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Nacionalni praznici u Srbiji u istorijskoj i savremenoj perspektivi

U prvom delu rada biće ukratko predstavljena istorija praznovanja državnih praznika u Srbiji, od perioda Kneževine Srbije, kad ih po prvi put uvodi knez Mihailo, preko perioda Kraljevine Srbije, zajedničke južnoslovenske države (Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije i SFRJ), sve do perioda postsocijalizma.

U drugom delu će se detaljnije govoriti o nacionalnim praznicima koji se danas proslavljaju u Srbiji, načinu i razlozima zbog kojih su uvedeni, njihovim značenjima i eventualno i recepciji tamo gde postoje podaci na osnovu već objavljenih rezultata istraživanja antropologa, istoričara ili sociologa.

Kao simbolički sistemi, praznici i rituali poseduju autonomiju, ali su istovremeno i duboko međuzavisni sa društvom koje ga stvara. Zgusnuta simbolika nacionalnih praznika i rituala bi trebalo da šalje jasne i nedvosmislene vrednosne i ideoološke poruke, međutim, u praksi se one često pokazuju kao složenije, i podložne različitim čitanjima od strane različitih grupa ili slojeva. Ovde će biti ponudjena jedna od mogućih interpretacija savremenog sistema praznika u Srbiji i njegovih značenja.

National Holidays in Serbia: Historical and contemporary perspectives

In the first part of the paper the history of the celebration of national holidays in Serbia will be presented briefly, spanning the period from its inaugural time in Principality, to the Kingdom of Serbia, the Kingdom of the pan-South Slavic state (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes / Yugoslavia) and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to the present post-socialist period.



In the second part, more details about the present day national holidays in Serbia, will be given, as well as the explanation of why and how they were introduced, what were their meanings and how and why they were accepted by the public, all based on the evidence provided by the research conducted by anthropologists, sociologists or historians.

As symbolical systems, rituals, holidays and festivities are autonomous, but at the same time strongly intertwined with the society that created them. Thick symbolism of national holidays and rituals should send clear messages about the values and ideology of the society in question. However, in reality, these messages appear to be more complex and subjected to diverse interpretations by different social actors. In this paper, I will offer one of the possible ways of reading the system of national holidays in Serbia, and of its meanings.

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Transformacija praznika i praznovanja u Crnoj Gori – između socijalističke prošlosti i tranzicione stvarnosti

Crna Gora je tokom XIX i XX vijeka prošla kroz različite oblike državnosti, ali i kroz više političko-ideoloških sistema koji su indirektno projektovali vodeće svetkovine i modele praznovanja na njenoj teritoriji. Tokom socijalističkog perioda ona je zajedno sa ostalim, sada nezavisnim državama, a tada republikama SFRJ dijelila suživot i koncept glavnih tj. državnih praznika (1. januar - Nova godina, 1. maj - Praznik rada, 4. jul - Dan borca, 29. novembar - Dan Republike). No, nakon sticanja (obnove) nezavisnosti 2006. godine „praznični“ identitet Crne Gore se transformisao, kako zbog promjene političke i ideološke orijentacije (različiti tipovi političke kulture rađaju i različite tipove rituala i simbola), tako i pod uticajem globalnih tokova, naročito kroz odnos tradicije i vjere, sa jedne strane, i popularne (posebno potrošačke) kulture, sa druge, koja svojom dinamikom trasira nove društvene standarde u svemu, pa tako i u praznovanju. Naime, popularna kultura više ne dozvoljavaju da ekskluzivu nad „upotrebom“ važne svetkovine bilo koje vrste ima samo politika, već je i ona sfera koja u svakoj svetkovini može da razvije i druga (subverzivna) značenja.

Novi/stari praznici u današnjoj Crnoj Gori (1. januar – Nova godina, 1. maj – Praznik rada, 21. maj – Dan nezavisnosti Crne Gore, 13. jul – Dan državnosti Crne Gore, kao i vjerski praznici - Božić, Vaskrs i Bajram) su, osim univerzalne matrice koju najznačajniji državni i vjerski praznici i inače sadrže - izgradnjom određenog identiteta i obezbjeđivanje njegovog kontinuiteta, poprimili i izvjesnu utilitarnu dimenziju, fleksibilnost



i modernu simboliku koji nijesu bili karakteristični za ranije stanje stvari. Upravo iz tih razloga su za predmet istraživanja uzeti aktuelni državni praznici u Crnoj Gori, posmatrani kroz redefiniciju značenja, kao i transformaciju šireg društvenog ambijenta koji ih je produkovao. Jer praznici nijesu samo izraz vladajuće politike i ideologije, već i izraz vremena tj. šireg kulturnog sistema u kojem se kao takvi održavaju.

