

Transformation of Communal Identity in Slovenia: The Dolenjska Region from the 6th till the 21st Century

Anja Rebolj



Etnologie

**Transformation of Communal Identity in Slovenia:
The Dolenjska Region from the 6th till the 21st Century**

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Table of contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Theory.....	1
Methods	9
The state of research.....	12
The setting	15
Structure of work.....	17
PART ONE: The ancestors of Slovenes: 6th – 9th Century	19
Chapter 2: Political structure	19
Carantania and Carniola	22
Chapter 3: Social structure	34
Conclusions from Part One	41
PART TWO: From the incorporation into the Carolingian Empire to the end of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: 9th Century – 1945	45
Chapter 4: Political structure	45
Conclusion.....	69
Chapter 5: Social structure	70
Administrative and territorial organisation	70
Dolenjska and <i>Dolenjci</i> , Podgorje and <i>Podgorci</i>	75
Social relationships.....	78
The house.....	79
House and land	90
House and larger society	99
Village.....	102
Parish	111
Seigneurie	113
Life-cycle rituals.....	117
Birth	118
Death.....	128
Marriage and affinal relationships	146
Šranga	161
Conclusions from Part Two.....	167
PART THREE: The Socialist Yugoslavia: 1945 – 1991	169
Chapter 6: Political structure	169
Conclusion	185

Chapter 7: Social structure	186
Administrative and territorial organisation.....	186
Dolenjska and <i>Dolenjci</i> , Podgorje and <i>Podgorci</i>	189
Social Relationships	190
The house	190
House and land.....	195
House and larger society	206
Village	206
Parish.....	211
Industrial enterprise.....	213
Life-cycle rituals	219
Birth.....	220
Death	224
Marriage and affinal relationships	231
Conclusions from Part Three	241
PART FOUR: The independent Republic of Slovenia: 1991 – 2014	243
Chapter 8: Political structure	243
Conclusion.....	250
Chapter 9: Social structure	251
Administrative and territorial organisation.....	251
Dolenjska and <i>Dolenjci</i> , Podgorje and <i>Podgorci</i>	253
Social relationships	257
The house	257
House and land.....	261
House and larger society	272
Village	272
Parish.....	280
Industrial enterprises	284
Life-cycle rituals	287
Birth.....	289
Death	293
Marriage	300
Conclusions from Part Four	309
Chapter 10: Concluding remarks and recommendations for future research.....	311
Bibliography	317
Appendix: List of kinship terms	363

Diagrams

Diagram 1: Ground floor plan of the house	80
Diagram 2: House types in Podgorje	81
Diagram 3: Kin marriage types.....	150
Diagram 4: Double marriage (dvojna poroka) or exchange (mena).....	155
Diagram 5: Ground floor plan of a newly built house	192
Diagram 6: ‘Socialist’ house type.....	193

Maps

Map 1: Dolenjska and Podgorje	16
Map 2: Carantania and Carniola in the 7 th and 8 th Centuries and the border of the present-day Slovenian State	21
Map 3: Duchy of Carinthia, Kranjska March and Savinja March in the Roman Empire in the 11 th Century.....	47
Map 4: Drava Banat between 1929 and 1941	67
Map 5: Kreis Rudolfswerth/Neustadtl or Dolenjska within the Kranjska Land in the 18 th and the 19 th Centuries, and the border of the present-day Slovenian State	73
Map 6: Part of the cadastral municipality of Težka Voda in 1823	90
Map 7: Part of the cadastral municipality of Težka Voda in 2014	262

Tables

Table 1: Rules of domestic settlement	82
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Chapter 1: Introduction

This study is devoted to the question of how the successive changes in the political structure impacted the local social structure in the Dolenjska region in southeast Slovenia, with special reference to Podgorje. In the course of the 19th and 20th Centuries, Slovenian society has been part of a series of successive polities, including the Austro-Hungarian Empire (until 1918), the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–1929), the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929–1943), the Italian, German, Hungarian and Croatian fascist regimes (1941–1945), the Democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945), the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1963), the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1963–1991), and the independent State of Slovenia (1991– present). It became a member of the European Union in 2004. With respect to all of these different political frameworks in which the Dolenjska region was involved, this research addresses the following two principal questions 1) What changes, resulting from these political processes, have been implemented in the local exchange systems, and 2) how these changes have generated transformations in the self-ascribed identities of Dolenjska people and the values in which these identities are grounded. This study presents an analysis of the transformation of the socio-cultural identity of communities in the Dolenjska region, Podgorje in particular, brought about by these political processes.

Theory

The research questions have been formulated in terms of specific concepts. The overall question is a historical one¹ and therefore requires a “comparative principle” (Dumont 1974 [1966]). As such it considers the “generic” term ‘relations’ (Strathern 2014: 3) to define political and social structure in the following manner:

In ascertaining the nature of politics, political philosophy has, roughly speaking, taken two paths. According to one, politics is conceived as power (e.g. Weber 1947 [1915], Schmitt 2008 [1928]). In this manner, it represents a

1 It is grounded in the distinction between context and text. At the same time, it acknowledges that “every context is another text” when it becomes subject to interpretation (Strathern 2011: 247).

closed domain in itself, hence a partial aspect of society. The other course establishes politics as a part and as a universal principle, e.g. ‘Apparatus’ and ‘Geist’ (Hegel 1964), ‘political regime’ and ‘social regime’ (Toquville 2003 [1840]), ‘mœurs’ and ‘manières’, and ‘esprit’ (Montesquieu 1989 [1748]). The present work engages a holistic understanding of the concept of political structure. “What in principle founds the political domain within the social? We shall posit that the political level appears when society ordinarily seen as multiple poses as a unit confronted by others (whether empirically as in war or ideologically). The society as a unit is ipso facto superior to the society as multiple and takes charge of it ideologically” (Dumont 1994: 206-207). Hence, in anthropological perspective, politics can be conceived as existing in itself but dependent upon something else, that is, ideology being a “set of ideas and values that are common in a society” (Dumont 1986: 279). These principles determine what or who authorises political power and therefore stipulate the manner in which leadership is legitimised. Following Dumont (1986), Aglietta *et al.* argue that “[a]uthority is a complex of collective values, in the name of which the coherence of society is affirmed and maintained. Norms of individual behaviours originate in those values. It is said that authority subordinates power in value. Power is a relationship of domination based on the possession of means, enabling some individuals to dictate the conduct of others” (Aglietta *et al.* 1998: 11). Hence, power relations are incorporated in and delineated by authority (Saiag 2011: 18), i.e. the power to rule indicated in certain types of law and enacted through a government, concepts pertaining to the corpus of rules and to processes of their enactment (Engle Merry 2005 [1997]: 277-280, Nader 2005 [1997]: 281-284, Simons 2005 [1997]: 228-229). The power to rule is thus grounded in a certain type of law as a relationship between the ruler and his realm, embedded in the encompassing social and religious principles, according to which power is obtained, sustained and exercised through and reflected in a particular type of polity. Authority and its realm stipulate a relation between the ruler and the ruled grounded in a certain set of rights and obligations designated as sovereignty (e.g. Bodin in Kurtulus 2004). One of such “relational models of sovereignty” (Platenkamp 2013b: 328) put forward by Aglietta *et al.* (1998) conceptualises the legitimation of ruling power by creating and maintaining relations between debts (to the source of sovereignty) and the sovereign, making up a specific type of polity (and sub-polities), the members of which may become ‘imagined’ as a community (Anderson 2003 [1988]) that is constructed

on certain common constitutive elements such as language, history, religion, political will, territory and consciousness. It is in reference to these theoretical models that the present study treats political structure. The different types and modalities subsumed under these concepts – the differences themselves indicating changes in the political structure – shall be identified when discussed in their respective contexts.

In order to elucidate changes in political structure political science models have focused on the processes of norm localisation. In the political science sub-discipline of International Relations, extensive research has been conducted on the history, causes, institutional conditions and political effects of normative change (e.g. Checkel 1999, Acharya 2004). Acharya (2004) proposes an analytical framework for investigating the role of local actors and the importance of existing normative orders in processes of normative change. However, while stressing the role of norm entrepreneurs for the reception and management of normative change and the path-dependency following from existing institutional settings, political science has largely neglected the embeddedness of these processes in regional cultural systems. It is in this respect that a combined application of explanatory models from social anthropology and political science allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the processes involved.

The concept of social structure, on the other hand, has been contextualised culturally, focusing on the role norms, values and beliefs in social action (e.g. Parsons 1951), or relationally as social relations as making up different social entities (e.g. Marx 1936 [1859], Simmel 1950 [1908], Radcliffe-Brown 1940, Blau 1977, Granovetter 2005), or as integrating the two aspects (e.g. Dahrendorf (1959), Durkheim (1964 [1893]), Weber (1968 [1921]), Giddens (1984), Bourdieu (1989), and Sewell (1992)). Each of these scholars might ascribe to the concept a different level of abstraction (Radcliffe-Brown 1940; Nadel 1957; Lévi-Strauss 1969 [1949]). The definition taken up here is the one provided by Lévi-Strauss (1963), which clearly distinguishes between social structure and social relations, the latter making up the former, which in turn cannot be reduced to the ensemble of the latter (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 279). As such, the two concepts stipulate the concept of community. ‘Community’ has been theoretically construed in different contrasting pairs, such as in terms of organic *versus* mechanical solidarity (Durkheim 1964 [1893], 1995 [1912]), of state *versus* contract (Maine 2005 [1861]), *Gesellschaft versus Gemeinschaft* (Tönnies 1979 [1887]),

of traditional *versus* modern society (Weber 1968 [1921]), of holistic, hierarchical *versus* egalitarian society (Dumont 1974 [1966]) or of egalitarian creativity of *communitas versus* structural arrangements of *societas* (Turner 1969). All of these constructs postulate a certain type of historical transformation (Wolf 2010 [1982]: 11) contrasting the social interactions between individuals belonging to a given society with those within a given community consisting of immediate face-to-face relationships among small homogeneous groups in a given locality (see Hillery 1955, Amit and Rapport 2002). I understand community as a conglomerate of living persons whose social relations are ordered in several ways. One means to order such social relations is the application of kin terms to them – labels that are part of the language being both “a source of cultural stability” and “a resource of cultural change” (Leone 2013: 121). But the social relations are also ordered in practices, in which values are “steering actions in different social domains of the own society” (Platenkamp 2013a: 79-80). This study pays specific attention to those actions that entail processes of exchange.

Exchange as a form of social action constitutes relationships “out of which models making up the social structure are built” that shape differences and similarities among persons (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 279). Marcel Mauss and Claude Lévi-Strauss presented seminal studies on social identity² and exchange³ without, however, linking the two concepts in a theoretical model (see Strathern 1988, Battaglia 1990, Weiner 1992, Myers 1993). Exchange, as a form of social action, constitutes the social relations that make up communities (Gudeman 2005: 95), but it also enhances and expresses various personal and collective identities and alterities (Gingrich and Banks 2006) and boundaries (Barth 2000) among persons. As people only acquire their identities from the relationships in which they participate, social interactions articulate how communal identities “are conceived and enacted in different, modified manners” (Gingrich 2004: 16). “The term ‘identity’ expresses [...] a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness)” as personal identity,

2 Mauss: *La Nation* (1990), *A Category of Human mind; the Notion of Person; the Notion of Self* (1979), *Seasonal Variations of the Eskimo* (1904 [1979]); Lévi-Strauss: *Totemism* (1962), *The Savage Mind* (1966).

3 Mauss: *The Gift* [1925]; Lévi-Strauss: *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1969).

“and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential characters with others” as collective identity (Erikson 1980: 109). Indeed, “personal identity is inseparable from a collective identity” (Dumont 1994: 3). The perspective adopted in this study is, however, not a comparison of extracted common ‘essential characters’. Culture, as “a collective set of modes of being” (Dumont 1994: 5), “carries the collective identity of a population [...]” (Dumont 1994: 15). Barth (2000: 17-37) brings the culturally specific concept of boundary into the debate as an analytical concept as well as a cognitive construct which creates a sense of belonging to/separating from. Gingrich (2004: 5-6), employing Grossberg (1996) and Byron (1996), arrives at the working definition of personal and collective identity “which is based on an inherently dialogical relationship between sameness and differing, belonging and othering, identity/alterity” (Taylor in Gingrich 2004: 6) as simultaneously including sameness as well as differing. Identities – which one person possesses – should thus be seen as “contextual”, “oppositional” and “relational” classificatory devices (Shore 1993: 36) since they are constantly constructed and reconstructed through social relations.

This study pays special attention to two forms of exchange, namely, gift and commodity exchange being modes of social action through which the different types of social relationships are established, transformed, maintained and brought to an end.

The concept of gift exchange,⁴ entailing mutually obligated and related transactions of inalienable objects or services (Mauss 2000 [1925]), and that of commodity exchange being its “mirror image” (Gregory 1982: 24) both refer to forms of social action and represent as such powerful analytical tools (Carrier 1995: 192) to access social identity. Specific aspects of Mauss’ theory such as the ‘spirit of the gift’ and his notion of reciprocity have been criticised (e.g. Firth 1959, Strathern and Strathern 1971, Sahlins 1972, Weiner 1992, Gregory 1982, Parry 1986, Godelier 1999, Laidlaw 2000). Others have proposed to integrate the exchange of ‘gifts’ and of ‘commodities’ in alternative models, such as that of the ‘short-term’ and ‘long-term cycles’ of exchange as “two transactional orders” (Parry and Bloch 1996 [1989]: 23-30) co-occurring in any society. Others have argued that features of gift exchange can be found in commodi-

4 Mauss (2000 [1925]) based the distinction between Western and non-Western societies on their predominant form of exchange, that is market and non-market exchange respectively.

ty transactions and *vice versa* (Apparduai 1986, Parry 1986, Parry and Bloch 1996 [1989], Carrier 1990, 1991, 1995; Godelier 1977, Gregory 1980, Bourdieu 1984, Thomas 1991, Miller 2001, Douglas 1996). Whatever the merits of such propositions, gift exchange – be it ceremonial or non-ceremonial, entailing individualist or collectivist social agents, vertical or horizontal status contexts, and gender specific or gender neutral – as a model of social exchange establishes, preserves and reproduces relations of cooperation, competitiveness and antagonism “which in turn define identities of persons. A scrutiny of the gift and the gift economy, therefore may provide us with an effective and unique means of understanding the formation of personhood and the structure of social relations in a given society” (Yan 2005: 246).

The present study presents an analysis of exchange processes in which the people of Dolenjska engage themselves and from which they derive their social identity. To that end, I shall employ Platenkamp’s (2006, 2013c) elaboration on the social anthropological models of exchange and their application to the ‘modern’ exchange systems. Both types of exchange processes – ‘modern’ and ‘non-modern’ alike – are composed of the different relations constructed by them and of the different modes of reciprocity they engage.

The transfer of gifts is motivated by the social value that adheres to the acquisition of social relationships. As gifts are inalienable the gift object may be transferred into the possession of the receiver, but the ownership remains in the hands of an original owner; and the giver acts as the guardian of the relation between the original owner and the gift. The transfer of a gift links the receiver of the gift to its original owner, representing one link in the series of relations connecting all successive receivers to a single original owner. These relations are conceived in terms of ‘the spirit of the gift’ (Mauss 2000 [1925]) or of the quality (Sahlins 1972) and immaterial value embodied and materialised in the gift object as well as in the giver, whereby the original owner is conceived as the source of that immaterial value. All subsequent receivers of the gift shall participate in that immaterial value as components relating as parts to a single whole as long as that origin relation is recognised. They make up a community the members of which participate in and identify with a single origin (Platenkamp 2013c: 2-3).

The imperative to reciprocate entails two main types of reciprocity. First, the ‘equivalence models of exchange’ involve equal immaterial value embodied in the initial and in the return gift. If the counter gift is returned immediately, it

denotes the rejection of the first gift and indicates indifference or a declaration of war. If, however, the counter gift is presented later on it declares the end of the origin relation commenced by the initial gift. In case when the counter gift embodies a substitute part of the immaterial value embodied in the first gift as a whole, the returned gift may also serve to recognise and continue the relation to the original owner. Secondly, when the exchange gifts embody different immaterial values, 'non-equivalence models of exchange' the most common types of gift exchange relations are concerned. Every receiver takes part in a relation to the original owner of that – different – immaterial value received, of which each respective giver is the custodian. Non-equivalent exchange produces reciprocal relationship that reflects contrasting immaterial values. The exchange derives its social value from the relative valuation of two different wholes, of which each of these gift objects represents a part (Platenkamp 2013c: 3-5).

The exchange of commodities is motivated by the desire to acquire these or their equivalents in money. As a result, the relation between the buyer and the seller can be of short duration, that is, it lasts no longer than the time required to complete the transaction itself. Unlike gifts, commodities are alienable. The transaction is concluded when the seller renounces his property rights in the commodity in favour of the buyer in exchange of the money given. Hence, only private property can serve as commodity in such transactions. The possession as well as the ownership of the commodity is with the seller who acts as both as owner and as custodian of the objects. Commodity exchange entails a relationship between two socially independent and autonomous economic actors whose social identities, or relations between them (apart from those defined by the market) are irrelevant to the exchange transactions. Commodity exchange is pertinent to the forms of reciprocity it involves. Hence the value of the commodity is conveyed in the price it fetches 'on the market'. The value of the commodity is measured in relation to the value in money on the basis of relative valuation indicating the equivalence of commodity and price. Therefore, the principle of non-equivalent reciprocity does not apply to commodity exchange (Platenkamp 2013c: 6-9).

According to a diachronic socio-evolutionist perspective gift exchange is characteristic of 'pre-modern' societies and commodity exchange to 'modern societies,' each involving the other system of exchanges only in exceptional cases.

As indicated above, the synchronic perspective argues the co-existence of both exchange systems in different societies. The domains of the respective exchange systems are each conditional on their own morals, ethics and rules of action and are regarded autonomous but mutually dependent fields of action. The interdependence between gift and commodity exchanges exhibits hierarchical patterns of value organisation: the gift is proclaimed categorically distinct from, and morally superior to commodity. Such a subjection is also reflected in rules which insist that part of gifts that circulate along different types of social relations are in fact transformations of commodities or their equivalents in money (Platenkamp 2013c: 9).

The transformation of commodities into gifts can be observed in the relationship between the citizens and their State (Platenkamp 2013c: 9-10). In their study of the relation between money and State sovereignty, Aglietta *et al.* (1998) have argued that in modern societies the People have delegated its sovereignty to the State, in exchange for which the State must secure for its citizens the conditions of the social reproduction of society at large. Citizens transfer part of their income gained ‘at the market’ in the form of taxes to the State which must provide education, social security, and the infrastructures that safeguard the continuity of its territory. When money is transferred as tax payment to the State, it loses its characteristics that identify money according to the model of commodity exchange. Hence, the commodity value of money derives from, and is morally encompassed by the gift value of money. The same can be argued for the value assigned to commodities, as demonstrated by Platenkamp (2006, 2013c). Commodities carry characteristics of the gift. They derive their immaterial value from wholes to which the buyer comes to be related by buying the product as a part of the whole – that is, subordinate the utility value of the product to its gift value. “Thus the designers of the cosmetics publicity campaign will try to convince you that by buying my shampoo and applying that to your body, you become part of nature, of the freshness of the oceans, of a never ageing state of being, of a superior stratum of society, etc.” (Platenkamp 2006: 24-25). The ‘economic maximisation’ that the ‘consumer’ strives for is cultural: it entails the assessment of the relative value of each of these wholes represented by the consumer goods as parts. And since publicity campaigns insist that each consumer product is a “new” object on the market, the dynamics of marketing involve the paradox of relations linking changing parts to wholes that are regarded as unchanging. “Market commodity exchange, just like gift exchange is a ritually enacted pro-

cess of establishing socio-cosmological relationships ... Cosmological because the transaction reconstructs time and again a system of relationships implicating the exchange partners in a universe of values that transcend the lives of each individual person” (Platenkamp 2006: 27).

The analysis of exchange transactions by the means of models of gift and commodity exchange and their interconnections provides access to the different social identities. Once the social action is one of gift exchange or of market exchange carrying features of gift exchange, gift-giver and gift-receiver enter into social relationships governed by the modes of reciprocity that provide the involved parties with a social identity. It is by means of the theoretical models outlined above that I conceptualise the research questions addressed in this study. The participation in the processes of exchange articulates social identity and communal values. It is thus in this domain of social action that the impact of the inclusion of local communities in regional, national and transnational polities will manifest itself most clearly.

Methods

The aim of this study is to analyse how the socio-cultural identity and communal values are articulated in the exchange processes, in which the members of the Dolenjska communities participate. Following the two central themes defined above, the research addressed three basic questions:

- How do the values informing the processes of exchange in the region contribute to the construction of the socio-cultural identity of the local population?
- How do the values informing the involvement of the local population in the Slovenian national economy contribute to the construction of a national identity of the local population and how they impact on the construction and/or reproduction of the local value system?
- How does the EU legislation regarding national and local economics impact on the local, regional and national identity construction, and the values informing that of the population of Podgorje?

To allow for a comprehensive understanding of the transformations in the value system of the Podgorje residents, research over a longer period of time was necessary. Therefore, the data collected in the field are studied in their historical perspective.

Using participant observation and conducting open and half-structured in-depth interviews I collected data on the following variables: the village social structure (the kinship system, the social categories of household, family, village, civil associations, parish, and municipality); traditional property rights on land (legal categories: rights of *usufruct* and transfer, duties of maintenance, preservation and labour provision and taxation); practices of market exchange of services and commodities; non-economic exchanges in the ceremonial and ritual contexts; self-ascribed identities; and their perceived historical origins and valued characteristics in relation to land tenure and community membership and exchange interactions. Research over a longer period of time generates a model of continuity and elucidates its discontinuities. Hence, all variables were examined as to the historical changes that have affected and still are affecting them. This entails both focused interviews with local people as well as historical research about the impact of the dismantling of the different state frameworks, bringing about the dissolution of previous forms of landed property and cooperation, the establishment of democratic institutions and the introduction of free-market economic principles. All such developments were studied as to their perceived and empirical consequences for the construction of social identity and maintenance of communal values.

The present account is one of ‘auto-anthropology’ or ‘anthropology at home’ as “anthropology carried out in the social context which produced it” (Strathern in Rapport and Overing 2000: 18). The field research was conducted during the period of nine months from December 2010 to July 2011 and twelve months from August 2012 to September 2013, as well as during the writing up of the study from 2014 until 2016. The data analysed were collected among the residents of the villages in the west Podgorje, belonging to the Town Municipality of Novo Mesto. The participant observation was conducted in one rural community while data about local history and patterns of practices were gathered in additional village communities belonging to the different parishes in the west Podgorje. In order to protect the field under study and to respect the will of my informants I shall not elaborate in detail on the villages or households. The choice of the communities was based on the following considerations: firstly, a sufficient geographical distance between the communities was necessary so that given the fragmented feudal system until 1848 and limited mobility up to the middle of the 20th Century, the differences in the transformation of social identity could be accounted for; and secondly, the selection of a familiar

and unfamiliar local communities enabled me to limit any personal influences which might have had a bearing on conducting the research.

In order to examine the distinct historical periods of the same society the analysis included actions in which the ideas set out by my informants and recorded by Slovenian ethnologists used to be articulated publicly until the last decade of the 20th Century. The study further considers the existing records (see below) on the matter. This analysis convinced me that – in order to answer the overall research questions concerning the social identity and community values of the inhabitants of the Dolenjska region – I needed to concentrate my research on the legal codes of the different polities in which the Slovenian society had been incorporated in the 19th and 20th Centuries, respectively as perceived according to unwritten local traditions in the region of Dolenjska.

The decision to commence the analysis on the local social structure in the 19th Century does not pertain to any particular point in history. Rather, it is based on pragmatic considerations led by the data available in the main written sources and the time available for such a research. Records that provide data on the local population, i.e. births, marriages and deaths, kept by the Archdiocesan Archives of Ljubljana date mainly from the 18th Century onwards and were maintained by priests of local parishes of the Catholic Church. These data are subject to issues of availability, continuity and quality (Rožman 2011). The seigneurial structure is contained in the files of respective seigneuries preserved from the end of the 16th Century onwards⁵, and in the Theresian (1748–1756), Franciscan (1818–1828) and the so-called re-ambulated (1867–1882) land cadastre⁶ stored by the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana. Additionally, these records do not constitute an uninterrupted corpus of data up to the present-day. These bodies of fragmented data are preserved only in their original form, hence written by hand in Gothic Writing in Old German language. “The challenge for research is the relative paucity of data pertaining to the commoner population, always a problem in historical studies” (Chance 2000: 498). The analysis, nevertheless, commences one millennium earlier. In order to properly contextualise the 19th Century data as well as to elucidate pertinent social phenomena of earlier emer-

5 A rather large amount of urbarial records of the relevant seigneuries are missing, owing to the different attacks on the castles, and, according to the local official, thefts. For example, there are no 18th Century land registries for the area being studied.

6 The Josephine cadastral records (1784–1790) for the area under study are missing.

gence, hence to ensure greater clarity of the text, this work considers political structure and social structure of (pre)Slovenian society in general, and of the Dolenjska region, from the 6th Century onwards as presented in the mythical narratives and scarce historical accounts deriving from the conquering and neighbouring Christianised societies. The social structure in the Dolenjska region was also influenced by the structure of German and Austrian feudalism, but there is no information on the local social structure existing independently of it. The existent accounts that I draw from are founded on these data. The main focus of analysis, however, is on the 19th Century cadastral data for the area in which fieldwork was conducted. Such statistics offer an image of the local social structure in that particular point of time as collected and presented by the Austrian state. These data shall be contextualised further by conclusions on the Dolenjska region drawn mainly by historians and ethnologists who dealt with data from the 17th Century onwards, and by my own archival research into the earlier periods. Counterpart to these historical data are the narratives collected in the field about the local past.

The state of research

To date, research on the Slovenian ‘national identity’ has focused either on Slovenes living in the country’s ‘multicultural’ periphery, that is, on border areas inhabited by members of different cultures, or on its Hungarian and Italian ‘ethnic minorities’, and other ethnic groups in Slovenia (e.g. Kozar-Mukič 1979; Brumen 1997, 1998; Darovec 2002). The interest of Slovenian anthropologists in ‘national identity’ sprang up after 1991 in relation to its ‘imperial legacy’ and the ‘Balkans’ (e.g. Godina 1998; Baskar 1998, 1999; Jezernik 2012; Brumen 1995, 1998; Brumen and Muršič 1999), and the nation’s reinvention in the post-socialist period (Knežević-Hočevar 2004, Makarovič 2008b). Kosi (2012) marked “identity regions” in Slovenia in terms of geographical parameters. Attempts to identify a “Slovenian national character” from various disciplinary angles (notably social psychology, history, philosophy and law; cp. Grafenauer 1986, Žižek 1987, Jogan 1994, Adam 1996; Igličar 2002, Vezovnik 2007) have resulted in constructions of catalogues of presumed ‘national’ (Trstenjak 1992) or ‘regional personality traits’ (Musek 2003). The most recent ethnological and socioanthropological works on Slovenia focused on ‘holidays and forming of community’ (Jezernik ed. 2013, Slavec Gradišnik ed. 2014).

The Dolenjska region has largely escaped scholarly attention. Apart from the description of Kranjska, *Land* or province of the Austrian Empire of which the Slovenian society in the 17th Century was part, and Lower Kranjska (German *Unterkrain*) as its sub-unit roughly corresponding to the area of present-day Dolenjska, provided by the Kranjska nobleman, polymath, and member of Royal Society Johann Weikhard Valvasor (*Janez Vajkard Valvasor*) in *The Glory of the Duchy of Kranjska* (*Slava Vojvodine Kranjske*, German *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain*) in 1689, and besides the contribution of the topographer and lexicographer Franz Anton Breckerfeld in the late 18th and early 19th Century, the only inquiry into the identity ascribed to its communities dates back to the last decennia of the 19th Century (Trdina 1987 [1870–1879]). The historian and writer Janez Trdina (1830–1905) recorded his daily observations and comments on the everyday life of the common people of Dolenjska in southeast Slovenia during the late 19th Century in his private notebooks. His reflections are limited to events which took place in pubs and public gatherings, but he did not enter people's houses. Trdina focused on subject matter that was declared as ethnological a century later by Slovenian ethnologists and his notes were published in 1987 under the title *Podobe prednikov* ("The Images of Ancestors") by Snežana Štabi and Igor Kramberger. Some references to the people of Dolenjska were made by pedagogue Wilhelm Urbas in two essays: *Zur Volkskunde Krains* published in *Die sterreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (1884-1902)* and *Slowenen. Ethnographische Skizze* published in Triest in *Dritter Jahresbericht der deutschen Staats-Oberrealschule f r das Jahr 1873*. In 1938, another pedagogue Vinko Möderndorfer issued his historical socio-ethnological analysis of a settlement, Št. Jurij (presently Podkum) titled *Slovenska vas na Dolenjskem* ("Slovenian village in Dolenjska").

As to the state of the social anthropological research it has been observed, that "all the regional ethnologies/anthropologies in former Yugoslavia and throughout the Balkans had their origins in the concept of Volkskunde" (Bošković 2005: 13). Each type of ethnology, however, followed its own particular path. In Slovenia, the dedication to the study of the immediate social setting set the limits to the nationally directed discipline (Slavec Gradišnik 2000: 2). After

1991, Slovenian ethnology became linked to cultural anthropology.⁷ The accounts on Dolenjska are thus of two kinds. One is concerned with the ‘national identity’ while the other remains faithful to classical ethnology. The latter accounts on Dolenjska are provided, for example, by Miklavž or Niko Kuret (1984, 1989), Helena Ložar-Podlogar (1986, 1988, 1999), Gorazd Makarovič (1995, 2008b), Janez Bogataj (1982), Ivica Križ (1994, 2007). Between 1976 and 1990 the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana conducted a project titled *Ethnological Topography of Slovenian Ethnic Territory, the 20th Century* (*Etnološka topografija slovenskega etničnega ozemlja, 20. stoletje*). For this purpose lines of enquiry were developed pertaining to the following themes: defining the area, internal structure of the area (administrative and geographical definition of the locale), demographic development of the area, changes in professional structure of the population, changes in the social structure of the population, economic development of the area, introducing novelties, decomposition of or/and level of perseverance of traditional cultural image, and assessment of scholarship of the area. Students would select a locale, usually the one of their own origin, and collect answers to questions such as about the persistence of ‘traditional culture’ and modernisation for the last quarter of the 19th Century up to the 1980s. Such reports were created for certain settlements of Dolenjska and of Podgorje as well. Nowadays works on Dolenjska appear moving between ethnology or historically oriented ethnographical research and social anthropology, and focusing on particular themes such as ‘funeral’ and ‘grave culture’, thus ‘anthropology of death’ (Habinc 2000), ‘anthropology of birth’ (Rožman 2004). ‘Foreign’ social anthropological accounts on Slovenian (post-socialist) society are currently absent. Thus, a systematic research of the articulation of social identity and communal values as evident from the exchange processes has not been undertaken to date.

7 In Slovenia, ethnology divided into two types, each grounded in the different epistemological orientations. One was founded by Stane Južnič in 1969 drawing on American, French and British social anthropology, and the other by Slavko Kremenšek continuing the ethnographic tradition.

The setting

The river Krka runs eastwards from the village Krka to the city Čatež ob Savi. Parallel and south to its river bed, from Novo Mesto to Kostanjevica (twenty-five kilometres), is a range of forested hills Gorjanci, forming the state border between the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia. The hilly landscape of Podgorje, the area under study, is the southeastern part of the Dolenjska region which is further confined by the Ljubljana river and Lake Cerknica to the west, upper Kolpa river bed and Kočevje highlands to the southwest, and to the north by the Sava river (Map 1, delineated by the purple line). Dolenjska as well as Podgorje as official territorial units do not exist. They are informal regional and sub-regional landscapes, the former acknowledged by Slovenian society and the latter by the inhabitants of Dolenjska. The land is demarcated by pertinent geographical features, allowing different borders defining the respective areas to be drawn.

Linguistically, Dolenjska represents a separate dialect group,⁸ with a substantial quantity of non-standard words of German origin. Further linguistic demarcation of East Dolenjska sub-dialect delineates the Podgorje region on the east and the west side. It is the western part of Podgorje that the present research pays a particular attention to (Map 1, demarked by the red line).

8 There are seven different dialect groups in Slovenia (Logar and Rigler 1983).



Map 1: Dolenjska and Podgorje

Podgorje encloses around 169 rural communities, villages and hamlets, ranging in size from five to eighty households and scattered across the hillsides at between 250 and 400 meters altitude. The southwestern part of the area has karst features and is less inhabited than the northeast with its limestone underlay. Half of the territory is covered by forest while there is a tendency towards shrinkage of fields and enlargement of meadows of secluded and flat areas near the river (Rus 1997: 16). It is a humid and not particularly fertile region which, apart from hilly stretches, has a fairly temperate climate with rainfall of 834.4 mm and an average yearly temperature of 11.2°C, ranging between a minimum of -10.3°C in February to a maximum of 36.7°C to in August⁹. The area's steep slopes and narrow and deep valleys with brooks running crossways from Gorjanci do not favour accessibility. The form of settlement reflects the relation between nucleated villages and agricultural land in clods (Ilešič 1950). Local residents describe the village layout "as if someone put cubes in a hat, shook it and turned it upside down and where the cubes fell, they fell". The main street is difficult to recognise in a dense network of small side streets and crossings.

⁹ meteo.arso.gov.si; 2011 Novo Mesto observatory.

According to official typologies, the villages of Podgorje follow the pre-Alpic or central-Slovenian, or karst variant of nucleated village forms (Drozg 1992). Similarly, the irregular shape and distribution of the fields, although often located in the vicinity of the house, are a reflection of the uneven terrain (Blaznik 1970c: 186), while vineyards are situated on the sunny sides of the slopes. A majority of the working residents are daily migrants employed Novo Mesto who cultivate their land only partly and hold some cattle, small cattle and poultry. The surrounding land is employed mainly for hay making, as parking lots, communal infrastructure and vegetable gardens.

Rural communities are grouped around an urbanised centre that includes the school, the Christian parish church, the post office, a pub or a store. They make up the *krajevna skupnost*, lit. “local community” with the local self-governmental body elected every four years. The borders of a Local Community commonly correspond to those of one to three neighbouring cadastral municipalities, basic units of land cadastre of the Republic of Slovenia. Local Communities make up a township or commune, namely *občina*. The Novo Mesto Town Municipality acts as the seat of the mayor, *župan* and municipal council, the main self-governmental body elected every four years. From 1995 onwards, the municipality of Novo Mesto represents the centre of, and one of the twenty-one municipalities making up, the Southeast Slovenia Region – an administrative and statistical unit without self-government. In addition, Novo Mesto represents a seat of the local Administrative Unit of the Republic of Slovenia carrying out tasks, such as matters concerning State's internal affairs, taxation, transport, construction and agriculture, under State jurisdiction. Several rural communities, most of which have a succursal church, belong to one parish. The Dolenjska parishes belong to the Novo Mesto Diocese of the Ljubljana metropolis, established in 2006. The area, thus, incorporates a parallel organisational system of the secular and ecclesiastical units of which the borders coincide.

Structure of work

This study is organised with prime reference to the concepts of political structure and social structure. It is divided into four parts, each consisting of two chapters, addressing the macro political level and the micro anthropological level respectively, and moving from the past to the present. Parts are demarked

by the onset and end of a particular polity or a set of polities, hence by the relevant political and economic markers, based on the pragmatic ground of the available applicable data. In Part One I discuss the Slavic settlement processes, their proto-forms of political and social organisation. Part Two addresses a millennium long time span leading from the 'feudal' imperial monarchic systems of the Holy Roman Empire and Austrian Empire, via the constitutional dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, to the unitary constitutional monarchy and the following monarchic dictatorship of the First Yugoslav State, and ends with the Second World War. Part Three treats the period of the Marxist conceptualisation of the State in the framework of the Second Yugoslav State. In Part Four I investigate the liberal democratic Republic of Slovenia and its embeddedness in international political framework up to the present-day. The study ends with general conclusions on the transformations of the socio-cultural identity of the Dolenjska and of the Podgorje inhabitants.

PART ONE: The ancestors of Slovenes: 6th – 9th Century

Chapter 2: Political structure

The Slavs populated the present-day Dolenjska and other parts of present-day Slovenia in the period from the 6th Century to the 9th Century (Blaznik *et al.* 1970: 67-68). In the area of Dolenjska, prior to their arrival, archaeological evidence reveals the presence of the Illyrians, ‘tribal’ communities belonging to the Indo-European language family inhabiting the western part of the Balkan Peninsula, and Celt communities who spoke Celtic and populated Central Europe, from 2000 BC to the 4th Century BC respectively, the latter forming the ruling class over the former (Blaznik *et al.* 1970: 68, Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 31-32). In the 1st Century BC, their proto-polities, that is Illyrian kingdoms and *Regnum Noricum*, became provinces of the Roman Empire, *Illyricum*, from the year 9 BC denoted as a Pannonia, and Noricum (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 32-33). In the 4th and 5th Centuries the Roman *limes* could not control the invasions of Germanic communities into the imperial territories. In the 6th Century, the South Slavs followed having conducted numerous raids of plunder in the Eastern Roman Empire. They arrived from the area of modern Moravia¹⁰ and subsequently in greater numbers from the southeast under the Avar domination, eventually engaging in conflicts with the northern neighbours the Bavarians (Štih *et al.* 2008: 16-22). The Slavs who settled in the Eastern Alps are regarded as predecessors of the present-day Slovenes, henceforth referred to as the ‘Old Slovenes’¹¹. With their arrival, the remains of the ancient administrative and ecclesiastical organisation experienced a definite break down with the exception of the Romanic coastal towns in Byzantine Istria (Štih *et al.* 2008: 95). They joined the indigenous Christian Roman population, as well as other romanised and non-romanised inhabitants such as Lombards and Avars, all of whom the South Slavs settling in the Danube area, the Balkans, the Apennine peninsula, in the Alps and further westward designated as Lahi or Vlahi¹² (Kos

10 Hence, including the West Slavs as well (Grafenauer 1978: 284).

11 Slovenian historians (e.g. Grafenauer 2000, Štih *et al.* 2008) refer to them as ‘Alpine Slavs’.

12 The Slavs adopted the term from Germanic societies before they commenced their *Volkwanderung* behind the Karpaths. Germanic *walh* denotes a Celtic neighbour in the

1939: 226-227). Fredegar reports (in Škrubej 2002: 36) how in 623, the Slavs along with the Old Slovenes called Vinedi, Wends, of the *marca Vinedorum* under their prince Valluk, rebelled against the Avars under the leadership of Samo. In 626 he became the ruler of the first known Slavic proto-polity, Samo's Tribal Union, which persisted until his death in 658. Subsequently, in the 7th Century, gentile Slavic territorial and political units emerged in the Eastern Alps: Carniola in the area of Roman Pannonia and Carantania situated in the territory of the former Roman province of Inner Noricum.¹³ (Štih *et al.* 2008: 25-26, 35).

west. Later on, *walah-walh* denoted a Roman to a Germanic person and an inhabitant of the Roman state (Kos 1939: 226-227). In the 13th Century the term was a synonym for a Latin person (Terseglav 2004: 680).

- 13 The two proto-polities and their inhabitants adopted the names of the regions where they settled. Carantania and the Carantanians were most likely “first mentioned by an anonymous cosmographer from Ravenna as *Carontani*” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 26). The Slavic name *Kórotan* was adopted from the Medieval Latin geographical name *Carintia* or *Carantāna* (Snoj 2009: 201). The latter is of pre-Slavic and also of pre-Roman origin (Štih *et al.* 2009: 26). According to Snoj (2009: 201), the name could be of Celtic origin deriving from a toponymic base **karant-* from meaning ‘rock’, or from **karantos* meaning ‘friend, ally’. The name was adopted to designate the Slavs of the area, notwithstanding the changing of its geographical borders. As for Carniola, the Slovenian Sava valley was an area “known in the Early Middle Ages by the name *Carniola*” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 35). The ancient homeland of a Gaulish community the Carnians, *patria Carnium*, was in the mountainous region north of the Friulian plain. Paul the Deacon, a Friulian Lombard, “the first to use the term Carniola, derived from Friulian geographical terminology”, to refer to *patria Sclavorum* to the east of Friuli and *Carniola* meaning ‘little Carnia’, as a part of greater Carnia (Štih *et al.* 2008: 35). The only recorded use of the ‘tribal’ name Carniolans (*Carniolenses*) dates from 820 in the *Annales Regni Francorum* (Štih *et al.* 2008: 35). The root *kar-* found in Carantania, Carnia, Carniola, and Karst is distinctive of the broader Alpine-Adriatic area (Štih *et al.* 2008: 27).



Map 2: Carantania and Carniola in the 7th and 8th Centuries and the border of the present-day Slovenian State in red (source: Bajt and Vidic (eds.) 2011: 50)

The borders of Carantania and Carniola can only be drawn roughly (Štih 2000: 360-361). By the 9th Century, the area of the Old Slovenes was substantially larger than that of the present-day Slovenian State (24,000 km²), most of it belonging to Austria (36.000 km²) and some parts to Hungary (10,000km²) (Grafenauer 1978: 17). Hence, the continuity between the Old Slovenes and the present-day Slovenes does not entail a territorial one. The initial area of settlement was because of natural barriers and political circumstances (see Grafenauer 1978: 307-315) populated sparsely and unevenly, habitation concentrating on the hills and on the prior Roman and Lombardic settlements. Dolenjska, especially the area between the Gorjanci Hill, the rivers Krka and Sava, is one of the areas that became populated by the Slavs rather early (Blaznik *et al.* 1970: 69).

Following the period of settlement and the formation of the Old Slovenian proto-polities from 658 to 740, the Carantians under the Avar threat turned to

the Bavarians for aid, and in turn both the Carantanians and the Carniolans submitted to the Frankish authority as vassal sub-polities of the Frank State, and to the Christian proselytising¹⁴, hence to the administrative and ecclesiastical organisation of the territory (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 86-87). Carantania became part of Bavaria and Carniola a part of the Friuli March, while in 811 the Drava river was set as the ecclesiastical border between the Salzburg and Aquileia Metropolitan Sees, dividing Carantania between the two ecclesiastical provinces (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 86, 92, 94), which persisted until the Church reforms in the 18th Century. The Old Slovenes resisted the Christianisation and the Frankish overrule, and joined Ljudevit Posavski, the prince Louis of Lower Pannonia, against the Franks (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 96-97). This ended in defeat and in 828, the Carantanians lost their rulers. They were replaced by the Frankish count installed by the Frankish ruler, but the Old Slovenes retained a certain level of independence, for instance in the right to practice their own *leges et consuetudines*¹⁵ (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 88-90). By the end of the 9th Century Carniola too became part of the Frankish administrative system, which in Carniola fell apart due to the Avar onrush. Vilfan argues (1996 [1961]: 50) that this is why the Old Slovenian period continued in this area 150 years longer than in Carantania. Since the medieval borders between the different polities were “tracts of no-man’s land” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 36), the part of March of Savinja, *Marchia Slavica* or *Windischmark*, present-day Dolenjska and Podgorje in particular, was acquired by the Aquileia and the Kingdom of Croatia, exchanging hands by the 12th Century when it became a permanent part of Carniola March of the Holy Roman Empire (Trdina 1987 [1866]: 24, 44, 553).

Carantania and Carniola

The historical documents on the institutions *Sclauenicae* of the ancestors of Slovenes are scarce while the existing ones allow for different and even contradicto-

14 During the violent Salzburg mission in the 8th Century, numerous churches were consecrated in Carantania (Štih *et al.* 2008: 28). In addition to Salzburg, other ecclesiastical centres, such as Aquileia, Regensburg and Freising, promoted Christianity among the Old Slovenes as well (Štih *et al.* 2008: 30).

15 This was also the case with other Slavic, Avar and Bulgar societies in the former Avar khaganate area (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 92).

ry interpretations (Škrubej 2002: 34, 207; Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 60). However, they do offer certain insights into the Slavic *ritus gentis*. The most important of these represent *Conversio Bagoarorum et Carantanorum* (CBC), *Historia Langobardorum* by Paul de Deacon, *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii libri quattuor*, *Annales Fuldenses*, Kremsmünster Manuscript and *Annales Regni Francorum*, all written in the course of the 8th and the 9th Centuries. These sources of Frankish and Byzantine origin offer an indirect, external historical testimony from the perspective of the Catholic Church on the illiterate ‘pagan’ Slavic communities in the Eastern Alps. The earliest written source in the Old Slovenian language¹⁶ are the Freising Manuscripts, a religious script written around the 10th Century with the purpose of Christianisation of the Slavs in the Eastern Alps (Ramovš 1995 [1936]; Schenker 1995: 208). For a description of the Eastern Alpine Slavic proto-polity I shall employ arguments put forward by historians who studied the above sources such as Grafenauer (1936, 2000), and Štih (2000). However, the above listed accounts consider *Sclavi qui dictuntur Quarantani*, while *Carniola sclavorum patria*, relevant for the Dolenjska region, due to the lack of sources can only be hypothesised. Nevertheless, the existing Early Medieval sources that refer to Carniola and the Carniolans, distinguish between two separate Slavic proto-states, north and south of the Karavanke mountains. I shall rely on conclusions drawn by scholars who focused on Carniolans, such as Knific (1988), Štih (1996, 2000) and Hauptman (1999), and throughout the chapter follow Grafenauer’s argument that the ‘Pannonian Slovenes’ shared ‘*leges et consuetudines*’ of Carantanians (Vilfan 1980a: 23).

The political changes described at the beginning of this chapter were ritually articulated in the ceremony ‘*ducem fecerunt*’.¹⁷ The lordship over the Old Slovenian proto-polity was assigned to *knez*¹⁸, “prince”. The Proto-Slavic word

16 Slavic language emerged from the Indo-European in around 400 BC. In 500 AD the East, West and South Slavic language families appeared, whereby the Slovene developed from the latter in 750. Some fifty years prior to that the Old Church Slavic emerged (Snoj 2003). Modern linguists generally argue that the Manuscripts are written in the Old Slovene whereas “contemporary writers” refer to the Slavic language (Štih *et al.* 2008: 31).

17 In the 9th Century the ceremony became commonly practiced among Slavic societies along the eastern and southern Frankish border (Škrubej 2002: 30; Grafenauer 1978: 406).

18 Henceforward unless indicated otherwise all indigenous words marked italics are Slovene.

*кѣнѣѣъ derives from Germanic term **kuningaz*, king (Snoj 2003: 285).¹⁹ According to Vilfan (1996 [1961]: 56-57), *knez* is an elder or head, who in the context of permanent settlement adopted the rule over the territory inhabited by his community, initially based on military leadership (Grafenauer 1955: 145). Historical accounts of the ritual of instalment of the Old Slovenian prince²⁰ differ in their descriptions of the ceremony, which in itself changed markedly through time. Based on the Grafenauer's (1952, 1978), Pleterski's (1997) and Štih's (2012) work on these accounts, I shall provide a description of the initial ritual, of the pertinent changes occurring during the following seven centuries, until its last performance in 1414. For three reasons the ritual is of particular importance. Firstly, the different descriptions, though of later date, enable one to unveil the fundamental ideas of the Old Slovenian society articulated in the ritual. Secondly, the changes in the ritual reflect the manner in which the Frankish social system and Christianity became introduced into the Old Slovenian society. And lastly, the ceremony represents the Slovenian myth on nationhood providing present-day Slovenes with ancestors and establishing their historical origin and continuity.

19 The meaning of the Slavic *knjaz* is “a Slavic tribal prince of the Early Middle Ages” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 32).

20 *Schwabenspiegel*, a collection of legal codes and uses, written ca. 1275 by a Franciscan friar in Augsburg; *Österreichische Reimchronik*, written ca. 1306 by the Knight Ottokar as recorded for the coronation of Meinhard II of Tyrol in 1286; *Liber certarum historiarum* written ca. 1341 by Johannes Victoriensis, near Klagenfurt as recorded for the coronation of Meinhard II of Tyrol in 1286; *Chronik des Landes Kärnten von 764 bis 1475* by Jakob Unrest from 1452 to 1499. It is also mentioned in Jean Bodin's book *Six livres de la République* in 1576 as a part of his theory on sovereignty. First three sources are regarded as the most important, yet they “have been differently evaluated, which largely resulted in different interpretations of the origin, development and significance of enthronement ceremonies through centuries” (Štih 2012: 306). Thus, many issues concerning the ritual “remain unsolved” in historiography (Štih 2012: 306) and the public notion on the matter differs from historiography (Štih 2012: 306). Štih (2012: 321-324) also questions the conception(s) of the enthronement communicated by Slovenian school textbooks and history books – Grafenauer's (1952, 1978), Pleterski's (1997) work taken up here included.

Grafenauer (1978: 402) describes the enthronement ritual of *knez* as it was most likely performed prior to the Frankish overrule in the second half of the 8th Century, in the following manner. After the death of the prince, *veča*²¹, an assembly of the '*populi*' elected a new prince from the prince's dynasty by enthroning him – in the presence of the commoners – on the Prince's Stone, *knežji kamen* an ancient Roman column capital²² at the '*civitas Carentana*' (Grafenauer 1978: 402).

Schwabenspiegel refers to the enthronement ceremony of the duke of Carinthia in the 14th and 15th Centuries as it was possibly practiced in the 11th or in the first half of the 12th Century (*op.cit.*: 395). At the '*civitas Carentana*' most likely (Pleterski 1997: 18), a free man was selected by his peers at the elective assembly, *volilna veča* performed by *kosezi* (German *fryen lantsaessen*), that is a privileged group acting as '*populi*' of Carinthia in the name of the people of the land (Vilfan 1952: 209-210). Hence, *kosez* executed the role of the judge of the land and presided over the process of the election of the new prince proposed by the Frankish imperial ruler (Grafenauer 1978: 395-396). Then, the candidate changed clothes. Next, the ceremony took place at the '*Carentana*' where the new duke would receive the power to rule. The future prince now dressed as a common man, hence a peasant, was put on a wild mare and taken to the stone located at the '*Carentana*', between Glanegg and Maria Saal. The future duke rode three times around the column while the people present sang '*Kyriac eleison*' in the Old Slovenian language²³ thanking God for giving them the ruler according to their will (Grafenauer 1952: 249; 1978: 396; Štih 2012: 315). Final-

21 The word derives from the Old Slavic **vēt'e* and **vēt'a* advisory or consultation assembly with original meaning consultation, speaking from Old Slavic **vētiti*, to speak (Snoj 1997: 707).

22 Pleterski (1997: 56) argues that prior to the installment of duke Otto the Habsburg in 1335, the Prince's stone stood in Zollfeld. The stone displayed presently in *Celovec* (Klagenfurt) is in fact "the base of the ionic column turned upside down" (Luthar et al. 2013: 90). It is "the oldest preserved symbol of power in the entire eastern Alpine region" (Štih et al. 2008: 33).

23 Pleterski (1997: 34) questions the accuracy of the description as the people should sing it at the end of the ritual. It depends on where the Prince's Stone stood, whether in the castle or on the field.

ly, at the Duke's Chair²⁴, the new duke, still dressed as a common man, pledged in German and received the homage of the estates from the German ruler to whom he presented a deer (Grafenauer 1978: 396-397, Štih 2012: 315).

Reimkronik and *Liber certatum historiarum*, both written in the 14th Century, refer to the enthronement of Meinhard II, Count of Gorizia and Tyrol, in 1286. Štih *et al.* (2008: 75-76) summarise their description of the ritual – performed in the Old Slovenian language (Grafenauer 1978: 396) – in the following manner:

“[T]he duke appearing before a Slovene peasant, a *kosez*, sat upon the Prince's Stone. When the peasant received an affirmative response from his retinue to the question of whether the duke was a fair judge, whether he cared for the wellbeing of the duchy, whether he was a freeman, and a respecer and defender of the Christian faith, the peasant ceded the stone to his ‘equal’ (the duke was dressed in peasant attire), symbolically conferring jurisdiction over the duchy. The new duke would have already received the duchy of Carinthia from the crown as a fief, but only after the ceremony, which took place at Karnburg where the stone was located, and which was sealed by the duke's oath, did the bishop of Gurk give the duke his blessing during a mass at the church of Maria Saal. After noon, the duke was then able to distribute fiefs from the ducal throne at Zollfeld.”

The two descriptions provide further important information: the judge hit the future duke²⁵, the latter brandished his sword on all sides, drank water out of peasant's hat (Štih 2012: 314), argued that he was longer subject to the *kosez* judge by pretending not to speak the (Slovenian) language, after the Mass a feast followed and that people burned fires (Štih 2012: 314, Grafenauer 1952: 113, 246). Some other sources such as Jakob Unrest notes the mowing of meadows (in Pleterški 1997: 34).

Grafenauer (1978: 394) proposed the description of the last installation ritual in 1414. Ernest the Iron dressed as a peasant with the retinue of feudal lords came up to “the oldest male member of the Old Slovene *kosez* family of the duchy peasant from Blažnja Vas” (Grafenauer 1978: 394; my translation A.R.)

24 Pleterški (1997: 12) concludes that it substituted the column which was moved to the *civitas Carantana*. The position, origin and role of the two thrones in the instalment ritual remains uncertain (see e.g. Štih 2012).

25 The slap most likely substituted a former duel (Pleterški 1997: 36).

acting as a judge and holding a blotchy bull in one hand and a blotchy mare in the other. The peasant asked him about his integrity, righteousness, his care for the wellbeing of the land, whether he was a free man and whether he would defend the Christian faith. After having received affirmative answers and ransom for the Prince's Stone along with the two animals, the *kosez* judge granted the duke the rule by handing him the Prince's Stone. The mass at the '*ecclesia sanctae Mariae ed Carantanam*' followed and in the afternoon, sitting on the Duke's Chair at the '*Carentana*', he granted feuds to his vassals and on the other seat of the chair the count of Gorizia as Caranthinian palatine count granted feudal estates to the supplicants (Grafenauer 1978: 394).

The ritual reveals that it was the peasants as representatives of the land who transferred to the king the authority to rule. Where, then, did the peasantry obtain this authority?

Basing himself on these accounts the archaeologist Pleterski (1997) attempted to unveil the unchangeable "archetypical structural network" (Pleterski 1997: 2) and reconstruct the ritual in its earliest form, that is, as a part of the pre-Christian and of the Indo-European ideology – argument put forward earlier by Banaszekiewicz (1986) and Kahl (1993). He did so by means of "structural comparison" (Pleterski 1997: 4) indicating similarities in the structure of the mythical instalment rite in Temair in Ireland²⁶, the Hittite Code (Pleterski 1997: 23-38) and the Carantanian enthronement, and in the topographic structure of the landscape. Pleterski (1997) and Šmitek (1998a, 1998b), also indicated the possibility of what the role of the mythical figure Kersnik could have been in the enthronement ritual of *knez*. Continuing their line of thought I hypothesise that this ritual of Old Slovenian kingship shows traces of an ideology associating peasantry with the modality of autochthonous life. Both Indo-European (Dumézil 1988 [1940], 1974 [1958]) and Slavic ideologies stipulate that the World is composed of three domains: the Earth, the Sky, and the Underground (Šmitek 1998b: 29), representing the spheres of earth, air and water respectively. The 'World Mountain' (also 'World Tree') represents the intersection of a vertical axis, linking the

26 E.g. the candidate has to accomplish certain tasks, engage in a duel, marry governance in the image of the wild mare, engage in a sexual intercourse with the wild mare, change clothes and provision food to distribute to the People who granted him the rule (Pleterski 1997: 23-38).

Sky, domain of deities, with the Underground, the realm of the dead, and a horizontal axis, the Earth of mortals. The distribution of the inhabitants of the World on the horizontal plain is determined by their distance from the cosmological centre. Deities are in the centre, then come mortals, whereas the dead dwell beyond the water (Šmitek 1998a: 30-48). Further, Indo-European myths refer to the first earthly king as ‘the Son of God’. In the Slavic pantheon this role is assigned to Kersnik. Being associated with sun and fire complementing the domains of the earth, air and water he is a mythological benevolent figure who according to several scholars (e.g. Mikhailov 1998, Bošković-Stulli 1960, Šmitek 1998a, 1998b) displays properties similar to those ascribed to Iranian Yima, and Indian Yama and Mithra (Šmitek 1998a: 100)²⁷.

In his mythological reconstruction of Kersnik, Šmitek’s (1998a: 100-113) findings pertinent to the apprehension of the notion of kingship are the following. He lives in the castle on the top of the Mountain in the ninth province²⁸. Next to the castle there is a tree, a well or spring linked to the underground water source transmitting exceptional powers, and a moving throne, the sky chariot pulled by horses²⁹. Kersnik, the prince warrior, engages in a confrontation with a snake to retrieve his country/herd/wife/sister that the snake has stolen from him. The duel takes place in the three realms, demonstrating Kersnik’s governance over the World. Water or golden wheat begins to rain in celebration of Kersnik’s victory. Kersnik acts as a hunter and a stockbreeder which indi-

27 Kersnik was celebrated on the Midsummer Eve by lightning fires, *kres* on hills to ensure fertility (Šmitek 1998a: 115). The image of mythological Kersnik is entwined with the myth on Zeleni Jurij, his yearly return and marriage with the deity of fertility (Šmitek 1998b, 1998b). Jurjevanje is nowadays performed on the 23rd and 24th of April for the name day of *Sv. Jurij*, St George in Bela Krajina, neighbouring to Dolenjska, to bring spring. The myth describes how Zeleni Jurij (Green George), a young man dressed in green arrives from the land of the Dead, conquers the dragon, frees his sister with whom he marries and fathers a child, and finally is killed by his wife and her (and his) brothers (Pleterski 1997: 38).

28 According to the Old Slovenian settlement area in the East, “in the Land of the Rising Sun” (Šmitek 1998a: 105).

29 Or an image of a riding deity (Šmitek 1998a: 104).

cates ambivalence³⁰ between internal beneficence and external destruction (Šmitek 1998a: 100-113)

The Temair concepts of ‘*lommrad*’ and ‘*síd*’ similarly indicate the double nature of the Temair king as the mediator of fertility and of its opposite (Pleterski 1997: 32). Yima, like Kersnik, represents the ‘good shepherd’ portrayed sitting with his legs crossed on top of the World Mountain. Furthermore, the ‘lord of pastures’ is linked to the notion of the afterworld as a pasture and the deceased as sheep (Šmitek 1998a: 107). Kersnik acted as a representative of all people transcending social differences between them. Comparably, in the Irish case the king as the ruler leads the army, acts as a judge, and provides for the wellbeing of the realm (Šmitek 1998a: 118). The norm observed by the Temair king is ‘*fír flathe-mon*’, translated as the righteousness that entails values of justice, peace and fertility (Pleterski 1997: 32). These mythical dimensions may assist us in interpreting the representations and actions of the initial enthronement ritual and the peasantry as source of the authorisation of the ruling power.

The structure of the World was reflected in the sacred locations in the socio-spatial domain, hence in the tripartite representations and actions (Pleterski 1997). Carantania, the realm of the prince of Carantania is a mirror image of the Slavic cosmos, encompassing “the area around Zollfeld (*Carentana*) and Ulrichsberg (*Mons Carantanum*) (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 85). The installation took place at the Princes’ stone at ‘*Carentana*’ (*Gospovetsko* or *Sveško polje*,³¹ German *Zollfeld*) – representing the earth, defined by the ‘*civitas Carantana*’ (*Krnski grad*,³² German *Karnburg*) – representing the sky, and by the ‘*ecclesia sanctae Mariae ed Carantanam*’ (*Gospa Sveta*, German *Maria Saal*) – representing the water (Pleterski 1997: 4). According to Pleterski (1997) the enthronement ritual “initially took place on these three locations” (1997: 56).

30 His double nature is reminiscent of a twin sibling, a sister with whom he engages in an incestuous relationship and marries her. In some myths, this duality “is also illustrated by different Kresniks fighting each other” (Šmitek 1998a: 101).

31 According to Kranzmayer (in Pleterski 1997: 7), the dialectal name is *Sveško polje*, which like *Svatne* (see presently) derives from the word *svet*, meaning *sanctus*, *divinus*, *sacer* (Snoj 2009: 349).

32 According to Pleterski (1997: 7), the original name was *Grad* or *Gradec*; German name *Karnburg* was first recorded in 1251 as *Chaerenpurch*.

Be that as it may, in the ritual of the enthronement the relation between the three orientations became re-established. Possibly at the castle (Pleterski 1997: 18), the candidate was chosen by the ‘*populi*’, the People, all members of the proto-polity (Grafenauer 1978: 146). He was presented with a horse and a bull (Prunk 2008: 18, 19) and was required to tame the wild mare, comparable to the bride price and acquisition by capture respectively in the context of marriage (Pleterski 1997: 38-41). The mare in the Irish instalment ritual indicated holy marriage, *hieros gamos* which in Indo-European myths denoted the transfer of fertility to the land. The relationship between the cosmological and social domains was established by means of the marriage with the goddess – of sovereignty in the case of Temair (Pleterski 1997: 30) – in the image of the wild mare³³. At the stone at the ‘*Carentana*’, the judge tested the future prince who engaged in a duel, and having won it, rode around the stone and brandished his sword on all sides to demonstrate his acquired authority over the realm. The candidate pledged to the People to rule with integrity and to provide them and the land with wellbeing. Finally, at *Svatne* (Pleterski 1997: 35), the prince drank water deriving from the underground, the domain of the deceased under the jurisdiction of the water deity (Pleterski 1997: 35). It indicated the connection of the domain of the ancestors with the domain of the living (Mencej 1997: 131-143), which in Temair designated governance (Pleterski 1997: 33). Assuming an affinity between the Carantanian and Temair enthronement rituals we may identify the ceremony as an exchange of marital transactions, in which ancestors figured as original owners represented by the people as guardians of that relation, vis-à-vis the *knez* as the receiver of the ancestral gift. People thus acted as the mediators between *knez* and the ancestors, constituting a relationship of transfer the transitivity of which across time generated a community whose members identified themselves in terms of their shared relationship to this common ancestral origin. The people as guardians of the ancestral land handed over – along with the throne – the authority, *oblast*³⁴ over the land and its immaterial value – the fertility embodied in it – into the possession to *knez*. The return gift of the people to the ancestors was of equivalent value, namely,

33 The king and mare also play key roles in the Indo-European fertility ritual (see e.g. Doniger O’Flaherty 1980).

34 The term *oblast*, rule or authority is common Slavic and indicates considerable stability in meaning (Škrubej 2002: 144-148).

mowing the meadows, burning fires, killing an animal, all entailing the sacrifice of a substitute part of the immaterial value embodied in the first gift as a whole. By means of this return gift the relationship with the ancestors was acknowledged and perpetuated. Having proven to be worthy of and capable for the task, *knez* entered into a ‘non-equivalence’ type of exchange with the people (ancestors) by returning the gift of different immaterial value from the one received, namely, by acting as a principled ruler, as a judge, a provider of well-being and a protector. As such, the ritual articulated an understanding of socio-cosmological order, according to which the authority over the realm – legitimised by the People – is assigned to *knez* and the jurisdiction over the source of fertility, remains with the ancestors of the land, who through their living descendants grant the authority to *knez*.

Knez ruled in a realm which consisted of different social categories and reflected a socio-topographic model in which the hierarchically higher categories occupied the centre of the domain, while the commoners inhabited the peripheral parts (see Grafenauer 1978: 380).³⁵ The freemen or commoners represented the majority of the population. They lived in the framework of *župa*, that is a territorial community with the land belonging to the “*župa* as a collective” (Vilfan 1980a: 29; my translation A.R.), governed by an elder head of community denoted as *župan*³⁶. The community was ruled and its decisions made through the institution of *veča*, an assembly of different hierarchical types (as evident from the election of *knez*) all convening outdoors (Vilfan 1996: 63). *Svobodnjaška veča* was an assembly of *župa* or of several *župa*, presided by *knez*, discussing judicial matters, relations with other communities and maintaining community

35 Geographical names and land registries from the 11th to the 16th Century reveal a particular settlement distribution according to which *kosezi* were situated in the area around Karnburg (Grafenauer 1978: 380).

36 The name *jopan* was first recorded in the Kremsmünster Manuscript in 777. The word *župan* is etymologically not yet resolved. It is known to most Slavic languages (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 52). The written sources are scarce and date to the time when *župan* already represented an institution of feudal society. The role of *župan* in the Old Slovenian society can only be hypothesised, although the later sources do permit a certain amount of retrospective deduction. Vilfan presents the possibility of the original *župa* as a lineage group (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 53).

norms and rules³⁷ (Škrubej 2002: 219-220). *Knez* collected a duty in kind called *pojezda*³⁸ in exchange for his chairmanship of the communities' assemblies. *Pojezda* was employed for the maintenance of the travelling court, composed of *knez* and his military retinue designated as *družiniki*. In addition, he possibly collected a common duty called *pravda*.³⁹ (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 64). *Knez* occupied the centre of the realm at 'Carentana' (*Gospovetsko polje*, German *Zollfeld*), with neighbouring estates of nobility in CBC denoted as '*principes*' or '*comines*' (in Škrubej 2002: 38) residing on their own estates known as *dvor* (Latin *curtis, mansi*). Initially, the term possibly denoted any homestead. Upon the transformation of collectively possessed land into individually held land, which occurred outside the framework of the collective land of *župa*, the meaning shifted to the latter. *Dvor* thus came to denote an estate governed by the head of the house, hence a house with the affiliated land in the possession of the nobles and worked by serfs, or in rare cases, in possession of freemen and worked by family members (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 59, 61). In the context of permanent settlement and under Bavarian and Lombardic influences, a new category of people emerged labelled *kosezi*, in addition to the nobility, who also occupied the central position in the polity (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 55-56). They represented a privileged group distinctive of the Old Slovenes (see Štih *et al.* 2008: 34), although the name is not Slavic, and their origin too is uncertain.⁴⁰ Up to the 16th Century, *kosezi* were freemen with their own court, public functions, allodial estate (without servants) and living in separate settlements (Grafenauer 1978: 387-388, Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 55) which could be part of a *koseška župa*. In German, they were designated as *Edlinger* ("noble people"), but when they emerged in the context of the permanent settlements, their privileged position started to decline (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 55). The Old Slovenian proto-polity therefore was constituted of estates, *dvori*, of communities of free commoners, *svobodinska župa*, and later on of *kosezi* communities, *koseška župa*, and the uninhabited and untilled land. The

37 It developed a representative body of *župa* heads in the so-called *županska pravda*, a form of a constitutional military court (Škrubej 2002: 72).

38 It persisted well into the feudal era (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 64).

39 *Pravda* was in feudalism the main duty to the feudal lord (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 64).

40 First written sources which mention *Koséntzes* date to the mid-10th Century (Štih *et al.* 2008: 34). Pleterski (2013: 348) dated their appearance for the Bled area in Carniola to Late Middle Ages.

relationships between these social categories are unclear, but their relationship to *knez* suggests a certain type of a proto-feudal system.

Under the Christian Frankish rule from 743 onwards, the *knez* needed to disown the pagan ideas embodied in his office and adopt the Frank model of authority. His position became hereditary within a ruling dynasty (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 58) while formal elections and the ritual confirmation of the new prince connected the hereditary nature of his status to the elective principle (Štih 1995: 31). In addition, the future Carantanian princes would be raised as hostage in Bavaria in Christianity⁴¹ and be confirmed by the Frankish king before returning home to be installed (Grafenauer 1978: 402)⁴². Once in office the Carantanian *knez* was to pay an annual ‘*servitum*’, a transfer of the duty of *pojezda* (see above), to the bishop of Salzburg (Grafenauer 1978: 422). When the Old Slovenian princes converted to Christianity the Old Slovenes no longer acknowledged *knez* since the authority to rule, *oblast* was no longer authorised by them. Subsequently, the arrival of the foreign princes in 828 led to a significant change⁴³ in ritual. The political authority over the realm became assigned to the foreign royal dynasty “by the grace of God,” while the Old Slovenes of autochthonous descent became collectively classified as peasants.⁴⁴ This classical diarchic model of social relations was until the 15th Century, ritually expressed.

41 Trdina (1866: 35) writes that the purpose of *knez* was to acknowledge the authority of the Bavarian duke and sent his children to Bavaria as a guarantee of loyalty.

42 In 673 and 765 the rebellions against Christianisation were suppressed by the Carantanian *knez* Hotimir with his military forces (Grafenauer 1978: 148).

43 Further changes occurred in the 14th Century. Based on the artefact and topographical analysis, Pleterski (1997: 12, 22-23) argues that the instalment stones were repositioned so as to correspond to the ancient division of administrative territories of Roman cities (Pleterski 1997: 47), thus reestablishing the continuity with Christian Roman Noricum (Štih *et al.* 2008: 29).

44 By the 12th Century, when the basic feudal land-owning structure became established, references to the nobles with Slavic personal names among Carinthian and Carniolan nobility end. According to Grafenauer (1978: 456-457), the uprising led by Ljudevit Posavski was a struggle for power by the (emerging) Old Slovenian nobility against the Frankish nobility which resulted in a radical change in the structure of the former. On the other hand, as in the 8th and 9th Century the Old Slovenian and Bavarian nobility in-

Chapter 3: Social structure

There are no available data on the social structure of the Old Slovenes who settled in the Dolenjska region for the period under scrutiny here, so that the question on how these political changes affected local population cannot be answered. However, the researches of Slovenian historians of the social structure of the Old Slovenes, and the features ascribed to the Slavic societies and Slavic cosmology outlined earlier allow for some general observations. As established, Dolenjska became populated by the Slavs early, in the period of the “oldest colonisation” (see Blaznik *et al.* 1970: 69, 71).

Between the 6th and 10th Centuries, the Old Slovenian house (*hiša*⁴⁵) was commonly a wooden one-space dwelling with a proto-hall (*veža*), and a stove or fireplace of some sort (Vilfan 1970: 580). Setting the clod field system, the oldest form of field distribution in the Slovenian area managed by the two-field crop rotation, homesteads arose as cultivating units (Blaznik 1970c: 191).

Based on the myth of *tročan*, that is a principle of triad, and its reconstruction by means of spatial ideograms Pleterski (2006, 2014) identified certain configurations of space reflecting a specific Slavic ideology. According to his findings, the tripartite structure of the World was similar to the realm of *knez* reflected in the Old Slovenian settlements as well as in dwellings in the socio-spatial domain. Three stones or three different fluids or plants signified the Sun, the Earth and the Water as social and cosmological domains. Their interrelationship was to be regularly re-established ritually and the socio-cosmological

termarried (Grafenauer 1978: 379) and the Old Slovenian nobility acted as givers of their land to the Church “*Baaz de genere Carontana Sclavaniarum*” (in Škrubej 2002: 38), Štih *et al.* argue that the Old Slovene nobility “rapidly assimilated in terms of language and lifestyle” and “joined existing German noble families to create a new ruling social class” (2008: 59). In the 19th Century the image of ‘us’ as ‘peasants’ became part of the Slovenian national identity (see Part II).

