

# Identitete, identifikacije in identifikacijske kategorije med Donavo, Alpami in Jadranom

Ljubljana, 20. in 21. april 2017

Zbornik povzetkov



## Identities, Categories of Identification, and Identifications between the Danube, the Alps, and the Adriatic

Ljubljana, April 20 and 21, 2017

Book of Abstracts





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ZBORNIK POVZETKOV

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ZBORNIK POVZETKOV, Ljubljana 20. in 21. april**  
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# **Contents/Vsebina**

Conference Details / O konferenci .....	6
Conference Programme / Program konference.....	9
Abstracts / Povzetki.....	13

## **CONFERENCE DETAILS**

In recent years, the notion of contingency and situational nature of group identities has been gaining wider recognition among historians. Additionally, social anthropology has introduced the notion that historical identities should be understood from the “perspective of natives” and contemporary categories of identification should not be imposed on the past. Therefore, in recent decades, we have seen a revision of the interpretations that saw modern nations as a necessary result of history. These days, many historians see group identities as a result of non-determinate processes which always had alternatives. The current state of affairs, then, is not a historical imperative, but rather, the result of coincidences, twists and turns, failures ... Research has also shown that, even after the rise of nationalisms, nation-ness most definitely was not (and is not) relevant for the entirety of the populace and has not been relevant in all situations.

The aim of the conference is to answer these challenges with historical case studies. We'll be taking a look at how the inhabitants of the region between the Danube, the Alps, and the Adriatic identified, and how they reacted to the introduction of new categories of identification – such as, for example, nations – and the relationships between various categories of identification; how they appeared, disappeared, and transformed. We'll also be interested in the factors, which influenced these changes.

However, we are not interested in ethnic or national categories of identification only, but also professional, social, religious, gendered, and other categories which served as the basis for the formation of groups and proved to be relevant in particular situations and under particular circumstances. We will endeavour to interpret historical sources through the perspective of »multiple identities«, which more accurately represents an individual's identity choices and strategies, all so readily available, particularly in our modern societies.

# O KONFERENCI

Tudi v zgodovinopisu se je v zadnjih letih močno uveljavilo spoznanje o kontingenčnosti in situacijski naravi skupinskih identitet. Poleg tega se je z recepcijo dognanj socialne antropologije uveljavilo tudi prepričanje, da je na pretekle identitete potrebno gledati s „perspektive domačinov“, ne pa v preteklost prenašati identitetnih kategorij, veljavnih v sedanjosti. Na podlagi tega je v zadnjih desetletjih prišlo do revizije interpretacij, ki so današnje narode prikazovale kot nujen rezultat zgodovinskega razvoja. Mnogi zgodovinarji danes skupinske identitete razumejo kot rezultat procesov, ki niso bili determinirani in so vedno imeli alternative. Današnje stanje torej ni zgodovinska nujnost, ampak rezultat naključij, prelomov, neuspehov ... Hkrati so raziskovalci pokazali, da tudi po uveljavitvi nacionalizmov, nacionalnost niti približno ni bila (in ni) relevantna za celotno prebivalstvo oziroma ni bila relevantna v vseh situacijah.

Konferanca želi na te izzive odgovoriti s študijami konkretnih primerov. Zanimalo nas bo, s čim so se identificirali prebivalci prostora med Donavo, Alpami in Jadranom, kako so se odzivali na poskuse uveljavljanja novih identifikacijskih kategorij – kot je bil na primer narod –, kakšna so bila razmerja med različnimi identifikacijskimi kategorijami, kako so te izginjale, se pojavljale ali se transformirale. Prav tako nas bo zanimalo, kateri dejavniki so vplivali na te procese.

Pri tem nas ne zanimajo samo etnične ali nacionalne identifikacijske kategorije, ampak tudi poklicne, verske, politične, spolne in druge na podlagi katerih so se oblikovale skupine in ki so pokazale svojo relevantnost v posameznih situacijah in okoliščinah. Poleg tega bomo poskušali zgodovinske vire motriti skozi perspektivo koncepta »večplastne identitete«, ki ustrezneje ponazarja posameznikove identitetne izbire, strategije in pripadnosti, ki so še zlasti v modernih družbah ves čas na razpolago.

**Scientific Committee/Programski odbor:**  
Tamara Scheer, Kaja Širok, Marko Zajc, and Rok Stergar

**Organising Committee/Organizacijski odbor:**  
Irena Ribič, Neja Blaj Hribar, Jernej Kosi, and Rok Stergar

**Free Wi-Fi for participants of the conference:**

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# Conference Programme / Program konference

(National Museum of Contemporary History, Cekinov grad, Ljubljana / Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, Cekinov grad, Ljubljana)

**THURSDAY, APRIL 20, 2017 / ČETRTEK, 20. APRIL 2017**

## TIME / URA SUBJECT / TEMA

8.45 Morning coffee / Jutranja kava

9.15 Opening remarks / Pozdravni nagovori

9.30 Keynote speech / Vabljeno predavanje

Stefan Donecker (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Medieval Research / Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung), *Identity and Identification in Pre-modernity: The State of the Debate 35 Years after John Armstrong's Nations before Nationalism*

10.30 Coffee break / Odmor za kavo

11.00–12.30 Panel 1: Before the Nations, Beyond the Nations

Chair / Predsedujoči: Marko Zajc (Institute of Contemporary History / Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, Ljubljana)

- Ümit Eser (Necmettin Erbakan University / Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi, Konya), *Before Becoming Bulgarians: Pre-National Identities of the Orthodox Christian Communities in Eastern Rumelia, 1878-1908*
- Jernej Kosi (University of Ljubljana, University of Graz / Univerza v Ljubljani, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz), *When the Slovenes Encountered the Slovenes: Ethnic Boundaries and the Process of Nationalisation in Prekmurje after the Dissolution of Austria-Hungary*
- Daniel Heler (Charles University, Prague / Univerzita Karlova, Praga), *Ethno-Genesis of Gorani People and 'Deviant' Contemporary Histories of Kosovo*

12.30 Coffee break / Odmor za kavo

TIME / URA	SUBJECT / TEMA
12.45	<b>Panel 2: Imperial, National, Non-National</b> Chair / Predsedujoči: Jure Gašparič (Institute of Contemporary History, Ljubljana / Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, Ljubljana) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tamara Scheer (University of Vienna / Universität Wien) and / in John Paul Newman (Maynooth University), <i>Donations Requested: The Imperial, National, and Transnational Identities of The Ban Jelačić Association for Disabled Veterans and their Families in Vienna and Zagreb</i></li> <li>• Robert Shields Mevissen (Georgetown University), <i>Identification in the Danube Empire: Shaping Riverine Transformations in the Late Habsburg State</i></li> <li>• Igor Vranić (European University Institute, Florence / European University Institute, Firence), <i>Political Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Empire: The Case of Izidor Kršnjača</i></li> </ul>
14.15	Lunch for participants (at the venue) / Odmor za kosilo
15.45	<b>Panel 3: Defining, Performing, and Staging Identities</b> Chair / Predsedujoči: Kaja Širok (National Museum of Contemporary History, University of Ljubljana / Muzej novejše zgodovine, Univerza v Ljubljani) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Karin Almasy (University of Graz / Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz), <i>Postcarding Identities in Lower Styria (1890–1920): The Linguistic and Visual Portrayal of Identities on Picture Postcards</i></li> <li>• Susanne Korbel (University of Graz / Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz), <i>Staging Similarities, Staging Differences: (Jewish) Volks-sänger and Their Performance of Habsburg Identities</i></li> <li>• Clemens Ruthner (Trinity College, Dublin), <i>Colonial Habsburg: The Bosnian Foreigner in Literary Texts of Imperial Austria, ca 1900</i></li> <li>• Anita Buhin (European University Institute, Florence / European University Institute, Firence), “Naše malo misto” (<i>Our Small Town</i>): Yugoslav Mediterranean Dream</li> </ul>
19.00	Dinner for participants (Residence of the Austrian Ambassador, Štrekljeva ulica 5, Ljubljana) / Večerja za referente in predsedujoče (v rezidenci veleposlanice Republike Avstrije, Štrekljeva ulica 5, Ljubljana)

## FRIDAY, APRIL 21, 2017 / PETEK, 21. APRIL 2017

### TIME / URA SUBJECT / TEMA

9.00	Morning coffee / Jutranja kava
9.30	<b>Keynote speech / Vabljeno predavanje</b> Pieter M. Judson (European University Institute, Florence / European University Institute, Firence), <i>People and their Categories: Creating Difference from Below and from Above in the Context of Empire</i>
10.30	Coffee break / Odmor za kavo
11.00	<b>Panel 4: Peasants, Professionals, Workers</b> Chair / Predsedujoči: Veronika Bajt (The Peace Institute, Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies / Mirovni inštitut) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Daniel Brett (Open University), <i>It's Not About the Nation or Ethnicity: Identity, Politics, and Society in the Romanian and Irish Countryside 1900-1947</i></li><li>• Ivan Jeličić (University of Trieste / Università degli Studi di Trieste), <i>The Typographers' Community of Fiume: Between Spirit of Category, Class Identity, Local Patriotism, Socialism, and Nationalism(s)</i></li><li>• Martin Jemelka and / in Jakub Štofaník (Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague / Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, Praga), <i>Being Modern Christian and Worker in the Czechoslovak National State 1918-1938</i></li></ul>
12.30	Coffee break / Odmor za kavo
12.45	<b>Panel 5: Identities in Transition</b> Chair / Predsedujoči: Borut Klabjan (Science and Research Centre Koper, European University Institute, Florence / Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper, European University Institute, Firence) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Marta Verginella and / in Irena Selišnik (University of Ljubljana / Univerza v Ljubljani), <i>The First Publicly Active Slovene Women on the Intersection of National Identities and Multinational Space</i></li><li>• Martina Salvante (University of Warwick), <i>Renegotiating Identity: Disabled Veterans in Trentino and South Tyrol</i></li><li>• Marco Breseiani, <i>Country for Nationalists? State- and Nation-Building in Post-Habsburg Interwar Istria</i></li></ul>

**TIME / URA   SUBJECT / TEMA**

14.15	Lunch for participants (at the venue) / Odmor za kosilo
15.45	<b>Panel 6</b> Chair / Predsednjači: Rok Stergar (University of Ljubljana / Univerza v Ljubljani) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Etienne Boisserie (Inalco, Pariz), <i>Family Networks and “Generation Key” in the Renewed Approaches of Social Questioning of the Slovak Elite at the Beginning of the 20th Century</i></li><li>• Nikola Tomašegović (University of Zagreb / Sveučilište u Zagrebu), <i>Statistical Nation-Building in Civil Croatia and Slavonia during the Second Half of 19th Century</i></li><li>• Filip Tomić (Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences, Zagreb / Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb), <i>Serbs in Croatia and Slavonia 1908 – 1914: The Contested Construction of an Ethnic Category, Conditions of its Deployment and the Issue of Its Reception</i></li><li>• Luka Lisjak (Central European University, Budapest / Central European University, Budimpešta), <i>“Changing the Nation’s Character”: The Slovenian Tradition of Critical National Characterology and Its Role in the Intellectual Definitions of National Identity in the 20th Century</i></li></ul>
17.45	Coffee break / Odmor za kavo
18.30	<b>Concluding remarks / Zaključni komentar</b> Tomasz Kamusella (University of St Andrews)
19.30	Dinner for participants / Večerja za referente



## **Abstracts / Povzetki**

Ümit Eser (Necmettin Erbakan University, Konya)

