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**STRATEŠKA LEGA ZGORNJE PIVKE IN PRESIHAJOČIH
JEZER PO UVELJAVITVI RAPALLSKE POGODBE**

**THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF UPPER PIVKA AND THE
INTERMITTENT LAKES AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
RAPALLO TREATY**

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Izvleček

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Martina Čuček: Strateška lega zgornje Pivke in presihajočih jezer po uveljavitvi rapallske pogodbe

Zgornja Pivka je že večkrat v zgodovini odigrala pomembno vlogo prav zaradi svoje strateške lege. Nazadnje se je to pokazalo po prvi svetovni vojni, ko je z uveljavitvijo Rapallske pogodbe pripadla Italiji in tako postala mejno ozemlje. Prek meje se je vzpostavil kontrabant. Čez Pivško kotlino je potekala druga linija Alpskega zidu, mogočnega obrambnega sistema, ki naj bi branil vzhodno mejo pred Jugoslavijo. Naravni prehod v smeri sever-jug, dobra preglednost nad kotlino ter dobri pogoji za oskrbo vojaških enot so bili glavni razlogi za izgradnjo utrd na Primožu, kjer je bil hkrati komandni center za okoliške bunkerje. Za vojaške potrebe so zgradili vodne zbiralnike, ceste, mostove, smodnišnico, letališče, regulirali strugo reke Pivke in pogozdili burji izpostavljene predele. Vojska je trenirala na Petelinjskem in Palškem jezeru. Tu sta bila vojaška poligona že iz časa Avstro-Ogrske. Na jezerih je izvajala vojaške manevre tudi Jugoslovanska ljudska armada, ki je za razliko od italijanske vojske povzročila veliko večjo škodo. Dno Palškega jezera so 1990. leta sanirali in lastnikom zemljišč izplačali odškodnino, medtem ko najdemo na Petelinjskem jezeru še vedno luknje od granat, topovska gnezda in strelski jarek.

Ključne besede: Pivška kotlina, Pivška jezera, rapallska meja, Alpski zid, utrdbe, Slovenija.

Abstract

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Martina Čuček: The strategic position of upper Pivka and the intermittent lakes after implementation of the rapallo treaty

Its strategic position has given Upper Pivka (Zgornja Pivka) an important role in history on several occasions. The last of these occurred after the implementation of the Rapallo Treaty at the end of the First World War, when the area was annexed to Italy and turned into borderland. Across the border the 'Kontrabant' developed. Through the Pivka Basin (Pivška kotlina) ran the second line of the Alpine Wall, which was a mighty defence system build to protect Italy's eastern border with Yugoslavia. The natural north-east passage, a good view of the valley, and good conditions for supplying military units were the main reasons for building fortifications on the Primož hill. The command centre for the nearby bunkers was also located there. For military purposes, water reservoirs, roads, bridges, a powder magazine, and an airfield were built; the bed of the Pivka river was regulated, and the parts most exposed to strong winds ("burja") were forested. Lakes Petelinjsko jezero and Palško jezero were used as training fields by the army. The two military fields had already been in service in Austro-Hungarian times. The Yugoslav People's Army also used the lakes for its manoeuvres and did much more damage to them than the Italian army had done previously. The bottom of Palško jezero was reconstructed in 1990, and the owners were compensated. On Petelinjsko jezero, however, bomb craters, gunnests, and a trench can still be seen.

Key words: Pivka basin, Pivka lakes, Rapallo border, Vallo Alpino, fortifications, Slovenia.

UVOD

Območje Pivških jezer je zaradi svoje geografske lege že večkrat v zgodovini predstavljalo mejno, prehodno ozemlje. Tukaj je potekala meja med Iliri in Rimskim imperijem, kasneje med vzhodnim in zahodnim rimskim cesarstvom. Ponovno se je meja zarezala v pokrajino v 20. stoletju. Prek Javornikov in Snežnika je stekla rapalska meja, ki je med drugim razdelila slovensko narodno telo med dve državi. Območje Zgornje Pivke in presihajočih jezer je pripadlo Kraljevini Italiji in tako postalo mejno ozemlje, na katerem se je v zelo kratkem času skoncentriralo veliko število italijanskih vojakov. Da bi zavarovala mejo pred Jugoslavijo, je Italija pričela z gradnjo Alpskega zidu in ostale vojaške strukture. To ozemlje je med obema vojnama zaznamoval fašizem, ki ga je spremljalo potujčevanje, nasilje nad domačini, ilegalno prehajanje v Jugoslavijo. Gospodarska kriza pa je povzročila množično odseljevanje v tujino in prepovedan način trgovanja – kontrabant (Čuček 2004).

ZGORNJA PIVKA DO KONCA PRVE SVETOVNE VOJNE

Ugoden strateški položaj Zgornje Pivke so spoznali že predzgodovinski prebivalci. Območje je bilo naseljeno že v kameni dobi (Parska golobina, Pod Črmukljo). Prav tako so ohranjena gradišča iz železne dobe (Gradišče nad Slavino, Primož, Kerin in Šilentabor). Zgradili so jih Japodi, ki so se že takrat zavedali pomembnih strateških poti, ki so vodile tukaj mimo. Prvo cesto, ki je potekala med Primožem in Šilentabrom ter povezovala Javornike s Košansko dolino, so zgradili Rimljani. Tu je potekala vojna krajina med vzhodnim in zahodnim delom cesarstva, tako imenovana *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. Iz fevdalne dobe so ostanki gradov: grad v Prestranku, Šilentabor in grad Kalc pri Zagorju. Razporeditev naselij se je že v 15. stoletju v glavnih potezah ujemala z današnjo (Horvat 1975; Urleb 1975).