45 The Proto-Slavic and Slavic **xjjs’ a* and **xjz’ a* derive from Gothic or Old High German *hūs* (Snoj 2003: 204). Although, Haruzin and Murko (in Vilfan 1970: 579) allow the possibility that the term *veža*, hall could represent a reminiscent of the original Slavic dwelling. Slavic *hiža*, on the other hand, denoted “the building, the main living area or the fireplace” (Vilfan 1970: 580).

order renewed (Pleterski 2006: 42). The decision on the establishment of a homestead followed the rule of locating three defining stones. Two were used as pillars of the construction. To the third one a guardian role was assigned. The knowledge of its location would only be with the founder of the house. Only on his deathbed would he pass on the secret to his heir and future head. If the knowledge of the location of the so-called *binkel* was not transferred, the house would collapse (Medvešček in Pleterski 2006: 43). Hence, if there was no progeny, the old head could not inform on the whereabouts of *binkel*, which brought the existence of the homestead to an end.

The Old Slovenian houses were thus literally grounded. Presently remembered belief that the thresholds required special observance when a bride was introduced into them was, according to several scholars, for example Novak (1942: 50) and Ovsec (1991: 222), linked to the threshold and place around the hearth as Slavic burial sites and a place where spirits dwell. Should the bride touch the threshold the existence of the house would be jeopardised. Such adherence relates to the continuous relations between the living members of the house and their predecessors situating the house in a perpetual setting.

It is commonly assumed that the patrilocal extended family, (*rodbinska*) *zadruga* was the basic social unit among the South Slavs. There are numerous definitions of this particular family unit deriving from its different temporal and spatial dimensions (e.g. Tomasevich 1955, Halpern and Wagner 1984, Hammel 1968, 1972). Thus, they may differ in their legal, political, economic, and kinship aspects, in emphasising its institutional or processional quality, and in the approaches taken in defining its properties. Nevertheless, most definitions rest on the distinction between the nuclear family and the joint family being grounded in contrasting ideologies such as hierarchical *versus* egalitarian ones. A widely cited definition describes the *zadruga* as “a household composed of two or more biological or small-families, closely related by blood or adoption, owing its means of production communally, producing and consuming its means of livelihood jointly and regulating the control of its property, labour and livelihood communally” (Mosely 1940: 95), thus emphasising kinship, property relations, security, labour processes, and livelihood as its features. Some scholars, however, acknowledged the difference between the ‘ideal’ and ‘real’ in this respect (see Portis-Winner 1977, Rihtman Auguštin 1988). Rihtman-Auguštin (1988: 216) contrasted an imagined model of *zadruga* with that of a real one. The ideal one entailed indivisible joint

property, a gendered division of labour for the communal benefit with male tasks ascribed a higher status, the harmonious living of an extended family in which the women being subordinated to men, the just and strict rule by the family head delimited by male consensus, and the *zadruga* being independent of the wider society. The real *zadruga* by contrast entailed collective and individual property, equal labour by both sexes, conflicts between families and individuals, a specific role of women involving defying the head and opposing his unfair decisions, and manifold interactions with the wider society. Rihtman-Auguštin (1988: 216). In 1966, the Croatian ethnologist Vera St. Erhlich published the results of a study on the family in transition in 300 Yugoslav villages, a project which she commenced in 1937. In Slovenian society of the 19th Century the *zadruga* was not found. Yet, Portis-Winner argued to the contrary adducing data on joint property and linguistic evidence presented by Slovenian scholars (Portis-Winner 1971: 60-64). For example, Vilfan defined *zadruga* as a “community of kinsmen and their wives who live in a common homestead and household under the rule of *starešina* [head]” (1996 [1961]: 54; my translation A.R.). Other scholars considered the South Slav *zadruga* “an institution” from times “immemorial” (Todorova 1993: 139) the persistence and demise of which being contingent on the transformations of the political structure brought about under the impact of the Ottoman and the German Empire respectively (see also Rihtman-Auguštin in Žmegač 2004). Portis-Winner examined the mythical reminiscences of the *zadruga* in the case study of a rural settlement in southwestern Slovenia. She recorded the “twelve families origin myth” – myth about the foundation of the village – and identified similarities with Indo-European and Semitic myths (e.g. Opler and Singh 1948, Guthrie 1955). In view of the lack of data about the *zadruga* prior to the 19th Century and given the fact that those from the 19th Century do not allow for quantitative analyses Todorova, suggested to abandon the term altogether (1993). Nevertheless, the research on the matter continued (e.g. Kaser 2012). But even though the notion of *zadruga* has become part of national ideologies, yet not of the Slovenian one, the term *zadruga* – a neologism dating from the 19th Century – never entered the South Slavic vernacular to designate a particular type of family grouping (Todorova 1993: 133)⁴⁶. Therefore, it is expedient to avoid this term for analytic

46 The Slavic word *zadruzhen* is an adjective denoting joint, communal. *Zadruga* as a noun appeared first in the Serbian dictionary of Vuk Karadžić in 1818 to refer to “Hausgenossenschaft (in Gegensatze der einzelnen Familie)” ... (Todorova 1993: 181).

purposes and employ the term ‘house’ instead to designate a family or household unit among the South Slavs (see Todorova 1993: 133-134).

Lévi-Strauss (1982: 172) has observed that this practice to denote a social group as well as its material dwelling as ‘house’ is widespread. Drawing upon societies of North America, the Austronesian speaking world, Africa, and upon the feudal Houses of medieval Europe and Japan (e.g. 1982, 1987, 1979, 1991), Lévi-Strauss identified a particular non-modern type of social structure characteristic of the so-called ‘house societies’ (*société à maison*) in which the House represented a “moral person, keeper of a domain composed altogether of material and immaterial property, which perpetuates itself by the transmission of its name, of its fortune and of its titles in a real or fictive line held as legitimate on the sole condition that this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or of alliance, and, most often, of both together [Lévi-Strauss 1979: 47; translation in Gillespie 2007: 33]. The concept of House may represent the relations enacted between the House members and the shared identity they derive from it.

The concept of ‘house’ employed here refers to sets of kinship relations that are denoted by kin terms that in themselves are attributes of the social structure in question.

Slavic languages share the most of their kin terms among them. These terms can be divided in two groups. The most numerous correspond to other Indo-European languages and are part of the Old Church Slavic and Proto-Slavic. The other terms are “nursery words” originating in different periods and resemble such kin terms in many non-Slavic languages as well. Nursery words which arose in Proto-Slavic as reduplication from the Indo-European denote older members of the family: *ded* (‘grandfather’), *babica* (‘grandmother’), *oče* (‘father’), *mama* (‘mother’), *teta* (‘aunt’), and possibly *stric* (‘uncle’) (Snoj 2003: 98).

Arriving from kin terminology of Slovenian and of other present-day South Slavic languages, Serbian in particular, it is possible to consult Pleteršnik’s Slovene-German Dictionary (2006 [1894–1895]) on the Slovenian kin terms documented between 16th and 19th Centuries in the different written sources and in the different parts of the Slovenian speaking area. Based on such reference and its etymology (see Appendix: List of Kinship Terms), a model of

Old Slovenian kinship system can be reconstructed hypothetically. The kinship terminology has an organising impact on the social structure.

In the Old Slovenian society, ‘family’ most likely was designated as *rod-bina* denoting in a narrow sense of the word a community of kin living and working together. In a broader sense *rodbina* designated people related by blood, that is, consanguineal kin (Ravnik and Simič 2004: 502-503). The word derives from the lexeme *rod* which in the Old Church Slavic and Proto-Slavic designated ‘kin, lineage, generation, birth’ and originates in Indo-European root meaning ‘growth’ (Snoj 2003: 626-627).

The belonging to blood kin, namely *sin*, son (initially ‘the one who was born’) and *hči* (daughter) represent to each other *sestra*, sister from the Indo-European, initially the woman of similar age of one’s own *rod* (Snoj 2003: 651), and *brat*, brother⁴⁷. It appears that the lexeme for siblings did not exist. In the Proto-Slavic and Church Slavic there was a distinction between Z’s and B’s children, by means of terms deriving from *sestra*, “sister” and *brat*, “brother”, respectively.⁴⁸ Interestingly, in addition to ‘brother’s son’, *bratranec* in the Church Slavic denoted also brother’s grandson which is characteristic of Crow and Omaha terminologies. The terms for BS and BD, in addition to the ones deriving from the lexeme *brat*, “brother”, based on the lexeme *sin*, “son” appeared in Proto-Slavic (Friedrich 1962: 7, see also Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 475). Not, however, for ZD and ZS. Hammel (1968: 27) ascribed these relative-sex and absolute-sex attributes to the rule of residence in the South Slavic ‘house’ according to which brothers’ children would have co-resided while sisters’ children would not.

In present-day Slovenian language, there is no terminological difference between cross- and parallel-cousins. Furthermore, it is impossible to reconstruct Indo-European cousin terms as they do not constitute a Proto-Slavic vocabulary. This suggests two possibilities. Either “cousin kin types were classed with other relatives” (Friedrich 1962: 6), so that, for example, cousins were referred to by the same term as siblings, which would suggest a Hawaiian termi-

47 The initial meaning is not known (Snoj 2003: 55).

48 Present-day meaning of cousins arose in the manner that children adopted the term from their parents. The initial meaning persists in “brother's son, nephew”, *bratan*, “brother’s daughter, niece”, *bratana*, “male cousin” (initially through F/MZ), *sestranec*, “female cousin”, *sestrana* (Snoj 2003: 55).

nology; or “only parallel cousins were classed with the siblings, while cross-cousins were ranked asymmetrically upward or downward” (ibid.), supporting hypothesis of an Indo-European cross-cousin marriage rule. Further consanguineal terms display a bifurcate collaterality. *Stric* in Proto-Slavic meant ‘father’s brother’.⁴⁹ *Ujec*, derives from the Indo-European and in Proto-Slavic originally meant ‘belonging to mother’s father, to grandfather’ (Snoj 2003: 797). *Ujna* (also *teta*; ‘mother’s sister’) and *strina* (‘father’s sister’) in Proto-Slavic come from the female form of the adjective of *ujec* and *stric* respectively (Snoj 2003: 797). The revealed bifurcation indicates differentiation between mother’s and father’s side. According to Murdock (1949: 148) such forms of “avuncular and amital bifurcate collaterality” (Friedrich 1962: 4) may indicate unilineal descent and unilocal residence which is, along with classificatory uncles and nephews, commonly associated with patrilineal descent and patriarchal authority (Friedrich 1962: 6-8). *Nečak*, ‘nephew’ (and the female form *nečakinja*) existed in the Slavic, Church Slavic and Proto-Slavic and derives from Indo-European *vnuk* (female form *vnukinja*), *potomec*, that is ‘grandson’ (‘granddaughter’) and ‘descendant’ (Snoj 2003: 439). This suggests Indo-European classification of grandchildren with nephews, sister’s children in particular, characteristic of patrilineal Omaha terminology (Friedrich 1962: 6). The original meaning of *vnuk*, on the other hand, is *mali ded*, ‘little grandfather’ (Snoj 2003: 828), hence little ancestor. Pleteršnik’s dictionary includes separate lexems for son’s children deriving from *sin*, ‘son’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 475) while there is no term that would designate daughter’s children as grandchildren which again implies the patrilocal residence. Yet, it cannot be established whether these lexems were part of the Proto- or Church Slavic. The listed kinship nomenclature reveals the manner of conceptualisation of the same generation, between neighbouring and skip-generations: a fairly definite distinctions of age between generations suggested already in the Indo-European language, and a contrasting consanguineal terminological set on the basis of the ego’s sex indicating unilineal descent.

Affinal relationships became instituted through marriage. This created ‘affines’, *svaštvo* deriving from Old Church Slavic, Proto-Slavic, and Indo-European

49 It is, however, unclear whether the word derives from the Indo-European meaning uncle, FB or from comparison of the Proto-Slavic word with “grandfather, old man” (Snoj 2003: 705).

svoj meaning: ‘own’ in terms of ‘whose’ (Snoj 2003: 717). ‘Son’s wife’, *snaha*, probably from Indo-European root *sneu-* ‘vezati’, ‘to tie’ (Snoj 1997: 587), is then the one who ties together (two families) while ‘daughter’s husband’, *zet*, from Indo-European root *g'enH-* ‘zaploditi’, to father (Snoj 1997: 747), is the one who fathers (the next generation). Hence, *snaha* indicates the emergence of affinal relations, while *zet* stipulates continuity of descent. The terms for ‘husband’ and ‘wife’ were in Indo-European absent or do not differ from terms for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ which in Proto Slavic became definite in addition to generic (Friedrich 1962: 3). “To marry”, *poročiti*, composed of *po-* and *-ročiti*, derives from Proto-Slavic *roka*, Slovene *roka*, meaning hand⁵⁰ from which derived “to hand over into trust” and “to give into the hands”. “To marry” is also rendered as *dati zamož*, “to give to a man” indicating that a wife is given by her father to her husband, signifying initially “he who is yoked together with someone”, from Proto-Slavic “to yoke together” (Snoj 2003: 682). The principle of virilocal residence implied by this expression conforms to the interpretation of the ‘house’ of the South Slavs discussed earlier.

Vilfan (1996 [1961]: 250-252) has argued that the Slavic marriage consisted of three key acts. First, presenting the bride price decided upon by the elders of both families, or ‘marriage by capture’⁵¹, that is kidnapping the bride, *nevesta*,⁵² possibly from Indo-European, ‘the untaken’, or less likely ‘the unknown’ (Snoj 2003: 444), by the groom, *ženin*, ‘the one who marries’ (Snoj 2003: 867). The two possibilities represent two fundamentally different types of marriage; the first involving non-equivalent exchange, the second equivalent exchange (in principle) of violence. Second the bride and the groom joining hands, wine being drunk and spilled over their hands. And third, the consummation of marriage. However, Makarovič (1995: 43) maintains that only the

50 Similar to the Old Church Slavic and Slovene engagement, *zaroka*, and testament, *oporoča* (Snoj 1997: 409).

51 An Indo-European marriage by the means of capture or purchase has been deduced from linguistic evidence on (non)existence of certain relationships (see Goody 1969: 235-239). It would imply a (complete) separation of the bride from her natal kin comparable to the Chinese and Indian marriage systems (Goody 1990). There was, however, also no lexeme for brother’s wife which could indicate cross-cousin marriage.

52 In the Indo-European, Slavic (Friedrich 1962:3) and in the 16th Century Slovene (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 702) *nevesta* denoted SW.

joining of hands and the feasting can be identified as authentic, whereas allegedly archaic features of the peasant marriage rituals derive from baroque or modified versions of modern noble or bourgeois ideals. In contrast to the Indo-European and contemporary Slovene, Proto-Slavic language involved affinal dichotomisation, similarly to consanguineal one, that is expanded distribution of the component of the sex of linking affines: WM/WF, DH, WZ. ‘Bifurcate affinal’ and collateral terminologies, suggest extended unilocal house and, possibly, unilineal descent (Friedrich 1962: 9). Through descent and affinal relations the continuation of the ‘house’ was assured.

Between the 6th and 10th Centuries, a number of Old Slovenian houses made up a community settlement denoted as *soseska*, literally ‘neighbourhood’, or *vaška občina, srenja*, ‘village commune’, “the basic form of linkage of free men” (Grafenauer 1978: 372; my translation A.R.). Its inhabitants shared the *usufruct* of untilled land (Grafenauer 1955: 30). The members of *soseska* had a joint property claim and communal access to the pastures, woods and the water (Blaznik 1970a: 151). Certain tasks were completed collectively or through neighbourly help. The norm of cooperative labour was denoted as *tlaka* (Grafenauer 1978: 272-273). New *soseska* settlements would be established leading to the formation of a minor *župa* subordinate to an existing major *župa* (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 54)⁵³. This structure of the Old Slovenian *župa* and their association into a larger territorial community such as the proto-polity led Pleterški to designate the Old Slovenes as a “fractal society” (2013: 339).

Conclusions from Part One

Rare accounts on the Slavs, such as those by the Byzantine historian Procopius, the military strategist Maurice and the Gothic priest Jordanes, portrayed them as democratic egalitarian societies. Their numerous kings were engaged in anarchic disharmony, incapable of their own political life, with a preference for a free and nomadic way of life and a joint management of their affairs all interpreted as indicative of a structure of equality lacking a hierarchical organisation. It is commonly argued that the establishment of permanent settlements,

53 However, the terms *župa* and *soseska* employed different meanings pertaining to a specific context (see Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 190-191).

and following the changes in the political structure, significantly affected the social structure of the Old Slovenian society in two closely related respects. A more elaborate social stratification based on the appropriation of agrarian surpluses linked to the changes in land cultivation substituted a rather simple stratification based on the appropriation of spoils of war. But also, the origin relationships were replaced by, or rather merged with, those of the territory.⁵⁴ In a relatively short time span the Old Slovenes appeared to have reconfigured the Slavic properties of social organisation in the context of settling permanently the Eastern Alpine area. Under the Germanic impact they began to experience processes of social differentiation and feudalisation.

The Old Slovenian social categories, comprised first of all the *knez* and his dynasty, who like other nobles acted as the lord of his estate, on the one side, and the few serfs, on the other. *Kosezi* probably formed the prince's military retinue, denoted as *družiniki* most likely with certain entitlements. There were free men with their own estates; the few Lahi or Vlahi remained free within the of *župa* or became serfs⁵⁵ on the estates. The Old Slovenian society therefore encompassed several social categories constituting a complex social organisation. But only the relationships between the prince and the people (and perhaps later on *kosezi*) were firmly structured. These provided for a politically organised society with a centralised hierarchy which communicated between local communities and indicated a modality of a proto-feudal system. Yet, the ideology in which these proto-states were grounded involved the idea that the peasantry should authorise its ruler, instead of the feudal idea that the power to rule should deriving from the Roman Catholic Church. Given the fact that the enthronement ritual was performed uninterruptedly over a long period of time, this system of ideas was a tenacious one indeed. As far as can be deduced from the existing sources these socio-political processes followed an uneven pace and were of varying magnitude. However, due to the lack of data on the Old Slovenes of Dolenjska, the impact of the political structure on the local social structure cannot be accessed and evaluated properly. The political structure of

54 According to Vilfan (1980a: 29), the institutes of *župa* and *župan* initially based on kinship ties of some sort.

55 Indicated in the word *krščenica*, a woman slave (of Christian religion), later on, a woman farmhand.

the Old Slovenes and their social structure based on the core concepts of *Hiša*, *sošeska*, *župa* and *veča* merely provide a preliminary foundation for the analyses presented in the following chapters.

PART TWO: From the incorporation into the Carolingian Empire to the end of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: 9th Century – 1945

Chapter 4: Political structure

In the 9th Century, Carniola as well as Carantania, the pre-feudal Slavic proto-polities in the Eastern Alps, became part of the Carolingian Bavarian Eastern Prefecture of the feudal Frankish State, the Roman Empire. The Western Roman Empire came to be notionally re-established in the year 800, through the papal coronation in Rome of the King of the Franks Charlemagne as the Emperor of the Romans claiming universal sovereignty (Maine 2005 [1861]: 61-62). This entailed the *translatio imperii* – the transfer of the imperial rule through the succession of rulers granted with the supreme power (Whaley 2012a: 17-20, see also Le Goff 1988 [1985]: 51, 171). This new polity was declared the successor of Ancient Rome. Whereas by the end of the 9th Century, the Carolingian Empire had broken down, in 962 the coronation of Otto I, who proclaimed himself the successor of Charlemagne, as the emperor of the Roman Empire represented the rebirth of a polity that would exist until 1806. “The barbarous conquerors of Roman imperial territories” (Maine 1883: 149) founded what Macfarlane (2001: 3) following Marcel Bloch denoted as the “‘dissolution of the State’ feudalism” based on Roman Law and German customary system⁵⁶. The specific modality of the feudal system was grounded in the notion of lordship and service as a contractual hierarchical relationship, according to which the person’s primary loyalty to the socio-political power was “to the person above one in the feudal chain” (Macfarlane 2001: 3). Subsequently, the Roman Empire represented a decentralised complex political entity of an increasing number of sub-polities.

56 “Nothing can be more singularly unlike than the legal aspect of allodial land, or, as the Romans would have called it, land held in *dominium*, and the legal aspect of feudal land. In passing from one to the other, you find yourself among a new order of legal ideas. [...] (N)o subversion of an accepted legal notion can be more striking than that of the Roman (which is the developed allodial) view of land as essentially divisible by the feudal conception of land as essentially impartible” (Maine 1883: 342-343).

Thus, in the 970s, in the recently acquired land in the southeast of the Roman Empire inhabited by the Slavic societies, such sub-polities were established (Štih *et al.* 2008: 55). The newly formed socio-political structures comprised the Carinthia/*Koroška*⁵⁷ or Carentana Duchy, corresponding to the Old-Slovenian Carantania, and several ‘marches’. These marches constituted the Empire’s borderlands as territorial seigneuries with judicial and military jurisdiction (Štih *et al.* 2008: 67).⁵⁸ Two of these marches coincided with the Old-Slovenian Carniola: the Carniola/*Kranjska* March or *Kreina Mark*⁵⁹ and the March of Soune/*Savinja* or *Mark an der Sann*⁶⁰. Henceforward the Carniola March will be referred to by its Slovenian name of *Kranjska*. In 976, these sub-polities became detached from Bavaria and formed the independent Duchy of Carinthia (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 111).

Parallel to its incorporation into the political and social structure of the Roman Empire, the territory inhabited by the Old Slovenes became included into the structure of the Roman Catholic Church. Following the decree of the emperor Charlemagne in 811 the ecclesiastical organisation most likely came into being in the second half of the 9th Century in Carantania north of the Drava river, and sometime after the mid-10th Century in the Aquileia territory south of the Drava river (Höfler 2013: 13-23; see Map 3).

57 The toponym *Carinthia* (Slovene *Koroška* < Proto-Slavic **korǫt’bsko*) is argued to be etymologically related to pre-Slavic **carantia* (Bezljaj 1982: 68).

58 Comprising of one (in case of the *Kranjska* March) or several (in case of the Carentana March) *Grafschaften*. The borders of the *Kranjska* March coincided with the borders of the *Grafschaft*.

59 As it was recorded in the 10th Century by its local name. Though, the Slovenian name *Kranjska*, and German *Chrainmark*, did not prevail until the 13th Century (Štih *et al.* 2008: 35). In contrast to *Carinthia*, the different etymological origin of *Kranj* (*Chreina*, *Chrainburch*) the “castle in the march” as the centre of Carniola deriving from the Celto-Roman *Carnium* while *Creina* is of Slavic origin, the similar-sounding names of the region and its centre overlapped, yet it was the Slovenian name that prevailed and was applied to the region as a whole (Štih *et al.* 2008: 56).

60 The south part of the March of *Savinja* of which was to become *Kranjska*, later gained the name of the Slovenian March, *Marchia Sclavonica, que vulgo Windismarch dicitur* (Štih *et al.* 2008: 56; see presently).

The lords of the marches obtained their power to rule by battle, in inheritance and by marriage, so that the borders of the sub-polities changed continuously (Prunk 2008: 24). In 1036, the Duchy of Carinthia and the Kranjska March became separated, the March of Savinja becoming included into the latter (Štih *et al.* 2008: 77; see Map 3). Whereas both Carinthia and Kranjska were still inhabited by the Old Slovenes, as part of the Empire they became subject to different socio-political processes and began to grow apart culturally as a result.

The northern border separating the Old Slovenes from Bavarian lands shifted southwards mainly as a result of processes of external and internal colonisation and Germanisation taking place between the 10th and the 13th Century (Blaznik *et al.* 1970: 29-127). Thus, the distinctions in language and culture between the German speaking inhabitants of Carinthia and the (Old) Slovenian speaking people in Kranjska was a corollary of the feudalisation of the newly obtained territory.



Map 3: Duchy of Carinthia, Kranjska March and Savinja March in the Roman Empire in the 11th Century (source: Bajt and Vidic (eds.) 2011: 67 and Luthar *et al.* 2013: 122)

The seminal theories on the structure of medieval society provided by specialists on medieval Europe such as Ganshof (1961 [1947]), Dumézil (1974 [1958]), Le Roy Ladurie (1978 [1975]), Le Goff (1980 [1977]), Duby (1982 [1978]), describe a hierarchical system of relations between the three socio-religious categories ('Estates') – of nobility, clergy and peasantry. Marc Bloch defined the 'feudal society' as a domain of relations within and between the 'estates of realm': the ecclesiastical and secular warrior nobility bound by vassalage and the peasantry by manorialism (Bloch 2004 [1961]). The representatives of these categories thus were engaged in specific exchange relations. These relations between the feudal categories constructed a "long-term order of caste [...] with which men" identify (Parry and Bloch 1996 [1989]: 24).

Such a feudal social structure encloses the king or the emperor exerting authority over the realm to the extent that the emperor and his realm were conceptualised as identical. Among the other Roman Catholic monarchs, the emperor as the 'King of the Romans' was merely a *primus inter pares* for he was elected by his peers the prince-electors. And even though the elections were steered by different dynasties once elected 'King of Romans' only the coronation ceremony performed by the pope would grant him God's authorisation of the status of Emperor. This divinely authorised status empowered him to act as a protector of the spiritual authority on earth derived from God. Thus, the legitimacy of kingship, conceptualised as the divine right of kings empowered "by the grace of God" was cosmologically valued.

The pope and the emperor, being the highest spiritual and temporal authority respectively, were bound in a relationship of reciprocal transfer of legitimacy deriving from the Divine source. Their authority at Rome was divided, they shared the dual sovereignty between them (Bloch 2004 [1961]: 228).

The transformation of the pre-feudal Old-Slovenian proto-polities into the feudal Christian Frankish Empire therefore brought about a change in the conceptualisation of political legitimacy. Whereas in the Old-Slovenian proto-polities the ruler was enthroned by the peasantry in the Christian Frankish case it was the clergy to whom this task accrued. From the ruler's sovereignty derived that of his vassals – collectively known as 'princes'. They constituted the secular and ecclesiastical nobility, who received in exchange for their fealty the right to rule in the domains that built the sub-polities of the Roman Empire.

The Kranjska March was ruled by a series of successive high noble Houses. First these were the noble House of Bavaria of Sempt-Ebersberg (1000–1058)

and of Thuringia of Weimar-Orlamünde (1058–1070). Then followed the Patriarchy of Aquileia (1093–1268) nominally represented by the Aquileia wardens of Andechs Meran (1093–1251), inheritors of the Weimar-Orlamünde lands. They were succeeded by the Bavarian House of Spanheim (1251–1269)⁶¹, and by King Přemysl Ottokar II of Bohemia (1269–1278) before the House of Habsburg finally acquired sovereignty over the Kranjska March (Smole 1982: 11-14).

By the end of the 11th Century, the basic feudal land-owning structure of seigneries in the Kranjska March had been established. Lands in the March were granted to seigneurial vassals as territories or as parcels (measured as *regalus mansus*, “royal hide”) in the form of allodial lands rather than in fief (Vilfan 1980b: 109).

With these grants, accompanied by various rights such as those of advocacy and immunity, the German Holy Roman Emperor rewarded the ecclesiastical and secular feudal lords for their fealty and their services.⁶² Princes as lords further distributed some of their land to lower nobility acting as their vassals. A *huba* (Latin *mansus* or German *Hufe*) system was established composed of dominical allodial land, untitled communal territory, and rustic urbarial land, on which serfs had right of *usufruct*. In exchange of that right and of the military protection they paid dues in kind and labour (*robot*, *tlaka*) performed on the of their lord (Kos 1955: 137, 152; Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 74, 95; Vilfan 1980b: 102).

Parallel to this introduction of territorial seigneries into the Slovenian region a colonisation process took place, in which the Old Slovenes were resettled and the Kranjska seigneurs brought in German-speaking Christian settlers mostly from their own estates in Bavaria (Vilfan 1980c: 300). This resulted not

61 During the 11th and 13th Centuries there was a particular form of governorship, a kind of dualism, for which the data are scarce. The Kranjska March had two rulers: the Aquileia patriarch and the ‘landgrave’; the patriarch granted the margravate to the landgrave as fief (Štih *et al.* 2008: 78-79; see footnote 58).

62 At that time, there were most likely seven territorial estates in the Kranjska and Savinja March – owned by the Bishops of Brixens, Bishops of Freising, Patriarch of Aquileia, and the Houses of Weimar-Orlamünde, of Spanheim, Counts of Andech and Merania, and Counts of Savinja (Vilfan 1980b: 116-117).

only in a reduction in size and the individuation of collective land⁶³ (Štih *et al.* 2008: 148) but also in the incorporation of the free members of Old Slovenian *sošeska* communities joined in *župa* associations (see p. 31) as a category of bonded subjects into the feudal system (Grafenauer 1980, Vilfan 1996 [1961], Štih *et al.* 2008, Prunk 2008). The manners of selfing/othering rested on a certain degree of violence required “for the privileged people to continue defining the ‘people below’ them as ‘others’” (Baumann 2004: 42).

These social categories that made up the feudal system were each embedded in an encompassing relation with God constructing a “general pattern which is a part of the reproduction of social and ideological systems concerned with a time-scale far longer than the individual human life” (Bloch and Parry 1996 [1989]: 1). All members of the Estates took part in the exchange relations with Him.

By presenting gifts to the Church they sought to ensure the remembrance among the living of their soul after death and its access to heaven. The ecclesiastical organisation emerged from a sparse network of large proto-parishes.⁶⁴ These had been established from the former episcopal missionary centres of the 9th Century (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 135) by bishops and they encompassed crown estates and held the rights to perform baptismal and funerary rituals and to collect tithes (Höfler 2013: 24). In that sense, they constituted ritual communities centred on parish churches. From the 10th Century onward these ritual communities became fragmented on the basis of proprietary churches (German *Eigenkirche*) (Höfler 2013: 24-25) to form more numerous parishes of smaller scale (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 135). The proprietary churches were established by lay lords who provided these churches with a landed estate, tithes and a priest (Höfler 2013: 25).

63 Štih *et al.* (2008: 148) argue two phases of individuation of the agrarian property: introduction of the *huba* worked by families and narrowing of the collective property by division of forests and village land; abandoning pasture on tilled ground meant additional narrowing of the collective land.

64 The original Kranjska March, hence excluding March of Savinja, most likely encompassed six proto-parishes (Rodine-north of Radovljica, Kranj, Mengeš, Šentpeter pri Ljubljani, Stara Loka pri Škofji Loki and Cerknica) which most likely came into being in the mid-11th Century (Štih *et al.* 2008).

From the 10th to the 12th Century, these parish churches became *patronat* parishes (Höfler 2013: 23-24) with the lord of the estate acting as *advocatus* or *Vogt*, representing the ecclesiastical authority in lay matters (Štih *et al.* 2008: 95), though *patronat* parishes came to be established by monasteries as well (Höfler 2013: 25). By that time the established seigneuries had become the basis for the organisation of ecclesiastical administration of Kranjska. The tithes due to the parish church were collected in the parish's settlements that were part of the seigniorial estates (Höfler 2013: 26-27).

As in most other Slavic societies under Frankish rule Christian proselytising took place from the hierarchically higher to the lower social categories (Höfler 2013: 23). The Christianisation of the Kranjska March as part of the Aquileia See, began with the arrival in Roman Pannonia of the Byzantine missionaries Constantine and Methodius, in the second half of the 10th Century (Höfler 2013: 13-23). "The ascendancy of the Christian faith within the area would not be complete for a long time to come, as indicated by continuing mentions of pagans well into the Central Middle Ages" (Luthar *et al.* 2008: 96; see also Höfler 2013: 23).

Merging into a feudal system the position of the members of the Old Slovenian society – in the relation of *Erbholdschaft* or *nexus ad glebam* (Vilfan 1980e: 437) – became defined relative to their lords and the church.

At the end of the 12th Century the area of Podgorje is conquered by the Bavarian Houses of Puch/Weichelburg⁶⁵ and Spanheim and added to the Kranjska March.

65 Descending from the 'line of Hemma' named after the countess of Zeltschach (born around 980), linked to the Liutpoldings of Bavaria and to the Slavic nobility through her mother's side. Her genealogy raised debates on the assigning of 'national affiliation' of medieval nobles. In the 11th Century, as she married Wilhelm II, a count of Freisach and margrave of the March of Savinja, whose Bavarian line entails Slavic roots as well, the territory, consisting of gifts by eastern Frankish rulers and Charlemagne's successors, became joined (Štih *et al.* 2008: 60). After his death, she endowed the Church with land while "Numerous ruling noble families of the Central and Late Middle Ages in the wider eastern Alpine area either descended from the "line of Hemma" or benefited from their rich heritage. These include the noble Pris family or Puchs and their descendants the counts of Weichselburg (Višnja Gora), the counts of Haimburg, the counts of Plain

As a result, the border the two medieval states of the Holy Roman Empire and the Hungarian–Croatian Kingdom shifted south, constituting the present-day border between the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia (Kos 1997: 113). The churches in the Kranjska territory, that until then had belonged to the bishopric of Zagreb, now were assigned to the Aquilea See (Höfler 2013: 291).

Moreover, some time after this conquest a Roman Catholic church of Saint Jera (Saint Gertrude), first mentioned in written sources in 1447 (Dražumerič 1997: 212), was built on the peak of Gorjanci hills, thus identifying the territory of the Holy German Empire. All these events marked the medieval political transformation of the marches into *Länder*. Most of the border areas, the authority over which had been contested, now became political units consisting of territorial seigneuries under a prince (Štih *et al.* 2008: 67). This political transformation reflected the changing relationships between the Estates. In the wake of the Investiture Controversy of the 12th Century, the initial alliance between the pope and the emperor had been weakened. The emperor endeavoured to restore his power relative to the pope's by invigorating the allegiance of the princes. He increased the local rulers' authority by pawning them imperial land and expanding their rights as 'Lord of the Land' (*domini terrae*). In addition, in order to gain new devotees, the emperor strengthened the position of *ministerialia*, nobles who enjoyed no personal freedom but obtained a fief in which they acted as feudal lord (Vilfan 1980b: 128-129).

In this light, in 1338, the Kranjska March became a hereditary province (German *Land*, Slovene *dežela*) under the princely authority ruled by the Habsburgs. Apart from a four years intermezzo as Ilyrian Provinces in the 19th Century, the Habsburg rule lasted for half a millennium. In the year 1338 the Habsburg prince Albrecht II issued the *Handfeste*, granting "our lords, knights and squires [...] in our Land of Carniola" privileges, territorial law and territorial court (Štih *et al.* 2008: 85). This charter had several immediate implications. Between the 12th and 15th Centuries, the dying out of the territorial estates' high nobility with their military duties to perform led to their replacement by the emerging heterogeneous class of ministerials (Vilfan 1980b: 128-129). With the Charter for Kranjska, these ministerials were liberated from serfdom and became equated with high nobles (Vilfan 1980b: 151). The legal and actual

and counts of Pfannberg, and perhaps also the *Freiherren* of Sanegg (Žovnek), the later counts of Cilli" (Štih *et al.* 2008: 61).

unity of territorial estates disintegrated and the number of independent territorial estates increased to form a system of scattered ministerial estates of reduced size (Vilfan 1980b: 148-149).

The formation of provinces (*Länder*) was paralleled by the founding of towns, as a method of strengthening the prince's power, particularly of taxation. In accordance with the *Statutum in favorem principum* of 1232 Rudolf IV of Austria, Prince of i.a. the Kranjska *Land*, founded in 1365 the capital of Dolenjska Rudolfswerth. He became the Lord of the town exercising rights in the town administration and having legal jurisdiction. Whereas the lordship over towns was rooted in a territorial system the towns extricated themselves from this primarily agrarian structure of the seignury in territorial, economic, social and legal respects⁶⁶. Like the town of Rudolfswerth itself its population⁶⁷ was formed, from the very beginning, through migrations from village to town and from town to town. The linguistic and origin structure of the inhabitants of medieval towns in Slovenian territory therefore was quite heterogeneous (Štih *et al.* 2008: 119-124).

As elsewhere in Central and Western Europe 'burgers' in Kranjska represented a new social category of the feudal social structure. It emerged in the 13th and 14th Centuries, forming a particular community whose members acquired a status that made them legally distinct from the agrarian domain: they must own property in the town in the form of a house, and they performed mercantile activities as free men (Štih *et al.* 2008: 118-119). In 1364, one year prior to the founding of Rudolfswerth, Rudolf IV proclaimed Kranjska a Duchy,⁶⁸ which by 1379, after the inheritance conflicts, became part together with Styria, Carinthia of Inner Austria (German *Innerösterreich*) (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 127-128).

It was "the *Land* – and not the Roman-German Empire – which provided the framework within which the [...] polity of the Estates (*Ständesstaat*), appeared

66 The Charter of privileges of Rudolfswerth – like those of the neighbouring towns founded in this period – was based on the one of the town of Kostanjevica written around the year 1300. These towns represented generic entities as opposed to those, such as Ljubljana, of which the charter of privileges was in fact a collection of their own cases (Štih *et al.* 2008: 121-122).

67 Unlike the coastal towns with population continuity from antiquity (Štih *et al.* 2008: 119).

68 He did *de facto* (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 126).

and was consolidated” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 67). The construction of the Dolenjska regional identity as a form of *social* identity also begins with the establishment of *Länder* in the 14th Century. For Slovenia, historians argue their importance for the construction of socio-regional identity in Kranjska in particular (e.g. Štih *et al.* 2008: 66; Golec 2012). That “most Slovenian of all provinces” (*op.cit.* 284) of which the present-day Dolenjska was part, territorially represents the central and biggest share of the Slovenian State. When subject, from 1335 onwards, to Habsburg rule, the Kranjska March transformed into the *Land* of Kranjska (Štih *et al.* 2008: 65-85).

By 1342, some of the estates, that were part of the *Land* of Kranjska and subject to the counts of Gorizia, were separated from that *Land* to constitute the ‘County in Slovenian March and Metlika’ (German *Grafschaft in der Mark und Metlika* or *Windische Mark mit Metlika*)⁶⁹ (Nared 2013, 111-113; Luthar *et al.* 2013: 127). Some thirty years later this *Grafschaft* was reclaimed as inheritance by the Habsburgs, and became part of the *Land* of Kranjska once more (Nared 2013: 113) but was accounted as a particular entity until 1593 (Štih *et al.* 2008: 85).

In the period from the 15th to 17th Century the *Länder* of the Habsburg Empire were jointly ruled by their local Lords and the ruler – a system known as ‘Estate dualism’ (Štih *et al.* 2008: 125-126). The Habsburgs founded provincial Diets, consisting of Estates (German *Stände*, Slovene *stanovi*) of nobles, prelates and representatives of princely towns. All of them were exempt from direct taxation and entitled to decide on military and financial issues (Štih *et al.* 2008: 126). Acting as specific, legally organised body these Estates submitted the charter called *Landhandfeste* to the Habsburg prince. The first of such charters was submitted to the Archduke Ernest the Iron when he became the prince of Inner Austria, in 1414 (Štih *et al.* 2008: 125). The charter stipulated the protection of the Land by the prince in exchange for “counsel and aid” from the Estates (in Štih *et al.* 2008: 125). It thus strengthened the position of the territorial estates and limited the prince’s authority “in military, financial, and judicial issues” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 125). At the level of the Empire as a whole, in 1495 the

69 Hence the name Slovenian March or Windic March initially signified the area of the Dolenjska region, i.e. south part of the March of Savinja (Map 3, p. 47). In the 14th and 15th Centuries, Slovenian March became a mere geographic mark (Štih 1998: 124).

assembly of electors, other dukes, imperial cities and – later on – of free cities, established a legislative body named the Imperial Diet, *Reichstag* (Whaley 2012a: 31-32). In the 15th Century this Diet passed the *Reichreform* envisaged to provide the empire with a uniform administration. The reform defined Imperial Circle Estates (German *Reichskreisstände*), as instrumental in the implementation of the empire's defence and fiscal policies (Whaley 2012a: 31-32). The new significance of these Imperial Estates, paired to the loss of the Italian and Burgundian territories accounted for the adoption in 1512 of the name *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation*, for the Habsburg Empire (Whaley 2012a: 19-20, Schulze 1998: 52-55).

This particular distribution of power between the *Länder's Stände* had implications on the socio-political situation in the *Land Kranjska* as well. At the beginning of the 15th Century, when the border of the Ottoman Empire ran 100 km south of *Kranjska*, Ottoman incursions took place that lasted well into the 16th Century (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 195). The military consisting of local feudal cavalry and reserves on foot drafted by universal conscription proved weak (Štih *et al.* 2008: 132). The fortification of castles and towns required increased higher duties in money, produce, and bounded labour imposed by the feudal lords on their peasants, leaving the latter's villages largely unprotected (Štih *et al.* 2008: 132). People classified as 'Vlach' or 'Uskok' entered the *Kranjska Land* from the southeast. Scholars find the reason for their escape in the religious persecution of Orthodox and Catholic people in the Ottoman Empire (see e.g. Bracewell 1992) or/and in the failed 'integration' manifested in illegal activities of Uskoks (Simon 2012) which led to their jurisdictional persecution (see e.g. Longworth 1979). In the 17th Century the term 'Uskok' designated the inhabitants of the area between the Adriatic coast and the Dinara Mountain, part of whom had fled from the Ottoman State. Some of the Uskok who in the 16th Century fled to *Kranjska* were Orthodox Christians. As a result, all of them were labelled by the local population as *Vlahi* – a common denominator of persons of a non-Catholic religion (see p. 19; Terseglav 2004: 680). The Prince of the *Land Kranjska*, Ferdinand I, in 1535 offered them freedom and land in exchange for their military service (Štih *et al.* 2008: 146). Those who were dispersed in *Kranjska* became "rapidly assimilated into the local population" (Štih *et al.* 2008: 147-148). The ones who settled in Žumberak, the area of the estate of Žumberak on the south side of the Gorjanci hill (German *Uskokengebirge*)

and in the lower Kolpa river valley of Bela Krajina preserved their socio-religious identity (cp. Knežević Hočevar 2007, Zajc 2007).

Hence the Greek Catholic Church of Saint Elija was built most likely in the 16th Century (Lapajne 1997: 209), located very close to the church of Saint Jera. The establishment of these two churches was part of the process of gaining the border control following the formation of *Länder* and the drawing of the borders between them (Kos 1987). The estate of Žumberak became part of the so-called *Vojna Krajina*, Military Frontier (German *Militärgrenze*) and thus set apart from the *Land* of Kranjska (Štih *et al.* 2008: 148, Luthar *et al.* 2013: 196). However, all during the 15th and 16th Centuries the protection against the Ottoman incursions was largely ineffective. The peasantry responded by building *tabori* – rural strongholds attached to churches located on hills (Štih *et al.* 2008: 132). To finance the Habsburg Empire's embroilment in various European confrontations⁷⁰ the taxes imposed by seigneuries and the Kranjska *Land* were steadily increased (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 181-182).⁷¹ This in turn led to the peasant uprisings from the 15th Century onward. In these the Uskoks sided with nobles, while towns remained aloof in these conflicts between the nobility and bonded peasantry (Štih *et al.* 2008: 169-170).

The peasants, experiencing these taxes as an exploitation by their local rulers (Grafenauer 1980: 502-505) appealed to *stara pravda*⁷², the “Old Law” stipulating the fixed levies and rights of participation in rural trade. The ‘system-immanent violence’ turned into the ‘system-destructive violence’ (see Baumann 2004: 42-46). Peasant uprisings against their lords occurred time and again until the 19th Century when the feudal relations became abolished altogether. Until then the emperors, being unable to attain control over the lands under their suzerainty, endeavoured to secure their position by granting more autonomy to the local rulers.

70 Such as the wars with Venice in the 16th and 17th Centuries, succession wars with Spain, Poland, Austria, and the dualism between Austria and Prussia which dominated the Empire after 1740 (see e.g. Štih *et al.* 2008: 223-230).

71 Namely, the State began to interfere in the relationship between the lord and his peasants by enforcing “bounded labour typical of province” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 233) in addition to the existent rising and new duties collected by the immediate ecclesiastical and secular lords.

72 In 1515, along with another “*le vkup, le vkup uboga gmajna*”, “come together, the poor commune” (my translation A.R.) represent the Slovenian words (Grafenauer 1980: 494).

In the 16th Century the values of Roman Catholic Church as the exclusive religious foundation of the Empire became questioned. The Reformation initiated a religious schism between the Protestant North and major free cities on the one side, and the Catholic South on the other (Whaley 2012a: 62-66, 82-84). Although the *Land* of Kranjska remained Roman Catholic the Reformation had a profound cultural impact. In the era of the distribution of Renaissance and Humanist ideas, the Reformation, insisting upon the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages, resulted in a standardisation of the Slovenian language (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 203). Primož Trubar, was one of those who made available to the inhabitants of the Kranjska *Land* grammars and translations of religious scripts; he was the first to address them as “dear Slovenes” or “beloved Slovenes” (*Lubi Slovenci*). For the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* proclaimed by the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 and recognised in the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 (Štih *et al.* 2008: 160, 221), enabled the Habsburg Emperors to accept Roman Catholicism as the only legitimate religion in the lands under their immediate suzerainty.

In the middle of the 18th Century, the Habsburg rulers Maria Theresa (1717–1780) and Joseph II (1741–1790) endeavoured to develop a state with centralised authority and unified legal norms (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 365). As enlightened absolutists deriving their authority from a ‘social contract’, they were expected to rule wisely, exercising the sovereigns’ ability to act in the best interests of their subjects. They introduced reforms following the physiocratic principle⁷³, promoted manufacturing and the building of transportation routes, collected higher revenues to support a standing army and bureaucracy, reduced the influence of landlords and abolished serfdom by issuing *Robotpatent* in 1782 for the Kranjska *Land* (Prunk 2008: 56). They strengthened their alliance with the Catholic Church while at the same time increasing their control over it (Štih *et al.* 2008: 252) and took responsibility for the peasantry’s education. Consequently, the network of parishes was modified, adapting borders to features of the landscape and funding. Estate taxes were increased in order to finance an emerging system of lower administrative civil services representing the Habsburg State in the *Länder* (see Miklavčič 1945). These *Länder* came to be gov-

73 Such as new cultivation cultures, barn livestock, translation from leaseholds to inheritable property.

erned by the provincial government (from 1749 onwards referred to as Representationen und Cammern) subordinate to the state government called *Directorium in publicis et cameralibus*, and the judicial authority was now taken over by the courts of the *Länder* (Štih *et al.* 2008: 225). Between the *Land* and its Estates an intermediate administrative level of *Kreise* was introduced (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 376). The establishment of provincial governments, provincial courts and *Kreisämter* reduced the power of the Estates. The former feudal relations between the nobility of the estates and their peasants were now superseded by the relations between the Emperor and his subjects, in which the nobility merely acted as “rent-collecting landlords” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 233). The State organised the cadastral surveys⁷⁴ identifying the individual farm-holds as units of taxation, and in the potentially conflicting relations between nobility and peasantry the ‘good emperor’ acted as ally of the latter.

In 1806, following the defeat at Austerlitz against Napoleonic France, Habsburg’s Holy Roman Emperor Francis II dissolved the Roman Empire. Two years prior, following Napoleon’s example, he joined the Habsburg territories into the Austrian Empire (1804–1867), introduced a common currency and proclaimed himself Francis II, the Emperor of Austria (Whaley 2012: 4). In addition, from 1795 to 1814 the so-called German mediatisation or Imperial recess processes took place, in which the old feudal privileges of ‘imperial immediacy’ (German *Reichsunmittelbarkeit*) adhering to cities, towns or persons (Whaley 2012a: 41-42) were abolished, ecclesiastical estates secularised and their land annexed (Whaley 2012b: 620). Under the Napoleonic rule, from 1809 to 1814, the Kranjska *Land* became part of the Ilyrian Provinces (French *Provinces illyriennes*), of the French Empire (the name referring to the Roman Illyria, see Part One). It encompassed the western part of Carinthia, Kranjska,

74 Conducting successive land cadastral surveys – the Theresian Cadastre (1748–1756), the Josephine Cadastre (1785–1789), Franciscean Cadastre (1818–1828) and the Reambulance Cadastre (1869) – made the reorganization of public finances possible. Cadastral data were preceded by Bulletin Land Board (*deželna deska*) of the dominical land introduced 1747 in Kranjska and discontinued in 1935 (<http://arsq.gov.si/Query/detail.aspx?ID=23639>; accessed January 12, 2015), and by Land Register of rustic land instituted in 1769 in Land Register (*zemljiška knjiga*) (<http://arsq.gov.si/Query/detail.aspx?ID=23696>; accessed January 12, 2015).

Croatia, the Military Frontier southwest of the Sava River, the Goriška Region, Trieste and Istria (Štih *et al.* 2008: 263).

The French reforms in Kranjska, reflecting the revolutionary values aimed at several administrative reorganisations. The Slovenian language should serve as official language, school education was to be reformed, a uniform taxation introduced, feudalism abolished and State and Church be separated (Štih *et al.* 2008: 264). Whereas these reforms were generally rejected in Kranjska, liberal intellectuals celebrated the French as liberators from the Austrians and the reforms had an immediate bearing on the so-called national awakening movement (Štih *et al.* 2008: 264-267).

The Final Act of the Congress of Vienna of 1815 reassigned the part of Illyrian Provinces as the so-called Illyrian Kingdom to the Austrian Empire (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 260). The Napoleonic Confederation of the Rhine (German *Rheinbund*) was replaced by the German Confederation (German *Deutscher Bund*) while Francis I continued to reign as King of Hungary and Emperor of Austria, his authority resting on the conservative pillars of monarchy, nobility, bureaucracy, the Roman Catholic Church and the army (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 432). With the ascent of Franz Joseph I⁷⁵ to the throne in 1849 and the resignation of Metternich – each pursuing absolutism in his own particular way – the Kingdom of Illyria⁷⁶ was dismantled and the *Länder* composing it, i.e. Kranjska, Carinthia and the Austrian Littoral, became part of the Austrian crown-lands (Štih *et al.* 2008: 269). Having lost the Austro-Prussian war in 1866 Austria had to cede Venetia to Italy (Štih *et al.* 2008: 299). To meet nationalist claims the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 transformed the unitary Austrian Empire into the constitutional dual monarchy “Austria-Hungary” (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 307). Conducting a common foreign and military policy and maintaining a common currency, this dual monarchy consisted of “fiscally sovereign and independent entities” (Flandreau 2005: 3), until it was dissolved following its defeat in the First World War in 1918.

The year 1848, witnessing political uprisings in several European countries (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 426), marked a revolutionary period in the *Land*

75 He enjoyed a wide popularity among the Slovenes.

76 It comprised of two *Gubernia*, Ljubljana gubernia encompassing the Kranjska *Land* (Štih *et al.* 2008: 269).

Kranjska as well. A final revolt of the peasantry against their lords eventually resulted in the abolishment of feudal relations as defined by the Land Release Patent (German *Grundentlastungspatent*) in 1848 (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 284).⁷⁷

Numerous scholars argue that ‘capitalism’ and the ‘nation’ are inherently linked, the developing capitalism providing a context for the emergence of a nation (e.g. Gellner 1995, Baumann 1999, Hobsbawn 1992, Anderson 2003 [1988]). Capitalism represents a certain period in history marked by a manner of organising economic relations and a “social and cultural order” (Roseberry 2005: 47-49). According to Vilfan’s legal definition of capitalism, it involved the period from the abolishment of the feudal order to the Second World War (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 425). Hence, capitalism developed from a social system that was grounded in an altogether different system of economic action (Polanyi 1944). Marx (1967 [1887]) and Weber (1992 [1930]) asserted that for this to occur, the key conditions to be fulfilled are the availability of free land, labour, and capital to perform as commodities on a ‘self-regulating market’ (Polanyi 1944) engaging relationships of production, distribution and consumption.

In 1848, the Land Release Patent ending feudal relations initiated the first large privatisation process. Previous land owners received compensation while peasants obtained the possibility to buy the land they worked and to become the official managers of their farm-holds “with all the inherent consequences of the market competition” (Fischer 1999: 35). A framework law was passed in 1883. It regulated *usus* rights and distribution among farmers of previously collectively possessed forests and pastures, for which farmers had to compensate their feudal lords (Fischer 1996: 15). That is, in case of communally exploited large pasture and wood parcels on which farmers had *usus* claim, these plots got divided among the *usus* claimants and the owner (former feudal lord). The latter had the upper hand in the process thus to the former remote and unfertile parts would be allocated. As a result, most farmers rejected the newly acquired privatisation claim in exchange for a low compensation by the estate owner (Kneževič Hočever, Černič Istenič 2000: 27-28). Blaznik (1970b: 174-176) argues that the undistributed former seigneurial lands such as large-scale fields, pasture lands and forest areas constituted a basis for the development of capitalist estates in the Slovenian area.

77 The Act defined privatization of land and abolition of serfdom.

In the second half of the 19th Century the focus of the state economy shifted towards industry, handicrafts and transport. Rising taxes to support military undertakings, remaining obligations to previous feudal lords, payoffs to the home-leaving children, surplus of rural population unable to find employment and debts (Prunk 2008: 77) caused the emigration of the agricultural population particularly to North America and Brazil (Smerdel 1988/90: 47-49). One attempt “to resolve the Slovenian agricultural crisis” of the 1890s “was the launching of” the “productive and economic cooperatives” (*zadruga*) in 1873 supported by the Catholic Church (Fischer 1999: 39). These were based on the ideas of self-help propagated by social reformers “aimed at improving the economic position of farmers” (Fischer 1999: 39). Whereas the First World War to some extent alleviated the peasants’ debts (Lazarević 1994: 52), their position deteriorated even more during the First Yugoslav State in spite of the State’s farm protective policy. It was only in the aftermath of the World War II that the Socialist Government of Yugoslavia wrote off all peasants’ debts once and for all (Lazarević 1994: 14-18, 24-25, 52, 72, 99-163).

In the late 18th Century, Kranjska intellectuals propagated the idea that the inhabitants of the *Land* share a common socio-religious identity independent of the external political relationships of the Habsburg Empire in which their lives are embedded. In 1791, long before the ‘national awakenings’ of the 1840s, Anton Tomaž Linhart, one of the leading intellectuals in Kranjska published his *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und den übrigen Ländern der südlichen Slaven Österreichs*. He argued that the people of the lands between the Drava river and the Adriatic Sea, introducing a “trans-provincial concept” (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 249), shared a language and origins distinct from those of other South Slavs, hence constituted one ‘People’ (*narod*). But it was in the first half of the 19th Century, that reflections on the identity of the Kranjska people acquired particular dimensions. The Czech influence emanating from the Illyrism – and Pan-Slavic movements “strengthened the sense of Slavic identity among Slovenes” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 281). It generated a pronounced interest in Slavic mythology and led to the establishment of the first Slovenian language newspaper – published in 1843 by the Carniolan Agricultural Society under the title ‘Agricultural and Handicraft News’ (*Kmetijske in Rokodelske novice*, Luthar *et al.* 2013: 273-

274). Slovenian scholars and writers⁷⁸ contributed to the use of Slovene as a literary language by itself. In evoking a past Slovenian society, in which the peasant ‘we’ were confronted with the oppression by the noble ‘they’ they introduced a discourse about the Slovenian ‘nation’ that was to contribute to the construction of a Slovenian ‘national identity’.

As to the significance of the Slovenian language for the construction of a Slovenian ‘nation’ opinions differed. Traditionalists loyal to the Habsburg Empire, most of them were found among the educated and the clergymen, argued that the mere fact that Slovene was spoken in the Habsburg *Länder* did not entitle their inhabitants to a ‘national’ identity on a par with the other populations in the Empire – the Empire’s German language being superior to the Slovene one (Štih *et al.* 2008: 279). Liberal intellectuals, on the other hand, endeavoured to raise the Slovenian language to the level of literary art (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 275)⁷⁹.

All during the 19th Century, the notion of a distinct Slovenian identity attributed to the inhabitants of the *Land* Kranjska was signified above all by their use of the Slovenian or Kranjska language. Some historians argued, however, that rather than the use of language it was the belonging to one of the Empire’s *Länder* that contributed to the sense of shared identity, since Slovenian speakers identified themselves as “Germans” (e.g. Vodopivec 2010 [2006]: 41, Štih *et al.* 2008: 279). And yet, in the second half of the 19th Century the term Slovene (*slovenski*) began to replace the term *kranjski* (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 270-271), signalling an exclusive identification of the Slovenian speaking inhabitants of the Habsburg *Länder*, of Kranjska in particular, as Slovenes. Several themes thus contributed to the emergence of a sense of shared identity: a peasantry suffering the oppression by the noble landowning and German speaking class; the emancipation of Slovene as a spoken as well as literary language not

78 For example, *Mlinarjev Janez*, John the Miller, written by Ferdo Kočever Žavčanin in 1859, describes the social rise of a Slovenian village while Josip Jurčič’s *Jurij Kozjak: Slovenski janičar*, Slovenian Janissary of 1864 describes Ottoman incursions, in literary folklore and locally labelled as “Turkish”, during which boys were kidnapped to be raised as *janičarji*, the elite warriors.

79 One of them being France Prešeren, presently recognised as the greatest Slovenian poet, the author of *Zdravljica*, A Toast (1844), a poem a part of which became the anthem of the Republic of Slovenia.

inferior to the German spoken in the Empire; and the localisation of the people's original identity in a mythical past. The question is pertinent to what extent these themes indeed reflected the birth of a 'Slovenian Nation' as an ideological construct.

In the first half of the 19th Century a political programme labelled "United Slovenia", issued by the Slovene speaking political parties of the *Land* Kranjska envisaged all territories inhabited by Slovenian speakers – and not only those living in Kranjska – as a united polity within the Habsburg Empire. This vision was largely supported by those Slovenes living outside the Kranjska *Land* and opposed by Kranjska "Slovene-speaking middle class and educated circles" (Štih *et al.* 2008: 284), who argued that not a linguistic community but the *Land* should be considered homeland (Štih *et al.* 2008: 283-284). By 1890, two Slovenian political parties in Kranjska took a united stance against its German language speaking nobility. These parties were the liberally oriented Young Slovenes,⁸⁰ subordinate to the conservative party of the Old Slovenes. In employing the slogan "All for the Faith, the Homeland, the Emperor!" (*Vse za vero, dom, cesarja!*) these conservatives connected values to one another that were transmitted by the Catholic Church to the rural population, the "strongest fortress of Slovenian nationalism"⁸¹ (Turk *et al.* 2007: 203). But soon afterwards Slovene speaking politicians renounced this united stance to establish new political parties – the conservative, the liberal and the socialist ones, taking inspiration from German, French and Russian political ideologies respectively (Štih *et al.* 2008: 315, 321-323). Both the liberal and conservative politicians propagated the theme of a Slovenian 'nationality' based on a shared 'blood' and common 'language,' and the term *United Slovenia* remained to be employed whenever considered expedient (Štih *et al.* 2008: 324-326).

During the First World War, the Slovenes fought "for faith, homeland and emperor". In accordance with the territorial conscription system they formed ethnically homogenous regiments consisting of mainly Kranjska or Slovenian sol-

80 They promoted the idea of federalism and Slavic cooperation by organising mass gatherings (called *tabori*) following Czech example. With time also the Old Slovenes joined *tabori*. It is at this time that the idea of the Habsburg Yugoslavs was born.

81 Turk *et al.* (2007: 203) argue behavioral conservatism, that is lack of territorial and social mobility, due to the "emotional attachment to land" (*ibid.*) and family values.

diers, the most widely recognised of which being Kranjski Janezi⁸² (Krain Johns, or *cesarjeviči*, literally “small emperors”, “emperors to be”). The public image of the Kranjska or Slovenian soldier was that of the most loyal warrior (Rozman 2011, Andrejka 2004). As such Slovenes occupied a specific position relative to the Habsburg Empire as a whole. To the soldier adhered the honour of belonging to an ethnic minority (cp. Joseph Roth in his *Radetzky March* of 1932). During the First World War, the written media (see periodicals *Slovenske novice* and *Dolenjske novice* for the period issued in Ljubljana and Novo Mesto respectively) and the Church promoted this image, calling for soldiers to depart to the Eastern (Galicia), Balkan, and Soča Fronts in particular.

After the First World War defeated Austria-Hungary disintegrated⁸³ while the attempt to realise a United Slovenia failed. Instead, the Slovenes, along with those ‘Southern Slavs,’ who had been part of Austria-Hungary came to belong to the new polity of the First Yugoslav State⁸⁴. Whereas in addition to the other ethnic communities this polity encompassed multiple religions as well, it was the fulfilment of the linguistic national claims in that the Slovenian language became the official language of the State next to Serbo-Croatian (Štih *et al.* 2008: 376).

On October 29, 1918, a short-lived confederal republic named the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was established (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 377). A month later, December 1, 1918, it joined the Kingdom of Serbia to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This secular federal polity of the “Yugoslav nation” consisted of “three tribes”, as defined in the Vidovdan Constitution of 1921 (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 385). In 1929 this parliamentary and democratic kingdom was transformed into an absolute monarchy named the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 387). Five years later it was turned into a constitutional monarchy which existed until 1943 when Democratic Federal Yugoslavia was formed. Until 1922, the polity maintained the pre-First World War subdivision

82 John, known as a typical Slovenian name; in ex-Yugoslavian Republics all Slovenes are *Kranjski Janezi*.

83 The Slovenian populated area in Primorska became part of Italy.

84 After the new state had been declared, the population of Southern Carinthia voted to be part of Austria (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 378).

of the predecessor states. Thereafter, the administrative organisation grounded on districts (*oblasti*) with self-governing powers, and in 1929 on banats (*banovine*) with advisory bodies (Štih *et al.* 2008: 358-359). The changes in administrative provinces did not affect the area and borders of the previous *Kranjska* region – renamed as *Drava Banat* (Map 4)⁸⁵.

In many respects, the new political framework designated a significant break with the Austrian past. This change became particularly evident in the alteration of place names, so that, for instance, Rudolfswerth or Rudolfovo became Novo Mesto, its *Veliki trg*, “Great Square” was renamed in *Trg Kraljeviča Petra* and after his succession to the throne of the Yugoslav monarchy in 1934 into *Trg kralja Petra*, “Square of King Peter” (Tončič 1994: 69); Saint Jera/Gera as the peak of the Gorjanci hill became Peak of Trdina⁸⁶ (Perše 1994: 530).

The change in polity was also reflected in the replacement of the Austrian Crown by the Serbian Dinar. The exchange rate was set in favour of the Dinar. The value of the Dinar was “artificially maintained” (Lazarević 1999: 103) through government intervention in the market by means of gold reserves. Eventually, the government withdrew this intervention, the value of the Dinar fell and led to an increasing inflation (Lazarević 1999: 102-103).

However, in the former Austro-Hungarian parts of Yugoslavia most Austrian legislation remained in force until 1928, forming a two-sided system. In the newly emerged market Slovenian industry performed well but this success was in partly enabled “by the absence of significant social transfers” (Lazarević 1999: 127). In

85 Except for the part in the west which after the First World War became part of Italy (footnote 83).

86 Previously a symbolic border mark, the junction point of four different *Landgericht* and the state border. After Trdina’s death in 1905 and at the onset of the First Yugoslav State, he became recognised by the local elites as the true ‘people’s artist’. In 1921 the Novo Mesto section of the Mountain Association set up a memorial plaque on a pub along the road Novo Mesto–Metlika acknowledging him to be the one who by means of his work titled *Bajke in povesti o Gorjancih* presented Gorjanci, Podgorje and Bela Krajina to the world. Subsequently, the same organisation initiated the re-naming of the Gorjanci peak by proposing to the respective authorities a new unified name – as Croats had named it Saint Gera – to designate the peak of the Gorjanci hill (Perše 1994: 530).

contrast, the agricultural sector,⁸⁷ “in which at the start of the 1920s about two-thirds of the population earned a living” (Lazarević 1999: 108), experienced a continuous emigration and substantial indebtedness of the agricultural population in spite of the agricultural credit system adopted under the Austrian rule and the protective legislation (Lazarević 1999: 108-125). Industry and agriculture were both aimed at “Slovenisation” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 361, 375), that is, at the expropriation of the Habsburgs landowners (and eventually also the Church), at the transfer of land to the landless, and at the nationalisation of industrial enterprises. The expropriation of peasant agricultural assets was not accomplished⁸⁸. All things considered, the situation was similar to that of 1848. Small farms continued to collapse and larger estates kept most of their land (Turk *et al.* 2007: 203)⁸⁹.

87 The sector was internally weak (Lazarević 1999: 108). It included “60 per cent of farms no larger than five hectares” and “technologically backward production with low yields” (Lazarević 1999: 108). “Manual labor [...] predominated, “use of artificial fertilizers” was limited, and the countryside was overpopulated (Lazarević 1999: 109).

88 Turk *et al.* (2007: 203) argue that the reason for the failed attempt to subdue the private farming lies in specific circumstances in the Slovenian society, such as the “solid link between private farmers and Catholic Church”.

89 At the beginning of the World War Two, there were large estates encompassing one fifth of all land and one third of forest on the one hand, and small estates (57 per cent cultivating up to 5ha of land) involving 13 per cent of land and 6.7 per cent of forest on the other (Čepič 1996: 148).



Map 4: Drava Banat between 1929 and 1941 (source: Bajt and Vidic (eds.) 2011: 171)

The Second World War had a substantial impact on the Slovenian society, which endured a “fratricidal conflict” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 427). Having signed its full surrender on the 17th of April 1941 (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 416), the Yugoslav government along with the king fled to London intending to return when the war was over. Surrounded by the fascist neighbouring republics, the Slovenian territory was occupied by Italians, Germans, Hungarians and Croats, who proceeded with annexation and linguistic assimilation (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 416-421).⁹⁰ Ljubljanska pokrajina, Provincia di Lubiana (formerly south part of Dravska Banovina, that is in fact Dolenjska) was annexed to Italy, the fascist Italian government taking over the local public administration and introducing a monetary union (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 414-417). After the declaration of armistice on the September 8, 1943, Province of Ljubljana was incorporated into the German Reich (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 430, 432-433).

90 The occupying forces exchanged the domestic currency for their own which reduced the value of the Slovenian financial assets and redirected the production for military purposes. The Germans invested in energy production and raw materials and the metal, textile and chemical industries. When they withdrew, they destroyed their investments (Lazarević 1999: 131-133).

By 1943 the Slovenian population split into two political sections, *ta rdeči*, “the reds” and *ta beli*, “the whites”, *partizani* and *belogardisti* that became engaged in a civil war. In this the Communist Party (CP) – illegal before the war – confronted the Catholic Slovenian People’s Party – winner of the 1938 elections.⁹¹ The Slovenian society, in Ljubljanska pokrajina/Dravska Banovina in particular, separated on two outwardly homogenous blocks⁹². The Catholic Slovenian People’s Party, operating from London, pursued a Yugoslav national policy orchestrated from London biding their time to retaliate against the Communist Party (Štih *et al.* 2008: 420-422). The latter, in 1943 assuming the leading role in the Liberation Front, headed for a revolution relying on the decisions and actions of the Soviet Union (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 433-434). For both parties, endeavouring to be acknowledged by the allies as the moral actor in the war, the struggle for power took precedence over the survival of the nation. For the Catholic Slovenian People’s Party this led to a treacherous collaboration with the occupiers, for the Communist Party it resulted in the killings during the war and the post-war extrajudicial executions. According to Sadek (2009) this is the reason why the two sides have not achieved a reconciliation up to this date.

Notwithstanding the end of the feudal system a century ago, when the seigneurie’s seat no longer represented its referential point, victory being within reach, castles were ordered to be burned down by the partisan leaders. It should reflect the spirit of an egalitarian communist ideology to erase the symbol of dominance and prevent its rebirth. In his “Memories about the Slovenes”, a writer from Dolenjska Jože Javoršek recollects the partisan and peasant siege and

91 In 1931 there were 97 per cent of self-proclaimed Catholics in Slovenia (Smrke 2009: 13).

92 The so-called Slovenian Home Guard Legion, unofficially designated as the Whites, was composed of three battalions consisting of former village guards and Voluntary Anti-communist Militia, Legion of Death, Yugoslav army and former partisans (Corsellis and Ferrar 2005: 29). It acted for “Mother, Homeland, God” (words written by writer Ivan Cankar in 1912–1913), under the symbol of the Kranjska Eagle, thus employing symbolism which embodied the values of the Austria-Hungary. On the other hand, the Reds, were named the National Liberation Front and consisted of Christian Socialists, democratic wing of the Sokol Association and culture workers, later accompanied by some other groups under the leadership of the Communist Party (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 422-423).

plunder of the castle, singing *Grad gori, grof beži, vino teče naj, če teče kri*, “Castle burns, count flees, wine should run if blood runs” (my translation A.R.) as if still living in the year 1515.

Conclusion

The integration of the Old Slovenian society into the German Empire brought about a transformation of the political structure from one previously grounded in Slavic cosmology to one in which political legitimacy derives from the Christian God. The insertion of feudalism into the Old Slovenian societies resulted in a long-term cycle of exchanges between the clearly separated social categories of feudal society, marked by the physical space they inhabited, the language(s) they spoke and the place they occupied in the social domain. The feudal lord provided the subservient peasant population with its social identity. The exchanges between farmers and their lord and the all-encompassing exchange with God constructed an image of an enduring hierarchical order as a totality of transactions. Economy is ‘embedded’ in feudal society, hence is part of a cycle of long-term exchanges concerned with the reproduction of the social system and cosmic order. With the emergence of provincial authority this exchange cycle connecting the lord to his farmers and *vice versa* became compromised. Along with demise of the feudal system ceding its place to capitalism in 1848, the notions of the State and Nation came into being. They introduced a relationship between citizens and a ruler representing the State and terminated the one between the social categories of peasants and noble lords. Nonetheless, following the persisting traditional form of authority and the unaltered political and legal system the position of peasantry remained the same. Likewise, the Catholic Church, in which the feudal structure had been embedded, continued to represent and enact its relations to the believers in unaltered form.

Chapter 5: Social structure

Administrative and territorial organisation

From the 10th to the mid-20th Century, the rural communities of Podgorje and the Dolenjska region became part of the secular and ecclesiastical organisation brought about by the changes in the political structure described above.

Following the conquest of Podgorje by Count Weichelburg in the West and Count Spannheim in the East during the 12th Century, a dense defence network of castles and mansions was erected on unapproachable mountain peaks and river sides (Kos 1997: 113). These were seats and instruments of lordship over dominical or demesne, rustic and common land that thus became part of the feudal Roman Empire. Initially the vast territorial estate (German *Grundherrschaft*) of Mehovo, encompassing the whole of west Podgorje was ruled by the House of Weichelburg from the castle Mehovo (also designated as Maichau), one of oldest castles in Dolenjska. When the Weichelburg line died out in the beginning of the 13th Century, the successors were their affines Counts of Andech, followed by the Duke of Babenberg and Duke of Spannheim (Kos 1997: 125). In the course of the 13th Century it became a property of the Habsburgs. This most likely occurred as a result of struggles between the Czech king Otokar II. Přemysl and the Roman Emperor Rudolf I of Habsburg after which the former resigned his claim over the Slovenian March (Smole 1982: 287). In 1277 Rudolf I of Habsburg pledged the estate to his political ally Count Albert II of Gorizia (Kos 1997: 125). Since the Habsburgs have not repaid the loan when due, Mehovo became a hereditary property of its pawnbroker, that is of the Counts of Gorizia. As such, the estate became a matter of dowry transfer to their affines Counts of Cilli. Mehovo estate became part of the Windic March and Metlika (*Grofija v Slovenski marki in Metliki*) which was formed in the process of political expansion in the 14th Century by Gorizian Counts and disestablished in 1374 after the Habsburgs had seized it and gradually annexed to Kranjska (Kos 1997: 125-126). Mehovo, once more in the hands of the Habsburgs, was again pawned to fill up the Treasury, this time around to the Counts of Cilli to whom the loan value was not returned. Nevertheless, in 1456 the estate became a property of the Habsburgs, heirs of the Counts of Cilli (Kos 1997: 126).