## **BEFORE BECOMING BULGARIANS: PRE-NATIONAL IDENTITIES OF THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES IN EASTERN RUMELIA, 1878-1908**

This presentation attempts to analyze pre-national identities among the Orthodox Christian communities in the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia, and approach of Bulgarian nationalist discourse to those communities during the Bulgarian nation-state formation period (1878-1908). The Ottoman Empire had a multi-lingual and multi-religious structure and the so-called “millet-i Rum” or Greek Orthodox community was the most populous non-Muslim religious group in the empire. This group was consisting of not only Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians, but also Slavic-, Vlach/Aromanian-, and Albanian-speaking Orthodox Christians in the European provinces of the Empire. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, both Greek and non-Greek speaking Orthodox Christians were generally referred as “les Grecs” in western diplomatic correspondences and “Rums” in Ottoman documents since they were identified as members of the Great Church of Christ, i.e, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Following the unilateral promulgation of the Bulgarian Exarchate in May 1872, Greek and Bulgarian national identities, which were rival to each other, started to be constructed by the nationalist intelligentsias. Nonetheless, both Slavic-speaking and Greek-speaking Orthodox communities in the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia employed pre-national identity categories, such as “Christians” (Χριστιανοί), “Rums” (Ρωμαῖοι), “Kariots” (Καραϊτοί), or “Grecomans” (Γραικούμανοι), interchangeably, to identify themselves even after the establishment of the Bulgarian Principality and autonomy of Eastern Rumelia, both under Ottoman suzerainty, in 1878. For example, the mercantile communities in the towns considered themselves as ‘Ρομαῖοι’ (Rhomaioi/Rums) and their towns as ‘Ρομαιῶν κατοικια’ (Rhomaion katoikia/Rum residence). The peasants preferred the term “Christian” in the radicalized atmosphere of the Patriarchist-Exarchist confrontation. These people regarded themselves neither Greek nor Bulgarian, but heirs of the Roman Empire; and Orthodox Christianity played an important role in their identity-formation. These patterns of identification persisted among the Orthodox communities, though Eastern Rumelia was united with the Principality of Bulgaria in 1885. Nonetheless, Bulgarian nationalist discourse targeted the use of Greek language and anti-Greek outbursts terrorized towns and villages in the 1906-07, shortly before the declaration of Bulgarian independence.

## PRED NASTANKOM BOLGAROV: PREDNACIONALNE IDENTITETE PRAVOSLAVNIH KRŠČANSKIH SKUPNOSTI V VZHODNI RUMELIJI MED LETI 1878 IN 1908

Pričajoči prispevek bo analiziral prednacionalne identitete pravoslavnih krščanskih skupnosti v avtonomni provinci Vzhodni Rumeliji, kakor tudi pristop bolgarskega nacionalističnega diskurza k tem skupnostim v obdobju oblikovanja nacionalne države (1878-1908). Osmansko cesarstvo je bilo jezikovno in versko mešano, tako imenovani millet-i Rum ali grška pravoslavna skupnost pa je v okviru imperija predstavljala največjo nemuslimansko skupnost. Sestavljeni je niso samo grško ampak tudi slovansko, vlaško/aromunsko in albansko govoreči pravoslavec v evropskih provinceh cesarstva. Za vso to prebivalstvo se je do 19. stoletja v zahodnih diplomatskih korespondencah uporabljaj izraz Grki (les Greces), v osmanskih dokumentih pa so bili opredeljeni kot Rumi, saj so jih identificirali kot pripadnike Ekumenskega patriarhata v Konstantinoplu.

Po enostranski razglasitvi bolgarskega eksarhata maja 1872, sta grški in bolgarski nacionalistični inteligenčni začeli oblikovati dve nasprotuječi si nacionalni identiteti – bolgarsko in grško. Kljub temu so tako slovansko kot grško govoreče pravoslavne skupnosti v Vzhodni Rumeliji tudi v obdobju po vzpostavitvi Bolgarske kneževine in avtonomije v Vzhodni Rumeliji (1878, obe pod osmanskim suzerenstvom) zase še zmeraj uporabljale prednacionalne kategorije, kot so »Kristjani« (Χριστιανοί), »Romejci« (Ρωμαῖοι), »Karioti« (Καρπαιτοί), ali »Grekomani« (Γραικομάνοι). Trgovske skupnosti po mestih, denimo, so sebe še zmeraj označevale za ‚Ρομαῖοι‘ (Romejci/Rumi), svoje naselbine pa kot ‚Ρομαῖων κατοικια‘ (Rhomaion katoikia/rumska prebivališča). V razgretem ozračju v obdobju sporov med patriarhatom in eksarhatom je kmetom še zmeraj najbolj ustrezala oznaka »Kristjan«. Niso se identificirali niti kot Grki niti kot Bulgari, ampak kot dediči Rimskega imperija, pri oblikovanju njihove identitete pa je imelo pomembno vlogo pravoslavje. Ti vzoreci identifikacije so med pravoslavnimi skupnostmi vztrajali tudi po tem, ko je bila leta 1885 Vzhodna Rumelija združena s Kneževino Bolgarijo. Vendor pa je bolgarski nacionalistični diskurz že v letih 1906 in 19007, malo pred razglasitvijo bolgarske neodvisnosti, vzel na piko rabo grškega jezika, zoper Grke uperjeni izbruhi nasilja pa so ustrahovali prebivalstvo po mestih in vaseh.

**Jernej Kosi (University of Ljubljana, University of Graz)**

## **WHEN THE SLOVENES ENCOUNTERED THE SLOVENES: ETHNIC BOUNDARIES AND THE PROCESS OF NATIONALIZATION IN PREKMURJE AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY**

In the 19th century, several linguists and ethnographers constructed and then began to disseminate the idea, that the western parts of the Kingdom of Hungary should actually be comprehended as a territory inhabited by people, who speak a specific Slavic language – the Slovene language. Chronologically speaking, it all started in the first decades of the 19th century as a linguistic proposition formulated by a famous linguist Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844).

In the first half of the 19th century, Kopitar's idea of Slovene language community began to circulate among members of educated elite and gradually gained influential supporters. Simultaneously with the political, social and cultural successes of the Slovene national movement in Austrian Hereditary Lands, also the ethnographical knowledge about the members of Slovene nation, who supposedly live across the Mura river, on the Hungarian side (of the border), began to build up.

With the Treaty of Trianon (1920) “the great powers” decided to hand the western Hungarian region to the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Slovene national activists interpreted decision as an annexation of the finally redeemed compatriots, who after 1000 years of life under Hungarian serfdom had been allowed to unite with their “brothers” in the newly established political entity. However, as it soon came to the fore, the social and cultural reality of the region that was now officially recognized under its new name “Prekmurje”, did not quite correspond to the ethnolinguistic premises of Slovene national activists.

The officials who had been sent there from Ljubljana, very soon became aware of the fact that many Slovene speaking locals in Prekmurje were actually able to use a written language that they themselves recognised as Slovene. Yet, their Slovene was neither the same as the one the officials used, nor did the locals recognize the language of the officials as Slovene. On the top of that, the officials soon found out that the inhabitants of Prekmurje do in fact recognise themselves as Slovenes, but not in the way the officials expected they should. The local inhabitants called the Slovene officials that were sent to the region as “Slavs” or “Slavei”, and not as Slovenes (“Slovenci”).

## **KO SO SE SLOVENCI SREČALI S SLOVENCI: ETNIČNE MEJE IN PROCESS NACIONALIZACIJE NA PODROČJU PREKMURJA PO RAZPADU AVSTRO-OGRSKE**

V 19. stoletju je nekaj jezikoslovcev in etnografov oblikovalo in nato začelo razširjati zamisel, da bi bilo treba zahodna področja Kraljevine Ogrske razumeti kot ozemlje, ki ga poseljuje prebivalstvo, za katero je značilno, da govorí poseben slovanski jezik – slovenski jezik. Na začetku 19. stoletja je bila zamisel najprej formulirana kot jezikoslovna trditev, in sicer v raziskavah znamenitega jezikoslovca Jerneja Kopitarja.

Kopitarjeva zamisel slovenske jezikovne skupnosti je v prvi polovici 19. stoletja začela krožiti med pripadniki izobraženih slojev in sčasoma pridobila vplivne podpornike. Sočasno s političnimi, družbenimi in kulturnimi uspehi slovenskega nacionalnega gibanja v avstrijskih dednih deželah, pa se je večalo tudi vedenje o pripadnikih slovenskega naroda, ki da naj naj bi živel na drugem bregu Mure, tj. na ogrski strani (meje).

S trianonskim sporazumom (1920) so »velike sile« predale zahodne ogrske predele na novo vzpostavljeni Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev. Slovenski nacionalni aktivisti so to odločitev razumeli kot priključitev dotlej neodrešenih rojakov, ki jim je bilo po tisoč letih madžarskega madžarskega podložništva končno dovoljena združitev s preostalimi »brati« v na novo oblikovani politični entiteti. Vendar pa se je kmalu pokazalo, da se socialna in kulturna realnost pokrajine, ki je bila sedaj tudi uradno poznana pod imenom Prekmurje, ne sklapa v celoti z etnolingvističnimi podmenami slovenskih nacionalnih aktivistov.

Uradniki, ki so bili v Prekmurje poslani iz Ljubljane, so kmalu spoznali, da številni slovensko govoreči prebivalci v Prekmurju uporabljajo knjižni jezik, ki ga sami opredeljujejo kot slovenskega. Vendar pa njihova slovenščina ni bila enaka kot tista, ki so jo uporabljali prihajajoči uradniki. Obenem domačini jezika prišlekov niso imeli za slovenskega. Še več, uradniki so kmalu spoznali, da so prebivalci Prekmurja sicer same sebe razumeli kot Slovence, a ne na način, kot so uradniki verjeli, da bi se morali. Lokalno prebivalstvo je slovenske uradnike, ki so prihajali v Prekmurje, opredeljevali kot Slavce in ne kot Slovence.

**Daniel Heler (Charles University, Prague)**

## **ETHNO-GENESIS OF GORANI PEOPLE AND ‘DEVIANT’ CONTEMPORARY HISTORIES OF KOSOVO**

Contemporary history of Kosovo characterized by dividing Albanian and Serbian ethno-politics, contradicting memories of ethnic cleansing, contested statehood and widespread poverty presents a particularly fruitful field for study of religious, ethnic and national identities, the sociocultural formative role of war and mass violence and last but not least the specific form of present-day Western imperialism and post-colonialism as imposed in the Balkans.

The contribution shall examine development of local and ethno-national identity among Gorani people dwelling in the most southern part of Kosovo in the period after the Second World War and more specifically impact of the atmosphere of heated interethnic relations between Kosovo Albanians and Serbs on the ethno-genesis of the Gorani minority community. Furthermore, it will discuss contemporary history of Kosovo, that has undergone several major political twists (from troubled border province under tight control of state security, through autonomy run mainly by ethnic Albanians, decade of direct rule from Belgrade to international protectorate and independence), as seen through the lenses of contemporary Gorani witnesses, thus providing supposedly alternative narrative challenging Serbian, Albanian and Western historical discourses on the province/ country.

This multidisciplinary case study will be methodologically based primarily on extensive ethnographical fieldwork and the oral history approach. The oral history/ anthropological work shall be framed into the broader historical/ political analysis on Kosovo as a place of the interethnic struggle for dominance over the disputed territory in the physical and symbolical sense as well as a place of conflicting geopolitical interests.

