amar who died heroically at Ferizovići, merchant Benjamin Rafael, doctor Isak Rego Hercog who was transferred to the soldiers' burial plot in 1921, and clerk Hajnrih Šatner among others.²²

The monument was designed by architect Samuel Sumbul, one of the most distinguished designers of the public facilities created between the two wars, for the needs of the Jewish community in Belgrade. As a Sephardic Jew who was born in Sarajevo and educated in Vienna, Sumbul settled in Belgrade after World War I where he founded a company with the name Architectonic-construction

¹⁹ Otkrivanje spomenika srpskim Jevrejima palim u ratu za oslobođenje 1912–1918, *Židov*, 11/40, 7. 10. 1927, p. 3.

²⁰ Spomenica 1927 (n. 17), pp. 3–5: *Let your eternal and inseparable embrace in death with your fallen Serbian companions serve later generations as a symbol of permanent brotherhood between two suffering peoples on common soil.*

²¹ Spomenik poginulim Jevrejima, *Židov*, 11/15–16, 15. 4. 1927, p. 10.

²² Spomenica 1927 (n. 17), pp. 25, 50, 77, 81, 97, 140.

company of arch. S. Sumbul and eng. H. Isaković. Apart from architecture, Sumbul was also engaged in painting and he had a small studio beside the painting school of the painter Mladen Josić.²³

Sumbul's most important works, in relation to the Belgrade Jewish community were primarily the Jewish charity Oneg Shabat and Gemilut Hasadim, whose building was constructed in 1923 at 16 Jevrejska (Jewish) Street, and also The Home of the Jewish Religious-School Community, built in 1926, at 71a Kralja Petra Street. By 1927 Sumbul had already designed the monument to fallen soldiers at the Sephardic cemetery in Belgrade. The construction of the monument was entrusted to stonemason Josif Dajč and the solemn unveiling took place on 2 October 1927.²⁴ Several years later, in 1930, Samuel Sumbul designed his own building at 8 Brankova Street.²⁵

The main traits of his architecture are Eclecticism with the emphasized decoration of the facade, which ranges from Classicism and Romanticism on the building of the Association of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia (The Home of the Jewish Religious-School Community) to a certain variant of Orientalism applied to the facade of the building of the Oneg Shabat and Gemilut Hasadim charity, as an appropriate style originating from Central Europe that expresses visually the identity of the Jewish community.²⁶ This was certainly familiar to Sumbul, bearing in mind his education in Vienna, and, as an idea, it was consistently elaborated in the building of Kapetanović's synagogue Beth Israel in Cara Uroša Street in Belgrade.²⁷ Some elements of the oriental understanding of ornaments, the avoidance of the human image and figure, were applied together with Jewish traditions in the construction of the monument, which visually speaking, and, taking into consideration the military monuments raised in the memorial opus of the Great War, represent an intricate and unique entity. Several years after the construction of the monument in Belgrade, members of the association Kneginja Zorka erected a monument to the fallen soldiers from the period 1914–1918 at the entrance to Niška Banja in 1929, and one of the memorial plaques on this monument contains the Star of David and the names of Jews who lost their lives during the First World War.

The Belgrade monument is positioned to the right of the entrance to the Jewish Sephardic cemetery and it was made of white stone as an architectonic-sculptural composition, from a design by architect Samuel Sumbul, produced in the workshop of the stonemason Josif Dajč, also a member of the Jewish community, whose name is engraved beside Samuel Sumbul on the stone pillars of the fence of the monument itself. The cemetery in which the monument was erected was built simultaneously with the New Belgrade cemetery in 1876. The general concept of the Sephardic cemetery and also the typology of the monument insignia are included in the wider stylistic and artistic flows of the period of the emancipation of the European Jews during the nineteenth century. Apart from the monuments that were transferred from the old Jewish cemeteries, characteristic Sephardic supine sepulchral insignia and vertical Ashkenazi ones, the presence of plastic decoration, continuing the European funerary tradition, with specific Jewish symbols and also sepulchral architecture in various historical styles, visually shapes the space of the Sephardic cemetery. Therefore, the surroundings

²³ Divna ĐURIĆ-ZAMOLO, Jevreji – graditelji Beograda do 1941. godine, *Zbornik*, 6, Jevrejski istorijski muzej Beograd, 1992, pp. 233–236.

²⁴ *Otkrivanje spomenika* 1927 (n. 19), p. 3; *Spomenik* 1927 (n. 21), p. 10.

²⁵ ĐURIĆ-ZAMOLO 1992 (n. 23), p. 236.

²⁶ Rudolf KLEIN, Oriental-Style Synagogues in Austria-Hungary. Philosophy and Historical Significance, *Ars Judaica*, 2, 2006, pp. 117–134.

²⁷ Svetlana NEDIĆ, Sinagoga Bet Jisrael – delo arhitekte Milana Kapetanovića, *Zbornik*, 8, Jevrejski istorijski muzej Beograd, 2003, pp. 299–308.

of this cemetery as an ambient entity in which the monument to fallen soldiers was erected can be defined as eclectic.²⁸

The Form and Function of the Monument

The monument was built as a complex memorial public entity, a manifestation of the loyalty of the Jewish community to the Serbian national corpus. At the same time, the monument clearly supervenes on other similar monumental demarcations made during the First World War that contain attributes from the military domain, celebrating military merits and victory. Jewish identity was displayed via symbols relating to Jewish tradition, both profane and related to religious concepts that refer to the culture of remembering the dead and the religious practice of annual memorial services, which have both a private and an eschatological character. Within the monument there are ledgers for those who are buried there, so it is a unique funerary entity and a Pantheon of fallen soldiers. Being conceived in this way the monument functions as a complex semantic whole.

Visually, it is formed as a plateau of semicircular shape in the middle of which the form of an obelisk is found, consisting of four pillars ending in a pyramid shape with a two-headed eagle on top (fig. 3). At the base of this construction, a military sabre intersecting a rifle is carved, with a šajkača (a Serbian military hat) in the middle, above which there is an inscription stating: ЖПТВЕ ПАЛЕ ЗА ОТАЦВИНУ 1912. – 1919.²⁹ On top, among the heads of the pillars, which in intersection form a six-fold Star of David, are Stars of David in relief placed on all four sides. The pyramid structure at the top, the sharpened tower, bears a hexagonal pedestal with the Serbian coat of arms and a crown, cast out of bronze, while on top there is a two-headed eagle with wings spread: one head faces the sky and the other faces the ground. To the left and right there are stone ledges with the names of the fallen soldiers that are buried there positioned in a horseshoe shape (fig. 4). The structure is flanked by figures of sitting lions (*lion sejant*), while the sides of the monument are joined by a stone fence with benches. Behind the pillar there is a massive stone segment of trapezoid shape, which contains five ledges; the pairs on either side have names carved on them and the middle ledge contains an inscription dedicated to the war heroes. Two urns with the Star of David emblazoned in the middle are positioned on the lions' paws and the eternal flame, carved out of stone, burns above them. The front of the monument is separated by a fence made out of short stone pillars, between which there is a massive bronze chain anchored in medallions of the Magen David (Star of David), and, on these pillars, the names of the architect S. Sumbul and the stonemason J. Dajč are engraved. In the corner below the lion figures, there are canon shells carved out of stone exemplifying the militaristic character of the monument.

The first noticeable element in the visual conception of the monument is the clear use of national and military rhetoric, which places it within a wider context as a signifier of the First World War.³⁰ Similar monuments to the fallen heroes of the Balkan and First World Wars, with victorious two-headed eagles, were erected in Mihajlovac, in Negotinska Krajina and Ćuprija. The Belgrade monument stands

²⁸ Mirijam RAJNER, Jevrejska groblja u Beogradu, *Zbornik*, 6, Jevrejski istorijski muzej Beograd, 1992, pp. 211–214; Professor Rajner was the first to research and point out the importance of studying the specificities of Jewish funerary culture in Belgrade, primarily through the history and typology of Jewish cemeteries.

²⁹ *Victims fallen for the fatherland 1912–1919.*

³⁰ Olga MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR, *Ideološko i političko u spomeničkoj arhitekturi Prvog i Drugog svetskog rata na tlu Srbije*, Beograd 2004 (unpublished doctoral dissertation), pp. 83–138.



4. Tombs of fallen heroes, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade



5. Military symbols at the base of the monument, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade

out through the monumentality of its design: the two-headed eagle with spreaded wings raises its right head towards the sky, in rejoice at victory, while he bends his left head towards the ground in an act of grief and sorrow for the fallen soldiers, as reported by the *Politika* newspaper a day after the unveiling of the monument.³¹ The stone canon shells, present in the composition of the Belgrade monument, are a commonplace of such monuments, depicting tools of mass destruction that claimed the lives of many soldiers in World War I, and can also be identified in the abovementioned Ćuprija monument, which memorializes military suffering from the period between 1912 and 1918. The military hat *šajkača*, rifle and sabre, code the monument as an entity unifying the officers and soldiers who fought and gave their lives together for the same historical goal (fig. 5). The military narrative consistently ends with a stone gable in the background of the obelisk carrying the names of fallen soldiers, the dates

³¹ Spomenik srpskim ratnicima – Jevrejima, *Politika*, 3. 10. 1927, p. 7.



6. The figure of a lion, detail of the monument, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade



7. Emblematic figure of the lion, detail of Yahrzeit of Corporal Isak Rafael Amar

of their death, but also the specific names of the places and battles in which they died, creating a precise chronotopic field of memory. The central tablet of this Jewish Pantheon carries a dedication: *Јеврејима палим за правду, слободу и уједињење, у спомен и славу српски Јевреји*,³² and also a translation into Hebrew. Below the aforementioned inscription there is a citation from Petar II Petrović Njegoš's poem *Gorski vijenac* (The Mountain Wreath), stating: *ПОКОЉЕЊЕ ЗА ПЈЕСМУ СТВОРЕНО, ВИЛЕ ЂЕ СЕ ГРАБИТ У ВЈЕКОВЕ, ДА ВАМ ВЈЕНЦЕ ДОСТОЈНЕ САПЛЕНТУ, ВАШ ЂЕ ПРИМЕР УЧИТИ ПЈЕВАЧА, КАКО ТРЕБА С БЕСМРТНОШЋУ ЗБОРИТ.*³³

The other element of the monument refers to the expression of Jewish identity. This is achieved primarily through the Stars of David located at various points and the lions flanking the monument. The Star of David as a Jewish symbol is relatively new, appearing only from the sixteenth century. There is neither archaeological nor historical data that would link King David to the hexagram since it first appeared as a Jewish symbol in 1527 on a tombstone in Prague.³⁴ Only during the period of the Zionist movement did this symbol gain greater and deeper meaning within the frames of Jewish identity (fig. 6). The lion, however, an emblem from ancient times, represents the Israel tribe of Judas, one of the twelve ancient Jewish tribes, which begat King David and King Solomon, and ruled

³² To the Jews who have fallen for justice, liberty and unification, in the memory and glory of Serbian Jews.

³³ Generation made for songs, fairies will grab into centuries to entwine you decent wreaths, your example will teach the poet how should one speak with immortality.

³⁴ Theodore SCHRIRE, *Hebrew Amulets, their Decipherment and Interpretation*, New York 1982, pp. 60, 68.



8. *Ner neshama*, a vase with burning flame,
detail of the monument, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade



9. *Ner neshama*, vessel with flame, detail
of *Yahrzeit* of Corporal Isak Rafael Amar



10. *Yahrzeit* of Corporal Isak Rafael Amar
(died on 12th October 1912 at Mlado Nagoričane)

the Kingdom of Judea. In the West, front-facing lions, have the heraldic function of guardians on coats of arms and they appear in numerous objects of Jewish visual culture, in particular on sacral ones, such as synagogue parochets, Torah mantles and shields or Hanukkah lamps intended for family privacy (fig. 7).³⁵ Lions incorporated into stone carved decoration were used within synagogues even in ancient times.³⁶ They are a symbolic image of the lost kingdom but also an important eschatological hint of the coming of the Messiah, who will descend from this tribe and be the descendant of David. By his appearance, the annunciations of the prophets will be fulfilled but also the promise of bodily resurrection, which represents a unique end of history. In this sense, it must be noted that messianic time is embodied in the hope of the resurrection of the dead and lions within funerary entities are a reflexion of this ideology.³⁷

On the monument to fallen soldiers, above the plaques with the engraved names, there are two sculpted stone urns, with Stars of David positioned in between the lions' paws, on top of which burns a flame (fig. 8). It is important for the understanding of the funerary character of the monument to note the practise of *Yahrzeit*, i.e. the annual memorial service for the dead. During the nineteenth century, in the area of Central Europe, printed forms developed in which the days of memorial service were inscribed even several decades in advance because of the Lunisolar Jewish calendar. These forms were visually rich in decoration and they were noticeably displayed in houses as reminders, in an act of private memory related to the practice of lighting a candle or a lamp (*ner neshama*) whose light should burn for twenty-four hours on the day of death, symbolically referring to the verses from *The Book of Proverbs* 20:27: *The soul of man is a candle of the Lord.*³⁸ In this sense, the display of a lamp as a vessel with a flame is an indispensable emblematic image in the funerary culture of Jews, both in the very tomb decoration and in all the parts that refer to the memory of the deceased, such as the printed memorial sheets - *Yahrzeit* forms (fig. 9). Fire and light are part of a broader concept which equalizes them with the divine presence, expressed in Jewish tradition through *Ner Tamid* i.e. synagogue lamps,³⁹ while European emblems in inside the Christian tradition use the eternal flame with the same prerogatives relating to the divine, while as an emblematic pictogram the flame appears in a number of different contextualized meanings, based primarily on pagan traditions.⁴⁰

The relation between the form of the monument and its symbolic decoration could be identified unequivocally in the design of *Yahrzeit* plaques, but also in main concepts and the form of their decoration. The architectonic frame on a written form, which mimics different forms of funerary and sepulchral architecture, with figures of lions and vessels with flames, and different symbols of sorrow, are exactly those elements that appear in Sumbul's monument. His stay in Vienna and knowledge, not only of the practice, but also the use of these printed plaques could be reflected in the ideological shaping of the monument's form.

³⁵ Milica MIHAJOVIĆ, *Judaica u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1990, pp. 12–13, 26–27, 34–37, 60–61, 76–77, 82–83.

³⁶ Cf. Vidosava NEDOMAČKI, *Stara Jevrejska umetnost u Palestini*, Beograd 1964.

³⁷ This ideology originates from the following biblical citations: Isa 9:6-7; Jer 33:15-21,2; Sam 17:12-16; Ps 89:35-37.

³⁸ Daniel SPERBER, *The Jewish Life Cycle, Customs, Lore and Iconography*, New York 2008, pp. 567–587.

³⁹ The origin of this lamp stems back as far as biblical times, such as in God's commandment: *And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they bring thee pure oil olive beaten for the light, to cause the lamp to burn always. In the tabernacle of the congregation without the veil, which is before the testimony, Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the LORD: it shall be a statute for ever unto their generations on the behalf of the children of Israel* (Exod. 27:20-21).

⁴⁰ Cf. Cesare RIPA, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery. The 1758–1760 Hertel Edition of Ripa's Iconologia with 200 Engraved Illustrations* (ed. Edward A. Maser), Mineola 1991.

Precious is the *Yahrzeit* of Corporal Isak Rafael Amar, who died at Mlado Nagoričane in 1912 (fig. 10). He testifies that the practice of using these printed Austro-Hungarian forms was equally common amongst Sephardic Jews in the Balkans. Amar's *Yahrzeit* contains an act of private memory, reflecting not only the relation of Jewish participants in the war to the remembrance of their fallen comrades, but also their relation towards their own traditions and religion. The text of the *Yahrzeit* states: *Muestro ermano Isak Rafael Amar kayo en la gera de Kumanovo diya de 12 heshvan 5763 TNCBH (tehi nafsho cerura bicror hahajim) Mozotros Kolel de Kumanovo mos ovligamos de azerle a este mansevo yortsayt. Mozotros ermanos del malugrado mansevo soldado baragan ke kayo en la gera kuando vinsieron los Serbos esta sivdad Kumanovo enprezentimos un parochet para el Ka(ha)l Kadosh de Kumanovo porke le aga kada anyo su yortsayt asigun ovligo de nuestra Ley Santa por akordo de siempre Avram Rafael Amar, Moshe Rafael Amar, moradores de Belogrado yagen ale(h)a Elo(h)im.*⁴¹ Amar's name, along with his place of death, was engraved on the monument, while beside his picture in the *testimony* it was stated that he had been a merchant's assistant. By recording the act of the votive presentation of a parochet to the synagogue in Kumanovo, a complex system of gestures that secured the memory of the deceased in this world, but also a place for him in the world to come, was brought to a close.

The Unveiling and Reception of the Monument

The monument to fallen Jewish soldiers was solemnly unveiled on 2 October 1927. At the Sephardic Jewish cemetery at ten in the morning a large number of invitees gathered. Ministers of the royal government were attending: Andrić, Kumanudi, Milosavljević and Obradović, the Emissary of HRH the King, and Emissary of the Military Minister General Vlada Jovanović, also present were members of the diplomatic core, generals, war veterans, politicians and prominent citizens. Many members of the Jewish community were present, including the president of the Jewish Community, the Supreme Rabbi Isak Alkalaj and representatives of the committee for the construction of the monument, along with many representatives of the other Jewish Communities of the Kingdom of SCS. The unveiling of the monument was also attended by the Second Regiment infantry troop with musicians, and also representatives of the Serbian-Jewish choir Association with their flag.⁴²

The ceremony began with an address from the president of the Board, the merchant Nisim Benarojo, to the Chief Rabbi Dr Alkalaj, with a plea to consecrate the monument. After prayers were said and the monument was consecrated by the Chief Rabbi, an honorary salvo from the Second Regiment infantry troop followed. After this, the Chief Rabbi Isak Alkalaj gave a speech addressing those present, symbolically handing over the monument to the guardianship and care of the president of the Jewish Religious-School Community Dr Salomon Alkalaj, who also addressed those in attendance. After his speech, the Serbian-Jewish choir Association sang *Halleluiah* and the military

⁴¹ Our brother Isak Rafael Amar, died in the battle of Kumanovo, on 12 Heshvan 5763. (Let his soul be tied in the sheaf of the life). We, the community from Kumanovo, make a commitment that we will conduct an annual memorial service, *Yahrzeit*, to Isak Rafael Amar. We, the brothers of this unlucky brave young soldier, when the Serbs conquered (Kumanovo), presented one parochet to the holy temple of Kumanovo so that we could conduct a *Yahrzeit* for him every year. According to the obligation of our holy law, in eternal memory, Avram Rafael Amar and Moše Rafael Amar, residents of Belgrade, let God guard him.

⁴² Otkrivanje spomenika 1927 (n. 19), p. 3; Spomenik srpskim ratnicima 1927 (n. 31), p. 7.

11. Monument to Jewish soldiers fallen in wars for liberation and unification (1912–1919), side view, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade



musicians played: *Hajmo braćo, hajmo sestre* (Come brothers, come sisters).⁴³

Both speakers emphasized the role played by Jews in the wars for the Kingdom of Serbia and also their role in the creation of the Kingdom of SCS, their true Serbian patriotism and loyalty to the nation, with which they shared the good and the bad. The main theme of these speeches saw the emphasis of heroic deeds and lives sacrificed for the fatherland with the purpose of remembering and respecting this special bond and the contribution made to a free civil society, into which Jews had been actively and freely included with their individual rights realized, in a broader European context, only at the beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, the remembrance of the victims and their contribution to the stability of the current state had the goal of realizing a safe and autonomous place for Jews within the Kingdom in which they resided and for the good of which they traditionally prayed in the public synagogue.

The unveiling of the monument had a different meaning, in a private sense, for family members of the victims. While the ceremony was approached as an important public-political event that had clear programmatic and ideological goals, others, who were present in a personal capacity as bereaved family members, saw in it the image of the grave of those most dear to them, who were never found nor given a final resting place. It was noted that the mother of Avram and Nisim Pelosof arrived at the solemn unveiling and left without two sons, a very old woman who asked in Ladino: *Puedu yo ir ver a mis ijos?*⁴⁴ She then approached the plaque with their names caressing the place where their names were engraved, and spoke to them affectionately, telling them the family news and news from the Belgrade Jewish district *mahala*. Alongside her, there were numerous other relatives of the fallen who approached the monument in an utterly personal manner, in grief and using gestures related to their family and religious traditions, perceiving in it a site of common memory and the resting place of their dear ancestors and compatriots, enclosed by the frame of the Jewish

⁴³ *Otkrivanje spomenika* 1927 (n. 19), p. 3; *Spomenik srpskim ratnicima* 1927 (n. 31), p. 7.

⁴⁴ *Can I see my sons?*

cemetery in which it was located.⁴⁵ The existence of graves at its foundations determined, in a certain way, the location of the monument, as with other military memorials connected with cemeteries within the space of the New Cemetery in Belgrade (fig. 11).⁴⁶

A special aspect of the rhetoric that accompanied the ceremony belonged to emphasising Yugoslav identity, remarking that Jews laid down their lives for the people and stating that: *Brat je mio, ma kaje vere bio.*⁴⁷ Their participation and contribution was important for the creation of Yugoslavian identity as a multinational and multiconfessional whole. The period leading up until the beginning of World War II, saw the periodical release in the press of different forms of remembering the role of Jews in the creation of the state in which they lived, which functioned almost as a form of justification, in opposition to anti-Semitic propaganda that became increasingly prevalent in this period.⁴⁸

Concluding Remarks

The monument to fallen Jewish soldiers was erected in the Sephardic cemetery in Belgrade and forms part of a complex strategy of remembering organized by the Jewish community as a way of emphasising a person's contribution to the creation of the state in which they lived and the public celebration of their heroes. The process of memorializing and heroization encompassed forming a board that dealt with gathering resources, materials about the fallen, the relocation and transfer of their remains and also the production of a written testimony as an indispensable complement and programmatic explication of the monumental structure. This process lasted almost a decade after the end of World War I, ending in 1927 with the solemn unveiling of the monument, as well as the press release of the accompanying testimony.

Dedicated to the memory of the military merits of Jews, as the other ethnicity, who unselfishly sacrificed themselves for the Serbian state in military combat, the displayed monument is unique in the context of Jewish history in the Balkan area. Military participation in the wars for the liberation of Serbia in World War I, apart from an appreciation as citizens capable of standing alongside the country in which they lived in war and crisis, brought Jews the respect of the Serbian public, consequently giving birth to the syntagm of Serbs of Moses' faith. Within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as a specific socio-political creation, Jews visualized and manifested their place and loyalty to the ruling House of Karađorđević through the programmatic building of the monument, its solemn unveiling and the clear contextualization of the importance of the battle for unification via an emphasis of their own place in it.

Outside of the socio-political narrative in which the monument was created, its military and heroic aspects, it is a clear manifestation and visualization of Jewish identity because it highlights ideologically the role of the Jews as such, with their own religion, customs and tradition, and different from the majority of people with whom they fought. The affirmation of Jewish identity through the symbolic use of the Magen David on many sections of the monument, through complex allusions

⁴⁵ *Otkrivanje spomenika* 1927 (n. 19), p. 3.

⁴⁶ Bratislava KOSTIĆ, *Novo groblje u Beogradu*, Belgrade 1999, p. 14, compares the topography of military cemeteries and war memorials in the area of the New Cemetery in Belgrade.

⁴⁷ Petar II Petrović Njegoš's proverb: *A brother is dear, no matter to what faith he may adhere.*

⁴⁸ LEBL 2001 (n. 3), p. 285; Beogradski Jevreji na Jedrenu, služili su puku Dunavske divizije drugog poziva, *Politika*, 26. 3. 1933, p. 8.

and the use of the symbolic figures of lions, as well as flaming lamps for the soul, created a permanent commemoration to the deceased. It can be assumed that the notional creator of the monument, architect Samuel Sumbul, was accustomed with the graphic sheets of *Yahrzeit* and that he transferred part of their conception onto the visual and symbolic shaping of the monument, whose inseparable function is also funerary.

The importance of this monument as a place of memory is determined even by secondary details such as the stone benches intended for those who came to stay there for a while, adopting the meaning of mute history, through presence on that very place, a unique sacral space, a place of death and its rituals, but also a space for the heroization of individuals and the glory of war, who established the state itself, building in it their particular Jewish identity shaped by customs, faith and tradition.

Spomenik judovskim vojakom, padlim med letoma 1912 in 1919, na sefardskem pokopališču v Beogradu

Povzetek

Na sefardskem judovskem pokopališču v Beogradu je bil leta 1927 postavljen spomenik judovskim vojakom, ki so sodelovali v balkanskih vojnah in prvi svetovni vojni. S postavljivijo spominskega obeležja je bil izpostavljen prispevek Judov pri ustvarjanju države, v kateri so živeli. V procesu ohranjanja spomina na vojne žrtve in njihovega heroiziranja je bil ustanovljen odbor, ki je poskrbel za zbiranje sredstev in gradiva o padlih osebah, za izkopavanje in prenos njihovih posmrtnih ostankov pa tudi za izdelavo in natis *Spomenice*, ki predstavlja neizogibno dopolnitev in programsko obrazložitev spomeniške celote. Proses, ki je trajal skoraj celo desetletje, se je zaključil s slavnostnim odkritjem spomenika in izidom spremljevalne *Spomenice* leta 1927.

Spomenik iz belega kamna stoji desno od vhoda na judovsko sefarsko pokopališče in je zasnovan kot arhitektonsko-kiparska kompozicija. Monumentalna zamisel arhitekta Samuela Sumbula je bila izvedena v delavnici kamnoseka Josifa Dajča, ki je bil prav tako pripadnik judovske skupnosti in se je skupaj s Sumbulom podpisal na kamnitih stebrih ograje, ki obkroža spomenik. Spomenik je zasnovan v obliki polkrožnega platoja, v središču katerega se dviguje obelisku podobna forma s štirimi stebri in piramidalnim zaključkom. Na vrhu, ki ga krasi srbski grb, stoji dvoglavi orel. Na obeh straneh platoja so polkrožno postavljene kamnite nagrobne plošče z imeni pokopanih vojakov. Celoto flankirata figuri sedečih levov, spomenik pa polkrožno obdaja kamnita ograja s klopni. Ozadje zapira masiven segment trapezoidne oblike, ki ga sestavlja pet plošč. Oba para stranskih plošč nosita vklesana imena padlih vojakov, osrednja pa vsebuje posvetilo padlim junakom. Nad skrajnima ploščama sta postavljeni kamni urni s prižganim plamenom. Sprednji del spomenika je od sprehajalne steze ločen z nizkimi stebrički in bakreno verigo.

Poleg svoje socialnopolitične narativnosti in vojaško-spominskega značaja je spomenik služil za vizualizacijo judovske identitete. Doprinos Judov v vojni je bil junaški in trajen, četudi so bili njihova religija, običaji in tradicija drugačni. Judovsko identitetu uveljavljajo in potrjujejo judovski simboli, kot so Davidova zvezda in figure levov pa tudi svetilke s plamenom za duše, ki tvorijo večen spomin na umrle. Skupaj z uradnimi vojaškimi in državnimi simboli konstituirajo spomeniško celoto.

Spomenik, posvečen spominu na vojaške zasluge Judov, posebne etnične skupine, ki se je v vojaškem smislu nesebično žrtvovala za srbsko državo, je v kontekstu judovske zgodovine v balkanskem prostoru edinstven primer. Z vojaškim sodelovanjem v vojnah za osvoboditev Srbije in v prvi svetovni vojni so se Judje izkazali kot državljeni, ki se v primeru vojne ali druge nadloge znajo postaviti na stran države, v kateri živijo. To jim je prineslo spoštovanje srbske javnosti, pozneje pa je nastala še sintagma o Judih kot Srbih Mojzesove vere. Judje so svojo zvestobo vladarski hiši Karadorđevićev vizualizirali in manifestirali ravno s programsko gradnjo in svečanim odkritjem spomenika, v specifični družbenopolitični tvorbi, kot je bila kraljevina Jugoslavija, pa so tudi jasno postavljeni v kontekst pomembnost borbe za združitev in pri tem poudarjali svojo lastno vlogo v njej.

Two Monuments by Sreten Stojanović

Continuity in Discontinuity

Jasmina Čubrilo

“The competitive society celebrates its heroes, the hierarchy celebrates its patriarchs, and the sect its martyrs.”

Mary Douglas¹

“I was always impressed by the monumentality of our historical figures, our great historical events. This is what I’m trying to say in my own sculptural manner, in the way I know best.”

Sreten Stojanović²

“Continuity in discontinuity. This could be the shortest and most accurate definition of Serbia’s modern history.”

Dubravka Stojanović³

Memorial Culture – or on (Collective) Remembrance, Memory, Forgetting and Historical Knowledge

Memorial culture is inseparably linked to notions such as memory, remembering, collective remembrance, culture of memory, social time and forgetting, and historical knowledge. Remembering and memory differ inasmuch as the memory represents “the actualization of preserved contents”,⁴ while the remembering is a system of storing the contents of the past. It “combines the selective contents of the past into a meaningful order, it establishes a harmony regarding the acceptance and the interpretation of the world; of course, not only through the preservation of certain items, but also through the forgetting of others”.⁵ Collective remembrance is a sum of stories and history, of constructions and facts; it is the functional and tendentious organizing of the past for the maintaining and functioning of the group and not for the establishing of a genuine image of the past. In other words, (collective) remembering, or (collective) forgetting is a product of the strategy

¹ Mary DOUGLAS, *How Institutions Think*, Syracuse 1986, p. 80.

² See Lazar TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Sreten Stojanović*, Beograd 1973, p. 53.

³ Dubravka STOJANOVIĆ, *Politička ubistva i prevrati u Srbiji 1817–2003*, <http://pescanik.net/2013/03/politicka-ubistva-i-prevrati-u-srbiji-1817-2003/> (accessed on 9. 3. 2013).

⁴ Todor KULJIĆ, *Kultura sećanja. Teorijska objašnjenja upotrebe prošlosti*, Beograd 2006, p. 8.

⁵ KULJIĆ 2006 (n. 4), p. 8.

of evaluation in accordance with the interests of a particular social group: the dominant social group (political, intellectual, economic elite) is going to ‘remember’ and ‘institutionalize’ what is useful for its existence, while other, marginalized social groups are going to construct and ‘institutionalize’ their own, alternative versions that most often remember what the first ones tend to forget. What a particular social community will remember and simultaneously forget is closely connected with the following issues: under what conditions and under whose authority something is remembered or forgotten, or, more precisely, who constitutes the community and defines its identity.

Here, on the example of two monuments by the same author, Sreten Stojanović – the monument *King Peter* from 1928, and the monument *The Combat* from 1949, which originated within two distinct politico-historical contexts and within two different ideological frameworks, the dynamics of the culture of memory and the culture of forgetting will be discussed, in other words, the ways in which cultures, regimes and classes transfer knowledge about the past, use it, reorganize it, but also repress, forget and transform it. If the memory, by its transition into cultural remembering, is institutionalized, one might say that by erasing it, one institutionalizes the forgetting. Monuments are instances of official remembering, institutionalization of the memory, a reflection of the hegemonic representation of the past that is imposed by the governing group and, as such, intended for ‘eternal remembrance’.

The sensitive nature of monuments, their dependence on the fluctuating network of social mediators (state, party, media) and in particular their tendency toward historical and political exploitation, has meant that monuments have become objects of disciplining rather than subjects that discipline the memory and stand as material evidence of “continuity in discontinuity”.

Sreten Stojanović (1898–1960)

Sreten Stojanović was born in Prijedor (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austrian-Hungarian condominium) into a patriarchal Serbian family of Orthodox priests from Bosnian Krajina, originating from Nevesinje Field, in which “the profession of the priest was transferred from generation to generation.”⁶ As a secondary-school pupil, he joined the Bosnian youth revolutionary movement, so the Austrian authorities, after the Vidovdan assassination and the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand von Habsburg, sentenced him to ten years in prison, which he served until 1917 when he was drafted into the Austrian army. He soon, however, managed to escape.

Stojanović embarked on his artistic education in Vienna (with the help of Dr Đurica Đorđević) between 1918 and 1919, in the workshops of Franz Zelezny, the master of decorative sculpture and the sculptor Stanislaw Roman Lewandowski. He continued his studies immediately after World War I in Paris, first at Grand Chaumière and then in the atelier of Antoine Bourdelle. After four years of studying and “bohemian romping”,⁷ he returned from Paris to Belgrade where he lived and worked until his death in 1960. In this “stubborn conservative environment, also hostile to sculpture”,⁸ he focused on articulating new tendencies in the art of sculpture, which were radically different, almost entirely contrary to the contemporary trends of dominant academism on the one hand, and the Secession Art of monumental dimensions on the other.

⁶ TRIFUNOVIC 1973 (n. 2), p. 7.

⁷ TRIFUNOVIC 1973 (n. 2), pp. 13–14.

⁸ TRIFUNOVIC 1973 (n. 2), pp. 22–23.

During the autumn of 1927, Stojanović spent one month in the Soviet Union with Vladislav Ribnikar and Dragiša Vasić,⁹ surely a milestone in Stojanović's life, and one he recorded in the book *Impressions from Russia*, published in Belgrade in 1928. Just a few years after World War II, under the new socio-political system, Stojanović submitted to the experience of his Russian visit. Following the notes he recorded at that time, he decided to accept socialist realism as a suitable expression of the understanding of the new era, grounded above all in the political formation of every artist "that would enable him to get accustomed with aspirations of the people", for "to create the true work of art one should feel the spirit of struggle, the spirit of the people".¹⁰

After his arrival in Belgrade in the early 1920s, Stojanović became heavily involved in cultural, artistic and public life. He was one of the founding members of the group Oblik (The Form) which gathered Parisian students, *les modernes*, in 1929, but he left the group soon after because of resentment among its members. In this period (1926–1931) Stojanović began to engage in art criticism and essay writing in the journal *Misao* (The Thought) and in the daily *Politika*. His texts on sculpture were especially significant; he was an astute observer and laid bare the major issues within the field, constantly criticizing academic conservatism, perceptively stating that its rigorous rules "suffocate artistic creativity and destroy young artists".¹¹ He taught at The Higher School of Pedagogy in Belgrade until 1937; however, by the end of this year Stojanović had been appointed professor at the newly founded Academy of Fine Arts (AFA), where he and Toma Rosandić led the Department of Sculpture. During the 1930s, he had individual and group exhibitions, gave lectures at the Kolarac Foundation, wrote for the *Umetnički pregled* (Art Review) and *Umetnost* (The Art) journals, and thus established himself as an authority in art and lay circles. After World War II, Stojanović was among those artists who adopted socialist realism as a new soc-realistic form of artistic expression, believing that it should not base itself on the naturalism that, as he himself said, "threatens to reduce art to non-creativity" but in realism "which contains within itself all the components that constitute an artwork".¹² He was also actively involved in political and public life, considerably influencing the development of artistic life from these positions: he was appointed dean of the AFA and then the first rector of the University of Arts (1957–1958); in 1950, he was elected as a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences (SANU/SASA). He was also intermittently president of the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia (ULUS/AFAS), and for a short period of time he was general secretary of the League of Fine Artists of Serbia. He also held various political positions: among his many functions, he was a member of parliament, a member of the People's Council of the City of Belgrade and president of the People's Front of Belgrade.¹³

In other words, Sreten Stojanović was one of the artists who can be described as a "dynamic and vital figure", from the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and through all the

⁹ This stay occurred a few months before Alfred H. Barr's stay, who began his journey across the Soviet Union on 26 December 1927; see Sybil GORDON KANTOR, *Alfred H. Barr, Jr. and the Intellectual Origins of the Museum of Modern Art*, Cambridge 2002, p. 161. The comparison of Barr's and Stojanović's experience is very provocative – Barr's is systematized as a paradigmatic narrative on modern art, while Stojanović's 'impressions' were informed with respect to solving the problems of figural monumental plastic between varieties of 'cubist sculpture' and approaching socialist realism, between 'modern' form/art and the limits of its narrativity; see Sreten STOJANOVIC, *Impresije iz Rusije*, Beograd 1928.

¹⁰ Sreten STOJANOVIC, *O umetnosti i umetnicima*, Beograd 1952, p. 96.

¹¹ TRIFUNOVIC 1973 (n. 2), p. 35.

¹² STOJANOVIC 1952 (n. 10), pp. 98–99.

¹³ Miodrag B. PROTIĆ, *Sreten Stojanović*, Beograd 1957, p. 7.

subsequent forms of the common state – the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Democratic Federal Yugoslavia and Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. He was an eminent character who was “constantly at the centre not only of our artistic life but also of our public and cultural life in general”.¹⁴ World War II was a turning point for him. Before the war, after the youthful episode with the Young Bosnia movement, he was mainly preoccupied with art, art criticism and essay writing. In the late thirties, he took a break from these activities, participating in a Serbian intelligence initiative that advocated national economic and cultural action,¹⁵ while after the war he made a volte-face and became active in politics.¹⁶

This mapping of some of the key moments of Sreten Stojanović's biography should provide mere background for the discussion on Stojanović as a sculptor of monuments. Generally speaking, there are two approaches in the systematization of Stojanović's oeuvre. According to Lazar Trifunović, which is the most commonly cited approach, Stojanović's oeuvre is divided into three phases in accordance with the “plastic conceptions which in certain stages of development carried his art”: the period of stylization (1919–1928); the period of realism (1929–1944) and the period of romanticism (1945–1960).¹⁷ On the other hand, according to Miodrag B. Protić, Stojanović's opus is “homogenous in its conceptions, uniform in its general emotion, /...,/ rich, nuanced and diverse”, and goes from “small plastic art, ‘tanagra’, and through portrait, bust and relief, to monumental museum sculpture and a public monument of imposing proportions”.¹⁸ Protić singles out Stojanović as the creator of the modern psychological portrait in “the history of our contemporary art”,¹⁹ and infers that this is the reason behind “Stojanović's adherence to contemporary realistic expression”.²⁰ Within monumental plastic art, Protić points to “large museum sculpture” which is “forceful, rustic, turned more towards slow strength and less toward the refinement of the form and the emotion” (*The Slave*); the reliefs which are characterized by linearism, expressivity, but also by the strict, rigid structure of the composition (*The Necklace* and the monument in Grahovo, *The Uprising*); finally, the huge monuments, some of which are characterized by the literary exposition of the motives, pathetic description of the anecdote, a certain rusticity and fullness of form, the Bourdellian, dynamic rhythm of the mass”, while others “represent, in quiet, expansive, solidly built surfaces the aspiration towards impressive, contemporary plastic synthesis” (*Karađorđe*).²¹

¹⁴ PROTIĆ 1957 (n. 13), p. 7.

¹⁵ Stojanović joined the Serbian Cultural Club (SCC), which gathered a large number of intellectuals in order to protect Serbian national interests in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and to achieve Serbian cultural integration and encourage spiritual bonding. SCC was conceived as a place of meeting, discussion, tolerance and constructive controversy, but its activities were influenced by political events, and from mid-1939, it became exclusively political in nature. Sreten Stojanović was a member of the Steering Committee of the SCC; see Ljubodrag DIMITIĆ, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije: 1918–1941.*, 1, Beograd 1996, pp. 506–561.

¹⁶ The large number of obituaries and detailed reports about his funeral in daily newspapers and weekly magazines bear witness to how much he was respected in the field of culture, by the wider public and by the Serbian political establishment; last respects were also paid to him by high-ranking officials of Serbia and Belgrade, and leading members of SAAC, AFAS, and AFA; see O. B, Svečano sahranjeno Sretenu Stojanoviću, *Politika*, 31. 10. 1960, p. 1; Beograd odao poslednju poštu vajaru Srećenu Stojanoviću, *Borba*, 31. 10. 1960, p. 1.

¹⁷ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), pp. 58–63.

¹⁸ PROTIĆ 1957 (n. 13), pp. 7–8.

¹⁹ PROTIĆ 1957 (n. 13), p. 8.

²⁰ PROTIĆ 1957 (n. 13), p. 9.

²¹ PROTIĆ 1957 (n. 13), pp. 9–10.

This view of Stojanović as a worthy master of realistic psychological portrait found in Protić is relatively common. Moreover, one might say that there is an open consensus among critics, art historians and among Stojanović's colleagues as well about his rather impressive achievements in portrait plastic. In contrast, there is less consensus about the success of his monument sculpture, although this opinion is often couched in restrained terms, both implicitly (Miodrag Kolarić, Zoran Pavlović, Milo Milunović, Petar Lubarda, Aleksa Čelebonović), and more rarely, explicitly and critically (Lazar Trifunović).²²

The monuments which will be discussed in the following section are classed as the 'problematic' examples of Stojanović's monument sculpture, either because they do not exist anymore or have left few traces of their existence, or because they are considered as Stojanović's "contribution to the failures of the epoch".²³ What links them even more closely is the patriarchal matrix: intended to celebrate forefathers (patriarchs) and heroes, they reproduce complex configurations of power conditioned by gender division, that is, the ideology which, before all ideologies, informs and confines the world views of a particular social community. Also, these monuments reflect political and national antagonisms, traumatic historical sites and collective remembrance and the systematization of the past through the method of 'continuity in discontinuity'.

The monument *King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels*, Nevesinje, 1928

The monument *King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels*, which was unveiled in Nevesinje in 1928 on the occasion of the anniversary of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising (Nevesinje Gun), is the least documented of Stojanović's monuments. The monument was destroyed at the beginning of the World War II.²⁴ It is rarely mentioned in the literature,²⁵ and Stojanović himself does not discuss this monument in his interviews.²⁶

However, the existing archival photographic material, although scant, is enough to provide an idea of the monument's appearance. Two figures stand on a tall pedestal of rustic appearance in the shape of trimmed stone stairs. The figure representing King Peter, of strikingly virile physiognomy, stands on the very top, with a sharp, focused gaze, and one arm raised "showing the rebel the direction in which the enslaved Serbian lands lie", while the other, right arm, is "placed on the rebel's shoulder as a symbol of Serbia's powerful protection of this robust, rocky land".²⁷ The other figure represents the Herzegovinian rebel, placed one staircase below, also virile in appearance, in rural

²² Radenko MIŠEVIĆ, Skulptura koja budi misao, *Oslobođenje*, 10. 4. 1955, p. 7; Zoran PAVLOVIĆ, Majstor realističkog psihološkog portreta, *Politika*, 7. 4. 1963, p. 17; Miodrag KOLARIĆ, *Komemorativna izložba Sretnen Stojanovića*, Umetnički paviljon na Kalemeđanu, Beograd 1963, p. 3; TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), pp. 50–54.

²³ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), p. 51.

²⁴ The testimonies of people from Nevesinje are different: according to the recollection of some (http://www.politika.rs/index.php?lid=lt&show=rubrike&part=list_reviews&int_itemID=101024, accessed on 1. 3. 2013) the monument was destroyed by members of Croatian Ustasha Movement in 1941 (after the occupation of Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1941, according to the agreement, Herzegovina belonged to the Independent State of Croatia), while others (Prof Dr Zdravko Munišić) point out that it was the Italian army which disassembled the monument from its pedestal and had it melted down.

²⁵ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), p. 50.

²⁶ Otvaranje izložbe g.g. Stojanovića i Tartalje, *Politika*, 7. 3. 1929, p. 5.

²⁷ Slavko HADŽIĆ, Velike svečanosti u Nevesinju, *Politika*, 29. 8. 1928, p. 5.



1. Sreten Stojanović: King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels, 1928, Nevesinje

national dress, with the yataghan at his belt, a gun in one hand, and the other hand raised upwards as a sign of readiness and an invitation to others to begin an uprising.²⁸ In a formal sense, this monument belongs to those sculptures that heralded the leaving behind the era of one set of formal sculptural problems and the entering of another. As Stojanović himself said regarding the sculptures exhibited the following year, 1929, “it is a matter of searching”²⁹ So, this monument is characterized by archaism and stylization; the sculptural masses are modelled following Bourdelle’s rudimentary masses and those produced by assembling cubes, spheres and cylinders, from his early Parisian days. There are two general impressions: the first is that Stojanović created this sculpture according to the belief that the vitality of modern art lies within its adopting and emulating of the so-called primitive forms; according to Stojanović, his Parisian teacher had formulated it in the following way: “I like that I see the highlander in you, I like that there is something of a savageness in your work, preserve that as something very precious”³⁰ The second is that the problems of monumental form, grounded in architectonics and the position of the masses which he began to deal with here, one might say under the influence of those examples of Soviet sculpture from the 1920s that would form part of the articulation of socialist realism, and about which he would write after returning from the

²⁸ HADŽIĆ 1928 (n. 27), p. 5, the speech delivered at the anniversary celebration of Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising: “And I tell you, just as God keeps the unity of human person in its relation to eternity, so this glorious figure of the brave king keeps the unity of the people in front of countless paths, of which the only one leads it to true happiness, and thus it is understandable that only on this one path can people endure all sacrifices, and give their lives.”

²⁹ *Otvoranje izložbe* 1929 (n. 26), p. 5.

³⁰ Katarina ADANJA, Isklesana poema, *Komunist*, 7. 5. 1973, p. 14.

Soviet Union,³¹ would finally be resolved, some thirty years later, in his work on the monument of Karadorđe.³²

There are various aspects of the memorialization of events that are crucial in the process of creating the identity of a particular community, as they shape the ambience within which it is possible to realize the desired identitarian construct. Stojanović's monument *King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels* reflects the complex network of intertwined historical events and myths.

Chronologically, this series begins with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising (1875–1878) against the Ottoman authorities and from the desire of the Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina to unite with Montenegro and Serbia. The uprising was supported in arms and volunteers by Montenegro and the (vassal) Duchy of Serbia, which led to the Serbian-Turkish war and the emergence of the so-called Great Eastern Crisis. The outcomes of the uprising were, firstly, the Treaty of San Stefano (1878), according to which Bosnia and Herzegovina gained autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, and then the Berlin Congress (1878), where, among other things, the decision regarding the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina was altered. Austria-Hungary gained the right to occupy this region for an indefinite period of time, although it *de iure* remained the part of the Ottoman Empire. Then the series continues with the events at the beginning of the 20th century linked to the outbreak of the World War I, as well as with one of its geopolitical outcomes, the creation of the common state of South Slavs – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, on the 1st December 1918, which was declared by Alexander I on behalf of his father Peter I Karađorđević. As a contribution to 'official' history, we should add a fact that links these two temporally distanced events: Peter Karađorđević, the grandson of Karađorđe, the leader of the First Serbian Uprising (1804), and a member of the family that did not hold power in Serbia at the time of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising, took part for some time in the uprising under the name of Peter Mrkonjić. The Nevesinje Gun Uprising and the

³¹ See STOJANOVIĆ 1928 (n. 9), pp. 5–18.

³² The monument *Karađorđe* was conceived in clay, cast in bronze, and during the autumn of 1955, exhibited in Titograd at the exhibition of post-war development of Montenegro (in the premises of the Economic School); it was unpacked and placed as a decoration in the school's lobby. After the exhibition, the monument, waiting for Stojanović and city authorities to agree on the location, because he didn't agree with the park in front of the Post Office, ended up in the basement of the city-hall building in Titograd. In the meantime Stojanović died; in 1965 there were articles written in newspapers about „the art work of the sculptor Sreten Stojanović (which is) buried in the basement for years”; finally, in 1968, the monument was placed at the spot where it stands still today, in the (Karađorđe) park across from the hotel ‘Montenegro’; see Spomenik Karađorđu, *Borba*, 28. 1. 1956, p. 4; Sreten PEROVIĆ, Jevrem BRKOVIĆ, Vajar Sreten Stojanović radi za Titograd ‘Njegoša’ i ‘Karađordža’, *Pobjeda*, 17. 4. 1955, p. 6; ‘Karađorđe’ Sretena Stojanovića, *Politika*, 27. 2. 1955, p. 8; D. PETROVIĆ, Karađorđe u budžaku, *Večernje novosti*, 23. 12. 1965, p. 7; D. PETROVIĆ, Vajar umro – spomenik zaboravljen, *Večernje novosti*, 24. 12. 1965, p. 6. – The second casting was made in 1959, but it was stored in the foundry for two decades only for the monument to be unveiled by the mayor of Belgrade Živorad Kovačević at Vračar plateau in front of the National Library on the occasion of the 175th Anniversary of the First Serbian Uprising. The news about the erection of the monument (and the celebration of the anniversary) made headlines in the daily papers throughout Yugoslavia, and according to these articles it seems that the Kalemegdan Park was also considered as a site for the monument until the last moment; see R. St., Spomenik Karađorđu 12. decembra, *Večernje novosti*, 1. 11. 1979, p. 7; R. STRANKOVIĆ, Karađorđe na Kalemegdanu, *Večernje novosti*, 6. 12. 1979, p. 5; T. N., Sloboda u borbi iskovana, *Ekspres nedeljna revija*, 8. 12. 1979, p. 10; Na Vračaru otkriven spomenik Karađorđu, *Dnevnik*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 7; Otkriven spomenik na Karagorge, *Večer*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 6; Otkriven spomenik Karađorđu, *Pobjeda*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 5; Otkriven spomenik Karađorđu, *Vjesnik*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 8 (Tito's letter to the Anniversary Committee and to the participants of the Solemn Meeting on the occasion of 175. anniversary of the First Serbian Uprising, in which Tito apologizes for not being able to attend this event and speaks occasionally about the revolutionary spirit); Otkriven spomenik Karađorđu Petroviću, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 4; Otkriven spomenik Karađorđu, *Glas Slavonije*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 6.

King, through his involvement, national origin and religious affiliation, clearly belong to the Serbian Orthodox population, in which values such as bravery, courage, sacrifice and death were given priority over other, more modern, more emancipative values. The Serbian uprisings of the 19th century as well as the most recent wars in the early 20th were perceived and explained from the perspective of the tradition of glorifying the war, which was linked to the history of the Serbian Middle Ages, and almost entirely reduced to the St. Sava myth and the Kosovo legend. This tradition has allowed the people belonging to this culture to make sense of their experience; it has represented relevant knowledge about the past, or even the unquestionable truth. According to Ljubodrag Dimić, this tradition was at the heart of their survival: organizing the past through symbols shaped the national consciousness and regulated the mechanisms of understanding and responding to the world. Its abandonment was followed by the constant fear of everything new, the unknown, everything from the outside, which resulted in gradual, barely visible changes in daily life.³³ The discourse of epic tradition certainly had a strong influence on Sreten Stojanović, as can be seen both explicitly in his later statements and interviews, and implicitly in the narrativization of biographical data by the scholars and interpreters of his work.

Therefore, there are two key questions that can be posed regarding this monument: firstly, which narrative (narratives) it memorializes by referring to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising, and secondly, what identitarian construction does it produce? The monument was placed in a town which, geographically and administratively, belonged to Bosnia and Herzegovina, a region with a nationally mixed population, and which simultaneously left behind the war and entered a new state, that is, a new geopolitical and economic space. One of the first moves undertaken after entering the new state was the process of changing the names of cities' internal structure, the network of streets and squares, bridges and public buildings; this symbolic act meant breaking off ties with the old Monarchy, the Austrian and Hungarian historical tradition, while it also meant the new patriotism, that is, loyalty was expressed and affirmed regarding the new state and the new Monarchy, and the connection with its tradition was established. One particularly important and popular method of expressing loyalty to the Karadorđević dynasty was the trend for erecting monuments to King Peter I (also known as the Liberator and the Unifier), in every town of Bosnia and Herzegovina; it was initiated by a committee in Sarajevo in 1922, the head of which was Šćepan Grđić. This initiative was widely implemented and involved large-scale financing, to be taken from the budgets



2. Sreten Stojanović: King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels, 1928, Nevesinje

³³ DIMIĆ 1996 (n. 15), p. 78.

of every municipality in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the next five years. In time, however, the initiative became rather more modest and entailed, for example, the naming the memorial-schools and squares.³⁴ At any rate, although city authorities were not uniform in every particular instance, they nevertheless began the process of constructing a collective identity, even before the official suggestions which would later become the formal policy of integral Yugoslavism.³⁵

From that point of view, the monument *King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels* only partially fits into a given pattern. It is certainly a monument that memorializes King Peter I and the Karađorđević dynasty, but the reason behind its erection, the anniversary of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising (Nevesinje Gun), distances this monument from other post-war manifestations of loyalty to the new Monarchy and, indirectly, from celebrating the new state and constructing a new (Yugoslavian) identity; in this sense, it reflects all the perplexities and antagonism of the time in which it was made. The territory of the new state crossed geographical and ethnic borders, including people who were close to each other but at the same time divided by religion and faith, life experience, language and scripts, habits, customs, and economic opportunities. The ideology of integral Yugoslavism, which denied the ethnic specificity of the South Slavs and regarded the cultural and historical diversity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as irrelevant, arbitrary and imposed by historical development, provided an idealized matrix of reality and also shaped the process of constructing a Yugoslav identity that started before World War I.

Therefore, the creation and erection of the monument *King Peter I and Herzegovinian Rebels* can be interpreted perhaps as an echo of the post-war euphoria of city councils regarding the expression of loyalty to the dynasty, and certainly as a manifestation of continuity regarding the inheritance of the Serbian people, of accepting and belonging to the Serbian collective identity. Three very important dates in the history of the Serbian nation are (inter)connected with the figure of King Peter I: the first is 1804 – the formation of the princely lineage and the First Serbian Uprising; the second is 1875–1878 and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising; the last one is 1918 and the creation of the Kingdom of SHS, thanks to which the aspirations of the Bosnian Serbs to unite with the fatherland were achieved. From this perspective, designations like the Unifier and the Liberator, with which King Peter I was glorified, might refer to the perception of the efforts and the politics of this king not as the unifier of South Slavs, but as the unifier or the liberator of the Serbian people, so this monument could also be dedicated to the memorialization of this king. All of this took place one year before his son Alexander, who had already become king, established the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929), hoping, among other things, to resolve the problem of national antagonisms (which is reflected also by this monument), through the construction of a political fiction about Yugoslav monolithism, about the unity of the people and the state.

The monument *King Peter I and Herzegovinian Rebels* reflects all the perplexities and antagonisms of the time in which it was made. Therefore, its creation and erection can also be interpreted perhaps as a reflection of the post-war euphoria of city councils regarding the expression of loyalty to the dynasty, but also as a manifestation of continuity regarding the heritage of the Serbian people, of accepting and belonging to the Serbian collective identity.

³⁴ Seka BRKLJAČA, Neke karakteristike integracijskih procesa Bosne i Hercegovine u novu državu, Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca/Jugoslaviju, *Historijska traganja*, 3, 2009, http://www.iis.unsa.ba/izdavacka_djelatnost/periodika/historijska_traganja/historijska_traganja_3.pdf, p. 146.

³⁵ BRKLJAČA 2009 (n. 34), p. 144.

The Combat, 1949, Belgrade

While the delight felt by its author during his journey to the Soviet Union two years earlier (1927) is hardly discernible in the previous monument, in this one, which was placed in front of the Voždovac municipality building in 1949, it is ‘recycled’, complemented with new ideological insights, determinations and experience, and fully integrated. During his stay in the Soviet Union in 1927, Stojanović in fact witnessed the turn towards socialist realism. As Boris Groys puts it, this turn was performed for the popular masses by well-educated and experienced members of the elite who had experienced the avant-garde and turned to socialist realism by the immanent logic of the development of the avant-garde movement itself, which had nothing in common whatsoever with the actual tastes and demands of the masses.³⁶ On the one hand, Stojanović’s ideas about Russia were produced by his upbringing; in other words, that orthodox Russia is something that belongs to his people, only that it is “more beautiful, bigger, more orthodox, closer to God and stronger than everything Turkish or German”.³⁷ On the other hand, his ideas were shaped by the Belgrade press of the 1920s and the experience of Russian immigrants in Belgrade.³⁸ The Soviet Union, dynamic, complex, in turmoil, did not quite match the discursive formations and strategies that structured Stojanović’s ideas about Russia and the Soviet Union. In such a Soviet Union, Stojanović, from the position of a middle-class intellectual, in principle felt strange regarding the clear lack of difference between the intelligentsia and other classes.³⁹ As Bourdelle’s (Parisian) student, it was difficult for him to identify himself with the radical, avant-garde wing, just as realism became acceptable for him, (through his conversations with his hosts), when he perceived a relation in it between the form and the content that interested him, that is, the priority of ‘artistic problems’ over ‘reality’.⁴⁰ As a sculptor with an uncertain existence, dependent on clients and their orders, Stojanović would enthusiastically write in his *Impressions* about the efforts of the state to provide the necessary conditions and means for the work of artists.⁴¹ Finally, some twenty years later, this concept of ‘the realistic’, which his hosts, mostly artists from AHRR, were articulating in those years, through, as Andrei Zdhanov shall explain later, “critical assimilation of the cultural heritage of all nations and all times” in order to choose all that could “inspire the working people of Soviet society to great exploits in labour, science and culture”,⁴² would be adopted and developed by Stojanović. He would do this as an artist and a political activist but with constant reservations and always underlining the difference between “the realists–creators” who “give the spirit of the things, the truth” on the one hand, and “naturalists–non-artists” or “speculators”, who “repeat the seen, raw detail”, on the other.⁴³

Socialist realism in the Soviet Union emerges as an aesthetic-political turn performed by Stalin, and thus “the triumph of the avant-garde project in the early 1930s should have coincided with the

³⁶ Boris GROYS, *The Total Art of Stalinism*, New Jersey 1992, p. 9.

³⁷ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), p. 7.

³⁸ On presence, activities and influences of Russian immigrants see Ljubodrag DIMIĆ, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije: 1918–1941.*, 3, Beograd 1997, pp. 135–185.

³⁹ STOJANOVIĆ 1928 (n. 9), p. 58.

⁴⁰ STOJANOVIĆ 1928 (n. 9), pp. 5–11.

⁴¹ STOJANOVIĆ 1928 (n. 9), pp. 11–18.

⁴² See quotation in: GROYS 1992 (n. 36), p. 40.

⁴³ STOJANOVIĆ 1952 (n. 10), pp. 98–99.