Initially, as an allodial estate of high nobles subordinate directly to the ruler or as a princely estate of patrimonial authority, Mehovo was administered by

ministerials (Kos 1997: 125), that is unfree nobles acting as their vassals. When in the 15th Century the political process of transformation from marches to provinces had come to an end, ministerials became legally upgraded to the category of free nobility subjected to the same norms and privileges as high nobles (Kos 1997: 126-128). The unity of territorial estates broke down and the so-called scattered seigneurial system was formed (Vilfan 1980b: 149). At the same time, the territorial estates could become a medium between the subjects and the State, a role some executed up to the 18th Century (Vilfan 1980b: 157). By adopting the status of provincial court (German *Landgericht*) in 1468, Mehovo estate began to exercise such military and judicial authority (Vilfan 1980b: 86).

Up to the 17th Century, when the Mehovo castle became abandoned, the estate changed hands of a series of creditors and their successors (see Smole 1982: 287). In the 17th Century Count Paradeiser, Lord of the neighbouring estate Pogowitz, erected the castle Ruprechtshof (*Ruperč vrh*) using the building material of the Mehovo castle (*op.cit.*: 125-128) and bought almost a half of the Mehovo estate from the emperor annexing it to the Ruprechtshof estate.

Up to 1941, these estates or their parts changed owners primarily in the form of dowry, inheritance shares, and through purchase and renting in order to redeem financial debts (Kos 1997: 113-142). These transfers accounted for the fact that a lord might own shares in different neighbouring estates. These were connected through a dense network of kinship relations among the nobility of Kranjska and Dolenjska regions, whom the peasants identified in reference to their castles and House names (Vilfan 1980b: 138; Smole 1982: 370-372). The ownership of land also changed frequently as plots were passed on as gifts made by noblemen to the Church so as to ensure their name being remembered after death and their soul being secured a place in heaven.

Analogous to the formation of the secular organisation of the territory an ecclesiastical organisation came into being. It consisted of the *patronat* parish of Šmihel (St. Michael) in the West, established in the 12th or 13th Century from the proprietary church of St. Michael of the Mehovo estate. The parish encompassed several churches and chapels. Most of these were erected between the 15th and 17th Century by secular and ecclesiastical feudal lords along pilgrimage routes and by village communities (Höfler 2013: 25). The *patronat* parish of Šmihel belonged to the Metropolitan See of Aquileia. In the East Podgorje the parishes of Šentjernej (St. Jernej), Podbočje and Žumberk were located. In the 13th Century a part of the Spannheim *patronat* in the East of Podgorje be-

came annexed to the parish of Šmihel as well (Höfler 2013: 294). In 1453, the Habsburg Emperor Friderik III had established the *Kapitelj* church of St. Nicholas of the town of Novo Mesto, to which the parish of Šmihel became annexed in 1496 (Höfler 2013: 291-292).

The political processes bringing about the provincial organisation and the changing power relations had their effects on the local administration of the territory. From the first half of the 15th Century, the regions of Dolenjska along with Gorenjska, Srednja Kranjska, Notranjska and Istria each constituted a provincial Quarter (*Viertel*) of the *Land* of Kranjska (Valvasor 1984 [1689]: 16). This represented a subsidiary military and taxation unit under the Quarter's Governor without particular administrative tasks (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 211). Their Slovenian names appear to be first documented in the late 17th Century (Valvasor in Golec 2012: 30).

From the 18th Century onwards, the Habsburg government interceded in the relationships between the peasants and their ecclesiastical and secular lords by imposing its own administrative demarcations upon the existing ones. These demarcations implemented between 1747 and 1848 established a system of *kresije* (German *Kreise*) (Vilfan 1980b: 217). The *Land* of Kranjska was divided into the *Kreise* of Laibach/Ljubljana or Gorenjska, Postojna or Notranjska and Rudolfswerth/Neustadtl or Dolenjska (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 376). These *Kreise* corresponded to the former *Viertel* of Gorenjska, Notranjska and Istria, and Dolenjska, respectively, while Srednja Kranjska became divided between the latter two *Kreise*. Now the region of Podgorje had become a part of the *Kreis* Rudolfswerth/Neustadtl.



Map 5: *Kreis* Rudolfswerth/Neustadt or Dolenjska within the Kranjska *Land* in the 18th and the 19th Centuries, and the border of the present-day Slovenian State in red (source: Bajt and Vidic (eds.) 2011: 118)

The *Kreis* Rudolfswerth/Neustadt contained sixteen delegated seigneuries, each representing a provincial court executing judicial and military authority (Smole 1982: 19). In West Podgorje – the area under study – the Rupretschof (*Ruperč Vrh*) was such a seignery. The most important of these delegated seigneuries under the supervision of the Rudolfswerth *Kreis* were renamed as municipalities. A municipality would consist of several sections introduced in 1771 with the purpose of collecting the first population census (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 376-367). Parishes that from the Tridentine Synod in the mid-16th Century onwards were to record their population figures were divided for that purpose into sections (*Nummerierungsabschnitte*) counting forty to fifty numerated houses divided over one or more rural settlements each with their stretches of inhabited land (German *Ried*, Slovene *ledina*) designated by specific topo-

nyms (*ledinsko ime* or *livadno ime*) and served as units of cadastral and taxation administration as well (Smole 1982: 15-16).

After the Habsburg Empire had adopted the Prussian conscription system it introduced for that purpose an additional administrative structure. The Province of Kranjska was divided into *Kantons* consisting of *Werbbezirke*. The latter, coinciding with the parishes, were the geographically defined domains of *Bezirksobrigkeit*. Conscription duties were no longer imposed on the dispersed subjects of individual estates, but on the inhabitants of these *Werbbezirke* (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 376-379).

The 18th Century also brought about a fragmentation of the ecclesiastical organisation of the area. Following the abolition of the Aquilea Metropolitan See in 1751, Šmihel and Kapitelj came to resort under the Gorizian Archdiocese and, in 1788, under that of Ljubljana (<http://www.zupnija-nm-smihel.si/index.php?p=3>; accessed May 5, 2013). By the 18th Century the local vicariate churches that up to then had been subordinate to the parish churches, were upgraded and became the seat of new parishes themselves, that were to be included in the Ljubljana Archdiocese. The former Šmihel parish of Podgorje was dissolved into such parishes. These included the parishes of Stopiče and Podgrad (Miklavčič 1945) that are situated in the area under study.

At the abolition of feudalism in 1848 the *Kreis* that was based on state delegated seigneuries became abolished as well. The *Bezirk* under the authority of a *Bezirkshauptmann*, substituting the *Kreis*, continued to function as regional centre of the state administration (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 447). The castles and mansions that had been the centres from which the lords had issued their feudal claim on farm-holds, no longer represented the political centre for the local population. Around 1850 Rudolfswerth/Neustadtl, together with Kočevje (*Gottschee*) and Krško (*Gurkfeld*) were turned into a county under the 'county governorship' (*okrajno glavarstvo*) of Dolenjska (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 447-448). In the same year several cadastral municipalities constituted an administrative municipality (*občina* under *župan*) that was autonomous in municipal affairs but subordinate in administrative affairs to that county governorship and in judicial affairs to the county court (Vilfan 1980a: 48-49). In 1850, Stopiče in west Podgorje was a separate municipality, which in 1866 joined with Šmihel to form the new but still rural municipality of Šmihel-Stopiče. This continued to exist until 1945 (<http://www.siranet.si/detail.aspx?ID=209828>; accessed May 5, 2013).

During the Second World War West Podgorje was occupied first by Italian troops in 1941 and subsequently by German troops in 1943. The Italians and the Germans after them took over the local administration in Novo Mesto. The hilly and woody Podgorje region became a battlefield of all parties involved in the war. These included the Italian and German occupiers, Slovenian partisans, and the collaborationist 'White Guard' and 'Home Guard' discussed earlier (see p. 68). The settlements, villages and hamlets that had been liberated from the Germans became the basis of the post-war Committee and District organisation of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia.

Whereas feudal lordship had generated fragmentary and changeable political structures, the continuity of the administrative and religious territorial structure was in fact ensured by the elementary units (*huba* and *grunt*) of which the feudal political order was constituted. These units were the houses with their land as part of a village compound and its land. The borders between the municipalities, responsible for taxation, cadastral records and conscription always respected those of the *huba* located within their territories. And it were the *huba*, *grunt* of the village that were responsible for the maintenance of the village church. Whatever the nature of the political and religious organisation of the Podgorje Region in the course of centuries, the *huba* never lost its significance as a basic unit of socio-political and religious organisation.

Dolenjska and Dolenjci, Podgorje and Podgorci

The Monograph *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* [1689] by Johann Weikhard von Valvasor provides the first description of the Kranjska and Dolenjska inhabitants. Valvasor portrayed the people of Kranjska as excelling in the Christian faith from which the temporal blessings and eternal life arise and for their diligence (1984 [1689]: 16). He divided the Kranjska population into the following groups: *Gorenjci* who are 'real *Kranjci*' of Gorenjska; also 'real *Kranjci*' *Dolenjci* of Dolenjska; *Uskoki*, *Kočevci* and *Hrvati* or *Beli Kranjci* (literally White Kranjci) of Srednja Kranjska; *Krašovci*, *Vipavci*, *Čiči* and 'real *Kranjci*' of Notranjska; and, *Rečani*, and *Istrani* of Istria (1984 [1689]). The groups differed in language, clothing and customs. He also gave an account of the rural settlements, their vineyards, features of the landscape and climate, and the fires that one ignited to signal approaching Ottoman raids. The inhabitants of Dolenjska part of Kranjska spoke the Kranjska language with local variations. He also de-

scribed their characteristic clothing, their marriage, death and baptismal ceremonies, and agricultural practices. Dolenjska was “covered with fertile soil [...] intelligently administered by the authorities”, and “cultivated by the myriad of hard-working souls” (1984 [1689]: 32; my translation A.R.).

In 1871 historian Janez Trdina found that their common dialect, their beliefs and practices and their ‘character’ along with their geographical, historical, social conditions shaped the ‘tribe’ of the Dolenjci people (Trdina 1956: 7). The people lived in “small and minuscule indigenous farms” situated between the many fortresses and mansions (Trdina 1956: 8; my translation A.R.).

Although separated by almost two centuries Valvasor and Trdina appear to formulate similar ideas about the ‘localised culture’ (Gupta and Fergusson 1992) of the inhabitants of Dolenjska region, in which both the Catholic Church and the feudal Lordship are particularly valued. Between the 17th and the 19th Century the people expressed their loyalty to the Emperor – be that Habsburg’s Maria Theresia or Franz Joseph – and their faith in God, each exercising proper authority over the respective domains of social life, that is, the house, the country, and the world (in Trdina 1987 [1877]: 666).

Trdina also informs us about the self-ascribed identities of the Dolenjska population in the last quarter of the 19th Century. They identified themselves as *Kranjci* – as inhabitants of the Kranjska Province (*Land*). They employed the term ‘Slovenes’ (*Slovinci*) to designate all those whom the contemporary Pan-Slavic political movement identified as ‘Slavs’. Trdina quoted ‘peasants’ saying “we speak the Kranjska language, but priests preach in Slovene. We do understand them but why does it sound Croatian? [...] They represent folk songs as Kranjska songs, the [newly written] ones as Slovenian songs” (Trdina 1956: 12; my translation A.R.). Indeed, the people were familiar with the term ‘Slovene’. “I am aware what a Slovene is and I knew this since I was a child. Slovenes are all of us of the same language” (in Trdina 1987 [1870]: 241; my translation A.R.). As to their regional identity Trdina argued that “[s]upposedly, Slovenes who would regard themselves as *Dolenjci* do not exist” (Trdina 1956: 7; my translation A.R.). When informants – in whatever village – were asked whether they lived in the Dolenjska region, they would point to the next parish to the South; it were always the neighbours who were *Dolenjci*. Likewise, no one wished to be identified as an inhabitant of Podgorje – to be a *Podgorec* (plural *Podgorci*). “[O]n this side of the river [Krka] it is said that everyone living on the other side are *Podgorci*. But those [living there] reject that and claim

that *Podgorci* are only those who live [further South] under the Vahta [mountain pass]” (Trdina 1987 [1871]: 330; my translation A.R.).

All in all, the people of the *Podgorje* region were perceived as poor and simpleminded, drinking sour wine, living in deficient hygienic surroundings and practising incest. Such perceptions attribute to the *Dolenjci*, and even more so to the *Podgorci*, the status of an ‘uncivilised’ or ‘primitive’ Other. The inhabitants of each region, be that Podgorje, Dolenjska, or Kranjska, valued themselves while devaluing those of other regions. In other words, the regions were not neutral but collectively imagined and socially valued spaces (Anderson 2003 [1988]; Gupta and Fergusson 1992; Acharya 2000, 2004).

In the course of history feudal, imperial and monarchic authorities by defining the geographical borders that delineated their domains of influence set the conditions for a quasi-‘natural’ affiliation between regions and their inhabitants. Hence the names of areas and their inhabitants persisted even though from the 18th Century onwards they were no longer officially designated as such.⁹³ Podgorje, however, never existed as an officially recognised administrative unit. Already in the 18th Century it had become part of the Dolenjska region. And since its demarcations were not politically authorised its borders were continuously contested.

In the first decennia of the 20th Century the life of a ‘Slovenian peasant’ in the Dolenjska region took place in different spaces: the cadastral municipality, the parish, and less often the seigneurial seat and the nearest town, where he went on unpleasant errands to the court, the tax office or the police station (Möderndorfer 1938: 39). In their own village community people perceived in the surrounding spaces both the prominent features of the landscape and those of the religious order of the world. Since many generations people of Podgorje had gazed upon the Gorjanci hill so as to predict rain or fair weather. Churches in the countryside likewise were points of spatial and temporal orientation. Church bells not only marked the passage of time, their volume and pitch signalled the type of weather to be expected and its impact on the agricultural tasks at hand.

Such “sensory ways of perceiving the landscape” (Devereux and Wozencroft 2012) generated a particular knowledge of that landscape among the local

93 Local periodical *Dolenjske Novice* issued between 1885 and 1919 carried the name as well as the region was commonly referred to as Dolenjska.

people. Its sensory perception led to its embodiment – “a movement of *incorporation*” (Ingold 1993: 157) – in the people’s collective consciousness of that landscape, its shapes, its pathways, its boundaries and its seasons. It “impose[d] a habitual pattern on the movement of people” (Jackson 1989: 146).

Social relationships

Between 1823 and 1825⁹⁴, Podgorje villages (*vas*) and hamlets⁹⁵ (*zaselek*), counted on average 25 and 6 houses respectively. At one end of the main road the village featured the Christian church. Most of them had been built sometime between the 16th and 17th Century (Registry of Immovable Cultural Heritage, <http://giskd6s.situla.org/giskd/>; accessed May 20, 2013) on an elevated site already marked by a religious object of building. In the 19th Century churches were renovated or enlarged (Registry of Immovable Cultural Heritage <http://giskd6s.situla.org/giskd/>; accessed June 2, 2011). Villages also had a stretch of a common land located in the centre, sometimes planted with some walnut trees. The houses that made up the village plans of 1823, 1824 and 1825 were built arbitrarily perpendicular or parallel to the roads, forming a ‘clustered village type’⁹⁶.

94 The data presented in this chapter derive from several sources. The Franciscan Land Cadastre of Kranjska, conducted between 1818 and 1828, and between 1830 and 1832, offers an overall insight into the local population. The data analysed pertain to 27 settlements belonging to the cadastral municipalities of Cerovec, Črmošnjice, Hrušica, Zajčji Vrh, Vinja Vas, and Težka Voda, all under the state delegated seignery of Ruprechtshof (Ruperč vrh) of the *Neustadt/Novo Mesto Kreis*. These data are available at the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana under SI AS 176/N/N360, SI AS 176/N/N319, SI AS 176/N/N16, SI AS 176/N/N88, SI AS 176/N/N341, SI AS 176/N/N260. Another source of data obtained at the Stopiče parish office of the Ljubljana Diocese to which most of these settlements belong, houses which date to this period and recollections of their oldest residents. Lastly are works of Slovenian ethnologists who focused on Dolenjska in the 19th Century.

95 Hamlet represented as a separate settlement of 3 to 10 houses, hence smaller than a village (Blaznik 1970d: 612).

96 Parcels are of irregular shapes with a cluster distribution where houses are generally located without any particular order – found on the 19th Century maps of cadastral surveys (Map 6, p. 90).

This form of the settlements, and their names constructed of a proper name suffixed by the terms *selo* or *vas* ('settlement', 'village') point towards a pre-feudal origin in the 'early colonisation' period between the pre-feudal 9th and the early 14th Century (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 120; Štih *et al.* 2008: 83-84). Under the feudal rule the village names were given the German suffix of *Dorf*; so were settlements established at that time (Kos 1954: 172). This indicates that the settlements in Podgorje existed in the 12th and 13th Centuries as well (Kos 1954: 173). The proper names of the settlements would refer to certain features of the landscape, such as distinctive tree, plant or animal species, water courses, ponds or hills, or to their inhabitants from elsewhere, such as Germans, Uskoks, or Carinthians. Interestingly, the House name of the local seignery did not identify the settlements in the domain, unless a settlement had developed in the immediate vicinity of the seigneurial house itself, or that House name was an additional identifier of a village name also born by other villages. In the latter case, homonymous village names could be distinguished by prefixes such as 'high' (*gor*) versus 'low' (*dol*), 'above' (*nad*) versus 'under' (*pod*), or 'large' (*veliki*) versus 'small' (*mali*). This system, that may be of Austrian origin, indicates the successive establishment of two neighbouring settlements by the same name.

The house

Until the 1940s most houses were built of wood⁹⁷ and were covered with straw; they had no chimneys. In the 17th Century Valvasor had observed that they all looked similar (1984 [1689]: 120). They consisted of two, or possibly three, domains. A vestibule *veža* running from the front of the house to the back served as cooking area. It separated "the big house" (*velika hiša*)⁹⁸ or "the big end" (*veliki konec*) at the right side of the house from "the small house" (*mala hiša*) or the "small end" (*mali konec*) at the left side. Both the 'big house' and the 'small house' served as sleeping areas. According to the Reambulance Cadastre (1867–1882)⁹⁹, the wood had been mostly replaced by stone as the main construction

97 Unlike the detached agricultural buildings such as barns which were made of stone.

98 Thus, *hiša* designated the building as well as its main part (see footnote 45 and Vilfan 1970: 580).

99 Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Reambulančni za Kranjsko (1867–1882), Novomeška kresija, k.o. Težka Voda.

material. Informants tell of fires in the villages in the late 1820s and 1830s, leaving some houses in ruins. Fire regulations issued in the late 18th Century and the construction legislation of the late 19th Century improved safety measures (Vilfan 1970: 586-587). By that time a part of the ‘small house’ would be partitioned off to serve as a sleeping room (*kamra* or *izba*).

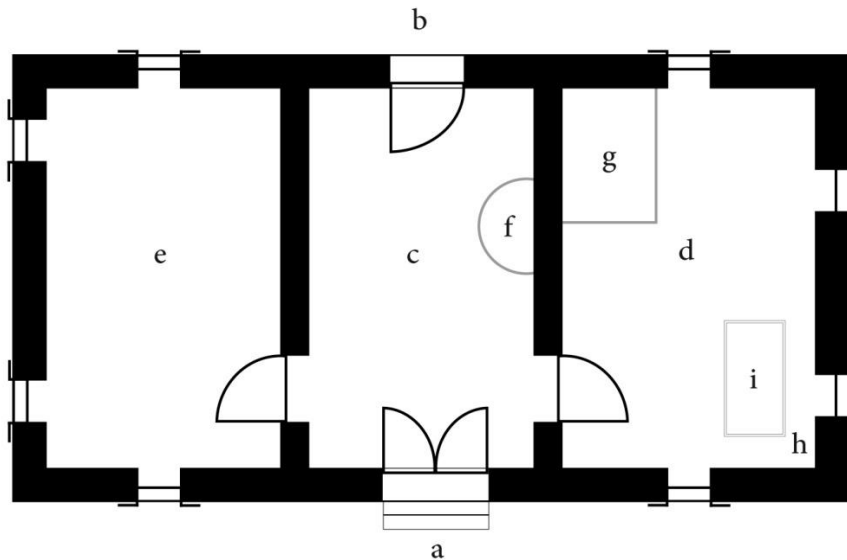


Diagram 1: Ground floor plan of the house

- a – main entrance
- b – back entrance
- c – vestibule
- d – ‘big end’/‘big house’
- e – ‘small end’/‘small house’
- f – hearth
- g – tiled stove
- h – ‘God’s Corner’
- i – dining table

The house had entrances at both side of the vestibule, the one slightly elevated at the front opening towards the main road (*glavna vrata*, “main door”), the other leading to the circular courtyard at the back where agricultural constructions were placed (*od zadaj*, “at the back”)¹⁰⁰. Houses were built parallel or perpendicular to the village road. Two types of houses distinguished apparently

100 Hay and cattle fodder were stored in a detached wooden and stone barn and hayrack.

depending on the slope of the ground surface. If the plot sloped downwards from the village road, the house had a stone cattle barn or basement at the back situated one floor under the road level at the front. The basement could be approached through a wooden veranda. This type of a house is known as *vrhhlevna hiša*, “top-barn house”. Houses built on even plots lacked such barns. The cattle barn along with other agricultural buildings was detached from the house and situated at the back at the same level as the living quarters surrounding the backyard.

According to the official regional typology of vernacular architecture of Slovenia, the two house types of Podgorje (Diagram 2) described were of Central Slovenian type and corresponded to the so called *Krško-Bela Krajina* (on the left side) and ‘top-barn’ house (on the right side) sub-type (Vilfan 1970: 590-591).



Diagram 2: House types in Podgorje (Vilfan 1970: 590)

The house plan reflected different kinship relations between its inhabitants. The ‘big house’ was the sleeping residence of the household head, his wife, and unmarried children. In the ‘small house’ the parents of the household head resided; the eldest married son of the head of household would live there with his wife and children too, as long as he had not yet succeeded his father. Younger married sons and all married daughters lived in other houses: the daughters in those of their husbands, the younger sons and their wives live in newly built houses or in the wife’s house if that wife had no brother to succeed to her father.

Table 1: Rules of domestic settlement

W settled virilocally;

eS and his nuclear family settled patrilocally;

D settled virilocally if DH is an eS;

D settled neolocally if DH is a yS;

yS and his nuclear family settled neolocally; and

yS settled uxorilocally if ySW is eD without male siblings.

Daily life centred around the vestibule. On the right side, meals were cooked on the raised hearth designated as “black kitchen” (*črna kuhinja*) vented by a hole in the ceiling or chimney and by a hole connecting it to the tiled stove heating the ‘big house’. Of all the rooms of the house the ‘big house’ was valued highest. Here the relationship between the house’s inhabitants and the sacred order of Roman Catholicism was represented in “God’s Corner” (*Bogcev kot*) or “Heaven” (*paradiž*; Pahor 1981: 33). Here a crucifix and depictions of the *mater dolorosa* – the virgin Mary’s heart pierced by a sword and of Jesus’ heart encircled by thorns¹⁰¹ – were attached to the wall. In the presence of these sacred icons the communal meals were consumed. The ‘small house’ and the ‘big house’ were only accessible to non-house members when the rituals of marriage, death, St. Stephen’s Day, Easter Monday, All Souls’ Day, name days of adult members of the household, and the church patron saint’s celebration day were performed. The only non-ritual occasion was, during the joint meal offered to those who took part in completing a major work for the household.

Whereas the ‘big house’ and ‘small house’ in fact could be of equal size the qualifiers ‘big’ and ‘small’ in fact refer to unequal values. For the ‘big house’, representing the relationships between the living and the Divine encompassed the distinction between one generation of the household head and his nuclear family, one the one side of the house, and the first ascending generation – the past head of household – and the first descending generation – the future one – at the other side of the house. The ‘big house’ thus represented the permanence of the socio-religious order in contrast to the temporality of succeeding generations living in the ‘small house’.

101 Symbols referring to the consecration of the family to the hearts of Jesus and Mary.

A formal model of social relationships

The lexeme *hiša* (“house”) refers both to a material dwelling, *dom* (“home”, from Latin *domus*) and to the members of the household inhabiting it (cp. Part One). In the latter case I shall use the capital H to denote that.

The concept of House (Lévi-Strauss 1982: 172) articulates the particular exchange processes, which bind its members and perpetuate the estate – its material, immaterial and local attributes – from which these members derive their House identity.

In the rural Dolenjska region the House identified the intangible and material property, the building, community of its living and deceased members, as well as the land belonging to it. Members of a House were all identified by their House name, a ‘verbal representation of a collective identity’ (Gilmore 1982: 697), even though they lived in different actual houses. When in the 18th Century population censuses were introduced, houses became numbered while the House names persisted. House names listed in the local parish registries and in the Franciscan Land Cadastre of Kranjska of 1823 in the indigenous language as *vulgo* (German *Spitzname*, *Spottname*), were generally older than family names. The latter most likely derived from the former, even though some House names reflected older family names (Štukl 1996: 26).

From the 16th Century onwards each family was identified by a family name, *priimek*. Literally “attached to the name”, *priimek* was the name by which one identified oneself (*pisati se*, “to write oneself”) in bureaucratic documents.

Wives adopted their husband’s family name. Members of one family sharing a family name also shared the title to the land in the guardianship of that family. However, in answer to the question *čigav si*, “to whom do you belong?,” one responded by mentioning not the family name but the House name. That name remained with the House even when its members changed their family name – for instance, in case of an uxori locally in-marrying husband. The oldest records of the seigneurial landed estates (specifically from the end of the 16th Century onwards)¹⁰² mention family names that had only recently

102 Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Zbirka urbarjev (cca.1350–1888), Novoreformirani urbar graščine Mehovo, 1585–1603.

been instituted. For instance, in 1603, the settlement of Gabrje counted five farming households, four of which carried the same family name of Bositsch (literally “little God,” ‘Christmas’) and one Potgorec. The 19th Century data reveal that family names were transformed into House names. A farming household could also adopt a name of a settlement or give its name to a settlement. Etymologically, both family and House names could derive from personal names, the names of people’s physical or mental characteristics, their craft, status, profession or previous residence. The names might also refer to the location of the house or its natural environment (see also Koštial 1927: 114).

The lexeme *rodbina* (from *rod*, ‘kin, lineage’) designates the relations of ideally patrilineal descent that ensure the continuity of the House. By contrast the construct *sorodstvo* designates all cognatic relatives (Ravnik and Simič 2004: 502-503). In the 19th Century the term *rodbina* was reserved for those wealthy and powerful Houses who could preserve the memory of their ancestors by setting up a gravestone and by giving gifts to the church and the institutions that took care of the needy. In contrast, rural Houses of lesser status would employ the term *družina* to refer to their members. In Old Church Slavic language, the lexeme *družina*, denoted ‘friends, company’ (Snoj 1997: 106; cp. p. 42).

From 1823 till 1825, the average settlement compound counted 18 houses inhabited by 110 people, that is an average of 6.1 inhabitants per house. In the 19th and the first half of the 20th Century their interrelationships were denoted by the following kin terms¹⁰³:

H: *mož* / W: *žena*

F: *oče* / M: *mama* as *roditelja* or, *starša*

S: *sin* / D: *hčerka*

B: *brat* / Z: *sestra*, and

FF: *stari oče*, *stari ata* / FM: *stara mama* as *stari starši*¹⁰⁴, “old parents” to

SS: *vnuk* / SD: *vnukinja*.

SpF: *tast* / SpM: *tašča*

The terms are according to standard Slovenian language, not the local dialect.¹⁰⁵

103 The same terms were used also in the case of uxori-local postmarital settlement.

104 *Babica* and *ded* as additional standard terms for grandparents were used in cities.

Eldest informants spoke of their predecessors and successors by employing the following terms:

H: *dec* (“man”) or *ata* (“father”)

W: *baba* (“old woman”), *ženska* (“woman”), *mama* or *mat* (“mother”)

F: *ate* / M: *mat*

S: *pob* (“boy”) / D: *punca* (“girl”)

F/MF: *stari ate* / F/MM: *stara mat*; the difference between MP and FP was signified by indicating the village of grandparents who did not reside in the same house as their grandchildren (commonly MM and MF), or by specifying whether one refers to the mother’s or the father’s parents.

ChS: *vnuk* / ChD: *vnukinja*

SpF: *ate* / SpM: *mat*

The relations of the household were distinguished in those between men and women (husband/wife, brother/sister), and between generations (parent/child, grandparent/grandchild). Headship of the House was assigned to *gospodar* (Latin *dominus*), a term expressing guardianship, executive rights but not ultimate private ownership. House acted as the *personne morale* of the rights and duties assigned to an individual as the head of the House.

The eldest married male represented the head of the House who attained this position in full only after his father died. He was assigned the heaviest physical tasks, such as working the fields, vineyards, forest and orchard, that is, all those outside activities performed away from the house and representing the source of the household’s income. He could dispose of the money earned from wood, wine and animals.

The *gospodar* was also responsible for providing wine. By the end of the 18th Century, the wine produced in Dolenjska was called *Mor-* or *Marchwein*, “wine from Kranjska March” (cp. Valvasor 1689: 352). In the 19th Century,

105 In case either from the head couple had died, the remaining spouse remarried. The additional interrelationships between house residents involve the following terms: *očim* (‘stepfather’), *mačeha* (‘stepmother’), *pastorek* (‘stepson’), *pastorka* (‘stepdaughter’), *(po)polbrat* (‘stepbrother’), *(po)polsestra* (‘stepsister’). These were employed only as terms of reference. The informants addressed their stepparent as ‘father’/‘mother’. Stepchildren were addressed by their personal names while they could be referred to as “his children” or “her children”. Stepblings addressed one another by their personal names.

phylloxera damaged the vines leading to the production of *cviček*, a sour wine made of different varieties of grapes. A household should never run out of wine and it was to be offered to everyone who entered the house.

The head's wife, denoted as *gospodinja*, took care of the housekeeping and the children, fed the chickens and pigs, and milked the cows. In poorer farms that could not afford a farmhand she also worked the field. Where men were altogether absent, she performed all the male tasks, and even worked the field (*tabrh* from German *Tagewerk* or *Tagbau*) at other estates. According to Rožman (2004: 85) household tasks were deemed self-evident, thus unproductive labour, whereas work on the fields was considered productive. The income that the household head's wife earned from selling eggs, nuts, wild fruit, flour, herbs and milk, would be spent on household necessities (e.g. equipment, clothing and school supplies).

In front of the house there was a small fenced flower garden, *gartlc* (from German *Garten*) beautifying the house. In it, the female house head grew flowers such as lilies, dalies, peonies, snowmounds, zinnias, asters, chrysanthemums. Only she could pick those flowers which were used to decorate the house grave, house crucifix, house at the name day, at marriage and funeral ceremony and the village church.

Bread making was figured as one of the major duties of the housewife. Bread should be baked during the waxing moon, but certainly not at the full moon. For everyday home consumption, the bread was "black" (*črn*), made of rye, buckwheat or corn. It was baked once a week or when it ran out. *Bel*, literally "white bread" was made for Easter, Christmas, Blessing of the village church (*žegnanje*), weddings, and after the harvest, the threshing and vintage had been completed. All rural kitchens had a *metrga* (from German *Mehltruhe*), a special table both for the kneading and rising of the dough and serving as dining table. Before cutting the first slice, the sign of the Cross must be made over the bottom of the loaf – just as before Holy Communion in Church. The poor ate black bread only while farmhands usually got a crust or some old bread. In wealthier houses where farmhands were employed and where the housewife did only housekeeping chores the bread was said to be the best. Children were taught how to ask for bread. An adult would ask "what are you going to say?" The child would join hands as if in prayer and say, "honor to God" (*Čast Bugca*, God in diminutive form). It was the godmother's gift at baptism, at wedding, so was a gift for the Name Day.

Bread, like wine, was a symbol of community. When wine during the pouring of wine from the barrel a few drops fell on the floor, or when crumbs of bread fell on the floor, these were said to be “for the souls in purgatory”, thus an offering contributing to the salvation of the predecessors’ souls.

Children would graze animals on the village common or on private plots allocated to individual households. They would assist their mother in her household and field chores, looking after their younger brothers and sisters until they were old enough to take up the gender-specific work as future household heads themselves.

It is said that the woman supports three corners of the house. These corners signify most of the work sustaining the House (see Trdina 1987 [1870]: 279). However, according to my informants, this saying is commonly ridiculed by men. The ideal of the Slovenian mother and wife was formed in the 19th Century when men due to performing seasonal work, military service, or emigration (Močnik 2013: 141) were absent from the house. In those days, the Holy Virgin Mary offered a role model for the woman as “the guardian of the traditional order” (Mosse 2005: 17)¹⁰⁶.

The male and female heads of the House and their children should provide their own resident parents with a living space in one part of the house and the use of common rooms, and attend to their needs (food, health, clothing) until death.

The unmarried adult head’s agnates lived together in the house as members of the household. Vilfan (1980c: 348, 1980d: 363), observed that from the 15th to the mid-19th Centuries there was a rather large number of unmarried adults who remained at home “as aunts and uncles” (*kot tete in strici*),¹⁰⁷ that is PSb, of the children of the head. The initial meaning of the two terms was possibly FZ and FB, respectively.¹⁰⁸ In accordance with virilocal postmarital residence these were in-

106 There is an array of work, arising mainly in the field of psychology and psychoanalysis, discussing the ‘cult’ of mother in the Slovenian society (e.g. Musek 1994, Žižek 1987, Rugelj 1985, Puhar 2004 [1982]: 25-44).

107 *Teta* and *stric* were also employed when referring to women and men in rural areas, while the nobles and bourgeoisie were denoted as miss or madam (*gospodična, gospa*) and lord (*gospod*), expressing class distinction.

108 Pleteršnik’ Slovene-German dictionary (2006 [1895]) explains the terminological distinction in kin terminology between paternal and maternal siblings. Six terms come to

deed mostly FSb. However, between the 16th and 19th Centuries the kin terminology (see Appendix) changed “from zero-equation to cognatic” (in Needham’s understanding of the term (in: Parkin 2015: 205)), reflecting changes in the political structure and their impact on the local social structure (Hammel 1968, Friedrich 1962). As a result, circumlocutions were used in order to specify the side of family (*po mamini strani*, “from the mother’s side”, *po očetovi strani*, “from the father’s side”).

The task of these unmarried head’s siblings was to work on the farm. Hired farmhands were not a member of the house, though could remain at the farmhold until death (Trdina 1987 [1870]: 138). In return for their work on the farm, the unmarried head’s siblings like the old head couple, insisted on *usufruct*, meticulously defined whether in the marriage contract, the contract of transfer or in the inheritance contract.

Intergenerational distinctions between House members were expressed not only in particular kin terms but also by using specific forms of address. Elder, hierarchically higher placed members would address younger members, in an informal manner (*tikanje* cp. German *sich duzen*). Conversely, grandchildren employed the 3rd plural personal pronoun *onikanje* (cp. German *doppelt siezen*) and children 2nd plural personal pronoun (German *siezen*), to address and refer to their grandparents and parents respectively. Peasants would address and refer to hierarchically higher placed persons likewise (in Trdina 1987 [1871]: 486); so would sisters of the female head of the house (Trdina 1987 [1871]: 486). Such terminological expressions of social distance, connecting kin and non-kin alike in hierarchical relationships, contrasted with relations connecting villagers of equal status and of the same age addressed and referred to in an informal manner (*tikanje*).

the fore. *Ujna* as MZ, MBW (the wife of maternal uncle), *ujec* as MB; *strina* as FBW (wife of a paternal uncle), *stric* as FB, *teta* as MZ, FZ, and *tetec* as aunt’s husband (whether MZ or FZ is not clear). The different definitions for each term indicate regional variability. Unfortunately, there are no records to determine if, when and how this distinction was linguistically observed by the local population of Dolenjska and Podgorje in particular. My eldest informants know only of *stric* and *teta* regardless of the maternal/paternal side.

The House as category represented an “intermediate between a line of descent and household” (Chance 2000: 486). Children having married out of their natal house adopted the new House name. However, further specifying such persons’ social identity the name of the House of birth was recalled. Thus, the in-marrying spouse was associated but not identified with the people of his/her spouse’s House, as she/he was never completely incorporated into the latter. Marriage did not erase one’s identity-by-birth. In other words, marriage created membership of in-marrying spouses in different Houses simultaneously.

To the House also the ancestors belonged. They were designated as parents’ parents, for example, *od moje stare mame mat*, “my grandmother’s mother”, or *od moje mame/mat mama/mat, njena mama/mat*, “my mother’s mother, her mother” referred to MMM. Such references outlined the temporal depth of the House’ existence, extending beyond three or more ascending generations. More commonly, however, informants would refer to their grandparents only – that is, the ancestors within their living memory.

In standard Slovenian language “great-great-grandmother” is denoted by *praprababica*, and “great-great-grandfather” as *prapraded*. Each successive ascending generation is thus designated by adding the prefix *pra*. Such an accumulation builds a series of “mothers” and “fathers” who are the ancestors, of the patrimony. In this sense, the House represents a system of relations between the living and their “parents” in a series of successive ascending generations. The ancestors “provide a focus of group identity, a mechanism for the construction of group authority, and a means to control access to property rights” (Gillespie 2000: 474). Since the ancestors were considered the true owners of the House’s estate the Head of the House acted as its safe-keeper and guardian. He and all other living members of the House by their very existence fulfilled the ancestral imperative to ensure the House’ continuity.

The House imposes its identity upon its inhabitants, as evident from the proverb “Whoever comes to the peasant house should appropriate practices of the house; the house is not going to adopt his” (Trdina 1987 [1878]: 886; my translation A.R.). It is the House, by giving its House name to it, that owns its people and its land. Of the house and of its land the ancestors are the original owners.

House and land

The House depended on the produce of its land. According to Trdina vine, hay, wood and grain stood for the corners of the house (1987 [1878]: 861), thus the pillars of the farmstead. In cadastral municipalities of the Stopiče parish (foot-note 94) from 1823 till 1825, the ratio between the pasture land and arable land was almost 2 to 1. Animal husbandry as the main farming activity involved sheep, pigs, and oxen while the arable land was employed for growing wheat, barley, oat, grassland, millet, potato, and shamrock.



Map 6: Part of the cadastral municipality of Težka Voda in 1823 (SI AS 176/N/N260)¹⁰⁹

109 Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Franciscejski kataster za Kranjsko (1823–1869), Novomeška kresija, k.o. Težka Voda.

Cadastral maps reveal how each village was enclosed by the land (Map 6). The latter was distributed in concentric circles. The houses and some craft shops were randomly placed in the centre of the village. In a wider circle, proximate to the village an orchard was located; around this the fields and pastures were situated, encircled by the forest and the vineyards.

The village land was divided into three or more sections, in each of which every House possessed one or more strips. Such an organisation of the village land was based on the three-field fallow rotation system being the outcome of the establishment of the seigneuries in the 12th Century (Makarovič 1995: 42). It persisted also after the 1800s, when the physiocratic reforms introducing new crops, tools, barn livestock, and farm cultures (Blaznik 1970b: 173) transformed the field cultivation into continuous rotations.

Each section of the village land was further divided into segments which carried a specific name. These micro-toponyms of the segments of land derived from topographic features of the area, especially surface and vegetation forms. Like in the case of settlement naming, micro-toponyms referred to the seigneurial estate only if the land was dominical. The segments of land were considered when drawing borders of cadastral municipalities in the 18th Century. Therefore, most of land of one House, and of common village land that in the process of individuation became assigned to individual farms, was located in one cadastral municipality.

The Franciscan Land Cadastre of Kranjska (1823–1869) refers to the *Eigenthumer* of the property as the House head. It identifies his status – usually that of peasant (*Bauer*) – the settlement to which he belongs, his house number, and in some cadastral municipalities also the House name referred to as *vulgo* (see for example SI AS 176/N/N341¹¹⁰). Since the land was identified by the House name and each parcel by that House name and a certain micro-toponym, the House identified both the land and the people belonging to it.

As a custodian of the House and its land, the head of the House – the Franciscan Land Cadastre's *Eigenthumer* – would refer to both house's mate-

110 Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Franciscejski kataster za Kranjsko (1823–1869), Novomeška kresija, k.o. Vinja vas.

rial property and the land as his¹¹¹. But the land of the House was utilised by, and subject to the claims of, the house's resident members. They were entitled to a share of *usufruct*. Upon marrying out this right became suspended until they returned to their house of birth. Once the eldest son was married and a father himself would he take from his father the role of head of the House, ensuring the continuity of the House and the guardianship of the farm-hold.

In addition to their own House land, houses claimed access to the common village or municipal land. Such common land (German *Gemeinde*), known as *gmajna*, was exploited individually or jointly as pasture¹¹² and for firewood. Pastures and forest were subject to joint agreements by the heads of the village houses. Being a source of income they were in the domain of head of House.

The land of individual farm-holds could be used as vineyard¹¹³ and orchard and as fields.

Initially, vineyards were part of rustic or of dominical land (Vilfan 1980e: 428). Following colonisation processes another type of vineyards emerged. These were commonly located on a hillside at some distance from the house and divided in serried stripes running from the wine storage shed at the top of the hill down the sunny side of the slope. Such types of vineyards and resulted from the deforestation of elevated areas known as *gora* or *gorica* that the feudal lord distributed to the applicants (Vilfan 1980e: 428). The vineyard as a separate catego-

111 There was a negligible number of women acting as heads E.g. in the cadastral municipality of Cerovec, 5.65 per cent; in the cadastral municipality of Črmošnjice 1.07 per cent, and in the cadastral municipality of Težka Voda, 0.00 per cent.

112 Cultivated land was employed for pasture as well. Informants tell of locations where they could graze cattle. Blaznik (1970a: 152) argues such field linkage as a residue of former collective claim on the land, especially in case of land distribution such as in Podgorje, i.e. fragmented small irregular plots which demanded a coordinated land cultivation.

113 From the late Middle Ages until the end of the 18th Century, the possession structure of vineyards was distinct from that of other agricultural land: dominical vineyards were worked by servants and their labor was registered in the land registry; peasants grew vineyards which belonged to their subservient farms or claimed *usus* according to the *Bergrecht*; *usus* claim could be also in the hands of non-farmers and bourgeois.

ry of land had come into being from the 16th Century onwards. The *usus* claim over vineyards was known as *Bergrecht*. It was specified in *Bergrechtsüchel* of *Štajerska* (Styria). This statute was not legally binding in Kranjska, but one pragmatically adhered to it. The *usus* claim on vineyards was defined as inheritable and alienable (Vilfan 1980e: 428). Yet, the feudal lord could retrieve the plot if the lease was not paid for four years, if it was not managed properly for three years, or if the tenant died without offspring (Vilfan 1980e: 439).

In contrast to vineyards, the orchards were located near the house. Trdina reports that their fruit could only be picked by the head of the House (Trdina 1987 [1871]: 431). From the period of Maria Theresa in the 18th Century, dried fruits were used in the production of *Schnapss* as a source of income. Vineyards and orchards were under the authority of the male House head. Vineyards could only be part of marriage transfers if the House possessed more than one. In that case it might become part of the dowry.

Arable fields were used to grow grain and potato under the authority of the female head of the House. The crops served as cattle fodder. Most important however was the grain. It was valued for its transformation into bread as the most important foodstuff (see p. 86).

Thus, the wine and the bread – Christian symbols of community and the source of life – were produced under the authority and supervision of the male and female heads of the House. The distinction between proximate and distant lands, reminiscent of Lévi-Strauss' different 'categories of relatives', was reflexive of the distinctive contributions that the produce of their soils made to the House's existence.

The House members guarded the estate for the benefit of future generations. They were accountable for a responsible management of its land, on which the continuity of the House depended. A "responsible head" (*dober gospodar*) did not dispose of 'his' land, moreover he was encouraged to accumulate it. Informants explain how only remote plots of no use value for the House became part of a dowry transfer. Fields could only be alienated as gifts and if they were distant from the house. An alienation on the market of the house and its land brings about the end of the House as a relation between the original owner and the current custodian. People are identified by the ancestral name of the House and its land. Selling the land therefore amounts to selling one's own social

identity. As long as this origin of the land is recognised its relationship should not be severed. With purchase, the house receives the name of the buyer.

A buyer purchasing a house buys an identity. He starts to live in the house, forms a family and his children are born in the house. Some remain there while others marry out and affines marry in. They in turn have their progeny in the house as well. All these descendants relate to the ancestral origin of the House and its land – designated by the House name. Whereas a buyer once purchased house and land, his descendants become ‘owned’ by the House and its land and embedded in the community’s social structure. An initial market transaction is transformed into a socio-cosmological one, connecting people to a transcendent origin.

The sale of land would assume two different forms. When a House was indebted, it could offer some of its plots for sale to neighbouring Houses in the village. Money could also be lent against claims on land as security. When the loan was repaid the claims became invalid. The Austrian Civil Code of 1811 (German *Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*)¹¹⁴ defined a pre-purchase claim as personal and not transferable to a third party nor to heirs. If the buyer was to sell the purchased land, he/she must offer it to the initial seller first (*ibid.* 1072-1079). The latter therefore could retrieve the sold property during his lifetime. When, however, the entire farm-hold was sold in order to repay debts (Trdina 1986 [1870]: 64), it was sold cheaply. “The head cuts down the entire stretch of forest and fruit trees [an act] that people find sinful. In addition, buildings get torn apart and sold” (Trdina 1986 [1877]: 833; my translation A.R.).

The second form of land sale occurred when a House without progeny sold the entire farm-hold to a neighbour, so that the latter’s offspring could establish a new household. The former head of the property and his wife would remain to be entitled to the *usufruct* until death.

According to local geodesists and lawyers, until the 1950s responsible heads possessed a list of all (their) parcels of land, copies of the cadastral plan, and knowledge of particular legal relations as defined by the Austrian Civil Code. These included border settlements, the rules of adverse possession, and claims on the free use of paths. The 19th Century cadastral surveys authorised by the

114 <http://www.pf.uni-mb.si/zbornik>; accessed September 25, 2013.

Austrian State had identified the position, borders, shape, size, measures, cadastral categories and data on the owners of the land. For Podgorje, maps had been drawn in a scale of 1:2880. Border marks identified the plots. The introduction of such borders made neighbours who shared a parcel border *mejaš* (from *meja* “border”, German *Anlieger*). This term *mejaš* was employed by the local population predominantly in vineyards. In the 16th Century, the tenants of vineyards were designated as *mejaši* or *sogorniki* (Kos 1991: 130; Vilfan 1980e: 428). *Mejaš* were mostly but not necessarily immediate neighbours in the village. An informant whose grandfather attained the role of *župan*, head of cadastral municipality (Vilfan 1980a: 49) recollects how the cadastral plan for the cadastral municipality was kept at their house.¹¹⁵ The village men would come on Sundays after Mass to discuss border and other issues pertaining to their land. Border marks were to be strictly respected and no one should alter them, although some did commit such “a particularly sinful deception” (Trdina 1987 [1870]: 269; my translation A.R.). One believed that if a person moved the mark or removed it altogether, his suffering soul would return the mark to its place.

One also said that the best soil was that surrounding the mark and neglect of the soil along the border would lead to disputes between the holders of neighbouring plots. The Austrian Civil Code designated such conceptions as *priposestvovanje*, ‘adverse possession’ (German *Ersitzung*). Adverse possession could be claimed when one had been treating the soil as one’s own in good faith for thirty years and by formally requesting the land from its official holder (*ibid.* 1451-1502). Good faith was dependent on the honesty of the claimant. The period of thirty years represented a time span in which a generational change took place. Adverse possession was a method by means of which one could come to possess land on the basis of supposed information on location of the border from the previous holder of the neighbouring parcel. One of such arguments was commonly that “my father said so”. Regardless of whether this legal instrument was resorted to or not, the conflict was perpetuated. It was a way to use a grudge from the past to proclaim one’s reputation or manifest one’s power in the village.

115 In accordance with the official instruction of Joseph II on storing cadastral plans.

The land of the House should not be trespassed by members of other Houses without permission (see Trdina (1987 [1870]: 158). However, Trdina (1987 [1870]: 370), describes cases in which herds of sheep growing in size grazed on foreign fields causing damage to the wheat crops. If the damaged party took revenge, the owner of the sheep demanded punishment.

In another case, a peasant let someone else's meadow or field be grazed every year and offered a pot of butter to that person in return (Trdina (1987 [1870]: 51). Both cases are examples of on-going transgressions of rules, in which the perpetrator acted in a hierarchically superior position. Social relations therefore were also played out on the land. Sometimes, disputes were resolved with death of one of the persons involved.

Geodesists, who might identify property rights in an objective and indisputable manner, were highly respected, yet their services were expensive and therefore very rarely called upon. Instead, oral agreements about the exchanges of smaller sections of plots – mainly regarding paths and buildings – were concluded between Houses.

Trdina (1987 [1870]: 158) also describes how whereas peasants would employ the land in the manner of their ancestors, the noble estates would hire a geodesist to annex a part of that land without their knowing. The peasants thus defended their long-term access to the land in reference to the principle of *usus* claims, the nobility used its power to take legal action. The Austrian Civil Code determined as criteria to resolve disputes over plot borders those of a stronger claim, latest measurement of the plot, and fair assessment. Thus, the procedure was elaborate and the matter a grave one.

While land could be acquired as inheritance, dowry or market purchase, it could be lost by inattention to it. Access to the land required being present on the land, and observing the practices and beliefs of cultivation that assured its fertility.

Observing the land

Yearly renewal of the House was embedded in the agricultural cyclical of seasons which, from the late Middle Ages onwards, was incorporated into the liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church and the name days of patrons (Makarovič 1995: 42-43). Yet, the knowledge of the phases of the moon determining the

auspicious and inauspicious times for specific agricultural activities continued to be generationally transmitted as well.

In the village, and along each path from the village to the fields, pastures and woods, stood a “God's sign” (*božje znamenje*). It was usually a crucifix, or possibly a chapel erected by the villagers in gratitude for a beneficial occurrence on that particular spot. The priest blessed the ‘God’s sign’ every year in May during the Bonfire in a joint blessing of the village and its fields. Peasants blessed the farmstead themselves at other occasions as well using the Holy water stored in the God’s corner. One of such occasions were the Christmas Eve, New Years Eve and Epiphany Eve when they blessed the house, its residents, buildings and animals.¹¹⁶ They performed such blessings also in case of stormy weather. In the light of the individuation of farm-holds in the first half of the 19th Century, according to Makarovič (1995: 115), the Slovenian peasantry adopted blessings of buildings and fields from joint blessings of fields and villages performed by the priests since it did not find their protocol sufficient.

House members would take the blessed Easter bundle¹¹⁷, pull it apart and distribute its components behind the main beam of the house and its side buildings, and feed the green to the animals. Moreover, they would pick astilbe (*kresnica*¹¹⁸) and along with the left-overs of the Easter bundle make small maypoles (*mlajiček*) (see Trdina 1987 [1870]: 431) and place one on each parcel of the House land.

This was an act of sacrifice made to the land in return for the harvest. In acknowledgement of the relation to the original owner of the land by a gift of equivalent value to the one received was made, embodying a substitute part of the immaterial value of fertility embodied in the harvest produce as a whole

116 According to Ovsec (1991: 235) this period of twelve nights, when the ‘old sun’ dies and the ‘new sun’ is born, was related to the return of the dead and of the spirits.

117 According to my informants it was composed of branches of catkins, olive tree, juniper, ivy, hazel, cornel, wicker, of some fruit such as oranges and apples, and of ribbons (see also Ložar-Podlogar, Šega, Ifko 2004: 59).

118 “Bonfire plants”, *kresne rastline*, were also *eagle fern* (*Pteridium aquilinum*), Saint John’s wort (*Hypericum perforatum*), daisy *Leucanthemum ircutianum*. To these plants special powers were ascribed. They were used as remedies and as a mean of divination (Šega and Ložar-Podlogar 2004: 253).

(Platenkamp 2013c: 4). The act articulates these ideas about of the fertility of the land intertwined with the trust in the Christian God who provides the wood and the blessed water with magical powers.

Such ideas, mentioned by informants and scholars alike, pertain to omens and to creatures bringing luck or causing harm. Church bells would be tolled to drive off witches (Trdina 1987 [1871]: 460, 557). Toads incarnating witches were such evil omens; they must be beheaded. A witch entering the pigsty inhibited their growth. Priests of neighbouring parishes battling as warlocks caused bad weather (e.g. Trdina 1987 [1870]: 17). The Shrovetide performed between the New Year and Ash Wednesday to drive off winter and invite the spring should also enhance the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the people. Men dressed up for example as witches, death named Matilda, zoomorphic equid mask of a camel signified life and death. They visited houses to confirm their membership in the village community, and performing amusing acts so as to secure a good yield in exchange for food and drink (Makarovič 1995: 110). The harvest and other agricultural produce was therefore dependent on the continued renewal of the relationships constituting the House and the village community with God.

But the produce had to be laboured as well. Makarovič (1995) observes how, in the light of the agrarian revolution, “diligence” (*pridnost*), became a principal value among the peasantry. This word, that previously signified “useful” and “beneficent” changed its meaning into “hard-working” (Megiser 1977 [1603]: 149, Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 300) and also “hard-working and obedient child” (Puhar 2004 [1982]: 52-53).

The Catholic Church promoted this new “model of peasant working morale” (Makarovič 1995: 227), transmitted it through child up-bringing, and embedded it into peasant ideas and practices¹¹⁹. Hard work and obedience to the father pleased God and led to the salvation of the soul. The produce of agricultural labour was thus dependent on respecting the will of God, the ancestors and the observance of certain commands and prohibitions. Informants commonly talked of

119 In the first issue of Dolenjske Novice newspaper (1885: 1) there is an instruction to the peasantry: “Pray and work” (*Moli in delaj*).

hard work as necessary for the maintenance of the farm-hold. If all the conditions were fulfilled and no evil force interceded the land was said to “give birth” (*rodi*), “abundantly” (*bogato* from *bog* “God”).

House and larger society

Ideally a village as a compound of Houses was a community of units defined by the land. *Huba* or *hoba* was the basic unit of the seigneurial system consisting of a house, agricultural buildings and land. Initially, the size of a *huba* was determined by the capacity of the average family to cultivate the land and pay the rent (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 74). It was therefore also dependent on conditions of cultivation, such as constitution of terrain and accessibility, on the fertility of the land and on the amount of bonded labour, and it entailed the *usus* claim of the family to the village common and the lord’s forests for firewood (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 76). Due to the absolutist reforms of the 18th Century *huba* became a tax unit. The German term *Gründe* (sing. *Grund*) as a substitute for *huba* was introduced; locally adopted as *grunt* it began to indicate “farm” (Vilfan 1980e: 457-458). The official classification of such *grunt* was based on the amount of yield and varied from one cadastral municipality to another. From 1823 till 1825, the *half-grunt* or *polzemljak*, prevailed in all cadastral municipalities of the Stopiče parish¹²⁰. In this parish, almost 50 per cent of all farms were of the *polzemljak* category and ranged from a minimum of 5 to a maximum 10 *Oral* or *Joh* (that is from 2.875 to 5.750 hectares). The biggest farms – ranging from *one-grunt* to *one-and-a-half-grunt* – involved 10 to 30 *Oral*, and the smallest of *one-twelfth-grunt* to *one-sixth-grunt* ranged from 1 to 2 *Oral*. These differences in farm size were also the outcome of land transfers following from macro political changes in the 15th Century (see Inheritance section). The differentiation of farms was further promoted by the “agricultural revolution” bringing about the “individuation of farms” (Makarovič 1995: 180; Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 383-386), and additionally encouraged by the land release patent after 1848 and the distribution of the village commons from 1889 onwards (see

120 The cadastral municipalities of the Stopiče parish (i.e. Cerovec, Težka Voda, Vinja Vas Zajčji Vrh and Črmošnjice) differed in size and population. Settlements ranged from 2 houses and 17 inhabitants to villages composed of 34 houses and populated by 205 inhabitants.

below). Some farms collapsed due to indebtedness, emigration, or urban migration, while others flourished. Trdina (1986 [1872]: 505) writes of the nostalgia people express about the feudal times when referring to the economic situation of the farm. All these processes resulted in differentiation in farm sizes, and in the appearance of new social categories. From the point of view of the peasants, these did not constitute a House, hence usually did not have a House name.

The generations of House members before and after World War Two recognise a distinction between peasant and *osebenjak*, locally referred to as *sabejak*. The latter are said to live in small houses, with little or no land or animals, but with access to common land. They represented a legal category of the population regarded as a rural proletariat or semi-proletariat composed of *gostači* and *kajžarji* (Vilfan 1980c: 342).

Kajžarji (“cottagers”) lived in a small house, worked a small plot of land and searched for work as day labourers at houses with *grunt*. If they regularly provided services to a particular house they usually received a *usus* of land in the form *za zevnik*. *Zevnik* is a subsistence garden, producing crops for daily meals of the family. It could be situated near the house or at one side of fields that was difficult to cultivate, shifting in triennial/continuous rotation. Such transfers of *usus* plots were never officially documented.

Gostači did not have any land and lived mostly as tenants in the vineyards of Dolenjska (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 290-293).

Growth of the rural population, the possibility of a day’s labour in the countryside and the establishment of farms in the colonisation area were decisive factors for the development of the *osebenjak* category (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 291). While they indeed were a poor class, the fact that their status was not clearly defined as part of the feudal order enabled them to gain fortune and higher social position (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 293). This they also achieved by marrying up with a member of a House. Trdina describes (1986 [1871]: 377-378) a rather well-off *sabejak* who was disregarded by farmers for his lack of land. Indeed, *sabejak* were associated with transience in contrast to the permanence of Houses granted by their land. It appears that this distinction between peasants and a rural proletariat also played a role in the side taken up during the Second World War. The fear of losing the land was an important argument for peasants to join the collaborationist forces, as was promoted by the Church as

well. *Sabejak*, on the other hand, commonly joined the partisans. Land provided the House with existence and permanence. A House should sustain its livelihood from the land.

Nevertheless, Houses did maintain contacts with urban, Roma, and the Uskok population. These social groups were characterised as practicing a different “economy” from the peasant one – an economy of trade. Their relationships grounded in transactions taking place mostly on different occasions, such as animal fairs, church blessings, labour, and they involved money as a means of exchange of which the peasants did not dispose.

Rožman (2004) qualifies these interactions between the peasants and these other groups as of “relations of complementary economy”. The peasants ascribed to these groups – as they did to themselves – a “collective nature of their economies” (Rožman 2004: 144). Podgorje population conceived of farming as honest “hard work on the land”, but trade as ingenuity, and perhaps as cheating and aggressiveness too (Rožman 2004: 143). Trade was perceived as inimical to the basic tenets of sociality. Trdina, for example, refers to “hospitality” residing “in people’s bones but owing to their misery they cannot realise it: if someone wants to buy they do not sell, as they are ashamed to take the money, yet they find it difficult to give for free as well. Therefore, they sell to the far-away town [Novo Mesto]” (Trdina 1986 [1877]: 806; my translation A.R.). But they also took part in monetary exchanges, some even knowingly “buying stolen merchandise” (Trdina 1986 [1871]: 310; my translation A.R.). But such exchanges were highly disapproved. Actions of trade represented an “ideological space within which individual acquisition is a legitimate even laudable goal” and that “maintenance of the long-term order is both pragmatically and conceptually dependent on individual short-term acquisitive endeavours” (Bloch and Parry 1996 [1989]: 26). Money earned by cutting down grass in Žumberak at Uskok households,¹²¹ laboring at the noble estate, selling animals or wood enabled one to buy objects and services the household could not produce or provide by itself or exchange them locally for some other items or services. Purchased animals, land, agricultural utensils, were blessed by the House head so that they would “put on weight, grow and reproduce” and “serve well” under

121 The Uskok men would travel around practicing commerce while their wives took care of the household and needed help.

God's and House's safekeeping. At a certain point, by means of communal meal, joint work or generational transfer, purchased objects became socially beneficial.

Village

The village acted as a community of neighbours in common management of village land. Village community consisted of village Houses represented by their House heads (Simič and Ravnik 2004: 567, Vilfan 1944: 221). Whoever acquired his farmhold anew, that is by means of purchase, he needed to pay an entrance fee to acquire membership in the village community (Simič and Ravnik 2004: 567). Newcomer to the village, hence, had to buy also an identity of a village community member.

Village community was designated as *soseska*, “neighbourhood” (from Slovene *sosed-* “neighbour”) or as *srenja* (from *sredina*, “centre”). These terms could also denote a community of farmholds of neighbouring villages claiming access to the shared common (Simič and Ravnik 2004: 567). The succeeding state administrative units such as conscription, tax and cadastral municipalities usually came to correspond with *soseska* (Vilfan 1980a: 48). The village community stood under the authority of elected *župan* (“mayor”) or *vaški mož* (“village man”) (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 217-218).

“The village community, *soseska* enjoyed a certain level of self-governance or autonomy” [...] which “included matters such as making binding resolutions on the time and place for certain agrarian duties, on letting otherwise cultivated land be used as pasture (in relation to triennial fallow rotation), and managing of shared village equipment and land” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 115). How the 19th Century form of village community related to the Slavic *župan*, *župa* and *soseska*, as indicated by the persisting expressions of *župan* and *soseska*, is unclear. Mehovo estate urbarial records from the 16th and 17th Centuries differentiate between the old and new *suppan* (SI AS 1074/129, SI AS 1074/87)¹²². It can be established for Podgorje that the Old Slovenian *župan* was inserted into

122 Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Zbirka urbarjev (cca. 1350–1888), Novoreformirani urbar graščine Mehovo, 1585–1603, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Zbirka urbarjev (cca. 1350–1888), Temeljni urbar graščine Mehovo, 1623.

the feudal system as a lower official of seignury with certain entitlements (see Vilfan 1980a: 38). We observed how in the second half of the 18th and in the first half of the 19th Centuries, *župan* or *rihtar* acted as the seignury's official (see also Simič 2004: 500), from 1785 onward elected by his *sošeska* community and confirmed by *Kreise* (Vilfan 1980a: 49), in exchange for instance exemption from bounded labour and reduced dues (Trdina 1987 [1970]: 119). Thereafter, his position became politically informed as he typically began to act also as municipal councillor by means of elections.

With the emergence of landed estates common land was reduced to the uncultivated areas and came to encompass woods, pasture, paths and water. From the 16th Century onwards it was under the authority of the noble estate and, based on the servitude claim and their exploitation subject to different conditions¹²³. Thereafter, common land became additionally reduced owing to new cultivation methods, colonisation, growth in population and cattle, and the establishment of a proletariat that the urbarial records denoted as *Untersassen* (Blaznik 1970a: 150-154). The shortage of common land, imprecisely defined rights and obligations, and poor demarcations led to conflicts between heterogeneous claimants, including lords, village communities, proletariat – all competing in its exploitation (Blaznik 1970a: 154-155), as well as those without legal claims such as Roma¹²⁴. We learn from Trdina (1987 [1871]: 399-400) how communal pasture land was to be distributed among its claimants, following the patent issued in 1768. In the following century the different decrees and patents, along with the advantage of thirty years exemption from tithe, reinforced the partitioning trend. The distribution was not realised, mostly because claimants could not reach an

123 In the 19th Century, woods were mostly owned by secular and ecclesiastical lords, partly by village communities and a small amount was in the hands of individual peasants (Granda 1997: 173). Servitude claims on nobility forests included wood for fire and construction. Watermills for grain were leased to peasant families while the river 'produce' was reserved for the noble estate and after 1848 it was a matter of the lease of the large landowners. Yet, people explain how children would collect crabs in the rivers; in case the estate administrator caught them, they would say they were just about to bring them to the lord.

124 They acquired citizenship of Kranjska in 1863 following the Patriot Act (Trdina 1987 [1878]: 914).

agreement and continued with the “old way” (Blaznik 1970a: 156-157). The end of the feudal order entailed the exclusion of noble lords, while in 1883 legislation stipulated that the common land should be partitioned according to the size of each farm (Blaznik 1970a: 158). The right to a part followed from the thirty years of *usufruct* claim and paid compensation (see also Trdina 1987 [1870]: 35),¹²⁵ whereby the partition followed the principle of just allocation. In practice, this meant that each strip should consist of the same proportion of good and bad qualities, such as elevation and vegetation. Such an ‘equality’ distribution, however, is not pertinent to the representation of House involving the estate as a whole. Where complete, the process resulted in creating long narrow strips, and in extending social differences at the village level (Sunčič 1991: 5). The unfinished agrarian operation remained such until the end of the Second World War (SI AS 56/319, SI AS 56/911, SI AS 56/1989, SI AS 56/1289, SI AS 56/755, SI AS 56/904, SI AS 56/1814;¹²⁶ cp. Blaznik 1970b: 176). Records on the agrarian operations reveal disagreements on the proposed partition as the heads refused to sign the proposal (see for example SI AS 56/319¹²⁷). In the only indirect recol-

125 The time span defined was the same as of the adverse possession (see p. 95).

126 For example, inhabitants of Dolnja Težka Voda initiated the process of partitioning, which took place from 1895 to 1943, arguing improper management and ineligible users (Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Komisije za agrarne operacije (1889–1945), Dolnja Težka Voda, nadrobna delitev, RU 33/95). The common of Mali Cerovec was partitioned between 1940 and 1941 (Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Komisije za agrarne operacije (1889–1945), Mali Cerovec, nadrobna delitev, RU 1008/40), of Zajčji Vrh, Mali Orehek, Veliki Orehek and Brezovica between 1911 and 1923 (Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Komisije za agrarne operacije (1889–1945), Zajčji Vrh (pri Stopičah) – Veliki Orehek – Mali Orehek – Brezovica (pri Stopičah), nadrobna delitev in uredba užitnih in gospodarskih pravic, 777/1923), of Pristava from 1891–1910 (Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Komisije za agrarne operacije (1889–1945), Pristava, nadrobna delitev, 448/1910), of Koroška vas in 1938 (Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Komisije za agrarne operacije (1889–1945), Koroška vas, nadrobna delitev, RU 960/39), Male Brusnice from 1913–1917 (Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Komisije za agrarne operacije (1889–1945), Male Brusnice, nadrobna delitev, 675/1917) and Velike Brusnice from 1921–1942 (Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Komisije za agrarne operacije (1889–1945), Velike Brusnice, nadrobna delitev, RU 367/1921).

127 Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Komisije za agrarne operacije (1889–1945), Dolnja Težka Voda, nadrobna delitev, RU 33/95.

lection I recorded, the village heads would gather at the respective forest parcel and the villager, who acquired positions of head of cadastral municipality and mayor's councillor but was also a head of a large farmstead, brought food and drink and got the biggest share, *tajl* (from German *Teil*) of the forest. The narrative indicates mistrust in the mayor and his councillors perceived as "imposters" (Trdina 1987 [1870]: 299). The distribution became a matter of power – that is of asserting the will of the high standing claimants (Blaznik 1970a: 157). According to my informants, there was also an issue of competition between neighbouring village communities in acquiring more or better land (see also Trdina, 1987 [1873–1874]: 529).

Village affairs were managed jointly. Vilfan (1980a: 48) describes how before Joseph II's reform of the parish organisation in the 18th Century, the management of the succursal became a matter of the village community when the Church nobility showed no particular interest in it.

Indeed, according to my informants,¹²⁸ the different roles performed in communal affairs were distributed between the households. Each task was commonly based on a joint agreement between village House heads and were to be passed on to another House after a definite time, usually at death of the respective House head. Each transitive transfer of such a role represents a part of a single whole, constructing a community with which members identify and share relations to a single origin (Platenkamp 2013c: 3). The "village man" (*vaški mož*) would summon the heads in front of the church to discuss and reach decisions pertaining to the maintenance of paths, wells, burial services, and to undertakings which would provide the means to purchase certain machinery (e.g. *pajtl* (from German *Mühlbeutel*, standard Slovene *vejalnik*), winnowing machine, *vaga* (from German *Waage*, standard Slovene *tehtnica*), scale, and *mlatilnica*, tresher) to be used by the households contributing to such actions. The informant also described what she was told decades ago by an elderly neighbour how village heads would attend the distribution of common land (see above). *Ključar*, locally designated as *cirkmošter*, the succursal church caretaker, managed the economics of the maintenance of the church building. Additionally, the village usually included a church or village wine storage shed in which wine, *šnopc* (German *Schnapps*) as well as grain were stored. The sexton (*mežnar*) acted as

128 Sources on "village autonomy" are rare (Vilfan 1980a: 14). There are no written records pertaining to the area of fieldwork.

bell-ringer. Once a year after the harvest both would accompany the priest going around the houses on a wagon, collect a prescribed amount of grain and other naturalia from the farmers and money from the proletariat (denoted as *bira* for priest, and a smaller amount for *cirkmošter*)¹²⁹. Services provided by the priest, the sexton and the church caretaker aspired towards religious renewal of the village Houses. Harvest was dependent on the relation between God and the House in which they interceded. Maintenance of this relation resulted in a good yield. Part of that yield represented a reciprocal gift to the mediators in that relationship. Villagers would possess the knowledge and skills as blacksmith, joiner, butcher, healer, cobbler, cart driver and seamstress, usually passed on from father to son and mother to daughter, in addition to a general versatility. It allowed for a self-sufficiency of the village based on the reciprocal exchange of goods and services.

The village community as a whole, or groups of Houses in the village would join in major agricultural tasks such as harvesting by engaging in a balanced exchange of services.¹³⁰ Such an agricultural work being completed called for a communal meal(s) and was followed by *likof* (from German *Leikauf*) originally *Litkouf*, which connoted the meanings of “end” and “drinking spirit after having reached a successful bargain or engagement.” In this case, commensality with food and drinks was prepared by the head’s wife. Following the proverb *vsak udek ima svoj godek* (literally “each limb has its name-day”), meaning that a specific date is set for the consumption of each part of the pork, the menu was set for each particular working occasion (such as digging in the vineyard, pig slaughter or threshing). In this manner, every worker would eat the same meals in houses in which the work was completed as in his own house. *Likof*, therefore, signified a practice in which food evidences the capacity to sustain social relationships. Work done for one household cooperatively and the common meal following that were one in a series of exchanges in which food was produced and consumed jointly, articulating ‘consubstantiality’ as sharing common ‘substance’ (Pitt-Rivers 1973). These joint meals evoked the Christian

129 In addition to the regular *ofer* (from German *Opfer*), money was collected in case of some larger undertakings in the church (see Trdina (1987 [1871]: 418).

130 If the same type of service could not be reciprocated, the return value was in money or some other object or service.

communion reflecting the hierarchy between the current host and his guests. Such a chain cooperation (French *entraide paysanne*) is conditioned by the notion of equality among exchange participants.