**Daniel Heler (Univerzita Karlova, Praga)**

## **ETNOGENEZA GORANOV IN “ODKLONSKE” SODOBNE ZGODOVINE KOSOVA**

Sodobna zgodovina Kosova, za katero so značilni delitev na albansko in srbsko etno-politiko, nasprotuječi si spomini na etnično čiščenje, sporna državnost in vseprisotnost revščine, predstavlja še posebej plodno polje za študije verskih, etničnih in nacionalnih identitet, formativne družbeno-kulturne vloge vojne in množičnega nasilja, in ne nazadnje tudi posebnih oblik sodobnega zahodnega imperializma in postkolonializma na Balkanu.

Prispevek bo raziskal razvoj lokalnih in etno-nacionalnih identitet Goranov, ki po drugi svetovni vojni poseljujejo najjužnejši del Kosova. V ospredju prispevka bo predvsem vpliv zaostrenih medetničnih odnosov med kosovskimi Albanci in Srbi na etnogenezo goranske manjšinske skupnosti. V prispevki bom razglašal tudi o tem, kako sodobno zgodovino Kosova, ki je prestala več velikih političnih preobratov (ob težavne mejne province pod budnim očesom državnega represivnega aparata, preko avtonomije, ko je bilo ozemlje v veliki meri pod nadzorom etničnih Albancev, do desetletja neposrednega upravljanja iz Beograda in naposled do mednarodne zaščite in neodvisnosti), vidijo sodobni Gorani. Gre za na nek način alternativno pripoved, ki izziva srbske, albanske in zahodne zgodovinske diskurze o tej regiji oziroma državi.

Tovrstna multidisciplinarna študija primera bo metodološko slonela na obširnem etnografskem terenskem delu in pristopu ustne zgodovine. Ustna zgodovina in antropološko delo bosta uokvirjena v širšo zgodovinsko in politično analizo Kosova kot prostora medetničnih spopadov za prevlado nad spornim teritorijem, tako v fizičnem kot simboličnem smislu, kakor tudi kot prostoru nasprotujučih si geopolitičnih interesov.

**Tamara Scheer (University of Vienna) and John Paul Newman  
(Maynooth University)**

## **DONATIONS REQUESTED: THE IMPERIAL, NATIONAL, AND TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITIES OF THE BAN JELAČIĆ ASSOCIATION FOR DISABLED VETERANS AND THEIR FAMILIES IN VIENNA AND ZAGREB**

In the heat of the revolutions and war that rocked the monarchy in 1848-1849, Josip Jelačić, Ban (governor) of Civil Croatia, loyal to the dynasty in Vienna and concerned about the impact of Magyar rebellion on the monarchy's South Slavs, mobilized a military force from throughout the South Slav lands in defence of the monarchy. The political and military dimensions of Jelačić's governorship and his military campaign have been well covered in Croat and Austrian historiography, but much less well-known is the parallel mobilization of civil society initiated by Jelačić. Prompted into action by the high casualties sustained by his troops in initial contact with the rebels, he called for financial and philanthropic support for wounded soldiers and their families. To this end, an association for disabled veterans and their families was established with branches in Vienna, and Zagreb. The Association transformed into the Ban Jelačić Trust at the beginning of the 1850s, becoming one of the most important philanthropic organisations in the monarchy's South Slav lands up until the end of the First World War. Our paper analyses the Ban Jelačić Trust in its formative period from 1848-1851, using sources from the association's two branches in Vienna and Zagreb. It offers three arguments based on these sources: 1) that dynastic loyalty in nineteenth century could transcend religious, regional, or national affiliations and coalesce around a charismatic military figure (Jelačić), thus undermining the stereotype of 1848-1849 as a 'springtime of nations' which pitted progressive liberal and national forces against the absolutist old order, 2) that Habsburg 'peripheries' such as Zagreb could, in times of crisis, look directly to the imperial 'centre' (Vienna) as the first point of loyalty, and 3) that spontaneous civil and military mobilization in support of Vienna was not merely ephemeral, but remained a factor of social and cultural life for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

**Tamara Scheer (Universität Wien) in John Paul Newman  
(Maynooth University)**

## **PROŠNJE ZA DONACIJE: IMPERIALNE, NACIONALNE IN TRANSNACIONALNE IDENTITETE DRUŠTVA BANA JELAČIĆA ZA INVALIDNE VETERANE IN NJIHOVE DRUŽINE NA DUNAJU IN V ZAGREBU**

V vročici revolucij in vojn, ki so pretresle monarhijo v letih 1848/49, je ban Civilne Hrvaške Josip Jelačić, iz lojalnosti do dinastije in Dunaja in iz skribi, kakšne bodo posledice madžarskega upora za južne Slovane, za ubranitev monarhije mobiliziral vojaško silo v južnoslovanskih pokrajinah. Politično in vojaško dimenzijo Jelačićevega vodenja in njegove vojaške kampanje so dobro pokrili hrvaški in avstrijski zgodovinarji, manj pa je znana njegova sočasna mobilizacija civilne družbe. Zaradi velikih žrtev v prvih spopadih z uporniki, je Jelačić pozval k finančni in človekoljubni pomoči ranjenim vojakom in njihovim družinam. Tako je bilo ustanovljeno društvo za invalidne veterane in njihove družine s podružnicama na Dunaju in v Zagrebu. V začetku petdesetih let 19. stoletja se je društvo preoblikovalo v Zakladu Jelačića bana za nemoćne vojниke i njihove obitelji, ki je postala ena od najpomembnejših človekoljubnih organizacij med Južnimi Slovani v monarhiji vse do konca prve svetovne vojne. Na osnovi virov dunajske in zagrebške sekcije društva bo naš prispevek analiziral začetno obdobje delovanja društva med leti 1848 in 1850. Izhajajoč iz omenjenih virov bo prispevek zagovarjal tri teze: 1) da je lojalnost dinastiji v 19. stoletju lahko presegala versko, regionalno ali nacionalno pridarnost in se združevala okoli karizmatične vojaške osebnosti (Jelačić), kar spodbujava stereotip o letih 1848/49 kot »pomladi narodov«, ki je združila napredne liberalne in nacionalistične sile zoper absolutistični stari red; 2) da so habsburške »periferije«, kot denimo Zagreb, lahko v času krize svojo lojalnost v prvi vrsti izražale monarhičnemu središču na Dunaju in 3) da spontana civilna in vojaška mobilizacija in posledična podpora Dunaju ni bila kratkotrajne narave, ampak je ostala pomemben del družbenega in kulturnega življenja vse do konca 19. stoletja.

**Robert Shields Mevissen (Georgetown University)**

## **IDENTIFICATION IN THE DANUBE EMPIRE: SHAPING RIVERINE TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE LATE HABSBURG STATE**

After the First World War, historians helped shape the narrative that national identities were monolithic, liberal and modern, and they castigated the Habsburg Empire as a “prison of nations.” These historical narratives argued that the state’s multinational nature caused illiberal governance, social disunity, economic backwardness, and divisive politics, all leading to the Empire’s unsurprising collapse in 1918. Since the 1970s, historians have revived the Empire’s reputation, revealing hitherto unexplored areas of non-national connection and unity; economic dependencies, imperial patriotism, regional identities, multilingual loyalties, and supranational associations. The focus on social and political developments in the Empire’s last half century has, however, neglected largescale environmental transformations occurring in the Empire at the same time, thereby missing the groups, which emerged to shape and debate the scope of these geo-physical changes. The monarchy, imperial bureaucrats and engineers, provincial diets and municipal councils spent millions of gulden regulating the Danube in Austria and Hungary, to make it suitable for largescale navigation and to make it safe to live along. In the mid to late nineteenth century, different associations, commercial enterprises, aristocrats, and elected officials mobilized to shape these transformations, advocating for interventions, which would promote their particular interests. The Danube thus became a space where a transnational network of actors engaged with local, provincial and imperial authorities to pursue the construction of ‘Danube Empire’ they envisioned. The authorities, for their part, continuously expressed hope to find solutions, which would promote the ‘common good.’ Using newspaper reports, commercial and associational reports and meetings, petitions and governmental memos and minutes, my work reveals how Hungarian and Austrian authorities negotiated at times divergent interests along the river with different groups who identified the Danube as a source for their socio-economic livelihood and well-being.

**Robert Shields Mevissen (Georgetown University)**

## **IDENTIFIKACIJA V PODONAVSKI MONARHIJI: OBLIKOVANJE OBREŽNIH TRANSFORMACIJ V POZNI HABSBURŠKI DRŽAVI**

Po koncu prve svetovne vojne so zgodovinarji prispevali k oblikovanju pripovedi o tem, da so nacionalne identitete monolitne, liberalne in moderne. Obenem so Habsburški monarhiji očitali, da naj bi bila »ječa narodov«. Tovrstne zgodovinopisne pripovedi so trdile, da je večnarodni značaj države imel za posledico neliberalno obliko vladanja, družbeno neenotnost, ekonomsko zaostalost in razdiralno obliko politike, kar je vse vodilo k nepresenetljivemu propadu cesarstva leta 1918. Od sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja naprej so zgodovinarji obudili ugled cesarstva, razkrili dotlej neraziskana področja nenacionalnih povezav in enotnosti, ekonomskih odvisnosti, monarhičnega patriotizma, deželnih identitet, večjezikovnih lojalnosti in nadnacionalnih združenj. Vendar pa so bile ob tem osredotočanju na družbeni in politični napredek monarhije, kar je vse bilo značilno za zgodovinopisje v preteklega pol stoletja, zanemarjene obsežne okoljske transformacije, do katerih je prišlo v monarhiji v istem obdobju. S tem so bile zapostavljene skupine, ki so v tem času razpravljale o obsegu tovrstnih geofizikalnih sprememb. Monarhija, cesarski uradniki in inženirji, deželni zbori in občine so porabile milijone goldinarjev za regulacijo Donave v Avstriji in na Ogrskem, vse to z namenom, da bi jo naredile primerno za obsežni promet in varno za bivanje vzdolž njene struge. Od srede 19. stoletja naprej so se aktivirala različna združenja, podjetja, aristokrati in izvoljeni uradniki, ki so želeli prispevati k tem preobrazbam in promovirati posege, ki bi zadovoljevali njihove posebne interese. Donava je s tem postala prostor nadnacionalnih mrež udeležencev, ki so se soočali z lokalnimi, deželnimi in cesarskimi oblastmi v prizadevanjih po udejanjenju svojih vizij »podonavskega imperija«. Oblasti pa so nepretrgoma izražale željo po najdevanju rešitev, ki bi promovirale »skupno dobro«. Na osnovi časopisnih, trgovskih in društvenih poročil, zborovanj, peticij ter uradnih memorandumov in zapisnikov bom v prispevku prikazal, kako so ogrske in avstrijske oblasti usklajevale občasno različne interese vzdolž reke z različnimi skupinami, ki so prepoznavale Donavo kot vir njihove družbenoekonomskega preživetja in blaginja.

**Igor Vranić (European University Institute, Florence)**

## **POLITICAL PATRIOTISM OF THE LATE HABSBURG EMPIRE – THE CASE OF IZIDOR KRŠNJAVA**

After the failed process of unification and Germanization under Joseph II, numerous public workers (politicians, scholars, bureaucrats) started to research and deal with various cultural, linguistic and religious groups living inside the Habsburg Monarchy. In the nineteenth century, governing a society as heterogeneous as the Habsburg Monarchy became more challenging due to the raising calls and actions for political autonomy or independence. One of the means to overcome such differences was the politics of “unity in diversity” from Viennese liberal circles, which also found many followers throughout the Monarchy, including first professional art historian in Croatia and later Minister of Religious Affairs and Education Izidor Kršnjava (1845-1927). According to such opinion, the Habsburg Monarchy was seen as the necessary frame, binding people together and allowing everyone to prosper.