3. Sreten Stojanović: *The Combat*, 1949, Beograd

final defeat of the avant-garde as an established artistic movement".⁴⁴ From that moment, the most important task of art becomes the glorification of the leader and propagandistic support for his politics. On the other hand, socialist realism in Serbia/Yugoslavia settled accounts with modernism's inheritance as the widest unifying factor of Western artistic tradition of the 20th century and avant-garde and/or modern developments in Serbian art between the two World Wars,⁴⁵ that is, with those artistic expressions which were representative of bourgeois taste and value systems. Here, too, art was used as a direct ideological tool, and the norms of socialist realism were established the way they had been in the Soviet Union: through programmatic speeches at congresses and plenums of art associations and by means of directive articles in journals and magazines, as well as through critiques of art production and theoretical texts by party ideologists, in which works of particular authors were attacked or praised, and which clearly defined the demarcation line between what is affirmed and what is rejected;⁴⁶ Stojanović himself had contributed considerably to this textual practice of socialist realism.

In Serbia/Yugoslavia, immediately after the end of World War II, as the first symbol of the new socialist community resulting from the four-year conflict that contained elements of civil war, social struggle and ideological revolution, the figure of the soldier was promoted; at first it was not the image of a member of the Yugoslav resistance movement but the image of the Red Army soldier.⁴⁷ However, this image would soon be replaced with the image of "the partisan martyrdom which became the guarantee of the blooming of the new socialist community"⁴⁸ and with the image of male and female workers, affirming the ideas of socialist revolution and the triumph of the dictatorship over the proletariat.

⁴⁴ GROYS 1992 (n. 36), p. 35.

⁴⁵ Lidija MERENIK, *Umetnost i vlast. Srpsko slikarstvo 1945–1968*, Beograd 2010, pp. 46–50.

⁴⁶ Goran MILORADOVIĆ, *Lepota pod nadzorom. Sovjetski kulturni uticaji u Jugoslaviji 1945–1955*, Beograd 2012, pp. 144–145.

⁴⁷ Olga MANOLOVIĆ-PINTAR, Uprostoravanje ideologije. Spomenici Drugoga svetskog rata i kreiranje kollektivnih identiteta, *Dijalog povjesničara/istoričara*, 10/1, Zagreb 2008, p. 290; see <http://www.scribd.com/doc/43276146/Uprostoravanje-ideologije> (accessed on 1. 3. 2013).

⁴⁸ MANOLOVIĆ-PINTAR 2008 (n. 47), p. 297.

Stojanović's monument *The Combat*, still 'active', even today, at the site on which it was placed in 1949, belongs to the category of monuments that most consistently realised the four universal principles which artists, according to the theory of social realism, had to hold on to: class-mindedness (expressing class interests), party-mindedness (expressing loyalty to Party positions), ideology-mindedness (use of themes connected with concrete and actual issues), and people-mindedness (accessibility to wider audience and reflection of its problems, its interests).⁴⁹ This monument is coupled with the monument *The Renewal* by Lojze Dolinar (1893–1970), unveiled in the same year, 1949, which has war and rebuilding as a theme, but also reflects the concept of a Yugoslavia which now stands as a community founded not on national but on class (proletarian) identity. Both *The Combat* and *The Renewal* show no interest in style research or 'sculptural problems'; these are monuments of large dimensions, of wide dramatic gestures, emphasized literariness and ideology-mindedness, actually expressing the demands of the moment in which they originated.

The monument *The Combat* has never been the focus of art criticism and the history of art; it has always remained in the shadow of Stojanović's 1951 monument to fallen fighters (*The Freedom*) on Iriški venac (Fruška Gora mountain), an eclectic revision of the concept of Augustinčić's *Thanks giving monument to Red Army* in Batinska Skela on the Danube (1945–1947) and Stojanović's competition bid for the monument dedicated to the First Serbian Uprising in Kragujevac from the 1930s. While others keep silent, Trifunović calls it Stojanović's contribution to failures of the epoch, but Lidija Merenik appropriately singles it out, along with a few other monuments, as an example proving that the sculpture, "the only worthy investment in the culture of this period", represented "the most suggestive medium of the embodiment of ideology of socialist realism and the concept of art and authority within post-war Yugoslavia", and that as such it was "closest to the emphasized Soviet ideal".⁵⁰

The monument consists of female and male figures captured in a dynamic movement: the female figure appears very manly, dressed like a woman of the people, with a kerchief on her head and a gun in her hands, her left leg stepping forward; the male figure, with its right arm raised and hand clenched in a fist, is in the pose of a leader, its right leg also stepping forward in line with the left leg of the female figure. He is also dressed as a man of the people, more like a worker than a peasant, with an unbuttoned shirt and uncovered (vulnerable) chest, with a gun in his lowered left arm. The combination of the male and the female figure was very common in socialist realism, and the way Stojanović used it was derived from the famous monument *The Worker and the Kolkhoz Woman* (1937) by Vera Mukhina. However, in contrast to Mukhina's group, which is stylized in accordance with the idealization of type and formulation, it is only the clothing that suggests the gender difference, while the accessories – the hammer and sickle – become attributes not only of actual work but also the allegorical 'transcript', the representation of the ideological symbolic capital of the Soviet Union. Stojanović refers to "the people itself, in life, in combat", to "the poor peasant" who "unselfishly gives everything".⁵¹ In this sense, Stojanović's sculpture, while maintaining the symmetry in the disposition of the levels, fostering balanced relations between the masses, is more descriptive, and this descriptivity is integrated into the descriptivity ("realisticness") of the form. That is why this monument is a true example of translating one paradigm into the demands and

⁴⁹ Toby CLARK, *Art and Propaganda*, London 1997, p. 87.

⁵⁰ MERENIK 2010 (n. 45), pp. 28–29.

⁵¹ STOJANOVIĆ 1952 (n. 10), p. 98.

tastes of the local context (precisely at the moment this paradigm is declaratively abandoned on an official level); a procedure so similar to the one in which Stojanović, as a young sculptor arriving from Paris, found a way to transpose the center's emancipated taste, to render it possible in the local, conservative tastes of the margins.

During and after the war, the reorganization of gender roles took place, and this reorganization led to equality of the sexes. The idea of the emancipation of women is one of the key ideas within the socialist-communist comprehension of the world. Katherine Verdery has, while studying socialism in Romania, come to a conclusion that can also be applied to other socialist countries: the reason for this reorganization rests in the fact that the endeavours of these regimes to carry out ambitious programs of industrialization were founded on huge labour investments and small capital investments.⁵² In order to realize these programs all available labour power was required, regardless of sex.⁵³ *Mutatis mutandis*, the success of the Yugoslav resistance movement, and thus of the revolution, also rested on and was dependent on mass labour; here too gender divisions also became redundant. Gender equality, proclaimed after the war, affirmed by the Constitution and the Civil Code, gave control over every aspect of their lives to women on the one hand, while on the other, actual relations between men and women barely changed and were still governed by the norms that resulted from the pastiche, as Predrag Marković put it, of "revolutionary puritanism and traditional patriarchal morality", which defined female identity only *via* male one.⁵⁴ In this sense, the monument *The Combat*, leaving the woman in the shadow of the raised male fist and patriarchal belligerent values, unconsciously reproduces this matrix (in contrast to Mukhina's group *The Worker and the Kolkhoz Woman*).

Conclusion

The *King Peter* (1928) and *The Combat* (1949) monuments by Sreten Stojanović institutionalize "the understanding of the wars as creative acts"⁵⁵ in which state communities emerged: first the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and then also post-war Yugoslavia, whose fighters were in the first place glorified (even deified) by these monuments, thus legitimizing the new social elites and governing regimes and, consequently, constructing the systems of collective remembering/forgetting that suited them. In the case of the first monument (*King Peter*), the leader is visible and celebrated in a specific role: as a rebel who at the moment of the memorialized historical event is the only one with the political potential to lead, but also as the leader that he will, by concurrence of circumstances, actually later become. In the case of the second monument (*The Combat*), the leader is, in a somewhat Foucauldian manner, invisible and yet present. Furthermore, in the case of the *King Peter* (1928) monument, there is an entirely nationally ambivalent symbolical representation of the people next to the leader. On the one hand, based on the event which the monument refers to and partly on their clothing, 'the people' can be identified as Serbs, while on the other, the processes of constructing a Yugoslav identity prevalent when the monument appeared has the potential to redirect the interpretation of this image

⁵² Katherine VERDERY, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?*, Princeton 1996, p. 64.

⁵³ VERDERY 1996 (n. 52), p. 64.

⁵⁴ Predrag MARKOVIĆ, *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada, 1948–1965*, Beograd 1996, p. 502.

⁵⁵ MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR 2008 (n. 47), p. 288.

as a representation of Yugoslavism. In the case of *The Combat* (1949), this representation of national identity (albeit ambivalent) was withdrawn in favor of a presentation of class identity, almost in the same manner in which the change of Stojanović's identity from (recently formed) bourgeois and clearly defined Serbian to Yugoslav revolutionary identity took place. There is no specific event in the available biographical data that could be interpreted as directly leading to this transformation – it was rather the sum of events,⁵⁶ as well as the political and cultural context of the time in which values such as heroism, courage, sacrifice and death were intertwined and affirmed. These were the same values on which both patriarchal and epic discourse and revolutionary discourse were founded. The topos of Russia, whose socialist reality 'repackaged' some of the deeply respected values on which Orthodox Russia was based should also be added to this line of 'continuity in discontinuity', which structured both Stojanović's *Weltanschauung* and his work. Both monuments celebrated the warrior's past, but both monuments also reflect the problem of harmonising state and national identities in both Yugoslavias as well, thus mapping out the continuity of the national issue (as a series of approaches to its resolution) and patriarchal matrixes in political, social, economic and cultural discontinuity, that is, ultimately, the continuity of control over the definition of the individual's position within these two states.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ One of the important events certainly was the execution of Stojanović's older brother, Dr Mladen Stojanović (1896–1942), the pre-war communist, partisan commander and national hero, whose cult was honored at Bosnia and whose monument was created by Sreten Stojanović, and installed in 1952 in front of the Municipal Assembly in their hometown of Prijedor. The monument is still standing on that spot, preserved and respected by the citizens of Prijedor; see *Sjećanje na Mladena Stojanovića*, *Nezavisne novine*, 1. 4. 2013, <http://www.nezavisne.com/novosti/gradovi/Sjecanje-na-Mladena-Stojanovica-186425.html> (accessed on 5. 4. 2013).

⁵⁷ This paper (translated by Dušan Đorđević Mileusnić) is a part of the project *Serbian Art of the 20th Century: National and European* funded by the Ministry of the Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

Dva spomenika Sretnen Stojanovića

Kontinuiteta v diskontinuiteti

Povzetek

Prispevek na primeru dveh spomenikov (spomenik kralju Petru I. Osvoboditelju in hercegovskim vstajnikom iz leta 1928 in spomenik Borba iz 1949) obravnava dinamiko spominjanja in pozabljanja oziroma načine, s katerimi kulture, režimi in razredi prenašajo znanje o preteklosti, ga uporabljajo in preurejajo pa tudi zatirajo, pozabljamajo in preoblikujejo. Oba sta deli istega avtorja, Sretnen Stojanovića, nastala pa sta v dveh politično-zgodovinskih kontekstih in v dveh različnih ideoloških okvirih. Če gre pri prehodu spomina v kulturno pomnjenje za institucionalizacijo spomina, potem bi lahko rekli, da gre pri brisanju spomina za institucionalizacijo pozabe. Spomeniki so primeri uradnega pomnjenja, institucionalizacije spomina, odraz hegemonistične predstave o preteklosti, ki jo vsiljuje vladajoča skupina, in kot takšni predstavljajo »večne pomnike«. Toda ravno zaradi svoje občutljivosti in odvisnosti od spremenljive narave mreže družbenih mediatorjev (država, stranka, mediji) in še posebej zaradi svoje nagnjenosti k politični izrabi zgodovine spomeniki pogosto postanejo objekti discipliniranja spomina, materialni dokaz »kontinuitete v diskontinuiteti«, namesto da bi bili sami neka vrsta subjekta, ki disciplinira spomin.

Sreten Stojanović se je rodil v Prijedoru (Bosna in Hercegovina, Avstro-Ogrski kondominij). Za kiparja se je šolal najprej na Dunaju, takoj po koncu prve svetovne vojne pa v Parizu. V začetku dvajsetih let 20. stoletja se je vrnil v Beograd. Njegovo kiparsko delo je bilo usmerjeno k formulirанию novih smeri, ki so bile drugače ali nasprotno orientirane od takratnega dominantnega akademizma na eni strani in secesijske skulpture monumentalnih dimenzij na drugi. V času med obema vojnoma je igral pomembno vlogo v umetniškem, kulturnem in javnem življenju, po koncu druge vojne pa je aktivno sodeloval v političnem življenju socialistične Jugoslavije.

Obravnavana spomenika predstavlјata »problematična« primera Stojanovićeve spomeniške plastike. Spomenik kralju Petru I. Osvoboditelju in hercegovskim vstajnikom je »težaven«, ker ne obstaja več in je o njegovem obstoju ohranjenih malo sledov, spomenik Borba pa zato, ker je bil doslej v zgodovinopisuje obravnavan kot Stojanovićev doprinos k neuspehom socialističnega realizma.

Spomenik kralju Petru I. Osvoboditelju in hercegovskim vstajnikom je bil postavljen v mestu Nevesinje, ki je geografsko in administrativno pripadalo Bosni in Hercegovini; gre za nacionalno mešano območje, ki je po vojni postal del nove državne tvorbe oziroma novega geografsko-političnega in gospodarskega prostora. Spomenik je posvečen spominu na kralja Petra I. in monarhijo Karađorđevićev, toda povod za njegovo postavitev, proslava obletnice bosenko-hercegovske vstaje, imenovane Nevesinjska puška (1875–1878), ga loči od drugih povojskih, bolj ali manj ambicioznih manifestacij zvestobe novi monarhiji na prostoru Bosne in Hercegovine, ki so obenem slavile nastanek nove države in nove (jugoslovanske) identitete. Kralj je predstavljen v specifični vlogi: kot vstajnik, ki ima v zgodovinskem trenutku, na katerega spomenik ohranja spomin, zgorj politično možnost, da postane vodja, hkrati pa tudi kot vodja, kar bo, zahvaljujoč spletu okoliščin, pozneje tudi dejansko postal. Poleg vodje/kralja je simbolično in nacionalno ambivalentno upodobljen njegov narod; dogodek, na katerega se nanaša spomenik, delno pa tudi oblačila, ta narod označujejo za srbskega, medtem ko ga kontekst konstruiranja jugoslovanske identitete preusmerja k reprezentaciji jugoslovanstva. Velja si zastaviti vprašanje, kako je treba razumeti naziva Zedinitelj in Osvoboditelj, s katerima so poveličevali Petra I. Ali je bil s svojimi naporji in političko res razumljen kot kralj, ki je združil južne Slovane in tako uvedel integralno jugoslovanstvo; to je za uradno ideologijo proglašil njegov sin kralj Aleksander s svojim manifestom leta 1929, ali je bil Peter I. razumljen predvsem kot kralj, ki je združil in osvobodil srbski narod.

Spomenik *Borba* (1949) stoji pred stavbo skupščine občine Voždovac v Beogradu. Navdušenje, ki je avtorja prevzelo med potovanjem po Sovjetski zvezi leta 1927 in ki je v spomeniku iz leta 1928 komajda nakazano, je kipar v tem spomeniku »recikliral«, dopolnil z novimi (ideološkimi) vpogledi, opredelitvami in izkušnjami ter z svojo močjo integriral. Stojanović je bil med bivanjem v Sovjetski zvezi priča obratu k socialističnemu realizmu in k tem izkušnjam se je vrnil po letu 1945, strastno jih zagovarjajoč tako v svojem pisanju kot tudi kiparskem delu. V spomeniku kralju Petru I. je reprezentacijo nacionalnega (četudi ambivalentnega) transformiral v reprezentacijo razredne identitete. Tej spremembi je vzporedna transformacija Stojanovićeve identitete, ki se je neposredno oblikovala kot meščanska in več kot naklonjena narodu, iz katerega je izhaja, postala pa je jugoslovansko revolucionarna. V dostopnih bibliografskih podatkih ni bilo moč najti konkretnega dogodka, ki bi ga lahko označili za tistega, ki je neposredno vplival na to transformacijo. Gre bolj za skupek dogodkov ter za politični in kulturni kontekst trenutka, v katerem so se prepletale in uveljavljale vrednote herojstva, poguma, žrtvovanja in smrti, ki so bile temelj tako patriarhalnega in epskega diskurza na eni strani kot tudi revolucionarnega na drugi. V seznam »kontinuitet v diskontinuiteti«, ki so strukturirale Stojanovićev svetovni nazor pa tudi njegovo delo, velja dodati tudi »topos« Rusije, tiste pravoslavne, ki se jo je učil spoštovati od zgodnjega otroštva naprej, in tiste socialistične, ki jo je pozneje (z navdušenjem) sprejel. To je v veliki meri omogočilo dejstvo, da je v realnosti nove države prepoznal nekatere vrednote patriarhalne in pravoslavne Rusije »v novi embalaži«.

Oba spomenika institucionalizirata koncept vojne kot ustvarjalnega dejanja, v katerem so nastajale državne skupnosti, najprej Kraljevina Jugoslavije in nato povojna Jugoslavija. Upodobljene vstajnike/bujevnike so takšni spomeniki slavili (celo po božje častili) in tako legitimizirali nove družbene elite in vladajoče režime ter posledično konstruirali sisteme kolektivnega spomina/pozabe, ki so tem elitam in režimom ustrezali. Povezuje jih patriarhalna matrica: namenjeni so slavljenju praočetov in herojev in tako reproducirajo zapletene konfiguracije oblasti, ki jo pogojuje diferenciacija po rodu, oziroma predstavljajo ideologijo, ki oblikuje in omejuje svetovni nazor posamezne družbene skupnosti. Spomeniki nadalje odražajo politične in nacionalne antagonizme, travmatične kraje zgodovine in kolektivnega spomina ter sistematizacijo preteklosti s pomočjo metode »kontinuitete v diskontinuiteti«. Z drugimi besedami: poleg dejstva, da sta oba obravnavana spomenika, ki sta nastala v različnih družbenopolitičnih sistemih, ohranjala spomin na vojaško preteklost, ju povezuje tudi dejstvo, da oba postavljata kontinuiteto nacionalnih in patriarhalnih matric na zemljevid politične, družbene, gospodarske in kulturne diskontinuitete ter tako odražata problem usklajevanja državne in nacionalne identitete v obeh Jugoslavijah.

Men on Horseback

Role and Reception of the Equestrian Monument in Slovenia

Renata Komić Marn

The equestrian monument is a special form of public monument, which represents a rider mounted on a horse. As an efficient medium for glorifying a deserving individual, as well as propagating a state or a nation, it typically represents rulers and military commanders.¹ General Rudolf Maister (1874–1934) is the only Slovene to have been visualised in such a monumental way and the two monuments of him, erected about fifteen years ago in Ljubljana, are the only extant examples of equestrian statues in Slovenia. Prior to that, two royal equestrian monuments were raised in Ljubljana, representing the most important members of the Karađorđević dynasty, Peter I of Serbia (1844–1921) and Alexander I of Yugoslavia (1888–1934), but were destroyed in 1941.

The four equestrian monuments that were erected in Slovenia² have been barely discussed in scientific literature. The circumstances regarding the origin and erection of both royal monuments were, among other public monuments in Slovenia, described by Špelca Čopič in her doctoral dissertation of 1977, published in 2000.³ Together with the idea of an equestrian statue for the monument of general Maister,⁴ interest in the two demolished royal monuments was also raised. The subject was often presented by Božidar Jezernik⁵ and this interest was echoed sporadically in the Slovene daily press and periodicals, and at least once in Serbian literature.⁶ The equestrian monuments of Rudolf Maister and the circumstances regarding their erection have been discussed in the daily press and described in two diploma theses.⁷ In addition to other representations of Rudolf Maister, they were also treated in a paper by Marjeta Ciglenečki.⁸

¹ Reiterstandbild, *Lexikon der Kunst*, 6, München 1996, p. 96.

² Based on some rare findings, it can be supposed that the Romans raised the equestrian monuments on the Slovene territory, too; see Irena LAZAR, Celejski forum in njegov okras, *Annales. Analiza istrske in mediteranske študije. Series historia et sociologia*, 18/2, 2008, p. 352.

³ Špelca ČOPIČ, *Javni spomeniki v slovenskem kiparstvu prve polovice 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1977 (unpublished doctoral thesis); Špelca ČOPIČ, *Javni spomeniki v slovenskem kiparstvu prve polovice 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 2000.

⁴ The call for tenders was published in 1997; see *Delo*, 39/224, 27. 9. 1997, p. 26.

⁵ Božidar JEZERNIK, Spomeniki v vetrju sprememb, *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva*, 37/3, 1997, p. 8; Božidar JEZERNIK, Power of Remembrance, Supremacy of Oblivion. History of the National “Monuments” in Ljubljana, *Hypercity. The Symbolic Side of Urbanism* (ed. Peter Nas, Annemarie Samuels), London-New York 2006, pp. 101–104; Božidar JEZERNIK, Na koncu je sedel samo deset mesecev, *Delo*, 52/175, 31. 7. 2010, p. 10; Božidar JEZERNIK, No Monuments, no History, no Past. Monuments and Memory, *After Yugoslavia. Identities and Politics Within the Successor States*, Hounds-mills-New York 2012, pp. 188–189.

⁶ Alenka PUHAR, Konji, kralji, kipi, *Delo*, 41/151, 3. 7. 1999, p. 40; Miklavž KOMELJ, Konjeniški spomeniki in Ljubljana, *Ljubljana. Glasilo Mestne občine Ljubljana*, 5/1–2, 2000, p. 53; Uglješa RAJČEVIĆ, *Zatirano i zatrto. Oskrnavljeni i uništeni srpski spomenici na tlu prethodne Jugoslavije*, Novi Sad 2001, pp. 180–181, 186–187.

⁷ Milček KOMELJ, Polet in sanjano svobodo, *Ljubljana. Glasilo Mestne občine Ljubljana*, 5/1–2, 2000, p. 55; Tina PLEŠKO, *Jakov Brdar*, Ljubljana 2001 (unpublished diploma thesis); Dejan PRŠA, *Ikonografija konjenika v slovenski umetnosti novega veka*, Ljubljana 2007 (unpublished diploma thesis).

⁸ Marjeta CIGLENEČKI, Upodobitev generala Maistra, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 82/2–3, 2011, pp. 156–179.

This paper discusses all four monuments in order to answer the question of how the intentions of the project's initiators, in determining the roles and functions of these monuments, affected their final image. In every case, special attention is paid to the then established idea of raising an equestrian monument in Slovene public space. Furthermore, the paper attempts to determine what impact this idea had on the form and iconography of the monuments in question.

After the First World War, the Slovene territory became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The Slovene nation came under the reign of Peter I Karadorđević, who was the king of Serbia from 1903.⁹ Peter's reign in the new kingdom was short and purely nominal. From 1918 to Peter's death in 1921, the acting sovereign was his son Alexander, regent of Serbia from 1914 and now regent of the new kingdom.¹⁰ After 1921, two monuments were raised to the dead king. Ambitiously designed, they have a special place in Slovene post-war monument production, which was restricted to war memorials and busts of worthy individuals. The first monument, which was erected in 1926 in Kranj, was a monumental obelisk with the king's portrait in a medallion and an "ideal figure of a hero."¹¹ The sculptor Tine Kos, who received the commission for this monument, never worked on an equestrian statue.¹² Therefore, it can be assumed that the monument committee did not consider representing the king as a horseman, although at least two equestrian monuments had already been erected in neighbouring Croatia and Serbia.¹³ By the end of the year 1926, however, a public initiative for erecting a monument to King Peter in Ljubljana was suggested by the reserve officers association. The idea was taken seriously also in Maribor.¹⁴ Already in the months following the call for tenders it became obvious that the Ljubljana committee was in favour of an equestrian monument.¹⁵ This was perhaps partly due to the fact that the Slovene sculptor Lojze Dolinar (1893–1970) took part in the competition for Peter's monument in Veliki Bečkerek (Zrenjanin in Serbia).¹⁶ The newspaper *Slovenec* published a picture of his otherwise unsuccessful project and thus revealed that the Slovene nation had a sculptor who would be able to create an equestrian statue.¹⁷ The need to show magnificence was also important in making a decision. Everyone wanted a monument that would express distinctly the exceptional gratitude felt towards the King and immortalize "the memory of He, who with superhuman efforts nearly ended the long-lasting struggle and liberated and unified our nation with three names."¹⁸

⁹ Janko PRUNK, Karadorđevići, *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, 4, Ljubljana 1990, p. 406.

¹⁰ PRUNK 1990 (n. 9), p. 406.

¹¹ ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 3), pp. 130, 291–292; see also Damir GLOBOČNIK, Spomenik kralju Petru I. v Kranju, *Zgodovina za vse. Vse za zgodovino*, 18/1, 2011, pp. 112–128.

¹² ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 3), p. 291.

¹³ The equestrian statue of Croatian ban Josip Jelačić in Zagreb was made in 1866 by the important Viennese sculptor Anton Dominik Fernkorn (1813–1878). The monument of the Serbian national hero Mihailo Obrenović in Belgrade was the work of the Florentine sculptor Enrico Pazzi (1819–1899) in 1882; see Vladimir MALEKOVIĆ et al., *Anton Dominik Fernkorn. Spomenik banu Josipu Jelačiću*, Zagreb 1991; Tonko MAROEVIC, *Kiparstvo u 19. i 20. stoljeću, Tisuću godina hrvatskog kiparstva* (ed. Cvito Fisković), Zagreb 1997, pp. 293–294; Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ, *Umetnost i nacionalna ideja u XIX. veku*, Beograd 2006, pp. 99–100.

¹⁴ Kako je Ljubljana prišla do spomenika kralju Petru, *Slovenec*, 59/201, 6. 9. 1931, p. 2; ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 3), pp. 131, 316.

¹⁵ Raziran park sredi Ljubljane, *Slovenec*, 55/19, 25. 1. 1927, p. 4; Karel DOBIDA, Spomenik kralja Petra v Ljubljani (nekaj kritičnih opazk), *Slovenec*, 55/38, 17. 2. 1927, p. 3.

¹⁶ See Špelca ČOPIČ, *Lojze Dolinar 1893–1970*, Ljubljana 1997, p. 54.

¹⁷ See Slovenska upodabljaljajoča umetnost. Lojze Dolinar, *Ilustrirani Slovenec*, 1/46, 8. 11. 1925, p. 3.

¹⁸ See the call for tenders, published in Slovenci!, *Slovenec*, 54/275, 1. 12. 1926, p. 3.

The demand for an equestrian statue was understandable, as the tradition of erecting equestrian monuments to victorious army-leaders dates back to the Ancient Greeks and continued with the Romans, who commemorated their ancestors in this way and even men who were still alive.¹⁹ In the Roman Empire, oversized equestrian monuments were dedicated exclusively to the Emperor and his closest protégés, but they had to be cast in bronze and gilded.²⁰ In the Early Middle Ages, these monuments were demolished by the Barbarians. The equestrian statue remained present in Western-European medieval tomb sculpture and was most often bound to a sacral building.²¹ The return of these sculptures into public space started at the beginning of the 13th century, when the horseman became a symbol of city-state freedoms, splendour and success.²² The imperial political propaganda strategy of immortalising emperors who were still alive was successfully renewed by the Italian and especially French absolutist rulers. The monuments of French sovereigns systematically demonstrated the idea of absolutism. This is why they were destroyed to the very last during and immediately after the French revolution.²³ Since the beginning of the 19th century, equestrian monuments have commemorated only deceased individuals. King Peter, also named Liberator, was, in the eyes of his contemporaries, worthy of a traditional equestrian monument. Slovene art critic Karel Dobida suggested following the example of Trajan's column or the Vienna monument to admiral Tegetthoff by placing the monument on top of a high column, erected in the middle or at the end of one of the main streets in Ljubljana.²⁴ Another of his ideas was to build a completely new square. Together with the monument, "it would form a new, highly artistic group in an entirely classical baroque sense."²⁵ But more important for the final image of Peter's monument was the impact made by Slovene architect Jože Plečnik (1872–1957).²⁶ In 1930, Plečnik tried to solve the four year old dispute between the monument committee and the representatives of the municipality over the erection of Peter's monument. All tenders presented in 1926 required large and financially

¹⁹ Harald von ROQUES DE MAUMONT, *Antike Reiterstandbilder*, Berlin 1958, pp. 38, 41; Horst Woldemar JANSON, The Equestrian Monument from Cangrande della Scalla to Peter the Great, *Sixteen Studies*, New York 1975, p. 160.

²⁰ ROQUES DE MAUMONT 1958 (n. 19), pp. 47–48; JANSON 1975 (n. 19), p. 160.

²¹ Donatello's Gattamelata passes for the first equestrian monument of the Early Modern Period, but it was actually erected in the cemetery that used to lie in front of the church containing the tomb of *condottiere*. For the "prehistory" of the tomb and public equestrian monuments, see Kurt BAUCH, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa*, Berlin-New York 1976, pp. 186–197; especially for Italy: Raphael BEUING, *Reiterbilder der Frührenaissance. Monument und Memoria*, Münster 2010, pp. 53–132.

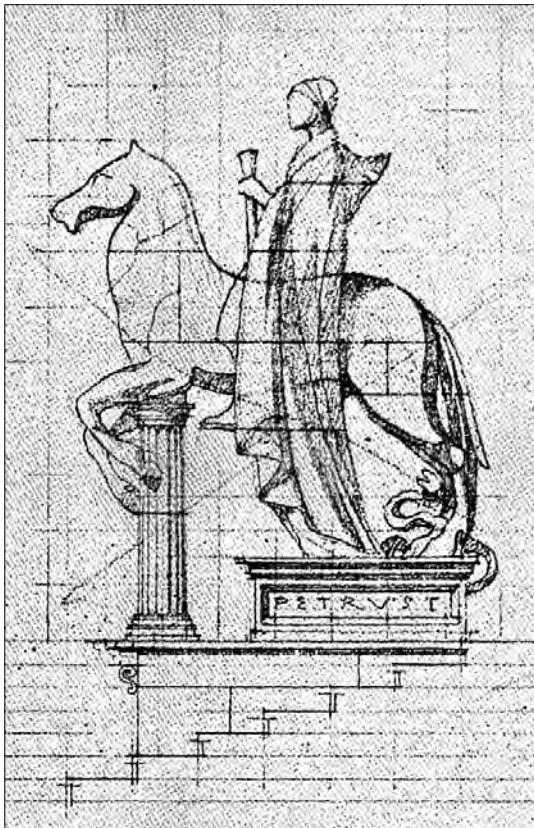
²² Erwin PANOFSKY, *Tomb Sculpture. Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, London 1992, p. 83. For the evolution of the equestrian statue see Volker HUNECKE, *Europäische Reitermonumente. Ein Ritt durch die Geschichte Europas von Dante bis Napoleon*, Paderborn 2008; *Praemium Virtutis III. Reiterstandbilder von der Antike bis zum Klassizismus* (ed. Joachim Poeschke, Thomas Weigel, Britta Kusch-Arnhold), Münster 2008.

²³ See for example Andrew MCCLELLAN, The Life and Death of a Royal Monument. Bouchardon's "Louis XV", *The Oxford Art Journal*, 2, 1978, pp. 3–5; Charlotte CHASTEL-ROUSSEAU, La figure du prince au XVIII^e siècle. Monument royal et stratégies de représentation du pouvoir monarchique dans l'espace urbain, *De l'esprit des villes*, Nancy 2005, pp. 96–97; Ulrich KELLER, Reiterstandbild, *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie* (ed. Uwe Fleckner, Martin Warnke, Hendrik Ziegler), 2, München 2011, p. 306. For royal monuments especially, see for example *Reading the Royal Monument in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (ed. Charlotte Chastel-Rousseau), Farnham 2011.

²⁴ DOBIDA 1927 (n. 15), p. 3.

²⁵ DOBIDA 1927 (n. 15), p. 4. For the development, meaning and role of royal squares in France see Andreas KÖSTLER, *Place Royale. Metamorphosen einer kritischen Form des Absolutismus*, München 2003.

²⁶ Also in absolutist France, the final image of royal monuments was influenced more by architects than the sculptors; see for example Richard Louis CLEARY, *The "Place Royale" and Urban Design in the Ancien Régime*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 6, 8.



1. Jože Plečnik: Sketch for the King Peter's monument in Ljubljana, Archives of the Museum of Architecture and Design



2. Lojze Dolinar, Jože Plečnik: King Peter's monument, 1931, Ljubljana (photograph, 1931)

demanding rearrangements of the surrounding area.²⁷ Since the erection was also obstructed by Plečnik's new regulation plan for Ljubljana, it is possible that the architect felt the need to intervene in the matter.²⁸ In November 1930, he sent his own sketch of the monument to the committee and suggested that it should be erected in front of the town hall.²⁹ The statue was planned as a lively figure, thereby contrasting with its calm static background.³⁰ Plečnik imagined the king riding a rearing horse and thus wanted to revive the Hellenist ideal of the equestrian monument, representing the victorious ruler in combat (fig. 1). Moreover, in this way he tried to solve the problem of the view of the horse's hind quarters.³¹ The committee agreed with the location, but they turned down Plečnik's statue design, so the architect was required to change it and a new test model was soon

²⁷ ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 11), pp. 133, 317.

²⁸ In 1929, the Ljubljana municipality building sector told the monument committee to study Plečnik's regulation plan (begun in 1928) before deciding on a suitable spot for the monument; see Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (ZAL), LJU 488, rokopisne knjige, cod. VIII/3, 15. 7. 1929.

²⁹ *Kako je Ljubljana* 1931 (n. 14), p. 2.

³⁰ France STELE, Spomenik kralja Petra v Ljubljani, *Arhitektura*, 8, 1932, pp. 216–217.

³¹ See Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Jože Plečnik 1872–1957. Architectura Perennis*, New Haven-London 1997, p. 280. For the picture of the test model see ČOPIČ 1997 (n. 16), p. 13.

standing near the town hall entrance.³² As the newly-made model was too high, a smaller one was made.³³ In April 1931, the model was finally approved by the municipality and the selected sculptor, Lojze Dolinar, started to carve the stone for the monument together with eleven stonecutters. By the beginning of September, it was ready for unveiling (fig. 2).³⁴ Although it comprised ten constituent parts, the erection was – “without mishap” – completed in one week.³⁵

Peter's equestrian monument was reminiscent of early equestrian prototypes: the rider was bare-headed and the horse had no saddle, bridle or stirrups; similar, for example, to the one that carries Marcus Aurelius in Rome.³⁶ The King's sandals and long tunic revealed influences of Ancient Greek and Roman paragons, emphasizing the differences with the monarchic monuments of the recent centuries. The monument stood on the stairs leading to the town hall entrance. This was rather unusual and provoked many comments, but spared passers-by a view of the horse's rear (fig. 3).³⁷ Reminiscences of Greek sculpture were partly reflected in the choice of material. Due to the crumbly black stone from Podpeč, “prescribed” by Plečnik to achieve harmony with the town hall stone façade, the monument appeared rigid, but in comparison with a bronze statue, it reduced the costs considerably.³⁸ Being made of stone, Peter could not hold the rein in his left hand. As a rule, the horseman steers the horse with his left hand while his right hand is raised in salutation or command and often holds a baton or a sceptre. Mastery over the horse alludes to control over the people because, in the past, the art of riding was associated with the art of leadership, while the pose of the horse symbolically referred to the attitude people should take towards their ruler.³⁹ In the Middle Ages, the horse was linked to

³² Such was the fate of Leonardo's model for the monument to Francesco Sforza and also of Bernini's Louis XIV, which was not well accepted; its identity was quickly changed; see JANSON 1975 (n. 19), pp. 166–167; Charles Avery, *Equestrian Monument, The Dictionary of Art* (ed. Jane Turner), 10, New York 1996, p. 442.

³³ ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 11), p. 317. The height of the statue and its ideal inclusion in the space seem to have been quite important at the time. In 1931, the Ljubljana building committee wanted to put the monument of Slovene poet France Prešeren, erected in 1905, in front of the University building. In case it was higher than the building's balcony, the monument could lose “a few steps” from the base; see ZAL, Lju 488, rokopisne knjige, cod. VIII/3, 17. 6. 1931.

³⁴ *Kako je Ljubljana* 1931 (n. 14), p. 2. Dolinar was by then the leading Slovene sculptor. In 1927, he received first prize for the project to build a pedestrian statue of King Peter in Maribor (it was not erected) and in 1929, he worked together with Plečnik on the Ilirija column (The monument to Napoleon's Ilirija); see Lojze Dolinar in njegovo delo, *Jutro*, 12/205, 6. 9. 1931, p. 2; ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 3), p. 305.

³⁵ Lojze Dolinar 1931 (n. 34), p. 2.

³⁶ The riders of antiquity did not use stirrups. Instead of a saddle, they used saddle blankets; see Lynn WHITE Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, Oxford 1962, pp. 1–2; KELLER 2011 (n. 23), p. 304.

³⁷ See Plečnik's letter to Matko Prelovšek from 1940 in PRELOVŠEK 1997 (n. 31), p. 280. A Slovene impressionist painter believed the Mestni trg (Town Square) to have been a completed space already; see Rihard Jakopič o spomeniku pred magistratom, *Slovenec*, 59/111, 19. 5. 1931, p. 6.

³⁸ Only 275.000 dinars were spent, although up to the unveiling, the committee raised 482.000 dinars (the plan was to raise 1.500.000). The rest was given to charity; see V čast kralja Petra Osvoboditelja, *Slovenec*, 59/166, 26. 7. 1931, p. 5; Boris WIDER, *Kronika mesta Ljubljane za leto 1931, Kronika slovenskih mest*, 7/2, 1940, p. 124. Compared to Peter's bust, erected with a little over 200.000 dinars one year earlier in Sisak, Croatia (see Svečano odkritje spomenika kralju Petru v Sisku, *Ponedeljek*, 4/38, 22. 9. 1930, p. 1), the Ljubljana monument seems to have been a very thrifty project.

³⁹ Dante compared people to horses in *Convivio* and *Monarchia*. Later in absolutism, the symbolic meaning of the art of riding was explicitly codified in manuals; see Walter LIEDTKE, John MOFFITT, Velázquez, Olivares, and the Baroque Equestrian Portrait, *The Burlington Magazine*, 123/942, 1981, pp. 532, 535–536; Peter HAMMOND SCHWARTZ, Equestrian Imagery in European and American Political Thought. Toward an Understanding of Symbols as Political Texts, *The Western Political Quarterly*, 41/4, 1988, pp. 659, 661; Hans-Jörg JECHEL, *Die Reiterdenkmäler für Kaiser Wilhelm I.*, Bonn 2010, p. 1; KELLER 2011 (n. 23), pp. 303, 307.



3. Lojze Dolinar, Jože Plečnik: King Peter's monument, 1931, Ljubljana (postcard, before 1934)

the sin of pride and the early Renaissance public saw it as a common symbol of “unbridled passion”, lust and rage.⁴⁰ Therefore the bridle, given to Bellerophon by Athena to tame Pegasus, symbolized temperance, while the act of taming symbolised sheer power, refined with practical intelligence.⁴¹ In the 16th century, the image of a noble animal, intelligent and eager to learn, prevailed. The horse did not seem able to flatter his master: “He treats all alike; he will throw anyone but he who truly knows how to rule and govern him in a firm and decisive manner”.⁴² The art of riding was described in many treatises – the most influential of which was by Pluvine. As early as 1443, Leon Battista Alberti dedicated his essay *De equo animante* to the horse.⁴³ In the 1930s, the iconographical element of an equestrian statue, denoting the rider as a competent ruler, was still present. Contemporaries claimed that Peter’s left hand was “holding the reins of the heavy muscular horse”⁴⁴ and that the rider “firmly

⁴⁰ Jörg TRAEGER, Pferd, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (ed. Wolfgang Braunfels et al.), 3, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1971, coll. 412–413; LIEDTKE, MOFFIT 1981 (n. 39), p. 535. For the symbolism of pride see Lester K. LITTLE, Pride Goes before Avarice. Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom, *The American Historical Review*, 76/1, 1971, pp. 16–39.

⁴¹ Marcel DETIENNE, Athena and the Mastery of the Horse, *History of Religions*, 11/2, 1971, pp. 165, 184.

⁴² LIEDTKE, MOFFIT 1981 (n. 39), p. 535. Illustrated by the emblem *In adulari nescientem* in Alciati’s *Emblematum* in 1531.

⁴³ *Sculpture. From Antiquity to the Present Day* (ed. Georges Duby, Jean-Luc Daval), Köln 20022, p. 596; BEUING 2010 (n. 21), p. 239; KELLER 2011 (n. 23), p. 308. Antoine de Pluvine, *écuier* of the French kings Henry IV and Louis XIII, published his treatise *Maneige royal* in 1623, later versions were titled *L'instruction du roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval*; see LIEDTKE, MOFFIT 1981 (n. 39), p. 536.

⁴⁴ Lojze Dolinar 1931 (n. 34), p. 2.

drew in the invisible reins”,⁴⁵ thus bearing witness to the fact that despite being distinct in many ways, contemporaries perceived the monument as a typical equestrian statue.

In September 1931, a whole “King’s week” was dedicated to the erection of the monument. The festivities began on the eve of its unveiling and were strongly reminiscent of great monarchic *fêtes*.⁴⁶ The ancient town hall was “glowing like a fairy castle,” its front decorated with tiny bulbs, which also made a glorifying inscription in the centre.⁴⁷ With regards to the fact that on the day of the unveiling, on 6 September, the crown prince’s birthday and King Alexander’s ten-year reign were also celebrated, the erection of the monument to the deceased king symbolized the consolidation of the ruling king’s power and ensured the continuity of the ruling dynasty. The architect and sculptor’s idea was to present it as the image of a democratic ruler,⁴⁸ symbolising the Slovene nation’s gratitude towards “the Great Liberator”.⁴⁹ As it was adjusted to contemporary taste, the monument was not as “gigantic and bawling” as the sculptors had envisaged it during the first call for tenders, and the “idea of a vast parade square and a pathetic figure” was firmly discredited.⁵⁰ The artist Marjan Pogačnik (1920–2005) fondly remembered the monument and the writer Lojze Kovačič (1928–2004) was quite attached to the “old man’s intelligent face”.⁵¹ That residents of Ljubljana were very fond of Peter’s monument, is confirmed by the public response to its destruction.⁵² Nevertheless, the monument functioned mainly as a medium of state propaganda, glorifying the son rather than his father. Alexander, whose first public monument was erected before Peter’s, abolished the Vidovdan Constitution in 1929, proclaimed his dictatorship and renamed the state as the “Kingdom of Yugoslavia”.⁵³ He knew how to promote the idea of brotherhood and unity of the three South Slav nations.⁵⁴ Alexander actively supported Yugoslav national unitarism, but his autocratic rule was ended by assassination. He was shot in Marseille in October 1934. The call for tenders for a monument dedicated to him in Ljubljana was published on 1 December 1934, the national unification holiday, exactly eight years after the call for tenders was issued for his father’s monument.⁵⁵

⁴⁵ France STELE, Spomenik kralja Petra v Ljubljani, *Mladika*, 12/10, 1931, p. 372.

⁴⁶ See Spored svečanosti, *Jutro*, 12/204, 5. 9. 1931, p. 2; Slava kralju Osvoboditelju!, *Jutro*, 12/205, 6. 9. 1931, p. 1; Nepozabni prizori grandijozne svečanosti, *Jutro*, 12/206, 8. 9. 1931, p. 3; *Tedenske slike*, 7/37, 10. 9. 1931, pp. 1–2. Even the Belgrade papers *Politika* and *Vreme* wrote about the festivities that brought together more than 100.000 people; see Večer pred velikim dnem, *Jutro*, 12/205, 6. 9. 1931, p. 4; RAJČEVIĆ 2001 (op. 6), p. 180.

⁴⁷ *Večer* 1931 (n. 46), p. 4. These descriptions are very similar to those of the festivities accompanying the unveiling of the equestrian monument of Louis XV in today’s *Place de la Concorde* in 1763: *Le soir, la place fut illuminée dans tout son pourtour; ... et, la place ainsi que les façades des deux grands édifices qui la décorent ayant été illuminées avec un art infini, on vit naître un des spectacles les plus brillants qu’il soit possible d’imaginer.* Cited after Emmanuel BOCHER, *Les Gravures françaises du XVIII^e siècle, ou Catalogue raisonné des estampes, pièces en couleur, au bistre et au lavis, de 1700 à 1800*, Paris 1879, p. 169.

⁴⁸ Peter I Karadordjević was in favour of political democracy; see PRUNK 1990 (n. 9), p. 406.

⁴⁹ Words of the document built in the pedestal; see *V čast kralja* 1931 (n. 38), p. 5.

⁵⁰ STELE 1931 (n. 45), p. 375; STELE 1932 (n. 30), p. 215.

⁵¹ Milček KOMELJ, *Kronika Marjana Pogačnika o zaljubljencih v umetnost*, Ljubljana 2005, p. 248.

⁵² See Miran PAVLIN, *Ljubljana 1941. Pričevanje fotoreporterja*, Ljubljana 2004, pp. 193–196.

⁵³ PRUNK 1990 (n. 9), p. 406. A bust of Alexander was erected by Andrej Slokar in 1924 in Domžale; see *Prvi kraljev spomenik v Sloveniji*, *Jutro*, 21/208, 6. 9. 1940, p. 5.

⁵⁴ See Alexander’s speech from 1926 in *Spomenik Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Zedinitelju v Ljubljani* (supplement), *Umetnost*, 4/11–12, 1939–1940, pp. 323–324; see also Dinko PUC, *Kralj Aleksander I., Kronika slovenskih mest*, 1/4, 1934, p. 1.

⁵⁵ *Slovenci!* 1926, p. 3; France STELE, *Spomenik kralja Aleksandra I. Zedinitelja v Ljubljani*, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 7/3, 1940, p. 129.



4. Lojze Dolinar, Herman Hus:
King Alexander's monument,
1941, Ljubljana
(photograph, 1941)

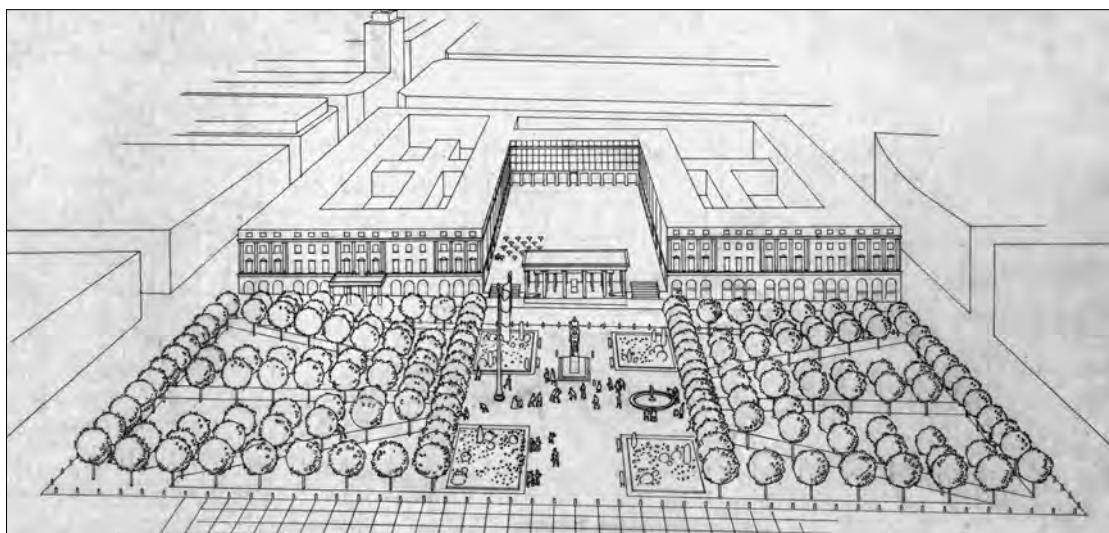
Right from the beginning it was obvious that Alexander was going to be represented on a horse. The general public spoke out in favour of this idea, too.⁵⁶ The decision over a suitable location for the monument took four years to make and again Jože Plečnik intervened in the matter. The then president of the monument committee, Ivan Hribar, directly commissioned Plečnik to make a proposal for the monument to be situated in Zvezda Park, which was confirmed by the select committee in October 1937.⁵⁷ Plečnik's project, named Propylaea, envisaged the redevelopment of Južni trg (South Square) with an architectural complex to serve as the frame and background to the monument.⁵⁸ Soon, the municipality and the rest of the committee (who refused the project proposal) started an intense, politically engaged dispute, which occasionally exceeded the boundaries of decency.⁵⁹ Public experts intervened; the architects argued for Plečnik's project and rejected a type of form and positioning of an

⁵⁶ Karel DOBIDA, Razstava spomeniških osnutkov, *Ljubljanski zvon*, 59, 1939, p. 81; STELE 1940 (n. 55), pp. 132–133, 138. According to the call for tenders, the sculptors had to consider “the wish that the king should be represented on a horse”.

⁵⁷ Anton STUPICA, Naša kronika, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 5/1, 1938, p. 57; STELE 1940 (n. 55), p. 137.

⁵⁸ For details on the plan and the first model for the monument see Anton STUPICA, Aleksandrove Propileje v Ljubljani, *Slovenec*, 65/221, 26. 9. 1937, p. 7; Novo središče Ljubljane, *Slovenec*, 67/194, 26. 8. 1939, p. 5; ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 3), pp. 137, 141, 376–378. According to Ines UNETIČ, Protokolarni prostor v Ljubljani, *Kronika*, 57/1, 2009, p. 100, the plan was realised in cooperation with Plečnik's student, Marjan Tepina, whose diploma thesis dealt with the subject.

⁵⁹ In the newspaper *Slovenec* for example, they wrote that “sundry bawlers will not teach professor Plečnik what is nice and what is not” and that all the opponents of the Propylaea project could see, was a “little horse with a figure, enhanced only in measure”; see Boj za kraljevi spomenik v Ljubljani, *Slovenec*, 65/227a, 3. 10. 1937, p. 5; Dušan GRABRIJAN, Spomenik kralju Aleksandru v Ljubljani, *Slovenec*, 66/189a, 19. 8. 1938, p. 3. The committee on the other hand believed that in his new project, “sir architect Plečnik designed a candelabra” instead of a king's monument; see Arhiv Republike Slovenije (ARS) 67, KBUDB, Pogoji in program natečaja za spomenik Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. (untitled, unnumbered). For the political opposition see ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 3), p. 372.



5. Jože Plečnik: Second plan for the regulation of Južni trg, Ljubljana Historical Archives

equestrian monument that had been “seen a thousand times before”.⁶⁰ Plečnik’s model was different, comprising of a rearing horse and a rider in an ancient Greek or Roman “imperator’s” toga, wearing a laurel wreath and holding a short sword.⁶¹ The defenders of Propylaea approved of this horseman figure, whereas the committee and the lay public were not satisfied with its appearance. It was also firmly rejected by the initiators of the monument’s erection, the king’s volunteers, with the explanation that Alexander was not an imperator and that the monument should represent the king as he was, not in a “reduced, idealized form, which was in complete contrast with his fight for Yugoslavia”.⁶² The volunteers wanted the monument to illustrate the king’s “glorification” and to represent “a granite landmark of the great era of our national history” for the generations to come.⁶³ Consequently, Plečnik’s horseman was rejected, together with the Propylaea project. A new call for tenders was published to solve the location problem. The committee decided in favour of the architect Herman Hus’s (1896–1960) design to erect the monument at the entrance to the Tivoli Park, facing the Ljubljana Orthodox church, and shortly after, sculptors from all over Yugoslavia presented designs for the monument.⁶⁴ The committee gave the commission to Slovene sculptor Lojze Dolinar, who had lived and worked in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, since 1932. Among the equestrian proposals, his model received the second prize, but since it was nearly 14 meters high, it did not correspond to the selected location.⁶⁵ In the

⁶⁰ See for example Marjan TEPINA, Ljubljana in kraljev spomenik, *Slovenec*, 66/236, 13. 10. 1938, p. 5; *Kaos* 1939 (n. 49), p. 8. Other defenders of Plečnik’s project are mentioned by ČOPič 2000 (n. 3), p. 141.

⁶¹ STUPICA 1937 (n. 58), p. 7; GRABRIJAN 1938 (n. 59), p. 3; STELE 1940 (n. 55), p. 138.

⁶² Kraljev spomenik in vojni dobrovoljci, *Slovenski narod*, 70/266, 20. 11. 1937, p. 2.

⁶³ Viteškemu kralju dostenjen spomenik!, *Jutro*, 17/85, 10. 4. 1936, p. 1; see also Vojni dobrovoljci in spomenik kralja Aleksandra, *Jutro*, 21/208, 6. 9. 1940, p. 2.

⁶⁴ STELE 1940 (n. 55), pp. 138–139. For Hus’s proposal see Bodoči kraljev trg pred Tivolijem, *Jutro*, 19/268, 18. 11. 1938, p. 3. For the call for tenders and other models for the monument see DOBIDA 1939 (n. 56), pp. 81–82; *Kaos* 1939, p. 8; Stane MIKUŽ, Po razstavi osnutkov za kraljev spomenik, *Slovenec*, 67/36, 12. 2. 1939, p. 9; ČOPič 2000 (n. 3), pp. 138–139, 374.

⁶⁵ Božo GVARDJANČIČ, Vprašanje spomenika kralja Aleksandra, *Slovenec*, 66/275, 29. 11. 1938, p. 3; STELE 1940 (n. 55), pp. 139–140. The Ljubljana building committee found the location unsuitable even before the erection of

spring of 1940, the monument committee finally conceded to pressure and selected Zvezda Park as the location.⁶⁶ One section of the park was hastily arranged and the monument was solemnly unveiled on 6 September 1940 (fig. 4). In 1941, the Italian occupation prevented the construction of Propylaea, which would have been based on Plečnik's finally confirmed, and somewhat modified, plans (fig. 5).⁶⁷

Dolinar's second horseman was often described in numbers: it was 6,80 m high (10,80 with pedestal); 5,75 m long; 1,60 m wide; it had thick reinforced concrete foundations (1,20 m); it was composed of 54 separately cast pieces; the sculptor had to climb up and down about 40 to 50 times just to make the king's face; the iron framework cost 25.000 dinars; 50 tons of clay were used for modelling; 6 tons of plaster for the test model; 6 tons of bronze (300.000 dinars) for the statue; 1.300.000 dinars for the whole monument.⁶⁸ This large monument had a lightning conductor and in the middle of the pedestal, there was a special draining channel for rain and snow-water.⁶⁹ In Belgrade, where the statue was made, Dolinar had many models of the horse and the rider, and a number of supervisors made sure that every detail was done correctly.⁷⁰ Therefore, the final image was different from the model (figs. 6–7).⁷¹ The sculptor followed instructions by presenting the king in a long military coat. He also gave up the motif of the fluttering piece of cloth, used to balance the figure for the side-view; consequently, the horse was rather stout, its tail was raised higher and it did not waltz as much.⁷² The rider held in his right hand a sceptre that was not included in the model. After the erection of the monument, it was stated that Dolinar imagined Alexander as "a king, soldier and warrior on a victorious march, carrying the sceptre as a sign of power, given to him by the people".⁷³ The sculptor himself wanted the monument to "illustrate with its grandeur and inner content the great idea of

the test model; see ZAL, LJP 488, rokopisne knjige, cod. VIII/8a, Zapisnik 6. seje gradbenega odbora ljubljanske občinske uprave, 1. 2. 1939, pp. 4–6.

⁶⁶ STELE 1940 (n. 55), pp. 139–140. Pressure was exerted by the municipality, the Chamber of Engineers, the architects' association and the Ljubljana public.

⁶⁷ Razgovor z ustvarjalcem kraljevega spomenika kiparjem Lojzetom Dolinarjem, *Slovenec*, 68/204, 6. 9. 1940, p. 3. For park regulation see ZAL, LJP 488, rokopisne knjige, cod. VII/9, Zapisnik 27. seje gradbenega odbora ljubljanskega, 1. 5. 1940, pp. 1–3, Zapisnik 52. seje gradbenega odbora ljubljanskega, 21. 8. 1940, pp. 8–9 and Zapisnik 54. seje gradbenega odbora ljubljanskega, 4. 9. 1940, p. 2; STELE 1940 (n. 55), p. 140; Breda MIHELIČ, Kongresni trg, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n. v. 37, 2001, pp. 130–131. The festivities lasted only one day; see Potek in organizacija današnjih slovesnosti, *Slovenec*, 68/204, 6. 9. 1940, p. 3; Potek nepozabnih slovesnosti, *Slovenec*, 68/205a, 7. 9. 1940, pp. 1–2; ARS 67, KBUDB, Pogoji in program natečaja za spomenik Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I., Spored slovesnega odkritja spomenika Blagopokojnemu Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Ujedinitelju (unnumbered).

⁶⁸ Obisk pri kiparju Dolinarju, *Jutro*, 20/258, 5. 11. 1939, p. 7; Kako je Ljubljana dobila spomenik kralja Aleksandra I., *Slovenec*, 68/204, 6. 9. 1940, p. 2; Kako je nastal spomenik, *Jutro*, 21/208, 6. 9. 1940, p. 2; ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 3), p. 371. For details of all incomes and expenditures see ARS 67, KBUDB, Zapisniki sej ožjega odbora, Blagajniško poročilo o denarnem poslovanju Odbora za postavitev spomenika Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Ujedinitelju v Ljubljani po stanju od dne 16. 12. 1940 (unnumbered).

⁶⁹ Kraljev spomenik hitro dovršujejo, *Jutro*, 21/172, 26. 7. 1940, p. 3; *Kako je Ljubljana* 1940 (n. 68), p. 2.

⁷⁰ Miha MALEŠ, Kako je nastal Dolinarjev spomenik, *Umetnost*, 4/11–12, 1939–1940, p. 333. The supervision is mentioned also by ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 3), p. 371.

⁷¹ The model was wittily criticized by Stane Mikuž. In his opinion, the horse seemed to "have heard the sounds of a military band and wanted to adjust his pace so resolutely that it looked as if it would not be able to pull along its long, rigid body"; see MIKUŽ 1939 (n. 64), p. 9.