There are no data on the particular pattern of exchange relationships between households in Podgorje villages for the period in question. According to my informants, however, households of a similar material condition, possibly the immediate neighbours, and kin related houses in the village would cooperate more closely. The decision to cooperate was motivated by the consideration to ensure the balanced exchange and to realise kin obligations.

Regarding the latter, the nature of exchange relations between affinally related Houses depended on the geographical proximity of these. If their houses were distant from one another they cooperated only in major undertakings, such as construction of a house.

In case the affinally related Houses were located in the same village, they engaged in exchange relations referred to as help (*pomoč*) between siblings or cousins – acting as heads of these Houses – that may be classified as Sahlins' 'generalized reciprocity' (1972: 193-194). With each successive generation, the "expectation of reciprocity" became more definite (Sahlins 1972: 194). Commonly, after three generations the Houses no longer acknowledged their kin relation and acted as co-villagers only. Kin related Houses practiced an equivalence model of exchange as long as they identified themselves as a community of shared origin (Platenkamp 2013c: 3-4).

As for the former, the homesteads of Podgorje differed in the size of the land in their custody or in their possession. Locals established these differences in a particular manner. "To determine the size of the farm one needed not to see the land but the number of stalls in the hayrack. The bigger the hayrack, the longer it was, the bigger was the farm," explains my informant. Similarly, Trdina reveals "the size of the vineyard is calculated by the number of diggers [to turn over the soil]" (Trdina 1987 [1871]: 440; my translation A.R.). "Visible economy"¹³¹ as resulting from the display of work (Malinowski 1922, 1935), "exhib-

131 Easter blessing of foodstuff was an occasion to observe the size of baskets. At *zahvalna nedelja*, the harvest festivity discussion was on who brought each particular item displayed in front of the altar.

iting mastery” and “asserting superior status” (Verdery 2003: 178-179), acted as markers of social relations, defining and revealing cooperation partners. In larger farms, all agricultural work was performed by the own family members and farmhands. They did not exchange work services with neighbours unless these were kin. Such Houses commonly hosted the priest for lunch and their heads attained a certain position in the parish or in relation to the seignury or municipality. And yet each House preferably completed its tasks on its own. It appears that increasing differences in wealth reduced the sense of community. In general, all tasks performed for other households – the poor for the rich, the farmhands for the farm, the work by children, neighbours, and all reciprocal services were regarded as *dnina* or *tabrh* (from German *Tagewerk*) thus employing the same terms as for the obligatory labour performed for the lord before the abolishment of serfdom.

The exchanges between Houses in the context of land cultivation reflect equivalent models of exchange in which an initial service was immediately reciprocated with one of equivalent value thus annulling the initial service. What, then, were the conditions of the repeated exchanges made the following year? Sahlins has argued that “the domestic mode of production anticipates no social or material relations between households except that they are alike. It offers society only a constituted disorganisation, a mechanical solidarity set across the grain of a segmentary decomposition. The social economy is fragmented into thousand petty existences, each organised to proceed independently of the others and each dedicated to the homebred principle of looking out for itself.” (1972: 95). At this level of ‘amoral familism’ (Banfield 1958), “(t)he unity of society” is sacrificed for “the autonomy of its producing groups” (Sahlins 1972: 95). Their likeness in such an egalitarian context, however, involved no identity either in terms of the material and immaterial property that determines the ranking among the Houses, or in their interactions (cp. Gillespie 2000: 9). Exchanges between Houses were competitive; hence they were “inherently asymmetrical and shift[ed] over time” (Gillespie 2000: 9).

Vilfan (1980a: 74) has argued that the Houses cooperated in order to deal with monotony, to provide joint entertainment and to compete. Informants recall how they sang and played games. Trdina writes on the latter matter repeatedly. Informants too recall the curiosity of co-villagers, for example watching how they looked through the window to see what and how much food was on the

table, or assessed the size of crops and the manner in which everyday issues were dealt with. Certainly, such actions served as a means of social control.

Continuous competition may generate envy which in many societies may provoke accusations of witchcraft (see above; cp. Pina-Cabral 1986, De Blécourt 1999, Macfarlane 1970). Informants recollect how a woman was not allowed to enter other houses, as she was believed to be a witch – of whom there might be more in a single village (see also Trdina 1987 [1870–1871]: 17, 269, 431).

Most witchcraft accusations were directed against women. As Mencej (2003) argues, commonly those were either the richest who wanted everything for themselves and of whom the others were envious, or the poorest, who craved for the wealth of the richest. A different category of elderly women were denoted as *tercijalke*, “the pious”. The name describes a religious person. In the Dolenjska context, a *tercijalka* goes to church regularly, though with the intention to observe, gossip, and mock (Trdina 1987 [1870–1877]: e.g. 186, 531, 610, 720).

Holidays and festivities, which are generally expressive of communal values and social identities, are denoted in Slovene as *praznik* (deriving from *prazen*, “hollow”, “empty”). This term designates renewal and rebirth. In ceremonial contexts, villagers commonly acted as members of a particular village group. Such groups consisted exclusively of men, women, singles, married persons, and children. An important day for the village was the blessing of the village church, attended also by village relatives living elsewhere. On this occasion, women cleaned and decorated the church while men took care of the condition of the church building. Another particular day was that of *tepežni dan* (“hitting day”). Childermas celebrated on December the 28th, when children embodied the souls of the Innocent Children (Šega 2004: 626). They hit their parents and other adult villagers with a rod yelling “save yourself” (*reši se*)¹³². The adults could save themselves by presenting the children with pastry or dried fruit (see also Trdina 1987 [1870]: 3). Such a reversal of roles between adults and children substituted the magical act of (young) men hitting (young) women by means of which fertility (*rodnost*) and blessing (*blagoslov*) were transmitted (Kuret 1989: 404) from the “rod of life” to a person (Šega 2004: 626). On the

132 In Gabrje “to live long, to marry and have a good husband” (Pahor 1981; my translation A.R.) and Dolnja Težka Voda “for health and money” (Barbo 1986; my translation A.R.).

other hand, Saint Nicholas (*Sveti Miklavž*), accompanied by the devil (*parkelj*) on December 6th, holding a carrot and stick accordingly, brought rewards for the well-behaved children and punishment for those who were not.

Name-days of adults were celebrated on the eve, when neighbours came to make noise (*ramplat*) until the person in question came to open the door. In this manner, they implored the patron saint involved to provide the protection. By the 1950s such actions of visiting other houses in the village came to be limited to the neighbouring ones.

Thus, the village acted as a community on particular occasions. From the mid-19th Century until the Second World War, a group of unmarried men of the village (named *fantovska skupnost* or *fantovščina*), acted as a guardian of the village community, taking over some of the tasks of the disintegrating neighbourhood community and fulfilling new ones (Makarovič 2008a: 37-38, 47). Membership in such a guardian group followed from the coming of age at 21 years old (later at 18 when a boy would become a conscript) from having passed different tests, such as climbing up the maypole and drinking salted wine (Ložar-Podlogar in Štamcar 2004). Their assignments involved: erecting and protecting the marriage maypoles (*mlaj*, German *Maibaum*), a tree indicating marriage in the village (see below), and maypoles set up at Midsummer night (Trdina 1987 [1871]: 405); blocking the road forcing the marriage cortège to stop (*šranganje*); courtship (*vasovanje*); and organising Shrovetide (*maškare*)¹³³, a procession of masks taking place between New Year and Ash Wednesday signalling the farewell from winter and inviting of spring (Makarovič 2008b: 37-38). In sum, these actions, though performed by a group and not the whole village, contributed to the reproduction of the village community. By means of competing in all these tasks with the guardian groups in other villages, one articulated the village boundary, hence a conception of ‘us’ as members of our own village, as opposed to ‘them’ from other villages (Baumann 2004).

133 Ovsec (1991: 232) defines Shrovetide as a part of Slavic mythology, as an expression of a Slavic belief in the return of the spirits of the deceased. By masquerading, men identified with the dead whose spirits became embodied in them. According to Trdina (1987 [1871]: 491), “there were not so many masks earlier” which evidences that this practice recently effloresced or indicates certain change in the practice.

As indicated above, immediate neighbours acted as a distinct social group in everyday life and could be relied upon in a ceremonial context. The transfers that were carried out continually between neighbouring Houses reflected equivalence models of exchange (Platenkamp 2013c: 4). In this regard, next-door neighbours engaged in the same type of exchange as kin related Houses did. However, the exchanges were not instigated by the bonds of kinship but by geographical proximity. A village, therefore, consisted of a network of neighbouring Houses. The poor Houses in such networks were redistributed extra work and food. The village ensured the survival of its members while, at the same time the donors acquired merits from heaven. Heaven, in turn, acted benevolently towards the House and towards the village community as a whole.

Parish

The parish was commonly designated as *fara* (from German *Pharr*). This term could signify parish (*župnija*), vicarage or merely a church with a priest. The Slovenian term *župnija* derives from Croatian *župa* applied since the middle of the 19th Century (Höfler 2013: 23). As the lowest unit of the ecclesiastical organisation, it consisted of a parish church and of between one and nine succursal churches. In the parish priest was in charge, possibly assisted by another priest or a chaplain, members of the parish estate (usually priest's parents, his unmarried siblings and hired farmhands), and a council composed of important men (and occasionally women) of the villages belonging to the parish¹³⁴. Such council members were of higher status than others and were selected on the basis of the size of their farm-hold (meaning its wealth), their educational level, and the respect they had won in the community.

The parish represented a community of souls who recommend themselves to God by jointly praying for one another and exchanging with the priest so that he would intercede on their behalf. The life cycle of a person was realised in the framework of the parish. (S)he became a member of the parish community by baptism, got married in Church in order to establish a family, and became a member of the community of the dead by his or her Christian burial. During a

134 Trdina (1987 [1871]: 280-282) provides a list of members of parish councils of the local parishes from 1871.

person's lifetime, (s)he would be part of a particular group of parishioners that was defined by the sacraments received, that is, married men, married women, single man and single women (one Sunday per month was specifically assigned to these), and baptised children. Parishioners would meet every Sunday at Mass for which they would wear their best clothes¹³⁵ (*ta hmašno*, "for the Mass"), usually the dress they wore at their wedding day and in which they would be buried in as well. They would also take part in offerings brought in the church (locally referred to as *ofer*, from German *Opfer*). Forming a line of men first and then of women they brought money to the wicker basket or some other dish placed before the altar. Thereupon, they received the Holy Communion, provided that they earlier had confessed and repented for their sins and presented a gift, for example, "of gin and similar gifts brought by women to patients" (Trdina 1987 [1871]: 444; my translation A.R.).

Once a year, the parish Houses would present the First Fruit (*bira*) to the priest, produce of their soil (see above). It represented a return gift, a substitute part of the fertility as equivalent immaterial value of the first gift. As such it served to acknowledge and plea to continue receiving God's blessing. The Houses as sacrificers and being both the producers and givers of the gifts thus relate to God as the Original Owner of all life and fertility as a whole (Platenkamp 2013c: 4). Such ongoing annual transfers continued to be made also after 1848 when *bira* was no longer defined as a feudal duty. The particular significance of these *bira* transfers is reflected in one informant's recollection of how, while the mother went to collect the produce to be offered, the minister would present children with small religious images (*podobica*), so that no-one could not refuse to make the gift. However, part of the produce, for example the most beautiful grapevine with grapes still attached to it (*šparon*), was also displayed at the altar as a sacrifice to God on the day of *Zahvalna nedelja*, literally the "Sunday of Gratitude" celebrating the harvest Sunday (German *Erntedankfest*). Such an offering was also made when pig or another animal was slaughtered. A part of it was delivered to the priest to ensure protection. In all such cases people exchanged with God through His mediators on earth – the clergy – to give thanks for the blessings received, to recommend themselves for the future blessings and to prepare the path to heaven.

135 According to Trdina (1987 [1870]: 123), *peča*, a part of the women's *Volk* costume, was from the last quarter of the 19th Century onwards replaced by informal clothing.

The parish was also the context in which the locals acquired knowledge about the wider society. In the second half of the 19th Century, the first schools organised in the framework of the parish church were established in Podgorje, so that education also included catechism. Trdina (1986 [1870]: 75, 199) informs us that the offerings were collected for the teacher as well. Whereas in those days the latter might also play the church organ the relations between teachers and priests were already problematic (Trdina 1986 [1871]: 336). At the beginning of the 20th Century the State took control over education and the number of schools had increased. Nevertheless, the curricula still involved catechism. At the beginning of the Second World War, the parish schools were transformed into schools comprised of six grades, but during the war most schools ceased to operate. After Mass adults would gather in front of the church where a crier standing on a platform told the news and other information relevant for the parishioners. In addition, the parish would organise pilgrimages (*romanje* or *božja pot*, “God's path”) to neighbouring parishes where people could make new contacts. On such occasions of interacting with other ones the parishes manifested the sense of belonging, just as in the case of inter-village contact. The belief mentioned earlier, however, that priests of neighbouring parishes acted as warlocks (see above), indicates that the relations between these parishes may have been far from peaceful and solidary.

By 1930 the Catholic Action (*katoliška akcija*) a movement was initiated by Pope Pius XI by his Encyclical *Ubi arcano* of 1922 (Biondich 2013: 176) and *Quadragesimo anno* of 1931 (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 403). It called for the laity of the parish would to take part in the apostolic work of the Church (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 403). The movement encompassed several Catholic organisations and aimed at Christian renaissance. The movement popular among the youths in the area, opposed the left oriented Catholic organisations sympathising with socialist ideas even though it declared itself to be apolitical. In the area under study Catholic Action played a decisive role in joining the “whites” during the war.

Seigneurie

The seasonal cycle incorporated into the Christian liturgical year also set the order of tax collecting (Makarovič 1995: 101-102). By 1848 once the harvest had been collected the farm could pay its dues to the feudal lordships, that is to

physical persons or legal estates (Vilfan 1980b: 80). The amount of each due was dependent on the size of the homestead which in turn was determined on the basis of the yield of its land. From 1823 till 1825, each cadastral municipality consisting of several villages would pay its taxes to several secular and ecclesiastical lords – usually the most proximately located ones. Not all houses in one village necessarily were subject to the same patrimonial lordships (*Grundherrschaften*)¹³⁶, and each seignery would have its farmsteads in several cadastral municipalities. Moreover, yield of one farmstead consisted of different types of produce, a farmstead would owe dues to different persons on the basis of the type of their claim (Vilfan 1980b: 80). This dispersal of subservient relationships, in addition to the particularity of lordships,¹³⁷ manifested itself in the different services and dues to be exchanged between the lords and their subjects. In the following, I summarize Blaznik (1980: 244-252) on his definitions of the different feudal burdens found listed in the cadastral records under study.

Regular due to be paid to the patrimonial seignery was known as *tlaka* or *tabrh* (from German *Tagbau* or *Tagewerk*). It depended on the size of the farmhold, and was counted in days. Another two regular dues were the *zemljiška renta* (German *Grundrecht*) for the *usus* claim on a farm, and the *mala davščina* (German *Kleinrecht*) for the *usus* claim on pasture and forest land. They were paid both in kind or in money. In addition to the patrimonial sei-

136 The initially large estate of Mehovo experienced fragmentation due to the succession processes which first led to the separation of its land between Rupretschhof and Poganitz estates. In addition, plots of these estates were further alienated as gifts and other marriage and market exchange transactions. For example, in the 15th Century, lords selling or giving *huba* of their estates to Churchly institutions predominantly of Rudolfswerth such as Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, Foundation of Eternal Altar in the Church of St. Nicholas, Brotherhood of the Sacred Corpus Christi (Kos 1990, Vrhovec 1891). As a result, in 1828, the cadastral municipality of Cerovec was due to Ruprechtshof (Ruperč Vrh) and Poganitz, and cadastral municipality of Vinja Vas to Ruprechtshof, Kapitel Neustadtl, Commenda Mottling and Poganitz.

137 According to the urbarial records from the 16th and 17th Centuries, particularism of seigneries involved also the different monetary, weight and volume units (Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Zbirka urbarjev (cca.1350–1888), Novoreformirani urbar graščine Mehovo, 1585–1603; Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Zbirka urbarjev (cca.1350–1888), Temeljni urbar graščine Mehovo, 1623).

gneury, the respective territorial seignery collected dues on the basis of its ownership claims on and judicial jurisdictions over forest and pasture lands. The final set of annual dues was based on: the *usus* on vineyards (*gorščina*, German *Pergrecht*) paid in wine or cider; legal services by the ecclesiastical lord (German *Vogtrecht*) paid in kind and in money; tithe (*desetina*, German *Zehent*) paid in kind to the church and to the patrimonial seignery; and the gifts offered to the priest in form of produce and crops mentioned earlier (see above). All these annual dues were calculated per *grunt*, that is, per farmstead as a collective, not per its individual members.

Occasional dues were set according to a person's relation to his or her patrimonial lord, as in the case of succession to the headship through inheritance (*primščina*, Latin *laudemium*, German *Anleit*), of arrival and departure (*naselnina*, and *odselnina*, German *Siedelpfennig* and *Abfahrtsgeld*), of purchase claims (*kupščina*, German *Kaufrecht*), or on the death of a bonded peasant (*umrščina*, German *Sterbrecht*). Different taxes included marriage tax upon marriage permission, and taxes for obtaining certain documents. For instance, the marriage contract (Blaznik 1980: 250), served as a social transfer, indicating change the establishment or termination of a particular relationship between the individual bonded subject and his/her seigneurial lord. The *Sterbrecht*, a moratorium referred to a special tax calculated according to the size of the farm to be paid to the lord's patrimonial estate by the members of the household on the death of one of its members (see Blaznik 1980: 250, 258, 270). Thus, a change in status was as much relevant to the seigneurial authority as it was to the religious authority. Exceptional exchanges involved predominantly lending grain or money to peasants and aid in case of a poor season (see e.g. Trdina 1986 [1871]: 505). It is particularly through the latter exchanges that the lords expressed their goodness or cruelty towards their subjects.

Initially, the peasants of the patrimonial seignery worked the land leased to them to produce the crops in exchange for the land lease and for military protection. In this manner, the lord and his subjects maintained a relationship that was part of a long-term cycle of exchange. It consisted of a series of transactions, from which the peasant as labourer and tributary derived his social identity. Since the days of the Ottoman raids military protection service was no longer provided by the lords. It was the state that did so henceforth and peasants be-

came part of this protection as conscripts in 1518 (Štih *et al.* 2008: 139). Peasant uprisings in response to unjust taxes and treatments by the lords further questioned the legitimacy of the established traditional feudal relationships. In raids of plunder peasants stole the stones, pillars and other objects from the noble fortresses, integrating these along with their protective and identifying features into their own houses¹³⁸.

In the decades following the land releases of 1848–1853 many farm-holds being unable to pay the compensation for the formally acquired farm-hold and the regular taxes collapsed. It resulted in the seizure or sale of property. Trdina mentioned several reasons behind these developments.

Farm heads who by 1875 refrained from paying taxes and compensation (Trdina 1986 [1875]: 564), or lords from demanding these about the due (Trdina 1986 [1877]: 829). In spite of the new conditions, peasants did not adopt capitalist principles but kept on enacting a subsistence economy. In order to sustain their farmsteads, they performed agricultural work at the previously feudal estates.

On the other hand, the estates, which now ought to be organised along capitalist principles, experienced difficulties as well. Trdina records poverty-stricken, indebted, and poorly managed ones (Trdina 1986 [1870, 1877]: 4, 118, 205, 629). In addition to agriculture, some nobles engaged in industrial activities, such as brickyards, glass factories, sawmills, or breeding silkworms, all of which were of a rather short duration. Some also took up political careers. Their situation may be compared to the one of the Junker, the landed nobility in East Prussia analysed by Max Weber (1984 [1892]). In reaction to changes in the political structure the economically declining and politically engaged Junker, as did the Kranjska nobles, strived to prolong the established seigneurial regime. During the Second World War they fled or were killed and their estates became expropriated by the State.

In the light of the newly emerged “larger society”, the seignury ceased to act, as least partially, as a referential point for the peasantry. The seignury was substituted by the state system based on an ‘egalitarian’ legislation enacted by the authorities residing in Novo Mesto. The peasantry considered state officials

138 The remaining material of Mehovo castle came to use after 1848 to build choools, renovate the parson’s house, church and a chapel in the nearby settlements.

with mistrust, which according to Trdina arose from the lack of communication (Trdina 1986 [1870]: 188). Hence, the peasants, apart from acquiring certain documents at the local office, related to the state through the paying of taxes, conscription, by praying for their Emperor or King and from 1907 onwards in their right to vote. In such relationships, the local population identified as *Kranjci* (inhabitants of Kranjska) *Slovenci* (Slovenes), *Jugoslovani* (Yugoslavs). In the altered local administrative organisation, however, people did not differentiate between neighbourhood (*srenja*), and “municipality” or even “political seignury” (Trdina 1987 [1871]: 399-400), that is between “the old agrarian municipality” and “the new political municipality” formed in 1849 (Blaznik 1970a: 157). Hence, the local meanings of these terms did not coincide with the meanings ascribed to them by the authorities who adopted these terms in introducing the lower levels of administrative organisation (as described above). Elected mayor (*župan*) of the political municipality, the “semi-official of political authority” (Trdina 1986 [1877]: 805), and his councillors were after 1892 usually members of the Catholic National Party, hence representatives of peasantry connected to the Church. They also held positions in local cooperatives (see also Möderndorfer 1938: 93, 147) and were usually better educated and wealthier than the general peasantry, ‘big men’ (Sahlins 1963) of some sort. They were appreciated depending on the promises they made on the peasants’ behalf during elections and their actual performance (Trdina 1986 [1870, 1877]: 298, 805). An official’s position depended on the obtained votes in exchange of intervening with the respective authorities on the voters’ behalf. In this manner, and notwithstanding egalitarian legislation, the particularity of the seignury continued to be realised through social relations that made the reproduction of the local social structure possible.

Life-cycle rituals

So far, the social structure concerned with the yearly renewal of the House. The continuity of the House rested on the successful implementation of strategies to preserve its estate and reproduce its members in successive generations (Lévi-Strauss 1985 [1983], 1987 [1984]). The perpetuation of the House in Dolenjska was achieved through the stem family as a socio-ideological means of social reproduction (Bloch 1995: 72): the old head couple was succeeded by the new head couple. This perpetuation is therefore achieved by means of exchanges that

“link persons over time to and through objects or places and thereby serve to define a social group, enable its relations with other persons and groups, and facilitate its social (and accompanying material) reproduction” (Gillespie 2000: 50). The main exchanges are the transfers conducted in the context of life cycle rituals.

Birth

The terms *rojstvo* and *roditi*, “to give birth”, derive from the word *rod*, “kin”. They refer to a set of actions conducted in the context of pregnancy, birth and the integration of infants.¹³⁹ Birth rituals acquitted the child of the Original Sin, provided the new-born child with a named identity and a set of kinship, ceremonial-kinship and other forms of social relationships through the institute of God-parenthood. They bestowed protection on the child and established its position within the House and the Christian community.

The continuity of the House was conceived as to depend on the fecundity of the woman. If there was no offspring the woman was regarded as *jalova*, translated as “infertile”, with a negative connotation. As to her role in the meaning of marriage, she did not fulfil her part of the agreement. The exchange transaction of marriage, being the foundation of the continuation of the House, was not completed. Therefore, women would resort to various means to become pregnant, such as magic, quack therapies, assistance of Roma, and the belief that fertility can be obtained (or lost) through a specific source of power (Rožman 2004: 108). If such means proved useless, the couple would adopt a niece or/and nephew or a child from the village, in both cases usually from a poor family.

In addition to issues of conception, Podgorje’s poor hygienic and nourishment conditions as well as different diseases contributed to high mortality rate of infants¹⁴⁰ and children up to eight years of age.¹⁴¹ And yet between 1880

139 The first rite of passage in a person's life presented here is based predominantly on the survey on ‘birth culture’ in the Brusnice Parish of Podgorje in the 20th Century, conducted by Slovenian ethnologist Irena Rožman (2004). Additional data I obtained from my informants, and genealogical data I gathered during my fieldwork and from the records published by Orel (1944), Trdina (1987 [1870–1879]) and Valvasor (1984 [1689]). Where not specified otherwise, the data derive from the fieldwork research.

140 23.8 per cent in Brusnice parish between 1843 and 1942 (Rožman 2004: 137).

and 1931, following agricultural and technical progress, the natural birth rate increase was between 4 and 10 per cent (Melik in Blaznik *et al.* 1970: 104-105 map Z. V.).¹⁴² From the genealogies collected it is evident that, families consisted of an, on average of, six (surviving) children, a number increasing towards the mid- 20th Century. Trdina (1987 [1870]: 245) recorded an argument that a farm-hold could never have too many children. That is, children constituted workforce enabling a House to recover (Trdina (1987 [1873–1874]: 534). He saw this argument confirmed in the practice of re-marrying of widowers and widows (Trdina 1987 [1876]: 610).

Pregnancy and birth

In contrast to the normal everyday life of Podgorje women, pregnancy was conceptualised as a dangerous state of a woman and as a “threat to the social order” (Rožman 2004: 93). Therefore, a pregnant woman should refrain from contacting the “impure”. During pregnancy, the woman is to act properly otherwise the child shall carry the symbol of her sin(s). Two conditions in particular were to be avoided, namely, the craving for food and the proximity to corpses. The former would lead to a birth mark on a child in the shape of the forbidden fruit, and the latter would result in giving birth to a stillborn child¹⁴³. The actual observance of commands and restrictions regarding pregnancy was dependent on the actuality of everyday life, which for the women of lower material standing for the most part did not alter much (Rožman 2004: 93).

In the part of Podgorje that Rožman studied, birth was designated by the expression *peč se je podrla*, literally “the oven collapsed”. In Trdina’s writings, one can find reports how the house shook when a girl was born. Informants also recall how the shape of a pregnant woman resembled a bread oven.¹⁴⁴ This

141 40 per cent, referring to the genealogies gathered in the settlements of Stopiče parish between 1836 and 1945.

142 In 1910, the population density in Podgorje involved between 50 and 75 persons per km² (Melik in Blaznik *et al.* 1970, 104-105 map Z. IV.).

143 We read of similar prohibitions in the northwest Portugal (Pina-Cabral 1986: 106-107). See also Lévi-Strauss (1966: 79) on the “evil eye”.

144 See also Stanonik (2008: 199) referring to Freud (1977) on objects that appear in dreams and their meaning.

indicates that one conceived of the relationship between Mother and Child as one between Bread-Oven and Bread. The emergence of the cooked bread from the oven led to the impending destruction of the oven. The birth of the infant would kill the mother unless she took precautionary measures associated with ‘warming’ her ‘cold’ body.

The expression may also stipulate a particular meaning assigned to the fireplace as identifier of the community of those who share it. According to Dolenc (1938: 251), constructing or dismantling a fireplace – the centre of the house – signified a crucial act, which determined the formation or termination of the house community.¹⁴⁵ The arrival of new life in the person of a new-born child and bread as its symbolical counterpart thus signalled the continuity of the House.

The first set of actions surrounding birth, mobilising a person’s immediate relationships was performed in the privacy of the house. In Podgorje’s rural communities until the 1950s, a mother gave birth¹⁴⁶ in the heated section of the house in winter, or in the small end in summer, when the windows were blinded to prevent damage to her eyesight (see also Rožman 2004: 99). Exceptionally, when there was no time to ask for help the woman gave birth alone (Rožman 2004: 103-104). Normally, in accordance with rule of postmarital virilocal settlement, her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law were present. In case she had married endogamously her own mother and sisters might be present; so would immediate neighbours.

Birth attendants were women from the own or a neighbouring village, who commanded traditional knowledge and expertise transmitted from one generation to the next and who had given birth themselves (Rožman 2004: 63). These traditional birth attendants were regarded as quacks (*mazačke*) by official legislation which from the second half of the 18th Century onwards forbade their involvement in births (Rožman 2004: 47). Trained midwives were gradually introduced but met with mistrust (Rožman 2004). All birth attendants were ad-

145 In the context of marriage in Dolenjska, fireplace became substituted by the table (Orel 1944: 293).

146 According to the data in Babiški vestnik, in 1930 in the Stopiče parish there were eighty-five births, nineteen of which were assisted by the trained midwife (in Rožman 2004: 51).

dressed as “grandmother” (*babica*) suggesting a connection with the House’s ancestral authority.

The task of the midwife was to guide and comfort the woman in labour. Her equipment included some cloths, scissors, sometimes substances such as permanganate, quinine and diethyl ether with alcohol known as Hoffman drops (Rožman 2004: 105), and Holy water to christen the child in case it was not viable. Once a child was born, the midwife handed the placenta over to the father. The placenta were ascribed healing powers. It was to be buried under eaves “to protect against [evil] magic” (*da ne bi kakšne coprnije pršle*), in the garden, or in the land in general (Rožman 2004: 107-108). My informants mostly argued it was thrown into the manure. Be as it may, the placenta did remain a part of the house land even when its particular meaning was no longer acknowledged.

Then, the midwife bathed the new-born, swathed it and laid it in the crib. Child necessities, such as cradle and clothes, were provided by the child’s mother or her parents, unless these objects were already part of her bridal trousseau (Orel 1944: 266). Objects needed in everyday life were hence a gift from the mother’s House of birth to the newborn child linking the child to its maternal kin.

The husband, usually the head of the House, was to bring wine to the young mother to invigorate her. So should a diet of hen, eggs, bread and wine (see also Rožman 2004: 128) that she was to follow in the days to come brought by her mother. The midwife’s service was rewarded in addition to the godmother’s gift of bread with a *lon* (from German *Lohn*), in kind, mostly in food stuffs, and with it an invitation from the parents to the child’s christening (Rožman 2004: 59). The gifts made in return for her assistance in the birth of the child made the midwife a part of its immediate social and cosmological relationships.

Churching

For the “young mother” designated as *otročnica* (from *otrok*, “child”) the post-delivery period represented a process of integration. Ideally, the time of postnatal recovery lasted six weeks. It was followed by the ritual of initiation marking the woman’s passage from a “young mother” to a “mother” (Rožman 2004: 127-128). During this period “death stayed by her bed” (*smrt ji stoji pri postel-*

ji, in Rožman 2004: 128; my translation A.R.). Her loss of blood during the partus – as did the menstrual blood loss – rendered her impure. Following Old Testamental injunctions (e.g. Leviticus 12:3-8) and local prohibitions on working the fields, visiting neighbours, attending Mass and making bread, she needed to stay in the house. Her status of a young mother was discussed in terms of her age counted in weeks (Rožman 2004: 128).

After the period of postpartum bleeding had ended and when the young mother felt well enough she visited the church to become “introduced” (*vpeljana*) to the religious community again by submitting herself to the “ritual of introduction” (*vpeljavanje*). The Churching of Women (Latin *Benedictio mulieris post partum*) draws on the Purification of the Virgin rite (Luke 2:22-40) described in the Old Testament (Leviticus 12:2-8) and is a reference to the Virgin Mary’s Presentation of Jesus at the Temple forty days after birth. The young mother covered with a long cloth departed to the church in the company of her child, the child’s godmother or the midwife (Orel 1944: 269). At the church entrance the mother kneeling and holding a burning candle in her left hand waited for the priest to welcome her. The priest wearing white stole approached her praying Psalm 23. She needed to repent her sins as only the pure may approach the altar. Then the priest handed her the end of the stole in her right hand. She kissed the embroidered cross on the stole and then the priest escorted her to the altar to “introduce her” to God, by which act she became a mother. The final prayers were dedicated to thanksgiving and blessing for the child and herself (Pogačnik 1930: 27-28).

Only after having submitted herself to the rite of introduction was she allowed to return to her everyday routine (Rožman 2004: 128). When, however, the relations between the young mother and her mother-in-law were bad, she had to perform all the chores immediately after having given birth (Rožman 2004: 131). In Rožman’s research population women returned to their everyday routines three days after delivery while the church introduction ritual took place in the second week afterwards (Rožman 2004: 132). By becoming a member of the religious community once more, she became a member of the village community as well, evident in the visits by relatives, neighbours and other villagers following the baptismal feast from (Orel 1944: 269).

The second set of ceremonies followed immediately after the child was born, connecting the new-born to a wider network of social relations. For these to take place, parents provided the child was provided with a name and godparents.¹⁴⁷

Name

In genealogical data from the 19th until the mid-20th Century, a fixed set of personal names for each family can be identified. These sets result from several naming practices. The first son usually received the name of his father, and the first daughter received that of her mother, sometimes of her father's mother.

One explanation I obtained for the son's taking his father's name was that the official documents on land ownership carried the head's name without any other personal data such as the date of birth. As changing such documents was very expensive, the inheritance of the land by a first son carrying his father's name required no changes in the land title. In this way, the land could be "officially owned" up to 1976 (see below) by a person of the same name. This pragmatic explanation is supported by people emphasizing the importance of the eldest son to inherit the farm and at the same time expressing concern for the continuation of the name. In other words, to the continuity of the relation between the House and its land the individual identity of its successive guardians was subordinated.

The genealogies also reveal that the name of the child that died soon after birth was given to its next-born sibling. Moreover, in some families, personal names were found to be bounded to the House.

In addition to adopting parents' personal names, children also received names of their godparents – ideally those of their FB and FZ, thus stressing unilineal descent¹⁴⁸ as principle of sponsorship. In exceptional cases the names of nobles or some important men/women in the village acting as godparents were trans-

147 According to Orel (1944: 272), godparents decided on the name while mother had no vote on the matter.

148 According to Makarovič (1995: 128), the Late Middle Ages acknowledged the importance of confirming kin and quasi-kin relations expressed in names adopted from the father, grandfather or godparents.

ferred also. The selection of the child's name, as well as of sponsors, indicates the integrative processes which entails the transfer of social attributes from the sponsors. Trdina argued "noble" names to denote Dolenjska servility (1987 [1870]: 260). According to my informants, naming the child after an important person was expressive of the pride received through establishment of a highly valued relation of god-parenthood. Moreover, such naming practice entailed an idea of the transfer of proper social attributes of the godparent onto his/her godchild.¹⁴⁹ Godparents expressed best wishes for their godchild and strived to provide it with good qualities by presenting gifts that embodied these qualities (Orel 1944: 271).

The naming practice also revealed the pertinence of the Holy Family as a sacred model for the own family, as is evident from the consistent presence of the names of the protectors of the family, of Marija (Mary) and Jožef (Joseph). In a similar value perspective, the names of the saints or patrons were bestowed upon children, particularly when they had been born on or close to that saint's day in the liturgical calendar. Their name days corresponded with specific days in the agricultural calendar. The date of birth also played a role in naming. If the child was born just before the time of the celebration of one of the highly valued saints, as listed below, the child received that name.

Consequently, the number of names available was fairly limited but these shifted with time.¹⁵⁰ They included:

- Frančišek – protector of animals and merchants, and the name of the Austrian emperor
- Anton – protector of pigs and other domestic animals
- Ivan or Janez as being the name of the "Jesus' favourite apostle" John
- Alojz – protector of youths
- Mihael – Archangel and patron of one of the oldest local parishes Šmihel

149 Slavic myths talk of *rojenice* or *sojenice*, birth fairies who at birth predict child's destiny. Genethliology is also found in 'peasant stories' from the 19th Century (Kelemina 1930: 35-169; also Trdina 1987 [1877]: 674).

150 For example, in 1823 in a village community of nineteen different household heads, these bore seven different personal names, whereby three names were repeated five times. It appears that the name Ivan/John and Frančišek/Francis became more common towards the end of the 19th Century.

- Martin – protector of soldiers, shepherds, the poor and the one who turns water into wine
- Matija – the weather prophet and the protector of carpenters, butchers, contractors, smiths, and tailors; and
- Štefan – protector of horses and life stock.

The names for women derive from the men's names listed above with suffices attached: Jožefa, Frančiška, Antonija.

However, these names were listed only during the Christian rituals and in the official documents. In everyday life, people used local Slovenian forms of male and female names. Men were addressed as Franc, Lojz, Tone, or Miha, and women as Pepi, Francka, or Lojzka. Names that were strictly women's names were: women as Marija (called Mici, Mima, Mica or Micka), Ana¹⁵¹ (in the form of Ani, Anka or Anica), Terezija and Neža¹⁵². The genealogical data also show one of the daughters received a FM's name or F's name in female form. The former occurred most often if the firstborn child was a girl, while both cases are found in families with larger number of children.

When a specified set of personal names was transmitted within the House, they were continually embodied by the living members of that House in successive generations as sons and daughters, and nieces and nephews. Taking the names of their parents, aunts and uncles as their predecessors, they adopted their House identities as well (cp. Lévi-Strauss 1982: 175). They contributed to the maintenance of the House, its relations being part of, and valued in reference to, the relations with God, the Holy Family, His hierarchy of Saints, and House's ancestral dead.

God-parents

The institution of God-parenthood, *botrstvo* (from Latin *compater* (Snoj 2003: 53)) provided a child with social relations of protection and – through its name – with a relation to the Holy namesake in question. Valvasor (1984 [1689]: 122) described three godparents per for each child: two men and a woman for a boy, and two women and a man for a girl. More recently a child had had two godpar-

151 Protector against storm and poverty.

152 Protector of virginity, gardeners, girls, engaged couples, victims of rape and animals.

ents (Makarovič 1995: 130). Common and Church law stipulated that godparents should raise an orphaned godchild (Ložar-Podlogar, Ravnik, Friedl 2004: 42). Godparents were usually chosen among the parents' married siblings, that is, ideally, a girl's FZ and MB and a boy's FB and MZ. Informants emphasise the equality in participation between the mother's and father's side in this matter. A prevalence of the one side at the christening would be compensated by that of the other side at the child's confirmation, so that "no one could be offended". The choice of the godparents had a bearing on the child's respectability. When one was asked to be a godparent, one should not decline.

In the selection of god-parents village exogamy was preferable and house exogamy was a rule.

Ideally godparents were of higher status than the parents themselves, which gave a distinctive political dimension to the god-parental relationship. Well-off women from towns as god-mothers gave more prestigious gifts (Rožman 2004: 130). Nobles acted as godparents¹⁵³ to children born to fathers serving them for instance as hunters. So did neighbours of higher status such as inn keepers. Roženberger (1984–1985: 87) reports how the king would act as godfather to the tenth child born into the family.¹⁵⁴ Whereas "godparents had a value equal to the closest blood kin" (Ložar-Podlogar, Ravnik, Friedl 2004: 42) high status and wealth were their desired features.

153 They were not actually present at christening but only delivered their consent. Furthermore, noble lords also engaged in intimate relationships with the servants. In the parish of Šentpeter, the local red-hair noble was known for his promiscuity with peasant women, mostly because of the children born in the end of the 19th beginning of the 20th Century with his hair colour.

154 The meaning of the tenth child, though of the same sex, is a theme of Slovenian myths and adapted by Slovenian writers (e.g. *Deseti brat* by Josip Jurčič in 1866, and *Ana Desetnica* by Fran Milčinski in 1964), yet present in Irish and Baltic myths as well, hence not a Slavic peculiarity. The tenth daughter/son must leave home and travel the world and finally return home, possibly possessing certain powers, thus belonging to some deity. According to Kropelj (2007), *Zeleni Jurij* (footnote 27) represents the tenth child, bringing fertility.

Christening

In the church, the priest administered Holy water to the child wash away the Original Sin, and anointed it with Holy oil to render the newborn God's child. The newly acquired membership in the religious community was signified by a white cloth or a white dress designated as *križmek*. According to Orel, the garment was a gift from godparents to their godchild (Orel 1944: 272). So too was a white candle signaling the presence of Jesus. Godparents should protect the flame, signifying faith, from extinguishing. The relation constructed is the one of (spiritual) guardians and their protégé. After baptism, godparents paid for the service provided; they presented the priest and the sexton with wine in exchange for the rite performed. These gifts transferred during the ritual of baptism provided the child with its first dimensions of social identity, whereas its church ritual of Christening it became 'a limb of Christian community' integrated into a common framework of reference (Kos 1928: 429) and included in the institution of god-parenthood in which the child was provided with a name and relationships with God, his/her guardians, and his/her family.

There are only fragmented accounts of the Christening ritual (Makarovič 1995: 129). Name giving and the establishment of the God-parenthood took place in Church, as described above.

Makarovič further argues that this form of "taking to Christening" emerged in the 18th and 19th Centuries and is linked to ceremonial acts of baroque character (Makarovič 1995: 129). In contrast to the previous practice, which involved bathing the newborn on the third day after Christening by the godparents or, in the Middle Ages, diving into the water, the simple and new practice of spilling over the head was found insufficient by the peasants.

The Baptism of the child and the Churching of its mother were followed by the communal consumption of bread and wine (*botrina*), representing the integration of the child and its mother into a wider village society (Ložar-Podlogar, Ravnik, Friedl 2004: 42). During *botrina* the key foodstuffs of bread and wine were exchanged between the actors involved. The godmother brought two "loafs of bread" (*pogača*), one for the mother and one for the midwife, and small loafs for each child. In addition, the godfather's wife and the mother's female relatives also gave bread. The godmother and the godfather's wife

brought also butter, eggs, wine, a hen and money (Orel 1944: 274). During *botrina* these gifts were jointly consumed. Wine was provided by the father.

Moreover, the baptismal feast was attended by godparents' spouses and close relatives as well (Orel 1944: 275).

On the first Sunday after Easter, designated as *Botrična nedelja* or *Bela nedelja* (Quasimodo or Low Sunday), parents invited the godparents of their children for lunch (Ložar-Podlogar, Ravnik, Friedl 2004: 42). On this occasion, the godparents brought gifts for their godchildren. The godmother and the godfather's wife also presented bread to the child on its name day (Rožman 2004: 130). In exchange for this safe-keeping, godchildren should pray for their godparents (Orel 1944: 276).

Conclusion

By means of bestowing the child with a name and its spiritual guardians the relation of House of birth and God was constructed. The parental and maternal Houses and child's ritual kin provided the child with the spiritual component embodied in the name linking the child to the House of birth, child with the bodily component embodied in everyday necessities, and with safekeeping of the child's constituent parts respectively. The birth order and sex of the newborn determined and communicated its future position as a House member.

Death

Every parish church and most succursal churches had a gravesite. In the period of Christianization, the site surrounding the church came to replace the Slavic burial mounds (*gomile*) and other locations¹⁵⁵ as the place for burying the dead. The Church was reluctant to situate the realm of the living and the realm of the dead in the same place (Makarovič 1995). The scientific conditions of hygiene stipulated that the dead should be physically separated from the living. The Church complied with this, arguing that the piety to the dead demanded such a

155 The Slavs buried their dead in the domain of the house, such as under the house doorstep and around the fireplace, and on the fields, in the crossroads, on the trees (Ovsec 1991: 222).

separation from the Holy community of the living (Makarovič 1995: 147). The decree of Joseph II issued in 1784 affected city cemeteries in this respect. The rural cemetery (*pokopališče*, locally known as *britof* from German *Friedhof* or *Kirkhof*, churchyard), however, remained located next to the church, at end of the the 19th Century framed by a wall encircling its sacred ground, with the entrance and exit passages close to the church. The site supported a large cross and a *totenkamra* (from German *Tottenkammer*) – a shack in which the homeless were laid prior to the funeral and serving as a storage for the tools of burial. The French reforms which aimed to separate Church and State have not succeeded to transform the cemetery into a secular, state gravesite. Mortal sinners such as suicides and murderers and non-believers could not be laid in holy ground; hence they must be buried beyond the cemetery wall. The Church reserved “the consecrated areas for those who had died in her good graces” (Ariès 2008 [1981]: 45).

The spatial order of the cemetery was modelled on the seigneurial domain as shown in the spatial segregation of the graves. The feudal lord was buried in the very church which he himself might have built or reconstructed, possibly in fulfilment of a vow or to acquire merit during his life time.¹⁵⁶ He might also be buried in a special tomb or chapel erected next to the church. So were other nobility and local priests. Wealthy households had their prestigious family’ grave placed at the cemetery wall, a prestigious setting, possibly surrounded by a low fence. It consisted of a vertical slab gravestone in which were engraved the deceaseds’ names and dates of birth and death, their occupation, status or military rank, religious symbols and prayers in Latin or German. In the 19th Century, these graves were leased for 50 years (Štukl in Makarovič 1995: 163). Peasant households, on the other hand, could not enter into such an agreement. Ideally, each household took care of one family grave although there was a separate section in the cemetery for children’s graves. The peasants’ graves had a uniform appearance, were small but clearly defined, their mound outlining the area where it was forbidden to walk. They were covered with grass and possibly some flowers and carried a wooden or an iron cross (see also Makarovič 1995: 148). To grant the dead their peace, graves were visited only on certain days,

156 The Stopiče parish church under scrutiny was reconstructed by Lord Paradeiser in 1709 as a fulfillment of his vow in case he returned home safely from the battles with ‘the Turks’.

such as All Saints, Easter and the deceased's name-day. If several deaths afflicted the same house in short succession, or had no family grave yet, a new grave was created by re-utilising an older grave.

The local or neighbourhood community allocated a place for the burial of the deceased. The area was subject to continuous re-digging or re-utilisation of peasant graves to make place for new burials without having to expand the cemetery was a routine practice. The grave was "a communal property to which everyone ha[d] a temporary right" (Ariès 2008 [1977]: 554). Only graves older than ten years could be re-utilised (Štukl in Makarovič 1995: 163). Grave-diggers, members of the deceased's village, carefully dug the grave with a spade, until reaching the remains, ordering them putting back some soil to cover the bones and placing the deceased on top of these remains.

Social memory, grounding on "collectivity" (Halbwachs in Connerton 1989) with reference to a grounded inter alia in a "socially specific spatial framework" (Connerton 1989: 37), was signified by engraved gravestones. Being objects from the past creating meanings in the present they communicated the relations among generations. This means that only the names of the wealthy were granted such a permanence engraved in stone. Since peasant households lacked permanent graves and until the end of the 19th Century were mostly illiterate, their ancestors represented an individuated substratum of the religious community, and only as such looking after their descendants. Yet, instead of being chiselled in noble grave stones forever, the names of the peasants' dead were transmitted from one generation to the next – as discussed above. This indicates the fundamental distinction between a noble memory of the past and a peasant memory eternally present.

Funeral

A death afflicting a social community requires that exchanges be conducted, so that the social order affected may be restored and the system of relationships, damaged by the demise of one of the persons related, may be reproduced (cp. Hertz [1960] 2008). Mortuary rituals are the settings par excellence for such exchanges to be made.

A deceased person needed to be buried in the parish in which he/she had died; if the rule was not obeyed, bad weather followed (Trdina (1987 [1870–

1879]: 138). The House was accountable for carrying out the exchanges. In Christian thought, like in that of many other religions, death is conceived to initiate a return of a spiritual component part of the person ('soul') of immaterial value to that part's transcendent Original Owner (Platenkamp 2013c: 4). "(M)ortuary rituals tend to entail the return of the body and its spiritual components received at birth to their respective origins" (*ibid.*). Funeral as the final ritual in a person's life cycle, thus, involves the return of the soul of the deceased to 'God' and of the body from "ashes to ashes, dust to dust" (Platenkamp 2013c: 4). However, Christian belief regarding death was intertwined with ideas of death that Christianity considered superstitious. The Pre-Christian conceptions, for the most part of Slavic origin or deriving from Antiquity (Ložar-Podlogar 1999: 115), entailed prohibitions and commands which needed to be observed to ensure safe passage of the deceased person from the social domain to the domain of the deceased.

These conceptions concerned the return of the deceased's 'soul' (*duša*) that dwells with the body and in sites relevant during his life, on one hand, and that soul's power over his descendants, on the other.

Let us now consider the representations and practices, and the exchanges carried out in the context of death as they were practiced in the 19th Century.¹⁵⁷ Peasant funerary practices 'lying on a bier' and the 'night virgil' (see below) date back at least to the 17th Century (Makarovič 1995: 155). Only in the 18th Century the church ceremony became a part of the funeral (Makarovič 1995: 157), and burials without a priest became forbidden among the peasantry in 1621 and 1770 (Gregorič in Makarovič 1995: 44).

This section is structured in two parts. That is, a description of (each part of) the funeral rituals is followed by the analysis of the exchanges. The death rituals may be divided into four distinct rites. First the Extreme Unction (*poslednje maziljenje*) performed by the priest detaches the dying person from the living. Then there is a liminal period between the demise of the person and the burial,

157 This account is based either on the data collected from my informants' recollections (where there is no reference) or from the following published sources: Valvasor's (1984 [1689]) and Trdina's (1987 [1870–1879]) writings, studies of Slovenian ethnologists Boris Orel (1944), Helena Ložar-Podlogar (1999), Gorazd Makarovič (1995, 2008b), and works of Slovenian legal historian Sergij Vilfan (1979, 1980e, 1996 [1961]).

assuming the form of the wake (*bedenje*) at the corpse “lying on bier” (*ležati na parah*) of which practice is a transitional phase in the deceased’s life cycle ritual. After the Christian burial ceremony, a communal meal (*pogrebščina*) takes place, followed by a Mass and another meal on the seventh day (*sedmina*), and another one again one year after death. They all aim to support the return of the ‘soul’ to God.

Extreme Unction

Beliefs pertaining to death involved spirits and demons, as ‘souls’ of the dead, usually the ‘souls’ of ancestors who came for the dying. The ominous signs of death revealed at night or in a dream predicted the death of a relative or a villager. Such omens might be the sound of an animal at night, or someone other noise such as knocking (on doors or window) at night, or the sight of a woman in a white dress understood as the image of death. A person on his deathbed was understood to be waiting for someone or something enabling him to depart from this world. In contrast to the different means people resorted to in particular situations, such as the different procedures available to deal with birth or illness, in the case of death there were two types of appropriate actions only: prayers should be said by those attending (Ložar-Podlogar 1999: 102) while the dying person himself should give money for his ‘soul’ to the priest (Trdina 1987 [1870]: 61).

In the expectation of death, House members, relatives and neighbours were gathered in the house of the dying person. In addition, enemies of the dying attended the ritual as well in order to achieve reconciliation and to enable him/her a secure passage to the realm of the dead (see also Orel 1944: 304). The priest was called by the household head to provide the dying with “sacred provisions” and to administer the Extreme Unction (*poslednje maziljenje*), the sacrament making the reception of God’s mercy possible. The expression itself denotes the last sacrificial anointment a person was to receive in his life, signifying the termination of his terrestrial life. The rite palliates the soul of the dying by confession, the oil absolves him from his sins, and the Holy water blesses the body. Thus, whereas the ritual of Baptism redeems a person of the Original Sin to become a part of the Christian community of living, the ritual of Extreme Unction liberates a person from his sins so as to become a part of the Christian commu-

nity of the dead. The latter is composed of the souls of the dead awaiting the Judgment Day, which is in turn an implication of the notion of Original Sin.

The ritual began with the transfer of the “sacred provisions” in the Corpus Christi procession attended by House members and neighbours, or by the household head driving the priest on the carriage to the house. When they entered the house those present joined in a prayer. Thereafter, the priest was left alone with the dying to perform the Extreme Unction.

The ritual consisted of three rites. The first was the Sacrament of Penance. After having confessed and repented the sins committed, the dying person received the Anointment. The priest applied the Sacred Oil on the spots signifying of Five Sacred Wounds of the dying or only made the sign of the cross on his forehead. Finally, the Eucharist Communion was administered to the dying and possibly to those present as well. Then they jointly prayed.

Each household possessed the implements required for conducting the ritual of Extreme Unction and in order to sprinkle the deceased with Holy water: white tablecloths, two candlesticks, a crucifix, and one container for the oil and one for the holy water. These objects were provided in bride’s trousseau (*bala*), “since the bride who comes to live in her bridegroom’s house has to think of the birth of a baby as well as the final hour of her family – and indeed her own – as well” (Ložar-Podlogar 1999: 109-110).

The bridal chest contained among other objects (see below) those enabling the performance of the proper procedure ensuring the decomposition of the corpse. Since from the bride also the progeny came forth (see below) the competence, which the bride brought from her House of birth into her husband’s House entailed both providing that House with new life and taking care of its dead.

As in the case of birth, death takes place in the framework of a person’s proximate relationships. Arriving at and leaving the world of the living is accompanied by the same set of persons. Both processes also indicate composition and decomposition of a person’s constituent parts.

Wake

The wake (*bedenje*), intended as a farewell ceremony for the deceased on its way from his/her house, was a liminal phase during which the dead person’s

constituent parts endangered the living. This transitional phase was marked by the clock stopped at the moment of death and its reactivation after the burial. The attention therefore was centred on the safe departure of these constituents.

Immediately after death those present closed the eyes of the deceased. It was a token of respect but possibly also to protect the living from the “malevolent stare” (*hud pogled*) potentially causing another death (Ložar-Podlogar 1999: 103). Then the cross from the village church was placed in front of the house, its doors being opened up to all and sundry and its windows covered. The household member head set the date for the funeral, usually three days after death, and arranged for the bells to toll in the village church for the deceased’s “last hour” (*zadnja ura*). The way of tolling revealed the sex of the deceased person. Throughout the wake as a liminal period, the bereaved retreated from any kind of merriment. The death of the person was presented as a great loss and the deceased’s goodness was regularly expressed.

As the case in many other societies, the particular sets of relationships connecting the deceased to his community were expressed in certain modalities of behaviour appropriate to the occasion (cp. Durkheim 1995 [1912]). The bereaved House members dressed in black as signs of mourning. The more proximate the relationship in question, the longer the time period of mourning prescribed: one year for one’s spouse or parents, six months for one’s siblings and grandparents. Throughout the wake as a liminal period, the bereaved retreated from any kind of merriment. The death of the person was presented as a great loss and the deceased’s goodness was regularly expressed.

The House of the deceased called upon people from the community of parish to assist in the performance of the funerary ritual – an honourable request not to be refused. A man should bear the cross in the procession while the woman who prayed the rosary at the wake also carried the lamp in the procession. They were also the ones who visited neighbouring villages to invite them to the wake and the funeral (Ložar-Podlogar 1999: 112), thus enabling to renew their relationship with the deceased’s House. In return, each household they visited presented them with foodstuff and occasionally money. Four other village men were invited to dig the grave, carry the coffin and cover the grave. In case the deceased had not been married only unmarried people should carry out these tasks. The closest neighbours would assist in running the household and con-

tribute food for the three days that the wake lasted. All tasks involving washing and clothing the corpse were performed by neighbours of the same sex not related as kin to the House. They bound his jaws, put coins on the closed eyes to prevent them from opening and placed a rosary around the hands (see also Ložar-Podlogar 1999: 111). The corpse should be dressed in the wedding dress/suit or any other communicating the deceased's social status, marital or otherwise. Whereas the soul was expected to be on its way to its heavenly domain of origin, the deceased's social identity adhered to his terrestrial corpse and its signs were to be buried along with it.

The corpse was laid out on the deceased's bed or on a catafalque his feet facing the door. Under the bed or catafalque, a dish with water was placed to prevent the smell from spreading. On a white tablecloth at the deceased's feet two burning candles were placed. Between them stood a crucifix and a cup of Holy water or salt with a small branch of aspergillum. This scene was designated as "to lie on bier" (*ležati na parah*).

During the wake, the room was always lit and the corpse never left alone. Furthermore, no one slept in the house as long as the it was present. Among those who came to pay their respects were not only the deceased's acquaintances but also his enemies, reconciling themselves with the House for the time being. These guests were served liquor (*šnopa*, from German *Schnaps*) wine and bread by the neighbours who helped running the household. The visitors approached the deceased, sprinkled the corpse with holy water and prayed to God to give him eternal peace and rest. Thereupon each visitor expressed condolences to the members of the House and possibly partook in the night vigil. This vigil (*vahtanje*, from German *Wachten*) included entertainment activities similar to the ones performed during a wedding (see below), especially if the deceased was an older person. Indeed, the vigil was also called *mrliško vasovanje* (see also Ložar-Podlogar 1999: 112), "death *vasovanje*". *Vasovanje* refers to games performed during courting ceremonies.

In the vigil, the relationships that the deceased had maintained and that had provided him with his social identity became manifest once again. Moreover, the 'soul' of the deceased sanctioned the truce established between alienated Houses on this occasion. This pacification of the House's relationships with

other Houses was a core concern. It would ensure that the deceased would be absolved from his sins, be protected against the curse from other Houses and vice versa, and be assured of the prayers offered by the living for the salvation of his soul.

Burial

The bells tolled one hour before the church ceremony, indicating that a funeral was about to take place. The entire village gathered at the house of the bereaved to attend the funeral. House members aspersed the deceased for the last time. The four pallbearers – the unmarried wearing white mourning bands in case the deceased was unmarried, those married wearing black ones if the deceased was married – placed the body in a coffin (*truga*, from German *Truhe*). This coffin preferably was white coloured for an unmarried and black for a married deceased. Coffins were usually of a simple and uniform design and were made from the planks kept in store by the house for this occasion. In the beginning of the 20th Century local craftsmen began to manufacture them. They came to “take the measures” of the deceased (Ložar-Podlogar 2004b: 261). My eldest informants expressed the concern to “have enough [money] for the coffin”¹⁵⁸. The coffin with the deceased was then carried out of the house with his legs forwards while those attending crossed themselves so as to expel death from the house.

Outside, a funerary procession was formed, its composition reflecting the identity of the deceased. Walking in front were children with candles dressed in their white First Communion clothes if the deceased was unmarried, or in their best clothes (*ta hmašno*, “for the Mass”) if the deceased was married. They were followed by a woman holding a lamp and a man carrying the processional cross of the succursal church, followed by people bearing wreaths and flowers of certain communities of which the deceased had been a member,¹⁵⁹ first of all of the church. The priest walked ahead of the coffin behind the wreath bearers. The coffin was carried by the grave diggers. If the cemetery was situated farther away, a village man who owned horses and a carriage (*federvagen*, from

158 All English translations of Slovenian language statements are mine A.R.

159 For example, if the deceased woman was a member of ‘Mary’s community’, the pertaining flag was carried and her membership was declared by the priest. For men, a highly valued membership was for example in the local fire brigade.

German *Federwagen*) was asked to drive the coffin. The family members followed, man or women in front according to the gender of the deceased. Members of the opposite gender walked at the rear of the procession. During the Mass, the importance of the deceased's House was further accentuated when the priest in his sermon listed the contributions that the House made to the Church. After Mass had been celebrated, the procession moved to the cemetery. The coffin was lowered in the ground and all those attending threw a clod of earth on top of it. The bands that the pallbearers had worn were deposited in the grave as well in order to prevent the dead to return. At the cemetery, the household members served bread to the needy in order to ease the deceased's guilt over his sins (Makarovič 1995: 156)¹⁶⁰.

The deceased marital status was manifest throughout the funerary rites. In Christian thought the colour white, employed at the funeral of an unmarried person, ritually signals moral 'innocence'. Although he was buried in the section of graveyard reserved for adult persons in the grave of his/her own household, at death an unmarried person appeared to have been equated with a child. It was thus upon death that marriage acquired a particular meaning. A deceased who had not been married had not fulfilled that particular task in life that would make him/her a whole social person by establishing an own family. Being buried in his natal family grave such an 'incomplete' deceased was connected with his House of origin only.

Postburial ceremonies

After the funeral, the grave mound covered with flowers and wreaths was to be left untouched for one year. During this period actions were performed aimed at removing the awareness of death from the house and assisting the soul towards its salvation. Those who conducted the burial were invited to join the House members for the repast or post-burial meal (*pogrebščina*). It was prepared in the house of the deceased by neighbours who during the burial remained in the house and to cleanse it and remove all objects connected to the wake. The next seven days, prayers were said in the house of the deceased. All the while the deceased's seat at the table was left empty as if he/she was still

160 Makarovič argues that the act was adopted from nobility (1995: 156).

expected to join in the meal. After the Mass on the seventh day, *sedmina*¹⁶¹ another common meal took place and prayers were said by all who had attended the burial before. According to Valvasor (1984 [1689]: 122), this marked the moment when the deceased was properly buried.

Further concern for the deceased's soul was expressed by offering an annual Mass¹⁶², making gifts to the Church and saying prayers. In addition to the moral life conducted by the deceased these acts had a bearing on the time the latter's soul was to spent in purgatory (le Goff 1990: 106-120, Ariès 2008 [1977]: 462-463). Gregorian Masses were also commissioned by wealthy Houses and or by those in which the deceased had set aside money for that purpose previously. According to my informants, these special Masses were quite expensive. But if ordered for thirty days in a row they guaranteed the soul his transfer to heaven. It is noteworthy that the peasant being the provider of food for the world was assured of a relatively easy access to heaven when compared to the beggar and the nobleman (Trdina 1987 [1870]: 69). The Church propagated this idea so as to promote hard work (see above). The head of the House or his/her widowed spouse were responsible for these offerings to the church, made in exchange for the salvation of the deceased's soul. Hence the Church, in mediating the soul's journey to its final destination in heaven or hell, claimed authority over the period in which this journey took place.

The return the deceased's constituent parts of 'body' and 'soul' to the soil and to God as their respective 'original owners' (cp. Platenkamp 2013c) depended on the appropriate participants following the proper ceremonial procedures. They constituted in their enactment of the wake, burial, praying and attending Mass the community of which the House was a part. The food stuffs and services provided by neighbours during the burial rituals was a part of a series of exchanges reciprocated whenever a death affected the Houses concerned. The prestations exchanged thus were of an equivalent immaterial value, connecting these Houses to one another through delayed modalities of equivalent reci-

161 According to Ložar-Podlogar (1999: 115), "the funeral repast (...) originated in the antiquity and represents the last remnant of Old Slavic death ceremonies".

162 From eight to twelve succeeding years in which the soul can be aided, according to my informants.

procuity (Platenkamp 2013c: 4). In terms of Sahlins' (1972) distinction, the relation with closest neighbours in the context of death was one of generalised reciprocity, while those attending the wake and funeral fulfilled their obligations of balanced reciprocity. In the latter case, the calculation of prestations to be reciprocated was more meticulous. The prestation of carrying and lowering the coffin by unmarried or married villagers was returned with the same service performed at their own death. Only then would this service terminate the exchange obligation, thus fulfilling the demand for reciprocity according to a model of 'delayed equivalence' (Platenkamp 2013c: 4).

Conclusion

All these prestations would renew the relationship between the deceased's House and the village community while at the same time signified a change in the person's status. And since the deceased was being buried it was the community of members of different Houses which made the prestations that made it possible for the deceased – the receiver of these prestations – to become part of the community of the dead. In this perspective, the death rituals constituted ongoing processes of reciprocal gift-giving connecting the Houses in chains of exchanges based on the principle of transitivity (Platenkamp 2013c: 3). Each death was the occasion for the ritual renewal of the relationships between village Houses and the reproduction of the village community that was collectively responsible for its own social reproduction.

Principles and forms of inheritance

Death brought about a change in property relations and re-defined the relationships between the members of the House of the deceased.

At the death of the head, property was not distributed according to the valid legal norms but bestowed upon the heirs following the will of the deceased. First testaments followed a verbal declaration of the testator about the transfer of his/her possessions to chosen inheritors. Written wills started to appear at the end of the 18th Century and the beginning of the 19th Century (Makarovič 1995: 180). Nevertheless, informants emphasise the high value assigned to the father's spoken word throughout this period. The wills stipulating the presentation of gifts to the Church and of the money for religious ceremonies – testify-

ing of one's faith in the afterlife – on the one side, and those asserting one's own will concerning the earthly life by distributing property to one's descendants (Makarovič 1995: 179) all had a bearing on the continuation of the House.

The Slovenian terms for 'inheritance' are *dediščina* and *dedovanje*; they derive from *ded*, "grandfather". This vocabulary of inheritance predates the institution of the feudal system (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 257). It has been argued that the "[f]oreign law on patrimony and inheritance has demolished the *zadruga* and poisoned family relations with envy and hatred" (Trdina 1956: 25; my translation A.R.).

Until the land became commodified in the 16th Century, inheritance was formally limited to movables while the transfer of immovable property from the House head to his successor was subject to the authority of the feudal lord. Podgorje farm-holds could become formally inherited by the peasantry from the 16th Century onwards when they became purchasable (Vilfan 1980e: 435). The legal distinction between the purchased feudal agrarian unit *huba* and the so-called 'rental' *huba* was clear. In the latter case the farmer had the lifelong *usufruct* on the *huba* but after his death this was returned to the feudal lord. However, in reality it was passed over to the farmer's heir(s), as was the case with the purchased *huba* (Vilfan 1980e: 434). The rental *huba* was assigned subject to the authority of the landed gentry; this intervened in the transfer of *huba* from a head to his heir by consenting to the inheritance (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 257).

Hence, since leaseholds passed from head to heir, purchase was of no interest to the peasants (Vilfan 1980e: 435). The patents issued in the 1760s and 1770s on the purchase rights were followed in 1784 by a process of transition from leasehold entitlements to hereditary property rights to farm holdings (Vilfan 1980e: 448-455). In the *Kreis* Novo Mesto this resulted in twenty per cent of purchased farm-holds (Vilfan 1980e: 451). Hence, in Dolenjska as in Kranjska in general, the majority of "farms remained to be leaseholds until the March Revolution of 1848" (Fischer 1999: 17). Vilfan ascribes the major cause to the rapacity of the landlords (1980e: 452). Nevertheless, Vilfan observes how regardless of the purchase/leasehold principles, land was an object of exchange between farmers, particularly as an inheritance determined by the testa-

tor or his heirs. The authorities endeavoured to prevent¹⁶³ this practice throughout, except when higher revenues from the transaction and from the crop yield were expected (Vilfan 1980e: 458).

Considering one such transfer in particular, in the 16th Century the dissolution of *huba* commenced (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 289-293). In case division of the estate occurred, the custodian of half of the estate was named *polzemljak* (German *Halbhübler*). Every parcel of the farm was divided lengthwise on half, while meadows remained to be common property, annual *usufruct* of two plots of meadows being assigned to each farm in turn. The building plot got divided as well and another homestead was build. The partition was allowed only when each half farm proved economically viable. Feudal lords had a decisive vote on the matter (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 260).

Common law forbade such divisions (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 260-261) and 18th and 19th Century legislation, with the brief exception of the policy of the Illyrian Provinces, limited this practice as well (see also Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 260-261), but it continued to occur nevertheless. According to Vilfan (1996 [1961]: 290) and Blaznik *et al.* (1970: 94), the practices in Kranjska move between a full disintegration and a complete preservation of existing farm-holds.

How this process impacted on the Podgorje farm-holds listed in the Franciscan Register (1823–1869) remains to be investigated. The Mehovo urbarial records from the 16th and 17th Century (SI AS 1074/129, SI AS 1074/87)¹⁶⁴, however, reveal an increasing tendency of joint management of whole-*huba*.¹⁶⁵

163 For example, the prince planned to stop the free transactions of land between peasants by introducing the reformed urbarial records (Vilfan 1980e: 442-443), issuing a Court decree in 1753 (Vilfan 1980e: 458), and by passing the inheritance order in 1786 (Vilfan 1980e: 459).

164 Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Zbirka urbarjev (cca.1350–1888), Novoreformirani urbar graščine Mehovo, 1585–1603, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Zbirka urbarjev (cca.1350–1888), Temeljni urbar graščine Mehovo, 1623.

165 Between 1585–1603, 26 settlements involved 120 *whole-huba*, 72 of which entailed one head, 28 of them had two heads with the same family name, 19 of them had two heads with different family names, and 1 had three heads sharing the family name. In 1626, the same 26 settlements included 120 *whole-huba*, 35 of which entailed one head, 29 of

In these records the specific kin relations engaged in such a joint management can only be identified in case the father and the son are explicitly listed as heads of the estate. In all other cases consanguineal or affinal relations prevailing between the heads of an estate can only be surmised.

Such data, nevertheless, suggest that the inheritance of land was based on particular communal values. Arbitrary transfers of land absent of the authorities' approval indicate a discrepancy between the feudal legal system and the manner in which land ownership was conceptualised by the local peasant population. Formally, the land belonged to the lord, while the peasantry claimed its *usufruct*. The peasantry, however, acted as if it were the owner of the land. The Mehovo urbarial records between 1666 and 1777 demonstrate that the communal land management resulted in official partitions of *huba* estates (SI AS 1074/88)¹⁶⁶. This process called for a new tax unit, the so-called *Grund* (see p. 99) recorded in the Franciscan Land Cadastre (see above). The term became locally adopted as *grunt* meaning farm-hold (see p. 99). Vilfan (1996 [1961]: 289) relates the partition tendency to emerging forms of exchange and production, which reduced the dependence on the undivided farm. His argument supports Chayanov's rule on the inverse relation between 'productive intensity' and 'productive capacity' (in Sahlins 1972: 87-92) as a feature of the 'domestic mode of production' grounded in the processes of fission, that is dispersion of people under centrifugal tendency (Sahlins 1972: 95-97). In the context of the more complex political structure and greater concentration of power, the House arose "as an attempt to perpetuate an estate from one generation to the next in a society which until that some had been characterised by bilateral kinship and partible inheritance" (Chance 2000: 486).

The Inheritance Law of 1786 abolished the particularism of feudal estates in this respect, while in the 1815 the Austrian Civil Code defined a testament as a civil act, hence pertaining to the relationship of the state and its citizens. For-

them had two heads with the same family name, 35 of them had two heads with different family names, and 23 had three or more heads; in the latter case, 12 of them had heads sharing the family name and 11 of them had heads with different family names.

166 Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Zbirka urbarjev (cca.1350–1888), Urbar graščine Mehovo, 1666–1777.

mal succession to a homestead became possible between 1853 and 1855 when the Land Release Patent was implemented, yet the existent inheritance regulations of a free division and distribution of parcels among the living remained in force (Vilfan 1980e: 464).

The medieval inheritance law was governed by two principles. The German principle of the indivisibility of inheritance (for the family) favoured primogeniture (Goody 2000: 50). Roman Law determined the succession of equal rightful claimants to equal shares (for personal use). This “distributional ethic” required a compensation of the other siblings by allocation (Goody 2000: 50) which in the case of an agrarian unit is the most difficult to implement (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 259-260). Seigneuries adhered to the principle of indivisibility and so acknowledged the inheritance right of only one person. Eventually, common inheritance of equal rightful claimants was practiced also on purchase farms, favouring the sons first, then the daughters (or, instead of these, the grandchildren) and only then other relatives (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 260). The integrity of farms was maintained by introducing pay-outs. Thus, following the principle of *Annerbrecht* (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 260), farm-hold was taken over by a single heir who paid out his co-heirs. Their shares were calculated on the basis of the value of the land set lower than its actual monetary value, so as not to jeopardise the survival of the farm (Vilfan 1980e: 443). However, after the Land Release Patent, the share usually consisted of a parcel of land, when the funds for pay-outs were lacking (see also Vilfan 1980e: 466). This was practiced until the Second World War.

Along with the transition of farm-holds from rental to purchase ones, patrilineality became the principle of succession in the seigneuries. According to Vilfan (1980e: 443-444), until the late 18th Century, both common law and written law in certain seigneurial estates appointed the youngest son to be the heir to the farm-hold, and in the absence of sons, the youngest daughter. This principle of male ultimogeniture may have been a feature of Slavic Laws (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 260). The prevailing age structure and tax advantages may have been related to this practice: a farm-hold could remain in the same hands for a longer period and the paying of taxes at the change of proprietorship postponed (*primščina*, lit. receipt tax (German *Anlät*), *umrščina* (German *Sterbrecht*) and *poklon* (German *Eerung*) (Vilfan 1980e: 437).

