



Filozofska fakulteta



INŠITUT NOVE REVJE  
ZAVOD ZA HUMANISTIKO



NOVA  
UNIVERZA  
FAKULTETA ZA SLOVENSKE  
IN MEDNARODNE ŠTUDIJE



NOVA  
UNIVERZA  
EVROPSKA PRAVNA  
FAKULTETA

## ZBORNIK POVZETKOV BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

MEDNARODNA ZNANSTVENA KONFERENCA

# KULTURA SPOMINJANJA GRADNIKOV NARODA IN DRŽAVE: SLOVENIJA IN EVROPA

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

# CULTURAL MEMORY OF NATION- AND STATE-BUILDING: SLOVENIA AND EUROPE

**22. in 23. junija 2021 = 22 and 23 June 2021**

preko MS Teams = with MS Teams

# PROGRAM KONFERENCE

22. JUNIJ 2021

## 09:00-09:45 POZDRAVNI NAGOVORI

red. prof. dr. Zdravko Kačič (Univerza v Mariboru, rektor)

red. prof. dr. Darko Friš (Univerza v Mariboru – Filozofska fakulteta, dekan)

red. prof. dr. Peter Jambrek (Nova univerza)

Tomaž Zalaznik (Inštitut Nove revije, zavod za humanistiko, direktor)

red. prof. dr. Darko Darovec (Univerza v Mariboru – Filozofska fakulteta, Inštitut IRRIS, vodja projekta)

## 09:45-11:15 KULTURA SPOMINJANJA, GRADNIKI NACIJE IN MITOTVORSTVO moderator: Žiga Oman

Pål Kolstø (Univerza v Oslu – Fakulteta za humanistiko): *Cultural Memory as Both Contributor and Impediment to Nationbuilding = Kultura spominjanja kot prispevek in ovira za izgradnjo naroda*

Darko Darovec (Univerza v Mariboru – Filozofska fakulteta, Inštitut IRRIS): *Slovenian Nation-Building Mythmaker: Fran Levstik's Martin Krpan = Slovenski narodno graditeljski mitotvorec: Fran Levstikov Martin Krpan*

Marijan Premović (Univerza Črne gore – Filozofska fakulteta): *Trader Kanjoš Macedonović as a Montenegrin National Myth = Trgovec Kanjoš Macedonović kot črnogorski nacionalni mit*

## 11:15-11:30 odmor/diskusija

## 11:30-13:00 MED ZGODOVINO IN KULTURO SPOMINJANJA 1 moderator: Darko Darovec

Andrej Rahten (Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU, Univerza v Mariboru – Filozofska fakulteta): *Slovenske narodnoemancipacijske težnje po razpadu habsburške monarhije*

Àngel Casals Martínez (Univerza v Barceloni – Fakulteta za geografijo in zgodovino): *Conflict as a Construction Tool of National Identity: Catalonia 1516–1714 = Konflikt kot orodje za izgradnjo nacionalne identitete: Katalonija 1516–1714*

Vera Tolz-Zilitinkevic (Univerza v Manchestru – Fakulteta za humanistiko): *Cultural Memory in a Neo-Authoritarian State: Nation-Building or Regime Legitimation? = Kultura spominjanja v neoavtoritarni državi: izgradnja naroda ali legitimacija režima?*

## 13:00-14:30 odmor za kosilo

**22. JUNIJ 2021**

**14:30-16:00 KNJIŽEVNOST KOT GRADNIK NARODA IN DRŽAVE**  
**moderator: Polona Tratnik**

**Darja Mihelič** (upok.): *Motivi iz slovenske zgodovine v pesniškem opusu Antona Aškerca (1856-1912)*

**Jožica Čeh Steger** (Univerza v Mariboru – Filozofska fakulteta): *Levstikov Martin Krpan in njegovi nasledniki do 1930: odnos do lastnega in tujega*

**Tina Bilban** (Inštitut Nove revije, zavod za humanistiko): *Kako nas pišejo Butalci: Butalci Frana Milčinskega, njihova recepcija in vplivi na slovenski prostor*

**16:00-16:15 odmor/diskusija**

**16:15-17:45 NACIONALNE IDENTITETE**  
**moderator: Marjan Horvat**

**Ksenija Vidmar Horvat** (Univerza v Ljubljani – Filozofska fakulteta): *Imperialne matere in slovenska nacionalna identiteta*

**Polona Tratnik** (Inštitut IRRIS, Nova univerza – Fakulteta za slovenske in mednarodne študije): *Ideological Adaptations of the Fairy Tale of Hansel and Gretel during Slovenia's Socialist Period = Ideološke prilagoditve pravljice o janku in metki v obdobju socializma na Slovenskem*

**Natalija Majsova & Jasmina Šepetavc** (Univerza v Ljubljani – Fakulteta za družbene vede): *Construction of Post-Yugoslav Identities in Contemporary Slovene Cinematography = Konstrukcija post-jugoslovanskih identitet v sodobni slovenski kinematografiji*



**23. JUNIJ 2021**

**09:45-11:45 SPOMINJANJE IN POZABA**

**moderator: Aleš Maver**

**Urška Lampe** (Univerza Ca' Foscari v Benetkah, Inštitut IRRIS): *Vsiljeni moltk in izbris spomina v Jugoslaviji po drugi svetovni vojni: primer taborišča Borovnica v Sloveniji*

**Manca Erzetič** (Inštitut Nove revije, zavod za humanistiko, Nova univerza – Fakulteta za slovenske in mednarodne študije): *Diskusija o nacionalni zavesti med Tarasom Kernaunjerjem, Ivanom Urbančičem in Borisom Pahorjem v začetku sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja*

**Marjan Horvat** (Inštitut IRRIS): *Kultura spominjanja in proces osamosvajanja Slovenije: primer revije Mladina*

**Vida Rožac Darovec** (Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper): *Politike spominjanja in odnos Slovencev do spomenikov, komemoracij in sodobne zgodovine*

**11:45-12:00 odmor/diskusija**

**12:00-13:30 MED ZGODOVINO IN KULTURO SPOMINJANJA 2**

**moderator: Urška Lampe**

**Aleš Maver** (Univerza v Mariboru – Filozofska fakulteta): *Med ponosom in objokovanjem: vzorci razumevanja pokristjanjevanja v nacionalnih zgodovinopisjih v Sloveniji in izbranih evropskih okoljih*

**Žiga Oman** (Inštitut IRRIS): *Kosezi med zgodovinopisjem in kulturo spominjanja: (re)konstrukcija, (re)interpretacije in recepcija*

**Andrej Hozjan** (Univerza v Mariboru – Filozofska fakulteta): *Družbena nasprotja in upiranje v novoveskem Prekmurju*

**13:30-15:00 odmor za kosilo**

## 23. JUNIJ 2021

### 15:00–16:00 PRAVOTVORNOST IN DRŽAVOTVORNOST

moderator: Gorazd Bajc

**Marko Novak** (Nova univerza – Evropska pravna fakulteta): *Pravotvornost Slovencev: od ljudskega prava do vodenja Evropske unije*

**Matej Avbelj** (Nova univerza – Evropska pravna fakulteta): *Constitutionalization of Jože Pučnik's Political Thought = Konstitucionalizacija politične misli Jožeta Pučnika*

### 16:00–16:15 odmor/diskusija

### 16:15–17:15 MED ZGODOVINO IN KULTURO SPOMINJANJA 3

moderator: Andrej Hozjan

**Gregor Antoličič** (Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU): *Od Olimpa do smetišča zgodovine in nazaj – slovenski pogledi na cesarja Franca Jožefa od konca prve svetovne vojne do obeležitve stoletnice njegove smrti*

**Mateja Matjašič Friš** (Univerza v Mariboru – Filozofska fakulteta): *Per aspera ad astra – spomini na mariborsko klasično gimnazijo (1857–1865) in razvoj slovenske narodne zavesti med dijaštvom*

**Gorazd Bajc, Janez Osojnik & Darko Friš** (Univerza v Mariboru – Filozofska fakulteta): *Manifestacije ob boleči izgubi koroškega plebicita*

### 17:15–18:00 zaključna diskusija

moderator: Darko Darovec

# CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

**22 JUNE 2021 (all times are CET)**

## 09:00–09:45 OPENING SPEECHES

**Prof. Zdravko Kačič** (University of Maribor, Chancellor)

**Prof. Darko Friš** (University of Maribor – Faculty of Arts, Dean)

**Prof. Peter Jambrek** (New University)

**Tomaž Zalaznik** (Institute Nova revija for the Humanities, Director)

**Prof. Darko Darovec** (University of Maribor – Faculty of Arts, Institute IRRIS, project PI)

## 09:45–11:15 CULTURAL MEMORY, NATION-BUILDING AND MYTHMAKING

**moderator: Žiga Oman**

**Pål Kolstø** (University of Oslo – Faculty of Humanities): *Cultural Memory as Both Contributor and Impediment to Nationbuilding*

**Darko Darovec** (University of Maribor – Faculty of Arts, Institute IRRIS): *Slovenian Nation-Building Mythmaker: Fran Levstik's Martin Krpan*

**Marijan Premović** (University of Montenegro – Faculty of Philosophy): *Trader Kanjoš Macedonović as a Montenegrin National Myth*

## 11:15–11:30 break/discussion

## 11:30–13:00 BETWEEN HISTORY AND CULTURAL MEMORY 1

**moderator: Darko Darovec**

**Andrej Rahten** (Milko Kos Historical Institute RC SASA, University of Maribor – Faculty of Arts): *Slovenske narodnoemancipacijske težnje po razpadu habsburške monarhije = Slovene National-Emancipatory Aspirations After the Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*

**Angel Casals Martínez** (University of Barcelona – Faculty of Geography and History): *Conflict as a Construction Tool of National Identity: Catalonia 1516–1714*

**Vera Tolz-Zilitinkevic** (University of Manchester – Faculty of Humanities): *Cultural Memory in a Neo-Authoritarian State: Nation-Building or Regime Legitimation?*

## 13:00–14:30 lunch break

**22 JUNE 2021** (all times are CET)

**14:30-16:00 LITERATURE IN NATION- AND STATE-BUILDING**

**moderator: Polona Tratnik**

**Darja Mihelič** (ret.): *Motivi iz slovenske zgodovine v pesniškem opusu Antona Aškerca (1856–1912)*  
= *Motives from Slovene History in the Poetic Opus of Anton Aškerc (1856–1912)*

**Jožica Čeh Steger** (University of Maribor – Faculty of Arts): *Lepa Vida, Martin Krpan in Peter Klepec v odnosu do tujega in drugega: na primerih iz slovenske književnosti (1850–1950)*  
= *Lepa Vida, Martin Krpan and Peter Klepec in Relation to the Foreign and the Other: Cases from Slovene Literature (1850–1950)*

**Tina Bilban** (Institute of Nova Revija for the Humanities): *Kako nas pišejo Butalci: Butalci Frana Milčinskega, njihova recepcija in vplivi na slovenski prostor* = *How Butalci Write Us: Fran Milčinski's Butalci, Their Reception and Influence on the Slovene Space*

**16:00-16:15 break/discussion**

**16:15-17:45 NATIONAL IDENTITIES**

**moderator: Marjan Horvat**

**Ksenija Vidmar Horvat** (University of Ljubljana – Faculty of Arts): *Imperialne matere in slovenska nacionalna identiteta* = *Imperial Mothers and the Slovene National Identity*

**Polona Tratnik** (New University – Faculty of Slovenian and International Studies, Institute IRRIS): *Ideological Adaptations of the Fairy Tale of Hansel and Gretel during Slovenia's Socialist Period*

**Natalija Majsova & Jasmina Šepetavc** (University of Ljubljana – Faculty of Social Sciences):  
*Construction of Post-Yugoslav Identities in Contemporary Slovene Cinematography*



**23 JUNE 2021 (all times are CET)**

**09:45-11:45 MEMORY AND OBLIVION**

**moderator: Aleš Maver**

**Urška Lampe** (Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Institute IRRIS): *Vsiljeni molk in izbris spomina v Jugoslaviji po drugi svetovni vojni: primer taborišča Borovnica v Sloveniji = Imposed Silence and Cancellation of Memory in Post-Second World War Yugoslavia: The Case of Borovnica Camp in Slovenia*

**Manca Erzetič** (Institute of Nova Revija for Humanities, New University – Faculty of Slovenian and International Studies): *Diskusija o nacionalni zavesti med Tarasom Kermaunerjem, Ivanom Urbančičem in Borisom Pahorjem v začetku sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja = The Discussion of National Consciousness Between Taras Kermauner, Ivan Urbančič and Boris Pahor in the Early 1970s*

**Marjan Horvat** (Institute IRRIS): *Kultura spominjanja in proces osamosvajanja Slovenije: primer revije Mladina = Cultural Memory and Slovenia's Independence Process: the Case of the Mladina Magazine*

**Vida Rožac Darovec** (Science and Research Centre Koper): *Politike spominjanja in odnos Slovencev do spomenikov, komemoracij in sodobne zgodovine = Politics of Memory and the Attitude of Slovenes towards Monuments, Commemorations, and Contemporary History*

