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# Uvodnik

Pred vami je nov izvod revije Monitor ISH, ki zaključuje njeno petindvajseto leto izhajanja. V tem času je revija prestala mnoge spremembe, še bolj pa sta se v tem pretežno pomilenijskem obdobju spremenila družba in svet. Kljub temu da humanistika kot refleksija najvztrajnejših človeških vprašanj temelji na jasno določenih izvorih in se k njim vedno znova vrača, je tudi sama doživela izjemne pretrese – in ravno te poskuša artikulirati in premisliti pričujoča številka.

Uvodni članek je prispeval *Klaus-Gerd Giesen*, ugledni nemški profesor politične filozofije, ki ob prihajajoči tristoti obletnici Kantovega rojstva predstavlja razmišljanja o nekaterih spregledanih vidikih njegove misli. Immanuel Kant sodi med najpomembnejše mislece sodobnosti tudi zato, ker je med prvimi naslovil danes tako zelo pereče vprašanje odnosa do tujcev in gostoljubja, ki ga je postuliral kot osnovno človekovo etično dolžnost. Brez dvoma pa je tudi njegova filozofija kozmopolitstva v veliki meri zavezana kontekstu, iz katerega izhaja. Giesenov članek tako zavzame kritično stališče in v Kantovi misli prepoznava nekaj točk, ki kljub njenemu hvalevrednemu protikolonialističnemu značaju potrebujejo določeno korekcijo. Drugi članek je prispeval predavatelj politične filozofije na AMEU-ISH *Gašper Pirc*, ki odpira ključna sodobna vprašanja skupnostnih vidikov eksistence z ozirom na vseprisotno digitalizacijo najrazličnejših dimenzij življenja. Članek prepričljivo demonstrira, da prihod novih tehnologij prinaša tudi novost v temeljno strukturo človeške družbenosti, nove tehnologije prinašajo tudi nove načine biti skupaj, s tem pa tudi hermenevtični izziv, kako razumeti nove družbene kontekste. Tretji članek je delo ugledne slovenske antropologinje *Mojce Ramšak,* ki prina-

ša poglobljeno študijo o raznolikih načinih obravnave posmrtnih človeških ostankov. Ta tematika zadeva zelo različne znanstvene discipline, saj je na nek način v samem osrčju človeške kulture kot take, to lahko namreč v bistvenem določimo ravno kot odnos do pokojnih. Ravnanje s posmrtnimi ostanki predstavlja nekakšno merilo duhovnega stanja civilizacije. Avtorica v tem kontekstu predstavlja načine obravnavanja in hranjenja posmrtnih človeških ostankov v slovenskih muzejih in na drugih spominskih mestih, ob tem pa odpira premnoga pomembna etična in pravna vprašanja. Tudi četrti članek temelji na arheoloških znanstvenih pristopih, v njem se je *Anja Hellmuth Kramberger* posvetila vprašanju žensk v prazgodovini. Analiza zelo različnih najdb upodobitev žensk v obdobju od kamene do železne dobe nam daje možnost, da razmislimo o samem konceptu ženskosti, pri tem pa se seveda odpira tudi vprašanje, koliko se je v tem pogledu skozi vsa ta tisočletja spremenilo. O prazgodovinskem obdobju nam pričajo zelo omejene specifične najdbe, iz njih je presenetljivo dobro razvidno, kako so upodabljali in dojemali ženske takrat, za sodobnost pa ostaja odprto vprašanje posamičnih eksistenc, torej, kako izboljšati spoštovanje do žensk in živih bitij na splošno. Naslednji članek je prispevala *Maja Bjelica*, v njem izpostavlja tišino kot tradicionalno zanemarjen modus komunikacije in filozofskega nanašanja na drugost. Tišina je pravzaprav dvojno zanemarjena, v prvi vrsti je zanemarjen že sam čut sluha v primerjavi z vidom, vsa znanstvena filozofska misel namreč temelji na primarnosti vida, pomislimo samo na vse metafore uvida, svetlobe, razsvetljenja itd. Še naknadno pa je tišina zanemarjena kot odsotnost, kot manko zvoka in praznina. Toda kot prepričljivo argumentira avtorica se ravno v tem elementu skrivajo izjemni potenciali za ponoven premislek celotne zahodne miselne konstrukcije, s tem pa možnost za pristnejši odnos do bivanja in bivajočega. Šesti članek prinaša razmislek o sodobni govorici, ki je še zlasti med mla-

dimi v veliki meri pogojena z internetom. Študija, ki sta jo pripravila strokovnjaka s Tetovske Univerze *Enes Ismeti* in *Arta Toçi*, na primeru Kosova obravnava problematiko rabe tujk na socialnih omrežjih. Seveda pa še zdaleč ne gre zgolj za socialna omrežja, predvsem angleške sposojenke so povsem zavladale celotni spletni govorici. Sposojanje tujih izrazov po eni strani seveda bogati jezik in njegove komunikacijske potenciale, po drugi strani pa predvsem nekritična raba in nedodelan vnos omejujeta in kvarita človekove izrazne možnosti. Bogat sklop člankov zaključuje prispevek *Anje Knez* o moči človeškega uma, v katerem nam avtorica predstavi fascinantno razmerje med dušo in telesom, ki je zaposlovalo psihologe od samih začetkov te znanosti. Članek izpostavi nekatere mejne elemente psihosomatskih izrazov, še zlasti se posveča konceptu placeba, lažnega stimulansa, ki proizvede pristen telesni odziv. Ta in drugi podobni primeri nas napeljujejo, da ponovno premislimo tradicionalne formulacije razmerja med dušo in telesom, v končni fazi pa odpira še bolj temeljna vprašanja, ki zadevajo resničnost resničnosti same. Revijo zaključuje recenzija, v kateri se *Mojca Ramšak* posveča znanstvenemu knjižnemu delu dr. Gašperja Pirca, naslovljenem Kritična hermenevtika: Pravno pripoznanje in politična oblast. Ta knjiga prinaša pomembno analizo nekaterih najpomembnejših filozofskih pristopov k pravni in politični misli, z aplikacijo sodobne kritične hermenevtične filozofije na ključna polja pravnopolitičnih diskurzivnih praks pa ponuja izredno dragoceno filozofsko intervencijo, ki se v končni fazi vseskozi zavzema za dialog in družbeno pravičnost.

Na tem mestu je več kot potrebna zahvala vsem sedanjim in preteklim podpornikom in sodelavcem revije, še zlasti tistim anonimnim (predvsem recenzentom), ki zagotavljajo, da revija napreduje in karseda uspešno odgovarja na izzive časa.

Luka Trebežnik

# DRUŽBENO-TEHNOLOŠKI RAZVOJ TER ČLOVEKOVO DOSTOJANSTVO / SOCIO-TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN DIGNITY

KLAUS-GERD GIESEN[1]

# Kant's Anti-Colonialism Based on the Limited Scope of the Individual Right to Hospitality

**Abstract:** Kant's position on the colonial question has mostly been discussed by referring to his conceptions of relationships between collective groupings (states, nations, 'races', peoples). The text argues that his strong anti-colonial stance rather stems from his normative framework – developed in the second half of the 1790s – of a limited scope of the right to hospitality that an individual is intitled to enjoy upon arrival on a foreign territory.

**Keywords:** Kant, colonialism, anti-colonialism, cosmopolitanism, trade, asylum, visit

## Kantov antikolonializem osnovan na omejenem obsegu posameznikove pravice do gostoljubja

**Izvleček:** O Kantovem stališču do kolonialnega vprašanja so večinoma razpravljali s sklicevanjem na njegove koncepcije odnosov med kolektivnimi združenji (državami, narodi, »rasami«, ljudstvi). Prispevek argumentira, da njegova močna protikolonialna drža prej izhaja iz njegovega normativnega okvira – razvitega v drugi polovici 1790-ih – omejenega obsega pravice do gostoljubja, ki jo ima posameznik ob prihodu na tuje ozemlje.

**Ključne besede:** Kant, kolonializem, antikolonializem, kozmopolitizem, trgovina, azil, obisk

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Kant's position on the colonial question has been the subject of debate. While virtually all interpretations agree that it changed perceptibly during the 1790s as the result of a maturing of his thinking (Williams 2014), they differ as to the breadth and depth of the anti-colonial stance adopted, and above all as to its basis. For instance, Inés Valdez suggests that Kant's leading concern at the time of writing was the negative effect of European expansionism and intra-European rivalry over colonial possessions on the possibility of peace in Europe (Valdez 2017; 2019, 23–55). Vicky Spencer argues that it rather stems from Kant's philosophical coupling of nation and state (Spencer 2015), while Pauline Kleingeld believes that his criticism of colonialism is closely related to his changing views on race and racial hierarchy (Kleinfeld 2014). Arthur Ripstein's interpretation refers to Kant's philosophy casting objections to colonialism in purely juridicial terms, focusing on the ways in which it is contrary to requirements of right under his conception of internatonal law (Ripstein 2014).

In this essay I will try to demonstrate that Immanuel Kant's strong anti-colonialism is not, or at least not entirely, a matter of a conception that relates exclusively to collective groupings (state, nation, 'race', people, …), but rather stems from his conception of hospitality towards the individual that he developed from the mid-1790s onwards.

## I. The Individual Right to Hospitality as Antidote to Colonization

According to his biographer Karl Vorländer, it was with his close friend Joseph Green that Immnauel Kant had rather heavy disputes about European colonialism, in their town of residence, Königsberg in Prussia (which is today's Kaliningrad in Russia), especially at the time of the English-American war of 1776–1783 that

led to the independence of the thirteen American colonies from
King George III: Kant passionately defended the decolonization,
while the Englishman Green strongly opposed it (Vorländer 1911,
61–62). It is therefore not surprising that the question of coloni-
alism is at the very heart of Kant's cosmopolitan law *stricto sen-
su*, elaborated in the second half of the 1790's in the third Defini-
tive Article of *Perpetual Peace* and §62 of *Metaphysics of Morals*.
While the first Definitive Article of *Perpetual Peace* and §51 of the
*Doctrine of Law* refer to the constitutional design of the state, em-
phasizing that it should be republican in order to trigger a peace-
ful foreign policy and attitude towards conflict (the axiom of the
so-called 'Democratic Peace'), §§53–61 of the *Doctrine of Law* and
the second Definitive Article of *Perpetual Peace* lay out normative
foundations for relations between states, which include just war
principles as well as the ultimate aim of a worldwide *foedus pacifi-
cum*. Significantly, the topic of colonialism comes into the picture
in §62 of the *Doctrine of Law* and the third Definitive Article of
*Perpetual Peace*, which are both devoted to cosmopolitan law, i.e.,
the relations between domestic *individuals* and foreign peoples
[*Völker*] and their members.

The reason why Kant perceives colonization through the lens
of connections between individuals and peoples, not states, seems
rather obvious: since, by definition, colonies are not independent
states, Kant employs the concept of people. We should, indeed,
not forget that the international system of the second half of the
eighteenth century was limited to a few, mostly European states,
because most geographical areas of the world were either not yet
'discovered' by the Europeans (inner Africa or parts of Oceania)
or else colonized by them. The scope of the second Definitive Ar-
ticle remains hence confined mainly to the relations among Euro-
pean states. Kant understood that the colonial question could not

be handled by setting it within the classical interstate framework or any other theoretical construction referring only to collective groupings. Consequently, the *ius cosmopoliticum* becomes a construction based on individuals and peoples.

As far as modern sovereign states are concerned he develops a complete theory of *foedus pacificum* in *Perpetual Peace* and a theory of just war in *Metaphysics of Morals*: the republican form of government may eventually spread to the entirety of Europe and North America, and later hopefully to the rest of the world. Until it reaches a worldwide extension war will remain, either between non-republican states outside the *foedus pacificum* or between one or several republican states and one or several non-republican countries. For this reason a theory of war is absolutely required as a complement to his peace teleology. Kant adopts the tradition of just war theory to assess ethically the justice of each war.

These theories of progressive pacification and of just war – theories I have detailed elsewhere (Giesen 1999) – apply exclusively to the relations between states. Kant does not recognize the existing political structures of colonized peoples – which he obviously did not much know about – as states in the modern sense, as he believes that what he calls 'the savages [*die Wilden*], because of the lawless freedom they have chosen, […] make up nations [*Völkerschaften*], but not states' (Kant 1797, §53). Indeed, the philosopher (wrongly) assumes that these 'savages' have voluntarily decided not to give up their boundless individual freedom and, thus, to leave their state of nature (*Naturzustand*) in order to enter into a social contract (Kant 1797, §47) which is the foundation act of the state. They remain lawless nations and tribes. Analyzed with the knowledge we have today, such a hierarchization of the peoples of the world is obviously problematic. Surprisingly, Kant builds from it nevertheless a strong anti-colonial stance by underlying

that the interactions between modern (European) states and the 'lawless tribes' call for a different approach than the one outlined in the second Definitive Article of *Perpetual Peace*. Kant's starting point is a single individual – or a few individuals – arriving at a foreign people's territorial border (*Volk*). According to him, a people is, from the point of view of ethics, always sovereign, even if in in positive law and in power politics, the modern state has not (yet) been created. He writes: 'Nature wisely separates peoples, which the will of any state [...] would be to unite by ruse and violence' (Kant 1795, 2nd Supplement: 3). In addition, his idea of the ultimate (ethical) sovereignty being embedded in the people, not in the state, is demonstrated by the fact that the issue is discussed in the first paragraph of the *Doctrine of Law* and in the last Definitive Article of *Perpetual Peace*, both explicitly presented as the final achievements of the two works. For Kant, state sovereignty merely derives from the original sovereignty of the people (Giesen 2018).

Since the earth is a '*globus terraqueus'* that cannot be extended in space, no people has *a priori* more rights than any other to live on any given part of the planet's surface. As there is a 'community of the [earth's] land' (*Gemeinschaft des Bodens*) which, according to Kant, is not a *communio* (community of possession), each people has to respect the others' sovereignty over their lands (Kant 1797, §62). Colonization beginning historically with the 'discovery' of new territories by European peoples – for instance, New Holland (today's Australia) discovered by Thomas Cook during Kant's lifetime – the first step is to clarify whether such a first contact initiated by one or a few *individuals* of one (generally European) people is morally acceptable. The problem is certainly not innocuous, as demonstrated even nowadays by several tribes of the Amazon basin in South America or of the Andaman islands in the Indian ocean, which refuse *any* contact with the so-called civilization.

Kant assumed that it should be legitimate to initiate such a first contact: it is 'the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another [people]' (Kant 1795, 3rd Definitive Article).

However, once the contact is established *between individuals* – as members of different peoples – the situation shifts to another dimension: after they offered their sociability, the individuals can be sent away and further contact can be refused, except if this would lead to their 'fall' (*Untergang*). Kant introduces here the case for political and religious refugees: visitors should be enabled to enjoy the right to stay at least as long as they are still threatened in their home country, subject to the condition that they behave peacefully. In other words, hospitality towards the individual does not guarantee the right to be a permanent guest in all circumstances (*Gastrecht*). In addition to political or religious asylum, it is strictly limited to two other special cases: first, the right of an individual not to be treated perfidiously upon arrival, allowing him or her to *try* to offer his or her sociability (which can thus be refused!); second, the right to trade goods. It definitely is a typical liberal bias of his time: commerce is always beneficial. Kant claims even in the Third Definitive Article: 'In this way distant parts of the world can come into peaceable relations with each other, and these are finally publicly established by law. Thus the human race can gradually be brought closer and closer to a constitution establishing world citizenship.'

For all individual situations that do not fit with the three fundamental, but strictly limited, rights to hospitality (visits, asylum, trade), Kant requires a 'special beneficent agreement' (*besonderer wohltätiger Vertrag*) which has to be arranged between two *equal* parties, defining the precise conditions of residency (*ius incolatus*) (Kant 1797, §62). In the absence of such an agreement the residency of an individual foreigner is, morally speaking, not ac-

ceptable. It becomes an injustice toward the local people if a *state* organizes the massive *accolatus* of its individual citizens on the territory of a foreign people without the consent of the latter. Kant strongly criticizes the colonizing practices of European states of his time: he underlines almost with rage 'the inhospitable actions of the civilized and especially of the commercial states of our part of the world. The injustice which they show to lands and peoples they visit (which is equivalent to conquering them) is carried by them to terrifying lengths.' (Kant 1797, 3rd Definitive Article) The judgment is rather obvious: colonization is a violent abuse of the three individual rights to hospitality, and is therefore a grave infringement. Kant clearly takes the side of the oppressed, colonized peoples against the European imperialists. However, unlike the few philosophers who took an anti-colonial stance before him (Las Casas, Vitoria, etc.) he does it on the ultimate ground of a concept of hospitality towards the individual.

## II. Empirical exemplifications used by Kant

At this point of Kant's argumentation several empirical examples come into the picture. In addition to denouncing the 'most cruel slavery' taking place in the Caribbean, Kant almost flies into verbal rage when he evokes the many colonial injustices as a consequence of the European 'discovery' of 'lands without owners, for they counted the inhabitants as nothing' (Kant 1795, 3rd Definitive Article). In particular, the case of East India (Hindustan) strikes him as a flagrant offense to hospitality granted to individual Europeans: 'under the pretense of establishing economic undertakings, they brought in foreign soldiers and used them to oppress the natives, excited widespread wars among the various states, spread famine, rebellion, perfidy, and the whole litany of evils which afflict mankind.' (Kant 1795, 3rd Definitive Article)

Kant seemed very well informed about the fact that after the collapse of the Mogul empire several French and English trading posts were established on the East Indian coast in the early nineteenth century (Pondichéry, Yauaoun, Karikai, and Chandernagore by France, and Madras and Calcutta by England), either by the *Compagnie française des Indes orientales*, founded by Colbert, or by the British East India Company. They were to become rival colonial territories (in addition to Dutch occupied Ceylon). Both European countries, France and England, were striving for predominance on the Indian subcontinent, and finally heavily clashed in a major war in 1757. With the victory on the battlefield of Plassey near Calcutta, Great Britain gained over France the exclusivity of colonial rule in East India. France kept only the trading post in Pondichéry (Marshall 1988, chapter 3). The war was entirely imported from Europe, and the Indian population suffered a lot from it, as Kant correctly points out. He was on the side neither of the British nor of the French, but instead indirectly supported the Indian peoples, notably the Maratha Confederacy.

Kant's anger against European colonialism, perceived as being opposed to a liberal world system based on free and peaceful trade among individuals, is not less present when he examines the situation in China and Japan. Both seem to him nations and states. Thus, the Second Definitive Article applies, but also the Third, as far as the individual right to visit is concerned. He observes that both countries already had some experiences with European colonial powers and were able to draw inferences from these which can be generalized for all colonial politics:

> China and Japan (Nippon), who have had experience with such [individual] guests, have wisely refused them entry, the former permitting their approach to their shores but not their entry, while the

*latter permit this approach to only one European people, the Dutch, but treat them like prisoners, not allowing them any communication with the inhabitants.* (Kant 1795, 3rd Definitive Article).

In *Metaphysics of Morals*, Kant also mentions the special case of New Holland (Australia), recently discovered and used as a deportation camp for prisoners expelled from England. Kant states that even the good intention to purify the home country of bad individuals does not justify the injustice of employing colonial means to achieve it through 'exporting' these individuals (Kant 1797, §62).

He deliberately uses the concept of individual guest to refer to the European presence in China and Japan. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in Canton (Guangzhou), establishing a monopoly on the external trade out of its harbor by 1511. In 1535, Portuguese traders were allowed to anchor ships in nearby Macau's harbor and were granted the right to carry out trading activities, though not to stay onshore. Not until 1557 did the Portuguese establish a permanent settlement in Macau. China retained sovereignty and Chinese residents were subject to Chinese law, but the territory was under Portuguese administration. In 1582 a land lease contract was signed, and annual rent was paid.

Despite Chinese efforts to keep European traders and citizens within the area of Macau, European trade spread in the sixteenth century throughout China and threatened virtually to take over the country (just as in India). The so-called 'Canton System' finally limited the number of ports where individual European traders could do business in China. It also prohibited any direct trading between European merchants and Chinese civilians. Instead, the Europeans, generally employees of the major trading companies, had to commerce with an association of Chinese merchants known as the *Cohong*. The European presence was restricted to the harbor of Canton

during the trading season, but the foreign traders were permitted to remain on Chinese soil at Macau in the off-season (Dermigny 1964).

Kant seems to have known this situation perfectly and taken it as a model for his normative theory of cosmopolitan hospitality towards the individual, as well as the special case of Dejima (Dutch: Deshima) under the isolationist *sakoku* ('closed country') policy during the Edo period in Japan. The artificial island Dejima, constructed in 1634 following the orders of shogun Iemitsu, originally accommodated Portuguese merchants. Four years later the Portuguese and other Catholic nations were expelled from Japan, but not the Dutch *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (*VOC*). However, the shogunate ordered the Dutch to transfer all its trading operations to Dejima in 1641. From then on, only the Chinese and the Dutch could trade with Japan. It is noteworthy that Dejima was an artificial island, and hence not part of Japan proper. Thus, the individual foreigners were kept at distance from the soil of Japan. Dejima was a very small island, 120 by 75 meters, linked to the mainland by a small, guarded bridge. The trade monopoly with Japan was very profitable for the *VOC*, initially yielding profits of 50% or more. After its bankruptcy in 1795 (the year Kant published *Perpetual Peace*), the Dutch government took over the settlement. For two hundred years, the Dutch merchants were not allowed to enter Japanese territory, and Japanese citizen were likewise banned from entering Dejima (Boxer 1968).

While for the philosopher of Königsberg Macau and Dejima remained a model to preserve both the local peoples' sovereignty and the Portuguese and Dutch right to trade and to offer their sociability to the Chinese and Japanese, Dutch imperialism in Formosa (Taiwan) was the counter-example of a mutually beneficent agreement between the intruders and the local people. The period of Dutch colonial government on Formosa lasted from

1624 to 1662. The *VOC* established a base on Formosa in order to trade with China and Japan, and to block as much as possible Portuguese and Spanish trade and colonial activities in East Asia. Indeed, at the beginning of the seventeenth century the forces of Catholic Spain and Portugal were in opposition to those of Protestant Holland and England, often resulting in open warfare in their colonial possessions. The Dutch first tried to trade with China in 1601, but were rejected by the Chinese authorities, who were already trading with the Portuguese in Macau. They then built Fort Zeelandia, a fortress on Formosa. On the Southern coast of the Formosa island more and more villages came under Dutch colonial domination, mainly through military action. However, the north of the island was since 1626 under Spanish control. In 1642, the Dutch sent an expedition of soldiers and aboriginal warriors there in ships, managing to drive out the small Spanish contingent from Formosa. From then on the Governor, the head of the colonial government, was enabled to legislate, to collect taxes, to wage war or to declare peace on behalf of the *VOC*, and thus by extension of the Dutch state (Chiu 2008). In 1661, a naval fleet of 1000 Chinese warships attacked Formosa in order to oust the Dutch from Fort Zeelandia. Following a nine-month siege, the Dutch were defeated and the colonial system brought to an end.

Macau and Dejima were the two positive empirical examples, Formosa and Hindustan the two negative ones, that Kant *explicitly* refers to when devising, in 1795, in the Third Definitive Article of *Perpetual Peace* his cosmopolitan law based on the right to hospitality. It is true, however, that after Kant's death in 1804 the whole situation completely changed, notably with the first opium war and the British occupation of Hong Kong in 1841, transforming the complex relationships between the Europeans and Asians into a colonial nightmare.

## III. Kant's Universalism and the Massive Abuse of Individual Rights

Presumably, the abuse of hospitality in East India and Formosa by the French, British, and Dutch, contrary to its respect at Macau and Dejima by the Portuguese and the Dutch, led Kant to distinguish between the three *individual* rights to hospitality (visits, asylum, trade) and colonial behaviour which is intolerable. The latter must be strongly opposed on the ground of the deliberately very limited scope of these individual rights to hospitality. Kant believed that colonialism is such a strong and state organized abuse that he felt even obliged to add in the Third Definitive Article of *Perpetual Peace*: '[...] the narrower or wider community of the peoples of the earth has developed so far that *a violation of rights in one place is felt throughout the world*' (my emphasis). This often quoted sentence about the world community and the violation of rights in another part of the world, very much highlighted nowadays in all discussions about international public opinion and the universality of human rights, hence stems directly from Kant's empirical analysis of European colonialism. It takes the form of a justification: *because* a world community of peoples exists, a serious violation of rights by one people or state is an attack against all other peoples and as such must be denounced and countered by them.

Kant goes even one step further by stating that the idea of cosmopolitan law 'is a supplement to the unwritten code of the civil and international law, indispensable for the maintenance of the public human rights and hence also of perpetual peace.' (Kant 1795, 3rd Definitive Article) He makes clear that the colonial abuse of the individual right to hospitality is considered to be a violation of universal human rights, these being themselves a precondition of perpetual peace. No durable peace can be established without

respecting basic human rights. Colonialism is a major obstacle to perpetual peace.

At this point one issue remains. Is this form of universalism not a naturalistic fallacy? Does Kant not deduce the universal norm from a fact (i.e., from the existence of an international public opinion)? The answer to this question is actually easy to provide: Kant certainly distinguishes between, on the one hand the *universality* of the human rights norm, based on the categorical imperative, and on the other the fact-driven possible *universality* of the feeling of its violation. Were the latter not to exist, for instance because of an insufficient world-wide communication system, the human rights violation itself would nevertheless still subsist; it would just not be known elsewhere. Therefore, the very existence of the world community of peoples through means of communication is a mere *additional* and factual precondition for the establishment of perpetual peace. Kant himself characterizes it as a 'complement'. To him it is a moral duty to denounce colonialism as an extreme abuse of the individual right to hospitality in very special circumstances (visit, trade, asylum) – whenever and wherever it may happen in the world.

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# The Normativity of (Digital) Sociality: The Rise of Virtual Societies and the Question of Human Distinctiveness in the Changed World

**Abstract:** In the paper, I investigate the proposition that mutuality is something that coexists with or even precedes human individuation as it can be questioned at the advent of virtualized societies. By critically assessing the fundamental (social) ontology of Jean-Luc Nancy that regards human sociality as fundamental to any human development and provides ontological grounding for his philosophy of mutual bond. Nevertheless, I am also wary of the potential problems due to the normative lack of ontological assessment of mutuality, especially in the light of changes during the time of ever-faster digitalization and the rise of virtual societies.

To better assess both the question of sociality as a key feature of human development and the normative potential in it, I both offer additional theories of mutual bond and expound upon the prospect of yet unrealized metaverse – a virtual society that is being predicted and actively worked on in recent years – that may have the potential to change the way we understand what the premises of human sociality are and how the development of technology may transform the way we see what distinctive features of human existence are.

**Keywords:** social philosophy, Nancy, Cavell, Tomasello, metaverse, virtual reality

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## Normativnost (digitalne) družbenosti: vzpon virtualnih družb in vprašanje človeške specifičnosti v spremenjenem svetu

**Izvleček:** V članku raziskujem tezo, da je vzajemnost nekaj, kar obstaja sočasno s človeško individuacijo ali jo celo preddoloča, in jo preizprašujem v razmerju do pojava virtualiziranih družb. S kritičnim pregledom fundamentalne (družbene) ontologije Jean-Luca Nancyja, ki obravnava človeško družbenost kot temelj vsakršnega človekovega razvoja in zagotavlja ontološko podlago za njegovo filozofijo medsebojne vezi. Kljub pomembnemu doprinosu njegove filozofije opozarjam na potencialen problem normativnega manka pri Nancyjevem ontološkem videnju vzajemnosti, predvsem v luči sprememb v času vse hitrejše digitalizacije in rojstva virtualnih družb.

Za boljša odgovora tako na vprašanja človekove družbenosti, ki nastopa kot bistvena poteza človeškega razvoja, kot normativnega potenciala, ki jo družbenost nosi, v nadaljevanju raziskujem dodatne teorije družbenosti in medsebojne vezi ter le-te povezujem z idejo metaverzuma – virtualne družbe, ki se vse bolj napoveduje in je bila v minulih letih deležna aktivnega razvoja – za katero se zdi, da bi lahko nosila potencial za spremembo pogleda na to, kako podajamo premise človeške družbenosti, in kako lahko razvoj tehnologije spremeni tendence človeškega razvoja.

**Ključne besede:** socialna filozofija, Nancy, Cavell, Tomasselo, metaverzum, virtualna resničnost

# I

In recent years, virtual phenomena have become ubiquitous. With the recent advancements, the evolution of Turing machines-based computing toward self-learning artificial intelligence and Neural Turing machines seems to have been chartered.[2]

In the state of progressive evolution toward effective virtual reality supporting (societal and ethical-legal) structures need to be seen co-developing along with the technical advancement of systems, including blockchain, virtual currencies, and regional legal subsystems. The new technologies bring along (mostly already mentioned) pressing issues that concern the development of human capacities in isolation from physical contact, the questions of virtual voting and 'directified' democracy, the loss of jobs, and the effect of AI on social dynamics, the moral assessment of AI-based agents and the elements of society, and the expansion of legal norms to accommodate the new social and political situation. All these issues might necessitate the development of a social program that intends to directly concern normative justification for the ethical and social norms that encompass the activity of an AI-assisted future.

As the dynamics and the reproduction of the social world are ever more reliant upon AI-based systems (e.g., programs, networks, or stand-alone machines), the challenges that we face in this era necessitate the renewed reflection upon the normative expectations in society and their justifications.

In those settings, it is necessary to recognize the highly subversive character of virtual worlds including the predicted metaverse

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[2] Consider Graves, Wayne, and Danihelka 2014: the neural Turing Machines represent the extension of the capabilities of neural networks that can allow for the end-to-end differentiation of the system due to which they can be optimized with gradient descent.

that may help us understand the sociality at the core of human value horizon and identity formation.

In the attempts to uncover the fundamental sociality behind the new virtual playgrounds, we will however need to recourse to the (hermeneutic) philosophy that attempted to uncover the fundaments of human existence in its fateful sociality and place at the core of human distinctiveness. The research will however also be informed by the recent developments regarding the way humans attempt interaction and socialization. Especially during and after obligated distanciation during the COVID-19 pandemic in the years 2020–2021, we witnessed a global utilization of digital tools the development of which expedited the already long-term process of digitalization. Alongside the development of artificial intelligence, there has been a simultaneous development of virtual and augmented reality systems all of which made the yet unrealized idea of a fully-fledged metaverse – a virtual society that is set to extend society in the physical world – seemingly possible.

Such a digital society has the potential to profoundly change our everyday and the way we attempt (human) interaction. However, could it also transform the way we consider what is distinctly human?

## II

In his 1966 treatise *Negative Dialectics*, Theodor W. Adorno wrote that 'even to imagine a transcendental subject without society, without the individuals whom it integrates for good or ill, is just as impossible' (Adorno 2004, 199–200). There seems to be no doubt that human sociality does not only possess normative, but also epistemological qualities. According to some recent research in developmental psychology, children learn human-specific capabilities while they become socialized and participate in communal intention-sharing activities in early childhood. Going further, it

may be possible to state that mutuality (or sociality) is something that precedes human subjectiveness and is formative for the development of distinctively human features. However, it is seemingly difficult to answer whether a fundamental mutual bond already possesses distinctive normative qualities or whether normativity is secondary to the primordial state of sociality due to which humans exhibit 'unsocial sociability' (Kant 1991, 44).

The reflection upon the significance of the structure of community as a fundamental concept in the understanding of social existence is not only bound to the practical-philosophical discussions in social, political, and moral philosophy but may also feature in a key role as the topography of the ontology of a social world.[3] Avoiding the extremes of the liberal conception of a community as the conglomeration of (self-) conscious individuals, and the communitarian model building upon the primacy of the common good and the substantial ethical values, Jean-Luc Nancy thus charted ontology, founded upon the idea of *singular plural* being, where the existence of a particular being is preceded by the co-existence with the others and therefore characterized by the primordial *togetherness* which is neither a normative claim nor a reference to the specific, substantial community (Nancy 2000, 28–47).

In *La communauté désoeuvrée*, published in 1983, Nancy deconstructed the attempts of the project of Western metaphysics to assess the state of origin of society and decried the obsessive

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[3] It needs to be immediately noted that Nancy's ontological philosophy of the singular plural Being should not be understood as a kind of second-level *ontology of the society* that would appear as a 'regional ontology' in Heidegger's sense of the term. As he demonstratively states, his intention is to provide 'an ontology which is not "ontology of society" in the sense of a "regional ontology," but ontology itself as a "sociality" or an "association" more originary than all "society," more originary than "individuality" and every "essence of Being."' (Nancy 2000, 37–38)

attempts of the Western political and social thought to recover the grasp upon the original, genuine community, featuring as a paramount representation of the social; instead, he would advocate for the understanding of the communal existence in a more rudimentary, de-substantivized manner: a community is the primordial *locus* of the unconcealment of the finite existence of its members that precedes its individualization and can be presented in terms of singularity, irreducibility, and relationality (Nancy 1991, 1–16).[4]

In a further elaboration of his ontology, Nancy turns to Heidegger's understanding of the existence of a being as a being-there [*Dasein*] which is always already thrown into the world; yet rather than to dwell on the authentic experience of a singular *Dasein*, he emphasizes *being with* [*Mitsein*] as a fundamental trait of existence. In other words, the Being of a being is not primarily characterized with care for her own existence, which is only subsequently regarded as coexistence with the others; rather, the Being is fundamentally being with-one-another: '[l]et us take up the matter again, then, not beginning from the Being of being and proceeding to being itself being with-one-another [étant *l'un-avec-l'autre*], but start-

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[4] See also Elliott 2009, 898–900. For Nancy, Heidegger retains an ambiguous persona: on one hand, his philosophical work is a key resource for the post-metaphysical reflection upon the structure of existence and, by recognizing 'that being-with (*Mitsein, Miteinandersein, and Mitdasein*) is essential to the constitution of Dasein itself' (Nancy 2000, 26), inaugurates the possibility to think of codependency and community in a non-substantive, existentially concerned manner; on the other hand, Nancy does not refuse to condemn Heidegger's political affiliation and what could be as the glorification of the genuine community seen as a transgression against his own philosophy. Thus, while he recognizes the importance of Heidegger's fundamental ontology for starting a new era of philosophical thinking, he is vocal in his denunciation of the author's moral and political endeavor (see e.g. his lengthy commentary on the publication of the *Black Books* and the confirmation of Heidegger's anti-Semitism in Jean-Luc Nancy 2017).

ing from being-and all of being-determined in its Being as being with-one-another.' (Nancy 2000, 32) Being is *singular plural*: the singularity of each is coessential with the plurality of many. The crucial insight for the following discussion lies in the acknowledgment that an individual is not first and foremost an autonomous subject that would only later enter the domain of intersubjective relationships – before the particular identity of a person could be constructed one already exists as a being-in a world *with* the others.[5]

The particular merit of Nancy's refiguration of Heidegger's fundamental ontology in the social and political dimensions lies in the ontological prioritization of the mode of being-with, which, by emphasizing the *with* as the originary trait of the shared space and time, enables the understanding of a human as a being that is fundamentally determined by the primordial interdependency with others, or, more specifically, by the ontological disposition *with* as an existential given that is not founded on the basis of the rational construction or the *telos* of the solidary political community. Despite that such an ontological approach to the question of the *fateful* co-existence of human beings contributes valuable insights regarding the topic of the present discussion, the role of Nancy's philosophy for the present paper is however somewhat limited due to the two divisive features.