Whether such pragmatic explanations may account for prevailing principles of inheritance cannot be decided here. Be it as it may, the Inheritance Law passed in 1786 appointed the eldest son – and in his absence the eldest daughter – as the successor of the farm (Britovšek in Smerdel 1988/90: 46; Vilfan 1980e: 459).

The data gathered in the field in the form of written wills from the second half of the 19th Century onwards do evidence patrilineality, although succession of the eldest son is more an ideal than prevailing practice. Some Houses practiced primogeniture, others ultimogeniture. In this period, various options of inheritance were practiced. In the absence of sons, it was a common strategy that a daughter – not necessarily the eldest, acted as heiress in unity with the in-marrying son-in-law¹⁶⁷. But competitions between siblings are also in evidence. A local informant told how a particular brother was never considered to inherit the farm as the father favoured the other son. A son might bring shame to his family and be expelled from the house, when, for instance, he engaged in a relationship with a farmhand or another woman considered inappropriate. Disrespect of parents would lead to being disinherited (see also Trdina 1987 [1870]: 151). In fact, it was quite common for the in-marrying son-in-law to become the official possessor of the farm-hold (see below).

All in all, the inheritance practices reveal bilateral paths of transmission, albeit with patrilineal and cognatic tendencies. Genealogical links allowed for the transmission of partible property and thus for the perpetuation of the estate of the House.

These principles are reflected in the way in which the head of the House communicated his decision to hand over the farm to his successor to the seignery/notary where the transfer contract (*izročilna pogodba*) was written. The contracts provided by my informants dating to the 19th Century identify the prevalence of contracts handing over the inheritance, thus *inter vivos mortis causa* (Vilfan 1980e: 443). The hand-over contract stipulated the transfer by the head of the farmstead to his eldest son at the latter's marriage or that of his first child, or to his in-marrying son-in-law. Usually, however, the head remained in possession as long as possible. Optionally, the old head remained in possession of the vineyard which the new head was to help cultivate. The contract also

167 This strategy was prevalent in Eurasia, Ancient Greece and Rome (Goody 1990: 106, 391, 416).

identified the shares of the inheritance and provisions of social security reserved for his unmarried children, for himself and for his wife.

Having succeeded to the headship of the House the new head needed to provide his parents with the life-long servitude (*preživitek*, German *Ausgedinge* or *Alteuteil*) as defined and calculated meticulously in the hand-over contract (cp. Berkner 1972 on inheritance practices in Austria). These servitude claims included the accommodation in one section of the house—usually the small one; the use of common facilities of the house such as the stove and the entrance; and the use of agricultural buildings and utensils. The new head was further obliged to provide for the old couple the medical service, the firewood, the water and joint meals,¹⁶⁸ all of which were legally categorised as distinct from the servitude and defined as the ‘real burden’. These servitude claims were also part of the purchase contract concluded between the buyer and the head without an heir as the seller (see p. 94).

The old head provided his underage or unmarried children¹⁶⁹ with the same rights, except for the ‘real burden’. The new head’s siblings fit for work laboured on the estate, performing their gender specific agricultural and household tasks. They were entitled to such servitude until they married or until the death of the head’s children or old head’s unmarried and handicapped siblings. Servitude¹⁷⁰ was therefore restricted to a two-generation time span. It did not differentiate between men and women. Providing sustenance could, however, only be claimed by the old head couple and their children unfit for work.

The successor was also obliged to provide inheritance shares for his siblings. The old head handing over the farm ensured that his children would receive pay-outs (*odpravščina* or *izplačilo*). Such pay-outs were a share of the inheritance in the form of a sum of money and provisions for the child’s wedding feast. The pay-out was supposed to follow a division of the intestate inheritance in equal shares (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 417) according to the Roman Law (Vilfan

168 The contract also specified the amount of crops the old couple was entitled to in case it would separate from the joint meal.

169 Also to the children who emigrated abroad. Usually at least one did so.

170 The value of servitudes, objects and services to be transferred was calculated in money money was calculated in a nominal value of, for example, livestock, while the value of money transferred was calculated in a nominal value of, for example, livestock.

1980e: 443). The successor was assigned the responsibility to provide his siblings with defined shares at the time of their marriages. An ‘indirect’ form of inheritance (cp. Goody 1990) was the dowry. It entailed the transfer of objects or prestations on the occasion of marriage or within a circumscribed period afterwards, from the head of the House to his wife, children and siblings. As such, these transfers shall be discussed in the following section on Marriage.

Marriage and affinal relationships

The marriage ritual articulates a socially acknowledged relationship, denoted by the term *zakon* between a bride and a groom, from which children are to be born. But the ritual also initiates social relations between two different kin groups that came to be related as affines, denoted as *svaštvo*. Such affinal relationships were required for the social reproduction of the House (Lévi-Strauss 1987).

The *zakon* relationship follows from acts denoted by the verb *poročiti*. Being affixed by the gender specific prefixes *mož-* (“man”) and *žen-* (“woman”) renders the verb *možiti* denoting “to marry a man” and the verb *ženiti* “to marry a woman”. By adding the prefix *pri-* to these constructs one specifies the virilocal or uxrilocal postmarital settlement. In colloquial language, the expression reads *pri ti za ta mlado/mladega*, literally “to come to be the young woman/man of the house”. In the narrow sense *ta mladi*, “the young ones” refers to the future head couple, in a wider sense it denotes one’s children and their spouses. In-married spouses tended to address their parents-in-law as “parents”, a practice also adopted when they were not co-resident.

The participants in the marriage ritual are denoted as *ojscetni* (from German *Hochzeit*) *svatje* (from Slavic *own*) and its exchanges are classified as “those from his side” (*z njegove strani*), and “those from her side” (*z njene strani*). The meaning and value of this relationship was reflected in the mutual transfers of specific gifts.

The following is an account of marriage rituals designated as *ohcet* (from German *Hochzeit*) as conducted in Podgorje.¹⁷¹ It focuses on the representations and actions performed and presents an analysis of the marital transactions.

171 It is based on data collected concerning people's recollections and the legal documents in their possession; on the writings of Valvasor (1984 [1689]) and the notes of Trdina (1987

The resolutions of the “Reform Synod for the Slovenian area South of the river Drava in Ljubljana” of 1448 reveal that until then, church weddings took place after *matrimonia clandestina* had been conducted. This suggests that “secular” ceremony confirmed by consummation accounted for a valid marriage (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 253). In the 17th Century, Valvasor could write that “they marry before they marry” (1984 [1689]: 120; my translation A.R.), indicating this praxis to still be in place. Following the Tametsi Decree, a ruling of the Council of Trent on matrimonial law of 1563, the Church assumed the authority over the contraction of marriages in the Slovenian area in the first half of the 17th Century (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 414). In 1783, the State declared marriage to be a civil and contractually sanctioned institution but the law came out of use around the decline of Illyrian Provinces. The Austrian Civil Code of 1811, applicable from 1815 and valid until 1941 in the former Austrian-Hungarian parts of Yugoslavia, defined the Church ceremony as the official marriage form, even though marriage law was at that time already civil. Except for the period between 1856 and 1868, when the Roman Catholics were subject to Canon Law, the ambivalence of combining a civil and a church conception of marriage persisted until the Second World War (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 415). The marriage relationship was legally defined as a secular State institution but religiously defined by as a sacramental relation instituted by the Roman Catholic Church and sanctioned by God.

Meaning of marriage

The end of feudalism and the following crisis of the 1870s and 1880s, the First World War, and the economic crisis in the 1930s induced the population to emigrate from Dolenjska especially to North America and Brazil (Smerdel 1988/90: 47-49, Turk *et al.* 2007: 201). In the area under study on average one unmarried adult went to North America. Other options for children to remain unmarried were the convent for daughters and crafts, trade, military or church service for sons. Particularly the latter option was favoured, for “people want to have sons in church service” (Trdina 1987 [1871]: 374, my translation A.R.). Yet, in the ge-

[1870–1879]); on the studies of the Slovenian ethnologists Helena Ložar-Podlogar (1986, 1988), Gorazd Makarovič (1995, 2008a, 2008b) and Irena Rožman (2007); and on the works of Slovenian legal historian Sergij Vilfan (1979, 1980c, 1980d, 1980e 1996 [1961]).

nealogies recorded, one son in three generation span did so. Therefore, at any moment in time House would have its member in God's service.

Unmarried people were not considered as complete persons. As in other South-east European societies (e.g. Todorova 1993) they remained to be addressed as *fant/dekle*, "boy/girl" or *stric/teta*, "uncle/aunt" (PSb or FSb; see p. 87), throughout their lives. These terms thus designated persons who did not have progeny and hence could not attain the position of the House head. Informants narrated how if a man was already of a marriageable age but had not yet married, village men placed a straw effigy of a bride in front of his house at Shrovetide. Trdina (1987 [1871]: 336) notes that unmarried women received a straw 'groom'. In the different parts of Dolenjska the procession of masks composed of figures epitomizing the main participants of marriage and funeral procession led to the killing of *Kurent*, the Shrovetide figure similar to Zeleni Jurij (footnotes 27, 154), to provide spring, fertility (Kuret 1984: 261-276). If a person until a certain age had not found a marriage partner, (s)he might pray to St. Anton and St. Neža as intercessors for brides and grooms, or "crash into the linden tree" to make the tree bend or leaves to fall down as a sign of an impending marriage (see also Trdina 1987 [1875]: 562), thus appealing to the Christian as well as to non-Christian forces to provide them with a spouse.

The selection of the marriage partner reflected the principles of isogamy and local, religious and ethnic endogamy, principles which guaranteed the reproduction of the social structure (Durkheim 1995 [1912], Lévi-Strauss 1969).

The category of endogamy was marked in terms of religion and ethnicity. Local endogamy did not include the Roma and Uskok¹⁷² (see p. 55) communities settled in the area (Rožman 2007: 143-146). The local population attributed to the Roma immoral behaviour and a generally unsuitable way of life. The Uskok too were perceived as practicing morally disputable economy (see p. 101). In addition, in the 19th Century, neither Orthodox, Greek Catholic, nor Roman Catholic *Vlah* of Žumberk married Podgorje people (Rožman 2007: 143, 155).

172 Uskok family names are found in the urbarial records of Mehovo estate from the 15th Century onward.

The collective memory of Uskok plundering Podgorje in the 16th Century may account for this absence of intermarriages.

The collected data show that village endogamy¹⁷³ was the preferential marriage type and parish endogamy consistently practiced. As my interviewees explained, in the parish all knew one another. One not only shared the parish church, but also the domain where House was located, so that attending to the church service future spouses would meet. From the 19th Century onwards, the marriageable men of the village (*fantovščina*), practiced *vasovanje* singing to the village women eligible for marriage as a form of courtship. They would engage in conflicts with suitors from other villages. Whenever a potential spouse came from a distant village, parents would make inquiries about her/him. Daughters tended to be supervised and constrained in order to maintain the honour of and prevent shame to the family.

Village endogamy resulted in high rates of cognatic inter-marriage. The genealogies collected reveal four types of cousin marriage. Rožman (2007) conducted a survey on ‘marriage strategies’ of the Velike Brusnice parishioners in Podgorje from 1840 to 1945. The most frequent marriages (Diagram 3) were between grandchildren of cousins (Ego marrying his/her PPSbChChCh; Diagram 3a). Then followed marriages between children of cousins and grandchildren of cousins (Ego marrying his/her PPSbChCh or PPSbChChCh; Diagram 3b). Marriages between cousins¹⁷⁴ (Ego marrying PSbCh; Diagram 3c) and marriages of a person and his/her cousin’s child (Ego marrying his/her PSbChCh or PPSbCh Diagram 3d) were rarely contracted (ibid. 148).

173 Village endogamy was prevalent among South Slavs (Todorova 1993: 53).

174 As of 1811, Austrian Civil Code banned marriages between cousins, though, it appears the certain kin distance was observed regardless of the legislation.

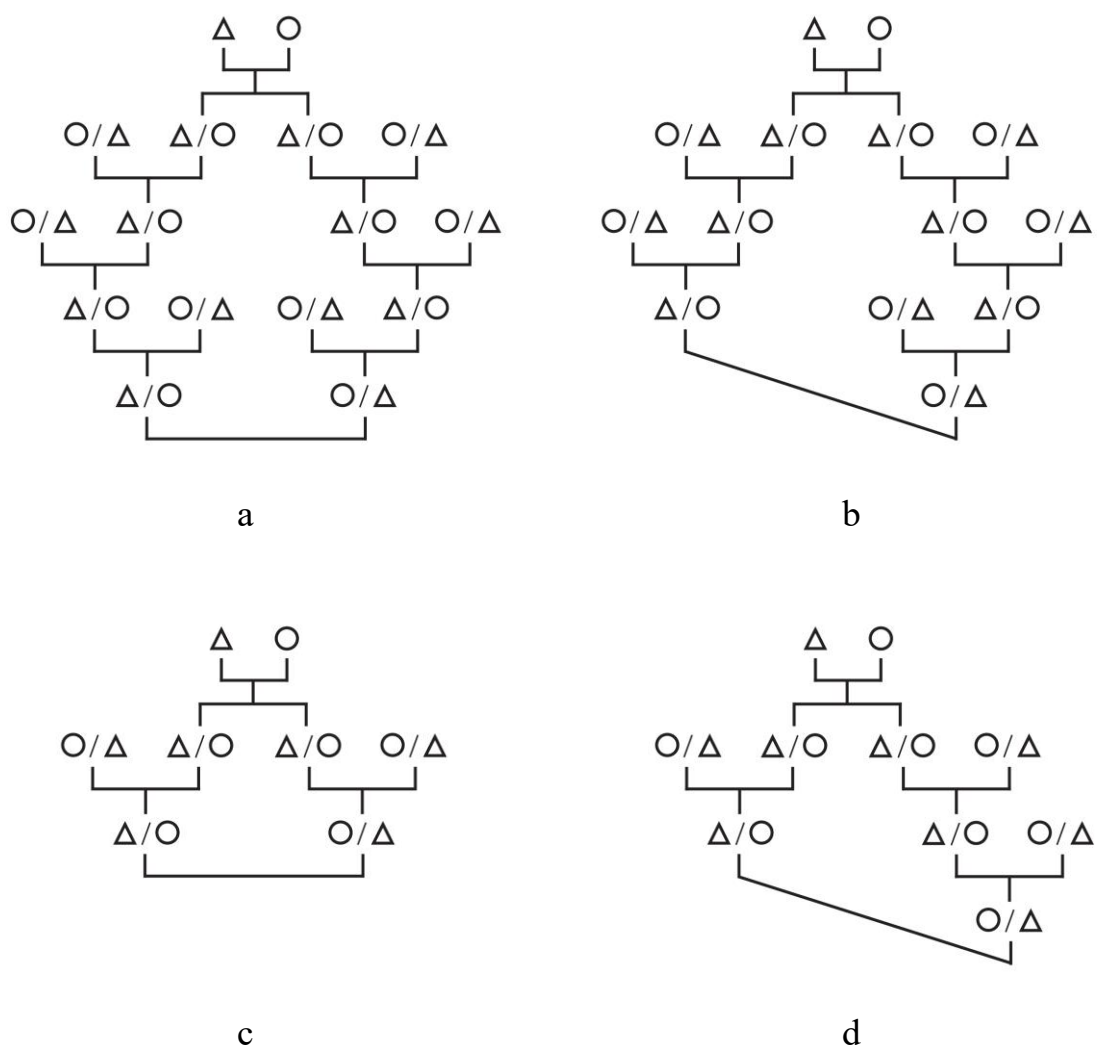


Diagram 3: Kin marriage types

Marriage between consanguineal relatives and local endogamy were subjected to Church approval. Before the wedding the prospective marriage partners visited the rectory to order the banns. This was a notice read out in the parish church on three successive Sundays at the Mass announcing the intended marriage and giving the parishioners the opportunity to object against it (in accordance with the Austrian Civil Code 1811: 69-74). Objections voiced against the wedding usually concerned an unacceptable kin proximity between the future couple¹⁷⁵ or some other moral consideration. If the future bride and groom belonged to different parishes the announcement was made in both of them; the marriage ceremony, however, took place in the bride's parish.

175 Rožman (2007: 147) provides a statement of her informant who needed to acquire the permission of Ljubljana Archbishopry to marry *žlahta*, kin.

According to Rožman (2007: 142), local endogamy was also valued in reference to the location of the prospective spouse's village. The local distinction between "lower" (*spodnje*) and "upper" (*zgornje*) Podgorje entailed a difference in farm sizes and farming conditions. Since both were in favour of lower Podgorje it made this a higher valued community. This suggests that local endogamy was intertwined with class endogamy. Her findings stipulate that the wealthy Houses of upper Podgorje would give priority to isogamy and marry exogamously (Rožman 2007: 146).

The concern of parents was to take care that their children married according to their own class status, especially when an heir of the estate was involved. Isogamy was conceptualised by criteria of manner of sustenance (inn keepers, millers, farmers), size and shape of the estate, respectability of past male heads and origin of their wives, and affinal relations with other Houses. This principle was articulated in terms of "rich marry rich" ("*bogat z bogatim*") and by referring to the quality of the House: "to be from a good House" or "to marry in a good House". This clear tendency towards isogamy – in addition to the preference of hypergamy¹⁷⁶ – suggests that the peasantry adopted the norms of the nobility.

The dowry

These criteria were observed when potential marriage was negotiated. Wealth of the groom's family estate was observed and calculated relative to the dowry bride was to bring in the marriage.

The agreement on marriage should concern the transfers of dowry¹⁷⁷ – the *dota*¹⁷⁸ and the *bala*,¹⁷⁹ trousseau (German *Bridewagon*).

176 Common in Europe from the Middle Ages to the early 20th Century (Goody 1983).

177 By the 14th Century, the feudal lord decided upon the marriage transactions (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 256).

178 From Furlanic *dote* or Ben. It. *dota*; lit. it. *dote* 'what wife brings into the marriage', which developed from lat. *dos*, gen. *dotis* 'dowry, gift', derived from *doH- "to give". Initial meaning "gift, what is given" (Snoj 1997: 99).

179 Bride's paraphernalia and bale of cloth. From It. *balla* 'roll of cloth, big amount'; through Fr. *balle* 'ball, roll of cloth', borrowed from Old Frank. *bala* 'ball' (Snoj 1997: 22).

The *dota* part of the dowry consisted of furniture, wood for construction, cattle or, rarely, money. From the introduction of commodification of land in the 16th and 17th Centuries onwards and with the Land Release Patent of 1848 in particular, land became a common category of dowry. It usually concerned plots located further away from the house or separated from the bride's family estate, for instance a vineyard or forest. If the bride came from afar she would not contribute land as dowry. The *bala* part of the dowry, included household items collected during the bride's life as gifts from female relatives (e.g. dishes, linen, towels, clothes, kitchen utensils, cradle, spinning wheel, paraphernalia for the Extreme Unction), garments she had sewn herself, and food or crops, grain in particular, and a wooden chest.

The person of the bride, however, was valued for her youth, beauty and diligence, whereby the width of her hips – signalling her child-bearing capacity – was observed meticulously. These virtues had a bearing on the size of the *dota*.

Informants maintain that in these negotiations the spokesmen of the groom's endeavoured to exaggerate the extent of their wealth in order to claim a larger dowry.

The marriage agreements recorded from my informants reveal how the *dota* was defined and transferred.

The bride brought the *dota* acquired from her father to her husband. The *dota* was transferred in land or movables the value of which was calculated in money; it was also transferred in money the value of which was calculated in a nominal value of, for example, livestock. *Dota* came under the husband's control – that is, into his possession but not his ownership for the time of his life – hence it was accounted for separately. However, once the couple got children the groom's family claimed the land transferred to it as *dota* knowing that after two generations, the *dota* would be alienated from the bride's family and passed into the ownership of the groom's for good. After her death that *dota* belonged to her children or in their absence to her closest relatives such as parents and siblings.

The same amount of money the groom guaranteed the bride as 'widow's allowance' (*zaženilo*) (cp. the Roman *donatio propter nuptias*) in the case of his death. Even when his wife was not his heiress she was entitled to that. The amount of widow's allowance (*zaženilo*) and of inheritance the bride was entitled to in case of groom's death could be negotiated (see Trdina 1957: 69-70).

Usually, however, he allowed her securities on a part of his property, or insured it with money, in worth corresponding to the *dota*. Upon his earlier death, she thus inherited the equivalence of her *dota*, the *zaženilo* and one third of his assets¹⁸⁰. However, if she would claim accommodation and *usufruct*, as she usually did, the *dota* and *zaženilo* were reduced accordingly. In the absence of children what she had inherited from her husband upon his earlier death passed into the ownership of her family after her own death. The *dota* transferred to the bride by her father thus provided her with a financial security.

Ideally the daughter's share in the inheritance would be handed over in advance by her father in the form of a part of the estate and valuables, so that she could bring that into her marriage as dowry. However, if a couple settled uxorilocally – in the house of a brotherless heiress,¹⁸¹ or when the marriage system collapsed altogether as it was the case of following the emigrations in the late 19th Century and after the First World War the groom was to bring in what was legally defined but locally mocked as *dota*, but no *bala*. Century-long demographic upheavals introduced uxorilocality and hypogamy as the alternative forms of marriage.

An in-marrying man, however was to “bring something” or “bring *dota*,” as locals recall. The latter tended to ridicule the man who “comes to be the young one” (*priti za ta mladega*). The position of in-marrying spouse was generally perceived as unwanted, marked by subordination to and mistrust by the in-laws. The in-marrying spouse would try to bring his in-laws to hand the farmstead over to him if he had not done so already before marriage. Trdina observed in-married spouses as being more entrepreneurial, while father-in-law would keep the major share of the farm-hold for himself until death (1987 [1871]: 388). Legally, the in-marrying spouse – bride or groom – brought in the *dota*. How-

180 If either of them had died and there were no children, the remaining spouse received two thirds, and one third went to the closest deceased's relatives such as parents and siblings. If there were children but the eldest son was under 15 or he was not capable of managing the farm, the widow may have taken the husband's inheritance but given or insured the child's shares. If she did not take over the inheritance, she had a right to manage the farm until the heir's full age.

181 The alternative strategy of heirship characteristic of Asia and Eastern Mediterranean (Goody 1990).

ever, if the in-marrying groom became the possessor of the property of his wife's father he also assumed his wife's father's role of the head of the House.¹⁸² The *dota* brought in by an in-marrying groom was calculated, defined and distributed as in the case of an in-marrying woman. Except that in the case of a failed uxori-local marriage the wife was granted a life-long *habitatio* in the house. This was one of rare occasions for a joint marriage and inheritance contract to be made. The wife's father decided also on the distribution of the *usus* claims and the property among the remaining heirs, which the son-in-law was to execute. In both cases the transfer thus was a trans-generational transfer.

Marriage contracts did not specify any gift or prestation presented by the groom's House to the bride's House. The bride received her groom's last name and became associated with his House name. Upon the marriage of its own children the House as a whole became related to the Houses of these children's spouses. Such relationships contributed to the – positive or negative – value of the House. So when a daughter married up the bride's House would be proud; marrying down would bring shame on her House of birth.

The value assigned to the gift of the *dota*, the *bala* and the bride herself as embodying the fecundity and perishability of human life¹⁸³ was contrasted with the counter gift of reputation – for the bride's House of permanent value. The transactions between the groom's House and bride's House displayed non-equivalence model of exchange, according to which the gifts presented and reciprocated were perceived to embody distinct immaterial values (Platenkamp 2006, 2013c).

These rules of inheritance, marriage contracts with servitude, and *dota* – payouts, in the 19th and in the first half of 20th Century affected the social structure¹⁸⁴ (Vilfan 1980e: 466). The continuous transfers of *dota* prestations led to a loss of wealth to the House. Strategies pursued to prevent the estate from decreasing in size were the close kin marriages specified above (see p. 150).

182 Which was commonly the case in Podgorje in the 19th Century (see also footnote 111).

183 There are numerous proverbs on transience of the *dota* (see also e.g. Vilfan 1944: 229).

184 By burdening farms with *usufruct* and payouts, as well as by mobilization of population, increased labour force, families and illegitimate births, urbanisation and emigration (Vilfan 1980e: 466).

These strategies were concerned with marrying back into a line of descent in order to return the *dota* to that line, which had left it through exogamous marriages in previous generations.

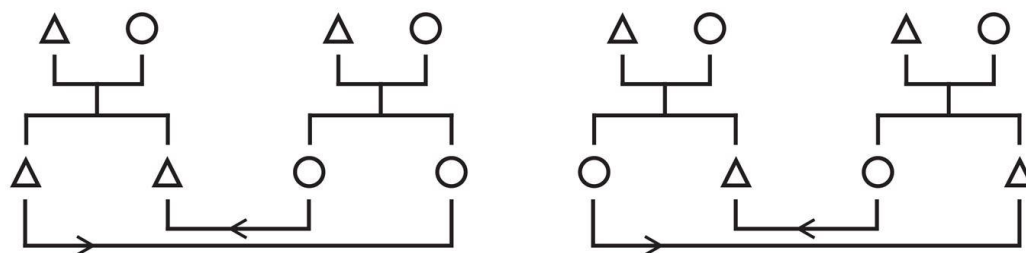


Diagram 4: Double marriage (*dvojna poroka*) or exchange (*mena*)

“Chain kin marriages [Diagram: 3] and double marriages [Diagram 4]” (Rožman 2007: 148) maintained the balance of property and affected House and affinal relations. “[W]hat the grandmother took from home at marriage was brought back by her granddaughter by marrying her grandmother’s grandnephew” (Rožman 2007: 148; my translation A.R.). According to the marriage register data, the rate of kin marriages had risen in the second half of the 19th Century (*ibid.* 148).¹⁸⁵ We can only speculate on the impact of the land release after which transformed land into dowry on the social structure of Podgorje.

The marriage ritual

The complete marriage ritual consisted of five to six sections. The first was the betrothal (*zaroka*), initiated by a visit (*ogledi*) by the future groom’s family to the bride’s house¹⁸⁶ to discuss various conditions. When an agreement had been reached it was concluded by signing the marriage contract (*ženitna pogodba*) and ordering the banns in the church to announce the intended marriage.

This paved the way for the “decorating evening” (*krancel večer*), designating the erecting by the villagers of the maypoles in front of both houses.

¹⁸⁵ This was a general trend in the European countries at that time (Segalen 1991: 88-114).

¹⁸⁶ Ložar-Podlogar (1986: 230) also mentions the possibility of the future heiress to pay the visit.

Then followed the phases called the ‘Fake Bride’ (*lažna nevesta*) and ‘the Barrier’ (*šranga*). The next step was the church ceremony, designated as wedding (*poroka*), and ensuing marriage ‘feast’ (*ohcet* or *svatba*). A communal meal (*kepe*) one week afterwards concluded the series of ritual activities.

As such the marriage represented an initialisation process in the sense analysed by van Gennep (1960) and Turner (1969).

The betrothal marked the separation of the prospective grooms from their previous status. The subsequent phases signal a transition; whereas the official ceremonies of the feast and post-marital meals signify the incorporation and the marriage partners’ assumption of a new status.

Betrothal

The betrothal (*zaroka*) resulted from a decision reached by two Houses to engage in a marriage relation between them. From the mid-18th until the mid-19th Century such a decision had to be confirmed by the seigneurial lord. The Roman Catholic precept dating back to the 12th Century, that the marriage relationship rests upon the ‘free will’ of the bridal couple sanctioned by God (Duby 1991: 4-5, 1994: 16-17), was not decisive (Vilfan 1996 [1961]: 253). The feudal lords’ right to consent to the wedding served inter alia to prevent the loss of servants from seigneurial estates, an idea that Vilfan (1980c: 308, 348), traces back to the 9th Century.¹⁸⁷ A further reason was to prevent marriages of people without the means to support themselves. This in fact meant that only those were allowed to marry who would succeed to the headship of a House, thus attain the lifelong *usufruct* on the farm hold by transferring *laudemium*¹⁸⁸, that is

187 The data on “dominion exogamy” (French *formariage*) until the 13th Century are scarce.

It appears the mother remained under her lord of origin, while children, in spite of Austrian and Bavarian *partus ventrem sequitur*, most likely followed the father (Vilfan 1980c: 308). In case more than one seigneurie owned land in one village or if the land of seigneuries was intertwined, the lords concluded mutual agreements on how to act in such cases; commonly the first child belonged to the father and all the next interchangeably to the mother and father (Vilfan 1980c: 309).

188 It amounted up to 15 per cent of the farm value (Blaznik 1980: 258). If the farm was in the process of being purchased by the farmer, 15-100 per cent of the value was to be paid at once or each succeeding head had to pay a certain amount (Blaznik 1980: 258).

a due paid in case of succession to the headship through inheritance to the lord. After 1848, marriage was officially made possible for everyone. Yet, from 1848 until 1941 the authorities limited the marriages of farmhands by imposing severe conditions; the latter therefore mostly stayed unmarried. In contrast, the rural proletariat or semi-proletariat was allowed to marry (Vilfan 1980d: 367). In 1879, it was reported (Trdina 1987 [1879]: 320-321; my translation A.R.) that “(e)ver since everyone may marry, [...] the poor who have loved each other for so many years now walk down the altar. [...] The priest clearly announces whether it is a farmhand or a proletarian who marries.”

The first step of in the process of betrothal was called “viewing” (*ogledi*), referring to a visit the prospective groom’s party¹⁸⁹ to the bride’s house, each party being led by an “elderly head” (*starešina*) – the future honour attendant, usually a respectable male relative. They were to negotiate a decision about the marriage pursued. The agreement should concern the transfers of dowry. Then, bride’s party made a return visit to investigate the groom’s estate.

Once agreement had been reached it was concluded by the *pismo delati*, literally “making the letter”. This referred to a visit by the future couple, both fathers and elderly heads to the seigneurial seat – after 1848, the notary – to sign the marriage contract (*ženitna pogodba*).¹⁹⁰ The costs were paid by the groom and his parents (Trdina 1987 [1877]: 753).

Having signed the marriage contract, the future marriage partners visited the rectory to order the banns (see p. 150).

In the next phase of the marriage ritual the groom with his comrade, *tovariš* or *družo*, usually his brother (Ložar-Podlogar 2004a: 100), and the bride with her

189 In case of widowers, disabled women and older people, the so-called matchmakers intervened for two people to get married. They were usually cattle brokers, traveling artisans, salesmen, also musicians or priests (Krašovec 1998: 11). They needed to be persuasive, have links and to be aware of the wealth status of both parties. Everyone knew who to turn to when the situation occurred. They were not paid for their services. Sometimes they also played a role of best men in the marriage.

190 The groom gave a deposit to the bride or to her parents. If she changed her mind about the marriage she had to pay back the double the amount; if he changed his mind, she would keep the money (Ložar-Podlogar 1986: 233).

bridesmaid, *družica*¹⁹¹ chosen among her unmarried friends, invited guests to the wedding. Ideally, only married consanguineal and affinal relatives mainly up to the third so-called *koleno*, “knee,” referring to the degree of kin relation,¹⁹² and their spouses (i.e. P, PP, Sb, SbSp, PSb, PSbSp) as well as the baptismal godparents and confirmation sponsors were invited. Neighbours and friends would also be invited, depending on the wealth of both sides (Ložar-Podlogar 1988: 302). The guests would contribute foodstuffs for the marriage feast (see also *ibid*). The future spouses, each separately, would also visit all the houses in the village to say goodbye, bringing them wine and bread (Trdina 1987 [1879]: 16).

Decorating Evening

Marriages usually took place in the pre-shrovetide time, that is, in the period between the New Year and Ash Wednesday.¹⁹³ It was thus the liturgical year, corresponding to the agricultural year, that set the time of marriage ceremonies. Marriage commenced on Monday or Tuesday in order to end by the Friday Fast.

The day before the wedding, the bride and groom each celebrated a “decorating evening” (*krancel večer*)¹⁹⁴, a farewell from their unmarried status (*ledig stan*, from German *ledig*). It was performed in the village by their unmarried relatives and co-villagers. Informants recall how each guest presented a gift to the future bride or groom according to his/her resources: cutlery, plates, tea or chicory coffee cups, sheets all items that at that time were considered luxurious and expensive. Unmarried village women gathered in the yard of the house of

191 Ložar-Podlogar (1988: 302) notes that if the bride was not a virgin or was a widow she had a woman called “aunt” (*teta*) accompanying her (cp. Valvasor (1984 [1689]: 120).

192 The kinship *koleno* between two persons is calculated from one person (up) to these persons’ common ancestor and then (down) to the other person.

193 Krašovec (1998: 10) names two cases of reasons, the religious - Advent period from St. Martin’s day until Christmas, festive events between Christmas and New Year and pre-easter fasting-and economic ones-soil resting fallow until Easter, and pig slaughter already having taken place. In case of poor season, there were less marriages (see e.g. Trdina 1987 [1877]: 753).

194 In some villages groom’s celebration was designated as bachelor party (*fantovščina*).

the spouse in question to prepare decorations for the house entrance and the maypole (*mlaj*); unmarried men headed for the woods of the bride's/groom's House to collect the maypole. Ideally, in the case of virilocal postmarital residence a maypole¹⁹⁵ of 20 meters or more, was to be erected for the groom on the appropriate spot in the village where it remained for up to one month. But in the first half of the 20th Century such poles were an exception: two shorter maypoles usually were set up in front the groom's house instead. At the entrance of the bride's house, similarly, two little maypoles¹⁹⁶ with a board attached between them were erected. At the side facing the house an inscription on the board read "God live [give life to] groom and bride" (*Bog živi ženina in nevesto*) whereas the side facing the road welcomed the wedding guests (*dobrodošli svatje*). Unmarried village women presented the bride with a wedding bouquet.

The gift of setting up maypoles by the young unmarried villagers was rewarded upon their own future marriage with the same prestation. It thus represented a delayed equivalence of reciprocity (Platenkamp 2013c: 4). The prestation of erecting the maypole renewed the relationship between the spouse' House and the village community as a whole, but as part of the rite of passage, it signified the change of the spouse's status. Thus, the spouse was released from his own obligation of making this prestation in the future. Acting as a collective giver of this prestation the community of unmarried men ritually enacted the relationship between the spouse and God as the source of blessing represented by the maypoles in a transitive chain of transfers across the generations of marriageable people.

195 Its height depended on the groom's age.

196 Makarovič (2008a) describes the practice of setting the maypoles from their emergence in Europe in the 13th Century and in the Slovenian area in the 17th Century in particular. As a symbol of observance of personal and religious celebrations maypoles were first associated with nobility and the Church and were expressive of the right to dispose of the forest. In the mid-19th Century, the practice entered Slovenian rural population and gained also local and national meanings. The custom of victory theft or taking down the other village's maypole and protecting one's own maypole contribute to creating group consciousness (Makarovič 2008a: 38). Kuret (1965: 298), conversely, argues the pre-Christian origin of maypoles as well as of *fantovščina*.

Fake Bride

On the morning of the marriage, the bride's and the groom's party, each headed by honour attendant gathered for a communal meal at their respective houses. The groom was possibly accompanied by a comrade and the bride by her bridesmaid.¹⁹⁷ In this case, they were the only unmarried young persons attending the marriage and acted as bride's and groom's doubles.

After a communal meal, the groom's party departed for the bride's house accompanied by an accordion player. At their arrival, they found the house closed as if no-one was home. And when the bride's father opened the door, he feigned surprise at seeing them there. A play followed, in which the bride's father and the groom's best man negotiated the marriage once again, in the course of which up to three "fake brides" (*lažna nevesta*), one after the other, came out of the house.¹⁹⁸ These "brides" acted persistently, but since the groom kept on rejecting them, the true bride came out. Having these tasks successfully completed, they were offered a meal and the bride's father gave his blessing to proceed with the official ceremony. The bride said farewell to her parents and siblings and asked them for their forgiveness.

The Fake Bride as a 'show of reluctance' indicated daughter's final departure from her natal home, suggested by the obligatory intense crying at the farewell. At an analytical level, this act signals the basic opposition between consanguinity and affinity as modes of social and emotional relatedness. Indeed, someone's gaining a spouse/child-in-law is someone else's losing a child. Further, the Fake Bride may also have indicated the ritual 'overruling' of individual people's emotional interests, imposing social interests on individual ones.

197 According to Ložar-Podlogar (2004c: 578), if the comrade acted as groom's best man there was only one *starešina*, commonly groom's godfather, leading the marriage ritual. In this case the wife of *starešina* acted as *starešinka* or *teta* of the bride (*ibid*). However, according to my informants, the roles were assigned as defined above.

198 According to Valvasor an old woman, *teta* (an unmarried sister of the bride's father) and bridesmaid (Valvasor 1984 [1689]: 120-121).

Šranga

If the bride married into another parish, the village men set up a border or a fence made of rope or chain and wood barring the street, which was called *šranga*¹⁹⁹ (from German *Schranke*). The cortège could not continue to the official marriage ceremony. The village men acted as if they were fully occupied and ignored the cortège. Then, they announced the damage to be caused to them if a bride left the village; they listed their merits and emphasised their value of having protected the bride since her birth. These merits had to be converted into sums of money to be paid as ransom. In some parishes in west Podgorje, this sum was designated as “*tolar* for the bride”. *Tolar* was the Austrian and German term for a big silver bullion coin *Thaler*, a store of value minted between the 16th and the 19th Century (Bajec *et al.* 1994: 1405). The groom had to pay such *tolar* to the village men to set his bride free and take her out of the village²⁰⁰. Whereas this *šranga* was enacted following a standard ritual scenario, tensions between the groom’s party and his bride’s villagers²⁰¹ were nevertheless there, indicating that the transaction was in fact competitive.

Now the cortège, “accompanied by musicians proceed[ed] to the church on foot” (Valvasor 1984 [1689]: 121), while the main actors sat on the *Federwagen* driven by its owner, usually a co-villager, throwing sweets to the observing bystanders. The transportation service was paid for by the groom.

The *šranga* barrier erected at the village border signified a boundary of the parish as an endogamous community. Village exogamy would compromise its “matrimonial equilibrium” (Lévi-Strauss 1969: 49). This might account for the custom of demanding the *tolar* ransom. According to Ložar-Podlogar (1988: 310), the sum to be paid as *šranga* corresponded to the value of the *bala*, expressing the value embodied in the bride, to which the villagers as her guardi-

199 The term also designated a road block where the road toll (by 1848 maintained by *tlaka* by the subjects of the respective seigneurie) was to be paid.

200 If the groom did not want to pay or avoided *šranga* that meant shame for the couple, but mainly for the bride's House. Ložar-Podlogar (2004d: 613) adds that the villagers “burn the trash, feathers, cloths, so that there is smoke and smell [...]”.

201 According to Krašovec (1998: 37), it was about ransom, show and the reputation of the village men, their unwritten right.

ans had contributed. Hence, they claimed a restitution for this collective prestation by demanding the replacement in money of the immaterial value contained in the *bala*.

The collective social task of protecting a village bride was sanctioned by the “barrier” of the village. Prestation, that contributed to the shaping of the bride as a socially valued person, was converted into a monetary value. This indicates a non-equivalent exchange of contrasting immaterial values characteristic of ‘bride price’ (Platenkamp 2013c: 4-5). The value assigned to the bride as a living, fecund, yet mortal being, was transformed into prestigious and imperishable value of money represented in the money iconography.

The marriage feast

The church marriage ceremony comprised of the marriage ritual acts of joining hands and wine drinking by the bride and the groom, exchanging rings, and possibly of the Mass. The couple also exchanged rings provided by the groom. The ceremony was attended by the future married couple, its honour attendants with their spouses, the comrade, the brides-maid and few members of both parties. The data collected suggest that the parents of the couple usually did not take part in the ceremony. Trdina also observed how “only five couples” attended the service “two with him [groom] and two with her [bride]” (1987 [1870]: 21; my translation A.R.). This indicates a limited role of the Church in marriage rituals and suggests that the church ceremony bore legal meaning principally.

After the church ceremony, paid by his honour attendant, the bride’s party and the groom accompanied by the immediate members of his party only, that is his honour attendant, his comrade and, usually, his brothers and sisters, went to the house of the bride if she was to settle virilocally. There, the first part of the marriage feast was to be celebrated. This could last up to two days, depending on the wealth of the respective families. The second part of the marriage feast was celebrated in the house of the groom. This was attended by the groom’s party and the immediate members of bride's party. This second feast should be as lavish as the first in the abundance of food served in several courses and in the dances performed. The food was contributed and prepared by neighbours

and relatives under the house head's wife's supervision. In case of uxori-local postmarital settlement, the order of two feasts was reversed. It is remarkable that the groom's and the bride's parties celebrated separately and did not join in a communal meal.

Valvasor describes how the comrade put the loafs of flat bread on display that had been given by the most eminent guests in demonstrations of generosity. After some discussion, he agreed to hand them over to the honour attendant, who cut them in smaller pieces (Valvasor (1984 [1689]: 121). The contributions of food had a markedly competitive character (see also Orel 1944: 296). This competitive transfer of gifts from the guests to the newlyweds thus served to re-establish a ranking order among relatives. According to my informants, there was no such act. Whereas the leading role honour attendant was discerned throughout the feast, guests brought foodstuff and other gifts to the house prior to the wedding leaving them at the appointed place usually next to the oven and public presentation of the gifts and their givers did not take place. In such a manner, the differences between the relatives were suppressed.

The games played during these celebrations were competitive. They expressed rivalry between the wedding participants and the village. Young village men designated as *oglarji* or *postopavci*, and other village people joined in after midnight – uninvited but expected – and should to be offered food and drink. Villagers came dressed as guiser figures (*maškare*) and “drove in the camel” – the shrove animal figure in Dolenjska. Thereupon the driver endeavoured to “sell the camel” by announcing its excellent qualities, while the animal acted unpredictably. The groom and his best man should buy the camel. My informants could not explain the meaning²⁰².

202 In contrast, Valvasor mentions how a musician changed to undistinguished clothes and started selling an ox which turned into a quarrel (1984 [1689]: 121). Krašovec (1998: 58) indicated a possibility provided by ethnologists Kuret and Petruj that the camel was originally a doe: a cult animal among the Celts and Japods. It may have been a descendant of the indigenous romanised cervula in the south-eastern part of the Roman Norikum, which under the influence of the Ottoman attacks and the Uskok arrival in the 15th and 16th Centuries became replaced by the camel. Kuret (1965: 72) draws the same conclusion.

Once the first feast had come to an end the wedding guests were to contribute to the main cook and to the musician. Valvasor described how after the final dish was served, the cook came to ask for *popotnica*, travel ratio. Each guest contributed what he/she found appropriate (1984 [1689]: 121-122). According to my informants the cook asked for the musician and *vice versa* under the pretence of broken accordion respectively casserole. Finally, each wedding guest received food to take home as *šajdezen* (from German *Scheideessen*).

Next, the second part of the wedding feast followed at the house where the couple would take up residence. This second feast was considered the main one. At the groom's house the bride was welcomed by her mother-in-law presenting her with a slice of bread saying that she should do the same for her from now on. The return gift, according to my informants were clothes for her groom's parents and according to Ložar-Podlogar (1988: 324) clothes for the groom's mother and his sisters. These acts signalled that the daughter-in-law had attended the position of the head's wife (see also Orel 1944: 292). In case of uxorilocal postmarital settlement, the groom was welcomed by his mother-in-law.

Then the feast continued with communal meal, joint dances and other actions identical as at the first feast.

At the end of the second feast, those present would "donate for the garland" (*darovati v krancelj*). Usually, the groom would remove the garland from the bride's head. Then, those gathered would put the money on a plate covered with a white cloth, rendering each prestation anonymous. The total amount, however, was revealed and given to the bride. For the impermanent value of her virginity she received the immortal value of money.

The marriage feast reflected different sets of exchanges. The practices of marital exchanges examined here express above all rivalry and competition. They correspond to what Mauss identified as "total services of an agonistic type" (Mauss 2000 [1925]: 7). Each party celebrating by themselves, a feast on a comparable scale and involving the same type of prestations, the groom's and the bride's parties signalled their relationship to be highly competitive. An equivalence model of exchange governed these celebrations – both parties endeavouring to articulate their social worth in terms of the same value.

In contrast to the competitive character of the relation between the two Houses, by means of certain avoidance of gift giving by the relatives of the same party within each single celebration ranking was subordinated to the expressing unity of relatives.

The food stuffs contributed by villagers to each feast celebrated were part of a series of ongoing long-term exchanges of gifts of equivalent immaterial value. These connected the village Houses to one another in ‘delayed reciprocity’ (Platenkamp 2013c: 4). Their gifts as those of the invited relatives were reciprocated in the form of the food (*šajdezen*) in acknowledgement and as confirmation of the future exchanges between these Houses.

The additional gifts exchanged at the second feast accomplished the initiation of the bride as the new member of the House who would secure its continuation and attain to its headship. This rendered the second part of the wedding feast hierarchically higher valued than the first one.

“Lumps”

The final part of the marriage ritual was called “lumps” (*kepe*). Its performance confirmed the transfer of fertility in the context of marriage. One week after the marriage had been concluded the groom, the bride and their respective parties including both parental couples joined in a communal meal at the bride’s house. During the time between the marriage ceremony and the ‘lumps’ the bride was not allowed to visit her house of origin.²⁰³ On this occasion it became evident how food and marriage were strictly regulated and entwined.

The *bala* was transferred on this day (see also Makarovič 1975: 47) although ideally it should be transferred a day or two before the wedding. There are different even contradictory data about the way in which the “*bala* was driven” (*peljati bala*). Ložar-Podlogar who gathered data in the 1970s, noted that even her eldest informants had rarely experienced the proper *bala* transfer themselves but provided her with information as it was passed down to them (1988: 304-305). The information transmitted commonly involved a “wealthy bride”

203 The reason is not acknowledged.

(*bogata nevesta*) marrying exogamously. In this case, the *bala* objects should be loaded on three carriages in a proper order and transported to the groom's house prior to the wedding by his party. The *bala* transfer met the resistance enacted by the bride's house and by the village community similar to the ones performed for the bride (described earlier). In practice, such ideal ritualised transfer occurred rarely. My informants explain how there was nothing "to drive". They describe that after the joint meal, the couple and his party departed from her origin house with the *bala* or the members her house of origin and the villagers transferred the *bala* to the groom's house by themselves.

According to my informants this ritual of *kepe*, similar to the post-burial ceremony of *sedmina* (see p. 138), represented a confirmation of marriage by jointly consuming the food left from the marriage feast. The final part of the marriage ritual was designated as the act of "beating the lumps". This was the final step in the process by which the soil obtained fertility. Fallow land needed to be tilled but left unsown for a certain period to render it fertile. Only after the lumps had been beaten the land could be sown. Likewise, only after the two parties joined in a communal meal at the house of the home-leaving child, *kepe*, marriage became the union between husband and wife in which children were to be born.

Conclusion

The exchanges of gifts enacted in the marriage ritual reflect values governing the relations between the House of the groom and that of the bride. These in turn express values attached to a person's House and village community. The analysis of gifts transferred between the groom's House and the bride's House in the context of marriage uncovered the values attached to these affinal relations. In the marriage ritual gift exchanges between the groom's House and the bride's House are conspicuously absent. Instead the emphasis is on a bride obtaining membership in a new House.

Both parties enter into a relationship based on each party participating in an origin relationship of which the other party is the guardian and which is represented in the gift transferred. The relative valuation of the gift and the counter gift determines the contextual valuations of the exchange relationship.

The practices of marital exchanges examined here express above all rivalry and competition and suggest the absence an ideology of affinity between the

bride's House and groom's House²⁰⁴. The House in Podgorje is construed as a set or relations of patrilineal descent, not as a group the continuity of which depends on its affinal alliance relations – modelled on the male/female contrasts – with other groups.

Parents-in-law may take care of their grandchildren but have no bearing upon the continuity of the House of their children-in-law. Such a relative devaluation of affinal ties is further supported by philological evidence (see Part One). The analysis of transactions performed on the occasion of marriage demonstrates that these do not valorise the affinal relations between the Houses, but serve to reproduce the relations between the Houses of the own village, hence the village community as a whole. These transactions are part of the continuous exchanges that confirm the membership of the Houses in the village community, a community that is collectively responsible for its own social reproduction. Hence the idea that a village exogamous marriage, valued in its own right, would be potentially damaging for the bride's village reproduction.

Conclusions from Part Two

According to the general assumptions, the institution of predominantly territorial seigneuries in the Slovenian settlement area in the 10th and 11th Centuries and the parallel colonisation process (Vilfan 1980c: 300) led to the transformation of the pre-feudal Old Slovenian society founded on village community, *sošeska* and elder head, *župan* governing territorial and legal community, *župa*. In the time period from the 9th Century to 1945 addressed in this chapter, however, this process had not yet been concluded.

In this framework, the land cultivated by two-field crop rotations was turned into the feudal Germano-Frankish type' of *huba* (German *Hufe*; cf. English *hide*) system. This was based on triennial fallow rotation, subject to *župan*, by now the lower official of seigneury. Merging into the feudal system the position of the Old Slovenians became defined relative to their lords and the church. These institutions provided the local population with its social and religious identity.

204 Similarly, the Arabian and Chinese systems devalue affinity. Not alienating children strengthens ones' own group and the role of land in it (see Goody 1990: 21-160, 361-382).

The exchanges conducted in the rural communities of west Podgorje making up their social structure reflect principles characteristic of a pre-modern ideology. Examining the indigenous notion of ‘the House’, and analysing in synchronic and diachronic perspective the exchange practices by which relationships are constructed, maintained, re-constructed and terminated have revealed that the social person is composed of different constituent aspects. On the basis of its birth order and sex a new-born child was given a name that determined and communicated its future position as a House member. The individual person occupied a position subordinate to that of the community, but integral to the social order. As such, an individual person was neither complete in and of him/herself, nor was his/her individuality absolute. To a considerable degree a person’s identity derived from his/her belonging to a House, a social category pre-existing in time and space.

In the life cycle rituals and the transmission of immaterial and material property these brought about, the relations between the dead and the living were manifest. All exchanges, both those between the generations and those made on the occasion of marriage all aimed at safeguarding the immaterial and material property of the House. In this manner, the House was established and perpetuated under the safekeeping of its head. He should implement the will of his predecessor and endeavoured to impose his own will before his death, thus determining the position of his House’s members by setting out their duties and rights.

The House acted as a *personne morale*. It provided its members with their respective social identities, their status, and their connection with an origin projected in the past and in the land. The own House claimed a relative autonomy for itself and valued itself higher than its relations with other Houses composing the village community. Whereas the members of the House did exchange gifts with those of other Houses these exchanges were conducted between individual village people – women and men, married and unmarried neighbours – serving their own needs, not those of the village community as a whole.

At one other level, however, the village church represented such an overall community. It consisted of all those Houses engaged in the communication and ritual exchanges with God. But at the trans-local, supra-village level it was the land, “owning the people” (Coppet 1985), that encompassed all these partial identities into the notion of Podgorje people.

PART THREE: The Socialist Yugoslavia: 1945 – 1991

Chapter 6: Political structure

In the pre-modern Slovenian society discussed above the politics were grounded in the relation between the temporal and the divine ruler. The Dumontian relation between hierarchical holism and egalitarian individualism becomes relevant as after the Second World War modernity in its different aspects arrives to Slovenia.

In the second half of the 20th Century, the prevailing concepts of power and authority, were to undergo an incisive change in the framework of the second Yugoslav polity. This change reflects the transformation of the current political ideology into a Marxist conceptualisation of the State. This change was initiated by the political processes initiated during the World War II (see p. 68) by the newly formed authorities. The latter implemented them immediately after the war by liquidating real and presumed collaborators and opponents of the Partisan movement, all of which constituted the so-called political phase of the revolution. Taking over the rule and implementation of the Soviet model was restricted by the Tito-Šubašić Agreement (Treaty of Vis) and the Yalta Conference. These granted the Yugoslav Republic international political recognition on the condition that political pluralism be implemented (Gabrič 2005b: 845). The Popular Front (*Ljudska fronta*), an organisation of various interest groups and parties under communist leadership (Štih *et al.* 2008: 445), orchestrated its victory in the following elections so as to establish the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Thereafter the Communist Party of Yugoslavia led the politics of 'the building' of an administrative socialism (Luthar *et al.* 2013: 441) establishing the 'public ownership of the means of production'. In accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory, and – from the early 1950s onwards – by consistently reproducing the 'Soviet model' promoted by advocating the values of 'brotherhood' and 'unity' (Štih *et al.* 2008: 451, 445), the political phase of the revolution was to be followed by its economic phase. The latter was based on the implementation of five-year economic plans, foreseeing the nationalisation in the non-agricultural sector, the abolition of private property and the creation

of state property – by the ‘liquidation of capitalist elements’, and the collectivisation of agriculture. It aimed at abolishing the peasantry as a social class in order to realise, first, a socialist society, and eventually, a communist one. Yet, the discrepancy between the declared norms and the social reality in fact led to a milder form of the Soviet model (Makarovič 1995: 303). This will be referred to as ‘socialism’.

The legitimacy of the new authority was promoted by forging a Yugoslav Monetary Union, introducing the Yugoslav Dinar. The ideological values of the new regime, ‘brotherhood’ and ‘unity’, were communicated and promoted by a partisan and ‘proletarian’ iconography printed on the Dinar bank notes and coins. After Tito’s death, his image was imprinted on these as well. The name of the currency – Dinar – was chosen to signify the continuity of the Yugoslav State from the 1918 onwards (Blagojević 1975: 130). In 1945, the monetary reform was carried out introducing this official currency of the new State and establishing the exchange rates with foreign currencies. During the Second World War in Slovenia, several different currencies circulated. The main ones were three of the German, Italian and Hungarian occupiers’ (Marke, Lira and Pengö) and two Slovenian currencies (Rupnik’s Bon and Lyrian Bon, collaborationist and partisan vouchers respectively) (Čepič 1984: 321). In Slovenia, the exchange rate was published in the Official Gazette of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia issued on June 26, 1945. The exchange of foreign currencies for Dinar was possible during the ten days between June 30 to July 9, 1945 (Čepič 1984: 334). The adoption of the Dinar required fixing prices for industrial products above their market value, and for agricultural produce under their market value. Such monetary policy enabled investments in the non-agricultural sectors and the subsequent economic development (Čepič 2005d: 842).

The new political system brought about a new form of State polity defined in the first Constitution of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia. It was ratified by the Constituent Assembly in Belgrade on January 31, 1946. Article 1 of the Constitution defined this polity as a “federal people’s state, republican in form, a community of peoples with equal rights, who on the basis of the right to self-determination, including the right to secession, have expressed their will to live together in a federal state” (Official Gazette of the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 10-54/1946; my translation A.R.). As a member of the United Nations, Yugoslavia henceforward formally acknowledged the

principle of human rights as codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, and the subsequent two international treaties on economic, social and cultural rights pertaining to civil and political rights as well. Article 24 of the Constitution stated that: “[w]omen have equal rights with men in all fields of state, economic and social-political life.” Article 25 of the Constitution subscribed to the separation of Church and State, on which the notion of the modern State and that of religious freedom are grounded. The Constitution further declared “people’s property” as the main foundation of the State and its national economy while it also guaranteed private property. It also subscribed to liberal principles such as religious freedom, freedom of the press, speech and association which, however, found their way into practice only partially. The State organisation distinguished between the executive, legislative and judicial powers within the unity of the State Government; the judicial authority was formally separate from the Government yet a Constitutional Court was not set up (Gabrič 2005f: 859). As the supreme State body and representative of popular sovereignty, the single party Federal People’s Assembly was comprised of two Chambers: delegates to the Federal Chamber were elected by the entire electorate, while the republics as federal Units elected their representatives to the Chamber of Nationalities (Čepič 2005h: 939). The executive power lay in the hands of the Federal Government, led by Josip Broz Tito. Issues of essential importance to the State were deliberated and decided upon by the Politburo of the Communist Party (Gabrič 2005b: 846). Therefore, political and state authorities were entangled. Each time during the forty-five years of the Second Yugoslavia that the relationships between the Church and the State and between the State and its constitutive parts were modified, such changes found their expression in the amended or an altogether new Constitution.

As the Republics were subordinate to the Federation, the individual rights of Yugoslav citizens were subordinated to the State’s interests. Slovenia, having partially recuperated its original territory which it had lost after World War I²⁰⁵,

205 According to the London Treaty of 1915 and the Rapal Treaty of 1920, the territory on the west side part became part of Italy (Čepič 2005a: 813). However, the territorial republic borders remained inconsistent with ethnic borders, leaving the Slovenian ethnic minority in the neighbouring states of Italy, Austria and Hungary (Čepič 2005a: 813-

acquired the official legal political status as one of six Republics²⁰⁶ of the Federal Yugoslav State. In 1947, it had adopted a Constitution of its own (Official Gazette of the People's Republic of Slovenia, No. 4A-20/1947) and a proper political organisation, both copied from these institutions as the Federal level²⁰⁷. Hence, the ideas entailed in the so-called "Slovenian national question" acquired their fullest realisation since their first articulation at the end of the 19th Century. In spite of being part of a Federal State the Slovenian language as a defining element of Slovenian nationalism remained, as in the pre-war Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the language of administration, courts, education and public communication within the Republic of Slovenia. Beyond these contexts, however, it was irrelevant. The Serbo-Croat language was widely accepted in Slovenia as the Yugoslav *lingua franca* (Štih *et al.* 2008: 451, 455). The power of the State and the Communist efforts to strengthen that were clearly expressed in their language policy. The Federal and Republic Constitutions explicitly legalised the use of the different languages and their equal status in courts, yet Serbo-Croat was the "language of command and instruction in an army" that "was organised on a supranational and extraterritorial basis" (Štih *et al.* 2008: 445), as it was employed in the communication with and within the Federal administrative and political bodies (*ibid.*). Nationalism in particular was intentionally neglected by the authorities (Gabrič 2005a: 833).

816). On the other hand, the Slovenian constitutions acknowledged the according status to Italians and Hungarians in Slovenia (Čepič 2005b: 822).

206 The constituent six Socialist Republics and two Socialist Autonomous Provinces that made up the country were the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Socialist Republic of Croatia, Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Socialist Republic of Montenegro, Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, which after 1974 were largely equal to the other members of the federation.

207 The Republics managed education, culture and science, health, social care and communal affairs for themselves as the federal ministries on these concerns did not exist. Other ministries, that is, financial, judicial, of internal affairs, economy and labour, were subject to the federal ministries, while foreign affairs, people's defence, traffic, navy, post and foreign trade were of federal nature only (Gabrič 2005g: 868).

In the words of the president of the Slovenian government (1945–1946), Kidrič, “(t)he new patriotism is the people’s patriotism, it is in its core the patriotism of the working People who fought for its homeland. For this reason, it cannot be nationalistically limited or marked” (Kidrič 1978, 316-317; my translation A.R.). With the advent of the Communist Society, the religious and nationalist divide was to have become redundant. The “non-religious [political] ideology” (Ballinger and Ghodsee 2011: 9) promoted a re-conceptualisation of the relations between the nations. According to Communist ideology, religion represented an “outdated form of human delusion” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 463) and the emancipation of the working classes was to substitute the nationalist emancipation of ethnic groups in Yugoslavia as these had been intrinsically linked to religion. Such was the case in 19th Century Slovenia, where the Roman Catholic Church played a pivotal role in promoting nationalism (see Part Two).

Since the Catholic Church during the Second World War had supported the royalist and the German occupying regime the communist authorities identified it as a “reactionist” organisation that had sided with “national traitors” (Gabrič 2005d: 852; my translation A.R.). After the war, the Catholic Church in Slovenia and in Yugoslavia continued to orient itself to Rome which led to disputes – and in 1953 to the complete severance in diplomatic relations – between Belgrade and the Holy See. Thereafter the Roman Catholic Church no longer interacted with the Yugoslav government and concentrated on internal activities only (Režek 2005c: 952-956). Having been a privileged institution in the past the Catholic Church in Slovenia became subject to uniform legislation, its incomes were taxed and activities controlled and repressed by the secret police, its land expropriated, and the administration of its records a private task (Gabrič 2005d: 852).²⁰⁸ The State nationalised the Church’s educational as well as charitable institutions, obstructed the teaching of the catechism and removed it from school curricula altogether in 1952 (Gabrič 2005d: 852, Režek 2005c: 952-956). It dismissed nuns and monks from hospitals and schools (Gabrič 2005d: 852-853). “In this way, the authorities restricted religious instruction while also increasing the pressure on civil servants not to participate in religious ceremonies” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 463). The neutralisation of the public roles of the Church further involved the de-Christianisation of the calendar, a meas-

208 In 1953, there were 82.8 per cent of self-declared Catholics in Slovenia (Smrke 2009: 13).

ure which affected the society as a whole. The perception and organisation of public time became conducted by the symbols instituted by the regime, such as marching band, flags, and new holidays²⁰⁹ – all serving to legitimise its ruling power (Makarovič 1995: 316). In addition, as Christian life was structured according to God's plan, the communist ideology claimed the knowledge of the future, entailing the path leading to the full achievement of communism.

Yet, “in Slovenia in the 1960s and early 1970s, changes brought by the Roman Catholic Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) and changes in the attitude of the Communist Party towards religion led to noticeable improvements in church-state relations” (Smrke 2009: 13). In 1968, Pope Paul VI established the Slovenian Ecclesiastical Province. As in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in post-war Yugoslavia the borders of the State did not coincide with those of the Roman Catholic domains. These borders were adjusted in 1947, 1964 and 1977 in order to re-establish a correspondence required by the return of territory in the West following the Peace Treaty with Italy (Čepič 2005c: 828-829). In 1968, the Slovene territory as a church province was denoted as the Ljubljanska Region; the Metropolitan See was in Ljubljana. In 1983, the Yugoslavian Bishops' Conference established the Slovenian Bishops' Conference (Čepič 2005c: 828-830). Changes were also evident in religiosity rates which until 1978 indicate processes of secularisation and thereafter of religious revitalisation (Smrke 2015: 213). According to Vrcan (1986), this turn may be ascribed to the crisis of the Yugoslav socialist society (see presently).

It is in this light that the promotion by the authorities up to the 1960s of the values of morality and bravery, sacrifice, and physical hard work (Makarovič 1995: 312) may be seen as transformations of the values endorsed by the Church in pre-industrial Slovenian society. Indeed, the population actively participated in the reconstruction of the homeland in ruins after the war. The young in particular took part in political rallies and mass labour actions (*delovne brigade*) organised by the regime after Soviet example. According to my informants they did so not only because of political pressure, but also in the sincere conviction that they were helping to build a better and fairer world. It was on this patriotic energy that the Communists founded a new political mytholo-

209 See for example Rihtman-Auguštin (1999: 47-55) in *Santa Claus Executed, the Croatian Way*.

gy. This consisted of a cult of the Partisan Resistance, the Brotherhood and Unity forged by it, the cult of Revolution and of the Communist Party and its Tito, Leader. These elements were portrayed as the essential foundation of the People's Democracy, State stability and peaceful brotherly–co-existence between the Yugoslav nations (Štih *et al.* 2008: 453). At local referenda, the population decided on additional taxation, the local 'self-contribution' aimed at improved schooling and health care (Makarovič 1995: 307). Material safety provided by the State policies, by defining people's needs and the manner of their fulfilment, outweighed the deficiency in democratic rights and freedoms, which according to Verdery (1996), reflected the weakness of the socialist State.

The Law on the Agrarian Reform and Colonisation of 1945 was the first legal act which interfered with the relations of ownership and the structure of land ownership. The reform focused on the expropriation of large estate owners – the Roman Catholic Church and Orthodox Church being among the biggest ones (Čepič 2005e: 883-884). It also served to implement a so-called 'patriotic nationalisation' (Čepič 1992: 176), that is, the confiscation of lands of former Austrian-Hungarian possessors, of the lands in the possession of banks, industrial/financial/trade companies and local owners with non-farming occupations (such as barkeepers, salesmen, lawyers and millers). According to Čepič (1992: 175), the object of the reform was the abolishment of feudal relations. Like those implemented after World War I the present reforms were directed against the owners of large estates of foreign nationality²¹⁰. A land holder was entitled to 30 hectares of cultivated land or 45 hectares of land in general at most, but the Church to not more than 10 hectares (Čepič 2005e: 884). The law also specified the labour involved: a holder had to cultivate the land with the help of family members²¹¹. The reform allocated land in permanent proprietorship "to the one who works the land" (Čepič 2005e: 884; my translation A.R.) and "to the ones who do not have it or do not have it enough" (Čepič 2005e: 887; my translation A.R.); they were the people denoted as *sabejaki* (see p. 100). The first in line to receive such parcels of land were the partisans who had fought in

210 The largest land fund in Slovenia was the one in Dolenjska and Bela Krajina due to the confiscation of land of the Germans of Kočevje who in 1941 sold their land to the Italian enterprise Emona (Čepič 2005e: 887).

211 The law did not allow a hired labour force in agriculture (Čepič 2005e: 884).

the resistance movement during the war (Čepič 2005e: 887)²¹². In fact, only one-seventh of the land in Slovenia came to be distributed among households and *zadruga* cooperatives (see below), all other lands remained in the possession of the State or local administrative units (Čepič 2005e: 889). For lands were also distributed to provide for the requirements of the State's health, social, cultural and military institutions, while another part of the lands remained in State ownership. On the federal level, the State held 51 per cent of the accumulated land fund which included all the woods (Repe 1995: 281). In view of the limited amount of lands actually nationalised and re-distributed, and the majority of small farmers not benefitting from it the reform left the prevailing structure of ownership largely intact (Čepič 1992: 185).

The confiscated land made it possible to establish *zadruga* (Čepič 2005e: 889). This term, coined in the 19th Century, refers to the type of rural community that was common among South Slavs in the past (see Part One). In the socialist context, it had been employed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to designate its move towards collective farming. Between 1946 and 1953, different types of *zadruga* cooperatives were founded to counteract the decreasing volume of production and to regulate its distribution. The principle of cooperatives, functioning from the end of the 19th Century to the beginning of the 20th Century and promoted by the Catholic Church was now advocated by the Communist party (Prinčič 2013). After the Law on General Agricultural Cooperatives had been passed in 1949, the term *zadruga* came to denote a method of “the socialisation of the village” (Čepič 2005h: 937), that is, the *kolhoz* type of collectivisation which spread thereafter but started to decline already after 1951 (see Čepič 1999: 184). The legislation in question envisioned a collective cultivation of the land, improved mechanisation and organisation of the labour processes, so as to provide a framework in which the agricultural proletariat would act as a collective in land cultivation. Membership in any type of *zadruga*, designated as ‘cooperating’, until 1948 was voluntary in principle, but in practice it was pushed by the threat of prosecution, taxes and redemptions. The farmers joining in the *kolhoz zadruga* co-operations agreed to provide the land, agricultural buildings and implements, wood from forests, stock, fodder, and seeds. They could only keep

212 The distribution of land included various situations such as injustice, disputes, bribery (Čepič 2005e: 887).

what they needed for their own subsistence (Čepič 2005h: 938-939). Being called *ohišnica* this amounted to 1 hectare of land, the house, agricultural buildings for personal use, and a number of animals according to the family size (Čepič 2005h: 939). The working peasants who contributed their land for collective cultivation formally retained its ownership. Depending on the type of contract they held they could receive rent for their land. The work was carried out through the so-called 'brigade system' (Čepič 2005h: 939). A certain amount of labour was performed in exchange for money and produce, while profits were distributed at the end of the year. In spite of the state promotion of the collective land cultivation, farmers lacked interest in it and the authorities did not enforce it (Čepič 2005e: 889). The number of *kolhoz zadruga* was the highest in north-east and south-west Slovenia. In the north-eastern part, it concerned confiscated land that had been inhabited previously by the Germans and had been populated by Slovenes in the process of internal colonisation. In the south-western part, it was the territory re-acquired from Italy (Čepič 2005e: 888). Nevertheless, in all of Slovenia the number of *zadruga* cooperatives was the lowest of all Yugoslav republics (Čepič 2005h: 938). Farmers did cooperate, however, with other types of *zadruga*, especially with the so-called General Agricultural Cooperatives (*Splošna kmetijska zadruga*) established in 1947. These did not practice the handing out of the land and collective farming. In exchange of contributing their agricultural services and produce farmers received money as well as certain benefits, for example advantageous conditions to purchase agricultural machinery. The Yugoslav collectivisation, however, did not reach the level that was practised in the countries subjected to the Soviet Union. In Slovenia, there was always a predominant share of privately owned farm land. The reasons for the failure of collectivisation in Yugoslavia have been widely debated (see for example Allcock 1981, Tochitch 1959, Bukovoy 1998). They range from the peasants' resistance to the 'pro-Western' position of the government. Unlike other ex-socialist European countries, with the exception of Poland, the agricultural policy marked by weak efforts at collectivisation only allowed for the continued existence of small family farms²¹³.

213 From 1945 until 1991, the average private family farm had a bit more than 3 hectares of agricultural land (Turk *et al.* 2007: 209).

The procurement of the population was managed by the State through a controlled process of distribution and consumption of goods. The state interfered in the farming economy, for example by the rationalised distribution of goods according to a state-regulated exchange of commodities between the urban industrial and the rural agrarian areas. These obviously were not free market transactions. The authorities further intervened in farming on the basis of regulated transactions. A mandatory handing over of the surpluses by farmers to the processing industry was introduced between 1945 to 1953, while the free trade of grain, meat and dairy products was either restricted or forbidden altogether (Čepič 2005g: 897-899).²¹⁴ The percentage of the yield and live stock that farmers could keep for themselves was fixed. The amount of the surplus to be handed over was set according to the size of the farmland and the volume of the harvest, while the percentage of the yield to be kept varied from year to year. In return, the farmers received industrial products such as salt, sugar, matches, tobacco and soap that were seldom accessible. The prices were set in favour of industrial products (Čepič 2005g: 897-899). There were certain irregularities in the exchange, due to the arbitrary treatment by the officials involved, so that the farmers were in constant dispute with the authorities. As a result, farmers would hide or sell their crops or trade them with town people for various objects – mainly clothes (Čepič 2005g: 899). The pre-war period was a time of agricultural crisis, but the low prices that had then been paid for farm produce were maintained by the post-war government, thus discriminating against private farmers (Turk *et al.* 2007: 204-205). 80 per cent of the farming output was regulated by the state, while the costs of farming, such as of the purchase of machinery, fertilisers and chemicals, were subject to additional taxation (Turk *et al.* 2007: 206). Consequently, farmers withdrew from the official market to participate in a “peasant market” (Turk *et al.* 2007: 206) not affected by state intervention. The disintegration of *kolkhoz* farming and the termination of the policy of procurement and mandatory handing over of the surpluses brought about a second agricultural reform. This was regulated by the Law on National Agricultural Land Fund Property and its Allotment to Agricultural Organisations of 1953 (Official Gazette of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 22-150/1953). It determined a new maximum size of land of 10 hectares for everyone. Further agricultural acts adopted up to 1979, such as the Basic Law on the Exploitation of Agricultural

214 See Verdery (1983) on mandatory deliveries in Romania.

Land of 1965 (Official Gazette of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 25-452/1965) and the Agricultural Land Act of 1973 (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 26-236/1973) and 1979 (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 1-5/1979), aimed at ensuring the cultivation and accumulation of land.