The transformation of the holidays and the celebration in Montenegro – between socialist past and transitional reality

During the nineteenth and twentieth century, Montenegro went through various forms of statehood, but also through several political and ideological systems that indirectly influenced holidays and modes of their celebration in its territory. During the socialist period, along with other Yugoslav republics, now independent states, Montenegro shared everyday and main public holidays (January 1 - New Year's Day, May 1 - Labor Day, July 4 - Day of the soldiers, November 29 - Day of the Republic). However, after the regaining (renewal) of independence in 2006, a "holiday" identity of Montenegro was transformed, due to changes in the political and ideological orientation (different types of political culture gave birth to different types of rituals and symbols), and under the influence of global flows, particularly through the relationship of tradition and religion, on the one hand, and popular (especially consumerist) culture, on the other, which dynamically sets new social standards in celebration of holidays, among many other things. Namely, popular culture does not allow the exclusive political exploitation of important holidays. It appears to be the sphere in which each celebration can develop other (subversive) meanings.

New/old holidays in Montenegro today (January 1 - New Year's Day, May 1 - Labor Day, May 21 - Independence Day, July 13 - Statehood Day, as well as religious holidays -

Christmas, Easter and Bayram), in addition to the universal matrix that the most important national and religious holidays normally include - construction of a particular identity and ensuring its continuity - acquired a certain utilitarian dimension, flexibility and modern symbolism that were not typical of the earlier state of affairs. It is for these reasons that the subject of this research will be current public holidays in Montenegro, observed through a redefinition of the meaning, as well as through the transformation of the broader social environment that has produced them. Because holidays are not just an expression of mainstream politics and ideology, but also an expression of time, i.e. broader cultural system in which, as such, they exist.



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Praznični koledar v času. Slovenski primer

V zadnjih 150 letih se je praznična pokrajina v Sloveniji korenito spremenila zaradi političnih, ekonomskih in družbenih transformacij, v zadnjih desetletjih pa tudi zaradi vse tesnejše vključenosti v globalne tokove. Predstavitev bo skušala pokazati, kako so se spremembe v državnem prazničnem koledarju vpisovale na praznični zemljevid.

Spremembe ne zadevajo le uradnega prazničnega koledarja, ki navadno označuje dogodke, s katerimi naj bi se identificirala državna skupnost. V socialističnem obdobju so bili nekateri verski prazniki s koledarja izbrisani in so znova pridobili položaj na njem v posocialističnem času, pridružili pa so se jim tudi novi državni prazniki. Številne nove praznične prakse so povezane z globalizacijskimi tokovi in posredovani s popуларно in porabniško kulturo, na lokalni ravni pa smo priče množici folkloriziranih »tradicionalnih« praznikov.

Prazniki nenehno zasedajo nova prizorišča, se dotikajo različnih generacij in pridobivajo nove pomene na ravni političnih, lokalnih, generacijskih in drugih plasti družbene in kulturne identitete, vendar ne za vse enako in enako intenzivno.

The festive calendar through time: The Slovenian case

In the last 150 years, the festive landscape in Slovenia changed radically due to restructuring of politics, society, economy and, in the last decades, the ever closer global integration. The presentation will attempt to show how the changes in the public holiday calendar have inscribed itself in the enacted festive map. The changes not only affected the official holiday calendar

which usually marks the events the national community should identify itself with. In the socialist period, for example, especially religious holidays were withdrawn and regained their position as red calendar days in the post-socialist decades, and joined by new state holidays. Many novel festive practices are related to the flows of globalisation and mediated by popular and consumer culture, while on the local level we are faced with folklorized “traditional” holidays.

Holidays constantly conquer new venues, touch different generations and acquire fresh meanings at the level of politics, local, generational and other layers of social and cultural identity, but not uniformly and with the same intensity.