Firstly, while Nancy accentuates the *with* to be the foundational preposition of human existence and thus underlines one's essential codependency with another, he shies away from imputing such a constitutive co-existentiality with a possibility of exerting

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[5] As Nancy warns, such a conception of the *with* cannot be easily translated into more familiar terms like 'relation' or 'bond', especially when these are thought as retroactive determinations of the pre-existing relata. On the other hand, the *with* is contemporaneous with the 'terms upon which it relies'; better yet, 'it is, in fact, their contemporaneity.' (Nancy 2000, 34–35)

moral or political directives that would be resounding enough to provide the resources for the opposition against the detrimental effects of power and ideology and be able to discern the normative standards that could help to orient collective political action.[6] Given Nancy's deconstructivist and ontological approach and his hermeneutic and post-structuralist philosophical background, such a concern could appear misguided and be accused of an undesirable teleological motive. In light of this, we must take a glance at Nancy's understanding of the correlation between the ontological and the ethical. Nancy believes that ontology *needs* to point to ethics, which can only be exposed on a horizon of ontology. In a way, ontology and ethics are two sides of the same coin, even though it is only the ontological disposition of the Being that opens the possibility of meaningful ethics as such.[7] Nancy urges us to think of a community in a different, more fundamental way; still, since his notion of community is stripped of its core of substantial values and restated in terms of irreducibility and transcendence, and his philosophy leads to the specific depotentiation of the political, the concrete principles, guiding social action towards the engaged politics that spurred Nancy's undertaking of the problem of community in the first place, are normatively impoverished in the face of the dangers associated with immanent self-representation of a community.[8] For Nancy, relationality that precedes the existence of singular beings and their differentiation is a non-discriminating

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[6] See e.g. Elliott 2009, 902; Nancy 2000.

[7] Nancy 2000, 21, 99. Nancy later develops the ethical implications of Heidegger's fundamental ontology in a more engaged manner in *L' 'éthique originaire' de Heidegger* (2001).

[8] Compare with Critchley's (1999, 214–219) critique of 'the reduction of *la politique* to *le politique*', the disavowal of the empirical, contingent, and conflictual field of politics in Nancy's and Lacoue-Labarthe's deconstruction of the political in light of the danger of totalitarianism.

'realm of the plurality of origins' (Nancy 2000, 82) that conditions every aspect of human *praxis*. As such, it is an ontological constant, and while this insight is highly important, *pro tanto* that the research aims to discern the possible normative advantages of a mutual relationship we will need to look at the alternative philosophical sources.

The second, perhaps even more important drawback for the aims of the present paper lies in an inadequate acknowledgment of the rich field of particular inclinations and actions of a singular being that one could recognize as being fully his own and consequently take the appropriate responsibility towards the potentially suffering other. As we have seen, for Nancy the alterity is an irreducible trait of a community and the possibility of an individual of being own to oneself hinges on the acknowledgment of the primordial relationality. Surely, I do not claim that Nancy does not consider the possibility of human individuality as such – after all, he maintains that to exist means to dwell in a singular *and* plural coexistence, being both unique to himself and, in one's very singularity, equal to the others. However, while his critique of the idea of a self-enclosed, non-differentiated subject that would maintain a stable identity in isolation from the community is well-founded, the lack of focus on the development of the authentic ethical selfhood of the individual correlates with the insufficient representation of the ethics of a mutual relationship. For even if the Being of a being is irreducibly singular-plural, if even in one's own relation to her own death the *with* continues to ceaselessly partake in the ordeal (Nancy 2000, 90–91), the possibility of the experience of a genuine singularity of a human being still entails the important normative considerations that necessitate a further elaboration upon the development of one's ethical selfhood and individual moral persona.

Since in Nancy's analyses of the social and the political, the investigation of the perspectives of relationality is mostly reduced to the purely conceptual representation of the objective qualities of the social relations, alterity, and difference, the particularity of the other as the empirical human being with unique characteristics and concerns does not lead to a renewed conceptualization of the constitutive social bond. In epistemological terms, Nancy's perception of the irreducible, structural relationality of beings has a definite moral-sociological advantage over the constructivist theories of selfhood and society due to the specific *prohibition* of representing a human being in terms of a self-sufficient, disinterested monad. We might wonder, however, does such a view adequately represents the psychological and normative considerations of interpersonal codependency? Could it not be so that, in Levinisian terms, the *fully* authentic relationship towards the other originates in the *response* from distance to the appeal of the radically asymmetrical other?[9] A productive primary relationship with the other may not only encompass the disclosure of an originary structure of co-existentiality but can also be regarded as an ever-singular ethical event that requires us to decide and take action upon the calling of the other. The key to this possibility is a notion of a fully

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[9] However, Levinas' ethics nevertheless remains somewhat susceptible to the (only superficially similar) charge of insufficient representation of the full extent of the singular responsibility of a human being and the normativity of a mutual bond. It is also worthwhile to note Nancy's own critique of Levinas' ethics as the first philosophy and his conceptualization of alterity for failing to recognize the fundamentally shattered nature of Being that is plural even before being unified and at-itself (see e.g. his take on the Levinas conception of love in Nancy 2003, 269–270). This problem will be raised again later; here, it is important to note that the fragmentation of the self may not necessarily lead to the impossibility of registering a distinct moral distance towards the other.

recognized individual that not only *exists* as a singular human be-
ing in the plurality of the many, but also decides on and *attributes*
normative qualities to the relationships in which he inheres.[10] Re-
vising the premises of Heidegger's fundamental ontology, Nancy
might rightfully protest that the Being is fundamentally fragment-
ed and that even the (radically) singular factical being cannot be
thought in terms of a subject, *conceptually* fully differentiated from
the world he inhabits and the primordial relationality with the oth-
ers; still, since in his ontological vision the alterity remains to be
predominantly thought in the purview of plurality (being unique
*due to* being singular) rather than singularity (being unique *in
spite of* being equal as *species*), his philosophy may not be able to
do the full justice to the issue of the individual ethical motivation
for the practical engagement with the others and the emergence of
a singular ethical responsibility that accompanies one's authentic
relationship towards the another.

While remaining valuable, there is thus an ambiguity at the of
core Nancy's contribution to the question of the normative and
epistemological status of mutuality. In a tendency to avoid Heide-
gger's prioritization of an authentic individual and the problem-
atic promotion of an *immanent,* original community he may have
been too radical: on one hand, Nancy's idea of community that is
de-substantialized and disconnected from teleology, rooted in the
self-presence and the claims to originality, and which at the same
time refuses to follow the steps of the modern conception of the
society of self-enclosed individuals, where the notion of commu-

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[10] Which does not necessitate the preceding (psychological) unity and
self-identity of an *ego*; in fact, I adhere to the view that the structural in-
tegrity of the self is fundamentally impaired by the ever-present potential
of fragmentation. The above notion does, however, imply a requirement
of possessing a certain *moral* autonomy as the basis of ethical judgment.

nity is normatively stripped to the bare particulars, offers a high-
ly original and important take on the nature of the social world;
however, due to its generality and inclusivity it is susceptible to
be less relevant in the discussions on the normative transforma-
tions of the actual societies and in the reflection upon the possible
existence of internal resources in society that would provide the
resistance against the more complex or dissimulated instances of
injustice.[11] On the side of the question of selfhood, his ontologi-
cal representation of an individual in society, based upon the idea
of the singular plurality of the Being, marks an important turn in
understanding of the social by emphasizing a fundamental and
irreducible co-existentiality of beings but may not cover enough
ground to sufficiently explain the process, leading to responsible
ethical choices of the authentic individual in terms of the theory
of action, and envision a full normative uptake of the social bond.
*Mit-dasein* nevertheless remains *Dasein* as well: the decision that
I make about reaching out to help is *my* decision; the hand that
reaches towards the other is *my* hand. None of this is alien to Nan-
cy's philosophy yet we might need additional analyses that would
incorporate a thorough investigation of individual agency in not

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[11] One might be tempted to say that – much like in his discussion about
the political – the strength of Nancy's philosophy of co-existence lies in
its opening of new horizons for the *understanding* of human relationality
but offers less in the manner of the instructions for *acting* differently.
This classical charge against deconstructivist or hermeneutical philoso-
phy may be somewhat disingenuous, however, and might misrepresent
its aspirations and understate the extent to which it contributes to the
enhanced recognition and representation of the existential, political, and
moral issues in contemporary society. Nonetheless, that is not to say that
there are no certain limitations to these approaches along with the in-
ternal impediments to the greater resonance of moral issues that can be
especially problematic in times of greater global challenges.

only recognizing but also maintaining and reflecting upon healthy personal relations and the possibility of self-development in mutual recognition with the other. While being together may be our fateful destiny, Nancy's ontology might have come too close to an ascription of a kind of *mythic* quality to the notion of mutuality to be ethically conclusive.[12]

The criticism of normative relativity of Nancy's conception of primordial mutuality should be read in acknowledgment of a possible cognition-enabling content of normative claims, and the dangers of asymmetric power distribution and its effects which can be even more problematic in the time of virtual societies.

## III

Instead of following the premises of fundamental ontology, we may perhaps follow a different take on the question of the fundamentality of the human bond. It may be worth reflecting upon the relation between the *acknowledgment* and the general ability to

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[12] Here, a short intervention may be worthwhile: *originary ethics*, devised in different forms by authors such as Nancy, Levinas, or Cavell and influenced, among others, by the philosophical work of Heidegger, Nietzsche, and/or Emerson, generally has a common feature in that it intends to explicate the conditions of the authentic experience of the phenomenon of the ethical and thus extrapolate the *clearing* where the basic sense of responsibility can be encountered. It, therefore, aims to investigate the fundamental stance of a finite being that needs to be assessed for genuine moral judgments to be possible rather than to provide specific instructions for appropriate actions (see e.g. Cavell 1990). For Nancy, Heidegger's ontology still has something to say to us regarding the encounter with the authentic human experience of practical existence; however, such an experiential stance that advocates the self-disclosure of human *praxis* and wagers on providing the *clearing* for the development of the capacity for ethical understanding may represent only a part of the solution, which, while important, is not without inherent issues.

understand the emotional state of the other and to provide an ade-
quate response to the other based on the writings of Stanley Cavell
(Honneth 2008, 47–52). In his refutation of the pertinence of skep-
tic's demand for certainty, Cavell stresses the need for acknowl-
edgment which 'goes beyond knowledge' (Cavell 1976, 257): it is a
cornerstone of human (intersubjective) interaction as it stands as
a primary requirement for the understanding of the other. Rather
than expressing an epistemic attitude, acknowledging represents
a behavioral stance that emphasizes responsibility and one's ca-
pacity to emotionally connect to the other being as it encompasses
both self-understanding and recognition of a certain situation.

Now, while there are obvious similarities with Axel Honneth's
notion of antecedent recognition outlined in Honneth 2008 as
his final (and not uniformly well-received) attempt at laying the
ontological foundations to his theory of recognition, it should be
noted that, unlike Honneth's understanding of elementary rec-
ognition, Cavell's notion of acknowledgment is a simpler stance
less laden with claims of ontological priority and demands for
the *proper* sympathetic response (see Honneth 2008, 10–11, 109)
– while acknowledgment is based upon the capacity for sympathy,
the negative or merely indifferent responses also present a man-
ner of acknowledgment without necessary being related with the
(potentially thick-valued) socially-induced premises of social rec-
ognition. Instead, the acknowledging attitude may indicate a pos-
sibility of charting an individual responsibility-based ethic based
on situational awareness of affected agents.

Such an attitude is also not far removed from Gadamer's notion
of hermeneutic consciousness characterized by the openness for the
address of the other, the capacity for trustfulness and trustworthi-
ness, and the primacy of questions before answers (Gadamer 2004,
341–371); however, Cavell's criticism of skeptic's position in no way

touches upon devising a more complex framework of values that could be susceptible to the previously considered normative issues. Rather, it emphasizes the immense role that responsive gesture may have for any kind of (pre-)cognitive assessment of another being.

While Cavell's notion of acknowledgment presents a possibility to think of a certain primacy of recognition before knowledge, there is another, less speculative research that might be relevant to the present discussion. In an attempt to ground his theory of antecedent recognition in developmental psychology, Honneth relates his assessment of elementary recognition (and the negative consequences of its denial) with the research of Tomasello and Hobson which indicates a necessity of children's successful (emotional) attachment and role-acknowledgment of their attachment figures for the rise of symbolic understanding and the development of cognitive abilities (Honneth 2008, 43–44).

In his work *The Cultural Origins of Human Cognition* psychologist and linguist Michael Tomasello takes on the question of human distinctiveness and identifies the specific human features that are believed to allow for the difference between non-human primates. It is believed that distinctively human abilities develop in early childhood and include sharing attention with others; recognition of intentionality of others and their emotional responsivity; and complex imitation of actions and intentions of others. In research that is of particular interest for both Honneth's account of antecedent recognition and for the present discussion, Tomasello regards children with autism as generally incapable of taking on the perspectives of others, thus precluding significant attachments (Tomasello 2001). While autistic people can to some degree understand the conception of intentionality, they do not participate in an intention-sharing activity and lack the skills that enhance distinctively human cultural learning (Tomasello et al. 2005).

It follows that it is very likely that cognitive states supervene on pre-cognitive requirements including successful (inter)personal attachments and the capacity for acknowledgment of another's mental states. While the children with severe autism spectrum disorder that were the focus of Tomasello's research may present a rather drastic case of emotional disconnection with attachment figures, there might be a slight parallel to the development of autistic children in the (possible) state of digital agents in metaverse to which I will return in the final chapter.

Finally, a potential avenue of research regarding Honneth's account of recognition must at least be indicated. In his writings before *Freedom's Right: The Social Foundations of Democratic Life*, Honneth, for the most part, insisted on regarding the (productive) recognitive relations as symmetric and reciprocal; that was criticized by some commentators as inappropriate, especially regarding the parent-child relations which are the focal point of primary recognitive sphere of love and primary needs. It has been doubted that parent-child relations could – and even should – be seen as symmetrical, regardless of the possible stretching of the term (Young 2007). Rather, there is a certain value in the *expected* asymmetry of a relation that might still be enabling and productive.

In his 1995 article, *The Other of Justice: Habermas and the Ethical Challenge of Postmodemism* Honneth juxtaposes Levinas' (and, by extension, Derrida's) asymmetrical ethics of obligation based on radical care and responsibility with Habermas' impartial morality-based discourse ethics. Especially in primary, pre-institutional settings, the ethics of care championed by Levinas and Derrida showcase specific advantages against ethics based on Kantian universalism and cognitivism since they allow for the notion of unlimited responsibility and special concern for the particularity of the singular other. Despite Levinas' acknowledgment of the realm

of justice and politics which is announced by the arrival of the third, the ethics of care, however, show limitations in settings that require symmetrical obligations (Honneth 2007, 113–121). Here, a possibility of a productive marriage between the ethical positions of Habermas and Derrida might arise, with singular-based ethics of (radical) care being supplemented with justice-inducing universalist morality (Critchley 1999, 267–269).

Honneth never really followed this line of possibility, and never fully explored the potential advantages of asymmetric recognition. That is not surprising as such a conception might compromise the carefully crafted system of progressive recognitive stages which share similar internal mechanisms and complicate the formation of a formal conception of ethics. However, a further consideration of asymmetric types of recognition or acknowledgment might help enhance a network of possible responses to the contemporary ethical challenges; especially, since those challenges feature the systems that were considered by and demand a certain amount of imagination. The advent of imaginary (virtual) worlds may however lead to a rethinking of the foundations of human sociality and require a complex set of normatively charged tools to account for the changes in human conduct and the possibility of a new, non-traditional society that may be function as a discontinuation of the more the historical (reproduction of) society.

## IV

In the digital era, the accounts of the fundamental sociability of humans are founded upon ontology or psychology, they need to consider the specifics of the changing landscapes of human and transhuman development.

While there has been an increased understanding, demand for, and development of processes and components (including the ele-

ments of virtual reality and augmented reality) that enhance digital experience, digitalization has already been a long-term process that has profoundly changed human individual and societal existence.

It is especially the latter that might soon be subject to the particularly radical transformations; while the internet existed since the 1980s and popular messaging services and social networks already started to appear in the late 1990s, the most complex contributions to the creation of what might be called *digital society* came after the development of virtual reality systems and beginning of the implementation of the idea of the metaverse, first in relatively limited settings of massively multiplayer online video games or persistent-universe games. Currently, the metaverse is becoming increasingly seen as an internet extension that has the potential to revolutionize humans' virtual experience and at the same time, everyday existence (Hussain 2023).

The term metaverse – along with the premises of virtual reality and digital avatars – was used for the first time in a 1992 science fiction novel *Snow Crash* where metaverse is depicted as a fully virtual world that offers a welcome respite from dystopian everyday (Stephenson 2003). The current model metaverse is considered as an interactive virtual world that either imitates, is modeled after, or appears as similar to the real world and uses complex security technologies such as blockchain, virtual currencies, and the benefits of the development of self-learning artificial intelligence. The obliged distanciation during COVID-19 pandemic (likely) contributed to the greater interest in the development of metaverse (Dwivedi et al. 2022).

While metaverse (or virtual society as such) is still some ways off before being used more than in a figurative sense and in a limited role in specialized settings for the interested parties, it is worthwhile reflecting upon its possible future impact, especially in the

context of the present paper. Leaving aside the otherwise important discussion of the ontological status of the metaverse, the potential virtual universe retains its importance for the discussion as it has serious implications for the expounding upon foundational sociality of humans.

Firstly, one needs to acknowledge the specific nature of virtual platforms which are designed with a concern for ease of access, interactivity, and most importantly, with the structural peculiarities of *play*. Here, one might liken the structure of play in virtual interactive realms to the hermeneutic understanding of play proposed by Gadamer in his discussion on the ontology of the works or art. In the research which prominently features as a preparation for the more foundational discussion on the nature of hermeneutic experience, Gadamer uses the metaphor of play to account for the primacy of community action that works of art provoke over theories that emphasize the subjective experience of aesthetic consciousness (e.g., in Kant-inspired aesthetic theories). To play the game, participants must agree to its specific rules while they allow themselves to be educated and transformed by the specific truth that the artwork that is being played discloses for them. Importantly, the artwork is necessarily performative and is expressed as a communicative and communal event rather than being a mere object (Gadamer 2004, 102–119).

In a current vision of the metaverse, the latter is considered as a virtual playground that can extend upon the physical world and accommodate several of its features including banking, shopping, and interacting with others, even if in the form of digital avatars.

Metaverse can only successfully function based on the interaction of its participants as it conceptually depends on the willing participation of digital(ized) agents in its digital world and according to its inherent rules; here, the metaverse can be considered as

both a digital landscape that accommodates adherent actions, and the whole system of virtual activities, digital agents, and patterns of interaction which are bound by the specific rules and structural elements that are reminiscent of the performance of *play*. Relevantly, the metaverse might be considered as a pre-structured persistent universe that develops in adherence to the internal learning propelled by the participants in its activities; the dynamics of change should depend upon the cooperative and communal efforts of the willing participants of the system.

Now, while one might find more traditional examples of a society ordered by the principles, the speculated digital society of metaverse seems as good an example as any due to its emphasis on interaction, its highly (pre)structured character, and the voluntary framework of participation due to which it allows for easier regulation and coordination of participants.[13]

Following the trajectory of the previous research, it is sensical to consider that the participants in the virtual societies exhibit some qualities corresponding to Nancy's recognition of the fundamental sociality of humans though sometimes with digital avatars *in lieu* rather than alongside physical connections, namely due to nature of internal dependency of agents and the non-teleological community building potential within digital societies.

The second consideration that points toward the hermeneutic answer to the challenge of virtual society is related to the imaginary and imaginative status of the metaverse. While there is little

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[13] The more troubling implications of the given analogy of play however show when we consider that while digital societies depend upon interaction and mutual efforts of participants, they are engaged in a *play like* activity that has certain originator which set the basic rules; that brings up significant ethical and legal questions which are however beyond the scope of the article.

doubt that the creation of the *artificial* society requires a certain deal of imagination, imaginative in that sense also relates to the procedural and even conceptual openness of the multiverse that is yet to be realized and internally developed.

An important thing to consider is that even organic societies may be set on the premises of radical imaginary that allows for the creation of non-inherited imaginary significations of society that fill in the historical and conceptual gaps (Castoriadis 1997, 44). In further elaboration, imaginary appropriation of historical practices through ideology has been known to have immense effects on human social experience. Rather than a reproduction of historical and conceptual continuity, many social institutions – including several problematic practices – can be seen as outcomes of the productive imagination of both societies at large and their agents.

In a predicated artificial virtual society, imaginary may come as a consequence of yet unconcluded and internally self-adapting technology supporting the virtual universe. Such a disposition may demand a complex hermeneutic insight that would allow for a clearer recognition of its features and the interplay between productive and reproductive imagination that may be needed in the construction of virtual world spaces.[14]

Finally, given the above-mentioned overview of features, a digital society might not only have inherent normativity but the latter may be ingrained in its core to the level of being a structural element of the system of *play*. In playing, participants implicitly agree to the rules of the play or shared universe; in self-generating world spaces, the development could be tied to the cooperative abilities and coordination of the metaverse agents. Here, a notion

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[14] See particularly Ricoeur's (1986) assessment of the interplay between utopia and ideology and between the strains of (more) productive and reproductive imagination.

of acknowledgment may be needed to explain the foundations of possible cooperation, even if digital agents may operate differently in comparison to their physical counterparts whereas emotions and intentions cannot be as easily conveyed.

However, it is just as important to recognize not only cooperative and communal (normative) features but also potential dangers of (potentially well-disguised) ruleset ideological implications that may be forced upon the participants and could have far-reaching ethical and legal consequences. While many normative concerns could be relegated to security issues, some of them can be regarded as a feature of dominating ideology. As such, a critical-theoretic perspective that combines both explanatory and evaluative approaches while being attentive to the underlying issues may be needed in place of a satisfactory social philosophy.

## V

Recently, the Western social and political sphere was disturbed by a series of shocks that visibly changed the core dynamics of society, including the COVID-19 pandemic, migration crisis, and economic crisis due to the high inflation that showcased the systemic issues in the heart of the modern economy, social conduct, and politics. Nevertheless, perhaps the most radical changes to the way society functions that have the potential to drastically alter the way humans cooperate and engage in politics have been related to the rapid progression in general digitalization, artificial intelligence, and virtual and augmented reality. The metaverse based upon virtual reality and enhanced AI features has the potential to both disrupt entrenched (traditional) power relations and their supporting structures and offer the possibility of a cooperative society set upon discontinuous imaginary that shuns national, political, and legal borders; re-

calling Walter Benjamin's proposal in his controversial *Critique of Violence* and adapting its plight for the digital future, there may be a potential for moral cooperation and justice that avoids the traps of the traditional legal systems and offers a different take on the social coordination.[15]

Nevertheless, the new digital reality will also present us with several new and complex challenges and issues to which we will need to progressively give more and more attention. Aside from the frequently discussed issues of internet violence and ethics, the ethical status of artificial intelligence and social and economic changes due to digitalization, the questions of the future alongside automated weaponry, and the possible new political dynamics should at least be indicated here.

As the recent Nagorno-Karabakh War between Azerbaijan and Armenia and the (still ongoing) Russian invasion of Ukraine have shown, advanced weaponry such as AI-assisted missiles and drones may add an additional layer of concern in depressurizing the global tensions as they come along with a range of new ethical and political challenges.

Regarding politics, digital changes may lead toward anything but the rather hopeful, if not necessarily optimistic picture painted above. The recent developments in Slovenian politics (and in several other states) indicate that we may be witnessing a formation of more radical politics with a significant following and political success – that can be to a high degree attributed to some (or combination) of economic, communicative, demographic, and health-related factors but also heavily relies upon technological changes and the alternations in standards of communication. Even the seem-

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[15] Compare the potential (of) control and coordinative structure of the metaverse with the adapted idea of divine justice in Benjamin (1996, 236–252).

ingly non-partisan and syncretic (populist) political parties borne by the idea of the new popular autonomy of the digitalized society such as the Italian Five Star Movement may have been subject to unforeseen ideological drift due to the complex dynamics of the digitally informed contemporary political world.

Even if the potential of a fully virtual society is never fulfilled, the process of digitalization already instigated major changes in society including the way we conduct human interactions, politics, and the economy. The advent of self-learning artificial intelligence that allows for ever more *human-like* interaction[16] necessitates rethinking about what defines a distinctively human society and whether intentionality and intention-sharing are exclusively human qualities – while at the same time demanding the reflection upon the possibility of a society that not only co-exists but is fundamentally interwoven with the digital structures and AI-directed virtuality.

The main issue here is whether mutuality is something that is by itself normative and has a specific direction or whether normative concerns come after the acknowledgment of a mutual bond in the others – and how can be seen in a social space that is becoming less and less exclusively human. In such space, normative frameworks based upon the hermeneutically informed inquires onto human sociality and normative reproduction grounded in recognition of others' value may be seen as invaluable tools that may be at the disposal of the human and non-human inhabitants of the shared virtual world – though they may be passed upon much like in the physical world which many want to escape in the promised virtual future.

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[16] As for example, ChatGPT and similar types of recently developed AI.

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Mojca Ramšak[1]

# Human Remains in Slovenian Museums and Memorial Sites

**Abstract:** The article deals with different types of human remains exhibited in Slovenian museums or memorials, educational institutions and other places in Slovenia. It presents the typology of human remains, the legal framework and the ethical guidelines for their respectful handling. At the same time, the author points out that Slovenia has no challenges with repatriation requests, as historically it was not a dominant colonial power that would accumulate its collections in this way.

**Keywords:** human remains, museum, material culture, ethics, Slovenia

## Človeški posmrtni ostanki v slovenskih muzejih in na spominskih krajih

**Izvleček:** Članek obravnava različne zvrsti človeških posmrtnih ostankov, ki so na ogled v slovenskih muzejih ali spominskih krajih, v izobraževalnih ustanovah in drugih prostorih v Sloveniji. Predstavi tipologijo človeških ostankov, pravni okvir in etične smernice, ki urejajo spoštljivo ravnanje z njimi. Ob tem poudarja, da Slovenija nima izzivov pri zahtevkih za repatriacijo, saj zgodovinsko gledano ni šlo za prevladujočo kolonialno silo, ki bi si na ta način kopičila svoje zbirke.

**Ključne besede:** človeški ostanki, muzej, materialna kultura, etika, Slovenija

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## Introduction

Various professionals in the fields of archaeology, anthropology, medicine (anatomy, transplant surgery), people considering donating their bodies for scientific purposes, as well as those looking for alternative burial methods for their loved ones, show a common fascination with the use of human remains, sometimes referred to as archaeological or anatomical specimens, anatomical preparations or simply artefacts.

Research into human remains and their context are an important source of direct evidence about the past, including: human evolution and adaptation, and genetic relationships; population relationships through genetics and morphology; past demography and health; diet, growth and activity patterns; disease and causes of death; history of disease and of medicine; burial practices, beliefs and attitudes; the diversity of cultural practices in which the body and its parts are used (Guidance 2005, 8).

The human body and the corpse have been objects of admiration, veneration and curiosity, as evidenced by prehistoric burials, belief in the afterlife, embalming procedures, death masks and sarcophagi, tombs and necropolis with rich grave goods, and many other rituals related to the afterlife that testify to the importance attributed to the body or its remains. In Christianity, the cult of relics, i.e., the veneration of the posthumous bodily and other remains of saints, was important. Pilgrims, church dignitaries and rulers sought out objects and body parts of individual martyrs and saints, which were kept in reliquaries in churches and monasteries. In addition to the most famous relics such as the Shroud of Turin, the tunic of Mary and the cross of Christ, objects of veneration also included the head of John the Baptist, Saint Fortunate's thighbone, and hundreds of bones and body parts supposedly belonging to the saints were also amongst the objects of veneration. The cata-

combs, where the human remains have been kept since antiquity, were joined by the carefully rendered ossuaries where the human bones and body parts were used to construct the furniture and decoration instead of the classical artistic media and materials. Many of them are considered to be the true works of art (Zupanič Slavec 2015, 9).

There are many different types of human remains in museums around the world. We already find them in cabinets of curiosities from the 16th and 17th centuries, in museums on the history of medicine, in ethnographic and archaeological collections, in private collections, in criminological or forensic museums, as part of permanent exhibitions in museums, as travelling exhibitions, as memorial parks, and many more.

The handling of human remains in museums is a complex and sensitive issue that raises important ethical and cultural questions. The dignity of human remains is a central concern in discussions about the display, storage and study of such remains in museums and other institutions. Ethical issues are crucial when considering human remains. This means that the ICOM Code of Ethics, the E.C.C.O. Professional Guidelines in Conservation-Restoration, recommendations on the conservation-restoration of cultural heritage, and the principles of ethical research should be strictly followed. Museums and cultural institutions are increasingly endeavouring to strike a balance between the preservation of human remains for research and educational purposes and respect for the dignity and cultural significance of these remains to the communities from which they originate. However, not all issues have been resolved. New ways of presenting museum artefacts and the demands of capital, such as in the cultural tourism industry, raise new ethical questions about how to preserve the dignity of the deceased.

When we talk about sensitive museum materials, it is necessary to keep in mind the right to personal dignity, which is not only the right of the person living here and now. Dignified treatment does not end with the death of a person but turns into a highly ethical attitude of the living towards the deceased. The integrity of personal dignity is not only a legal category but above all a civilizational norm.

The topic on human remains, their display and study has long been the subject of ethical and cultural debate. Over the years, several influential authors have shed light on this complex topic and contributed to our understanding of the historical, scientific, and ethical aspects involved. The literature on this topic is very extensive, and mostly deal with forensics, archaeology, anthropology, museums, ethics, law, general medicine, stomatology, human palaeontology and population genetics, human evolution, population migrations (for example: Podzorski 1990; Haglund et al. 1997; Buikstra et al. 2006; Dupras et al. 2006; Cassman et al. 2007; Jenkins 2010; Fossheim 2010; Giesen 2013; Stepputat 2014; O'Donnabhain et al. 2014; Dirkmaat 2015; Blau et al. 2016; Christensen et al. 2019; Squires et al. 2019; Batt 2022).

For Slovenia, in addition to specific archaeological research in which human remains were examined in detail forensically, (physically) anthropologically or in laboratories, other authors have also dealt with this topic, such as ethnologists (Bartulović and Podjed 2008; Podjed et al. 2012), on specific topics such as relics (Knez 2014; 2015; Ramšak 2019), first-war graves (Košir and Leben-Seljak 2019; Košir 2021; 2022a; 2022b; Hazler 2023), post-war mass graves (Ferenc 2022), and ethics (Ramšak 2014). Two publications on human remains should be highlighted, which were produced on the initiative of the Slovenian Museum Association (Kolar Osvald and Štrukelj 2017) and the Slovenian Archaeological Association (Leskovar 2023b).

## Human remains: Definition and the types of human remains in museums and in historical places

Human remains are defined as bodies, and parts of bodies, of once living people from the species *Homo sapiens* (defined as individuals who fall within the range of anatomical forms known today and in the recent past). This includes osteological material (whole or part skeletons, individual bones or fragments of bone and teeth), soft tissue including organs and skin, embryos and slide preparations of human tissue. According to Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums (2005) this definition does not include hair and nails, although it is acknowledged that some cultural communities do give these a sacred importance. Human remains also include any of the above that may have been modified in some way by human skill and/or may be physically bound-up with other non-human materials to form an artefact composed of several materials. Another, but much smaller, category of material included within this definition is that of artworks composed of human bodily fluids and soft tissue (Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums 2005, 9).

Following this definition and with regard to exhibitions and collections of human remains in Slovenia and elsewhere, we can categorise them into the following main groups: skeletons and skulls, mummies, ethnographic collections, anatomical specimens, relics, specific museum materials or collections, the famous corpses on display, commercial exhibitions, and, human composting.

### Skeletons and skulls

*Skeletons and skulls* are perhaps the most common types of human remains found in museums. These exhibits serve as valuable tools for the study of human anatomy, evolution, and forensic science. The skeletons of ancient civilisations can shed light on their

physical characteristics, lifestyles and even causes of death. In addition, the study of skulls can provide valuable information about cranial features and help researchers understand the evolution and diversity of human populations.

An example of a skull collection is the collection of the Counts of Celje in the Regional Museum Celje where forensic, physical-anthropological, radiological, dental, anatomical and palaeopathological studies were carried out (Zupanič Slavec 2002).

A subgroup of the group of skeletons and skulls of human remains is the *ossuary*. It is a repository where human bones are stored. Throughout history, ossuaries have played an important role in various cultures. They were used to honour the dead, preserve their remains, and commemorate their lives. These unique structures offer valuable insights into the cultural practises, beliefs and customs of a bygone era.