The main idea behind such a worldview of the liberal Viennese circles of the 1850s and 1860s, including Kršnjava, was that it was possible to shape public opinion through the education of the wider masses. Although these teachings were adopted by some of the intellectuals, their implementation among the population failed. The main idea behind such project was to amortize rural nationalism by education of the wider masses. Instead, the wider masses were nationalized by various public workers with whom they had direct everyday contact.

Having been educated in the liberal circles in Vienna, Kršnjava's positive stances towards the King and the Monarchy were likely formed as a result. Since Kršnjava was both monarchist/imperialist and inclusive Croatian nationalist, he cannot be situated in the binary opposition usually referred to as “exclusive nationalist-cosmopolitan imperialist.” The main idea behind such complex identity was that the role of the Habsburg Monarchy and their elite is to develop political identity without national characteristics. Such identity would enable people to identify with the supranational empire, as well as with their local community.

Igor Vranić (European University Institute, Firence)

## POLITIČNI PATRIOTIZEM POZNEGA HABSBURŠKEGA CESARSTVA – PRIMER IZIDORJA KRŠNJAVIJA

Po spodletelem procesu unifikacije in germanizacije pod Jožefom II. so številni javni uslužbenci (politiki, učenjaki, birokrati) začeli raziskovati in se ukvarjati z različnimi kulturnimi, jezikovnimi in verskimi skupinami, ki so živele v okviru Habsburške monarhije. Zaradi vse glasnejših pozivov k politični avtonomiji in neodvisnosti je vladanje tako heterogeni družbi, kot je bila habsburška monarhija, v 19. stoletju postalo velik izziv. Eden od načinov za preseganje tovrstnih razlik je bila politika »enotnosti v različnosti« dunajskih liberalnih krogov. Ta politika je imela svoje sledilce širom monarhije, med njih pa je spadal tudi prvi poklicni umetnostni zgodovinar in kasnejši minister za verske zadeve in izobraževanje Izidor Kršnjavi (1845-1927). Zagovorniki tega stališča so habsburško monarhijo smatrali za nujen okvir, ki ljudi povezuje in vsem omogoča prosperiteto.

Poglavitna ideja tovrstnega svetovnega nazora, ki so ga v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 19. stoletja gojili dunajski liberalni krogi, in z njimi tudi Kršnjavi, je bila, da je mogoče s pomočjo izobraževanja širokih množic prebivalstva oblikovati javno mnenje. Čeprav so nekateri intelektualci prevzeli tovrstna spoznanja, pa je bila njihova implementacija med širšim prebivalstvom neuspešna. Osrednja ideja projekta je bila blažitev ruralnega nacionalizma z izobraževanjem širokih množic. Vendar pa bile širše množice nacionalizirane prav s strani raznih javnih uslužbencev, s katerimi so bile v neposrednem in vsakodnevnom stiku.

Pozitiven Kršnjavijev odnos do kralja in monarhije je bil odraz njegovega šolanja v liberalnih dunajskih krogih. Glede na to, da je bil Kršnjavi obenem zagovornik cesarstva in hrvaški nationalist, ga je težko umestiti v binarno opozicijo, o kateri navadno govorimo kot o »izključujoče nationalist – svetovljanski zagovornik cesarstva«. Bistvena ideja v ozadju tako zapletene identitet je bila, da je vloga habsburške monarhije in njene elite razvoj politične identitete brez nacionalnih karakteristik. Taka identiteta bi ljudem omogočala identifikacijo z nadnacionalnim imperijem, a obenem tudi z lastno, lokalno skupnostjo.

**Susanne Korbel (University of Graz)**

## **STAGING SIMILARITIES, STAGING DIFFERENCES: (JEWISH) VOLKSSÄNGER AND THEIR PERFORMANCE OF HABSBURG IDENTITIES**

Jewish Volkssänger ensembles traveled around between the Metropoles of Habsburg Monarchy. Mobility in multiple ways determined their performances. In their staging, highly diverse negotiations of identities can be observed: Influenced by the dynamic of travelling (being in-between) ethnic stereotypes (those of the Czech Brezinka, or the Jewish kleine Kohn) but also gender roles (the lovely soubrette as well as the male Heurigen singer and the qualities they must have to attract audience) are challenged between the fragmentation of subjects in a transnational context and audience despite, between and beyond national discourses. Thus, questions that are posed include: How were Habsburg identities negotiated in popular performances of Volkssänger? In which ways were (national) stereotypes culturally translated?

This paper aims at analyzing the highly reflexive spaces of in-betweenness in the cultural translations of Volkssänger pieces which were performed in and within different cities in the Habsburg Monarchy. A huge bulk of songbooks, records of the censorship as well as newspaper advertisements and critics of performances provides the basis for the analysis.

Susanne Korbel (Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz)

## **UPODABLJANJE PODOBNOSTI, UPODABLJANJE RAZLIK: (JUDOVSKI) VOLKSSÄNGER IN NJIHOVO UPRIZARJANJE HABSBURŠKIH IDENTITET**

Judovske skupine Volkssänger so potovale med glavnimi mesti Habsburške monarhije. Mobilnost je v marsičem določala njihove nastope. V njihovih nastopih lahko opazujemo soočanje zelo različnih identitet. Pod vplivom dinamike nenehnega potovanja (»biti nekje vmes«), so izzivali tako etnične stereotipe (na primer češka Brezinka, ali judovski kleine Kohn) kot tudi spolne vloge (ljubka subreta ali moški Heurigen pevci ter kvalitete, ki jih morajo imeti, da privabijo občinstvo), ki pozivajo k fragmentaciji subjekta v nadnacionalnem kontekstu in navkljub občinstvu, med in onkraj nacionalnih diskurzov. Postavljeni vprašanji sta torej: Kako so bile izpogajane habsburške identitete v priljubljenih nastopih Volkssängerjev? Na kakšne načine so bili kulturno prevedeni (nacionalni) stereotipi?

Prispevek želi analizirati visoko refleksivne prostore vmesnosti v kulturnih prevajanjih del, ki so jih Volkssängerji izvajali po različnih mestih habsburške monarhije. Izhodišče moje analize so številne pesmarice, zapisniki cenzurnih organov, pa tudi časopisni oglasi in recenzije posameznih nastopov.

**Clemens Ruthner (Trinity College, Dublin)**

## **COLONIAL HABSBURG: THE BOSNIAN FOREIGNER IN LITERARY TEXTS OF IMPERIAL AUSTRIA, CA 1900**

Freud calls the repressed “inneres Ausland”, a foreign country from within, as it were, the same way as, according to him, reality is a kind of ‘exterior’ one. But what if reality consists of one or another real ‘Ausland’ outside of us which is populated by real foreigners? What if those others are just projections of the repressed within the Self? And how does it work: to project the Other (in both meanings of the verb) if he/she/it lives in an ‘Ausland’ territory that has served as a colony of sorts?

As a sequel to my earlier theoretical reflections on ‘post/colonial’ Habsburg studies and imagology as an analytical tool for this purpose, I would like to focus on the literary figurations of the Other from a more phenomenological point of view. Due to the limitations of this essay, we cannot engage in a thorough discussion of the extensively grown theory in the discipline of Xenology: it must suffice to briefly mention the names of Stuart Hall, Julia Kristeva, Rudolf Stichweh, Horst Turk, or Bernhard Waldenfels, who have been our other fellow travellers to foreign lands, so to speak.

I will thus limit myself to a few research questions and hypotheses that will serve as ‘railings’ to investigate the problematic literary representation of the foreigner. For the sake of concreteness, I will resort to examples from a quasi-colonial literary formation for case studies, namely the corpus of Austrian texts on Bosnia-Herzegovina, a territory which was occupied by the Habsburg Monarchy in 1878 to be administered, and annexed from 1908 until 1918. Key samples will stem from authors like Karl Hans Strobl, Robert Michel and Milena Mrazovic-Preindlsberger.

This is meant as a sample taken from my current book project which aims to analyze how hegemonic Austrian culture – and in a “Parallelaktion” (Robert Musil), its imperial German counterpart – ‘formatted’ the aboriginal population of Bosnia-Herzegovina through visual imagery, narratives and discourses (in literature and non-fiction) throughout the late 19th and early 20th century, which contributed to – and only in a few cases: opposed – the identity politics of the self-assigned mission civilatrice of Habsburg colonialism in the Balkans.

**Clemens Ruthner (Trinity College, Dublin)**

## **KOLONIALNI HABSBURŽAN: BOSANSKI TUJEC V KNJIŽEVNOSTI IMPERIALNE AVSTRIJE OKOLI LETA 1900**

Freud je zatrto imenoval "inneres Ausland", tujo notranjo deželo, tako kot je „realnost“ zanj zunanja tuja dežela. A kaj če sestoji resničnost iz takšnega ali drugačnega "Ausland-a", ki ga naseljujejo resnični tujci? Kaj če so ti drugi le projekcije potlačenega v sebstvu? In kako deluje: projicirati Drugega (v obeh pomenih) če on/ona/ono živi na ozemlju "Ausland-a", ki je bil neke vrste kolonija?

Kot nadaljevanje mojih zgodnejših teoretičnih refleksij o "post/kolonialnih" habsburških študijah in imagologiji kot analitičnem orodju za tovrstne name-ne, bi se želel posvetiti literarnim upodobitvam Drugega iz bolj fenomenološke perspektive. Zaradi omejenega obsega tega eseja, ne bo mogoče prispevati k temeljiti razpravi o vse bolj obsežni teoriji s področja ksenologije. Zadostovati bo moralno, da na kratko omenimo avtorje: Stuart Hall, Julia Kristeva, Rudolf Stichweh, Horst Turk ali Bernard Waldenfels, ki so bili, tako rekoč, naši sopotnikti v tuje dežele.

Omejil se bom torej na nekaj raziskovalnih vprašanj in predpostavk, ki bodo služile kot »tirnice« raziskovanja problematike literarne reprezentacije tujca. Zavoljo jasnosti se bom po svoje študije primera zatekel k delom iz skoraj-kolonialne književne formacije, in sicer h korpusu avstrijskih tekstov o Bosni in Hercegovini, ozemlju, ki ga je habsburška monarhija zasedla leta 1878, ga leta 1908 anektirala in tam ostala vse do leta 1918. Osrednji primeri bodo izpod peresa avtorjev, kot so Karl Hans Strobl, Robert Michel in Milena Mrazović-Preindlsberger.

Prispevek je mišljen kot odlomek, vzet iz knjige, ki jo trenutno pripravljam. V njej si prizadevam analizirati načine, na katere je hegemonia avstrijska kultura – in v »Parallelaktion« (Robert Musil) njen nemški partner – v pozmem 19. in zgodnjem 20. stoletju skozi slikovno gradivo, zgodbe in diskurz (v književnosti in splošni literaturi) „oblikovala“ domorodno prebivalstvo Bosne in Hercegovine, kar je prispevalo k – in jim v zgolj nekaj primerih tudi nasprotovalo – identitetnim politikam samemu sebi dodeljene mission civilatrice habsburškega kolonializma na Balkanu.