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Dan ujedinjenja

Državni prazniki imajo pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju skupnih spominov na preteklost, saj so prav oni tisti znak, ki označuje zgodovinske dogodke in osebnosti, ki jih morajo poznati vsi državljeni, s čimer vzpostavljajo prostor simbolne enotnosti vseh pripadnikov nacije. Državni prazniki v Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev so poudarjali »narodno enotnost« »treh plemen«. Minister za notranje zadeve novonastale narodne države troimenega naroda je na začetku meseca decembra 1919 razglasil tri nove državne praznike: 1. december kot »dan ujedinjenja našega troimenskega naroda«; Petrov dan, 12. julij, kot rojstni dan kralja Petra I., in Vidov dan, 28. junij, kot »spominski dan preminulim boriteljem za vero in domovino«.

Pred ustanovitvijo Kraljevine Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev Južni Slovani nikoli v zgodovini niso živeli v skupni državi, zato se je njihova »narodna prebuja« začela že desetletja pred združitvijo v nacionalni državi; za navrh so se v končani svetovni vojni bojevali kot pripadniki sovražnih vojsk, vsak na svoji strani fronte. V trojnem imenu so tako številni videli le mehanizem, ki je podpiral prizadevanja srbske narodno radikalne stranke, da iz kmetov oblikuje Srbe.

Raba srbskih simbolov in kulturnih oblik v komemoracijah v novi nacionalni državi je pomenila, da so komemoracije v nacionalni državi »troimenskega naroda« slavile srbske žrtve in trpljenje, zanikale pa prispevek Hrvatov in Slovencev k ustanovitvi državne skupnosti naroda trojnega imena. Povzdiganje srbske mitologije kot državne mitologije

troimenega naroda, ki naj bi bila temeljni kamen svetle prihodnosti *ujedinjenega* naroda, je skupaj z določbami in duhom Vidovdanske ustave postajalo z vsakim dnem večji kamen spotike.

Day of the Unification

National holidays play an important role in the formation of common memories of the past, as they are the very sign that marks historical events and figures that must be known to all citizens, thereby establishing the symbolic unity of all the members of the nation. The holidays of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes emphasized the national unity of the ‘three tribes’. At the beginning of December 1919, the Minister of the Interior of the newly formed national state of the ‘nation with three names’ declared three new national holidays: 1 December as the ‘day of the unification of our “nation with three names”’, St. Peter’s Day on 12 July as the birthday of King Peter I., and St. Vitus’ Day on 28 June as a ‘day of commemoration for those who had died fighting for the faith and the homeland’.

Prior to the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, South Slavs had never before in history lived in a common state, and thus its ‘national awakening’ had begun decades before the unification into a nation state; on top of that, they had fought in the Great War that had just ended as members of opposing armies on opposing sides of the front. Therefore, the triple name was perceived by many as a mechanism supporting the efforts of the nationalist Serbian Radical Party to turn peasants into Serbs.

The use of Serbian symbols and cultural forms in commemorations in the new nation-state meant that the commemorations in the state of the ‘nation with three names’ glorified the Serbian sacrifices and suffering, but denied the contribution of Croats and Slovenes to the establishment of the state



community. Together with the provisions and spirit of the St. Vitus' Day Constitution, the glorification of Serbian mythology as the national mythology of the 'nation with three names,' which was meant to be the foundation stone for the bright future of the unified nation, became more and more of a stumbling stone with each passing day.



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»Vidov dan bo prišel in vsak bo prejel, kar si zasluzi.« Vidovdan in dan sv. Vida v bolgarskem izročilu

Prispevek želi predstaviti avtorjeve raziskave v srednjezahodni Bolgariji, kjer je *Vidovden* (po novem julijanskem koledarju 15. junij) popularni praznik med pravoslavnim bolgarskim prebivalstvom. Še več – je največji praznik (*sabor*) na koledarju mest Breznik in Godeč. Po tradicijskih folklornih verovanjih je *Vidovden* praznovanje *Vide*, sestre dveh svetnikov (imenovanih tudi gromovnika), sv. Bartolomeja in sv. Elizeja. Zaradi tega ta dan označuje niz prepovedi, ki naj bi preprečile naravne katastrofe. V tradicijski mitologiji Vida velja za pozni spomin na boginjo Themis. Veruje se, da je presojevalka pravilnega in napačnega. Tako je *Vidovden* nekakšna metafora za poslednjo sodbo in po tradicijskem verovanju na ta dan vsak dobi, kar si zasluzi, četudi se je človeško sodišče zmotilo.