For example, in 1973, the Agricultural Land Act (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 26-236/1973) and the Inheritance of Farmland and Private Farms Act (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 26-237/1973) introduced protected farming, limiting the disintegration of farm-holds. All these agrarian reforms led to a “de-agrarianisation process” (Prinčič 1992: 188), that is, to a decline in practicing agriculture. According to Čepič, agricultural policy represented a means to dissolve peasantry as a social class (2005h: 937). Since farms could produce as subsistence producers only the process of creating a semi-proletarian class of industrial workers which had commenced on a large scale after the Second World War now led to the ‘escape from the land’ (*beg z zemlje*). Peasantry, being the ‘traditional enemy’ of the working class, now began to constitute the majority of the working class. It became responsible for the accumulation of capital in the form of agricultural produce as well as labour force, both necessary for industrial development. Such agrarian reforms, however, as well as their consequences represented a deviation from the Soviet model, indicating a change in the relation between the State and the peasants.

In 1949, the relationship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and its East European allies turned into a conflict known as the ‘Informbiro Affair’. While the dispute reflected a difference in political ideology, the power relations were decisive. “The Soviet-Yugoslav split was not based on ideological differences, but on a dispute over who was ultimately in charge in Yugoslavia, the Balkans and the Communist camp” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 459; see also Režek 2005a: 930). The Yugoslav Communist Party, aspiring to an equal partnership with the Soviet Union, hence rejecting its supremacy, got expelled from the International Communist Party. The conflict resulted in economic obstruction of Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union. Štih *et al.* argued (2008: 461) that the dispute required an ideological foundation which Yugoslav authorities found in their return to the basic principles of Marxism: “The Soviet State and Party bureaucracy, aimed at concentrating all political and economic power in its own hands, or in the

hands of Stalin; it turned social ownership into state ownership and took complete charge of the state and all of its assets, a complete contradiction of the basic principles of Marxism.” Hence, historians generally discern a causal relation between the conflict and the succeeding policy of the Yugoslav government including its turn to the ‘West’.

After 1950, the Yugoslav model of the State and its Socialism assumed a new form. Designated as ‘self-management’ or ‘self-administering’ (*samoupravljanje*) a ‘socialist syncretism’²¹⁵ had been conceived by the leading ideologist of the communist policy, the Slovene Edvard Kardelj, as a path towards a “decentralised ‘self-managed’ democratic socialism” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 461). The idea drew upon the principles on which the Slovenian rural communities were based, that is, a ‘domestic mode of production’ (cp. Sahlins 1972). In 1953, these political changes were laid down in the Constitutional Law on the Fundamental Social and Political Formation of the State of Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia and the Federal Organs of Authority (Official Gazette of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 3-19/1953).

Decentralisation, social ownership and ‘self-management’ models of enterprises and local communities became enshrined as the foundations of the Yugoslav state system, and ‘socialism’ became introduced as defining term of the political system (Režek 2005b: 950). Thereupon the Federal Assembly passed the Law on the Management of State Economic Associations, which proclaimed these enterprises as ‘socially owned’ and handed them over to ‘the workers’. “The new regulations ushered in the formation of ‘workers’ councils” which “were to actively participate in managing enterprises and to direct production on behalf of employees” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 461). The centralised-planned economy with State property was transformed into Socialist or ‘workers’ self-management’ (*samoupravljanje*). This entailed that all employees represented by elected workers’ councils supervise the managers of socially-owned property. It was a process closely related to the formation of agricultural co-operatives and a “genuinely Yugoslav type of firm organisation, with a self-management structure, a broad regional independence (individual republics), and sound connections with the political elite” (Turk *et al.* 2007: 207). It performed a variety of services, such as financial and crediting activities. The idea of a social type of ownership of the means of production, however, excluded the actors in the agricultural sector that is, the pri-

215 A combination of contradictory Marxist, anarchist, socialist and Bolshevik ideas.

vate farmers, from the decision-making processes (Turk *et al.* 2007: 207). Workers' unions, officially having a voluntary membership and informally including every worker, acted as an extended arm of the State. Thus, the Socialist enterprises, enabling procurement by binding workers to their residence and workplace, represented the units of the socialist system. In addition to the established mixed type of agricultural production "peasant/industrial worker became a peculiarity of Slovenian industrialisation" (Novak 1996: 34-35). In 1953, 63 per cent of those employed in non-agricultural sectors lived in villages in so-called mixed households (Čepič 2002: 59) or "multi income source family farms" (Turk *et al.* 2007: 207). These were gradually transformed into "garden plots considering their size and the levels of economic efficiency achieved" (Turk *et al.* 2007: 208). The investments in the industry in the 1970s (Štih *et al.* 2008: 498) further contributed to the shift of the Slovenian economy by breaking down the rural agricultural society and transferring the farming population into the towns and into other branches of the economy.

The Constitution of 1963 was established following tensions between the Republics²¹⁶, political conflicts (Režek 2005d: 998), and emerging economic crisis. It renamed the State as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, specified as "a voluntary union of nations and a democratic 'self-managing' community" (Štih *et al.* 2008: 477). This was to reflect the Marxist idea of the 'withering away of the State' and the strengthening of the role of the 'working people'. It also strengthened local forms of self-management while increasing the number of delegates and the number of chambers in the Republic and Federal Assemblies. These now numbered five, each attending to its respective area and substituting the common Chamber of Producers (Režek 2005d: 998). The Chamber of Nations lost its importance. A Constitutional Court was introduced, the office of State President (secured for Tito for life) and that of the President of the Federal Executive Council became separated, and politics could only be conducted by and through the League of Communists and the

216 "The less-developed areas accused the more-developed ones of selfishness and capitalist egotism, while the 'developed' accused the 'undeveloped' of irrational profligacy and living at 'the expense of others', i.e. managers and workers, who were becoming bolder and more vocal in their complaints against the federal authorities' irrational handling of state funds and the patchy distribution of funds by federal investment funds" (Štih *et al.* 2008: 473).

Socialist Alliance (*Socialistična zveza delovnega ljudstva*) (Štih *et al.* 2008: 476-477).

Later on in the 1960s, due to the inappropriate responses to rising prices, increasing unemployment and lack of social stability occurred, which, according to State ideologists should not take place in Socialism. To deal with this dissatisfaction the authorities opened the borders to enable the people to seek employment abroad (Štih *et al.* 2008: 479-480).²¹⁷ This new liberal border policy and the liberalisation of the currency allowed for the exchange of the inflationary Dinar against foreign monetary unions (the German and Austrian in particular). It opened up Yugoslavia, and Slovenia in particular, to foreign capital, western cultural influences and ideas, and initiated a “wave of consumerism” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 495) contributing to the rise of the standards of living (Štih *et al.* 480, 495-496).

Within the State, however, all forms of consumption were growing faster than the ‘social product’. The trend of an increasing economic instability therefore continued. A new Constitution ratified in 1974 defined the Republics as “states based on national sovereignty and the authority and self-management of the working class,” establishing a new political system self-managing parliamentary rule (*samoupravna skupščinska vladavina*) (Čepič 2005i: 1094-1095). The Constitution enhanced – along with the earlier Constitutional amendments of 1971 – the importance of the individual Autonomous Provinces. The Constitution emphasised that the Yugoslav society was a ‘consensus economy’ that was based on decentralisation or restricted state intervention, communal ownership and ‘associated labour’. The latter concept, replaced the more elementary and less normative idea of self-government. It was specified in the Law on ‘Associated Labour’ passed in November 1976 – also designated as the Small Worker’s Constitution (Borak 2005: 1104).

These new constitutional laws introduced a system of delegation and delegates replacing the previous representative system. The smallest production units were designated as “Basic Organisations of Associated Labour” (*temeljna or-*

217 “[O]fficially, 62,347 people left Slovenia to work in West Germany, Austria and other western European countries between 1964 and 1969; the real figure was probably 30-40 percent higher” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 480) and even more so in 1973 (Prinčič 1999: 189).

organizacija združenega dela, TOZD). The smallest territorial communities elected delegates to Municipal Assemblies which selected representatives for the Republic Assemblies. The latter together with the municipalities sent delegates to the Federal Assembly. This was now to be comprised of the Federal Chamber and Chamber of Republics. Ideally “the representational pyramid” included all citizens (Štih *et al.* 2008: 491-492). In practice, however, the decisions of the delegates were arranged within the Socialist Alliance and League of Communists, which thus acted as an “extended hand of the state” (Čepič 2005i: 1098). “After many years, they built and enacted a system which came to be known as a ‘consensus economy’, based on the principle that the reformed companies would exchange their products on the basis of previously agreed and coordinated interests and mutual rights and responsibilities. This complex and unsuccessful system was uncompetitive and ineffective: it bloated the production costs and triggered disputes within and between companies. This framework remained in force right up until 1988; yet, with the help of foreign loans it was able to provide a relatively high standard of living” (Prinčič 1999: 184-185).

At the end of the 1980s, however, the poor economic situation of the country became evident. To ensure foreign loans the government devalued Dinar. This impacted on imports leading to further shortages in materials and goods which the government sought to solve by restricting consumption (Štih *et al.* 2008: 518-519). The so-called stabilisation regimes adopted between 1985 and 1989 to end the economic crisis were unsuccessful (Prinčič 1999: 191). The socialist policy, instead of reducing sense of national allegiance to insignificance, in fact contributed to nationalist conflicts which affected the relations between firms as well. In 1980, Yugoslavia lost its ‘first pillar’ with the death of Tito. In September 1989, the Slovenian Assembly adopted constitutional amendments including claiming the right of the Republic to decide what federal laws it would abide by. This move marked the departure of the Slovenian Republic from the Second Yugoslav State. In 1990, the Slovenian representatives walked out of the congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which would never assemble collectively again. This signified the loss of the ‘second pillar’, leaving the ‘third pillar’, the Yugoslav People’s Army, as the last one standing.

The people who in the period of Socialist Yugoslavia succeeded in their cultural and intellectual ventures were those whose socio-political views were com-

patible with those of the regime and who acted in accordance with the State-endorsed norms and valued ideas. Their non-contentious, neutral or possibly sympathizing attitude in their respective fields of creative activity enabled them to prosper and become renowned artists, professionals, poets, writers, musicians, or painters.²¹⁸ They were praised for their artistic and sports achievements whereas those who worked for the country's industrial development were equally honoured for their socially acknowledged efforts. The natural sciences endeavoured to support the industrialisation and the social sciences contributed to the Socialist ideas. Ethnology, for example, served the regime by collecting data on traditional rural cultures in all Yugoslav republics (cp. Slavec Gradišnik 2013: 215). But the authorities foremost advocated the emergence of a mass culture. This resulted in the development of cinematography, TV shows, newspapers. Thus in 1958 the Ljubljana Television was founded, but broadcasting in the Slovenian language it in fact counteracted the State's unitary ideology. In contrast to these ideological endeavours to present cultural, sports, scientific and other achievements as 'Yugoslav', mass culture media was expressive of historical and present differences between the regions that as Republics now constituted the State. Local cultural expressions were produced by so-called Cultural Educational Societies (*kulturno prosvetna društva*), such as choirs, orchestras and sports clubs that were promoted by local political authorities in the framework of Socialist enterprises in particular. Such an involvement of the people of the workplace beyond their working hours in performing at State holidays and funerals further validated the State's political ideology and its impact in shaping the citizens' personhood.

Critics, however, took the stage in the 1980s, configuring the arts and sciences as the domain in which the disintegration of the Socialist State manifested itself most clearly. One of the pioneers of these rebellious movements was the punk band Pankrti ("The Bastards") which performed between the 1970s and 1980s. Another such a cultural project is Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK), established in 1984 as a political and art collective which critically addressed the problematic Slovenian relationship with Germans and the notion of the Slovenian na-

218 These included Bojan Adamič, Jože Plečnik, Evgen Bavčar, Frane Milčinski on the national level. Locally, such persons were Bogo Komelj, Jurij Levičnik, Božidar Jakac and Boris Andrijanič.

tional identity. The 57th issue of *Nova revija* (“New Magazine”) issued in 1987 presented a Slovenian national program which was based on economic and political independence and the establishment of pluralist democracy. *Nova revija* joined oppositional Slovenian intellectuals who in the following years and up to the present time play a considerate role in Slovenian public life.

Conclusion

Established in 1945, the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia advocated the suppression of all religious practices in accordance with socialist secularism as a legal separation of Church and State, and propounded a re-conceptualisation of the relations between the nations and their national territories. Previously these relationships had been embedded in the feudal monarchic systems that were grounded in religion, ethnic groups, and the different types of property as discussed in Part Two. The feudal system was thus based on a dichotomy between secular and religious authority and neither type could function without the other. The notion of the modern State – Socialist in this case – completely disjoins the secular from the religious and the latter has no impact on the former whatsoever. As far as the authorisation of the modern State and the legitimacy of its power is concerned it is the People being the Sovereign that delegates the authority to the State. The State’s obligation, in turn, is to ensure the conditions of the social reproduction of society (see Aglietta *et al.* 1998). The legitimacy of the political rule – once in the hands of the nobility – and that of managing the relations between the living and the dead are no longer sanctioned by the Church according to socialist ideology. Hence when the lands of the Church are taken away from the Church, the long-term exchanges become modified and affect their ideological basis. The relationships that are now involved in the long-term exchanges are those connecting the citizens to the State.

Chapter 7: Social structure

Administrative and territorial organisation

The political processes taking place during and after the Second World War resulted in the dissolution of the previous administrative territorial organisation of municipalities while introducing in 1946 the People's Republic of Slovenia and in 1963 the Socialist Republic of Slovenia being part of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia respectively. A new division of the territory was implemented in areas liberated by the partisan forces during the Second World War. Hence, the *kraj*, literally 'locale' or 'place', represented the basic administrative political unit. Previously a *kraj* entailed one settlement but now it encompassed one larger or several smaller settlements. Their respective cadastral municipalities were usually linked through a single system of numbering houses (Kopač 2005: 207; Čepič 2005c: 824). The re-naming of streets and other locations in accordance with the "present-day social and ethnical reality" (Kopač 2005: 209), however, mostly took place in cities – and in their nearby villages which following industrialisation became part of the city. It did not bring much changes to the rural settlements of Podgorje in this respect. The interwar Local National Liberation Committees of the revolutionary authorities over 'locales', and the Local National Committees of 1945, were designated between 1946 and 1952 as Local/Town People's Committees. The General Law on People's Committees of 1946 defined the People's Committees as a collective representative "organ of state's authority" (Article 1) to which the people entrusted the rule and through which "the people execute[d] its rule in administrative territorial units" (Juhart 1946: 122; my translation A.R.). Each 'locale' (*kraj*), composed of villages and/or towns, was part of a 'district' (*okraj*) and a 'county' (*okrožje*). The committees at each of these administrative levels made up an 'authority' (*oblast*), whereby these different levels of administration fell under the authority of the corresponding institutions of Local/Town Committee, District Committee and County Committee, in a hierarchically ascending order. The General Law on People's Committees defined a democratic and centralist relationship between these people's committees. They were to implement the amendments of the Constitution and the provisions of the Federal and Republic legislation (Juhart 1946, 128-129). A committee acted as a corporate body – with a two-year

mandate for the local committees and a three-year mandate for the district and county committees. The members were from among the residents of the respective locale, district and county (Juhart 1946: 127). Committees, furthermore, acted as legal persons: they had the right to acquire property identified as general people's assets of local importance, whereby their financial sources were supplied by the income from the general people's assets, incomes of their institutions and enterprises, and public dues (Juhart 1946: 130-131). In this local political and administrative organisation as defined by the Law on the Administrative Division of the People's Republic of Slovenia in 1946, the local people's committees in Podgorje were under the jurisdiction of the People's Committee of the County of Novo Mesto, the District of Novo Mesto, and the Authority of Ljubljana.

Along with the self-administering system, the constitutional changes following this process of decentralisation in the 1950s, brought about the so-called communal system. This defined the ordinary and town municipalities as the basic political and administrative-territorial units implementing a "self-governmental organisation of a territorial type" (Official Gazette of the People's Republic of Slovenia, No. 24-119/1955 in Čepič 2005c: 828; my translation A.R.). By the Law on the Division of People's Republic of Slovenia in Towns, Counties and Communes passed in 1952 (Official Gazette of the People's Republic of Slovenia, No. 11-39/1952), the 'locales' (*kraj*) as administrative units and their local committees were abolished (Čepič 2005c: 824). They were replaced by larger territorial municipalities (*občine*), as the new local self-governmental units at the lowest administrative level. The area under study thus came to be part of the Municipality of Gotna vas and the County of Novo Mesto. Three years later, larger municipalities or communes, were established by integrating the existing municipalities into an "all-embracing economic organism, balanced and capable of independent life" (in Kopač 2005: 211; my translation A.R.). In concordance with this principle, the Gotna Vas Municipality was joined with the Novo Mesto Commune. The area of large rural Šmihel-Stopiče Municipality of before the war thus joined the small pre-war Municipality of the Town Novo Mesto. The previous people's committee of the Town Municipality of Novo Mesto was replaced by the municipal people's committee of Novo Mesto (<http://www.siranet.si/detail.aspx?ID=210014>; accessed March 17, 2014).

From the constitutional changes implemented in 1963 and 1965 onwards, districts became dissolved by joining them into municipalities (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 10-80/1965). Article 54 of the 1963 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 10-90/1963) instituted assemblies as representative bodies in all socio-political communities. In 1964, the Assembly of the Municipality Novo Mesto was established (<http://www.siranet.si/detail.aspx?ID=210014>; accessed March 17, 2014) and until 1965 it was part of Ljubljana County. It was composed of the Committee of Associated Labour, the Committee of Local Communities and a Socio-political Council formed through a delegate system of socialist self-management. “The so-called socio-political communities, that is, politically organised administrative-territorial communities, made up the structure of the Yugoslav state, municipalities, republics and federation. The network of bodies of the government was linked to the administrative-territorial organisation” (Čepič 2005c: 824; my translation A.R.).

In the new communal system adopted in 1955, the local People’s Committees were abolished and the communes established Local Offices. These built a network of organisational units of the commune executing certain administrative tasks, such as maintaining population records and issuing personal documents. Each local office would encompass the area previously covered by the municipalities and of several local committees. In the 1963 Constitution, Local Offices came under the jurisdiction of the Assembly of Municipalities (<http://www.siranet.si/detail.aspx?ID=30502>; accessed March 17, 2014). In addition, municipalities were divided into Local Communities (*lokalna skupnost*). These were initially “informal self-governmental communities” of citizens (Čepič 2005c: 828; my translation A.R.) composed of one or more settlements and substituting the local people’s committee. With the adoption of the new Constitution in 1974, such Local Communities became “one of the foundations of the political system of socialist self-management” (Čepič 2005c: 828; my translation A.R.). As was the case in all previous administrative sub-units, the borders of the Local Community coincided with those of cadastral municipalities. The latter were defined by the settlement territories and the lands belonging to them. The residents of Local Communities jointly decided and acted in order to meet the needs of the local community. Such needs pertained to the community’s child and health care, the economy, infrastructure and cultural activities. They voiced their opin-

ion at the community's assembly (*zbor krajanov*), and elected its representatives. This local organisational structure largely remained in force until the end of 1994 when the public administration became reorganised.

Between 1945 and 1994, the government generated continuous administrative changes and modifications of political structures. According to Čepič (2005c: 824), the rationale behind these unceasing upheavals lied in the power relations, that is, in the “efficient realisation of political and governmental tasks while at the same time bringing power and authority closer to the people and enable the execution of the rule bottom up” (2005c: 824; my translation A.R.).

In contrast to the variable state's administrative and political system, Church administrative territorial organisation in the area and period concerned remained unchanged. Podgorje and Dolenjska belonged to the Ljubljana bishoptry, which in 1961 turned into the archbishoptry composed of 792 parishes (Čepič 2005c: 829).

Dolenjska and *Dolenjci*, Podgorje and *Podgorci*

In this span of 45 years, Dolenjska and Podgorje as administrative regions did not exist. In 1950, *Dolenjski List*, a Dolenjska weekly bulletin was launched by the Liberation Front of the Local Districts, and – by the end of the 1950s – by the local organisations of Socialist Union of Working People (Socialistična zveza delovnega ljudstva – SZDL). Local communist authorities thus issued a paper that acknowledged the existence of the Dolenjska region and reported from a region that coincided with the current administrative organisation of the area. The name *Dolenjska* was also used in the local newly established organisations and institutions, for example Dolenjka department store and Dolenjska bank.

In the *Dolenjski list* paper, one finds articles referring to Podgorje. “Between Gorjanci hill, Ljuben hill, the middle Krka river and Šentjernej Field there is a landscape [*pokrajina*] named Podgorje. [...] The name was invented by folk talk and completely fits the geographically confined unit that represents the south part of Novo Mesto basin. [...] Owing to historical situations and poor natural conditions, Podgorje belongs to the economically and culturally most backward areas of Dolenjska” (Piletič 1954: 2; my translation A.R.). The geographer who referred to Podgorje as *pokrajina*, literally ‘landscape’, thus identified the region as a geographical unit with certain cultural and social at-

tributes. The main scholarly information on the Dolenjska and Bela Krajina areas at that time was published in an issue of the journal *Geografski obzornik* on Dolenjska and Bela Krajina of 1960. The ethnologist Zupančič contributed an article to it often cited by local scholars (see e. g. Rožman 2007, Križ 2012) on “Folk life in Podgorje” (1960: 18-22). As Trdina had done earlier (1987 [1870–1879], 1956), she compares the Podgorje people next to their neighbours Lah or Uskok population (see pp. 55-56) and the “ethnically peculiar” “Gipsies” in the area. Furthermore, she presents three time-separated views on Podgorje: that forwarded by Trdina (see also pp. 76-77), the one present in the ‘folk tradition’, and one that attributes to the inhabitants a – slowly decreasing – social backwardness. The ethnologist Zupančič therefore also identifies Podgorje as a cultural ‘landscape’ (*pokrajina*) which in the course of economic development slowly loses its specific cultural features. Therefore, both Piletič and Zupančič observe specific social changes taking place. The latter confirms that Trdina’s distinction between the “real Podgorje” – the hilly part with its settlements proximate to the Podgorje Hills – and “Podgorje in the wider sense” – the flat northwestern part – still exists. Employing the same parameters as Valvasor and Trdina (see pp. 75-78), scholars of the pertinent period regarded Dolenjska and Podgorje as territorial and cultural landscapes, though no longer marked by the network of fortresses but by Novo Mesto (e.g. Zupančič 1960).

Social Relationships

The house

The number of Podgorje rural settlements has not changed since the 19th Century. However, between the censuses of 1931 and 1953, when the processes of migration, urbanisation, industrialisation and war related events took place, and the socialist regime was in power (see above), some Podgorje settlements experienced a fall in population numbers. According to Rus (1997: 19), the succeeding censuses conducted in 1961, 1971 and in 1981, reveal such a trend solely in more remote and smaller settlements inhabited by an older peasant population. The opposite is true of larger settlements, whose inhabitants adopted urban attributes and of their neighbouring villages and hamlets belonging to these local communities (Rus 1997: 19). Nevertheless, the urbanised rural settlements also continued to be constituted of compound of houses – and not of apartment

buildings – except for a few settlements in the eastern part of Podgorje. The majority of Podgorje settlements kept up their population size while at the same time increased their number of houses. From 1945 to 1991 they entailed two types of dwelling. One traditional rural type persisted since the 19th Century, the other of the second half of the 20th Century was the ‘socialist’ house type. In addition, the initial “organic” layout of the settlements was transformed into an “unplanned” configuration of Podgorje settlements (Ravbar 1997: 26).

Immediately after the Second World War a new generation of people built new houses or renovated those dating from the 19th Century employing modern materials such as concrete. These houses in principle conformed to the ‘traditional’ house layout, though new rooms added to the house were made available to its inhabitants allowing for a higher standard of living. Usually, the former main entrance was closed, turning the former private entrance into the main one. In this manner, the vestibule (*veža*) became partitioned. The blind part became the kitchen (*kuhinja*) thus leaving the wood-burning stove standing in the centre of the house. The position of the main rooms, still referred to as the ‘big house’ and the ‘small house’ became reversed (cp. Diagram 1, p. 81). The floorplan of the newly built houses had the house’s entrance positioned away from the main street as well but the position of the two main rooms remained unaltered. To the left of the kitchen was a room called *špajza* (from German *Speise*), the coolest place in the house in which to store the food, while to the right side was an additional bedroom (Diagram 5, p. 196). From the 1970s onwards, these houses were furnished with electric appliances such as an electric stove, refrigerator and television set. By now the toilets that previously were located in the pig-stalls had been situated inside the house by rearranging one part of the house. Whereas until that time the houses had been inhabited by a stem family, from now on they were the residence of a male head, his wife and their unmarried children.

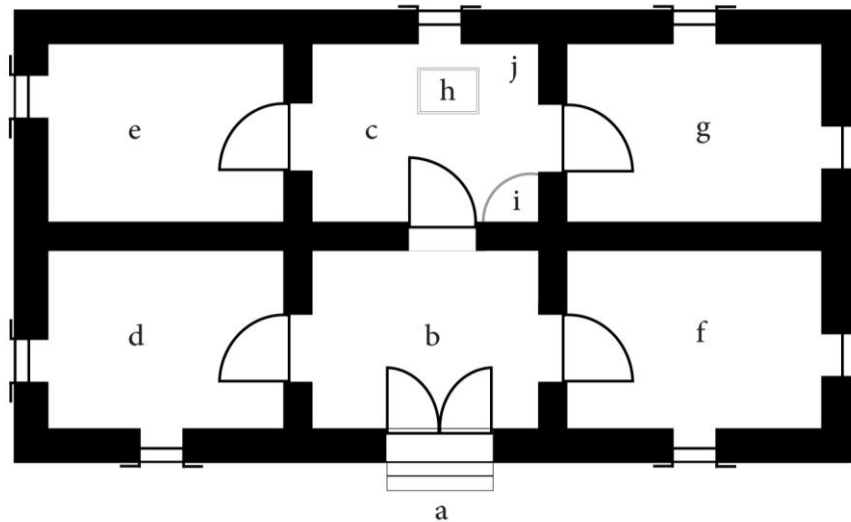


Diagram 5: Ground floor plan of a newly built house

- a – main entrance
- b – vestibule
- c – kitchen
- d – room, ‘small end’/‘small house’
- e – *špajza*
- f – room
- g – room, ‘big end’/‘big house’
- h – dining table
- i – wood-burning stove
- j – ‘God’s Corner’

These children upon marriage had begun to build their own houses. For them the option of living in an apartment building was not a permanent living solution; those who did not inherit the parental house might live in a city flat while their house was under construction only. The statistics show the highest rate of newly-built houses between 1970 and 1980 (Rus 1997, Ravbar 1997, also Barbo 1986). This was promoted and subventioned by the government during that period, as had been the renovation of old residences immediately after the World War II. With the Law on Building Construction passed in 1973, the government introduced the option of a ‘substitute building’ (*nadomestna gradnja*) entailing the possibility to build a new house adjacent to the original one. Once that had been

completed the original one should be demolished²¹⁹. Residents, however, did not do so. The new house was intended for the future household head or for his/her sibling if he/she was to stay in the original house, while the old head couple still lived there. In addition to this new house additional new houses might be built for other children – usually at one end of the village – if parcels of land could be legally alienated from the farm land fund or be obtained by other legal means.

The architecture of rural homes changed in accordance with the socialist ideals of uniform proletarian dwellings. Designated as ‘standard house’ (*tipska hiša*) these were transferred from the urban and sub-urban environment to the rural areas. As a result, the house no longer represented a ‘traditional’ or ‘rural’ dwelling.



Diagram 6: ‘Socialist’ house type

These ‘standard houses’ constructed from 1970 onwards were explicitly designated as ‘two-family houses’. They evoked the relationship of ‘senior’ and ‘junior’ that had been evident in the rural dwelling forms of the past (see pp. 80-82). The horizontal separation of the house became transformed into a vertical one – the upper floor reserved for the offspring and the main floor for the parents – envisioning the generational transition as one child was to remain at home. Yet, the new layout which included a garage, a woodshed or boiler room and balconies

219 Since 2008, however, the condition for the substitute building is to demolish the previous house and construct the new one on the exact location of the old one; thus, the concept of the substitute house as such does not apply anymore.

represented a compact or closed whole. It did not envisage additional buildings and limited the communication between the outside and the inside.

A formal model of social relationships

Let us now examine the changes that have affected the local social structure. As an old couple and their unmarried children remain to live in the old house, the relation between parents and their married offspring is expressed in the relationship between two (or more) houses – the origin one, an adjacent one, and possibly one or more at one end of the village. They are all designated by the same House name, which signals that they all belong to the origin House. Thus, two or more houses inhabited by nuclear families maintain a hierarchical relationship connecting the head's origin house to the house(s) of the offspring.

Such a relationship is labelled as one between “the old ones”/“the young ones” (*ta stari/ta mladi*) or between the origin house identified by the House name and the houses derived from that and carrying its House name and personal names of the children.

In addition to the previous agricultural forms of livelihood related to land, from the 1960s onwards the life was additionally sustained by the work outside of the farm. Informants speak of such work as unseemly but ineluctable. Correspondingly, a local geodesy official argued that the collapse of the largest farm-holds resulted from people's proud persistence to live from the farms without an extra source of income. Immediately after the war, most adult unmarried children living at home commuted daily to work in the military warehouses or newly expropriated state owned industrial or agricultural corporations in order to contribute to the house fund. In contrast, by the 1960s such temporary work contracts turned into a long-term employment in the newly established local state industry. The future or the young male head acquired a job in industry, usually in or near-by Novo Mesto. While he took up such jobs his wife initially remained at home and attended a local housekeeping course organised by the local parish. Once having completed elementary or high school and, exceptionally, university their sons and daughters would find employment in local state industry and local public institutions. However, education was promoted more strongly for men than for women. From the 1960s onwards, women having finished elementary school, sought a job and only rarely, continued school education.

The income of those residing in the House's estate was partly invested in the managing of the farm-hold the largest part being contributed by the (future) head (*gospodar*). Furthermore, children, and in some houses their mothers as well, collected medicinal herbs, fruits and mushrooms which they sold to the local cooperative (*zadruga*), at fairs, or to the cars passing in the main street to finance school supplies, clothes and shoes. Children who married out and thus became associated with another House, or those who moved to the city, without becoming attached to another House returned home regularly to help with major tasks; the latter possibly to attend Sunday lunches (*nedeljska južina*) and receive foodstuffs. In this manner, those children whose marriage did not provide them with an association to another House maintained to be connected to the origin house and its landed estate.

A couple who had succeeded to the position of House head and other members of the House's estate, continued to take care of the old or handicapped members, particularly since those who had worked only as peasants did not receive a pension. The House members who had emigrated during the interbellum would regularly send packages containing with canned food, clothes and money, along with the Easter and Christmas greeting cards. In accordance to the law, however, farmhands no longer existed.

Notwithstanding the additional means of sustenance and in spite of living in different houses, the generational and gender principles of marking House relationships remained preserved. But whereas a sense of equality was gradually applied to women entering the outside domain and the different forms of address (see p. 88) slowly faded away a separation of male and female fields of action persisted.

House and land

After the Second World War, the processes of deagrarianisation (see p. 181) of Podgorje became evident in a reduction of the local peasant population. Between 1931 and 1991 the farming populace decreased from two-thirds to one-fifth of the total population (Ravbar 1997: 26). This was reflected in the overall size of agricultural land and the forms of cultivation. The 1990 statistics show a decrease in arable land by 35 per cent in the last fifty years, which represented the fall from 23.3 per cent to 15 per cent of all land categories (Rus 1997: 16).

On the other hand, in areas situated far away from the houses pasture land also lost its purpose due to the smaller number of livestock and a more adequate maintenance of meadows closer to the house. The abandoned areas became overgrown, leading to an increase in forest surface (Rus 1997: 17). The statistical data thus manifest a decline in farming and land exploitation changing from fields to meadows.

Records of land transactions concluded between 1945 and 1990 in the village of Gornja Težka Voda²²⁰ reveal how during this period the soil was treated according to a normative framework stemming from the prevailing political ideology. Socialist ideology conceptualises land as a means of production that the State is to accumulate. This conceptualisation of land envisions land to be collectively owned by the State, whereby the State equals the People. The Socialist conception of a peasant was grounded in the relation between the land and its holder informed by labour (Čepič 1992: 178). Each farm property holder, *gruntar* therefore would still be addressed according to the size of his/her farmstead, i.e. as ‘small farmer’ (*mali kmet*), ‘medium farmer’ (*srednji kmet*) and ‘large farmer’ (*veliki kmet*) (e.g. Gošnik 1952b: 1). The property of the latter should not exceed the fixed limited size. The status of farmer (*kmet*) was conditioned by working the land that he/she held along with the family members, without hired assistance, and in accordance with state instructions. Failing to meet such criteria resulted in losing the land (see p. 179). The records analysed reveal that in this particular village there was no expropriation of individual land for reasons of nationalisation, sabotage, or collectivisation. In the area researched, there were also no so-called ‘co-operators’ (*kooperanti*) of the *kolkhoz Zadruga*. Such farmers would hand their land over to the *zadruga*, while remaining its official possessors in exchange for compensations. These would consist of a smaller stretch of land in another area to cultivate for their own household’s demands, and monetary and other forms of compensation to ensure an “equal” exchange (see p. 178). The *kolkhoz* type of *zadruga* operated as a manager of the land fund provided by its members, hence represented form of collectivisation which in the area researched did not occur. Instead, in Podgorje, each local community constituted one General Agricultural Cooperative

220 These records were obtained from my informants, at the Regional Surveying and Mapping Authority of the Republic of Slovenia, and by consulting the e-Land Register.

(*Splošna Kmetijska Zadruga*). Such type of *zadruga* did not involve handing over the land and farmers commonly cooperated with these.

Based on the normative ideas about ‘collectivity’ and ‘equality’, between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s the transfer of land was carried out by the means of performing agrarian operations such as pooling (*arondacija*): privately owned parcels were handed over to be joined into to state land in exchange for other parcels or for partial monetary compensation. It rarely was achieved by ‘consolidation’ (*komasacija*²²¹). That is joining the parcels of individual possessors and redistributing that as joint parcels to make possible a more efficient cultivation. Local geodesists who conducted such operations recall how they were not welcomed by the local population even if the land received as compensation for the one handed over would be of the same size and quality. Such ‘equal’ exchanges of land, defining its value in terms of an economic utility, ignored the land’s immaterial value as being part of the whole (see Part Two). Such operations based on a State promoted logic of equivalent exchange were not performed in Podgorje even though they were widely debated. Such operations can be found, however, in other parts of Dolenjska. For example, in the fifth issue of the local weekly *Dolenjski List* of 1964, cooperatives were propagated by interviewing peasants who had actually joined them (Zoran 1964: 15). In that same weekly, to which almost every household held a subscription, we learn about cooperative land in contrast to privately held land is poorly cultivated (Gošnik 1964: 5).

One informant asked: “Do you know why they have not taken the land? Because there were no *sabejak* (rural proletariat; see p. 100) here. They were the ones who would tell [the authorities] on us”. The argument refers to the distinction and relation between the different groups of local population grounded in the feudal structure, and their position according to the current ideology. The socialist agricultural policy of collectivisation of the land was not implemented among the population under study, even if the size of Podgorje farms exceeded the second proscribed land maximum of 10 hectares. Thus, the agrarian policy of a redistribution of land in order to achieve a ‘rational’ use of land was not

221 Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 35-271/1963, No. 30-176/1964, No. 26-236/1973, No. 22-1202/1981. Usually, *komasacija* was performed when common land got distributed among its claimants.

implemented. In fact, this Yugoslav policy was foremost directed towards a collectivisation as nationalisation so as to eradicate feudal relationships. Similar to the nationalisation pursued in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, land was nationalised only in case the large estate owners were of foreign origin. Those who participated in the national liberation struggle and who previously had no access to land (the so-called *sabejaki*) were allocated a plot from the confiscated land fund. My informant, who was a representative of the peasantry, spoke disapprovingly of such a method, as only peasants should receive the land an argument drawing upon the initial, that is feudal, meaning of the distinction between peasants and *sabejaki*. Locally, however, few lands were actually re-allocated. The state retained most of them as so-called “Land of the People”. This term designated land that earlier had been part of a feudal estate, then of a state capitalist estate where peasants performed daily work they referred to as *tabrh* (cp. p. 110), and finally of the socialist cooperative, *zadruga*, where some Podgorje residents found employment.

However, the land of larger estate holders in the lowlands of Podgorje near the river Krka, was confiscated by the state. This indicates that the role of the land for the State was twofold depending on the land’s utility value: high utility value of the land signified collectivisation and low utility value of land assured obedience of the citizens. Namely, informants’ statements suggest that the officially prescribed allocation of land in reality followed an amalgam of official norms and social relations. Most attempts to collectivise land mentioned during the local interviews reveal similar characteristics. Those who during the war took the wrong side were threatened with land expropriation; they were predominantly the peasants who opposed these very political interventions. Such measures could be circumvented if one knew someone who could intervene on one’s behalf with the authorities. For example, one informant whose father was killed while fighting on the wrong side, recalls how “they wanted to take the land from us [his widowed mother and siblings] but did not do so because my uncle [his father’s brother] who acted as our [underage orphans] guardian intervened with the authorities”. Another informant told of how a partisan came to them claiming that he had managed to save them their land. And even if one were not accused of having taken the wrong political side or one’s land did not exceed the maximum size allowed, one could lose the land upon being convicted of “sabotage” (*sabotaža*), that is, having acted against the wellbeing of the people.

To expropriate land, the authorities would first of all need to collect the relevant information from their local representative or from “envious” neighbours. The actual expropriation followed upon the intervention of a mediator who was connected by a close or ceremonial kin or another type of relation to the farm-hold in question. This would ensure an alliance of some sort between the peasant and the authorities. As someone with knowledge about the issue, and possibly acquainted with the authorities involved such a mediator would have a higher social standing and reputation. On the one hand the mediator acted as a superior giver of wellbeing to the House. In return, he was entitled to reciprocal prestations in the form of continuous gifts and services until his death. On the other hand, the mediator acted as the receiver of the gift provided by the authorities in exchange for his loyalty and for his providing legitimacy with the people. In this manner, such interventions, favouring the particularity of the social relationships over the equality foreseen by the law culminated in a largely unchanged ownership structure, in which Podgorje peasants remained to be private farmers.

In contrast to privately held land, common land that had not yet been allocated to its claimants (see p. 104) became expropriated. Claimants of the village common could enter a property claim in the accounts if they could demonstrate to have a servitude claim on a particular stretch of *gmajna* by the date set. However, larger village commons, to which people from other villages would have a claim as well, could not be subjected to individual property claims. The village common was turned into social property in the hands of municipal People’s committees and state property under the State’s Forest Management. Contradicting the socialist precept that private land could be alienated for communal benefit, only the communal land was claimed for the collective good, and peasants could claim access to the land they held as private property.

The data on land transactions in Gornja Težka Voda during this period further shows forty-four sale/purchase transactions, usually involving one parcel (a vineyard, a meadow, pasture land, or a field), laid down in twenty-eight contracts, half of which were concluded among village neighbours. My informants emphasised that selling land was still considered morally wrong. It occurred in three different instances. In the case of financial need, a land holder would approach possible buyers in his own or a neighbouring village to purchase a par-

ticular parcel. The possibility to accumulate one's land was also an incentive. And finally, it would happen that a daughter marrying out of the village sold the land she had received in dowry back to the members of her natal House or other inhabitants of her village of birth.

Some contracts that at first glance seemed to involve an exchange of gifts in fact represented a sale transaction but for the sake of familial relations or beneficial taxation were not defined as such.

How the contracts were arranged reflects the land policy measures of the respective years. There were no sale/purchase transfers up to 1955. In that year four sale/purchase transfers were concluded, followed by fourteen from 1960 to 1980 and twenty-seven in the last decade of the Yugoslav Republic. This small number of sale contracts demonstrates that the farmers preserved the land which they had retained during the failed expropriation process. In 1973, the government issued the so-called Agricultural Land Act (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 26-236/1973) which precluded construction of houses, selling or in any other way disposing of land belonging to the 'protected farm' (see p. 179), with the exception of selling it to the state land and to other protected farms. The municipality issued a decree with a list of protected farms. Many peasants were not aware of the new status of their farm-hold until it was to be inherited or sold. For although the Act did not affect the established form of inheritance, it did restrict the rights of farm holder to dispose of inheritance shares at will and to sell or purchase plots. In spite of one's property claim on land, one could not freely dispose of it. Peasants would appeal to different legal institutions in order to be able to conduct the desired exchange. One option was to conclude contracts on a 99-years lease. In that case the lessor ceded the parcel to the lessee for the period of 99 years. The lessee then paid the entire rent at one time, whereby the contract could not be discontinued until the lease had expired. The provisions of the contracts that I could read were not laid down in the land registry; they were thus a private affair between the two parties and not meant for the public or state eye. This form of lease with its time span of three generations was adopted from those current in urban areas, where the sale of building plots was prohibited and lease contracts for 99 years could be concluded. Another option to circumvent the legal conditions was the adverse possession claim and concluding the *servitude* contract. The official documents testifying to the various transfers of land do not mention that the actual exchange transaction entailed the sale or inheritance of land.

Usually, all holders of protected farms endeavoured have this status repudiated. In order to acquire a farm-hold free of protection, one needed to demonstrate that the criteria pertaining to a protected farm could not be applied.

For instance, in 1952, it became clear that the collectivisation process had failed and the collective ownership of land that would had made individual land cadastral registration as the basis for taxation redundant had not been realised. On that account, the land taxation of individual farmers became re-instated and its parameters set separately for each Yugoslav republic (Official Gazette of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 31-416/1957, Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 23-1061/1976, No. 24-1336/1988). As was the case until 1945, this land tax was based on the so-called 'cadastral income' (*katastrski dohodek*), an estimated potential income from the marketing of agricultural and forest produce obtained by means of average cultivation methods and cultures.²²² To calculate such an income the land was divided into different categories according to type of cultivation. The farm-hold as a whole counted as an agricultural and forest economic unit (potentially) ensuring that its holder (a single person, a married couple or parent and child) could earn an income from farming the property (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 26-237/1973, No. 1-3/1986). The cadastral income thus defined a potential minimal income from the parcels registered, not the actual state of affairs. There were several means to achieve that this cadastral status was revoked.

One could demonstrate that being employed in industry one could not take care properly of the entire farm-hold. One also might argue that the type of crops planted had changed or that parcels had been abandoned and, having become overgrown, the actual income drawn from them had been reduced. This could be achieved by applying to the local office of the municipal Surveying and Mapping Authority for a re-evaluation of cadastral income. The aim was to have them change higher valued types of parcels into lower valued ones, the form of land cultivation being the relevant criteria. This entailed changing existing fields into meadows and existing meadows into forest. The arguments put forward to the local agronomist representing the Surveying and Mapping Authority were accompanied with gifts food and drink in order to solicit a deci-

222 http://www.e-prostor.gov.si/zbirke_prostorskih_podatkov/nepremicnine/zemljiski_kataster/ma-pa/katastrski_dohodek; accessed October 22, 2014.

sion favourable to the peasant rather than to the state – within the prescribed norms of course. In other words, the farmer's intention was to enter into a social relationship with a public servant, who in addition to his salary paid by the state (but ultimately supplied by the taxpayers) received gifts the immaterial value of which represented that social relationship. By accepting the gift, the receiver – a state official after all – entered into a gift exchange of objects that represented very different immaterial values. On the one side, the food and drink offered originated in a universe of close social relationships between relatives, neighbours or friends, whereas, on the other side, the gift of a cadastral re-valuation of the land originated in the state's relationships with its citizens. Connecting these two different origin relations by means of the exchange of the respective gifts created value in the social sense (Platenkamp 2013c: 4-5). It made it possible to measure the state and the legitimacy of its rules and regulations against the worth of close social relationships. At this point it is important to note that public officials solving land matters such as geodesists, agronomists and lawyers, were habitually assigned one geographic area.

Once the status of a parcel had been changed, one could apply to the municipality to have the status of protected farm revoked and in case of a negative decision by the ministry in question, to re-assess by the local agronomist the applicability of the protected farm status. Once the farm-holder lost its protected status – which usually did not occur during the period in question in spite of continuous appeals – the descendants could build houses on the plots, so that parcels could in fact become the object of inheritance and market transfers.

Alternatively, changes in land use which resulted in higher cadastral income were not reported to the geodetic office. As said, this resulted in a disparity between official statistics and the actual state of affairs. According to the local geodesy expert, the initial post-war heads of the farms continued to act as they had learned from their fathers: maintaining the maps and the list of parcels which they measured by the centimetre, upholding the norms and practices regarding the border marks. The state further adopted a normative framework to promote a land-use in accordance with the regime's aim to disadvantage private farming. The 1974 Law on Land Cadastre (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 16-141/1974, No. 42-1868/1986) introduced the so-called border debate. This was the official procedure of defining the border,

conditional upon the presence and agreement of all bordering neighbours. Previously, all geodetic measurements had been conducted in the presence of one owner, namely, the client who ordered measurements. In 1980, after the Law on Basic Property Relations (Official Gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 6-88/1980, No. 20/1980: 784) had been adopted, the criteria for adverse possession claim was altered in the sense of enhancing the possibility of acquiring land by reducing the time span involved from 30 to 20 years (and 10 years in the case of extraordinary adverse possession). Until 1967, the law had not required obtaining permission for smaller buildings, such as a wine storage shed (*zidanica*). Thereafter, however, an official approval was necessary. Nevertheless, the regulations were not ignored unless they directly interfered with the established practices. Most locals did not appeal to geodesists for setting the borders but continued the practice of oral agreements when needed and proceeded with the illegal construction of smaller buildings: if an inspector declared it illegal – when for instance someone informed the authorities – they obtained the official permits after all. And since adverse possession was in fact a method of (voluntary) land transfer rather than adverse possession proper the norms pertaining to the organisation of landed property were bypassed or only employed to meet one's end. This discrepancy between the norms of the transfer and use of land, on the one hand, and the actual transfers and use of land, on the other, shows that the locally acknowledged principles of administering the land remained to be followed in practice. In other words, the land-related legislative order of the period in question did not affect the established practices of land transfers.

Furthermore, land still was the arena in which social relations were played out. This was particularly the case with long-time neighbours. Informants recall disagreements over a trifle, such as a neighbour casting a certain look at his neighbour's wife, a grievance which itself was not addressed but taken up in reference to the land by starting a border dispute. Generational succession was also a cause of land disputes. This occurred when ancestral land was inherited in two successive generations. Siblings inherited their inheritance shares according to the will of their father, the house head. These siblings then passed down these shares to their children who then began to argue with each other that their grandfather had done injustice to their parents. Informants maintain that disputes among kin were the most severe and long-lasting. The involved parties

originated in the same House and their relation being based on their shared identity could never be completely severed. Another source of conflict in succession were cases of a house welcoming an in-marrying husband, who became the possessor of the whole – or half in case his wife inherited the other half – of his father-in-law's property. By receiving this gift-by-marriage, he adopted the role of the new farm head and the guardian of an estate. The son-in-law who acted initially as the guardian of the House's estate subsequently re-established the relations of this House with other Houses, although he was this Houses in-married husband only.

Such local non-market transfers of land, and the disputes between neighbours, kin or non-kin, all concerned social relations between the exchange partners, from which the state was excluded. By contrast, most market transfers of land involved parcels of particular categories of land (see Part Two) located distant from the house. Thus, land in an area of vineyards could be sold to non-villagers, so that townspeople (*vikendaši*) could build a weekend house. Before selling it sufficed when the holder of the plot showed the buyer the borders. This might easily lead to a border dispute. The buyer would refer to the accuracy of his map and pursue his claim by ordering an official measurement and occasionally by legal counsel. The peasant neighbour, on the other hand, built his argument on an entirely different premise, involving the *usus* border, oral agreements between and confirmed by the neighbours, hence a legitimacy deriving from his long-term presence on the land and from his local social relationships.

Observing the land

In addition to defining the categories of land and the procedures of its transfer, the State also intervened in the processes of land cultivation. For instance, along with the global and local news detailed instructions were communicated to the peasants in front of the church after the Sunday mass. Locals recall how the parish crier, a man with a strong voice would pronounce the danger of the potato beetle and instruct that the fields must be inspected that very Sunday afternoon. In this manner, one prevented the observance of Sunday as a Christian day of rest. The case is informative about how the regime communicated with the locals through long established practices and the manner in which state communication was imposed upon them in everyday practice. Informants also recollect with

aversion the compulsory deliveries of products (see p. 178). They meticulously remember the precise dates, the place and the means for the required quota to be delivered. This compulsory delivery represented an obligatory and immediate exchange of objects of two different origins and of prescribed utility value. The State, rejecting religious belief and praxis, interfered with the Church blessing of fields. It did not actually prohibit these, but enforced rules to that effect, such as the one forbidding the church procession to cross the main street. The State thus ignored and prevented the fulfilment of a necessary condition for the land to give yield. In some villages, crosses and chapels were removed or damaged by the sympathisers of the regime. And yet, the beliefs and actions described in Part Two were still transmitted to the next generation, evidencing their tenacity, albeit marked by a certain loss of pertinent representations since many an informant declared “not care for such things”. As a result, peasants retreated from the public village life to the domain of the house. One thus observes how the land was subjected to the regulations deriving from the respective State ideologies about peasant society, its economy, its landed resources and its beliefs. These regulations impacted on – and clashed with – local ideas and practices that were steered by entirely different values. It were these values through which social relationships are maintained, created, re-established, and changed, ensuring the reproduction of the local social structure.

In the societal context of socialism, land was subjected to sets of values quite different from those pertaining in the contexts of feudalism and capitalism. When “values, cultural meanings, and social and power relations” are “sufficiently stable and coherent” we may employ the concept of “property regime” (Verdery 2003: 18). They “organize persons with respect to one another and to things, goods, or values” [...] by means of different devices such as land claims (*op.cit.*: 19). The ways in which land in Podgorje could be alienated and appropriated (as described here) reveal how different property regimes – ranging from private property to state and socialist property – coexisted.

House and larger society

Village

In the 15th release of the local weekly Dolenjski List in the year 1951 an article describes the post-war Podgorje settlements, it lists reparation and construction works by members of the People's Committee, mentions the *zadruga* management, a shortage of firewood, and adds a note on the village without neighbourly help as neighbours did not speak to one another (Gošnik 1951: 4). Although approving of the regime the article reveals what constituted the village in this period. It was a unit under the political authority of the State, promoting a joint effort for higher standards of living, ignoring all church affairs, but observing relations which do not concur with the State promoted solidarity.

During the Second World War, the Podgorje region was of predominantly collaborationist "white" orientation, some villages half collaborationist and half partisan, with the exception of Gabrje, the first village under the Trdina Peak at the foot of the Gorjanci hill, because of its communist orientation designated as Little Moscow. After the war, the relationships within the village were predominantly the collaborationist ones taken up during the war. 'Village man', head of the village community, however were members of the People's Committee (*odborniki*), thus co-operators of the regime, and were in charge of compulsory deliveries. The following is an example of a village under study in order to present the manner in which such relations became established.

The first 'village man' after the war was not a peasant but a newcomer to the village, who during the war had fought at the partisan side and thereafter acted as a secret service informant.²²³ According to my informants, another man, who had no obvious motive for sympathising with the regime, would instruct the village men who had served in the conservative-catholic Militia (*Domobranci*) and planned to come home to notify the nearest authorities when they arrive. Having followed these instructions, the men were killed. Villagers recall how this regime collaborator was the first in the village to obtain a radio and was also one of the receivers of expropriated land. He thus acquired significant benefits for his activities. He acted as the next 'village man,' politically appointed like his predecessor, and kept his position until the 1970s. Thereafter, 'village men' were

223 He purchased a house of a head who had no progeny (see pp. 121-122).

selected for a four years period by the villagers. It appears that the regime collaborator's post-war deeds had been avenged. His son died in what was officially confirmed a hunting accident, although my informants said that in fact it was a retaliation (at whose hands I could not ascertain).

The villager in charge of compulsory deliveries, on the other hand, like all other village men had been interrogated after the war, but he was the only one who actually returned home. In exchange for his life he was to be in the service of the authorities. He was regarded with mistrust by the villagers. According to his daughter, he felt guilty throughout his life as he was the only one who joined the *Domobranci* Militia and had survived. He felt compelled to help the widows in the village with the work on their farm-holds by tilling their fields. However, villagers would refrain from asking him for help or communicate with him on any other matter. His father, who before the war had attained the positions of municipal counsellor and *village man* – a privileged role assigned to his son too – after the war still preserved the village and cadastral municipality plans which would be discussed in their house after Sunday mass. His son, however, refused to accept the task, and thereafter the plans were kept in the municipal office in the neighbouring village.

Houses of these three men were subject to communal avoidance. The great disjunction between 'us' and 'them' marking the interbellum socio-political order of Slovenia was thus transferred to the social domain of the village.

Village affairs were under the jurisdiction of the village community, while general decisions were to be taken by the People's Committee and later by the Local Community. The village community thus became represented in the People's Committee or Local Community. The cooperation between neighbours and village members continued under the conditions set by the regime and according to the pre-war principles on which the relations between households were founded (see Part Two).

These cooperative relationships assumed four different modalities. First, the regime made the renovation of old and the construction of new houses coincide with the renovation or renewal of the village infrastructure, including the transportation and communication systems, the water and power supplies, and public institutions such as schools and post offices. In addition, from 1948 to 1950, the so-called "socialist transformation of the village" (AS in Čepič 2005f: 892) included the construction of a village building (*zadružni* or *družbe-*

ni dom, literally *zadruga* or social home) that was to be the economic and cultural centre of the village and to replace as such the (succursal or parish) church (Čepič 2005f: 892-893). Communal infrastructure should be provided by the residents themselves – with the assistance of some hired contractors – made possible by a local self-imposed contribution in money and labour calculated per house. The contribution in labour was measured for example in the number of meters to be dug for the telephone wire or water tubes, and cost of laying asphalt per meter. If a house did not contribute labour, the hours of labour required from it was to be supplied in money. In contrast to the balanced exchange envisaged, locals ascertain how the contributions were neither equally nor fairly imposed upon each house. It was not clear to them how the money collected was spent nor whether all households indeed contributed the prescribed amounts. When, for example, a village road had been completed, the village would organise several parties (*veselica*), designating *likof*, a communal meal following communal work.

The second modality of cooperative relationships deviated from the established pattern of mutual assistance. Mandatory deliveries (see p. 178) of cattle decreased its numbers. The performance of the agricultural tasks was dependent on cattle being available to pull the plough and to gather wood from the forest. One therefore demanded a cooperation on the basis of the horses, oxen and cows available. Though, households without a prior existing cooperative relationship between them remained independent of each other.

The third modality of cooperative relationships pertained to the construction of houses and agricultural buildings. A household would repay to all assisting households the corresponding construction service.

The construction work lasted a relatively long time, as it took at least ten years to complete a new build. The reason was the (un)availability of the building material (of concrete and iron in particular), in the inflation of the currency, and in the fact these new-builds were self-constructed. The latter involved the labour of relatives and co-villagers, also co-workers from other Podgorje villages, to whom the equivalent service was to be repaid in service later. To ensure such a reciprocity, a photo of every major construction work completed was taken to provide a proof of the assistance rendered.

And fourthly, the Podgorje residents cooperated with the cooperative (*zadruga*) being the only official manner to at least partly sustain one's livelihood by agriculture. A cooperative was located in every larger Podgorje settlement.

A household head would conclude a contract with it stipulating that the household (members) would produce crops which cooperative was to repay within a given time or repay in kind (such as stock, milk). In the village under study, villagers would construct a covered cooling pool in which to keep the milk which farms delivered in exchange for a corresponding fee. The farm that had proposed this and allowed the pool to be constructed on its land was also the one assessing the volume of milk contributed by each and providing the payment for it. And, as already noted, children and their mothers collected herbs and fruits which they sold to the cooperative. The fruits collected were weighed and their price paid. The money received was used to purchase school supplies, clothes and shoes. In this manner, the state-owned and government-managed cooperatives connected the peasants to the State.

These four modalities of cooperation and their respective forms of exchange are grounded in the necessity of mutual assistance. When from the mid-1970s onwards, agricultural machinery entered Podgorje, this substituted human labour, made labour cooperation partially redundant and this made a certain self-sufficiency of the farm possible. Informants recollect precisely who in the village was the first to purchase a tractor and who followed suit. Podgorje peasants who were members of cooperatives, while remaining private farmers enjoyed the support for their agricultural activities from the state, hence were subject to tax relief and other benefits.²²⁴ For those who were not part of such an agreement, purchasing farming machinery, tractors especially, was a long and expensive venture, for there were the salesmen and transport agents to be paid. Separating the population according to their involvement with and profiting from the regime thus created differences in wealth in the village. Another way to purchase the machinery was by manipulating exchange rates. The buyer could purchase the tractor with Dinars and foreign currency (*devize*), usually German Marks, the latter being a guarantee against the unstable value of Dinar and high inflation rates. In order to collect the required amount of money, peasants took loans with the bank. Once the order was made, the waiting time for the machine to arrive began. If peasants purchased tractors manufactured in

224 The farm-hold heads requested for the peasant status with the authorities, arguing the amount of land they disposed with, whether or not they were employed, by whom the land was cultivated and the animals bred.

Romania or Czechoslovakia they were subject to import limitations and custom duties. Being a widely demanded object, several candidates would await the arrival of a tractor and its to the person able to meet the demands of the delivery agent. With the Dinar falling in value, the more time having passed since the order had been placed, the more expensive was the machinery once it actually was available.²²⁵ The appropriate social connections playing a vital role, the differences in wealth further increased. They impacted on the long-term perseverance of the farm-hold as we shall see presently.²²⁶ In extreme cases all cooperative relationships were cut. For instance, informants described a hamlet where this was the case as a settlement “where five houses and five devils live.” Usually, however, the high level of social control and neighbourly relations, even when marked by competition, embedded Houses in the social structure of the village. For example, the amount of agricultural work that could be completed depended on the number of people, equipment and time available to the household. The house members preferred to take care of their agricultural and other tasks by themselves. But even though the manner of attending to farming tasks and the produce obtained were closely monitored by co-villagers, the relationships between households should always serve the reproduction of one’s own household.

The Socialist regime created in Podgorje forms of community different from the previous one based on common village land or consisting of a community of unmarried village men. A managing their common affairs the village as a community of neighbours acted under a leadership that was initially installed, and later approved by the Socialist regime. The State thus employed an existing form of community action but based in on an entirely different premise. It involved village women who collected charity funds for the Red Cross, a role passed on from the *gospodinja*, female head of one house to that of another one. It doing so it employed the established circulation of the role from one House to another.

225 Purchasing a car represented a similar process.

226 The local weekly Dolenjski List regularly entailed a column for *preklici*, “withdrawals of statements” in which one would take back rummers and slanders, or thank the other party from giving up on the law suit.

But the village also consisted of the established relations between households intrinsically connected to the Church. The roles of sexton (*mežnar*) and succursal church caretaker (*cirkmošter*) related to the succursal church, unlike ‘village man’ (*vaški mož*), circulated between the Houses uninterruptedly immediately after the war. Ceremonies demonstrative of communal values and social identities were connected to the religious holidays. However, under the Socialist Regime these became part of and were conducted within the privacy of the house. The Shrovetide came to be performed by children visiting village houses (cp. p. 99-100).

The newly ‘invented traditions’ adopted from Christianity, on the other hand, had no significance for the maintenance of the House and village community. They were, however, attended by the local people and took place in public secular spaces. These ‘traditions’ included *Dedek mraz*, the socialist alternative to Santa Claus who visited children at school presenting them with the gifts, oranges and candies for which the parents had provided the money. In the 1970s the ‘village man’ no longer needed to be selected by, but the candidate chosen by the village still had to be acceptable to the state authorities. This contributed to the mutual mistrust and persistent distancing marking the relationships of the village and the church. And when subsequently the village re-instituted a system of – conceptually circulatory – relationships, the decline in agriculture as the base of the village community generally ascribed to the lack of time, signified its disintegration.

Parish

Church affairs have retreated from the public into the private sphere. For fear of the regime, parish priests had ceased to write parish chronicles during and after the war – in the village under study until 1974. Geodetic records reveal the fate of the landed property of the parish. A Document (108/48)²²⁷ testifies to the expropriation of 7ha 50a 81m² on behalf of the State and the so-called General People’s Assets with an *usus* claim of the Agricultural Land Community. The parish retained 10ha 56a 89m². In 1955, one of the parcels that had remained in the possession of the parish was purchased by the local cooperative, *kmetijska zadruga*. In 1987 the parish handed over a meadow adjacent to the

227 Obtained at the Stopiče parish office.

cemetery to the Local Community to extend the graveyard, and received a forest from the Agricultural Land Community of Novo Mesto municipality in return the parcels are of approximately the same size (110m²) and belong to the same cadastral municipality. The cemetery itself had not been expropriated even though the Church had no longer banned deceased sinners and unbelievers from its holy ground.

After the war, the local priest still cultivated the parish land with the assistance of his mother, his sister and the occasional parishioners. From the 1970s onwards, a Sunday sermon instructed the parishioners to take care of it as the priest lived without family members in the vicarage. He was supported by a housekeeper designated as a rectory's cook (*farovška kuharica*, from German *Pharrhaus*). The latter was a local (retired) woman, who took up residence in the rectory, and whose tasks went beyond the mere preparing meals for the priest and those parishioners who came to work on the parish land. She adopted a role of a female head of the parish's house (*gospodinja*), managed part of the parish funds and acted as one who spread the local news among other parishioners, which provided her with an ambivalent moral reputation.

In 1973 and 1974 the decisions pertaining to the parish discussed here followed upon consultations by the parish pastoral council, whose members were selected by the priest according to the religiosity of the house in question. Each village contributed one representative. According to my informants the discussions conducted after the Sunday mass, dealt mostly with the proper ways to pass on the Catholic teachings, rather than with the economics of the parish. When, in 1974, the priest was transferred to another parish, a new priest arrived who began to record pertinent parish events, but by the 1990s a parish pastoral council was no longer active.

Furthermore, an increasing secularisation characteristic of modernity, and the attending decline in religious actions manifested itself in that bed-time prayers that parents used to say every evening, from the 1970s onwards were no longer uttered after their offspring had left home. Those who ceased going to church held present-day priests accountable for the treason and collaboration perpetrated by the Catholic church during World War Two. The relation between parishioners and the church was also constrained by the rules enforced by the au-

thorities that interfered with church actions. Teachers would tend to neglect the children who attended catechism and the mass, and those skipping class on Christmas Day. Locals nevertheless would continue to exchange with priests, albeit discretely. *Ofer*, donating money during Mass was presented on Sundays and at religious festivities in addition to gifts presented at other particular occasions. For example, *bira* was offered to the priest by the villagers who departed on foot by night to the rectory to ask for the blessing of the land. Other gifts, such as a portion of pork as a sacrifice to God ensured a blessing as well. Thus, exchanges with God continued to take place, even though they retreated into the private sphere so as to avoid potential repercussions from the state.

According to the Slovenian Public Opinion survey (SJM 1968–1990), from 1945 to 1978 of all the Slovenian regions the Dolenjska region experienced the sharpest decline in the number of people proclaiming themselves religious and taking part in religious activities. Thereafter the data indicate a revitalisation in religiosity and religious actions. This development, however, although less intensive than the previous of process of secularisation, still was more pronounced than the state average. Some scholars (e.g. Roter 1982, Verbič 1990) argued that the industrialisation and political regime to have contributed to the secularisation whereas the social-economic crisis was inducive to the religious revitalisation. Smrke (2015: 216) cautiously complemented these explanations with Janez Trdina's observations on the putative "Dolenjska character" such as unprincipled attitudes and hypocrisy, and with Max Weber's statements on the utilitarian and pragmatic religion of the peasantry. Be this as it may, the Second World War and the post-war events affected the Dolenjska region more than any other Slovenian region.

Industrial enterprise

With the institution of Socialism, peasant identity became re-defined as part of a category labelled 'means of production' within the Socialist State as a whole. The so-called 'peasant-worker' acted both as a consumer and producer of such means of production. In contrast to those in Transylvania, the Slovenian rural population did not become "proletarianised by collectivisation" (Verdery 1983: 48). Immediately after the war, a married young family head and any adult unmarried children still living at home would commute daily to work in military

warehouses or industrial or agricultural corporations that by now were state-owned to contribute to the house fund. Informants speak of the work outside the farm as unseemly but unavoidable. And a local geodesy official argued that the largest farms collapsed because the people proudly persisted to farm without an extra source of income. This kind of physical labour, which the local population regarded as *tabrh* (see Part Two), was performed against payment (*mezda*) calculated according to the hours of work, not the result. It therefore represented an immediate reciprocal transaction, entailing the exchange of daily/weekly labour for daily/weekly payment in money and coupons convertible into products manufactured by the employees. In contrast, employment called *služba*, initially denoted non-manual labour in exchange for a monthly salary (*plaća*). This distinction was based on the level of education as defined by laws from the last quarter of the 19th Century onwards. It stipulated that social security and protection be provided for the non-manual but not for the manual labourers. After the Second World War, this distinction was formally abolished. All employees of an enterprise now received monthly salaries designated as their personal income. This included money and coupons for which food (flour, meat, bread oil, sugar) and industrial products (clothing) could be procured at a reduced price (Kresal 1995: 7-23). By then jobs became a long-term engagement between the employee and the employer.

Activities performed in exchange for money nevertheless continued to be valued differently. *Tabrh* remained the term designating hard physical work, which was rarely carried out in socialist organisations. Jobs labelled *služba* referred to non-manual or light physical labour. Manual work labelled *delo* continued to exist.

The Socialist State took up the idea, formulated already during the Yugoslav Kingdom by the political Catholicism, that only “honest” manual work for “fair payment” generated production value (cp. Pelikan 1995:49). In contrast, the idea that non-manual intellectual work generated products of a non-material nature, signified its lack of moral quality. Locally, however, hard work was understood as work on one’s own farm and not in an organisation. Since in the latter the monetary value of labour was assessed relative to the educational level of the labourer, hard physical labour did not bring in a higher income anyway. The Law on Joint Labour passed in 1976 (Official Gazette of the Socialist

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 53-764/1976) introduced a new means of assessing personal income by taking into account efficiency or work time, years of working experience and the demands of the labour performed. Elderly informants referred to schooling as unimportant. Children coming home from school found a note on the kitchen table informing them which field immediately to attend to. It is only in the 1980s that wealthier and “more progressive” houses sent a child – preferably an eldest son – to the university to enhance his prospects to obtain a well-paid and influential job.

From the mid 1950s onwards, local factories became established, most of which had developed from workshops founded before or after the war – in the former case by means of nationalisation. The largest factories were the textile industries of Labod (1924) and Novoteks (1953), the construction industry Pionir (1947), the wood works Novoles (1954), the Industry of Motor Vehicles (1954) which in 1972 began a cooperation with the French Renault, and the Krka Pharmaceutical Plant (1954). Large enterprises also included state institutions such as hospitals. Excepting the automobile and pharmaceutical industries mentioned and the public service institutions, all other companies collapsed in the period following Independence. Their failure is generally ascribed to the type of management and the production processes that were characteristic of the socialist economy (e.g. Verdery 2003, Kotkin 1995, Dunn 2003, Alexander 2004). Their “centralised planning” was neither adequately planned nor controlled. Managers bargained with one another which resulted in the hoarding of material, on the one hand, and shortages, on the other. This granted power to suppliers to whom the customers had to accommodate themselves in order to receive the materials needed. It stimulated the development of a network of relationships among managers, suppliers and customers not necessarily beneficial to an efficient running of the enterprises in question (Verdery 2003: 20-23).

The firms newly established under the socialist regime acquired labour according to the production plans. These plans made labour abundant and work guaranteed so that in Verdery’s words, socialist organisations “hoarded” labour (Verdery 2003: 22). The local population in addition to their farm labour took up jobs in great numbers in these organisations in order to sustain the farm. Usually more than one adult house member worked in the same firm, and several neighbours or co-villagers would become co-workers. When the goals set by the managers

were not met due to a shortage of material, workers would work in two or three shifts and would collectively take leave in the summer; all such measures determined the working order on the farm. The Communist Party was represented in these production processes through union officials of nominally voluntary membership (in fact all employees were obligatory members), workplace ceremonies, union trips, and other collective activities. Labour tended to be performed in a rather inattentive manner. Informants describe coming to work late, taking long breaks, and smoking, drinking alcohol and other unduly activities during work hours. Verdery (1996: 23) writes of the “oppositional cult of non-work” as workers imitated the Party bosses by doing “as little as possible for their pay-check” and committing “internal sabotage” by “reducing productivity”. However, whether this type of “non-work” was in fact a form of resistance is not evident from the informants’ narratives. They endured the labour valued as *služba* until the eight or fourteen hours had passed, to go home and conduct the labour valued as *delo* on their farm. Workers received wages for their work, coupons, health and social insurance and a pension was guaranteed. Organisations owned vacation properties at the seaside and in the mountains. Employees could apply through the union to spend their ten-days holidays there, but the heads of farms could not. Certain enterprises would also offer housing to their employees under beneficial conditions. In addition, each organisation would offer their employees privileges called *hišni*, literally “belonging to the house”. Initially, such benefits involved favourable conditions for purchasing slightly damaged products such as furniture, fabrics and threads, medicines and cosmetics at affordable prices, possibly also for relatives of employees; in the end everyone could purchase these. Also in view of the fact that in the closed Yugoslav market Slovenian products counted as of the highest quality, people’s affiliation with the local enterprise was manifest in the clothes they wore, the furniture they possessed, the cars they drove (predominantly Fiat and Zastava), all of which was expressive of an ideology promoting the value of equality²²⁸ but manifesting inequality as well between Slovenian and other regional products. Conversely, those who left the closed Yugoslav market to find a job in Germany, for instance, or who crossed

228 In general, the Yugoslav market allowed for a limited number of brands of the same product. For example, mineral water was referred to as *radenska* throughout Yugoslavia, named after Radenska plant where it was bottled.

the state borders to go shopping in Austria and Italy manifested a different set of ideas and values expressed in the objects they were able to purchase.

The Socialist State defined *and* fulfilled the basic needs of those of its citizens who acted as employees of the state enterprises, hence as tax paying subjects, by holding the redistributive power over medical care, food, jobs, housing and education, which Verdery (1996: 25) refers to as “socialist paternalism” and “paternalist superiority.” Consumption was a thoroughly political act as well. People taking goods – objects as well as services – from their workplace did not conceive this as theft, since the people were the owners of the production processes in the first place. Exchanging such (illegally obtained) objects and services in long-term cycles of exchange turned these goods morally valuable – a conversion of values that was “both parasitic upon [the] state economy and inseparable from it” (Verdery 1996: 27).