**11:45-12:00 break/discussion**

**12:00-13:30 BETWEEN HISTORY AND CULTURAL MEMORY 2**

**moderator: Urška Lampe**

**Aleš Maver** (University of Maribor – Faculty of Arts): *Med ponosom in objokovanjem: vzorci razumevanja pokristjanjevanja v nacionalnih zgodovinopisih v Sloveniji in izbranih evropskih okolijh = Between Pride and Lamentation: Patterns of Understanding Christianisation in National Historiographies in Slovenia and Select European Settings*

**Žiga Oman** (Institute IRRIS): *Kosezi med zgodovinopisjem in kulturo spominjanja: (re)konstrukcija, (re)interpretacija in recepcija = The Kosezi Between Historiography and Cultural Memory: (Re)Construction, Reception and (Re)Interpretations*

**Andrej Hozjan** (University of Maribor – Faculty of Arts): *Družbena nasprotja in upiranje v novoveškem Prekmurju = Social Antagonisms and Revolts in Modern-Era Prekmurje*

**13:30-15:00 lunch break**

**23 JUNE 2021** (all times are CET)

**15:00–16:00 LAWMAKING AND STATE-BUILDING**  
**moderator: Gorazd Bajc**

**Marko Novak** (New University – European Faculty of Law): *Pravotvornost Slovencev: od ljudskega prava do vodenja Evropske unije = The Lawmaking of the Slovenes: From Folk Law to Leading the European Union*

**Matej Avbelj** (New University – European Faculty of Law): *Constitutionalization of Jože Pučnik's Political Thought*

**16:00–16:15 break/discussion**

**16:15–17:15 BETWEEN HISTORY AND CULTURAL MEMORY 3**  
**moderator: Andrej Hozjan**

**Gregor Antoličič** (Milko Kos Historical Institute RC SASA): *Od Olimpa do smetišča zgodovine in nazaj – slovenski pogledi na cesarja Franca Jožefa od konca prve svetovne vojne do obeležitve stoletnice njegove smrti = From Olympus to the Landfill of History and Back – Slovene Views on Emperor Francis Joseph from the End of the World War I to the Commemoration of the Centennial of his Death*

**Mateja Matjašič Friš** (University of Maribor – Faculty of Arts): *Per aspera ad astra – spomini na mariborsko klasično gimnazijo (1857–1865) in razvoj slovenske narodne zavesti med dijaštvom = Per aspera ad astra – Memories of the Maribor Classical Gymnasium (1857–1865) and the Development of Slovene National Consciousness among its Students*

**Gorazd Bajc, Janez Osojnik & Darko Friš** (University of Maribor – Faculty of Arts): *Manifestacije ob boleči izgubi koroškega plebicita = Protests at the Painful Loss of the Carinthian Plebiscite*

**17:15–18:00 concluding discussion**  
**moderator: Darko Darovec**



**KULTURA SPOMINJANJA, GRADNIKI NACIJE  
IN MITOTVORSTVO**

**CULTURAL MEMORY, NATION-BUILDING  
AND MYTHMAKING**

## **CULTURAL MEMORY AS BOTH CONTRIBUTOR AND IMPEDIMENT TO NATIONBUILDING**

**Prof. Pål Kolstø**

*University of Oslo – Faculty of Humanities*

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In his polemics against 'modernists' such as Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson, Anthony Smith argued that while nations are indeed modern phenomena, they have deep historical roots in earlier ethnic cultures. These cultures are the raw material of nations, so to speak, and much of his scholarship was devoted to an examination of how these proto-national cultures are moulded into modern national cultures. Occasionally one may get the impression that Smith regarded national consolidation around the national culture as a harmonious, teleological development, but he was not oblivious to the dramatic aspects of nationbuilding. Already in *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986) he remarked that myths and symbols, values and memories »[...] possess explosive power that goes far beyond the 'rational' uses which elites and social scientists deem appropriate. Evoking an heroic past is like playing with fire, as the history of all too many *ethnie* and nations locked in conflict today, can tell«. This is an important insight, which I believe is too little focused upon when we study the role of culture in nationbuilding (and which, ironically, it seems that Smith himself forgot in much of his later writings). But what will we be left with if we conclude that the cultural memories of nations are inherently divisive and counterproductive to nationbuilding? What else can keep nations together? Should nationbuilders try to focus on only those cultural memories that can unite the population and ignore or even suppress controversial memories? Is that at all feasible the age of Internet and democratic access of information for all?

### ***Kultura spominjanja kot prispevki in ovira za izgradnjo naroda***

**red. prof. dr. Pål Kolstø**

*Univerza v Oslu – Fakulteta za humanistiko, Oddelek za književnost, območne študije in evropske jezike  
Norveška*

V svoji polemiki z »modernisti«, kot sta Ernest Gellner in Benedict Anderson, je Anthony Smith trdil, da imajo narodi, čeprav so dejansko sodoben pojav, globoke zgodovinske korenine v zgodnejših etničnih kulturah. Te kulture so nekakšne surovine za nastanek naroda in velik del Smithovih študij je bil posvečen raziskavam preoblikovanja protonacionalnih kultur v sodobne nacionalne kulture. Občasno se lahko zazdi, da je Smith konsolidacijo naroda okoli nacionalne kulture pojmoval kot harmoničen, teleološki razvoj, a se je zavedal dramatičnih vidikov izgradnje naroda. Že v delu *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986) je opozoril, da imajo miti in simboli, vrednote in spomini »eksplozivni naboj, ki gre daleč onkraj 'racionalne' rabe, ki jo imajo elite in družboslovci za primerno. Obujanje junaške preteklosti je kot igra z ognjem, kar lahko pokaže zgodovina vse preveč etnij in nacij, ki so danes zapletene v konflikte.« To je pomemben uvid, za katerega menim, da je vse premalo izpostavljen, ko proučujemo vlogo kulture v izgradnji naroda (in na katerega je, kot se, ironično, zdi, tudi Smith pozabil v večini svojih kasnejših del). Vendar, kaj nam ostane, če sklenemo, da so kulture spominjanja narodov in nacij inherentno razdiralne ter kontraproduktivne za izgradnjo naroda? Lahko narod združuje še kaj drugega? Bi se morali graditelji naroda osredotočati le na tiste kulturne spomine, ki ljudi lahko združujejo in ignorirati ali celo zatirati sporne spomine? Je to v času svetovnega spletja in demokratičnega dostopa do informacij sploh mogoče?

## **SLOVENIAN NATION-BUILDING MYTHMAKER: FRAN LEVSTIK'S MARTIN KRPAN**

**Prof. Darko Darovec**

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Predicated on Fran Levstik's literary tale *Martin Krpan* (1858), this paper illuminates Levstik's political agenda and the literary implementation of the outlaw hero Martin Krpan for the needs of the Slovene nation-building process. Levstik was among the most prominent writers of the emerging Slovenian intellectual class in the second half of the nineteenth century. The value of Levstik's tale resides in his merger of mythical and literary narratives into a functionally connected organism, as it enables an overlap of 'historical' and 'non-historical' reading, an intertwinement of symbolic and real ambiguities. Levstik's entire structure of both his literary-political programme and his tale of Martin Krpan originated in actual historical events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: economic (transportation), social (peasant revolts) and political history (defence against the Turks) that he combined with the fundamentals of folkloric and ethno-symbolic cultural heritage. In *Martin Krpan*, Levstik skilfully concealed 'historical realities' typical for myths and 'historical truths' behind metaphors and symbolism, showing the way for the (national) political struggle. But the 'real' myth that Levstik wanted to create was language. Slovene language and the culture connected to it were undoubtedly the essential distinguishing and constitutive elements of the Slovene nation-building process in comparison to the 'Other(s)'.

## ***Slovenski narodno graditeljski mitotvorec: Fran Levstikov Martin Krpan***

**red. prof. dr. Darko Darovec**

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*Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja  
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Na primeru povedi Frana Levstika *Martin Krpan z Vrha* (1858) je namen tega prispevka osvetliti avtorjevo politično agendo, njegov čas in literarno izvedbo stvaritve izvornega slovenskega junaka za potrebe izgradnje naroda. Levstik je bil med prvimi in najvidnejšimi pisci nastajajoče slovenske inteligence v drugi polovici 19. stoletja. Vrednost Levstikove povedi je v tem, da združuje mitično in literarno pripoved v funkcionalno povezan organizem, saj omogoča sovpadanje »zgodovinskega« in »nezgodovinskega« branja, prepletanje simbolnih in realnih večpomenskosti. Celotno zgradbo za svoj literarno-politični program in za povest Martin Krpan je črpal iz dejanskih zgodovinskih dogodkov 15. in 16. stoletja, iz gospodarske (prevozništvo), socialne (kmečki upori) in politične zgodovine (obramba pred Turki), ki jih je prepletal z osnovami tedanje folklorne in etnično-simbolne kulturne dediščine. »Zgodovinske resničnosti«, ki so značilne za mite, in »zgodovinske resnice« je v svojem literarnem delu spretno zakril s pokrivalom metaforike in simbolizma ter tako pokazal pot (nacionalnemu) političnemu boju. A »pravi« mit, ki ga je hotel ustvariti, je bil jezik. Jezik in z njim povezana kultura sta bila nedvomno bistvena razločevalna in konstitutivna elementa procesa oblikovanja slovenske države v primerjavi z »Drugim(i)«.

## ***TRADER KANJOŠ MACEDONOVIĆ AS A MONTENEGRIN NATIONAL MYTH***

***Assoc. Prof. Marijan Premović***

*University of Montenegro, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History  
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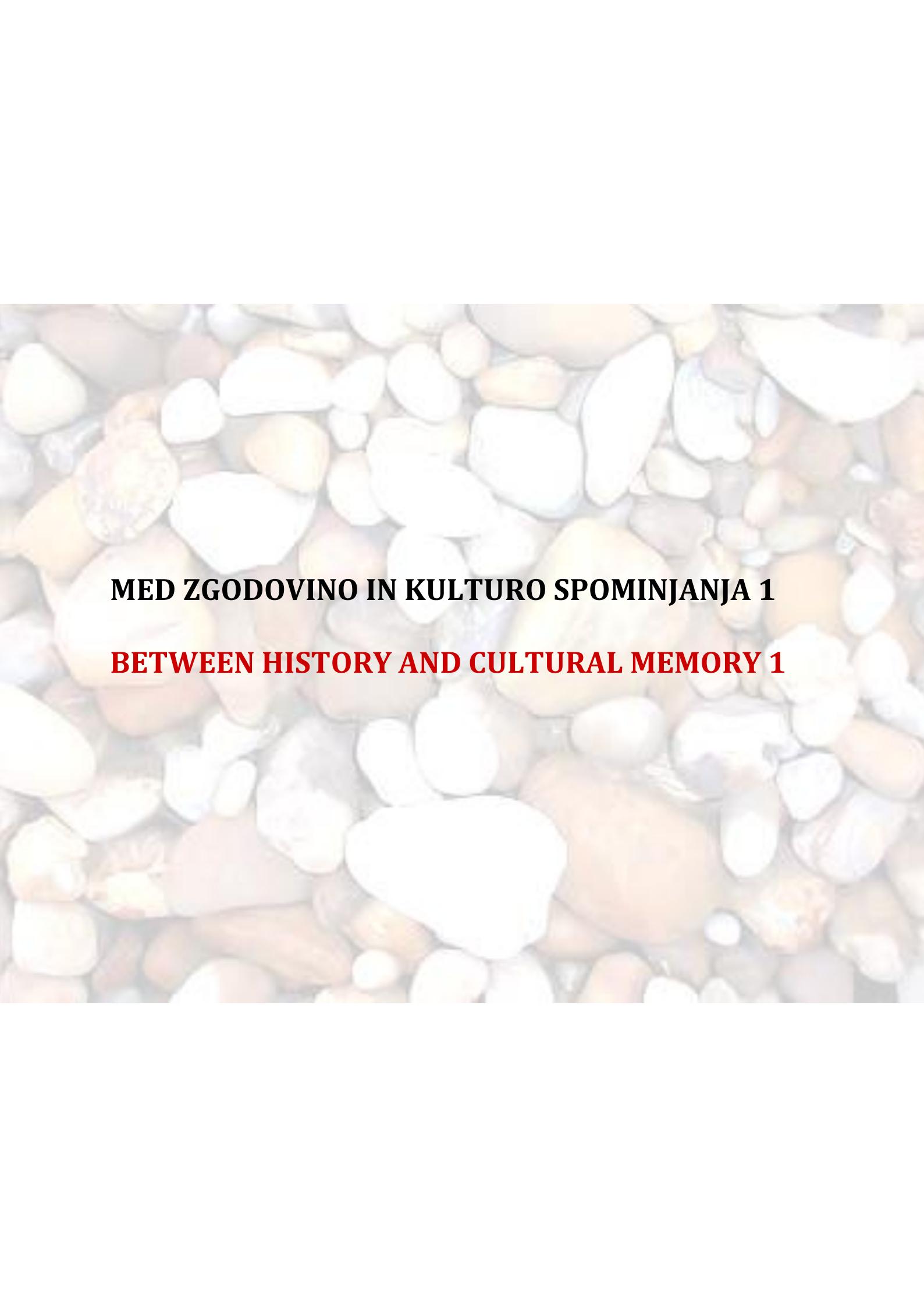
This paper will present the story of Kanjoš Macedonović, written in 1870 by the Montenegrin author Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša (1824–1878). The story of Kanjoš is a well-known literary work about his fifteenth-century visit to Venice and provides us with a variety of historical, humanistic and interdisciplinary interpretations. The author reconstructs the historical significance of Kanjoš's fight with Furlan as the symbol of the relations with the Venetian authorities' and the acquisition of trade privileges as a reward for the Montenegrin Paštrović tribe. Kanjoš is identified as a national hero, characterized by high moral standards and his willingness to fight honestly for the rights of his people. We will analyze the impact of this story as a national literary myth and one of the symbols of Montenegrins that formed in the fight for independence (1876–1878), with resistance as its integral element. Following this narrative, we interpret the influence of Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša on the formation of Montenegrin national identity in the second half of the nineteenth century through medieval history.