Po mnenju drugih raziskovalcev je praznik namenjen katoliškemu svetniku sv. Vidu, ki je živel ob koncu tretjega in na začetku četrtega stoletja. Je eden izmed 14 svetnikov, ki veljajo za zavetnike v času nesreč in ga kristjani prosijo za pomoč. Domneva se, da so kult v srednjezahodno Bolgarijo prinesli saški rudarski delavci (imenovani *sasi*), ki so jih srbski kralji in bolgarski cesarji tod naselili v 13. stoletju.

Praznik je eden zelo posebnih in avtentičnih praznikov v tem delu Balkana. Mnogo pozneje, po kosovski bitki 15. junija 1389 (*Vidovdan*) je postal sestavina srbske nacionalne mitologije.



“Vidovden will come and everyone will receive what they deserve”: Vidovden and St. Vitus in the Bulgarian tradition

The paper is aiming to represent the authors' researches in the region of Middle West Bulgaria, where *Vidovden* (15th of June according to the New Julian calendar) is a popular holiday among the Orthodox Bulgarian population. Moreover – it is the biggest holiday (*sabor*) in the calendar of the Breznik and Godech cities. According to the traditional folklore beliefs *Vidovden* is a celebration of *Vida* – sister of the two saints (also called “hailstormers”) *Vartolomey* and *Elisey* (St. Bartolomew and St. Elysee). Therefore this day is marked with a number of prohibitions in order to prevent from nature cataclysms. As for the traditional mythology *Vida* is believed to be a peculiar late reminiscent of the goddess Themis. It is believed that she is the one who judges what is right and what is wrong. Thus *Vidovden* is taken as a metaphor of the Last Judgment Day, and in the traditional beliefs, even if the human court of justice is being wrong, when *Vidovden* comes, everyone will receive what they deserve.

According to other researches, the holiday is dedicated to the Catholic Saint – St. Vitus, who lived in the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century. He is one of the 14th saints, believed to be protectors in the times of misfortune, asked for help by the Christians. It is believed that the cult for him was transferred in Middle West Bulgaria by the Saxon mine workers (called *sasi*), settled in this particular Bulgarian region in the 13th century by Serbian kings and Bulgarian tsars.

The holiday is one of the most distinctive and authentic holidays in this part of the Balkans. Much later, after the Kosovo Field battle on 15th of June 1389 (*Vidovdan*), it became a part of the Serbian national mythology.

Dovzeti / Abstracts



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Odnos islamske vjerske zajednice prema obilježavanju dana Sv. Save u školama monarhističke Jugoslavije (1918–1941)

Rad govori o odnosu rukovodstva Islamske vjerske zajednice prema obavezi obilježavanja Dana Sv. Save u školama za vrijeme monarhističke Jugoslavije. Koristeći primarne historijske izvore autor podstire činjenice koje objašnjavaju karakter i implikacije spora između reisul-uleme za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, koji se starao za duhovni i religijski identitet pripadnika zajednice koju je predstavljao, i državnih vlasti, koje nisu bile lišene težnje da koriste nacionalne, historijske i kulturne simbole jednog naroda kao univerzalne vrijednosti cijele države. Ambicija vlasti je nedvojbeno podrazumijevala indoktrinaciju omladine u duhu simbola nove državne zajednice. Ali u isto vrijeme, nema dokaza da je njihova namjera bila vršiti religijsku agitaciju među muslimanima. Muslimanskim vjerskim zvaničnicima, međutim, protivljenje prisustvovanju muslimanske djece svetosavskim proslavama bilo je u funkciji zaštite integriteta vjerskih propisa, ali i poštivanja važećih zakona i autonomije Islamske zajednice u sklopu jugoslavenske države.

The attitude of the Islamic religious community towards the St. Sava Day celebrations in schools in the Yugoslav monarchy (1918–1941)

The work deals with the attitude of the leadership of the Islamic religious community towards the obligation of celebrating the St. Sava Day in state schools during the Yugoslav monarchy. Using primary historical sources the author submits facts that explain the nature and implications of the dispute between the Reis ul-ulama for Bosnia and Herzegovina, who cared for

the spiritual and religious identity of the community he represented, and the state authorities, which were not deprived of their tendency to use national, historical and cultural symbols of one nation as universal values across the whole country. The ambition of the authorities clearly implied indoctrination of youth in the spirit of symbols of the new state. But at the same time, there is no evidence that their intention was to carry out religious agitation among Muslims. On the other hand, for Muslim religious officials, their opposition to participation of Muslim children in the St. Sava school celebrations was in order to protect the State constitution, the integrity of the religious regulations and autonomy of the Islamic community within the first Yugoslav state.