The Ministry of Culture's register of immovable cultural heritage contains information on 22 ossuaries in Slovenia, which are: archaeological sites, ossuaries of the fallen of the 1st and 2nd World Wars, ossuaries of the fallen of the post-war massacres and other memorials and sites (Ministrstvo za kulturo 2024). So, the examples of different kinds of ossuaries in Slovenia are:

a) *Karners*. In Slovenia, there are four ossuaries, or so-called 'karners' (from the Latin *carnarium*), which contain bones from graves dug next to churches with burial rights (Libeliče in Carinthia, Gorenji Mokronog in Dolenjska, Jareninski dol near Pesnica in Slovenske gorice, and Križevci near Ljutomer). The bones were carefully removed from the ground, as they were not yet sufficiently decomposed, and stored in special chapels. Ossuaries were very popular 700 or 800 years ago, during the great epidemics. In the 17th century, the diocesan visitors considered them unnecessary and ordered the priests to demolish them.

b) *Cemeteries with ossuaries*, such as in Nevlje, Mekinje, Piran, Nova Cerkev near Vojnik, Šmihel near Novo mesto, archaeological site of St. Martin in Poljane above Škofja Loka.

c) *Remains of wars and conflicts* (killed solders, partisans, civils). In some cases, museums exhibit human remains associated with wars and conflicts. These exhibits may include artefacts from mass graves, such as bones or personal belongings of the deceased. Although these exhibitions are very sensitive and emotional, they aim to remember and honour those who lost their lives during historical events and to promote remembrance and understanding of the consequences of war.

In Slovenia, there are several memorial sites with human remains from both World Wars, such as graves of prisoners of World War I (Košir 2022a) or military cemeteries (Košir 2022b). The hidden mass graves and their victims from the killing of enemies during the Second World War and in the post-war period were erased from public memory until 1990 (Ferenc 2022), but the legacy of the military cemeteries, chapels, monuments is well documented. The registers of both First World War monuments and memorials (Hazler 2023) as well as Second World War and post war mass killings and war cemeteries are documented (Register vojnih grobišč Republike Slovenije 2024; Evidenca prikritih vojnih grobišč 2024).

The register of immovable cultural heritage cites the following memorial sites: Italian ossuary in Kobarid (remains of Italian soldiers who fell in the First World War and were brought from the surrounding military cemeteries); Komna – the memorial to fallen Austro-Hungarian soldiers in the First World War on Na Kraju mountain; Tolmin – German ossuary for fallen German soldiers in the area of the Soča Front; Dražgoše – ossuary with a memorial to the victims of the Second World War); Novo mesto – grave of the fallen fighters and victims of the National Liberation War in Žabja vas; Žužemberk – the memo-

rial to the National Liberation War in Cviblje; Bukovžlak – Teharje Memorial Park (central Slovenian memorial to the victims of the war – people executed after the war), Maribor – memorial to the victims of the post-war massacres and the ossuary on Dobrava.

Certain ossuaries are protected by special decrees in order to preserve the cultural, scenic, artistic, architectural, and historical significance of the monument. This preservation serves to emphasise the cultural monument and the event it represents while presenting its cultural value in its original location as well as in the media. In addition, these protection measures aim to promote education and scientific research. Any use of these ossuaries and any intervention in their vicinity must respect the preservation and maintenance of the protected monumental features and be carried out with the utmost respect.

## Mummies

The second group of human remains often found in museums is *mummies*. These are preserved bodies or body parts of humans or animals that were ceremonially preserved by removing the internal organs, treating them with natron and resin, and wrapping them in bandages. The ancient Egyptians are particularly famous for their elaborate mummification practises, which aimed to preserve the deceased for the afterlife. There are a variety of explanations for the complicated process of mummification, including its various forms and the different substances used for the preservation of corpses. One of the earliest accounts of the Egyptian process of mummification comes from the Greek historian Herodotus in his description of ancient traditions in *The Histories* (c. 430 BC) (Herodotus 2013, 129–131).

In Slovenia there is only one Egyptian mummy, which is kept and displayed in the National Museum of Slovenia, and some remains of the mummy, which are kept in the Slovene Ethnographic

Museum (Kajfež, Pflaum and Pflaum 2014). A mummy, mummies' body parts and related objects were sent to Slovenian museums by 19th century diplomats, merchants and collectors.

The National Museum of Slovenia keeps the mummified body of a man, a priest named A-keswy-te, in a wooden coffin made of sycamore and tamarisk wood, in linen, with sizing, chalk, resins, plant fibres, and painted with watercolours with inorganic pigments. It was donated by the Austrian Governorate Councillor and Consul General in Alexandria, Egypt, Anton Lavrin (1789–1869) in 1846. The mummy was found near the Colossi of Memnon, two massive stone statues of the pharaoh Amenhotep III, which stand at the front of the ruined Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep III (1391–1353 or 1388–1351 BC), the largest temple in the Theban necropolis in Egypt. The circumstances of how Lavrin acquired the mummy in Egypt are not clear, nor is the exact location where the mummy was found. It is assumed that it may have come from the necropolis of El-Assasif with the tombs of Theban nobles and priests from the time of A-keswy-te's life (Narodni muzej Slovenije 2024).

The coffin and mummy were conserved and restored in 2000–2002. In January 2017, the mummy was given a permanent place in the new exhibition space of the National Museum of Slovenia, which was modelled on the Egyptian burial chambers. The mummified priest A-keswy-te is complemented by the museum's entire Egyptian collection, which consists mainly of small clay sculptures. A-keswy-te is the only ancient Egyptian mummy with an anthropomorphic coffin in Slovenia.

## Ethnographic collections

The third group of human remains are found in *ethnographic collections* and include human remains that originate from indigenous or marginalised communities. These collections may con-

tain whole bodies, body parts, or even ancestral remains. These remains often originate from colonial times or scientific expeditions, and their display is always a subject of debate. However, many argue that these exhibits help to shed light on the cultural practises, religious beliefs and historical experiences of these communities. They also provide an opportunity for these communities to reflect on their history and engage in discussions about cultural heritage.

An example of human remains from ethnographic collections is the South American 'Chancha', a scalp trophy with preserved hair, or the shrunken head of an Indian woman from Ecuador, which is kept in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum (Škerlj 1954). The 'Chancha' was recently removed from the permanent exhibition 'Between Nature and Culture', although it was already on display in a remote part on non-European cultures.

The Slovene Ethnographic Museum also keeps two Tibetan skull bowls that are associated with tantric practises and beliefs (Motoh 2020).

## Anatomical specimens

Anatomical specimens include various elements of the human body, including bones, organs, dissected body parts, foetal specimens showing various stages of growth, exceptional cases of congenital anomalies, models representing embryology, and histological specimens. These specimens can come from deceased individuals or surgical specimens. It should be noted that small amounts of tissue, bone fragments, or internal organs do not fulfil the criteria to be classified as anatomical specimens (Deceased Human Bodies and Anatomical Specimens 2018).

The display of anatomical specimens is a common practice in medical and anatomical museums. These exhibitions serve an educational purpose and provide students, researchers, and the gen-

eral public with a deeper understanding of human anatomy, diseases and criminal cases. Although these specimens do not always represent an entire human body, they provide invaluable insight into various organs, systems, and abnormalities.

In Slovenia, medical faculties usually keep small collections of anatomical remains for teaching purposes. The reason for this is the need to use deceased human bodies and anatomical specimens in biomedical education and research. However, the country does not have a museum or collections of anatomical specimens of scientific and historical importance.

Posthumous body donation for research purposes has been permitted in Slovenia albeit without special regulations. Individuals who wished to donate their bodies contacted the Institute of Anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Ljubljana. There, they were informed about the necessary procedures and given a form to fill out. It is important to note that the declaration could be nullified without giving reasons. Those who signed the declaration to donate their bodies to the Institute after their deaths had to be of legal age and capable of making such decisions. The Institute also informed the donor's relatives about the process. After the donor's death, the relatives contacted the Institute, which then arranged for transportation and used the remains for scientific and educational purposes. At the end of the process, the mortal remains were cremated and buried anonymously in the Žale Cemetery in Ljubljana, without speeches, floral decorations, or national symbols. However, if certain body parts were considered particularly interesting or valuable, they were not buried but kept at the Institute. For example, the Institute has been preserving interesting skeletons and preparations preserved in a phenol-formalin solution for a hundred years (Mihevc 2012). From 2015, the possibility of making cadavers available to the Institute of Anatomy for teaching and research purposes was discontinued, as it

was suspected that these bodies, or parts thereof were being resold for money without the knowledge and authorisation of the Faculty of Medicine (Ferlič Žgajnar 2015).

## Relics

*Relics* are objects with great historical, cultural or religious significance. They are often associated with revered persons, such as saints or spiritual leaders. Relics are believed to have some kind of spiritual power or connection to the person they represent. Throughout history, relics have played a fundamental role in various faiths and societies, serving as symbols of worship, inspiration or even healing.

Relics are parts of the body of a deceased saint, such as bones, teeth, blood, preserved body parts (heart), ashes or possessions, such as clothing or objects that have come into contact with the saint (cross) and are kept as objects of veneration. Among the major religions, Christianity, almost exclusively Roman Catholicism, and Buddhism have emphasised the veneration of relics. In the Eastern Orthodox churches, veneration is centred on icons rather than relics. The attitude of the 16th century Protestant reformers towards relics was uniformly negative and the veneration of relics was not accepted in Protestantism. Like Christianity, Islam also has a cult of relics around its founders and saints (Augustyn 2023).

Relics can be categorised in different ways, including physical remains (bones, body parts), objects associated with the person or objects that were touched or used by the person during their lifetime. These objects evoke a sense of awe and reverence in the faithful, making them highly respected and coveted. The examples of relics are: true cross, rosary or other prayer beads, such as malas in Buddhism, holy water, crown of thorns, pyx, talisman, or other votary objects that is used as a talisman or charm because of theirperceived spiritual energy, idol, and monstrance.

According to Knez (2014), Christianity distinguishes relics according to their importance. First class relics are bodily remains of Jesus Christ himself (e.g. the Holy Prepuce, Christ's fingernail, Holy Blood), objects closely connected to the events from the life of Jesus Christ (e.g. the Holy-Crib, the True cross, the Shroud of Turin) and the physical remains of saints, particularly martyrs (e.g. bones, hair, limbs). Second Class Relics are the personal items of a saint (e.g. a garment, shoes, a prayer book, a cross, prayer beads, tools used by a saint or devices a saint was tortured with). These are items a saint wore (e.g. a sock, shirt or a glove), owned or frequently used. Third Class Relics are items (in particular, pieces of cloth) which were in contact with a saint's body (or a saint's reliquary) after their death. These relics include all items which came in contact with a first- or second-class relic (Knez 2014, 11–13). In Slovenia, various types of relics can be found in some museums, monasteries and churches.

The concept of associating jewellery with mourning and remembrance is not a new invention. As early as the 1600s, pocket watches were occasionally used as memento mori and served as a symbolic reminder of our mortality. These watches would feature skulls and Latin inscriptions such as 'the hour of death is uncertain.' Over time, these symbolic reminders evolved into tangible objects that helped people memorialise a deceased loved one. The profound influence of Queen Victoria played an important role in this change. To commemorate the passing of her third child, Princess Alice, Queen Victoria owned three brooches. In addition, Prince Albert, her husband, had an agate and diamond pendant made in honour of Victoria's mother's death. These pieces of mourning jewellery often included a strand of the deceased's hair, as it was believed that this contained the essence of the deceased and possessed immortality (Jarry 2022).

In this context, it is not surprising that recently *memorial or cremation or ash diamonds* have become increasingly popular as they provide a unique and lasting way to remember deceased loved ones. These special diamonds are made by extracting carbon from the remains of the deceased, creating a personal and tangible link to their memory. The process of creating these memorial diamonds involves a sophisticated process in which the ashes of the deceased are transformed into ethically cultured diamonds (see more Calvão et al. 2021). By subjecting the carbon extracted from a loved one's ashes to extraordinary pressure and high temperatures, an imitation of the natural diamond formation process is achieved. This transformation gives the memorial diamond an active role in preserving the legacy of the deceased. Similar to traditional relics, memorial diamonds create a deep connection to the person they represent. They embody the true essence, spirit, and treasured memories of the deceased and allow loved ones to carry a part of them wherever they go. These diamonds serve as a physical manifestation of remembrance and provide comfort to those grieving the loss of a loved one. (Jarry 2022)

Relics are often highly valued for their spiritual significance. They serve as a connection to the divine or symbolise a sacred presence. While memorial diamonds may not exactly fit the definition of relics, or have religious significance in the traditional sense, they do have spiritual and emotional value for people who wish to maintain a deep personal connection and memorialise their loved ones in an extraordinary way. They are a way to honour and preserve the memories of loved ones by capturing them in a tangible and everlasting form. Whether we consider a memorial diamond a relic or not, the importance and impact it has on the grieving process should not be underestimated. In Slovenia, honouring loved ones after their death in the form of memorial diamonds is not yet established.

**Specific museum materials or collections**

*Specific museum materials or collections* refer to different fields from law, criminology, victimology, forensic medicine to ethics, human rights, art and museology. An example of such collection is in Slovenian Police Museum (Kolar Osvald and Štrukelj 2017, 15) with objects such as forensic medicine exhibits (body parts of killed people), photos taken directly during visits to crime scenes, photos of evidence, texts describing the motive, the way the crime was committed and the way the perpetrator was discovered, objects associated with criminal activity (axes, various daggers and tools, firearms, objects processed into dangerous weapons, various burglary tools, broken cash registers, various documents, counterfeit money, various types of drugs and drug paraphernalia, smuggling tools). Since 1998, the identity of perpetrators and victims of crime has been covered on the material on display (documents, photos, descriptions).

**The famous corpses on display**

*The famous corpses on display* are the preserved bodies of rulers such as Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in Moscow, North Korea's Kim Jong-Il and his father Kim Il-Sung, Ho Chi Minh from Vietnam, Mao Zedong from China, Hugo Chávez from Venezuela, Ferdinand Marcos from Philippines (see: Body politics 2016). Slovenia does not have any of their presidents on display as in the cases mentioned above.

**Commercial exhibitions**

*Commercial exhibitions* or demonstrative corpse exhibitions are aimed in particular at a lay audience so that the exhibitions can contribute to a better understanding of the human body and its functions and to improving of knowledge of medical issues (Bin et al. 2016, 584). These exhibitions feature real human bodies or body parts that have undergone a preservation technique known as plastination.

Plastination, developed in 1978 by Dr Gunther von Hagens at the University of Heidelberg in Germany, is a method of effectively preserving biological tissue with a visibly intact surface and a long durability (Sargon and Tatar 2014, 13). Von Hagens experimented with various plastics to improve the quality of renal samples until he finally developed the technique that serves as the basis for exhibiting plastinated bodies on tour (Bin et al. 2016, 585). Plastination involves replacing the water and lipids in biological tissue with hardenable polymers. Anatomical specimens are preserved by impregnating them with these polymers, which then harden. Silicone, epoxy or polyester resins are the most commonly used polymers, as they preserve the anatomical preparations in a dry, odourless state and require minimal post-treatment. These plastinates are free from the harmful effects of formalin and are used as teaching aids in medicine and as artefacts in art museum collections (Sargon and Tatar 2014, 13). Plastination enables the long-term preservation of tissue, and all donors must give their written consent for body donation and its use in medical research (Riederer 2013). By replacing body fluids with polymers, plastination allows the specimens to be analysed and exhibited over a longer period of time.

The human remains on display in these exhibitions are carefully prepared and arranged to emphasise various anatomical structures and systems. Visitors can view the skeleton, muscles, circulatory system, and other body systems in a vivid and educational way. The exhibitions aim to provide a deeper understanding of human anatomy and physiology. It is important to note that the human remains used in these exhibitions have to be legally and ethically acquired. In addition, today the exhibitions adhere to strict guidelines and regulations to ensure the respectful and responsible handling of human remains.

However, commercial exhibitions such as the travelling exhibitions 'Bodies Revealed' and 'Body Worlds', which took place in Ljubljana at the Gospodarsko razstavišče in both 2012 and 2018–2019, also showed preserved human remains with an educational purpose and opened up several ethical dilemmas. The 'Body Worlds' exhibition, for example showed various plastinations that illustrated the harmful effects of smoking on the respiratory system and at the same time emphasised the seamless integration of artificial joints into the skeletal structure of knees and hips. In addition, the exhibition served as a reminder to visitors to make healthy choices and lifestyle changes to combat serious diseases such as cancer, diabetes and heart disease.

These particular exhibitions caused considerable controversy and ethical concerns at the time. The main point of contention centred around the question of the origin of the corpses. The organisers of the exhibition relied solely on the information provided by their Chinese partners and were unable to independently confirm that the bodies were not those of executed Chinese prisoners. Many anatomical societies and ethics committees worldwide have expressed their concern about these exhibitions. They have emphasised two important points: the uncertain origin of the cadavers and the lack of unanimous agreement on post-mortem cadaver donations. In addition, they have highlighted the risks associated with the commercialisation and commodification of death and its exploitation for entertainment purposes.

## Human composting

*Human composting* is the type of burial rite in which human remains are treated so as to turn into soil or compost. This process usually involves covering the body with plant matter in a special chamber to create an environment in which the corpse is decom-

posed to base organic soil over a period of 60 to 90 days. Human composting as an alternative burial option was first developed in 2021 and become legal in 2023 in some of the U.S. states. It is not legal in Slovenia.

In summary, human remains in museums, historical sites or educational institutions, or for personal use as memorabilia, can include a wide range of artefacts, each serving different purposes. From skeletons and skulls for educational and scientific study to mummies and ethnographic collections for cultural and historical understanding of social customs, these artefacts offer a glimpse into our shared human history. Although the display of human remains can be a controversial topic, when done thoughtfully and respectfully, it can provide visitors with invaluable educational and cultural insights.

## Ethical considerations

Museums are known for preserving and exhibiting artefacts from different cultures and eras. However, among the artefacts on display is often a rather controversial and thought-provoking category of objects: human remains. While some consider the display of human remains to be disrespectful or even unethical (some museums removed them from exhibitions), others believe that they fulfil an educational purpose.

There are several important ethical issues regarding human remains that deserve attention. One of these concerns is the preservation of the dignity of the deceased. This issue revolves around how we can ensure that human remains displayed in museums are treated with the utmost respect and dignity.

Another important ethical question concerns the social and cultural context in which the display of human remains takes place. It raises the question of how different cultures and com-

munities perceive the display of human remains and what influence this perception has on museum practises. It also looks at the attitudes of the local population towards historical sites with human remains.

Finally, there is the question of education and awareness. This ethical question explores how museums can use the display of human remains to educate the public and stimulate social dialogue about identity, history and ethical issues.

Several ethical questions arise when working with human remains. Among other things, the important question is whether there is a universal ethical framework for dealing with human remains or whether this concept is so broad that it is little more than a generalisation. To be truly ethical, curators and scientists must have a solid understanding of what the discipline of ethics entails.

## Legal framework and museum self-regulation

The legal instruments clearly show that a distinction is made between the recently deceased, whose remains are covered by laws regulating medical practise, medical research, declaration of death, and burial, and the ancient human remains, which are reduced to cultural heritage, often by proxy for the remains resulting from the actions of the living – such as burial practises, memorialisation practises or ritual practises. The recently deceased are seen as subjects, the long deceased as objects (Stutz et al. 2023).

Legislation and self-regulatory documents mention human remains explicitly or implicitly in connection with the concept of human dignity and cultural heritage. In Slovenian legislation, human remains are not nobody's thing, *res nullius*.

In the legal sense, human rights are enshrined in the highest legal act of the state, the constitution. In 1789, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen proclaimed the fundamental

rights of man. After the Second World War, human rights were not only regulated and protected by national constitutions but also by numerous international legal acts. The first important universal document, also known as the 'human constitution', was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10th December 1948. With its fundamental recognition of the inherent dignity of man as the source of all rights and its acknowledgement of the equal rights of all members of society, this declaration became the basis for many subsequent international and regional documents, including the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which was adopted by the members of the Council of Europe in Rome on 4th November 1950 (Kolar Osvald and Štrukelj 2017, 20).

Despite the fact that international legal acts, conventions and the Constitution do not speak directly about the protection of a person after death, and despite the fact that there are many open legal questions in this regard, the posthumous protection of a person derives from respect for human dignity. It is about protecting the rights of the living and at the same time upholding the personal values of the dead. On the one hand, it is about protecting the individual, who can only trust that the law will not allow them to become an empty thing or an object after death, and who can feel their full dignity, develop freely and make decisions during their lifetime. On the other hand, it is about protecting the relatives of the deceased and, not least, about protecting the general moral values on which society is based (ibid., 22).

The state, which through legislation is primarily responsible for the protection of human dignity and rights in various areas – prosecution of criminal offences (desecration of corpses and graves, insult to honour and good name...), in healthcare (in relation to the

removal of parts of the human body…), in funeral activities, etc. – and through the use of various institutes fulfils the obligation to protect human assets even after death (ibid.).

Human remains belong to the category of movable cultural heritage. In the Slovenian legal framework, works of art and specimens exhibited in museums are implicitly protected by the Cultural Heritage Protection Act (Uradni list Republike Slovenije 16/08, 123/08, 8/11 – ORZVKD39, 90/12, 111/13, 32/16, 21/18 – ZNOrg and 78/23 – ZUNPEOVE) as part of public collections. The specific definition of human remains or anatomical specimens is set out under code P20 in the fifth article of Rules on the Registry of Types of Heritage and Protection Guidelines (Uradni list Republike Slovenije 102/10) as 'remains (parts) of the human body that museums keep in their collections as culturally sensitive material (human skeleton, mummy, urn contents, relic).'

Other laws that relate to and protect human remains are: War Grave Sites Act (Uradni list Republike Slovenije 65/03, 72/09 and 32/17), Concealed War Graves and Burial of Victims Act (Uradni list Republike Slovenije 55/15 and 92/21) and Rules on War Cemeteries Register (Uradni list Republike Slovenije 79/049), which regulates the content of the register, such as the identification of the war cemetery and the buried persons, the description of the location of the war cemetery, and the protective provisions for the protection of war cemeteries.

In Slovenia, the boundary between forensic and archaeological cases is not precisely defined. In the case of mass graves, it depends on the circumstances, but if the persons suspected of killing the people are still alive, then it is legal and not an archaeological case (Leben Seljak and Jamnik 2011, 410).

One self-regulatory document worth mentioning is the 2017 ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums, which outlines the essential

guidelines for professional conduct and performance expected of museums and their staff. The Code explicitly refers to human remains on four occasions (ICOM International Council for Museums 2017).

Firstly, human remains are mentioned in the chapter on the acquiring of collections under the paragraph on culturally sensitive material (2.5). It states that collections of human remains and material of sacred significance should be acquired only if they can be housed securely and cared for respectfully. This must be accomplished in a manner consistent with professional standards and the interests and beliefs of members of the community, ethnic or religious groups from which the objects originated, where these are known. Secondly, human remains are included in the chapter on the museum collecting and research under the paragraph on human remains and materials of sacred significance (3.7). This paragraph states that research on human remains and materials of sacred significance must be accomplished in a manner consistent with professional standards and consider the interests and beliefs of the community, ethnic or religious groups from whom the objects originated, where these are known. Thirdly, human remains are included in the chapter on display and exhibition under the paragraph exhibition of sensitive materials (4.3). It states that human remains and materials of sacred significance must be displayed in a manner consistent with professional standards and, where known, considering the interests and beliefs of members of the community, ethnic or religious groups from whom the objects originated. They must be presented with great tact and respect for the feelings of human dignity held by all peoples. In the same chapter there is also a paragraph on removal from public display (4.4) which states that requests for removal from public display of human remains or

material of sacred significance from the originating communities must be addressed expeditiously with respect and sensitivity. Requests for the return of such material should be addressed similarly. Museum policies should clearly define the process for responding to such requests (ibid.).

So far, Slovenia has not approached the Egyptian authorities regarding the return of the only mummy kept in the National Museum of Slovenia. But Egyptian archaeologist and former Minister of Antiquities, Dr Zahi Hawass, who is also known for his efforts to have Egypt's heritage returned to Egypt, assured a Slovenian journalist that he had no problems with the Ljubljana mummy and that it made sense to keep it in the museum for the education of children, provided it was presented appropriately (Zgonik 2023).

## Conclusion

The overview of the main types of cultural heritage of human remains in Slovenia shows a broad understanding of this type of heritage and exemplary care from the point of view of human dignity, documentation, research, material preservation and respectful and ethical presentation. Despite the many ethical concerns associated with human remains, such as the use of non-intrusive conservation methods, preserving the dignity of the deceased and respecting their descendants by allowing the repatriation of human remains to their countries of origin, understanding and acknowledging the social and cultural context of these human remains, assessing the attitude of the local population, using educational platforms to facilitate dialogue and preventing the commercialisation and exploitation of these remains, there are no known cases where Slovenian institutions have violated any of these norms when handling human remains.

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# Oris kulturne formacije ženske sfere od zahodne Azije do srednje Evrope od kamene do železne dobe

**Izvleček:** Ta članek obravnava sfero žensk v prazgodovini, od kamene do železne dobe med zahodno Azijo in srednjo Evropo. Razmišljanja temeljijo predvsem na slikovnih upodobitvah, grobnih najdbah in predmetih (kipi, figurice), ki predstavljajo ženske. Vprašanja, ki izhajajo iz teh slikovnih in figuralnih upodobitev ter grobnih najdb, zajemajo različne vidike, med drugim: v kakšnem kontekstu se pojavljajo upodobitve žensk, kakšne značilnosti imajo upodobitve, ali obstajajo namigi o predvideni uporabi upodobitev/predmetov, ali upodobitve in grobne najdbe dajejo informacije o družbenem statusu ali hierarhičnem položaju žensk v zadevni prazgodovinski družbi, ali obstajajo dokazi o udeležbi žensk v verskih in/ali obrednih dejavnostih itd.? Cilj je dobiti oris ženske sfere v določenem časovnem okviru in prostoru.

**Ključne besede**: Ženske, ženska sfera, položaj v družbi, kulturne formacije, prazgodovina

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## An outline of the cultural formation of the female sphere from Western Asia to Central Europe from the Stone Age to the Iron Age

**Abstract:** This article examines the sphere of women in prehistory, from the Stone Age to the Iron Age between Western Asia and Middle Europe. The considerations are based primarily on pictorial representations, grave finds and objects (statues, figurines) that represent women. The questions that arise from these pictorial and figural representations as well as the grave finds cover various aspects, including: in what context do representations of women appear, what characteristics do the representations have, are there clues to the intended uses of the representations/objects, do the representations or grave finds provide information on the social status or hierarchical positions of women in the respective prehistoric society, are there evidences of women's participation in religious and/or ritual activities, etc.? The aim is to obtain an outline of the cultural formation of the female sphere within the specified time frame and space.

**Keywords:** Women, Female Sphere, Role in Society, Cultural Formations, Prehistory

Glede najdaljšega obdobja človeške zgodovine je na vprašanja v zvezi z vlogo žensk v družbi mogoče odgovoriti le s preučevanjem materialnih ostankov in pogosto celo samo s preučevanjem skeletnega materiala. Fizična antropologija omogoča vpogled v življenjske razmere ljudi v preteklosti in poskuša odgovoriti na vprašanja o tem, kaj so ljudje jedli, o boleznih, pričakovani starosti, nevarnostih v njihovem življenju in vzrokih za njihovo smrt (Blau in Ubelaker 2012; Roberts in Manchester 2005; Lovell 1997; Brothwell 1981). Ženske so bile skozi zgodovino še posebej v nevarnosti zaradi nosečnosti in poroda (Rebay-

-Salisbury 2018). Izotopske analize in genetika nam lahko veliko povedo o migracijah ljudi, na primer med procesom neolitizacije (Rebay-Salisbury 2023a; Childebayeva idr. 2022; Hervella idr. 2015; Deguilloux idr. 2012; Rambuscheck 2009; Bentley idr. 2002). Toda kaj vemo o njihovem statusu in vlogi v družbi ter o njihovih duhovnih prepričanjih? Prepričanjem in duhovnemu svetu ljudi v najdaljšem obdobju človeške zgodovine je mogoče slediti predvsem s predmeti, ki so jih ljudje ustvarili in pustili za seboj. Na eni strani gre za figuralno umetnost in slike ali poslikave, na drugi strani pa za materialne ostanke, ki so povezani z obredi, kot so pogrebni rituali. V prazgodovini obstaja za nekatera obdobja takih materialnih ostankov veliko, za druga manj ali pa so popolnoma odsotni. To pomeni, da se naše znanje o prepričanjih in duhovnem svetu ljudi od obdobja do obdobja zelo razlikuje. V nadaljevanju bo razmislek osredotočen na tiste materialne ostanke, ki jih je mogoče povezati z žensko sfero.

## Kamena doba

Najstarejše upodobitve človeka segajo v pozni paleolitik, natančneje v dve obdobji, ki se imenujeta aurignacien in gravettien, gre za čas med 41. in 24. tisočletjem pred sedanjostjo (Belfer-Cohen in Goring-Morris 2014; Stutz 2014; Hahn 1987). V Evropi sta pozni ali mlajši paleolitik, aurignacien in gravettian, povezana s pojavom umetnosti, kot so stenske poslikave v jamah v Franciji in Španiji (Ruspoli in Berthemy 1998; Müller-Karpe 1977; Leroi-Gourhan 1975). Večinoma so na jamskih poslikavah upodobljene živali, obstajajo pa tudi shematske upodobitve človeških figur, pogosto gre za prizore lova. Po drugi strani pa je to tudi čas prvega pojava človeških figur, ki so izdelane iz kosti ali kamna, pri čemer prevladujejo upodobitve žensk, ki jih običajno imenujejo »Venere« (Hansen 2007, 11–26;

Müller-Beck idr. 2001; Reinhardt in Wehrberger 1994). Najbolj znana figura je brez dvoma »Willendorfska Venera« iz Avstrije (Rebay-Salisbury 2023b; Antl-Weiser 2008; Hansen 2007, 24[2]). V splošnem je za te figure značilno, da ne kažejo individualnih osebnih značilnosti, glava in okončine so običajno majhne in rudimentarne, telo, prsi in zadnjica pa so voluminozne (Hansen 2007, 24). Zato je mogoče domnevati, da ne gre za portrete, ampak predstavljajo anonimne osebe ali morda božanstva.

Največje število ženskih figur je poznanih iz neolitskih in eneolitskih kultur na Bližnjem vzhodu in na Balkanu, gre za čas med 7. in 5./4. tisočletjem pr. n. št. (Hansen 2007). Zelo značilne ženske figure so znane iz južne levantinske regije in tako imenovane kulture Jarmuk, ki predstavlja najstarejšo poznano neolitsko kulturo z lončarstvom v tej regiji (Garfinkel, Ben-Shlomo in Marom 2011; Ben-Shlomo in Yosef Garfinkel 2009; Garfinkel 1993). Kultura Jarmuk je znana po prvih večjih naseljih, na primer Sha'ar HaGolan, v katerih je živelo na stotine ljudi. Iz arheološkega najdišča Sha'ar HaGolan izhaja največja zbirka prazgodovinskih figur z več kot 340 keramičnimi in kamnitimi figurami (Garfinkel, Ben-Shlomo in Korn 2010; Hansen 2007, 71). Gre za posebne vrste keramičnih in kamnitih figur. Imajo značilne stožčaste glave in ozke oči, ki izgledajo kot kavna zrna, porcelanasti polžek (*cypraeidae*) ali semena žit (slika 1).

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[2] Slika št. 6.

Slika 1: Yarmoukian, figurica z očmi v obliki kavnih zrn (po Hellmuth Kramberger 2023)



V literaturi so znane tudi pod angleškim izrazom *Figurines with »coffe-bean« eyes*. Gre predvsem za upodobitve golih žensk v sedečem položaju, z veliko zadnjico (Garfinkel 1993, 124–125). Razlaga oziroma interpretacija teh figur je nejasna in najbolj pogosto se domneva, da gre za simbole v kultu plodnosti. Na to domnevo nakazujejo tudi nekatere upodobitve falusov. Na splošno pa so ti artefakti obravnavani kot del umetniške in/ali verske sfere, saj so imeli pomembno funkcijo v neolitski družbi južne levantske regije. Do danes ni bilo odkrite nobene figure v določenih zgradbah, ki bi jih lahko razlagali kot zgodnje oblike templjev ali zgradbah za družabna srečanja, odkrite so bile v običajnih bivalnih prostorih.

Enako velja tudi za številne ženske figure iz neolitske Anatolije, ki so iz istega časovnega obdobja kot figure kulture Jarmuk. Najpomembnejše in najbolj znano arheološko najdišče v južni Anatoliji, na katerem je bilo odkritih več ženskih figur, je Çatal Höyük (Mel-

laart 1967). Arheološko najdišče je prvi izkopaval James Mellaart, ki je raziskal več kot 150 neolitskih hiš, v katerih so bile odkrite upodobitve (stenske poslikave in reliefi), bukranije in pokopi. Med najbolj znane najdbe iz Çatal Höyüka sodijo tudi figure, ki prikazujejo ženske (Yalman 2021; Hansen 2007, 95–101). Telo teh figur je upodobljeno relativno realistično, toda obrazi so zelo shematični, posameznih značilnosti obraza ni mogoče prepoznati in torej ne gre za portrete (slika 2).

Slika 2: Çatal Höyük, figurica (po Hellmuth Kramberger 2023)
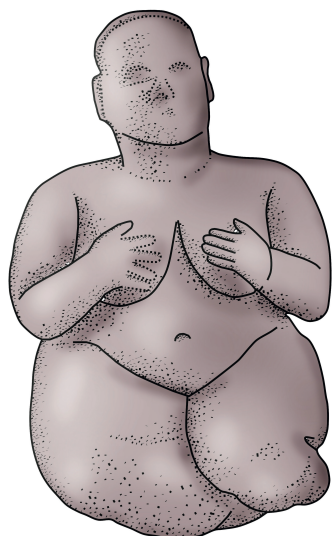


Pogosto so v polsedečem položaju z rokami na prsih. Slavna figura iz Çatal Höyüka sedi na prestolu, ki ga obdajajo živali (Mellaart 1967, 156–157[3]). Ker je med nogami ženske figure okrogel predmet, se prizor včasih interpretira kot rojstvo, kar bi pomenilo, da gre za izjemno redko upodobitev (Yalman 2021, 130). Za večino naj-

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[3] Sliki št. 67–68.

db figur iz Çatal Höyüka ni mogoče ugotoviti posebnega položaja, niso bile namenoma deponirane ali uporabljene kot grobni pridatki; izhajajo predvsem iz polnil, ki so bili interpretirani kot odpadki (Meskell idr. 2008, 144, 146). Izjema je odkritje dveh ženskih figur iz leta 2016, ki sta bili odloženi na glineno platformo v stavbi (Hodder 2016, 7–8). Skupaj s figurami sta bili odkriti dve modri perli, obsidian in kos galena.