INTRODUCTION

Its geographical position turned the area around the Pivka lakes into a busy frontier area on several occasions in history. It first divided the Illyrians and the Roman Empire, and later the Eastern and Western Roman Empires. The demarcation line cut into the territory once again in the 20th century. This time it was the Rapallo line, which ran across the plateaus of Javorniki and Snežnik and split the Slovene nation between two countries. The area of Upper Pivka and the intermittent lakes became part of the Kingdom of Italy and was turned into a borderland in which numerous Italian troops were soon concentrated. In order to protect its border with Yugoslavia, Italy began constructing the Alpine wall and other military infrastructure. The period between the wars was marked by fascism, the deprivation of national rights, violence against the local people and illegal border-crossing. Because of the economic crisis, people emigrated en masse, and a new form of illegal trade appeared – the “Kontrabant” (Čuček 2004).

UPPER PIVKA BEFORE THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Prehistoric settlers were already aware of Upper Pivka's favourable strategic position. The area was settled as early as in the Stone Age (Parska golobina, Pod Črmukljo). Remains of Iron Age ancient fortifications have also been discovered (Gradišče over Slavina, Primož, Kerin, and Šilentabor). These were set up by the Japods, who were well aware of the importance of the strategic routes leading through the area. The first road, which ran between Primož and Šilentabor and connected Javorniki with the valley of Košanska dolina, was built by the Romans. This was the borderland between the eastern and the western parts of the Empire, the so-called *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. From feudal times, the remains of the following castles can be found: the castles in Prestranek and Šilentabor, and the Kalc castle in Zagorje. The

Poljedelstvo je bilo nekoč glavna gospodarska panoga. Kasneje, ko je začelo primanjkovati njivskih površin, so si ljudje iskali dodatnega zaslužka tudi v drugih dejavnostih. Razvile so se ovčereja, gozdarjenje, oglarstvo in prevoznništvo – furmanstvo. V Trst so vozili les, seno in led. Furmanstvo je za seboj potegnilo tudi druge domače obrti od gostiln in sedlarjev do čevljarjev. Pomemben mejnik v razvoju je pomenila Južna železnica, ki je zavrla furmanstvo, pospešila pa je gozdarstvo in lesno obrt (Perko 2001).

Pokrajina ob Pivških jezerih je bila najprej v posesti oglejskega patriarha, kasneje je prišla pod oblast Devinskih gospodov. Šele v 14. stoletju je bila priključena Kranjski, takrat so namreč to posest dobili Habsburžani. Zgornja Pivka je spadala v Notranjsko in dolga stoletja, z izjemo Francozov v času Ilirskih province, ostala pod vplivom Avstrijcev. Do ozemeljskih sprememb je prišlo šele po koncu prve svetovne vojne, ko je to območje upravno pripadlo Kraljevini Italiji (Cvirn *et al.* 1999; Ferenc 1994).

OBDOBJE MED OBEMA VOJNAMA

Leta 1920 sta z Rapalsko pogodbo celotna Primorska in del Notranjske pripadli Kraljevini Italiji. Usoda tukaj živečih Slovencev je bila zapisana že v Londonskem sporazumu iz leta 1915, ko sta Francija in Velika Britanija obljubili Italiji del slovenskega ozemlja v zameno za vstop Italije v vojno na strani antante (Čermelj 1965). Meja med Kraljevino Italijo in Kraljevino SHS, rapallska meja, je potekala po razvodju med Črnim in Jadranskim morjem: Vršič, Lepena, Bogatin, Porezen, Godovič, Hrušica, Planina, Javorniki, Snežnik, Reka, Kvarner (Mlakar 1996). Pivška kotlina je postala del Tržaške pokrajine, Zgornja Pivka je bila razdeljena med štiri občine: Košana, Slavina, Šmihel in Št. Peter (danes Pivka) (Fatur 1975; Mlakar 1996). Vzhodna meja je bila zaprta, gibanje omejeno (Fatur 1975).

position of the settlements has remained more or less the same since early in the 15th century (Horvat 1975; Urleb 1975).

In earlier times, agriculture was the main economic activity. Later, when tillable land grew scarcer, people began to look for additional sources of income in other activities. Sheep farming, forestry, charcoal-burning and cartage services (“furmanstvo”) developed. Wood, hay, and ice were transported to Trieste. Along with transport services, other cottage industries developed, from inns and saddlers to cobblers. An important milestone was the arrival of the Southern railway line, which retarded the development of road transport, but spurred the development of the forestry and timber industries (Perko 2001).

The province around the Pivka lakes first belonged to the Patriarch of Aquileia; later, it came under the jurisdiction of the Seigniors of Devin. It was annexed to Carniola only in the 14th century, when the estates were taken over by the Hapsburgs. Upper Pivka was part of Inner Carniola and remained under Austrian influence for centuries with the exception of a period of French rule at the time of the Illyrian provinces. Further, territorial changes came only after the First World War, when the province came under the administration of the Kingdom of Italy (Cvirn *et al.* 1999; Ferenc 1994).

BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

With the Rapallo Treaty of 1920, the entire Littoral and part of Inner Carniola became part of the Kingdom of Italy. The fate of the Slovenes who lived here had been determined with the London Memorandum of 1915, whereby France and Great Britain promised Italy parts of the Slovene territory in exchange for its entering the war on the side of the Entente (Čermelj 1965). The border between the Kingdom of Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the Rapallo border, ran across the divide between the Black Sea and

Po vzponu fašizma leta 1922 je sledilo poitalijančevanje. Slovence na višjih položajih so zamenjali Italijani, ki so se semkaj tudi naselili. Italijanska oblast je uvedla italijanske šole in fašistične organizacije, prepovedala jugoslovanske praznike, dovoljena so bila le družabna srečanja pevskih, gasilskih, folklornih skupin in podobno (Fatur 1975; Peršič 2003). Kmalu so začela preganjanja, internacije, konfinacije, sumljive ljudi so zapirali (Čermelj & Perini 2005). Slabe socialne in neugodne politične razmere so sprožile val migracij. Ljudje so se odseljevali v Ameriko, Argentino in Brazilijo ter v tedanjo Jugoslavijo (Perko 2001). Leta 1935 (vojna v Abesiniji) je bilo mobiliziranih veliko fantov, razen tistih, ki so prebežali v Jugoslavijo. Pet let kasneje, ko je bila Italija že vključena v boje po Evropi, je z namenom, da bi onemogočila slovenski odpor, nasilno mobilizirala mladoletne fante. Mladoletniki so bili vključeni v posebne vojaške enote, »*bataglioni speciali*« (Čermelj & Perini 2005).

KONTRABANT

Gospodarstvo je doživljalo krizo, saj je to območje pretrgalo nekdanje stike s Kranjsko, Trst pa kot sekundarno pristanišče ni več služilo enako kot prej. Revščino so nekateri premagovali s sezonskim delom v Trstu, drugi so se znašli po svoje in začeli tihotapiti blago prek meje z Jugoslavijo. Razvil se je kontrabant. Začelo se je kmalu po vojni. Organizacija je bila brežhibna. Vanjo so bili vpleteni moški in ženske, gozdarji, ki so najbolj poznali gibanje obmejnih straž, podkupljeni »financarji« in skoraj ves nižji uradniški aparat (Fatur 1975). Tihotapljenje se je odvijalo dokaj pogosto, enkrat na teden ali celo večkrat. Na Kranjsko je prehajalo italijansko blago: riž, svila, paradiznik, testenine, vino »chianti«, dežniki in ženske nogavice. V nasprotni smeri pa so tihotapili jugoslovanski tobak, cigarete, saharin, meso, moko in drugo. S kontrabantom so se ukvarjali predvsem prebivalci obmejnih vasi: Planina, Žeje, Slovenska vas, Trnje, Palčje, Jurišče in Bač.

the Adriatic: Vršič, Lepena, Bogatin, Porezen, Godovič, Hrušica, Planina, Javorniki, Snežnik, Reka, Kvarner (Mlakar 1996). Pivka Basin became part of the province of Trieste; Upper Pivka was divided among four municipalities: Košana, Slavina, Šmihel, and Št. Peter (nowadays Pivka) (Fatur 1975; Mlakar 1996). The eastern border was closed and movement was restricted (Fatur 1975).

After the rise of fascism in 1922, Italianization followed. Slovenes who held higher posts were replaced by Italians, who also moved here. Italian authorities introduced Italian schools and fascist organizations and banned Yugoslav holidays; only singers, fire-fighters, and folklore groups were allowed to meet on a regular basis (Fatur 1975; Peršič 2003). Persecutions, internments and confinements soon followed; suspicious individuals were sent to prison (Čermelj & Perini 2005). Poor social conditions and the political situation triggered waves of migration. People migrated to the United States, Argentina and Brazil, as well as to the then-Yugoslavia (Perko 2001). In 1935 (at the time of the war in Abyssinia), a large number of young men were mobilized, except those who had already decided to flee to Yugoslavia. Five years later, when it was already engaged in fighting across Europe, Italy tried to crush Slovene resistance by conscripting under-age men. These joined special military units, the so-called "*bataglioni speciali*" (Čermelj & Perini 2005).

KONTRABANT

Because former ties with Carniola were disrupted, while at the same time Trieste lost its previous role of a secondary port, the economy was in crisis. Some people tried to fight poverty by seeking seasonal work in Trieste; others found their own ways and started smuggling goods across the Italian-Yugoslav border. The Kontrabant movement developed. It started soon after the war. Its organization was perfect. Both men and women took part in it; the forsters, who knew the movement of the border-

V Žejah so celo ponarejali denar. Podkupnine so bile tajne (Fatur 1975). Tihotapili so predvsem konje, ki so bili kupljeni na hrvaških sejmi in usmerjeni čez Lož in skozi snežniške gozdove na sejme v Sežano. Prodajali so jih italijanski vojski ali kmetom za vprego. Nemalokrat se je zgodilo, da so prodane konje ponoči ukradli in ponovno prodali. Domačini so bili o pošiljki s »financarji«⁸ že vnaprej dogovorjeni. Da bi bili čim manj slišni, so konjem zavili kopita v žakljevino. Kontrabantarje so Italijani prijeli in zaprli, vendar so jih naslednji dan spustili. Do težjih zapletov, da so nekoga ubili, je prišlo zelo redko.