⁷² The fluttering piece could be a reminiscence of the riders from the Roman funeral stelae (preserved also in Slovenia). The so-called *heros* is always presented in motion, which is why a piece of his mantle flutters in the wind; see Michael ZEHENTNER, *Römische Reitergrabstelen in Noricum*, Graz 2011 (unpublished diploma thesis), especially pp. 110–111.

⁷³ *Kako je Ljubljana* 1940 (n. 68), p. 2.



6. Lojze Dolinar: Model for the King Alexander's monument in Ljubljana, whereabouts unknown



7. Lojze Dolinar, Herman Hus: King Alexander's monument, 1941, Ljubljana (photograph, 1940)

unification and the triumph of the victorious king".⁷⁴ After being asked why he chose the horse and the rider to illustrate this idea, he told the journalist that "the triumphant victor can't go on foot" and thus pointed to the connection between the power of the sovereign or leader and the horse. This connection also stems from the historical distinction between those who fought on horseback and those who had to fight on foot.⁷⁵ Moreover, the equestrian monument is the most sophisticated of all monuments that represent and praise persons of worldly status. The horse elevates and monumentalises the rider's figure,⁷⁶ which is the reason why the public sculpture kept the figure of the horse as an attribute of the 20th-century commanders who had already exchanged the reins for the steering-wheel. Another important factor was the success of Yugoslav sculptors in the field of equestrian sculpture. Slovene art historian France Stele (1886–1972) often referred to Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962)⁷⁷ and Antun Augustinčić (1900–1979),⁷⁸ who also established themselves outside the

⁷⁴ Razgovor 1940 (n. 67), p. 3.

⁷⁵ Razgovor 1940 (n. 67), p. 3; see also HAMMOND SCHWARTZ 1988 (n. 39), p. 657; BEUING 2010 (n. 21), p. 239.

⁷⁶ BEUING 2010 (n. 21), p. 240.

⁷⁷ He sculpted the equestrian monuments of the Romanian kings Ferdinand I and Karl I (1937 and 1939, both destroyed by communists) and planned the equestrian statues for the bridge between Belgrade and Zemun and one of Simon Bolivar. In catalogues of his work, written after the Second War, the monuments of the Romanian kings are usually overlooked or barely mentioned; see Željko GRUM, *Ivan Meštrović*, Zagreb 1969, p. 164; *Ivan Meštrović 1883–1962*, Zagreb 1983, pp. 21, 135; Duško KEČKEMET, *Ivan Meštrović*, Beograd 1983, p. 19; Ana ADAMEC, *Ivan Meštrović 1883–1962*, Beograd 1984, p. 30. For the plans that were not realised, see *Meštrović*, Zagreb 1933, repr. CXI, CXV.

⁷⁸ Augustinčić made two equestrian statues for the Tsar Dušan's bridge in Skopje (1930), the equestrian statue of Marshall Pilsudski in Katowice in Poland (modelled in 1937, cast and erected after the Second War), won first



8. The demolishing of
the King Alexander's monument,
Ljubljana (photograph, 1941)

borders of Yugoslavia with their work.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Stele's paper of 1940 reveals a well-intentioned effort to explain and argue the choice of the equestrian type for the monument, so it can be assumed that this decision was not unanimous.⁸⁰

The Zvezda monument was the biggest bronze statue of a king ever cast and erected in Yugoslavia (supposedly in the Balkans, too) and the chosen location was representative enough for the monument to arouse admiration.⁸¹ It combined military iconography with that of a ruler, so as to illustrate Alexander's statesmanship and military successes. Thus, it efficiently competed with the iconographic type of monument that was perfected by the Habsburgs. In accordance with Alexander's dictator politics, the Zvezda monument displayed an attachment to the monarchic monuments of the 19th century. It offered a visual equivalent to the laudatory rhetoric found in the literary-journalistic realm.⁸² In comparison with Peter's monument, which was praised by France Stele as being discrete and almost imperceptible, Alexander's statue loudly and intrusively reminded passers-by of his very last words: "Preserve Yugoslavia!".⁸³ Because of the ideas it represented, the Italians destroyed it immediately after the occupation of Ljubljana and Peter's monument, as well as other symbols of the unstable kingdom of Yugoslavia, shared the same fate (fig. 8).⁸⁴

prize for the equestrian statue of Albanian national hero Skenderbeg in Tirana (1937, was not cast; the present monument in the centre of Tirana was made by the Albanian sculptor Odhise Paskali in 1968), won fourth prize for the equestrian statue of Jose Justo Urquiza in Buenos Aires (1938); see *Augustinčić* (ed. Ante Gavranović), Zagreb 1976, figs. 6, 7, 9 and "Iz biografije" (unnumbered).

⁷⁹ STELE 1940 (n. 55), p. 132.

⁸⁰ See STELE 1940 (n. 55), pp. 132–139.

⁸¹ *Kraljev spomenik* 1940 (n. 69), p. 3; *Razgovor* 1940 (n. 67), p. 3; *Kako je nastal* 1940 (n. 68), p. 2.

⁸² See for example PUC 1934 (n. 54), p. 1.

⁸³ STELE 1931 (n. 45), p. 373. The pedestal contained a document with the words of the poet Alojzij Gradnik: *V letu Gospodovem tisoč devetsto in štiridesetem, v mesecu juniju, smo položili v zavetje kamma to ploščo, ki naj sporoča poznim pokolenjem našega rodu, da je bil tega leta v srcu Slovenije, v beli Ljubljani, postavljen likovni spomenik Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Zedinitelju z dobrovoljnimi prispevkvi vseh slojev slovenskega naroda kot znamenje njegove ljubezni in hvaležnosti in potrdilo njegove volje, da hoče ostati svoboden na svoji zemlji v kraljevini Jugoslaviji, združen s Hrvati in Srbi. Čuvajmo Jugoslavijo!* Cited after: Odkritje spomenika Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Zedinitelju, Vrtec. Slovenski mladini, 71/2, 1940, p. 58.

⁸⁴ Both were destroyed on 25 July 1941; see PAVLIN 2004 (n. 52), pp. 193–196. The occupiers started immediately



9. Boris Kalin, Jaroslav Černigoj: Model for the King Alexander's monument in Maribor, whereabouts unknown

statues on Alexander's bridge in Belgrade indicates that the authors imitated a more recent model.⁸⁹

In Maribor, a monument to Rudolf Maister, who died just a few months before the king, was planned at the same time but was not unveiled until 1958.⁹⁰ General Maister is greatly respected for

The Second World War prevented the erection of the simultaneously planned monument to Alexander in Maribor. After 1921, the city planned to erect a monument to Peter. Since they wanted to employ Ivan Meštrović,⁸⁵ it is very likely that they had planned already to erect Peter's monument as an equestrian statue. Meštrović did not respond and while the competitiveness of the Maribor committee obstructed the realization of the plans, Alexander was assassinated in 1934.⁸⁶ This launched a project for the erection of Alexander's monument. Its form was determined by a call for tenders, published in 1938.⁸⁷ The selected project of sculptor Boris Kalin (1905–1975) and architect Jaroslav Černigoj (1905–1989) was conceived as an equestrian statue standing on the top of two columns, more than ten meters high. It was to be erected in front of the eastern facade of the Maribor Castle in Trg svobode (Freedom Square) (fig. 9).⁸⁸ Although it may seem as though the planned monument followed the example of the statues of Early Christianity (Justinian's in Constantinople, destroyed in 1453), the comparison with Meštrović's plans for the

to plan a new monument for Zvezda Park; see Nataša KEJŽAR, *Ljubljanski javni spomeniki v času italijanske okupacije. Načrt Fortune Argonavtov za park Zvezda in njen ikonografski pomen*, Ljubljana 2012 (unpublished diploma thesis), pp. 15, 53–54. According to Damjan Prelovšek, parts of Alexander's granite pedestal were later sold and one piece is preserved in the tomb of Prelovšek's great aunt in Ljubljana Žale Cemetery.

⁸⁵ ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 3), p. 131.

⁸⁶ ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 3), p. 131.

⁸⁷ See Proglas odbora za postavitev spomenika slovenskim vojakom, *Umetnost*, 4/11–12, 1939–1940, pp. 340–341. For conditions of the Maribor call see *Razpis natečaja za idejne osnutke spomenika blagopokojnemu viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. uedinitelju v Mariboru*, Maribor 1938.

⁸⁸ Jaroslav ČERNIGOJ, Bodoči Trg svobode v Mariboru, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 6/2, 1939, p. 83; Sergej VRIŠER, Znamenja in javni spomeniki v Mariboru do 1941, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 2, 1971, p. 193. Slovenske Konjice municipality houses the two and a half-metre high plaster model of the horse, donated in 2009 by Kalin's gender Franc Vehovar; see *V Konjice prihaja konj kralja Aleksandra*, http://www.slovenskekonjice.si/eu2/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=454 (accessed on 14. 6. 2013). I thank Klara Šibanc Korošec from the Mayor's office for this information.

⁸⁹ See Meštrović 1933 (n. 77), fig. CXV; Phyllis WILLIAMS LEHMANN, Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider, *The Art Bulletin*, 41/1, 1959, pp. 39–57.

⁹⁰ For the first monument in Maribor to Maister see CIGLENEČKI 2011 (n. 8), pp. 165–166.

having preserved the north Slovene border. In November 1918, he had the initiative to take over and preserve the authority of the new state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs over Maribor and Lower Styria.⁹¹ The border that was established during this military action remained a valid state border between Austria and Yugoslavia and Slovenia respectively for nearly a hundred years. Maister was a charismatic personality, an energetic and well versed commander, poetically and artistically talented.⁹² After the Second War, when Slovenia became part of The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, only a few monuments were dedicated to him.⁹³ The Yugoslavia monument production was mostly dedicated to the National Liberation War, in which Maister did not take part. And none of the monuments erected in communist Yugoslavia were equestrian.⁹⁴ In the eyes of the people, a statue of a rider mounted on a horse was most likely to represent a (Yugoslav) king and was thus not considered appropriate. Therefore in 1991, when Slovenia separated from Yugoslavia to become an independent state, there were no equestrian monuments in Slovenia and there were no monuments of Rudolf Maister in Ljubljana, as its capital. The opportunity to fulfil both requirements presented itself after 1994, when the then Slovene Prime minister Lojze Peterle signed the Agreement on Cultural and Educational Cooperation between Slovenia and Argentina.⁹⁵ The government of Argentina donated a bust of Argentinian national hero, General Jose de San Martin, to Slovenia.⁹⁶ All endeavours to erect this monument in (the appropriately renamed) Argentinian Park in Ljubljana soon came to an end for financial reasons.⁹⁷ The descendants of Maister's combatants also made an objection. In their opinion, Ljubljana should have considered the Slovene general first, as Anton Trstenjak had been pointing out since 1991.⁹⁸ For this reason, a committee for the erection of the monument to general Maister was founded in 1996.⁹⁹ The equestrian statue by Jakov Brdar won the first prize and the committee chose the Trg Osvobodilne fronte (Liberation Front Square),

⁹¹ Andrej RAHTEN, Mednarodne okoliščine Maistrove akcije, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 82/2-3, 2011, p. 6; Vincenc RAJŠP, General Maister in slovenska severna meja, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 82/2-3, 2011, p. 38.

⁹² See Anton DOLAR, Kaj nam je pomenil general Maister kot vojak, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 1/4, 1934, pp. 262–264; Janko GLASER, Rudolf Maister – Vojanov kot pesnik, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 1/4, 1934, pp. 264–266; CIGLENEČKI 2011 (n. 8), pp. 157–159.

⁹³ CIGLENEČKI 2011 (n. 8), pp. 165–170.

⁹⁴ The only equestrian monument erected in "Tito's" Yugoslavia that I know of is the monument of the Croatian king Tomislav (d. 928). It was made by Robert Frangeš Mihanović (1872–1940) before the end of the 1930s and unveiled in 1947. In the same year, the communist authorities removed the above mentioned monument of Josip Jelačić (1866). This monument was re-erected in 1990; see Olga MARUŠEVSKI, Fernkorn, Anton Dominik, *Enciklopedija hrvatske umjetnosti*, 1, Zagreb 1995, pp. 248–249; ČOPIĆ 2000 (n. 3), p. 141; Dunja RIHTMAN-AUGUŠTIN, The monument in the Main Square. Constructing and erasing memory in contemporary Croatia, *Balkan Identities. Nation and Memory* (ed. Maria Todorova), London 2004, pp. 180–196. The equestrian monument of Prince Mihailo Obrenović (1882) was never removed.

⁹⁵ Ratified in 1997; see *Uradni list RS*, 11, 11. 7. 1997, p. 691.

⁹⁶ "Fašizem je živ." Pismo Dušana Puha v zvezi z delom vlade, <http://zb-koper.si/> (accessed on 14. 3. 2013). For information on Jose de San Martin see Tone MIZERIT, Više kot Napoleon, dlje kot Hanibal, *Gea*, 7/4, 1997, pp. 74–75.

⁹⁷ Dejan VODOVNIK, Kip San Martina v nemilosti, *Delo*, 39/224, 27. 9. 1997, p. 2. The government of Argentina wanted the bust to be returned.

⁹⁸ Milan LOVRENČIČ, Smoter ustavnovanja in delovanja društev generala Maistra, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 82/2-3, 2011, p. 137; Zveza društev »General Maister«, Zgodovina, <http://zvezadgm.net/zgodovina.htm> (accessed on 14. 4. 2013).

⁹⁹ Ana AŠIČ, Sta konjenik in Trg republike prava izbira?, *Delo*, 40/26, 2. 2. 1998, p. 8; PLEŠKO 2001 (n. 7), p. 23.



10. Jakov Brdar, Jurij Kobe: General Maister's monument, 1999, Ljubljana



11. Jakov Brdar, Jurij Kobe: General Maister's monument, 1999, Ljubljana

supposedly a well frequented and suitably representative location.¹⁰⁰ The disputes regarding the location and all the financial problems caused considerable delay to the project. In June 1998, when the contract between Brdar and the Ljubljana municipality was still not yet signed, the civilian initiators of the project chose a different course of action. They offered to finance Brdar's project themselves and when, after some consideration, the sculptor declined their offer, they commissioned the statue directly from another competitor, Boštjan Putrih.¹⁰¹ Putrih's horseman was offered to Ljubljana and to Celje, but was rejected by both municipalities.¹⁰² In the end, it was bought by the Slovene Ministry of Defence without any call for tenders and erected on the stairs leading to the entrance of the Ministry's building on 6 October 2000.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, Jakov Brdar signed the contract to create the statue and the monument was unveiled on Statehood Day, 24 June 1999. It stands on the edge of the pavement facing the main Ljubljana railway station (figs. 10–11).¹⁰⁴

For a young European state, the erection of Maister's monument in Ljubljana was to symbolize consciousness of its "independence and serious partnership with countries that have centuries-long traditions".¹⁰⁵ The monument was supposed to be of national significance and was intended to symbolize the forming of a new state; it was also "desired, but not specifically defined" for the general to be represented on a horse.¹⁰⁶ All the proposals for the monument respected this wish. In an interview for *Mladina* in 1998, Jakov Brdar stated that in the beginning, he saw this call for tenders as an opportunity to create a monument to Slovene poets, but later became fascinated with Leonardo's rejected design of the Sforza monument and the Roman equestrian monument of Marc Aurelius.¹⁰⁷ Since, in his opinion, such monuments symbolize conquered territories and space and thus need a large square, Brdar expected Maister's monument to be erected in Zvezda Park.¹⁰⁸ He therefore argued for the classical idea of the location. On the other hand, Brdar planned a very low pedestal which would make the statue accessible.¹⁰⁹ The final version of the monument was classically conceived, but differently treated. The general does not steer the horse, as horsemen

¹⁰⁰ The call for tenders (*Delo*, 39/224, 27. 9. 1997, p. 26) indicated Trg republike (Republic Square) as the chosen location. Sculptor Jakov Brdar and architect Jurij Kobe suggested a different location. All 22 projects were exhibited in Ljubljana town hall in January 1998; see Ana AŠIČ, Na »Maistrovem« natečaju prvonagrajena Brdar in Kobe. Kje bo stal Maistrov spomenik?, *Delo*, 40/17, 22. 1. 1998, p. 7; AŠIČ 1998 (n. 99), p. 8; PLEŠKO 2001 (n. 7), pp. 24–25.

¹⁰¹ Milan LOVRENČIČ, Spomenik generalu Maistru, *Delo*, 40/227, 1. 10. 1998, p. 13; LOVRENČIČ 2011 (n. 98), pp. 137–138; Zveza društev »General Maister«, Zgodovina, <http://zvezadgm.net/zgodovina.htm> (accessed on 14. 4. 2013).

¹⁰² See Milček KOMELJ, Spomenik generalu Maistru, *Delo*, 40/216, 18. 9. 1998, p. 9; Marlen PREMŠAK, Bronasti konjenik Rudolf Maister. Čez slab mesec bo v Celju stal spomenik generalu Maistru, *Večer*, 54/249, 27. 10. 1998, p. 4; »Odplavila« ga je poplava. V Celju so na spomenik generalu Rudolfu Maistru kar pozabili, *Večer*, 54/281, 4. 12. 1998, p. 12; Primož ZRNEC, Maister še nima miru, *Delo*, 43/25, 31. 1. 2001, p. 4; PLEŠKO 2001 (n. 7), p. 26.

¹⁰³ PLEŠKO 2001 (n. 7), p. 29; Zoran SRDIĆ, Narodni voditelji v otrplem stanju, *Delo*, 44/272, 26. 11. 2002, p. 8; LOVRENČIČ 2011 (n. 98), p. 138.

¹⁰⁴ A photograph exhibition and a documentary were made about the making of the statue (Žiga Koritnik: *Severnica. Kako je nastajal spomenik Rudolfu Maistru*, Cankarjev dom, Mala galerija, 17. 5.–18. 6. 2000). For more details on the working process see also Jani SEVER, Goli Maister na konju, *Mladina*, 40, 1998, pp. 48–50; PLEŠKO 2001 (n. 7), pp. 27–28.

¹⁰⁵ SRDIĆ 2002 (n. 103), p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ PRŠA 2007 (n. 7), p. 59; see also AŠIČ 1998 (n. 99), p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ SEVER 1998 (n. 104), p. 49.

¹⁰⁸ SEVER 1998 (n. 104), p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ SEVER 1998 (n. 104), p. 49; Urša DOLINŠEK, Nesporazumi zaradi časovne stiske, *Delo*, 53/8, 11. 1. 2003, p. 30.



12. Boštjan Putrih:
General Maister's monument,
1999, Ljubljana

do. Instead of holding the reins, his left hand leans on his hip, most likely assuming an “upright aristocratic poise”.¹¹⁰ The right hand is raised and roughly reminiscent of Marc Aurelius’ gesture.¹¹¹ At first Brdar intended the general’s figure to be nude, but under pressure from the committee, he subsequently decided to clothe it in a kind of a tailcoat.¹¹² The sculptor, who had tried to combine the images of a soldier, poet and aristocrat, found the monument’s final impression too militaristic, whereas Milček Komelj, president of the jury and member of the committee, saw in Brdar’s Maister “an enraptured poet” surrendering to the “equestrian ballet”.¹¹³

Putrih’s sculpture and its erection in front of the Ministry of Defence building in Ljubljana attracted even less attention (fig. 12). The modelling of this statue is more realistic, but the rider’s poise and his attributes are in contrast with traditional equestrian monuments. The rider is wearing a soldier’s uniform. Absorbed in thought, he supports his chin with his right hand while with

¹¹⁰ See SEVER 1998 (n. 104), p. 49.

¹¹¹ Often understood as *adlocutio*, this is actually *deditio* gesture; see *Sculpture* 2002 (n. 43), p. 156; JECHEL 2010 (n. 39), p. 11.

¹¹² SEVER 1998 (n. 104), p. 49.

¹¹³ KOMELJ 2000 (n. 7), p. 55; DOLINŠEK 2003 (n. 109), p. 30.

the left he holds a horsewhip. The ball lying by the horse's hooves has been defined as a symbol of the imaginary northern border, reflecting the light that shines through the zircons of the horse's eyes.¹¹⁴ But a cannonball within an equestrian monument also used to solve the technical and static problems of erecting the statue of a heavy horse with its first leg raised. The Renaissance sculptor Donatello (1386–1466) put a cannonball under the front hoof of Gattamelata's horse in Padua to create balance and to remind the spectator of cannon artillery, a revolutionary weapon at that time. The whole Ljubljana sculpture with its position and pedestal may give an erroneous first impression of being a traditional equestrian statue, but Putrih's horseman obviously differs from its equestrian predecessors.

Although public opinion seemed to have been unfavourable towards the equestrian statue for Maister's monument,¹¹⁵ individual views differed. In 1998, prior to the monument's creation, art historians Stane Bernik, Peter Krečič, Breda Kovič, Damjan Prelovšek and Nace Šumi thought that the horseman was a suitable choice.¹¹⁶ In their opinion, the equestrian monument, as a traditional attribute of the soldier and a symbol of heroism, was especially well-suited to represent the fearless general.¹¹⁷ Gojko Zupan agreed to the figure of a horse or a horseman, on the condition that it is depicted in a contemporary statuary mode.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, Zdenka Badovinac and Lev Menaše believed that at the end of the second millennium, the equestrian statue was an anachronism. Badovinac emphasized the need for a contemporary mode of expression, incompatible with historical subjects, whereas Menaše thought that in the modern era, it was difficult to create "a great, artistically powerful sculpture of this kind".¹¹⁹ The idea of the monument was most likely influenced by the traditional image of the equestrian monument and also by the terminology. For a Slovene art historian, the expression "konjeniški spomenik" evokes the image and the iconography of a cavalryman, whereas in many European languages, the stress is on the undoubtedly less anachronistic rider and riding.¹²⁰ But, are the rider and riding appropriate for the monument of Rudolf Maister? Maister's verses reveal that the horse is a suitable attribute: "*Bratje, v sedlo, vajeti v dlan: / Drava nas zove, Jadran rjove, / vranci naj skrešejo trde podkove, / bratje – naprej!*"¹²¹ Horse and rider is a common image in Maister's poetry.¹²² Moreover, in the 1890s, he successfully attended the riding school for infantry officers in Ljubljana.¹²³ The type of the monument is, thus, not problematic, but what is more questionable is the identity of the figure, wavering between a poet and a soldier.¹²⁴

¹¹⁴ PLEŠKO 2001 (n. 7), pp. 26–27.

¹¹⁵ See KOMELJ 1998 (n. 102), p. 9.

¹¹⁶ AŠIČ 1998 (n. 99), p. 8.

¹¹⁷ AŠIČ 1998 (n. 99), p. 8.

¹¹⁸ AŠIČ 1998 (n. 99), p. 8.

¹¹⁹ See AŠIČ 1998 (n. 99), p. 8.

¹²⁰ See *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*, 2, Ljubljana 1975, p. 406. Many Germanic languages stress the rider (*Reiterdenkmal, ruiterstandbeeld, ryttarstaty, ryttarstatue* ipd.). English and Romance languages emphasize riding (*equestrian statue, statue équestre, escultura ecuestre, estátua equestre* ipd.). English differentiates between "equestrian" and "pedestrian" statues.

¹²¹ "Brothers, climb into the saddle, take the reins in your hands: / Drava is calling, Adria is roaring, / let the stallions wear down their shoes, / brothers – forward!" *Naprej (Forward)* was first published as *Jugoslovanska himna (Yugoslav Ode)* in 1918 in Maribor paper *Straža*; see Rudolf MAISTER, *Kitica mojh*, Maribor 1929, pp. 25, 76.

¹²² See *Osveta, Kralj Matjaž, Mati, Kazaška* (Poezije, 1902) and *Naši mejniki* (Kitica mojh, 1929).

¹²³ Bruno HARTMAN, *Rudolf Maister*, Ljubljana 1989, p. 74.

¹²⁴ See also the title of the book Bruno HARTMAN, *Rudolf Maister, general in pesnik*, Ljubljana 2006.

The selected locations – both Maister monuments stand on the margins of the town centre or even outside it – indicate that the importance of this historical figure is not very relevant. Furthermore, the unveiling of the monuments in 1999 and 2000 respectively did not attract much attention. In contrast to them, both equestrian monuments to the Yugoslav kings were placed in the very heart of Ljubljana. Their ideological message was transmitted by iconographical and formal elements, prominent positioning, well discernible inscriptions and carefully documented stories about their planning, creation, raising and unveiling. It is understandable that the statues had to be removed in 1941, when the public space around them changed its political character. As their message strongly marked the space and the past of Ljubljana, the memory of the two equestrian monuments was erased in communist Yugoslavia. Nonetheless, at the beginning of the third millennium, some authors could not understand why this erasure was necessary. Alenka Puhar believed that the two Ljubljana monuments used to “symbolically reign in the saddle” and were philosophers rather than military figures.¹²⁵ The architect Janez Suhadolc had a similar opinion. During the arrangements for the erection of the first Maister’s monument in Ljubljana, he pointed out that a “horseman with the rank of general” should stand on the same spot as the monument of King Peter.¹²⁶ Recently, Božidar Jezernik compared Alexander’s monument to the equestrian monument of Tadeusz Kościusko in Cracow, which had been destroyed during the German occupation in 1940, but was reconstructed in the 1960s with help from its sister city, Dresden.¹²⁷ Jezernik contemplated the idea that Alexander’s monument could be reconstructed in a similar way, with the help of Ljubljana’s sister city Parma, which contrasts with his discussions about the role and meaning of public monuments and their unsuitability in a changed political and historical milieu.¹²⁸ The comparison with Kościuszko is inadequate: while he was a national hero and a Pole, Alexander was a dictator and not even a Slovene. The role of Alexander’s monument was well defined by the ban of Drava Banovina Marko Natlačen, who in 1940 described it as “lasting proof of the determined will of all Slovenes to live together with Croats and Serbs in our common state”.¹²⁹ The same message was contained in the document that was built into the pedestal of the monument.¹³⁰ A public monument dedicated to any – and especially to a political or military – personage can never be treated as a mere work of art, devoid of content and ideological message. After all, many equestrian monuments had to be destroyed or removed precisely because of their politically propagandist character and function.¹³¹

The planning of equestrian monuments in Slovenia in the times of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was influenced by the tradition of dynastic representativeness. The Karađorđević monuments were erected as expressions of gratitude to the kings who had liberated the Slovene nation. At the same time, they glorified the ruling dynasty and symbolized the idea of Yugoslavism.¹³² The characteristics of Peter’s monument were not those of a traditional monarchic equestrian statue. They were consistent with the image of Peter as a democratic ruler and a pacifist. On the other hand,

¹²⁵ PUHAR 1999 (n. 6), p. 40.

¹²⁶ See KOMELJ 2005 (n. 51), pp. 248–249.

¹²⁷ JEZERNIK 2010 (n. 5), p. 10.

¹²⁸ See for example JEZERNIK 1997 (n. 5); JEZERNIK 2006 (n. 5); JEZERNIK 2012 (n. 5).

¹²⁹ *Spomenik Viteškemu kralju 1939–1940* (n. 54), p. 325.

¹³⁰ See above, n. 83.

¹³¹ This subject and the case of ban Jelačić’s monument in Zagreb are discussed in RIHTMAN-AUGUŠTIN 2004 (n. 94).

¹³² See above, n. 54, 83.

the statue of Alexander was the largest of his monuments and its traditional elements reflected his dictatorial rule. But both statues confirm the opinion of the art historian Horst Woldemar Janson, who emphasized that the equestrian monuments erected after the French Revolution lost much of their artistic potential and soon degenerated into “men on horseback”, holders of “effective power by whatever means, but devoid of majesty”.¹³³ Janson’s “man on horseback” can thus also refer to both royal monuments created by Lojze Dolinar, who almost completely renounced his own artistic expression and adapted to the tastes and needs of others. The term is even more appropriate for Ljubljana Maister’s monuments. In the name of contemporary art and probably also from fear of eclecticism, Jakov Brdar and Boštjan Putrih avoided the traditional iconography of the horseman as a leader or ruler. Their interpretations corresponded well to the political guidelines of that time, when Slovenia was in the process of being included into NATO and this demanded modifications in attitudes towards Slovene military identity. Consequently, the Slovenian capital eternalized the memory of a general by erecting two statues of a poet on horseback.¹³⁴

¹³³ JANSON 1975 (n. 19), p. 167. For 19th and 20th century equestrian monuments in Germany see Wolfgang VOMM, *Reiterstandbilder des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland. Zum Verständnis und zur Pflege eines traditionellen herrscherlichen Denkmaltyps im Historismus*, Bergisch Gladbach 1979.

¹³⁴ I would like to thank Barbara Murovec for her helpful advice. Many thanks also to Damjan Prelovšek, Tina Košak, Ana Kostić, Katarina Šmid, Franci Lazarini and to the employees of the Ljubljana Historical Archives, the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia and the Museum of Architecture and Design.

Možje na konjih

Vloga in recepcija konjeniškega spomenika na Slovenskem

Renata Komić Marn

Konjeniški spomenik je tip javnega spomenika, ki predstavlja jezdeca na konju. Kot učinkovito sredstvo poveličevanja zaslужnega posameznika pa tudi širjenja državne oziroma nacionalne propagande je posvečen zlasti vladarjem in vojskovodjem.¹ General Rudolf Maister (1874–1934) je edini Slovenec, ki je bil deležen takšne monumentalne vizualizacije, in njegova spomenika, ki poldrugo desetletje stojita v slovenski prestolnici, sta danes edina primera na Slovenskem. V letih 1931 in 1940 so sicer v Ljubljani postavili konjeniška spomenika kraljema Petru I. (1844–1921) in Aleksandru (1888–1934) iz rodbine Karađorđević, ki sta bila leta 1941 uničena. Štirim konjeniškim spomenikom, ki so bili doslej postavljeni na Slovenskem,² v strokovni literaturi ni bilo posvečene veliko pozornosti. Okoliščine nastanka in postavitve spomenikov obema kraljema je najbolj natančno obravnavala Špelca Čopič v svoji disertaciji leta 1977, ki je pozneje izšla kot znanstvena monografija.³ Vzporedno z idejo o konjeniškem tipu za spomenik generalu Maistru⁴ se je pojavilo zanimanje za uničena kraljevska spomenika. K temi se je pogosto vračal Božidar Jezernik,⁵ zanimanje za oba spomenika pa je odmevalo v slovenskem dnevnom časopisu in periodiki ter v srbski strokovni literaturi.⁶ O konjeniških spomenikih Rudolfu Maistru se je pisalo predvsem v časopisu pa tudi v dveh diplomskih nalogah.⁷ Skupaj z drugimi Maistrovimi upodobitvami je oba ljubljanska spomenika obravnavala Marjeta Ciglenečki.⁸

¹ Prim. Reiterstandbild, *Lexikon der Kunst*, 6, München 1996, str. 96.

² Na podlagi redkih ostankov je sicer mogoče domnevati, da so stari Rimljani tudi na naših tleh postavljali konjeniške spomenike, ki niso ohranjeni; gl. Irena LAZAR, Celejski forum in njegov okras, *Annales. Analiza istrske in mediteranske študije. Series historia et sociologia*, 18/2, 2008, str. 352.

³ Špelca ČOPIČ, *Javni spomeniki v slovenskem kiparstvu prve polovice 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1977 (tipkopis doktorske disertacije); Špelca ČOPIČ, *Javni spomeniki v slovenskem kiparstvu prve polovice 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 2000.

⁴ Razpis je bil objavljen leta 1997 v časopisu *Delo*, 39/224, 27. 9. 1997, str. 26.

⁵ Npr. Božidar JEZERNIK, Spomeniki v vetru sprememb, *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva*, 37/3, 1997, str. 8; Božidar JEZERNIK, Power of Remembrance, Supremacy of Oblivion. History of the National “Monuments” in Ljubljana, *Hypercity. The Symbolic Side of Urbanism* (ur. Peter Nas, Annemarie Samuels), London-New York 2006, str. 101–104; Božidar JEZERNIK, Na konju je sedel samo deset mesecev, *Delo*, 52/175, 31. 7. 2010, str. 10; Božidar JEZERNIK, No Monuments, no History, no Past. Monuments and Memory, *After Yugoslavia. Identities and Politics Within the Successor States*, Hounds-mills-New York 2012, str. 188–189.

⁶ Alenka PUHAR, Konji, kralji, kipi, *Delo*, 41/151, 3. 7. 1999, str. 40; Miklavž KOMELJ, Konjeniški spomeniki in Ljubljana, *Ljubljana. Glasilo Mestne občine Ljubljana*, 5/1–2, 2000, str. 53; Uglješa RAJČEVIĆ, *Zatirano i zatrto. Oskrnjavljeni i uništeni srpski spomenici na tlu prethodne Jugoslavije*, Novi Sad 2001, str. 180–181, 186–187.

⁷ Milček KOMELJ, Polet v sanjano svobodo, *Ljubljana. Glasilo Mestne občine Ljubljana*, 5/1–2, 2000, str. 55; Tina PLEŠKO, *Jakov Brdar*, Ljubljana 2001 (tipkopis diplomske naloge); Dejan PRŠA, *Ikonografija konjenika v slovenski umetnosti novega veka*, Ljubljana 2007 (tipkopis diplomske naloge).

⁸ Marjeta CIGLENEČKI, Upodobitve generala Maistra, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 82/2–3, 2011, str. 156–179.

V nadaljevanju skušam na primeru vseh štirih spomenikov ugotoviti, kako se je namen naročnika (ki opredeljuje vlogo oziroma funkcijo spomenika) odražal na končni podobi javnega spomenika. Zanima me tudi, kako je bila kmalu po prvi svetovni vojni in zlasti na pragu tretjega tisočletja sprejeta ideja o postavitvi konjeniškega spomenika v slovenskem javnem prostoru in kako je to vplivalo na ikonografsko in formalno podobo obravnavanih spomenikov.

Potem ko je po prvi svetovni vojni slovensko ozemlje postalo del Kraljevine Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, je slovenskemu narodu zavladal kralj Peter I. iz dinastije Karađorđević, ki je bil od leta 1903 kralj Srbije.⁹ Petrova vlada je bila kratka in zgolj formalna, saj je od njegovega prihoda na prestol Kraljevine SHS do smrti leta 1921 novi državni tvorbi kot regent v resnici vladal sin Aleksander I., od leta 1914 regent Srbije.¹⁰ Petru so po njegovi smrti postavili dva spomenika, ki v slovenski povojni spomeniški produkciji, omejeni v glavnem na spomenike padlim v prvi vojni in doprsne kipe posameznikov, po svoji ambicioznosti opazno izstopata. Prvi spomenik v obliki obeliska s kraljevim portretnim medaljonom in »idealno figuro junaka« je bil postavljen leta 1926 v Kranju.¹¹ Glede na to, da so na Slovenskem pred prvo vojno spomenike postavljali predvsem pesnikom in pisateljem, je možno, da ideja o konjeniškem spomeniku za kralja Petra takrat še ni bila prisotna. Na Hrvaškem so sicer že leta 1866 postavili konjeniški spomenik hrvaškemu banu Josipu Jelačiću, ki ga je izdelal pomemben dunajski kipar Anton Dominik Fernkorn (1813–1878), in tudi Srbi so pri florentinskem kiparju Enricu Pazziju (1819–1899) naročili podobo narodnega junaka kneza Mihaila Obrenovića na konju, prvi javni spomenik v Srbiji, odkrit leta 1882.¹² A glede na to, da se Tine Kos, ki je za kranjski spomenik dobil neposredno naročilo,¹³ s konjeniško figuro ni nikoli ukvarjal, smemo domnevati, da o konjeniku spomeniški odbor ni razmišljal. Konec istega leta je javno pobudo za postavitev spomenika v Ljubljani dalo združenje rezervnih oficirjev, kraljevih sobojevnikov, in tudi v Mariboru so se začeli resno ukvarjati z idejo.¹⁴ Že v prvih mesecih po razpisu je bilo jasno, da si ljubljanski odbor želi konjeniški spomenik.¹⁵ Morda je na to željo delno vplivalo sodelovanje slovenskega kiparja Lojzeta Dolinarja (1893–1970) na natečaju za Petrov spomenik v Velikem Bečkereku (današnjem Zrenjaninu).¹⁶ V prilogi časnika *Slovenec* objavljena fotografija njegovega sicer neuspešnega predloga je pričala o tem, da imajo Slovenci kiparja, ki bo znal ustvariti konjeniški spomenik.¹⁷ Pomembno vlogo je igrala tudi potreba po veličastnosti spomenika, ki naj bi jasno izražal veliko hvaležnost do pokojnika in ovekovečil »spomin Onega, ki je z nadčloveškimi naporji domala končal dolgovečno borbo ter osvobodil in ujedinil naš troimeni narod«.¹⁸ Odločitev

⁹ Janko PRUNK, Karađorđevići, *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, 4, Ljubljana 1990, str. 406.

¹⁰ Prim. PRUNK 1990 (op. 9), str. 406.

¹¹ ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 130, 291–292; Damir GLOBOČNIK, Spomenik kralju Petru I. v Kranju, *Zgodovina za vse. Vse za zgodovino*, 18/1, 2011, str. 112–128.

¹² Vladimir MALEKOVIĆ idr., *Anton Dominik Fernkorn. Spomenik banu Josipu Jelačiću*, Zagreb 1991; Tonko MAROEVIC, Kiparstvo u 19. i 20. stoljeću, *Tisuću godina hrvatskog kiparstva* (ur. Cvito Fisković), Zagreb 1997, str. 293–294; Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ, *Umetnost i nacionalna ideja u XIX. veku*, Beograd 2006, str. 99–100.

¹³ Gl. ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 291.

¹⁴ Kako je Ljubljana prišla do spomenika kralju Petru, *Slovenec*, 59/201, 6. 9. 1931, str. 2; ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 131, 316.

¹⁵ Npr. Raziran park sredi Ljubljane, *Slovenec*, 55/19, 25. 1. 1927, str. 4; Karel DOBIDA, Spomenik kralja Petra v Ljubljani (nekaj kritičnih opazk), *Slovenec*, 55/38, 17. 2. 1927, str. 3.

¹⁶ Špelca ČOPIČ, *Lojze Dolinar 1893–1970*, Ljubljana 1997, str. 54.

¹⁷ Slovenska upodabljaljoča umetnost. Lojze Dolinar, *Ilustrirani Slovenec*, 1/46, 8. 11. 1925, str. 3.

¹⁸ Iz razpisa za postavitev spomenika, objavljenega v Slovencih!, *Slovenec*, 54/275, 1. 12. 1926, str. 3.

za konjeniški tip spomenika je bila torej razumljiva, saj so že Rimljani, potem ko so po grškem vzoru začeli svojim zmagoslavnim vojskovodjem postavljati konjeniške spomenike na forumih, to navado razširili še na druge, tudi še živeče zaslужne može in svoje prednike.¹⁹ Po nastanku cesarstva so jih – ulite iz brona v nadnaravni velikosti in pozlačene – posvečali izključno cesarju in njegovim najbližnjim varovancem.²⁰ Te konjeniške spomenike so v zgodnjem srednjem veku uničili barbari. V zahodnoevropski plastiki srednjega veka se je konjeniška figura sicer še vedno pojavljala, vendar je bila praviloma vezana na nagrobnik upodobljenca in največkrat postavljena v okviru sakralnega prostora.²¹ Ponovni prenos v javni profani prostor se je začel v začetku 13. stoletja, ko je konjenik postal simbol mestnih svoboščin ter sijaja in uspešnosti mestne države.²² Strategijo imperialne politične propagande, ki je konjeniške spomenike posvečala še živečim voditeljem, so obnovili italijanski in zlasti francoski absolutistični vladarji, katerih spomeniki so sistematično demonstrirali idejo absolutistične države. Zato so bili med francosko revolucijo in kmalu po njej do zadnjega uničeni.²³ Po francoski in zlasti marčni revoluciji so konjeniške spomenike postavljeni samo že pokojnim upodobljencem. Kralj Peter, imenovan tudi Osvoboditelj, je bil v očeh sodobnikov vreden konjeniškega spomenika po starejših vzorih. Slovenski umetnostni kritik Karel Dobida je predlagal, da bi kip po vzoru Trajanovega stebra ali dunajskega Tegetthoffovega spomenika postavili na visok steber sredi Dunajske ali na koncu Miklošičeve ceste.²⁴ Njegova je bila tudi zamisel, da bi za spomenik zgradili povsem »nov trg, ki bi čisto v klasičnem baročnem smislu lahko skupno s spomenikom tvoril novo, višjo umetnostno skupnost«.²⁵ Starejše, predvsem antične vzore je imel v mislih tudi arhitekt Jože Plečnik (1872–1957), ki je pomembno vplival na končno podobo Petrovega spomenika.²⁶ Arhitekt je skušal rešiti štiri leta trajajoči spor, ki je nastal med spomeniškim odborom in predstavniki občine ter širše javnosti v zvezi s postavitvijo Petrovega spomenika. Ta je namreč za vse v okviru natečaja

¹⁹ Harald von ROQUES DE MAUMONT, *Antike Reiterstandbilder*, Berlin 1958, str. 38, 41; Horst Woldemar JANSON, The Equestrian Monument from Cangrande della Scalla to Peter the Great, *Sixteen Studies*, New York 1975, str. 160.

²⁰ ROQUES DE MAUMONT 1958 (op. 19), str. 47–48; JANSON 1975 (op. 19), str. 160.

²¹ Donatellov Gattamelata, ki velja za prvi novoveški javni konjeniški spomenik, stoji na mestu nekdanjega pokopališča pred cerkvijo, v kateri je upodobljenec pokopan. Za »predzgodovino« in razvoj od nagrobnega konjeniškega spomenika do javnega gl. Kurt BAUCH, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa*, Berlin-New York 1976, str. 186–197; posebej za Italijo Raphael BEUING, *Reiterbilder der Frührenaissance. Monument und Memoria*, Münster 2010, str. 53–132.

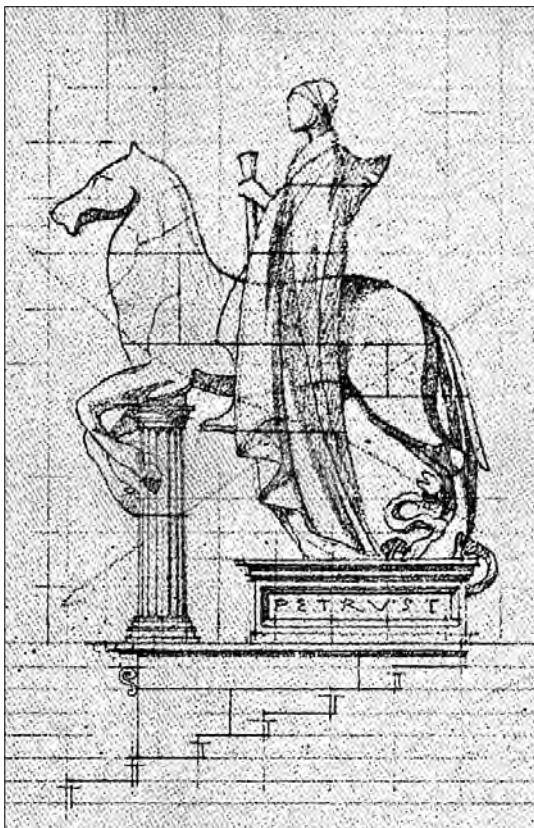
²² Erwin PANOFSKY, *Tomb Sculpture. Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, London 1992, str. 83. Za razvoj konjeniškega spomenika gl. mdr. Volker HUNECKE, *Europäische Reitermonumente. Ein Ritt durch die Geschichte Europas von Dante bis Napoleon*, Paderborn 2008; *Praemium Virtutis III. Reiterstandbilder von der Antike bis zum Klassizismus* (ur. Joachim Poeschke, Thomas Weigel, Britta Kusch-Arnhold), Münster 2008.

²³ Prim. npr. Andrew MCCLELLAN, The Life and Death of a Royal Monument. Bouchardon's "Louis XV", *The Oxford Art Journal*, 2, 1978, str. 3–5; Charlotte CHASTEL-ROUSSEAU, La figure du prince au XVIII^e siècle. Monument royal et stratégies de représentation du pouvoir monarchique dans l'espace urbain, *De l'esprit des villes*, Nancy 2005, str. 96–97; Ulrich KELLER, Reiterstandbild, *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie* (ed. Uwe Fleckner, Martin Warnke, Hendrik Ziegler), 2, München 2011, str. 306. Za kraljevske spomenike na splošno gl. mdr. *Reading the Royal Monument in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (ur. Charlotte Chastel-Rousseau), Farnham 2011.

²⁴ DOBIDA 1927 (op. 15), str. 3.

²⁵ DOBIDA 1927 (op. 15), str. 4. O razvoju, pomenu, funkciji in podobi »kraljevh« trgov v Franciji gl. Andreas KÖSTLER, *Place Royale. Metamorphosen einer kritischen Form des Absolutismus*, München 2003.

²⁶ Tudi v absolutistični Franciji so na podobo kraljevih spomenikov precej bolj vplivali arhitekti kot kiparji, gl. npr. Richard Louis CLEARY, *The "Place Royale" and Urban Design in the Ancien Régime*, Cambridge 1999, str. 6, 8.



1. Jože Plečnik: Skica za spomenik kralju Petru I.
v Ljubljani, Arhiv Muzeja za arhitekturo in oblikovanje



2. Lojze Dolinar, Jože Plečnik: Spomenik kralju Petru I., 1931, Ljubljana, uničen (fotografija iz leta 1931)

predlagane možnosti zahtevala obsežne in finančno zahtevne preuređitve okolja.²⁷ Na postavitev je najbrž zaviralno deloval tudi Plečnikov novi regulacijski načrt in se je arhitekt morda čutil dolžnega poseči v zadevo.²⁸ Novembra 1930 je pisal odboru in svetoval prostor pred magistratom ter priložil svojo skico spomenika (sl. 1).²⁹ Kip je načrtoval tako, da »bi bil njegov obris bolj živahen ter bi se s kontrastom do mirne statičnosti svojega ozadja tem bolj uveljavil«.³⁰ Kralja Petra si je zamislil na vzpenjajočem se konju in tako verjetno želel obuditi ideal helenističnega konjeniškega spomenika, ki je podoba zmagovalnega vladarja na konju v boju, obenem pa je na ta način skušal rešiti problem pogleda na zadnji del konja.³¹ Odbor je ta načrt zavrnil, zato je Plečnik svoj predlog spremenil in kmalu so pred vhodom v mestno hišo postavili nov poskusni model.³² Ta se je izkazal za previsokega

²⁷ ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 11), str. 133, 317.

²⁸ Gradbeni odsek ljubljanske občinske uprave je leta 1929 odboru za postavitev spomenika naročil, naj pri iskanju novega primernega prostora najprej preuči Plečnikov regulacijski načrt, ki ga je arhitekt pripravljal od leta 1928, gl. Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (ZAL), LJU 488, rokopisne knjige, cod. VIII/3, 15. 7. 1929.

²⁹ *Kako je Ljubljana 1931* (op. 14), str. 2.

³⁰ France STELE, Spomenik kralja Petra v Ljubljani, *Arhitektura*, 8, 1932, str. 216–217.

³¹ Prim. Damjan PRELOVŠEK, *Jože Plečnik 1872–1957. Architectura Perennis*, New Haven-London 1997, str. 280. Za fotografijo poskusnega modela kipa gl. ČOPIČ 1997 (op. 16), str. 13.

³² Enako usodo je doživel Leonardov osnutek za spomenik Francesca Sforze na vzpenjajočem se konju in tudi

in so ga morali precej znižati.³³ Končni model je komisija odobrila aprila 1931, Lojze Dolinar, ki je bil izbran za kiparja, pa je nato skupaj z enajstimi kamnoseki štiri mesece klesal spomenik, da je bil nared za postavitev in odkritje v začetku septembra (sl. 2).³⁴ Čeprav je bil sestavljen iz desetih kosov, so ga postavili v enem tednu in brez vsake nezgode.³⁵

Končna podoba spomenika je v marsičem kazala naslon na antične vzore: jezdec je bil razoglav, konj pa brez sedla, uzde in stremen, tako kot npr. tisti, ki nosi Marka Avrelija na rimskem Kapitolu.³⁶ Tudi kraljevi sandali in do tal segajoča tunika so ohranjali spomin na antične konjeniške prototipe in tako poudarjali odmik od monarhičnih spomenikov preteklih stoletij. Postavitev na stopniče ljubljanske mestne hiše je odstopala od takratne prakse in je izzvala nekaj pripomb, čeprav je mimoindom prihranila nezaželeni pogled na konja od zadaj (sl. 3).³⁷ Naslon na grško antiko je bil delno viden tudi v izbiri materiala. Droblijiv črn podpeški kamen, ki ga je »predpisal« Plečnik in ki naj bi spomeniku zagotovil skladnost s kamnitim ozadjem fasade mestne hiše, je sicer povzročil statičnost kipa, vendar je občutno zmanjšalo stroške, ki bi jih bilo potrebno predvideti za bronast spomenik.³⁸ A ker je bil kip iz kamna, kralj Peter v levi roki ni mogel držati vajeti, čeprav jezdec na konjeniškem spomeniku praviloma z levo roko vodi konja, desnico pa dviguje v pozdrav ali povelje oziroma v njej drži poveljniško palico ali žezlo. Obvladovanje konja pri tem simbolično ponazarja obvladovanje ljudstva, saj so v preteklosti umetnost jahanja enačili z umetnostjo vladanja, medtem ko je drža konja demonstrirala, kako naj se ljudstvo obnaša do svojega vladarja.³⁹ Konja so sicer v srednjem veku povezovali z grehom napuha in še v zgodnji renesansi je bil splošen simbol nebrzdane ljubezni, poželenja in tudi

Berninijev spomenik Ludviku XIV. naročniku ni ugajal, zato so mu hitro »spremenili identiteto«, gl. JANSON 1975 (op. 19), str. 166–167; Charles Avery, Equestrian Monument, *The Dictionary of Art* (ur. Jane Turner), 10, New York 1996, str. 442.

³³ ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 11), str. 317. Kako pomembna je bila višina kipa, ki naj bi se idealno vključil v svoj prostorski okvir, deloma pojasnjuje predlog gradbenega odseka ljubljanske občinske uprave, po katerem naj bi Prešernov spomenik leta 1931 prestavili na prostor pred univerzo, a če bi presegal višino balkona, »se event. lahko odvzame kako stopnjico«, gl. ZAL, LJP 488, rokopisne knjige, cod. VIII/3, 17. 6. 1931.

³⁴ *Kako je Ljubljana 1931* (op. 14), str. 2. Dolinar je bil takrat že vodilni kipar na Slovenskem. Leta 1927 je dobil prvo nagrado za osnutek (ne konjeniškega) spomenika kralju Petru v Mariboru, ki ni bil izdelan, gl. Lojze Dolinar in njegovo delo, *Jutro*, 12/205, 6. 9. 1931, str. 2. Skupaj s Plečnikom je leta 1929 izdelal Ilirski steber (spomenik Napoleonovi Iliriji); gl. ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 305.

³⁵ *Lojze Dolinar 1931* (op. 34), str. 2.

³⁶ Jezdeci v antiki niso uporabljali stremena, namesto sedla so imeli šabrade, podsedlice, gl. Lynn WHITE Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, Oxford 1962, str. 1–2; KELLER 2011 (op. 23), str. 304.

³⁷ Prim. Plečnikovo pismo Matku Prelovšku iz 1940, objavljeno v PRELOVŠEK 1997 (op. 31), str. 280; Rihard Jakopič o spomeniku pred magistratom, *Slovenec*, 59/111, 19. 5. 1931, str. 6.

³⁸ Zanj so sicer porabili le 275.000 din, čeprav je odbor do odkritja od načrtovanih 1.500.000 zbral 482.000 din. Preostanek je šel za dobrodelne namene; gl. V čast kralja Petra Osvoboditelja, *Slovenec*, 59/166, 26. 7. 1931, str. 5; Boris WIDER, Kronika mesta Ljubljane za leto 1931, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 7/2, 1940, str. 124. Primerjava s Petrovim doprsnim spomenikom, ki so ga za dobrih 200.000 din leta poprej postavili v Sisku, kaže, da so se spomeniškega podviga v Ljubljani lotili zelo varčno, prim. Svečano odkritje spomenika kralju Petru v Sisku, *Ponedeljek*, 4/38, 22. 9. 1930, str. 1.

³⁹ Ljudstvo primerja s konjem že Dante v delih *Convivio* in *Monarchia*, v času absolutizma pa je bila simbolika umetnosti jahanja eksplicitno kodificirana v priročnikih; gl. Walter LIEDTKE, John MOFFITT, Velázquez, Olivares, and the Baroque Equestrian Portrait, *The Burlington Magazine*, 123/942, 1981, str. 532, 535–536; Peter HAMMOND SCHWARTZ, Equestrian Imagery in European and American Political Thought. Toward an Understanding of Symbols as Political Texts, *The Western Political Quarterly*, 41/4, 1988, str. 659, 661; Hans-Jörg JECHEL, *Die Reiterdenkmäler für Kaiser Wilhelm I.*, Bonn 2010, str. 1; KELLER 2011 (op. 23), str. 303, 307.



Ljubljana - Mestni trg

3. Lojze Dolinar, Jože Plečnik: Spomenik kralju Petru I., 1931, Ljubljana, uničen (razglednica, pred 1934)

jeze.⁴⁰ Uzda, ki jo je Belerofonu dala Atena, da je lahko ukrotil Pegaza, je zato simbolizirala zmernost, dejanje ukrotitve pa je ponazarjalo moč, oplemeniteno s praktično inteligenco.⁴¹ A že v 16. stoletju je konj obveljal za plemenito, intelligentno in učljivo žival, ki se ne zna prilizovati, kot je to ponazarjal emblem *In adulari nescientem*.⁴² O umetnosti jahanja je nastala vrsta traktatov, med katerimi je bil najbolj vpliven Pluvinelov, Leon Battista Alberti pa je že leta 1443 konju posvetil esej z naslovom *De equo animante*.⁴³ Vsebinska komponenta klasičnega konjeniškega spomenika, ki upodobljenca označuje za sposobnega vladarja, v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja ni bila pozabljena. Zapisi o tem, da Petrova »leva roka drži vajeti težkega mišičastega konja«⁴⁴ in da je jezdec pritegnil »nevidne vajeti krepko k sebi«,⁴⁵ pričajo, da so sodobniki v Petrovem spomeniku videli tipičen konjeniški spomenik, čeprav je bil v mnogih pogledih zelo poseben.

⁴⁰ Jörg TRAEGER, Pferd, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (ur. Wolfgang Braunfels idr.), 3, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1971, stp. 412–413; LIEDTKE, MOFFIT 1981 (op. 39), str. 535. Za simboliko napuha gl. Lester K. LITTLE, Pride Goes before Avarice. Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom, *The American Historical Review*, 76/1, 1971, str. 16–39.

⁴¹ Marcel DETIENNE, Athena and the Mastery of the Horse, *History of Religions*, 11/2, 1971, str. 165, 184.

⁴² LIEDTKE, MOFFIT 1981 (op. 39), str. 535.

⁴³ Sculpture. From Antiquity to the Present Day (ur. Georges Duby, Jean-Luc Daval), Köln 2002², str. 596; BEUING 2010 (op. 21), str. 239; KELLER 2011 (op. 23), str. 308. Antoine de Pluvinel, *écuyer* francoskih kraljev Henrika IV. in Ludvika XIII., je svoj traktat *Maneige royal* izdal leta 1623, poznejše različice so nosile naslov *L'instruction du roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval*; gl. LIEDTKE, MOFFIT 1981 (op. 39), str. 536.

⁴⁴ Lojze Dolinar 1931 (op. 34), str. 2.

⁴⁵ France STELE, Spomenik kralja Petra v Ljubljani, *Mladika*, 12/10, 1931, str. 372.

Svečanosti, ki so potekale v okviru kraljevega tedna in so se pričele na predvečer odkritja spomenika, so se odvijale po vzoru velikih monarhičnih slavij.⁴⁶ Ljubljanski magistrat je bil na večer pred odkritjem »ožaren kakor pravljični grad«, njegovo pročelje je bilo ob robovih in oknih »vse prevlečeno z lučicami« in na sredi je blestel slavnosten napis, »takisto iz samih žarnic«.⁴⁷ Glede na to, da so tega dne, 6. septembra 1931, proslavljeni desetletnico vladanja kralja Aleksandra in praznovali rojstni dan prestolonaslednika Petra II., je postavitev spomenika umrlemu kralju utrjevala oblast vladajočega in zagotavljala kontinuiteto dinastije. Arhitekt in kipar sta se sicer trudila, da bi ustvarila lik demokratičnega voditelja,⁴⁸ ki bi predstavljal hvaležnost slovenskega naroda »velikemu Osvoboditelju«.⁴⁹ Takratnemu okusu stroke sta ga prilagodila tako, da ni bil »ogromen in kričav«, kot so si ga zamislili kiparji na prvem razpisu, ter da je bila »ideja o velikem paradnem trgu in patečni oblikovnosti« odločno »diskreditirana«.⁵⁰ Spomenika se je z naklonjenostjo spominjal umetnik Marjan Pogačnik (1920–2005), ki je bil prepričan, da je po njegovem razbitju leta 1941 konjska glava ostala cela, prav tako je bil na podobo z »razumnim starčevskim obrazom« navezan pisatelj Lojze Kovačič (1928–2004).⁵¹ Tudi reakcije ob uničenju spomenika pričajo o tem, da je bil kraljevski jezdec Ljubljjančanom pri srcu.⁵² A vendar je spomenik funkcionaliziral predvsem kot sredstvo državne propagande, ki je bolj kot upodobljenega poveličevala njegovega sina. Aleksander, ki je svoj prvi spomenik na Slovenskem dobil še za življenja, je leta 1929 ukinil vidovdansko ustavo, uvedel diktaturo in državo preimenoval v Kraljevino Jugoslavijo.⁵³ Dobro je znal uveljaviti idejo o bratstvu in enotnosti treh južnoslovanskih narodov.⁵⁴ Aktivno je podpiral jugoslovanski nacionalni unitarizem, a ga je na njegovi avtokratski poti ustavil atentat. Oktobra 1934 je bil ustreljen v Marseillu. Razpis za postavitev njegovega spomenika v Ljubljani je bil objavljen na praznik državnega »zedinjenja«, 1. decembra 1934, natanko osem let po objavi razpisa za ljubljanski spomenik njegovemu očetu.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ Prim. Spored svečanosti, *Jutro*, 12/204, 5. 9. 1931, str. 2; Slava kralju Osvoboditelju!, *Jutro*, 12/205, 6. 9. 1931, str. 1; Nepozabni prizori grandijozne svečanosti, *Jutro*, 12/206, 8. 9. 1931, str. 3; *Tedenske slike*, 7/37, 10. 9. 1931, str. 1–2. Ob priložnosti se je v Ljubljani zbral preko 100.000 ljudi, tudi iz najoddaljenejših krajev banovine, o slavnostnem odkritju pa so poročali tudi v beograjskih časopisih *Politika* in *Vreme*; gl. Večer pred velikim dnem, *Jutro*, 12/205, 6. 9. 1931, str. 4; RAJČEVIĆ 2001 (op. 6), str. 180.