Ženske figure so privedle Jamesa Mellaarta do interpretacije, da jih je treba razlagati kot predstavitve plodnosti in boginj in da je bila neolitska naselbina središče za čaščenje boginje Matere ali Velike Matere (Yalman 2021, 127–128; Hansen 2007, 100–101, 329–331; Mellaart 1967, 77–130). To interpretacijo je intenzivno obravnavala tudi Marija Gimbutas (1991, 7, 8, 227, 238, 255;[4] 1982, 56, 152,[5] 176), ki domneva, da je Çatal Höyük predstavljal središče čaščenje Velike Matere. Ta interpretacija se danes pojavlja tudi v neznanstveni literaturi in pri skupinah new age duhovnosti (Yalman 2021, Meskell idr. 2008, 128; Hansen 2007, 329). Çatal Höyük je bil včasih obravnavan celo kot dokaz in primer matriarhalne družbe v neolitiku (ibid.), vendar pa nedavna izkopavanja kažejo, da arheološko najdišče ne ponuja nobenih dokazov o matriarhalni kulturi ali dominantnih boginjah Velikih Materah. Raziskovalke, kot je Lynn Meskell (2007; Maskell idr. 2008, 157; Meskell in Nakamura 2005) in druge, namreč ugotavljajo, da je število moških in ženskih upodobitev uravnoteženo. Zato ni nobenega argumenta za to, da bi obstajala opazna prevlada ženskih reprezentacij – vendarle to ne pomeni, da ženske figure niso imele posebne funkcije v družbi, le njihova funkcija nam danes ni več jasna.

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[4] Sliki št. 7–7, 7–26.
[5] Sliki št. 98–99.

Drugo anatolsko najdišče iz neolitika, na katerem je bilo najde-
nih več upodobitev žensk, je Hacılar v jugovzhodni Turčiji (Mellaart
1970). Tudi Hacılar je med drugim znan po svoji keramiki in kera-
mičnih figurah in spet gre za upodobitve žensk, ki jih odlikuje ve-
liko telo z veliko zadnjico in trebuhom (Yalman 2021, 126; Hansen
2007, 101–104). Pogosto so figure v ležečem ali polležečem položa-
ju, ena izmed značilnih gestikulacij so roke žensk na prsih, to gesto
najdemo tudi na figurah iz kulture Jarmuk in v Çatal Höyüku. Ena-
ka gestikulacija z rokami na prsih se v Hacilarju ne pojavlja le na
figurah, ampak tudi na antropomorfnih posodah (steklenicam po-
dobne posode), ki prikazujejo človeške oblike, najverjetneje ženske
(Schwarzberg 2011, 27–30). Antropomorfne posode so po celotni
površini bogato poslikane z rdečo in rjavo barvo, geometrijski or-
namenti pa lahko predstavljajo oblačila ali tetovaže. Antropomorf-
ne posode, ki najverjetneje predstavljajo ženske, ki na glavi nosijo
posode, iz 5.–4. tisočletja pr. n. št. so bile odkrite tudi v jugovzhodni
Evropi. (Kramberger in Hellmuth Kramberger 2018, 36–41[6])

Kot že omenjeno, so voluminozne figure in tudi gestikulacija z
rokama na prsih vodile k razlagi, da gre za figure, povezane s kultom
plodnosti. Zlasti voluminozna telesa verjetno niso ustrezala normi v
neolitiku – razpravlja se o tem, ali predstavljajo nosečnice ali debele
ženske, kar je bil skozi čas izraz bogastva (Hansen 2007, 322–323).
Ženske figure so izdelovali v različnih obdobjih človeške zgodovine
in na različnih območjih, jasno pa je, da se pri prazgodovinskih
figurah nekatere značilnosti ponavljajo. Po eni strani se ponavljajo
sami načini upodobitve, voluminozna ženska telesa, na drugi strani
pa se ponavljajo tudi njihovi položaji. Najbolj očitna gesta so roke
prekrižane na prsih ali roke, ki se dotikajo prsi. Zdi se, da je ta
ponavljajoča se gesta imela zelo specifičen pomen, ki so ga podobno

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[6] Sliki št. 2–3.

doumevali skozi različna obdobja. Možno je seveda tudi, da so imele figure in geste različne pomene in funkcije ter da so se le-te skozi čas spreminjale. Toda ne moremo vedeti, za kakšen namen so bile te figure ustvarjene, saj ni pisnih virov, ki bi podajali podatke o tem. Možnosti je veliko in najpogostejša interpretacija je, da gre za obredne predmete, simbole plodnosti ali upodobitve boginje Velike Matere. V zadnjih letih se pojavljajo tudi druge interpretacije, ki temeljijo na etnografskih vzporednicah (na primer Naumov 2013; Hansen 2007, 321–326). Druge možne interpretacije so na primer, da gre za samoupodobitve žensk ali prednikov, igrače, podobe oz. upodobitve določenih oseb kot vudu lutk ali pa seksualne predmete. V devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja so se raziskave v antropoloških in družboslovnih teorijah usmerile v poskuse interpretacij skozi vprašanja spola, telesnosti, utelešenja, identitete ali spolnosti (Naumov 2013, 50). Čeprav ta pristop ni dal natančnih odgovorov o tem, koga naj bi figure predstavljale in za kaj so jih uporabljali, pa je razširil smeri raziskovanja človeških reprezentacij v preteklosti. Človeško/žensko telo je kompleksna platforma za družbene in simbolne procese in ga je mogoče opazovati skozi različne perspektive. Etnografske vzporednice kažejo, da so lahko upodobitve profanih ali svetih teles povezane z različnimi pomeni v istem obdobju in celo na isti podobi. Goce Naumov (2013, 53–54) navaja upodobitve svetih žensk na srednjeveških cerkvenih slikah v Makedoniji – vse so upodobljene na enak standardiziran način, vendar predstavljajo različne posameznike, zgodbe in ozadja. Njihove zgodbe imajo različno funkcijo, npr. odpirajo različne moralne aspekte, vendar jih vizualno ni mogoče razlikovati. Zato bi lahko tudi sicer vizualno podobne figurice predstavljale zelo različne zgodbe in imele različne funkcije. In ni nujno, da so bile ženske figure povezane z žensko sfero. Svend Hansen (2007, 321) se sklicuje na primer Maconde, kjer ob iniciaciji moških uporabljajo figure nosečnic iz lesa.

## Bakrena in bronasta doba

S koncem bakrene dobe in začetkom zgodnje bronaste dobe, okoli 3. tisočletja pr. n. št., se upodobitve žensk drastično spremenijo. Ob koncu 4. tisočletja pr. n. št. govorimo v Mezopotamiji o uruškem obdobju, poimenovanem po arheološkem najdišču Uruk-Warka v Iraku, ki predstavlja zadnjo fazo bakrene dobe (Ess 2015; 2005; Crüsemann idr. 2013; Rothman 2001; Algaze 1993; 1989; Eichmann 1989). V obdobju Uruk se prvič pojavijo kamniti kipi z bolj realističnimi obrazi, kar velja za moške in ženske upodobitve (Vogel 2013). Na splošno se število moških upodobitev pri figurah močno povečuje, kar tvori kontrast s prejšnjimi obdobji, v katerih so pri figurah jasno prevladovale ženske in shematične upodobitve obraza. Figure in kipi iz 4. tisočletja pr. n. št. spominjajo nedvomno na kipe v Mezopotamiji, ki so značilni za vsa naslednja obdobja, torej od 3. tisočletja pr. n. št. dalje. Za slednje iz napisov vemo, da pogosto prikazujejo voditelje mest, predpostavlja se, da tudi kipi iz 4. tisočletja pr. n. št. upodabljajo vladarje oziroma svečeniške kralje. A vendar je ena izmed najbolj znanih človeških upodobitev iz poznega 4. tisočletja pr. n. št. glava ženskega kipa, poznanega kot »Dama iz Uruka« (Blocher 2013) (slika 3).

Slika 3: Uruk, kip »Dama iz Uruka« (po Hellmuth Kramberger 2023)
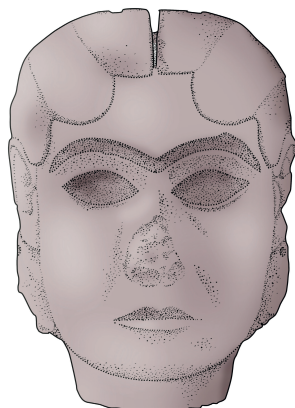
Gre za približno 20 cm visoko glavo iz marmorja: obrvi in oči so votle, prvotno so bili v jamice vstavljeni deli iz drugačnih oziroma dragocenih materialov, ki so jih kasneje namerno odstranili. Glede na interpretacijo upodobitve se domneva, da gre za kip boginje Inanne. Inanna je bila vrhovna boginja v Uruku in hčerka glavnega boga An-a (boga neba). Na podlagi pisnih virov jo med drugim štejejo za boginjo ljubezni in spolnega življenja, bojevito in osvajalno božanstvo (Zgoll 2013; Zingsem 1999, 17–23; Haas 1986, 28–29). V sredini 3. tisočletja pr. n. št. je bila Inanna znana tudi pod akadskim imenom Ištar, njen simbol je bil planet Venera, torej jutranja in večerna zvezda. V Uruku obstajajo številni zgodnji dokazi o čaščenju boginje Inanne, prvi datirajo že v 4. tisočletje pr. n. št. V ta čas sodi najstarejša gradbena faza Inannninega templja v tako imenovanem okrožju Eanna (Eichmann 2013, 122), obstajajo pa tudi številni simboli te boginje. Znak »MÚŠ« je bil v sumerskem jeziku povezan z Inanno in predstavlja zavitke rogoze z obročastim koncem (nemško *Schilfringbündel*) (Blocher 2013, 83;[7] Zgoll 2013, 71). Poznamo tudi scenske upodobitve, ki po vsej verjetnosti prikazujejo rituale čaščenja boginje Inanne, in sicer na en meter visoki posodi iz alabastra z reliefno upodobitvijo, t. i. »Warka vaza« (Zgoll 2013, 70;[8] Hockmann 2008). Nazorni prizori take vrste so nekaj novega v 4. tisočletju pr. n. št. Omeniti velja, da simboli Inanne niso bili odkriti le kot liki in upodobitve na reliefnih posodah, ampak tudi kot realije. V Uruk-Warka so namreč odkrili ostanke zavitkov rogoz, ki so bili oviti z bakrenim trakom (Eichmann 2013, 123[9]). Predmete so našli v posebnih zgradbah v središču naselja, ki se kažejo kot predhodniki palač in templjev, ki predstavljajo centre moči v vseh naslednjih obdobjih. Te zgradbe so bile središča uprave,

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[7] Slika št. 11.2.
[8] Slika št. 9.1.
[9] Slika št. 16.7.

kar je razvidno iz najdb klinopisnih tablic, pečatnikov in žetonov za štetje (Feller 2013; Klengel-Brandt 1997). Upravljanje in nadzor nad premoženjem sta bila povezan z ljudmi s posebnim družbenim statusom – z elito, ki je imela nadzor nad premoženjem. Prehod iz pozne bakrene dobe v zgodnjo bronasto dobo v Mezopotamiji torej predstavlja tudi prelom z urbano civilizacijo na starem Bližnjem vzhodu in z njenimi visokimi kulturami, s tem pa prelom z določenim zgodovinskim obdobjem. Iz tega časa imamo prve dokaze o konkretnih upodobitvah boginj, ki so znane iz kasnejših pisnih virov.

Za zgodnje 3. tisočletje pr. n. št., kot tudi za prejšnje obdobje Uruk, obstajajo dokazi o ženskih božanstvih in sodelovanju žensk v verskem življenju. Gre za zgodnjo bronasto dobo, zgodnje dinastično obdobje, za katerega je jasno, da so templji – predvsem tempelj posameznega mestnega boga na ziguratu (umetni tempeljski plato) – tvorili središča mest (Eichmann 2013). Za ta čas še nimamo pisnih virov, ki bi razkrivali podatke o zgodovinskih dogodkih, glinene ploščice so predvsem tako imenovani »leksikalni seznami« in so služile za administracijo (Nissen 1986). Na številna vprašanja o zgodnjebronastodobni družbi je zato mogoče odgovoriti le nedorečeno, saj domneve temeljijo predvsem na arheoloških najdbah. Kar se tiče religioznosti pa je ta izražena tudi preko mnogih tako imenovanih »kipcev-molivcev« (nemško *Beterstatuetten*) (Hellmuth Kramberger 2023, 65; Czichon 2006; Nissen 1983, 170–171;[10] Braun-Holzinger 1977). Takšno obliko kipcev poznamo iz prve polovice 3. tisočletja pr. n. št. iz celotne Mezopotamije, torej iz južne in severne Mezopotamije, recimo iz Ešnunna-Tell Asmar-ja v Iraku. Narejeni so bili iz kamna in so običajno odkriti v templjih. Prikazujejo moške in ženske, zelo značilna lastnost so njihove velike oči, vsi pa kažejo enako gesto, roke so pokrčene pred prsmi. Domneva se, da večinoma prikazujejo

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[10] Slika št. 33.

običajne ljudi, ki so v templjih darovali kipe, vendar namen darovanja ni znan. To pa pomeni, da so imeli moški in ženske enako možnost obiskati tempelj in darovati takšno figuro.

Iz 3. tisočletja pr. n. št. izhajajo prvi arheološki podatki o ženskah iz elite, aristokratinjah, ki so bile pokopane z enakimi bogatimi in ekskluzivnimi grobnimi pridatki kot moški člani njihove družbe. Čeprav to seveda ne pomeni samodejno, da so bili moški in ženske enakopravni v družbi, saj podobna nagrobna oprema ne pomeni enakega družbenega položaja v življenju. Grob vedno predstavlja inscenacijo. Eno najpomembnejših arheoloških najdišč, ki kaže pojav prvih bronastodobnih elit v južni Mezopotamiji je Ur-Tell el-Muqejir v južnem Iraku. Po t. i. »kraljevih grobovih« iz 3. tisočletja pr. n. št. je najbolj poznan Ur (Vogel 2014; Zettler in Horne 1998; Pollock 1991; Nissen 1966; Woolley 1934). Britanec sir Leonard Woolley je odkril grobišče iz 3. tisočletja pr. n. št. z več kot 2000 grobovi, pri čemer je bilo 16 grobov po svojih značilnostih in grobnih pridatkih izjemnih. Med temi »kraljevimi grobovi« je Woolley odkril enega (grob 800), ki ni bil izropan, in sicer grob 40-letne ženske, za katero iz napisa na cilindričnem pečatniku sklepamo, da ji je bilo ime Puabi. Grob je vseboval veliko pridatkov, med njimi je veliko predmetov iz zlata, lapisa lazuli, karneola in srebra. V grobnici je bilo odkritih tudi dva ducata drugih oseb, ki jih razlagajo kot njene služabnike. Antropološke študije so pokazale, da so bili ti ljudje ubiti (Vogel 2014). Ni jasno, ali se je to zgodilo prostovoljno zaradi lojalnosti ali pa je elita lahko odločala o življenju in smrti drugih ljudi. Status pokojnice ni znan, razpravlja se o tem, ali je bila Puabi kraljica ali svečenica ali vladarica. Vendar pa gre nedvomno za pripadnico elite tistega časa (Pollock 1983).

Posredni dokazi o ženski eliti iz 3. tisočletja pr. n. št. prihajajo tudi iz Anatolije. Poznani so iz enega najbolj znanih arheoloških najdišč v Sredozemlju, Troje oziroma Hisarlik Tepe, ki se nahaja

ob severozahodni obali Turčije v provinci Çanakkale (Pernicka idr. 2016; Korfmann 2006; Tolstikov idr. 1996). Med leti 1871 in 1890 je to najdišče kot prvi raziskoval nemški podjetnik in arheolog Heinrich Schliemann. Schliemann je interpretiral najdišče Hisarlik Tepe kot mesto Troja iz homerskega epa *Iliada*. Schliemannovi tezi sta sledila tudi Carl W. Blegen, ki je izkopaval na najdišču Hisarlik Tepe v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja, in nemški prazgodovinski arheolog Manfred Korfmann, ki je to najdišče raziskoval med leti 1988 in 2005. Vendar do danes ni dokazov, da bi bil Hisarlik Tepe dejansko Troja, saj v nasprotju s številnimi drugimi kraji v Mezopotamiji, kjer pisni viri zagotavljajo informacije o imenih mest v bronasti dobi, za tega nimamo verodostojnih podatkov. Najbolj slavna najdba iz najdišča Hisarlik Tepe je tako imenovan »Priamov zaklad«. Gre za zlato depojsko najdbo, za katero je Schliemann domneval, da gre za zaklad kralja Priama iz homerskega epa *Iliada* (Hellmuth Kramberger 2023;[11] Treister 2002). V najdišču Hisarlik Tepe so odkrili skupaj 20 različnih zakladnih najdb, ki datirajo v 3. tisočletje pr. n. št. Zakladne najdbe sestavljajo nakit in drugi predmeti iz zlata, srebra, elektrona, brona in gorskega kristala. Pomembno za te zakladne najdbe iz najdišča Hisarlik Tepe je, da s svojim stilom kažejo na povezave z različnimi precej oddaljenimi kraji, na primer s področjem Mezopotamije. Tako ti dragoceni predmeti odražajo dve stvari: na eni strani izoblikovanje elite v zgodnji bronasti dobi, aristokracije, ki je imela široko komunikacijsko mrežo. Po drugi strani pa ta redek in drag nakit, podoben kot v primerih iz kraljevih grobov v Uru, kaže na prisotnost žensk kot predstavnic višjega sloja. Toda tudi v tem primeru ni mogoče odgovoriti, ali so bile to zgolj žene vladarjev brez lastne avtoritete ali pa so bile morebiti samostojne vladarice.

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[11] Sliki št. 43–44.

O posebnem statusu moramo razmišljati v povezavi z več bogatimi zgodnjebronastodobnimi grobovi iz osrednje Anatolije. Gre
za grobove iz najdišča Alaca Höyük v osrednjem delu Anatolije, ki
ga datirajo med 27. in 24. stoletjem pr. n. št. (Yalçın in Yalçın 2018;
Lichter 2018). V Alaca Höyüku so odkrili 14 grobov v pravokotnih
kamnitih kamrah, ki so bile prekrite z lesenimi tramovi. Na zgornji
strani lesenih tramov so bile položene glave in noge goveda, ki
jih razlagajo kot ostanke obredov. V grobovih pa so bila odkrita
okostja moških in žensk, v enem primeru pa je šlo za dvojni pokop. Grobovi iz Alaca Hüyüka so vsebovali presenetljivo bogate
pridatke iz zlata, srebra, elektrona, bakra in brona, pa tudi iz jantarja, ahata in železa. Posebno zanimivih je 39 predmetov, ki so jih
imenovali žezla, saj so unikatni (Hellmuth Kramberger 2023, 71;
Zimmermann 2006–2007; Orthmann 1967). Na eni strani gre za
upodobitve jelenov, na drugi strani pa za diske z geometričnim ornamentom, ki so včasih imenovani tudi sončni diski. Zanimivo je,
da so bili najdeni v vseh grobovih. Razni raziskovalci jih interpretirajo kot statusne simbole, morda gre za simbole vladanja ali pa
so povezani z religioznim statusom pokojnih. Verjetno je, da gre za
grobove elite tistega časa in osebe posebnega statusa, saj so ostali
grobovi drugačni, običajno preprosti grobovi v kamnitih skrinjah
ali v *pitosih* (Massa 2014; Massa in Şahoğlu 2011; Seeher 2000).
Iz teh grobov je zopet mogoče razpoznati dostopnost posebnega
družbenega statusa tako moških kot tudi žensk, pa čeprav danes
ne vemo, kako je ta status podrobneje izgledal.

Od sredine 3. tisočletja naprej govorimo o Mezopotamiji v zgodovinskem obdobju, znana so klinopisna besedila v sumerskem
in akadskem jeziku, ki nas obveščajo o zgodovinskih dogodkih,
političnih interakcijah, religiji in družbi (Hellmuth Kramberger
2023, 75–79; Archi 2015; Van de Mieroop 1999; Winter 1985). Eden
od dokumentov, ki nam daje vpogled v vlogo in pravice žensk, je

znameniti Hamurabijev zakonik, ki datira v začetek 2. tisočletja pr. n. št. (Codex Hammurabi 2013; Orthmann 1985, 300–301[12]). Gre za 2,25 m visoko stelo iz črnega diorita, ki jo je leta 1901/1902 odkrila francoska ekspedicija v Susi, glavnem mestu starega kraljestva Elama v današnjem Iranu. V Suso je stela prišla verjetno v 12. stoletju pr. n. št., po tem, ko je elamitski kralj Shutruk-Nahhunte oplenil mesto Babilon. Od kje stela prvotno izvira, ni znano, možno pa je, da iz glavnega mesta Babilona v južni Mezopotamiji. Poleg zbirke zakonov sestavlja zakonik tudi 282 odstavkov, ki poročajo o stvareh, ki jih je kralj Hamurabi storil v svojem življenju. Zbirka zakonov nam daje informacije o birokratskih postopkih, družinah, kaznih, suženjstvu, o plačilih in drugih stvareh. Poleg t. i. »Ur-nammujevega zakonika« predstavlja »Hamurabijev zakonik« najstarejšo zbirko pravnih zakonov (Roth 1997). Relevantni za temo tega članka so predpisi o zakonskih zvezah in o seksualnih odnosih, ki predstavljajo velik del zakonika, od §128 do §184 (Codex Hammurabi 2013, 57–73). Zakoni zagotavljajo neke vrste zaščito za ženske, zabeležene pa so tudi hude kazni v primeru kršenja zakonov (Strenge 2006). Za izvršitev hude kazni je bilo pogosto dovolj, da je sosed poročeno ženo obtožil, da je prevarala svojega moža, npr. §132 (Codex Hammurabi 2013, 58). Ali so bile obtožbe dokazane ali ne, ni bilo pomembno. To je primer dejstva, da ženske v starobabilonskem obdobju niso imele enakih pravic kot moški. In to je jasno tudi iz 128. odstavka, kjer piše, da »ženska ni žena, če moški o tem ni sklenil pogodbe« (Codex Hammurabi 2013, 57). Ženska je torej le subjekt pogodbe, ki jo ureja moški.

## Železna doba

Kakšne so bile razmere v 1. tisočletju pr. n. št.? Iz tega obdobja poznamo več pisnih virov (na primer asirski, babilonski, perzijski

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[12] Slika št. 181.

in grški viri), a tudi materialna kultura nam lahko da vpogled v življenje žensk.

Iz železne dobe oziroma obdobja asirskega cesarstva v Mezopotamiji poznamo redek grob asirskih kraljic, ki nam daje vpogled v bogastvo in statusne predmete asirske aristokracije. Gre za najdbo iz asirske prestolnice Nimrud-Kalhu (Oates in Oates 2001). Nimrud-Kalhu leži 30 km jugovzhodno od sodobnega mesta Mossul v Iraku, mesto je v glavnem povezano s kraljema Assurnasirpalom II. (883–859 pr. n. št.) in Tiglat-pilesarjem III. (745–727 pr. n. št.). V Nimrud-Kalhuju je prišlo do enega izmed najbolj presenetljivih odkritij v poznih 80-ih in 90-ih letih prejšnjega stoletja, ko sta bili odkriti dve neizropani grobnici, ki datirata med 9. in 7. stoletje pr. n. št. Grobnici sta bili odkriti pod tlemi sobe MM, v tako imenovani severozahodni palači v Nimrudu-Kalhuju (Hussein 2016; Damerij 1999). Iz napisov, ki so bili najdeni v obeh grobnicah, je znano, da je bilo v njih pokopanih več kraljic; v grobnici II je bila med drugim pokopana kraljica Atalia, žena kralja Sargona II., pa tudi Banitu, žena kralja Salmanassarja V. ter kraljica Jaba, žena Tiglatpilesarja III. (Hussein 2016, 24; Damerij 1999, 7–8). Iz zapisanega besedila in tudi iz reliefov v palačah vemo, da so se asirske kraljice včasih udeleževale tudi proslav v počastitev zmag. Primer je tako imenovan »vrtni prizor« na reliefu iz Ninive (severna palača), ki datira v 7. stoletje pr. n. št. (Orthmann 1985, 325[13]). Relief prikazuje zmago Assurbanipala nad elamitskim kraljem, na njem pa je vidna tudi žena asirskega vladarja, Libbāli-šarrat (Gansell 2016, 54–55;[14] Collon 2010, 159[15]). Kraljico vidimo na prestolu in s posebno skledo v roki, tako imenovano *phialo*. To so bile posebne kovinske posode, pogosto izdelane iz zlata, uporabljane v asirskih

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[13] Slika št. 247.
[14] Slika št. 1.
[15] Slika št. 12b.

palačah – gre za statusne simbole (Schütte-Maischatz 2011). Iz njih so smeli piti samo kralji, kraljice, bogovi in visoki uradniki, kot lahko sklepamo iz reliefnih upodobitev v palačah. Tako lahko vidimo, da v asirski kraljevi družbi ženske niso bile izključene iz posebnih dogodkov, kot je praznovanje zmag. Upodobljene so na enak način kot drugi člani palače. Kraljice so sedele na prestolu in uporabljale enake statusne predmete kot kralji in drugi visoki uradniki. Poudariti pa je treba tudi, da gre za eno redkih reliefnih upodobitev in zato ni mogoče delati splošnih sklepov.

V srednji Evropi in jugovzhodni alpski regiji nimamo na razpolago veliko upodobitev ali figuralne umetnosti, ki bi nam podajale informacije v zvezi z vlogo žensk v takratni družbi. Večina našega znanja temelji na materialni kulturi in antropoloških raziskavah, iz katerih pridobimo informacije o statusu določene osebe in o družbeno-političnih interakcijah. Iz železne dobe izhajajo scenske upodobitve, t. i. situlska umetnost (Saccoccio 2023; Teržan 2022; Teržan 2020; Turk 2005; Eibner 2001; Kromer 1980; Frey 1969; Kromer 1962) in redkeje prizori na glinenih posodah (Eibner 2017;[16] Teržan 2001[17]). Drugače je v železnodobni Grčiji, kjer se v vaznem slikarstvu najde številne slikovne upodobitve (Boardman 1991; Boardman 1981; Boardman 1977).

Situle in situlska umetnost se pojavljajo med 7. in 4./3. stoletjem pr. n. št., pojav figurativno okrašenih bronastih posod je značilnost železne dobe na širšem območju Jugovzhodnih Alp in Caput Adrije (Saccoccio 2023, 54;[18] Teržan 2007[19]). Če pogledamo scenske upodobitve na situlah, opazimo, da se nekatere upodobitve ponavljajo, marsikatere med njimi pa vključujejo tudi upodobitve žensk.

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[16] Sliki št. 5–6.

[17] Slika št. 1.

[18] Slika št. 3.

[19] Slika št. 1.

Med upodobitvami na situlah pogosto najdemo boksarske boje, bojevniške procesije, glasbenike, strežbe pijač, vožnje z vozovi/dirke z vozovi in tako imenovane »svete poroke«. Večkrat ponavljajoči se prizori in upodobitve dajejo misliti, da gre za reprezentacijo konkretnih mitoloških zgodb ali morda celo zgodovinskih dogodkov. V prid temu argumentu morda govorijo bojevniški prizori, saj so procesije, vožnje z vozovi, čaščenje zmag, darovanja in prizori lova značilne upodobitve na reliefih v palačah v Asiriji (Orthmann 1985[20]). Asirski kralji so na reliefih v svojih palačah upodabljali vso svojo slavo, svoje zmage nad sovražniki in praznovanja zmag. Mitološko zgodbo ponazarja boksarski boj, ki bi lahko predstavljal figure junakov. Včasih pa upodobitve interpretirajo tudi kot predstavitev praznovanj in obredov v povezavi s pogrebnimi običaji. Torej kot procesije, pogrebne igre, prinašanje grobnih pridatkov, ustoličevanje novega vladarja itd. Taka interpretacija temelji na zapisu, ki se pojavlja v Homerskem epu *Iliada* in opisuje pokop Patroklosa, Ahilejevega najboljšega prijatelja – njegov pokop je vključeval tudi pogrebno procesijo in pogostitev (Cavy 1996, 378–402).[21] Ženskih upodobitev je na situlah bistveno manj (Saccoccio 2023, 81) in na splošno lahko rečemo, da so upodobitve žensk redke oziroma so imele ženske očitno manj pomembno vlogo v teh prizorih. Dejansko obstajajo v glavnem tri različice oziroma motivi upodobitev žensk, v povezavi s strežbo pijače, nošenjem predmetov na glavi in sodelovanjem v tako imenovanih »svetih porokah« (ibid.[22]). Omeniti velja tudi, da upodobitve žensk, ki nosijo predmete na glavi, najdemo tudi pri drugih upodobitvah iz halštatskega obdobja, in sicer pri bronastih in keramičnih figurah (Kramberger in Hellmuth Kramberger 2018, 45–48; Eibner 2017; Rebay-Salisbury

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[20] Slike št. 218, 224–225, 242–247.

[21] Homer: *Iliada*, knjiga XXIII.

[22] Slika št. 14.

2016; Teržan 2001, 79[23]). Edinstvena je upodobitev rojstva v situlski umetnosti (Teržan 2001;[24] Rebay-Salisbury 2018, 93;[25] Gangemi et al. 2015[26]), izjemen pa je tudi prizor tkanja in predenja (Turk 2005;[27] Kossack 1992[28]). Ženske so običajno upodobljene z dolgo obleko in lasmi, pokritimi s tančico. Kar zadeva tako imenovano »sveto po-roko«, se ta razlaga nanaša na različne upodobitve spolnih dejanj na situlah. Več situl prikazuje seksualne prizore, spolne odnose na postelji, stolu ali prestolu (Saccoccio 2023, 80–82; Rebay-Salis-bury 2018, 92–93;[29] Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 60; Turk 2005, 30–31[30]). Ženske so v teh prizorih vedno oblečene, moški pa so upodobljeni oblečeni ali goli. Prizore »svete poroke« običajno interpretirajo v kontekstu obredov pri ustoličevanju oziroma v procesu legitima-cije oblasti, kar lahko podpira dejstvo, da se spolno dejanje izvaja pred pričami. V tej razlagi je upodobljena ženska morda videti kot kraljica ali svečenica (Turk 2005, 30–31; Eibner 2001, 128; Teržan 2001). Po drugi strani pa, če pomislimo na sočasne grške vazne slike simpozijev, obstajajo tudi druge razlage. Morda gre za repre-zentacijo različnih dejavnosti, ki so se odvijale v okviru simpozijev. Med simpozijem so potekale razprave, recitacija poezije in druge aktivnosti, kot so ples, igre s pitjem (*kotaba*) in spolni stiki oz. or-gije (Reinsberg 1993, 91–112). Če se ženske pojavljajo na prizorih na slikani keramiki, potem gre za služabnice ali prostitutke. V Grčiji je bil simpozij namenjen izključno moškim, prisotnost žensk oziroma poročenih žensk ni bila dovoljena. Poročene ženske tudi niso bile

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[23] Sliki št. 10, 12.
[24] Slika št. 14p2.
[25] Slika št. 2.
[26] Glej Tabelo 2.
[27] Slika št. 34.
[28] Slika št. 7.
[29] Slika št. 2.
[30] Slike št. 39–42.

nikoli prikazane med spolnim odnosom (Reinsberg 1993, 77). V vsakem primeru lahko rečemo, da se ženske na situlah ne pojavljajo v nobeni dominantni vlogi, so samo pasivne udeleženke, ki služijo in sprejemajo. To bi nakazovalo, da so imele ženske v kulturah železne dobe v alpskem prostoru omejeno vlogo, podobno kot v antični Grčiji. V grški družbi je bila poročena ženska odgovorna za *oikos* – gospodinjstvo, hišo in družino (McClure 2019, 38–41; Späth in Wagner-Hasel 2000, 5; Hartmann 2007; Katz 2003). Pomembna naloga žensk v tem kontekstu je bila med drugim proizvodnja tekstila (McClure 2019, 42–46; Reuthner 2013, 23–24) – kar je zanimivo tudi glede na prej omenjene prizore na situlski umetnosti in drugih upodobitvah iz halštatske dobe (Grömer 2016, 268–270;[31] Kossack 1992; Eibner 1986). Ženske so bile poročene že pri okoli trinajstih letih in s poroko so se odgovornosti zanje z očeta prenesle na moža. Grkinje praktično niso imele pravice do samoodločbe in tudi ne besede v politiki, živele so večinoma ločeno od moških, njihova sfera ja bila *oikos*, hiša (McClure 2019, 87–88; Reuthner 2013, 11). Vendar je v tem kontekstu treba razlikovati tudi med različnimi mestnimi državami, saj se domneva, da so imele na primer ženske v Šparti več pravic kot v Atenah (McClure 2019, 53; Powell 2016, 348–378, 382–384). Tudi različni statusi so igrali vlogo. Medtem ko so ženske v revni družbi delale tudi zunaj doma, na primer na polju, je bilo življenje žensk v višji družbi omejeno na hišo (Powell 2016, 372–375). Fizično delo v domu so opravljali hlapci in sužnji, pri čemer je gospodinja nadzorovala in organizirala njihovo delo. Omejena vloga poročenih žensk v grški družbi je v kontrastu, če pogledamo mitologijo, z grškim panteonom, ki je imel veliko boginj, ki so bile povezane tudi z vojno in lovom, kot sta Atena in Artemida (Graf in Ley 1997; Graf 1997; Simon in Bauchhenß 1984). Obstaja

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[31] Slika št. 146.

torej očitno razlikovanje med nadnaravnim, duhovnim svetom z vsemi junaki in božanstvi ter svetom običajnih ljudi, v katerem so bile ženske očitno manj vplivne od moških oziroma na nek način v podrejenem položaju.