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Življenje in smrt državnega praznika. Jugoslovanski dan republike

Dan republike je praznoval 2. antifašistično zasedanje sveta narodne osvoboditve Jugoslavije v Jajcu 29. novembra 1943, ko je bila pod vodstvom maršala Tita razglašena prihodnja federalna Jugoslavija. Datum je bil vpisan v jugoslovanski grb, sestavljen iz petih, pozneje šestih plamenic. V komunističnem obdobju je bil dan praznovan slovesno, tudi še nekaj let po Titovi smrti leta 1980. Uradni diskurz o dnevu republike je bil prekinjen v letih 1988–1989. Kritične karikature so na različne ustvarjalne načine uporabile plamenice za kritiko takratnega sistema. Leta 1989 je bilo praznovanje 29. novembra povsem zasenčeno z Miloševičevim načrtom, da organizira protestno zborovanje v Ljubljani proti slovenski kritiki njegove politike na Kosovu. Milošević je predložil za državni praznik 1. december, kakor je bil v medvojni Kraljevini, vendar so ga ne-srbske republike zavrnile. Namesto tega je Milošević 28. junija praznoval Vidovdan (dan sv. Vida), star srbski državni praznik. Ko sta leta 1990 slovenska in hrvaška skupščina razglasili neodvisnost, je bil v medijih dan republike še komaj kdaj omenjen. Zlasti hrvaški mediji so bili zmedeni, kako predstaviti praznovanje, mešali so se ironični in resni komentarji. Jugoslavija je še obstajala in pripravljen je bil tudi uradni sprejem. Ko je leta 1991 Jugoslavija nehala obstajati, je dan republike v državah naslednicah preživel. Zvezna republika Jugoslavija, sestavljena iz Srbije in Črne Gore, je ob novem dnevu državnosti (27. april) ohranila 29. november kot uradni dan. Za Miloševića je bilo praznovanje 29. novembra v starem Titovem slogu način, kako predstaviti »preostanek

Jugoslavije« kot pravnega državnega naslednika socialistične Jugoslavije. Leta 1999, ob Natovem bombardiraju, je pripravil sprejem skoraj v starem komunističnem slogu. »Čezčasovno« praznovanje 29. novembra se je nadaljevalo v letih 2000 in 2001, celo po Miloševićevem padcu, kar je spodbudilo satirične članke in karikature. Dan republike, ki je označeval nastanek že desetletje mrtve države, je bil ukinjen novembra 2002.

The life and death of a national day: The Yugoslav Republic Day

Republic Day commemorated the Second Anti-Fascist Council (AVNOJ) at Jajce on 29 November 1943, when a future federal Yugoslavia headed by Marshal Tito was proclaimed. This date was inscribed on Yugoslavia's coat of arms, consisting of five, later six, torches. During the communist period, this day was celebrated solemnly, even several years after Tito's death in 1980. In 1988-89 the official discourse on the occasion of Republic Day was broken. Critical cartoons used the torches in several inventive ways in order to criticize the existing system. In 1989, the celebration of 29 November was totally overshadowed by Milošević's plan to organize a protest rally in Ljubljana against the Slovenes' criticism of his policy in Kosovo. Milošević proposed to introduce 1 December as national day, as it had been in the interwar Kingdom, but the proposal was rejected by non-Serb republics. Instead Milošević celebrated Vidovdan (St. Vitus' Day), the old Serbian national day, 28 June. In 1990, when the Slovene and Croatian parliaments had already declared sovereignty, the Republic Day was hardly mentioned in the media. Especially Croatian media were confused how to present the celebration, mixing ironic and serious comments. Yugoslavia did still exist, and an official reception was organised. When Yugoslavia ceased to exist in 1991, Republic Day did survive in one of the successor states. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro, continued to have 29 November as official day,



alongside a new Statehood Day (27 April). For Milošević, celebrating 29 November in the old style of Tito, was a way to present ‘rump Yugoslavia’ as the legal successor state of Socialist Yugoslavia. In 1999, the year of the NATO bombing, he held a reception almost in the old communist style. This ‘over-time’ celebration of 29 November continued in 2000 and 2001, even after the fall of Milosevic. This triggered satirical articles and cartoons. In November 2002, Republic Day, marking the establishment of a state that died ten years earlier, was abolished.