**Luka Lisjak (Central European University, Budapest)**

## **“CHANGING THE NATION’S CHARACTER”: THE SLOVENIAN TRADITION OF CRITICAL NATIONAL CHARACTEROLOGY AND ITS ROLE IN THE INTELLECTUAL DEFINITIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

National characterology, i.e. the literary/philosophical tradition of erudite elaborations on national character, is now a largely forgotten trend in western thought, which survives mostly at the level of popular psychology and, in fragmentary form, in some journalistic genres. However, it had an important role in the cultural history of many countries, with a significant impact on the genesis of national ideologies and discourses of collective identity. With its sources stretching back to the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, it experienced something of a demise during the ascension of modern science and sociology, only to reemerge, in the form of modernist essayistic philosophy, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Its revival was linked to the crisis of positivistic epistemology and the rise of various “philosophies of life” and early forms of phenomenology. A discernible literary trend in many of the fin-de-siècle cultures in Europe and the Americas, national characterology proved particularly popular in many peripheral and semi-peripheral countries, from Mexico to Southern Europe and the Balkans, serving not (only) to extol the nation or solidify the still fluid discourses of national identity, but also as an intellectual vehicle of social, cultural and often also straight-forwardly political critique. In the Slovenian case, critical national characterology left an endurable mark on the identity discourses, producing a series of topoi that survive to this day as influential explanatory models.

In my paper, I shall present the genesis of the literary and philosophical genre of national characterology in Slovenia from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the early postwar period, analyzing the reasons of its popularity. I will trace its development within the context of struggles over the definition of identity and nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia, but I will also try to insert it in a broader transnational frame, tracing the receptions and structural similarities that facilitated its expansion in specific national and cultural contexts.

The main aim of my paper is to show how national characterology became one of the central features in the 20<sup>th</sup> century discourses on Slovenian national identity, emphasizing its shifts, internal contestations and inherent ambiguities, especially the blurry lines separating critical national characterologies from radical projects of national palingenesis in the interwar period.

**Luka Lisjak (Central European University, Budimpešta)**

## **»SPREMINJANJE NARODNEGA ZNAČAJA«: SLOVENSKA TRADICIJA KRITIČNE NACIONALNE KARAKTEROLOGIJE IN NJENA VLOGA PRI INTELEKTUALNIH DEFINICIJAH NACIONALNE IDENTITETE V 20. STOLETJU**

Nacionalna karakterologija, tj. literarno-filozofska tradicija eruditskih razpravljanj o narodnem značaju, je dandanes v zahodni misli v veliki meri pozabljen trend, ki je preživel kvečemu na ravni popularne psihologije in, v fragmentarni obliki, v nekaterih novinarskih žanrih. Vendar pa je imela nacionalna karakterologija v preteklosti v kulturni zgodovini mnogih držav pomembno vlogo in močan vpliv na genezo nacionalnih ideologij in diskurzov o kolektivni identiteti. S svojimi koreninami, ki sežejo do renesanse in razsvetljenstva, je nacionalna karakterologija z vzponom moderne znanosti in sociologije najprej izkusila nekakšen konec, da bi se nato ponovno pojavila, in to ob koncu 19. stoletja v obliki modernistične eseistične filozofije. Do njene oživitve je prišlo v zvezi s krizo pozitivistične epistemologije in vzponom raznih »življenjskih filozofij« in zgodnjih oblik fenomenologije. Nacionalna karakterologija, sicer opazen knjižni trend mnogih fin-de-siècle kultur Evrope in obeh Amerik, je bila še posebej priljubljena v mnogih perifernih in pol-perifernih državah, od Mehike do Južne Evrope in Balkana, kjer ni služila zgolj za slavljenje nacije in utrjevanje še zmeraj fluidnih nacionalnih identitetnih diskurzov, temveč tudi kot intelektualno sredstvo družbene, kulturne in pogosto tudi neposredno politične kritike. Z oblikovanjem občilih mest, ki so kot vplivni razlagalni modeli preživela do dandanes, je v slovenskem primeru kritična nacionalna karakterologija pustila trajen pečat na identitetnih diskurzih.

V svojem prispevku bom predstavil nastanek literarnega in filozofskega žanra nacionalne karakterologije v Sloveniji v obdobju od prve polovice 20. stoletja do zgodnjega povojnega obdobja in analiziral razloge za njeno popularnost. Sledil bom njenemu razvoju v kontekstu spopadov za opredelitve identitete in državnosti v medvojni Jugoslaviji, pri čemer jo bom obenem poskušal umestiti v širši, mednaroden okvir, in sicer sledeč njenim recepcijam in strukturnim podobnostim, ki so omogočile njeno širitev v specifične nacionalne in kulturne kontekste.

Glavni namen mojega prispevka je pokazati, kako je nacionalna karakterologija postala ena od osrednjih potez diskurzov o slovenski nacionalni identiteti v 20. stoletju, poudarjajoč njene spremembe, notranja neskladja in inherentne dvoumnosti, ter še zlasti nejasne meje, ki ločujejo kritično nacionalno karakterologijo od radikalnih projektov nacionalnega preporoda v medvojnem obdobju.

Anita Buhin (European University Institute, Florence)

## **“NAŠE MALO MISTO” (OUR SMALL TOWN) – YUGOSLAV MEDITERRANEAN DREAM**

The existence of several cultural spheres in socialist Yugoslavia was the result of affiliation to different powers throughout centuries, mixed with the more recent, late-19th and 20th century Pan-Slavism and Pan-Yugoslavism. I am arguing that during the 1950s and 1960s Mediterraneanism was appropriated as a symbol of civilised and modern cultural identity, while also serving to demonstrate the multiculturality and openness of Yugoslav regime. Although recent ethnological and anthropological studies are rejecting “the Mediterranean as central to Yugoslav identity”, the examples of different popular culture practices in formative years of socialist Yugoslavia, the 1950s and 1960s, demonstrate “a common cultural discovery of the sea.”

The TV series Naše malo misto (Our Small Town) will serve as a case study for the spread of the Adriatic maritime images through mass media and the creation of the idea of a Mediterranean idyll. Media reports, as well as archival documents, demonstrate the all-Yugoslav success of the series, despite the usage of local Dalmatian dialect. Moreover, the success of Naše malo misto did not necessarily represent the reality, but a “projection of continental people” of the Yugoslav coastal life. Thanks to development of mass tourism on the one side, and the spread and popularity of maritime images through music, television, celebrities and festivals on the other, the Adriatic became a focal point in the Yugoslav imaginarium of happy and ideal everyday life of a socialist man.

Finally, this case study should serve as a challenge to already established notions of Mediterraneaness, especially in the context of contested cultural circles, including Balkan and Central-European, of socialist Yugoslavia.

Anita Buhin (European University Institute, Firence)

## »NAŠE MALO MISTO« – JUGOSLOVANSKE MEDITERANSKE SANJE

Obstoj več kulturnih sfer v socialistični Jugoslaviji je bil rezultat večstoletne pripadnosti različnim državnim strukturam, ki se je pomešala s sodobnejšim panskavizmom in panjugoslovavizmom poznega 19. in 20. stoletja. Menim, da je bil v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja mediteranizem apropiiran kot simbol civilizirane in moderne kulturne identitete, ki je obenem služil za prikaz multikulturalnosti in odprtosti jugoslovenskega režima. Četudi novejše etnološke in antropološke študije zavračajo »Mediteran kot središčen jugoslovenski identiteti«, različni primeri iz popularne kulturne prakse iz petdesetih in šestdesetih let socialistične Jugoslavije, torej iz formativnih let socialistične Jugoslavije, ponazarjajo »skupno kulturno odkritje morja.«

Kot študija primera razmaha podob jadranske obale v množičnih medijih in oblikovanja ideje o mediteranski idili bo uporabljena televizijska nadaljevanka Naše malo misto. Medijska poročila, kakor tudi arhivski dokumenti, izkazujejo vsejugoslovanski uspeh nadaljevanke, in to navkljub rabi dalmatinskega narečja. Še več, uspeh nadaljevanke Naše malo misto ni nujno predstavljal resničnosti, temveč prej »projekcije celinskega prebivalstva« o življenu na jadranski obali. Zahvaljujoč razvoju masovnega turizma na eni in razmaha ter priljubljenosti obalnih podob preko glasbe, televizije, znanih oseb in festivalov na drugi strani, je Jadran postal središčna točka jugoslovenskega imaginarija o srečnem in popolnem vsakdanu socialističnega človeka.

Pričajoča študija primera služi navsezadnje kot izziv že obstoječim idejam o mediteranskosti, še zlasti v kontekstu spornih kulturnih krogov socialistične Jugoslavije, vključno z Balkanom in Srednjo Evropo.

**Daniel Brett (Open University)**

## **IT'S NOT ABOUT THE NATION OR ETHNICITY: IDENTITY, POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN THE ROMANIAN AND IRISH COUNTRYSIDE 1900-1947**

While much academic attention has focussed on questions of nationalism and national identity, the role of economic, political and social identities in the countryside have drawn far less scrutiny. The majority of the population lived in the countryside during this period which was one of profound economic, political and social transformation. This paper will address how shifting identities and conflict between different rural identities among the population impacted upon local and national political life.

The most significant transformation in rural politics was the advent of universal male suffrage after World War One granting the rural population the vote and the potential to exert political power at the national level, alongside this land reform offered the promise of economic power shifting to the peasantry. Against this backdrop, parties seeking to represent rural society were formed and were expected to dominate post-1918 politics. This did not happen, while traditional explanations have focussed on the role of external actors subverting the political process, this paper argues that the Agrarian parties were unable to overcome the inherent tensions within rural society, where tensions based around economic, social and political power within the village undermined the parties at a grassroots level and in turn influenced their effectiveness at a regional and national level. Issues surrounding economic, political (radical and conservative), generational and social identities proved deeply divisive leading to highly volatile and fragmentary politics, weakening them at an organizational level. This paper seeks to explore what identities were at play within rural society, why they came into conflict with other rural identities and why the parties were unable discursively and organizationally to overcome these tensions.

This paper will focus on the experiences of Partidul Național Țărănesc in Romania and Clann na Talmhan in Ireland. CnT has been chosen as a comparative case to emphasize that the consequences of rural identities for local and national politics was not limited to Central and Eastern Europe but part of a wider European pattern stemming from an ongoing social, political and economic transition.

**Daniel Brett (Open University)**

## **NE GRE ZA NACIONALNOST ALI ETNIČNOST: IDENTITETA, POLITIKA IN DRUŽBA NA ROMUNSKEM IN IRSKEM PODEŽELJU MED LETI 1900 IN 1947**

Medtem ko je bilo veliko raziskovalne pozornosti posvečene vprašanju nacionalizma in nacionalne identitete, je bilo zanimanja za vlogo ekonomskih, političnih in socialnih identitet na podeželju manj. V danem obdobju, za katerega so bile značilne korenite ekonomske, politične in družbene spremembe, je na podeželju živela večina prebivalstva. Ta prispevek bo zato obravnaval, kako so spremenjajoče se identitete in konflikti med različnimi podeželskimi identitetami vplivale na lokalno in nacionalno politično življenje.

Najpomembnejša sprememba v podeželski politiki je bila uvedba splošne moške volilne pravice po prvi svetovni vojni. Ta je podeželskemu prebivalstvu zagotovila glasovalno pravico in možnost vplivanja na politiko na državnem nivoju. Obenem je zemljiska reforma obetala povečanje ekonomske moči kmečkega stanu. Na tej podlagi so nastale stranke, ki so težile k zastopanju ruralne družbe. Pričakovati bi bilo, da bodo tovrstne stranke v obdobju po letu 1918 prevladovale, kar pa se ni zgodilo. Medtem ko iščejo tradicionalne razlage vzroke v zunanjih dejavnikih, ki so spodkopavali politične procese, bomo v tem prispevku zagovarjali stališče, da agrarne stranke niso bile zmožne preseči notranjih nasprotij ruralne družbe. Nasprotja, ki so zadevala ekonomsko, družbeno in politično moč v vasi, so spodkopavala politične stranke na najnižji ravni in s tem vplivala na njihovo uspešnost tudi na regionalni in državni. Težave zaradi različnih ekonomskih, političnih (radikalnih in konservativnih), generacijskih in družbenih identitet, so narekovale nestabilno in fragmentarno politiko, in s tem politične stranke slabile na organizacijskem nivoju. Ta prispevek želi raziskati, katere identitete so igrale glavno vlogo na podeželju, zakaj so bile v medsebojnem konfliktu in kako to, da stranke niso zmogle premagati teh nasprotij.