Poslovanje je cvetelo do vojne. Vseeno pa ljudje tega dobička niso znali dobro vnovčiti. Ljudje so se odvadili trdega dela. V poznih tridesetih letih, v času abesinske in španske državljanske vojne, je tihotapstvo s konji doseglo višek in se je razvilo v skoraj zakonito trgovino. Po pripovedovanju je bilo v eni noči skozi Jurjevo dolino na skrivaj pretihotapljenih devetdeset konj. Pri tem so sodelovali tudi financarji, ki so celo pomagali odvracati pozornost fašistov. Prekupčevanje je Italiji pomagalo prebroditi in obiti gospodarsko osamitev, ki ji jo je namenilo Društvo narodov (Fatur 1975).

ALPSKI ZID

Sredi dvajsetih let je Mussolini pričel z zunanjepolitično ekspanzijo proti Balkanu. Začel je z obkroževanjem Jugoslavije kot največje ovire na tej poti. V ta namen je ob vsej meji s Kraljevino Jugoslavijo, od Triglava do Reke, pričel graditi mogočen obrambni sistem – Vallo Alpino ali Alpski zid. Ta obrambni sistem naj bi z utrdbami, nastanitvenimi objekti za enote, skladišči streliva, oskrbovalnimi potmi, urejenimi položaji in celo letališči (v Rakitniku) zavaroval italijansko vzhodno mejo pred Jugoslavijo (Fatur 1975; Juvančič 1968). Ker je bila mejna provinca, se je na tem ozemlju v zelo kratkem času skoncentriralo veliko število italijanskih vojakov (Fatur 1975).

guards, the bribed fiscal officers and almost all the junior clerks (Fatur 1975). Smuggling was done relatively often, from once a week to several times a week. Various Italian goods were taken to Carniola: rice, silk, tomatoes, pasta, Chianti wine, umbrellas, and stockings. In the opposite direction, Yugoslav tobacco, cigarettes, saccharin, meat, flour, and other goods were smuggled. It was particularly the inhabitants from border villages who engaged actively in the Kontrabant: villagers from Planina, Žeje, Slovenska vas, Trnje, Palčje, Jurišče, and Bač. In Žeje they even forged money. Bribes were kept secret (Fatur 1975). They mostly smuggled horses that had been bought at fairs in Croatia and were then later sent via Lož and through the woods of Snežnik to the fairs in Sežana. They were sold to the Italian army or to farmers as draught animals. It often happened that horses which had already been sold were stolen back at night and resold. The locals had been in contact with the fiscal officers. In order not to arouse too much attention, the horses' hoofs were wrapped in sackcloth. The Kontrabantars were often caught and sent to prison, but were released the following day. Serious incidents, including killings, were very rare.

The business flourished until the Second World War. Despite this, people did not know how to invest their profits. They no longer knew what hard work was. In the late thirties, at the time of the Abyssinian War and the Spanish Civil War, smuggling reached its peak and had almost become a legal trade. Some claim that up to ninety horses were smuggled through Jurjeva dolina valley in just one night. Even fiscal officers participated in this by trying to avert the fascists' attention. Smuggling helped Italy overcome and avoid the economic isolation imposed on it by the League of Nations (Fatur 1975).

THE ALPINE WALL (VALLO ALPINO)

In the mid 1920s, Mussolini began the process of political expansion into the Balkans. It began by cordoning off Yugoslavia, as its ma-

Za obrambo meje je bila ustanovljena posebna enota graničarjev »*Guardia alla frontiera*« (GAF). Enota je bila razporejena po sektorjih in podsektorjih. Sektor Št. Peter je bil podrejen V. armadnemu zboru v Trstu. Po podatkih iz leta 1942 sta bili tukaj inženirska četa in en mešan oddelek avtokolon (Juvančič 1968).

Obramba meje je bila organizirana v pasovih. V celotnem sistemu utrjevanj so imeli v načrtu kar tri obrambne pasove. Prvi pas je potekal tik ob meji, in sicer prek Nanosa in Planine ter čez Javornike, kjer je sekal Veliki Javornik, Suhi vrh, Otoško dolino, Lačnik, Škodovnik, Bičko goro, Obramec, Veliko Kalvarijo, po vzhodnem pobočju Snežnika, čez Veliki Vavkovec na Hrvaško do Trsata (Jarc 2002). Drugi in največji pas so zgradili 10-15 km od takratne meje. Od Zagorja je šel na vznožje in vrh Primoža, kjer je bil komandni center za okoliške bunkerje. Z vrha Primoža je šla črta po poljih in gričih do železniške postaje v Pivki, onkraj postaje na Osojnico, Ovčjak, Replje, do Slavenskega boršta. S kratkim presledkom se je spet nadaljevala pri Orehku, se vlekla na Hruševje, Veliko Brdo, Strane, Nanos. Nameravali so zgraditi še tretji obrambni pas, ki ga zaradi vojne niso dokončali.