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«Hristos se rodi.» Političke instrumentalizacije pravoslavnog Božića u hrvatskom javnom prostoru

U izlaganju će se ukazati na inauguraciju «pravoslavnog Božića» u Hrvatskoj devedesetih godina kao svojevrsnog sekularnog praznika snažne političke pozadine. U duhu pro-europskog diskursa HDZ-ovski premijer Ivo Sanader, prvi put javno izgovarajući «Hristos se rodi» na proslavi Božića u Zagrebu, uvodi performativni obrat u političkom ritualu odnošenja prema prazniku koji predstavlja snažno identitetsko uporište srpske manjine u Hrvatskoj. Proslava «srpskog Božića» postaje nakon toga mjesto političke celebratizacije i samočestitajućeg odnosa «kulturne elite» prema vlastitom uspostavljanju političke korektnosti. Sam religijski ritual tako je, međutim, izvrgnut različitim sekularnim interpretacijama, katkad i s komičnim elementima laičke intervencije u protokol, čime postaje evidentna politička instrumentalizacija praznika.

“The Christ is Born”: The political instrumentalization of the Orthodox Christmas in Croatian public space

The paper will draw attention to the inauguration of the “orthodox Christmas” in Croatia in the nineties as a certain secular holiday with a strong political background. In the spirit of pro-european discourse the HDZ-ean prime minister Ivo Sanader, first time ever publicly uttering “The Christ is born” at the Christmas celebration in Zagreb 2004, introduces a performative inversion in the political ritual of the relations towards the holiday which represents the strong identity foothold of the Serbian minority in Croatia. The “orthodox Christmas” celebration after that becomes a place of the celebratizaton



and self-congratulationlike attitude of “the cultural elite” towards its own establishment of the politically correct. Nevertheless, the religious ritual itself thus became exposed towards a different secular interpretations, sometimes even with a comic laical intervention into the protocol which makes it evident political instrumentalization of the holiday.



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Jugoslovanski državni prazniki v zamejstvu

Pri analizi vpliva, odmeva in pomena jugoslovenskih državnih praznikov se avtor posebej osredotoča na dogajanje na Tržaškem po letu 1941, in sicer na dva, tri prelome, to je na čas med vojno in po vojni vse do informbiroja 1948 in leta 1954, ko je prvič definirana meja med državama Italijo in Jugoslavijo. Poseben fokus je na obdobju kominformbiroja, na prelomu v razmerju med Sovjetsko zvezo in Jugoslavijo ter na težavah zamejstva s sprejemanjem novega, protistalinovskega, protsovjetskega razpoloženja v matični državi, Jugoslaviji. Druga točka preloma je internalizacija jugoslovenskih praznikov, ki se prelamlja v čas pred in po Osimu kot dokončnem definiraju meje med obema državama. Gre za čas, v katerem postajajo pomembni spomini na bazoviške žrtve, in se tudi na lokalni ravni združujejo ritualne prakse skupnosti s spominjanjem na NOB (npr. Boljunec). Nazadnje pa je fokus na času slovenskega osamosvajanja, nastajanja nove slovenske države, ko se pri večini zamejcev na Tržaškem pojavi in izrazi nostalgija po velikem sistemu na drugi strani meje, po Jugoslaviji. Analiza poteka na treh ravneh: na ravni medijskih diskurzov s pomočjo analize časnikov, posebej *Primorskega dnevnika*, *Katoliškega glasu*, *Novega lista* in gradiva, dostopnega na Radiu Trst; na podlagi terenskega dela v Boljuncu in Dolini, dveh pomembnih središčih levo orientiranih političnih opcij; in nazadnje na gradivu Tržaškega partizanskega pevskega zbora, izvajalca »jugoslovenskih« pesmi, in intervjujih z njegovimi člani.