Prispevek se osredotoča na izkušnje romunske Partidul Național Tărănesc in irske Clann na Talmhan. Za potrebe primerjalnega prikaza je bila izbrana CnT, in sicer z namenom poudariti, da posledice ruralnih identitet za lokalno in nacionalno politiko niso bile vezane zgolj na srednjo in vzhodno Evropo, ampak so bile del širšega evropskega vzorca, ki izvira iz potekajoče družbene, politične in ekonomske tranzicije.

Ivan Jeličić (University of Trieste)

## **THE TYPOGRAPHERS' COMMUNITY OF FIUME: BETWEEN SPIRIT OF CATEGORY, CLASS IDENTITY, LOCAL PATRIOTISM, SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM(S).**

The aim of this paper is to discuss the role of graphic workers and their professional association inside the Fiuman society during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Typographers, members of the „labour aristocracy“, had not only a prominent role in the creation of Fiume's workers' mutual aid societies, but were among the first working categories to establish an own association. Founded at the end of the XIX century, the Fiuman typographers' mutual aid society functioned as an independent association inside the Kingdom of Hungary until 1905. This separated legal status did not isolate the organisation from other fellow graphic workers. The typographers' association established relations with other workers' organisations in the Adriatic, in Croatia-Slavonia, and Hungary, aided traveling workers, and was open to newcomers. Aside for this „spirit of category“ which enabled typographers to improve their working conditions and wages, the graphic workers were engaged in the establishment of the local socialist movement as well. However, typographers were not merely part of the labour movement and supporters of the socialist party, they were perceived, and considered themselves, members of the dominant Italian speaking society of the corpus separatum. People involved and symbols used in celebrations organised by typographers show that they combined plural identities: working-class identity, socialist consciousness and local patriotism. Additionally, their association did not remain immune to national tensions. After pressures from the Budapest trade union central, the association had to become a regular section of the Hungarian graphic workers' union. The association was now more tied with the Hungarian socialist organisation but the Italian speaking majority was not disputed. On the other hand, with approaching the First World War, inside the association, tensions between Croatians and Italians became more evident. Despite that, the association survived the War and the Afterwar period thanks to an persisting „spirit of collegiality“.

**Ivan Jeličić (Università degli Studi di Trieste)**

## **SKUPNOST REŠKIH TISKARJEV: MED DUHOM KATEGORIJE, RAZREDNO PRIPADNOSTJO, LOKALNIM PATRIOTIZMOM, SOCIALIZMOM IN NACIONALIZMOM/NACIONALIZMI**

V prispevku bom razpravljal o vlogi reških tiskarjev in njihovega poklicnega združenja v času avstro-ogrsko monarhije. Kot pripadniki »delavske aristokracije« tiskarji niso imeli zgolj izrazite vloge pri ustanavljanju reških delavskih podpornih društev, temveč so pripadali kronološko prvim kategorijam delavcev, ki so vzpostavile svoja društva. Delavsko podporno društvo reških tiskarjev, ki je nastalo konec 19. stoletja, je delovalo kot neodvisno društvo Ogrske kraljevine do leta 1905. Ločen pravni položaj pa društva ni osamil od ostalih grafičnih delavcev. Društvo je vzpostavilo odnose z drugimi delavskimi organizacijami v jadranskem prostoru, na Hrvaškem in v Slavoniji, in drugje na Ogrskem. Nudili so pomoč potupočim delavcem in sprejemali v svoje vrste nove člane. Razen tovrstnega »duha kategorije«, ki je tiskarjem omogočal izboljšanje delovnih razmer in plač, so bili grafični delavci prav tako vpleteni tudi v oblikovanje lokalnega socialističnega gibanja. Še več, tiskarji niso bili zgolj del delavskega gibanja in podporniki socialistične stranke, saj so bili obenem razumljeni, in so tudi same sebe razumeli na ta način, kot pripadniki dominantne italijansko govoreče skupnosti corpus separatum. Posamezniki, ki so bili vpleteni, in simboli, ki so jih tiskarji uporabljali pri svojih praznovanjih, kažejo na kombiniranje pluralnih identitet: na identiteto delavskega razreda, socialistično zavest in lokalni patriotizem. Še več, njihovo društvo ni ostalo imuno za nacionalne napetosti. Po pritiskih iz budimpeške sindikalne centrale, se je bilo društvo primorano organizirati kot del ogrskega tiskarskega sindikata. Odtej je bilo društvo tesneje povezano z ogrsko socialistično organizacijo, pri čemer italijansko govoreča večina ni bila postavljena pod vprašaj. Po drugi strani so bile z bližanjem prve svetovne vojne napetosti med Hrvati in Italijani v društvu vse očitnejše. A kljub temu je društvo zaradi »duha kolegialnosti« preživelo takoj vojno kot povojno obdobje.

**Martin Jemelka and Jakub Štofaník (Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague)**

## **BEING MODERN CHRISTIAN AND WORKER IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL STATE 1918-1938**

Proclamation of new Czechoslovak state in October 1918 brought revolutionary changes not only to the political, social or economic but also to the religious life of the country. New Czechoslovak national church created fourteen months later combined national orientation, reformed clerical movement, Hussite tradition and protest against Catholic Church. The newly established Church received support from state authorities and was seen as a proper option for good Czechoslovak citizen. In the same time, it produced a violent conversion movement and many local conflicts.

The paper will focus on the workers religious and national identification and changes in Ostrava region – an industrial area (centre of Czechoslovak heavy industry) situated on the ethnic borderline and in the melting pot of many nationalities (Czech, Poles, Germans and Jews). It will analyse the interactions between class, religious and national identification of workers. We will try to clarify the procedure and motivations of conversions between different churches and its social roles. Special attention will be paid to the conversions among working class population in 1920s and 1930s. As a basis for this analysis we will use the conversions protocols and census documents from 1921 and 1931.

**Martin Jemelka in Jakub Štofaník (Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, Praha)**

## **BITI MODEREN KRISTJAN IN DELAVEC V ČEŠKOSLOVAŠKI NACIONALNI DRŽAVI MED LETOMA 1918 IN 1938**

Razglasitev Češkoslovaške oktobra 1918 ni povzročila revolucionarnih sprememb zgolj v političnem, socialnem in ekonomskem, ampak tudi v verskem življenju države. Štirinajst mesecev kasneje je bila ustanovljena nova češkoslovaška nacionalna cerkev, ki je združevala nacionalno orientiranost, gibanje reformiranih klerikov, husitsko tradicijo in protest zoper katoliško Cerkev. Država je novoustanovljeno cerkev podpirala, v njej je namreč videla primerno izbiro za dobrega češkoslovaškega državljana. Obenem je ustanovitev nove cerkve povzročila nasilno množično spreobračanje in številne lokalne spore.

Prispevek se bo osredotočal na verske in nacionalne identifikacije in njihova spreminjanja v ostravski regiji, tj. v industrijskem območju (središču češkoslovaške težke industrije) na etnični meji in obenem talilnem loncu različnih nacionalnosti (Čehov, Poljakov, Nemcev in Judov). Analizirala bova odnose med razredom, versko in nacionalno identifikacijo delavcev. Poskušala bova razjasniti psotopek spreobrnitve in motive zanjo, kakor tudi družbene vloge, ki so jih imele. Poseben poudarek bo namenjen spreobrnitvam med delavske populacijo v dvajsetih in tridesetih letih 20. stoletja. V najini analizi bova izhajala iz konverzijskih zapisnikov in popisov iz 1921 in 1931.

**Marta Verginella and Irena Selišnik (University of Ljubljana)**

## **THE FIRST PUBLICLY ACTIVE SLOVENE WOMEN ON THE INTERSECTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITIES AND MULTINATIONAL SPACE**

In the presentation, we will analyze autobiographical sources (letters, diaries, memoirs) of first publicly active women in Slovene Lands. Those first teachers who started to publish in different newspapers and journals were not publicly active only in Slovene media but also broader in Austrian context. In that regard, we will present how women born in the '60s and '70s were different from generation born in the '80s and '90s and how they pass through national identities and their engagement in the national movement and multinational environment and Habsburg Imperial style of habitual practice and culture. We will also address the question how those identities changed after the First World War as the process of homogenization and national state building was going on. The Imperial framework collapsed, new ideological mechanisms were started to be promoted as Slovene and Yugoslav identities were reinvented.

**Marta Verginella in Irena Selišnik (Univerza v Ljubljani)**

## **PRVE JAVNO AKTIVNE SLOVENSKE ŽENSKE NA PRESEČIŠČU NACIONALNIH IDENTITET IN MULTINACIONALNEGA PROSTORA**

V prispevku bova analizirali avtobiografske vire (pisma, dnevnički, spomine) prvih javno aktivnih žensk na Slovenskem. Učiteljice, ki so prve začele objavljati v različnih časopisih in revijah, niso bile javno aktivne le v slovenskih medijih, ampak tudi v širšem avstrijskem prostoru. V tem oziru bova predstavili, kako so bile ženske rojene v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 19. stoletja drugačne od generacije rojene v osemdesetih in devetdesetih, ter kako so prehajale skozi nacionalne identitete in se udejstvovali v nacionalnem gibanju, v večnacionalnem okolju in v habsburškem imperialnem načinu običajnih kulturnih praks. Naslovili bova tudi vprašanje, kako so se te identitete spremenile po prvi svetovni vojni, ko je prišlo do homogenizacije in izgradnje nacionalne države. Imperialni okvir se je sesul, promovirali so se novi ideološki mehanizmi, slovenska in jugoslovanska identiteta pa sta bili na novo iznajdeni.

**Martina Salvante (University of Warwick)**

## **RENEGOTIATING IDENTITY: DISABLED VETERANS IN TRENTINO AND SOUTH-TYROL**

This paper focuses on WW1 disabled veterans from the areas of Trentino and South-Tyrol. Little is known of these men who had to readjust to civilian life and to deal with the challenges of disability while negotiating the new and hotly contested political, social and cultural landscape created by the war. Italy's own frontiers were redrawn at the end of the war. In the new borderlands created as a result, veterans of the Habsburg army became citizens of the Italian Kingdom. Despite this new category of identification, their individual and collective identities were much more complex and multilayered than a change of citizenship. This paper lies on the notion that body also plays a role in forging identities and it embodies our social worlds in a multitude of ways. Since different aspects of identity may be variously prioritized by any individual, the way people incorporate disability within their own identity is variable. Disability became a new facet of veterans' identity, entwining with other aspects, such as language, political allegiance, profession, etc. By mobilizing a variety of primary sources, this paper will examine the process of identity renegotiation faced by disabled veterans from Trentino and South-Tyrol in the immediate post-war period and under the fascist regime.