⁴⁷ *Večer* 1931 (op. 46), str. 4. Opisi slavnosti in okrasja se ne razlikujejo dosti od tistih, ki so pospremili odkritje konjeniškega spomenika Ludviku XV. leta 1763 na današnjem *Place de la Concorde: Le soir, la place fut illuminée dans tout son pourtour; ... et, la place ainsi que les façades des deux grands édifices qui la décorent ayant été illuminées avec un art infini, on vit naître un des spectacles les plus brillants qu'il soit possible d'imaginer*; citirano po Emmanuel BOCHER, *Les Gravures françaises du XVIII^e siècle, ou Catalogue raisonné des estampes, pièces en couleur, au bistre et au lavis, de 1700 à 1800*, Paris 1879, str. 169.

⁴⁸ Peter I. Karadordžević je podpiral razmah politične demokracije, gl. PRUNK 1990 (op. 9), str. 406.

⁴⁹ Iz besedila listine, ki so jo jazidali v podstavek kipa; gl. *V čast kralja* 1931 (op. 38), str. 5.

⁵⁰ STELE 1931 (op. 45), str. 375; STELE 1932 (op. 30), str. 215.

⁵¹ Milček KOMELJ, *Kronika Marjana Pogačnika o zaljubljencih v umetnost*, Ljubljana 2005, str. 248.

⁵² Prim. Miran PAVLIN, *Ljubljana 1941. Pričevanje fotoreporterja*, Ljubljana 2004, str. 193–196.

⁵³ PRUNK 1990 (op. 9), str. 406. Poldruži meter visok spomenik z doprsnim kipom kralja je dal pred svojo hišo v Domžalah leta 1924 postaviti Andrej Slokar, prvi starosta domžalskega Sokola; gl. Prvi kraljev spomenik v Sloveniji, *Jutro*, 21/208, 6. 9. 1940, str. 5.

⁵⁴ Prim. Aleksandrov govor iz leta 1926, objavljen v Spomenik Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Zedinitelju v Ljubljani (priloga), *Umetnost*, 4/11–12, 1939–1940, str. 323–324. Prim. tudi Dinko PUC, Kralj Aleksander I., *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 1/4, 1934, str. 1.

⁵⁵ France STELE, Spomenik kralja Aleksandra I. Zedinitelja v Ljubljani, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 7/3, 1940, str. 129. Tudi razpis za Petrov spomenik je bil objavljen na dan državnega »zedinjenja«; gl. *Slovenci!* 1926, str. 3.



4. Lojze Dolinar, Herman Hus:
Spomenik kralju Aleksandru I.,
1940, Ljubljana, uničen
(fotografija iz leta 1941)

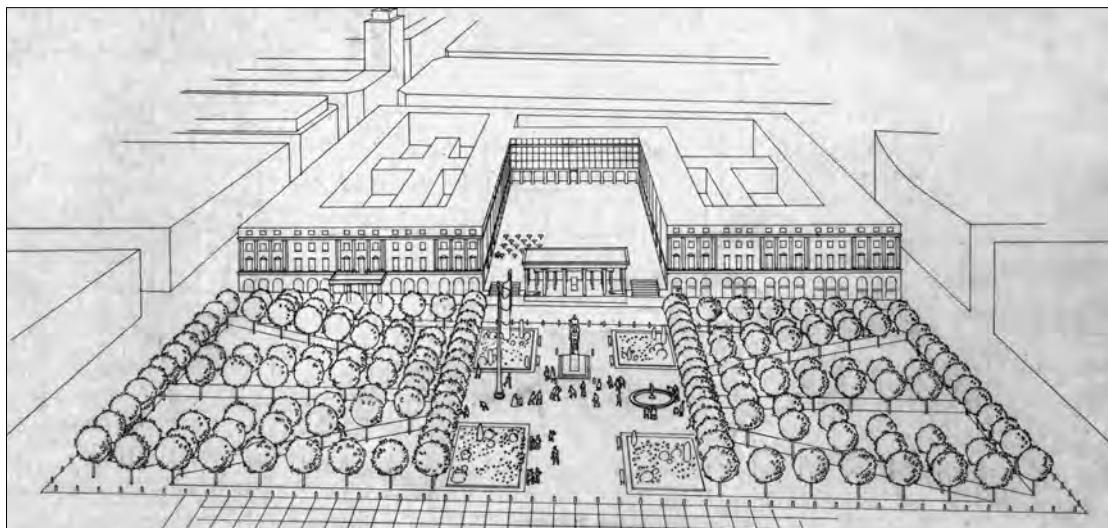
Da bo Aleksander upodobljen na konju, je bilo jasno že ob razpisu, poleg tega je bila tudi javnost ideji vseskozi naklonjena.⁵⁶ Odločanje o prostoru, na katerem naj bi spomenik stal, je tudi tokrat trajalo štiri leta in ponovno je vanj posegel Jože Plečnik. Takratni predsednik odbora za postavitev spomenika, Ivan Hribar, je arhitektu neposredno naročil, naj izdela predlog za postavitev spomenika v ljubljanskem parku Zvezda, ki ga je ožji odbor potrdil oktobra 1937.⁵⁷ Načrt je predvideval ureditev Južnega trga z arhitekturnim kompleksom, ki bi spomeniku služil kot okvir in ozadje.⁵⁸ Med mestno občino in širšim spomeniškim odborom, ki je načrt tako imenovanih Propilej naposled zavrnil, se je kmalu vnel oster boj političnega značaja, ki je mestoma presegel meje spodobnosti.⁵⁹ V spor se je vmešala strokovna javnost; nekateri, zlasti arhitekti, so zagovarjali Plečnikov načrt in zavračali

⁵⁶ Kiparji, ki so se udeležili razpisa, so morali upoštevati »željo, naj predstavlja spomenik kralja na konju«; gl. Karel DOBIDA, Razstava spomeniških osnutkov, *Ljubljanski zvon*, 59, 1939, str. 81; STELE 1940 (op. 55), str. 132–133, 138.

⁵⁷ Anton STUPICA, Naša kronika, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 5/1, 1938, str. 57; STELE 1940 (op. 55), str. 137.

⁵⁸ Za podrobnosti o Plečnikovem načrtu in fotografije prvega modela kipa gl. Anton STUPICA, Aleksandrove Propileje v Ljubljani, *Slovenec*, 65/221, 26. 9. 1937, str. 7; Novo središče Ljubljane, *Slovenec*, 67/194, 26. 8. 1939, str. 5; ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 137, 141, 376–378. Načrt je nastal v sodelovanju s študentom Marjanom Tepino, ki je pod Plečnikovim mentorstvom na to temo izdelal diplomsko nalogu; gl. Ines UNETIČ, Protokolarni prostor v Ljubljani, *Kronika*, 57/1, 2009, str. 100.

⁵⁹ V *Slovencu* so, denimo, pisali, da »razni kričači ne bodo učili prof. Plečnika, kaj je lepo in kaj ni«, in da je nasprotnikom Propilej razumljiv le »konjiček s figuro, katero stopnjujejo samo v merilu«; gl. Boj za kraljevi spomenik v Ljubljani, *Slovenec*, 65/227a, 3. 10. 1937, str. 5; Dušan GRABRIJAN, Spomenik kralju Aleksandru v Ljubljani, *Slovenec*, 66/189a, 19. 8. 1938, str. 3. Grabrijan je svoje mnenje zagovarjal še 30 let pozneje, ko je isti članek objavil v svoji knjigi *Plečnik in njegova šola*, Maribor 1968, str. 147–153. V odboru so menili, da je »gospod arhitekt Plečnik v svojem novem načrtu projektiral kandelabre, ne pa Kraljevega spomenika«; gl. Arhiv Republike Slovenije (ARS) 67, KBUDB, Pogoji in program natečaja za spomenik Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. (brez naslova, neoštevilčeno). Glede političnih nasprotij prim. ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 372.



5. Jože Plečnik: Drugi načrt za ureditev Južnega trga v Ljubljani, Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana

konjeniški spomenik v »že tisočkrat postavljeni« obliki in postavitvi.⁶⁰ Plečnik se je namreč vrnil k ideji o vzpenjajočem se konju in jezdecu, katerega vez s staroveškimi predniki so dodatno potrjevali lovov venec, kratek meč in antična »imperatorska« toga.⁶¹ Zagovornikom Propilej je tak konjenik ugajal, širšemu odboru in laični javnosti pa ne. Odločno so ga zavrnili tudi pobudniki spomeniške akcije, kraljevi vojni prostovoljci, ki so opozorili, da Aleksander ni bil imperator, in žeeli, naj spomenik predstavlja kralja takšnega, kot je v resnici bil, ne pa v »stisnjeni idealizirani obliki, ki povsem nasprotuje njegovi borbi za Jugoslavijo«.⁶² Zavzemali so se za spomenik, ki bo predstavljal »povelčanje« kralja in pomenil poznejšim rodovom »graniten mejnik velikega obdobja naše narodne zgodovine«.⁶³ V tem duhu je bil skupaj s Propilejami Plečnikov konjenik ponovno zavrnjen. Razpisani je bil nov natečaj za prostorsko rešitev, na katerem je bil izbran predlog arhitekta Hermanna Husa (1896–1960) za postavitev na vhodu v Tivoli, nasproti ljubljanske pravoslavne cerkve, in kmalu so se na javnem natečaju, ki je bil odprt za vse jugoslovanske umetnike, pomerili še kiparji.⁶⁴ Odbor je naročilo oddal slovenskemu kiparju Lojzetu Dolinarju, ki je od leta 1932 živel in delal v Beogradu. Njegov osnutek je kot najboljši med konjeniškimi dobil drugo nagrado, toda postavitev skoraj 14 metrov visokega modela pri vhodu v Tivoli je pokazala, da ta lokacija zanj ni ustrezena.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Prim. npr. Marjan TEPINA, Ljubljana in kraljev spomenik, *Slovenec*, 66/236, 13. 10. 1938, str. 5; *Kaos* 1939 (op. 49), str. 8. Druge zagovornike Plečnikovega načrta navaja ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 141.

⁶¹ STUPICA 1937 (op. 58), str. 7; GRABRIJAN 1938 (op. 59), str. 3; STELE 1940 (op. 55), str. 138.

⁶² Kraljev spomenik in vojni dobrovoljci, *Slovenski narod*, 70/266, 20. 11. 1937, str. 2.

⁶³ Viteškemu kralju dostenj spomenik!, *Jutro*, 17/85, 10. 4. 1936, str. 1. Gl. tudi Vojni dobrovoljci in spomenik kralja Aleksandra, *Jutro*, 21/208, 6. 9. 1940, str. 2.

⁶⁴ STELE 1940 (op. 55), str. 138–139. Za Husov predlog gl. Bodoči kraljev trg pred Tivoljem, *Jutro*, 19/268, 18. 11. 1938, str. 3. Za podrobnosti o kiparskem natečaju in osnutkih gl. DOBIDA 1939 (op. 56), str. 81–82; *Kaos* 1939, str. 8; Stane MIKUŽ, Po razstavi osnutkov za kraljev spomenik, *Slovenec*, 67/36, 12. 2. 1939, str. 9; ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 138–139, 374.

⁶⁵ Božo GVARDJANČIČ, Vprašanje spomenika kralja Aleksandra, *Slovenec*, 66/275, 29. 11. 1938, str. 3; STELE 1940 (op. 55), str. 139–140. Gradbeni odbor je prostor označil za neustreznega še pred postavtvijo modela; gl. ZAL, LJU 488, rokopisne knjige, cod. VIII/8a, Zapisnik 6. seje gradbenega odbora ljubljanske občinske uprave, 1. 2. 1939, str. 4–6.

Zato je odbor pod pritiskom mestne občine, inženirske zbornice, kluba arhitektov in ne nazadnje ljubljanske širše javnosti spomladi 1940 končno izbral prostor v parku Zvezda.⁶⁶ Del Zvezde so na hitro primerno uredili in 6. septembra 1940 slovesno odkrili spomenik, ki ga je Dolinar medtem izdelal, izgradnjo Južnega trga po malce spremenjenem Plečnikovem načrtu, ki je bil navsezadnje sprejet, pa je preprečila italijanska okupacija (sl. 4–5).⁶⁷

Dolinarjevega drugega konjenika so pogosto opisovali s številkami: visok je bil 6,80 m (s podstavkom 10,80), dolg 5,75 m, širok 1,60 m, imel je 1,20 m debele železobetonske temelje, sestavljen je bil iz 54 posebej ulitih kosov, kipar je moral samo pri izdelovanju obraza stopiti »40, 50 krat doli in gori«, pri izdelavi železnega ogrodja so porabili za 25.000 din železja, za modeliranje je bilo potrebnih 50 ton gline, za odlitek 6 ton mavca, za spomenik 6 ton brona, vrednih 300.000 din, skupaj so za spomenik porabili 1.300.000 din.⁶⁸ Veliki bronasti kip je imel strelvod, po sredini podstavka, ki sta ga krasila bronasta reljefna, pa je bil speljan tudi odtočni kanal za deževnico in snežnico, ki se bo zbirala na spomeniku.⁶⁹ Dolinar je imel v Beogradu, kjer je kip nastajal, tako za konja kot za jezdeca na voljo modele, ustreznost vsakega detajla pa so sproti preverjali nadzorniki, ki so ga stalno obiskovali.⁷⁰ Končni izdelek je bil zato drugačen od prvotnega osnutka (sl. 6–7).⁷¹ Kipar je moral kralja obleči v dolg vojaški plašč in se odreči značilnemu motivu vihrajočega vrhnjega dela oblačila, s katerim je skušal uravnotežiti figuro jezdeca za pogled od strani; odliti konj je bil bolj čokat in manj plešoč, njegov rep je bil višje dvignjen.⁷² Jezdec je v desni roki držal žezlo, ki ga osnutek ni predvideval. Potem ko je spomenik že stal, so zapisali, da si je Dolinar Aleksandra zamislil kot »kralja, vojaka in borca, ki gre v zmagoslavnem pohodu, potem ko mu je dal narod žezlo, znak oblasti«.⁷³ Tudi Dolinar je izrazil željo, da bi spomenik že po »veličini ponazoril veliko idejo zedinjenja, po notranji vsebini pa triumf

⁶⁶ STELE 1940 (op. 55), str. 139–140.

⁶⁷ Razgovor z ustvarjalcem kraljevega spomenika kiparjem Lojzetom Dolinarjem, *Slovenec*, 68/204, 6. 9. 1940, str. 3. Za ureditev parka gl. ZAL, LJP 488, rokopisne knjige, cod. VIII/9, Zapisnik 27. seje gradbenega odbora ljubljanskega, 1. 5. 1940, str. 1–3, Zapisnik 52. seje gradbenega odbora ljubljanskega, 21. 8. 1940, str. 8–9 in Zapisnik 54. seje gradbenega odbora ljubljanskega, 4. 9. 1940, str. 2; STELE 1940 (op. 55), str. 140; Breda MIHELIČ, Kongresni trg, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n. v. 37, 2001, str. 130–131. Praznovanje ob odkritiju je tokrat trajalo le en dan; gl. Potek in organizacija današnjih slovesnosti, *Slovenec*, 68/204, 6. 9. 1940, str. 3; Potek nepozabnih slovesnosti, *Slovenec*, 68/205a, 7. 9. 1940, str. 1–2; ARS 67, KBUDB, Pogoji in program natečaja za spomenik Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Spored slovesnega odkritja spomenika Blagopokojnemu Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Ujedinitelju (neoštevilčeno).

⁶⁸ Obisk pri kiparju Dolinarju, *Jutro*, 20/258, 5. 11. 1939, str. 7; Kako je Ljubljana dobila spomenik kralja Aleksandra I., *Slovenec*, 68/204, 6. 9. 1940, str. 2; Kako je nastal spomenik, *Jutro*, 21/208, 6. 9. 1940, str. 2; ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 371. Za podrobnosti o dohodkih in izdatkih odbora gl. ARS 67, KBUDB, Zapisniki sej ožjega odbora, Blagajniško poročilo o denarnem poslovanju odbora za postavitev spomenika Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Ujedinitelju v Ljubljani po stanju od dne 16. 12. 1940 (neoštevilčeno).

⁶⁹ Kraljev spomenik hitro dovršujejo, *Jutro*, 21/172, 26. 7. 1940, str. 3; *Kako je Ljubljana* 1940 (op. 68), str. 2.

⁷⁰ Miha MALEŠ, Kako je nastal Dolinarjev spomenik, *Umetnost*, 4/11–12, 1939–1940, str. 333. Nadzor omenja tudi ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 371.

⁷¹ Osnutek je nekoliko šaljivo kritiziral Stane Mikuž. Po njegovem mnenju je bil konj videti, kot da je »zaslišal glasove vojaške muzike in po njej naravnal svoje korake, in to tako odločno, da se zdi, da skoraj ne bo mogel potegniti za seboj malce dolgega, togega trupla«; gl. MIKUŽ 1939 (op. 64), str. 9.

⁷² Vihrajoči del oblačila bi bil lahko spomin na antični motiv jezdeca na rimskih nagrobnih stelah, kakršne so se ohranile tudi na naših tleh. Tako imenovani *heros* je vedno upodobljen v gibanju, zato del njegovega ogrinjala vihra v vetru; gl. Michael ZEHENTNER, *Römische Reitergrabstelen in Noricum*, Graz 2011 (tipkopis diplomske naloge), zlasti str. 110–111.

⁷³ *Kako je Ljubljana* 1940 (op. 68), str. 2.



6. Lojze Dolinar: Osnutek za spomenik kralju Aleksandru I. v Ljubljani, nahajališče neznano



7. Lojze Dolinar, Herman Hus: Spomenik kralju Aleksandru I., 1940, Ljubljana, uničen (fotografija iz leta 1940)

zmagujočega kralja.⁷⁴ Na vprašanje, zakaj si je izbral ravno konja in jezdca za ponazoritev te ideje, je v razgovoru z novinarjem odgovoril, da »zmagujoči triumfator ne more iti peš«, in tako opozoril na povezavo vladarske oziroma voditeljske moči s konji, ki izhaja tudi iz distinkcije med tistimi, ki so se borili na konju, in tistimi, ki so v borbo morali peš.⁷⁵ Pomembno je tudi, da je konjeniški spomenik med vsemi spomeniškimi tipi, ki upodabljajo in poveličujejo osebe posvetnega statusa, najbolj vzvišen. Konj figuro jezdca povzdigne in monumentalizira.⁷⁶ Zato se je v spomeniškem kiparstvu konj ohranil kot nekoliko anahronističen atribut vojskovodij 20. stoletja, ki so se že presedli s konjskega hrbta za volan avtomobila. Pomembno vlogo pri izbiri tipa spomenika je igral tudi uspeh jugoslovenskih kiparjev na področju konjeniške skulpture. Umetnostni zgodovinar France Stele (1886–1972) je kot hvalevredna zgleda omenjal Ivana Meštrovića (1883–1962)⁷⁷ in Antuna Augustinčića (1900–1979),⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Razgovor 1940 (op. 67), str. 3.

⁷⁵ Razgovor 1940 (op. 67), str. 3. Prim. tudi HAMMOND SCHWARTZ 1988 (op. 39), str. 657; BEUING 2010 (op. 21), str. 239.

⁷⁶ BEUING 2010 (op. 21), str. 240.

⁷⁷ Mdr. avtor konjeniških spomenikov romunskima kraljema Ferdinandu I. in Karlu I. (1937 in 1939, uničili komunisti) ter načrtov za konjeniški spomenik Simonu Bolivarju in za konjeniške figure ob mostu kralja Aleksandra, ki je povezoval Beograd in Zemun. Konjeniška spomenika romunskima kraljema sta v katalogih, nastalih po drugi vojni, praviloma prezrta ali pa komajda omenjena; gl. npr. Željko GRUM, *Ivan Meštrović*, Zagreb 1969, str. 164; *Ivan Meštrović 1883–1962*, Zagreb 1983, str. 21, 135; Duško KEČKEMET, *Ivan Meštrović*, Beograd 1983, str. 19; Ana ADAMEC, *Ivan Meštrović 1883–1962*, Beograd 1984, str. 30. Za neizvedene načrte gl. *Meštrović*, Zagreb 1933, repr. CXI, CXV.

⁷⁸ Augustinčić je mdr. leta 1930 izdelal dve konjeniški figuri za most carja Dušana v Skopju, leta 1937 konjeniški spomenik maršalu Pilsudskemu v Katowicah na Poljskem (bil v celoti ulit in postavljen po drugi vojni), istega leta je dobil prvo nagrado za osnutek konjeniškega spomenika albanskemu narodnemu heroju Skenderbegu v Tirani,



8. Spomenik kralju Aleksandru I.
tik pred porušitvijo
(fotografija iz leta 1941)

ki sta se s svojim delom uveljavila tudi izven meja širše domovine.⁷⁹ Ker pa Steletov prispevek razodeva dobronameren trud, da bi pojasnil in argumentiral izbiro konjeniškega tipa spomenika, bi lahko sklepali, da odločitev zanj le ni bila tako enoglasna.⁸⁰

Spomenik v Zvezdi je bil največji kadarkoli ulit in postavljen bronast spomenik kralju v Jugoslaviji (menda tudi na Balkanu) in izbrani prostor sredi urejenega parka je bil dovolj reprezentativen, da je celota vzbujala občudovanje.⁸¹ Vsebinsko je združeval militaristično in vladarsko ikonografijo, ki je predstavljala Aleksandrove vojaške in državniške uspehe, ter tako uspešno konkuriral ikonografskemu tipu, ki so ga do popolnosti razvili Habsburžani. Diktatorski politiki primerno je spomenik kazal naslon na monarhične spomenike 19. stoletja. Ponudil je vizualni ekvivalent slavilni retoriki v literarno-publicistični sferi.⁸² V primerjavi s spomenikom kralja Petra, ki ga je France Stele pohvalil kot diskretnega in skorajda neopaznega, je Aleksandrov spomenik glasno in vsiljivo opozarjal mimoidoče na svoje zadnje besede: »Čuvajte Jugoslavijo!«⁸³ Zaradi idej, ki jih je reprezentiral, je bil takoj po italijanski okupaciji leta 1941 uničen in tudi Petrov spomenik ter drugi simboli nestabilne kraljevine Jugoslavije se takšni usodi niso mogli izogniti (sl. 8).⁸⁴

ki ni bil izdelan (avtor spomenika iz leta 1968, ki danes stoji v središču Tirane, je albanski kipar Odhise Paskali), leta 1938 je dobil četrto nagrado za osnutek konjeniškega spomenika Joseu Justu Urquizi v Buenos Airesu; gl. Augustinčić (ur. Ante Gavranović), Zagreb 1976, repr. 6, 7, 9 ter dodatek Iz biografije (neoštevilčeno).

⁷⁹ STELE 1940 (op. 55), str. 132.

⁸⁰ Prim. STELE 1940 (op. 55), str. 132–139.

⁸¹ *Kraljev spomenik* 1940 (op. 69), str. 3; *Razgovor* 1940 (op. 67), str. 3; *Kako je nastal* 1940 (op. 68), str. 2.

⁸² Prim. npr. PUC 1934 (op. 54), str. 1.

⁸³ STELE 1931 (op. 45), str. 373. V podstavek spomenika je bila vložena listina z besedilom pesnika Alojzija Gradnika: *V letu Gospodovem tisoč devetsto in štiridesetem, v mesecu juniju, smo položili v zavetje kamna to ploščo, ki naj sporoča poznim pokolenjem našega rodu, da je bil tega leta v srcu Slovenije, v beli Ljubljani, postavljen likovni spomenik Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Zedinitelju z dobrovoljnimi prispevki vseh slojev slovenskega naroda kot znamenje njegove ljubezni in hvaležnosti in potrdilo njegove volje, da hoče ostati svoboden na svoji zemlji v kraljevini Jugoslaviji, združen s Hrvati in Srbi. Čuvajmo Jugoslavijo!* Objavljeno v Odkritje spomenika Viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. Zedinitelju, Vrtec Slovenski mladini, 71/2, 1940, str. 58.

⁸⁴ Oba so uničili 25. 7. 1941; gl. PAVLIN 2004 (op. 52), str. 193–196. Za park Zvezda so Italijani takoj začeli snovati nov spomenik; gl. Nataša KEJŽAR, *Ljubljanski javni spomeniki v času italijanske okupacije. Načrt Fortune Argonavtov za park Zvezda in njen ikonografski pomen*, Ljubljana 2012 (tipkopis diplomske naloge), str. 15, 53–54.



9. Boris Kalin, Jaroslav Černigoj: Osnutek za spomenik kralju Aleksandru I. v Mariboru, nahajališče neznano

Druga svetovna vojna je preprečila postavitev Aleksandrovega spomenika v Mariboru, ki so ga začeli načrtovati istočasno kot ljubljanskega. Po letu 1921 so sicer najprej želeli postaviti spomenik kralju Petru in glede na to, da so za kiparja želeli pridobiti Ivana Meštrovića,⁸⁵ je zelo verjetno, da so si že Petrov spomenik zamisljali kot konjeniškega. Meštrović se ni odzval, in medtem ko je tekmovalna ambicioznost mariborskega odbora zavirala uresničitev načrtov, je bil leta 1934 izvršen atentat na Aleksandra, kar je sprožilo akcijo za postavitev Aleksandrovega spomenika.⁸⁶ Njegovo predvideno podobo je določil natečaj, objavljen leta 1938.⁸⁷ Nagrajeni osnutek kiparja Borisa Kalina (1905–1975) in arhitekta Jaroslava Černigoja (1905–1989) je bil zamišljen kot konjeniška plastika na dveh, več kot deset metrov visokih stebrih, ki naj bi ju postavili na Trgu svobode, pred vzhodno fasado mariborskega gradu (sl. 9).⁸⁸ Za osnutek bi lahko rekli, da se je zgledoval po zgodnjekrščanskih vzorih (denimo po leta 1453 uničenem konjeniškem spomeniku cesarja Justinijana v Carigradu), toda primerjava z Meštrovićevimi osnutki konjeniških kipov za Aleksandrov most

med Beogradom in Zemunom kaže, da sta avtorja posnemala novejši vzor.⁸⁹

V Mariboru so načrtovali tudi spomenik Rudolfu Maistru, ki je umrl le nekaj mesecev pred kraljem, a so ga postavili šele leta 1958.⁹⁰ Rudolf Maister ima velike zasluge pri oblikovanju severne državne meje, saj je novembra leta 1918 samoiniciativno prevzel in ohranil vojaško oblast Države

Po pričevanju dr. Damjana Prelovška se je na grobu njegove stare tete na ljubljanskih Žalah ohranil del granitnega podstavka Aleksandrovega spomenika, ki ga je neki kamnosek po kosih prodajal za nagrobnike.

⁸⁵ ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 131.

⁸⁶ ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 131.

⁸⁷ Razpis za ljubljanski spomenik je omenjal tudi mariborskega; gl. Proglas odbora za postavitev spomenika slovenskim vojakom, *Umetnost*, 4/11–12, 1939–1940, str. 340–341. Za pogoje mariborskega natečaja gl. *Razpis natečaja za idejne osnutek spomenika blagopokojnemu viteškemu kralju Aleksandru I. uedinitelju v Mariboru*, Maribor 1938.

⁸⁸ Jaroslav ČERNIGOJ, Bodoči Trg svobode v Mariboru, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 6/2, 1939, str. 83; Sergej VRIŠER, Znamenja in javni spomeniki v Mariboru do 1941, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 2, 1971, str. 193. Občina Slovenske Konjice hrani dva in pol metra visok mavčni osnutek konja, ki ga je leta 2009 daroval Kalinov zet Franc Vehovar; gl. *V Konjice prihaja konj kralja Aleksandra*, http://www.slovenskekonjice.si/eu2/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=454 (stanje 14. 6. 2013). Za podatke in pojasnila se zahvaljujem gospe Klari Šibanc Korošec iz županovega urada.

⁸⁹ Prim. Meštrović 1933 (op. 77), repr. CXV; Phyllis WILLIAMS LEHMANN, Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider, *The Art Bulletin*, 41/1, 1959, str. 39–57.

⁹⁰ Za prvi Maistrov spomenik v Mariboru gl. CIGLENEČKI 2011 (op. 8), str. 165–166.

Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov nad Mariborom in Spodnjo Štajersko.⁹¹ Med njegovim vojaškim podvigom začrtana meja je že skoraj sto let veljavna državna meja med Avstrijo in Jugoslavijo oziroma Slovenijo. Maister je bil karizmatična osebnost, odločen in vsestransko razgledan poveljnik ter psemiško in likovno nadarjen mož.⁹² V Sloveniji, ki je po koncu druge svetovne vojne postala del SFRJ, so mu postavili le nekaj likovnih spomenikov,⁹³ saj je bil največji in najpomembnejši del povojske spomeniške produkcije posvečen spominu na narodnoosvobodilni boj. Konjeniških spomenikov niso postavljali nikjer v »Titovi« Jugoslaviji.⁹⁴ Spomenik jezdeca na konju je v zavesti prebivalstva verjetno predstavljal (jugoslovanskega) kralja in kot tak ni bil primeren. Tako leta 1991, ko se je Slovenija odcepila od Jugoslavije in postala samostojna država, na celotnem slovenskem ozemlju ni stal noben konjeniški spomenik, v Ljubljani kot prestolnici pa niti spomenik generalu Maistru. Potreba po uresničitvi obeh se je pojavila po letu 1994, ko je takratni predsednik slovenske vlade Lojze Peterle podpisal sporazum o sodelovanju v kulturi in izobraževanju med Slovenijo in Argentino.⁹⁵ Argentinska vlada je Sloveniji podarila doprsni kip argentinskega narodnega junaka, generala Joseja de San Martina.⁹⁶ Prizadavanja, da bi spomenik postavili v (za to priložnost imenovani) Argentinski park v Ljubljani, so se zaradi pomanjkanja sredstev kmalu končala.⁹⁷ Postavitvi so tudi ugovarjali potomci Maistrovih borcev, saj so menili, da bi morala Ljubljana najprej misliti na slovenskega generala, Rudolfa Maistra, kot je že od osamosvojitve Slovenije opozarjal tudi Anton Trstenjak.⁹⁸ Zato so junija 1996 ustanovili odbor za postavitev spomenika generalu Maistru.⁹⁹ Za prvonagrajenega konjenika – osnutek je izdelal Jakov Brdar – je odbor izbral Trg Osvobodilne fronte, ki naj bi bil dobro obiskan in dovolj reprezentativni prostor.¹⁰⁰ A zaradi neodločnosti glede lokacije ter počasnega

⁹¹ Andrej RAHTEN, Mednarodne okoliščine Maistrove akcije, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 82/2–3, 2011, str. 6; Vincenc RAJŠP, General Maister in slovenska severna meja, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 82/2–3, 2011, str. 38.

⁹² Prim. Anton DOLAR, Kaj nam je pomenil general Maister kot vojak, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 1/4, 1934, str. 262–264; Janko GLASER, Rudolf Maister - Vojanov kot pesnik, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, 1/4, 1934, str. 264–266; CIGLENEČKI 2011 (op. 8), str. 157–159.

⁹³ CIGLENEČKI 2011 (op. 8), str. 165–170.

⁹⁴ Edini meni znani konjeniški spomenik, ki je bil postavljen v Titovi Jugoslaviji, je spomenik hrvaškemu kralju Tomislavu (u. 928), ki ga je Robert Franeš Mihanović (1872–1940) izdelal že konec tridesetih let, postavili pa so ga leta 1947 v Zagrebu, prim. ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 3), str. 141. Istega leta je komunistična oblast odstranila že omenjeni spomenik Josipu Jelačiću iz leta 1866, ki je bil leta 1990 ponovno postavljen; gl. Olga MARUŠEVSKI, Fernkorn, Anton Dominik, *Enciklopedija hrvatske umjetnosti*, 1, Zagreb 1995, str. 248–249; Dunja RIHTMAN-AUGUŠTIN, The monument in the Main Square. Constructing and erasing memory in contemporary Croatia, *Balkan Identities. Nation and Memory* (ur. Maria Todorova), London 2004, str. 180–196. Konjeniški spomenik knezu Mihailu Obrenoviću iz leta 1882 pa je v Beogradu stal ves čas.

⁹⁵ Ratificiran leta 1997, gl. *Uradni list RS*, 11, 11. 7. 1997, str. 691.

⁹⁶ »Fašizem je živ.« Pismo Dušana Puha v zvezi z delom vlade, <http://zb-koper.si/> (stanje 14. 3. 2013). Za podatke o argentinskem generalu gl. Tone MIZERIT, Više kot Napoleon, dlje kot Hanibal, *Gea*, 7/4, 1997, str. 74–75.

⁹⁷ Dejan VODOVNIK, Kip San Martina v nemilosti, *Delo*, 39/224, 27. 9. 1997, str. 2. Argentinci so svoj kip zahtevali nazaj.

⁹⁸ Milan LOVRENČIČ, Smoter ustanavljanja in delovanja društva generala Maistra, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 82/2–3, 2011, str. 137; Zveza društva »General Maister«, Zgodovina, <http://zvezadgm.net/zgodovina.htm> (stanje 14. 4. 2013).

⁹⁹ Ana AŠIČ, Sta konjenik in Trg republike prava izbira?, *Delo*, 40/26, 2. 2. 1998, str. 8; PLEŠKO 2001 (op. 7), str. 23.

¹⁰⁰ PLEŠKO 2001 (op. 7), str. 24. Javni razpis za postavitev Maistrovega spomenika je septembra 1997 navedel Trg republike kot izbrano lokacijo, objavljen v *Delo*, 39/224, 27. 9. 1997, str. 26. Za mnenja posameznih strokovnjakov o tej lokaciji gl. AŠIČ 1998 (op. 99), str. 8. Prvonagrajenca, kipar Jakov Brdar in arhitekt Jurij Kobe, sta predlagala »danes nesrečni, degradirani iztek s Prešernove ceste na Tivolsko«; gl. Ana AŠIČ, Na »Maistrovem« natečaju



10. Jakov Brdar, Jurij Kobe: Spomenik generalu Rudolfu Maistru, 1999, Ljubljana



11. Jakov Brdar, Jurij Kobe: Spomenik generalu Rudolfu Maistru, 1999, Ljubljana

sprejemanja mestnega in državnega proračuna se je oddaja naročila zavlekla in junija 1998, ko Brdar pogodbe z mestno občino še ni podpisal, so se civilni pobudniki akcije lotili drugače. Brdarju so ponudili financiranje izdelave »njegovega« Maistra, vendar je kipar ponudbo po daljšem premisleku zavrnil, zato so kip naročili neposredno pri kiparju Boštjanu Putrihu.¹⁰¹ Putrihovega konjenika so ponudili najprej ljubljanski, nato še celjski mestni občini, a je bil obakrat zavrnjen.¹⁰² Nazadnje ga je brez javnega razpisa kupilo slovensko ministrstvo za obrambo in 6. oktobra 2000 je bil postavljen na stopnišče pred stavbo ministrstva.¹⁰³ Medtem je Brdar novembra 1998 podpisal pogodbo za izdelavo kipa in njegov spomenik je bil na dan državnosti, 24. junija 1999, postavljen na robu parka oziroma pločnika nasproti glavnega kolodvora (sl. 10–11).¹⁰⁴

Postavitev Maistrovega spomenika v Ljubljani naj bi za mlado evropsko državo simbolizirala zavedanje samostojnosti in resnega partnerstva z državami z večstoletno tradicijo.¹⁰⁵ Njegov pomen naj bi bil nacionalen in državotvoren, bilo pa je tudi »želeno, a ne fiksno določeno, naj bo /Maister/ predstavljen na konju«.¹⁰⁶ Tej želji so se podredili vsi na natečaj prispeli osnutki. Jakov Brdar je leta 1998 v intervjuju za revijo *Mladina* dejal, da je natečaj najprej razumel kot priložnost, da naredi spomenik slovenskim pesnikom, potem pa sta ga navdušila Leonardova risba neizvedenega konjeniškega tipa in rimski spomenik Marka Avreljija.¹⁰⁷ Menil je, da tak spomenik potrebuje trg, saj simbolizira pridobljena ozemlja in prostor, zato je načrtoval, da bo konjenik postavljen v parku Zvezda.¹⁰⁸ Pri tem je torej zagovarjal klasično idejo o prostoru za spomenik. Obenem pa je načrtoval podstavek, ki naredi kip dostopen, in ni hotel, da bi konjenika postavili na tri ali štiri metre visok podstavek, ker so to »počeli v prejšnjem času«.¹⁰⁹ Potem ko je bil izdelan, se je kip izkazal za klasično zasnovanega, a vendarle drugačnega. General konja ne vodi, kot je to v navadi pri konjeniških spomenikih, saj je levico, v kateri naj bi držal vajeti, uprl v bok. To je verjetno aristokratska pokončna drža, ki jo je kipar opazil na fotografijah generala Maistra.¹¹⁰ Desnica je dvignjena in nekoliko spominja na gesto

prvonagrajena Brdar in Kobe. Kje bo stal Maistrov spomenik?, *Delo*, 40/17, 22. 1. 1998, str. 7. Natečajna komisija je prejela 22 šifriranih elaboratov, ki so bili januarja 1998 razstavljeni na ogled tudi širši javnosti v Rdeči dvorani Ljubljanske mestne hiše; gl. PLEŠKO 2001 (op. 7), str. 25.

¹⁰¹ Milan LOVRENČIČ, Spomenik generalu Maistru, *Delo*, 40/227, 1. 10. 1998, str. 13; LOVRENČIČ 2011 (op. 98), str. 137–138; prim. tudi Zveza društev »General Maister«, Zgodovina, <http://zvezadgm.net/zgodovina.htm> (stanje 14. 4. 2013).

¹⁰² Gl. Marlen PREMŠAK, Bronasti konjenik Rudolf Maister. Čez slab mesec bo v Celju stal spomenik generalu Maistru, *Večer*, 54/249, 27. 10. 1998, str. 4; »Odplavila« ga je poplava. V Celju so na spomenik generalu Rudolfu Maistru kar pozabili, *Večer*, 54/281, 4. 12. 1998, str. 12. Pred tem so napovedovali, da ga bodo, če ne bo sprejet, na predvideno proslavo ob dnevu generala Maistra pripeljali s traktorjem in tako povzročili javni škandal; gl. Milček KOMELJ, Spomenik generalu Maistru, *Delo*, 40/216, 18. 9. 1998, str. 9; gl. tudi PLEŠKO 2001 (op. 7), str. 26. Za podrobnosti o usodi kipa gl. Primož ZRNEC, Maister še nima miru, *Delo*, 43/25, 31. 1. 2001, str. 4.

¹⁰³ PLEŠKO 2001 (op. 7), str. 29; Zoran SRDIĆ, Narodni voditelji v otrplem stanju, *Delo*, 44/272, 26. 11. 2002, str. 8; LOVRENČIČ 2011 (op. 98), str. 138.

¹⁰⁴ O nastajanju kipa je bil posnet dokumentarni film, postavljena je bila tudi fotografska razstava (Žiga Koritnik: *Severnica. Kako je nastajal spomenik Rudolfu Maistru*, Cankarjev dom, Mala galerija, 17. 5.–18. 6. 2000). Za podrobnosti o delovnem procesu gl. tudi Jani SEVER, Goli Maister na konju, *Mladina*, 40, 1998, str. 48–50; PLEŠKO 2001 (op. 7), str. 27–28.

¹⁰⁵ SRDIĆ 2002 (op. 103), str. 8.

¹⁰⁶ PRŠA 2007 (op. 7), str. 59; prim. tudi AŠIČ 1998 (op. 99), str. 8.

¹⁰⁷ SEVER 1998 (op. 104), str. 49.

¹⁰⁸ SEVER 1998 (op. 104), str. 49.

¹⁰⁹ SEVER 1998 (op. 104), str. 49; Urša DOLINŠEK, Nesporazumi zaradi časovne stiske, *Delo*, 53/8, 11. 1. 2003, str. 30.

¹¹⁰ Prim. SEVER 1998 (op. 104), str. 49.



12. Boštjan Putrih:
Spomenik generalu
Rudolfu Maistru,
2000, Ljubljana

Marka Avrelija na rimskem Kapitolu.¹¹¹ General, ki ga je Brdar sprva nameraval upodobiti golega, je pod pritiskom odbora za postavitev spomenika dobil nekakšen frak in škornje, razen tega ni smel biti zasanjan kot pesnik.¹¹² Kipar je skušal združiti podobo vojaka, pesnika in aristokrata. Končna postavitev se mu je zdela preveč agresivna, medtem ko je Milček Komelj, predsednik žirije za izbor najboljšega osnutka in član odbora za postavitev spomenika, v Brdarjevem Maistru ugledal »začudenega pesnika«, ki se »brez vajeti prepriča /.../ vznesenemu konjeniškemu baletu«.¹¹³

Putrihov kip in njegova postavitev pred stavbo ministrstva za obrambo sta bila deležna manj pozornosti (sl. 12). Skulptura je oblikovana bolj realistično, vendar so drža jezdeca in njegovi atributi v nasprotju s tradicijo oblikovanja konjeniških spomenikov. General, ki nosi vojaško uniformo, si z desnico zamišljeno podpira brado, v pokrčeni levici pa stiska bič. Kroga ob konjevih nogah naj bi bila navidezna severna meja, od katere naj bi se odbijala skozi cirkone v konjevih

¹¹¹ Čeprav jo pogosto označujejo za gesto *adlocutio* (nagovor množice), gre v resnici za *deditio*, torej gesto, ki v rimskem pravu pomeni pomilostitev in v boju premagani skupnosti ponovno dodeljuje avtonomijo; gl. *Sculpture 2002* (op. 43), str. 156; JECHEL 2010 (op. 39), str. 11.

¹¹² SEVER 1998 (op. 104), str. 49.

¹¹³ KOMELJ 2000 (op. 7), str. 55; DOLINŠEK 2003 (op. 109), str. 30.

očeh sevajoča svetloba.¹¹⁴ A v okviru konjeniškega spomenika je topovska krogla nekoč imela svoj namen in pomen. Reševala je tehnične in statične težave pri postavitvi težkega konja z nekoliko dvignjeno prednjo nogo. Zato je Donatello (1386–1466) Gattamelatovemu konju v Padovi pod prednje kopito postavil kroglo, ki je hkrati referenca na topovsko artilerijo, v renesančnem času nov in revolucionaren način bojevanja. Putrihov sicer realistični jezdec se po drži in atributih torej loči od svojih konjeniških predhodnikov, celota pa morda zbuja (zmoten) vtis, da gre za tradicionalen konjeniški spomenik.

Čeprav je veljalo, da je bila strokovna javnost konjeniški plastiki za spomenik generalu Maistru nenaklonjena,¹¹⁵ so se mnenja o primernosti takšnega tipa vendarle razlikovala. Leta 1998, ko spomenik še ni začel nastajati, so Stane Bernik, Peter Krečič, Breda Kovič, Damjan Prelovšek in Nace Šumi menili, da je konjenik primerna izbira.¹¹⁶ Pri tem sta Bernik in Krečič opozorila, da je Ljubljana konjeniške spomenike v preteklosti že imela, vsi pa so svoja mnenja utemeljevali z ikonografskega vidika: poudarjali so, da je konjeniški spomenik kot tradicionalni atribut vojaka in simbol junaštva posebej primeren za podobo neustrašnega generala.¹¹⁷ Gojko Zupan se je strinjal s kipom konja oziroma konjenika pod pogojem, da je obravnavan na sodoben kiparski način.¹¹⁸ Zdenka Badovinac in Lev Menaše pa sta menila, da je konjeniški spomenik ob koncu drugega tisočletja anahronizem; pri tem je Badovinčeva v ospredje postavila potrebo po sodobnem načinu izražanja, ki ni kompatibilno s historičnimi temami, in tudi Menaše je menil, da »danes /.../ zelo težko nastane tovrstna velika, umetniško močna skulptura«.¹¹⁹ Na predstave o spomeniku je poleg tradicije bržkone vplivala tudi terminologija. Slovenski umetnostni zgodovinar izraz »konjeniški spomenik« povezuje z ikonografijo konjenika, medtem ko je v mnogih evropskih jezikih poudarek na jezdecu in jahanju.¹²⁰ Slednja sta za sodobnost gotovo manj anahronistična kot konjeniki. Toda ali sta primerna za spomenik Rudolfu Maistru? Ob poznavanju Maistrovih verzov (*Bratje, v sedlo, vajeti v dlan: Drava nas zove, Jadran rjove, vranci naj skrešeo trde podkove, bratje – naprej!*)¹²¹ se pokaže, da povezovanje konja in jahanja s tem vojakom-pesnikom ni problematično. Konj z jezdecem se pojavlja tudi v drugih njegovih pesmih.¹²² Maister je v devetdesetih letih 19. stoletja v Ljubljani obiskoval jahalno šolo za pehotne častnike in jo uspešno zaključil.¹²³ Tip spomenika torej ni tako sporen, bolj je vprašljiva identiteta obeh jezdecev, saj niha med pesnikom in vojakom.¹²⁴ Glede na izbrani lokaciji – oba spomenika stojita na obrobju oziroma izven mestnega jedra – bi lahko rekli, da ne gre ravno za pomembnega

¹¹⁴ PLEŠKO 2001 (op. 7), str. 26–27.

¹¹⁵ Prim. KOMELJ 1998 (op. 102), str. 9.

¹¹⁶ AŠIČ 1998 (op. 99), str. 8.

¹¹⁷ AŠIČ 1998 (op. 99), str. 8.

¹¹⁸ AŠIČ 1998 (op. 99), str. 8.

¹¹⁹ Prim. AŠIČ 1998 (op. 99), str. 8.

¹²⁰ Prim. *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*, 2, Ljubljana 1975, str. 406. V germanskih jezikih termin poudarja jezdeca (*Reiterdenkmal, ruiterstandbeeld, ryttarstaty, ryttarstatue* ipd.), v angleškem in romanskih pa jahanje (*equestrian statue, statue équestre, escultura ecuestre, estátua equestre* ipd.). Angleščina razlikuje *equestrian* in *pedestrian statue*.

¹²¹ Rudolf MAISTER, *Kitica mojih*, Maribor 1929, str. 25, 76. Pesem *Naprej* je bila prvič objavljena kot *Jugoslovanska himna* leta 1918 v mariborski *Straži*.

¹²² Prim. npr. pesmi *Osveta, Kralj Matjaž, Mati, Kazaška (Poezije, 1902)* in *Naši mejniki (Kitica mojih, 1929)*.

¹²³ Bruno HARTMAN, *Rudolf Maister*, Ljubljana 1989, str. 74.

¹²⁴ Napisa na obeh podstavkih ga označujeta za generala in pesnika. Posledično je bil, denimo, ob ponatisu spremenjen naslov knjige Bruno HARTMAN, *Rudolf Maister, general in pesnik*, Ljubljana 2006.

moža iz slovenske zgodovine. Poleg tega postavitev obeh spomenikov v letih 1999 in 2000 niti ni zbudila velike pozornosti. Za razliko od Maistrovih pa sta bila konjeniška spomenika jugoslovanskima kraljema postavljena v mestno jedro Ljubljane. Njuno ideološko sporočilo so posredoovali tudi ikonografski in oblikovni elementi, izpostavljena lega, dobro vidni napisи in skrbno dokumentirane zgodbe o načrtovanju, nastanku, postavitvi in odkritju. V javnem prostoru, ki mu je bil po letu 1941 vsiljen nov politični in nacionalni značaj, se nista mogla ohraniti. V komunistični Jugoslaviji pa je bil izbrisana celo spomin na uničena spomenika, ki sta s svojim sporočilom tako močno zaznamovala prostor in preteklost slovenske prestolnice. Kljub temu so se na pragu tretjega tisočletja avtorji spraševali, zakaj je bil ta izbris potreben. Alenka Puhar je v spomenikih videla bolj filozofski kot militantni podobi, ki sta nekoč »v sedlu simbolno kraljevali tudi med nami«.¹²⁵ V podobnem duhu je arhitekt Janez Suhadolc v času priprav na postavitev Maistrovega spomenika v Ljubljani menil, da bi morali »generalskega jezdeca« postaviti tja, kjer je nekdaj stal spomenik kralju Petru, pod baročno rotovško arkado.¹²⁶ Nedavno pa je Božidar Jezernik usodo Aleksandrovega spomenika primerjal z usodo konjeniškega spomenika Tadeuszu Kościuszku v Krakovu. Slednji je bil namreč podprt ob nemški okupaciji leta 1940, a so ga v šestdesetih letih obnovili s pomočjo pobratenega nemškega mesta Dresden. Avtorjevo razmišljanje o možnosti, da bi se podobno zgodilo z Aleksandrovim spomenikom v Ljubljani (obnovili bi ga lahko s pomočjo pobratenega mesta Parme),¹²⁷ odstopa od njegovih zapisov o vlogi in pomenu javnih spomenikov ter njihovi neustreznosti v spremenjenem politično-zgodovinskem okolju.¹²⁸ Tudi primerjava s Kościuszkom je neustrezna, saj je bil ta narodni heroj in Poljak, Aleksander pa diktator in »Neslovenec«. Pomen Aleksandrovega konjeniškega spomenika dodatno pojasnjujejo besede Marka Natlačena, bana Dravske banovine, ki je leta 1940 izjavil, da je Aleksandrov spomenik pomenil »trajen dokaz odločne volje vseh Slovencev, da hočemo živeti v skupni državi s Hrvati in Srbi«.¹²⁹ Prav takšno sporočilo je posredoovala listina, ki je bila vzidana v podstavku kipa.¹³⁰ Nobenega javnega spomenika, posvečenega neki osebnosti, še posebej politični ali vojaški, ni moč obravnavati zgolj kot umetniško delo brez vsebine in ideološkega sporočila. Ne nazadnje so bili mnogi konjeniški spomeniki uničeni ali odstranjeni ravno zaradi svojega politično-propagandnega značaja in funkcije, ki so jo opravljali.¹³¹

Načrtovanje konjeniških spomenikov na Slovenskem v času Kraljevine Jugoslavije je potekalo pod vplivom tradicije dinastične reprezentativnosti. Spomenika Karađorđevićema naj bi bila izraz hvaležnosti kraljema, ki sta slovenski narod osvobodila tisočletnega suženjstva, a sta obenem tudi poveličevala vladarsko dinastijo in simbolizirala idejo jugoslovanstva.¹³² Toda pri obeh je potrebno upoštevati, da je figura konjenika v spomeniškem kiparstvu kmalu po francoski revoluciji izgubila velik del svojega umetniškega potenciala. Umetnostni zgodovinar Horst Woldemar Janson je konjeniškemu spomeniku 19. in 20. stoletja, ki mu je po njegovem mnenju kljub mogočnosti primanjkovalo veličastnosti, odrekel oznako »equestrian monument« in ga označil za »the man

¹²⁵ PUHAR 1999 (op. 6), str. 40.

¹²⁶ Prim. KOMELJ 2005 (op. 51), str. 248–249.

¹²⁷ JEZERNIK 2010 (op. 5), str. 10.

¹²⁸ Npr. JEZERNIK 1997 (op. 5); JEZERNIK 2006 (op. 5); JEZERNIK 2012 (op. 5).

¹²⁹ Spomenik Viteškemu kralju 1939–1940 (op. 54), str. 325.

¹³⁰ Gl. zgoraj, op. 83.

¹³¹ Tematiko je na primeru konjeniškega spomenika banu Jelačiću obravnavala RIHTMAN-AUGUŠTIN 2004 (op. 94).

¹³² Gl. zgoraj, op. 54, 83.

on horseback«.¹³³ Jansonov »mož na konju« bi bil lahko ustrezен termin za ljubljanska spomenika Lojzeta Dolinarja, ki se je pri izdelavi skoraj povsem odrekel lastni umetniški izraznosti ter sledil potrebam in okusu naročnikov ter strokovne javnosti. Še bolj je izraz primeren za Maistrova spomenika. Jakov Brdar in Boštjan Putrih sta se v imenu sodobne umetnosti in najbrž tudi iz bojazni pred eklekticizmom izognila elementom tradicionalne ikonografije konjenika kot vladarja oziroma voditelja. To se je ujemalo s političnimi smernicami tistega časa, saj so spomenik Rudolfu Maistru v Ljubljani postavljeni v času, ko je bila Slovenija že globoko v procesu vključevanja v zvezo NATO, ti dogodki pa so predvidevali spremembe v odnosu do slovenske vojaške identitete. Tako je bil spomin na slovenskega generala v prestolnici ovekovečen z dvema kipoma pesnika na konju.¹³⁴

¹³³ JANSON 1975 (op. 19), str. 167. Za konjeniške spomenike 19. in 20. stoletja v Nemčiji gl. Wolfgang VOMM, *Reiterstandbilder des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland. Zum Verständnis und zur Pflege eines traditionellen herrscherlichen Denkmaltyps im Historismus*, Bergisch Gladbach 1979.

¹³⁴ Za dragocene nasvete pri pisanku se najlepše zahvaljujem doc. dr. Barbari Murovec. Hvala tudi dr. Tini Košak za pregled angleškega besedila, dr. Damjanu Prelošku za bibliografske napotke, dr. Katarini Šmid in doc. dr. Franciju Lazariniju za podatke o antični plastiki na Slovenskem, Ani Kostić za posredovanje literature ter zaposlenim v Zgodovinskem arhivu Ljubljana, Arhivu republike Slovenije in Muzeju za arhitekturo in oblikovanje za dovoljenje za objavo arhivskega gradiva.

“Freedom is a Monument”

The Victory Monument in Murska Sobota – Its Erection, Destiny and Context

Katarina Mohar

The Victory Monument is one of the central points in the topography of Murska Sobota (fig. 1). In the almost seven decades that have passed since its erection, immediately after the end of World War II, it has maintained its role as the central representational space in the town despite the radical socio-political changes that have taken place – during the former Yugoslav regime, a Caucasian spruce was planted here to commemorate Marshall Tito’s death; after Slovenia attained independence a lime tree found its way onto the square surrounding the monument. Representatives of the Russian Federation, successor to the Soviet Union, which was mostly responsible for the construction of the monument, continue to pay tribute to its fallen soldiers here to this day. The small, orderly park with benches around the monument remains a popular meeting place among locals, while important state celebrations are also held here, as well as rallies and protests. The monument is one of a large group of monuments to the Red Army which were erected on the liberated territories in the early post-war years, and the only one of its kind in Slovenia. Despite its significance, it has thus far not been the subject of detailed scientific research.¹ The present article deals with its creation, fate and reception in the context of similar monuments to the Soviet army, based on accessible archival sources, relevant comparative literature, media coverage and a thorough art historical analysis.



The Red Army troops entered Slovenian territory in the vicinity of Hodoš on 1st April 1945. In the final operations of World War II, more than five hundred Soviet soldiers died on the territory of Murska Sobota in Prekmurje, which was the first Slovenian region to be liberated and the only one liberated by the Soviets. For several months after the liberation, the Red Army was in command

¹ The only scholarly article on the Victory monument was written by Špelca Čopič, who included its description in the catalogue section of her monograph on public monuments (Špelca ČOPič, *Javni spomeniki v slovenskem kiparstvu prve polovice 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 2000, pp. 382–385). It is briefly listed in the catalogue of the National Liberation War monuments (Drago NOVAK, Ivo OREŠNIK, Herman ŠTICL, *Pomniki NOB v Slovenskih goricah in Prekmurju*, Murska Sobota 1985, pp. 419–422) and mentioned by: Marjeta CIGLENEČKI, Monuments to the National War of Liberation in Slovenia. Erection, Reception and Negative Public Opinion, *Balkan Memories. Media Constructions of National and Transnational History*, Bielefeld 2012, p. 209; Milček KOMELJ, Socialistična ideološka indoktrinacija in povojna slovenska likovna umetnost, *Temna stran meseca. Kratka zgodovina totalitarizma v Sloveniji 1945–1990*, Ljubljana 1998, p. 310. It is included in the catalogues raisonnés of Zdenko and Boris Kalin (*Kipar Zdenko Kalin, Moderna galerija*, Ljubljana 1985, pp. 20–21; *Boris Kalin, Moderna galerija*, Ljubljana 1965), but not in the only exhaustive work on architect Franc Novak’s oeuvre (Tanja BOROVŠAK, *Arhitekt Franc Novak. 1906–1959. Življenje in delo*, Ljubljana 1992 (unpublished undergraduate thesis)). Shorter, more popular articles on the monument were published by: Robert INHOF, Spomenik zmage, *Vestnik*, 48/10, 7. 3. 1996, p. 11; Franc KUZMIČ, Spomenik zmage na Trgu zmage v Murski Soboti, *Soboške novine*, 21, 2001, p. 6.