Naloga utrd na Pivškem je bila braniti prehod skozi Pivko proti Krasu skozi Vremsko dolino. Naravni prehod v smeri sever-jug, dobra preglednost nad Pivško dolino proti Javornikom in Snežniku, dobri pogoji za oskrbo enot (blizu je bila železnica, voda in vas) ter odlični pogoji za utrjevanje so glavni razlogi za izgradnjo utrd na Primožu (Srnedel 1975; Anon. 1932a). Italijani so imeli tudi poseben sistem signaliziranja med posameznimi utrdami, ki se je imenoval *fotofonika* (Jankovič-Potočnik 2004). Sistem je pretvarjal zvočne signale v infrardeče žarke in jih oddajal v sosednjo utrdbo. Tu je bil nameščen sprejemnik, ki je svetlobne signale sprejel in jih po enakem sistemu znova pretvoril v zvočne signale (Silvestri 2005). S Primoža so lahko pošiljali signale v treh glavnih smereh: na sever, jug in vzhod.

In order to do that, he decided to build a mighty defence system, which would run along the Italian-Yugoslav border all the way from Triglav to Rijeka – the Vallo Alpino or the Alpine Wall. Its fortifications, barracks, ammunition magazines, supply lines, fortified positions, and even airfields were meant to protect the Italian eastern border with Yugoslavia (Fatur 1975; Juvančič 1968). Because of its being borderland, a considerable number of Italian troops were soon concentrated in the area (Fatur 1975). A special guard unit was set up to protect the border, the "*Guardia alla frontiera*" (GAF). The unit was stationed in different sectors and subsectors. The Št. Peter sector reported to the 5th Army Corps in Trieste. Records from 1942 suggest that a company of engineers and a mixed motorised detachment were stationed here (Juvančič 1968).

The defence of the border was organized in several lines. The fortification system as a whole envisaged as many as three defence lines. The first ran right along the borderline over Nanos, Planina, and Javorniki, where it intersected with Veliki Javorniki, Suhi vrh, Otoška dolina, Lačnik, Škodovnik, Bička gora, Obramec and Velika Kalvarija, and ran down the eastern side of Snežnik, over Veliki Vavkovec to Trsat in Croatia (Jarc 2002). The second and the biggest line was set up 10-15 kilometres from the border. It ran from Zagorje via the foothills to the top of Primož, where the command centre for the nearby bunkers was located. From the top of Primož, the line crossed the fields and the hills all the way to the train station in Pivka, and then continued from the other side of the station to Osojnica, Ovčjak and Replje, to Slavenski boršt. Except for a brief interruption, it continued at Orehek, and trailed off toward Hruševje, Veliko Brdo, Strane and Nanos. A third line of the Alpine Wall was also to be built, but the war left it unfinished.

The fortifications in the area around Pivka (Pivško) were meant to defend the passage through Pivka toward Kras through the valley of Vremska dolina. The main reasons for

Utrdba na Primožu se je imenovala *Batteria Monte San Primo* in je bila ena najbolj utrjenih točk ob vsej jugoslovansko-italijanski meji, saj je poveljniško zajemala baterijo vojakov s težkimi strojnimi in petimi topovi kalibra 75 mm. Komandnemu centru na Primožu je bilo podrejenih 14 utrd: 4 v smeri Zgornje Pivke (nad Parjami), 3 na vzhodnem vznožju Primoža, na Habijanovem hribu in 6 v smeri Spodnje Pivke (Orlek, Ovčjak, Gradec) (Jankovič-Potočnik *et al.* 2005). Zaradi prehodnosti ozemlja so utrdbe v Pivški kotlini izredno zgoščene, saj se nahajajo na razdalji približno 500 metrov.

Časopis *Istrapiše* o gradnji utrd na Osojnici, kjer »vrtajo in kopljejo velikansko kaverno, o kateri naši ljudje ne smejo ničesar podrobnega vedeti. Stvar mora biti velike vojaške važnosti, ker je vsakemu zabranjen dostop v bližino,« (Anon. 1932a). Utrdbe in vojaške objekte so gradili zaporniki iz južne Italije. Domačini na ta območja niso smeli. Italijani so očitno poskušali v vojaške namene izkoristiti tudi kraške jame in podzemne rove: »Italijani so že več let iskali zvezo s posameznimi podzemskimi jamami in to kopanje je najbrže tudi z jamami v zvezi (Anon. 1932a).

Konec tridesetih let se je Italija pripravljala na vojno. Ukazala je izpraznitev vasi, ki ležijo ob gozdu (Jurišče, Palčje, Trnje in Žeje). Bunkerje je založila s topovi, reflektorji, protiletalskimi in težkimi strojnimi (težka bređa) ter jih obdala z bodečo žico (Smerdel 1975). Do investicij v vojaško infrastrukturo je v obdobju med obema vojnami prišlo tudi na jugoslovanski strani. Tako imenovana Rupnikova linija kot Alpski zid nista nikoli služila svojemu namenu, saj sta predvidevala zgrešen način vojskovanja. Ob napadu na Jugoslavijo je bila meja prekoračena brez hujših spopadov.