**Martina Salvante (University of Warwick)**

## **REFORMULIRANJE IDENTITET: INVALIDNI VETERANI NA TRIDENTINSKEM IN JUŽNEM TIOLSKEM**

Prispevek se osredinja na poškodovane veterane prve svetovne vojne iz Tridentinskega in Južne Tirolske. O teh možeh, ki so se bili primorani ponovno prilagoditi na civilno življenje in se obenem soočiti z izvivi invalidnosti, medtem ko so se prilagajali na novo, močno sporno politično, družbeno in kulturno krajino, ki jo je ustvarila vojna, vemo malo. Meje Italije so bile ob koncu vojne zarisane na novo. Na mejnih območjih, ki so nastala kot rezultat tovrstnega zarisovanja, pa so veterani habsburške vojske postali državljanji Kraljevine Italije. Navkljub tej novi identitetni kategoriji, so bile njihove individualne in kolektivne identitete mnogo kompleksnejše in bolj večplastne od spremembe državljanstva. Pričajoči prispevek se opira na misel, da igra pri oblikovanju identitet svojo vlogo tudi telo, ki na različne načine uteleša naše družbene svetove. Ker imajo pri različnih posameznikih različni vidiki identitet različno prioriteto, so raznoliki tudi načini, na katere ljudje invalidnost inkorporirajo kot del svoje identitete. Invalidnost postane nova lastnost veteranskih identitet, ki se prepleta z drugimi vidiki, kot so jezik, politična pripadnost, poklic idr. Izhajajoč iz nabora raznolikih primarnih virov, želi ta prispevek pregledati proces vnovičnega pogajanja identitet, ki je doletel invalidne veterane iz Tridentinskega in Južne Tirolske v neposrednem povojnem obdobju in v dobi fašističnega režima.

**Marco Bresciani**

## **COUNTRY FOR NATIONALISTS? STATE- AND NATION-BUILDING IN POST-HABSBURG INTERWAR ISTRIA**

Post-1918 Istria is often understood as a land divided between well-defined national communities (Italian, Slovenian, and Croatian). Within this nationally-focused perspective, the Habsburg Empire represented the hotbed of nationalism, which inevitably brought to the post-war triumph of the Italian and Yugoslav nation states.

Obviously, nationalist conflicts and movements did matter in the post-1918 turmoils, in the subsequent establishment of the Italian state (after the annexation in 1920), and under the Fascist regime (since 1922). However, I aim at offering a generally reframed overview of interwar Istria, starting from the obstacles and difficulties opposing to both the Italian nation- and state-building. Far from merely conceiving Fascism as a radical expression of the Italian nationalism and of its long-term strength, I will focus on its pathbreaking novelty and its fundamental ambiguity towards “the state” and “the nation” within the interwar contingencies. As a matter of fact, the Fascist movement and regime tried to build on the multiple forms of “indifference” to the state and to nation (sometimes to politics as such) and to re-shape them into their dynamic political project of power. I thus will: 1) pay attention to the situational cluster of political and social reasons for the post-war conflicts; 2) analyse the efforts in establishing new forms of loyalty through threatened or real violence and their deceptive outcomes in the Fascists’ eyes; 3) reconsider part of the process of Slovenian and Croatian identification as an unattended consequence of the Fascist pressure on the Istrian countryside.

This paper will present some results from archival researches mostly carried out in the State Archive of Pazin and in the State Archive of Ljubljana, and based on the documents coming from the former Italian administration of the region.

**Marco Bresciani**

## **DEŽELA ZA NACIONALISTE? IZGRADNJA DRŽAVE IN NARODA V »POSTHABSBURŠKI« ISTRI V ČASU MED SVETOVNIMA VOJNAMA**

Istra po letu 1918 je pogosto razumljena kot dežela, razdeljena med dobro oblikovane nacionalne skupine (Italijani, Slovenci in Hrvati). V okviru tovrstne nacionalno osredinjene perspektive je habsburško cesarstvo razumljeno kot leglo nacionalizma, kar je neizogibno privedlo do povojnega zmagovalja italijanske in jugoslovanske nacionalne države.

Seveda so bili nacionalni konflikti in gibanja pomemben del povojnega nemira po ustanovitvi italijanske države (po aneksiji v letu 1920) in pod fašističnim režimom (po letu 1922). A kljub temu bi žeel ponuditi na novo uokvirjen pogled na medvojno Istro in pri tem za izhodišče vzeti prepreke in težave, ki so stale na poti izgradnje italijanske države in italijanskega naroda. Ne želim predstaviti fašizma le kot radikalnega izraza italijanskega nacionalizma in njegove dolgoročne sile, ampak se bom osredotočil na njegovo novodobno in korenito dvoumnost v odnosu do »države« in »naroda« v okviru medvojnih okoliščin. Pravzaprav sta fašistično gibanje in režim poskušala graditi na različnih oblikah indiferentnosti do države in naroda (včasih tudi do politike kot take) in jih preoblikovati v lasten dinamičen političen projekt moći, zato bom:

- 1) pozornost posvetil pozornost situacijskemu naboru političnih in družbenih vzrokov za povojne konflikte;
- 2) analiziral poizkuse vzpostavitev novih oblik lojalnosti preko grožnje z nasiljem ali dejanskega nasilja, kakor tudi njihove varljive rezultate v očeh fašistov;
- 3) ponovno pretehtal proces slovenske in hrvaške identifikacije kot nehotene posledice fašističnega pritiska na istrsko podeželje.

Prispevek bo prikazal nekatere rezultate arhivskega raziskovanja v Državnem arhivu v Pazinu in Arhivu Republike Slovenije in temeljil na dokumentih italijanske uprave.

**Karin Almasy (University of Graz)**

## **POSTCARDING IDENTITIES IN LOWER STYRIA (1890–1920): THE LINGUISTIC AND VISUAL PORTRAYAL OF IDENTITIES ON PICTURE POSTCARDS**

As objects of popular culture, topographic picture postcards were long viewed as ‘unworthy’ of scholarly evaluation. Nevertheless, these seemingly apolitical picture postcards were involved in processes of identity-building and can therefore be a valuable source of information on identity formation and (self-)identification. They play a significant role in shaping perceptions and interpretations of reality. By depicting images of places, regions or tourist attractions, they express ideologies of place, offer insights in everyday historical practices, and can portray different individual identities.

The decades leading up to WWI were the golden era of postcards when they became a popular form of mass media. At the same time, Lower Styria (the former Untersteiermark, today's Štajerska), a region strongly shaped by bilingualism, was characterized by intensified national conflicts. These conflicts were mostly constructed around demands of language policy and language rights: language was no longer simply a means of communication, but became an emblem of one's national affiliation and identity. Therefore, topographic postcards, on which visual and linguistic representations always intersect, served as a “stage” on which “national” claims to a specific territory could be presented.

However, postcards can not only provide evidence of an intensifying linguistic and ethnic polarization, but they can also portray bilingualism, national indifference and pragmatic flexibility, thereby showing that the region was not characterized by hermetically sealed ethno-linguistic groups who were at odds with each other. In fact, identities in Lower Styria were chiefly determined not by one's ‘nationality,’ but in terms of one's local, regional, or social affiliations, one's religious or political beliefs and cultural preferences. Individuals as well as collective groups are in many respects hybrids of identity. Therefore, the picture postcard as a medium close to everyday life in the semi-public sphere – used by the masses and mainly apolitical – seems to be just the right material to tackle such questions of identifications and multiple identities in Lower Styria within the set time frame.

**Karin Almasy (Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz)**

## **RAZGLEDNIČNE IDENTITETE NA SPODNJEM ŠTAJERSKEM (1890-1920): JEZIKOVNE IN VIZUALNE PODOBE IDENTITET NA RAZGLEDNICAH**

Topografske razglednice so bile kot objekti popularne kulture dolgo obravnavane kot »nevredne« raziskovalne pozornosti. Kljub temu so bile na videz apolitične razglednice vpletene v procese oblikovanja identitet. Zato so lahko uporaben vir informacij o oblikovanju identitet in (samo)identifikacij. Razglednice imajo pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju in interpretaciji realnosti. Z upodobitvijo krajev, regij ali turističnih atrakcij izražajo ideologije kraja, ponujajo vpogled v vsakodnevne zgodovinske prakse in portretirajo različne individualne identitete.

Desetletja pred prvo svetovno vojno veljajo za zlato dobo razglednic. Takrat so se uveljavile kot priljubljena oblika množičnega komuniciranja. V istem času je bila Spodnja Štajerska (nekdanja Untersteiermark, današnja Štajerska) kot regija, ki jo je močno zaznamovala dvojezičnost, obremenjena z zaostrenimi nacionalnimi konflikti. Spori so nastajali predvsem okoli zahtev po jezikovnih odredbah in pravicah: jezik ni bil več le sredstvo komuniciranja, temveč je postal tudi simbol nacionalne pripadnosti in identitete. Topografske razglednice, na katerih se zmeraj križajo vizualne in jezikovne predstave, so potem takem služile kot »oder« na katerem so lahko bile predstavljene »nacionalne« zahteve po specifičnem ozemlju.

Vendar pa razglednice ne nudijo zgolj evidence o naraščajoči jezikovni in etnični polarizaciji, temveč lahko obenem upodabljajo tudi dvojezičnost, nacionalno indiferentnost in pragmatično prilagodljivost. S tem lahko nakazujejo, da za regijo niso bile značilne le neprodušno zaprte in nasprotuječe si etnično-jezikovne skupine. Dejansko identitete prebivalcev na Spodnjem Štajerskem v bistvenem niso bile določene z nacionalnostjo, ampak z lokalno, regionalno ali družbeno pripadnostjo verskim, političnim ali kulturnim skupnostim. Tako posamezniki kakor tudi skupnosti so v mnogih ozirih »identitetni hibridi«. Iz tega razloga se zdi, da so razglednice kot medij, ki je bil blizu vsakdanjemu življenu na presečišču javnega in zasebnega – množično uporabljanje in največkrat apolitične – pravšnje gradivo za soočanje z vprašanji identifikacije in multiplih identitet na Spodnjem Štajerskem v obravnavanem časovnem obdobju.

**Etienne Boisserie (Inalco, Paris)**

## **FAMILY NETWORKS AND “GENERATION KEY” IN THE RENEWED APPROACHES OF SOCIAL QUESTIONING OF THE SLOVAK ELITE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.**

Until the 1890's, most of the public affairs surrounding the Slovak elites were dealt from the small town of Turčianský Svätý Martin in the Turiec County and based on a long-lasting program elaborated in 1861 that – in a classical approach from the late 1840's – mainly focused on language and national individuality of the Slovaks vis-à-vis both Hungarians and Czechs.

From the early 1900s onwards, a generation-turn happened, that deeply modified the main axis of public and social activities of the educated Slovak milieu. This evolution coincides with and is influenced by foreign experiences they personally observed during their studies in the Empire – and in the Czech Lands especially – or abroad. It is also based on long-standing family ties and alliances, dynamic local/regional solidarities and vicinities. We shall study how and to what extent those factors deeply renewed the approach of social questioning in the mostly Slovak-speaking Counties of the Kingdom of Hungary during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

We will approach this question mainly through what is generally called “Small social work” which implies three types of long-standing actions that lasted up to the eve of WW1: Peasants Conference and organization of rural cooperatives networks, special care for instruction that implies an in-depth work, wide-range of conferences, booklets, reviews spreading new knowledge and popular instruction.

To deal with those questions, our paper will be mostly based on the personal archives and correspondences of the main organizers of those networks, so as their public speeches and publications. We shall underline their aims, reflexion on tools and actions, the problems they are facing and the importance of this network construction in a mid-term perspective.