## ***Trgovec Kanjoš Macedonović kot črnogorski nacionalni mit***

***izr. prof. dr. Marijan Premović***

*Univerza Črne gore – Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za zgodovino  
Črna gora*

Prispevek bo predstavil pripoved o Kanjošu Macedonoviču, ki jo je leta 1870 napisal črnogorski pisatelj Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša (1824–1878). Pripoved o Kanjošu je zelo znano literarno delo o njegovem obisku Benetk v 15. stoletju, ki nam nudi pester nabor zgodovinskih, humanističnih in interdisciplinarnih interpretacij. Avtor rekonstruira zgodovinski pomen Kanjoševega boja s Furlanom kot simbol odnosa z beneškimi oblastmi ter pridobitve trgovskih privilegijev kot nagrado za črnogorsko pleme Paštrovićev. Kanjoš je identificiran kot nacionalni junak, ki ga karakterizirajo visoki moralni standardi in pripravljenost, da se pošteno bori za pravice svojega naroda. Analizirali bomo vpliv te zgodbe kot nacionalnega literarnega mita in enega od simbolov Črnogorcev, ki se je izoblikoval v boju za neodvisnost (1876–1878), z odporem kot njenim integralnim elementom. Sledič tej naraciji bomo interpretirali vpliv Stjepana Mitrova Ljubiše na oblikovanje črnogorske nacionalne identitete v drugi polovici 19. stoletja skozi srednjeveško zgodovino.



**MED ZGODOVINO IN KULTURO SPOMINJANJA 1**

**BETWEEN HISTORY AND CULTURAL MEMORY 1**

## **SLOVENSKE NARODNOEMANCIPACIJSKE TEŽNJE PO RAZPADU HABSBURŠKE MONARHIJE**

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Jugoslovanska državotvorna prizadevanja slovenskih politikov so se ob razpadu habsburške monarhije sprevrgla v tragedije. Tu ni šlo samo za »tužni Korotan«, ampak tudi za bolečino izgube Primorske in dostopa do morja. Obe narodni katastrofi sta zrasli na pogorišču razpadle habsburške monarhije. Pokazalo se je, da je bila želja slovenske politične elite, če citiramo Rudolfa Maistra, da pridejo »vsi Slovenci pod eno streho«, v novih pogojih neizvedljiva. Le redki pa so si upali poudarjati, da je nekoč že bila država, ki je združevala (skoraj) vse Slovence. S *Senžermensko pogodbo* leta 1919 je bila določena državna meja, takrat formalno jugoslovansko-avstrijska, dejansko pa slovenska. Res je, da se je koroški plebiscit zgodil dobro leto kasneje, a tudi njegov razpis je bil zakoličen s *Senžermensko pogodbo*. Koroški Slovenci so – kljub vsem tranzicijskim težavam po razpadu habsburške monarhije, vztrajnim aktivnostim nemško govorečih sodeželanov in nenaklonjenosti večine mednarodnih akterjev – dobili leta 1920 vsaj pravico do izbire. Primorskim rojakom – podobno kot se je to zgodilo južnotirolskim Nemcem –, ta zaradi italijanskega nasprotovanja plebiscitu sploh ni bila dana. A tudi večina Slovencev, ki se je po prevratu 1918 po zaslugu hitrih odločitev pretežno srbofilsko usmerjene politične elite znašla v novi državi, je pri »prvi odločitvi za Jugoslavijo« ni imela. Referendumsko pravico do izbire državnega okvira je slovenska narodna večina dobila šele po padcu berlinskega zidu, skoraj tik pred iztekom 20. stoletja.

## ***Slovene National-Emancipatory Aspirations After the Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy***

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At the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy, Yugoslav state-building endeavours by Slovene politicians turned into tragedies. This was not only because of the 'sorrowful Korotan', but also due to the painful loss of Primorska and the access to the sea. Both national disasters rose from the ashes of the ruined Habsburg monarchy. It became apparent that the wish of the Slovene political elite to unite "all Slovenes under one roof", to quote Rudolf Maister, was infeasible under the new conditions. Yet only a few dared to point out that a state that united (almost) all Slovenes had once already existed. The Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1919 set a state border that was formally Yugoslav-Austrian, but Slovene in reality. It is true that the Carinthian plebiscite took place over a year later, yet it was to be held in accordance with the Treaty of Saint-Germain. Carinthian Slovenes were at least given a right to choose, despite all the transitional problems following the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy, persistent activities of their German-speaking countrymen and disfavour by most international actors. Their kinsmen in Primorska, much like the South-Tyrolean Germans, were not even given this choice due to Italian opposition to a plebiscite. However, most Slovenes were not given any say in their 'first choice for Yugoslavia' either, finding themselves in a new state following the 1918 overthrow, because of the swift decisions of a generally Serbophile political elite. It was only after the fall of the Berlin wall, almost at the end of the twentieth century, that the Slovene national majority was given the right to hold a referendum on its desired frame of state.

## ***CONFLICT AS A CONSTRUCTION TOOL OF NATIONAL IDENTITY: CATALONIA 1516–1714***

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There is an extensive discussion in Europe about when it is possible to refer to nations in Europe. Even though nationalism did not exist in the early modern period, it is indisputable that political conflicts between some countries and their monarchs were based in discourses, which confronted the political and religious community – not linguistic or cultural – against the monarchs accused of absolutist tendencies. We intend to explain this process in the case of Catalonia as well as how experiences in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provided for memory and arguments that would be used in the nineteenth century in the construction of the Catalan nationalist discourse.

## ***Konflikt kot orodje za izgradnjo nacionalne identitete: Katalonija 1516–1714***

***Àngel Casals Martínez***

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V Evropi poteka obširna diskusija o tem, od kdaj je v Evropi mogoče govoriti o nacijah oziroma narodih. Čeprav nacionalizem v zgodnjem novem veku ni obstajal, je nesporno, da so politični spori med nekaterimi državami in njihovimi monarhi temeljili na diskurzih, ki so politično in konfesionalno skupnost – ne jezikovne ali kulturne – zoperstavljeni monarhom, obtoženim absolutističnih teženj. Ta proces želimo pojasniti na primeru Katalonije, hkrati pa razložiti, kako so izkušnje iz 16. in 17. stoletja priskrbele spomin in argumente, ki so bili v 19. stoletju uporabljeni za izgradnjo katalonskega nacionalističnega diskurza.

**CULTURAL MEMORY IN A NEO-AUTHORITARIAN STATE: NATION-BUILDING OR REGIME LEGITIMATION?**

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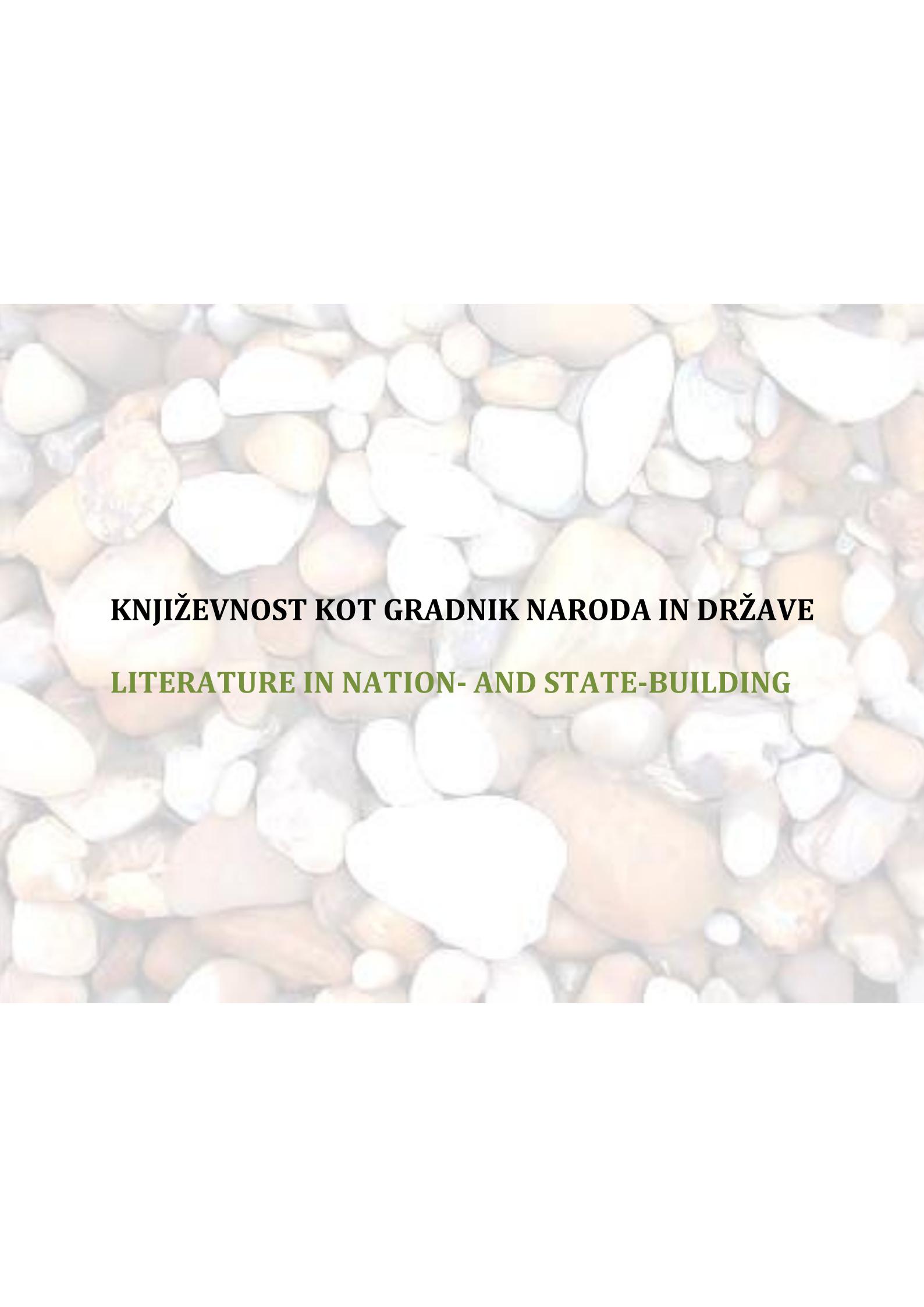
This presentation will address a broader question about how we can theorize different regimes of commemoration. It will argue that these regimes are directly related to political systems. In neo-authoritarian states such as contemporary Russia, cultural memory is not used primarily for nation-building, but to build legitimacy for the ruling political elite. Referencing similar practices in other neo-authoritarian states, the presentation will show how state-affiliated actors, particularly state-funded media, selectively co-opt interpretations of historical events that circulate in the global media ecology, to 'arrest' the 'memory of the multitude'. Simultaneously, they reinforce core messages that legitimise the existing government.

***Kultura spominjanja v neoavtoritarni državi: izgradnja naroda ali legitimacija režima?***

***red. prof. dr. Vera Tolz-Zilitinkevic***

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Prispevek obravnava širše vprašanje o tem, kako teoretizirati različne režime komemoracij in zagovarja tezo, da so ti režimi neposredno povezani s političnimi sistemi. V neo-avtoritarnih državah, kot je današnja Rusija, kultura spominjanja ni primarno rabljena za izgradnjo naroda, temveč za legitimacijo vladajoče politične elite. Z upoštevanjem podobnih praks v drugih neo-avtoritarnih državah, bo prispevek pokazal, kako z državo povezani akterji, predvsem mediji, ki jih financira država, selektivno kooptirajo interpretacije zgodovinskih dogodkov, ki krožijo v globalnem medijskem okolju, da bi »zagrabili spomin množice«. Sočasno ti akterji krepijo jedrna sporočila, ki legitimirajo obstoječo vlado.