Po drugi strani pa obstajajo tudi indici, da bi lahko imele ženske v železnodobnem halštatskem kulturnem prostoru drugačno družbeno vlogo kot v Grčiji, na kar nakazuje določena nagrobna oprema. Največja gostota najdb situl je na eni strani na območju kulture Este v Benečiji in na drugi strani na območju t.i. dolenjske skupine v jugovzhodni Sloveniji (Saccoccio 2023, 54[32]). Te bronaste posode so večinoma najdbe iz grobov, grobni pridatki. Večinoma pripadajo bogato opremljenim moškim grobovom. V Etruriji v Italiji in tudi na splošno v halštatskem kulturnem območju pa so dokumentirani tudi bogati ženski grobovi, ki pa so manj pogosti (Bräuning 2009; Metzner-Nebelsick 2009, 256–258; Turk 2005, 26; Amann 2000). Grobovi so velikokrat vsebovali velike količine grobnih pridatkov, kot so posode, orožje, nakit in živali, pa tudi druge osebe, ki so morale slediti pokojniku v smrt. Velike skupine posod se razlaga kot opremo za simpozije, tj. pogostitve s pitjem in glasbo, kot so upodobljene tudi na prej omenjeni grški slikani keramiki. Če bogati ženski grobovi na območju halštatske kulture in v Etruriji vsebujejo številne posode za simpozij, bi to lahko pomenilo, da so na tem območju obstajali drugačni običaji glede sodelovanja žensk – zlasti poročenih žensk – v družbi kot v Grčiji. Nekaj podobnega verjetno velja tudi za mlajšo železno dobo, latensko dobo. Tu se lahko spomnimo na znameniti »princesin grob pri Vixu« na severu Burgundije, ki je eden najbolj bogato opremljenih ženskih grobov iz poznega halštatskega obdobja oziroma zgodnjega latenskega obdobja (Arnold 2012; Knüsel 2002; Joffroy 1954;

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[32] Slika št. 3.

Joffroy 1953), ali grob iz Waldalgesheima v Zahodni Nemčiji (Joachim 1995).

Popolnoma drugačne običaje povezane z udeležbo žensk v družbi najdemo tudi na območju severnega Črnega morja, kjer so v 1. tisočletju pr. n. št. živele različne nomadske konjeniške skupine, ki jih pogosto na splošno enačimo s Skiti (na primer Ivantchik 2013; Schubert in Weiß 2013; Ivantchik 2001; Rolle 1980b). Ko pomislimo na ženske iz severnega Pontika, najprej pomislimo na Amazonke, legendarne oborožene ženske, ki se borijo z lokom in puščicami in jezdijo nasproti grškim junakom, kot sta Heraklej ali Ahil, npr. amazonska kraljica Penthesilei (Fialko 2017; Mayor 2014; Teržan, Hellmuth in Heimann 2011, 253–255; Teržan in Hellmuth 2007; Davis-Kimball 2001; Rolle 1980a). Herodot poroča,[33] da se je devica smela poročiti šele potem, ko je ubila sovražnika. Poleg tega so si Amazonke odstranile prsi, da so lahko bolje streljale z lokom. Konjeniške nomadske skupine pa nimajo lastnih pisnih virov, zato ne vemo natančno, kakšna je bila vloga žensk v družbi. Naše domneve temeljijo na arheoloških najdbah. Raziskave poskušajo ugotoviti, ali so to zgolj namišljene figure iz grškega mita ali pa gre za zgodovinsko dokumentirane skupine žensk, ki so dejansko obstajale. Pravzaprav obstajajo arheološki dokazi, da so bile oborožene ženske realnost v družbi nomadskih konjenikov na območju severnega Pontika in v stepah proti vzhodu. Od 7. stoletja pr. n. št. dalje poznamo najdbe iz gomil s pokopi žensk, ki so imele kot grobne pridatke orožje (Fialko 2017;[34] Hellmuth Kramberger 2018, 89; Teržan, Hellmuth in Heimann 2011, 257–263; Guliaev 2003). Takšni grobovi so znani predvsem iz 5. in 4. stoletja pr. n. št. v regiji Dneper v Ukrajini. Na grobiščih, kot je na primer Mamaj-Gora, lahko

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[33] Herodot: *Historiae*, knjiga IV, 110–117.
[34] Slika št. 6.

pokopi žensk z orožjem predstavljajo do 10% (Hellmuth Kramberger 2017, 244;[35] Hellmuth 2006, 217–219[36]). Seveda se lahko vprašamo, ali so te ženske v življenju dejansko uporabljale orožje ali pa so jih v njihove grobove dali drugi družinski člani. Zelo verjetno je, da so ga uporabljale same, saj nekatere antropološke analize sledi obrabe na kosteh kažejo, da so te ženske izvajale močne fizične aktivnosti in bi prav lahko bile jahačice in lokostrelke (Khudaverdyan 2020, 122; Jordan 2009, 101–102). Poleg tega so znane tudi najdbe ženskih skeletov s poškodbami, kot so strelne rane od puščic (Khudaverdyan 2020; Fialko 2017, 42; Guliaev 2003, 114–115). To jasno pove, da oborožene ženske niso bile le izmišljotina Grkov, ampak so obstajale in to pomeni popolnoma drugačno organizacijo družbe kot v Grčiji. Posebna fascinacija nad Amazonkami v starih časih je zelo verjetno izvirala iz ideje o drugačni, športni, neukročeni in tudi samoodločani ženski, ki je v tej obliki v Grčiji ni bilo (Teržan, Hellmuth in Heimann 2011, 253). Amazonke v grških legendah so očitno nasprotovale normi, da je grška ženska odgovorna za gospodinjstvo, predstavljale so tuji, neciviliziran svet, proti kateremu so se borili grški junaki, kot sta Heraklej ali Ahil. Toda, na koncu so bile Amazonke vedno šibkejše od grških junakov, Amazonke iz legend niso bile nikoli zmagovalke. Tako lahko rečemo, da se je za Grke zgodba vedno »pravilno« končala, da so pokorili tuje, neukročeno – ki so ga predstavljale divje ženske.

## Zaključek

Kaj torej lahko rečemo na podlagi našega potovanja skozi prazgodovino in zgodnjo zgodovino v zvezi s kulturno formacijo ženske sfere? Prvič, naše vedenje o obdobju kot celoti je zelo neuravnote-

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[35] Slika št. 8.
[36] Sliki št. 15–16.

ženo, bolj ko gremo v preteklost, manj imamo informacij. Nekateri vidiki so bili v raziskavah že podrobneje obravnavani in smo se jih tukaj le dotaknili, kot na primer teme neolitskih in bakrenodobnih figur ali pa teme ženskih bogatih grobov (»knežjih grobov«) v železni dobi. Obstajajo tudi velike regionalne razlike, ki so po eni strani povezane s stanjem raziskanosti in objav, po drugi strani pa s pogoji ohranjenosti materialnih ostalin in posameznimi kulturnimi značilnostmi. Tema, ki tu ni bila obravnavana ali pa je bila le bežno omenjena, so antropološke analize, ki so v zadnjih letih dale nove vpoglede v življenje prazgodovinskih žensk, predvsem glede materinstva, pričakovane življenjske dobe, zdravstvenega stanja itd. Podobno velja za druge znanstvene metode, kot so izotopske analize, ki lahko zagotovijo informacije o mobilnosti, in genetika, ki je v zadnjih letih razkrila migracije. Svojo lastno temo predstavljajo tudi zgodnji besedilni viri. V tem prispevku smo se ukvarjali predvsem z reprezentacijo žensk v družbi v obliki podob in drugih materialnih ostankov, kot so nagrobni pridatki, ki lahko prav tako zagotovijo informacije o socialnem statusu pokojnikov in tudi o reprezentaciji žensk v družbi. Ker pa se številčnost in kakovost arheoloških virov za posamezna obdobja in regije zelo razlikujeta, ni mogoče sestaviti splošne slike »ženske« sfere v prazgodovini. Ko razmišljamo o posameznih grobnih najdbah, se navadno osredotočimo le na nekatere izjemne najdbe, ki včasih razkrijejo posamezne usode. Celovita predstavitev družbenega statusa ženske glede na kulturno ozadje v posameznih prazgodovinskih obdobjih na podlagi trenutne podatkovne baze ni mogoča. Šele za 1. tisočletje pr. n. št. obstajajo obsežnejši viri, ki omogočajo natančen vpogled – čeprav je to znanje za posamezne regije še vedno neuravnoteženo. Za družbe, ki niso poznale pisave, je težko reči, kako so izgledali odnosi med moškimi in ženskami, kakšne socialne in/ali hierarhične razlike so bile v družbi. Prav tako so se ti odnosi lahko tudi zelo razlikovali med različnimi časovnimi obdobji

in regijami. Na splošno pa lahko rečemo, da je za tista obdobja, ki so imela večje število slikovnih upodobitev – kot sta bronasto- in železnodobna Mezopotamija ali železnodobna Grčija –, včasih mogoče določiti drugačen poudarek na ženskih in moških upodobitvah. To je delno mogoče razložiti s kontekstom upodobitev, vendar pa so tu morda igrale vlogo tudi družbene ideje in zakoni. V železnodobni Asiriji, na primer, najdemo veliko število upodobitev na reliefih in pečatih. Prevladujejo moške upodobitve, kar je po vsej verjetnosti povezano s prevlado upodobitev vojnih dogodkov. Pojavljajo se tudi upodobitve ženskih likov, vendar precej redkeje, običajno pa so to boginje. Po drugi strani pa v železnodobni Grčiji v vaznem slikarstvu najdemo številne upodobitve žensk, boginj, mitoloških figur in tudi »navadnih« žensk iz različnih slojev družbe. Zdi se, da so upodobitve žensk na splošno veliko močneje zastopane, čeprav je treba upoštevati tudi, da so bile nekatere teme še posebej priljubljeni motivi v vaznem slikarstvu, kot so na primer upodobitve Amazonk. Iz sočasnih, zgoraj omenjenih pisnih virov v Grčiji vemo, da ženske v vsakdanjem življenju niso bile enakovredne moškim; njihova interakcijska sfera je bila omejena predvsem na *oikos*. V tem kontekstu so tudi upodobitve Amazonk vir fascinacije v takratni grški družbi; predstavljale so drugačnost, nenavadnost, podobo »svobodne in neukročene« ženske, ki ni živela na svojem domu, ampak se je podala v vojno. In nazadnje so jih premagali moški grški junaki in tako popravili »stanje, ki ni bilo skladno z naravnim«.

Kar zadeva grobne najdbe, lahko samo ugibamo, ali so imele ženske, pokopane z bogatimi nagrobnimi pridatki, ki jih najdemo v različnih obdobjih in pokrajinah, podoben socialni status v življenju kot moški. Izjema so »kraljičine grobnice iz Nimruda«, kjer iz napisov vemo, da gre za grobove kraljic. Zagotovo so tudi ženske z izjemno bogatimi nagrobnimi pridatki iz območja kultur brez pisnih virov pripadale eliti družbe, vendar ne vemo, ali so

bile same vladarice in so torej imele moč odločanja in bile v tem smislu enakopravne z moškimi vladarji/voditelji. Vendar pa za vse prazgodovinske in zgodnje zgodovinske družbe brez pisnih virov navsezadnje tudi ne moremo podati natančnih izjav o moški sferi. Navsezadnje ne vemo, ali je med moškimi obstajala hierarhična struktura oziroma kako je le-ta izgledala, četudi se zdi, da je to razvidno iz materialnih ostankov. Ne poznamo nobenih nazivov, statusov, poklicev, ničesar ne vemo o posameznih verovanjih in o možnih ritualih iniciacije in drugih obredih, ki so zagotovo igrali vlogo v življenju ljudi v prazgodovinskih družbah. To pomeni, da ni slabo poznana le sfera ženske v prazgodovini, temveč vseh članov tedanje družbe.

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Maja Bjelica[1]

# Tišina: dialektičnost, nedoločnost, razpoložljivost in gostoljubnost

**Izvleček**: Prispevek obravnava kulturo tišine kot ključno za človeško (so)bivanje in sodelitev življenja. Tišina, po eni strani z lahkoto zamisljiva in razumljiva, po drugi pa nedosegljiva, toda obenem zastrašujoča, je dojemljiva samo v tej hkratnosti oziroma dvoumnosti, saj v svojih številnih pojavnih oblikah nikoli ni celovita predstavnica sebe. To besedilo največ pozornosti namenja tišini kot vzdušju, stanju, ki bistveno pripomore k vznikanju intersubjektivnih odnosov in kot taka postane tudi intersubjektivna gesta. Nudenje tišine omogoča subjektom prostor za lasten izraz in s tem lastnemu načinu primerno bivanje. Tako tišina zagotavlja tudi možnost sporazumevanja, globlje pozornosti, ustreznega razumevanja, čeprav ne nujno z orodjem jezika. Tišino je namreč mogoče dojemati kot razpoložljivost, odprti prostor, ki ga je mogoče ponuditi sočloveku in ga vanj sprejeti. Tako omogoča prihod

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nepričakovanega, ki je prav tako eden izmed bistvenih elementov gostoljubja. Te vidike najprej obravnavamo na področju zvočnosti in literature, nato pa prehajamo na področje etike, in sicer namenimo največ pozornosti uvidu filozofov, kot sta Emanuel Levinas in Jacques Derrida, in filozofinje Luce Irigaray.

**Ključne besede**: tišina, prostor intersubjektivnosti, etika, govor in tišina, sobivanje, gostoljubnost

## Silence: dialectic, indeterminacy, availability, and hospitality

**Abstract**: The paper looks at the culture of silence as key to becoming and to the sharing of life. Silence, easily imaginable and understandable, on the one hand, and unattainable, yet still frightening, on the other, is only conceivable in this simultaneity or ambiguity, since in its many manifestations it is never fully representative of itself. This essay focuses on silence as an atmosphere, a state that fosters the emergence of intersubjective relations and as such becomes an intersubjective gesture. Offering silence allows subjects the space for their own expression and thereby a way of being/living proper to themselves. In this way, silence also provides the possibility of communication, deeper attention and more accurate understanding, even though not necessarily by means of language. In fact, silence can be seen as an availability, an open space that a fellow human being can be offered and welcomed into. In this way, it allows for the arrival of the unexpected, which is another essential element of hospitality. These aspects are first tackled within the spheres of acoustics and literature, and subsequently ethics, devoting attention to the insights of philosophers such as Emmanuel Levinas, Jacques Derrida, and Luce Irigaray.

**Keywords**: silence, intersubjective space, ethics, speech and silence, cohabitation, hospitality

Na obravnavo tišine je mogoče naleteti v različnih kontekstih, predvsem v okviru umetnosti in estetike, hkrati pa tudi fenomenologije, kjer je največkrat predstavljana v (nasprotnem) odnosu do zvoka, saj naj bi po tradicionalnem dihotomnem razumevanju ponazarjala prav odsotnost tega. Velikokrat se tišina povezuje tudi s smrtjo in odsotnostjo življenja. V tem prispevku je večinoma predstavljena zmotnost hegemonije tovrstnega pasivnega in dihotomnega pogleda na tišino, ki s svojo prisotnostjo in odprtostjo življenje predvsem spodbuja, sprejema in vzpostavlja. Med primeri, ki to potrjujejo, je mogoče izpostaviti na primer poezijo Pabla Nerude, ki se v več primerih posveča motivom tišine in molka. V pesmi Prosim za tišino prikaže tišino kot regenerativno, kot življenje omogočujočo:

> *Ampak ker prosim za tišino,*
> *ne mislite, da se namenjam umreti:*
> *dogaja se mi prav nasprotno:*
> *dogaja se, da odhajam živeti.*
>
> *Dogaja se, da sem in da nadaljujem [biti].*[2] (Neruda 1972, 18)

Pesnik torej opozarja, da če kliče k tišini, še ne pomeni, da bi bilo njegovega življenja konec, nasprotno – končno se lahko umiri, si zaželi tistih nekaj najljubših stvari, ki naj ga še naprej spremljajo, kakor razloži pred navedenim odlomkom, zapre oči in dovoli množici, da ga zapusti, saj je zdaj našel svoj mir, življenje v tišini. Življenje, ki je še bolj živo in bogato kot pred zavetjem v tišini, ki mu dovoli ponovno rojstvo (ibid.).

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[2] Odlomek iz pesmi »Prosim za tišino« (»*Pido silencio*«). Prevod avtorice. Izvirnik: »*Pero porque pido silencio / no crean que voy a morirme: / me pasa todo lo contrario: / sucede que voy a vivirme. // Sucede que soy y que sigo.*«

Nerudov klic k tišini je le primer uvajanja raznolike in bogate obravnave tišine. To besedilo se osredinja predvsem na filozofske uvide, ki vodijo k etičnosti in gostoljubnosti tišine, vendar pa najprej obravnava predvsem fenomenološke vidike in estetske razmisleke o tišini, molčanju in tihosti. Tudi ti tvorijo horizont tišine, ki omogoča njeno sovpadanje z dobrodošlico.

## Zvok in tišina: od estetike k etiki

S fenomenološkega stališča se (tudi) tišini posveča Don Ihde (2007), ki to venomer povezuje s fenomenologijo zvoka oziroma poslušanja. Zanimiv je njegov pogled na tišino kot na horizont, ki obkroža središče nečesa (npr. zvoka ali besede) ter je meja in obenem tisti onkraj tega nečesa (ibid., 161). Tišina kot neizgovorjeni horizont, ki je vendarle venomer prisoten v smislu konteksta, v katerem se zgodi zvok oziroma beseda. Tišina torej je, ne more ne biti, če naj bo zvok, ki nekaj pomeni: vsaka izgovorjena beseda naj bi bila slišana s pomenom, z njim naj bi se kazala. Avtor tudi pravi, da je vsak jezik, vse, kar je izrečeno, že latentni horizont neizrečenega. V tem smislu tišina nikoli ni popolna – ne le v zvočnem smislu, kot to poudarja John Cage in bo obravnavano v nadaljevanju: gre za tišino, ki vedno potencialno lahko ne bi bila tišina, saj je vsak kontekst mogoče izreči, opisati, opredeliti in tako tudi uzvočiti, slišati. V vsakem primeru pa je treba znati, se učiti prisluhniti tišini, ki z uokvirjanjem slišanega temu dodaja pomen, obenem pa odpira skrivnosti tihega horizonta kot *Odprtosti* (ibid., 165). Kot bomo lahko slišali pozneje, ohranja prostor za pojavnost nepričakovanega.

Ihde poudarja ključnost tišine tudi v srečanju z drugo/-im,[3] z obrazom, kar ga približuje dikciji Emmanuela Levinasa, vendar pa v obravnavanem delu (Ihde 2007) ni mogoče zaslediti, da bi izhajal iz Levinasove filozofije odgovornosti do (obraza) druge/-ga.[4] Ihde poudarja pomembno vlogo jezika, ki bistveno zaznamuje vsako prvo srečanje, vsak začetek. V njegovem opisovanju teh srečevanj je mogoče opaziti jasno konstitutivnost tišine za človeka oziroma medčloveške odnose, ki se zgodijo v »jeziku-kot-besedi« (morda celo ne glede na razumevanje), ki je obkrožen s tišino. Srečanje z drugim/-o se zgodi v tišini, hkrati s šokom, presenečenjem (ibid., 177), ki poziva h govoru, če naj pri srečanju ne ostane pri (nelagodni) tišini. Spregovori se prva beseda, z drugo se ubogljivo odgovori nanjo, tišina pa je venomer prisotna, uokvirja izrekano. »Pomenljiva tišina neizrečenega dovoljuje horizontu pomena pogovora nošenje bremena v svojem širšem obsegu do izrekanega.« (ibid., 178) Tišina s svojo neopazno prisotnostjo omogoča izrekanemu tudi »polifonijo«, večglasje pomena, kar izrekano nikoli dokončno ne zapečati v samo en pomen, temveč ga pušča odprtega interpretaciji, razumevanju: izrečeno namreč venomer s seboj nosi tudi neizrečeno. Navidezna trdnost in enopomenskost izrečenega kot

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[3] V tem besedilu si avtorica prizadevam za spolno občutljivo rabo jezika, ki se med drugim izogiba izražanju v generičnem moškem spolu. Pri tem večinoma sledim priročniku *Smernice za spolno občutljivo rabo jezika* (Jeram in Šauperl 2018), ki predlaga na primer izmenično rabo moških in ženskih oblik samostalnikov, ujemanje pridevnika oziroma glagola s samostalnikom po bližini, uporabo spolno nezaznamovanih samostalniških oblik, opuščanje svojilne oblike ženskih priimkov in podobno. Izjemoma ne spreminjam generične moške oblike samostalnika, kjer gre za koncept specifičnega avtorja, na primer Levinasov »Drugi«, oziroma pri prevodih nekaterih citatov iz angleškega jezika v slovenski.
[4] Več o Levinasovem intuitivnem uvidu v pojav tišine je zapisanega v nadaljevanju članka.

nasprotnega odprtosti in nedorečenosti tišine je le poskus končne razlage, ki je izraz želje po nadzoru.

Zapisom o pomenu in moči tišine je mogoče slediti tudi z vidika odnosa med tišino in zvokom, ki ga je kot stalnico med teme filozofije glasbe oziroma estetike, mimo katerih zaradi celovitejšega vpogleda v (ne)pojavnost tišine ni mogoče, uvedel znameniti skladatelj in izvajalec John Cage nekje na polovici 20. stoletja. Da avtor omenjenega odnosa ne dojema dihotomno, prikazuje najpogostejši študijski primer obravnave tega vprašanja, to je njegovo glasbeno delo, naslovljeno *4ʼ33ʼʼ*. Na partituri naj bi bilo napisano »*Tacet*. Za katerokoli glasbilo ali glasbila«, delo pa naj bi imelo tri stavke: 30ʼʼ, 2ʼ23ʼʼ in 1ʼ40ʼʼ. Izvajalec, navadno pianist, toda ne nujno, je delo začel tako, da je zaprl pokrov klavirja, ki ga je odprl ob koncu dela, začetke stavkov pa je označil z gibom rok. Vsebino dela je mogoče dojemati kot absolutno tišino, Cage pa zanj pravi, da so njegova vsebina vsi mogoči zvoki, ki se pojavijo med začetkom in koncem dela: zvok dežja, ki pada na streho zgradbe, kašelj med publiko, šepetane pripombe poslušalcev, škripanje sedežev in drugi zvoki okolja (Davies 2005, 11–29). Prepričan je namreč, da tišina ne obstaja, obenem pa želi opozoriti na dejstvo, da lahko vsak zvok postane glasbeni, če ga poslušalec tako dojema, saj zvok ne potrebuje pomena, da bi bil zvok (Cage 1992). V intervjuju Cage pove, da najraje prisluhne tišini, ki je v sodobnem času največkrat zapolnjena s prometom, ta pa ni tak kot klasična glasba, ki je ob poslušanju venomer enaka, ampak je tišina vedno zvočno presenečenje (ibid.). Neizključujočnost in medsebojno pogojenost zvoka in tišine razloži s tem razmislekom:

*Kajti po tem, ko se v nevednosti prepričamo, da ima zvok za svoje jasno opredeljeno nasprotje tišino, medtem ko je trajanje edina zvočna lastnost, merljiva v smislu tišine [...], vstopimo v neodmevno sobo, tiho, kolikor je za leto 1951 tehnološko mogo-*

*če, samo da ugotovimo, da lahko slišimo zvoka, ki ju nehote pro-izvajamo (sistematično delovanje živčevja in kroženje krvi), in se tako jasno znajdemo v položaju, ki ni objektiven (zvok – tiši-na), ampak subjektiven (samo zvoki), tisti namenski in tisti drugi (tako imenovani tišina), nenamenski.* (Cage 1973, 13–14)

Cageov pogled je za to razpravo pomemben predvsem zara-di uvida v nedihotomni odnos med zvokom in tišino, ki ga avtor predstavi predvsem z akustično-fenomenološkega vidika in s tem poudari, da tišina ne pomeni popolne odsotnosti zvoka. Torej, ko pravi, da tišina ne obstaja, ne želi zanikati te, ampak njeno dojema-nje kot popolno nasprotje zvoku.

Estetski pogledi in uvidi v tišino in njene različne oblike so pre-cej pogosti, med njimi je relevanten tudi tisti, ki ga ponuja Susan Sontag (2002 [1969], 3–34) v eseju »Estetika tišine« (»The Aesthe-tics of Silence«), ki je del zbirke avtoričinih besedil *Slogi radikalne volje* (*Styles of Radical Will*). S Cageom se strinja, da (absolutna) tišina v smislu odsotnosti zvoka ne obstaja, k njegovemu poveliča-nju zvoka in zvočnosti tišine pa dodaja njeno bistveno lastnost, to je njeno dialektičnost oziroma odnosnost z zvokom, ki je pomemb-na tudi za etični vidik tišine.

Sontag predstavi ključno vlogo tišine za umetnost in razume-vanje pomena umetnosti kot odgovor na stari mit o absolutnosti umetnosti kot aktivnega izražanja umetnice oziroma umetnika.[5] Umetnica ali umetnik želi s svojo tihostjo o umetnosti ukiniti umetnost kot poznano, asociativno, že doživeto izražanje, in jo tako

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[5] Novi mit o umetnosti, ki je aktualen v avtoričini sodobnosti in nadome-sti starega, naj bi podpiral prepričanje o umetniku oziroma umetnici kot sposobni samoodtujitve in tako zmožni iskanja odsotnosti boga in vpe-ljave tišine onkraj govora, kar zahteva eliminacijo vsakršnega subjekta, objekta ali podobe iz umetnosti.

preseči. S tem ko o lastni umetnosti (ali umetnosti druge/-ga/-ih) ostaja tiho, nekako dosega lastno svobodo oziroma svobodo za umetnost. »Tišina v tem smislu, kot prekinitev, predlaga razpoloženje skrajnosti, antitetično razpoloženju informiranja tradicionalne resne rabe tišine samozavedajočega se umetnika[/-ce]: kot področje meditacije, priprave na duhovno zorenje, preizkušnja, ki se konča s pridobitvijo pravice do govora.« (ibid., 6)

Sodobna umetnica oziroma umetnik se torej za tišino odloča, da bi osvobajal/-a, na novo vzpostavljal/-a umetnost, pri čemer gre za (zavestno) odločitev za tišino. Ob tej odločitvi pa nenazadnje ne utihne, ampak še naprej »govori« ali, bolje, se izraža, toda na način, ki je poslušalstvu neslišen. Tišina torej obstaja kot ne(do)besedna, torej gre za umikanje in premikanje v horizont tišine, ki je vendarle nedosegljiv, ker je nemogoč.[6] Tišina je tako rekoč proizvedena kot dialektična, ker je venomer »nečista«: »Tišina brezizhodno ostaja oblika govora (v številnih primerih pritožbe ali obtožbe) in element v dialogu.« (ibid., 9) Kot tako jo je mogoče opredeliti kot robni, mejni pojem. Tako kot jezik išče svoje preseganje s tišino, tišina kaže na samopreseganje v govoru onkraj tišine (ibid., 17). S svojo vpletenostjo omogoča večjo pozornost, neposrednejšo zaznavo. »Ko oseba utihne, postane motna [oziroma nerazumljiva] za drugo

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[6] Sontag (2002 [1969], 22) pravi, da je dejavnost umetnice oziroma umetnika prav ustvarjanje ali vzpostavljanje tišine, ki kaže tudi učinkovitost umetniškega dela. Umetnik oziroma umetnica uporabi tišino, čeprav v obliki jezika, ki izraža nemost umetnine, predvsem v smislu zaznavne in kulturne terapije, pogosto celo terapije s šokom, prej kot prepričevanja. Jezik je tako dojet v smislu dogodka, ki se zgodi v prostoru in času, in sicer kot govoreči glas, ki je »pred« tistim, kar sledi izjavljanju, torej tišini. Ta je tako ambivalentna: je predpogoj za govor in obenem rezultat ali celo namen tega, ob njegovi ustrezni usmeritvi. Ta perspektiva tišine je ključna tudi ob njenem prenosu na področje intersubjektivnih odnosov, v katerih tišina omogoča medsebojno pozornost in zaznavo, dojemanje.

[osebo]; tišina nekoga odpira množico možnosti za njeno interpretacijo, za pripisovanja govora tej tišini.« (ibid., 15)

Za povezave estetske plati tišine z etično je pomenljiv tudi začetek izdajanja zbirke *Akademija tišine* (*Accademia del Silenzio*) italijanske založbe Mimesis. Zbirka je rezultat prizadevanj istoimenske akademije, skupine znanstvenikov in literatov, osnovane v okviru Svobodne univerze za avtobiografijo (*Libera Università dell'autobiografia*), ki proučuje različne vidike tišine, njen pojav in vloge.[7] V zbirki je mogoče naleteti na (avtobiografski) esej *Tišine v gorah* (*Silenzi in montagna*), ki ga je napisal Luca Serenthà, ki pravi, da »ko besede predhodijo tišini, jo izdajo« (Serenthà 2015, 7). Avtor trdi, da je treba tišino spoznavati izkustveno, v gorah pa najde za to izkustvo idealno okolje ter tako bralcu/-ki ponudi refleksijo o tišini, ki se vzpostavlja v dialogih in tišinah med tremi osebami, večinoma med Orestejem in Andreom, ki imata nekakšni vlogi učitelja in učenca, kar spominja na sokratsko metodo oziroma majevtiko. Sogovornika ugotavljata, da so gore privilegirani kraji za iskanje tišine, pri čemer

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[7] Svoje dejavnosti izvajajo na področjih literarnega ustvarjanja, vizualne umetnosti, komunikacije in jezika, zdravstva oziroma kliničnih dejavnosti, izletništva, feminizma, filozofije in religije, kar potrjuje širok pomen tišine in njene raznolike oblike. Zadnje so razvidne tudi iz razlogov in namenov, ki jih sodelujoči v Akademiji tišine navajajo za utemeljevanje lastne dejavnosti: »Za širjenje kulture tišine, spoštovanja prostorov, raziskovanja notranje meditacije, užitka v ponovnem učenju in poslušanju: zvokov, glasov, narave … / Za promocijo ,nove militantnosti tišine' v vsakdanjih življenjskih in bivalnih prostorih, proti nepotrebnemu hrupu. / Za spodbujanje poglobitev priložnosti in intelektualnih virov, ki potrebujejo tišino za ustvarjanje, skladanje, pisanje, hojo, branje, mišljenje, slikanje, vrtnarjenje … / Za preizkušanje ,jezika tišine', premorov, pravega tona, izmenjav med poslušanjem in sporočanjem kot orodjem dialoga, realne integracije in vzajemnega razumevanja ter potekom odnosa.« (»Accademia del silenzio« 2017) Več o dejavnosti te raziskovalne skupine je na voljo na spletni strani https://accademiasilenzio.lua.it/.

se sklicujeta tudi na *Sveto pismo*, kjer je gora prostor dialoga z Bogom. Tudi na tem mestu je nenasprotovanje med razgovorom in tišino še posebej poudarjeno, saj naj bi tišina dialog sploh omogočala, in sicer predvsem prek pozornosti, ki se jo posveča tišini, prav tako je v besedilu izključeno nasprotje med tišino in zvokom: »Poslušanje tišine pomeni zame osredinjanje na vse dražljaje, ki dosegajo moja ušesa, jih medsebojno razlikovati enega po enega in nato resnično izrekati tišino.« (ibid., 21) Za tovrstno razvijanje pozornosti za tišino je kot idealno okolje prepoznan gozd, ki s svojimi različnimi zvoki opominja na potrebo po tišini, da bi jih lahko prepoznali, ter tako dovoljuje posamezniku oziroma posameznici, da tišino doživlja kot zavestno in želeno izkustvo, ne pa naključno. Sogovornika med drugim tudi ugotavljata, da brez tišine ni mogoče niti brati niti ljubiti, poleg tega niti pisati niti poslušati. Tudi tukaj (ibid., 27) je mogoče zaslediti misel, da tišina vodi nazaj k lastnemu sebstvu, ne glede na to, kako dolgotrajna je morda pot.

V eseju *Tišine ljubezni: pisati zamolčane občutke* (*Silenzi d'amore: Scrivere sentimenti taciuti*), ki spada v isto zbirko, Duccio Demetrio (2015, 46–50) nadaljuje prejšnjo misel z zatrjevanjem, da je lahko avtobiografsko pisanje, ki omogoča vpogled vase, psihoterapevtsko potovanje, sredstvo za »popravilo«, vzgojo za pozornost in čustvovanje, utemeljeno oziroma omogočeno prav s tišino. V omenjenem delu se posveča predvsem odnosu med tišino in ljubeznijo oziroma ljubezenskim odnosom ter ugotavlja, da je tišina potrebna za ljubezen z vidika vzpostavljanja možnosti nemudnega medsebojnega razumevanja in tihe vzajemne uglašenosti, skupne ritualnosti, vznikanja svetosti odnosa, izogibanja plitkosti besed, omogočanja ljubeznivega poslušanja, usmerjanja k bistvu, spreminjanja kontemplacije v srečanje, ki vodi onkraj vsakdanjega ter banalnosti dobrega in zlega; tako naj ne bi bilo ljubezni, ki ne bi gostila tišine. Po avtorjevem mnenju je najhuje, kar se lahko zgodi

med ljubimcema, da sobivata samo v tišini ali le z besedami (ibid., 8, 12–15, 35–37). Tudi Demetrio torej izpostavlja pomen neizključevanja besed in tišine, še več, poudarja njuno zavezništvo, saj besede prav v tišini pridobivajo polnost svojega pomena.

Intimni odnos, ki ga omogoča ali celo vzpostavlja tišina, spominja na intimnost med dvema, o kateri govori Luce Irigaray, ko opisuje spolno razliko in željo med dvema. V nadaljevanju bo v ospredju tudi njena misel o tišini, še prej pa bosta obravnavana pogleda Emmanuela Levinasa in Jacquesa Derridaja, ki tišino dojemata vse prej kot enopomensko.

## Zastrašujoča, neodločna in nedoločujoča tišina

Ob prebiranju besedil Emanuela Levinasa, ki obravnavajo etiko in odgovornost (gl. npr. Levinas 1979; 1994), sicer ni mogoče reči, da bi tišina na katerem koli mestu imela osrednjo vlogo oziroma bila središče katerega od diskurzov. Kljub temu pa si je vredno ogledati nekatere primere njene obravnave, ki se pojavljajo predvsem pri opredeljevanju »tihega sveta«, tišine kot obratne jeziku in tišine kot zastrašujoče. Ugotoviti je mogoče, da je Levinasovo prikazovanje in dojemanje tišine in tihosti precej ambivalentno, saj tišina ponekod prevzema vlogo zlaganega in zmotnega, drugod pa je, čeprav nekoliko prikrito, prav možnost transcendence.

Levinas (1979, 90) na primer pravi: »Absolutno tihi svet, ki k nam ne bi prišel od besede, čeprav zlagane, bi bil anarhičen, brez načela, brez začetka.« Nadaljuje, da v takem svetu ni mogoče snovati vedenja (ibid., 93), da pa se v njem vendarle pričakuje beseda, neprihajajoča. Ta pride z Drugim kot znak, ki ga ta dostavi, čeprav je zmoten ali lažen.