1. The Victory Monument,
Victory Square (Trg zmage),
Murska Sobota

of the town and on 6th May the Military Council of the 57th Army ordered the town military command to organize the construction of a monument to Red Army soldiers "based on plans by town architects"²

The Victory Monument is located on Victory Square in the centre of Murska Sobota. The 17.35 m high tripartite architectural construction is made up of rectangular solids and stands on a low, stone pedestal. A central narrow, tall monolith of a rectangular cross-section is flanked by a pair of shorter, narrower piers. The entire surface is covered with 330 m² of Carrara marble plates. A pair of bronze statues of soldiers, one a Partisan and the other a Red Army soldier, stand guard on a raised plinth in front of the memorial plaque on the central section of the monument. Two cannons donated by the Red Army stand above them, accessed by a staircase at the back of the monument, while a bronze five-point star sits on the top of the monolith. A portrait medallion with the image of Lenin and the inscription *DRUG LENIN 1917* used to be attached below it. The memorial plaque is inscribed with a text in Slovenian and Russian: *VEČNA SLAVA JUNAKOM, PADLIM V BOJU ZA*

² Archive of the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota (APMMS), Spomenik zmage, report by Feodor Danilovich Barsukov from 13th August 1945.

SVOBODO IN NEODVISNOST SOVJETSKE ZVEZE IN JUGOSLAVIJE / ВЕЧНАЯ СЛАВА ГЕРОЯМ, ПАВШИМ В БОЯХ ЗА СВОБОДУ И НЕЗАВИСИМОСТЬ СОВЕТСКОЙ РОДИНЫ И БРАТСКОЙ ЮГОСЛАВИИ. The years 1941 and 1945 are chiselled in the marbled surface below the cannons, while the left and right side of the monument bear the inscription *VEĆNA SLAVA VAM OSVOBODITELJI NARODOV IZ FAŠISTIČNEGA MRAČNJASTVA / ПОЭМ МЫ СЛАВУ ВАМ ОСВОБОДИТЕЛИ НАРОДОВ ОТ ФАШИСТСКОГО МРАКОБЕСИЯ* and *SLAVA VAŠIH DEL NE MINE NE ZBLEDI NA VEKOMAJ / ВАШИХ ДЕЛ НЕ СМОЛКНЕТ СЛАВА НЕ ПОМЕРКНЕТ НИКОГДА.*³



The Red Army put Feodor Danilovich Barsukov, its then commander of Murska Sobota, in charge of overseeing and arranging the construction of the monument. He allegedly immediately turned to local authorities who provided him with "fervent support, followed by actual help in the workforce and building material".⁴ The honorary and working committees⁵ were founded soon after. They invited the wider public to raise funds for the new monument, "which will in this way truly be constructed by the entire Slovene people",⁶ through media announcements. Roughly 1.200.000 dinars were raised for the project, more than two thirds in the Prekmurje region alone.⁷ Local builders took part in the construction work, which began on 24th May 1945 and was supervised by the architect Franc Novak (1906–1959) and technician Viktor Cer. Barsukov often visited the site even after he was reassigned to work in Austria;⁸ with the help of his colleagues, First Lieutenant Magomed Kerimovich Kerimov and Lieutenant Ivan Romanovich Gurski, he continued to carefully supervise the construction,

³ The inscription was translated from the Russian original by poet Mile Klopčič, secretary of the Society for Cultural Collaboration between Slovenia and the USSR; see APMMS, Spomenik zmage, report by Miro Stubel from 27th October 1945, p. 12.

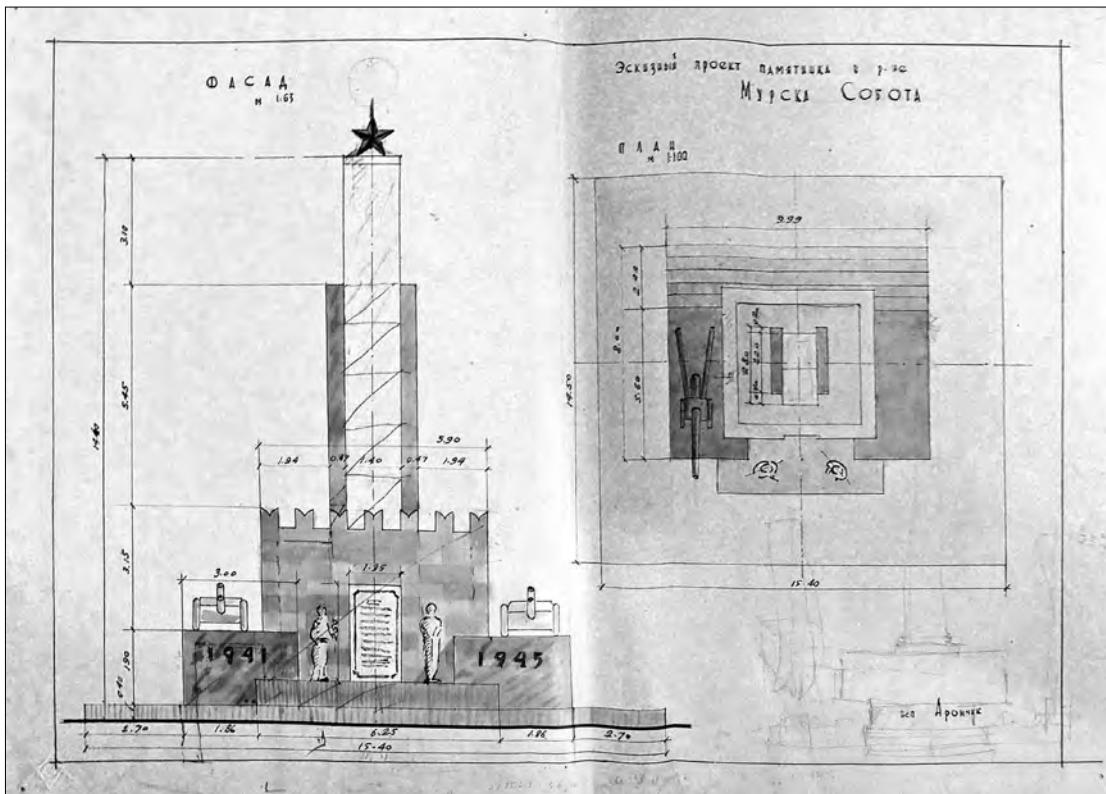
⁴ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, report by Feodor Danilovich Barsukov from 26th October 1945. Concrete iron and cement were delivered from Bad Radkersburg, gravel and sand were provided in the manner of shock work by the town committee of the Liberation Front in Murska Sobota and surrounding local committee of the Liberation Front, Carrara marble was delivered from Maribor and Ljubljana; see APMMS, Spomenik zmage, report by Miro Stubel from 27th October 1945, p. 12.

⁵ The members of the honorary committee, founded in Ljubljana, were "Minister of Education Dr. Ferdo Kozak, Assistant General and Commander of the 3rd Army Kosta Nadž, Major-General Lado Ambrožič, Major-General Dušan Kveder, Lieutenant General of Ljubljana Ivan Lokovšek, poet and manager of the State theatre in Ljubljana Oton Župančič and head of the Department for Culture and the Arts at the Ministry of Education Fran Albrecht. The working committee was founded in Murska Sobota; its members included painter and president of the Slovenian Artistic Club Božidar Jakac, secretary of the local committee of the Liberation Front Janko Liška, education clerk at the local committee of the Liberation Front Miro Ravbar, architect Franc Novak, secretary of the town committee of the Liberation Front Mara Kocmur, propaganda clerk at the town committee of the Liberation Front Štefan Mesarič and master builder Evgen Miholič"; see Slovenski javnosti, Vestnik, 1/17, 30. 6. 1945, p. 1.

⁶ See also Slovenski javnosti 1945 (n. 5), p. 1; Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti, Slovenski poročevalec, 6/68, 8. 7. 1945, p. 6.

⁷ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, report by Miro Stubel from 27th October 1945, p. 12. The funds were raised by local, town and district committees of the Liberation Front; see Slovenski javnosti 1945 (n. 5), p. 1. Money for the construction was also raised by the Trieste Women Antifascists and the Antifascist Womens' Front in Ljubljana, which allegedly raised over 80.000 dinars in a single day; see Janez KAJZER, Življenje Slovencev v svobodi, Borec, 28/5, 1976, pp. 277–278.

⁸ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, report by Feodor Danilovich Barsukov from 26th October 1945.



2. Ground plan of the Victory Monument in Murska Sobota, Regional Archives Maribor

sending reports on its progress to Red Army Headquarters and into the archives.⁹ As the Russians apparently “demonstrated all of their skill in organizing mass work and shock working”,¹⁰ the monument was finished in only two and a half months, in time for its ceremonial unveiling, planned for the 12th August, the anniversary of the occupation of Prekmurje by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.¹¹

The unveiling was subject to intense propaganda. All of the major newspapers regularly reported on the progress of the monument’s construction and by August began inviting the public to participate in “a celebration of the people of entire Slovenia” by organising discounted or free fares to Murska Sobota from larger Slovenian towns and through invitations to folk festivities.¹² The locals were called to decorate their homes with flowers, flags and photographs of Tito and Stalin, while the regional committees in attendance were ordered to bring wreaths, flags and slogans.¹³ A crowd of 20,000, unusual for the small town of Murska Sobota, gathered to listen to the celebratory speeches

⁹ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, report by Miro Stubel from 27th October 1945, p. 12.

¹⁰ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, report by Miro Stubel from 27th October 1945, p. 12.

¹¹ Due to the (too) short deadline for finishing the sculptures, two patinated studies in plaster were placed onto the monument for its unveiling; see ČOPIČ 2000 (n. 1), p. 283.

¹² Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/94, 8. 8. 1945, p. 4; Odkritje spomenika zmage – praznik ljudstva vse Slovenije, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/96, 10. 8. 1945, p. 3; Odkritje Spomenika Zmage bo v nedeljo, *Poročevalec*, 1/70, 1945, p. 1; Spomenik zmage – mejnik dveh dob, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/97, 11. 8. 1945, p. 4.

¹³ *Odkritje Spomenika 1945* (n. 12), p. 1.

by the highest ranking state officials of liberated Slovenia, delegates of the Red Army and the Allied forces, which were also published in print media.¹⁴ The guests later attended the unveiling of a monument in nearby Bad Radkersburg on the other side of the border.¹⁵

The only known version of the ground plans for the monument is signed by the Soviet military engineer Aronchik (fig. 2).¹⁶ The sketch corresponds to the final appearance of the monument, but shows it in the colours of the Russian/Yugoslav tricolour. The reasons behind the final decision to use white Carrara marble, which still covers the monument today, are not mentioned in archival documents, although according to some sources the original polychromation was hindered by architect Novak.¹⁷ According to a Russian report, he was also the author of the first (not conserved or currently unavailable) sketch for the monument, accepted after Aronchik's corrections.¹⁸ Regardless of these claims, Novak most likely played a distinctly minor role in the conception of the monument, as (even a casual) comparison with other, typologically similar Red Army monuments, reveals a clarity and unity of artistic appearance, leaving no room for deviations from socialist realist aesthetics or for personal or local artistic expression. A published, enthusiastic description of the project under construction further supports the claim that the concept behind the monument was truly perceived and publicized as a novelty for the local area: "The form of the entire monument /.../ carries the seal of a new artistic formulation and direction, quite unusual to us, which still clearly enough demonstrates the strong impulses of modern Soviet architectonic art".¹⁹

¹⁴ Among the most important guests at the unveiling were the Soviet ambassador Sadchikov, the representative of the Red Army General-Major Strukov, and the English General-Major C. E. Weir for the Allied forces. Josip Broz-Tito was represented by the Minister of Interior Affairs Vlada Zečević, the People's Army by General-Lieutenant Ivan Gošnjak; president of Slovenian National Liberation Committee Josip Vidmar, president of the People's government Boris Kidrič, Minister for Education Ferdo Kozak and others were among the highest representatives of the Republic; see Skupaj v borbi, skupaj v miru, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/99, 14. 8. 1945, p. 1.

¹⁵ The monument in Bad Radkersburg was also erected under Barsukov's supervision and at the same time as its counterpart in Murska Sobota. The monument, which was initially located on the main town square (for the photograph of the original situation see *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/100, 16. 8. 1945, p. 4), consists of a realistically modelled group of three Red Army soldiers on a high plinth, with a coat-of-arms and celebratory inscriptions in Russian. The contrast between the published descriptions of the unveiling in Murska Sobota and Bad Radkersburg is of special interest – in Murska Sobota "a crowd of 20 thousand undulated and surged in a joint manifest to the Soviet Union and the new Yugoslavia, their leaders and their governments" while across the border "the population in attendance/.../appeared to not dare give expression to their deepest wishes and aspirations". The monument is located in a territory representing "the extreme corner of Slovenian land, which to this day remains outside of our brotherly community"; "and we felt a silent yearning, which summons hope out of despair"; see Onstran Mure, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/100, 16. 8. 1945, p. 5.

¹⁶ The ground plans and the technical report are kept in the Regional Archives Maribor (RAM), 0438, Okrajni ljudski odbor Murska Sobota (1945–1962), 1945 – spisi. Apart from his surname and the fact that he was Ukrainian, no other information on engineer Aronchik can be found in the archival sources. According to a Russian internet source, he was apparently called Vladimir; see www.rus-slo-mid.ru/doc/Murska_Sobota.htm (accessed on 28. 3. 2012). Boris KALIN, Mojster Boris Kalin o spomenikih narodnoosvobodilnega boja, *Likovni svet* 1951, p. 38–39, the author of the sculpture of the Red Army soldier names Soviet officer Zaharov as the project leader, although all relevant articles from 1945, when media coverage of the monument was most thorough, mention Aronchik as the author; see *Spomenik* 1945 (n. 6), p. 6; *Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti* 1945 (n. 12), p. 4.

¹⁷ Metka HARI, Velecenjeni arh. F. Novak, Boško Buha in socialistični falus sredi Murske Sobote, *Vestnik*, 40/44, 17. 11. 1988, p. 11.

¹⁸ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, report by Feodor Danilovich Barsukov from 26th October 1945.

¹⁹ *Spomenik* 1945 (n. 6), p. 6.



3. Zdenko Kalin: Partisan;
Boris Kalin: Red Army Soldier,
The Victory Monument,
Victory Square, Murska Sobota

The Victory Monument was initially conceived as a mausoleum for the 516 Red Army soldiers who had fallen in the battles for Prekmurje. As the people of Murska Sobota were allegedly strongly opposed to a burial site in the town's main square, their remains were laid in a joint tomb at the local cemetery,²⁰ with the original design of the monument remaining, however, unchanged. The two soldiers stand as guards to the (blind) entrance into the mausoleum, which was replaced by an inscribed memorial plaque. The top of this central section of the monument is capped by a castellated rim, designed as a clear reference to the Kremlin wall. As the initial plans incorporated a mausoleum under this "wall", it can undoubtedly be interpreted as a variation on the motif of the Lenin mausoleum beneath the Moscow Kremlin, the Victory Monument a fortress of sovietness in faraway Prekmurje, on the extreme territorial edges of "brotherly" Yugoslavia.

The roughly 2.4 m tall statues of the Partisan and the Red Army soldier (fig. 3) were created by the brothers Zdenko (1911–1990) and Boris Kalin (1905–1975), the preferred choice in most post-war sculptural commissions.²¹ The former, by Zdenko Kalin, was modelled after the image of Partisan artist Nande Vidmar, while Ivan Romanovich Gurski, one of the supervisors of the construction

²⁰ The soldiers were initially meant to be buried where they fell, although later "in June, those who fell on the territories surrounding Murska Sobota, were upon the demand of the Army command reburied into a joint tomb at the town cemetery, flanked by a memorial designed by architect Novak"; see APMMS, Spomenik zmage, report by Miro Stubel from 27th October 1945, p. 7.

²¹ The reason behind entrusting the Kalin brothers with the commission is unknown; the only relevant document does not mention any of the reasons for the decision. "As soon as the delegation arrived at the Ministry of Education of the National Government of Slovenia with the suggestion, desire and plan, this beautiful sculptural task was immediately entrusted to Boris and Zdenko Kalin by the chief of the Department of Education Fran Albrecht, who was also the representative of the new Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union". *Odkritje spomenika* 1945 (n. 12), p. 3. According to Špelca Čopič, Boris Kalin handed over a part of the commission to his brother on his own initiative and due to the tight deadline; see *Kipar Zdenko Kalin* 1985 (n. 1), pp. 20–21. For more on the artists see France STELE, *Umetnost v Primorju*, Ljubljana 1960, pp. 157–161; on Zdenko Kalin see Zoran KRŽIŠNIK, *Zdenko Kalin*, Ljubljana 1956 (Slovenski likovni umetniki), Fran ŠIJANEC, *Sodobna slovenska likovna umetnost*, Maribor 1961, pp. 324–332; on Boris Kalin see Zoran KRŽIŠNIK, Boris Kalin, Ljubljana 1958 (Slovenski likovni umetniki); ŠIJANEC 1961, pp. 319–322; *Boris Kalin* 1965 (n. 1).

project, posed for Boris Kalin's figure.²² The preserved photographs of the two models indicate that the statues can be considered realistic portraits. As Špelca Čopić has noted, the only significant difference between the two, apart from their uniforms, is the level of dynamism with which they were portrayed; the Partisan stands with feet further apart, therefore appearing less stationary than his Soviet counterpart.²³ An interpretation of both figures, based on promoting the concept of the Soviet Union as a teacher and Yugoslavia as its faithful, obedient student was established upon this detail.²⁴ The Partisan was thus interpreted as a dynamic, youthfully enthusiastic rebel, who should in the future look up to the mature Red Army soldier, seen as the symbol of calm and confidence, typical of the members of the victorious and organised Red Army.



On the 20th October 1944, the Red Army participated in the liberation of Belgrade with its 2nd, 3rd and 4th Ukrainian front. From there its troops advanced towards the west, passed Batina, Debrecen and Tisa and thus partly contributed to the final liberation of Yugoslavia. In the years preceding the break with the Cominform, the Soviet "allied" policy towards Yugoslavia strove principally towards enforcing the concept of the new state as unable to exist and persist without Soviet support, and towards a one-way expansion of its own culture and ideology.²⁵ One of the principal means of implementing and promoting the new ideology was by erecting monuments and memorials in symbolically significant, central locations.²⁶ With final operations still underway, the new memorials to the fallen heroes were already being constructed – hundreds of funerary monuments were erected next to Red Army burial sites in various parts of Belgrade, functioning as ritual locations as well as backdrops for celebrations of holidays and anniversaries. The number of monumental monuments erected on the extreme borders of the territories liberated by the Red Army was significantly smaller – only two such monuments were constructed on the territories of the former Yugoslavia, one in Murska Sobota and the other on the location of the battle of Batinska skela in present-day Croatia.²⁷ The construction of monuments to the Red Army was not an act of (blind) submission of

²² ČOPIĆ 2000 (n. 1), p. 383. Local newspapers published a photograph from 17th August 1945, showing part of the group that helped construct the monument; Gurski is also present next to Commander Barsukov and architect Novak; see *Vestnik*, 27/13, 3. 4. 1975, p. 24.

²³ ČOPIĆ 2000 (n. 1), p. 383.

²⁴ Odkritje spomenika 1945 (n. 12), p. 3: "The sculpture of the Red Army soldier is a mighty and calm figure, clearly demonstrating the fact that the brotherly hero has already composed himself and is a member of the orderly army, which was the only one capable of defeating the fascist /.../. The Slovenian artist Boris Kalin carved confidence and pride into his poise, /.../ a clear look and a mighty stance. In contrast, the Partisan is composed in a livelier manner. He displays a more rebellious nature and greater agility. The Italian machine guns, the old military coat, the German bomb all support the fact that he first had to tear all of this out of the Fascist hands. This is a work by Zdenko Kalin. This difference unintentionally reminds us of the fact that years ago the Red Army soldier was also in the same position as our warrior! This gives us encouragement that we too shall complete the constitution of the Yugoslav army. Such faith is reflected in the monument, the most obvious guarantee being the large five-pointed star, glistening on the tall pillar!"

²⁵ Goran MILORADOVIĆ, *Lepota pod nadzorom. Sovjetski kulturni uticaji u Jugoslaviji 1945–1955*, Beograd 2012, p. 214.

²⁶ Olga MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR, »Široka strana moja rodnaja« – spomenici sovjetskim vojnicima podizani u Srbiji 1944–1954, *Tokovi istorije*, 1–2, 2005, p. 135.

²⁷ For more on the monument, see Vladimir KULIĆ, *Land of the In-between. Modern Architecture and the State in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945–65*, Austin 2009 (unpublished doctoral dissertation), pp. 77–90; Davorin VUJČIĆ, *Spomenik zahvalnosti Crvenoj armiji, Refleksije vremena 1945–1955*, Zagreb 2012, pp. 129–139.

Yugoslavia to its liberator. The new memorials did not only strengthen the relationship between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia but also clearly promoted the new ideology and emphasised the strong backing of the Yugoslav communists.²⁸

The Batina monument to the fallen Red Army soldiers above the Danube was erected in 1947 under the supervision of sculptor Antun Augustinčić (1900–1979). As promised by Marshall Tito to the Soviet command in Graz, Austria, the work was to be finished a day before the 1st August 1945, when Red Army troops were to pass it on their return home.²⁹ A group of artists lead by Augustinčić opposed the initial plans, which allowed for the timely construction of the monument, managing to delay the deadline and bring about the replacement of the project leader.³⁰ Several parallels can be drawn between the only two comparable Yugoslav projects; i.e. the original plan for the monument in Batina and the Murska Sobota monument, which was being erected at the same time. As in Prekmurje, the task of designing the Batina monument was entrusted to the (otherwise unknown) Soviet engineer Captain Feldman in May 1945. He was supposed to collaborate with local sculptor Ilija Kolarević (1894–1968) in the project.³¹ The preserved sketches show a plan with a central, obelisk-like monolith, realistic monuments of soldiers, and Red Army tanks.³² Even though some of the most influential local artists supervised the aesthetic conception of the monument, the Russians nevertheless considered the project to be theirs and perceived the delay in construction works as sabotage.³³ The Yugoslavs' role in the project was autonomous only in principle; while they did have their own supervisors, they were still being supervised by the Soviets. Despite the written reports describing the close cooperation between the artists and nations, the Red Army still had the deciding vote in both the Batina and Murska Sobota projects. Soviet military engineers were clearly favoured as project leaders, and while some room was allowed for local sculptors, the Red Army retained complete control.

²⁸ Olga MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR, Uprostoravanje ideologije. Spomenici Drugoga svetskoga rata i kreiranje kolektivnih identiteta, *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara*, 1, 2008, p. 292; MILORADOVIĆ 2012 (n. 25), p. 228.

²⁹ Archive of Yugoslavia (AY), Fund 13. Ministarstvo građevina Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 85.

³⁰ AY, Fund 13. Ministarstvo građevina Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 85. According to archival sources, the Belgrade sculptors lead by Augustinčić resigned on 19th June 1945 due to their disagreement with Feldman's sculptural proposition and agreed to prepare a new project with Feldman's cooperation. On 21st August 1945 all construction work on the monument was stopped, so that "following the wishes of comrade Augustinčić it would be re-done according to a different plan, created by Augustinčić himself". The commission was officially handed over to him on 3rd November 1945 and the unveiling was announced for the Day of the Red Army, 7th November 1947.

³¹ AY, Fund 13. Ministarstvo građevina Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 85. At a meeting in the house of painter Đorđe Andrejević – Kun on 31st May 1945 in the presence of the Soviet Army and representatives of the Yugoslav Ministry for Construction, a decision regarding the organisation of the monument erection was reached. The Belgrade Fine Artists' Society was to look after the sculptors and painters working on the project, while the engineers' work was supposed to be overseen by the technical department of the Central People's Liberation Board in Novi Sad. Feldman was apparently named project leader and his plans were studied by the Central People's Liberation Board in Novi Sad, after which works were finally begun. According to the initial plans, sculptor Živodrag Mihajlović was also supposed to be involved in the project. The construction of the monument was financed from the State budget, the preliminary assessment predicted costs of 1.800.000 dinars.

³² AY, Fund 13. Ministarstvo građevina Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 85.

³³ AY, Fund 13. Ministarstvo građevina Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 85. According to a report by one of the architects who helped in the erection of the monument the Russian delegates stationed in Graz, Austria, saw the delay in construction work as sabotage. They supposedly clearly threatened that if delays continued, Yugoslav supervisors would have to do the work themselves while the Russians would take over all control.



4. A view of the Evangelical church from the Victory Monument, Victory Square, Murska Sobota

All around Europe similar monuments were being constructed on the territories the Red Army had helped to liberate.³⁴ Most of them date to the post-1950 period; however, a handful of extremely imposing monuments were erected immediately after the war, despite a general lack of funds, in the most extreme or symbolically most significant locations – the most famous examples being the monuments in Königsberg,³⁵ Berlin³⁶ and Vienna.³⁷ The Red Army military councils ordered their construction, which invariably merged realistic sculpture with architecture planned by Soviet artists and architects. The monumental colonnades and obelisks topped by five pointed stars and decorated with coats-of-arms function as architectural frames for the free-standing sculptures of armed Soviet soldiers in uniform. The sculptures in the foreground are sometimes complemented by reliefs with images from World War II in the background, while real tanks or cannons are also a

³⁴ For more on Red Army monuments, see Sergiusz MICHALSKI, The Communist Pantheon, *Public Monuments. Art in Political Bondage 1870–1997*, London 1998, pp. 107–153; Dieter HÜBENER, Sowjetische Ehrenfriedhöfe und Ehrenmale im Land Brandenburg, *Kriegerdenkmale in Brandenburg. Von den Befreiungskriegen 1813/15 bis in die Gegenwart* (ed. Dieter Hübener, Kristina Hübener, Julius H. Schoeps), Berlin 2003, pp. 215–232; *Figuration/abstraction. Strategies for Public Sculpture in Europe 1945–1968* (ed. Charlotte Benton), Leeds 2004 (especially articles: Reuben FOWKES, Soviet war memorials in Eastern Europe, 1945–74, pp. 11–32; Marie KLIMĚŠOVÁ, Czechoslovak public sculpture and its context. From 1945 to the "Realizations" exhibition, 1961, pp. 33–50; Géza BOROS, The metamorphosis of Liberty. The monument to Hungarian liberation, pp. 69–84); Nikolai VUKOV, Public Monuments as Visualisations of Death in Socialist Bulgaria between 1944 and 1989, *Centropa*, 3, 2006, pp. 215–227; János PÓTÓ, Denkmäler des „real existierenden“ Sozialismus in Budapest, *Danubiana Carpathica*, 2, 2008, pp. 255–273; Deborah SCHULTZ, Alina SERBAN, Public Memory and National Identity under Construction. The Trajectory of monuments in Romania in the Communist and Post-Communist Periods, *Centropa*, 1, 2010, pp. 56–66.

³⁵ In 1945 the Soviets erected the first large-scale monument in Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad), the westernmost point of the liberated territory. The memorial complex is dedicated to 1200 fallen Red Army soldiers and is composed of a monumental, semi-circular wall, sculptural groups of soldiers in attack and Victory, an obelisk with busts of generals and tombs of the fallen soldiers; see MICHALSKI 1998 (n. 34), pp. 125–126.

³⁶ After the war, in 1945, the Tiergarten monument was erected in Berlin (the remaining couple of Red Army monuments of the city in Schönholzer Heide and in Treptow were not finished until 1949) with only Soviet artists participating in the project. The memorial complex is conceived around a monumental colonnade with a monumental sculpture of a Soviet soldier and two Soviet tanks; on Soviet memorials in Berlin see Klaus von KROSIK, Die sowjetischen Ehrenmale in Berlin, eine Denkmalpflegerische Herausforderung, *Stalinistische Architektur unter Denkmalschutz? Eine Tagung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees von ICOMOS und der Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz in der Architektenkammer Berlin*, 6.–9. 9. 1995, München 1996, pp. 35–44; Helga KÖPSTEIN, *Die sowjetischen Ehrenmale in Berlin*, Berlin 2006.

³⁷ The Vienna monument in Schwarzenbergplatz was ceremoniously unveiled in August 1945. The central statue of the victorious Red Army soldier holding a flag and a shield is raised on a tall, column-like plinth in front of a monumental colonnade with inscriptions and two sculptural groups; see MICHALSKI 1998 (n. 34), p. 126.

frequent addition. The monuments are unfailingly supplemented by explanatory celebratory inscriptions in Russian and the official local language. All of the great monuments erected in the year after the liberation also served as burial grounds.

During the war the Red Army began to develop a new type of monument to its heroes and organised the first large-scale competition for their construction in 1942–1943. Part of the winning selection was published in 1947 in an album of suggested prototypical projects for small-scale monuments or tombs to fallen heroes.³⁸ Although the monuments in question, including the one in Murska Sobota, were erected in 1945 and were more monumental in style, there are no significant deviations in conception from the general typology presented in the catalogue (especially in the architectonic sense). In the case of the more provincial Murska Sobota work, we cannot exclude the possibility that the executed plan was in fact a prototypical monument, slightly adapted by Aronchik, the military engineer.

One of the characteristics of Red Army monuments is the way the works are positioned into their surroundings. In Berlin's Tiergarten, almost completely demolished during World War II, the large monument to Soviet soldiers was erected on the location of the former Victory Alley of Wilhelm II, not far from the partially demolished Reichstag. In this way it served as a means of symbolic retaliation of the losses in World War I and affirmed the victory in World War II.³⁹ The Viennese monument stands in Schwarzenberg Square, named after the prince who fought Napoleon with the Russians.⁴⁰ In Bulgaria, new monuments were often allocated sites in proximity to older ones dedicated to the Russian-Turkish war, forming sets of monuments to the double liberation.⁴¹ The positioning of the Murska Sobota monument within the town's topography is also highly significant and typical of interventions into the urban infrastructure in the immediate post-war period. The monument is located on the central town square, which the architect Novak planned and arranged as a continuation of the park, as set out in his urbanisation plan for Murska Sobota in the 1930s.⁴² After the Hungarian occupation of the town during World War II, the site was demarcated by their own memorial and a tall pole carrying the Hungarian flag. As a sign of the new regime's triumph following liberation, the most central site in the town was allocated to the Victory Monument, replacing the older memorial both symbolically and spatially. The front of the monument faces the town; the cannon barrels are aimed towards residential and office buildings while Kalin's bronze Partisan aims his machine gun directly into the nearby evangelical church (built in 1910). A similar spatial conflict was created several years later, when the town authorities placed a sculpture of Partisan hero Štefan Kovač – Marko, the graduation work by the sculptor Miki Muster (1925), in front of the entrance to

³⁸ *Tipovye proekty pamjatnikov bratskikh i individual'nyh mogil voinov Sovetskoy Armii, Voenno-Morskogo Flota i partizan, pogibshih v bojakh s nemecko-fašistskimi zahvatčikami v gody Velikoj Otečestvennoj vojny* (ed. N. Ja. Kolli), Minsk 1947. The catalogue presents the selected proposals by the Academy for Architecture, which were approved by the Committee for Architecture of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and the proposals selected in the competition by the Head office for Planning State Buildings at the Committee for Architectural Matters at the Council of Ministries of the USSR from 1942–1943. Most proposals include triumphal arches, obelisks, pyramids and columns, which the architects considered to be most suitable to emphasise heroism. In general, architecture was favoured before sculpture. The publication suggests the use of marble, granite and bronze, while the proposals often include elements such as five-point stars, wreaths and coats-of-arms.

³⁹ MICHALSKI 1998 (n. 34), p. 126.

⁴⁰ MICHALSKI 1998 (n. 34), p. 128.

⁴¹ VUKOV 2006 (n. 34), pp. 216–218.

⁴² Kristijan ŠADL, *Transformacija mestnega središča v Murski Soboti*, Maribor 2008 (unpublished undergraduate thesis).



5. A medal with the bust of Stalin, Pomurje Museum, Murska Sobota



6. A medal with the bust of Lenin on the Victory Monument, Victory Square, Murska Sobota

Murska Sobota castle. The sculpture was positioned with its raised and threatening clenched right fist directed towards the before mentioned church on the other side of Trubar Avenue. Apparently due to local opposition, the Kovač sculpture was relocated to the grass patch in front of the Kino park cinema several years later, where it remains until today.⁴³ Unlike Muster's work, Kalin's Partisan did not appear to disturb anyone – the present day layout of Victory Square reveals only that the clash of the two ideologies was somewhat watered down by the thoughtfully planted trees, which, from the point of view of a church visitor, partly obstruct the sight of the gun aimed at them (fig. 4).



The attitude toward Soviet monuments and their treatment widely differ from country to country. On the territory of the former Eastern bloc, monuments to the Red Army underwent significant re-evaluation after the revolutionary year of 1989, although the changing relationship towards the Soviet Union brought calls for their modification in some countries long before others. While they undoubtedly accentuate Soviet power and are therefore frequently understood foremost as symbols of post-war repression, the monuments are also tributes to liberation and the victory over fascism; the fact that many of the monuments also serve a fundamental purpose as burial sites for the fallen soldiers renders intervention even more problematic.⁴⁴ Therefore, "monuments to the liberator"

⁴³ ŠIJANEĆ 1961 (n. 21), p. 464. The cinema was built in 1955 after plans by Feri Novak; the statue remained on its initial location in front of the castle at least until this time.

⁴⁴ Dario GAMBONI, *The Destruction of Art. Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London 2007, p. 54.

carry a more neutral connotation than monuments to historical figures related to Soviet supremacy. Most of the latter were removed in the last decade of the 20th century, while a significant number of Red Army monuments survived the fall of the regime.

In the 1990s, Russia signed a number of bilateral agreements concerning the maintenance and preservation of war memorials including the Red Army monuments.⁴⁵ In some countries their conservation has also been legally settled by a number of other acts. In neutral Austria, for example, the Soviets protected their monuments within the Austrian State Treaty upon their retreat in 1955. The great Vienna monument thus remained unchanged; however, the smaller monument in Bad Radkersburg, erected by the same supervisory team simultaneously to the one in Murska Sobota, was significantly reduced. In 1958, after long talks with the Soviet embassy, it was moved to its present location on the more remote Grazertorplatz square to preserve the historical appearance of the main square.⁴⁶ In other places attempts to adjust to the new socio-political contexts were made through adaptations. A good example of this practice is the Liberation monument on the Gellért hill in Budapest, from which all Soviet symbols (monument of a soldier, five-point star, memorial inscription and a sculptural frieze) were removed in 1992, leaving only the allegorical representations of freedom, progress and destruction, elements quite unusual for Soviet memorials.⁴⁷ A new inscription commemorating the Hungarian victims was added. The other Red Army monument on the central Szabadság Square remained unchanged and is to this day frequently subject to vandalism – in 2007 paint was thrown over it, while in 2010 graffiti reading “murderers”, “1956” and “traitors” appeared.⁴⁸ Similar interventions are one of the constants of the attitude towards the preserved Soviet memorials, with the recent anonymous comic-book graffiti on the Sofia monument being the most famous example.⁴⁹

Unlike in the Eastern bloc countries, the relationship towards Red Army monuments in Yugoslavia was radically altered during the Cominform split in 1948. The remains of the fallen Soviets, which had been until then mostly buried next to memorials in representative locations in town and village centres, were excavated and relocated into joint graves in cemeteries, while the majority of memorials was removed.⁵⁰ The largest, the Batina monument, was long-neglected after 1948; its ceremonial role was transferred to the newly erected monument on Iriški venec at Fruška gora,

⁴⁵ In Germany the subject falls under the *Gesetz über die Erhaltung der Gräber der Opfer von Krieg und Gewaltherrschaft* directive from 1965; *Deutsch-Sowjetische Nachbarschaftsvertrag* directive from 1990 and the *Berliner Denkmalschutzgesetz* from 1995; see KROSIK 1996 (n. 36), p. 35.

⁴⁶ I am grateful to mag. Marie Theres Zanger from the Museum and Town Archive in Bad Radkersburg for this information.

⁴⁷ BOROS 2004 (n. 34), pp. 69–84. The monument was erected in 1947 following the plans by Soviet architects and the local sculptor Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl. The new inscription announces *In memory of all, who sacrificed their lives for the independence, freedom and well-being of Hungary / Mindazok emlékére, akik életüket áldozták Magyarország függetlenségéért, szabadságáért és boldogulásáért*.

⁴⁸ Soviet monument in Budapest vandalised (<http://www.politics.hu/20100216/soviet-monument-in-budapest-vandalized/>; accessed on 5. 5. 2013).

⁴⁹ See for example Tom PARFITT, Russia not amused at Red Army statue re-invented as Superman and friends, *The Guardian* (web edition, 22nd June 2011), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jun/22/russia-red-army-memorial-painted> (accessed on 5. 5. 2013).

⁵⁰ One of the more famous examples is the removed monument at the former Pozorištni square in Belgrade (present-day Republic square), from where the remains of the fallen Red Army soldiers were relocated into the common memorial park of the Liberators of Belgrade; see MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR 2005 (n. 26), pp. 142–143. Some less exposed monuments, such as the one at the Belgrade Topčider barracks or some of the memorials in the province, still continued to be tolerated; see MILORADOVIĆ 2012 (n. 25), p. 234, n. 178.



7. Celebrations of the 60th anniversary of Liberation,
Trg zmage, Murska Sobota, 9th April 2005

built according to plans by Sreten Stojanović in 1951 to honour the fallen soldiers of the National Liberation War.⁵¹ The second most important Yugoslav monument to the Red Army in Murska Sobota survived the break relatively unscathed. According to testimonies, it was initially meant to be blown up, but the town authorities decided against it at the last minute, reasoning that the monument might eventually come in handy in the future.⁵² In the end, only the most necessary measure was taken – the monument originally included a portrait medallion with the image of Stalin and the Russian inscription *OURS IS THE RIGHT PATH. WE HAVE WON/ НАШЕ ДЕЛО ПРАВОЕ. МЫ ПОБЕДИЛИ*,⁵³ which was replaced by a medallion depicting Lenin, still in place today (figs. 5–6).

The Victory Monument is located in a small town in the extreme North-East of the country, considered an unobtrusive location, although it occupies a prominent position on the town's main square, a central orientation point. Two factors have proved most important for its preservation. Unlike most of the similar memorials erected immediately after the war – especially those that have been removed – the Murska Sobota monument does not include a tomb. The deadly remains of the fallen Soviet soldiers were transferred to the town cemetery in 1945 and not in 1948/49, as was the case in the rest of Yugoslavia, where the memorials next to already empty burial grounds were removed at the same time.

⁵¹ MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR 2005 (n. 26), p. 143; MILORADOVIĆ 2012 (n. 25), p. 234.

⁵² Archival sources referring to the replacement of the medal are (currently) inaccessible. The event is superficially mentioned in three written sources – a short, more recent and unpublished text by an unknown author kept at the APPMS (Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti), and articles published in local newspapers: Metka LAINŠČEK, Jože GABER, Kako s pomniki Narodnoosvobodilnega boja?, *Vestnik*, 42/32, 1990, p. 18; KUZMIĆ 2001 (n. 1), p. 6), who wrote: "In time of the Cominform the monument received a 'death sentence' and was supposed to be blown up. The bombs were even placed under it, but someone (?) emerged to suggest that it would be unwise to act too rashly, as we might 'become friends again' but the monument will not be there".

⁵³ The best sources for the lost medal are photographs from 1945; see APPMS, Album fotografij Spomenika zmage. According to ČOPIĆ 2000 (n. 1), p. 383, it was created by Zdenko Kalin; the author also (incorrectly) states that the medal is still on the monument. Its conception follows the familiar scheme created by the artists E. M. Romanov and I. K. Andrianov for the medal For victory over Germany in the Great Patriotic War 1941–1945 (<http://ostaline.su/staliniana/faleristics/view.html?node=42423&year=1945&sort=chrono&card=20146> (accessed on 5. 5. 2013)).



8. 'Soft graffiti' on the Victory Monument, Victory Square, Murska Sobota, June 2012

Tolerance toward the monument at the time of the break with Cominform can best be explained by its specific iconographical conception, most evident in the sculptural section. Monuments to the Red Army were primarily meant to express gratitude to the liberator army, a fact which was always clearly supported by clear and standard subject matter. The local army or civilians only appear in exceptional cases, most often in the context of depictions of the grateful locals welcoming their liberators.⁵⁴ In Murska Sobota the same emphasis is put on both, the Soviet and the Partisan soldier – this kind of juxtaposition allows for an interpretation of the monument as a tribute to the alliance and cooperation between the two armies. After 1948 the glorification of the Red Army was replaced by the cult of the Partisan, emphasising the honouring of the Partisan image, his sacrifice and the autochthonous nature of his fight.⁵⁵ The interpretation prevalent in the immediate post-war years, which celebrated the calm and collected Soviet soldier as a role model for the Partisan, was thus replaced after the break with the Cominform by a new interpretation, more suitable to the time and political circumstances. It focused chiefly on the Partisan and the National Liberation War. The post-Cominform Yugoslavia allowed the existence of the Murska Sobota monument and even preserved it as the main ceremonial location of the town.

⁵⁴ I. e. the monument in Treptow with the sculpture of a German child rescued by the Soviet soldier; see KROSIK 1996 (n. 36), p. 36; KÖPSTEIN 2006 (n. 36), p. 134, figs. 49–51; and the monument to the Red Army in Sofia, which includes sculptures of a grateful female peasant and a worker next to the Red Army soldier; see FOWKES 2004 (n. 34), p. 22, figs. 1. 6–1. 8.

⁵⁵ MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR 2008 (n. 28), p. 297.

The successful partial reinterpretation of the monument brought fresh questions regarding its fate in the early 1990s, when tensions grew as to the (un)suitability of the monument as a conveyor of the values of the passing era. Graffiti had already appeared on the monument in the late 1980s, announcing – in the spirit of the coming changes – that “FREEDOM IS A MONUMENT”.⁵⁶ During the period of Slovenian independence, articles on the monument in the local press became more frequent, mostly supporting its existence but also appearing to respond to the unwritten or unarticulated debates.⁵⁷

Since the mid-1990s the monument has been the object of a number of artistic interventions. Among the most interesting are the projects for the celebration of the 50th and 60th anniversary of liberation. In 1995 writer Dušan Šarotar conceived the *Russian cloud* project, consisting of a written short story on engineer Aronchik and a publication of photographs of the monument, honouring “all those, who still recognise themselves in this broken mirror of history and especially the man, the architect, whose name has already been washed away from the reefs of memory by the sea of time.”⁵⁸ A decade later the cannons, at the time undergoing restoration, were replaced for the duration of the ceremony by a pair of pianos – according to the organisers, in order to draw attention to the victory of art over aggression (fig. 7).⁵⁹ A similarly anti-militant message lay at the heart of the last significant intervention organised roughly a year ago by a group of local artists who carried out a “soft graffiti” action, dressing the cannon barrels and machine guns of the two soldiers on the Victory Monument in lace (fig. 8). The organisers apparently also hoped to persuade local residents to engage in the shaping of their everyday surroundings.⁶⁰

These actions, which can be seen as an attempt to encourage wider public discourse about the monument, were met with relatively lukewarm reactions.⁶¹ The interventions show that room for critical reflection on the monument in a contemporary context does exist, although – just like reflection of the period of its creation – it has not yet taken place. Instead, the necessary reflection has been replaced by indifference – it is very telling that most of the (artistic) interventions into the monument were performed with official permission, while more subversive, anonymous actions have been far less common. The people of Murska Sobota have accepted the monument and grown accustomed to it; its presence has thus far not provoked a need to assume a clear stance towards it or to readdress its meaning.

⁵⁶ Rdeča armada v Prekmurju, exhibition panel in the permanent exhibition in Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota, March 2012.

⁵⁷ Some authors describe the monument as a phallus in the town centre (Borut BRUMEN, Veš urbanist svoj dolg?, *Vestnik*, 40/42, 1988, p. 9), while others wonder why the monument did not bother any of the participants at the conference on the planning development of Murska Sobota (Štefan SMEJ, Narediti iz te Murske zopet Soboto, *Vestnik*, 43/40, 1991, p. 6). Some see it as a “melting point of the red regime, which used to bow to it, and the black-and-white regime, who would most likely wish to see it demolished, perhaps so that it does not have to remember how it used to bow to it not long ago” (Robert TITAN FELIX, Mirovniška farsa sredi Murske Sobote, *Vestnik*, 43/11, 1991, p. 12).

⁵⁸ Štefan SMEJ, Kultura proslave kot akupunktura zgodovine, *Vestnik*, 47/15, 1995, p. 11.

⁵⁹ C. K., Namesto topov klavirji, *Vestnik*, 57/14, 2005, p. 16.

⁶⁰ Špela HORVAT, Namesto grafitov pletenine, *Soboške novine*, 113, 2012, p. 27. The action was organised by the artists' collective *Prejk 12* within the European Capital of Culture program on 19th June 2012, the day of so-called yarn bombing (graffiti produced by knitted yarn instead of sprays and paint).

⁶¹ There were no significant reflections on the actions, apart from the one by Štefan Smej, who characterized Šarotar's project as relativising of history (SMEJ 1995 (n. 58), p. 11).



The Red Army monuments were conceived with the goal of intense propaganda. Their construction was always a crude, aggressive intervention into the existing local territory, where they – as symbols of Soviet power – established new semantic and spatial relations as well as asserted a clear will to dominate. In the countries of the former Eastern bloc, where the Soviet Union actually fulfilled the (political) pretensions expressed in the monuments, this role became increasingly reinforced in the post-war decades of Soviet rule, finally leading to the removal or adaptation of the monuments alongside regime changes. The termination of contact with the Soviet Union, which in Yugoslavia came into force with the Cominform split just three years after liberation, allowed the Murska Sobota monument to assume a fresh, more neutral position within the collective consciousness. It was now possible to perceive it outside the context of Soviet propaganda and connect the monument more closely to the actual historical event, rather than the repression following it. Therefore, the Victory Monument is today more easily understood as a memorial to the actual liberation, a symbol of freedom and alliance, which is – in contrast to other similar monuments – partly stressed by its unusual iconographic conception.⁶²

⁶² The paper was written under supervision of Assist. Prof. Dr. Barbara Murovec and funded by the Slovenian Research Agency as part of the research program *Slovenian Artistic Identity in European Context* (P6-0061).

»Svoboda je spomenik«

Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti – nastanek, usoda, kontekst

Katarina Mohar

Spomenik zmage predstavlja eno osrednjih točk v topografiji Murske Sobote (sl. 1). V skoraj sedmih desetletjih od njegove postavitve neposredno po koncu druge svetovne vojne je kljub korenitim družbenopolitičnim spremembam obdržal vlogo osrednjega reprezentančnega prostora v mestu; za časa bivše Jugoslavije so ob Titovi smrti na trgu ob njem zasadili kavkaško smreko, ob osamosvojitvi Slovenije pa lipo. Predstavniki Ruske federacije, naslednice Sovjetske zveze, ki je poskrbela za njegovo postavitev, se pred njim še naprej dvakrat letno slavnostno poklanjajo spominu na svoje padle vojake. Majhen urejen park s klopmi okoli spomenika tudi danes ostaja priljubljeno mesto srečevanja in zadrževanja meščanov, ob njem pa od postavitve dalje prirejajo dobršen del pomembnejših državnih proslav, shodov in protestov. Gre za enega iz množice spomenikov Rdeči armadi, kakršni so v prvih povojnih letih nastajali na osvobojenih območjih, in hkrati za edinega na območju Slovenije. Kljub svoji pomembnosti soboški spomenik še ni bil predmet temeljite znanstvene obravnave.¹ Pričujoči prispevek na podlagi dostopnih arhivskih virov, relevantne primerjalne literature, objav v periodiki in natančne umetnostnozgodovinske analize osvetljuje nastanek spomenika, njegovo usodo in recepcijo v kontekstu sorodnih spomenikov sovjetski vojski.



1. aprila 1945 so čete Rdeče armade pri Hodošu prestopile na slovensko ozemlje. V Prekmurju, ki je bilo prva osvobojena slovenska pokrajina in edina, ki so jo osvobodili Sovjeti, je na področju Murske Sobote v zaključnih operacijah 2. svetovne vojne umrlo več kot petsto sovjetskih vojakov. Po osvoboditvi je Rdeča armada za nekaj mesecov prevzela komando nad mestom, 6. maja 1945 pa je

¹ Edini znanstveni prispevek o Spomeniku zmage je delo Špelce Čopič, ki je njegov opis vključila v katalog del svoje monografije o javnih spomenikih (Špelca ČOPIČ, *Javni spomeniki v slovenskem kiparstvu prve polovice 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 2000, str. 382–385). Delo je na kratko popisano v katalogu spomenikov NOB (Drago NOVAK, Ivo OREŠNIK, Herman ŠTICL, *Pomniki NOB v Slovenskih goricah in Prekmurju*, Murska Sobota 1985, str. 419–422), omenjata ga: Marjeta CIGLENEČKI, Monuments to the National War of Liberation in Slovenia. Erection, Reception and Negative Public Opinion, *Balkan Memories. Media Constructions of National and Transnational History*, Bielefeld 2012, str. 209; Milček KOMELJ, Socialistična ideološka indoktrinacija in povojsna slovenska likovna umetnost, *Temna stran meseča. Kratka zgodovina totalitarizma v Sloveniji 1945–1990*, Ljubljana 1998, str. 310. Spomenik je naveden v preglednih katalogih opusov Zdenka in Borisa Kalina (*Kipar Zdenko Kalin, Moderna galerija*, Ljubljana 1985, str. 20–21; *Boris Kalin, Moderna galerija*, Ljubljana 1965), medtem ko ga v edini temeljitejši obravnavi opusa arhitekta Franca Novaka avtorica ne omenja (Tanja BOROVŠAK, *Arhitekt Franc Novak. 1906–1959. Življenje in delo*, Ljubljana 1992 (tipkopis diplomske naloge)). V krajših, poljudnih tekstih sta se s spomenikom ukvarjala še: Robert INHOF, Spomenik zmage, *Vestnik*, 48/10, 7. 3. 1996, str. 11; Franc KUZMIČ, Spomenik zmage na Trgu zmage v Murski Soboti, *Soboške novine*, 21, 2001, str. 6.



1. Spomenik zmage,
Trg zmage, Murska Sobota

vojni svet 57. armade soboški vojaški komandi ukazal, naj v mestu organizira postavitev spomenika vojakom Rdeče armade »po projektu mestnih arhitektov«.²

Spomenik zmage stoji na Trgu zmage v središču Murske Sobote. Gre za tridelno, 17,35 m visoko arhitekturno konstrukcijo, sestavljeno iz kvadrov in postavljeno na nizek kamnit podstavek. V sredini se dviga osrednji ozek visok slop štirikotnega prerezja, obdan z dvema nižjima in tanjšima slopoma. Celota je obdana s 330 m² plošč iz kararskega marmorja. Na podestu pred osrednjim delom spomenika stojita bronasta kipa vojakov, rdečearmejca in partizana, ki stražita spominsko ploščo. Nad kipoma sta nameščena topa, darilo Rdeče armade, do katerih vodijo stopnice v zadnji strani spomenika, vrh slopa je pritrjena bronasta peterokraka zvezda, pod njo pa visi portretni medaljon s podobo Lenina in napisom *DRUG LENIN 1917*. Na spominski plošči je v slovenskem in ruskem jeziku zapisano *VEČNA SLAVA JUNAKOM, PADLIM V BOJU ZA SVOBODO IN NEODVINSNOST SOVJETSKE ZVEZE IN JUGOSLAVIJE / ВЕЧНАЯ СЛАВА ГЕРОЯМ, ПАВШИМ В БОЯХ ЗА СВОБОДУ И НЕЗАВИСИМОСТЬ СОВЕТСКОЙ РОДИНЫ И БРАТСКОЙ ЮГОСЛАВИИ,*

² Arhiv Pomurskega muzeja Murska Sobota (APMMS), Spomenik zmage, poročilo Fjodorja Daniloviča Barsukova z dne 13. avgusta 1945.

pod topovoma sta vklesani letnici 1941 in 1945, na levi in desni strani spomenika pa še VEČNA SLAVA VAM OSVOBODITELJI NARODOV IZ FAŠISTIČNEGA MRAČNJAŠTVA / ПОЕМ МЫ СЛАВУ ВАМ ОСВОБОДИТЕЛИ НАРОДОВ ОТ ФАШИСТСКОГО МРАКОБЕСИЯ in SLAVA VAŠIH DEL NE MINE NE ZBLEDI NA VEKOMAJ / ВАШИХ ДЕЛ НЕ СМОЛКНЕТ СЛАВА НЕ ПОМЕРКНЕТ НИКОГДА.³



Rdeča armada je za postavitev spomenika zadolžila svojega takratnega komandanta mesta Murska Sobota Fjodorja Daniloviča Barsukova. Ta naj bi se nemudoma obrnil k lokalnim krajevnim oblastem in pri njih »našel goreče razumevanje, potem pa dejansko pomoč v delovni sili in gradbenem materialu«.⁴ Kmalu zatem sta posebej ustanovljena častni in delovni odbor⁵ preko objav v medijih širšo javnost pozvala k prispevanju denarja za novi spomenik, »ki ga bo na ta način resnično postavilo celotno slovensko ljudstvo«.⁶ Za projekt naj bi zbrali okoli 1.200.000 dinarjev, od tega približno dve tretjini v Prekmurju.⁷ Z gradbenimi deli, pri katerih so sodelovali domači zidarji pod vodstvom arhitekta Franca Novaka (1906–1959) in tehnika Viktorja Cera, so pričeli 24. maja 1945, Barsukov pa se je tudi po svoji premestitvi v Avstrijo še naprej vračal na gradbišče⁸ in s pomočjo svojih sodelavcev, nadporočnika Magomeda Kerimoviča Kerimova in poročnika Ivana Romanoviča Gurskega, skrbno nadzoroval gradnjo in poročila o dogajanju pošiljal na sedež in v arhiv Rdeče armade.⁹ Ker naj bi »Rusi pokazali vso tehniko organizacije masovnega dela in udarništva«,¹⁰ je bil spomenik končan že v dveh mesecih in pol, pravočasno, da so njegovo slavnostno otvoritev pripravili 12. avgusta, na obletnico zasedbe Prekmurja s strani Kraljevine SHS.¹¹

³ Besedilo je iz ruskega izvirnika prevedel pesnik Mile Klopčič, tedanji tajnik Društva za kulturno sodelovanje Slovenije in ZSSR; gl. APMMS, Spomenik zmage, poročilo Mira Stubla z dne 27. oktobra 1945, str. 12.

⁴ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, poročilo Fjodorja Daniloviča Barsukova z dne 26. oktobra 1945. Betonsko železo in cement so pripeljali iz Bad Radkersburga, gramoz in pesek so »udarniško oskrbeli MOOF Sobote in okoliških KOOF«, kararski marmor pa so dobavili iz Maribora in Ljubljane; gl. APMMS, Spomenik zmage, poročilo Mira Stubla z dne 27. oktobra 1945, str. 12.

⁵ Častni odbor so osnovali v Ljubljani, sestavljeni pa so ga »minister za prosveto dr. Ferdo Kozak, generalni pomočnik in komandant III. armije Kosta Nadj, generalmajor Lado Ambrožič, generalmajor Dušan Kveder, podpolkovnik in komandant mesta Ljubljana Ivan Lokovšek, pesnik in upravnik Drž. gledališča v Ljubljani Oton Župančič ter načelnik oddelka za kulturo in umetnost v ministrstvu za prosveto Fran Albrecht. Delovni odbor je bil oblikovan v Murski Soboti, njegovi člani pa so bili akademski slikar in predsednik Slovenskega umetniškega kluba Božidar Jakac, sekretar okrajnega odbora OF Janko Liška, prosvetni referent okrajnega odbora OF Miro Ravbar, arhitekt Franc Novak, sekretar mestnega odbora OF Mara Kocmur, referent za propagando pri MOOF Štefan Mesarič in zidarski mojster Evgen Miholič«; gl. Slovenski javnosti, *Vestnik*, 1/17, 30. 6. 1945, str. 1.

⁶ Gl. mdr. *Slovenski javnosti* 1945 (op. 5), str. 1; Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/68, 8. 7. 1945, str. 6.

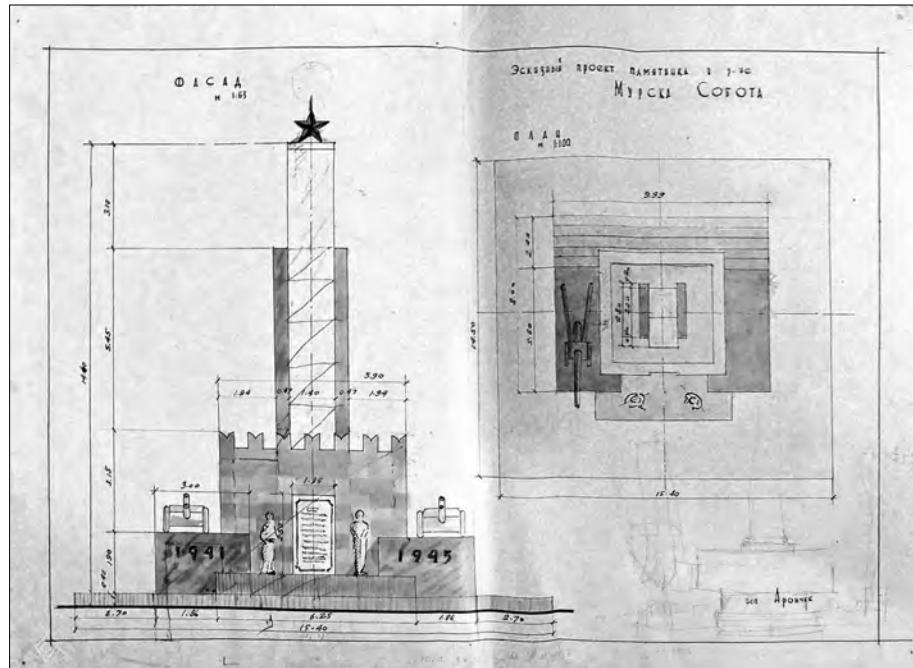
⁷ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, poročilo Mira Stubla z dne 27. oktobra 1945, str. 12. Denar so zbirali krajevni, mestni, okrajni in okrožni odbori OF; gl. *Slovenski javnosti* 1945 (op. 5), str. 1. Sredstva za Spomenik zmage so med drugim nabirale tržaške protifašistke, Antifašistična fronta žena v Ljubljani pa naj bi v enem samem dnevu nabraala več kot 80.000 dinarjev; gl. Janez KAJZER, Življenje Slovencev v svobodi, *Borec*, 28/5, 1976, str. 277–278.