**KNJIŽEVNOST KOT GRADNIK NARODA IN DRŽAVE**

**LITERATURE IN NATION- AND STATE-BUILDING**

## **MOTIVI IZ SLOVENSKE ZGODOVINE V PESNIŠKEM OPUSU ANTONA AŠKERCA (1856–1912)**

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Slovenski pesnik, po svojem poslanstvu duhovnik, po poklicu ljubljanski mestni arhivist, Anton Aškerc sodi med pesnike, ki jim je literarna zgodovina namenila že mnogo pozornosti, saj je njegovo delo umeščeno tudi v zbirko *Zbrana dela slovenskih pesnikov in pisateljev*. V komentarjih, pa tudi v ločenih literarnih študijah so podrobno analizirane vsebinske tematike, še bolj pa umetniški domet in sočasna, dokaj kritična odzivnost na Aškerčeve stvaritve. Med slednjimi so mnoge našle navdih v široki paleti zgodovinskih dogodkov od 4. do 19. stoletja. Prispevek bo Aškerčeve pesnitve najprej razvrstil in predstavil v kronološkem zaporedju. Bistveno vprašanje, na katerega bo skušal odgovoriti, pa je: katere od Aškerčevih pesniških tém bi mogli prišteti med »gradnike narodov in države« v Sloveniji in Evropi? Glede širšega zunajsvetovskega prostora je pri Aškercu, kot tudi pri mnogih njegovih sodobnikih, prisotna zavest o vključenosti Slovencev v skupnost Slovanov. Številne pa so tudi pesnitve, ki izkazujejo pesnikovo pripadnost slovenstvu in danes morda celo bolj kot v pesnikovem času spodbujajo pripadnost slovenstvu in vplivajo na slovensko osveščenost. Izpostavimo pesnitev o čedajski slovenski kraljici Vidi, ki naj bi se zoperstavila hunskemu vojskovodju Atili (kar je sicer anachronizem), pa pesmi o umeščanju koroških knezov, o celjskih grofih, kmečkih uporih, Trubarju, Prešernu in še marsičem. Zgovorna in daljnovidna pa sta njegova verza: »Kaj uk je zgodovine? – Bodočnost je mladine«; »Napredek in prosveta, to naša bo osveta!«

## ***Motives from Slovene History in the Poetic Opus of Anton Aškerc (1856–1912)***

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The Slovene poet Anton Aškerc, a priest by vocation and a Ljubljana town archivist by profession, is among the poets who have already received a lot of attention from literary history, as his opus is included in the *Collected Works of Slovene Poets and Writers*. The contents of his themes have been analysed in great detail in commentaries and individual literary studies, even more so his artistic range and the coeval, rather critical response to his works. Many of them found inspiration in a broad spectrum of historical events from the fourth to the nineteenth centuries. First, this paper will chronologically classify and present Aškerc's poems. However, the key question this paper will attempt to answer is: which of his poetic themes can be considered part of 'nation- and state-building' in Slovenia and Europe? Regarding the broader 'extra-Slovene' world, Aškerc, like many of his contemporaries, was aware of the Slovenes' inclusion into the Slavic community. Yet there are also numerous poems that demonstrate the poet's belonging to a Sloveneness and today, perhaps even more than in his time, encourage this belonging and influence this awareness. We can set out the poem about the Slovene Queen Vida from Cividale del Friuli, who supposedly resisted the Hun warlord Attila (which is an anachronism), poems about the enthronement of the Dukes of Carinthia, about the Counts of Cilli, peasant revolts, Trubar, Prešeren and many others. Two of his verses are especially revealing and farsighted: »What is the learning of history? – The future of the youth«; »Progress and education, they shall be our vengeance!«

**LEPA VIDA, MARTIN KRPAN IN PETER KLEPEC V ODNOSU DO TUJEGA IN DRUGEGA: NA PRIMERIH IZ SLOVENSKE KNJIŽEVNOSTI (1850–1950)**

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Vse do nastanka slovenske države sta bila jezik in književnost ključnega pomena za konstituiranje in ohranjanje narodne identitete. Pri konstrukciji nacionalnih mitov kot figur kulturnega spomina ima literatura lahko celo vodilno vlogo. Pri Slovencih so spričo pomanjkanja junaških epov vlogo nacionalnih mitov in simbolov, ki so v okviru kulturne semiotike razumljeni kot kondenzatorji kulturnega spomina, prevzeli nekateri folklorni in literarni liki: Lepa Vida, Kralj Matjaž, Peter Klepec, Kurent, Martin Krpan, Črtomir idr. V prispevku bo predstavljeno, kako se v različnih reprezentacijah slovenske pripovedne proze v času od 1850 do 1950 zapisujejo nacionalni miti Lepa Vida, Martin Krpan in Peter Klepec, v katerih se je izkristaliziralo bistvo slovenstva, in kako ga ti simbolni liki v posameznih obdobjih od realizma do socialnega realizma razlagajo, instrumentalizirajo in konstruirajo. Ker se vsaka identiteta vzpostavlja v razmerju do tujega, bomo opazovali, kako se v omenjenih nacionalnih mitih in simbolih različnih pisateljev (Fran Levstik, Robert Košar, Josip Jurčič, Ivan Cankar, Bogomir Magajna, France Bevk, Stanko Vuk, Boris Pahor idr.) v kontekstu zgodovinskih sprememb, literarnoprogramskih in estetskih usmeritev vzpostavlja različne strategije in odnosi do tujega. Pri tem izhajamo iz trojnega razumevanja tujega (tuje v geografskem smislu, kot nasprotje našemu in kot povsem neznano) in različnih modelov tujosti, ki se gibljejo v razponu od popolnega zapiranja pred tujim do različnih oblik sprejemanja tujega.

***Lepa Vida, Martin Krpan and Peter Klepec in Relation to the Foreign and the Other: Cases from Slovene Literature (1850–1950)***

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Until the foundation of the Slovene state, language and literature were of key importance for the constitution and preservation of nation identity. Literature can even have a leading role in the construction of national myths as figures of cultural memory. With the Slovenes, due to a lack of heroic epics, the role of national myths and symbols, understood as condensers of cultural memory in cultural semiotics, was taken over by certain folk and literary figures: Lepa/Fair Vida, Kralj/King Matjaž, Peter Klepec, Kurent, Martin Krpan, Črtomir, etc. This paper will demonstrate how the national myths Lepa Vida, Martin Krpan and Peter Klepec, in which the essence of Sloveneness was crystallised, were inscribed in various representations of Slovene narrative prose between 1850 and 1950 and how this essence was explained, instrumentalized and constructed by these symbolic figures in specific time periods, from realism to social realism. As every identity is established in relationship to the Foreign, we will observe how in the abovementioned national myths and symbols of various authors (Fran Levstik, Robert Košar, Josip Jurčič, Ivan Cankar, Bogomir Magajna, France Bevk, Stanko Vuk, Boris Pahor, etc.) different strategies and relations to the Foreign were established in the context of historical change, literary-programmatic and aesthetic directions. Our observation is predicated on a triple understanding of the Foreign (in the geographic sense, as the opposite to Ours and as the completely unknown) and on various models of foreignness, ranging from the complete closing-off from the Foreign to various forms of its acceptance.

**KAKO NAS PIŠEJO BUTALCI: BUTALCI FRANA MILČINSKEGA, NJIHOVA RECEPCIJA IN VPLIVI NA SLOVENSKI PROSTOR**

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Slovenska književnost je eden od pomembnih sooblikovalcev slovenskega kulturnega prostora in samorazumevanja posameznika znotraj njega in z ozirom na ta prostor. Izhajam iz hipoteze, da je eno od ključnih besedil, ki so nas napisala, *Butalci* Frana Milčinskega. Najprej predstavim primarno bralsko in kritičko recepcijo *Butalcev*: bralci so jih hitro vzeli za svoje in iz literarnega sveta so stopili v druge medije, v jezik, v folkloro itd. Temeljit literarno-teoretski pretres pa so doživeli šele v zadnjih desetletjih. Barbara Simoniti je v njih prepoznała nonsens besedilo, kar vsaj delno pojasni fenomen *Butalcev*, njihovo večplastno in brezčasno nagovarjanje bralcev. Iz analize teh pristopov izhaja moj hermenevtični pretres *Butalcev* v odnosu do njihovega prostora in bralcev, v katerem se oprem tudi na filozofski pretres smešnega in upoštevam ilustracijo kot specifično vrsto interpretacije besedila. Milčinskijevi postopki so pogosto povezani z elementi ljudskega pripovedništva: od jezika, do motivike in strukture ljudskih zgodb. *Butalci* so latentno filozofski tekst, ki brez varoval izpostavlja nekatera brezčasna eksistencialna in esencialna vprašanja – od vloge drugega, do vloge junaka, odnosa do oblasti in svetega. Pokažejo se kot ambivalenten tekst, kjer vsaka analiza pušča še nek ostanek, ki bistveno sodoloča kompleksno umestitev *Butalcev* v slovenskem prostoru.

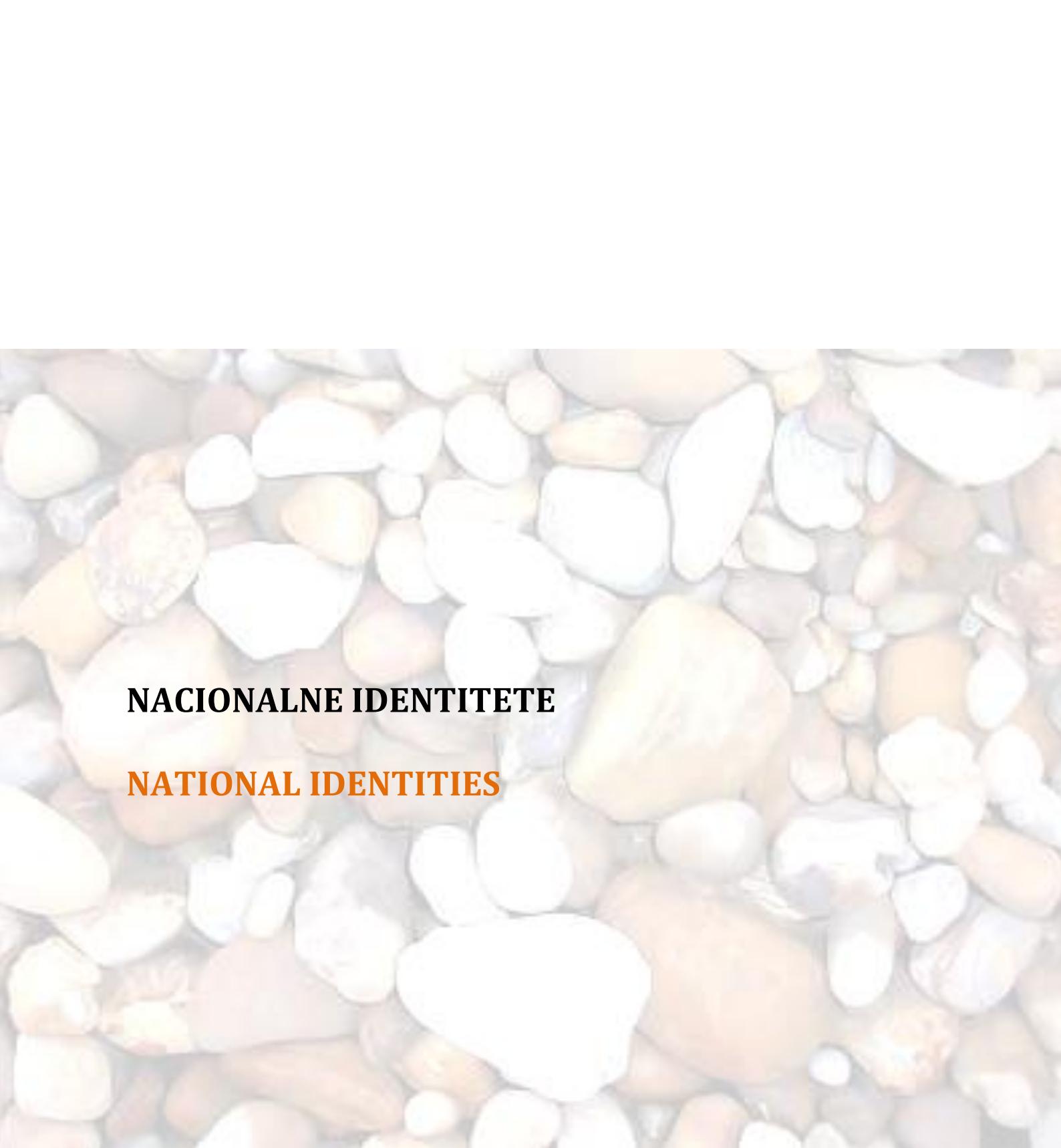
***How Butalci Write Us: Fran Milčinski's Butalci, Their Reception and Influence on the Slovene Space***

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Slovene literature co-defines Slovene cultural space and the self-understanding of the individual within and in relation to this space. I follow the thesis that *Butalci* by Fran Milčinski is one of the key texts that wrote us. First, I present the primary reading and critical reception of *Butalci*: readers received the eponymous protagonists as their own and they soon stepped from the literary world into other media, language, folklore, etc. However, the work only received a thorough literary-theoretical analysis in recent decades. Barbara Simoniti recognized it as a nonsense text, which at least partially explains the phenomenon of *Butalci*, their multilayered and timeless addressing of readers. My hermeneutic analysis of *Butalci* in relation to their space and readers originates in these approaches, wherein I also lean on the philosophical analysis of the humorous and consider illustration as a specific kind of text interpretation. Milčinski's procedures are often linked to elements of folk storytelling: from the language to themes and the structure of folktales. *Butalci* are a latently philosophical text that exposes some timeless existential and essential questions – from the role of the other to the role of the hero, attitudes towards authority and the holy. The work is shown to be an ambivalent text, with each analysis leaving some remainder, which essentially co-defines the complex positioning of *Butalci* in the Slovene space.