Levinas povezuje tišino oziroma tihi svet z videzom, z zavajajočo totalnostjo, ki ne dovoljuje razumevanja neskončnosti sveta in subjektivnosti. Zmota se obnavlja prav v tem tihem svetu in sestavlja videz pojava, zadeva (ne)iskrenost dogajanja. »Kakor da bi se

v tem tihem in neodločnem prikazovanju zakrivila laž, kakor da bi nevarnost zmote vznikala iz sleparstva, kakor da bi bila tišina le modalnost izrekanja.« (ibid., 91) Levinas torej (na tem mestu) ne dopušča možnosti, da bi bila tišina način izrekanja, možnost sporazumevanja – dojema jo kot inherentno zmotnemu videzu totalnega sveta. Kot nemožnost sporazumevanja je tako nasprotna oziroma obratna jeziku, ki omogoča intersubjektivno komunikacijo med subjektivitetama, ki si stojita nasproti kot neskončni možnosti. »Tihi svet je svet, ki pride do nas od Drugega, pa naj bo to zlobni duh. […] Tako tišina ni preprosta odsotnost govora; govor leži v globinah tišine kakor podlo zadržani smeh. Gre za [tisto] obratno jeziku: sporazumevajoči[/-a] je podal[/-a] znak, vendar je odklonil[/-a] vsakršno interpretacijo; to je tišina, ki ustrahuje.« (ibid., 91)

Tokrat je tišina druge/-ga tista, ki ustrahuje. Možnost, da ob srečanju z drugim/-o ta ostane tiho, se ne odzove, namreč ne vzpostavlja intersubjektivnega odnosa. Čeprav Levinas trdi, kot je bilo že predstavljeno, da intersubjektivnost nastaja predvsem med jezikovno komunikacijo, ki omogoča prepoznavanje transcendence druge/-ga kot subjekta, tudi sam priznava dvojnost jezika, ki vključuje možnost izdaje v totalizaciji – tveganje zmote je prisotno tudi v jeziku. Zakaj se torej treba bati tišine, ne pa jezika? Zakaj Levinas tudi v tišini ne uvidi podobne dvojnosti, v kateri je ta, kot pravi sam, venomer lahko zavajajoča in posmehovalna, hkrati pa vendarle pušča prostor transcendenci, prihodnjemu izrekanju druge/-ga?

Enega izmed odgovorov na to vpraševanje je mogoče najti v dejstvu, da Levinas tišino povezuje s smrtjo. »Smrt mi grozi od onkraj. To neznano, ki straši, tišina neskončnih prostorov, ki ustrahuje, prihaja od drugega [oziroma druge], in ta drugost, točno kot absolutno, me zadene v zlobni obliki ali v sodbi pravičnosti.« (ibid., 234) Avtor smrti in tišine ne povezuje samo kot neskončnost neznanega prostora, temveč tudi v misli, da smrt reducira subjektivnost na tišino:

»Ali nasilje smrti ne reducira na tišino subjektivnosti, brez katere resnica ne bi mogla biti izrekana, ne bi mogla biti – ali […] brez katere resnica ne bi mogla biti *narejena*?« (ibid., 253) Ali drugače: ob smrti je subjektivnost zvedena na tišino, torej na nemožnost izražanja, nemožnost konstituiranja sveta in neskončnih možnosti subjektivnosti, in to je za subjekt zastrašujoče. Obenem je mogoče reči, da je tišina tudi tisto, kar ni mogoče slišati, kar je zato nespoznavno, nerazumljivo ali celo odsotno. Če subjekt v drugem zaznava samo tišino, ta nakazuje odsotnost drugega, kar kaže na osamljenost subjekta. Kljub temu je v Levinasovih besedilih mogoče naleteti na mesta, na katerih tišina ne označuje samo negativnega, tistega neželenega, subjektivnosti odrekajočega. Eno izmed takih mest je mogoče najti v pogovorih Emmanuela Levinasa s Philippejem Nemom, v slovenskem prevodu naslovljenih kot *Etika in neskončno* (Levinas 1998, 37):

> *E. L.: Otrok čuti tišino svoje spalnice kot »šumenje«.*
> *Ph. N.: Šumeča tišina?*
>
> *E. L.: Nekaj, kar spominja na to, kar slišimo, ko prazno školjko približamo ušesu. Kot da bi bila praznina polna, kot da bi tišina dobila zvok. Nekaj, kar občutimo, ko mislimo, da celo, ko bi ničesar ne bilo, bi se dejstva, da nič »je«, ne dalo zanikati. Ne, da bi bilo to ali ono. Toda prizorišče za bit je odprto: »je«. Kakor absolutna praznina pred začetkom sveta – »je«.*

Na tem mestu Levinas, čeprav v drugem kontekstu, ki pa vendarle ni tako oddaljen od predhodnega, tišini dovoljuje obstoj, ki ni negativen ali nikalen oziroma zanikujoč. Tišino je mogoče čutiti, lahko dobi zvok, lahko šumi – čeprav je tiha, »je«. Zdi se, da tukajšnja tišina ni enaka tisti tišini, ki jo je opisoval kot redukcijo subjekta v navezavi na smrt, nebivanje. Reči je mogoče, da Levinas

dopušča možnost drugačne tišine, torej da je, čeprav »obratna« je-ziku, še vedno ena izmed njenih dveh plati, tista, ki omogoča zvok, slišanje, posluh. Ne nazadnje Levinas tudi za jezik trdi, da je dvojen, pri čemer je samo ena njegova plat tista, ki dovoljuje avtonomnost subjekta, samo ena je konstitutivna.

Morda je z Levinasovega vidika tišina zastrašujoča tudi zato, ker dokler druga/-i ostaja v tišini, se ne razodeva[8] in tako ostaja v nespoznavnem, kar bi pomenilo, da niti njegove/njene transcendence ne bi bilo mogoče prepoznati. Pravi, da govorjenje bolj nagovarja drugega/-o kakor drža »pustiti biti«[9] (Levinas 1979, 195). Govor prelomi z videzom, formalna struktura jezika pa naznanja etično nekršljivost druge/-ga, njene/njegove svetosti. Ob tem gre za svetost njene/njegove drugosti, njene/njegove transcendence, ki venomer uhaja totalizaciji. Zdi se, da Levinas vendarle dovoljuje, da je del razodevanja tudi tišina, ko pravi: »Besede so izgovorjene, čeprav le z zadržano tišino, teža katere priznava to uhajanje Drugega.« (ibid.) Na tem mestu se jezik in tišina gotovo ne izključujeta in zdi se, da gre pri tovrstnem govoru predvsem za sporočanje, izrekanje, izražanje drugega, ne pa toliko za ubesedovanje lastne subjektivnosti, ki bi

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[8] Po Levinasu se drugi razodeva s svojim obličjem, s katerim že izreka, govori. Za tovrstno razodevanje si sposodi metaforo s pročeljem stavbe. To naj bi razkrivalo stavbo, razdajalo njeno skrivnost, v svojem blišču in tišini (Levinas 1979, 193). Se pa kljub temu ne daje v celoti: kolikor se kaže, se obenem zakriva, prav za istim pročeljem. Transcendentno se daje prek čutnosti, gre za odprtost, gre za videnje odprtosti, pri čemer ne gre ne za kontemplacijo ne za prakso. Obraz je v tem primeru pročelje, ki se ponuja kot drugo, toda njegovo razodetje je vedno govor.

[9] Izrekanje o drži »pustiti biti« najverjetneje izhaja iz avtorjeve kritike Martina Heideggerja, ki s tovrstno fenomenološko držo sledi Husserlovi prvi fenomenologiji drže »nazaj k stvarem samim«. O pomenu teh dveh fenomenoloških drž za etiko poslušanja in posredno tudi za etičnost tišine pišem v prispevku »Listening: An Interdisciplinary Path Towards Letting Things Be« (Bjelica 2021, 220–225).

tišino izključevala. Da se niti v Levinasovi misli tišina in jezik vendarle venomer ne izključujeta, kaže tudi ta odlomek: »Bivanje ni samo preprosto dejstvo anonimne resničnosti bitja, podanega v obstoj, kakor je v obstoj podan odlit kamen; gre za združevanje, prihajanje k sebi, umik domov s samim seboj kakor v zemljo zatočišča, ki se odziva na gostoljubje, pričakovanje, človeško dobrodošlico. V človeški dobrodošlici jezik, ki ohranja tišino, ostaja bistvena možnost.« (ibid., 156)

Navedeno besedilo kaže, da ne gre samo za neizključevalnost med jezikom in tišino, ampak je njuna vzajemnost tista, ki sploh omogoča gostoljubje: tišina, ohranjana z jezikom, je možnost sprejemanja prihajajočega, kar je mogoče imenovati gostoljubje. Kljub svoji zastrašujočnosti je tišina tista, ki dovoljuje sprejemanje drugega subjekta, sočloveka, ki mu izreka dobrodošlico.

Podobno tišino obravnava tudi Jacques Derrida: ob razpravi o »tujčevem vprašanju« oziroma »vprašanju tujca« (Derrida 2000) – tujca oziroma tujke, ki gostitelja oziroma gostiteljico postavlja pod vprašaj ob svojem prihodu –, ugotavlja in poudarja, naj se gostitelj/-ica, sprejemajoči/-a, venomer vzdrži vsakršnega vprašanja, če naj bo njegov/njen sprejem gostoljuben. Ne samo zaradi ohranjanja možnosti brezpogojnosti gostoljubja,[10] temveč tudi zaradi njegovega omogočanja, ki ni pogojeno s tujčevim oziroma tujkinim obvladovanjem jezika gostitelja oziroma gostiteljice. »Biti tiho je

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[10] Jacques Derrida je v filozofski misli veliko prostora namenjal dekonstrukciji brezpogojnega gostoljubja, raziskavi katere sem posvetila največji delež v članku »Asylum as Hospitality: Relistening to Derrida« (Bjelica 2018). V istem prispevku se prav tako posvečam razumevanju gostoljubja pri Immanuelu Kantu in Derridajevi kritiki tega. Nikakršna obravnava gostoljubja namreč ne more prezreti Kantovih uvidov v gostoljubje, ki naj bi bilo nosilni steber mednarodnega kozmopolitskega prava, o čemer je filozof pisal v filozofskem osnutku »K večnemu miru« (Kant 1937), vendar je na tem mestu tovrstna obravnava omejena predvsem na uvide v gostoljubje z vidika vpliva in omogočanja geste tišine.

že način mogočega govorjenja.« (ibid., 135) Tišina je torej že izrekanje pričakovanja, izrekanje dovoljenja tujcu oziroma tujki, da spregovori v kateremkoli jeziku.

Diskurz o tišini je mogoče najti tudi v delu *Adieu Emmanuelu Levinasu* (Derrida 1999), kjer Derrida podobno kot Levinas tišino povezuje s smrtjo.[11] Smrti ne razlaga kot izničenje, nihilizacijo, nebivanje, ampak jo poudarja kot neposredno izkustvo brez odziva tistega, ki je preživel/-a, kar po njegovem mnenju vzbuja dvom v tradicionalno filozofsko in religijsko interpretacijo smrti kot prehoda ali v ničnost ali v drugačno bivanje.[12]

V nadaljevanju se Derrida (ibid.) posveti tišini v eseju oziroma predavanju »Beseda dobrodošlice«, in sicer v njegovem zadnjem delu, kjer se znova opira na Levinasova stališča. Ob navajanju Levinasovega odstavka o upanju za znanost o družbi, človeški družbi, in svarilu pred sionizmom, ki bi lahko bil le še eden izmed nacionalizmov ali partikularizmov, Derrida opozarja na tišino, ki je prav v tej obljubi boljše prihodnosti. Prepozna jo predvsem v dejstvu, da ta obljuba ne ponuja nič določenega glede »boljše« politike: »glede pravil ali shem […], ki bi nam zagotovile ,boljše' ali manj slabe mediacije: med etiko ali svetostjo mesijanskega gostoljubja

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[11] Kot razlog za to je gotovo mogoče dojeti tudi dejstvo, da gre pri tem spisu za pogrebni govor njegovemu učitelju oziroma za predavanje na memorialu, posvečenemu Levinasu, zato je bila tema smrti v teh predavanjih že sama po sebi prisotna, kar je tako rekoč privedlo tudi do diskurza o njej. V pogrebnem govoru Derrida (1999, 5–6) obravnava tudi temo smrti oziroma smrti, kakor jo je dojemal Levinas: smrt naj bi srečevali prav v obrazu Drugega. Naveže jo na *neodziv*, na *neodgovor*, torej tišino, neodzivnost, negibnost ali neizraznost, ki smo je lahko deležni ob srečanju z Drugim.

[12] Ob smrti se preživela/-i sooča z občutkom krivde, ne da bi bil/-a kriv/-a ali dolžen/-na, pri čemer gre za odgovornost, ki mu/ji je bila zaupana. Prva smrt je po Levinasu vedno smrt druge/-ga, za katero/-ega sem odgovoren/-a, vse dokler je drugi/-a smrten/-a.

na eni strani in ‚mirovnim procesom‘, procesom političnega miru, na drugi vlada tišina« (ibid., 114). Pravi, da ta tišina prihaja do nas iz brezna, vendar tišina tega glasu ni nujno le slabo brezno. Kljub tej obstoječi tišini je odnos med etiko in politiko potreben, etika mora biti nujno temelj za dedukcijo politike in prava, da bi lahko določili »boljšo« različico družbe. Etika se formalno sicer združi s politiko in zakoni, toda pripisana politična in pravna vsebina ostaja nedoločena, treba jo je še določiti, in sicer onkraj vedenja in konceptov, vsakič znova posebej, na podlagi odgovornosti vsake osebe: odločitev in določitev sta vedno edinstveni, toda izpostavljeni zamenjavi, tako da sta tudi splošni, predvsem pa heterogeni glede na vedenje in izračune, ki ju določajo.

> *Tišina, o kateri govorimo, na katero smo nadvse pozorni, je osnovno in odločilno med-časje, tisti medtem, nemudni čas odločitve, ki vznemiri čas ter ga izpahne iz sklepov v anahronijo in nesporazum: to je, ko se zakon zakona samoizpostavi, se razstavi, v ne-zakonu, s hkratnim postajanjem gostitelj in talec, gostitelj in talec drugega, ko se mora zakon edinstvenega prepustiti zamenjavi in zakonu splošnosti – brez katerega bi sledili etiki brez zakona – ko »ne ubijaj« [...] še vedno dovoljuje katerikoli Državi [...], da je upravičena do vzdiga vojske, povzročanja vojne ali vzdrževanja zakona in reda, do nadzora svojih meja – do ubijanja. (ibid., 116)*

Tovrstno tišino Derrida znova postavlja ob bok tišini, o kateri posredno govori Levinas ob neodzivu umrlih – neodzivu kot prekinitvi odzivanja. Ostaja kot zareza med etičnim in političnim, ostaja med mesijansko obljubo in določitvijo pravila ali zakona in tako označuje heterogenost, diskontinuiteto med redoma, medčasje neodločnosti. Tako je tudi temelj za prevzemanje odgovornosti in od-

ločanja. Tišina je tudi dar govora, dar odgovora, dar odgovornosti: »Ta ne-odziv pogojuje mojo odgovornost tam, kjer se moram sam odzvati. Brez tišine, brez zeva, pri katerem ne gre za odsotnost pravil, temveč za potrebo po preskoku v trenutku etične, politične ali pravne odločitve, bi lahko preprosto pretvorili vednost v program ali red dejanj. Nič nas ne bi naredilo bolj neodgovorne; nič ne bi moglo biti totalitarnejše.« (ibid., 117)

Derrida tudi trdi, da isti zev, ta tišina, daje prostor prefinjenim analitičnim disociacijam v strukturi argumentov in oblikovanju trditev. Gre za odgovornost pred drugim/drugo, da analiziramo nezaznamovano, oddaljeno. Tišina je torej nujno potrebna za ohranjanje možnosti brezpogojnega gostoljubja. Čeprav naznačuje nedoločenost in neodločnost, ne poziva k lastnemu odpravljanju, saj je kot zev konstitutivna obema stranema brezna. Čeprav zastrašujoča, je konstitutivna medsebojnemu sprejemanju – reči je mogoče, da omogoča prihod nenapovedanega, presenetljivega, neznanega, obenem tudi dobrodošlico.

## Razpoložljivost v tišini

Luce Irigaray (2013, 220) tišine ne omenja samo sporadično, temveč jo umešča v temelje svoje intesubjektivne filozofije diha. Trdi, da morajo izgovorjene besede izhajati iz tišine, da bi sploh imele pomen, sicer ostajajo jezik le kot tehnika dominacije, ki ima vzpostavljen odnos do absoluta kot nujno potrebnega. Tišina pa je prav način za prehod od potrebe k želji kot transcendentni vrednoti. Zahodnjaška tradicija daje prednost besedi pred tišino – molčeči/molčeča, naj bi izražal/-a nevednost, nesposobnost, podrejenost. Vendar ni v vseh kulturah tako, saj je v naukih Bude doseganje tišine izrazita prednost. »Molčanje torej ne pomeni [nujno] odsotnosti nečesa, posebno ne besed, ampak samodovršitev, uresničitev popolne notranjosti.« (Irigaray 2012, 16) Kultiviranje »tišinske raz-

položljivosti«, kot jo poimenuje avtorica, je zadnja stopnja duhovne poti postopne spremembe bitja v njegovi globalni naravi (Irigaray 2013, 220).

> *Tišina je mesto mogočih srečevanj med človeškimi bitji, splošneje med živimi bitji, ki ne govorijo istega jezika in ne ubogajo istih vrednot, istih idealov. Tovrstna tišina sovpada z dihom, ki še ni determiniran ali izražen na specifičen način, glede na določena pravila ali določeno logiko, in je tako lahko spoštovan ter [so]deljen kot življenje samo, onkraj različnih mogočih utelešenj in oblik izraza. Ta tišina je tudi upoštevanje avtonomnega dihanja vsakogar [...]. Ta tišina mora ostati temeljni pogoj in prostor vsakršne sodelitve med živimi bitji, ki so odvisna od zraka za svoje preživetje.* (ibid., 221)

Besede imajo smisel le ob vračanju v tišino, kjer lahko izbiramo. Pomembno je razumevanje, da govor ni enak izgovarjanju, saj razumevanje izgovorjenega ne pove veliko o drugi/-em in izmenjavi med človekoma. V izmenjavi z drugo/-im moram biti prisoten/-na, v tistem, kar izrečem. Potrebno je stalno vračanje v tišino, kjer se zbira vse, kar sem, kjer (i)zbiram smisel lastnih besed in kjer poteka razumevanje poslušanega diskurza. Zbiramo se v tišini: »Tišina je okolje, zahvaljujoč kateremu se lahko poskusim vrniti k izvoru svojega bivanja in spremeniti samo[/-ega] sebe.« (Irigaray 2011, 77) Tišina je tisti prostor srečevanja, kjer izkazujem svojo pripravljenost sprejemanja, pripoznanja in spoštovanja. Je prva beseda, namenjena drugi/-emu, s katero sem »pripravljen[/-a] poslušati resnico, ki je lastna drugi[/-emu]« (ibid., 79). Tišina dovoljuje dejavnost zunaj nas samih, obenem pa omogoča vračanje vase, tako pa zagotavlja polnost življenja. Po besedah Luce Irigaray je bolj humana od besede, saj dovoljuje odprtost, nedokonč(a)nost, pri-

hodnost, pričakovanje. Čutnost besede, ki je izražena v tonu glasu, ritmu ter semantični in fonetični izbiri, se lahko oblikuje le v tišini in samo kot tako je besedo mogoče sodeliti naprej. Irigaray tudi poudarja, da je praksa tišine ključnega pomena še posebej v večkulturnem okolju, kjer omogoča prehajanje med kulturami brez podrejanja. »Sposobnost neomejevanja na lastni jezik je prva gesta gostoljubja za drugega [oziroma drugo].« (ibid., 80)

Tišina, ki je prostor možnosti izraza subjektov, prostor možnosti medsebojnega odprtja, kot taka prevzema ključno vlogo za učinkovito medsebojno poslušanje. »Če tišina ne ostaja prisotna in aktivna, celoten diskurz izgubi svojo najpomembnejšo funkcijo: komuniciranje in ne samo dajanje informacij. […] Vstop v komunikacijo torej zahteva učinkovite omejitve edinega diskurza, ki bi želel povedati celoto, zahteva dostop do tišine, v kateri se lahko izraža neki drugi svet in zavzame svoj pomen.« (Irigaray 2010, 10)

Uvide Luce Irigaray je mogoče povezati z etiko diha Lenarta Škofa, ki z opiranjem na stare kozmologije povezuje tišino z izvornim začetkom, ko je bilo vse bivajoče prvotno tišina, prvi zlog *OM*, s specifičnim načinom izgovorjave (za izgovarjanje fonema »m« je treba skleniti ustnici) pa varuje to prvotno tišino (Škof 2012, 241). Opozarja, da se lahko sodelitev diha izvaja samo v razviti pozornosti za drugo/-ega, ki je omogočena s tišino (Škof 2016, 904–905), ki jo je z vidika filozofije Luce Irigaray mogoče dojeti kot »govor praga«. Gre za prag, ki ponazarja razliko med dvema srečujočima se, pomeni odprtost do druge/-ga, možnost srečevanja z njo/njim, brez predhodne obremenjenosti in pričakovanj, ki v tišini omogoča pozornost za potrebe druge/-ga. »Ta tišina […] je kozmološko- -etična metafora za izvorno etično gesto – gesto gostoljubnega sprejemanja drugega v moj svet.« (Škof 2012, 242) Škof (ibid., 244) poudarja, da tišina ne more biti povezana z vnaprejšnjo resnico ali diskurzom, temveč je bistveno povezana s telesnostjo in čutnostjo

ter elementi in njihovo rehabilitacijo, pri čemer ima posebej odliko-
vano mesto prav dih. Ta je s tišino tesno povezan predvsem z vidika
dejstva, da sta oba varuha človeške subjektivnosti še pred samo za-
vestjo jaza in kot taka ključna za vzpostavljanje intersubjektivnosti.

> *Tišina, ta označba praga med znotraj in zunaj, je predpogoj
> za intersubjektivne odnose, ki temeljijo na spoštovanju in va-
> rovanju osebe kot osebe, za dopuščanje njegovega ali njenega
> prebivanja v njegovi ali njeni subjektivnosti. Samo tako lahko v
> naših sebstvih sprejmemo in pozdravimo drugega z novo kulturo
> gostoljubja in nenasilja. Tišina je kraj, ki je dodeljen pričakova-
> nju drugega, je odsotnost slehernega ontološkega (nasilnostne-
> ga) dejanja ali ideje, tudi sleherne druge geste nasilja, začenši z
> jezikom.* (ibid., 245)

Z etičnega vidika je bistvena vrednota praga sprejemanja prav
tišina, ki omogoča najprej, da prisluhnemo lastnemu notranjemu
dihu in pulzaciji življenja v nas samih ter obenem tudi dihu in živ-
ljenju druge/-ga v okvirih etične časovnosti in izmenjujočih dihal-
nih energijah. Gre za etično pnevmatologijo kot dihanje v odnosu
do druge/-ga. S to možnostjo, ki jo ponuja tišina, je omogočen tudi
prvi spomin na rojstvo etične dolžnosti (Škof 2018, 60).

## Gostoljubnost tišine

S prevajanjem ohranjanja možnosti tišine kot razpoložljivosti je
mogoče tovrstno gesto neposredno navezati na gesto gostoljubja,
kar omogoča celo govor o gostoljubnosti same tišine. Ali druga-
če: reči je mogoče, da tišina ne ponazarja odsotnosti, nezvočnosti,
neslišnosti, temveč predvsem razpoložljivost, zaznamovano z zrač-
nostjo in odprtostjo, ki je nudena nekomu, s katerim posameznik/-
-ca lahko vstopa v odnos. Gre tako rekoč za kogarkoli, ki ima pri-

ložnost naleteti na tišino, ki ga/jo s svojo gostoljubnostjo povabi k izrekanju, sodelitvi in/ali sobivanju. »Tišina je torej označitev praga (razlike) med notri in zunaj, med mojo notranjostjo in zunanjostjo, med mojo inherentno družabnostjo in družbenimi prostori, ki jih vsi mi naseljujemo; samo v tem smislu lahko sprejmemo drugega v sebi.« (Škof 2016, 908)

Tudi Irigaray v enem svojih prispevkov o etičnih gestah (Irigaray 2010), kjer predstavi glavne vidike pomena tišine za vznikanje intersubjektivnega prostora med dvema, tišino neposredno poveže z dobrodošlico:

> Pred srečanjem z drugim mora biti tišina ohranjana kot prostor, v katerem je mogoče izraziti dobrodošlico njegovi ali njeni drugosti. Tišina se mora vključiti v dialog z drugim[/-o] kot pogoj za izmenjavo med dvema diskurzoma, [ki naj se odvije] brez dominacije ali podrejanja enega govora glede na drugega. Tišina mora biti ohranjana v vsakem [od dveh], da bi lahko bil prostor gostoljubja obvarovan pred prilastitvijo ali redukcijo resnične drugosti druge[/-ga]. (ibid., 10)

Torej dobrodošlica drugi oziroma drugemu vključuje brezpogojno povabilo tej/temu, da uvede svoj glas v tišino, ki ji/mu je ponujena. Edinstvenost njenega/njegovega glasu bo izražena v glasbi tega, v njegovih zvočnih značilnostih, ki so izoblikovane iz subjektovega bitja. To je »glasba iz diha in duše, telo katere je orodje. Glasba, ki je najlepša beseda, ki je lahko ponujena drugemu [oziroma drugi] in ki lahko od daleč odmeva v njima« (Irigaray 2004, 140). Tišina torej ponuja prostor glasu, da se daje posluhu druge/-ga.

Z izmenjavo glasov, izmenjavo izrazov, ki jih omogoča prav ponujena tišina, se vzpostavlja posebna oblika intimnosti, ki je naj-

globlja v srečanju med človekoma. Kakor pravi tudi Ihde (2007, 181), se zgodi v jeziku, vendarle pa je ta že venomer v tišini. Kot je bilo mogoče razbrati iz njegovega odnosa do tišine, tudi Levinas ne nazadnje združuje tišino in jezik v poseben neizključujoč, ampak na neki način komplementaren, intimen odnos med sočlovekoma. »Drugi[/-a], ki sprejema v intimnosti, ni [tisti] ti obraza, ki se razkriva v dimenziji višine, ampak je natančno tisti ti domačnosti: jezik brez poučevanja, tihi jezik, razumevanje brez besed, izraz v skrivnosti.« (Levinas 1979, 155) Tukajšnje zanikanje razkrivanja druge/-ga v dimenziji tišine Levinasa približa misli Luce Irigaray, ki kategorično zavrača tradicionalno transcendenco vertikale in jo zamenjuje s horizontalno transcendenco, pri čemer ne gre za preseganje v vrednosti, ampak za ohranjanje nezvedljive razlike med dvema, ki je prav v tišini najprepoznavnejša.

Iz predstavljenih besedil je mogoče uvideti, da je tudi v intimnih odnosih, partnerskih in ljubezenskih, tišina ključnega pomena. »Tišina […] je pogoj, brez katerega ne bi bili mogoči ustvarjalnost, občudovanje lepote, delo spomina, globoka kontemplacija, sodelitev, prijateljstvo, in kot že omenjeno, poveličevano, resnično, ljubezensko izkustvo.« (Demetrio 2015, 24) Pri tem pa tišina ni določena, natančno opredeljena, ampak vsakič znova dopušča različne pojavne oblike, glede na okoliščine njenega izpostavljanja, kar jo dela inherentno odprto, raznoliko in tako tudi gostoljubno.

*Tišina potrebuje vsakokrat novo ime, ki ji ga moramo dati sami v prvi osebi; vsak ima lastne tišine, pozivajoče skozi življenje, ki se spreminjajo po vrednosti, intenzivnosti.*

*Tišina se zato razkriva v vsestranskem in hibridnem občutku.*

*Je sel najrazličnejših strasti, čustev in drugih občutkov. Jih omogoča in dela čutno očitne, poudarja njihovo naravo. [...]*

*Ima paradoksno moč postajanja zvočne kulise za nemalo bolečin in prijetnih okoliščin.*

*Je občutljiva na kontekst [...] Ko ne zaznavamo nobenega dražljaja, jo prekine utripanje našega srca, kar dokazuje, da je tišina prisotna povsod, kjer je še življenje.* (ibid., 32-33)

Tako kot z jezikom je tišina konstitutivno prepletena tudi s poslušanjem, saj se ti intersubjektivni gesti medsebojno omogočata: brez tišine ni pravega poslušanja, brez tega pa ni mogoče izvajati tišine (prim. tudi Bjelica 2021, 228–230). V intervjuju s Francom Battiatom tudi španski filozof Raimon Panikkar opozori na prepletenost tišine s poslušanjem, ki ju zaveže v neke vrste začarani krog: »Tišina je neposredno povezana s poslušanjem. Tišina se ne more ustvariti, če se ne zna poslušati. Ne gre za čisto fizično dejanje, znati poslušati. [...] Poslušajoč spreminjaš tisto, kar poslušaš, saj gre venomer za dvopomensko razmerje. In kakor v začaranem krogu, da bi znali poslušati, je treba biti v tišini.« (Battiato 2014, 12)

V navedeni literaturi je mogoče naleteti tudi na opozarjanje na poživljajočo moč tišine. Ne samo to, ampak tudi na neposredno povezovanje tišine s svežim zrakom: »Vsaka poslušana ali izrečena beseda obstaja zaradi tišine, ki privzema vrednost, in takrat tišina ni več praznina, odsotnost, ampak postane svež zrak, poživljajoči kisik.« (Serenthà 2015, 16) Eden izmed udeležencev dialoga o tišini v gorskem okolju poudarja tudi prepletenost tišine s poslušanjem in ključni pomen tega. »Zame tišina ni popolna odsotnost vsakršnega hrupa, temveč priložnost poslušanja; vse bolj natančne-

ga poslušanja tistega, kar je okoli mene, s čim temeljitejšim razločevanjem zvokov, ki pridejo do mojih ušes, da se nazadnje zavem o zmožnosti boljšega razumevanja tudi tistega, kar slišim [oziroma čutim] v sebi. Ne nazadnje mislim, da je resnično poslušanje neke osebe največja sposobnost, ki jo lahko doseže, kdor se uči rabe tišine.« (ibid., 13)

Na tem mestu se je mogoče znova opreti na Pabla Nerudo in z njegovimi verzi zaokrožiti ta sprehod po raziskovanju tišine. V naslednjih verzih iz pesmi »Ostati tiho« avtor ne kliče k tišini zase, temveč tokrat poziva vse, tudi bralce, k molku, ki lahko kljub razširjenemu prepričanju o nasprotnem prekine medsebojno nerazumevanje in prizadevanje.

*Zdaj bomo prešteli do dvanajst*
*in ostali bomo popolnoma tiho.*

*Enkrat toliko na zemlji*
*ne govòrimo v nobenem jeziku,*
*za sekundo se ustavimo,*
*ne premikajmo rok tako zelo.*

*[…]*

*Če bi nam ne bilo treba biti tako enoumni*
*v tolikšnem premikanju naših življenj,*
*lahko morda enkrat ničesar ne bi počeli,*
*in bi morda lahko velika tišina*
*prekinila to žalost*
*nikolišnjega medsebojnega razumevanja*
*in ogrožanja s smrtjo,*
*morda bi nas zemlja lahko naučila,*

*kot ko se je vse zdelo mrtvo*
*in je bilo potem vse živo.*[13] (Neruda 1972, 26, 28)

Tišina torej lahko s svojo odprtostjo nudi gostoljubje za prekinitev medsebojne nasilnosti in sprejem svežine živega, ki se sicer ob zvočni in delovanjski prenasičenosti zdi karseda mrtvo. Taka tišina bistveno pripomore k omogočanju možnosti za etično in pozorno sobivanje in sprejemanje v dobrodošlici.

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[13] Odlomek iz pesmi »Ostati tiho« (»*A callarse*«). Prevod avtorice. Izvirnik: »*Ahora contaremos doce / y nos quedamos todos quietos. // Por una vez sobre la tierra / no hablemos en ningun idioma, / por un segundo detengamonos, / no movamos tanto los brazos. // Sería un minuto fragante, / sin prisa, sin locomotoras, / todos estaríamos juntos / en una inquietud instantanea. / [...] / Si no pudimos ser unanimes / moviendo tanto nuestras vidas, / tal vez no hacer nada una vez, / tal vez un gran silencio pueda / interrumpir esta tristeza, / este no entendernos jamas / y amenazarnos con la muerte, / tal vez la tierra nos enseñe / cuando todo parece muerto / y luego todo estaba vivo.*«

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Enes Ismeti,[1] Arta Toçi[2]

# The Use of English Borrowings in the Social Media in Kosova

**Abstract:** This study aims to examine the use of English borrowings in the social media in Kosova and consider the potential effects on the comprehension of the audience. It takes into consideration the role of technology in the spread and adoption of English borrowings through the social media. With the rise of the internet and social media, access to English language media has become more prevalent, leading to a greater influence of English on the Albanian language. The use of technology in media also plays a role in the way English borrowings are adopted and incorporated into the language, as media outlets may choose to use English terms for the sake of convenience or to appeal to a younger, tech-savvy audience. This adds a new dimension to the analysis of English loan words in social media in Kosova and highlights the importance of considering the role of technology in language evolution. Furthermore, since younger generations are familiar with English, those borrowed words can be understood by them, however, the same cannot be said for older generations.

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The research also examines those linguistic features that have entered Albanian via the English language, even though they are from distant languages, such as the words gong, typhoon, and so on. In the Albanian those words are considered as English words because they have been fully adapted to the English language in terms of phonological, phonetic, and semantic viewpoints over time, and so may already be considered English language elements. Additionally, with the increasing technological development and globalization, it is not uncommon for English borrowings to be used in media in order to stay current and relevant. However, it is crucial to consider the impact of these language choices on the audience and ensure that the language used is accessible to all.