In addition to the salary and other official benefits provided by the employer, people providing goods and services on behalf of an enterprise or the State received informal benefits as well. For when a client obtained a service or a commodity from the State, or bought it for a fixed price, in addition he should make a gift expressing the relationship between the purchaser and the provider in question. Such transfers could be voluntary or obligatory, depending on the question whether the provider explicitly asked for it. Thus, the representatives of the State employed in offices, hospitals or schools were given foreign or luxury items such as perfume, cigarettes, coffee, chocolates or cosmetics or home-made food products such as spirits, ham or eggs. All such gifts deriving from and expressing the giver’s social identity might be presented before or after the service had been performed. When given earlier it was in fact a bribe, made by hierarchically higher positioned givers such as wealthier and influential locals of high status, who wanted to receive more suitable services. Podgorje residents, however, more commonly made gifts afterwards to express their gratitude. Handing over a bag of gifts (saying “here is something for you”) obliged the receiver to reciprocate on some future occasion, thus establishing a long-term personal cycle of exchange between the giver and the receiver in question. This conformed to the established pattern of exchange (see Part Two) in which services or objects of equivalent immaterial value transferred in actions of delayed reciprocity (Platenkamp 2013c: 4), and in which any “replacement” involved an “expectation” of “future benefits” (Weiner 1980: 78).

In comparison to the commensal meal following joint agricultural work (*likof*), the immaterial value of the home-made foodstuffs and other gifts made to the provider of the goods and/or services received, was the well-being of the giver's House made possible by the provider.

Commodities that were in great demand but difficult to purchase in the "economy of shortage" could only be obtained after long periods of "ritual waiting" (Schwartz 1975:49) and in additional transfers of a bribe in money or in favours made to the intermediate supplier of the commodity in question. Such suppliers were infamous. An informant recollected how the seller said to the buyer: "You work at Labod? And you make shirts? Do these shirts have a pocket? Let there be something in it".

Failure to provide the mediator with the item or service demanded resulted in not receiving the desired commodity. In this type of relationship between buyer and seller, the seller held a hierarchically higher position being the guardian of the rare objects and the holder of re-distributional power. But such transactions did not establish a long-term relationship between the client and the supplier.

More enduring networks of relationships existed between managers, bureaucrats and clerks as procurers of commodities and services. Informants narrate how truckloads of sand intended for construction work would arrive at the house under construction of a bureaucrat, manager or clerk. In contrast, Podgorje peasant-workers performed the role of customers with a limited access to such supplies. The workplace and the farm determined the nature of a person's exchange transaction and his networks of social relationships. These could benefit from previously existing kinship or other types of relations sustained through a 'long-term cycles of exchange'.

In the past exchange transactions had assumed the form of gift exchanges carried out daily between neighbours, relatives and co-villagers. These contributed to the livelihood of the households. Such exchange relationships now became transferred beyond the immediate geographical and social domains, to be applied to the procurer-client relations as promoted by the State.

It has often been argued that the introduction of money eventually would lead to an erosion or dissolution altogether of established patterns of social coherence – a 'great transformation' in Polanyi's well-known phrase (Polanyi 1944;

cp. Simmel 1900, Marx 1967 [1887]), According to such theories, the State promotion of monetarily valued relationships between ‘proletarian’ employees and State enterprises should have had such an impact on the social relations concerned. Anthropological research has revealed, however, that gift and monetised commodity exchanges do not need to interfere with each other “as long as their domains are each declared subject to their own moral precepts and rules of action and are considered autonomous yet interdependent fields of action” (Platenkamp 2013c: 9).

The exchange processes analysed above show how the politico-economic domain of ‘socialist market’ as a sphere of relations between producers and distributors, operated on a distinction between the positions of the exchange partners involved. As a producer or distributor of commodities and services, or as an employer in a socialist enterprise one was assigned a hierarchically higher position than as the receiver respectively employee. But the money deriving from the worker's relationship with the firm, and the goods purchased with it could be transferred along “socially approved channels of expenditure and consumption” (Parry and Bloch 1996 [1989]: 25) to acquire the value of gifts circulating along the various social relations.

Life-cycle rituals

In the post-1945 Yugoslavia, life-cycle rituals were affected by the State promoted secularisation. Rituals that previously involved the Church representing the State, now became segregated sets of exchanges between the believer and the Church on the one side and the citizen and the State on the other. Religiously defined as sacraments, the initiation rites became (also) a matter of *état civil*²²⁹. Life-cycle rituals symbolically represent and socially construct a culturally specific order of time (Leach 1961, Evans-Pritchard 1940). In the process of “etatisation” of time (Verdery 1996:40), the Yugoslav State introduced a secular order of time running parallel to the Christian calendar. Likewise, religiously conceived life cycle rituals and the age-defining initiation rites of the First Communion and Confirmation, were given their secular counterparts. At the age of seven, a child became a *pionir*. The uniform included black shoes, blue skirts for girls, and a blue pair of pants and for boys. Both girls and boys wore white

229 State registry books became introduced in 1946 (Umek 1997: 7-9).

shirts, a red neckerchief and a military style hat called *titovka* (after Tito). On May 25, Tito's birthday, and later on November 29, The Day of the Republic, the first graders would pronounce the Oath of the Pioneer (*Častna pionirska*) pledging "to learn diligently and persistently, so as to serve the homeland and its people; to be a loyal and a good person, a child worthy of its People and a worthy member of the great Family of Nations who follow the path of Progress, Justice and Peace" (my translation A.R.). Once having become part of the Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia, the prescribed salutation was "Onwards for the homeland with Tito!" (*Za domovino, s Titom – naprej!*) (Ognjanovič, Prelič 1980: 219, 274; my translation A.R.). Having finished elementary school, the *pionirji* became "Juniors" (*mladinci*²³⁰) of the Association of the Communist and – from 1974 onwards – the Socialist Youths of Yugoslavia. Those who engaged themselves politically were designated as *skojevci* an acronym composed of the initial letters of the *Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije* (SKOJ), League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia. From 1957 onwards, SKOJ organised the annual celebration of Tito's birthday by performing the Youth Relay (*Štafeta mladosti*), a ceremonial relay race taking place throughout Yugoslavia passing the baton with a birthday pledge to Tito. Men reached adulthood when, having completed the compulsory military service, they had become members of the Yugoslav People's Army (JLA).

Birth

A child born within the secular Yugoslav State became a citizen, an individual member of the political community who by observing the values and norms of the Socialist society should contribute to its realisation and its reproduction as a whole. At birth, the newborn was endowed with a birth certificate and from 1976 onwards personal identification number (*EMŠO – enotna matična številka občana*). By this means a child was incorporated into the state system, be expected to fulfil its duties and exercise its rights. An individual person's identity could thus be verified by the date and place of birth, and the name, that is personal and the father's family name as indicators.

230 And up to 28 years of age.

The post-war demographic data in the collected genealogies reveal a decline in the births ratio, moving from an initial number of four to five children in the mid-1940s to three and two from 1980s onwards. This development is generally ascribed by the local people to the want for higher standard of living introduced by modern technological and scientific developments.

One of the immediate post-war consequences in the lives of the Podgorje people was the procedure of giving birth. The State health care system, although not excluding or prohibiting home births, favoured and facilitated hospital births. In one of the first issues of the local weekly *Dolenjski List*, a medical doctor described the advantages of hospital births, such as the use of proper equipment in a clean environment and the mother's entitlement to a post-partum period of rest of eight days (Oblak 1955: 2). All these advantages Podgorje women welcomed, according to Rožman (2004: 120). From the 1950s onwards, the majority of Podgorje women would give birth in the so called "Women's Hospital" in Novo Mesto if they managed to arrive there in time. It was not uncommon for oxen and their master working away from home, and the women still working as well until the labour pains started. Rožman (2004: 121) tells of the experiences of women in labour who lacked transportation to the hospital in Novo Mesto, so that they walked for up to several hours to reach it, unless they managed to obtain transportation. The women designated such a journey as a pilgrimage, "God's path to Rome". In the 1960s an ambulance service became available and in the 1970s the first cars arrived in Podgorje. Women gave birth in the maternity ward where they were entitled to stay for a week before returning home. Nevertheless, beliefs and practices regarding the "young mother" (*otročnica*) and the new-born were observed until 1991, except for the Churching of Women which was after the Second World War no longer performed.

Following clinical birth practice, baptism would no longer be performed at the same or the next day. However, as in earlier times, when they returned from the hospital the child and the mother were presented with bread, wine and chicken by her parents. The Christening took place one or two months later in a baptismal ritual performed for several new-borns in the parish simultaneously, possibly after Sunday Mass. In contrast to the previous period, parents took part in their child's Christening. If, however, political pressure was put on the parents

to refrain from having their child baptised, it would be the grandmothers or aunts who would secretly carry the child to the church without its parents' knowledge. Hence, it were the women who took the responsibility for the child's incorporation into the Christian community that provided it with God's protection and means to salvation. According to Naumescu (2007: 77), during the Soviet period baptism represented "the most commonly practiced underground ritual among eastern Christians" as well. The data collected show that baptism in church was carried out in its established ritual form throughout the socialist period. However, it usually took place during or after Sunday Mass and involved only one godparent.

A godmother or a godfather for the child was chosen by the parents from the latter's brothers and sisters following the same principles as in the past (see pp. 125-126). They presented the child with objects valued as luxuries such as gold and money, while also contributing to the white clothes and the candle, symbols of Christian baptism provided by the parents. These additional gift objects presented by the godparent embodied both the access to luxurious objects of high value, and the significant tasks assigned to the godparent. By his/her transfer the child became endowed with these valued qualities. The golden objects in particular signified in their composite value the role assigned to the godparents. Being of high market value but of no immediate utility value, and contributing to the material security of which the State claimed to be the provider, the gold transferred in conjunction with the religious pledge identified the godparent as the guardian of the material and immaterial, the secular and the religious welfare of his/her godchild.

In 1955, the State introduced the so-called Civil Christening. The local weekly *Dolenjski List* reported when such a ceremony was first conducted in a given town or place (e.g. Gošnik 1956b: 3; Gošnik 1956a: 2). It was performed at the municipal or local office by the president of the municipal assembly or of the local committee. It rarely occurred that Tito himself acted as godfather to the tenth child of families from Dolenjska. It indicates that under exceptional circumstances, a high-ranking person could also be chosen for this ceremonial role (e.g. Gošnik 1952a: 1; Jeraj 1952: 1; cp. p. 125). The articles in the *Dolenjska List* further specify the gifts given to the child by the municipal/local committee and godparents. These included gifts of money and the so-called savings booklet, and these forged a social relationship of a credit-debt (Ingham

2001) and “ethical trust” (*confiance ethique*, Aglietta *et al.* 1998) between the child and the political community into which it was born. My informants, however, did not know of the existence of this institution of Civil Christening²³¹. It obviously never gained prevalence. Being structured like the actual religious baptism it was intended to provide a child with relations of ceremonial kinship and a name – a process in which the State aspired to taking the status of the Church. But instead of introducing the child by means of gifts of blessed water and a baptismal candle into the Church the child was to be bound to the State.

Name

Phrases expressing the relation between a person’s name and his birthday (such as “every pig has a birthday, not every pig has a name day”) not only emphasise the social nature of human beings, they also invoke the person’s relation with his/her protector being the one who intercedes with God in case of need. Still, by the end of the socialist period from the late 1970s onwards, birthdays became the main personal annual celebration.

By this time, when the State had introduced the personal identification number (the EMŠO, see p. 220) the name giving began to deviate from the established pattern described earlier (see pp. 124-125). Genealogical records reveal a wide set of names hitherto not employed. These were not the names of saints related in one way or another to agriculture nor did correspond to those laid down in the Slovenian Christian calendar. Instead they derived predominantly from other Slavic and rarely from Germanic languages. Thus, men began to be named Andrej, Marko, Rok, Miha, Boštjan, Igor, or Simon; women were given the names Andreja, Barbara, Petra, Maja, Urška, Mateja, Mojca, Katja, or Klavdija. Parents would choose a name they considered beautiful or was carried by a person they admired or were fond of. The qualities embodied in such persons were transferred along with their name to the child which indicates a secularisation of valued qualities. They acknowledged the meaning of the patron saints but their authority no longer influenced the reproduction of the House. Therefore, the names of parents, parents’ brothers and sisters, and grandparents were no longer transferred to the younger generation. The fund of personal names thus

231 They asked me to describe it and then asked the meaning of it.

was extended beyond the immediate domain of the House; they signified no longer the person as member of the community of the House but as an individual human being.

Death

After World War II, the State did not appropriate the cemetery plots – these remained in the possession of the parish while being managed by the Local Community – but they became the burial site for deceased citizens of the State. Thus, in a formal sense the cemetery became a civil space. This meant a significant change from the cemetery valued as a holy site. Having lived a life of sin or virtue – the basic values informing life in the Christian community – no longer determined at what side of the cemetery wall a deceased was to be buried. Burials outside the cemetery came to be forbidden. For all deceased residents of local settlements, their State citizenship determined where they would find their eternal rest. The conventional representations and actions pertaining to death thus were radically contested.

In the 1950s, memorials for partisans – their names engraved in red letters on the tombstone – were set up both in cemeteries and in the sites of particular importance beyond. Cemeteries of partisan oriented communities further had a separate area where rows of individual graves of partisans were placed. They were the only victims of war honoured this way. “Victims of the white guard, the home guard, and civilian victims in the post-war time became non-victims: their names disappeared along with their fates to be replaced by the original sin of the wrong decision” (Sadek 2009). What “... remained was a collective guilt which served as a suitable argument to explain all the “wrong” victims” (Sadek 2009; my translation A.R.). Lost members of the conservative-catholic Militia (*domobranci*) were to be deleted from the social memory – as were civilian victims of partisan killings. They only gained official acknowledgement as war victims from the 1980s²³² onwards when the Socialistic regime began to disin-

232 In the last ten years, mistakes have been observed on the graves stones. Local historian Polenšek noticed: the same persons listed twice, names missing, and names of those who are still alive (in Sadek 2009), indicating promotion of the national liberation struggle and the ideology on which it was founded.

tegrate. From then on two memorials appear as the most prominent features of Podgorje cemeteries, expressing the distinction between the two opposing parties, the “whites” and the “reds”.

In accordance to the socialist value of equality, hitherto anonymous transient graves gradually turned into permanent places of eternal rest. These were made possible by lease contracts concluded between the Local Community and the head of a House the deceased members of which, including children, were mentioned by name on the headstone. The previous practice of continuous re-digging or re-utilisation of peasant graves was substituted by burials in separate House graves. The dead of the House thus replaced the community of the dead. Informants recall how previously remnants of the dead had been disinterred without their relatives being informed – possibly because of the inter-war involvement of these deceased or their House members.

The distinction between the Christian graves and those graves of the so-called combatants – both typed embellished with flowers and candles – was evident in the symbols of the cross respectively the five-pointed stars displayed on the headstones. Local Catholic informants, however, recall how combatants’ graves of appeared more lavishly decorated as their Houses enjoyed certain privileges which provided them with higher material standing.

From the 1970s onwards there is an increased concern with taking care of the graves: one regularly lights candles, brings fresh flowers and flowering plants. The care one took of one’s family grave is closely observed by fellow parishioners, for great importance is attached showing concern for the deceased in the appropriate way. This is particularly the case on All Saints’ Day on the 1st of November (a national holiday since 1929), which became to be named the Day of the Dead. The day before, female house members clean and decorate the grave and the house members visit the graves of those who had been born to their House but had married out and had been buried in the cemetery of their spouses’ village. There they light the candle and visit their relatives-in-law.

As foreseen in their school curriculum pupils would visit partisan graves and light candles. Thereupon two separate ceremonies were held. The first one was for the partisan dead. This commemoration ceremony for war victims entailed local political officials making speeches, children reciting poems and a marching band playing brass music. The second ceremony – presently still per-

formed – was a Mass said in the church and prayers conducted in the cemetery for the local community of the dead, also for partisans. Having visited the graves of their relatives in other places, people were now at their own House grave where they received a blessing from the priest.

The funeral

The passing away of a person called for the performance of the life cycle ritual of death so as to re-constitute the social order. The post-war government introduced the civil funeral in contrast to what became denoted as a ‘church funeral’. Whereas the latter retained the Christian significance of death the civil funeral retained the format of the Christian one but radically altered its meaning and symbolism. Since Socialism aimed to achieve the status of religion itself, death should not entail the transfer of a person’s ‘soul’ to his/her heavenly source but the end of that person’s existence. This atheist ideology, unlike the Christian concern for the state of the soul in the afterlife, focused on the deceased’s loyalty and contribution to the society and his/her immediate kin, a prestation for which the society was indebted. This debt was repaid in the pensions provided²³³ and the support enabling orphaned children to continue schooling. Actually, the funeral represented the only rite of passage bringing together the State and the Catholic Church in a joint ceremonial action. The order of the procession was in concordance with the local convention (see Part Two) but it placed the national recognition over the religious one.

According to the data collected in the field, the structure and the content of the church burial ceremonies as described earlier (see pp. 130-139), remained unchanged throughout the Socialist period. From the 1950s onwards, however, death became visually documented. The house members hired a photographer to take photos of the funerary rite, a practice that got transferred from important and wealthier funerals to peasant ones. Informants’ photographs featured images such as those of the deceased lying on bier with House members standing around it, of wreaths and flowers placed in the background, the closed coffin decorated with the flower arrangements presented, of all participants of the funeral gath-

233 “Solely the bitch which barked at partisans has not received the pension”, is often said for Gabrje, the Podgorje village of which the inhabitants joined the partisan side during the World War Two most numerously.

ered in front of the house, of the procession to the church, and of the gravesite. The photos thus testify to the distinct parts of the religious funeral.

The civil death ceremonies adopted the structure of what now became specifically designated ‘church funeral’, but removed the religious components such as the Extreme Unction, saying prayers, the first and subsequent celebrations of the Holy Mass, and any Christian symbols. The following focuses on people’s decision for the one or the other type of funerary ceremony, on the differences in the performance in relation to the orientation of the village, and on its implications on the relation between the House and the larger society. Unfortunately, no account exists of the funerals conducted in Podgorje at the time of Socialist Yugoslavia.

In the area of study, the civil funeral was an exception – a fact generally ascribed to the inter-war collaboration of the local population with the occupying Italian and German forces which was promoted by the Catholic Church. Data acquired in the wider area about villages of mixed and of predominantly partisan affiliation reveal that the decision on the type of burial performed for a deceased house member was communally taken by all House members. In addition, all residents of a settlement would generally be buried in either the Christian or in the civil manner; in mixed settlements, the deceased would be buried in the Christian fashion, for according to local informants “one never knows.” Therefore, not attending church out of sympathy with or adherence to partisan and socialist views did not necessarily signify an atheist stance or conviction. Conversely, a church burial not necessarily bore witness of Christian beliefs. In case a person who during the war fought on the partisan side wanted to be buried in Christian fashion, a decision on the type of burial was to be made by the priest interpolated by the House members and the parish community.

Secondly, the decision to attend a funeral of a non-House member depended on the possibility that the deceased had harmed one’s House, for instance in the form of the interbellum or post-war killings, espionage or sabotage. But since “hatred should not be pursued beyond the grave” (Sadek 2009) in Slovenia the biblical talion principle, “an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,” became abolished in 1989. One also considered whether to be seen participating in funerals might lead to difficulties at the work place. This question was related to the party membership. Being subject to surveillance it led to interrogations “if a person merely looked at the church”, according to my informants. Both cases had

evoked fear among my informants. Since the type of death ceremonies reflected the social identity of the deceased the people's "contested identity" (Schwartz 2001) resulting from the conflicts of war and the post-war ideological separation were unveiled in the different participations in the death ceremonies – the latter being persistently expressive of a conflict-ridden social identity.

In contrast to the religious form of the funeral described in Part Two, the civil funeral carrying military and ideological meanings expressed the deceased's relation with the State. For the civil funeral was performed for those who had contributed to the successful national liberation struggle and those who were loyal to the socialist regime that they had helped create. Participants in the ceremony were combatants standing guard in front of the deceased's house and at the funeral site, carrying the medals, awards and ribbons awarded to the deceased during his life, and the flags of the communities of partisans, the Communist Party and the State. Municipal and local officials, representatives of the firm and working colleagues, members of the worker's union of which the deceased was part all gave speeches, commemorating the deceased's life and his or her contribution to the welfare of society; a marching band played songs of resistance and national hymns and folk songs.

The fact that both types of death ceremony were maintained points towards the continuity of the exchange transactions, carried out between the different communities to which the deceased was affiliated, such as the House, groups of the unmarried or married peers, the village and the church, or the fire brigade. However, two main changes are observed. Firstly, with the disappearance of the term *bala*, bride's trousseau (see pp. 151, 152) from everyday language, the bride no longer brought with her the paraphernalia for performing the last rites, but they were kept in the house of her groom in case they were needed. Secondly, in the funerary rites additional communities of larger social networks began to be involved, predominantly of work and other types of relations. Moreover, objects and services acquired on the market began to be employed as well. A deceased's association with the particular collectivities became manifest in objects such as wreaths – initially made of plastic and after 1975 made of fresh flowers and candles – carrying a dark ribbon on which farewell words and the name(s) of the giver identifying the latter's relation to the deceased were imprinted in gold or silver letters. Irrespective of the value of equality promoted by

the regime, in both the civil and the church ceremonies the renown of the person and his/her House was still expressed in the number of participants and the speeches recalling the merits of the deceased, by the duration of the sermon (see p. 135), as well as the quantity and sumptuousness of the wreaths and candles. These goods, new constituents of funerary rites, all derived from the short-term cycles of exchange associated with competition and profit oriented actions. In the funerary ceremonies, however, they were converted in, and subordinated to, a long-term practice informed by the collective values in which the social relationships in question were grounded.

Principles and forms of inheritance

The inheritance practices carried out between 1945 and 1990 in the village of Gornja Težka Voda²³⁴ reveal changes in comparison to the procedures of succession described earlier (see pp. 139-146). Approximately one-third of inheritance transfers were still completed *inter vivos*. The last marriage contract defined as such was signed in 1955 and pertained to the House which at that time made its livelihood solely in agriculture. Testaments involved one main male heir who was to provide for the remaining House members by the *usus* of marital provisions and a share in the land at marriage. The remaining two-thirds involved court inheritance procedures after death of the person. These were conducted in accordance to the Inheritance Act (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 15-645/1976, No. 23-1511/1978) stipulating that the so-called 'heirs of the first order' (that is, the spouse and children) were entitled to an equal legal share (*zakoniti delež*). Hence, the entitlement to an inheritance was no longer conditioned by the different *usus* terms. However, the law that prescribed equal shares among heirs was not obeyed either. A remaining spouse and the children would make an agreement stipulating that one of them would inherit the larger part of the estate, that is, the origin house and the major share of the land fund, while the others would receive one or more plots. In addition, gift contracts were concluded between parents transferring the title to a plot to out-marrying children. Such gift transfers were made in the absence of a testator's will, commonly in the first decades after the World War Two.

234 These records were obtained from my informants, at the Regional Surveying and Mapping Authority of the Republic of Slovenia, and by consulting the e-Land Register.

The collaborationist Houses of Podgorje did not report its members who did not return after the war. According one expert informant, in the 1960s people encountering inheritance problems addressed to the court the question how to proceed with the farm-hold when its head was reported missing in the war. They feared that they might be expropriated following accusations of speculation and sabotaging revolutionary legislation. At that time, the news of the mass killings following World War II had not yet been made public. Yet, my informants became aware of them immediately after the war.²³⁵ Procedures for proclaiming a person dead, enacted in numerous cases in the 1960s, were required in order to realise an inheritance. In case missing person's children were still under age the inheritance passed on to their mother, while usually to the brother of the father declared dead was assigned the guardianship over the farm and the children. Once one of the children had married the mother would present all of her offspring with their share by signing a contract or will stipulating the inheritance to be transferred after her death. Alternatively, the mother would pass the entire farm-hold on to the eldest adult child who should present his or her siblings with their inheritance share at their marriage. The share was usually presented into the sole possession of the son/brother and into joint possession of the daughter/sister and her husband. Only the property of houses without a respectable land fund and a successor prepared to continue the farm would become divided.

To some extent, inheritance was effected by means of hand-over contracts among the living members or of wills from the dead testator and their heirs. Those who never got employment outside the farm-hold, that is, predominantly but not exclusively housewives, did not receive pensions. The obligation of the offspring to care for parents remained defined in the hand-over agreements that also stipulated the obligations imposed on the successor towards other House members. In the absence of such an agreement parents were dependent on their offspring and their fulfilling of the moral obligations. The eldest son should still be the successor, but if he did exceptionally well at school he was to attend university and some other brother became the heir. The actual decision was taken by the father taking account of a competition between his children. The earlier practice of meticulously listing the different servitude claims was re-

235 If their family member was executed they also knew at whose hands.

placed by a general description of tasks such as providing clothes or food. In this manner, peasants who had become worker-peasants, now could change the dwelling or the manner of land cultivation and stock breeding without breaching the contract. In contrast, the siblings of the new farm head who moved away received money or its equivalence in kind, for example an ox, or possibly a plot of land, to provide for the losses incurred by inflation or devaluation, to finance education, condominium or construction of a house.

Once the inheritance process was initiated, the married offspring acknowledged the gifts received at marriage as their share in the inheritance and either renounced a possible share on behalf of the successor or demanded their share being compensated by the successor. Whatever the decision, it usually aimed at the maintenance of the farm-hold.

All things considered, the established practice of transmitting the House's landed property continued under different legal terms and fiscal policy. At marriage, the offspring received a plot to build a house. When at the death of a parent the hand-over contract or testament had not been made, all legal heirs took part in the inheritance procedure but followed the rule of preference of the heir. The remaining former head of the farm would no longer demand that the gift be reciprocated by the *usus* hence depended on the offspring's decisions in this respect. Housewives who were never employed outside the farm would now receive a pension of their deceased husband, so that they were able to provide for themselves. Nevertheless, all previous established *usus* forms continued to be provided.

Marriage and affinal relationships

During the socialist period, Dolenjska witnessed the Houses as farming communities disappear. Yet this process, generally designated as the 'escape from the land', did not entail, or at least not in an equivalent pace, an 'escape from the village'. Causes for the decline of farming are generally ascribed to the State's policy focused on the 'proletarian society' and on de-privileging individual farm-holds. How are these two processes related to the marriage rituals and how did they impact on the local social structure?

In 1946, the Basic Law on Marriage (Official Gazette of the Socialist People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 29-182/1946) introduced the institution of the

civil wedding, while the Law on the Acknowledgement of the Validity of Marital Unions concluded before the 9th of May 1946 (Official Gazette of the People's Republic of Slovenia, No. 16-90/1949) proclaimed Church marriages concluded prior to this date legal. In 1946, the State assumed the authority over keeping records of its citizens. In this manner, the law met the constitutional condition of a separation between the State and the Church. Additional legal acts on marriage and family, such as the Law on Marital Union and Family Relations (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 15-644/1976) and its revisions (No. 30-1481/1986, No. 20/1988: 1510, No. 1-1/1989, No. 14-634/1989), the State acquired a full jurisdiction and protection over the marital union that used to be under the Church authority. It defined marriage as a “community between equal partners, husband and wife, who freely enter into the relationship grounded in mutual emotional affection, respect, trust and help, on the basis of which the family, the elementary cell of society which social community is bound to protect [is created]” (Article 13; my translation A.R.). The law thus defined marriage as following from an independent decision about the rights and obligations between two individuals and the relation to their children. The Christian sacrament of marriage also requires a free decision taken by a man and a woman. Once they are joined in holy matrimony they and their children become part of the Christian community. Both the Church and the State required a permission allowing the couple to marry (see below). From 1946 onwards a Church wedding no longer had a legal status.

My informants confirm that both the church and the civil marriage should follow upon the spouses' personal choices of their partner. But if their parents disagreed with that choice the marriage would not take place. Marriage, therefore, still concerned a relationship between two *groups* of people, even if this was not no longer evident. The standard procedure to announce a marriage by driving in a horse-drawn carriage to the notaries to “write the letter” described in Part Two was in the socialist period no longer practiced. Previously the constitutive act of marriage – the ceremony in which the marital property transfers were enacted as an exchange between the families of the bride and the groom – was omitted. This indicates a changed significance of marriage in the social reproduction of the House.

The marriage ritual

The narratives on marriage in socialist Slovenia recorded indicate that the changes in the marriage ritual took place one or two decades after the political interventions in the marriage laws and practices described above had occurred. Until the late 1950s, the marriage ritual was conducted in its conventional form.

Let us take a closer look at the marriage rituals performed in Podgorje in the period 1945–1991 and examine what differences these reveal in comparison to the earlier forms analysed in Part Two.

Betrothal

After the Second World War, the form of betrothal assumed a different form. Official acts of visiting (*ogledi*) and the concluding of marriage contracts began to disappear and so did the terms designating such acts and prestations such as dowry (*dota*), bride's trousseau (*bala*), widow's allowance (*zaženilo*) from the legal vocabulary used in marriage contracts. By now marriage prestations were no longer formally defined in separate legal agreements. They remained, however, relevant to the terms of inheritance as defined by the inheritance legislation. In this manner, the State's and the Church's definition of marriage as based on a free decision of the spouses became further articulated. Since then the modalities of betrothal have become more informal. They are preceded by dating (*hoditi skupaj*, "to walk together"), and the terms designating these actions are no longer part of everyday language.

The normative understanding of marriage as based on the free decisions of groom and bride was more than qualified by the fact that this decision was made by the two families. These took into account factors such as economic wealth, class, religious or political affiliation. In socialist Podgorje these factors determined the selection of the spouses and the families' consent of them.

The employment provided by the industrialisation of the Dolenjska region offered an income other than the farm-hold and beyond the borders of the parish and Local Community. Local endogamy was no longer limited to the village and the parish but began to be applied to the wider area in which new possibilities for meeting the future spouse were given. Schooling institutions, work

places and socialising activities outside the factories all provided the spheres of action in which such meetings could take place. But since they also restricted the social range of potential spouses they contributed to the continuation of isogamy. And yet, the population of the Dolenjska region as a whole considered marriage with a person from Podgorje as improper. The inhabitants of rural Podgorje were considered poor and backwards – a valuation that appears to have resulted in a regional endogamy separating Podgorje from the rest of Dolenjska. This affected men in particular, so that many farm heads remained unmarried. Women, however, were less affected; they commonly married out of Podgorje.

The tendency to pursue a ‘good marriage’ assumed different forms depending on the definition of ‘good’ in such contexts. “A job is from today to tomorrow, while farm (*grunt*) shall never collapse”, an informant overheard the mother of the woman he wanted to marry say. Their marriage never took place. Jobs were not regarded as everlasting but the farm and the land were. It was up to the parents to take care that their children marry heirs and their inheriting sons marry a beautiful and hard-working woman from a respected House. Eligible women, however, were reluctant to marry such sons as the economic condition of farms was poor and the women were concerned with ‘getting out’, even if that would entail marrying a man with no landed property while men persisted to live on the farms they had inherited.

In the late 1970s, another perspective deemed ‘progressive’ emerged among local people. They considered schooling as enhancing one’s chances in life. Supplementary education, and a university degree in particular, became highly valued not only for improving one’s marital options but also to obtain a well payed, secure and high-ranking form of employment. Having provided one’s child with education, improving their chances at a better life, also increased the importance of one’s House. The majority, however, took up a job immediately after finishing elementary school at the age of 15 if they could not afford further schooling, or after high school at the age of 18 at most. The latter was already considered by the local population as a ‘high education’ and promised a respectable job without dirty and hard manual labour.

The betrothal followed the agreement on the manner of forming a new – virilocal or neo-local – household. This decision determined in turn the transfer of wealth. It was, however, also possible for an only child to remain at home, or to

have one's children, and sons in particular, settle as closely as possible to the parental house. The latter practices contributed to the high density of kin relations in a village and testified to the value of the unity and the worth of the House. As a factor contributing to a 'good marriage', the eldest son's inheritance of the farm-hold or his reception of a (highest) scholarship or a plot of land on which to build the house counted as dowry, *dota*. An apartment in condominium in the suburbs did not count as a permanent residence. Rather, it represented a transitive place to stay until a new house had been built on the land belonging to or provided by the parents of the husband or wife. Therefore, the land retained its meaning in the reproduction of the House. As Goody concludes (1990: 430), "dowry has not disappeared but shifted with the adoption of industrial modes of production and educational endowment away from marriage" yet "among bourgeoisie and rural farmers there are always property relations to regulate" (*op.cit.*: 462).

A married couple either inherited the house of origin of the man or the woman or they built a new house on a stretch of land next to and belonging to that. The in-marrying partner's relatives contributed wood for the construction or bedroom furniture. Although both sides sought to contribute equal shares, but given the fact that gifts of different immaterial value were transferred, could not be achieved. If the husband married into his wife's property that would commonly be assigned to both of them. But in the case of the in-marrying woman the husband remained the sole proprietor.

In discussing the contributions to a newly married household my informants stressed the difficult situation at the time of marriage if as children they did not succeed as head of a farm-hold. The contribution of each partner to the household was clearly stipulated. One became concerned that each partner contributed an equal share so that the transfers acquired a competitive character. Whereas the inheritance of the farm articulated the value of the farm-hold as a whole, the contributions made by the partners' relatives were valued as parts of such wholes only. The short-term nature of the latter competitive transfers was transformed into the long-term transfers made by parents to their children and future children. Providing one's child with the means to build another house one secured the continuity of the House. Parents were also concerned to give their children equal shares. Yet, children competed for their

parents' affection and based their inheritance claim on that, which is evident from quarrels among siblings.

The system of inheritance and marriage contracts stipulating the rights of *usufruct* and *dota* pay-outs which until the first half of 20th Century affected the social structure (Vilfan 1980e: 466) after World War Two was no longer formally applied. The Second Yugoslav State envisioned the exclusion of land (see above) from the marriage transfers by passing relevant legislation. Verdery connected the decline in endogamy to limitations in the transfer of land as dowry in Romania (Verdery 1983: 304-306). In Podgorje such a connection is not in evidence. Not only could the rules precluding the transfer of land be circumvented, couples married from the late 1970s onward introduced higher education and the other qualities mentioned as a kind of dowry without formally defining these as *dota*. The latter term was also not employed locally, except in a joking or nostalgic manner. From the new socio-political circumstances another consideration regarding the choice of a future spouse emerged. My informants maintain that immediately after the war, the division between the 'partisans' and the 'white guards' did not particularly influence the choice of marriage partners. The establishment of the socialist regime, however, did. The State as well as the Church authorities banned mixed marriages between members of the Communist Party and Roman Catholics. Both the State and the Church thus enforced politically respectively religiously endogamous marriages. To ignore this might result in being expelled from the Communist Party and running difficulties at the state-controlled enterprises. Communist Party members were not to cross the church doorstep, be in the vicinity of the church, or cast a look at the cross, according to my informants. Likewise, civil servants such as teachers, policemen, or officials were not allowed to visit the church. As the Church before it, the State assumed the authority over the rights and obligations entailed in the marriage relationship, thus turning marriage into a profoundly political institution.

And yet in my research I encountered cases of male members of the Communist Party marrying women active in the church. But this mostly concerned women marrying out of Podgorje and settling in more industrial areas where the regime proved omnipresent. These women, and possibly also their children, needed to refrain from attending church service.

In 1975, the Church introduced an obligatory course on marriage – the so-called School for Marriage – that a couple needed to complete in order to marry (Hočevár 2009). The course instructed couples in the values of the marital sacrament and the Christian understanding of the family. As a State counteract, the Marriage Law of 1976 made marital counselling an obligatory provision that needed to be offered by the municipal institutions of social care as of 1980. It should prepare prospective marriage partners for a harmonious family life, and help them develop their relationship and the properly execute their parental rights (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 14-634/1989: Article 15).

Thus both secular and religious authorities strived to obtain authority over the family – the elemental cell of the Socialist as well as the Christian society. Nevertheless, during my fieldwork I did not encounter a single couple that would take part in the civil marriage counselling. They only would engage in the religious preparations. From the onset, this particular State regulation generated discussions, dissent and changes, until it was finally abolished in 1989 (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 14-634/1989).

Decorating evening

Marriage rituals took place on Saturday. Until the last quarter of the 20th Century, the marriage celebration still took place between the New Year and Ash Wednesday. Thereafter, marriage ceremonies were conducted in Spring, Summer and Fall because of the appropriate weather. During periods of religious fasting they did not take place.

The day before the wedding, the future newlyweds each celebrated a “decorating evening” as described in Part Two (p. 160-162). Two differences were observed. Firstly, with the disappearance of the village common the men cut down the tree(s) in the forest belonging to the groom’s and bride’s House. Secondly, younger married villagers could also take part in the ceremony. The actual performance of the ceremony depended on the House relations in the village and on the bride's and the groom’s Houses as part of their respective village community.

Civil and church ceremonies

The ceremony commenced with the arrival of the guests to the houses of the bride and the groom. They presented the latter with presents such as cutlery, sheets, towels and other household items. After a joint meal, the groom's side departed to the bride's house where the Fake Bride (*lažna nevesta*), and possibly the Village Barrier (*šranga*), were performed.

Thereupon the procession headed by the groom and the bride, accompanied by the 'best man' and the 'maid of honour', in expensive cars driven and owned by the couple's friend and followed by the invited guests, relatives mainly up to the third "knee", *koleno* and their spouses (i.e. P, PP, Sb, SbSp, PSb, PSbSp) in their cars to the civil ceremony.

The People's Committee and later on the relevant Municipal institution was authorised by the State – to legally contract and register the marriage. The ceremony was performed in a special room in the presence of the President or of the member of the People's Committee and the registrar where a speech was delivered by one of them. The room was decorated with flowers and appropriate music was played. The couple received a book entitled *Your Joint Life*, while a professional photographer took photos. Afterwards, they headed for the church ceremony. In between or after the ceremonies the couple drove to a photo studio to pose for the wedding portrait, one of which would thereafter be suspended from the wall above their bed. Whereas in earlier times the ceremony was paid for by the groom's honour attendant, the expenses of the photos and the wedding ceremonies were cut in half to be covered by the 'best man' and the 'maid of honour'.

Feast

By the 1980s, a communal marriage feast began to take place in a pub the expenses of which were shared by the parents of bride and groom. The guests from the bride's and those from the groom's side were seated in two separate groups, with the newlyweds positioned in the centre. In games of entertainment directed by an accordion player both parties were competing with each other. They included the stealing of the bride's bouquet. The feast provided an abundance of food served in several entrées, followed by a cake at midnight and a

thick soup in the early morning hours. Villagers continued to attend the feast costumed as Shrovetide figures. Even though the feast took place at the pub, village women would, along with the female house head, *gospodinja*, prepare farewell pastry, *šajdezen*, which the guests would take home. The respective mothers were to decide who would arrange for the preparations and how. The leftovers from the feast were taken home and distributed among the female relatives cleaning the houses and female neighbours and relatives backing pastries, that is.

One week after the ceremony, the couple, their parents and immediate kin partook in a joint meal.

The transformation of marriage

Thus, a fundamental transformation from the pre-modern to the modern marriage system has taken place. When people moved away from the land, and to some extent from the village as well, it brought about changes in the marriage ritual and its exchanges. Nevertheless, the role of marriage in the social reproduction of the House and the village community remained significant, and so did the importance of marriage for the social reproduction of the communities to which the couple belonged.

Those aspects of the marriage institution that were to be omitted shed a particular light on the values ascribed to the House as a social category. The exchanges between the groom's and the bride's families in the forms of pre-marital visits, *ogledi*, the marriage contract and the joint post-marital lunch, *kepe*, bore witness of the families' wealth and fertility hence of the value assigned to land. But then marriage came to be based on a decision between two individuals, supported by the family of the bride and that of the groom. This development in combination with an increase in paid employment beyond the farm, changed the status of offspring. The successor of the farm-hold and the origin house represented the privileged heir to whom the continuation of the House was entrusted. But a peasant labouring on the farm in poor conditions became negatively valued and treated as an insult. The successor's siblings, however, who could not marry a successor often remained unmarried and lived at home. But now, to obtain external employment enabled them to marry as well. And by

contributing to the establishment of these younger children's new households the parents established a relation between such younger houses and their own. The social reproduction of the House no longer exclusively depended on the fertility of the land conceptualised as inherently linked to the fertility of the people. Nevertheless, heads of farm-holds responsible for the continuation of the House still transferred some property to provide security for out-marrying children. If their marriage was dissolved, which happened occasionally, they would have their own source of income. For divorcees by law were entitled to one half of the joint property or of the investments made in property that was registered in the spouse's name.

In the 1980's, the best man and maid of honour came to be designated as *priča* (lit. "witness"). Whereas up to then this role had been designated as *starešina* ("elderly head") and was performed by an older male relative of a certain social standing it is now performed by a sibling or a friend. It appears that the roles of the elderly head and of the comrade and bridesmaid as bride's and groom's companions (see p. 160) merged into roles marked by equality. In this way, best man and maid of honour act as representatives of the newlyweds and not of the two parties.

Changes in the marriage ritual did not undo the categorical separation between the affines involved. While jointly participating in the civil and church ceremonies and in the feast, they took up separated positions by driving in different cars and taking place in separate sections of the room. One week after the ceremony, however, they attended the joint post-marital lunch that used to be designated as *kepe*. Thereafter, the husband's and the wife's parents would only meet at festive occasions. Contacts between grandparents and their grandchildren were regularly maintained and so did those between cousins.

That the village continued to perform its role in marriage ceremonies became even more visible in the frequent marriages contracted outside one's own parish. Marriage ceremonies increasingly offered the occasion to display lavishness and wealth at the pub. As a result, the neighbourly cooperation was limited to preparing food for the decorating evening (*krancel večer*) and baking sweets for the farewell pastry (*šajdezen*). The house itself no longer hosted the marriage feast and thus retrieved its privacy.

Conclusions from Part Three

The Second Yugoslav State pursued a policy of ‘norm localisation’ and ‘institutional change’ (Acharya 2004). By referring to a joint cultural past exemplified for instance by the *Zadruga* social community, a Slavic homogeneity, and a common struggle, and by instituting a secular system parallel to the religious one, promoting an all-encompassing ‘proletarian’ category of citizens, the Socialist State endeavoured to construct a legitimate legal system consistent with the established local practices and norms. Local agents carried out adjustments, so as to make the politically envisaged ideas and norms fit into the established beliefs and practices. By developing specific discourses, by ‘framing’ and ‘grafting’ as acts of reinterpretation and re-representation of norms (Acharya 2014), and by cultural selection the State pursued a ‘norm diffusion’ as a dynamic process aimed at constructing a congruence between its political aims and local representations. The Yugoslavian policy thus applied the means of localisation to resolve normative contestations. The local practices discussed, however, demonstrate to what extent this State-political quest has failed.

While the State prescribed norms aimed at making a ‘cultural match’ with previous ‘domestic’ ethics (so that some scholars thought to recognise an affinity between the feudal estate and the firm – e.g. Verdery 2003), these norms were founded on the entirely different premise of a separation between the State and the Church. Not only the Church was increasingly pushed out of public life, Houses began to acquire a different significance too. Their members became part of the State-defined category of ‘working people’ yet their socially acknowledged tasks remained to be those of an established agriculture ones – albeit under newly established conditions. As a result, a particular hierarchical pattern of value organisation emerged from the interdependence of these two fields of action. The politico-economic sphere of Socialism and the sociality of the House domain thus constituted two morally distinct spheres on exchange, without the prevalence of the one provoking the disappearance of the other.

PART FOUR: The independent Republic of Slovenia: 1991 – 2014

Chapter 8: Political structure

By the plebiscite carried out on December 23, 1990, the Slovenian People delegated their sovereignty to the Republic of Slovenia. In the following years this act became part of a discourse which portrayed the new nation as the result of the People's millennium-and-a-half long struggle leading from the democratic and independent Carantania to the Day of Independence and Unity on December 26, when the results of the referendum were announced. 'Statehood Day' celebrated on June 25, 1991, commemorates the acts that led to this independence. These included the Declaration of Independence, the Basic Constitutional Charter on the Sovereignty and Independence of the Republic of Slovenia, and the Constitutional Law prescribing its implementation (Štih *et al.* 2008: 547). Ten days of armed conflict with the Yugoslav People's Army followed, which ended in a unilaterally declared ceasefire on July 4. The international recognition of the States of Slovenia and of Croatia followed on January 15, 1992. In the former Yugoslav republics of Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia, warfare thereupon erupted.

On the first anniversary of the plebiscite of 1990, the Constitution of Slovenia was ceremonially adopted. It identified the Slovenian State as a modern, democratic and social state based on the rule of law, the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Along with these acts transforming the political regime the rupture with Slovenia's socialist past manifested itself in an altered State symbolism, an amended calendar re-instituting the Church holidays of Easter, Christmas, and the Assumption of Mary, and holidays celebrating the newly formed polity, substituting those of the Yugoslav state. Streets, places, institutions such as schools, and organisations of totalitarian denomination were also renamed.

Following Independence, Slovenia in 1991 also renounced the Yugoslav monetary union and its currency displaying communist icons. It issued as its own cur-

rency the Slovenian Tolar²³⁶ carrying the images of celebrated representatives and objects from the Slovenian Nation's past, some of which were mentioned in Part Two. These measures conveyed and substantiated a corresponding change in economic policy, for gaining Independence and replacing the Yugoslav currency marked the shift towards a market economy. The political transformation commenced through a process of privatisation – a “legal redefinition of property rights” (Verdery 1996: 209) and a “privatisation of power” (Verdery 1996: 210) being essential for conceptualising the legitimacy of the new government as the head of the liberal democratic state. Previous laws that had set a maximum limit to land holdings and had restricted the number of employees in private companies were abolished; the conditions for establishing new companies were simplified. Laws were passed to de-nationalise the properties of feudal origin and of holders of foreign citizenship that had previously been claimed by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Processes of privatising companies were initiated as well. Studies on the so-called ‘post-Socialist’ societies have in general focused on the principles of property definition to grasp the transition from Socialism/Communism to the capitalism of the ‘post-Socialist’ state (Hann ed. 2002, Verdery 2003). The processes of denationalisation and privatisation taking place in the new Slovenian state are particularly informative in this regard.

The shift to market economy brought the Slovenian Catholic Church, the largest claimant of de-nationalised property, back into public life. Sunday Mass celebrations in churches throughout Slovenia are broadcasted on national television. Church lands were reclaimed to be subsequently leased to farmers or managerial companies. Re-instating the Church in the socio-political sphere placed its Caritas activities parallel to those of the Red Cross under State jurisdiction. So were school institutions and business ventures such as TV channels and financial trusts. This transformed the Church into an economic agent that acquired its own profit. As an institution co-funded by the State it became a

236 The monetary iconography expressed the nation's identity of origin: images of the fathers of the nation on the one side of the bank notes (Trubar, Valvazor, Vodnik and Prešeren (see Part Two), mathematician Vega, painter Jakopič, composer Gallus, architect Plečnik, and a female painter, Kobilica and writer Cankar) and the Slovenian cultural heritage they created on the other side; images of fauna engraved in the coins.

beneficiary of the state fiscal policy. But despite this return of the Church to the forefront of Slovenian society, statistics indicated a growing mistrust of the Church and its clergy and a decline in the number of self-declared Catholics from 71.6 per cent in 1991 to 57.8 per cent in 2002. One third of those registered as Catholics no longer subscribed to the teachings of the Church, whereas only 18.7 per cent adhered to its behavioural norms (Smrke 2009: 13). Flere and Klanjšek (2007) recognise here an amplified modality of a pan-European phenomenon of “belonging, not believing.”

The Catholic Church became more prominent, however, from 2004 onwards when the conservative government propagated ‘traditional’ religious interests, the family law, and land legislation. “The equality of religions, the equality of religious and non-religious citizens, and the separation of church and state have been compromised since the Roman Catholic Church is rapidly making inroads into state institutions” (Smrke 2009: 15). Thus, according to Article 5 of the Religious Freedom Act adopted in 2007 religious communities as organisations serving the public good are receivers of state funding for their religious activities (Smrke 2009: 15). In line with the prominent role of the Catholic Church in comparison to other religious communities in the past, the Catholic Church above all benefited from state financing (Smrke 2009: 15). “It is mainly Catholic priests for whom the state pays social and health insurance and who now appear in the role of state functionaries in numerous situations. In 2007, in addition, 69.5 per cent of Ministry of Culture funds intended for “real estate of cultural heritage” went to the Roman Catholic Church” (Smrke 2009: 15).

Following Independence in 1991 Slovenia enjoyed a relatively rapid economic development. Shortly after the economic crisis had begun – to which the loss of the Yugoslav market contributed – which ended in the second half of the 1990s. By the end of 1992, the National Assembly “adopted a law regulating a gradual transformation of the ownership of public enterprises” (Štih *et al.* 2008: 556). In the previously ‘socially owned’ enterprises state funds could retain a 30 per cent ownership stake; 20 per cent should be in the form of “ownership certificates” [...] distributed among” Slovenian citizens by which they could purchase shares or invest them in the recently established investment companies (Štih *et al.* 2008: 556-557); and 40 per cent should be offered for employees’ buy-outs or be sold publicly (Štih *et al.* 2008: 557). The collapse of Yugoslavia was accompanied by a political rhetoric appealing to the ‘Law-governed

State' (*pravna država*). Yet, the assignment of monetary value to socially owned property was subject to a privileged and differential access to property. It led to an illegal accumulation of wealth and pressure exerted on small shareholders to sell their shares. All this resulted in the increased "concentration of capital in the hands of a management-entrepreneurial elite" (Štih *et al.* 2008: 557), comparable to what Stark has identified in Hungary as a shift "from plan to clan" concentration of property (Stark 1993). Ruling practices emerged that were run by the same political elite as in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. A circle of exchange relations became established connecting managers of state owned banks, those of industrial and service enterprises, and political authorities with one another. This economic system, grounded in the 'management buyout' acquisition strategy, operates today – with the exception of those banks that filed for bankruptcy and managers who are presently being prosecuted. As a result, the law proved to be ineffective in convincing the sceptics of the idea of law as such (Verdery 1996: 225). Nevertheless, by fulfilling the conditions set by the European Union such as adopting European legal frameworks Slovenia shifted to a liberal democracy and free market economy and became part of different international political and economic communities.²³⁷ Most important was entering after a referendum the European Union in 2004, and its Monetary Union in 2007. Slovenia adopted the Euro as its currency whose European architectural icons signify a distinguished, centuries old European history of which Slovenia signalled to be part (<https://www.ecb.europa.eu/euro/banknotes/html/index.en.html>; accessed April 5, 2015).

In 1991, the so-called Slovenian Territorial Defence of the Republic of Slovenia had been instituted which in 1993 was renamed as the Slovenian Armed Forces. In 2004, conscription into the state military service was abolished and the Slovenian Armed Forces transformed into a professional standing army. In the same year, Slovenia became a member of NATO Alliance.

The economic crisis beginning in 2008, the consequences of which were still being felt in 2015, brought to light corrupt political practices and methods of preserving the state of affairs. As a result, demands were made again for a law-governed State that takes a firm stance against corruption and cronyism. Since

237 1992 – United Nations, 1994 – World Trade Organisation, 2004 – North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

these self-enriching strategies were also brought to light in the Slovenian Catholic Church's capitalist endeavours, the Church was placed under investigation by the Vatican. The latter thereupon ordered the resignation of two archbishops who were held responsible for the financial meltdown of Maribor Archdiocese, while some Church leaders resigned without intervention from Vatican (Hacler 2013).

And yet, the yearly reports of the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption reveal such financial malpractices to recur on the local as well as on the state level (<https://www.kpk-rs.si/sl/>; accessed February 2, 2015). The conditions set by the EU so as to be eligible for funding are not met. Instead, applications for EU funding are usually not prepared properly; when the projects funded have been carried out and their results reported, it becomes evident that the conditions – usually those prescribing free market competitive procedures – were violated (Voh Boštic 2014, Pavlin 2013). As a result, applications for funding are often rejected (e.g. Mencinger 2005) or the funding received must be restituted (e.g. Voh Boštic 2013). One approach to solving the crisis (apart from growing indebtedness) has been to sell state property (e.g. Gole 2015). Firms in which the state was the sole or a majority shareholder are now in the process of being privatised. Each successive Slovenian government, complying with lobbying interests, offered its own selection of companies for sale (e.g. Šmid 2008: 106-107, Gubo, Meglič 2014, Grgič 2016: 14-15).

Whereas most of the companies (such as Mercator, Fructal, Elan, Laško, Union, Istrabenz) became foreign owned, banks enjoyed a constant increase in capital. Given the inability of Slovenian politics and economy to acquire European funds these capital injections were financed from the state's tax revenues (e.g. Marn 2008: 30-31, Božič *et al.* 2013, Vičič 2014, Mencinger 2005).

The decline of Slovenian agriculture already in evidence under the Socialist rule continued to the year 2004 when Slovenia joined the EU. Since the global financial crisis began in 2008, the buffering function of subsistence farming on small plots has been widely accepted²³⁸. Agriculture therefore plays an important part in providing social stability. It provides a sense of security to the Slovenian society even if according to macroeconomic indicators, the present-

238 One of the measures to cope with the crisis was to provide the population of larger towns with small plots of land owned by the municipality to grow food.

day agricultural production is an insignificant factor of the national economy (in 2004, 2 per cent GDP and less than 6 per cent of total employment (Turk *et al.* 2007: 208). While the average size of farms has increased since Independence from 3.2 to 4.8 hectares, the diseconomies of size remain a characteristic feature of Slovenian agriculture: the farm holdings cannot compete on the European market.

The national agricultural policy follows the EU Common Agricultural Policy. According to latter's guidelines, Slovenia must address two aspects simultaneously, namely, market competitiveness and the sustainability of fragile ecosystems.

Only 5 per cent of Slovenia's farms are larger than the average size of 14 hectares of EU farms. They are characterized by low productivity, labour intensive production, and high-level state protection through subsidies and part-time farming (the World Bank 1999: 119-131). Some farmers adopted the principles of market production mainly by renting land for pastures and by purchasing machinery – both supported by the European agricultural policy. Whereas the Slovenian State proved unable to comply with the conditions for EU funding, individual farmers regularly profited from agricultural programs provided by the European Union, such as those offering education and subsidies for their activities, as well as damages in case of draught, floods and other natural calamities. Nevertheless, all things considered it has become evident in the past ten years that the EU and the national agricultural policy are ill adapted to the limited size, the versatility of exploitation, and the limited production output of Slovenian farm-holds. Kneževič Hočevar and Černič Istenič (2010) indicated a favourable impact of the support mechanisms on the family farming but also revealed a decline in family farms in the last ten years. They argued that the reason for the latter lies in the so-called bottom-up principle, which in fact operates in the opposite direction and favours the existence of large farms practicing animal husbandry.

Whereas lately, 'traditional' (*domače*) locally produced Slovenian foods are widely promoted both by the government and foreign and Slovenian chain stores farmers struggle to obtain fair prices for their products.

On the political level, the DEMOS (*Demokratična opozicija Slovenije* – Democratic Opposition of Slovenia) coalition of centre-right political parties – established in 1989 with the introduction of multi-party political system – achieved

Slovenia's Independence (Štih *et al.* 2008: 540-543). Being unable to agree on subsequent political agenda the coalition fell apart in 1992 (Štih *et al.* 2008: 553). Thereafter, despite the proportional electoral system and occasional intermezzos of moderate liberal politics such as those of the present 12th Slovenian government, the roles of government and opposition are regularly assumed by two parties in turn. One is the left-wing socialist party named 'Social Democrats', usually pursuing liberal policies; the other is the right-wing 'Slovenian Democratic Party'. While both parties bring together former cadres of the Communist Party, they also propagate an ideological discourse of separation between 'the reds' and 'the whites' that originates in the Second World War. This discourse was further promoted by former collaborators of the Second World War who had returned from their South American exile and became leading members of conservative political parties.

Initially, the liberal party directed by Janez Drnovšek controlled State politics. Once he had retired and died, however, the party did not gain enough votes even to enter parliament in 2011. Alternative parties such as the Državljanska Lista ("Civic List") and Pozitivna Slovenija ("Positive Slovenia") seek to realise their interests in changing coalitions, while the DeSUS ("Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia") regularly does likewise. Thus, the Slovenian People's Party – the leading force in Slovenian politics – lost its power following the emergence of a plural democratic system. The parliamentary elections in the early summer of 2014 resulted in a triumph of those political parties not compromised by previous party politics. Predictably, the established political parties and the media criticize them for their lack of political experience and their indecisiveness.

In contrast to the socialist State, in which the regime pervades all spheres of social life and the state defines and fulfils its citizens' needs, the democratic state acknowledges the civil society as a domain separate from state politics.

In the new political condition of the Slovenian state, its citizens being connected in the digital networks of virtual communication, numerous civil associations and organisations conduct their particular activities for the benefit of society. Moreover, professionals in different fields under the jurisdiction of the pertinent ministry gather the funds for their undertakings. In this regard patterns can be recognized in the ways influential and prominent people receive public attention and approval. A Slovenian person or an inhabitant of the Dolenjska region

would unlikely gain the respect of others by the grace of his/her abilities, knowledge and talent alone. Therefore, many people emigrated, if needed only to another region, so as to be able to pursue their interests. Only after their qualities and achievements having been acknowledged abroad would they received this at home as well, usually in old age or after death – the opposite holds true for foreigners. Particularly those who during the Socialist State carried out their profession abroad or whose professional qualities were rejected by that regime are now being rewarded for their life achievements. This is the case, for instance, with Leon Štukelj, a multiple Olympic medallist, the ballet dancers Pino and Pia Mlakar and the author Boris Pahor.

As a member of the European Union the Slovenian state in line with the values and ideas propagated by the EU, represents itself as a political community culturally distinct from the other member state. There is a general discourse that emphasises Slovenia's unique mediatory position between the Balkans and the rest of Europe. One also articulates its uniqueness by promoting tourism, sports and the arts, by letting internationally acknowledged Slovenes act as ambassadors of the country, and by marketing registered traditional Slovenian products. In Slovenia, itself a prominent expression of national identity is the Slovenian pop-folk that is broadcasted in music weekly shows on national and private TV channels. It is a mode of re-traditionalisation that enjoys a great popularity. The Alps and the Mediterranean, represented in the country's coat of arms, furnish a décor of great natural beauty for this nation. Being there before the nation came into being, myths suggest that this land was God-given, infusing the Slovenian people with its regional and national character.

Conclusion

In 1991, the Slovenian society became a nation. On the basis of its popular sovereignty this nation entered into the exchange relationship with the Slovenian State, and subsequently with the European Union. The entrance into the EU went hand in hand with a shift from a socialist planned economy to a market economy grounded in the principle of private property. Interestingly, these processes of economic and political liberalisation had a contradictory corollary. Instead of all state owned land becoming a freely marketable economic asset, its former feudal and 'holy' landed property was returned to the Catholic Church. This institution

regained its authority by providing access to the service to God anew. It once again offered the population a religiously conceptualised identity, closely tied in with the Slovenian national identity, hence brought about a re-religionalisation of the political community.²³⁹

Chapter 9: Social structure

Administrative and territorial organisation

Upon acquiring Independence Slovenia detached itself from Yugoslavia by transforming the previously internal federal political border into a state border with Croatia. This border is still not finally accepted, despite the fact that since 2007 it also forms a border of the Schengen area. The iconic mountain peak Trdina situated at the border is constantly instrumentalised in political debates, particularly during state elections. Two buildings stand out as symbols of that border, namely, the barracks in which the soldiers of the Slovenian army have been stationed since 1991, and the church of Saint Jera. The latter had been renovated in 1993; two decades later it was fully reconstructed grace to funds supplied by the EU for the preservation of cultural heritage. This reconstruction was authorised by the blessings given by the local Catholic bishop and the priest of the Brusnice parish in the presence of Greek Catholic representatives a day prior to Croatia's entrance into the EU. The border, thus militarily guarded and religiously sanctioned, is a privileged area for the practising sports and enjoying recreation.

The process of fragmentation of the Yugoslav Republic into independent national states was reproduced at the level of the newly formed State of Slovenia. In 1995, the state introduced so-called statistical regions as territorial units relevant for the collection of statistical data. Dolenjska became part of the Southeast Slovenia Region, together with the three other so-called traditional

239 Jakelić (2004) discussed differences in (non)collectivistic Catholicism in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia as deriving from the specific historical contexts commencing with the role of Catholic Church in each of these societies prior to the 19th Century nationalism. Following her analysis, she concludes that the Roman Catholic Church in Slovenia, as compared to the other two countries, presently plays the least vital role in social and political transformation.

regions of Notranjska, Suha Krajina and Bela Krajina. Additional borders were drawn to demarcate newly founded municipalities – now counting 212. According to the Law on Local Self-administration (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 72-2629/1993) and its subsequent amendments the criteria for the establishment of a new municipality were the size of the population of a Local Community. A minimum of 5,000 people makes up an ordinary Municipality whereas a minimum of 10,000 inhabitants constitute a Town Municipality. Both types of Municipality must have geographical, economic and cultural centres, be able to sustain the needs of their population and fulfil the legislation criteria. Local Communities that aspired to become a Municipality argued that in the current centralised management system insufficient funds were made available to the periphery of municipalities. As a result, the number of Municipalities rose from 60 in 1991, 193 in 1998, and – following consultative referenda in 2006 – 210; legislative changes added another two to the list. Nowadays the Southeast Slovenian Region counts 21 municipalities. They exercise a substantial control in their respective areas of authority, but the question of how to decrease their number and running costs is regularly debated.

In contrast to the municipalities of the socialist period, to which the State had delegated the authority in matters such as fiscal policy, geodetic jurisdiction, and issuing documents, the jurisdiction of the newly formed municipalities was reduced. In 1992, the role of *župan* as the elected head of a municipality became re-instituted. Additionally, of the former socialist municipalities were separated in Town Municipalities and (ordinary) Municipalities, the former being larger towns with geographic, economic and cultural centres or towns with a particular historical identity. The Town Municipality of Novo Mesto is one of the eleven of such Town Municipalities in Slovenia. Nowadays local inhabitants do not distinguish the Municipality from the Administrative Unit. They commonly complain about the incompetent or ignorant officials and unfair legislative frameworks and refer to the Municipality when in need of personal documents of construction permits.

The area under study retained as its local political framework the Town Municipality of Novo Mesto, which encloses twenty-three Local Communities. The Local Community is the smallest unit of self-government and composed of a population partaking in communal decisions. As such, it is a territory inhabited

by persons connected by common interests and needs and by a sense of belonging. All these are realised by having access to the material sources required. A Local Community is managed by representatives of the belonging villages elected directly every four years (as is the case with the municipality council). The Council of Residents (*zbor krajanov*) decides on most important matters affecting the Local Community. Whereas works on the communal infrastructure are to be approved and funded by the Municipality and executed by external contractors, minor public works are still completed by local contractors and financed from Local Community funds. As already established (see p. 17), the borders of a Local Community commonly correspond to those of one to three neighbouring cadastral municipalities, basic units of land cadastre of the Republic of Slovenia. In addition, the village acting as the seat of the Local Community is also the one in which the parish church is situated. In Podgorje both the Local Community and the parish carry the name of that village.

In contrast to these administrative re-organisations the local religious organisation of the area largely retained the structure as was established in the 18th Century. The parish usually provides for the religious and spiritual needs of the inhabitants of two Local Communities.

Dolenjska and *Dolenjci*, Podgorje and *Podgorci*

The descriptions of the Dolenjska and Podgorje inhabitants offered by the Slovenian Ethnological Lexicon (2004) reflect a conceptualisation of society as being rooted in the land, in which the society's representations and actions are inscribed. Gorazd Makarovič thus defines the people of Dolenjska as: "Inhabitants of the "lower" part of Kranjska, as of 1918 being part of Slovenia. There is a rather permanent awareness of the sense of local belonging, which among the nobility and bourgeoisie in the late Middle Ages and among the peasantry in the Modern Era overlapped with a Kranjska province consciousness and in the 19th Century with the Slovenian national consciousness. The term Dolenjska came to denote a regional belonging in the 18th Century. Family names were established in the 17th Century and became obligatory in the following century. The prevalence of family names deriving from the name Dolenjska testifies that the Dolenjska inhabitants were recognized earlier as regional inhabitants (along with other explanations based on the derivation of the family name from the

names of lower places). Due to the slow agro-technical revolution and relatively inconvenient economic and transport developments in the Dolenjska in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th Century, the values of the emerging industrial society spread more slowly than in its neighbouring areas, a fact which contributed to the stereotype of the Dolenjska people as sensitive, kind but reckless, old-fashioned, slow and feckless people. At least to some extent, this image persists today” (ibid. 94; my translation A.R.).

Tourism is a social practice that tends to appreciate the distinctive cultural markers of the area visited. The local tourist attractions of Dolenjska promoted by the tourist office of the Town Municipality of Novo Mesto (<http://visitnovomesto.si/>; accessed April 12, 2014), are the archaeological heritage of *situla* art dating to the Hallstatt period between the 8th and 4th Century B.C. It also singles out the *cviček* – “the wine of a little man [as] a national symbol” (Hrastar 2006). This wine variety in 2000 the EU declared a product of traditional denomination, expressive of authenticity and of the Dolenjska identity. This recognition resulted from the efforts made to re-value the defining feature of the Dolenjska region and – by implication – its inhabitants. The slogan “Always Cviček,” in combination with a colour photo of the annual student parties (*Cvičkarija*) in the university cities of Ljubljana, Maribor, Koper and Novo Mesto, copies that of Coca Cola. Further public events such as the “Cviček Week”, a festival organized by the Association of Societies of Winegrowers of Dolenjska, adopted the symbolism mentioned by the historian and novelist Trdina (1987 [1870–1879]).²⁴⁰

Of the Podgorje residents the local ethnologist Ivica Križ provides the following definition:

“Podgorci (*Podgurci*) inhabitants of Podgorje, a part of the Novo Mesto area between the Gorjanci hill and the Krka river. It stretches between the Ljubno hill in the west and the border of the Šentjernej field in the east. In the last quarter of the 19th Century, the name Podgorci was employed by Trdina regularly. Until the first half of the 20th Century, when certain settlements in the lowlands and in the vicinity of Novo Mesto became urbanised, Podgorje was extensively agrarian. Due to the inconvenient economic and transport condi-

240 On the other hand, during the Rock Otočec music festival, one of my informants placed an advertisement on trees for *cviček*, to which a young man from the Primorska region responded, asking whether he still had some of that “Dolenjska water.”

tions the Dolenjska people acquired a stereotype of Podgorci as superstitious, ignorant and rough people. The image at times becomes an insult, therefore the residents of the area do not employ the name Podgorci often” (ibid. 430; my translation A.R.).

The attitude mentioned by Križ is a common one, in particular with elderly people. It can also be observed in the upright position at home and bowed head in town, especially in those older than forty years and less educated. But a contrary stance was taken by predominantly younger entrepreneurial Podgorje residents who emphasise the unique nature of Podgorje identity. Around the year 2003, the slogan “To be a Podgorec is a luxury” (*Bit Podgur’c je luksuz*) was put forward by local people on the occasion of a Slovenian cycling tour in 2006 so as to cheer on the local participant. Asking what is luxurious about being a Podgorec, the slogan’s author responded that “most people think it is because Podgorje is full of parties, wine storage sheds, salami, piglet and *cviček*. I usually leave them without an answer [...] To me, as the main promoter of the slogan it expresses that today I can help my neighbour shovel manure wearing rubber boots and tomorrow I can participate in a business meeting with a president of the board of any company in the state, to put it roughly. Probably, every person has his own explanation, which is also how it should be”. For the cycling event T-shirts and banners were emblazoned with the slogan, which further contributed to its public recognition. T-shirts bearing the slogan were sold and in 2008 it became a registered brand. Its Facebook profile informs that “Podgorec is not merely a person living in the specific area. To be a Podgorec is a state of mind” (<https://www.facebook.com/BitPodgurcJeLuksuz>; accessed June 5, 2013; my translation A.R.).

Both ideas articulate a distinctive Podgorje identity. The first arises from the long-established notion of shame grounded in the practice of farming in Podgorje. The second refers to the notion of pride in performing other forms of action outside Podgorje, in Novo Mesto in particular. The presentation involves a contrast between two different social spaces: the former internal to, the latter surpassing Podgorje.

Local products such as cherries and walnuts have become iconic identifiers of particular places. Local residents acting in civil associations organise annual events centred around their distinctive symbol, during which a ‘*cviček* princess’

or a ‘queen of cherries’ is chosen, routes are generated, such as the ‘Cviček Path’, the ‘Slak’s Path’, and the ‘Dolenjska Running Cup’, all referring to objects, persons and places distinctive and constitutive of the area. In addition, in late August, local fire fighter associations organise a feast called *veselica* in order to collect funds for their work. During such feasts a band plays folk-pop music, entertainers perform sketches, a lottery takes place, food and drinks are sold and consumed on benches placed next to the dance floor and the stands where the Association of Peasant Wives offers traditional food. These events are announced on local radio and posters and are attended by the local population. In this manner, stereotypes become part of traditional culture, re-evoking the very idea of a Podgorje distinctive identity as a source advantage and pride that was suppressed up to the end of the socialist period. It is part of this process that the historical roots of the area drew increased attention in recent years. In 1997, the ‘Dolenjska Compendium’ entitled ‘Gorjanci’ was published, containing articles of scholars of different disciplines dedicated to the natural and cultural heritage of the Gorjanci hill. Most recently, local well-educated men of high social status, born to reputed Houses, and with respectable careers behind them began to collect genealogical data on their ancestors. They also collected such information about other Houses in their settlements along with other data, with the aim to discover and document the local history for the benefit of forthcoming generations (e.g. Goršin 2010, Goršin 2015, Strajnar 2012).²⁴¹ The documentation included photos, school certificates and other materials. Their investigations also focused on the relevant socio-historical contexts, especially the period from the earliest historical phases up to the Second World War. These accounts focus on ‘important’ persons. As such they qualify people who have acquired prominence on state level or beyond. The documents also concern various historical processes, such as emigrations, that have affected the local way of life. They do refer to the mainstream hardships of life, but omit any potentially disturbing information. By means of such publications “the genuine Slovenian settlement[s] ‘without history’” (Möderndorfer 1938: 19) are given

241 In quest for the meaning of House names, some of these works have subjected them to alterations. They substituted the actual House name with the word in standard Slovene that sounds like or closest to the House name in question and has a valuable meaning. These changes give emphasis on the meaning of the House name, yet not by consulting etymology nor by referring to its possible meaning in the past.

their own particular past. Local people are genuinely interested in their own history, especially when it concerns the churches, castles and villages. Their own houses may be of less interest, particularly if these evoke reminiscences of drunkenness, abuse, poverty and debt. Yet, in view of the current financial crisis, some anticipate the future by declaring to return to the past and take up farming that guarantees them economic self-sufficiency.

Such documentations are usually privately published with the aid of funding provided by local businesses (principally the Krka pharmaceutical company). They are publicly presented in schools and the so-called 'society homes' – events to which people are invited through the Local Community bulletin. Such publications are much appreciated and purchased by the local inhabitant, especially if they address the role played by the latter's House in local history. In such contexts, the local people identify themselves first of all in relation to their family and their House in the present and in the past.