**NACIONALNE IDENTITETE**

**NATIONAL IDENTITIES**

## **IMPERIALNE MATERE IN SLOVENSKA NACIONALNA IDENTITETA**

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Prispevek analizira razmerje med spolom in nacionalizmom v primeru transnacionalnih »imperialnih mater«. Pojem imperialne matere opisuje zakonske sopotnice vladarjev večnacionalnih imperijev, ki so hkrati nosilke simbolne reprezentacije političnega telesa in njegove spolne reprodukcije. Študija se osredotoča na tri imperialne matere v zgodovinski formaciji slovenskega naroda: Elizabeto, soprogo Franca Jožefa iz obdobja habsburške monarhije; Jovanko, soproga Josipa Broza iz obdobja socialistične federativne Jugoslavije; in Melanio, soprogo ameriškega predsednika in »prvo damo« ZDA (kot svetovne imperialne sile) iz aktualne zgodovinske situacije post-socialistične nacije. Teoretsko se vprašanje naslanja na feministično teorijo nacionalizma, pri čemer je v ospredju kritično prevrednotenje vprašanja »etnične« komponente reprodukcije nacionalne identitete.

### ***Imperial Mothers and the Slovene National Identity***

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This paper analyzes the relationship between gender and nationalism in the case of transnational 'imperial mothers'. The concept of imperial mothers denotes spouses of rulers of multinational empires who are also carriers of the symbolic representation of the political body and its sexual reproduction. This study focuses on three imperial mothers from the historical formation of the Slovene nation: Elisabeth, the wife of Francis Joseph from the period of the Habsburg monarchy; Jovanka, the spouse of Josip Broz from the era of the Socialist federative Yugoslavia; and Melania, the wife of the US president and the First Lady of the United States (as the world's imperial power) from the current historical situation of a post-Socialist nation. This issue is theoretically based in the feminist theory of nationalism, with the critical re-evaluation of the issue of the 'ethnic' component of the reproduction of national identity at the forefront.

**IDEOLOGICAL ADAPTATIONS OF THE FAIRY TALE OF HANSEL AND GRETEL DURING SLOVENIA'S SOCIALIST PERIOD**

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*Hansel and Gretel* is one of the so-called classic fairy tales that circulated across Europe for centuries and in many versions. Today, this fairy tale is often attributed to the Brothers Grimm, yet it has to be taken into account that versions of this tale have already been recorded before them in other cultural contexts and that the brothers published seven versions of their *Children's and Household Tales*, considerably changing the tale of Hansel and Gretel as well. The author argues that regarding fairy tales it makes no sense to speak of originals in the sense of original version, but that the model that corresponds to folk tales is a matrix adapted by each rendition, unique to given ideological or socio-political circumstances. In many aspects these determine a fairy tale's circulation. This fact has generally been neglected by existing studies of fairy tales. Folk tales are part of the distribution of the sensible, consisting of a priori laws that determine what can be done, as Jacques Rancière defines this politics of distribution, wherein the allocation of sensible demarcations is comprised of forms of communal inclusion and exclusion. With case studies of the versions the fairy tale of Hansel and Gretel from Slovenia's Socialist period the author will address the issue of how the specific political-cultural context dictated the politics of the distribution of the sensual, as well as how this changed in the transition period into late capitalism.

**Ideološke prilagoditve pravljice o Janku in Metki v obdobju socializma na Slovenskem**

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*Janko in Metka* je ena od t. i. klasičnih pravljic, ki so stoletja krožile po Evropi ter doživljale različne inačice. Danes se ta pravljica pogosto pripisuje bratoma Grimm, vendar je pri tem pomembno upoštevati, da so bile inačice te pravljice evidentirane že prej v drugih kulturnih kontekstih ter da sta Grimma izdala sedem inačic *Pravljic za otroke in dom*, pri čemer sta precej spremenjala tudi pravljico o Janku in Metki. Avtorica zagovarja stališče, da pri pravljicah ni smiselnogovoriti o izvirniku v smislu prvotne inačice pravljic, temveč je model, ki ustreza ljudskim pravljicam, matrika, ki jo vsaka posamična izdaja, ki je edinstvena, prilagaja danim ideološkim ali družbeno-političnim okoliščinam, ki pogojujejo kroženje pravljice v mnogih pogledih. Obstojče študije o pravljicah so večinoma zanemarjale to dejstvo. Ljudske pripovedi sodijo med distribucijo čutnega, ki je sestavljen iz *a priori* zakonov, ki določajo, kaj je mogoče narediti, kot Jacques Rancière opredeljuje to politiko distribuiranja, pri kateri porazdelitev smiselnih razmejitev vključuje oblike vključevanja in izključenosti v skupnosti. Avtorica bo prek študije primerov inačic pravljic o Janku in Metki iz obdobja socializma na Slovenskem obravnavala vprašanje, kako je specifični politično-kulturni kontekst narekoval politiko distribuiranja čutnega, pa tudi, kako se je ta spremenila v obdobju tranzicije v pozni kapitalizem.

## **CONSTRUCTION OF POST-YUGOSLAV IDENTITIES IN CONTEMPORARY SLOVENE CINEMATOGRAPHY**

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This paper discusses the construction of Slovene national identity in relation to remembering the period of Socialist Yugoslavia and its dissolution in the context of contemporary Slovene cinematography (1991–2021). Based on an overview of Slovene cultural policies connected to film production in the selected period, we re-examine the symbolic position of history, especially the history of the Socialist period, in contemporary Slovene films. The dynamic of forgetting and remembering Socialism and Yugoslav identity is presented with the help of an in-depth analysis of select representative cases: *Outsider* (1997), the most popular Slovene feature film of the 1990s, the mockumentary *Houston, We Have a Problem!* (2016) and the co-production *Parada* (2011). Representation analysis is complemented by an analysis of the critical and popular national and international visibility of the selected works. The films are thus discussed as repositories and re-examiners of national and regional policies, trauma, and reinterpretations of history and emotions, which are not only coded in the texts proper, but also in the context of practices that encompass their production and reception.

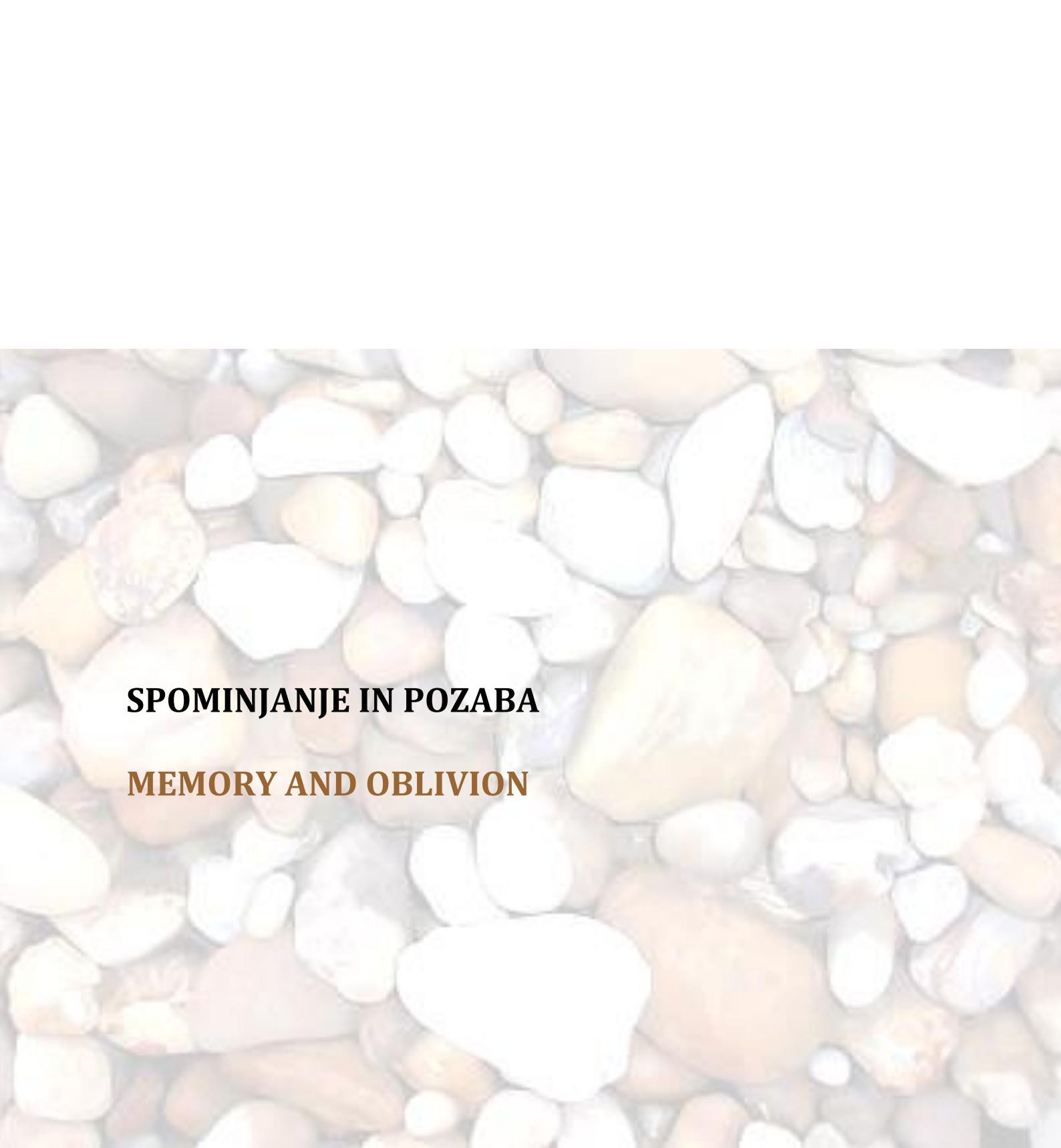
## ***Konstrukcija post-jugoslovanskih identitet v sodobni slovenski kinematografiji***

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V prispevku naslavljava vprašanje konstrukcije slovenske nacionalne identitete v razmerju do spominjanja na obdobje socialistične Jugoslavije in njenega razpada v kontekstu sodobne slovenske kinematografije (1991–2021). Naslanjajoč se na pregled slovenskih kulturnih politik, vezanih na filmsko produkcijo v izbranem obdobju, preizpršava simbolno mesto zgodovine in posebej zgodovine, vezane na obdobje socializma, v sodobnem slovenskem filmu. Dinamiko pozabljanja in spominjanja na socializem in na jugoslovansko identiteto nadalje predstaviva prek poglobljene analize izbranih reprezentativnih primerov – v devetdesetih letih najbolj gledanega slovenskega celovečerca *Outsider* (1997), mockumentarca *Houston, imamo problem!* (2016) in koprodukcijskega filma *Parada* (2011). Analizo reprezentacij poveževo z analizo kritičke in popularne nacionalne in mednarodne odmevnosti izbranih del, pri tem pa filme obravnavava kot odlagališča in preizprševalce nacionalnih in regionalnih politik, travm, reinterpretacij zgodovine in emocij, ki niso zakodirane samo v samih tekstih, temveč tudi v kontekstu praks, ki obkrožajo njihovo produkcijo in recepcijo.



**SPOMINJANJE IN POZABA**

**MEMORY AND OBLIVION**

***V SILJENI MOLK IN IZBRIS SPOMINA V JUGOSLAVIJI PO DRUGI SVETOVNI VOJNI: PRIMER TABORIŠČA BOROVNICA  
v SLOVENIJI***

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V socialistični Jugoslaviji je po drugi svetovni vojni kolektivno sprejeta in vsiljena naracija postavila narodnoosvobodilni boj za osrednji vir legitimnosti, medtem ko nasilje, ki so ga partizani izvajali nad sovražniki, zlasti ob koncu vojne, ni bilo vključeno v uradno naracijo o »čistem« partizanskem boju. Na tovrstna vprašanja je bil vsiljen molk, propaganda, ki je promovirala uradno kolektivno naracijo, pa je poskušala izbrisati in potisniti v pozabo spomin na povojske zločine. Tako je bilo tudi v primeru spomina povezanega z nekdanjim taboriščem za italijanske ujetnike, ki so bili večinoma aretirani po osvobodenju Trsta maja 1945, v Dolu pri Borovnici pri Ljubljani, t. i. »taborišču Borovnica«. Tekom raziskave sem opravila pogovore z več pričevalci, ki so kot otroci ali mladostniki živelii v bližini taborišča. Desetletja je bilo za tiste, s katerimi sem se pogovarjala, enako nepredstavlivo, da bi javno spregovorili o taborišču ali o tem, kaj se je tam dogajalo, kot je bilo to nepredstavljivo za celotno skupnost. Pri poglobitvi raziskave sem ugotovila, da v arhivih bivše Jugoslavije ni najti skoraj nobenega pisnega dokaza, da je taborišče kdaj obstajalo. Prizadevanja jugoslovanskih oblasti, da bi prikrile svojo odgovornost, so očitno pripeljala do javne pozabe. Toda ali je res tako? Taborišče Borovnica v obdobju socialistične Jugoslavije ni bilo del nacionalnega kolektivnega spomina ali naracije. Zagotovo pa je bilo in je še vedno del individualnih spominov in lokalnega kolektivnega spomina, kljub vsiljenemu molku.