⁸ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, poročilo Fjodorja Daniloviča Barsukova z dne 26. oktobra 1945.

⁹ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, poročilo Mira Stubla z dne 27. oktobra 1945, str. 12.

¹⁰ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, poročilo Mira Stubla z dne 27. oktobra 1945, str. 12.

¹¹ Zaradi (pre)kratkega roka za izdelavo kipov sta na spomeniku ob njegovi otvoritvi stali patinirani mavčni predlogi; gl. ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 1), str. 283.



2. Načrt za Spomenik zmage na Trgu zmage v Murski Soboti, Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor

Otvoritev je bila predmet intenzivne propagande. V pomembnejših časopisih so redno spremljali postavitev spomenika, v začetku avgusta pa so začeli javnost pozivati k udeležbi na »prazniku ljudstva vse Slovenije« z organizacijo številnih prevozov po znižani ali brezplačni voznini in vabili na ljudsko veselico.¹² Domačine so pozvali k okrasitvi svojih domov s cvetjem, zastavami ter slikami Tita in Stalina, navzoči krajevni odbori pa naj bi prinesli vence, zastave in parole.¹³ Ob svečanih, kasneje tudi v medijih objavljenih govorih najvišjih funkcionarjev osvobojene Slovenije, predstavnikov Rdeče armade in zavezniških sil, ki so se zatem udeležili še otvoritve spomenika v bližnjem Bad Radkersburgu,¹⁴ se je zbrala za Mursko Soboto izjemna, dvajsetisočglava množica.¹⁵

¹² Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/94, 8. 8. 1945, str. 4; Odkritje spomenika zmage – praznik ljudstva vse Slovenije, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/96, 10. 8. 1945, str. 3; Odkritje Spomenika Zmage bo v nedeljo, *Poročevalec*, 1/70, 1945, str. 1; Spomenik zmage – mejnik dveh dob, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/97, 11. 8. 1945, str. 4.

¹³ *Odkritje Spomenika 1945* (op. 12), str. 1.

¹⁴ Spomenik v Bad Radkersburgu so postavljali sočasno s soboškim in prav tako pod vodstvom Barsukova. Spomenik, ki je prvotno stal na glavnem mestnem trgu (za fotografijo prvotnega stanja gl. *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/100, 16. 8. 1945, str. 4), sestavlja realistično zasnovana skupina treh vojakov Rdeče armade na visokem podstavku, opremljenem z grbom in s slavilnimi napisimi v ruščini. Zanimiv je kontrast v opisu otvoritve v Murski Soboti in Bad Radkersburgu – v Murski Soboti naj bi »množica 20 tisočev vzvalovila in vzklopila v en sam manifest Sovjetski zvezni in novi Jugoslaviji, njenima voditeljema in njenima vladama«, čez mejo pa je »navzoče prebivalstvo [...] dajalo videz, kakor da si ne upa dati izraza svojim najglobokejšim željam in težnjam«. Tamkajšnji spomenik stoji na območju, ki je »skrajni košček slovenske zemlje, kateri pa je še danes izven naše bratske skupnosti«, »in čutili smo tiko hrepenenje, ki v potrilih srcih up budi«; gl. Onstran Mure, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/100, 16. 8. 1945, str. 5.

¹⁵ Med najpomembnejšimi gosti na otvoritvi so bili sovjetski ambasador Sadčikov, predstavnik Rdeče armade generalmajor Strukov, zavezniške sile pa je predstavljal angleški generalmajor C. E. Weir. Josipa Broza - Tita je zastopal notranji minister Vlada Zečevič, ljudsko vojsko generalporočnik Ivan Gošnjak, med najvišjimi predstavniki republike so bili predsednik SNOS Josip Vidmar, predsednik ljudske vlade Boris Kidrič, minister za prosveto Ferdo Kozak idr.; gl. Skupaj v borbi, skupaj v miru, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 6/99, 14. 8. 1945, str. 1.

Edina znana verzija načrta za spomenik nosi podpis sovjetskega vojnega inženirja Arončika (sl. 2).¹⁶ Osnutek sicer ustreza končnemu izgledu spomenika, a ga kaže obarvanega v barve ruske oziroma jugoslovanske trobojnice. Razlogi za odločitev za današnji beli kararski marmor v ohranjenih virih niso omenjeni, po nekaterih pričevanjih pa naj bi načrtovano polihromiranost preprečil arhitekt Novak.¹⁷ Po ruskem poročilu sodeč, naj bi ustvaril tudi prvotno (neohranjeno ali trenutno nedostopno) skico za spomenik, ki so jo sprejeli po popravkih Arončika.¹⁸ Kljub trditvam Rusov je Novak zavzel bržkone izrazito stransko vlogo v koncepciji spomenika, saj (že površna) primerjava z ostalimi, tipološko podobnimi spomeniki Rdeči armadi kaže na jasen in enoten likovni jezik, pri katerem ni bilo prostora za odstopanja od estetike socialističnega realizma ali kakršenkoli osebni ali lokalni umetniški izraz. Da je bila zasnova spomenika res razumljena in celo propagirana kot za domači prostor nova, je razvidno tudi iz v medijih objavljenega navdušujočega opisa projekta v izgradnji: »Oblika celotnega spomenika /.../ ima pečat nove umetnostne tvorbe in smeri za nas kar nenavadne, ki pa kaže dovolj nazorno močne utripe moderne sovjetske arhitektoniske umetnosti.«¹⁹

Spomenik zmage je bil prvotno zamišljen kot grobnica 516 vojakov Rdeče armade, ki so padli v bojih za Prekmurje. Ker naj bi Sobočani ostro nasprotovali tovrstnemu grobišču na glavnem trgu svojega mesta, so posmrtnе ostanke rdečarmejcev pokopali v skupni grobniči na lokalnem pokopališču,²⁰ zasnova spomenika pa je ostala enaka. Vojaka stojita kot stražarja pred (slepim) vhodom v mavzolej, na mestu katerega je spominska plošča s posvetilom. Zgornji del tega osrednjega volumna spomenika je obdan z nazobčanim vencem, ki je zasnovan kot jasna reminiscenca na kremljско obzidje. Če upoštevamo, da naj bi bil po prvotnih načrtih pod »obzidjem« tudi mavzolej, lahko celoto brez večjih pomislek interpretiramo kot variacijo na motiv Leninovega mavzoleja ob obzidju moskovskega Kremlja. Spomenik zmage pa kot trdnjavno sovjetskosti v Prekmurju, na skrajnem robu ozemlja »bratske« Jugoslavije.

Približno 2,4 m visoka kipa partizana in rdečarmejca (sl. 3) sta izdelala brata Zdenko (1911–1990) in Boris Kalin (1905–1975), favorizirana izvajalca povojnih državnih kiparskih naročil.²¹ Prvi,

¹⁶ Načrt je skupaj s tehničnim poročilom o spomeniku hranjen v Pokrajinskem arhivu Maribor (PAM), 0438, Okrajni ljudski odbor Murska Sobota (1945–1962), 1945 – spisi. Razen priimka in podatka, da je bil Ukrajinec, o inženirju Arončiku iz arhivskih virov ne izvemo ničesar. Po ruskem internetnem viru sodeč, naj bi mu bilo ime Vladimir; gl. www.rus-slo-mid.ru/doc/Murska_Sobota.htm (stanje 28. 3. 2012). Boris KALIN, Mojster Boris Kalin o spomenikih narodnoosvobodilnega boja, *Likovni svet*, 1951, str. 38–39, avtor kipa rdečarmejca, navaja kot projektanta spomenika sovjetskega oficirja Zaharova, v vseh relevantnih člankih iz leta 1945, ko so mediji o spomeniku pisali najpogosteje, pa je kot avtor omenjen Arončik; gl. mdr. *Spomenik 1945* (op. 6), str. 6; *Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti 1945* (op. 12), str. 4.

¹⁷ Metka HARI, Velecenjeni arh. F. Novak, Boško Buha in socialistični falus sredi Murske Sobote, *Vestnik*, 40/44, 17. 11. 1988, str. 11.

¹⁸ APMMS, Spomenik zmage, poročilo Fjodorja Daniloviča Barsukova z dne 13. avgusta 1945.

¹⁹ *Spomenik 1945* (op. 6), str. 6.

²⁰ Vojake naj bi najprej pokopali na mestu, kjer so padli, kasneje, »junija, so padle na področju Murske Sobote na zahtevo armijske komande prekopali v skupno grobničo na mestnem pokopališču, katere spomenik je načrtoval arhitekt Novak«; gl. APMMS, Spomenik zmage, poročilo Mira Stubla z dne 27. oktobra 1945, str. 7.

²¹ Po kakšnem ključu je bila naloga zaupana bratom Kalin, ni znano, edini zapis, ki omenja podelitev naročila, se glasi: »Kakor hitro se je zglasilo odposlanstvo v prosvetnem ministrstvu Narodne vlade Slovenije s takim predlogom, željo in načrtom, je bila po šefu prosvetnega oddelka Franu Albrechtu, obenem zastopniku novega Društva za kult. stike s Sovjetsko zvezo, takoj poverjena ta lepa kiparska naloga Borisu in Zdenku Kalinu.« *Odkritje spomenika 1945* (op. 12), str. 3. Špelca Čopič piše, da naj bi Boris Kalin del naročila sam posredoval bratu zaradi kratkega roka izdelave; gl. *Kipar Zdenko Kalin 1985* (op. 1), str. 20–21. Za literaturo o umetnikih gl. mdr. France STELE, *Umetnost v Primorju*, Ljubljana 1960, str. 157–161; o Zdenku Kalinu gl. mdr. tudi Zoran KRŽIŠNIK, *Zdenko Kalin*, Ljubljana 1956 (Slovenski likovni umetniki); Fran ŠIJANEK, *Sodobna slovenska likovna umetnost*, Maribor 1961, str. 324–332;



3. Zdenko Kalin:
Partizan; Boris Kalin:
Rdečarmejec, Spomenik zmage,
Trg zmage, Murska Sobota

delo Zdenka Kalina, je upodobljen po podobi partizanskega umetnika Nandeta Vidmarja (1899–1981), za drugega pa je Borisu Kalinu poziral Ivan Romanovič Gurski, eden od nadzornikov gradnje spomenika.²² Glede na ohranjene fotografije obeh modelov sta kipa realistična portreta. Kot je opazila že Špelca Čopič, je, razen drugačnih uniform, edina pomembna razlika med obema v stopnji dinamike; partizan stoji v nekoliko večjem razkoraku in zato učinkuje manj statično od sovjetskega kolega.²³ Na tem detajlu je bila oblikovana interpretacija obeh figur, ki temelji na propagandi konceptije o Sovjetski zvezi kot učiteljici in Jugoslaviji kot zvesti in pridni učenki.²⁴ Partizana so tako razlagali kot dinamičnega in mladostno zagnanega upornika, ki naj se v prihodnosti zgleduje po zrelem rdečarmejcu, v katerem so videli simbol umirjenosti in samozavesti, kakršni pritičeta članom zmagovalne in urejene Rdeče armade.



Rdeča armada je z 2., 3. in 4. ukrajinsko fronto 20. oktobra 1944 sodelovala pri osvoboditvi Beograda, od koder so njene čete prodirale naprej proti zahodu mimo Batine, Debrecena in Tise in

o Borisu Kalinu gl. mdr. Zoran KRŽIŠNIK, *Boris Kalin*, Ljubljana 1958 (Slovenski likovni umetniki); ŠIJANEC 1961, str. 319–322; *Boris Kalin 1965* (op. 1).

²² ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 1), str. 383. V lokalni periodiki je bila objavljena fotografija, posneta 17. 8. 1945, za katero je poziral del skupine, ki je pomagala pri postavitvi spomenika; ob komandantu Barsukovu in arhitektu Novaku je med navzočimi tudi Gurski; gl. *Vestnik*, 27/13, 3. 4. 1975, str. 24.

²³ ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 1), str. 383.

²⁴ *Odkritje spomenika 1945* (op. 12), str. 3: »Kip rdečarmejca je mogočna in umirjena postava, ki jasno kaže, da se je bratski junak že umiril in da pripada k urejeni armadi, ki je bila edina zmožna premagati fašistično /.../st! Slovenski umetnik Boris Kalin je vklesal samozavest in ponos rdečarmejcu v njegovo držo, /.../ jasen pogled in močno postavo. V nasprotju z njim je partizan komponiran bolj živahnno. Pozna se mu mnogo bolj upor in gibčnost. Italijanska brzostrelka, stara vojaška suknja, nemška bomba kažejo, da je moral partizan vse to najprej iztrgati fašistu iz rok. To je delo Zdenka Kalina. Nehote nas ta razlika spominja, da je bil tudi rdečarmejec pred leti na istem ko naš borec! To nas vzpodbuja, da bomo mi Jugoslovansko armado do kraja dogradili. Taka vera se izraža na spomeniku, v prvi vrsti pa je porok velika peterokraka zvezda, ki se blešči na visokem stebru!«.

tako deloma pripomogla h končni osvoboditvi Jugoslavije. V letih pred sporom z informbirojem je sovjetska »zavezniška« politika v odnosu do Jugoslavije težila predvsem k širjenju concepcije, da novoustanovljena država ne bi mogla obstati brez njihove podpore, in k enosmerni širitvi oziroma izvozu svoje kulture in ideologije.²⁵ Ena poglavitnih sredstev za implementacijo nove ideologije in njeni propagando so bili spomeniki in spominska obeležja na simbolno pomembnih, centralnih lokacijah.²⁶ Že med zaključnimi operacijami so tako na osvobojenem ozemlju začeli postavljati spominska obeležja padlim junakom; samo v Beogradu so na različnih koncih mesta ob posameznih grobovih rdečearmejcev postavili več sto nagrobnih spomenikov, ki so funkcionali kot ritualne lokacije in prizorišča proslav ob praznikih in obletnicah. Redkejši so bili monumentalni spomeniki, postavljeni na skrajnih območjih ozemlja, ki so ga pomagali osvoboditi rdečearmejci; na področju bivše Jugoslavije sta bila večja spomenika postavljena le v Murski Soboti in na kraju bitke pri Batinški skeli na ozemlju današnje Hrvaške.²⁷ Postavljanje spomenikov Rdeči armadi ni bilo dejanje (slepega) podrejanja Jugoslavije svoji osvoboditeljici. Nova obeležja niso služila le krepiti odnosov med Sovjetsko zvezo in Jugoslavijo, temveč so hkrati jasno promovirala novo ideologijo in opozarjala na močno zaledje jugoslovanskih komunistov.²⁸

Batinski spomenik padlim rdečarmejcem nad Donavo je bil postavljen leta 1947 pod vodstvom kiparja Antuna Augustinčiča (1900–1979). Skladno z obljubo, ki jo je dal maršal Tito ruski komandi v avstrijskem Gradcu, bi moralo biti delo končano že dan pred 1. avgustom 1945, ko naj bi se čete Rdeče armade mimo Batine vračale domov.²⁹ Prvotnim načrtom, ki bi omogočili pravočasno postavitev spomenika, je nasprotovala skupina umetnikov z Augustinčičem na čelu in dosegla prestavitev roka ter zamenjavo vodje projekta.³⁰ Med izvornim osnutkom in sočasno postavljenim spomenikom v Murski Soboti, torej med projektoma za edina tovrstna spomenika v bivši Jugoslaviji, je vrsta vzporednic. Naloga načrtovanja batinskega spomenika je bila maja 1945 podobno kot v Prekmurju zaupana (sicer neznanemu) sovjetskemu inženirju kapetanu Feldmanu, ki naj bi pri njegovi izvedbi sodeloval z domačim kiparjem Ilijom Kolarevićem (1894–1968).³¹ Ohranjene skice

²⁵ Goran MILORADOVIĆ, *Lepota pod nadzorom. Sovjetki kulturni uticaji u Jugoslaviji 1945–1955*, Beograd 2012, str. 214.

²⁶ Olga MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR, »Široka strana moja rodnaja« – spomenici sovjetskim vojnicima podizani u Srbiji 1944–1954, *Tokovi istorije*, 1–2, 2005, str. 135.

²⁷ O spomeniku gl. mdr. Vladimir KULIĆ, *Land of the In-between. Modern Architecture and the State in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945–65*, Austin 2009 (tipkopis doktorske disertacije), str. 77–90; Davorin VUJČIĆ, Spomenik zahvalnosti Crvenoj armiji, *Refleksije vremena 1945–1955*, Zagreb 2012, str. 129–139.

²⁸ Olga MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR, Uprostoravanje ideologije. Spomenici Drugoga svetskoga rata i kreiranje kolektivnih identiteta, *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara*, 1, 2008, str. 292; MILORADOVIĆ 2012 (op. 25), str. 228.

²⁹ Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Fond 13. Ministerstvo građevina Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 85.

³⁰ AJ, Fond 13. Ministerstvo građevina Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 85. Po arhivskih zapisih sodeč, so 19. junija 1945 beograjski kiparji z Augustinčičem na čelu odstopili zaradi nestrinjanja s Feldmanovo kiparsko predlogo in se sporazumno dogovorili za pripravo novega projekta ob sodelovanju Feldmana. 21. avgusta 1945 so ustavili vsa dela na spomeniku, »da bi se po želji tovariša Augustinčića izdelal po drugem načrtu, ki ga je izdelal sam Augustinčić«, 3. novembra 1945 so mu bila uradno predana vsa dela, otvoritev pa so napovedali za dan Rdeče armade 7. novembra 1947.

³¹ AJ, Fond 13. Ministerstvo građevina Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 85. 31. maja 1945, je bilo na sestanku pri slikarju Đordju Andrejeviću - Kunu v prisotnosti sovjetske vojske in predstavnikov jugoslovanskega ministrstva za gradnje odločeno, da bo za kiparje in slikarje, udeležene v ustvarjanju spomenika, poskrbelo Društvo likovnih umetnikov v Beogradu, za inženirje pa tehnični oddelek GNOOV Novi Sad. Za avtorja projekta je bil imenovan Feldman, njegove načrte naj bi preucil GNOOV Novi Sad in začel z delom. Po prvotnih načrtih naj bi pri spomeniku sodeloval tudi kipar Živodrag Mihajlović. Postavitev spomenika je bila financirana iz državnega proračuna, po predračunu so zanje predvidevali 1.800.000 din.

kažejo na zasnovu z obeliskom oziroma slopom v sredini, realistično oblikovanimi kipi vojakov in rdečarmejskimi tanki.³² Čeprav so domači umetniki oziroma najvplivnejši med njimi deloma prevzeli nadzor nad estetsko konцепциjo spomenika, so Rusi projekt še naprej obravnavali kot svoj in zamudo pri postavljanju razumeli kot sabotažo.³³ Jugoslovani so imeli torej v projektu le načelno avtonomijo; imeli so svoje nadzornike, ki pa so bili nadzirani s strani Sovjetov. Rdeča armada je kljub zapisnikom, ki tako v primeru Murske Sobote kot Batine govorijo o tesnem sodelovanju med narodi in umetniki, imela odločilno besedo pri končnem izgledu spomenikov. Med avtorji je dajala jasno prednost svojim vojnim inženirjem, dopustila nekaj manevrskega prostora, ki so ga zapolnili domači kiparji, še zmeraj pa obdržala popoln nadzor.

Podobne spomenike so po vojni postavljali tudi drugod po Evropi, kjer je pri osvoboditvi ozemlja sodelovala Rdeča armada.³⁴ Večina jih je nastala šele po letu 1950, nemudoma po vojni pa so kljub močnemu pomanjkanju sredstev postavili nekaj najmonumentalnejših spomenikov na skrajnih ali simbolno najpomembnejših mestih osvobojenega ozemlja; med najznamenitejše sodijo tisti v Königsbergu,³⁵ Berlinu³⁶ in na Dunaju.³⁷ Vsi so nastali po ukazih vojnih svetov Rdeče armade in načrtih sovjetskih umetnikov ter temeljijo na spoju realističnega kiparstva in arhitektуре. Monumentalna stebrišča in obeliski, okrašeni s peterokrakimi zvezdami in grbi, oblikujejo prostor, v katerega

³² AJ, Fond 13. Ministerstvo građevina Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 85.

³³ AJ, Fond 13. Ministerstvo građevina Vlade FNRJ, fasc. 85. Po poročilu enega od arhitektov, ki so pomagali pri gradnji spomenika, naj bi ruski delegati, ki so bili stacionirani v avstrijskem Gradcu, zamudo pri postavljanju spomenika imeli za sabotažo. Jasno naj bi zagrozili, da bodo morali v primeru nadaljnjih zaostankov jugoslovanski nadzorniki sami graditi, Rusi pa bodo prevzeli vso komando.

³⁴ Za več o spomenikih Rdeči armadi gl. mdr. Sergiusz MICHALSKI, *The Communist Pantheon, Public Monuments. Art in Political Bondage 1870–1997*, London 1998, str. 107–153; Dieter HÜBENER, *Sowjetische Ehrenfriedhöfe und Ehrenmale im Land Brandenburg, Kriegerdenkmale in Brandenburg. Von den Befreiungskriegen 1813/15 bis in die Gegenwart* (ur. Dieter Hübener, Kristina Hübener, Julius H. Schoeps), Berlin 2003, str. 215–232; zbornik *Figuration/Abstraction. Strategies for Public Sculpture in Europe 1945–1968* (ur. Charlotte Benton), Leeds 2004 (zlasti članki: Reuben FOWKES, Soviet war memorials in Eastern Europe, 1945–74, str. 11–32; Marie KLIMEŠOVÁ, Czechoslovak Public Sculpture and Its Context. From 1945 to the »Realizations« Exhibition, 1961, str. 33–50; Géza BOROS, The Metamorphosis of Liberty. The Monument to Hungarian Liberation, str. 69–84); Nikolai VUKOV, Public Monuments as Visualisations of Death in Socialist Bulgaria between 1944 and 1989, *Centropa*, 3, 2006, str. 215–227; János PÓTÓ, Denkmäler des »real existierenden« Sozialismus in Budapest, *Danubiana Carpathica*, 2, 2008, str. 255–273; Deborah SCHULTZ, Alina SERBAN, Public Memory and National Identity under Construction. The Trajectory of monuments in Romania in the Communist and Post-Communist Periods, *Centropa*, 1, 2010, str. 56–66.

³⁵ V Königsbergu (današnji Kaliningrad), na najzahodnejši točki osvobojenega ozemlja, so Sovjeti leta 1945 postavili prvi veliki spomenik oziroma memorialni kompleks, posvečen 1200 padlim rdečarmejcem. Sestavlajo ga monumentalen polkrožen zid, kiparski skupini vojakov v napadu in Zmage, obelisk z bustami generalov in grobnice padlih vojakov; gl. MICHALSKI 1998 (op. 34), str. 125–126.

³⁶ Po vojni, leta 1945, so v Berlinu postavili spomenik v Tiergartnu (preostala mestna spomenika Rdeči armadi v Schönholzer Heide in v Treptowu sta bila dokončana šele leta 1949). Pri projektu so sodelovali le sovjetski umetniki, spomeniški kompleks pa je zasnovan okoli monumentalnega stebrišča z velikim kipom sovjetskega vojaka in dveh sovjetskih tankov; o sovjetskih spomenikih v Berlinu gl. Klaus von KROSIGK, *Die sowjetischen Ehrenmale in Berlin, eine Denkmalpflegerische Herausforderung, Stalinistische Architektur unter Denkmalschutz? Eine Tagung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees von ICOMOS und der Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umweltschutz in der Architektenkammer Berlin, 6.–9. 9. 1995*, München 1996, str. 35–44; Helga KÖPSTEIN, *Die sowjetischen Ehrenmale in Berlin*, Berlin 2006.

³⁷ Dunajski spomenik na Schwarzenbergplatzu je bil slavnostno odkrit avgusta 1945. Pred monumentalnim stebriščem z inskripcijami in kiparskima skupinama vojakov ob strani se na visokem stebriščastem podstavku nahaja osrednji kip zmagovalnega rdečarmejca s praporjem v eni in ščitom v drugi roki; gl. MICHALSKI 1998 (op. 34), str. 126.



4. Pogled s Spomenika zmage proti evangeličanski cerkvi,
Trg zmage, Murska Sobota

so umeščeni prostostoječi kipi oboroženih in uniformiranih sovjetskih vojakov. Kipe v prvem planu v ozadju občasno dopolnjujejo reliefi s prizori iz 2. svetovne vojne. Neredko so dodani še pravi topovi ali tanki, celoto pa vselej dopolnjujejo in pojasnjujejo slavilni napisи in ruščini in uradnem lokalnem jeziku. Vsi veliki spomeniki, postavljeni v letu po koncu vojne, so bili obenem tudi grobišča.

Rdeča armada je že med vojno pričela razvijati nov tip spomenika svojim junakom in v letih 1942–1943 razpisala prvi veliki natečaj. Del izbranih predlogov je leta 1947 izdala v albumu priporočenih tipskih projektov za manjše spomenike oziroma grobnice padlim junakom.³⁸ Čeprav so bili obravnavani spomeniki, vključno s soboškim, monumentalnejši in postavljeni že leta 1945, njihova (predvsem arhitektonska) zasnova ne kaže bistvenih formalnih odstopanj od v katalogu predstavljene tipologije. Sploh v primeru provincialnejše Murske Sobote zato ne gre izključiti možnosti, da je šlo pri izvedenem načrtu za postavitev vnaprej določenega tipskega spomenika, ki ga je z nekaj variacijami adaptiral vojni inženir Arončik.

Ena od značilnosti spomenikov Rdeči armadi je tudi način, kako so dela umeščena v prostor. V berlinskem Tiergartnu, ki je bil med vojno skorajda povsem uničen, so ogromni spomenik sovjetskim vojakom umestili na bivšo zmagošlavno alejo Viljema II., nedaleč od deloma zrušenega Reichstaga, in tako v prostorskem kontekstu simbolno revanširali izgube med prvo svetovno vojno ter konstatirali zmago v drugi.³⁹ Dunajski spomenik stoji na trgu Schwarzenberg, poimenovanem po princu, ki se je z Rusi boril proti Napoleonu.⁴⁰ V Bolgariji so nove spomenike pogosto postavljali v bližino starejših, posvečenih rusko-turški vojni, in tako ustvarjali kompleksne spomenikov dvojni osvoboditvi.⁴¹ Tudi umestitev soboškega spomenika v topografijo mesta je močno pomensko zaznamovana in značilna za posege v urbano tkivo v prvih povojskih letih. Spomenik stoji na osrednjem

³⁸ Tipovye proekty pamjatnikov bratskikh i individual'nyh mogil voinov Sovetskoy Armii, Voenno-Morskogo Flota i partizan, pogibshih v bojakh s nemecko-fašistskimi zahvatčikami v gody Velikoj Otečestvennoj vojny (ed. N. Ja. Kolli), Minsk 1947. V katalogu so zbrani izbrani predlogi Akademije za arhitekturo, odobreni s strani Komiteja za arhitekturo sveta ministrov ZSSR, in natečajne rešitve razpisa Glavne uprave za projektiranje državnih stavb Komiteja za arhitekturne zadeve pri Svetu ministrstv ZSSR iz let 1942–1943. V predlaganih spomeniških zasnovah so pogosti elementi slavoloka, obeliska, piramide in stebra, za katere so arhitekti menili, da so najprimernejši za poudarjanje junaštev, na splošno pa je imel arhitekturni izraz prednost pred kiparskim. V publikaciji priporočeni materiali so marmor, granit in bron, predlogi za spomenike pa pogosto vključujejo zvezde, vence in grbe.

³⁹ MICHALSKI 1998 (op. 34), str. 126.

⁴⁰ MICHALSKI 1998 (op. 34), str. 128.

⁴¹ VUKOV 2006 (op. 34), str. 216–218.

mestnem trgu, ki ga je kot nadaljevanje parka v svojem urbanističnem načrtu za mesto v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja uredil arhitekt Novak.⁴² Po madžarski medvojni zasedbi Murske Sobote so tu postavili svoje obeležje in visok drog z izobešeno madžarsko zastavo. Spomenik zmage je bil tako umeščen v središče mesta kot znak triumfa novega režima, ki je v tem primeru tako simbolno kot prostorsko nadomestil starega. Pročelje spomenika je obrnjeno proti mestu; topovi so usmerjeni proti stanovanjskim in poslovnim stavbam, še posebej zanimiva pa je postavitev v bron ulitega Kalinovega partizana, ki s svojo puško meri naravnost v bližnjo evangeličansko cerkev (zgrajena 1910). Do podobnega prostorskega konflikta je prišlo tudi nekaj let kasneje, ko so mestne oblasti pred vhod v soboški grad postavile kip heroja Štefana Kovača - Marka, diplomsko delo akademskega kiparja Mikija Mustra (1925). Skulpturo so postavili z grozeče dvignjeno in v pest stisnjeno desnico upodobljenca, uperjeno naravnost proti isti cerkvi na nasprotnem koncu današnjega Trubarjevega drevoreda. Kovačev kip so, bojda zaradi nasprotovanja meščanov, nekaj let kasneje prestavili na zelenico pred kinom Park, kjer stoji še danes.⁴³ Za razliko od Mustrovega Kalinov partizan ni bil moteč; iz današnje ureditve Trga zmage je razvidno le, da je trk dveh ideologij nekoliko ublažen s premišljeno zasajenim drevjem, ki s perspektive obiskovalca bližnje cerkve deloma zakriva vanj uperjeno brzostrelko (sl. 4).



Odnos do sovjetskih spomenikov in ravnanje z njimi se med državami močno razlikujeta. Na ozemlju bivšega vzhodnega bloka so bili spomeniki Rdeči armadi resnejšemu prevrednotenju podvrženi po revolucionarnem letu 1989, ponekod pa so se impulzi za njihovo spreminjanje zaradi spreminjajočega se odnosa do Sovjetske zveze pojavili že prej. Kljub nedvoumнемu poudarjanju sovjetske moči in dejstvu, da so zato pogosto razumljeni predvsem kot simboli represije v povojuh desetletjih, so spomeniki tudi poklon osvoboditvi in zmagi nad fašizmom. Pogosto so njihov sestavljeni del grobišča padlih vojakov, zaradi česar so posegi vanje spornejši.⁴⁴ »Spomeniki osvoboditeljici« imajo tako nevtralnejšo konotacijo od spomenikov zgodovinskim osebnostim, povezanim s sovjetsko nadvlado. Veliko večino slednjih so v zadnjem desetletju 20. stoletja odstranili, znatno število spomenikov Rdeči armadi pa je padec režima preživel.

V devetdesetih letih je Rusija podpisala vrsto bilateralnih sporazumov o vzdrževanju in ohranjanju vojnih spominskih obeležij, v sklopu katerih so zavarovani tudi spomeniki Rdeči armadi, njihovo varstvo pa ponekod pravno urejajo tudi druge vrste določb.⁴⁵ V nevtralni Avstriji so npr. Sovjeti ob svojem umiku leta 1955 spomenike zavarovali v sklopu Avstrijske državne pogodbe. Veliki dunajski spomenik je tako ostal nespremenjen, manjši spomenik v Bad Radkersburgu, ki je nastal sočasno in pod istim nadzorom kot soboški, pa je bil zaradi želje po ohranjanju historičnega izgleda glavnega trga leta 1958 po dolgotrajnih pogajanjih s sovjetsko ambasado močno pomanjšan in premaknjen na

⁴² Kristijan ŠADL, *Transformacija mestnega središča v Murski Soboti*, Maribor 2008 (tipkopis diplomske naloge).

⁴³ ŠIJANEC 1961 (op. 21), str. 464. Kinodvorana je bila zgrajena leta 1955 po načrtih Ferija Novaka, vsaj do takrat pa je kip stal na prvotnem mestu pred gradom.

⁴⁴ Dario GAMBONI, *The Destruction of Art. Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London 2007, str. 54.

⁴⁵ V Nemčiji področje urejajo določbe *Gesetz über die Erhaltung der Gräber der Opfer von Krieg und Gewaltherrschaft* iz leta 1965; *Deutsch-Sowjetische Nachbarschaftsvertrag* iz leta 1990 in *Berliner Denkmalschutzgesetz* iz leta 1995; gl. KROSIGK 1996 (op. 36), str. 35.



5. Medalja s poprsjem Stalina,
Pomurski muzej, Murska Sobota



6. Medalja s podobo Lenina na Spomeniku zmage,
Trg zmage, Murska Sobota

odročnejši Grazertorplatz, kjer стојi še danes.⁴⁶ Ponekod so novim družbenopolitičnim kontekstom spomenike skušali prilagoditi z adaptacijo. Dober primer tovrstne prakse je Spomenik osvoboditve na hribu Gellért v Budimpešti, s katerega so leta 1992 odstranili vse sovjetske simbole (kip vojaka, peterokrako zvezdo, spominski tekst in skulpturalni friz), tako da so od prvotne zasnove ostale le za sovjetske spomenike redke alegorične podobe svobode, napredka in uničenja. Tem so dodali nov tekst, ki spomenik posveča spominu na žrtve za Madžarsko.⁴⁷ Drugi spomenik Rdeči armadi na centralnem trgu Szabadság je ohranjen v prvotni obliki in je kot tak redna tarča poskusov vandalizma – leta 2007 so ga neznanci polili z barvo, leta 2010 pa so se na njem pojavili grafiti z besedami »morilci«, »1956« in »izdajalci«.⁴⁸ Podobni posegi so ena od stalnic v odnosu do ohranjenih sovjetskih spomenikov, med najodmevnjejše sodi nedavna anonimna stripovska poslikava dela spomenika v Sofiji.⁴⁹

Drugače kot v državah vzhodnega bloka se je v Jugoslaviji odnos do spomenikov Rdeči armadi korenito spremenil že ob sporu z informbirojem leta 1948. Posmrtnе ostanke padlih Sovjetov, ki so bili do tedaj večinoma pokopani ob spominskih obeležjih na reprezentativnih krajih v središčih

⁴⁶ Za navedene podatke se zahvaljujem mag. Marie Theres Zanger iz muzeja in mestnega arhiva v Bad Radkersburgu.

⁴⁷ BOROS 2004 (op. 34), str. 69–84. Spomenik je bil postavljen leta 1947 po načrtih sovjetskih arhitektov in domačega kiparja Zsigmonda Kisfaludija Strobla. Nova inskripcija se glasi *V spomin na vse tiste, ki so žrtvovali svoja življenja za neodvisnost, svobodo in blagor Madžarske / Mindazok emlékére, akik életüköt áldozták Magyarország függetlenségéért, szabadságáért és boldogulásáért*.

⁴⁸ Soviet monument in Budapest vandalised (<http://www.politics.hu/20100216/soviet-monument-in-budapest-vandalized/>; stanje 5. 5. 2013).

⁴⁹ Gl. npr. Tom PARFITT, Russia not amused at Red army statue re-invented as Superman and friends, *The Guardian* (spletarna izdaja, 22. 6. 2011), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jun/22/russia-red-army-memorial-painted> (stanje 5. 5. 2013).

mest in vasi, so takrat izkopali in premestili v skupna grobišča na pokopališčih, večino spomenikov pa odstranili.⁵⁰ Največji, batinski spomenik je bil po letu 1948 dolgo časa zanemarjen, njegovo ceremonialno vlogo pa so prenesli na novozgrajeni spomenik na Iriškem vencu na Fruški gori, ki so ga po načrtih Sretena Stojanovića leta 1951 postavili v čast padlim borcem v narodnoosvobodilni vojni.⁵¹ Drugi najpomembnejši jugoslovanski spomenik Rdeči armadi v Murski Soboti je prelom z informbirojem preživel skorajda brez posledic. Po pričevanjih naj bi ga sprva nameravali razstreliti, a so si mestni veljaki v zadnjem trenutku premislili, ker naj bi jim takšen spomenik morda kdaj še utegnil priti prav.⁵² Naposled so se zato odločili le za najnujnejsi ukrep – na spomeniku je prvotno visel portretni medaljon s podobo Stalina in ruskim zapisom *НАША ПОВЕДИЛИ, МЫ ПОБЕДИЛИ*,⁵³ ki so ga zamenjali z medaljo s podobo Lenina, ki je na spomeniku še danes (sl. 5–6).

Spomenik zmage stoji v majhnem mestu na skrajnem severovzhodu države, kjer je bil manj moteč, a je znotraj mesta kljub temu močno izpostavljen, saj stoji na glavnem trgu in predstavlja osrednjo orientacijsko točko mesta. Ključnega pomena za obstoj soboškega spomenika sta predvsem dva dejavnika. Za razliko od večine podobnih obeležij, nastalih neposredno po vojni, sploh tistih odstranjenih, spomenik v Murski Soboti ne vključuje grobnice – posmrtni ostanki padlih sovjetskih vojakov so bili preneseni na mestno pokopališče že leta 1945 in ne šele leta 1948/49 kot drugod po Jugoslaviji, kjer so sočasno s prekopom odstranili spominska obeležja ob tedaj izpraznjenih grobovih.

Toleranco do spomenika v času po sporu z informbirojem pojasnjuje tudi specifičnost njegove ikonografske zasnove, vidna zlasti v kiparski opremi. Spomeniki Rdeči armadi so bili namenjeni predvsem izražanju zahvale vojski osvoboditeljici, kar je bilo vselej ikonografsko podkrepljeno z jasnimi in ustaljenimi motivi. Domača vojska ali civilno ljudstvo se na njih pojavljata redko, največkrat v sklopu upodobitev hvaležnih domačinov, ki pozdravljajo svoje osvoboditelje.⁵⁴ V Murski Soboti je ob sovjetskem vojaku enakovredno upodobljen tudi partizan, tovrstna sopostavitev pa

⁵⁰ Eden znamenitejših primerov je odstranjeni spomenik na bivšem Pozorišnem trgu v Beogradu (današnji Trg Republike), od koder so posmrte ostanke padlih rdečarmejcev prestavili v skupni spominski park osvoboditeljev Beograda; gl. MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR 2005 (op. 26), str. 142–143. Nekateri manj izpostavljeni spomeniki, na primer tisti pri beograjski topčiderski kasarni ali spominska obeležja v provinci, so bili vseeno tolerirani; gl. MILORADOVIĆ 2012 (op. 25), str. 234, op. 178.

⁵¹ MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR 2005 (op. 26), str. 143; MILORADOVIĆ 2012 (op. 25), str. 234.

⁵² Arhivski dokumenti, ki bi poročali o zamenjavi medalje in vzrokih zanjo, so (trenutno) nedostopni. Dogodek rudimentarno navajajo trije pisni viri – kratek novejši tipkopis neznanega avtorja, hranjen v APMMS (Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti), in članka, objavljena v lokalnem časopisu: Metka LAINŠČEK, Jože GABER, Kako s pomniki Narodnoosvobodilnega boja?, *Vestnik*, 42/32, 1990, str. 18; KUZMIČ 2001 (op. 1), str. 6, ki je o njem zapisal: »V času Informbiroja je bil spomenik obsojen na 'smrt', in sicer z miniranjem. Tudi podminiran je bil, a se je le našel nekdo (?), ki je svetoval, da bi se bilo škoda prenagliiti, saj si bomo 'spet dobr'i, spomenika pa ne bo.«

⁵³ Najboljši vir za danes izgubljeno medaljo so fotografiski posnetki iz leta 1945; gl. APPMS, Album fotografij Spomenika zmage. Po pisanju ČOPIČ 2000 (op. 1), str. 383, je bila delo Zdenka Kalina, avtorica pa (napačno) navaja, da naj bi bila medalja še zmeraj na spomeniku. Pri njeni zasnovi je šlo za posnemanje znane sheme, ki sta jo za medaljo Za zmago nad Nemčijo v Veliki domovinski vojni 1941–1945 oblikovala umetnika E. M. Romanov in I. K. Andrijanov (<http://ostaline.su/staliniana/faleristics/view.html?node=42423&year=1945&sort=chrono&card=20146> (stanje 5. 5. 2013)).

⁵⁴ Npr. spomenik v Treptowu z upodobitvijo nemškega otroka, ki ga je rešil sovjetski vojak; gl. KROSIGK 1996 (op. 36), str. 36; KÖPSTEIN 2006 (op. 36), str. 134, sl. 49–51; in spomenik Sovjetski armadi v Sofiji, kjer sta ob zmagošlavnem rdečarmejcu upodobljena hvaležna kmetica in delavec; gl. FOWKES 2004 (op. 34), str. 22, repr. 1. 6–1. 8.



7. Proslava

60. obletnice osvoboditve,
Trg zmage, Murska Sobota,
9. april 2005

dopušča interpretacijo spomenika kot poklon zavezništvu in sodelovanju dveh vojska. Po letu 1948 je slavljenje rdečarmejcev zamenjal partizanski kult, ki je poudarjal čaščenje lika partizana, partizanske žrtve in avtohtonosti njegove borbe.⁵⁵ Interpretacijo iz prvih povojnih let, ki je umirjenega rdečarmejca postavljala za vzor partizanu, je tako po razhodu z informbirojem lahko nadomestila nova, času in političnim razmeram primernejša razлага, ki se je osredotočala predvsem na partizana in narodnoosvobodilni boj. Postinformbirojevska Jugoslavija je tako obstoj soboškega spomenika dopustila in ga celo ohranila kot glavni ceremonialni prostor v mestu.

Zaradi uspešne delne reinterpretacije spomenika je njegova usoda znova postala negotova ob začetku devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, ko se je javni diskurz o (ne)primernosti spomenika kot nosilca vrednot iztekajočega se obdobja zaostril. Že ob koncu osemdesetih let se je v duhu prihajajočih sprememb na njem pojavil prvi grafit »SVOBODA JE SPOMENIK«.⁵⁶ V času okoli osamosvojitve je v lokalni periodiki opaziti porast člankov, ki sicer večinoma govorijo spomeniku v prid, hkrati pa dajejo slutiti, da odgovarjajo na polemike, ki so ostajale nezapisane ali celo neartikulirane.⁵⁷

Od sredine devetdesetih dalje je bil spomenik predmet vrste umetniških posegov. Med zanimivejše sodita projekta ob proslavah 50. in 60. obletnice osvoboditve. Leta 1995 je pisatelj Dušan Šarotar pripravil projekt *Ruski oblak*, v sklopu katerega je napisal črtico o inženirju Arončiku in izdal knjižico s fotografijami spomenika ter se tako poklonil »vsem, ki se še prepozna v tem razbitem ogledalu zgodovine in še posebej možu, arhitektu, čigar ime je morje časa že spralo s čeri spomina«.⁵⁸ Deset let kasneje so topa, ki so ju v tem času restavrirali, za trajanje slovesnosti nadomestili s parom klavirjev;

⁵⁵ MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR 2008 (op. 28), str. 297.

⁵⁶ Rdeča armada v Prekmurju, razstavni pano na stalni postavitvi v Pomurskem muzeju Murska Sobota, marec 2012.

⁵⁷ Nekateri avtorji spomenik opisujejo kot falus sredi mesta (Borut BRUMEN, Veš urbanist svoj dolg?, *Vestnik*, 40/42, 1988, str. 9), drugi se čudijo, da spomenik ni zmotil udeležencev posveta o urbanističnem razvoju Murske Sobote (Štefan SMEJ, Narediti iz te Murske zopet Soboto, *Vestnik*, 43/40, 1991, str. 6), tretji vidijo v njem »stičišče rdečega režima, ki se mu je klanjal, in črno-belega režima, ki bi ga verjetno rad videl porušenega, morda zaradi tega, da se ne bi spominjal, kako se mu je še nedolgo tega klanjal« (Robert TITAN FELIX, Mirovniška farsa sredi Murske Sobote, *Vestnik*, 43/11, 1991, str. 12).

⁵⁸ Štefan SMEJ, Kultura proslave kot akupunktura zgodovine, *Vestnik*, 47/15, 1995, str. 11.



8. »Mehki grafiti« na Spomeniku zmage,
Trg zmage, Murska Sobota, junij 2012

po besedah organizatorjev naj bi tako opozorili na zmago umetnosti nad agresijo (sl. 7).⁵⁹ K podobno antimilitarističnemu sporočilu je bil usmerjen tudi zadnji večji poseg v spomenik, ki ga je pred slabim letom organizirala skupina lokalnih ustvarjalcev. V mestu so izvedli akcijo »mehkih grafitov« in topovske cevi ter brzostrelki vojakov na Spomeniku zmage oblekli v čipke (sl. 8). Eden od ciljev posega naj bi bil tudi poziv občanom k aktivnejši udeležbi v oblikovanju svojega življenjskega okolja.⁶⁰

V omenjenih akcijah lahko vidimo impulze za spodbuditev širšega javnega diskurza o spomeniku, ki pa so naleteli na relativno medle odzive.⁶¹ Posegi kažejo na obstoj prostora za kritično refleksijo spomenika v sodobnem kontekstu, ki pa še ni bila izvršena, kar velja tudi za refleksijo obdobja njegovega nastanka. Nujno potrebni razmislek nadomešča indiferenca; v tem smislu je zato povedno dejstvo, da je bila večina (umetniških) posegov v spomenik izvedena z uradnim dovoljenjem, medtem ko so bile bolj subverzivne, anonimne akcije veliko redkejše. Meščani so spomenik sprejeli, se nanj navadili, njegova prisotnost pa vsaj zaenkrat ne vzbuja potrebe, da bi se do njega opredelili ali ga skušali kakorkoli (pre)osmisiliti.

⁵⁹ C. K., Namesto topov klavirji, *Vestnik*, 57/14, 2005, str. 16.

⁶⁰ Špela HORVAT, Namesto grafitov pletenine, *Soboške novine*, 113, 2012, str. 27. V okviru programa Evropske prestolnice kulture je akcijo 19. 6. 2012, na dan t. i. yarn bombinga (ustvarjanje grafitov, pri katerem se namesto barve ali razpršila uporablja prepletene niti), pripravil umetniški kolektiv *Prejk 12*.

⁶¹ Razen odziva Štefana Smeja, ki je Šaratarjevo delo označil za relativiziranje zgodovine (SMEJ 1995 (op. 58), str. 11), ni bilo pomembnejših refleksij o posegih.

Spomeniki Rdeči armadi so bili zasnovani v skladu z izrazito propagandno nalogo. Njihova postavitev je bila vselej oster in agresiven poseg v obstoječ lokalni prostor, znotraj katerega so kot simboli sovjetske (pre)moči vzpostavljeni nove prostorske in semantične odnose ter konstatirali jasno težnjo po nadvladi. V državah nekdanjega vzhodnega bloka, kjer je Sovjetska zveza v spomenikih izražene (politične) pretenzije tudi dejansko uresničila, se je ta pomenski aspekt spomenikov skozi povojsna desetletja sovjetske prevlade in agresije dodatno okrepil in ob nastopu režimskih sprememb privadel do odstranitev ali adaptacij spomenikov. Prekinitev stikov s Sovjetsko zvezo, ki se je v Jugoslaviji zgodila ob sporu z informbirojem, to je le tri leta po osvoboditvi, je prispevala k drugačni, nevtralnejši poziciji soboškega spomenika v kolektivni zavesti. Pri njegovi recepciji sta bila možna večje distanciranje od konteksta propagande sovjetskosti in tesnejša navezava na konkreten zgodovinski dogodek in ne na represijo, ki mu je sledila. Spomenik zmage je tako danes lažje razumljen kot pomnik dejanske osvoboditve, simbol svobode in zavezništva, kar je deloma poudarjeno tudi z njegovo, v kontekstu sorodnih spomenikov netipično ikonografsko zasnovjo.⁶²

⁶² Članek je nastal pod mentorstvom doc. dr. Barbare Murovec v okviru raziskovalnega programa *Slovenska umetnostna identiteta v evropskem okviru*, ki ga financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (P6-0061).

The Statue of the Communist Revolutionary Boris Kidrič (1912–1953)

Art, Ideology and Ethics in the Public Space

Barbara Murovec

In the last four decades, numerous studies on public monuments have been published that discuss communist memorials and their erection, removal or demolition after the fall of the communist regime in various Eastern Bloc countries. While this is an exceptionally interdisciplinary research field, an important contribution has been made by art historians. These authors have related their research to the broader research context of *Bildersturm*, political iconography, the function of monuments in the public space, the relationship between artist and commissioner, ideology and artistic form, the relationship between figural and abstract style, heritage protection and the reception of public monuments, etc.¹

Until 1918 Slovenia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In 1991, it gained independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and became an independent country for the first time in its history. The monuments that have survived in the public space do not represent Slovenia's historical affiliation to the states to which it belonged, such as the Austrian Empire, The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes or Yugoslavia;² these monuments were removed or demolished at various turning points in the course of the 20th century. The public monuments erected after 1945 make up a special group, which 'inscribes' itself into the national memory in a specific and distinct manner. Among these, the public monument to Boris Kidrič in Ljubljana is especially significant. From the point of view of the relationship between the visual arts and the politics of the communist regime, the circumstances of the commission and the relationship between the proposed project and the final monument are especially telling; the fate and reception of the monument following Slovenia's independence, which brought about the fall of the one-party regime, are of special significance from the perspective of *media & memoria*. The fact that the fall of the communist dictatorship was not the cause of social change, but first and foremost an inevitable consequence of it, might prove crucial for the further evolution of the new state and its attitude towards the public monuments to communism.

The main national monuments which have been erected in the main squares of Ljubljana since the end of the 19th century and still stand today were dedicated to poets and other figures of national cultural

¹ Cf. e. g. *Bildersturm in Osteuropa. Die Denkmäler der kommunistischen Ära im Umbruch*, München 1994 (Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees / ICOMOS, Internationaler Rat für Denkmäler und Schutzgebiete, 13); Sergiusz MICHALSKI, *Public Monuments. Art in Political Bondage 1870–1997*, London 1998; *Figuration / Abstraction. Strategies for Public Sculpture in Europe 1945–1968* (ed. Charlotte Benton), Aldershot-Burlington 2004; Deborah SCHULTZ, Alina SERBAN, *Public Memory and National Identity under Construction. The Trajectory of Monuments in Romania in the Communist and Post-Communist Periods*, *Centropa*, 10, 2010, pp. 56–66.

² See also Božidar JEZERNIK, Moč spomina, premoč pozabe. Zgodovina ljubljanskih 'nacionalnih spomenikov', *Zgodovina za vse*, 1, 2004, p. 17.

history.³ The first public memorial monument of this sort was a monument to Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819), the poet and linguist of the Enlightenment, which was placed in front of a lyceum in 1889. The building was removed after the major earthquake in 1895, but the monument still stands on the same spot, now the central marketplace of Ljubljana. The second important square in the town was occupied by the monument to France Prešeren (1800–1849) erected in 1905 in front of the Franciscan church next to the Ljubljanica River. Presently, the square is known by the poet's name – Prešeren Square – and occupies a spot right next to Plečnik's famous Triple Bridge, built in 1931. The third of the most important monuments in Ljubljana is the one dedicated to polymath Johann Weichard Valvasor (1641–1693), erected in 1910 in front of the then Carniolan Land Museum (the present-day National Museum of Slovenia), in an area which later became the cultural and political centre of Ljubljana.

After 1945, a number of public monuments and memorials to partisans and the national resistant movement against the occupying forces were erected, while some were raised in celebration of the new communist authorities. These are mostly monuments to the National Liberation War (NOB), which were intended to preserve the memory of this struggle as symbols of the independent victory against the external aggressor (without the help of the Soviet Union). In the public sphere, the questions that remain crucial today, not just in politics but also to historians (the relations between the Communist and other Slovenians, especially their relationship to the Christian Socialists and members of the Sokol club in the organized Liberation Front during the Second World War; the role of *Domobranci* – members of the Home Guard – post-war executions) did not become subjects of public visual art. With the liberation from the fascist and Nazi occupation, Slovenia – as a part of the new Yugoslavia – became a one-party communist state, in which people with different ideas became victims of a new totalitarian regime. The state was systematically covered with thousands of monuments and memorial plates, which had then and still have today an extraordinary important impact on generating memory of the history of the 20th century.

Due to the conflict with the Soviet Union there were no monuments or portraits of Lenin and Stalin in the visual propaganda of the Yugoslavian communist regime after 1948. The Victory Monument, raised in Murska Sobota in August 1945 in honour of the soldiers of Red Army, is the only such monument in Slovenia, as the Prekmurje region in the north-eastern part of the Republic was the only territory liberated by the Soviet army. When the monument was erected, it included a medal with the profile image of Stalin on the 'obelisk'. After 1948, it was replaced with Lenin's image, which has remained on the monument until today.



1. Zdenko Kalin: *Boris Kidrič*, 1960, Ljubljana

³ Špelca ČOPIČ, Damjan PRELOVŠEK, Sonja ŽITKO, *Outdoor Sculpture in Ljubljana*, Ljubljana 1991; Špelca ČOPIČ, *Javni spomeniki v slovenskem kiparstvu prve polovice 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 2000.

After parting with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia introduced a new system of socialist self-management; the foundation for its establishment was supposed to be a return to the sources of Marxism and communism.⁴ Although several streets were named after Marx and Engels, the theoretical basis for the differences between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was not supported in visual propaganda. Statues of Marx and Engels were not commissioned for public spaces; however, in the visual media, the unity of system and state was formed through the cult of a single living figure – Marshal Tito.

The lifelong president Josip Broz Tito (Kumrovec, Austria-Hungary, 7th May 1892–4th May 1980, Ljubljana, Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), a figure similarly powerful to Stalin,⁵ embodied the socialist power and unity of Yugoslavia. He was the only person to have public monuments erected in his name within his lifetime. After Slovenia gained independence, his portraits – mostly large-size photographs and sculptures – were largely removed from view. Yet, the political and legal debates that still rage today testify to the fact that on a symbolic level Tito had to be removed from the Slovenian public space mostly because of his personification of the concept of Yugoslav brotherhood and unity and not because he was a communist leader and dictator. As late as 2011, the debate on the preservation and revival of his memory was brought before the Slovenian constitutional court, the central legislative body of the state. According to an act issued by the Ljubljana city authorities, a newly built street was to be named after Tito. Among other, the explanation of the legal rejection stated that “the name Tito does not symbolize only the liberation of the territories of present-day Slovenia from the fascist occupation in the Second World War, /.../ but also the post-war totalitarian communist regime, which was marked by extensive and brutal crimes against the human rights and fundamental freedom, especially in the decade after the war.”⁶

Among the Slovenian politicians of the post-war Yugoslav period, Edvard Kardelj (1910–1979) and Boris Kidrič (1912–1953) were those most often used within visual and monumental propaganda. Both of them (also with Milovan Đilas and Vladimir Bakarić) belonged to the closest circle of Tito's ideologists, who established the ideological grounds of the non-ideological split with the Soviet union and the new path Yugoslavia was to take after 1948.⁷ Nevertheless, public memorials in their name were not erected until after their death. Because of Kidrič's early death, his name and image were systematically instrumentalised, spreading mainly in Slovenia and also to other Yugoslav republics. After 1991, however, the names of schools, prizes and other memorials were changed. On the other hand, numerous public monuments, streets and even a town, Kidričevo, still bear the name of Boris Kidrič. The few existing art historical works dealing with public monuments categorise the sculpture of Kidrič, the communist revolutionary and Yugoslav politician, as one of the National Liberation War Memorials.⁸

⁴ Cf. Peter VODOPIVEC, *Od Pohlinove slovnice do samostojne države. Slovenska zgodovina od konca 18. do konca 20. stoletja*, Ljubljana 2007, p. 340.

⁵ On their relationship see, for example, Božo REPE, Goli otok, *Slovenska kronika XX. stoletja*, 2, 1941–1995, Ljubljana 1997, p. 176.

⁶ For the decision of the constitutional court see <http://odlocitve.us-rs.si/usrs/us-odl.nsf/o/AB6C747BE8DF7AF3C125791F00404CF9> (accessed on 21. 9. 2012).

⁷ VODOPIVEC 2007 (n. 4), p. 339.

⁸ See especially Gojko ZUPAN, *Spomeniki NOB v Ljubljani. Topografija in predstavitev razvoja*, Ljubljana 1984, cat. no. 87, pp. 108–109 (unpublished diploma thesis).



2. Drago Tršar:
the model for the statue
of Boris Kidrič, 1957

This was one of the strategies with which the communist party legitimised its power and exclusive succession of the victors over the occupiers of Slovenian territory – by means of visual identification of the National Liberation War and the Communist party leadership of the new Yugoslavia.

Political judgement concerning acceptable visual art and artists, and the control exerted over the commissioned works was, after the Second World War, more or less absolute. The way in which they were exerted, however, changed with time, also becoming increasingly disguised.⁹ The texts of Josip Vidmar testify as to how systematic supervision of artists and art was disguised also on the theoretical level. In 1928, Josip Vidmar (1895–1992) – an important cultural figure of the pre-war period, one of the key cultural and political protagonists after the war, and long-serving president of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts – published an article titled *Umetnost in svetovni nazor* (Art and the World View). In this essay he argued that our world view is not a domain of artistic judgment and, therefore, art works cannot be interpreted through their ideological, political, national and religious aspects. The only valid aspect is the aesthetic one, which is structured in all-human universality.¹⁰

Also later, in the 1950s (*From my Diary*), he defended the same idea of the spiritual and aesthetic autonomy of art.¹¹ This theoretical notion is in contrast to his personal ideology and the general control of cultural space, especially of theatre. In his book *Obrazi* (Faces), Vidmar refers to the major Slovenian art historian of his time France Stele: “In a lively debate on a painter, he (Stele) once freely said, that he does not know much about the aesthetic value of paintings, what he does know a great deal about, however, is their style, and their historic significance and value.”¹² This remark is not insignificant in the broader context of the evaluation of one of the fields

⁹ Cf. VODOPIVEC 2007 (n. 4), p. 434.

¹⁰ Josip VIDMAR, *Umetnost in svetovni nazor*, *Ljubljanski zvon*, 48/2, 1928, pp. 92–103; Jože POGAČNIK, »Sanja in vednost o človeku« (Poglavitna izhodišča Vidmarjeve umetnostno-kritične prakse), *Sodobnost*, 33, 1985, pp. 929–943; Andrej INKRET, Vidmar, Josip, *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, 14, Ljubljana 2000, pp. 230–231.