Yugoslav public holidays abroad

In analyzing the impact, echo and the importance of the Yugoslav national holidays, the author specifically focuses on development in Trieste suburban area since 1941 through two or three breaking points, i.e. during the WWII and after the war until the so-called Informbiro period in 1948 and later 1954, when there was for the first time defined border between two countries – Italy and Yugoslavia. The author is especially focused on the period of “Kominformbiro,” when the relationship between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia switched and when Slovenians in Italy had various difficulties by adopting a new, anti-Stalinist, anti-Soviet sentiment in the home country of Yugoslavia. Another breaking point was demarcated by internalization of Yugoslav holidays, which occurred in the time before and after so-called treaty of Osimo as a final demarcation of a border between the two countries. This is the time in which became relevant memories of Bazovica/Bassovizza victims; and in the same time local ritual community practices also began to interlace with memories of WWII (e.g. Boljunec/Bagnoli). Finally, the focus is on the Slovenian independence and the emergence of the new Slovenian state, when the majority of Slovenians in neighboring countries in Trieste appear and express nostalgia for a Yugoslavia as a large system on the other side of the border.

The analysis is carried out at three levels: at the level of media discourses through analysis of newspapers, especially Primorski dnevnik, Katoliški glas, Novi list and materials available on Radio Trieste. It is also based on fieldwork in Boljunec/Bagnoli della Rosandra and in Dolina as two important centers of left-oriented political options, and finally also on the data collected by interviews from the members of Trieste partisan choir singing the “Yugoslav” songs.



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Jugoslavija z druge strani. Ritualizacija spominov na komunistično revolucijo med Slovenci v Argentini

Prispevek obravnava, kako so si socialistično Jugoslavijo po 2. svetovni vojni zamišljali v slovenski diaspori v Argentini. Med slovenskimi povojnimi begunci in migranti v Argentini so bile predstave o Jugoslaviji povsem obremenjene s spomini na čas vojne in komunistične revolucije ob njenem koncu ter politične emigracije. Komunizem je predstavljal vzrok za »največje zločine v zgodovini Slovenije« in »podjavljenje« Slovenije. Takšno zamišljanje komunizma, Jugoslavije in antikomunističnega boja je bilo tudi natančno ritualizirano v praznovanjih in proslavah v slovenski skupnosti v Argentini. V prispevku obravnavam spominske proslave žrtvam komunističnega nasilja, ki potekajo ob leta 1948 in so osrednji politični ritual v slovenski skupnosti okoli društva Zedinjena Slovenija. Na podlagi pisnih virov analiziram ritualizacijo spominov na vojno in komunistično revolucijo kot temelj socialistične Jugoslavije in praznovanje njenega konca leta 1991.

Yugoslavia from the other side: Ritualisation of memories of the communist revolution among the Slovenians in Argentina

The presentation explores how socialist Yugoslavia after the Second World War was imagined in the Slovenian diaspora in Argentina. The understanding of Yugoslavia among the Slovenian post-war refugees and emigrants was basically burdened by memories of war, communist revolution and political exile. Communism was seen as an originator of the »worst sins in

the Slovenian history« and »occupation« of Slovenia. Imagining communism, Yugoslavia and anticomunist fight was ritualised in celebrations and commemorations in the Slovenian community in Argentina. The presentation focuses on the memorial commemorations of victims of the communist violence that have been organised since 1948 as the main political ritual in the diaspora and its leading association United Slovenia. Based on published reports of the commemorations, I analyse ritualisation of memories of war and communist revolution as the foundation of Yugoslavia as well as the celebration of its end in 1991.



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Vsakdanje in praznično v socialističnem Velenju