***Imposed Silence and Cancellation of Memory in Post-Second World War Yugoslavia: the Case of Borovnica Camp in Slovenia***

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In socialist Yugoslavia the collectively accepted and imposed narrative after the Second World war placed the National Liberation Struggle as a central source of legitimacy, while the violence inflicted by the partisans on their enemies, especially at the end of the war, was not included in the official narrative of the 'pure' partisan struggle. Silence was imposed on those subjects, while propaganda promoting the official collective narrative tried to eliminate and cast into oblivion the memory of post-war crimes. This was also the case of memory related to the former camp for Italian prisoners, most of whom were arrested after the liberation of Trieste in May 1945, in Dol pri Borovnici near Ljubljana, the so-called 'Borovnica camp'. During the course of my research I interviewed several witnesses who lived in the vicinity of the camp as children or young adults. For decades it was as unthinkable for those I interviewed to speak publicly about the camp or what happened there as it was for the whole community. In broadening my research, I have found almost no written evidence in post-Yugoslav archives that the camp had ever existed. The efforts on the part of Yugoslav authorities to hide their responsibility has apparently led to public oblivion. But did it really? Borovnica camp was not part of the national collective memory or the narrative in the period of socialist Yugoslavia. However, it certainly was and still is a part of individual memories and the local collective memory, despite imposed silence.

***DISKUSIJA O NACIONALNI ZAVESTI MED TARASOM KERMAUNERJEM, IVANOM URBANČIČEM IN BORISOM PAHORJEM V ZAČETKU SEDEMDESTIH LET PREJŠNJEGA STOLETJA***

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Zgodovinski razvoj slovenske državnosti zadeva politične, kulturne, verske, gospodarske idr. vidike, ki so se lahko pokrivali, lahko pa so stopali v medsebojna nasprotja. Kot zelo zapleten primer lahko štejemo diskusijo o slovenski samobitnosti in nacionalnem statusu, ki se je razvila v začetku 70-ih let prejšnjega stoletja; in sicer v intelektualnih krogih, ki bi jih lahko šteli kot opozicijo tedenji socialistični oblasti. Pri tem ne moremo trditi, da je bila ta oblast indiferentna do nacionalnega vprašanja, vendar pa ni uspela zagotoviti osnovnih demokratičnih standardov, ki bi Slovencem omogočili polno bivanje v okviru tedenja Jugoslavije. Naša obravnava se bo opirala na diskusijo, ki so jo sprožili eseji Tarasa Kermaunerja o slovenskih arhetipih in na katero je odgovoril Ivan Urbančič, ki je proučeval tako problem slovenstva s filozofske perspektive, kakor tudi položaj naroda do nacije, kot je to formuliral Dušan Pirjevec v delu *Vprašanje o poeziji, vprašanje naroda*. Posebej relevantno je, da se je v diskusijo vključil Boris Pahor, ki je sicer deloval v Trstu, in prispeval svoj pogled »od zunaj« na pojmovanja, ki so v diskusiji izstopila v zvezi z narodnim zavedanjem in delovanjem. V zaključku bo podana ocena, kako je na podlagi interpretativne rekonstrukcije omenjene diskusije mogoče določiti prispevek kritičnih intelektualcev k procesu osamosvajanja Slovenije in njene demokratizacije ter opozoriti na razhajanja v stališčih, ki so ostala problemsko odprta vse do danes.

***The Discussion of National Consciousness Between Taras Kermauner, Ivan Urbančič and Boris Pahor in the Early 1970s***

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The historical development of Slovene statehood concerns political, cultural, religious, economic, etc. aspects that could overlap or contradict each other. A very complex example was the discussion of Slovene independence and national status, which developed in the early 1970s in intellectual circles that can be regarded as the opposition to the then Socialist authorities. While we cannot claim that these authorities were indifferent towards the national question, they were unable to ensure the basic democratic standards that would enable Slovenes a 'full living' in the Yugoslav framework of the day. Our examination will lean on the discussion triggered by the essays of Taras Kermauner on Slovene archetypes that was answered by Ivan Urbančič, who studied the issue of Sloveneness from the philosophical perspective as well as the Slovenes' position towards the nation, as it was formulated by Dušan Pirjevec in *Vprašanje o poeziji, vprašanje naroda* (*The Question of Poetry, the Question of the Nation*). It is especially relevant that Boris Pahor from Trieste entered the discussion, contributing his view 'from the outside' on perceptions that stood out in the discussion regarding national consciousness and action. In the conclusion it will be evaluated how the contribution of critical intellectuals to the process of Slovenia's independence and democratization, predicated on an interpretative reconstruction of this discussion, can be defined. The differences in viewpoints that have remained open issues until today will also be pointed out.

## **KULTURA SPOMINJANJA IN PROCES OSAMOSVAJANJA SLOVENIJE: PRIMER REVIE Mladina**

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Prispevek analizira vlogo Mladine – revije, ki se je v kolektivni spomin nacije vpisala kot eden izmed pomembnih akterjev v procesih demokratizacije in osamosvajanja – z vidika njenega prispevka k reartikulaciji slovenskega družbeno-intergrativnega diskurza v interregnumu osemdesetih let. Avtor v ta namen, na osnovi teoretičnih izhodišč kulture spominjanja (Aleida Assmann, Todor Kuljić) in z analizo vseh izvodov revije, ki so izšli v tistem desetletju, razčleni vlogo Mladine v procesih demokratizacije interpretacij slovenske in jugoslovanske (polpretekle) zgodovine, posebno pozornost pa nameni tistim vsebinam, ki v odnosu do slovenskih »krajev spomina« (Philippe Nora) zadevajo možnosti in pasti v poenotenu slovenstva na esencialističnih temeljih. Na tej osnovi v sklepnu naslovi teoretično izzivalno in aktualno vprašanje o zmožnosti in nezmožnosti liberalizma kot politične filozofije v refleksiji tistih aspektov skupnostnega diskurza, ki so utemeljeni v pred- ali postrazsvetljenskih doktrinah.

## ***Cultural Memory and Slovenia's Independence Process: the Case of the Mladina Magazine***

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This paper analyzes the role of Mladina – a Slovene weekly that entered the collective memory of the nation as an important actor in the processes of democratization and achieving independence – in terms of its contribution to the rearticulation of the Slovene integrative discourse in the interregnum of the 1980s. By employing the theory of the culture of remembrance (Aleida Assmann, Todor Kuljić), the author analyzes all editions of Mladina published in the 1980s to examine the role of Mladina in the processes of democratizing interpretations of Slovene and Yugoslav (recent) history, but also taking into account – in relation to Slovene 'sites of memory' (Philippe Nora) – Mladina's reflections on the possibilities and pitfalls of the unification of Sloveneness on essentialist foundations. On this basis, in the conclusion the author addresses the theoretically challenging and topical issue of the ability and disability of liberalism as a political philosophy in the reflection of those aspects of community discourse that are grounded in pre- or post-Enlightenment doctrines.

**POLITIKE SPOMINJANJA IN ODNOS SLOVENCEV DO SPOMENIKOV, KOMEMORACIJ IN SODOBNE ZGODOVINE**

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Prispevek se posveča vprašanju razdeljenega spomina v Sloveniji, ki je nastal po osamosvojitvi države. Posledice ostrih javnih debat na to temo so bile izmerjene z javnomnenjsko raziskavo. Prispevek predstavlja rezultate telefonske raziskave o komemorativnih praksah v Sloveniji, ki jo je Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper izvedlo leta 2018. V odgovorih na našo javnomnenjsko raziskavo so se zrcalili tudi levičarski pogledi, da protifašizem predstavlja temelj Zahodne Evrope in da je partizanski odpor rešil narod pred gotovo pogubo pod nacifašistično okupacijo. Ugotavljamo, da se anketiranci z levim ali sredinskim ideološkim prepričanjem pogosteje udeležujejo komemorativnih dogodkov in so bolje organizirani kot anketiranci z desno politično pripadnostjo. Vendar je treba poudariti, da si večina anketirancev ne želi izkorisčanja preteklosti za politične namene, ki delijo nacijo.

***Politics of Memory and the Attitude of Slovenes towards Monuments, Commemorations, and Contemporary History***

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This paper is concerned with the issue of divided memory in Slovenia that emerged in the wake of its independence. The effects of the heated public debates on this issue were gauged through a public opinion poll. The paper presents the results of a telephone survey about commemorative practices in Slovenia, conducted by the Science and Research Centre Koper in 2018. Left-wing views that anti-fascist struggle represents the foundations of Western Europe and that Partisan resistance saved the nation from certain demise under Nazi-Fascist occupation are also reflected in the opinions of the participants in our opinion poll. We find that respondents of left- and centre-orientated ideological persuasion attend commemorative events more frequently and are better organised than respondents of right-wing political affiliation. However, it should be emphasised that the vast majority of respondents do not wish for the past to be exploited for political purposes that divide the nation.



**MED ZGODOVINO IN KULTURO SPOMINJANJA 2**

**BETWEEN HISTORY AND CULTURAL MEMORY 2**

**MED PONOSOM IN OBJOKOVANJEM: VZORCI RAZUMEVANJA POKRISTJANJEVANJA V NACIONALNIH ZGODOVINOPISIJAH V SLOVENIJI IN IZBRANIH EVROPSKIH OKOLIJAH**

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Sprejem in uveljavitev krščanstva sodita v praktično vseh evropskih okolijih med konstitutivne dogodke srednjeveške zgodovine in sta bila pogosto povezana tudi z oblikovanjem zgodnjih državnih tvorb, kar temu dogajanju zagotavlja pomembno mesto med gradniki narodne in državne istovetnosti. Zato je bil njun pomen v nacionalnih zgodovinopisijah vsaj do sredine 20. stoletja izjemno velik. Odnos slovenske historiografije do zgodnjesrednjeveških pokristjanjevalnih procesov je v tem oziru izjemno zanimiv. Po mnenju avtorja prispevka se je zlasti pod vplivom impresivne Prešernove pesniške vizije v *Krstu pri Savici* na eni in dejstva, da je poglaviti vir za kristjanizacijo salzburška (in s tem v razumevanju 19. stoletja »nemška«) *Conversio*, oblikoval večinsko zadržani odnos do procesa sprejema krščanstva, saj je bil razumljen kot dejavnik izgube politične samostojnosti Karantanije. Tudi zaradi tega se znajdemo pred paradoksom, ko slovensko zgodovinopisje v okolju, kjer je bila prevladujoča oblika krščanstva zgodovinsko skoraj povsem latinska, v glavnem »objokuje« premajhno vlogo vzhodnih vplivov. Od tu se odpirajo možnosti za plodne primerjave na eni strani s stanjem na Slovaškem, kjer je kljub prevladi katoliškega krščanstva navezava na cirilmetodovsko dediščino izjemno izražena, na drugi strani pa s stanjem na Hrvaškem, kjer je prav proces pokristjanjevanja pod zahodno frankovsko taktirko večinsko dojet kot blagodejen odmik od vzhodnih (bizantinskih) miselnih vzorcev. Za podporo nekaterim ugotovitvam bodo v prispevku ilustrativno pritegnjeni še posamezni zgledi iz drugih slovanskih okolij in iz madžarskega.

***Between Pride and Lamentation: Patterns of Understanding Christianisation in National Historiographies in Slovenia and Select European Settings***

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In practically every European region the reception and assertion of Christianity is one of the constitutive events of medieval history and was often linked to early state formation, which ensures that these events have an important place among the building stones of national and state identity. Hence, its immense importance in national histories at least up to the mid-twentieth century. In this regard, the attitude of Slovene historiography to the early medieval processes of Christianisation is very interesting. It is the author's opinion that it was particularly the influence of Prešeren's impressive poetic vision in *The Baptism at the Savica* on one hand, and the fact that the main source on the Christianisation was the Salzburg (and, thus, in nineteenth-century understanding, »German«) *Conversio* on the other, that formed the generally reserved attitude towards the process of the reception of Christianity, since it was regarded as a factor in the loss of Carantania's political independence. It is also due to this that we find ourselves facing the paradox in which Slovene historiography, in a setting where the predominant form of Christianity was almost completely Latin, generally 'laments' the insufficient role of Eastern influence. This opens up possibilities for fruitful comparisons with, on the one hand, the situation in Slovakia, where the connection to the legacy of Cyril and Methodius is exceptionally pronounced despite the dominance of Catholic Christianity and, on the other hand, with the situation in Croatia, where it is precisely the Christianisation process under the Western, Frankish lead that is generally regarded as a beneficial departure from the Eastern (Byzantine) patterns of thought. In order to support certain findings, this paper will also include individual cases from other Slavic settings and from Hungary for illustration.