**Keywords:** Anglicism, Media, Kosova, Languages

## Uporaba angleških izposojenk v družbenih medijih na Kosovu

**Izvleček:** Namen študije je preučiti uporabo angleških izposojenk v družbenih medijih na Kosovu in razmisliti o njenih možnih učinkih na razumevanje pri občinstvu. Upošteva vlogo tehnologije pri širjenju in sprejemanju angleških izposojenk prek družbenih medijev. Z vzponom interneta in družbenih medijev je dostop do angleških jezikovnih medijev postal bolj razširjen, kar vodi do večjega vpliva angleščine na albanski jezik. Uporaba tehnologije v medijih prav tako igra vlogo pri tem, kako so angleške izposojenke sprejete in vključene v jezik, saj se medijske hiše lahko odločijo za uporabo angleških izrazov zaradi udobja ali da bi pritegnile mlajšo, tehnično podkovano občinstvo. To dodaja novo razsežnost analizi angleških izposojenk v družbenih medijih na Kosovu in podčrtuje pomen upoštevanja vloge tehnologije pri razvoju jezika. Ker mlajše generacije poznajo angleščino, prevzete besede lahko razumejo, vendar tega ne moremo trditi za starejše generacije.

Raziskava preučuje tudi tiste jezikovne značilnosti, ki so v albanščino prišle prek angleščine, čeprav so iz oddaljenih jezikov, kot so besede *gong*, *typhoon* ipd. V albanščini se te besede obravnavajo kot angleške besede, ker so bile sčasoma popolnoma prilagojene angleškemu jeziku v smislu fonološkega, fonetskega in semantičnega vidika, in se tako že lahko štejejo za elemente angleškega jezika. Ne čudi, da se z naraščajočim tehnološkim razvojem in globalizacijo angleške izposojenke uporabljajo v medijih, s čimer želijo ti ostati aktualni in relevantni. Vendar pa je ključno upoštevati vpliv takih izbir jezika na občinstvo in zagotoviti, da je uporabljeni jezik dostopen vsem.

**Ključne besede:** anglicizem, mediji, Kosovo, jeziki

## Introduction

It is commonly acknowledged that since the 1990s, when Albanian society and media were liberated from communist shackles, there has been a flux of English words in the Albanian language, notably in the printed press. Their widespread use may be found in all forms of media, both aural and visual, as well as in the everyday language of the young and middle classes. This document includes numerous samples drawn from the Albanian daily newspaper from the 1990s onwards, which were the subject of a long-term study of the characteristics and behavior of Anglicisms in the Albanian written press. The identification of Anglicisms in Albanian is one of the most difficult (notable) difficulties. Anglicisms are borrowings from the English language. According to Munishi (2015, 10), 'the impact of English language in the Albanian language is important because English has become the most impactful language in a global level.' There are numerous additional instances in which Anglicism is widely employed, even though there is an Albani-

an word/translation for it, which is frequently used in place of the Albanian word. Many of the English words used in the Albanian language, both written and spoken, are employed for reasons other than necessity. Many parts of media language have been borrowed from other types of discourse. The high number of borrowings, especially those from the English language, have been of use in order to accomplish the goal of the press (among others, to produce and broadcast news in a short time and in a restricted space as effectively as possible). They are used as synonyms for terms that already exist in Albanian, as well as euphemisms. Some of them are only used for a brief period and then are assimilated.

Within his Dictionary of European Anglicisms, Görlach (2003, 2) lists Albanian as one of the sixteen European languages whose Anglicisms he retains. In addition, he highlights the paucity of linguistics research in this field, especially in Albania. There was no particular input from the Albanian language institutes in Tirana; instead, Görlach and his dictionary drew their data from the 1980s research studies of two linguists in Kosova. Albania, compared to other countries, lost contact with the English language and culture in the 20th century due to the communist regime that was imposed on the country as soon as the two World Wars concluded. Despite being hidden and shielded from the regime's various forms of punishment, English continued to be prioritized and taught as the first foreign language in the majority of Albanian schools. Albanian society also had a very positive attitude toward English language and culture, and they were more inclined toward English-language films, music, sports, and cinema than anything else.

Table 1. English borrowed words in the Albanian language

| akselerim | Intel | sajt |
|---|---|---|
| audio hyrje | interfejs | sharing |
| audio dalje | jump drive | shou-biznes |
| kantri back up | kalkulator | skajleb/ skajlab |
| benchmark/ | kernel | sllot |
| bençmark | kikboks | smajl |
| bitrate | kit | spejsleb/ spaslab |
| bodi-bilding | konfidencialitet | stardom |
| brejn-drejn | kushtet dhe termet | stereoskopik |
| browser | log-in/ login | street-ball |
| çipset | megapiksel | surfer |
| desktop | memori stik | surfim |
| displej | mikroçip | tag |
| drajv/ drajver | mini aplikacione | tagim |
| eipmen | msn | tagoj |

Words have been borrowed from one another from the beginning of the existence of languages. The Albanian language has not withstood this phenomenon since it has taken many terms from many invaders, and many foreign words are still in use in the Albanian language. This language began to quickly borrow foreign terms in the previous two to three decades, particularly in the postwar era. According to Avdullai (2017, 12), 'this has occurred for two major reasons: First, many International Organizations began to function during the Kosova conflict, causing enterprises to communicate in English, and secondly, organizations such as the Academy of Science or the Government have not done a good job of controlling these borrowings.'

Borrowings from English into Albanian are known as anglicisms, and they may be found in practically every subject. This research examines the use of anglicisms in the media in Kosova. Media is the primary tool for disseminating information, and as

such, its primary purpose is to be understood, which cannot be accomplished unless a clear and intelligible language is employed. Furthermore, as the younger generations are familiar with the English language, they can understand anglicisms used in the written and spoken media, however, this is not a case with the older generations. As a result, it is critical that the media utilize language that can be comprehended by everyone.

The Albanian language is not the only language which has borrowed words. According to Schuchardt (1884, 92), 'No language is clean, unblended or unaffected and borrowing is something normal.' Nevertheless, this paper will aim to determine the impact of the use of English borrowings in the media in Kosova on the local context. A study conducted by Sejdiu and Alla (2015, 13) claim: 'There are news sectors in local media in which 40% of the words in total are anglicisms. This is very concerning taking into consideration the fact that if someone does not understand these words, that person is not able to understand almost half of the news they are reading.' This statement can be illustrated with some examples found in the webpage of the Ministry of Tourism in Kosova: '*Edhe ne internet kane lulezuar site te cilat drejtohen grave.*' And '*Fjala eshte per Altin Haxhin i cili nenshkroi nje kontrate me Anorthisin, nje lajm qe jepet edhe nga sajti.*'

The gender of Anglicisms in Albanian is the subject of another intriguing discovery. Generally speaking, they follow Albanian gender norms; but, by adding a feminine suffix, certain English neologisms with a masculine lexical meaning can be used in both masculine and feminine versions in Albanian. The gender of Anglicisms in Albanian is the subject of another intriguing discovery. Generally speaking, they follow Albanian gender norms; but, by adding a feminine suffix, certain English neologisms with a masculine lexical meaning can be used in both masculine and feminine

versions in Albanian. Consequently, the lexical meaning and the morphological category indicator contradict one other: biznesmen – biznesmene, barmen – barmene, barman – barmenist, kaubojs – kaubojse, kongresmen – kongresmene, narkoman – narkomane, supermen – supermene, xhentllmen – xhentllmene, narkoman – narkomane. As a result of the English terminology' influence, Albanian recognizes a different type of plurality. This category contains the English noun plurality indication as well as the Albanian noun plurality indicator: (one) Hackers – (some) hackersa, (one) fans – (some) fansa, kaubojs – kaubojsa.

The Albanian language has now reached a point where it requires extensive repair. It arose from the Congress of Orthography's standard linguistic framework, which was established in 1972. Currently, the Albanian language has deviated from its norm in a variety of ways and on a variety of levels. According to Nuhiu (2013, 132) there are two types of violations of Albanian standard language now:

a) It has failed to observe language standards at the grammatical – morphological level, as well as at the syntactic level, particularly at the vocabulary level, in both spoken and written languages.

b) It employs foreign words, particularly English ones.

Naturally, the topic of deviations from language norms discussed in this paper focuses on spoken language in official bodies, forums, and institutions, as well as in electronic mass media; however, such deviations can also be found in the written language of the press and in the speech of several intellectuals in general. Many official speakers, such as journalists, public workers, and others, utilize a language that does not belong to any of the speeches, and even less so to standard Albanian, on TV shows and particularly on separate private radio station programs in Kosova.

## Borrowed Words in Albanian Language

Language borrowing is considered to have existed since the beginning of time. Borrowing has thus been a long-standing experience in all languages. Borrowings have entered Albanian in waves, with varying degrees of intensity at different times. In the broad sense, however, there are some prescribed requirements when it comes to linguistic borrowing. Thus, until recently, language borrowing was done in accordance with some already established rules developed by linguists dealing with such situations. Those who deal with borrowing concerns should have a neutral attitude. They should not be severe purists, who believe that nearly no borrowing of foreign terms should be permitted, nor should they be extreme liberals, who believe that borrowing of foreign words should be permitted even if they are not required.

As a result, the guiding concept for allowing or prohibiting the borrowing of foreign language elements should be followed: don't borrow at all costs, but don't ban borrowing entirely. A foreign language element is borrowed when it introduces a novel concept that does not exist in the receiving language and were finding a suitable word or expression to replace it is difficult or impossible. Borrowing occurs because the receiving language gets enriched as a result of the borrowing. Apart from the problem of borrowing in general, there is also the issue of borrowing in various forms in Albanian-speaking territories, such as Kosova and Albania. Some components of the English language that are borrowed in Albania and Kosova take on various forms in the two countries. In comparison to Albania and Kosova, several words containing the vowel /ae/ in English follow a phonemic adaption history that is different. Earlier in Kosova Albanian, the /e/ vowel phoneme dominated the replacement of this vowel phoneme.

Linguistic borrowing has existed throughout human history because individuals have always encounter one another under a variety of contexts and conditions. When lexicographers were collecting information for dictionaries in the seventeenth century, they ran into the difficulty of borrowing and didn't know how to classify terms that didn't belong in the lexicon of another language.

## Comparison of Phonological Systems

It is critical to examine the differences and similarities between the two languages, as well as the two phonemic systems, in order to determine what happens with English borrowings in Albanian, how they fit from a phonemic and phonetic standpoint, and where theoretical possibilities for presenting the phenomenon of trans-phonemization, substitution, and import of phonemes exist. It may be recognized where there are potential adaptation chances by comparing two languages, and later, in the concrete analysis, it can be checked if they have been employed, or whether any of the phonemes, notably the English features, have not followed the conceivable path of adaptation. The general characteristics of the two systems are first compared phonemic and phonetic, followed by a detailed comparison of phonemes to determine which of them can be substituted by appearing on both sides as equivalent, and which are transfeminized, assimilated, and replaced with phonemes of the receiving language – Albanian. According to Nuhiu, (2013, 6) '[s]ome English phonemes are nearly identical to Albanian phonemes in terms of quality.' When passing words in Albanian, this type of phoneme could be kept intact because their phonetic value does not change considerably. Some phonemes in English and Albanian are strikingly similar. This category contains phonemes that, while they have equivalents in the Albanian language, differ from Albanian phonemes due to certain characteristics. In most cases, these

phonemes are replaced with their Albanian counterparts. There are no Albanian analogues for several English phonemes. This category comprises phonemes that do not exist in the Albanian language's phonological system. When borrowing goods in English, these phonemes are freely changed with Albanian phonemes.

Substitution is commonly done using phonemes that sound like English borrowings, followed by the spelling of English borrowings. Because they do not exist in the English phonemic system, a few Albanian phonemes have no language analogues in English. Despite the fact that the phonemes in this group have no analogues in the receiving language, may include those borrowed from English due to the need for phoneme substitution and hyper differentiation.

Table 2. Table of phonemes in both languages

| Lloji i fonemave | Grupi I | Grupi II | Grupi III | Grupi IV |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Zanore | /i/, /u/, /e/, /ə/, /o/ | /iː/, /aː/, /uː/, /oː/, /ʌ/ | /æ/, /ə/ | /y/ |
| Diftongje | | /ai/, /au/, /ei/, /oi/, /əu/ | /iə/, /uə/, /ɛə/ | |
| Bashkë-tingëllore | /b/, /m/, /f/, /l/, /s/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /g/, /n/, /v/, /h/, /z/, /ʒ/, /dʒ/, /θ/, /ð/, /j/ | /p/, /d/, /t/, /k/, /r/ | /ŋ/, /w/ | / ʎ /, /ts/, /dz/, /ḟ/, /ċ/, /ḍ/, /ṅ/ |

According to Nuhiu (2013, 23), 'Phonemic substitution is a type of linguistic borrowing in which the donor language element is substituted with the recipient language's phonemic equivalent.' Given the replacement of English phonemes with those of the Albanian language in English borrowings, we shall focus on this topic in this chapter. In English borrowings in Albanian, the long English vowel closed / I / is replaced with / I / (short) of Albanian, for example:

freeze [fri:z] > friz /[friz],
leader ['li:də] > lider [li'der],
Heath [hi:θ] > Hith [hiθ],
hockey ['hoki] > hokej [ho'kej],
joc+key ['dʒoki] > xhokej [dʒo'kej/,
Sidney ['sidni] > Sidnej [sid'nej],

This type of substitution has also been seen: / i /> / e /, which does not rely on any similarities: cottage ['kotidʒ] > kotexh [ko'tedʒ].

Dodi (1970, 60) also mentions the occurrence of this vowel phoneme in several Albanian dialects; however, he claims that 'this sound is an allophone of the phoneme / e / in Albanian, which has a limited range of application and a small number of circumstances in which it is utilized.' Because the Albanian language possesses this allophone of the phoneme / e /, the phoneme English / can be heard more as / e / sesa si / a / by Albanian speakers. As a result, when the loan is translated directly into Albanian, the English phoneme / a / is more likely to be replaced by / e /. This is most likely the cause and answer for the fact that, even though writing accounts for most English borrowings in Albanian, we have about equal numbers of substitutes for this phoneme English with / a / Albanian and with / e / Albanian. It's worth noting that when the same English borrowing is used to replace two categories, the results are frequently the same, for example:

jazz [dʒæz] > xhaz [dʒaz] e xhez [dʒez],
match [mætʃ] > maç [matʃ] e meç [metʃ],
sandwich ['sæandwitʃ] > sanduiç [sand'vitʃ] e senduiç [send'vitʃ],
gary ['gæri] > Gari ['gari] e Geri ['geri],
Jack [dʒæk] > Xhak [dʒak] e Xhek [dʒek] etj

This phenomenon, we believe, stems from the fact that these first two countries were more open to the West than Albania, having more contacts and relations with those countries, particularly

the United States, and thus enter English words more directly in those countries, whereas in Albania, such words are mostly entered through writing, where writing has a greater impact. The second aspect is that the Albanian language in Kosova and North Macedonia accepts more loans, but primarily through the intermediary language of Serbo-Croatian, where the propensity to replace the English phoneme / / with / e / predominates. However, due to the effect of English borrowing spelling, e since the letters r e l occur after / a: / in writing, these two consonants emerge in the pronunciation of those borrowings in Albanian, even if they are not pronounced in English. In the most common cases, for example: / a:> / ar /, the substitution is made in this way:

bar [ba:] > bar ;[bar],

farmer ['fa:mə] > farmer [far'mer],

Arthur ['a:θə] > Arthur [ar'θur].

*Kontekst* or *përmbajtje? Objektiv* or *qëllim?* Are we using unneccessary words when we have the possibility to use the Albanian equivalent, therefore making our language poor and making what we want to say more difficult to say? Even worse, are media, whose main goal is to spread the information, doing so? I find this issue highly important, because a missplaced word can change the meaning of a whole sentence, causing later unpredictable complications.

Although, Albanian is still the most widely spoken language in Kosova, many people utilize English when posting on social media. People from other countries frequently use English to respond to postings on Kosova's Facebook page, demonstrating the use of English as a *lingua franca*. Here are a few examples of English on social media in Kosova.

The use of English can be seen in this post on Kosova's Facebook page. The post demonstrates how beautiful Mitrovica is, thus it looks that utilizing English is a technique to attract tourists.

Figure 1. English language in the social media
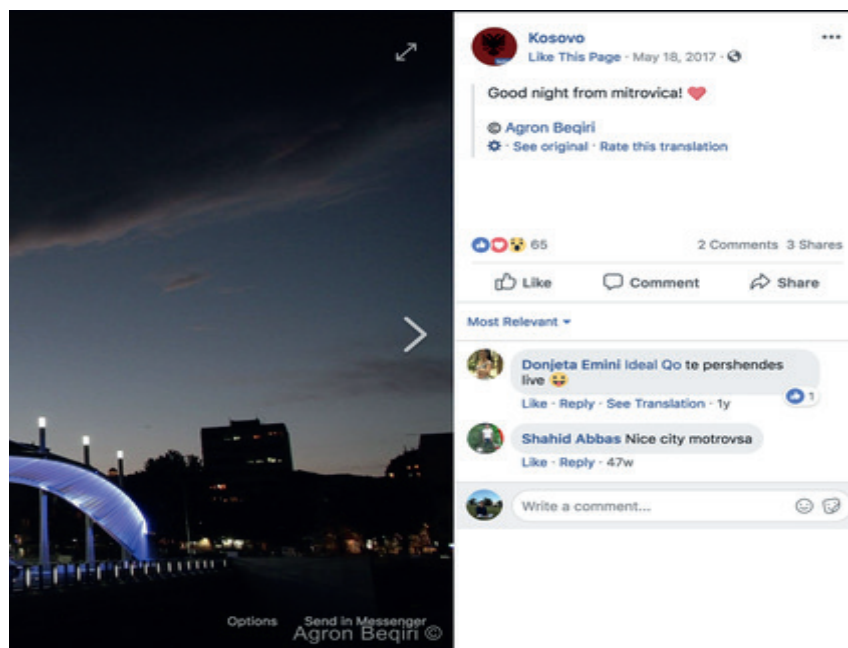


The majority of the posts on Kosova's Facebook page are in Albanian, however this one also includes an English translation. In addition, a user from Germany replies in English on this post, indicating how English is used for communication between two non-English speaking countries. Also, as it can be seen from the bolded text, in this very short paragraph, there are four anglicisms which could have easily been replaced with albanian words that have the same meaning.

Table 3. The unnecessary borrowings in the given paragraph

| English | Anglicism | Albanian |
|---|---|---|
| Contribute | Kontribuar | Ndihmuar |
| Consolidation | Konsolidimin | Fuqizimin |
| Image | Imazhi | Përfytyrimi/Pasqyrimi |
| Support | Suporti | Mbështetja |

Someone with basic English knowledge is able to understand the previous anglicisms. However, it is highly unlikely that older generations would be able to gasp the clear meaning. Unfortunately, this does not end here. We hear and read anglicisms in our everyday life, especially with younger generations. Today, it is very likely to hear someone say *nuk është fer* instead of *nuk është e drejtë,* or *kjo veshje është shumë trendi,* instead of *kjo veshje është shumë në modë*. Furthermore, it is now very normal to hear various politicians everyday speaking foreign words only for the purpose of trying to sound smart. In a nutshell, this phenomenon becomes an endless circle and us as a society should not allow that our beautiful language can be oppressed like this.

It is very normal that every language borrows words from another one. However, this can not be used as a justification and simply continue. Various measures have to be taken in order to use the Albanian language as correctly as possible. The Oxford Dictionary (2002) has a special comittee whose job is to examine new/foreign words that are added in the English Language Dictionary, and give opinions whether they should be used or changed. Such comittee would be more than welcomed in the context of Kosova.

## Methods

The study is explorative in the sense that it tries and examines the assumptions and perceptions of participants about Anglicism practices at Kosovar media. The target participants were 100 students from different public universities of Kosova. The participants were of same nationality, Albanian. A list of questions and statements were constructed on the viewpoints of participants on issues such as the perceptions of them about Anglicism in Kosovar media, which were asked to choose and select the appropriate statement that fit their thought. The data was analyzed using fre-

quencies and percentages. Participant's questionnaires were administered online via Google forms due to the global pandemic situation, COVID-19, and they all were briefed about the purpose of the study and their queries were taken into consideration. The data gathered through the questionnaires are used to further elaborate on the results found from the research, which are presented by charts for each question and statement.

## Results

The statistical findings from the questionnaires are presented below

Chart 1. Indicate the degree of usefulness with which you associate the use of Anglicism in Kosovar media.
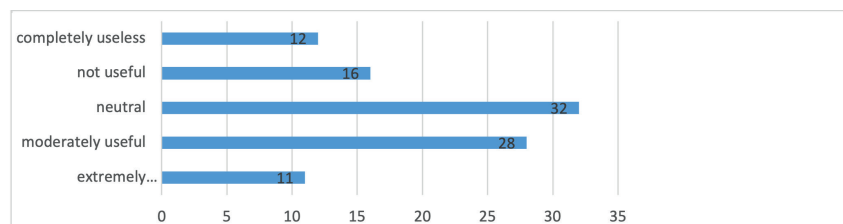


When respondents were asked about the degree of usefulness with which they associate the use of Anglicism in Kosovar media, most of them (32 participants), indicates that respondents have a rather neutral view of the usefulness of Anglicism in Kosovar media. On the other hand, other participants are closer to moderately useful with regard to the usefulness of Anglicism. Whereas the degree of usefulness of Anglicism in media thus seem to be moving toward not useful and completely useful among few participants which is quite interesting because it seems inconsistent with the answers of previous participants comments about how English could be necessary in Kosovar media.

Chart 2. The use of English words in Albanian texts has become a new form of slang.
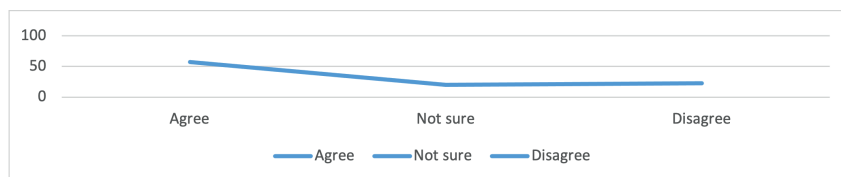


27 participants agreed, 10 participants said they were not sure, and 13 participants disagreed, regarding question 2, whether the use of English words in Albanian texts has become a new form of slang for them. This outcome suggests that the use of English words in Albanian texts has become a new form of slang is valued by most participants and they think it is a valuable form, whereas only few of them were not sure and disagreed with the statement.

The language variety that was supported by more than 45 respondents is the 'use of Albanian with a very limited number of English words'. Although majority of respondents prefer the 'use of Albanian with a very limited number of English words'; a significant number (30 participants) also prefer the use of 'Albanian with a moderate number of English words' compared to the number of those who opt for 'Albanian with an unlimited number of English words' which were only 5, and those 20 participants which responded for 'Albanian only'.

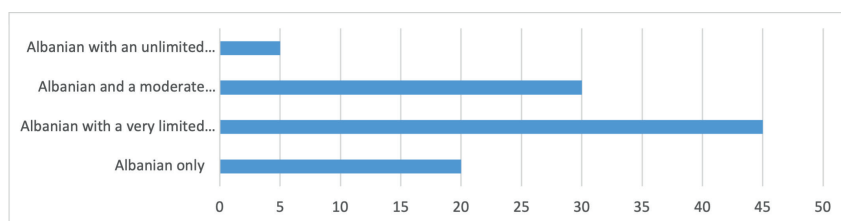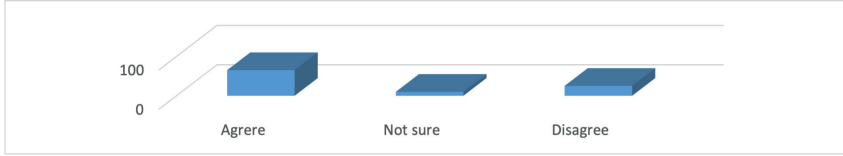Chart 3. What language variety should be used in Kosovar media?

Chart 4. The use of English words in Kosovar media is the insufficient knowledge of Albanian language.



65 participants agreed that the use of English words in Kosovar media is the insufficient knowledge of Albanian language, while 10 participants were unsure, and 25 of them disagreed with the statement. It is therefore clear that most participants believe that the use of English words in Kosovar media is the insufficient knowledge of Albanian language.

Chart 5. Do you have difficulties with any of the languages in Kosovar media?
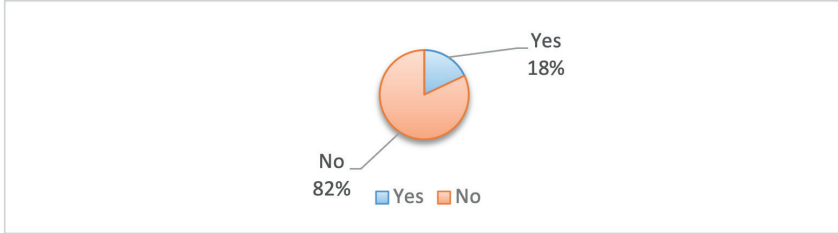


A glance at these responses gives the accurate impression that most of the participants do not encounter certain difficulties in any of the languages in Kosovar media, whereas only few of them face difficulties in them due to the lack of knowledge whether in English or Albanian language.

Chart 6. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: 'Albanian language should be protected from English influence in Kosovar media'.
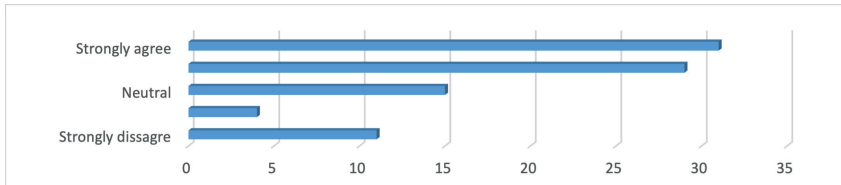


A large majority of respondents (31 participants) strongly agree that the Albanian language should be protected from English influence in the Kosovar media. 29 of them simply agree with the statement made above. Regarding the statement, 11 participants chose to remain neutral. Surprisingly, 11 of them strongly disagree with this.

Chart 7. The use of English words in Kosovar media shows a certain level of societal success.
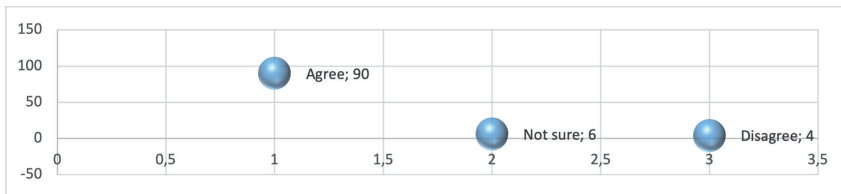


As for statement 7, whether the use of English words in Kosovar media shows a certain level of societal success, most participants (90) agreed with the statement, 6 participants said they are not sure whether the use of English words in Kosovar media shows a certain level of societal success, only 4 participants disagreed. This indicates that a significant number of participants think that the use of English words in Kosovar media shows a certain level of societal success.

Chart 8. English is becoming the language of fashion, with a plethora of Anglicisms being used daily in Kosova media.
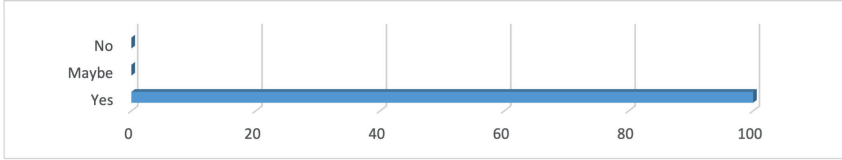


Not surprisingly, all the participants said that English is becoming the language of fashion, with a plethora of Anglicisms being used daily in Kosovar media.

Chart 9. On a scale from 5 to 10 (5 - the lowest, 10 - the highest), how beneficial do you think Anglicism in Kosova media is?
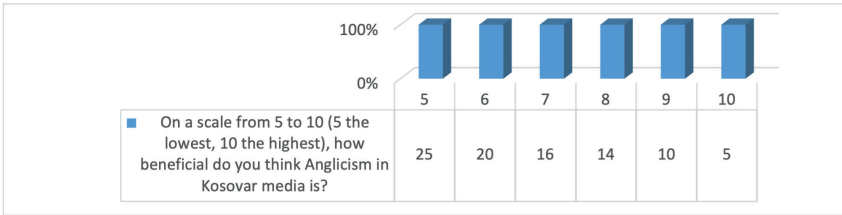


The chart above shows that most students (45) think that Anglicism in Kosovar media is not beneficial at all (choosing 5 and 6 on the scale from 5 to 10), whereas 16 of them think so at a just slightly lower degree (7, 8), closely followed by few who chose 9 and 10 on the scale from 5 to 10 claiming that Anglicism in Kosovar media is beneficial.

Chart 10. Have you been able to get sufficient information when faced with Anglicism in Kosovar media?
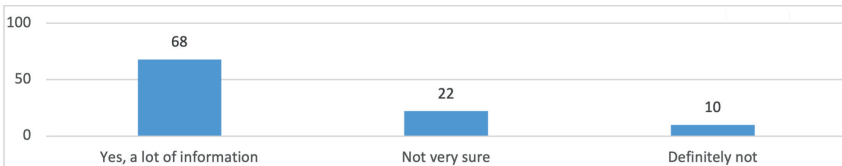
Regarding the final question, 68 participants of the survey claimed that they got sufficient information when faced with Anglicism in Kosovar media, whereas the other participants asserted that they are not quite sure whether they got sufficient information when dealt with Anglicism or not, besides 10 participants declared they got no information at all when faced Anglicism.

## Discussion

People who do not speak English may feel isolated by the use of English in Albanian-Kosovar media texts. The Albanian language is not the only language which has borrowed words. They demonstrate a degree of influence from language ideologies that are possibly still shared by respondents in Kosova.

With regard to when asked students: 'The use of English words in Kosovar media is the insufficient knowledge of Albanian language', they believe that the Albanian language is more rich and sophisticated than English and that it should not be destroyed through the use of Anglicism. This is what a few respondents in the presents study agreed with. As a result, using English words in Albanian written media texts or advertisements without justification is not permitted. It is therefore clear that many participants believe that the use of English words in Kosovar media is the insufficient knowledge of Albanian language. Advertising embraces postnational discourses of unsettled and hybrid identities in multilingualism. Linguistic codes are frequently used to express these identities. When it comes to the conflict between national and transnational (i.e., beyond national boundaries) identities, advertising has become the late-modern discourse par excellence. After all, as previously stated, the use of English words is not required. It is proposed that the Albanian language be kept in its 'pure' form, or that English be used only when there are no Albanian equiv-

alents. When this statement was made 'English is becoming the language of fashion, with a plethora of Anglicisms being used on a daily basis in Kosovar media' Students, not surprisingly, as seen in the results section all of the participants, said that English is becoming the language of fashion, with a plethora of Anglicisms being used on a daily basis in Kosovar media. The findings are not surprising, given that almost all respondents are scholars in professions where they are likely to be influenced by prescriptive ideas about the variety of Albanian language to be used. When students were asked 'how beneficial do you think Anglicism in Kosovar media is?' They all claimed that it is benefical in Kosovar Media, because that way people will be learning English unconsciously. It is well established that younger generations are more enthusiastic about using English than adults. These answers given above indicate that natives feel 'more educated' because they are aware that they will be perceived as such, even if respondents may not express it explicitly. Someone with basic English knowledge is able to understand the previous anglicisms. However, as proven above older generations would be able to gasp the clear meaning. Futhermore, it was surprising to see few students disagree with this statement used in chart 6: 'Albanian language should be protected from English influence in Kosovar media'. Although many students strongly agree that the Albanian language should be protected from English influence in the Kosovar media. When children learn more than one language in early childhood, there is a greater chance that one language will be learned better than the other. The 'Do you have difficulties with any of the languages in Kosovar media?' most of the students said that they do not encounter certain difficulties in any of the languages in Kosovar media, since they know more than two languages.

## Conclusions

In the world that we are living, it is almost impossible to believe that two languages will not be influenced by one-another, and not always this influence has a negative impact. However, it should not be allowed that this influence causes an uncontrollable use of anglicisms that are not needed. Considering the fact that media is read by a large number of people, media comitees together with media owners should work together into finding a solution that each article is edited by experts before it is published for the audience. Many new foreign terms and idioms have already become commonplace in our daily lives or have become part of our lexicon. We'll only go through a few of them below, which are more common but also a little strange.

When deciding whether or not those foreign terms or expressions should be accepted, it is critical to determine whether they name some new concept that cannot be articulated by an Albanian proper word or expression. This idea can also be employed when a loanword is used to distinguish between identical concepts but in different contexts.

To conclude, the use of anglicisms is rapidly spreading, especially by the Kosovar media. It is understandable that some words do not have an Albanian equivalent and can be understandable by all, such as *kompjuter, projekt, e-mail* and other technological terms. However, the majority of anglicisms used by Kosovar media today do have an equivalent in Albanian with the same meaning, and in my opinion, the journalists and editors should always use the Albanian version. This way, we help to not only make the news more understandable, but also we save the Albanian language.

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Anja Knez[1]

# Moč človeškega uma: razmišljanja o psihosomatiki, placebu in konceptu resničnosti

**Izvleček:** Psihosomatske motnje vključujejo um in telo. Gre za bolezni s telesno simptomatiko, ki niso organskega izvora, temveč so posledica vpliva psihosocialnih dejavnikov. Eden najpogostejših dejavnikov je stres, glavni dejavnik za slednjega pa neustrezno soočanje s čustvi. Interakcija uma in telesa, značilna za psihosomatske bolezni, igra pomembno vlogo tudi pri njihovem zdravljenju. Učinek placeba pomeni izboljšanje zdravja, ki ga ni mogoče pripisati zdravilu ali zdravljenju, temveč psihološkim procesom. Placebo razkriva vplive duševnih stanj – počutja, prepričanj in pričakovanj – na telesne izide. Obravnava psihosomatskih motenj zahteva celosten pogled na človeka in širi nabor pristopov. Mednje spadata čuječnost in razvoj čustvene kompetentnosti.

**Ključne besede:** psihosomatika, placebo, bolezen, stres, čuječnost, čustvena kompetentnost

## The Power of the Human Mind: Reflections on Psychosomatics, the Placebo, and the Concept of Reality

**Abstract:** Psychosomatic disorders involve both the mind and the body. These are diseases with physical symptoms, which are not of organic origin, but are the result of the influence of psychosocial factors. One of the most common factors is stress, and the main fac-

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tor for the latter is inadequate coping with emotions. The mind-body interaction, characteristic of psychosomatic diseases, also plays an important role in their treatment. The placebo effect refers to an improvement in health that cannot be attributed to a drug or treatment, but to psychological processes. Placebo reveals the effects of mental states – feelings, beliefs, and expectations – on physical outcomes. The treatment of psychosomatic disorders requires a holistic view of the person and a wider range of approaches. These include mindfulness and the development of emotional competence.