**Etienne Boisserie (Inalco, Pariz)**

## **DRUŽINSKA OMREŽJA IN »GENERACIJSKI KLJUČ« PRENOVLJENIH PRISTOPOV K DRUŽBENEMU PREIZPRAŠEVANJU SLOVAŠKE ELITE NA ZAČETKU 20 STOLETJA.**

Do devetdesetih let 19. stoletja je večina javnih zadev, ki so se nanašale na slovaško elito, imela izvor v majhnem mestu Turčianský Svätý Martin v županiji Turiec in pri tem temeljila na dlje časa trajajočem programu, ki je bil oblikovan v letu 1861 in se je – v značilnem pristopu iz poznih štiridesetih let 19. stoletja – osredotočal na jezikovno in nacionalno posebnost Slovakov v odnosu do Čehov in Madžarov.

V začetku 20. stoletja pride do zamenjave generacij, ta zamenjava pa korenito spremeni osrednjo ost javnih in družbenih aktivnosti skupnosti izobraženih Slovakov. Tovrstna evolucija sovpada in je obenem tudi pod vplivom tujih izkušenj, s katerimi se je imela ta generacija priložnost soočiti v času študija na habsburških univerzah (še zlasti v čeških deželah) oziroma v tujini. Prav tako je temeljila na dolgotrajnih družinskih vezeh in zavezništvih ter dinamični lokalni oziroma regionalni solidarnosti. V prispevku bomo preučili, kako in do kakšne mere so ti dejavniki korenito vplivali na znatno prenovo pristopov družbenega spraševanja v večinsko slovaško govorečih županijah Ogrske v prvem desetletju 20. stoletja.

Vprašanjem so bomo približali predvsem preko tega, kar se v splošnem imenuje „malo družbeno delo“, ki predpostavlja tri tipe dolgoročnih ukrepov, ki so trajali do začetka prve svetovne vojne: kmečke konference in organizacija podeželske mreže zadruž; posebna skrb za pouk; širok spekter konferenc, knjižic, revij, ki širijo novo znanje in podpirajo izobraževanje ljudstva.

Naš prispevek bo pri obravnavanju teh vprašanj povečini temeljil na osebnih arhivih in korespondencah glavnih organizatorjev teh omrežij, kot tudi na njihovih javnih govorih in publikacijah. Poudarili bomo njihove namere, refleksijo o sredstvih in delovanju, problemih s katerimi so se soočali, in pomembnostjo teh omrežij v srednjeročni perspektivi.

Nikola Tomašegović (University of Zagreb)

## **STATISTICAL NATION-BUILDING IN CIVIL CROATIA AND SLAVONIA DURING THE SECOND HALF OF 19TH CENTURY**

The underlying premise of this paper, as was put forth by authors such as Michel Foucault, Ian Hacking and Theodore Porter, is that statistics must not be viewed simply as a descriptive scientific discipline, but (also) as a performative activity, a form of knowledge-power, or as constituting a certain governmental rationality. In this paper I wish to explore the performative role of statistics in nation-building in Civil Croatia and Slavonia during the second half of the 19th century. This will be done through the analysis of texts written by prominent Croatian statisticians such as Petar Matković, Milovan Zoričić and Fran Vrbanić, but also by examining the theoretical positions of leading Austrian statisticians who laid the groundwork for Austrian ethnographic statistics and statistics of nationalities, most notably Karl Czoernig. Practices of census taking which were undertaken in different times by various statistical offices, central and peripheral, will also be examined. This approach aims at underlining contrasting nation-building efforts, as well as ambivalences present in them. While the central statistical office in Vienna – especially within the nexus of neoabsolutist politics – aimed at deconstructing the emerging peripheral national identities, the nascent Croatian statistics, on the other hand, tried to turn around these efforts by formulating two diverging conceptions: one based on affirming the Croatian national denominator and the other rooted in Yugoslav ideology. All this points to a close connection of statistics and politics, whether central-imperial or peripheral-national. The development of statistics in the periphery can thus be seen as an imperial centralizing tool, but also as a resource for formulating peripheral national counter-politics.

**Nikola Tomašegović (Sveučilište u Zagrebu)**

## **STATISTIČNA GRADNJA NACIJE V CIVILNI HRVAŠKI IN SLAVONIJI V DRUGI POLOVICI 19. STOLETJA**

Izhodiščna podmena tega prispevka je, da – kot so med drugim poudarili Michael Foucault, Ian Hacking in Theodor Porter – statistike preprosto ne gre razumeti kot zgolj deskriptivne znanstvene discipline, ampak (tudi) kot performativno dejavnost v smislu vednost-oblasc, oziroma kot način vzpostavljanja državne racionalnosti. V svojem prispevku želim raziskati performativno vlogo statistike v izgradnji nacije v Civilni Hrvaški in Slavoniji v drugi polovici 19. stoletja. Tega se bom lotil z analizo tekstov priznanih hrvaških statistikov Petra Matkovića, Milovana Zoričića in Frana Urbanić, pa tudi s pregledom teoretičnih stališč vodilnih avstrijskih statistikov, še posebej Karla Czoeringa, ki so vzpostavili temelje avstrijske etnografske in nacionalne statistike. Prav tako bom pregledal tudi prakse popisovanja prebivalstva, ki so jih v različnih obdobjih izvajali različni uradi, tako centralni kot lokalni. S tem pristopom želim podprtati različna prizadevanja za izgradnjo nacije, kakor tudi dvomnosti, ki so bile prisotne pri tovrstnih prizadevanjih. Medtem ko je osrednji statistični urad na Dunaju (predvsem v času neoabsolutizma) želet dekonstruirati porajajoče se periferne nacionalne identitete, so nastajajoče hrvaške statistike poskušale, prav obratno, zavreti tovrstna prizadevanja. Na ta način sta se oblikovala dva razhajajoča se koncepta: prvi je temeljil na težnji po uveljavitvi hrvaškega nacionalnega označevalca, medtem ko je drugi koreninil v jugoslovanski ideologiji. Ta dejstva kažejo na tesno prepletjenost statistike in politike, bodisi osrednje imperialne bodisi periferno nacionalne. Razvoj statistike na obrobju je v tem smislu mogoče razumeti kot orodje centralizacije in hkrati kot vir za vzpostavitev periferne nacionalne proti-politike.

## **SERBS IN CROATIA AND SLOVONIA 1908 – 1914: THE CONTESTED CONSTRUCTION OF AN ETHNIC CATEGORY, CONDITIONS OF ITS DEPLOYMENT AND THE ISSUE OF ITS RECEPTION**

In this paper I will address the issue of nationalization of people officially categorized as the ,‘Orthodox’ population of ,‘Croato-Serbian’ language in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia in the period between 1908 and 1914. The comprehension of this issue in historiographical accounts is still today primarily conceptualised in terms of ,‘ethnicists’ assumptions and in that regard it follows claims of the majority of Serbian national activists from the second half of the nineteenth century, who emphasized ethnic distinctiveness of ,‘Serbian people’ in the Kingdom of Hungary and in Croatia and Slavonia as its integral part. They increasingly had used the legitimization of religious and educational autonomy of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Hungary for the development of various ethnic cultural, political and economic organisations, identifying them with ,‘national homeland’ of the Kingdom of Serbia. This last element proved to be very significant with the transformation of international political relations at the beginning of the twentieth century, when Austro – Hungarian Monarchy and The Kingdom of Serbia became rivals with opposing interests on the Balkan peninsula. In the complex interplay of political interests central authorities in Vienna, Hungarian authorities as well as segments of Croatian political scene tried to control or even prevent ,‘Orthodox’ population of becoming a ,‘Serbian’ one, claiming latter form of identification of being imported from and propagated by Serbian state and her agents in Croatia and Slavonia. Yet, in turning, this type of discourse and action only further emphasized the language of ethnicism as essential and natural form of selfconsciousness and helped to reificate ethnic groups as pivotal societal forms. In this respect I would like to examine, by relying at a more recent literature and at historical sources, to what extent, in the period from the Annexation crisis to the beginning of the First World War, the nationalization of ,‘Orthodox’ people took its way, or to better put it, can we at all, without applying very nuanned and situationally aware language, speak of categories like ,‘Orthodox’ or ,‘Serbian’ to be the shared and prime identification markers for the population of over half a million people. So, the main tasks of this paper will be to analyze the construction of ethnic categories, the conditions for their deployment, who were their most significant proponents and what was their reception in the wider circles of society.

**Filip Tomić (Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb)**

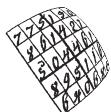
## **SRBI NA HRVAŠKEM IN V SLAVONIJI 1908–1914: TEKMOVALNO OBLIKOVANJE ETNIČNE KATEGORIJE, OKOLIŠCINE NJENE RABE IN TEŽAVNOST NJENEGA SPREJEMANJA**

V prispevku se bom lotil problema nacionalizacije prebivalstva, ki je bilo med leti 1908 in 1914 v Kraljevini Hrvaški in Slavoniji uradno kategorizirano kot »pravoslavno« prebivalstvo, ki govorí »hrvaško-srbski« jezik. Razumevanje te teme je v zgodovinopisnih opisih še zmeraj konceptualizirano znotraj interpretativnega okvira, ki ga določajo »etnicistične« predpostavke. V tem smislu sledijo ti opisi trditvam večine srbskih nacionalnih aktivistov iz obdobja druge polovice 19. stoletja, ki so poudarjali etnično edinstvenost »srbskega prebivalstva« na področju Kraljevine Ogrske in s tem tudi na Hrvaškem in v Slavoniji. Srbski nacionalni aktivisti so uporabili legitimnost verske in izobraževalne avtonomije srbske pravoslavne cerkve na Ogrskem za razvoj različnih etnično določenih kulturnih, političnih in ekonomskih organizacij, in jih pri tem identificirali »nacionalno domovino«, Kraljevino Srbijo. Ta zadnja prvina se je izkazala za zelo pomembno na začetku 20. stoletja, ko je prišlo do korenite transformacije mednarodnih političnih odnosov, Avstro-Ogrska in Kraljevina Srbija pa sta na področju Balkanskega polotoka soočili nasprotuoče si državne interese. V kompleksni interakciji političnih interesov so osrednja državna oblast na Dunaju, madžarske oblasti, kakor tudi segmenti hrvaške politične scene poskušali nadzorovati ali celo preprečiti »pravoslavnemu« prebivalstvu, da bi postalo »srbsko«. Pri tem so trdili, da je bila »srbska« oblika identifikacije uvožena iz Srbije, in da jo promovirajo srbska država in njeni predstavniki na Hrvaškem in v Slavoniji. Vendar pa je, v nasprotju s tem, ta tip diskurza in delovanja samo še bolj poudarjal retoriko etnicizma kot naravne oblike samozavedanja in na ta način prispeval k reifikaciji etničnih skupin kot osrednjih družbenih oblik. Iz tega ozira bi že lel, s pomočjo sodobnejše literature in arhivskih virov, pogledati, do kolikšne mere se je v obdobju med aneksijsko krizo in prvo svetovno vojno izvršila nacionalizacija »pravoslavnega« prebivalstva, oziroma bolje, premisliti, ali sploh lahko govorimo o kategorijah »pravoslavnega« in »srbskega« prebivalstva kot skupnih in najpomembnejših identifikacijskih markerjih prebivalstva, ki je v tem prostoru presegalo pol milijona, ne da bi ob tem rabili nadvse niansiran in situacijsko ozaveščen jezik. V prispevku se bom zato osredotočil na oblikovanje etničnih kategorij, ter na prikaz okoliščin, v katerih je prišlo do njihove uvedbe, na opis osrednjih zagovornikov uvajanja, in na recepcijo uvajanja v širših družbenih krogih.





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