**KOSEZI MED ZGODOVINOPISJEM IN KULTURO SPOMINJANJA: (RE)KONSTRUKCIJA, (RE)INTERPRETACIJE IN RECEPCIJA**

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Kosezi ali *Edlinge* že več kot stoletje burijo duhove v slovenski in avstrijski nacionalni zgodovini ter kulturi spominjanja. Medtem ko avstrijska historiografija zagovarja zlasti germansko poreklo svobodnega srednjeveškega družbenega sloja, je v slovenski uveljavljen kot del karantanske družbe, ki naj bi preživel še v (zgodnjem) novi vek. Posledično v slovenskem nacionalnem imaginariju tvori pomembno kontinuiteto s »prvo slovensko državo«. Članek je osredotočen na (re)konstrukcijo in recepcijo besede kosez ter družbenega sloja, ki naj bi ga označevala, v slovenski znanosti in kulturi spominjanja. Analiza pokaže, da so kosezi v slovenski nacionalni imaginarij vstopili predvsem preko povezave z ustoličevanjem koroških vojvod. Vloga svobodnih slovenskih kmetov v srednjeveškem obredu je bila odkrita šele dve desetletji pred (re)konstrukcijo besede kosez v letih 1912/13 na podlagi toponimov in priimkov iz 15. oziroma 16. stoletja kot domnevni slovenski izvirnik za nemški *Edlinger*. Beseda kosez v ljudskem spominu ni izpričana, njena (re)konstrukcija pa je bila prepozna za vključitev v izgradnjo naroda v 19. stoletju, obdobju najplodnejše konstrukcije nacionalnih mitov. Kosezi, skozi svojo vlogo v obredu ustoličevanja, ki naj bi izviral v Karantaniji, so zato šele v času med svetovnima vojnami v slovenskem zgodovinopisju in filologiji postali del enega ključnih gradnikov slovenskega naroda in države. V slovenski kulturi spominjanja so se uveljavili po drugi svetovni vojni, predvsem z recepcijo poljudnoznanstvenih del in šolskih učbenikov, utemeljenih zlasti na interpretacijah vodilnega povojnega slovenskega medievista, Boga Grafenauerja.

***The Kosezi Between Historiography and Cultural Memory: (Re)Construction, Reception and (Re)Interpretations***

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For well over a century now, the enigmatic *kosezi* (Svn.), or *Edlinge* (Ger.), continue to create agitation in Slovene and Austrian national histories and cultural memories. While Austrian historiography largely advocates for a Germanic origin of this free medieval social stratum, in the Slovene it is established as an integral part of Carantanian society, said to have persevered until the (early) modern period. Hence, in the Slovene national imagination, it provides an important continuity with the 'first Slovene state'. This paper focuses on the (re)construction and reception of the word *kosez*, and the stratum it allegedly designated, in Slovene science and cultural memory. The analysis shows that the *kosezi* (pl.) entered the Slovene national imagination especially due to their key role in the enthronement of the dukes of Carinthia. The role of free Slovene peasants in the medieval ritual was discovered only two decades before the (re)construction of the word *kosez* in 1912/13 from fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century toponyms and surnames, as the supposed old Slovene original for the German *Edlinger*. The word *kosez* was unknown in folk memory and its (re)construction was too late to be included in nineteenth-century nation building, the most prolific time for the construction of national myths. Thus, it was only in the interwar period that Slovene historiography and philology made the *kosezi*, through their role in the enthronement ritual supposedly originating in Carantania, an integral part of one of the key elements of Slovene nation and state building. After World War Two, the *kosezi* were further established in Slovene cultural memory, particularly through the reception of popular-scientific works and school textbooks, predicated mainly on the interpretations of the leading post-war Slovene medievalist Bogo Grafenauer.

## **DRUŽBENA NASPROTJA IN UPIRANJE V NOVOVEŠKEM PREKMURJU**

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Na podlagi objav o preteklosti Prekmurja (tudi s Porabjem) je vsekakor že možno podati celovitejšo podobo ostrine tukajšnjih novoveških družbenih nasprotij in upiranj. V njem je precejšnjo večino prebivalstva tvoril slovanskojezični živelj. Od obdobja Matije Korvina do marčne nacionalne revolucije v letih 1848/49 – doba nekaj izrazitih državnih katastrof – so se, tako kot povsod drugod na Madžarskem, tudi v Prekmurju dogajali konkretni primeri družbenih nasprotij in upiranja. Ni šlo le za nešteta individualna in skupinska upiranja ljudi iz vrst osebno podložnih slojev ter prebivalstva tukajšnjih trgov njihovim gospodarjem, kar je bil le najočitnejši vidik nasprotij. Prišteti jim je treba nasprotja znotraj vseh družbenih plasti: med samim kmečkim, in tudi med urbanim prebivalstvom, ter nujno med obema slojema; nadalje med obema slojema in slojem nižjega ter srednjega plemstva; kot tudi med plemstvom samim, še posebej konkretno med predstavniki tanke najvišje, veleposestniške plasti. Primeri teh pojavov iz prostora so številni in raznovrstni. Zavoljo do sedaj manjšega števila slovenskojezičnih objav o starejši preteklosti prostora (medtem ko so madžarskojezične težko dostopne širši javnosti), se spoznanja o stopnji ostrine tukajšnjih družbenih nasprotij in upiranj niso mogla konkretneje vtisniti v zavest slovenske zgodovinopisne stroke, kot tudi sploh celotne slovenske družbe. Kar pa ne pomeni, da jih ni bilo. Nasprotno, od najstarejših vesti o upiranju ter hudih posledicah le-tega iz sredine 14. stoletja v Porabju se rdeča nit dogajanju z nezmanjšano intenzivnostjo vleče skozi obdobja. Poročila v virih so se iz generacije v generacijo količinsko stopnjevala. Slovenski živelj na skrajnem severovzhodu etničnega prostora je v novem veku doživljal enako težke in še bistveno težje preizkušnje kot ljudje v osrednjeslovenskem prostoru.

## ***Social Antagonisms and Revolts in Modern-Era Prekmurje***

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Predicated on publications on Prekmurje's (and Porabje's) past, a more comprehensive picture of the severity of modern-era social antagonisms and revolts in the region can be established. Slavic-speaking inhabitants formed a substantial majority of the region's population. Like the rest of Hungary, Prekmurje experienced cases of social antagonism and revolt from the era of Matthias Corvinus to the March Revolution of 1848/49. These cases were not only the countless individual and collective revolts of serfs and inhabitants of local market towns against their lords, which was just the most evident aspect of social antagonisms, since conflicts within all social strata have to be taken into account as well: among peasants, among the urban population and, inevitably, between both classes; further between them and the lower and middle nobility; among nobles themselves, particularly among members of the highest thin class of big landowners. Cases of these conflicts in the region are numerous and diverse. Due to the hitherto smaller number of Slovene publications about Premurje's distant past (as Hungarian publications are not easily accessible to the broader Slovene public) findings about the intensity of social antagonism and revolt in the region could not have left a notable impression on Slovene historiography nor the Slovene society as a whole, but this does not mean that they did not exist. To the contrary, since the oldest reports of revolts and the grave consequences thereof from the mid-fourteenth-century Porabje the common thread of such events runs through the centuries with unabated speed. The number of reports in the sources increased from generation to generation. The Slovene population in the far northeast of the ethnic territory experienced ordeals that were just as hard or even much worse than those of the inhabitants of the central Slovene territories.



# **PRAVOTVORNOST IN DRŽAVOTVORNOST**

## **LAWMAKING AND STATE-BUILDING**

## ***PRAVOTVORNOST SLOVENCEV: OD LJUDSKEGA PRAVA DO VODENJA EVROPSKE UNIJE***

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V drugi polovici 19. stoletja so si v duhu narodnozavednega gibanja slovenski pravni zgodovinarji (predvsem Babnik in Hudovernik), ki so doštudirali pravo v nemško govorečem okolju, prizadevali dokazati, da so tudi Slovenci pravotvoren narod. Pod okriljem njihovih naslednikov (Dolenc, Goršič) se je rodila t. i. pravno-slavistična smer pojmovanja slovenskega prava. Ta se je ukvarjala predvsem z »ljudskim pravom« (npr. gorske bukve, zadruga, soseske, ljudski običaji, pregovori in reki, kjer je zaslediti pravotvornost), saj je ob tujih oblastnikih predvsem v slovenskih ljudskih pravnih običajih našla sposobnost slovenskega življa za lastno pravotvornost. To šolo je dopolnjevala t. i. realistična šola (Polec), ki jo je nasploh zanimalo pravo, ki se je razvijalo na slovenskem ozemlju. Nekateri avtorji so se ukvarjali tudi s še starejšimi pravnimi elementi, npr. pri Karantancih. Danes, ko imamo že skoraj tri desetletja svojo lastno državo, skupaj s kompletним pravnim redom, in ko smo že predsedovali ter bomo v kratkem spet predsedovali EU, ni seveda nikakršnega dvoma v sposobnost Slovencev za pravotvornost. Vendar bi bilo smiselno oceniti, kaj in kako sta obe omenjeni šoli slovenskih pravnih zgodovinarjev prispevali k današnji pravotvornosti. Njun prispevek bomo ocenili prek vpliva, ki ga je imelo tedanje proučevanje slovenskega in tujega prava na današnjo zgradbo slovenskega prava, po različnih panogah.

## ***The Lawmaking of the Slovenes: From Folk Law to Leading the European Union***

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In the second half of the nineteenth century, Slovene legal historians (especially Babnik and Hudovernik) who finished their legal studies in a German-speaking environment strived to prove, in the spirit of the national movement, that Slovenes are also a lawmaking nation. Under the patronage of their successors (Dolenc, Goršič) the so-called legal-Slavicist approach to Slovene law was born. It predominately addressed 'folk law' (e.g. *Bergrechtbücher*, cooperatives, neighbourhoods, folk customs, proverbs and sayings, wherein traces of lawmaking can be found), since, due to foreign rulers, it generally found Slovene folk legal customs to show the Slovenes' ability for lawmaking. This school was complemented by the so-called realist school (Polec) that was generally interested in the law developed in the Slovene territory. Some authors also engaged with even older legal elements, e.g. of the Carantanians. Today, after almost three decades of having our own state, including a complete legal order, and after already having presided the EU, which we will do again shortly, there is, of course, no doubt about the Slovenes' ability for lawmaking. However, it would be reasonable to evaluate what and how both aforementioned schools of Slovene legal historians have contributed to today's lawmaking. We will evaluate their contribution through the impact of the then studies of Slovene and foreign law on the current structure of Slovene law by different areas.

## ***CONSTITUTIONALIZATION OF JOŽE PUČNIK'S POLITICAL THOUGHT***

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This article sheds light on the academic side of Dr. Jože Pučnik. While his civic, dissident and political activities in Slovenia have been well known, his academic work and the political philosophy he developed have been largely neglected. This is unfortunate, as already the cursory insight in Pučnik's monograph *Culture, Society and Technology*, provided in this article, reveals the richness of his political thought. Pučnik as an intellectual, as a political thinker was not only aware of the main currents of Western political philosophy after World War Two, but was also entirely on par with the political and legal thinkers of the day. He had integrated their work into his own political philosophy that he subsequently applied to the case study of Slovenia, a country that he felt most deeply about.