Po italijanski kapitulaciji so utrdbe prešle v nemške roke. Leta 1944 so jih razstrelili, ker so se bali, da bi jih zasedli partizani ali zavezniki, ki bi se izkrcali v Istri. Med njimi so razstrelili tudi utrdbo na Primožu, kar priča o pomembnosti položaja. Utrdbe San Pietro 7, na Habijanovem

building fortifications on Primož were the natural north-south passage, the good view of the Pivka Basin toward Javorniki and Snežnik and good possibilities for supplying military units (in the vicinity there was a railway line, water and a village) (Smerdel 1975; Anon. 1932a). The Italians connected the fortifications with a special signalling system; it was called a "*fotofonika*" (Jankovič-Potočnik 2004). This system transformed sound signals into infrared beams and transmitted them from one fortification to the next. The receiver intercepted the infrared beams and used the same system to transform them into sound signals (Silvestri 2005). From Primož, it was possible to send signals in three main directions: north, south, and east.

The fortification on Primož was called the *Batteria Monte San Primo* and was one of the best fortified positions along the entire Yugoslav-Italian border; it consisted of a battery with heavy-machineguns and five 75-mm guns. Fourteen fortifications were subordinate to the command centre on top of Primož: 4 in the direction of Zgornja Pivka (over Parje), 3 on the eastern foothills of Primož, on the hill of Habijanov hrib, and 6 in the direction of Lower Pivka (Spodnja Pivka) (Orlek, Ovčjak, Gradec) (Jankovič-Potočnik *et al.* 2005) Because the area was open, fortifications were located close to one another; they lay some 500 metres apart.

The newspaper *Istra* writes about the construction work on the fortification on Osojnica, where "they keep digging a cave, about which our people are not allowed to know any details. The structure must be of great importance because no one is allowed to come near it." (Anon 1932a). The fortifications and military structures were built by prisoners from southern Italy. The locals were not allowed to approach the area. The Italians were planning to use the karst caves and subterranean tunnels: "The Italians have for a few years been trying to find connections between the subterranean caves, and it is most likely that this digging also has to do with the caves" (Anon. 1932a)

hribu, niso razstrelili, ker je bila v središču Št. Petra. Skoraj vse kasarne v snežniških gozdovih so zažgali (Jankovič-Potočnik 2005).

VOJAŠKA INFRASTRUKTURA

Za vojaške potrebe so Italijani v tridesetih letih zgradili vse še danes najpomembnejše glavne ceste v snežniških gozdovih (Šajn 1990). Zgradili so tudi novo vojaško cesto od Trnovega do Št. Petra in cesto čez Vremščico (Anon. 1932c). Vendar so bile te ceste zaprte, ker so vodile do vojaških naprav, kavern, postojank za topove in strojnice (Anon. 1933b). Zgrajene so bile vojašnice pri Hrastju. Med Kalom in Neverkami (v današnji industrijski coni) je bila smodnišnica, ki so jo zakamuflirali tako, da je bila iz zraka videti kot vas s cerkvijo (Anon. 1932c). Smodnišnico lahko vidimo še danes. Za gradnjo utrd in preostalih vojaških objektov so potrebovali dobro oskrbo z vodo. V ta namen so zgradili vrsto vodnih zbiralnikov in pip za natananje avtociستern (Smerdel 1975). V vodnih zbiralnikih se je zbirala kapnica, od tod se je voda po ceveh stekala v vodonosnik, kjer je bil nameščen tudi filter za prečiščevanje. Celoten sistem je bil povezan s pipami, s katerimi so polnili avtociستerne z vodo, ki so jo potrebovali za gradnjo vojaških objektov. Takih vodnih zbiralnikov in pip je na tem območju precej, pri Hrastju, v Drskovčah, Palčju, na Baču. Voda pa ni bila namenjena samo gradnji, ampak je bila primerna tudi za pitje.

Leta 1934 so Italijani regulirali strugo reke Pivke od Zagorja do Selc. Poleg glavnega kanala v dolžini 11,5 km so regulirali tudi odvodne kanale v skupni dolžini 2,5 km. Ponekod so prek reke zgradili mostove, ponekod so strugo celo zacementirali. Od tega naj bi imeli koristi tudi kmetje, saj naj bi pridobili 500 ha zemljišča (Anon. 1934c). Italijani so pogozdili precej območij, zlasti tista, kjer je burja ovirala promet, med drugim območja ob železniški progi Divača – Št. Peter (Anon. 1934).

At the end of the 1930s Italy was preparing for war. It was ordered that the villages close to the forest be evacuated (Jurišče, Palčje, Trnje, and Žeje). The bunkers were supplied with guns, reflectors, anti-aircraft guns and heavy machineguns (the heavy “bredas”), and protected with barbed wire (Smerdel 1975). The Yugoslav side also invested in military infrastructure in the period between the wars. Neither “Rupnik’s line” nor the Alpine Wall ever served its purpose because they had been designed for the wrong kind of warfare. During the attack on Yugoslavia, the border was crossed without any heavy fighting.

After the capitulation of Italy, it was the Germans who took over the fortifications. They blew them up in 1944, because they feared that they might be taken by the partisans and the Allied forces after the invasion of Istria. One of the fortifications blown up was that on Primož, which speaks of its importance. They did not blow up the San Pietro 7 fortification on Habijanov hrib, because it was in the centre of Št. Peter. Nearly all the barracks in the forests around Snežnik were burned down (Jankovič-Potočnik 2005).