**Keywords:** psychosomatics, placebo, illness, stress, mindfulness, emotional competence

## O psihosomatiki

Psihosomatska medicina je interdisciplinarna veda, ki proučuje medsebojno povezanost duševnosti, telesa in okolja ter njen vpliv na razvoj bolezni (Wasilewski 2011, 41). Holistično razumevanje bolezni kot posledice interakcije med dušo in telesom je že v srednjem veku razvil perzijski zdravnik in psiholog Abu Zayd al-Balkhi, za uradnega ustanovitelja psihosomatske medicine pa velja na Madžarskem rojeni zdravnik in psihoanalitik Alexander Ferenc Gabor, ki je deloval na prehodu iz 19. v 20. stoletje. Skupaj s Sigmundom Freudom in Sandorjem Ferenczijem je razvil teorijo avtoplastične adaptacije, po kateri se posameznik na hud stres odzove na dva načina: spremeniti skuša sebe oz. notranje okolje (avtoplastična adaptacija) ali situacijo oz. zunanje okolje (aloplastična adaptacija).

V 70. letih 20. stoletja je Nemec Thure von Uexküll skupaj s sodelavci razvil koncept biosemiotike, teorijo naravnih semiotičnih ravni oz. znakovnih sistemov, ki se razteza od ravni celice do ravni kompleksnih človeških znakovnih sistemov, kot je jezik (Kull in Hoffmeyer 2005, 487). Koncept je predstavljal kritiko medicine, ki vidi le indeksikalno naravo bolezni, ne pa tudi simbolnega pomena simptomov:

*Medicina mora svoj mehanski model telesa nadomestiti z modelom živega sistema. Živi sistemi se na mehanske vnose ne odzivajo mehansko; namesto tega vnose iz okolja na svojih receptorjih pretvarjajo v znake, ki sisteme obveščajo o pomenu okolja za njihove potrebe. Ti znaki omogočajo sistemu, da prepozna in asimilira vire okolja, da bi ohranil avtopoezo kot temelj svojega zdravja.* (Uexküll 1992, 455)

Do nedavnega je zahodna znanost dvosmerno komunikacijo med telesom in umom pretežno ignorirala, čeprav je bila ta dolgo temelj tradicionalnih zdravilskih praks v mnogih drugih delih sveta, zlasti v Indiji in na Kitajskem. Danes spreminja naše razumevanje travme in okrevanja (Kolk 2015, 247). Medicina, kot jo poznamo danes, se je začela pojavljati po industrijski revoluciji od 19. stoletja dalje (Sakai in Morimoto 2022, 4). Čeprav znanje o psihosomatski pogojenosti zdravja sega daleč nazaj in je sodobna medicina, ki zdravi pretežno z medikamenti, stara le dobrih sto let, slednja danes prevladuje. Čudovita znanost s humanistično tradicijo je postala element industrije. Vsi moramo biti ves čas zdravi, lepi in mladostni, to pa naj bi nam zagotovili antibiotiki in druga zdravila. Naravni obrambni mehanizmi ugašajo, ljudje pa se umetno vzdržujemo z zdravili.

Podobno velja za našo psihološko in socialno dimenzijo – mnogo težav z duševnim zdravjem od različnih zasvojenosti do samopoškodbenega vedenja se začne kot poskus obvladovanja neznosne fizične bolečine naših čustev (Kolk 2015, 345–346). Svet v vse večji meri spoznavamo in opazujemo preko družbenih medijev, posledično pa del našega vsakdanjega življenja postajajo psihoaktivna zdravila. Duševne motnje ob kardiovaskularnih boleznih predstavljajo največje ekonomsko breme v okviru nenalezljivih bolezni (Bloom idr. 2011, 6; Costa Santos idr. 2023, 34). Svetovni stroški duševnega zdravja so bili leta 2010 ocenjeni na 2,5 bilijona ameriških

dolarjev, do leta 2030 pa naj bi po takratnih ocenah narasli na 6 bilijonov (Bloom idr. 2011, 27; The Lancet Global Health 2020, 1), a novejše raziskave kažejo, da je breme duševnih bolezni v smislu zdravstvenih in gospodarskih izgub še precej večje (Arias idr. 2022, 1). Tudi vse več mladih toži o notranji praznini, anksioznosti, depresiji in brezsmiselnosti (Kristovič 2022, 16–17). Število otrok in mladostnikov z duševnimi motnjami že več let narašča (Jeriček Klanšček idr. 2018, 51–53; UNICEF 2019), epidemija Covid-19 pa je situacijo še poslabšala (Kauhanen idr. 2023, 995). V svetovnem merilu eden od sedmih posameznikov v starostni skupini od 10 do 19 let trpi za duševno motnjo, kar predstavlja 13 % svetovnega bremena bolezni v tej starostni skupini. Vodilni vzroki obolevanja mladostnikov so depresija, anksioznost in vedenjske motnje. Samomor je četrti najpogostejši vzrok smrti v starostni skupini od 15 do 29 let (WHO 2021).

Tovrsten način življenja pomeni tudi spremembo pri pacientih, ki niso več zgolj pacienti, ki želijo rešiti svojo zdravstveno težavo, temveč posamezniki s številnimi osebnimi in socialnimi težavami, ki jih želijo deliti z zdravniki. Tako so se tudi zdravniki do določene mere primorani iz medicinskih strokovnjakov prekvalificirati v osebne svetovalce, socialne delavce in psihoterapevte (Wasilewski 2011, 43).

Vse več telesnih simptomov je psihosomatskih simptomov, ki izhajajo iz nerazrešenih in nezavednih konfliktov, ki jih ne znamo rešiti na konkreten, psihološki način in jih zato rešujemo simbolno, na telesni ravni. Obseg psihosomatskih bolezni je precej zajeten, med klasične psihosomatske motnje (ang. *the holy seven*) pa spadajo visok krvni tlak, nevrodermitis, bronhialna astma, razjeda na dvanajsterniku, ulcerozni kolitis, hipertireoza in revmatoidni artritis (Alexander 1950). V procesu kronifikacije izvirni sprožilec simptoma povsem izzveni – ni več evidenten, ostane le simptom. Ta pojav pri svojem delu s pacienti slikovito povzame Alojz Ihan (2011, 13):

*[Pacient] me ni razumel, da je histeričen in ima panične napade zaradi stresa, ker telo ne zdrži napetosti brez oprijemljivega vzroka. Zato naše telo raje piči neke simptome v srce ali v žile ali v želodec ali v črevo, da dobi človek oprijemljivo težavo z razbijanjem srca ali bolečino ali z nenehno volčjo lakoto ali z driskanjem in napenjanjem v trebuhu in se s tem zamoti in pomiri, ker ima nek konkreten cilj v trebuhu, to je pomirjujoče, dobiti cilj in smisel, ker preneha beganje in tesnoba in brezvezno iskanje in travmatiziranje tisočih malih težav. Panika te reši pred norostjo, ko odpove pamet.*

Čustva so lahko premočna, da bi jih zavestno doživljali, a so fiziološko toliko bolj aktivna. Energija se usmeri na zatiranje notranjega kaosa, poskusi ohranjanja nadzora nad neznosnimi fiziološkimi reakcijami pa lahko povzročijo celo vrsto fizičnih simptomov vključno s fibromialgijo, kronično utrujenostjo in drugimi avtoimunskimi boleznimi. Pri zdravljenju je zato nujno potrebno vključiti celoten organizem (Kolk 2015, 62).

Pomembno vlogo pri raziskovanju povezave med psihološkimi stanji in fizičnimi manifestacijami bolezni ima psihonevroimunologija, interdisciplinarna znanost, ki proučuje interakcijo med možgani, duševnostjo in imunskim sistemom ter predstavlja preusmeritev iz prevladujoče biomedicinske paradigme zdravja in bolezni v interdisciplinaren biopsihosocialni pristop (Zachariae 2009, 645). Koncept psihonevroimunologije je svetu v istoimenskem delu leta 1981 predstavil ameriški behavioristični znanstvenik Robert Ader (Lee 2012, 79).

Rezultati raziskav na področju psihonevroimunologije kažejo, da so negativni psihosocialni faktorji, kot sta depresija in stres, povezani z naraščajočo morbidnostjo in smrtnostjo (Zachariae 2009, 648). Stres ni stvar subjektivnega občutka, temveč je merljiv sklop

objektivnih fizioloških dogodkov v telesu, ki vključujejo možgane, hormonski aparat, imunski sistem in številne druge organe (Maté 2019, 28). Mehanizmi vpliva stresa na imunski sistem so zapleteni, v splošnem pa jih je mogoče pojasniti s stresno pogojeno disregulacijo simpatično-adrenergične osi (SAS) in hipotalamo-hipofizno-suprarenalne osi (HHSO) (Lee 2012, 80). Obe osi aktivira hipotalamus. Z izločanjem hormona CRH vpliva na hipofizo, ki začne izločati hormon ACTH. Na hitrejši SAS osi ACTH vpliva na sredico nadledvične žleze, ki začne izločati hormona adrenalin in noradrenalin. Slednja v telesu sprožita mnoge fiziološke reakcije vključno s povišanim krvnim tlakom, srčnim utripom in porabo kisika. Na počasnejši HHSO osi pa ACTH vpliva na skorjo nadledvične žleze, ki začne izločati hormon kortizol, ki povečuje koncentracijo glukoze v krvi, hkrati pa zmanjšuje obrambno sposobnost organizma, ker preprečuje nastajanje protiteles. Kortizol močno vpliva tudi na zmanjševanje kostne gostote, visoke ravni kortizola pa zaznamo pri depresivnih ljudeh (Dusek in Benson 2009, 48; Maté 2019, 32–33).

Stres torej predstavlja nevrofiziološko in endokrino podporo kratkotrajni »boj ali beg« reakciji. V civilizirani družbi se ta reakcija sproža v situacijah, ko ni ne potrebna ne koristna, saj se ne soočamo več z enakimi smrtnimi grožnjami. Osnovna težava ni več zunanji stres, temveč okoljsko pogojena nemoč, ki ne dopušča nobenega od običajnih odzivov boja ali bega, zato nastali notranji stres potlačimo (Maté 2019, 36). Težave se pojavijo v primeru distresa, ki ga povzroči dolgoročna prisotnost stresorjev in vodi v pretirano obremenjenost nekaterih organov ter nastanek različnih psihosomatskih bolezni (Creed 2007, 545). Kronični stres pomeni dolgotrajno aktivacijo stresnih mehanizmov, ko je oseba izpostavljena stresorjem, ki jim ne more ubežati, bodisi zato, ker jih ne prepozna ali pa nad njimi nima nadzora. Pretekle raziskave so opredelile tri

dejavnike, ki vodijo do stresa: negotovost, pomanjkanje informacij in izguba nadzora. Vsi trije so prisotni v življenju posameznikov s kroničnimi boleznimi (Maté 2019, 34).

Mnoge študije dokazujejo povezanost stresa s povečanim tveganjem za številne bolezni vključno z infekcijami, alergijami, avtoimunskimi boleznimi in celo kardiovaskularnimi obolenji. Povezava z rakom je nekoliko bolj kontroverzna, vendar bi lahko stres k njegovemu razvoju pripomogel preko številnih mehanizmov, kot so zmanjšan imunski nadzor imunskih celic (limfociti T in naravne celice ubijalke), splošno vnetje in genomska nestabilnost (Lee 2012, 80; Zachariae 2009, 648–649). Pri slednji za pojav raka ni kriva le poškodba DNA, temveč sta potrebna tudi neuspešno popravljanje DNA in okvara regulirane celične smrti. Stres in zatiranje čustev lahko negativno vplivata na oba procesa (Maté 2019, 92). V britanski študiji iz leta 1974 (Greer in Morris 1975, 147) je bilo ekstremno zatiranje jeze najpogosteje ugotovljena značilnost bolnic z rakom dojk.

## O placebu

Kot biokemična osnova za psihosomatski fenomen postaja vse pomembnejši in neizogiben pomen placeba (Nitzan idr. 2002, 272). Učinek placeba je psihobiološki pojav, ki ga lahko pripišemo različnim mehanizmom. Večina raziskav o tem kompleksnem pojavu izhaja s področja bolečine, uspešne pa so bile tudi raziskave na področju imunskega sistema, motoričnih motenj in depresije. Predstavlja dober model za razumevanje, kako kompleksna miselna aktivnost, kot je pričakovanje, vpliva na različne nevronske sisteme (Colloca in Benedetti 2005, 545; Finniss in Benedetti 2005, 3).

Placebo učinki, ki jih sprožijo različni sistemi in mehanizmi, močno vplivajo na predelavo bolečine, klinične rezultate in občutek dobrega počutja (Colloca 2019, 191). Placebo razkriva vplive

duševnih stanj (odnosov, prepričanj in pričakovanj) na fizične izide in podobno kot psihosomatika med nekaterimi segmenti medicinske skupnosti ni dobrodošel, saj predpostavlja vzročno vlogo psihosocialnih dejavnikov pri telesnih boleznih in širi perspektivo biomedicinske paradigme. Osvetljuje že omenjeni problem uma in telesa (ang. *mind-body problem* oz. *hard problem*), s katerim se filozofi ubadajo že več kot dve tisočletji in ki je običajno uokvirjen kot enosmeren, tj. kako lahko možganski procesi proizvedejo zavestna duševna stanja. Placebo in drugi psihosomatski učinki nas opozarjajo, da obstaja še en problem uma in telesa, tj. kako duševna stanja vplivajo na telesno delovanje (Kihlstrom 2008, 212).

V splošnem je placebo v medicini definiran kot »snov ali postopek, ki nima lastne moči, da bi povzročil želen ali pričakovan učinek« (Stewart-Williams in Podd 2004, 326). Mnoge veje medicine, ki obsegajo področja od relativno benignih bolezni, kot so izpuščaji ali navaden prehlad, do hujših obolenj, kot sta diabetes in rak, dokazujejo, da ima placebo zdravilno ali celo ozdravitveno sposobnost aktivnih zdravil (Kirsch 1997, povzeto po Irmak idr. 2005, 406). Da lahko poleg dejanskih in učinkovitih intervencij na posameznikovo reakcijo na terapijo vplivajo tudi psihološki in kontekstualni dejavniki, zdravilci in zdravniki vedo že od nekdaj, saj pred pojavom na znanosti temelječe medicine objektivnega načina ocenjevanja učinka medicinskih posegov ni bilo. Zgodovina predznanstvene medicine je bila tako v veliki meri zgodovina placeba oz. zgodovina »lažnih zdravil«. Po 2. svetovni vojni sta na dojemanje placeba s strani zdravnikov, znanstvenikov in družbe vplivala predvsem dva dejavnika. Prvi je bil sistematična predstavitev randomiziranih kontroliranih poskusov kot zlatega standarda kliničnega raziskovanja, zaradi česar je beseda placebo dobila pomen lažnih, navideznih intervencij, uporabljenih za kontrolo pri kliničnih raziskavah. Drugi dejavnik je bil vzpon samostojnost po-

udarjajočega stališča znotraj medicinske etike. V zgodnjih 60. letih so klinični etiki prakso uporabe placeba v dobro pacienta označili za neupravičen medicinski paternalizem. Tako je placebo ob koncu 70. let postal sinonim za lažno intervencijo, uporabljeno pri kliničnih poskusih z namenom kontrole ali v kliničnih postavitvah za neetično ujčkanje pacientov. Situacija je ostala praktično nespremenjena vse do pojava vrste laboratorijskih eksperimentov, kliničnih poskusov in nevrokognitivnih študij, ki so začeli odkrivati temeljne mehanizme placebo učinka. Počasi placebo ni bil več zgolj vir radovednosti na obrobju medicine, temveč je postal vreden cilj empiričnega raziskovanja (Annoni 2013, 2).

Učinek placeba obljublja večji samonadzor in nakazuje potrebo po razširitvi pojmovanja endogenih človeških sposobnosti. Odzivi na placebo so zanimivi za znanost, ker vplivi prepričanj na človeško izkušnjo in vedenje predstavljajo vstopno točko za proučevanje notranjega nadzora afektivnih, senzoričnih in perifernih procesov. Gre za vprašanje, kako prepričanja in vrednote oblikujejo možganske procese, povezane z zaznavanjem in čustvi ter navsezadnje s telesnim in duševnim zdravjem. Odraža osrednje načelo aktualne nevroznanstvene misli, da imajo subjektivni konstrukti, kot sta pričakovanje in vrednotenje, prepoznavne fiziološke osnove, ter da so le-te močni modulatorji osnovnih zaznavnih, motoričnih in notranjih homeostatskih procesov (Benedetti idr. 2005, 10390).

Učinkov placeba pa ni mogoče opaziti le na področju medicine, temveč tudi drugod. Raziskave na področju oglaševanja na primer dokazujejo, da imajo nezavedna pričakovanja glede razmerja med ceno in kakovostjo izdelka na potrošnike placebo učinek, čeprav cena izdelka v nobenem smislu ni povezana z njegovo dejansko kakovostjo (Irmak idr. 2005, 406). Tako so avtorji ene od študij ugotovili, da so se potrošniki, ki so zaužili izdelek (tj. energijsko pijačo, ki naj bi med drugim spodbujala mentalne procese), kupljen po

znižani ceni, pri reševanju miselnih nalog odrezali slabše od tistih potrošnikov, ki so isti zaužiti izdelek kupili po običajni ceni. Študija je pri sprožanju placebo učinka izpostavila vlogo posameznikovih pričakovanj (Shiv idr. 2005a, 383). Avtorji druge raziskave so med sabo primerjali učinek energijske pijače (katere aktivna sestavina je bil kofein) in pijače brez kofeina, ki je bila enakega izgleda in okusa kot dejanska energijska pijača. Placebo energijska pijača je dvignila krvni tlak, izboljšala fizične reflekse, povečala pozornost in zvišala raven vzburjenja udeležencev, vendar so bili ti placebo učinki opazni le pri visoko motiviranih udeležencih. Kjer so udeleženci poročali o veliki želji po večji energijski spodbudi zaradi energijske pijače, je placebo pijača privedla do enakih fizioloških sprememb, kot jih je povzročila dejanska energijska pijača, ki je vsebovala kofein. Pri udeležencih, kjer je bila raven motivacije nizka, je imelo zaužitje placebo pijače enak učinek kot kozarec vode (Irmak idr. 2005, 408). Tudi ta študija je izpostavila pomembnost nadaljnjega raziskovanja psiholoških in fizioloških mehanizmov, preko katerih pričakovanja vodijo do vedenjskih vplivov v obliki samoizpolnjujoče se prerokbe. Pri tem so avtorji izpostavili t. i. ideomotorni mehanizem oz. Carpenterjev efekt, imenovan po angleškem znanstveniku Williamu Benjaminu Carpenterju, ki je leta 1852 izraz uporabil prvi, po katerem zgolj razmišljanje o vedenjskem izidu poveča možnost, da se bo izid zgodil. Vse več je raziskav, ki to idejo podpirajo in ugotavljajo, da lahko aktiviranje prepričanj in ciljev (kar po mnenju avtorjev sovpada s pričakovanji) nezavedno sproži vedenjske izide ter da vizualizacija gibanja proizvaja impulze za njegovo izvedbo, čeprav se gibanje ne izvede, in aktivira tiste možganske regije, ki so vključene v dejansko izvedbo gibanja (Bargh in Ferguson 2000, 925; Roland idr. 1980, povzeto po Shiv idr. 2005b, 412).

## O konceptu resničnosti

Po besedah fizika in kognitivnega nevroznanstvenika Mitje Pe-ruša je ves svet placebo, življenje pa stvar konstruktivizma, saj konstruiramo svet, kot ga zaznavamo (Peruš 2000, 58–59; 2013). Vse, kar označujemo in imamo za materialno, je potemtakem zrcaljenje najrazličnejših prepričanj o življenju, ki se nam prikazuje kot materialna resničnost. Resničnost aktualnega časa je po Franklovih besedah množična nevroza, za katero je značilen občutek nesmiselnosti, ki se širi po vsem svetu in gre z roko v roki z občutkom praznine oz. eksistencialnim vakuumom (Frankl 1977, 14–15). Zupančič stanje sodobnega človeka povzame s trditvijo, da so »naši možgani pod primitivno in slaboumno medijsko vsiljeno globoko narkozo« (Zupančič 2009, 16). Pravi, da kapitalizem kot prevladujoča ideologija oz. dominantna družbena zavest ljudi sili v potrošništvo s svojim prepričevanjem, da »imeti« pomeni vse, »biti« pa je zasebna stvar posameznika, o čemer je govoril že Fromm (1976). Vendar pa je gola poraba materialnih dobrin pogosto zgolj kompenzacija za globok eksistenčni primanjkljaj in zato ne more prinesti dolgoročne zadovoljitve. »Imeti« postaja vedno manj zadovoljujoče nadomestilo za »biti«, za čustveno sestradanost in duhovno obuboženost, ljudje pa se brez očitnega razloga počutijo vse slabše (ibid.). Hrepenenje po smislu kot temeljno gonilno silo človeka torej izpodrivata Freudova želja po užitku in Adlerjeva želja po moči. Različne raziskave so pokazale, da slednji začneta posameznikovo vedenje voditi šele, ko je frustrirana volja do smisla (Kristovič 2022, 29). Zupančič (2009, 171) rešitev vidi v Jungovi individuaciji, dekonstrukciji ponotranjene kolektivne zavesti in hkratni konstrukciji notranje individualne zavesti, kar pa zahteva veliko inteligence in poguma in je toliko manj verjetno, »kolikor bolj je individualna zavest nekoga, ki je odraščal pred televizorjem, prežeta z neumnostmi tendenciozne medijske produkcije«. Svet je torej

takšen, kakršnega vidimo, zato je za njegovo spremembo potrebna sprememba posameznikove drže in nazora.

Peruš (2000, 108–109) govori o aktualnem »zlomu simetrije«: simetrija oz. celovitost se je zlomila na posamezne atraktorje (predsodke, stereotipe, fiksne ideje itd.) in tako danes funkcionira naš svet. Svet gradimo na predpostavkah in resničnost ni nič drugega kot nabor predpostavk, glede katerih se vsi strinjamo. Princip univerzuma pa je holografski princip – vsi smo povezani, v vsakem delu je zajeta celota. Izhod iz placebo zmešnjave je po njegovem zavest (ibid.). Na splošen problem razdrobljenosti človeške zavesti opozarja tudi Bohm (1980, 1–2):

> *Razdrobljenost je zelo razširjena, ne samo v družbi, ampak tudi v vsakem posamezniku; to vodi v nekakšno splošno zmedenost uma, ki ustvarja neskončno vrsto težav in tako resno posega v našo jasnost zaznavanja, da nam onemogoča, da bi rešili večino od njih. [...] Ideja, da vsi ti fragmenti obstajajo ločeno, je očitno iluzija in ta iluzija ne more storiti drugega kot voditi v neskončne konflikte in zmedo. Dejansko je poskus živeti skladno s predstavo, da so fragmenti res ločeni, tisto, kar je pripeljalo do naraščajočega niza izjemno perečih kriz, s katerimi se danes soočamo.*

## Kaj pa zdaj?

Eden od načinov ozaveščanja povezanosti in relativnosti materialnega dogajanja je čuječnost (ang. *mindfulness*), sicer pomemben element budizma, ki je zaradi svojega vpliva na lajšanje stresa in depresije v zadnjih letih precej v ospredju. Sodobno potrošništvo besedo »čuječnost« koristi z velikim navdušenjem, s povečevanjem oglaševalskega učinka pa se izgubljata njen pravi pomen in smisel (Škodlar in Srakar 2015, 65). Začetki čuječnosti segajo dobri dve ti-

sočletji v preteklost, v budističnem kontekstu pa predstavlja del kompleksnega teoretičnega modela med psihologijo in filozofijo, s poudarkom na etiki in meditaciji (Globevnik 2015, 96). Ena najpogosteje citiranih definicij čuječnosti je zavedanje, ki se pojavi, ko »smo pozorni na določen način: namenoma, v sedanjem trenutku in brez obsojanja« (Kabat-Zinn 1994, 4). Na čuječnost usmerjena terapija, definirana kot povečana pozornost in zavedanje trenutnih misli in doživljanj, dokazano sproža fiziološke odzive v možganih in imunskem sistemu ter izboljšuje duševno stanje in kakovost življenja (Lee 2012, 81). V budizmu je psihološko zdravje pogosto opisano kot zavedanje, da resničnega, trajnega in nespremenljivega jaza ni. Gre za izdelano podobo, ki ljudi vodi v preveliko navezanost na dosežke, imetje in odnose ne glede na njihovo minljivost in pogojenost (Ryan in Brown 2003, 75). Zaradi ustaljenih vzorcev razmišljanja nismo sposobni prepoznati pogojenosti lastnih izkušenj. Konfiguracije, zaradi katerih trpimo, izvirajo iz našega osnovnega napačnega dojemanja, v okviru katerega vidimo prehodno kot trajno, nezanesljivo kot zanesljivo, ne-jaz kot jaz. Če bi opustili težnjo po identifikaciji z izkušnjami, in stvari videli takšne, kakršne so, bi odstranili osnovni pogoj za pojav konfiguracij (Teasdale in Chaskalson 2011, 93).

Vendar pa Roscheva (2007, 258) meni, da so ključne ideje čuječnosti povsem drugačne od naših kulturnih predpostavk, zato je lahko njihovo razumevanje za zahodno civilizacijo problematično: (a) ker se lahko čuječnost dogaja le v sedanjosti, je izzvana naša kulturna usmerjenost v prihodnost; (b) težko sprejmemo dejstvo medsebojne povezanosti oz. nezmožnost upravljanja in nadziranja posameznih dejavnikov, ki delujejo kot del sistema in so v soodvisnem razmerju; (c) človeška egocentričnost nam preprečuje, da bi v pristni skromnosti sprejeli in spoštovali dejstvo, da vsega ne moremo razumeti, ter zmanjšali globoko potrebo po fiksiranju sveta zavoljo ohranitve občutka varnosti. Na drugi strani Škodlar in Sra-

kar (2015, 60–61) razmišljata, da je strm vzpon zanimanja za čuječ-nost mogoče razumeti kot izraz družbenega manka oz. zanemar-jenih dimenzij, ki so usmeritev na sedanji trenutek, usmerjenost na neposredno izkušnjo in njeno razumevanje ter usmerjenost na telo, tj. prepoznavanje, ozaveščanje in predelovanje telesnih občutij in čustev. Ljudje torej (zaenkrat še) vsaj intuitivno zaznavamo, da kljub kulturi izobilja in neomejenih možnosti nekaj manjka.

Maté (2019, 36) je mnenja, da smo ob vse višji stopnji gospodar-skega razvoja vse manj v stiku s čustveno realnostjo. Ne čutimo več, kaj se dogaja v našem telesu, zato ne moremo delovati samoohra-nitveno. Izgubili smo stik z občutki, ki so bili zasnovani kot naš opo-zorilni sistem. Posledično se zadržujemo v fiziološko stresnih situa-cijah, ne da bi se tega zares zavedali. Fiziologija stresa razžira naša telesa, ne zato, ker je preživela svojo uporabnost, temveč zato, ker morda nismo več sposobni prepoznati njegovih signalov. Že Nemiah in Sifneos (1970, 154) sta v svoji raziskavi potrdila specifično obliko miselnosti pri pacientih s psihosomatskimi boleznimi. Proučevala sta naravo duševnih vsebin teh pacientov in njihovo sposobnost do-življanja afekta ter prišla do pomembnih zaključkov: (1) Pacienti so pokazali bodisi popolno nezavedanje občutkov ali pa skoraj popolno nezmožnost ubeseditve tega, kar doživljajo. (2) Za asociacije večine pacientov sta bila značilna (a) skoraj popolna odsotnost fantazije ali drugega materiala, povezanega z njihovim notranjim doživljanjem, tj. mislimi, stališči in občutki, ter b) pripovedovanje, pogosto v skoraj neskončnih podrobnostih, o okoliščinah in dogodkih v svojem oko-lju, vključno z lastnimi dejanji. Podobno o psihosomatskih boleznih razmišlja psihiater Thomas Szasz (1991, 23):

> *Verjamem, da je človekova sreča oz. dobro počutje mogoče – ne le za redke izbrance, temveč za vse. Vendar je to mogoče doseči le, če so se mnogi, ne le nekateri, pripravljeni in sposob-*

*ni odkrito soočiti in se pogumno lotiti lastnih etičnih, osebnih in socialnih konfliktov. To pomeni imeti pogum in integriteto, da se odpovemo bitkam na lažnih frontah in iskanju rešitev za nadomestne težave. Da torej opustimo bitko z želodčno kislino in kronično utrujenostjo ter se namesto nje soočimo z zakonskim konfliktom.*

Glavni dejavniki stresa v današnjem življenju so torej čustva. Čustvene interakcije vplivajo na naše biološko delovanje na mnoge in subtilne načine. Maté (2019, 38) vidi rešitev v čustveni kompetentnosti, ki jo opredeljuje kot:

- sposobnost čutiti svoja čustva in se zavedati, kdaj doživljamo stres,
- sposobnost učinkovitega izražanja čustev, uveljavljanja potreb in celovitega ohranjanja čustvenih meja,
- zmožnost razlikovanja med psihološkimi reakcijami, ki so pomembne za trenutno situacijo, in tistimi, ki predstavljajo ostanek iz preteklosti, sicer bomo zaznali izgubo ali grožnjo izgube tam, kjer je ni,
- zavedanje potreb, ki zahtevajo zadovoljitev, namesto njihovega zatiranja zavoljo sprejemanja ali odobravanja s strani okolice.

Čustvena kompetentnost je tisto, kar moramo razviti, če želimo ohraniti zdravo telo in pamet.

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# RECENZIJA

Mojca Ramšak

# Recenzija knjige
# Kritična hermenevtika: Pravno pripoznanje in politična oblast

GAŠPER PIRC, Koper: Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče, Annales ZRS, 2022.

Kritična hermenevtika je knjižni prvenec oz. objavljena doktorska disertacija (*Perspektive hermenevtike v filozofiji prava in normativni etiki,* 2020) docenta na Alma Mater Europaea in raziskovalca na Inštitutu za filozofske študije ZRS Koper, dr. Gašperja Pirca. Delo je razdeljeno na tri osrednja poglavja (Pravo političnega sveta, Perspektive hermenevtične fenomenologije in Afektivni svet etičnega izkustva ter gospostvo prava in politike), ob tem so v knjigi še poglavja, ki pritičejo znanstvenemu delu in naredijo branje prijaznejše (Uvod, Zaključek, Bibliografija, angleški povzetek, Imensko kazalo in recenziji filozofov dr. Nenada Miščevića in dr. Borisa Vezjaka).

Avtor hermenevtiko razume kot temeljno filozofijo človeške prakse, pravo pa kot razmerje, ki temelji na ideji o družbenem udejstvovanju človeka in ga določa v njegovi postavljenosti v svet; v svet, ki ga presevajo motivi etike skrbi. V teh momentih zazna medsebojno razmerje, ki ključno zaznamuje družbeno udejstvovanje človeka. Kritična hermenevtika, ki obenem sprejema interpretativno držo hermenevtike in se zaveda potrebe po kritičnem preverjanju družbene situacije in simbolnih postavk družbeno-politične strukture, je zmožna podajati sodbe na način reflektirajočega pretresa realnih eksistenčnih možnosti. Pirc vire, tudi dela avtorjev, ki pri nas še niso bila

obravnavana, podaja na strnjen in razumljiv način, različne tokove filozofije spretno povezuje, svojo metodo pa imenuje kritična hermenevtika.

V prvem poglavju razvije temelje splošnega očrta raziskave, s katerim zagotovi hermenevtični filozofiji dovolj čvrsto družbeno-teoretsko jedro za raziskavo družbenih fenomenov, zlasti prava in etike. Za pojasnitev vloge prava v družbi in njegove paradoksalne narave, ki hkrati nasprotuje nasilju, kot ga samostojno izvaja, se opre na mladostni spis Walterja Benjamina »H kritiki nasilja« in na obsežno reinterpretacijo tega dela Christopha Menkeja »Pravo in nasilje«.

Drugo poglavje je hkrati tudi osrednje poglavje knjige. Da bi pojasnil vlogo filozofske hermenevtike za razumevanje sodobne družbe, Pirc poda pregled hermenevtične fenomenologije Hansa-Georga Gadamerja. Kljub njegovim daljnosežnim konceptom se avtor ne odloči sprejeti njegovega prispevka k

filozofiji nekritično, in še zlasti temeljito presprašuje njegovo filozofijo v luči pomembnosti za sedanji čas. Poudari vlogi družbene imaginacije v družbeni teoriji in praksi ter pomen kritične ideologije.

V tretjem poglavju preuči povezavo med etiko, pravom in politiko. Opozori na vlogo hermenevtike in ustvarjalne imaginacije pri raziskovanju pravnega jezika. Rdeča nit je odnos med asimetrično etiko skrbi in simetrično (deontološko) moralno politično strukturo družbe ter vrednostno določenim sebstvom, ki ju po avtorjevem prepričanju najustrezneje rešuje model kritične hermenevtike. Avtor vidi razkorak med teoretsko zasnovo in življenjsko prakso, zato kot opazovalec, ki ga vodi normativna težnja, opazuje njuno dinamiko. Razprava izpostavlja posamezne interpretativne in historične elemente v Kantovi filozofiji, ki pripomorejo k razvoju kritične hermenevtike družbe. Pripovedi, ki jih delimo drug z dru-

gim, izrisujejo moralne podobe družbe in njenih članov, kritična hermenevtika pa omogoča zasnovanje vizije pravičnejše družbe in obenem ostaja zavezana težnji po odgovorni interpretaciji družbe in razreševanju sodobnih družbenih, političnih in pravnih izzivov.

V zaključku avtor opozori tudi na tehnološke spremembe, ki jim je botrovala epidemija COVID-19 ter na komunikacijsko logiko družbenih omrežij in s tem na odsekane, jedrnate stavke ter jih poveže s kritično hermenevtiko, ki ponuja čvrstejšo podlago za razumevanje sodobne družbe.

Pirčeva razprava relevantno odstira poudarke iz nekaterih filozofskih del, ki se navezujejo na hermenevtično misel, še zlasti pa jih poskuša zvesti na aktualne družbene razmere, na pomen dialoga, poslušanja, odprtosti za mnenje drugega, na družbeno pravičnost ter uvaja izrazje, ki bi lahko postalo del repertoarja politične in pravne filozofije.

Mojca Ramšak