V predstavitev bom na osnovi razpoložljivih virov začrtal najpomembnejše razvojne faze, ki so v šestdesetletnem povojnem razvoju zaznamovale vsakdanjost in praznike tega »najmlajšega« slovenskega mesta. Velenje je prav posebej zanimiv primer, ker je ravno v tem obdobju – zlasti pa po letu 1950, iz skromnega trga z 800 prebivalci (1948) v 50. letih dobil sloves »jugoslovanskega socialističnega čudeža« in »socialistične pravljice«, v pičlih treh desetletjih pa je Velenje preraslo v eno večjih slovenskih mest s 30.000 tisoč prebivalci. V Velenju je vodilna politična elita, ki je bila usmerjena zelo »razsvetljensko«, prav z uvajanjem novih socialističnih praznikov in spominskih slovesnosti skušala oblikovati novo »velensko urbano« identiteto prišlekov, ki so po letu 1950 najprej množično prihajali iz ruralnih območij; najprej iz Velenju najblžjih slovenskih ruralnih območij (Savinjske dolina in Koroška), po letu 1960 z najpasivnejšimi in razvojno zaostalimi območji severovzhodne Slovenije in Kozjanskega, po letu 1970 pa predvsem iz Bosne in Hercegovine, Kosova in drugih nekdanjih »nerazvitih« republik in pokrajin SFRJ. Ti prosvetiteljski nameni političnih elit, ki so si želeli ustvariti »skovati novega socialističnega človeka«, so ves čas skušali povezovati elemente različnih folklornih tradicij in novih političnih mitov, a so ostajali večinoma omejeni na šole in šolsko mladino in na moške. Moške politične elite so namreč imele odločilno vlogo v organizaciji državnih ritualov in komemoracij. Na drugi strani pa so ženske večinoma ostajale zaščitnice in nosilke starejših etničnih in verskih tradicij, ki so se v varnem zavetju domov in umaknjene od javnosti ohranjale vse do 90. let 20. stoletja, ko so spet postajale bolj javne.

Daily and festive in socialist Velenje

In this presentation, I will try to show all important development phases of daily life and holidays in six decades of development in one of this youngest Slovenian (ex-Yugoslavian) town. Velenje is an interesting case, because after 1950 this humble market-place with 800 inhabitants got the image of “Yugoslave socialist miracle” and “socialist fairytale”, and grew in only three decades to the one of the larger Slovenian towns with more than 30.000 inhabitants. The communist political elite in Velenje was at the time very enlightened and tried to shape and create a modern “Velenje’s urban identity” by putting forward new socialist holidays and memorial celebrations. The newcomers of Velenje came mostly from rural regions – in the 50s from Velenje surroundings (Savinja Valley and Slovenian part of Carinthia), in the 60s from passive and backward regions of northeast Slovenia and Kozjansko and after that from Croatia, Bosnia and other ex-Yugoslav republics. These enlightened intentions and goals of political elites undertook to coin a new kind of “socialistic man” mainly with efforts to connect different folklore traditions with new political myths, but they often remained limited to schools and school youth. It was men, mostly, who played the main role in the organizational efforts of state rituals and festive occasions. On the other hand, women took care for the older local, ethnic or religious traditions, which were preserved in the safe shelter of their homes and away from public audiences until the early 90s of the 20th century, when they reappeared in public space.



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Ukinjanje praznikov kot gospodarski varčevalni ukrep – predstave in izkustva

Leta 2012 je bil v Sloveniji kot gospodarski, varčevalni ukrep kot državni praznik in dela prost dan ukinjen 2. januar. O ukinjanju praznikov z istim namenom so v istem obdobju razmišljali tudi na Hrvaškem, na tovrstne ukrepe pa se ni odzivala le javnost v omenjenih državah, ampak tudi po drugih nekdanjih republikah bivše Jugoslavije. Prispevek jih skuša predstaviti, pri čemer avtorica ugotavlja, da razprave o ukinjanju praznikov, njihovem večdnevnom praznovanju oziroma združevanju z dopustom izražajo tudi predstave o tem, kaj je oziroma naj bi bilo bolj oziroma manj evropsko. Kažejo, da sta se »mentalno mapiranje« in »simbolna geografija« predstav, po katerih je Balkan nasprotje Evrope, na obravnavanem območju s samopripisovanjem socialistične nedelavne mentalitete bolj ali manj uspešno udomačila, a da po drugi strani ne gre le za ponotranjenje pripisanih stereotipov ali način ohranjanja javnih naracij v vsakdanjiku, temveč tudi za izkustveni izraz nezadovoljstva.

Eliminating holidays as economical saving measure – notions and experiences

As a part of economical saving measures since 2012 the 2nd of January is no longer a state holiday and a non-working day in Slovenia. Similar saving measures of eliminating some state holidays and non-working days were at approximately the same time considered also in Croatia, as well as they were commented in other former republics of Yugoslavia. In the presentation the author will thus try to present the

discourses which considered eliminating holidays, as well as the prolonged holiday celebration and connecting holidays with leave. They all reflect the notions about Europe and prove “mental mapping” and a “symbolic geography”, according to which Balkan stands as the opposite of Europe, have become more or less successfully internalised. But nevertheless if on one hand people self-ascribe them a socialist non-working mentality discourses on the other hand also express the experienced dissatisfaction.