¹¹ Josip VIDMAR, Iz dnevnika, *Naša sodobnost*, 4, 1956, pp. 289–298.

¹² Josip VIDMAR, *Obrazi*, Ljubljana 1979, p. 145.



3. Zdenko Kalin: the model for the statue of Boris Kidrič, 1957

be used for the purpose of educational propaganda “of our large ideas”.¹³

The cult of a living personality was thus reserved for Tito, whereas the monuments dedicated to the memory of others were erected posthumously. Boris Kidrič died in 1953 at the age of 41. Four years later, four sculptors were invited to participate in a competition to create a statue of him for a public space in Ljubljana. Proposals were made by three professors of the Ljubljana Academy of Fine Arts, Boris Kalin (1905–1975), Karel Putrih (1910–1959) and Zdenko Kalin (1911–1990), and a sculptor of the younger generation Drago Tršar (born in 1927), who was already an internationally established artist by the mid-1950s; he became assistant at the Department of Sculpture of the Academy in 1960.¹⁴

Photographs of the competition proposals by the last two candidates still exist today. Tršar’s model resembles his groups of figures and at the same time emphasizes Kidrič as the central and largest figure in the group.

In Tršar’s oeuvre, the year 1957 (i.e. the year of the competition) represents the beginning of his “massive group sculptures”, which were first presented to an international public at the Venice biennale a year later.¹⁵ Tršar’s model supplemented a large full-figure statue of Kidrič with portrait features and six monumental anonymous figures, three on each side, that grow from Kidrič’s back. The proposal was modern and innovative even in the context of Tršar’s opus, but it failed to convince the commissioners. Although Tršar was commissioned to use his “sculptural ensembles” to make several public monuments to the National Liberation War, he was not able to realize his ideas

of the humanities and, last but not least, in relation to the elimination of research and teaching of modern art from the curriculum at the Department of Art History at the University of Ljubljana. According to Vidmar, art historical methodology serves only for documentation purposes, formal analysis and inclusion of art works into the artistic heritage and does not entail aesthetic evaluation, which Vidmar considered to be the only relevant standard. Consequently, art history would probably have to lack methods oriented towards reflection on political iconography and the relation between ideology and artistic form. After the Second World War especially, when, based on Lenin and influenced by the systematic erection of public memorials to the heroes of the revolution in Communist Europe, Slovenia experienced its own monumental propaganda. It was Vidmar who in 1950 translated the text *Lenin o monumentalni propagandi* (Lenin on Monumental propaganda) by Anatolij Vasiljevič Lunačarski into Slovenian and provided the theoretical basis to his artistically uneducated colleagues: how the artists, especially sculptors, should

¹³ Anatolij V. LUNAČARSKI, *Lenin o monumentalni propagandi*, *Lenin o kulturi in umetnosti*, Ljubljana 1950, p. 112.

¹⁴ For the competition see e. g. ZUPAN 1984 (n. 8), pp. 108–109; for Drago Tršar see e. g. *Drago Tršar*, Ljubljana 1975, s. p.

¹⁵ Marijan TRŠAR, Življenjski podatki, *Drago Tršar* 1975 (n. 14), s. p.

for a monument to a politician as a leader of the masses (workers, members of self-management) until 1981, when he finished his monument to Edvard Kardelj.

Zdenko Kalin's competition entry was a plaster portrait of Kidrič's head on a spiral base. He won the commission, but was obliged to accept the commissioners' instructions and requirements. Neither of these documented models was in accordance with the aesthetic principles of socialist realism, which the party's authorities required for a monument to such an important communist leader. In this period figural art was entirely supervised, while abstract art was also tolerated, which created an impression of apparent artistic freedom and of orientation towards the West.¹⁶ There has been no real research on personal control over artists, and the only information that we have about this practice was provided by means of oral sources. The same can be said of the regular visits the authorities paid to the studios of those artists who were working on public commissions.

Kalin had to closely follow a photograph, which was revealed as a direct visual source for the statue as late as 1996 in an introduction to an unsigned propaganda brochure *Boris Kidrič – človek za izjemne čase* (Boris Kidrič – A Man of Great Times).¹⁷ The brochure was published by the Commission for Information, Propaganda, and Promotion of the League of Combatants of the National Liberation War. The photographic source for the statue of Kidrič, who became the first president of the Slovenian national government on 5th May 1945, bears a special historic and symbolical meaning. It was taken during the first congress of the Liberation Front on 16th July 1945 in Tivoli Park in Ljubljana. It was at this congress that Kidrič “supplemented the national liberation program of the fundamental points of the Liberation Front with an economic and social program for establishing a new, socialist society.”¹⁸

The 1960 unveiling of the statue, for which space was made by pulling down a building, was an important political event. As far as we know, Kalin's notes on his work on the statue of Kidrič have not survived. His colleague Drago Tršar, who also participated in the competition, and is the author of the above mentioned monument to Edvard Kardelj in Ljubljana, described his memories of the supervision over the artist in a 2012 interview: “Kalin had to follow the directives, I know for certain that Ivan Maček visited him regularly and dictated to him how to work”¹⁹



4. Boris Kidrič, 16th July 1945, Ljubljana

¹⁶ For this topic see also Jure MIKUŽ, *Slovensko moderno slikarstvo in zahodna umetnost. Od preloma s socialističnim realizmom do konceptualizma*, Ljubljana 1995, pp. 12 ss.

¹⁷ *Boris Kidrič – človek za izjemne čase* (Glavni odbor ZZB NOB Slovenije, Komisija za informacijsko, propagandno in promocijsko dejavnost), Ljubljana 1996, p. 3.

¹⁸ Janko PRUNK, Kidrič, Boris – Peter, *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, 5, Ljubljana 1991, p. 63.

¹⁹ Vesna KRMELJ, »Na neki način je vsa umetnost erotična«. Pogovor s kiparjem akademikom Dragom Tršarjem, *Umetnostna kronika*, 34, 2012, p. 30.



5. Zdenko Kalin:
Boris Kidrič, 1960, Ljubljana
(photograph, 2012)

The unusual posture of the protagonist, who stands with his upper body leaning forward slightly with his hands placed on his hips and his mouth open, does not represent Kidrič shouting at the passing public, nor his typical posture due to lower back pain, as explained in the interpretations of the composition of this gigantic statue. Instead, the statue represents a passionate speaker behind an invisible podium. Maček, the supervisor of the project, lacked artistic education and was not able to predict the spatial effect required for this important political moment to be “frozen” and transformed into a monumental symbol. Although in an artistic sense Kalin’s statue of Kidrič is a failure,²⁰ its function as a propaganda tool and its occupation of public space and memory have been achieved.²¹

²⁰ Cf. also ZUPAN 1984 (n. 8), p. 109: “Despite imperfections, the sculpture is the most modern free-standing full-figure human statue in Ljubljana, which portrays a specific person.”

²¹ See also description in the monograph on Kalin: Špelca ČOPIČ, Sculptor Zdenko Kalin (on his work), *Kipar Zdenko Kalin / Sculptor Zdenko Kalin*, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana 1985, p. 45.

Although, as already mentioned, the statue of Boris Kidrič is a portrait of a post-war politician, in literature it has been, as a rule, discussed within the section of monuments of the National Liberation War. The statue is the only example of this kind in Slovenia (406 cm high) and can be compared to the colossal monuments of the revolutionaries in Eastern Europe.²² In contrast to the practice in other countries of Eastern and Central Europe, it has become the central point of the conflict between opposing political camps. In daily newspapers, the art historian Gojko Zupan has tried to provide a 'professional' argumentation for retaining the cult of Kidrič by praising Slovenia as the only country which does not demolish or remove monuments.²³

In 1995, the Ljubljana city council began proceedings to remove the monument. In the same and then the following year, a highly emotional and ideological debate raged around the statue's removal and we can assume that this is why the 1996 brochure was published. On the last page of the brochure, there are two poll questions or surveys on the perception of the past.²⁴ One of the surveys required the reader to evaluate their identification with the statement: "If in 1941 Slovenes under the communist regime and Liberation Front had not resisted the aggressor, they would have disintegrated as a nation". Bearing in mind the purpose of the brochure, we can assume that the percentage of readers (42.5%) who identified with this statement also agreed with the post-war dictatorship. The second survey comprised a question on the public opinion regarding the monuments of Boris Kidrič and Edvard Kardelj in Ljubljana. Almost 70 percent of the population are said to have answered that the statues should remain *in situ*, while only 20 percent declared they should be moved to a museum. An art historian who wrote a graduation thesis on the National Liberation War monuments joined this populist propaganda for retaining the monument. In his defence for keeping the monument of Boris Kidrič on the most symbolical political site in Ljubljana, he argued that "in front of the university building in Chicago, Moore's abstract monument stands in honour of the invention and inventors of the nuclear bomb".²⁵ On the other hand, in a 2012 interview, sculptor Drago Tršar spoke in favour of the removal of Kalin's monument of Kidrič and his own monument of Kardelj.²⁶

Even today fresh flowers and candles are placed at the foot of the statue, while every attempt to 'dis-symbolize' the figure or at least to bring about the symbolic disconnection of the statue's function has been prevented by intervention of the police. In the context of the over-interrogation of memory, one such intervention from the 1990s was commented on in the following way by the literary historian and publicist Ženja Leiler (Where does the memory stand?):

Where has the revolutionary Kidrič been standing for several decades? Four meters high, with an open mouth and his hands on his hips, he has been placed in front of the Slovenian cultural centre and right next to the palaces of the government and the president. This image of the comrade is aggressive. It manifests power, which, symbolically and on a more than just symbolic site, still lingers on its own terms. In 1997, when it became the victim of an amusing fashion show, the authorities hysterically undressed him in a couple of hours. Apparently, the

²² For the iconography of giant see Jean CLAIR, Bilder der Riesen. Von Satan bis Stalin, *Kassandra. Visionen des Unheils 1914 – 1945* (eds. Stefanie Heckmann, Hans Ottomeyer), Berlin 2008, pp. 113–123.

²³ Gojko ZUPAN, Šestero junakov v enim košu. Postavljanje novega spomenika neznanemu junaku v Ljubljani je zelo sporno, *Republika*, 5/40, 11. 2 1996, p. 13.

²⁴ *Boris Kidrič* 1996 (n. 17), p. 29.

²⁵ ZUPAN 1996 (n. 23), p. 13.

²⁶ KRMELJ 2012 (n. 19), p. 30.

lucid artistic action of Marija Mojca Pungerčar had not been officially approved. Without a doubt, this was an extraordinarily quick reaction by the then government.²⁷



The aesthetic and ideological criteria for the erection, preservation or removal of a public monument has, throughout the history of art, always been the domain of the (political) elite, which prescribes the financial, spatial and other specific and professional criteria for commissions and competitions. Such practice can be acceptable until it strikes against the core of the ethical principles of celebrating the protagonists or events of executions and other crimes against the civilian population. The removal of monuments that have been erected in the public space to praise the cult of a particular politician is part of historical reality. In Slovenia, monuments to the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph were removed after 1918. The monuments of the Yugoslav kings Peter I and Alexander I were eliminated in 1941. After 1991, however, the monuments to Boris Kidrič and Edvard Kardelj remained *in situ*. This, despite the fact that they were not merely representatives of a certain political system, as was the case with other removed monuments, but the protagonists of a totalitarian regime in which human rights were systematically violated and in which liquidations of the civilian population occurred.

In an international touring exhibition on the totalitarian regimes in Europe, the Slovenian exhibition panel included Josip Broz Tito, Mitja Ribičič - Ciril, Ivan Maček - Matija, Boris Kidrič and Edvard Kardelj.²⁸ Among them, Tito, Kardelj and Kidrič were the main protagonists, on whom the collective memory of the nation's past was formed through the cult of personality. Maček ensured that the architectural and fine art commissions were carried out without "mistakes" and that the visual propaganda served its purpose. The literature comprises very scant information on Maček (except the fact that he is a national hero). On the other hand, spoken and written sources reveal how crucial his role was in making decisions on art commissions and censorship. The attitude toward public monuments after the fall of the regime in 1991 can be seen in that no larger changes occurred.

Comparing Slovenia and its attitude towards the monuments of communist politicians has led us to the conclusion that this state is somewhat specific in the Eastern and Central European space. The (art) historical theme has developed into a topical political problem, an ongoing ideological fight. Slovenia is the European state that in the 1990s failed to resolve, even at a symbolic level, its attitude towards the past totalitarian regime. When the attempts to remove Kidrič's monument occurred in Ljubljana, a statement was made in defence of retaining it *in situ* next to the presidential palace, saying that monuments are removed only in totalitarian regimes, whereas retaining it was considered a cultural gesture.²⁹

In 2010 Igor Omerza published a book that reveals the inner workings of the regime against the poet and politician Edvard Kocbek (1904–1981). As a Christian socialist, Kocbek was long a part of the system. Among those choosing not to emigrate from Slovenia and those who did not take the victims' side, he was the first to publicly speak up about the executions:

²⁷ Ženja LEILER, Kje stoji spomin?, *Delo*, 46/236, 11. 10. 2004, p. 9.

²⁸ Totalitarianism in Europe, Gorenjski Museum, Kranj, 17th January–17th February 2013.

²⁹ ZUPAN 1996 (n. 23), p. 13.

Edvard Kocbek /.../ released the ghost of the post-war executions from a tightly closed bottle. My book provides arguments in favour of this sad privilege. The conspiracy of silence was irrevocably broken and, together with Hamlet, we could thus justifiably say '/.../ foul deeds will rise, / Though all the earth o'erwhelm them, to men's eyes.' If we only imagine that the number of disarmed and executed *Domobranci* exceeded the number of victims in Srebrenica by thousands, we can imagine, when we see the sadness, indignation and protests of the Muslim wives, how excruciating the post-war agony must have been on the side of the *Domobranci*, and how successfully repressive our regime was, which prevented tens of thousands of Slovenians from speaking publicly about these events and mourning them, not to mention the disguised mass burial sites.³⁰

Also, the art-historical analysis of public monuments and their reception, or the media propaganda for retaining statues of the communist leaders *in situ*, demonstrate how successful Tito's project of Yugoslavia with its repressive and propagandistic methods actually was. These comprised the construction of memory that contains all the characteristics of the collective memory. In Slovenia, which, unlike the other former republics of Yugoslavia, did not experience the tragedies of war after proclaiming its independence, the nostalgia for the brotherhood of the Balkans and keeping alive the memory of the totalitarian regime are still very strong. Soon after 1945, the Slovenian party leadership began to strive for greater independence. In particular, when measures were taken to boost the economy in other member republics, it openly expressed its dissatisfaction with the position of Slovenia within the federal state. After 1991, the Communist party remained its political authority also by keeping public monuments to the protagonists of the regime on crucial political locations in the capital Ljubljana as well as in other towns across the new state.

Exchanging *monument* with *art* or with 'neutral' *abstract art* is probably not an appropriate approach when planning a public space; there has to be a deeper relation between art and creativity, and the specific space, the memories it contains, and the commitment to act ethically and respect fundamental human rights.³¹

³⁰ Igor Omerza on the occasion of the publishing of his book *Edvard Kocbek. Osebni dosje št. 584*, Ljubljana 2010 (Igor OMERZA, *Edvard Kocbek. Personal File No. 584*); <http://www.cd-cc.si/default.cfm?Jezik=sl&Kat=030501&Predstava=1968> (accessed on 26. 9. 2012).

³¹ The research was conducted at the France Stele Institute of Art History at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts as part of the research programme *Slovenian Artistic Identity in European Context* (1 January 2009–31 December 2014), funded by the Slovenian Research Agency. I would like to thank Tina Košak for translating the text into English and Kirsten Hempkin for revising the English version. Many thanks to the principal investigator of the *Media & Memoria* project, Tanja Zimmermann, colleagues at the Institute, Andrej Furlan, Renata Komič Marn and Blaž Resman, and friends, especially Vesna Krmelj, who followed the research for their encouragement, inspiring conversations, and careful reading of the text. A special thanks also to Jana Intihar Ferjan from the documentation department of the Museum of Modern Art, Ljubljana.

Kip slovenskega komunističnega revolucionarja Borisa Kidriča (1912–1953)

Umetnost, ideologija in etika v javnem prostoru

Povzetek

Izjemno obsežno dediščino v Sloveniji predstavljajo javni spomeniki, nastali po letu 1945, ki se v nacionalni spomin »vписujejo« na specifičen in diferenciran način. Med njimi gre zelo pomembno mesto ljubljanskemu javnemu kipu Borisa Kidriča. Z vidika odnosa med likovno umetnostjo in politiko komunističnega režima so povedne zlasti okoliščine naročila oziroma razmerje med osnutkom in realiziranim kipom, z vidika *media & memoria* pa tudi usoda in recepcija spomenika po osamosvojitvi Slovenije.

Politično odločanje o primerni likovni umetnosti in umetnikih ter kontrola nad naročenimi deli sta bila po drugi svetovni vojni tako rekoč popolna. Oblike njunega izvajanja pa so se v različnih obdobjih spremajale tudi tako, da so postajale vse bolj prikrite. Kako se je sistematičen nadzor nad umetniki in umetnostjo prikrival tudi na teoretični ravni, za slovenski prostor dobro kažejo zapisi Josipa Vidmarja (1895–1992). Prav Vidmar je leta 1950 v slovenski jezik prevedel tekst Anatolija Vasiljeviča Lunačarskega *Lenin o monumentalni propagandi* in dal teoretsko oporo umetnostno pomanjkljivo izobraženim kolegom z jasnim navodilom, »kako se bo umetnike, zlasti kiparje, izkoristilo za tako ogromen smoter, kakršen je vzgojna propaganda naših velikih idej«.

Vizualizacija kulta živeče osebnosti je bila prihranjena za Tita, spomeniki drugim osebam pa so bili postavljeni po njihovi smrti. Boris Kidrič je umrl v letu 1953, star 41 let, štiri leta kasneje so povabili štiri kiparje, da sodelujejo v internem natečaju za postavitev njegovega kipa v Ljubljani. Idejne rešitve so pripravili trije takratni profesorji na ljubljanski Akademiji za likovno umetnost, Boris Kalin (1905–1975), Karel Putrih (1910–1959) in Zdenko Kalin (1911–1990), ter kipar mlajše generacije Drago Tršar (rojen 1927). Zdenko Kalin je za natečaj pripravil mavčni model s Kidričevim portretom glavo na spiralnem nosilcu. Dobil je naročilo, a ne za uresničitev svojega osnutka, temveč ker je bil pripravljen slediti naročnikovim navodilom in zahtevam. Nobeden od obeh dokumentiranih osnutkov ni bil v skladu z estetiko socialističnega realizma, ki jo je partijsko vodstvo pričakovalo pri spomeniku tako pomembnemu komunističnemu voditelju. V tem obdobju je bila v Sloveniji figuralika povsem nadzorovana, a hkrati je bila tolerirana abstrakcija, kar je dajalo vtis umetniške svobode in orientiranosti proti zahodu.

Kalin je moral Kidričev kip delati natančno po fotografiji s posebnim zgodovinskim in simbolnim pomenom, saj je bila posneta 16. julija 1945 na 1. kongresu Osvobodilne fronte v ljubljanskem parku Tivoli. Upodobil je zavzetega govorca, ki so mu odvzeli govorniški pult. Nadzornik Jože Maček brez umetnostne izobrazbe ni znal predvideti prostorskega učinka, ko je zahteval »zamrznitev« pomembnega političnega trenutka in njegovo preoblikovanje v monumentalni simbol. Čeprav gre v likovnem smislu za neuspelo delo, sta njegova propagandna funkcija ter zavzetje javnega prostora in spomina dosegla svoj namen. Kip Borisa Kidriča je v literaturi praviloma obravnavan med spomeniki NOB, čeprav gre za portret politične osebnosti povojnega časa.

Estetski in ideološki kriteriji za postavitev, ohranitev ali odstranitev nekega javnega spomenika so v celotni zgodovini umetnosti v domeni vsakokratne (politične) elite, ki naročilom in natečajem začrta tudi finančne, prostorske in pogosto celo ožje strokovne okvire. To je sprejemljivo vse dotlej, dokler ne trči ob temeljno etično postavko slavljenja protagonistov ali dogodkov, kot so poboji in drugi zločini nad civilnim prebivalstvom. Odstranjevanje spomenikov, ki so bili v javni prostor postavljeni z namenom, da poveličujejo kult določene politične osebnosti, je del zgodovinske realnosti. Tako so bili v slovenskem prostoru odstranjeni spomeniki cesarja Franca Jožefa po letu 1918 ter spomeniki kraljev Petra I. in Aleksandra I. po letu 1941. Nasprotno pa niso bili odstranjeni spomeniki Borisu Kidriču in Edvardu Kardelju po letu 1991.

V komparativni obravnavi Slovenije in njenega odnosa do spomenikov komunističnim politikom pridemo do ugotovitev, ki to državo predstavljajo kot specifično v vzhodno- in srednjeevropskem prostoru. Ob poskusih odstranitve Kidričevega spomenika v Ljubljani je bila kot argument za njegovo ohranitev ob predsedniški palači uporabljena trditev, da spomenike odstranjujejo samo totalitarni režimi, njihova ohranitev pa naj bi bila znak kulturnosti. Tudi umetnostnozgodovinska analiza javnih spomenikov in recepcija oziroma medijska propaganda za ohranitev kipov komunističnim voditeljem na njihovem prvotnem mestu kaže, kako uspešen je bil s svojimi represivnimi in propagandnimi metodami Titov projekt Jugoslavije. Izpeljana je bila konstrukcija spomina, ki ima vse lastnosti kolektivnega spomina. V Sloveniji, ki ob svoji osamosvojitvi ni doživela vojne tragedije kot druge republike, sta nostalgija po balkanskem bratstvu in ohranjanje spomina na totalitarni režim še vedno zelo živa. Po letu 1991 pa je slovensko partijsko vodstvo ostalo na oblasti tudi z ohranjanjem javnih spomenikov nosilcem režima na ključnih političnih lokacijah v Ljubljani kot prestolnici in v drugih mestih nove države. Rešitev za oblikovanje javnega prostora ni zamenjava spomenika z »nevtralno« abstrakcijo, temveč globlja povezava umetnosti in ustvarjalnosti s konkretnim prostorom, spominom, ki ga ta v sebi nosi, ter spoštovanje temeljnih človekovih pravic.

„Skopje 2014“

Erinnerungsexzesse in der Republik Makedonien

Tanja Zimmermann

Die Auferweckung der Helden

Wie Pilze nach dem Regen schießen in Skopje seit 2010 neue monumentale Denkmäler, repräsentative Gebäude und Museen aus der Erde, die von der seit 2006 regierenden national-konservativen Partei VMRO-DPMNE (Vnatrešna makedonska revolucionerna organizacija – Demokratska partija za Makedonsko nacionalno edinstvo / Innere Mazedonische Revolutionäre Organisation – Demokratische Partei für die Mazedonische Nationale Einheit) in Auftrag gegeben wurden.¹ Helden, von antiken Kriegern bis zu den Vorkämpfern für die Eigenstaatlichkeit der heutigen Republik Makedonien, werden in Stein und Bronze auferweckt. Die bunte Gesellschaft, die sich dicht aneinander im Zentrum von Skopje drängelt und in der jeder dem anderen die Sicht verstellt, bilden mythische Gestalten und historische Persönlichkeiten von der Antike bis ins 21. Jahrhundert: Zur mythischen Welt zählt ein goldener Prometheus im Stil von Arno Breker vor einem Tempel mit einer Siegessäule aus weißem Marmor (Abb. 1, 2). Die antike makedonische Dynastie repräsentieren Alexander der Große auf einem sich aufbaumenden Pferd (Abb. 3, 4, 5), sein Vater Philipp (Abb. 6, 7) und seine Mutter Olympia – einmal hochschwanger, ein anderes Mal als eine Art Madonna mit dem Säugling auf dem Schoß, dann wieder mit Alexander als Kleinkind (Abb. 8).² Auf Thronen sitzen der byzantinische Kaiser Justinian I. (Abb. 9) und der Zar des ersten bulgarischen Großreiches, Samuil,³ im neo-byzantinischen bzw. neo-romanischen Stil (Abb. 10). Zu ihnen gesellen sich Missionare wie die Slawenapostel Kyrill und Method sowie deren Schüler, die Heiligen Kliment und Naum. Die lange Reihe makedonischer Freiheitskämpfer bilden der reitende Karpoš, Anführer des Aufstandes gegen die Osmanen von 1658, im Stil von Ivan Meštrović „Königssohn Marko“ (Abb. 11), die makedonischen Revolutionäre Pitu Guli (1865–1903) (Abb. 12), Gjorgija Pulevski,

¹ Die gesamte urbanistische Planung im Stadtzentrum, die Erinnerungen an utopische Städte der Zukunft wachruft, kann als Video in Musikbegleitung auf You Tube angesehen werden: *Vizuelizacija na centarot na Skopje von 2014*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YBYtmAOt7RI> (Zugriff: 4. 4. 2013).

² Seit 1991 wird in den makedonischen Geschichtsbüchern und in der Belletristik eine neue makedonische Identität geprägt, die sich vom antiken Makedonien herleitet. Sie wurde maßgeblich von der makedonischen Diaspora in Abgrenzung von Griechenland geprägt. Zum altmakedonischen Mythos, zu den griechisch- und bulgarisch-makedonischen Konflikten sowie zur makedonischen Diaspora: Christian VOSS, Irredentismus als historischer Selbstentwurf. Wissenschaftsdiskurse und Staatssymbolik in der Republik Makedonien, *Osteuropa. Zeitschrift für Gegenwartsfragen des Ostens*, 53/7, 2003, S. 949–962; Ulf BRUNNBAUER, Historiography, Myths and the Nation in the Republic of Macedonia, (Re)Writing History. *Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism* (Hrsg. Ulf Brunnbauer), Berlin 2004, S. 165–200.

³ Den bulgarischen Zaren Samuil hält die neue Geschichtsschreibung in der Republik Makedonien für einen makedonischen Herrscher (vgl. Elma HAŠIMBEGOVIĆ, Darko GAVRILOVIĆ, Ethnogenesis Myths, *Political Myths in the Former Yugoslavia and Successor States. A Shared Narrative* (Hrsg. Darko Gavrilović, Vjekoslav Perica), Dodrecht 2011, S. 26–27).



1.-2. Tome Adzievski: *Prometheus bzw. Denkmal für gefallene Helden Makedoniens*, 2012, Skopje

Damjan Gruev und Goce Delčev (Abb. 13), Nikola Karev, der Anführer des Ilinden-Aufstandes von 1903, die Anarcho-Terroristen „Gemidjii“ („Seefahrer“), die durch ihre Attentate in Istanbul und Thessaloniki die Aufmerksamkeit auf die makedonische Frage lenken wollten. Ihr Erbe wird fortgesetzt von den Gründungsmitgliedern der VMRO (Vnatrešnata makedonska revolucionerna organizacija / Die Innere Mazedonische Revolutionäre Organisation) aus dem Jahre 1919 und des ASNOM (Antifašisko sobranie na narodnoto osloboeduene na Makedonija / Der Antifaschistische Rat der Volksbefreiung Mazedoniens) aus den Jahren 1944–1945 (Abb. 14, 15) sowie von weiteren Kämpfern gegen den Faschismus, die nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg Opfer der Tito-Regierung wurden, wie Metodija Andonov-Čento (1902–1957) (Abb. 25). Die lange Heldengenealogie führt bis hin zu den „Verteidigern Makedoniens“ – den Kämpfern der makedonischen Sicherheitskräfte, die 2001 im bewaffneten Konflikt mit der albanischen Minderheit ihr Leben verloren haben (Abb. 16). Weitere Helden aus verschiedenen Epochen – von den mittelalterlichen Rittern bis zu den Hajduken und Partisanenkämpfern, von den Geistlichen bis zu Politikern – finden auf Reliefs des Triumphbogens der Porta Makedonia zusammen (Abb. 17). Die kommerzielle Gebrauchskunst trägt zur Popularisierung des Heldenkults bei. Souvenirs in Kiosken sind mit antiken und neuen Emblemen Makedoniens beladen, z. B. Helme aus Plastik mit dem Stern von Vergina. Comicstrips wie Zoran Tanevs *Miss Stone* (2000)⁴ heroisieren eine amerikanische protestantische Missionarin, die Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts den makedonischen Aufstand gegen die Osmanen unterstützt.

Die massenhaft auferstandenen Helden werden im Rahmen der gegenwärtigen makedonischen Erinnerungspolitik zu einer Kette verbunden, die bis hin zu den gegenwärtigen makedonischen Helden reicht. In ihnen materialisiert sich die neue makedonische Geschichtspolitik, die unter dem Einfluss der Diaspora eine „großmakedonische Idee“ propagiert.⁵ Diese vereinnahmt, wie Christian Voss dargelegt hat, nicht nur die alte makedonische Dynastie, sondern stellt auch eine Kontinuität über das mittelalterliche bulgarische Reich bis hin zu den christlichen und slawophilen Kämpfern gegen die Osmanen im 19. Jahrhundert her. Das Verfahren ähnelt der Metamorphose der

⁴ Zoran TANEV, *Miss Stone*, Skopje 2000.

⁵ VOSS 2006 (Anm. 2).



3.-5. Valentina Karanfilova-Stefanovska:
Alexander der Große
bzw. Soldat zu Pferde, 2011, Skopje



paganen Götter, die mit dem Anbruch des Christentums neue Inhalte angenommen haben. Jean Seznec verfolgt in seinem Buch *La survivance des dieux antiques* den Prozess der Transformation der antiken Götter,⁶ die nur deswegen überlebt haben, weil sie zum Vehikel des christlichen Glaubens wurden: Venus, die Göttin der Liebe, wurde zur Caritas, der unbesiegbare Halbgott Hercules zur Repräsentation der Tugend Fortitudo, Satyr wiederum zum Dämon oder zum Teufel usw. Einer ähnlichen Transformation unterliegen auch die Helden in Skopje, die nun für die lange, ruhmreiche Geschichte des makedonischen Volkes in verschiedenen Zeitaltern und Imperien, für seine unbändige Widerstandskraft stehen – vor allem aber für die Idee der makedonischen Autonomie und des groß-makedonischen Reiches. Ihre Auferweckung ist ein kosmo-soziologischer Akt der neuen Regierung, die sich selbst und ihr durchaus heterogenes Volk verherrlicht.

⁶ Jean SEZNEC, *La survivance des dieux antiques. Essai sur le rôle de la tradition mythologique dans l'humanisme et dans l'art de la renaissance*, London 1940 (*The Survival of the Pagan Gods. The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, New York 1953).



6.-7. Valentina Karanfilova-Stefanovska: Philipp von Makedonien, 2012, Skopje

Wie die Denkmäler so wurden auch die neuen repräsentativen Regierungs- und Verwaltungsgebäude in verschiedenen neo-historistischen Stilen errichtet: das Parlament, das Gebäude der Finanzpolizei und das Außenministerium (Abb. 18), das Verfassungsgericht (Abb. 19), das Staatsarchiv und das neue Alte Theater (Abb. 10). Ihnen gesellen sich Museen wie das Archäologische Museum (Abb. 11, 20), das Museum des makedonischen Freiheitskampfes (VMRO) (Abb. 21, 22) und das erste Holocaust-Museum Südosteuropas hinzu.

Das megalomanische Projekt, das das Stadtbild völlig verändert hat, hat bei der Bekanntmachung im Jahre 2009 eine heftige, bis heute anhaltende Debatte ausgelöst.⁷ Das makedonische Verfassungsgericht versuchte zwar, die Bauarbeiten zu stoppen, vor allem, weil die Öffentlichkeit bei der Planung und der Vergabe der Aufträge nicht angemessen einbezogen wurde.⁸ Einige Politiker befürchteten zu Recht, dass die Konflikte mit Griechenland wieder aufflammen würden. Der südliche Nachbar hat 1991 dem neuen Staat den gewünschten Namen verweigert und die Benennung als Ehemalige Jugoslawische Republik Makedonien erzwungen, auch, indem im Jahre 1994 ein Wirtschaftsembargo verhängt und im Jahre 2008 den Beitritt Makedoniens zur NATO

⁷ Jasna KOTESKA, Troubles with History. Skopje 2014, *Art Margins*, 29. 12. 2011, <http://www.artmargins.com/index.php/2-articles/655-troubles-with-history-skopje-2014> (Zugriff: 4. 4. 2013). Für die neuere Debatte vgl. Skopje 2014 – Nov grad, *Nova Makedonija*, 19. 7. 2012, <http://www.novamakedonija.com.mk/NewsDetail.asp?vest=25101030253&id=14&prilog=0&setIzdanie=21902> (Zugriff: 24. 7. 2012); Nikako da završi sobraniskata debata za Skopje 2014, *Dnevnik*, 17. 7. 2012, <http://www.dnevnik.com.mk/default.asp?ItemID=72DBCC171C1E4B48B904A74D12DD973F> (Zugriff: 9. 8. 2012); Ilija DIMOVSKI, Preteravme so eden-dva spomenika, *Utrinski dnevnik*, 17. 7. 2012, <http://www.utrinski.com.mk/default.asp?ItemID=AB77DDA45F3CEA4BAF1152CCE793CBBF> (Zugriff: 9. 8. 2012).

⁸ Andreas BACHMANN, Der Identitätsstifter wird zum Spalter, *Der Standard*, 6. 7. 2010, <http://derstandard.at/1277337250871/derStandardat-Reportage-Der-Identitaetsstifter-wird-zum-Spalter?seite=3> (Zugriff: 19. 7. 2012).

verhindert wurde.⁹ So wurde auch über das Denkmalprojekt schon in der Planungsphase gestritten. Kunsthistoriker und Architekten führten die Opposition an.¹⁰ Seitdem sich die Bauarbeiten im fortgeschrittenen Stadium befanden, attackiert man die übermäßige Anzahl und die geschmacklose Ausführung einzelner Denkmäler, wie etwa die „unkeusche“ Statue Prometheus‘, dessen entblößtes Geschlecht nachträglich mit einem Lendenschurz bedeckt werden musste.¹¹ Zuletzt bezog der Archäologe Nikos Čausidis im März 2013 Stellung.¹² Wie seine Vorgänger kritisiert auch er die extrem niedrige Qualität,¹³ die zu dichte und nicht an den alten Bestand angepasste Aufstellung von Skulpturen und Gebäuden sowie ihre megalomanischen Dimensionen.¹⁴ In der Asynchronität der Stile, die er als „eckelstischen pseudo-klassischen Anachronismus“ bezeichnet, erkennt er eine patriotisch-nationale Beschönigung alter Stile, in der sich eine paradoxe Reaktion auf die Globalisierung äußere.¹⁵ Die ikonoklastische Dimension der Neugestaltung des Stadtzentrums vermittelt der Autor durch fotografische Collagen, die aus Trümmern älterer Architekturschichten bestehen.

Das Projekt „Skopje 2014“ spaltete die makedonische Bevölkerung nicht nur auf der ästhetischen Ebene in Befürworter und Gegner. Ein immer größerer Teil der Bevölkerung hat begonnen, sich ebenfalls auf antike, makedonische statt auf südslawische Wurzeln zu berufen.¹⁶ In Internetforen wurde bereits nach der Wahl der VMRO-DPMNE 2006 eine oft extremistische Debatte über die Herkunft der modernen Makedonier entfacht.¹⁷ Das Phänomen der Konstruktion eines nicht-slawischen Ursprungsmythos war seit den 1980er Jahren auch bei anderen südslawischen Nationen zu beobachten, die auf diese Weise versuchten, sich vom jugoslawischen Erbe abzugrenzen.¹⁸ Wie slowenische¹⁹ beriefen sich auch einige makedonische Sprachforscher zu Beginn des neuen Jahrtausends auf die

⁹ Zum Streit zwischen Makedonien und Griechenland um den Namen für die Republik Makedonien: Aristotle TZIAMPİRIS, Greek Foreign Policy and the Macedonian Name Dispute. From Confrontation to Europeanisation?, *Greece in the Balkans. Memory, Conflict and Exchange* (Hrsg. Othon Anastasakis, Dimitar Bechev, Nicholas Vrousalis), Cambridge 2009, S. 138–156; Adamatios SKORDOS, Makedonischer Namensstreit und griechischer Bürgerkrieg. Ein kulturhistorischer Erklärungsversuch der griechischen Makedonien-Haltung 1991, *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen*, 51, 2011, S. 36–56; Adamatios SKORDOS, *Griechenlands Makedonische Frage. Bürgerkrieg und Geschichtspolitik im Südosten Europas, 1945–1992* (Moderne europäische Geschichte, 2), Göttingen 2012; Theodor KULJIĆ, *Umkämpfte Vergangenheit. Die Kultur der Erinnerung im postjugoslawischen Raum*, Berlin 2010, S. 58–61.

¹⁰ Zur Einschätzung des Bauprojekts durch Architekten: Milan MIJALKOVIĆ, Katharina URBANEK, *Skopje. The World's Bastard – Architecture of the Divided City*, Klagenfurt 2011.

¹¹ Iva Roze SKOCH, Skopje. After Complaints, Statue of Naked Prometheus Gets Undies, *Global Post*, 30. 5. 2012, <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatches/globalpost-blogs/wanderlust/skopje-after-complaints-statue-naked-prometheus-gets-undies> (Zugriff: 20. 4. 2013).

¹² Nikos ČAUSIDIS, *Projekt Skopje 2014. Skici za edno naredno istraživanje*, Skopje 2013, S. 10.

¹³ ČAUSIDIS 2013 (Anm. 12), S. 44–57.

¹⁴ ČAUSIDIS 2013 (Anm. 12), S. 59–75.

¹⁵ ČAUSIDIS 2013 (Anm. 12), S. 76.

¹⁶ BACHMANN 2010 (Anm. 8); auch der neu errichtete Flughafen und die Spielarena erhielten die Namen der griechisch-makedonischen Dynastie.

¹⁷ Piotr MAJEWSKI, Nationalism, Cyberspace and Convergence Culture, *Colloquia Humanistica 1. The Continuity and Discontinuity as a Research Problem* (Hrsg. Jolanta Sujecka unter Mitarbeit von Maciej Falski), Warszawa 2012, S. 65–79.

¹⁸ Zu den Gründungsmythen in Südosteuropa: Ulf BRUNNBAUER, Illyrer, Veneter, Iraner, Urserben, Makedonen, Altbulgaren ... Autochtonistische und nicht-slawische Herkunftsmythen unter den Südslawen, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 42, 2006, S. 37–62.

¹⁹ Rajko BRATOŽ, Das Veneter-Ideogramm bei den Slowenen, *Erinnerungskulturen in Südosteuropa. Bericht über die Konferenz der Kommission für interdisziplinäre Südosteuropa-Forschung im Januar 2004, Februar 2005 und März 2006 in Göttingen* (Hrsg. Reinhard Lauer), Berlin-Boston 2011 (Abhandlung der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1), S. 1–35.



8. Valentina Karanfilova-Stefanovska: *Olympia, die Mutter von Alexander dem Großen*, 2012, Skopje



9. Roza Pavleska: *Der byzantinische Kaiser Justinian I.*, 2011, Skopje



10. Dimitar Filipovski: *Der bulgarische Zar Samuil*, 2011, Skopje



11. Vojdan Zaprov: *Karloš*, 2011, Skopje

vermeintlich venetische Herkunft – eine weitere Variante, eine gemeinsame südslawische Herkunft zu leugnen.²⁰ Der makedonische Archäologe Pasko Kuzman, den die internationale Presse als den

²⁰ Aleksander DONSKI, Ancient Macedonians. Did they have a common origin with the Veneti, *Zbornik prve mednarodne konference Veneti v etnogenezi srednjeevropskega prebivalstva. Proceedings of the First International Topic Conference The Veneti within the Ethnogenesis of the Central-European Population* (Hrsg. Anton Perdih, Jože Rant), Ljubljana 2002, S. 77–99.

makedonischen „Indiana Jones“ bezeichnet, sucht unermüdlich weiter nach dem Grab Alexander des Großen auf dem Territorium der neuen makedonischen Republik.²¹

Sowohl die Skulpturen als auch die Gebäude wurden von bisher kaum bekannten Bildhauern und Architekten, die in intransparenten Verfahren Wettbewerbe gewonnen hatten.²² Auch ausländische Baukonzerne sind am neuen Bauboom beteiligt, jedoch werden diese meistens mit der Errichtung von Hotels und Firmengebäuden sowie mit der Innenausstattung beauftragt. Das errichtete Budget für das gigantische Projekt beläuft sich laut offiziellen Angaben auf eine Summe von 200 Millionen Euro, während die Opposition realistischer von einer Summe in Höhe von 550 Millionen Euro ausgeht.²³ Allein die Kosten für den ca. 20 Meter hohen bronzenen „Krieger auf dem Pferd“ – so die offizielle Benennung des Alexander-Denkmales, der in der Gießerei Fernando-Martinelli in Florenz entstand – belaufen sich laut Presseangaben auf 9,4 Millionen Euro.²⁴

Das Bauprojekt traf auch in der internationalen Presse auf große Resonanz.²⁵ Radio Free Europe (Balkan Report)²⁶ und der Balkan Insight²⁷ veröffentlichten regelmäßig Internetbeiträge mit dem

²¹ *Macedonias 'Indiana Jones' Won't Rest Until He Finds Alexander's Tomb*, 20. 11. 2012, <http://www.rferl.org/content/macedonia-alexander-the-great-archaeologist/24776548.html> (Zugriff: 20. 11. 2012).

²² Martin PURTSCHLÖGL, Ein Disneyland und ein Grinzing für Mazedonien, *Der Standard*, 8. 9. 2011, <http://derstandard.at/1315005692947/Reportage-aus-Skopje-Ein-Disneyland-und-ein-Grinzing-fuer-Mazedonien> (Zugriff: 8. 4. 2013).

²³ PURTSCHLÖGL 2011 (Anm. 22).

²⁴ *Macedonians Weep As Alexander Rises Over Skopje*, 21. 6. 2011, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/macedonia-erects-alexander-statue-in-skopje> (Zugriff: 24. 7. 2012).

²⁵ *Für die Forschung war er Grieche. Streit um Alexander den Großen*, 2. 10. 2009, <http://www.n-tv.de/wissen/Streit-um-Alexander-den-Grossen-article530627.html>; *Provokantes Denkmal. Mazedonien piesackt Griechen mit Reiterstatue*, 22. 6. 2011, <http://www.ftd.de/politik/europa/:provokantes-denkmal-mazedonien-piesackt-griechen-mit-reiterstatue/60067163.html?imgId=60067657> (Zugriff: 24. 7. 2012); *Streit wegen Alexander-Denkmal. Mazedonien ärgert Athen*, *NTV*, 26. 6. 2011, <http://www.n-tv.de/panorama/Mazedonien-aergert-Athen-article3630631.html> (Zugriff: 19. 7. 2012); *Wolf OSCHLIES*, Makedonien leidet unter Flut ungeliebter Denkmäler, *Eurasisches Magazin*, 2. 8. 2011, <http://www.eurasischesmagazin.de/artikel/Makedonien-leidet-unter-einer-Flut-ungeliebter-Denkmaeler/20110809> (Zugriff: 25. 4. 2013); *Jurica PAVIĆIĆ*, Balkan im Größenwahn, *Jutranji list*, 3.10. 2011 (Zugriff: 9. 4. 2012); *Thomas BREY*, Wem gehört Alexander? Griechenland und Makedonien liefern sich ein groteskes Politikum, *GrenzechoNet*, 18. 8. 2011, <http://www.grenzecho.net/ArtikelLoad.aspx?aid=3ffe7064-ac7a-4308-8435-ef51e41cb413> (Zugriff: 8. 4. 2012); *DPA*, Wem gehört Alexander? Streit um einen Helden, *Handelsblatt*, 17. 8. 2011, <http://www.handelsblatt.com/technologie/forschung-medizin/geisteswissenschaften/streit-um-einen-helden-wem-gehoert-alexander-der-grosse/4506788.html> (Zugriff: 4. 4. 2013).

²⁶ *Greece Criticizes Macedonia Over Alexander The Great Statue*, 16. 6. 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/macedonia_alexander_the_great_statue_greece_dispute/24237371.html (Zugriff: 4. 4. 2013); *Skopje Erects Another Controversial Statue*, 21. 6. 2012, <http://www.rferl.org/content/skopje-erects-another-contentious-statue/24621348.html> (Zugriff: 24. 7. 2012); *Skopje's Controversial Facelift*. Macedonia assembles giant statue amid row with Greece, *BBC*, 24. 6. 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13770668> (Zugriff: 19. 7. 2012); *Macedonia Erects Monument of Great Bulgarian Tsar Samuil*, 28. 6. 2011, http://www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=129718 (Zugriff: 14. 7. 2012).

²⁷ *Macedonia Opens Mother Teresa House*, 30. 1. 2009, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/macedonia-opens-mother-teresa-house> (Zugriff: 24. 7. 2012); *Greece Slates Skopje's 'Provocative' Alexander Statue*, 5. 6. 2011, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/greece-slates-skopje-s-provocative-alexander-statue> (Zugriff: 24. 7. 2012); *Erecting Alexander the Great in Skopje*, 21. 6. 2011, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/gallery/erecting-alexander-the-great-in-skopje> (Zugriff: 24. 7. 2012); *Macedonians Weep As Alexander Rises Over Skopje*, 21. 6. 2011, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/macedonia-erects-alexander-statue-in-skopje> (Zugriff: 24. 7. 2012); *Giant Statue of Philip of Macedon Erected in Skopje*, 2. 5. 2012, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/giant-statue-of-philip-erected-in-skopje> (Zugriff: 24. 7. 2012); *Giant Mother Teresa to Adorn Macedonia Skopje*, 29.05.2012, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/giant-mother-teresa-planed-for-macedonian-capital> (Zugriff: 24. 7. 2012); *Macedonia Puritans Dress Up Skopje Statue*, 28. 5. 2012, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/puritanism->



12. Kristina Paunovska: *Pitu Guli*, 2012, Skopje



13. Žarko Baševski: *Der makedonische Revolutionär Goce Delčev*, 2010, Skopje

aktuellen Stand der Bauarbeiten und berichteten über den Streit mit Griechenland, wo die neue Denkmalpolitik als Vereinnahmung der griechischen Geschichte interpretiert wurde.

Zwischen Erinnerungsexzess und Vergessen

Während die antiken Städte in ihren mythologischen Anfängen mit Naturkräften oder Erzfeinden gekämpft hatten, führt Skopje nun wohl eher einen Kampf gegen die eigene Vergangenheit.²⁸ Die eifrige Bautätigkeit tilgt die Spuren der älteren Architekturgeschichte. Die neuen Bauten verstehen den Blick auf die mittelalterliche Burg Kale und auf die modernen Gebäude der späten 1960er und 1970er Jahre. Neue, mit Skulpturen ausgestattete Brücken wie die Brücke der Kunst (Mostot na umetnost) (Abb. 20), sowie die Ausschmückung der alten Goce-Delčev-Brücke mit einem neuen

coves-macedonian-naked-statue (Zugriff: 14. 7. 2012); Jurica Pavičić o Skoplju danas, *Jutranji list*, 6. 4. 2013, <http://www.jutarnji.hr/skopanje-danas---nista-drugo-nego-spoj-tudmanove-ideologije--kerumova-ukusa-i-sanaderova-stranacko-korporativnog-modela/1095241/> (Zugriff: 9. 4. 2013).

²⁸ Auf die Tilgung der sozialistischen Vergangenheit aus dem Stadtbild und die Ausblendung der historischen Zusammenhänge machte bereits Stephanie Herold aufmerksam. Vor allem die internationale sozialistische Architektur, die Präsident Tito nach dem Erdbeben von 1963 als Vermarktungskampagne für den Slogan „Brüderlichkeit und Einheit“ diente, wurde nicht in die denkmalpflegerische Projektplanung aufgenommen. Zur Denkmalpflege und dem Umgang mit der Erinnerung in Skopje: Stephanie HEROLD, Denkmalpflege und Denkmalkonstruktion in Skopje, *Paradigmenwechsel. Ost- und Mitteleuropa im 20. Jahrhundert. Kunstgeschichte im Wandel der politischen Verhältnisse. 15. Tagung des Verbands österreichischer Kunsthistorikerinnen und Kunsthistoriker. 5. bis 8. November 2009 Wien* (Hrsg. Dieter Bogner), Wien 2011, S. 35–43.

Gitter und stilisierten neo-romanischen Löwen-Skulpturen, stellen die alte, mittelalterliche osmanische Steinbrücke (Kamenot most) in den Schatten. Das Museum für Gegenwartskunst aus dem Jahre 1970 oberhalb der Burg Kale, ein Werk der angesehenen polnischen Architekten Jerzy Mokrzynski, Eugeniusz Wierzbicki und Wacław Kliszewski, verfällt indessen (Abb. 23, 24). Dasselbe Schicksal erleiden auch das Museum Mazedoniens, die große Einkaufspassage und viele andere Gebäude aus der sozialistischen Ära, obwohl es sich um erhaltenswerte Architektur handelt. Der Innenraum des Postamts ist Anfang 2013 infolge der veralteten Installationen sogar ausgebrannt. Skopje verliert somit die allen historisch gewachsenen Städten gemeinsame, palimpsestartige Struktur – ihre „geronnene und geschichtete Geschichte“, wie Aleida Assmann dies bezeichnet.²⁹ Die Architekten Milan Mijalković und Katharina Urbanek nennen dieses aus alt und pseudo-alt zusammengesetzte Skopje nun einen „Bastard“.³⁰ Die in Australien lebende Architekturhistorikerin Mirjana Lozanovska greift die neue Bauplanung als „ideological driven destruction“ an, die Kenzo Tanges Masterplan für Skopje vollkommen zerstört habe.³¹ Der japanische Architekt, ein Vertreter des sozialutopischen „Metabolismus“, war nach dem Erdbeben vom 26. Juni 1963, in dem die Stadt zu drei Vierteln zerstört worden war, mit der urbanistischen Neugestaltung der Stadt beauftragt worden.³² Seine Pläne wurden jedoch nur teilweise und unter Einbeziehung jugoslawischer Architekten realisiert. Der Wiederaufbau erfolgte unter der Leitung der Vereinten Nationen, die das Projekt als einen symbolischen Akt der Versöhnung zwischen Ost und West und als eine sozialutopische Gemeinschaftsarchitektur des „dritten Weges“ unterstützten.³³

Die urbanistische Planung der jüngsten Vergangenheit dreht die Achse der Stadt in die entgegengesetzte Richtung von Tanges Masterplan und wendet sich insofern gegen die sozialistische Sozialutopie, der sie eine imperiale Denkmal- und Architekturlandschaft entgegenstellt. Es handelt sich um eine symbolische, keine aktive Zerstörung der Stadt – wie die Bombardierung von Sarajevo oder die Sprengung der Brücke von Mostar während der jugoslawischen Zerfallskriege³⁴ – die der serbische Architekt Bogdan Bogdanović als „Tötung der Stadt“ bezeichnet.³⁵ Während sich dieser aktive Ikonoklasmus gegen die Multikulturalität und die Polyphonie der Erinnerungskulturen wandte, überlässt die makedonische Stadtregierung die sozialistische Vergangenheit ihrem langsamem Absterben durch Verfall.

Um den beabsichtigten Verlust an Geschichte zu kompensieren, haben sich die Bildhauer und Architekten von „Skopje 2014“ rückwärtsgewandt für historistische Stile entschieden, in denen sie

²⁹ Aleida ASSMANN, Geschichte findet Stadt, *Kommunikation, Gedächtnis, Raum. Kulturwissenschaften nach dem „Spatial Turn“* (Hrsg. Moritz Csáky, Christopher Leitgeb), Bielefeld 2009, S. 13–27.

³⁰ MIJALKOVIĆ, URBANEK 2011 (Anm. 10).

³¹ Mirjana LOZANOVSKA, Kenzo Tange's Forgotten Master Plan for the Reconstruction of Skopje, *Fabrications. The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, 22/2, 2012, S. 140–163.

³² Zur Kenzo Tanges Master Plan für Skopje: MILJAKOVIĆ, URBANEK 2011 (Anm. 10); Robert HOME, Reconstructing Skopje, Macedonia, after the 1963 earthquake. The Master Plan forty years on, *Papers in Land Management*, 7, 2007, S. 1–22, <http://www.anglia.ac.uk/ruskin/en/home/faculties/alss/deps/law/staff0/home.Maincontent.0014.file.tmp/No7-Skopje.pdf> (Zugriff: 8. 4. 2013).

³³ HEROLD 2011 (Anm. 28), S. 39; Peter SÄGESSER, Kenzo Tange und der Sozialismus, *Stylepark*, 20. 2. 2013, <http://www.stylepark.com/de/news/kenzo-tange-und-der-sozialismus/339010> (Zugriff: 4. 4. 2013).

³⁴ Zum symbolischen Gehalt der Brücke von Mostar vgl. Tanja ZIMMERMANN, Bosnische Brücken als Naht der Kulturen, *Kulturgrenzen in postimperialen Räumen. Bosnien und Westukraine als transkulturelle Regionen* (Hrsg. Renata Makarska, Katharina Schwitkin, Alexander Kratochwil, Anette Werberger), Bielefeld 2013, S. 301–334.

³⁵ Bogdan BOGDANOVIĆ, *Architektur der Erinnerung*, Klagenfurt 1994, S. 107–117.



14.–15. Slobodan Miloševski: Die Gründungsmitglieder des ASNOM, 2011, Skopje

die alten Formen buchstäblich übernehmen. Die Postmoderne distanziert sich meist von dem zitierten Material und macht den historischen Abstand deutlich, der hier gerade verwischt wird. Vom Pastiche über die Ironie zum nostalgischen Aufruf funktionslos gewordener Pathosformeln reichen die Möglichkeiten des distanzbewussten Zitierens.³⁶ Selbst ein Historismus, der in auftrumpfender Naivität an den Verständnishorizont der Halbgebildeten appelliert, entkommt nicht den Tücken des Zitierens. Die Literaturwissenschaftlerin Bettine Menke hat auf die zweifache Funktion des Zitats hingewiesen, eine auch für die Denkmäler und die Architektur von „Skopje 2014“ treffende Bemerkung:

Zitierbarkeit heißt die Form, in der etwas ins Gedächtnis eingegangen ist und aus diesem aufgerufen wird in den ‚gegenwärtigen‘ Text. [...] *Zitierfähigkeit* ist ein Modus der *auctoritas*, jener Autorität, die zitierend in Anspruch genommen – und damit dem Zitierten zugeschrieben und bestätigt wird. Für beide gilt, dass sie *Faktum* und *Fiktion* der Zitation sind; der Akt des Zitierens erweist sich und bringt hervor, was er voraussetzt, die Gegebenheiten dessen, was wiederholend aufgerufen wird, und die Instanz der zitierten Rede und deren Autorität. *Zitierfähigkeit* und *Zitierbarkeit* bezeichnen ein Nach-Leben im Zitat.³⁷

Zitieren geriert sich insofern als Re-Lektüre eines vermeintlichen älteren Textes, der im Sinne Freuds erst durch die „Nachträglichkeit“ überhaupt auf den Plan kommt. Es handelt sich um das phantomartige Nachleben eines Autors bzw. einer Autorität, das keine ursprüngliche Bedeutung wiedergibt, sondern sie als vermeintlich vorgängig erst herstellt. Das Zitat bedarf keines Autors, weil man sich auf die Autorität eines Urhebers beruft, der durch das Zitieren überhaupt erst herbeizaubert wird. Entsprechend bleiben auch die Bildhauer und Architekten des urbanistischen Projekts „Skopje 2014“, deren Namen man nur selten auf Skulpturen und Gebäuden findet, meist anonym.

³⁶ Heinrich KLOTZ, Postmoderne Architektur. Ein Resümee, *Merkur. Sonderheft: Postmoderne. Eine Bilanz*, 52/9–10, 1998, S. 780–793.

³⁷ Bettine MENKE, Zitat, Zitierbarkeit, Zitierfähigkeit, *Anführen – Vorführen – Aufführen. Texte zum Zitieren* (Hrsg. Volker Patenburg, Nils Plath), Bielefeld 2002, S. 273.



16. Kiril Mukaetov: *Verteidiger Makedoniens* von 2001, 2011, Skopje



17. Valentina Karanfilova-Stefanovska: *Porta Makedonija*, 2011, Skopje

Während einerseits die Spuren der Stadtgeschichte einschließlich ihrer Neuinterpretation nach 1963 verwischt werden, kehrt die Geschichte als vermeintliche Nationalgeschichte in ihrer simulkrallen Form zurück.³⁸ Der Erinnerungsexzess bezeugt indirekt diese Überschreibung. Viele der oben aufgezählten Helden stehen in gar keinem Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte der Republik Makedonien. Insofern verlässt die Erinnerung die Ebene des Imaginären, welches noch stets die natürlichen Leerstellen in einer fragmentarisch erhaltenen Geschichte mit Imagination gefüllt hat. Vielmehr betritt die neue makedonische Erinnerungspolitik die Ebene des Fiktionalen, das wie eine literarische Erzählung einen kohärenten *plot*, frei von genuin historischem Wissen, konstruiert. Die These Karl Schlögels, dass wir „im Raum die Zeit lesen“, wird in Skopje pervertiert.³⁹ Während die Spuren der Vergangenheit in Skopje dem Verfall preisgegeben werden, materialisiert sich die makedonische Geschichte in den neu errichteten Denkmälern. Die neue Denkmallandschaft zeugt nicht von der Geschichte als „wie es eigentlich gewesen ist“, sondern von einer raumgreifenden Entfaltung pseudo-historischer Narrative im Stadtraum.

Der russische Kultursemitioker Jurij Lotman hat am Beispiel des 1703 auf einer Insel in der Neva-Mündung neu gegründeten St. Petersburg Künstlichkeit, Täuschung und Spektakel als semiotische Aspekte neu geschaffener, urbaner Räume namhaft gemacht.⁴⁰ Die alte Stadt Skopje wird durch ihre ideologisch motivierte Neusemitiokisierung regelrecht überwältigt, das Stadtzentrum in eine theatralische Kulisse transformiert. „Skopje 2014“ ist nicht das Produkt gelebter Geschichte. Der Bauplan schafft keinen sozialen Handlungsraum, sondern vielmehr einen symbolischen Repräsentationsraum, der de facto als touristische Attraktion inszeniert wird.