MILITARY INFRASTRUCTURE

In the 1930s the Italians built roads in the forests around Snežnik that remain among the main ones even today (Šajn 1990). They also built a new military road from Trnovo to Št. Peter and a road over Vremščica (Anon. 1932c). But these roads were all closed because they led to military works, caves, gun and machine-gun positions (Anon. 1933b). The barracks at Hrastje were built. Between Kal and Neverke (in what is today an industrial zone), a powder magazine was located and camouflaged in such a way that from the air it looked like a village with a church (1932c). The powder magazine can still be seen. In order to be able to build fortifications and other military infrastructure, a good water supply was needed. A number of water reservoirs and taps for filling tank lorries

VOJAŠKE VAJE NA JEZERIH

Italijanska vojska je morala biti zaradi mejne lege v stalni pripravljenosti. Vojaške vaje so, kot navaja časopis *Istra*, potekale na Vremščici, po Javornikih, na šembijskem polju (Anon. 1934b), bački gmajni in na griču pod Primožem. Tradicionalna poligona pa sta bila tudi na Palškem in Petelinjskem jezeru že iz časa Avstro-Ogrske. Vojaške vaje so potekale tudi v bližini jezer.

Domačini povedo, da je vojska na jezerih trenirala v poletnem času. Tu so se urile pehotne enote, ki so se vsako leto menjavale. Te niso povzročile velike škode, poleg tega na jezerih niso sadili poljščin, marveč je bilo zemljišče namenjeno le košnji. Vojska je širše območje zastražila in s tem domačinom onemogočila dostop do travnikov na jezerih. Kmetje v tem času niso mogli kositi. V časopisu *Istra* lahko beremo, »da so se vojaške vaje vršile tudi v oddaljenih, nepomembnih in zakotnih krajih in hribih (Anon. 1932b). Vojaštvo je napravilo kmetu ogromno škodo. Te vaje se ponavljajo vsako leto v istem času in se jih ljudstvo že vnaprej boji,« (Anon. 1933a). Gotovo, da je vojska kmete prikrajšala, vendar jim je v zameno za storjeno škodo plačala »žarnado« oziroma dnevnic. Nekateri domačini so to obrnili sebi v prid. S pretvezo, da gredo na polje, so odšli do straže, ki jim je morala povrniti dnevnic za neopravljeno delo.

Tukaj je bilo skoncentriranih veliko vojakov. Napolnili so kasarne, ker pa ni bilo dovolj prostora, so vojaki spali tudi pri domačinih. V času orožnih vaj so bili nastanjeni v Trnskem borštu in Gaberjah, kot poimenujejo domačini z gozdom in travniki porasel predel med Petelinjskim in Palškim jezerom. Tik nad Petelinjskim jezerom, pod Trnsko jamo, je bilo strelišče t.i. »Šištof«. Topove so usmerjali proti Okrogleku pod Sveto Trojico. Na tem območju so tigrovci našli veliko granat italijanske vojske, ki pri vojaških vajah niso eksplodirale (Rejec *et al.* 1995). Artilerija je trenirala tudi na Palškem jezeru. Streljali so v Boršt nad Matijevo jamo.

were installed for this purpose (Smrdel 1975). From these reservoirs, in which rainwater was collected, the water was piped to another reservoir where it was filtered. Such water reservoirs and taps are very common in the area and can still be found in Hrastje, Drskovče, Palčje, and on Bač. This water was not only for building but was also drinkable.

In 1934 the Italians channelled the river Pivka from Zagorje to Selce. In addition to 11.5 kilometres of the main channel, they also installed 2.5 kilometres of drainpipe. In some places bridges were built across the river, in others, they even cemented the riverbed. Even farmers benefited from this, because they gained some 500 hectares of arable land (Anon. 1932c). The Italians forested large areas, particularly those where the gusts of the "burja" interrupted traffic, among them the area along the Divača-Št. Peter railway line (Anon. 1934).

MILITARY MANOEUVRES ON THE LAKES

Because of the border the Italian army always had to be kept in readiness. According to the newspaper *Istra*, military manoeuvres took place on Vremščica, Javorniki, on Šembijsko polje (Anon. 1934b), Bačka gmajna, and on the hill near Primož. Traditionally, since the days of the Austro-Hungarian empire, two training grounds were located on Petelinjsko jezero and Palško jezero. The manoeuvres also took place in the vicinity of the lake.

The local people remember that the army used to train by the lakes in summertime. It was the infantry units that practised here; each of them stayed one year. They did not do much damage; additionally, the lakeside fields were not used for crops but only for haymaking. The army secured a large area by posting sentries, which made it impossible for farmers to access their fields by the lakes. The farmers were not able to mow during this time. In *Istra*, one can read that the "military manoeuvres took place

Nad Matijevo jamo so še danes vidne sledi. V Matijevi jami so ostanki vodne črpalke in rešetk. Tukaj je bil očitno ugoden teren za orožne vaje, saj je nudil veliko skrivališč, kot so vrtače, jame, spodmoli. Na italijanskem zemljevidu (Arhiv IZRK) sta jezera označeni kot močvirnati površini, ki nimata velike gospodarske vrednosti. To je lahko tudi eden izmed razlogov, zakaj sta bila tukaj vojaška poligona. Za vojsko je ostajalo veliko streliva in granat, ki so jih pobirali otroci in nosili na odpad. Iz granat so pobirali baker, ki je bil takrat zelo dragocen. Z denarjem, ki so ga dobili ob zamenjavi, so si kupili hrano in obleko.