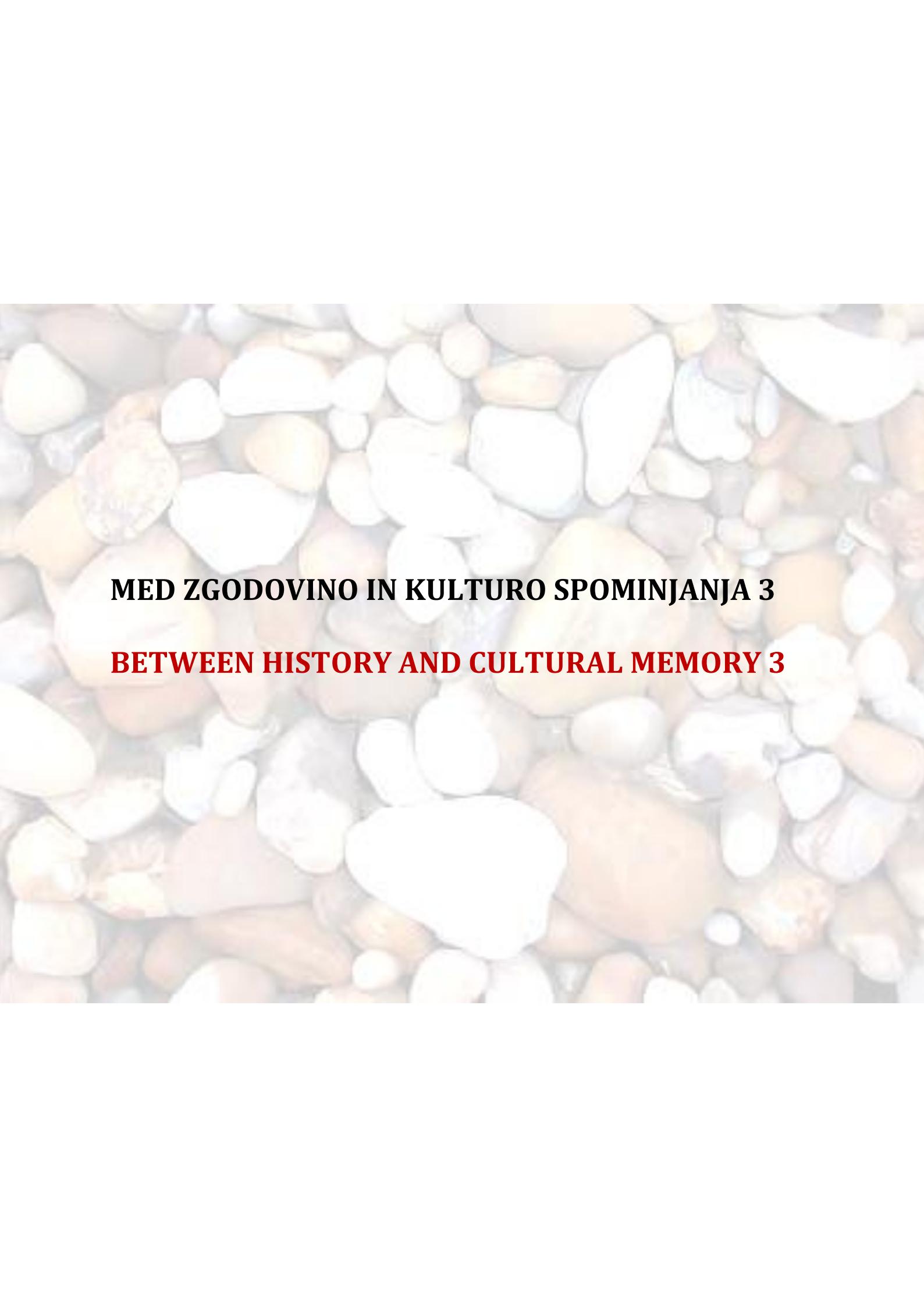
## ***Konstitucionalizacija politične misli Jožeta Pučnika***

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Ta članek odstira manj znano akademsko plat dr. Jožeta Pučnika. Medtem ko so njegove državljanške, disidentske in politične aktivnosti v Sloveniji relativno dobro poznane, pa njegovo akademsko delo ter politična filozofija, ki jo je v njem razvijal, ostajata precej neznana. To je obžalovanja vredno, saj že kratka analiza Pučnikove monografije *Kultura, družba in tehnologija*, ki ji je posvečen tudi ta članek, razkrije bogastvo njegove politične misli. Pučnik kot intelektual, kot politični mislec ni zgolj poznal glavnih tokov zahodne politične filozofije, kot se je ta razvijala po drugi svetovni vojni, temveč je bil tudi njen enakopraven tvorec. Dela vodilnih političnih in pravnih mislecev svoje dobe je vgradil v svojo politično filozofijo, ki jo je kasneje uporabil v praksi na primeru Slovenije, države, katere nestor je bil.



**MED ZGODOVINO IN KULTURO SPOMINJANJA 3**

**BETWEEN HISTORY AND CULTURAL MEMORY 3**

**OD OLIMPA DO SMETIŠČA ZGODOVINE IN NAZAJ – SLOVENSKI POGLEDI NA CESARJA FRANCA JOŽEFA OD KONCA PRVE SVETOVNE VOJNE DO OBELEŽITVE STOLETNICE NJEGOVE SMRTI**

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Med izjemno močne gradnike slovenske narodne identitete sodijo tudi naši nekdanji vladarji. Toda različne politične tranzicije so pogosto vplivale na to, da se je podoba teh vladarjev v naši družbi precej spreminala. Tako je tudi cesar Franc Jožef doživel precej raznoliko zgodovinsko percepциjo. Medtem ko je v času svojega življenja oziroma obstoja habsburške monarhije veljal za nekakšnega očeta naroda in garanta reda in miru, je podoba »presvitlega« cesarja nemudoma po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske dobila drugačno konotacijo. Izjemno zgovorni znak novega duha časa je postala naslovница satiričnega časopisa *Kurent*, izdana 1. decembra 1918, na dan nastanka Kraljevine SHS. Karikaturist Hinko Smrekar, avtor omenjene naslovnice, namreč rajnega cesarja Franca Jožefa ni upodobil v raju, ampak ga je postavil kar v pekel. Čeprav je šlo za karikaturo, je bil takšen odnos do cesarja v času obstoja monarhije nekaj nepredstavljivega oziroma sakrileg. A znotraj novih političnih okvirjev se je pričela demonizacija vsega starega zgodovinskega balasta. Monarhija je postala »ječa narodov«, Franc Jožef pa njen glavni »ječar«. Šele slovenska osamosvojitev je na nek način osamosvojila tudi realni zgodovinski pogled na Franca Jožefa. Prav leta 1991 je tako izšel prevod njegove biografije izpod peresa Jeana Paula Bleda. A miniti je moralno še nadaljnjega četrt stoletja, da je slovensko zgodovinopisje sproduciralo prvo znanstveno kritično biografijo o cesarju Francu Jožefu, ki je izšla ob stoteletnici njegove smrti. Biografija, ki se je prodala v več tisoč izvodih, kaže na vsesplošno slovensko zanimanje za nekdanjega cesarja. Ta referat lahko tako služi kot vzorčni primer transformacije podobe vladarjev kot pomembnega gradnika slovenske nacionalne identitete.

***From Olympus to the Landfill of History and Back – Slovene Views on Emperor Francis Joseph from the End of World War I to the Commemoration of the Centennial of his Death***

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The Slovenes' former rulers are among the especially strong building blocks of our national identity. Yet various political transitions have often caused the image of these rulers to change considerably. Thus, Emperor Francis Joseph also experienced diverse shifts in historical perception. Considered the father of the Slovene nation and the guarantor of order and peace during his lifetime and the existence of the Habsburg Monarchy, following the disintegration of Austria-Hungary the image of the 'Illustrious' Emperor took on a different connotation. The cover of the Slovene satirical newspaper *Kurent*, published on 1 December 1918, the day of the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, became a very eloquent sign of the new zeitgeist. Hinko Smrekar, the caricaturist who drew the cover, did not portray the late Emperor Francis Joseph in paradise, but placed him in hell. Although it was a caricature, such an attitude towards the Emperor would have been unimaginable or considered a sacrilege in the Monarchy. But within the new political framework the demonization of all of the old historical ballast had begun. The Monarchy became a 'prison of nations' and Francis Joseph its main 'warder'. It was not until Slovene independence that a realistic historical view of Francis Joseph also gained independence in a way. It was precisely in 1991, when a translation of his biography by Jean Paul Bled was published. But it took another quarter of a century for the Slovene historiography to produce the first critical scientific biography of Emperor Francis Joseph, published at the centennial of his death. The biography, sold in thousands of copies, shows the general Slovene interest in the former Emperor. This paper can serve as a model of the transformations in the perception of rulers as an important building block of the Slovene national identity took place.

**PER ASPERA AD ASTRA – SPOMINI NA MARIBORSKO KLASIČNO GIMNAZIJO (1857–1865) IN RAZVOJ  
SLOVENSKE NARODNE ZAVESTI MED DIJAŠTVOM**

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Tudi po zaslugu klasične gimnazije je Maribor v drugi polovici 19. stoletja postal pomembno slovensko kulturno središče. Iz nje so izšli narodni buditelji, uspešni znanstveniki in pomembni kulturni delavci. Gimnazija in njeni profesorji so dijakom razvijali, oplajali, brusili in pravilno usmerjali njihove potenciale. Za narodno stvar zavzeti vzgojitelji pa so v mladih sinovih slovenske narodnosti budili navdušenje za slovensko in vseslovansko čuteno v času, ko je bil učni jezik v vseh razredih samo nemški in je Maribor ob prevladi nemških nacionalistov in pod pritiski vladnih krogov Avstro-Ogrske veljal za »trdnjavo nemštva«. Prispevek prinaša mikroštudijo razmer, v katerih se je v Slovence (in Južne Slovane) kalila generacija mariborskih gimnazijcev 1857–1865. Študija temelji na spominih in korespondenci med sošolci B paralelke (Josipom Serencem, Pavlom Turnerjem, Karlom Glaserjem in Antonom Šantelom), ki so vse do konca življenja ostali v tesnih stikih in pogosto obujali spomine na lepa, a tudi težka gimnaziska leta.

***Per aspera ad astra – Memories of the Maribor Classical Gymnasium (1857–1865) and the Development of Slovene National Consciousness among its Students***

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In the second half of the nineteenth century, Maribor became an important Slovenian cultural center, in part thanks to its Classical Gymnasium. Out of it stemmed important national awakeners, successful scientists and important cultural workers. The students' potentials were being developed, improved, sharpened and directed by the Gymnasium and its professors. All this was happening during the time when the teaching language in every class was only German and when – considering the dominance of the German nationalists and under Austro-Hungarian government pressure – Maribor was understood to be a 'German fortress'. Still, the nationally inflamed educators were inspiring the young sons of Slovene pedigree to become followers of the Slovene and Pan Slavic cause. This paper is a so-called microstudy of the circumstances in which the student generation of 1857–65 was being forged into Slovenians (and South Slavs). The study is based on the memories and correspondence among the schoolmates from the B class (Josip Serenc, Pavel Turner, Karel Glaser and Anton Šantel). They remained in close contact for the rest of their lives and often reminisced about the lovely, but also hard Gymnasium years.

***MANIFESTACIJE OB BOLEČI IZGUBI KOROŠKEGA PLEBICITA***

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Janez Osojnik, asistent, mladi raziskovalec  
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Na podlagi proučevanja slovenskega časopisnega gradiva in najbolj relevantne literature se prispevek osredotoča na manifestacije, ki so na Slovenskem potekale v spomin na koroški plebiscit, ki je bil izveden 10. oktobra 1920. Kronološko bomo podrobnejše predstavili, kako so se ljudskega glasovanja spominjali v prvih desetih letih po njegovi izvedbi. Ugotavljamo, da so večje manifestacije potekale leta 1921 in ob peti ter deseti obletnici plebiscita. Prvi večji shodi pa so potekali že istega dne, ko so bili objavljeni rezultati, tj. 13. oktobra 1920. Ob spominjanju na enega izmed najbolj bolečih trenutkov slovenskega naroda so se pojavljala zlasti razmišljanja o razlogih za poraz jugoslovanske strani na plebiscitu ter stanje položaja koroških Slovencev v Avstriji, ki so se znašli pod pritiskom večinskega naroda. Poleg manifestacij so se koroškega plebiscita spominjali tudi z izdajanjem publikacij, postavitvijo spomenikov in izvedbo raznih kulturnih dogodkov.

***Protests at the Painful Loss of the Carinthian Plebiscite***

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Based on the study of Slovenian newspaper material and the most relevant literature, this paper focuses on events that took place in the Slovene part of Kingdom of SHS in remembrance of the Carinthian plebiscite held on 10 October 1920. Chronologically, the paper presents in more detail how the popular vote was remembered in the first ten years after its implementation. We established that larger events took place in 1921 and on the fifth and tenth anniversaries of the plebiscite. The first major demonstrations took place the same day the results were published, 13 October 1920. Recalling one of the most painful moments of the Slovene nation, there were reflections on the reasons for the defeat of the Yugoslav side in the plebiscite and the situation, in which Carinthian Slovenes found themselves in the Republic of Austria. They were under pressure from the majority nation. In addition to the protests, the Carinthian plebiscite was also commemorated by publishing publications, erecting monuments, and holding various cultural events.

**Predsednik programskega in organizacijskega odbora = Programme and organizing committee chair**

Darko Darovec

**Člani programskega in organizacijskega odbora = Programme and organizing committee members:** Arnela Abdić, Marco Bellabarba, Stuart Carroll, Ángel Casals Martínez, Mateja Matjašič Friš, Lucien Faggion, Darko Friš, Peter Jambrek, Pål Kolstø, Ed Muir, Žiga Oman, Hatice Oruç, Vjeran Pavlaković, Claudio Povolo, Marijan Premović, Tone Ravnikar, Ana Šela, Marek Tamm, Ksenija Vidmar Horvat, Alexandra Walsham

*Mednarodna znanstvena konferenca Kultura spominjanja gradnikov naroda in države: Slovenija in Evropa je del raziskovalnega projekta J6-9354 (A): Kultura spominjanja gradnikov slovenskega naroda in države, ki ga sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS).*

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