³⁸ Jean BAUDRILLARD, *Agonie der Realen*, Berlin 1978.

³⁹ Karl SCHLÖGEL, *Im Raum lesen wir die Zeit. Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik*, München-Wien 2003, S. 70; vgl. auch: ASSMANN 2009 (Anm. 29), S. 23.

⁴⁰ Jurij M. LOTMAN, Simvolika Peterburga i problemy semiotiki goroda, *Semiotika goroda i gorodskoj architekturnyj Peterburg* (Hrsg. Vladimir N. Toporov, Jurij M. Lotman), Tartu 1984 (Trudy po znakovym sistemam, 18), S. 30–45.



18. Blagoja und Lidija Stojanovski: Das Gebäude der Finanzpolizei und des Außenministeriums, 2011–2012, Skopje



19. Kosta Mangarovski: Das Außenministerium mit der Brücke der Kunst, 2011–2012, Skopje



20. Slobodan Živkovski: Das archäologische Museum, 2011–2012, Skopje



21.–22. Zoran Jordanovski: Das Museum des makedonischen Freiheitskampfes (VMRO), 2011–2012, Skopje



23. Jerzy Mokrzynski, Eugeniusz Wierzbicki
und Wacław Kliszewski: Museum für Gegenwartskunst, 1970, Skopje



24. Jerzy Mokrzynski, Eugeniusz Wierzbicki
und Wacław Kliszewski: Museum für Gegenwartskunst, 1970, Skopje

Die virtuelle Geschichte

Auch im Museum des makedonischen Freiheitskampfes (VMRO) manifestiert sich das Phänomen des Simulakralen.⁴¹ Neben Artefakten wie Hajdukensäbeln, alten Landkarten und Propagandabroschüren der Freiheitskämpfer wird die makedonische Geschichte mit 109 Wachsfiguren vor Augen geführt. Sie porträtieren makedonische Freiheitskämpfer von der Hajduken- bis in die kommunistische Zeit und stellen, wie das Wachsfigurenkabinett Madame Tussauds in London, historische Szenen mit Folterungen, Attentaten und Hinrichtungen nach (Abb. 25). Es ist wahrscheinlich kein Zufall, dass gerade ukrainische Künstler mit der Anfertigung der Wachsfiguren beauftragt wurden. Im Jahre 1929, als Stalin an die Macht kam, wurde in der Ukraine eine große ethnographische Ausstellung der Völker der Sowjetunion auf dem Weg des Fortschritts ausgerichtet, in der diese als Wachsfiguren szenisch nachgebildet wurden.⁴² Die Wachstechnik geht jedoch nicht nur auf die ethnographischen Ausstellungen zurück, sondern auch auf die wächsernen Effigien der Herrscher. Wie Ernst Kantorowicz in seiner Studie über die zwei Körper des Königs darlegt, hatten diese die Funktion, den unsterblichen, korporativen Amtskörper in der Zeit des Interregnum zu vertreten.⁴³ Auch dafür gibt es im russischen Bereich ein prominentes Beispiel – die sitzende Figur Peter des Großen von Bartolomeo Carlo Rastrelli, die später ihren Platz in seiner Wunderkammer fand.⁴⁴

Wachsfiguren, die am lebenden oder toten Körper geformt werden, gehen über das ikonische Ähnlichkeitsverhältnis hinaus. Sie sind das Produkt einer indexikalischen Berührung, welche sich im Abdruck des real-menschlichen Körpers im Wachs manifestiert. Doch die Figuren im Museum in Skopje konnten nicht auf diese Art entstehen, da die Helden schon längst unter der Erde waren. Vielmehr wurden sie als dreidimensionale Computersimulationen nach Illustrationen und Fotografien hergestellt. Trotzdem wirken die Helden der makedonischen Geschichte wie vom Tode auferstanden und zu einem morbiden Leben zwischen Geschichte und Gegenwart erweckt. Obwohl als Simulakren konzipiert, stellen sie den Anspruch auf Authentizität. Aus dem ethnographischen und dynastischen Kontext wurde die groteske Technik nun in den einer Nation gestellt, die ihre Selbstfindung als Auferweckung inszeniert. Während der Herrscher in effigie während des Interregnum gegenwärtig ist, wird hier die neu konstruierte Geschichte in der Vielzahl vermeintlich authentischer Wachsvertreter als immer schon präsent vorgeführt.

Für dasselbe Museum wurde ferner auch eine große Anzahl von Monumentalgemälden in verschiedenen historistischen Stilen vorwiegend in Russland in Auftrag gegeben. Das wiederum historistische Stilspektrum reicht vom akademischen Orientalismus und Realismus des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum sozialistischen Realismus (Abb. 26, 27). Bemerkenswert ist der Umgang der Bildunterschriften mit der Zeit. Neben dem Namen des Künstlers befindet sich nicht die Jahreszahl der Entstehung des Gemäldes, sondern das Datum des abgebildeten historischen Ereignisses. Ein

⁴¹ Vgl. die Internetseite des Museums: http://mmb.org.mk/w/?page_id=4478 (Zugriff: 8. 4. 2013).

⁴² Francine HIRSCH, Getting to Know ‘The People of the USSR’. Ethnographic Exhibits as Soviet Virtual Tourism, 1923–1934, *Slavic Review*, 62/4, 2003, S. 683–709.

⁴³ Ernst H. KANTOROWICZ, *Die zwei Körper des Königs. Eine Studie zur politischen Theologie des Mittelalters. Aus dem Amerikanischen von Walter Theimer*, Stuttgart 1992 (*The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton 1957).

⁴⁴ Zur Wunderkammer Peter des Großen: Brigitte BUBERL, Palast des Wissens. Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer Zar Peters des Großen, *Palast des Wissens. Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer Zar Peters des Großen* (Hg. Brigitte Buberl, Michael Dükershoff), 2, München 2003, S. 9–18; Horst BREDEKAMP, Leibniz' Idee eines ‚Theaters der Natur und Kunst‘ für Russland, *Palast des Wissens* 2003 (Anm. 44), S. 116–123.



25. Ukrainerischer Künstler: Metodija Andonov-Čento,
Wachsfigur, 2011, Museum VMRO, Skopje

ungeschultes Auge könnte die Gemälde tatsächlich in die ferne Vergangenheit datieren. Mit dieser Strategie wird implizit vorgetäuscht, dass es in Makedonien seit einem auf das 19. Jahrhundert zurückgehenden Nation-Building eine Historienmalerei zu nationalen Themen gegeben habe.

In der Manier lassen sich zahlreich Parallelen zum historistischen Stil der Stalinzeit ausmachen. Im Jahre 1939 wurde in Moskau eine große Ausstellung russischer Historienmalerei vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert ausgerichtet, deren Ziel es war, den Malern des sozialistischen Realismus die verschiedenen historischen Stile nahezubringen. Die Maler sollten zwar die alte Manier erlernen, sie jedoch in den Dienst der neuen Ideologie stellen, wie man in der Einleitung zum Katalog nachlesen kann.

Nur im Werk der sowjetischen Künstler können in ganzer Fülle die wesentlichsten Etappen des revolutionären Kampfes in der Vergangenheit aufgedeckt werden. Der sowjetische Künstler, der sich diesen Themen zuwendet, verfügt, mit Marxismus-Leninismus ausgestattet, über

jene Fähigkeit der tiefgründigen Verallgemeinerungen, die unumgänglich die Qualität des vollwertigen historischen Werkes bilden müssen. Nur der sowjetische Künstler kann begreifen, dass der sozialistische Realismus die einzige kreative Methode ist, die es gestattet, die dargestellten Ereignisse mit größter Überzeugungskraft zu enthüllen.⁴⁵

Auch die neue Historienmalerei der Republik Makedonien, die von Malern wie Sergej N. Trošin, Aleksandr K. Sitin, Pavel V. Ryženko, Aleksandr M. Samsonov, Aleksej I. Fedorov und anderen, nicht genannten russischen Künstlern begründet wurde, stellt die Geschichte der Auftraggeber-Nation in ein neues Licht, das zwischen Opferkult und Heldenhum oszilliert. In der nationalen Praxis wird der simulakralen Geschichte in Wachs und Öl im Museum der VMRO vor der faktuellen Geschichtsschreibung, die sich auf Spuren und Dokumente stützt, der Vorrang eingeräumt. Seit der Gründung des Museums gehört dessen Besichtigung zum Pflichtprogramm von Schulklassen.

Das Projekt „Skopje 2014“ ist somit mehr als nur ein Unternehmen der Denkmal- und Baopolitik. Es umfasst die gesamte makedonische Erinnerungspolitik, in der sich die neue makedonische Identität buchstäblich materialisiert. Die sowjetischen Externalisierung der Ideologie in der Raumgestaltung, die ihren Höhepunkt in der Architektur der 1930er Jahre erreichte, hat Slavoj

⁴⁵ Sof'ja GOLDŠTEJN, *Russkaja istoričeskaja živopis'*. Vystavka 1939 g., Moskva 1939, S. 47.



26. Pavel V. Ryženko:
*Folterung von Mirka Ginova im
griechischen Gefängnis im Jahre
1946*

Žižek mit einem lapidaren Satz charakterisiert: „The truth is out there“.⁴⁶ Als Paradebeispiel dient ihm der in den 1930er Jahren begonnene, jedoch nach Stalins Tod abgebaute Palast der Kultur, auf dessen Dach eine riesige Statue des „neuen Menschen“ stehen sollte. Das Gebäude verlor beinahe seine architektonische Funktion und wurde zum Sockel für die gigantische Statue umfunktioniert. In Skopje ist es natürlich nicht die stalinistische Ideologie, die die Regierung in das Stadtbild eingeweht hat. Doch die Erinnerung an eine vermeintlich seit der Antike bestehende und ununterbrochene nationale Geschichte wird mit ähnlichen Mitteln in das makedonische Gedächtnis eingebettet.

Präziser kann man das Phänomen des Nicht-Diskursiven in der Denkmal- und Architekturpolitik mit dem Begriff „symbolische Einverleibung“ erfassen, die der französisch-amerikanische Philosoph Jeffrey Andrew Barash in seinen Schriften zur Erinnerungspolitik geprägt hat.⁴⁷ Damit beschreibt er die Symbolisierungsprozesse der kollektiven Erinnerung im öffentlichen Raum, die stark von ihrer symbolischen Konfiguration in den Medien geprägt werden.⁴⁸ In diesen von den Medien und der neuen Geschichtspolitik gesteuerten Prozessen wird die kollektive Erinnerung von der gemeinsamen Erfahrung entkoppelt und maßgeblich von der aktuellen politischen Intention manipuliert: „The abyss between memory and political reality is all too readily filled by fictional representation of public identity in the guise of political myths which have become an all too familiar facet of our contemporary world.“⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Slavoj ŽIŽEK, *Die Pest der Phantasmen. Die Effizienz des Phantasmatischen in den neuen Medien*, Wien 1997, S. 13, 14.

⁴⁷ Jeffrey Andrew BARASH, The Sources of Memory, *Journal of the Histories of Ideas*, 58/4, 1997, S. 707–717; Jeffrey Andrew BARASH, Analyzing Collective Memory, *On Memory. Interdisciplinary Approach* (Hrsg. Doron Mendelsohn-Barons), Bern 2007, S. 101–116; Jeffrey Andrew BARASH, Why Remember the Historical Past, *Internationales Jahrbuch für Hermeneutik*, 7: Schwerpunkte Hermeneutik der Geschichte, Hermeneutik der Kunst (Hrsg. Günter Figal), 2008, S. 79–91; Jeffrey Andrew BARASH, The Place of Remembrance. Reflections on Paul Ricoeur’s Theory of Collective Memory, *A Passion for the Possible. Thinking with Paul Ricoeur* (Hrsg. Brian Treneor, Harry Isaac Venema), New York 2010, S. 147–157.

⁴⁸ Jeffrey Andrew BARASH, At the Threshold of Memory. Collective Memory between Personal Experience and Political Identity, *Meta. Research in Hermeneutics, Phenomenology, and Practical Philosophy*, 3/2, 2011, S. 249–267.

⁴⁹ BARASH 2011 (Anm. 48), S. 262.



27. Sergej I. Trošin:
Das Gefängnis „Petrova dupka“
auf dem Goli otok

Die nicht-diskursive Botschaft der neuen Denkmalpolitik: Das Imperium kehrt zurück

Als die VMRO-DPMNE 2006 die Regierungsverantwortung übernahm, wurde zuerst ein Reiterdenkmal Skanderbegs, des albanischen Kämpfers gegen die Osmanen im 15. Jahrhundert, errichtet. Die Politikwissenschaftlerin Nadège Ragaru analysierte die vielfältigen und ambivalenten symbolischen Funktionen der Statue.⁵⁰ Aufgestellt am Eingang der osmanischen Altstadt Stara Čaršija, stand das Reiterdenkmal nicht nur für die enge Beziehung zwischen der albanischen und der makedonischen Nation, sondern rief auch die Angst vor der „Albanisierung“ Makedoniens wach. Auf internationaler Ebene symbolisierte Skanderbeg, ein zum Christentum konvertierter Muslim, einerseits den Wettkampf mit den Albanern im Kosovo und in Albanien, andererseits die gemeinsamen Bemühungen um die Annäherung an Europa, fernab des Orientalismus. Ein Diskurs, in dem man sich erneut von der eigenen osmanischen Vergangenheit und damit von jedem „inneren Orient“ distanzierte, wurde, wie Tatjana Petrović und Mirt Komel hervorheben, in allen südost-europäischen Kandidatenstaaten im Vorfeld des Beitritts zur EU geführt.⁵¹

Auch die 2009 errichtete Statue der Mutter Teresa, die aus einer albanischen Familie in Skopje stammte, war nicht nur ein Symbol der albanisch-makedonischen Multikulturalität, sondern zugleich auch der internationalen Konkurrenz. Wie im Falle von Skanderbeg konkurrierte die Statue mit zwei anderen in Tirana und Priština – ein Wettkampf um die Bindung der Helden an das eigene Land. Ein und dieselbe Statue nahm im Kreuzfaden verschiedener politischer Interessen unterschiedliche Funktionen an.

⁵⁰ Nadège RAGARU, The Political Issues and Social Lives of “National Heroes”. Controversies on Skanderbeg’s Statue in Skopje, *Südosteuropa*, 56/4, 2008, S. 528–555.

⁵¹ Mirt KOMEL, Blaž ILC, Evroorientalizem, *Evroorientalizem/(Z)nova medicina* (Hrsg. Barbara Bez nec, Andrej Kurnik), Ljubljana 2009 / *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 37/235–236, S. 13–15; Tanja PETROVIĆ, *A Long Way Home. Representations of the Western Balkans in Political and Media Discourses*, Ljubljana 2009 (Mediawatch Series), S. 53–69.

Das Projekt „Skopje 2014“ scheint noch widersprüchlicher zu sein. Nicht nur in der Presse, sondern auch in den Kulturwissenschaften sind erste Reaktionen und unterschiedliche Interpretationen zu verzeichnen. Die Architekten Milan Mijalković und Katharina Urbanek sprechen von der Trivialisierung einer Kultur, die einen größeren Wert auf Imitate statt auf Originale legt.⁵² Jasna Koteska, Professorin für Literatur und Gender Studies an der Universität Skopje, hebt hervor, dass es bei der Errichtung neuer Denkmäler nicht einfach nur um die Wiederbelebung der Antike geht, sondern vielmehr um ein reiches Konzentrat aus verschiedenen historischen Perioden.⁵³ Das polyhistorische Konzept ermöglichte eine starke Imagination von Identität, die gleichwohl nicht auf bestimmte historische Episoden festgelegt, sondern in ihren Referenzpunkten freischwebend bleibt. Die Breite der in konzentrierter, miniaturisierter Form auf das Stadtzentrum verengten Geschichte wird immer wieder durch kakophonische Einlagen aus dem modernen Leben unterbrochen, wie etwa durch Skulpturen moderner Mädchen beim Einkaufen oder beim Telefonieren (Abb. 28), beim Kaffeetrinken oder beim Springen in den Fluss. Der Bürger werde somit in der Gesellschaft alter Helden vorweggenommen. Die Vergangenheit wird, so Koteska, wie in Disneyland zu einer Art Spielzeug verkleinert und familiarisiert. Dabei werden (nach Lévi-Strauss und Jan Assmann) zwei unterschiedliche, sogar widersprüchliche Kodes angewandt – einer der „kalten Gesellschaften“, welche die Vergangenheit verherrlichen und ein anderer von „heißen Gesellschaften“, die versuchen, die Geschichte aufzuheben. Einen ähnlichen Widerspruch wie in den Denkmälern beobachtet sie auch in der Architektur, die den Stil des vormodernen Eklektizismus des 19. Jahrhunderts in den Kitsch übersetzt und dabei der ornamentalen, zugleich symbolischen wie dekorativ-gefährlichen Form Vorrang vor der Funktionalität gibt. Der Zweck des Projekts ist laut Koteska, die makedonische Hauptstadt in ein Museum zu transformieren, in dem ein Stil fehlt – der der sozialistischen Vergangenheit.

Der polnische Slawist Maciej Falski sieht im Bauprogramm „Skopje 2014“ wiederum einen Versuch, visuelle Kontinuität herzustellen, die in der makedonischen Geschichte immer wieder unterbrochen wurde.⁵⁴ Das Projekt sei vor allem gegen Kenzo Tanges brutalistische Hochhausarchitektur (die sog. „Stadtmauer“) und die Verschiebung der früheren Stadtachse gerichtet, die den Bürgern von der kommunistischen Regierung verordnet worden sei. Die megalomanischen sozialistischen



28. Dimitar Filipovski: *Mädchen beim Telefonieren (Frajla)*, 2011, Skopje

⁵² MIJALKOVIĆ, URBANEK 2011 (Anm. 10).

⁵³ KOTESKA 2011 (Anm. 7).

⁵⁴ Maciej FALSKI, Continuity and Discontinuity in the Cultural Landscape of Capital City. Paris and Skopje, *Colloquia Humanistica* 2012 (Anm. 17), S. 45–63.

Bauprojekte, welche die ehemalige Provinzstadt in eine Metropole der Zukunft transformieren wollten, hätten nicht die lokale Tradition respektiert. Falski bewertet daher das neue Projekt als Restauration der alten lokalen Stadtidentität eher positiv.

Partisans of the project emphasize that the goal of the project is the restoration of the city's local identity, the rebuilding of the spirit lost as a result of the violent interferences in the coherent urban system after 1963. The residents need, after all, landmarks, specific to their own space and exclusive to it. The process of appropriation is founded upon the creation of safe frameworks for action where the most important thing is a sense of security, of being at home. A particular function is served by buildings that are either monuments or historical buildings, inscribed into the tradition of the city, testifying to continuity. They do not have to have a political dimension and even their real meaning and function does not impact the new network of significations – they simply become symbols of existence, of rootedness, of domesticated space.⁵⁵

Als Falski seinen Aufsatz schrieb, waren die Bauwerke noch nicht im heutigen Ausmaß realisiert. Dennoch erwähnt er auch die Widerstände gegen das Bauprojekt und äußert vor allem Bedenken gegenüber den Entscheidungsträgern, die – wie nach dem Erdbeben 1963 – der Öffentlichkeit das Projekt aufoktroyierten und sie nicht in die Planung miteinbezog.

Nevertheless, the project of rebuilding the center of the Macedonian capital has not met with uniform support. It was accused of anachronism, of attempts to restore buildings with significance that is actually foreign to the Macedonian culture, connected with foreign domination. [...] It may be worthwhile in concluding to affirm once more the role of the state as the most important factor in the capital landscape. It is the bureaucracy of the state, appearing in the role of executor of the national will, deciding on the shape of the image of the city [...]⁵⁶

Obwohl Koterska und Falski zu unterschiedlichen Bewertungen des Projekts gelangen, stimmen sie in einem Punkt überein: Beide sehen in den neuen Aktivitäten die exorzistische Austreibung der sozialistischen Vergangenheit, wie andernorts in Osteuropa, und dies aufgrund einer Direktive „von oben“. Der Historiker Stefan Troebst dagegen reiht Makedonien zusammen mit Bulgarien, Rumänien, Albanien und Montenegro in die Gruppe der osteuropäischen Staaten ein, in denen ein ambivalentes Verhältnis zur kommunistischen Vergangenheit herrscht, also nicht alle Errungenschaften aus kommunistischen Zeiten verworfen werden.⁵⁷ Diese Ambivalenz zeigt sich auch im Umgang mit der kommunistischen Vergangenheit in der Denkmalpolitik in Skopje. Das Paradox liegt vor allem darin, dass die makedonische Regierung einerseits die modernistischen Gebäude der international anerkannten Architekten aus der Tito-Ära verfallen lässt, andererseits

⁵⁵ FALSKI 2012 (Anm. 54), S. 60.

⁵⁶ FALSKI 2012 (Anm. 54), S. 61.

⁵⁷ Stefan TROEBST, „Was für ein Teppich?“ Postkommunistische Erinnerungskulturen in Ost(mittel)europa, *Der Kommunismus im Museum. Formen der Auseinandersetzung in Deutschland und Ostmitteleuropa* (Hrsg. Volkharad Knigge, Ulrich Mühlert), Köln-Weimar-Wien 2005, S. 31–54; vgl. auch *Zwischen Amnesie und Nostalgie. Die Erinnerung an den Kommunismus in Südosteuropa* (Hrsg. Ulf Brunnbauer, Stefan Troebst), Köln-Weimar-Wien 2007.

nicht davor zurückschreckt, im neo-historistischen imperialen Stil evidente Parallelen zur stalinistischen Denkmal- und Architekturgestaltung zuzulassen und diese im Falle des Wachsfiguren-Museums auch offenzulegen. Diese manifestieren sich auch im stilistischen Repertoire der imperial wirkenden, neo-historistischen Bauten, noch stärker jedoch in einigen Skulpturen. Das Reiterstandbild Goce Delčevs (1872–1903) mit ausgestrecktem Arm, ein Werk des Bildhauers Žarko Baševski, erinnert in Pose und Habitus an Stalin-Porträts (Abb. 13). Das Ensemble sitzender und stehender Kämpfer des Antifaschistischen Rates der Volksbefreiung Makedoniens (ASNOM) verkörpert mit seiner expressiven, aber zugleich eingefrorenen Gestik den Habitus sozialistischer Funktionäre derart überzeugend, dass man glaubt, vor einem Werk der 1950er Jahre zu stehen (Abb. 14, 15). Die muskulösen Männer mit entblößten Oberkörpern, Opfer des bewaffneten Konflikts zwischen der albanischen Minderheit und den makedonischen Sicherheitskräften von 2001, scheinen aus Darstellungen sozialistischer Märtyrer-Helden auf den Sockel in Skopje gelangt zu sein (Abb. 16).

Eine Antwort auf die Frage, warum stilistische Ähnlichkeiten mit dem sozialistischen Realismus nicht vermieden wurden, sondern sogar an die Praxis sowjetischer Kunst angeknüpft wurde, liegt nahe, blickt man auf den elaborierten bürokratischen Staatsapparat, auf den sich die durch eine absolute Mehrheit gesicherte Regierung stützt, und auf das multiethnische Staatsgebilde der Ehemaligen Jugoslawischen Republik. In der Erinnerungskultur aller Makedonier, darunter ein Viertel bis ein Drittel Albaner, errichtet die neue Regierung ein großräumiges Imperium. In dieser Strategie der Vereinheitlichung durch imperiale Gedächtnispolitik sind Parallelen sowohl zur kommunistischen Tito-Ära als auch zum sowjetischen Imperium nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Der Historiker Hans Koch hat schon im Jahre 1957 eine „Wahlverwandtschaft Titos mit Stalin“ diagnostiziert, die sich im „renaissanceartigen Gefühl für die Macht in einem national organisierten Großraum“ manifestiere.⁵⁸

Wie der Kaukasier aus Tiflis die zweihundert Nationalitäten Neurusslands und hundert Stämme Zwischeneuropas zu einem eurasischen Reich russischer Nation vom Pazifik bis zum Atlantik zu bündeln träumte, so strebt beharrlich und konsequent der Kroate Altösterreichs zu einem südslawischen Reich serbischer Nation von der Donau bis zur Ägäis, vom Schwarzen Meer bis zur Adria. Aus diesem südslawischen Raumgefühl (in Umkehrung Stalins „sozialistisch“ lediglich nach der Form, aber national nach dem echten Gehalt) trieb er beharrlich seine Politik der balkanischen Integration [...]⁵⁹

Der imperiale als ein nicht-funktionaler, verschwenderischer Stil, den sich imperiale Zentren auf dem Höhepunkt ihrer Macht leisten konnten, sollte Skopje zum Image einer multikulturellen Metropole mit einer langen und vielfältigen Geschichte verhelfen. Der globale Anspruch nach innen wie nach außen wird hier jedoch nur vorgetäuscht. Die Republik Makedonien steckt in einer Wirtschaftskrise und leidet unter hoher Arbeitslosigkeit. Die neuen Bauten wurden nicht durch erfolgreiches Wirtschaften, sondern mit Hilfe von ausländischen Krediten finanziert. Der neu entstandene urbanistische Raum ist nicht auf die Verbesserung der maroden Infrastruktur, auf die „gelebte Stadt“ als sozialen Organismus ausgerichtet, sondern ausschließlich auf ihre repräsentative

⁵⁸ Hans KOCH, A-Stalinismus und Neo-Stalinismus in den europäischen Volksdemokratien, *Osteuropa*, 7/12, 1957, S. 866.

⁵⁹ KOCH 1957 (Anm. 58), S. 866.

Funktion, auf die „erdachte Stadt“, um mit Henri Lefebvre zu sprechen. Nicht auf die Zukunft gerichtete Dynamik und Mobilität stehen beim Umbau im Vordergrund, sondern eine rückwärtsgewandte, statische Utopie.

In seiner Studie über die Architektursemiotik am Übergang von der Avantgarde in den Sozialistischen Realismus, *Die Kultur Zwei (Kultura Dva)*, schreibt der russische Architekt Vladimir Papernyj dem stalinistischen Raum eine große Anzahl anti-avantgardistischer, retrograder Elemente zu: die Betonung der repräsentativen Funktion, das Offenlegen der sozialen Hierarchien, ein imperialer Stil, der sich nach den architektonischen Prototypen der zaristischen Vergangenheit richtet, die Glorifizierung der Helden der Nation und die damit einhergehende Mythologisierung der Gesellschaft.⁶⁰ Dieselben Merkmale treten auch in der gegenwärtigen makedonischen urbanistischen Gestaltung der Hauptstadt hervor.

Der rückwärtsgewandte Charakter der neuen Denkmalpolitik in Skopje könnte somit als Materialisierung jener „restaurativen Nostalgie“ bezeichnet werden, die Svetlana Boym auch andernorts in Osteuropa beobachtet hat.⁶¹ Es handelt sich um eine nationalistische Form der Erinnerungspolitik, die Kontinuität in der Wahrnehmung der Vergangenheit herstellen möchte. Während die „reflektive Nostalgie“ laut Boym das Vergangene als einen unabgeschlossenen Prozess wahrnimmt, das wie die Archäologie nur noch Ruinen aufdecken kann, bemüht sich die „restaurative Nostalgie“ um Rekonstruktion oder Wiederaufbau des Verlorenen. Während die reflektive Nostalgie den unüberwindbaren Spalt in der Zeit wahrnimmt, versucht die restaurative Nostalgie zeitliche Risse zu füllen, Kontinuitäten herzustellen oder sie gar zu erfinden. Während die reflektive Nostalgie eher individuell ausgerichtet ist, ist die restaurative kollektiv, konspirativ und somit mit der nationalen oder nationalistischen Erinnerung gleichzusetzen. Sie setzt rituelle Praktiken symbolischer Natur voraus, mit denen man die Vergangenheit heraufbeschwört. Dieser Unterscheidung kann man ein weiteres Merkmal auf der Ebene der Denkmalpolitik hinzufügen. Während die reflektive Erinnerungshaltung versucht, die Spuren alter Zeiten zu erhalten und zu konservieren, erzeugt die restaurative Erinnerungshaltung Simulakren der Vergangenheit – historistische Neubauten, die gelebte Gegenwart in Vergangenheit transformieren.

Die restaurative Begegnung mit dem Verloren-Vergangenen vergleicht Boym daher mit der Wiederbelebung einer alten Fotografie: „The past for the restorative nostalgic is a value of the present; the past is not a duration but a perfect snapshot. Moreover, the past is not supposed to reveal any signs of decay; it has to be freshly painted in its ‘original image’ and remain eternally young.“⁶² Beim restaurativen Umgang mit der Vergangenheit geht das Moderne, wie Boym herausarbeitet, ein paradoxes Bündnis mit dem Archaischen ein: „the more rapid and sweeping the pace and scale of modernization, the more conservative and unchangeable the new traditions tend to be.“⁶³ Je stärker die Rhetorik der Kontinuität und der Verbundenheit mit der Vergangenheit ist, desto selektiver wird zugleich der Umgang mit Geschichte. Boym zufolge gleiten nationale und nationalistische Gemeinschaften folgerichtig nicht regressiv in eine ferne Vergangenheit, sondern transponieren vielmehr das Vergangene in die Gegenwart, wobei diese Vergangenheit nicht in ihrer epischen Breite, sondern als Patchwork vermeintlich archaischer Erinnerungen rezipiert wird.

⁶⁰ Vladimir PAPERNYJ, *Kul'tura "Dva"*, Ann Arbor 1985; Engl. Vladimir PAPERNY, *Culture Two*, New York 2004.

⁶¹ Svetlana BOYM, *Future of Nostalgia*, New York 2001, S. 49–54.

⁶² BOYM 2001 (Anm. 61), S. 49.

⁶³ BOYM 2001 (Anm. 61), S. 50.

Trotz allen imperialen Glanzes und trotz der multiethnisch konstruierten Geschichte ist „Skopje 2014“ ein nationalistisches Projekt, das sich gegen einen wahrhaft kosmopolitischen Internationalismus richtet. Wenn man sich gegen die Sozialutopie des titoistischen „dritten Weges“ wendet, die in der Urbanistik nach dem Erdbeben 1963 Gestalt annahm, so bleibt man der imperialen Sprache des kommunistischen Totalitarismus doch verbunden.

»Skopje 2014«

Spominski ekscesi v Republiki Makedoniji

Povzetek

Od leta 2010 se v Skopju, glavnem mestu nekdanje jugoslovanske Republike Makedonije, postavljajo novi monumentalni spomeniki, reprezentativne stavbe in muzeji v različnih historističnih slogih. Nastajajo po naročilu od leta 2006 vladajoče nacionalno-konservativne stranke VMRO-DPMNE. Nešteti junaki od antičnih bojevnikov do borcev za samostojnost današnje Republike Makedonije so predstavljeni v kamnu in bronu: Prometej, Aleksander Veliki, njegov oče Filip in mati Olimpija, bizantinski cesar Justinijan I. in bolgarski car Samuel, slovanska apostola Ciril in Metod, njuna učenca sv. Kliment in sv. Naum kot tudi dolga vrsta makedonskih borcev osvobodilnega gibanja od 19. do 21. stoletja. Sedanja makedonska politika spomina komponira vrsto junakov različnih zgodovinskih izvorov, ki predstavljajo dolgo in slavno zgodovino makedonskega naroda v različnih dobah in v okviru različnih imperijev, da bi izpostavila svojo silno uporno moč in navsezadnje idejo o makedonski avtonomiji. Skozi njihovo obujanje tudi v Muzeju makedonskega osvobodilnega boja (VMRO), kjer se hranijo figure iz voska, vlada zbrisuje etnično različnost prebivalstva in predstavlja nacijo skozi (svojo) imperialno vizijo.

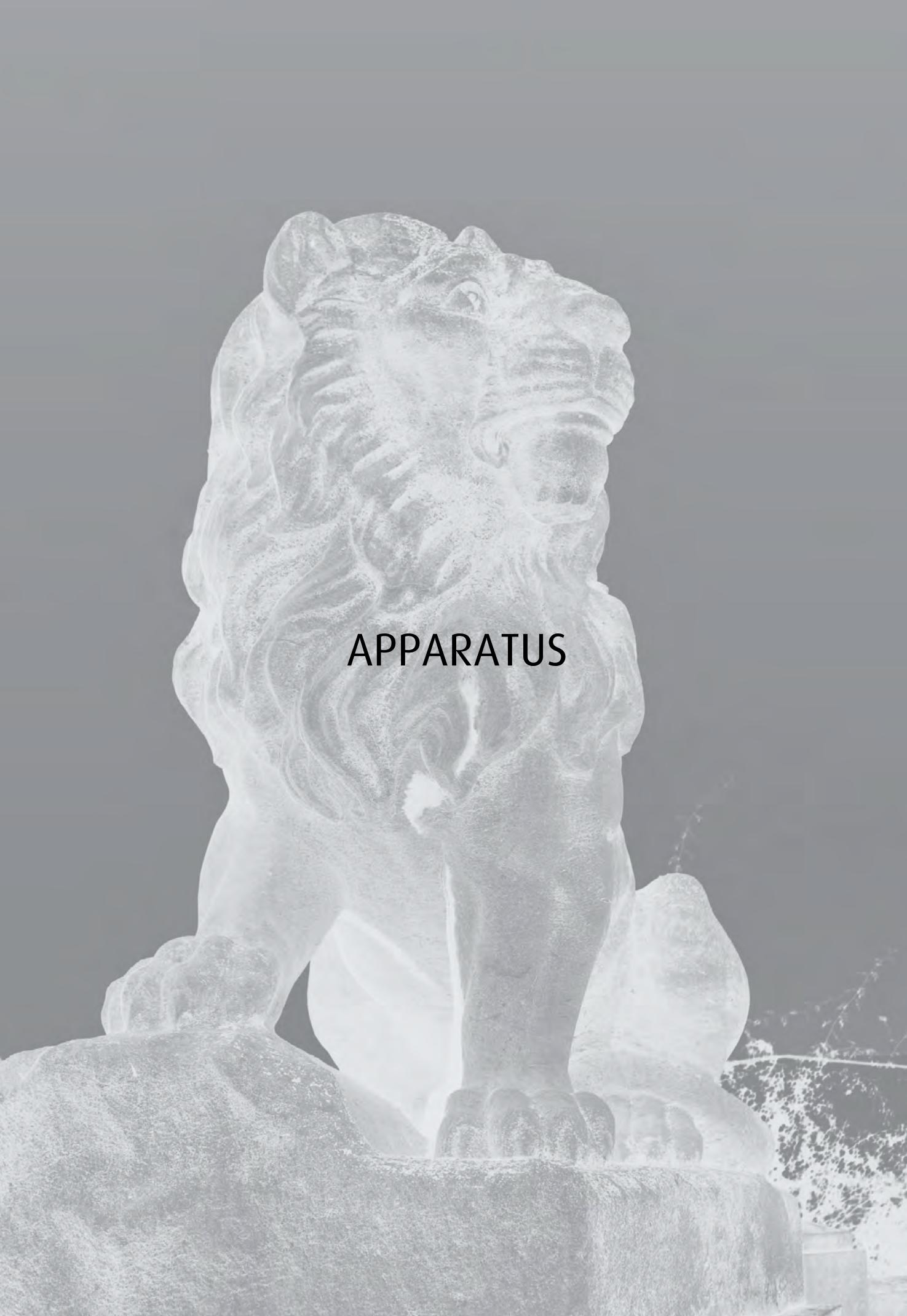
Megalomanski projekt, ki je popolnoma spremenil podobo mesta, je od svoje javne objave leta 2009 sprožil burne razprave, ki trajajo še danes. Predstavlja nevarnost za ozivljanje konfliktov z Grčijo, ki od leta 1991 makedonski republiki otežuje izbiro imena in v letu 2008 vstop Makedonije v NATO. Južna sosedka vidi v novi spomeniški politiki Skopja polaščanje grške zgodovine.

Tako kot spomeniki so bile vzdolž brega reke Vardar v različnih neohistorističnih slogih zgrajene tudi druge nove reprezentativne vladne in upravne stavbe: zunanje ministrstvo, zgradba državnega tožilstva in finančne policije, državni arhiv, ustavno sodišče in novo Staro gledališče. Njim se pridružujejo Arheološki muzej, Muzej makedonskega osvobodilnega boja (VMRO) in prvi Muzej holokavsta v južni Evropi. Vneta gradbena dejavnost briše sledi starejše arhitekturne zgodovine. Novogradnje zastirajo pogled na srednjeveški grad Kale, na stare kamnite mostove in na modernistične zgradbe poznih 60-ih in 70-ih let 20. stoletja, ki so bile po uničujočem potresu leta 1963 zgrajene po načrtih arhitekta internacionalnega ranga Kenza Tange.

Da bi kompenzirali primanjkljaj nacionalne zgodovinske legitimacije, so se kiparji in arhitekti »Skopja 2014« odločili za različne retrospektivne, neohistoristične sloge, ki stare oblike povzemajo dobesedno, brez kančka postmoderne ironije. Kljub temu, da je bil spomin na socialistično Titovo dobo prepuščen pozabi, lahko paradoksalno vzpostavimo številne paralele s socialističnim realizmom in historističnim slogom Stalinovega časa, ki se kažejo v maniri skulptur. Ta fenomen ne zajema le spomenikov, temveč tudi opremo Muzeja makedonskega osvobodilnega boja (VMRO). Skulpture iz voska in monumentalne

slike, ki predočajo slavno makedonsko zgodovino polno žrtev, so delo ukrajinskih in ruskih akademskih umetnikov, ki ustvarjajo v tradiciji socialističnega realizma. Odgovor na vprašanje po vsem tem, zakaj se išče tako očiten naslon na sovjetsko umetnost, najdemo v imperialnih strategijah reprezentacije, v katerih se brez kritičnega vpogleda v zgodovinsko ozadje proslavlja nadnacionalna državna tvorba vladajočega birokratičnega državnega aparata. Makedonska vlada na osnovi absolutne večine ne želi predstavljalni imperialnih prostorskih pretenzij sosednjim državam, ampak, nasprotno, v kulturi spomina vseh Makedoncev, tudi Albancev, razviti idejo o obsežnem imperiju.

Medtem ko na eni strani izginjajo sledi zgodovine mesta vključno z njegovo novo interpretacijo po letu 1963, se zgodovina kot domnevna nacionalna zgodovina vrača v njeni simulakralni oblici. Veliko od zgoraj naštetih junakov nima nikakršne zveze z zgodovino Republike Makedonije. Tako zapušča spomin nivo imaginarnega in vstopa v nivo fikcionalnega, v katerem je tako kot v literarni pripovedi zgrajena koherentna naracija, neodvisna od zgodovinskih virov in sledi. Nova spomeniška krajina ne priča o makedonski zgodovini, ampak nasprotno o daljnosežnem razvoju psevdogodovinske naracije znotraj mestnega prostora. Semiotični vidik prostora prevzema premoč in spreminja center mesta v teatralno kuliso. Kljub celotnemu imperialnemu blišču in multikulturnemu kozmopolitizmu spomenikov gre v resnici vendarle za nacionalistični fenomen, ki je usmerjen proti internacionalizmu, predvsem proti Titovi »neuvrščenosti«.

A large, weathered stone lion statue stands prominently against a dark background. The lion is depicted in a three-quarter view, looking upwards and to its left. Its mane is thick and curly, and its body is robust. It appears to be resting on a low, rectangular pedestal. The stone has a textured, aged appearance with visible grain and some minor damage or discoloration.

APPARATUS

ABSTRACTS AND KEY WORDS IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

Jasmina Čubrilo

Two Monuments by Sreten Stojanović. Continuity in Discontinuity

The sensitive nature of monuments, their dependence on the fluctuating network of social mediators (state, party, media) and in particular their tendency toward historical and political exploitation, has meant that monuments have become objects of disciplining rather than subjects that discipline the memory and stand as material evidence of “continuity in discontinuity”. Here, on the example of two monuments by the same author, Sreten Stojanović – the monument King Peter from 1928, and the monument The Combat from 1949, which originated within two distinct politico-historical contexts and within two different ideological frameworks - we will discuss the dynamics of the culture of memory and the culture of forgetting, in other words, the ways in which cultures, regimes and classes transfer knowledge about the past, use it, reorganize it, but also repress, forget and transform it.

Keywords: Nevesinje, Belgrade, Peter I Karadorđević, Sreten Stojanović, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, post-war Yugoslavia, continuity, collective memory, discontinuity, identity, public monuments

Vuk Dautović

A Monument to Fallen Jewish Soldiers in the Wars Fought between 1912 and 1919 at the Sephardic Cemetery in Belgrade

A decade after the end of the First World War a memorial to Jewish soldiers who took part in the Balkan Wars, as well as in World War I, was built at the Sephardic cemetery in Belgrade. This memorial was designed by the architect Samuel Sumbul and created in Belgrade. The complex monumental and sepulchral entity in question played an important role in creating a lasting memory, among both the Serbian and the Jewish

Jasmina Čubrilo

Dva spomenika Sretnemu Stojanoviću. Kontinuiteta v diskontinuiteti

Zaradi svoje občutljivosti in odvisnosti od spremenljive narave mreže družbenih mediatorjev (država, stranka, mediji) ter še posebej zaradi svoje nagnjenosti k politični izrabi zgodovine spomeniki pogosto postanejo objekti discipliniranja spomina, materialni dokaz »kontinuitete in diskontinuitete«, namesto da bi bili sami neka vrsta subjekta, ki disciplinira spomin. Na primeru dveh spomenikov (spomenik kralju Petru I. Karadorđeviću iz leta 1928 in spomenik Borba iz 1949), ki sta deli Sretnega Stojanovića, nastali v dveh politično-zgodovinskih kontekstih in v dveh različnih ideoloških okvirih, prispevek obravnava dinamiko spominjanja in pozabljanja oziroma načine, s katerimi kultura, režimi in razredi prenašajo znanje o preteklosti, ga uporabljajo in preurejajo pa tudi zatirajo, pozabljamajo in preoblikujejo.

Ključne besede: Nevesinje, Beograd, Peter I.

Karadorđević, Sreten Stojanović, Kraljevina Jugoslavija, povojna Jugoslavija, diskontinuiteta, identiteta, javni spomeniki, kolektivni spomin, kontinuiteta

Vuk Dautović

Spomenik judovskim vojakom, padlim med letoma 1912 in 1919, na sefardskem pokopališču v Beogradu

Na sefardskem judovskem pokopališču v Beogradu je bil leta 1927 postavljen spomenik judovskim vojakom, ki so sodelovali v balkanskih vojnah in prvi svetovni vojni. Spominsko obeležje je oblikoval arhitekt Samuel Sumbul, izdelali so ga v kamnoseški delavnici Josifa Dajča. Namen kompleksne monumentalne nagrobne celote je bil ohranjati spomin na vlogo in sodelovanje Judov, ki so kot lojalni državljeni pomagali osvoboditi

public, and of permanently marking out the role and participation of Jews, as subjects of the Kingdom of Serbia, in the process of liberating the original state and creating the subsequent one. This memorial to Jewish soldiers reflects the ideological and political complexity of relations between the Jewish community and the Serbian state, as well as those between the Jewish community and the subsequently formed Kingdom of SCS (Serbs, Croats and Slovenians), which developed to a point whereby Jews were called Serbs of Moses' Faith, under the Karađorđević dynasty. The building of the monument had the goal of highlighting the role of Jews as patriots who participated in the creation of a nationally heterogeneous state (the one in which the monument was built) and also as loyal subjects of the dynasty under which they fought in this war. This sort of monumental memory legitimized the belonging of the Jewish people to the broader state community through the principle of spilt blood and military merits, taking into consideration, in particular, the centuries old Jewish experience of resisting assimilation and safeguarding personal religious and national identity. Observed from this vantage point, the monument reflects the complex discourses within the framework of which these parallel identities and narratives are visually constituted and expressed.

Keywords: Belgrade, Jews, Samuel Sumbul,
The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, Balkan
Wars, World War I, identity, memory, war memorial

Kraljevino Srbijo in ustvariti njeno naslednico Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev. Spomenik judovskim vojakom odraža ideološko in politično kompleksnost odnosov med judovsko skupnostjo in srbsko državo pa tudi poznejo Kraljevino SHS. Nastal je koncept, po katerem so Jude pod vlado dinastije Karađorđević imenovali Srbe Mojzesove vere. Postavitev spomenika je Jude označila za domoljube, ki so sodelovali pri ustvarjanju nacionalno heterogene države, v kateri je spomenik nastal, pa tudi kot zveste podložnike dinastije, v imenu katere so se borili. Monumentalni spomenik je na podlagi njihove prelite krvi in vojaških zaslug legitimiral pripadnost judovskega ljudstva širši državni skupnosti. Pri tem je bila upoštevana stoletja stara judovska tradicija zavračanja asimilacije in ohranjanja osebne verske ter nacionalne identitete. Spomenik tako odraža kompleksne diskurze, v katerih se te vzporedne identitete in povednosti vizualno konstituirajo in izražajo.

Ključne besede: Beograd, Judje, Samuel Sumbul,
Kraljevina SHS, balkanske vojne, druga svetovna vojna,
identiteta, spomin, vojaško spominsko obeležje

Renata Komić Marn

Men on Horseback. The Role and Reception of the Equestrian Monument in Slovenia

The equestrian monument is a special form of public monument, which represents a rider mounted on a horse. As an efficient medium for glorifying a deserving individual, as well as propagating a state or a nation, it typically represents rulers and military commanders. In Slovenia, such monuments were dedicated exclusively to the Slovene General Rudolf Maister and to Yugoslav kings Peter I and Alexander I Karađorđević. The paper discusses these monuments in order to answer

Renata Komić Marn

Može na konjih. Vloga in recepcija konjeniškega spomenika na Slovenskem

Konjeniški spomenik je tip javnega spomenika, ki predstavlja jezdeca na konju. Kot učinkovito sredstvo poveličevanja zaslужnega posameznika pa tudi širjenja državne oziroma nacionalne propagande je posvečen zlasti vladarjem in vojskovodjem. Na Slovenskem so bili doslej postavljeni le širje takšni spomeniki: poleg jugoslovenskih kraljev Petra I. in Aleksandra I. iz rodbine Karađorđević je bil na tak monumentalen način dvakrat upodobljen tudi slovenski general Rudolf

the question of how the intentions of the project's initiators, which determined the role and function of the monuments, affected their final image. Special attention is paid to the then established idea of erecting an equestrian monument in Slovene public space. Furthermore, the paper attempts to determine what impact this idea had on the form and iconography of the monuments in question.

Keywords: Ljubljana, Aleksander I Karadordević, Peter I Karađorđević, Jakov Brdar, Lojze Dolinar, Rudolf Maister, Jože Plečnik, Boštjan Putrih, equestrian monument, public monuments

Katarina Mohar

“Freedom is a Monument”. The Victory Monument in Murska Sobota – Its Erection, Destiny and Context

In the summer of 1945, a new monument honouring the Soviet soldiers who fell in the town's vicinity during the final operations for the liberation of Prekmurje, was unveiled on Victory Square in the centre of Murska Sobota. The Victory Monument is one of many monuments to the Red Army erected on the liberated territories in the early post-war years, and the only one of its kind in Slovenia. Despite its significance, it has thus far not been the subject of detailed scientific research. The present article deals with its erection, fate and reception in the context of similar monuments to the Soviet army in the former Yugoslavia and the wider (East) European territory, and bases its findings on accessible archival sources, relevant comparative literature, media coverage and a thorough art-historical analysis.

Keywords: Murska Sobota, Jugoslavia, Soviet Union, Red Army monuments, post-war art, public monuments, reception of monuments

Barbara Murovec

The Statue of the Communist Revolutionary Boris Kidrič (1912–1953). Art, Ideology and Ethics in the Public Space

The art-historical analysis of public monuments and their reception, as well as the media propaganda for

Maister. Avtorica skuša na primeru naštetih spomenikov ugotoviti, kako se je namen naročnika, ki opredeljuje vlogo oziroma funkcijo spomenika, odražal na končni podobi javnega spomenika. V članku je pozornost posvečena tudi vprašanju, kako je bila kmalu po prvi svetovni vojni in zlasti na pragu tretjega tisočletja sprejeta ideja o postavitev konjeniškega spomenika v slovenskem javnem prostoru in kako je to vplivalo na ikonografsko in formalno podobo obravnavanih spomenikov.

Ključne besede: Ljubljana, Aleksander I. Karadordević, Peter I. Karađorđević, Jakov Brdar, Lojze Dolinar, Rudolf Maister, Jože Plečnik, Boštjan Putrih, javni spomeniki, konjeniški spomenik

Katarina Mohar

»Svoboda je spomenik«. Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti – nastanek, usoda, kontekst

Poleti 1945 je bil na Trgu zmage v središču Murske Sobote postavljen nov spomenik v čast sovjetskim vojakom, ki so med operacijami za osvoboditev Prekmurja padli v okolici mesta. Spomenik zmage je eden iz množice spomenikov Rdeči armadi, kakršni so v prvih letih po koncu druge svetovne vojne nastajali na osvobojenih območjih, in hkrati edini na območju Slovenije. Kljub svoji pomembnosti soboški spomenik še ni bil predmet temeljite znanstvene obravnave. Pričujoči prispevek na podlagi dostopnih arhivskih virov, relevantne primerjalne literature, objav v periodiki in natančne umetnostnozgodovinske analize osvetljuje nastanek spomenika, njegovo usodo in recepcijo v kontekstu sorodnih spomenikov sovjetski vojski na področju bivše Jugoslavije in v širšem (vzhodno)evropskem prostoru.

Ključne besede: Murska Sobota, Jugoslavija, Sovjetska zveza, spomeniki Rdeči armadi, umetnost po drugi svetovni vojni, javni spomeniki, recepcija spomenikov

Barbara Murovec

Kip slovenskega komunističnega revolucionarja Borisa Kidriča (1912–1953). Umetnost, ideologija in etika v javnem prostoru

Umetnostnozgodovinska analiza javnih spomenikov in njihove recepcije oziroma medijske propagande za

retaining statues of the communist leaders in situ, demonstrate how successful Tito's project of Yugoslavia, with its repressive and propagandistic methods, actually was. The cult of a living personality was reserved for Tito, whereas monuments dedicated to the memory of others were erected posthumously. Among the Slovenian politicians of the post-war Yugoslav period, Edvard Kardelj (1910–1979) and Boris Kidrič (1912–1953) were those most often used in visual and monumental propaganda. In literature, the Kidrič statue on Prešeren Street in Ljubljana was mostly defined as one of the National Liberation War Memorials, although it represents a portrait of a post-war politician. Four years after Kidrič's death, four sculptors were invited to participate in a closed competition to create his statue. The winner of the competition, Zdenko Kalin, made a plaster model of Kidrič's head on a spiral base but for the final version of the sculpture he had to closely follow a photograph. In contrast with other East European states, the visual appearance of Slovenian public space and its monuments has not changed since 1991. Just as with the erection of monuments in a public space to promote the cult of a certain politician, their removal is also a part of historical reality. While in the past the decision to remove a monument was based mostly on political, propaganda and ideological motifs, today these should be replaced by ethical judgements.

Keywords: Ljubljana, Tito, Boris Kalin, Zdenko Kalin, Boris Kidrič, Jože Maček, Drago Tršar, Josip Vidmar, public monuments, post-war sculpture, cult of personality, monumental propaganda

ohranitev kipov komunističnim voditeljem na njihovem prvotnem mestu kaže, kako uspešen je bil s svojimi represivnimi in propagandnimi metodami Titov projekt Jugoslavije. Kult živeče osebnosti je bil pridržan izključno za Tita, drugim osebam so bili spomeniki postavljeni šele po njihovi smrti. Med slovenskimi politiki sta bila največkrat del vizualne in monumentalne propagande Edvard Kardelj (1910–1979) in Boris Kidrič (1912–1953). Kidričev kip ob Prešernovi cesti v Ljubljani je v literaturi praviloma obravnavan med spomeniki NOB, čeprav gre za portret politične osebnosti povojnega časa. Štiri leta po Kidričevi smrti so povabili štiri kiparje k sodelovanju na internem natečaju za postavitev njegovega spomenika. Zmagovalec Zdenko Kalin je za natečaj pripravil mavčni model s Kidričovo portretno glavo na spiralnem nosilcu, v naročenem delu pa je moral natančno slediti fotografiji. Po letu 1991 se v nasprotju z drugimi državami vzhodne Evrope vizualna podoba slovenske javnospomeniške pokrajine skoraj ni spremenila. Tako kot postavljanje spomenikov v javni prostor z namenom, da poveličujejo kult določene politične osebnosti, je del zgodovinske realnosti tudi njihovo odstranjevanje. Medtem ko so v preteklosti o tem odločali predvsem politični, propagandni in ideološki motivi, bi jih morala danes nadomestiti etična presoja.

Ključne besede: Ljubljana, Tito, Boris Kalin, Zdenko Kalin, Boris Kidrič, Jože Maček, Drago Tršar, Josip Vidmar, javni spomeniki, kult osebnosti, monumentalna propaganda, povojno kiparstvo

Damjan Prelovšek *Monuments by the Architect Jože Plečnik*

The architect Jože Plečnik is the most important creator of Slovenian public monuments. As a young architect, he proved his great talent with the draft design for the Gutenberg Monument and with his realised plan of the St. Charles Borromeo Fountain in Vienna. As a friend of the Czechoslovakian president Tomáš G. Masaryk and the main architect at Prague Castle, he made a plan for a memorial obelisk to the fallen legionaries after the First World War. Although his initial idea was not realised, this project greatly influenced his subsequent oeuvre. Plečnik proved his extreme skillfulness in varying classical types of architecture. In his hometown

Damjan Prelovšek *Plečnikovi spomeniki*

Architect Jože Plečnik (1872–1957) je najpomembnejši avtor slovenskih javnih spomenikov. Že kot mlad arhitekt se je na Dunaju izkazal z natečajnim osnutkom za Gutenbergov spomenik in z realizacijo vodnjaka sv. Karla Borromejskega. Po prvi svetovni vojni je kot prijatelj češkoslovaškega predsednika Tomáš G. Masaryka in arhitekt praska grada snoval spominski obelisk padlim legionarjem. Čeprav se mu ga ni posrečilo uresničiti po prvotni zamisli, je ta naloga močno vplivala na njegovo poznejše ustvarjanje. Dokazal je izredno mojstrstvo v variiranju klasičnih arhitekturnih arhetipov. V rojstni Ljubljani pa tudi drugod po Sloveniji je postavil veliko

of Ljubljana, as well as elsewhere across Slovenia, he erected a number of monuments, which in addition to their skilled partitioning and ratios, represent exquisite examples of the harmony between architecture and sculpture. After he was awarded the Prešeren prize, he designed a number of monuments in memory of the Second World War.

Keywords: Lany, Ljubljana, Prague Castle, Vienna, Josef Engelhart, Tomáš G. Masaryk, Jože Plečnik, Othmar Schimkowitz, Stanislav Sucharda, architecture, public monuments, obelisk, sculpture

spomenikov, ki ob dovršeni členitvi in razmerjih predstavljajo tudi vzorčen primer sožitja arhitekture s kiparstvom. Po prejetju Prešernove nagrade leta 1949 je ustvaril tudi veliko vojnih spomenikov.

Tanja Zimmermann

»Skopje 2014«: Excesses of Remembrance in the Republic of Macedonia

Since 2010 monuments, representative buildings and museums in various historicist styles have been erected in Skopje, which were commissioned by the leading national-conservative party VMRO-DPMNE. Numerous stone and bronze heroes, including warriors from the Antiquity and fighters for the independence of the present-day Republic of Macedonia, have populated the town centre. The newly emerged monument cityscape testifies to the excess of remembrance, which has pervaded the pseudo-historical narrative across the capital. For example, the idea of the extensive empire should be reinforced in the memorial culture of all Macedonians, including the Albanians. It is surprising, however, that this idea has also drawn on the Soviet imperial style, while the international, modern architecture by Kenzo Tange, who rebuilt the town after the 1963 earthquake, is left to decay. Despite the imperial lustre and interculturally oriented historical programme, this is a nationalistic phenomenon, which not only sheds light on the national pretensions against the neighbouring states, such as Greece and Bulgaria, but is also oriented against any kind of internationalism – including the Yugoslav non-alignment under Tito.

Key words: Macedonia, Skopje, Alexander the Great, heroes, politics of memory, public monuments, imperial style, Neo-Historicism, Socialistic Realism

Ključne besede: Dunaj, Lany, Ljubljana, Praški grad, Josef Engelhart, Tomáš G. Masaryk, Jože Plečnik, Othmar Schimkowitz, Stanislav Sucharda, arhitektura, kiparstvo, obelisk, spomeniki

Tanja Zimmermann

»Skopje 2014«: Spominski ekscesi v Republiki Makedoniji

Od leta 2010 se v Skopju postavljajo spomeniki, reprezentativne zgradbe in muzeji v različnih historističnih slogih po naročilu vladajoče nacionalno-konservativne stranke VMRO-DPMNE. Nešteto junakov od antičnih bojevnikov do borcev za samostojnost današnje Republike Makedonije danes v kamnu in bronu naseljuje center mesta. Nova spomeniška krajina priča o spominskem ekscesu, ki psevdozgodovinsko naracijo razširja po glavnem mestu. Tako naj bi v spominski kulturi vseh Makedoncev, tudi Albancev, bila vzpostavljena ideja obseženega imperija. Presenetljivo je, da se pri tem navezuje celo na sovjetski imperialni slog, medtem ko istočasno pušča propadati internacionalno, moderno arhitekturo Kenza Tangea, ki je po potresu leta 1963 na novo zgradil mesto. Kljub imperialnemu blišču in multikulturalno naravnemu zgodovinskemu programu gre za nacionalistični fenomen, ki ne le da osvetljuje nacionalne pretenzije nasproti sosednjim državam, kot so Grčija in Bolgarija, temveč je usmerjen proti vsakršnemu internacionalizmu in tudi proti jugoslovanski neuvrščenosti.

Ključne besede: Makedonija, Skopje, Aleksander Veliki, heroji, spomin, javni spomeniki, neohistorizem, socialistični realizem, vladarski slog

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