Kot vojaški poligon ju je uporabljala tudi Jugoslovanska ljudska armada. Posledice vojaških vaj so v Petelinjskem jezeru vidne še danes. Ko jezero presahne, je v dnu jezera opaziti veliko lukenj, ki so jih napravile granate. Vzdolž vzhodne strani se nahaja tudi jarek, ki je bil najverjetneje skopan v vojaške namene, v gozdu na zahodni strani jezera pa lahko najdemo ostanke topovskih gnezd. V Palškem jezeru takih lukenj ni, saj so tla sanirali. Domačinom je država izplačala odškodnino zaradi izpadlega pridelka sena za leto 1989 in 1990 (Mihajlović 1990). Ob tem je bilo opravljeno cenitveno poročilo, ki ocenjuje zemljišče kot slabše kakovosti, s kraško podlago, ki jo spremljajo vsakoletne poplave. Poleg tega je opaziti luknje od granat, poškodbe zaradi tankov in narejene so bile nove poti (Peternelj 1990). Domačini so pri tem poudarili, da v času italijanske okupacije na obeh jezerih ni bilo nikakršnih lukenj, ampak sta bili kotanji ravni.

even in distant, unimportant, and forsaken places and hills (Anon. 1932b). The soldiery did great damage to the farmers. These exercises are carried out at the same time every year, and the people are afraid of them even before they happen,” (Anon 1933a). There is no doubt that the army deprived the farmers somewhat, but it compensated them by paying them what was called a “žarnada” or daily allowance. Some local people turned this in their favour. Pretending that they were going to work in the fields, they went to the guards, who had to compensate them for work that had not been done.

A large number of soldiers were stationed here. They filled the barracks, but as there was not enough room, they were billeted at the farms overnight. During military exercises, some were housed in Trnski boršt and Gaberje, as the local people call the area with forests and meadows. Just above Petelinjsko jezero, under the Trnska jama, the “Šištof” shooting range was located. The guns were aimed at Okroglek under Sveta trojica. In this area, the TIGR members found many Italian grenades that had failed to explode (Rejec *et al.* 1995). The artillery also took their training on Palško jezero. They shot at Boršt above the Matijevo jama. Traces can still be seen above the cave; there are remains of water pumps and gratings. The area was a good training camp, because it offered numerous hiding-places, like sinkholes, caves and potholes. On the Italian map (IZRK archives) the lakes are marked as swamp area of little economic interest. This may at the same time have been the reason that the training facilities were here in the first place. The army left a lot of ammunition behind it. Children gathered grenades and took them to the dump. They were looking for copper in the grenades, because it was very expensive at the time. With the money they received in exchange, food and clothing were bought.

The training fields were also used by the Yugoslav People's Army. The consequences of its manoeuvres are still visible around Petelinjsko jezero. When the water dries up, holes made by explosions on the bottom of the lake show up.

On the eastern side a trench can be seen which was probably dug out for military purposes; in the forests on the western side of the lake gun-nests can be seen. There are no holes of the kind in Palško jezero, because the bottom has been reconstructed. The local people were paid damages for the lost hay in 1989 and 1990 (Mihajlovič 1990). At that time a report with estimates was prepared. It categorizes the land as of poor quality; it apparently lies on a karst substructure and is flooded every year. The report also mentions the holes made and the damage caused by the explosions and the tanks, and adds that new paths had also been made (Peternej 1990). The local people claim that no holes could be seen on either lake during the Italian occupation and that the basins were flat.

Translated by: Simon Zupan



Slika 1: Pogled iz utrd na Primožu v severovzhodni smeri proti Petelinjskemu jezeru (Foto: M. Čuček).

Figure 1: A view from the fortifications on Primož in the NE direction toward Petelinjsko jezero (Photo: M. Čuček).



Slika 2: Vodni zbiralnik »Na šrangi« pri Baču. Zbiralnik je zgradila italijanska vojska za svoje potrebe (Foto: M. Čuček).

Figure 2: Water reservoir “Na šrangi” near Bač. The Italian army built this for its own needs (Photo: M. Čuček).



Slika 3: Pipa z vodo. Vodne pipe so postavili ob cestah in so bile namenjene za polnjenje vojaških avtocistern (Foto: M. Čuček).

Figure 3: Tap with water. The taps were placed by the roads and were used for filling tank lorries (Photo: M. Čuček).



Slika 4: Strelski jarek na Petelinjskem jezeru je ostank tanek vojaških vaj JLA (Foto: M. Čuček).

Figure 4: The trench on Petelinjsko jezero is what remained after manoeuvres by the Yugoslav People's Army (Photo: M. Čuček).



Slika 5: Šolska granata JLA, najdena na Petelinjskem jezeru (Foto: M. Čuček).

Figure 5: A training shell used by the Yugoslav People's Army found on Petelinjsko jezero (Photo: M. Čuček).

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