Social relationships

The house

Present-day villages and hamlets of Podgorje are already mentioned in the 17th Century urbarial records. But the number of the residential and supplementary dwellings has increased considerably. Today's Podgorje settlements are compounds of houses built in the different periods discussed earlier and dwellings erected more recently. The latter reflect changes in the house structure and the house plan. The new dwellings are constructed adjacent to the old ones or at the settlement's periphery alongside the existing road. The outline of the settlement has nevertheless remained unaltered.

The houses built from the 1990s onwards with their varying forms and layouts express individual tastes. They belong to the descendants of the house of origin in which the (former) head couple still resides. They are situated on the sites of former gardens or fields proximate these original houses. These new houses are not agricultural establishments. They do, however, each include a woodshed, a tool shed and a garage where accumulated things "which may come in handy one day," and sports equipment are stored. The kitchen with its dining area is a room where visitors are invited to join the house members; this still represents

the centre of the house. In rare cases, a small image of God and framed family photos decorate the wall, but this area is not designated as 'God's corner'. The houses' layouts of an average 200m² vary considerably. No fixed spatial arrangement pattern can be detected, apart from the fact that the living areas are mostly located downstairs and the sleeping rooms upstairs. Residents still may build their own house with the help of kin, friends and co-villagers although the state has issued regulations which require professional supervision by civil engineers, architects and contractors. In contrast to the costs of constructing infrastructure during the socialist period, these are now extremely high. Approximating those for new buildings they are a major financial source of the municipal treasury. The change from multi-generational to one-generational types of residence and their modern urban style testify to a higher standard of living. In this respect, older houses have been adapted as well. With the exception, perhaps, of computers all modern electric appliances are also found in the oldest houses in the village. In the two-family houses from the socialist period the old head couple lives downstairs and their heir and his/her family upstairs; the two floors have separate kitchens, dining areas and other rooms. They are thus two separate fully equipped living apartments. In their external appearance, recently constructed houses vary significantly when compared to their previous uniform style from the socialist period and to the still existing traditional rural houses. Starting some ten years ago houses built with the socialist design began to acquire colourful facades following the suburban trend.

A formal model of social relationships

According to the 2002 census²⁴² the village of Gornja Težka Voda consisted of 29 houses inhabited by 91 people (46 males, 45 females). In 2012, there were 31 houses, five of which stood empty²⁴³. Four houses were inhabited by wid-

242 The census does not offer any data on houses and families in this particular village.

243 First case: unmarried head died and his two sisters (one of whom lives in Australia) and one brother inherited the house; the brother, living nearby, is maintaining the estate. Second case: the unmarried head died and her BS inherited the farm and is now selling it. Third case: the old mill is owned by the municipality as protected heritage, yet the successors maintained the rest of the estate and build a house on one of its parcels. Fourth case: the owner died and her daughter and son inherited it; son lives in the

ows and two by handicapped men. Ten houses were inhabited by nuclear families, and six by stem families. In the two cases in which the old couple remained living in the old house their offspring lived in separate village houses. In only one case, a widow went to live into the newly built house of her children²⁴⁴. The genealogical data collected show twenty houses stem from seven 19th Century houses, the progeny of which had their houses built on neighbouring plots.

The house as a building has retained its meaning of House designating a category of kinship (see Part Two), even though the new generations gradually replace the House name by a family name.²⁴⁵ As being the case with the houses in the socialist period, from the 1990s onwards modern houses were built and inhabited by nuclear families descending from the origin houses. They have been built on garden or field sites adjacent to the origin house. As a result, of this praxis there is a dense network of kinship relations among the village population. The origin houses are presently inhabited either by an unmarried heir or by old head couples who sustain themselves with a pension. The oldest residents retired in the early 1990s in the midst of the economic crisis. Their children or other close relatives have helped them with reparation and renovation work. When they no longer live there these houses stand empty or are used as a storage shed (*kašča*). While the old residents are taken care of by their offspring, grandparents take care of their grandchildren if a place in the kindergarten is not available. Grandparent are only placed in a nursing home if their health or the work schedule of their children necessitates that. When, however, the old female head is still vital she prepares the daily lunch for the House members who come in from school and work. Offspring who married out of the village usually return to the house of origin for Sunday lunch. Even though the respectful terms of address (see Part Two, p. 88) have virtually disappeared elderly persons are still entitled to the respect due to them for the suffering they

neighbouring house, daughter married and moved to the city. Fifth case: the owners live abroad and come for holidays.

244 As she is no longer capable of taking care of herself. Rarely, when there is no one home full time, people put their (grand)parents into nursing home.

245 During my fieldwork I introduced myself to my informants by referring to my mother's House name.

endured during their lives, whether because of war, poverty or hard labour. It is a hardship of which the elderly believe the young shall never endure.

Also, the praxis of addressing affines by the parental kin term has disappeared. Regardless of their current place of residence they are referred to by their personal name and the informal 'you' (cp. Part Two, p. 86). The terms of *stric* ("uncle") and *teta* ("aunt") for unmarried persons are no longer employed; as such they are only used by residents of over 50 years of age. Descendants of the emigrated house members, some wishing to explore their roots, come to the village for a visit once in their lifetime and occasionally send greeting cards. However, House members and their offspring living in other places in Slovenia visit the origin house and its grave on the days marked in the Catholic calendar as Christmas, Easter and All Saints day.

The sustenance of the household is ensured by salaries earned by the head couple and – especially if they are farming – possibly also by the children still residing at home. Farming is currently practised by a minority of Podgorje residents. In the village described here, farming furnishes a partial income to four houses; in three of these one child is to become the heir, thereby ensuring the continuation of the farm-hold. Farming continues to entail both male and female labour maintaining the differentiation of gender roles even though the terms *gospodar* and *gospodinja* referring to the male and female House head are no longer used. But whether the parents farm or not, all sons and daughters complete the high school in Novo Mesto and possibly the university in Ljubljana. This is decided on pragmatic grounds. The type of employment one may aspire to is conditional on the existing kinship and other social relations by which a job can be obtained; the question of the gender appropriate for a certain type of work plays a role as well.

During the week students live in the dorm or a private residence in Ljubljana and only return home for the weekend. For the majority of the population the growing of their own food, the practical expertise in repairing, constructing, mowing and cutting contribute to being self-sufficient. House members who have married out regularly receive the produce of their house of birth, regardless of their actual contribution to its production. But the wellbeing of the House also depends on the establishment and maintenance of social relationships with people engaged in one way or another with its members, such as medical doctors, nurses, teachers and other public officials as well as potential

employers. In acknowledgement of this fact, gifts are presented to them as a token of gratitude, an act which the social identity of the giver is brought to the attention of the receiver so that he may reciprocate at the following occasion. In this manner, exchanges are conducted that are reminiscent of those in the healthcare system of post-socialist Romania where gifts serve to “replace reciprocity” (cp. Weiner 1980; Stan 2012).

House and land

In 1991, the main categories of land in Podgorje were pastures and meadows (20.8 per cent), arable land (15.2 per cent) and forests (55.9 per cent; Rus 1997: 15). In the following two decades, the share of forest land continued to rise due to the unrestrained overgrowing of meadows. Then this process discontinued observable in yearly cleaning of parcel borders. Arable land is employed for animal fodder and for foodstuffs, while pasture land is partly used as such during the warm seasons and for making hay. Land ownership distribution remained largely unchanged.



Map 7: Part of the cadastral municipality of Težka Voda in 2014 (cp. Map 6; adapted from maps of the Surveying and Mapping Authority of the Republic of Slovenia)

In 1991, the process of restoring of the ownership of the lands as prevailed prior to the Second World War and subsequent socialist Yugoslavia has begun. Lands, such as woods, the mode of exploitation of which had remained the same during the socialist period was returned to their previous title holders or their heirs. Plots, however, on which in the meantime factories had been built, had become construction sites, or had been transferred into other people's ownership could not be returned to their previous owners. During the fifteen years following the start of this denationalisation process they receive indemnity. But as mentioned earlier (see p. 199) such operations hardly affected Podgorje residents. Only the village commons of forest lands of the pre-war times were concerned. These had become "people's property" and were now to be returned to the holders of the *usus* claim on communal entitlement. For in order to be given back the land, claimants needed to demonstrate that they formed a community – a complex un-

dertaking. First, the heirs of the pre-war holders of the *usufruct* must be identified as rightful claimants. This is far from easy, since the ownership of some farm-holds had not been transferred to a single heir but had been divided among a number of heirs, some of whom did not live in Slovenia at all. Another difficulty followed from the fact that the initial claimants were residents of different villages. Also, the lack of knowledge about the past forms of exploitation practised in the particular farm-hold created difficulties. Some village communities nevertheless managed to meet the criteria and retrieved the village common (*vaška gmajna*), whereas others did not so that the land in question remained under the proprietorship of the municipality.

The Slovenian State adopted additional changes in rural policies aimed at adapting to the agricultural policy of the European Union. One of these involved different procedures to establish the value of land. With the Real Estate Recording Act (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 47-2024/2006 and No. 65-3564/2007) the cadastral system of land tax classification that pertained to the various modes of land cultivation described earlier (see p. 201), was changed into a more uniform mode of appraisal according to the so-called bonita points (*boniteta*) referring to the production capacity of a certain zone without reference to its actual forms of cultivation. Local land holders became acquainted with it when, for instance, the borders of parcels of land were altered or plots were sold. The latter was even more relevant when the purchase of land involved a change in its commercial destiny. Agricultural plots meant to serve as building site fetched higher prices. Both the calculation of land value in terms of bonita points and the determination of its use are decided by the municipality. Such decisions may be influenced by local authorities so as to meet their particular objectives. This procedure of assessing the market value of agricultural land is dependent on the land holder's pursuits and does not correspond to the local identification and valuation of land.

The newly introduced digitalisation of cadastral data for public use followed the established land determination markers, hence maintained the local identification of land. At present, microtoponyms and House names in addition to the parcel numbers, their cadastral municipality and the aerial photos – all being part of the digitalized geodetic documentation – are included in official

records. In 2005, for example, the GERK²⁴⁶ (*Grafična Enota Rabe Kmetijskega gospodarstva*, Graphic Parcel of Land Holding) was introduced by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food as a basis for the policy of agricultural subsidies in the EU.

In the past periods described earlier (see pp. 99, 198) land was the essential condition of being a farmer. This is still the case. However, the definition of peasants in Slovenia is an ambiguous one. The Agricultural Forestry Chamber of Slovenia, established in 2000, brings together not only legal persons and voluntary members, its members are also natural persons, subjects of fiscal policy. These are defined as those persons “who are holders, charterers and usufructuaries of agricultural land and woods in the Republic of Slovenia and whose cadastral income for the year 2012 amounts to 106.88 Euros (in accordance to yearly valorisation of the cadastral income)” (<http://www.kgzs.si/kv/clanstvo/kdo-so-clani-.aspx>, accessed March 2, 2014; my translation A.R.). Such voluntary or obligatory membership is conditional on one’s access to the produce of the land, not on working the land or the forest oneself. The former notion of the ‘peasant’ in relation to the land was part of the feudal set of separate social categories that – in its specific Socialist understanding of ‘the peasantry’ – persisted in the period of Second Yugoslavia. Local heads of Houses are usually members of the Novo Mesto section of the Agricultural Forestry Chamber. They regularly pay their membership fees, attend various courses, and test the newly produced wine.

One also can become a peasant in the legal sense of the term. The Ministry of Agriculture and Environment assigns this status to anybody who practices agriculture or who wishes to do so, has the appropriate skills, is able to make a certain profit, whereby the income from the agricultural activity and from the benefits of the agricultural policy must amount to at least a 2/3 part of the average annual salary. The necessary expertise can be obtained at a certified educational institution by obtaining a certificate or having collected the relevant experience (<http://e-uprava.gov.si/e-uprava/dogodkiPrebivalci.euprava?zdid=1223&sid=876>, November 16, 2014).

Such a status entitles one to set a priority claim when purchasing agricultural land or a farm-hold, while it also grants advantageous conditions for pur-

246 A compact area of agricultural or forest land with the same type of actual use.

chasing agricultural machinery or obtaining beneficial social transfers. Whether one merely draws an income from the land without actually working it or one is an active farmer, in both cases one must have a legal title to the land and demonstrate to draw a significant part of one's income from it. In the latter requirement, however, the EU subsidies and other support measures of the agricultural policy readily foresee. Once the status of peasant has been acquired, it is kept for life, whether its conditions continue to be fulfilled or not.

Almost every group of houses stemming from an origin house has a land fund.²⁴⁷ In local understanding the attributes of a peasant's status are the size of his cattle, the size of his tractor and the number of hectares of cultivated pasture land and woods – the objects of the peasant's agricultural labour. In this respect informants differentiate four categories of local people based on generational transmission of farming. The data provided by the local Agricultural and Forestry Chamber show that this self-categorisation of the people of Podgorje is congruent with the norms of the European Agricultural framework.²⁴⁸ In fact, the EU rural development policies contributed to the emergence of these different (temporary) rural categories.

First there are the old head couples of pensioned worker-peasants, who do not have children or whose children “were not brought up to do so”. Such couples cultivate certain parcels for immediate personal consumption (*za zevnik*) only. They may also lease their pasture land to a cattle-raising co-villager. This requires a lease contract, as under the terms of the agricultural policy the lessee

247 Following the principle of protection of personal data, in 2013 the access to previously accessible real estate records on the farm size and its head became regulated.

248 These evidences reveal the following. In 2014, 766 farm-holds acted as recipients of subsidies of the different measures of the EU common agricultural policy, predominantly for the maintenance of soil, and 97 farm-holds took part in the Agricultural Environmental Program of the EU agricultural policy. Furthermore, in the last ten years there were nine candidates in the Novo Mesto Town Municipality for the program of *mladi prevzemnik kmetije*, the young farm-transferee plan of action assisting new heirs of the farm with farm-management. Presently 27 farm-holds within the Novo Mesto Town Municipality acquires the so-called supplementary activity on farm-hold, and since 2005, 8 farm-holds were granted investment funds, enabling them to perform transport and other services.

can apply for a subsidy. The rent is commonly free of charge. This practice testifies to a concern with the old head couple to hold on to their land. They may, however, agree for instance on receiving manure for their vegetable garden or on other services to be performed. Gradually, however, more and more separate parcels are sold when farm-holds no longer have the status of protected farm, and eventually the entire estate can be sold – mostly to co-villagers.

The second category of people locally distinguished are the pensioned or older worker-peasants who – with the help of their children, siblings, nephews and nieces – still take care of the land, produce wine, and raise some sheep, chickens and pigs. The head of the household may sell a plot or two, even if the market value of land is very low (see below).

The vineyards, which still represent a particular category of land, are cultivated by the household head with the aid of his immediate, preferably male, family members. At harvest time the House members and their families assist in picking the grapes while the male and female members of the household join the male head in processing the grapes. After St Martin's Day the wine is offered to every visitor. Only rarely producers sell the wine, and if they do, then mostly to customers from non-winegrowing regions of Slovenia. Many, however, let their wine be judged; the testimonies thereafter are attached to the wine cellar's wall.

Farming products not consumed by the household itself may be sold to other relatives, (former) working colleagues, neighbours, and Albanian seasonal labourers in need of a lamb for the celebration of Ramadan. Household generally take care of their stock properly, contact the veterinarian in case of need, keep book on the required inspections and process the manure according to the environmental directives.

Older or pensioned peasant-workers still taking care of the land may also sell meat and the female household head vegetables and eggs to their (former) colleagues at work. The workplace thus is a local market for the exchange of farm merchandise. In such cases objects are exchanged for money between the customer and the supplier regularly. Unless they are the recipients of the EU subsidies – most of them actually are (see below) – in such forms of farming the expenses exceed the income. The farmers in question are reluctant to profit from the EU policy since they mistrust the institutions. For those in these two categories of local people who do not draw on EU subsidies agriculture is not a subsistence source of income. Their livelihood is ensured through salaries or

pensions only. For them, as for the majority of Podgorje population farming is ‘the way of life’.

The third group of peasant-workers farms according to the established norms. They predominantly practice animal husbandry and forestry. So does the fourth group of farmers who practice agriculture exclusively. This rare category of farmers is referred by the locals as “complete peasants” (*čisti kmet*).

Farming households of all types critically negotiate the rules and norms imposed upon them by the institutions concerned. In doing so they rely on their peasant common sense (*zdrava kmečka pamet*, lit. “healthy peasant mind”) in making choices according to the laws of nature or contradicting state imposed norms. My informants for example consider the EU directive on the proper size and shape of cucumbers outright nonsensical. In general, even though the EU subsidies represent a relevant source of income any interference by the State and EU authorities in the management of the farm-hold is to be avoided. The household head who raises his stock according to the State policy on livestock and harvests the trees selected by the forester, performs his agricultural tasks according to the principle of market transparency. And yet he offers his services and products to the customers acquired via kin and non-kin social relations, in exchange of a set price – if feasible without issuing a receipt – or perhaps of a favour such as providing a job for his son.

The State is preferably excluded from such exchanges, since it imposes a normative framework requiring a calculation of agricultural income and corresponding taxation. The exchanges take place in social networks built on the basis of kin relations and gifts circulating between people who have access to information, may influence decision-making, and are able to acquire subsidies. According to local officials, peasants have access to a considerable amount of information – some correct, some not – but when it comes to filling out an application to for investment funds, they lack the expertise.

Such types of exchanges, being hybrid forms of gift and commodity exchanges, are quite similar to those practised in the socialist period between people with distributional power and those in the role of customers.

All groups in the rural population perceive the State as intent on taking from them what is theirs, and state policies as irrelevant to real-life. Consequently, they exclude the State from their actions whenever possible.

In this perspective the relationship between the Roma, locally referred to as Cigani, and the local population whom the Roma call ‘civilians’, is revealing. On the one hand, the local people blame Roma for exploiting a state that they as taxpayers enable to operate, and for receiving a monetary income without having to conform its values and norms as other citizens do. And yet, local people prefer to cooperate with them rather than with the state when they want to sell iron and copper and avoid paying tax. Whereas the negative image of the Roma is publicly proclaimed, the exchanges made with them are not. In fact, the actions of the local people and those of the Roma differ only gradually in the non-conformism and delinquency they entail. But from the point of view of the local people, hard work is to be valued as part of a local collective economy, in which exchanges are moral actions geared towards the reproduction of the House (see Part Two).

Both the EU and the Slovenian State define land and productivity as determinants of economic power. Local farmers do likewise. However, the EU agricultural policy is designed for large-scale farming that enables the State to provide a self-sufficient food production by raising productivity and promoting farming as a capitalist venture. Yet as described earlier (see p. 248), the average size of the agricultural plots and the manner of their cultivation do not conform to the standard land units in which the EU conceptualises its agricultural policies.

The minimum size of the land required according to these policies is met by concluding the artificially framed rental contracts – rarely by means of additional land purchases – and by reporting all parcels at issue as being under cultivation. For example, ten years ago when Slovenia began to participate in the European agricultural policy, those for whom agriculture is a source of income began filling up pits that used to be used as *zevnik*, a subsistence garden, producing crops for daily meals of the family (see p. 100) and corn field interchangeably or as a meadow. Construction material was used although it is not permitted to use such pits as a depot. However, the aim was to obtain a larger and more accessible cultivation area, so as to be eligible for EU subventions. Thus, one put a layer of soil on top of the waste material deposited in the pits and began the crop rotation.

The EU agricultural policy also promotes the integrity of farm-holds. It discourages the partition of the landed estate by providing the financial means

to maintain the unity of the cultivated land. These policies contributed to the particular circumstances in which farming in Podgorje is being practised, enabling certain farm-holders to at least partially make their livelihood from farming. And yet, the EU policies did not succeed in making the state self-sufficient in food production.

In spite of all these political initiatives and market policies the principles informing people's attitudes towards the land remain in force. House names continue to designate the House's members and its material and immaterial property, identifying people and property in reference to the land. By remaining to live on and from the land one demonstrates one's compliance with one's predecessor's will. Selling the land occurs only when in the absence of direct progeny, the land cannot be cultivated. And when the progeny has announced its intention to sell the plots to be inherited, the current head prefers to do that by him/herself. The local weekly *Dolenjski List* features articles and interviews with heirs whose testators made them promise not to sell the farm-hold. I recorded cases in which the House head stipulated that his heirs may sell the land only when the time has come for his corpse to be carried down the road. This was the case especially when estates had water mills or some other vital functions. Some heirs indeed respect the wills by preserving the heritage. Others do not have the means or are not interested in continuing the tradition but engage in other types of business. They may sell a parcel but rarely the entire estate. The reluctance to sell the land will be overcome when a state road is to be constructed or the land can be turned into a building site. In the first case the alienation of the parcel is inevitable, but the resistance enacted aims at receiving as high an indemnity as possible.

The larger the size and the greater the accessibility of an agricultural plot the higher its value. Both criteria directly influence the size of its yield. In Podgorje, prices per square metre of farmland vary from 1 to 2 euros. The market price of forest lands by and large equals the annual income made from selling the firewood harvested.

The monetary valuation of the land is highly context dependent. When assessed in order to determine the real estate taxation due (a tax law proposed in 2014 but not yet implemented) one plays down the value of one's land. But when one decides to put the land on the market no price can be high enough. Thus, when one has to pay the State a share of one's property, the land is val-

ued as a commodity subject to the laws of the market. But when the land owned by the House provides its members with a relational identity, it is considered an inalienable good with an immaterial value that cannot be assessed in money.

The time criterion of the adverse possession claim was reduced to 10 years in contrast to 30 years in Austrian Empire and Kingdom of Yugoslavia (see p. 95), and 20 years in socialist Yugoslavia (see p. 203). While the initial time span corresponded with generational change, the present one reflects State's view on land as market property. Adverse possession claim is locally rarely employed. As in earlier times, it is resorted to when there is no other method of land transfer available, such as in the case of the protected farm status when its holder wants to alienate his or her land to a non-farmer.

State legislation has an impact on the ways the pre-emption right on agricultural land is conceptualised. One case recorded may illustrate this. At the end of the village a farm-hold, composed of a house, its agricultural buildings and implements, and the plots in its immediate vicinity are for sale. The price demanded amounts to about two thirds of the current market price. The owner had died and since she did not have any children, her BS who lives in another village inherited the property. One neighbour expressed his interest in purchasing it "when he [nephew] sets an appropriate price" and he offered half of the requested sum of money. The neighbour in question intended to tear down the house and agricultural buildings and use the plots as pasture land. The other two neighbours – linked to each other by the same origin house as a grandson and a son-in-law respectively – told the interested neighbour that in case he would purchase the property he would have to pay 10,000 euros to each of them.

This claim expresses the pre-emptive rights on farm land. From 2003 onwards (Agricultural Land Act, Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 59-3454/1996, No. 36-1718/2003), a co-owner would exercise the first right of purchase, a farmer with land neighbouring property (*mejaš*) a second right. The neighbour who wishes to buy the property already uses the plot on sale as grassland. But by asking the same compensation the two other neighbours claim an equal pre-emptive right of purchase.

Land border disputes are still present. They arise regularly but are never fully discussed as such.²⁴⁹ The involved parties are reluctant to resort to the official land defining procedures as there is always the possibility they would not be pleased with the final decision. Instead, one neighbour constantly exploits his land beyond its borders of which the affected neighbour occasionally reminds him. The first neighbour responds to the second neighbour with ignorance or a certain joking expression. In this manner, the conflict remains latent and often, peace is maintained. The situation reoccurs in several generations as commonly the same Houses are inclined to expand their land at the expense of the neighbouring land.

In contrast to many other ideas pertaining to the land, the sequence of actions, of which cultivating the land consists, no longer follows the lunar and the religious calendars. The knowledge of the auspicious time periods for obtaining an abundant and high-quality harvest is still preserved by the elderly, albeit not in complete form. They explain how one woman in the village, who died in 1999, knew by heart all the phases of moon and their significance; she was consulted whenever necessary. Other elderly people whom I interviewed were only aware of the proverbs pertaining to a particular saint and his/her significance for performing a specific task. With the current advanced machinery, agricultural tasks no longer need to be completed during daytime so that, for instance, one can plough the land during the night. Science and technology now provide the knowledge that allows one to become independent of the natural order of time.

249 The local geodesy court expert for the area explained how ever since the access to court became more difficult and expensive, and can lead to seizure of one's property, the number of judicial cases has decreased. Furthermore, the enactment of the Law on Recording Real-estates, State Border and Spatial Units in 2000 (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 52-2447/2000, 87-4360/2002 – Substantive Legal Code, 47-2024/2006 – Real Estate Recording Act), geodesy distinguishes between three types of borders: the *usus* border which is evident, the border shown by the neighbouring parties and the cadastral border discerned by the technical measurement performed by the surveyor. All three border types are to be within the allowed corridor defined by the official cadastral data and as such enhance the possibility of reaching an agreement between the involved parties; at the same time, the new regulation restricts land allocation which does not pertain to the border definition, i.e. illicit trade in real estate from which the state is excluded.

And yet blessings of the soil are still performed: by the priest, by the – mostly female – household members, endowing the land with a blessed bundle and a blooming *astilbe* valued as a gift from God to ensure the beneficial protection of the soil.

House and larger society

Village

Present-day village plans do not differ much from the 19th Century maps of the clustered villages of Podgorje. Local politicians promote the preservation of ‘traditional’ village plans, though the regulations that restrict the construction of new buildings is not consistently followed. Their number increased while the number of residents remained stable.

Houses built from the days of the Yugoslav Republic onwards have additional storage facilities or edifices for occasional gatherings. Initially such rooms consist of open spaces covered by a roof; they gradually adopt the form and function of a walled building. The majority of these are not listed in the official building register. They were either illegally erected or are constructions for which no permission is required. A local politician who at present occupies the position of director of the Regional Surveying and Mapping Authority office advises village people on how to build such edifices while avoiding too much expenses or unwanted inspections.

We have observed how houses are connected to one another in various types of relationships. On the one hand, origin houses are connected with other houses in relation of kinship. On the other hand origin houses and their kin-related other houses are connected to other origin houses and their kin-related houses. Cooperation between these houses only takes place if these houses have land and actually cultivate that. Consider the following cases.

Three houses agree to simultaneously cut and bring in the hay. One of them raises apart of its income from agriculture, but it does not raise cattle so it sells the hay. The second house uses the hay for feeding its twenty sheep. The third house does so too, but it makes apart of its income by selling meat and collecting subventions (also for plots rented free of charge); this house owns the ma-

chinery to assemble the hay. Their parcels located in different sections of the village land border on each other. Usually, the male household head mows his fields with his tractor or may swap fields with other heads and rake the cut grass to dry. The members of all houses assist in the latter task. Once the hay has dried they agree on a schedule for bringing it in. Women from the second and third house follow the tractor collecting the hay on their respective parcels, collecting the hay left behind and put it into the hay cutting machine. This they may do on each other's parcels. During the regular breaks, wine, beer and water provided by the women of all three houses is consumed. Once the men of the three houses have compressed the bales of hay from the various parcels they put them on the wagon, taking care to note precisely what bales belong to what house. The male head of the second house then drives the bales of the third house home as well. Once completed, the third house is paid per bale for the service.

This case involves a complex exchange services with contrasting tendencies. On the one hand the mutual assistance offered in performing these tasks follows the pattern of a balanced or symmetrical exchange of labour. On the other hand, there is a monetary remuneration of the labour performed – a principle of buying and selling that leads to a certain discomfort with the head of the second house, apparently because it does not conform to the norm of a symmetrical exchange that precludes making a profit from mutual assistance.

When hay is to be compressed into types of bales for which no one in the village possesses the appropriate machinery, or when large amounts of timber must be brought in from the forest a house head will hire a contractor, known or recommended to him by a colleague or relative, to perform these tasks both for himself and for the heads of other village houses with whom he cooperates in such cases. The contractor has the appropriate machinery but need not run an officially registered business. Normally, in such cases the houses involved act as equal partners and pay the contractor for the service provided.

The village still consists of a network of neighbouring houses discussed in Part Two (see p. 111). This is grounded in the unchangeable principles of land ownership, which defines neighbours as partners in cooperation. Hence, the groups of neighbouring houses are not defined according to the recent self-categorisation of local people nor is the 'equal' size of the farm-hold the basis of mutual cooperation in completing yearly tasks (as described in Part Two).

A House which in earlier years took part in joint cutting and bringing in the hay ceased to do so. According to its female House head, one needs to help and to pay, hence they rather do the work themselves and merely call the third house to compress the bales.

Cooperation between houses is maintained as long as these agree jointly performing actions that are understood to reproduce the relationship between them. To give another example: only three houses in the village raise pigs while others purchase an entire animal from their neighbour or, depending on the price and their social network in neighbouring villages such as Brusnice or in Bela Krajina. Several house heads jointly slaughter the animals and each head brings the meat home to prepare different varieties of pork products. As in all other farming actions, the men and women perform different tasks. It used to be the head of the house overseeing the slaughter of pigs, but the skill of killing the animal has become rare nowadays. It may be passed on from father to son or to a neighbouring head's son. A slaughterer is invited to perform the act in the different houses, possibly also beyond the village boundary in a house related as kin to the House in the village. For his service of assisting the house members in turning the pig into pork and entrails he receives sausages and pork steaks in return.

The exchanges between houses also involve gender specific actions performed daily. Men may provide the service of spraying and ploughing with their tractor; women may offer medical assistance to the elderly female head of another house. Such services are commonly reciprocated by gifts of several dozen eggs, a chicken, coffee from the local roasting plant, or objects associated with female domain such as handcrafted household items (e.g. crocheted tablecloth, woven basket). Women constantly exchange for example tomato plants and bean seeds, give surplus produce to those who raise pigs, while men lend tools and equipment or perform skilled services. These multiple and manifold exchange transactions involve tasks that cannot be accomplished alone or objects one cannot produce by him/herself and bind the transacting parties together (cp. p. 108).

The exchange transactions take place also in case of shared agricultural tasks and when one wishes to demonstrate the success of the House. One's manner of cultivation and the quality and size of the crops produced are subject to the meticulous scrutiny and evaluation by others. As in the case of the grape

harvest, cutting and bringing in the hay, the potato harvest may draw on mutual assistance as well. These presently most common major agricultural tasks are accomplished by engaging in a balanced exchange of services. Whereas the assistance is redundant from a purely production point of view, such a communal work followed by communal meal (*likof*) is a form of exchange that renews social relationships (cp. p. 106).

In contrast to the numerous transactions in which objects and services circulate between the houses according to the principle of gift exchange, all these jointly performed tasks reflect attributes of both market and gift exchange. It is this combination of features of what are very different exchange ethics that provokes disagreement. Indeed, the immaterial valuation of the objects and services exchanged is ill at ease with the market value of the commodities produced and transacted. Hence the common practice is to subordinate the market valuation of goods and services to the value assigned to the relations of cooperation and distinction between neighbours.

Changes in farming practices affect the way the Houses classify themselves and hence their interrelationships in the village and their involvement in village affairs. As in the past, there is no particular time when villagers assemble into a community – apart from those settlements which established a new ‘tradition’ in the form of civil associations as elaborated earlier (see pp. 249, 255). In the village of Gornja Težka Voda, for example, after the mass, celebrated in the succursal church to honour the church’s patron and usually attended by most villagers, village men organised a local feast (*veselica*) offering food for a given sum of money. The event should have taken place in front of the church but due to the rainy weather was transferred to the courtyard of a house under its jutting roof. A considerable amount of food was not consumed and so the organising houses continued the feast the following day. Whereas the villagers welcomed the event they criticised the manner in which it was organised. They disapproved of the fact that it was organised by the representatives of the village secular authorities who usually do not take part in religious activities and that drinks were not included in the given sum of money but were charged additionally.

Another example of communal village ceremonies are the singers (*koledniki*) from the village going singing from house to house on the eve of the arrival of the Three Kings, writing the date of their visit on the entrance door frame. The

reinstitution of this pre-war ceremony underwent, however, certain changes. Singers are the MZSs of a female house head from a non-neighbouring village. They often perform at local events and each year choose different houses to sing in return for food and drink.

Several ceremonies have persisted through all these years. These are the shrove figures (*maškare*) enacted by children who visit the houses to sing in exchange for food and money; and the ceremonial making of noise on a person's name day (*ramplanje*, from German *rumpeln*), performed by elderly members of neighbouring houses. But most significant is the fact that the village continues to manifest itself as a religious community, in which the roles of the succursal church caretaker (*ključar*) and the sexton (*mežnar*) circulate among the village houses – just as the female role of the Red Cross representative does.

Political actions on behalf of the village are decided and implemented by the elected village representative in the Local Community and by several men who actively participate in village affairs. Such actions regularly draw criticism from the rest of the members of the village houses that are not involved in these decision-making processes. On the other hand, they also refuse to take part in them. Political decisions at village level may be influenced by single persons whose informal but less effective power may be rooted in their engagement with the political regime of the Socialist State. Whereas the Local Community should represent all houses of member villages equally, a Community president may act first of all on behalf of his own village of residence. Moreover, the Community's affairs tend to be debated and decisions taken by the men of houses with landed property and by agricultural entrepreneurs among themselves (cp. pp. 108-112). From such meetings, the landless houses remain largely aloof, and the decisions taken are communicated to them by relatives or neighbours. As a result, the village community as a body politic of Local Community and as a church parish are not only represented by different persons, they also reflect and support different views on communal affairs and interests. Those excluded from the village as body politic usually engage themselves in church affairs and mistrust those who claim to represent their interests as well with municipal authorities.

Members of the Local Community committees assert themselves by obtaining votes and support in cooperation with municipal authorities who in turn work

to their benefit. Such benefits find their visible expression in the improvement of infrastructure, such as a side-walk, the main street, or Internet facilities in those settlements whose members are represented in the municipal council. In comparison to the national parliamentary elections, locally elected candidates who operate on the local level are generally affiliated with parties that on the national level do not exert decisive influence. They may also pursue coalitions that do not comply with the right- and left-wing ideological programs enacted at national parliamentary level. Thus, like in the early parliamentary elections in the summer of 2014, local elections too brought victory to representatives relatively new on the local political stage. And yet, former presidents of Local Communities argue that their knowledge of the system and of the relevant people following from their long-lasting membership of the Local Community makes them indispensable. They would preferably hand over the candidature to their offspring.

Younger people who are politically active at local and state level nowadays speak of so-called ‘local sheriffs’ (*lokalni šerifi*). This term designates a sort of a ‘big man’ (Sahlins 1963) who originates in an area peripheral in relation to the municipal center, and who obtains the power to find his way to the sources of general welfare such as children’s playground while advancing his own interests simultaneously. He has access to decisive information through a well-connected social network. Such a person may hold a higher degree of education or possess other qualities enabling him to exert influence on the local center. ‘Sheriffs’, as the local population coins them, are believed to be in command, wield a wide and considerable influence on local politics, and mutually compete for power (cp. p. 109). The national media generally refer to the mayors of municipalities as ‘local sheriffs’ – particularly when they have evaded or broken the law but still managed to remain in office.²⁵⁰ Political analysts argue that this phenomenon is connected to the general crisis affecting political parties that manifested itself during the 2002 local elections.

But at the local level of Novo Mesto, the previous mayor was not recognised as sheriff even though he faced charges, a criminal investigation and indictments. His actions were steered by the actual sheriffs, highly ranked members of political parties who also hold important positions in local companies.

250 This was the reputation ascribed to the mayors of Ljubljana, Maribor (until 2012) and Koper.

The oldest 'sheriffs' are members of the left-wing, that is, socialist parties originating in the former Yugoslav State. The younger ones belong to the right-wing parties that had emerged after Slovenian Independence. Both, however, form their own quasi non-party-based election candidate lists – to achieve legitimacy – while the established parties acted as their supporters.

In this manner, the particular system of circulating the key positions in public institutions at the municipal level continues to function in an atmosphere of suspicions of corruption and clientelism. Presently, the results of the local elections of 2014 cannot be regarded as a break with such established practices. In any case Houses still sustain their position within the village and Local Community, and extend their influence up to the municipal level, through establishing and maintaining relations with those in the sphere of local politics.

The widespread dissatisfaction with corruption and the endeavours to promote certain changes for the benefit of the community and the society as a whole, resulted during the political and economic crisis in 2012 in large-scale protests. The residents of Podgorje however did not generally take part in such demonstrations. The common attitude was not to expose oneself and not to care about such affairs. This attitude reveals the great importance one assigned to one's public image: one apparently considered one's own social identity incompatible with such public actions. Moreover, the protests conveyed the rejection of the ways in which needs are commonly satisfied and goals accomplished. But the needs and the goals of the House predominantly concern the status and handling of its land, and when these are at issue the House often turns to the authority deemed the highest, that is the mayor. They make an official appointment to share their problems with him. He listens, directs the citizen to the civil servant in charge, and promises that it shall be resolved in a professional manner and in line with the jurisdiction powers and relevant legislation. Already the attention paid by the mayor – whether ultimately effective or not – is a value in itself.

In contrast to their ambivalent stance toward politics and politicians, the people of Podgorje since the mid-1990s have become much involved in the increasing number of the civil associations and organisations. Apart from fire brigades, these civil non-governmental organisations are a novelty in rural Podgorje. They are clearly distinct both from previously active informal groupings of vil-

lage men, from the Catholic groupings (see Part Two) and from the cultural educational associations of the Socialist State (see Part Three). According to the Register of Associations, the Town Municipality of Novo Mesto has 463 registered associations (<http://mrrsp.gov.si/rdrduobjave/dr/index.faces>; accessed December 7, 2014). These predominantly focus their activities on sports, on assisting people (e.g. in firefighting, supporting people with mental or physical problems), on cultural activities (in choirs, orchestras, theatres), and on scientific, professional and agricultural activities. The associations bring together local persons from one or more villages sharing the same interests. If not financially supported by a local company, the associations depend largely on membership fees. Associations declared to be of “Public Benefit” have “a status which needs to be proven every five years” (Rules for granting the status of Public Benefit Organisation 1997, Article 5; Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 61-2567/2006, No. 58-2868/2009). Having been granted such a status entitles an association to benefits such as preferential tendering, of 0.1 to 0.5 per cent share of income tax, exemption from administrative fees, and free legal aid. All types of associations may also receive donations, gifts, public funding and support from the municipality for performing their regular tasks (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 61-2567/2006, No. 58-2868/2009). Whatever the sources of funding the operation of such associations depends on the voluntary and unpaid activity of a community with a continuously circulating membership. Thus, membership of associations of firefighters, farmers’ wives, beekeepers, wine producers, athletes, or singers is usually transferred from parent or grandparent to their successor houses. The identity of such associations is signified by their names, designating its purpose with its locality (e.g. village, Novo Mesto Podgorje, Dolenjska), or with the name of its organiser or financier (companies name, family or House name). Thus, two types of organisations can be distinguished: those composed of employees and expressing their sense of belonging to a company – a form stemming from the socialist cultural educational societies of the Yugoslav State; and those whose membership is not based on the same workplace. But both types value the public recognition of their particular identity and the acknowledgement of their activities. They therefore regularly decide on a formal organisation and appropriate name and formulate a statute defining rules and roles to be played by different members – and do so independent of the question whether they succeed in obtaining external funding.

Parish

Since the 1990s, the Church's Pastoral and Economic Committees and the priests acting on behalf of the believers were connected by communally defined interests as well as by personal acquaintance and communication. Thus, with the return of the Church into the public sphere the parish organisation functioning before World War II was re-established. Members of Church committees enjoy a certain social standing because of their educational and professional positions. Such expertise, and the fact that religious virtues still inform the enduring reputations of the Houses, give these committee members a significant influence in the wider society. That these Houses also in the past were highly respected was taken to signify that their heads had always acted according to the will of God. The transgenerational transmission of these particular roles as committee member therefore secured the Houses their long-term position in the framework of the parish as well. The committee members therefore still act as intermediaries between the parish community the wider social structure.

Parish members are acquainted with one another, although less well than the village inhabitants are. Members of parishes have to carry out certain communal tasks that are mostly restricted to the area around the church. They focus on the religious activities conducted at Easter, All Saints' Day, and Christmas. But also the cultivation of Church land belongs to their responsibilities.

In 1991, the parish began to re-claim its land, in which it succeeded in 1997 (Dn 2777/97)²⁵¹. Some of that land is now fully cultivated by the parishioners according to the instructions given at the Sunday Mass. Some parcels the committee considers to put on the market in order to be sold, some other ones are cultivated by other peasants for their own needs; some other parcels again have been handed over to the state for the expansion of the cemetery ground (see below).

During my research, I learned of one gift of land to the church made by a woman before her death. After World War II she had emigrated to the USA where she married a widower with children from her home village. But she never had children of her own and all members of her House of origin had passed away. The practice of peasantry bequeathing land to the Church was not established in the past and it has not become customary in the present day. It

251 Republic of Slovenia, District Court of Novo mesto, Land Register.

does occur, however, that religious signs or statues on peasant land such as a crucifix monument or a Way of the Cross are newly erected or existing ones renovated.

Parish land the produce of which accrues to the church is worked by the parishioners. Nowadays they also collect firewood for the vicarage and deliver the wine for the Holy Mass from their own vineyard or procure that from a neighbouring monastery. All such tasks – concluded with communal meal (*likof*) provided by the parish priest – are valued as the parishioners' service to God and still referred to after the Sunday mass by the parish priest as *boglonej* (German *Gotteslohn*). This notion of a Divine reimbursement emphasises the idea that the priest indeed receives these services, rendered by the peasants, on behalf of God, hence acts as an intermediary in this socio-cosmological exchange relationship.

In the parish of residence during my fieldwork actions related to the church were performed by middle-aged or elderly parishioners²⁵². Young people did not take part in these activities. One disapproves that they do not show an interest in church matters and is concerned about the future of the church. The men who do partake in working for the church are members of the parish council. The latter is responsible for setting up the Christmas crib and for all tasks pertaining to the maintenance of the vicarage and the church. Their wives perform the female tasks in church, such as cleaning and decorating.

Lands of which the Church draws the *usufruct* may come to be considered to be church property. This may contradict claims set by the State, which in turn may mobilise opposition from the parishioners. In one such case, in the village under study a sports hall had been built next to the parish church and the school. Upon completion, the authorities claimed a plot of land as public property, on which a chapel had been erected and two linden trees grew tall. The latter were cut so as to make room for parking places even though these had not been included in the initial plans. A core role in this dispute was played by the deputy mayor. He not only was a member of the parochial council and the honorary assistant who administers the Communion and reads the scripture during

252 This is, however, not the case in all parishes of the Podgorje region. According to my informants, partaking in such actions is dependent on the motivation provided by the priest, on the generational transmission of tasks (such as carrying the Bandera), on the existence of the quire and other Church groups.

the Mass; he also is the director of the Regional Surveying and Mapping Authority. He was found to have been responsible, for he argued that the soil had never belonged to the church in the first place as the parsonage's cook argued. The conflict was settled when the visiting archbishop declared that the plot was a public land and blessed the newly built hall. This case reveals how parishioners indeed may defend parish land against the interests of secular authorities.

Of course, parishioners also meet during church service. According to the Slovenian Public Opinion Survey, between 1991 and 2013 the Dolenjska region remained one of the most self-proclaimed Catholic regions in Slovenia (Smrke 2015: 217). Nevertheless, there is no particular interest in church activities, except in those regarded as a necessary step to reach heaven. There is among those who complete God's service and those who attend also other church actions a considerable age gap.

The daily Mass performed at the parish church is attended by five to ten, mostly female and widowed parishioners. But the Mass said for the recently deceased draw larger numbers of attendants. So do the Masses celebrated for those who passed away in previous years and were part of a relatively wide network of relatives regularly visiting the church. Sunday Masses are attended by the elderly and children whose attendance is part of their being prepared for the reception of the Holy Communion.

The parish priest explained how parents oblige their children to attend catechesis and perform other duties while they themselves do not attend Mass. Once the children have received the sacraments of the First Communion and the Confirmation as gifts from God, they receive abundant gifts (especially at Confirmation) from their parents and sponsors. Such gifts – preferably items currently most desired by the children become the object of display and competition among the receivers of the sacrament and between the latter and those children who do not attend church altogether.

The major holidays of the liturgical year are the occasions for men, who do not or rarely attend the Holy Mass, to position themselves in front of the church. They consider the fact that they are witnessed by those who do partake in the ritual communion with God inside the church as tantamount to attending Mass too. But they value it most of all as an opportunity to present themselves as being particularly important in, say, business or political respects. They thus come to the church precinct to interact with others or to renew their acquaintances by ex-

changing news and at the same time believe that they have participated in the Mass. In this respect, the church continues to operate as the physical space where local knowledge is exchanged and social networks are renewed.

One therefore observes how the Church still represents a domain of public life in which social relations are being enacted. But one also observes to what extent the relationship between the believer and God has changed, for the believer is no longer intimidated by religious authority. The Church in fact has responded to this change. Facing the lack of new active members to become part of the body of the Christian community, the Church reaches to new believers by propagating its message as it emanates from the New Testament. According to the sermon delivered by the local priest the New Testament portrays the person as a benevolent being whom the sacrament of confession allows to come closer to God. The Old Testamental image, on the contrary, is that of the human being who having committed sins becomes the object of the Divine wrath. This theological reshaping of Christian morality is accompanied by the considerable reconstruction and renovation of churches and vicarages in the same period. New roofs have been laid, heating systems installed, and works of art provided. Parishioners have financed these undertakings with the money collected during Mass and the annual contributions made by villagers of, for example, 100 Euros per household. (The latter were made obligatory since not all those attending church actually contributed to the church collections.) Money is also raised for Saint Anton succursal church by auctions of pork produced by home slaughter, and so do the gifts of parts of the harvest (*bira*).

While, therefore, the Church continues to adopt its teachings to some of the core ideas of Modernity in order to maintain its moral influence and socio-political power, it simultaneously subscribes to the *status quo* from which it derives this power and in which it exerts its influence, that is, the family as the basic social unit composed of the relations between generations, men and women, kin and spouses. The church building provides the stage on which men and women perform their strictly defined roles: women sit on the left side, making their offerings latest, clean and decorate the church, while men sit on the right side, approach the altar first and perform the physical and technical tasks. The Church thus confirms and authorises the distinctions between men and women as they are enacted within each family and inform the relations between their houses that make up the social structure.

Industrial enterprises

With the onset of the new state and its new economic system, companies which had already experienced difficulties gradually collapsed. These were mostly firms engaged in textile and timber production and in construction. Such firms would go bankrupt due to incapable management, and privatisation, and inability to adapt to the internationalisation of the market. The enterprises of Krka and Renault, in which the State retained a minor but still substantial ownership share, each had its particular ownership structure and maintained relations to foreign markets. Standing out because of the nature of their entrepreneurship and their ethical leadership they make Dolenjska the economically strongest Slovenian region, as the media underline time and again. In 1991, the active working population received the so-called certificates, which they could exchange for shares or sell. In this manner companies became co-owned by their employees, and possibly by the State. However, this co-ownership was restricted to the company's employees and varied in kind according to their social standing. The issue was particularly disadvantageous for the wage earners in the public sector who could exchange their certificates only in those companies where this was still possible. The exchange was further conditioned by their social network determining the financial status of the company in which a person could obtain shares. This resulted in increasing differences in wealth. Those who obtained shares in a successful company, for example, could buy an apartment at the seaside and still keep the most of their shares.

The majority of Podgorje's residents are employed by the Revoz and Adria Mobil car producing companies, by the Krka pharmaceutical company, and by the public sector. Such jobs provide a guaranteed income, social benefits and employment until retirement. As a rule, jobs are obtained through kinship connections, whereby in this particular context kinship involves the widest possible consanguineal and affinal links between members of two Houses. Thus, the labour market is not subject to the laws of a capitalist labour market, stipulating that one should obtain the best possible labour force for the lowest price. On the contrary, as in the previous socialist period the availability of labour was connected to the social identities of the candidates as based on their member-

ship or origin in a House.²⁵³ Hence not only will several House members be employed by the same employer, the company itself will operate as a closed corporation, whose social identity and self-reproduction will be based on relations of localised kinship. By receiving at birth or acquiring through marriage the relevant social identity one may enter into a such a long-term relationship with the company and obtain an additional social identity as a member of the company's collectivity. From such an identity, all members of the Houses in question may benefit. Thus, hospital employees occasionally refer to their job as an institution, which takes care of other members of their House – in providing for instance preferential appointments. In addition, well established professions such as those of lawyer, notary, architect, economist or medical doctor have adopted the practice of giving preferential treatment to other members of their profession. In theory, this should lead to a widening of the economic and social networks, yet the transfer of professions from one generation to the next in addition to the kinship criterion in fact preclude an increased employment by the corporation of other people. As a result, the companies reproduce the sense of community by providing for its members. They also reduce the risk of employees' actions oriented against the companies' corporate values.

Because of the high value ascribed to having a well-paid and secure job, the Krka company is the most desirable employer. Podgorje residents, especially of the senior generation, largely work as labourers in shifts in the production hall. They take up most of their leave during the holidays set by the company in mid-summer and between Christmas and the New Year, during which they engage in agriculture. The younger generation of Podgorje labourers aims for higher positions without caring about additional farming activities.

253 In this light, we can observe how from 2008 onward the young unemployed people engaged in “free work”, voluntary work with no pay. The unemployed, who are thus those with no existing relevant social links, work (sometimes years long) for an institution from which he/she endeavours to acquire a social identity so that at a certain moment that person would be presented an employment contract. However, if a person with the applicable social identity appears as a candidate for the same position, this person shall be given that work position. In 2013, the state aimed to restrict such work (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 21-784/2013).

Each company has its particular place in the context of the region. The French enterprise Renault – of which the local Revoz is part – with traditional roots in the Industry of Motor vehicles (see p. 215) in Dolenjska and Podgorje does offer certain perks to its employees, such as worker's games, anniversaries, and financial rewards for innovations. The working motivation is also stimulated by offering sums of money in acknowledgement of the quality of work completed or of not having taken up sick leave. When Renault produced the engines for formula racing vehicles, calendars with pictures of with formula racing cars – later of regular Renault cars – hung on the walls of dining rooms and garages. The company also offers its employees and their relatives attractive financial conditions for buying Renault cars. Walking around Podgorje settlements one indeed observes not only men at work at home wearing overalls with the Renault emblem (hence illicitly taken from work) but also at least one Renault car (possibly in addition to a German brand one), parked in front of every house. In other words, they buy the car they themselves built.

The Krka company, on the other hand, purport to “give back to society”. They do so in that they support Dolenjska culture, arts, and sports by sponsoring associations and individuals – professional as well as amateur – and by providing grants to pharmacy students, especially those who after their studies receive an employment contract. Additionally, the Krka company presents awards on a yearly basis for the best research carried out by their scholarship holders and employees. It encourages the employees to perform volunteer work and to become a blood donor. Loyalty to the company is also rewarded, by giving those who do not take up sick leave a blanket or a rucksack with the Krka corporate logo embroidered on them. The companies' Department of Social Standards provides employees with reduced-priced tickets for events or special offers in certain shops. The company's policy also involves using exclusively vehicles of Renault, thereby supporting the local economy. Both companies organise a cultural association mostly composed of their own employees thus spending part of their free time in the company's context as well. Since they also dedicate certain events to their retired employees the companies have developed the means to provide their employees with a life-long social identity as *Krkaš* or *Revozovec*.

In addition to those between the employer and the employee a workplace involves other exchange transactions as well. Two such sets of transactions are observed, both of which were already present in the socialist period when most of the employee/employer relationships were initiated.

Firstly, as in that previous period, highly positioned public officials enjoy the privilege of selecting (external) contractors. Whereas the rule pertaining to the entire public sector prescribes the gathering offers following a public call for tender, so that the lowest priced offer is to be selected. However, such offers are manipulated. The contractor selected will likely have an already existing relationship with the subscribers and offer certain benefits to latter. The selection of contractors and the terms of the contracts generally involve such offers and demands. Owing to the limited elite network of persons exchanging the chief local positions, and to the corresponding set of contractors who acquire the commissions, a closed system of circulation is established. Thus, the practices that were observed in the era of Socialism still take place by circumventing the rules of public governance and administration, but now with a considerable increase in the value and number of such services involved. Business gifts qualify as such exchange transfers as well.

Secondly, employees from rural settlements and their co-villagers or relatives in order to obtain certain products offer foodstuff to their work colleagues. As a result, the workplace became a kind of market where eggs, dairy and meat products, fruits, vegetables and wine are sold to – but also exchanged among – fellow workers. A pattern of exchange between suppliers and clients is established drawing on their working relationship. As a self-reproducing principle, such exchange relations form closed chains between producers/distributers and customers. These chains display the same hierarchical order as the ones in existence in the Socialist era. The established structure of social relations going back to that era is essentially preserved.

Life-cycle rituals

With the end of the socialist regime, the state's age initiation ceremonies of *pi-onirji* and *mladinci* ceased to exist. The two expressions persist, however, as terms designating age groups in sports. Roman Catholic ceremonies celebrating the sacraments of the First Communion and Confirmation and the accompanying gift giving continue to be performed but have adopted different forms de-

pending on the gift objects available on the market and following the changes introduced by the Church to accommodate Catholic believers in a modern democratic society. In spite of the decrease in church attendance noted above, parents still wish their children to receive all sacraments. To motivate children to attend the catechesis classes, the Holy Mass, and other activities making the children worthy of receiving the gift of sacraments, gifts are presented by the parents, grandparents and godparents, and the aunts and uncles who are invited to the ceremony and the following feast. The costume for the First Communion, which in the socialist period was difficult to purchase, nowadays is widely available. It gives the communicant an individual touch. The same can be observed at the Confirmation. Here, too, the parents provide the clothes. Gifts commonly made at the First Communion include jewellery, money, toys, bicycles, clothes, watches and books. The largest gift along with a cake is expected to be made by the godmother/godfather. Parents also give a sum of money to the priest who instructed the child before receiving the sacrament. Additional sums given to the priest serve to decorate the church, prepare for the ceremony, including a DVD or photos and a memento such as a book or some religious image.

The Confirmation is considered as more important than the First Communion. Since the confirmant is already older he is entitled to more expensive gifts, such as a moped, a Smartphone or computer, or jewellery. It is the sponsor of the Confirmation ceremony who should provide most of the gifts and the appropriate religious mementos. As in the past he/she is chosen because of his/her social position and/or wealth.

All the exchange transactions are made in the context of the reception of sacraments that shape the post-mortal existence of the child's soul. The exchanges made on these occasions thus have a profound impact of the transcendent existence of a person. They connect the house of his/her parents and the sponsor of the Confirmation with the instructing and celebrating priest mediating the relation with God and His heavenly realm. But the exchanges also serve to renew the child's ritualised relations of kinship with the invited guests contributing the gifts. The fact that nowadays the gifts tend to be luxurious market items adds another dimension to – but does not diminish – the socio-religious significance of the two sacramental forms of initiation.

Birth

Slovenian citizens give birth to Slovenian citizens, so that the citizenship is acquired by birth. Alternatively, the Slovenian citizenship can also be obtained by means of naturalisation. To this one is eligible when one has resided for ten years in Slovenia, when one was born in Slovenia, has Slovenian kin²⁵⁴ or is married to a Slovenian person, or when one can claim to be of particular value to the State. As a member of the political community a Slovenian State citizen is issued a personal identification number (*EMŠO*) along with the birth certificate as well as a tax number institutionalised in 1996. The identification and tax numbers are unique numbers. They provide the person with an unambiguous state-issued individual identity.

In contrast to the Yugoslav State advocating a policy of two children per couple, in recent years it has become “fashionable” (as formulated locally) to have three children. This need not be related to practicing agriculture – an activity presently limited to one or two houses per settlement anyway (see above) – but appears to be a generational phenomenon. Couples between the age of forty and fifty have more than two children. Their eldest child is between ten and twenty-five years old, and will eventually attend university. Such families tend to attend church service on a regular basis. These changes in the composition of the nuclear families and their religious praxis were initiated during the period of a flourishing economy and low unemployment rates in Dolenjska, when the state policy encouraged childbirth by offering benefits for the third child, such as subventions for purchasing a car, free kindergarten care for the second child and the so-called child allowance. Whether or not as a result of these policies peasant households have retained the size required for practicing agriculture.

The norms informing present-day family legislation and the standards of medical treatment have influenced the role of fathers. Both parents can claim compensation for the maternity and parental leave, the former lasting 105 days and the latter 90 days. In addition, financial compensation for 260 days of leave for

254 Since 2013, having a Slovenian great-grandmother is no longer a sufficient argument to receive the Slovenian citizenship (Hočevár 2013).

the care of the newborn may be claimed by either parent,²⁵⁵ but it usually is the mother's task. In case of unemployment the couple is entitled to a supplement in income.

During her pregnancy, the woman submits to tests, examinations, dietary and other rules and recommendations prescribed by her gynaecologist. Each maternity hospital applies its own doctrine. In Novo Mesto it is advocated as a child-friendly policy, while in some other places it is seen as mother-friendly. Such doctrines also entail the procedures in giving birth. In Novo Mesto the traditional manner is offered, that is, in a lying or, exceptionally, a sitting position, while in other hospitals possibly other postures are advocated. Future parents are not obliged to attend schools for parents or maternity courses, but they are advised to do so at least before the birth of their first child. The father can be present during child delivery if the couple wishes so, and in Novo Mesto can purchase an entry fee to the delivery room to do so. According to the records of the maternity ward of the Novo Mesto General Hospital in the last years, 65-70 per cent of the fathers attend the birth of their child. Hence, while the State by its rules and guidelines of health care in certain respects strives to equate the mother's role to that of the father, the parents themselves adhere to the established manner of performing parental roles.

Whereas various official as well as alternative authorities promote ideas of how to nurture the newborn child, the knowledge 'of our grandmothers' witnesses a reintroduction as another one of the multiple teachings of how a proper care for the child determines its future. In such contexts debates during the last years focus on breastfeeding, the role of the father, and vaccinations, all of these issues presuming a connection between the child's personhood and its health. Scholars argue over the value of the conventional or traditional patriarchal authoritative child upbringing practised in the past and advocated by previous regimes as inculcating a communal responsibility and morality, as opposed to the permissive parenting presently promoted by Waldorf, Montessori and other pedagogic methods and concordant with the narcissism of the so-called y- and z-generations enjoying the liberal economy of the consumer society. Presently

255 http://www.mdds.gov.si/si/delovna_podrocja/druzina/starsevsko_varstvo_in_druzinski_prejemki/pravice_iz_zavarovanja_za_starsevsko_varstvo/zavarovanje_za_starsevsko_varstvo_in_pravice_ki_iz_tega_izhajajo/; accessed March 15, 2015.

at the state level, the debates have arisen on the financing of private elementary schools. In December 2014, the constitutional court revised the ruling on the same issue of 2001 and ordered an equal funding of public and private schools. The judgment of 2014 followed an initiative of the representatives of Catholic institutions advocating equal funding of private – including Roman Catholic – and public schools. Left Wing and Center political parties criticised the Constitutional Court's decision as being made by politically biased judges. What the particular implications of such decisions will be is not yet clear. Local children attend the public schools, whereas only a few families of social standing whose parents hold a certain position at the Krka pharmaceutical company or some other company or institution drive their children to the Waldorf kindergarten and school in Ljubljana or enroll them in other semi-private alternative educational institutions. All, however, involve their children in different afternoon activities. Thus, while searching pragmatic answers to the question what is best for the child one observes how the traditional model of upbringing still prevails. One seeks, unintentionally, to integrate communal morals and individual and House interests in line with the Church's doctrine.

Christening

Once the child is born, he/she is given a first name by the parents and receives the father's family name. The parents send a message to inform relatives and acquaintances of the height, weight and name of the baby, formulating the message as if it were sent by the newborn him/herself. Thus, the newborn immediately is given its own place in the parents' society. The father, especially when receiving the first child, invites his predominantly male friends and colleagues to a pub for a drink.

Reviewing the names given over the last twenty years reveals numerous trends. Traditional names ridiculed in the socialist period are given once again although they no longer refer to specific ancestors (cp. Part Two). But one also bestows new Slovenian versions of foreign names, the names of certain public or imaginary personas. One tries to avoid bestowing a name that relatives, friends of acquaintances have already given their child. This suggests that the personal name should signify a unique individual identity. If, however, one greatly admires a certain person his/her name may be given to one's child as if thereby transferring the admired qualities as well. It is, therefore, as an individ-

ual person whose desired attributes are expressed in his/her personal name that the newborn child becomes a member of the House.

Two days after having given birth, if there are no complications mother and child are released from hospital. Of old they were advised to remain inside the house for one month, a taboo that acquired a 'scientific' explanation in the Socialist period. Whereas the medical profession nowadays rejects this, local people may still subscribe to it. The new mother is no longer presented wine and bread. It is her mother or her mother-in-law who provide her with food during the first month and longer.

The first ritual performed for the newborn is that of baptism; it serves to make it a member of the Christian community. It is conducted in the local parish church when the child is several months to one-year old. There is thus an increased time span stretching from the time of birth and the ritual moment when is redeemed of the Original Sin. One generally argues that because of the current low mortality rate of infants the chance that the child may die in this state of Original Sin are negligible.

The baptismal ritual expands the network of the child's relatives of the immediate family to include his/her aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews and nieces. Whereas elsewhere in Slovenia a civil Christening ceremony binding the child to the State still may still be performed, this is not the case in the communities under study here.

The relatives invited to the ritual and the gifts made to the newborn child selected on the principles discussed in the previous chapters. The siblings of the father and of the mother should be represented in more or less equal measure. They present the child with money and opulent gifts the value of which is symbolic possibly religious; a use value is irrelevant. The parents themselves dress the child in white clothes provide for the baptismal candle. Grandparents, aunts and uncles and their families contribute gifts as well. There is no obvious pattern in type or their value; they are merely selected to take care of the child's needs.

The ritual begins with the godparent, the parents with the child, and the priest standing in front of the altar while other guests sit in the church pews. First the priest asks the parents and the godparent about their intention and the duties following from the child's baptism. The priest then affuses the child to release him of his sin and grant him God's mercy, and anoints the child with chrism. With this act, the child receives a name. The priest presents the child with a white cloth purifying it for its future life. Finally, the priest hands a can-

dle representing child's faith to the godparent and instructs parents and godparent to protect its flame. By means of these prayers and actions the child becomes incorporated into the Holy Church.

Following the baptismal ritual in church the parents offer the participants a lunch or a more elaborate feast at the local pub, celebrating by a communal meal that the new-born now is a Christian child embedded in the network of the Christian community.

Death

In the last twenty years, cemeteries have changed their appearance. They consist of two clearly visible sections, an old one on parish land and a new one on plots allocated by the parish to the municipality. In both sections graves are situated that are "owned" by the House. The head of the house pays an annual fee to the local community in exchange of a ten-years lease of the plot where his house's grave is placed. In the old section of the cemetery only few graves have preserved their appearance. In most cases the vertical tombstone had been replaced by a marble one and the fence by a low marble frame. Furthermore, in some cases of uxorilocal marriage the husband married in to his wife's House was given an entirely new grave.

Social memory is preserved in engravings that communicate relations among the generations from the end of the 19th Century onwards. Whenever tombstones were replaced the oldest names were erased from their surface to make room for future ones. Only rarely residents inquire with the priest about their ancestors so as to mention them on the tombstone. Such practices have turned grave and its tombstone a collection of deceased carrying the same family name, not the House name. In fact, it is an indication that the conception of the House is disappearing.

In the new section of the cemetery the tombstones are similarly shaped as those in the old section but display two names at most. There is no physical barrier between them, nor it is possible to walk around the graves as there is hardly space between them.

Both sections of the cemetery are subject to rules laid down by the local community and confirmed by the municipality. These deal with the lack of space, and implicitly promote a uniform shape of all graves. And since most

graves are regularly cleaned and decorated with flowers and candles the local community considers introducing a rule limiting the number of candles on each grave in order to reduce the costs of waste management. The old section of the cemetery is valued more highly, so that a new grave will preferably be dug there whenever free space is available. This preference reveals the high value assigned to a grave located as close to the church as possible and in the soil where the dead joins the deceased of the parish community of centuries.

Another prominent feature of the present-day cemetery is its funeral chapel. Such parlours were built twenty years ago. They are located next to the church or in the graveyard if the church does not include a burial ground on the site now assigned to the Local Community or municipality. Such funeral chapels have a room where the coffin is placed before the final funeral, and a furnished kitchen with a dining table and benches or chairs. The use of the funeral chapels is subject to the house rules laid down by the Local Community. Further novelties in the funeral procedure were introduced from the 1990s onwards. The funerary rites as well as the burial grounds were placed under the jurisdiction of municipal services and private undertakers. But assigning positions to the graves remained in the hands of the Local Community which also hires a contractor to maintain the cemetery. The Church ceremony for the deceased or – more rarely – the civil ceremony is still to be arranged by the bereaved house. And yet by implementing regulations regarding the cemetery and the funeral services (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 74-3479/2000) the State assumed authority on this final “rite de passage” as well.

Funeral

Whereas death has retained its Christian meaning up to the present day the present-day funerary rites and the care for the grave, carried out so that deceased’s soul may return to God, have changed considerably. The newly erected funeral chapels and the practice of urn burials introduced in the same period initiated changes in the burial rituals in which the communities of which the deceased had been a member participated. According to Ložar-Podlogar, long established socio-religious practices began to change in the light of the “our ultra-modern, hygienic world of order and practicality” (1999: 109). But parts of the funerary rituals still remained. Thus, the Christian burial ritual is performed

first at the chapel or at the house of the deceased, then in the Church and finally at the parish or village cemetery.

When death is approaching the priest performs the final rites of the Anointing of the Sick (see p. 132-133) – locally still referred to and perceived as the Extreme Unction – for the patient in a hospital or at home. This sacrament is administered by the priest saying prayers and pouring oil on his forehead which redeems the person of his/her sins and invigorates his/her soul and his/her body.

After the person has passed away the professional funeral service chosen by the house members comes to arrange and carry out the steps necessary to bring the deceased in the coffin or in the urn to the chapel up to three days before the funeral. The funeral service must also provide the pallbearers wearing black or white arm bands depending on the deceased's marital status (see p. 136). The members of the deceased's House play a vital role in leading the deceased's soul to heaven by arranging the tolling of the church bell, conducting the wake, and arranging and attending the funeral mass and the principle commemorating Masses one week, one month, and then each successive year. They also organise a trumpet player and perhaps singers to perform melodies such *Il Silencio* and *K tebi želim moj Bog*, a representative of the Local Community to give a speech, and a photographer when the deceased is of age. They procure flowers, candles and a wreath and ask the village man and woman who normally perform these tasks to carry the cross and the candle, and to lead in saying the prayers.

From the moment of death until the arrival of the deceased's remains at the funeral chapel the house of the deceased is visited by his/her siblings, and nieces and nephews, friends, and closest neighbours. They are expected to "give for the mass" – by expressing condolences and contributing candles and food. The neighbours also perform tasks at the funeral and bringing food, even though this practice has become rare. Instead, residents – usually two persons from different houses – visit the houses in the deceased' settlement to collect money which they give to the house members to pay for the funeral costs.

Wake

The rites of the wake (*bedenje*) being the first part the funeral rituals used to be performed in the house of the deceased. In villages with no funeral chapel yet this still is the case; otherwise it is conducted in the funeral chapel. Initially residents were reluctant this change for “those who love theirs have them at home”²⁵⁶. The design of the funeral chapels allows for offering hospitality to visitors (cp. also Ložar-Podlogar 1999: 113) but in them the wake cannot be performed during the night. The village priest endorses this new practice, so nowadays he no longer accepts the nocturnal wake taking place in the house and refuses to lead the funerary procession from the deceased’s house to the church. So gradually the wakes were transferred to the funeral chapels conforming to, and sometimes negotiating the official regulations.

Urn burials were initiated at the same time, yet these are still a rare practice. They usually do not involve a wake as the urn is brought to the funeral chapel on the day of the funeral four to eight hours prior to the ceremony. The cremation is perceived as a progressive form of burial, practiced mainly in cities. Informants do not refer to either form of burial in Christian terms but in reference to the state of the bodily remains.

At the funeral, the professional pallbearers bring the coffin with the deceased to the funeral chapel. Guests are invited to pay their respects and to express their condolences to the house members and other relatives remaining with the deceased until the funeral proper begins. A woman – a female relative of the deceased, her colleague from work or village neighbour – takes care of the kitchen where the visitors are offered food and drink and talk to the bereaved. The visitors bring candles and flowers or a wreath representing different sets of people in which the deceased had been involved, such as members of other families, professional colleagues or members of his House, or associations. Expressing the words of farewell to the deceased, uttered on the dark banner attached to the wreath, is part of the gift. When the burial is about to begin, the pallbearers bring the flower arrangements out of the chapel and place them on a special wagon. The priest and the other participants of the funeral wait in front

256 *Tisti, ki ga ima rad, ga ima doma.*

of the chapel. Then the pallbearers carry the coffin out of the chapel followed by a procession of the bereaved to the church.

Burial

The composition of the funerary procession articulates the identity of the deceased. Walking in front are the carriers of the Slovenian flag and of the religious community, then there is a woman holding a lamp and a man carrying the processional cross of the succursal church. They are followed by people bearing wreaths and flowers of those communities of which the deceased had been a member. The priest walks ahead of the coffin behind the wreath bearers. The coffin is carried by the pallbearers. The family members follow, men or women in front according to the gender of the deceased. Members of the opposite gender walk at the rear of the procession. The formation of the procession differs from the one described in Part Two only in the absence of children with candles walking in front. The order of procession also corresponds to the one prescribed by the State (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 74-3479/00) but the latter places national recognition over the religious one as in the Socialist Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the Decree allows to follow the local convention.

Following the church ceremony and during the proceedings at the grave, speeches may be given that commemorate the deceased's position in the community. The song *Silence* is played. The final acts consist of throwing carnations or roses on top of the coffin that has been lowered in the ground.

The pallbearers as well as other professional providers of services do not partake in the post-burial ceremonies. But the House members and the closest relatives and neighbours join in a communal meal in a pub. Some of them will meet in a week at the Mass celebrated on the seventh day after the burial and join again in commensality, this time at the deceased's house.

Conclusion

Modernity was introduced to the society in the 1970s in the form of a specific conceptualization of the market and the suppression of religious expressions advocated by the Socialist ideology. It reached its full impact in the 1990s, and inevitably affected the performance of rituals, including those for the dead. And yet the present-day performance of funerals observed in Podgorje reveals a re-

markable resilience of the beliefs and ideas informing the exchanges enacted in the context of death. Whereas certain beliefs may be transmitted from one generation to the next, and certain rules and injunctions may be upheld the meaning of which is no longer clear, it is the Christian ideology informing the transfer of gifts in the context of death, that still is of paramount importance. For this ideology prescribes that commodities purchased at the market are to be re-valued as gifts that circulate among social relations.

The household is still responsible for performing the last rite of passage of its members, and by doing so it expresses the House membership of the deceased and of the living simultaneously. At the death of a relative, kinship relations are reconstructed through the transfer of gifts which contribute to the salvation of the deceased's soul. By eating the holy bread, donating money during the funeral Mass and contributing to the Masses said subsequently on behalf of the deceased these relatives realise a "mutuality of being" (Sahlins 2013). Giving wreaths and flowers – initially valued as commodities bought at the flower shop – are now an act expressive and constitutive of the relation between the deceased and the giver. Commodities become transformed into gifts that will be reciprocated by the deceased's House whenever a death afflicts the giver's House. Comparable actions are performed for other communities the members of which act as collective givers of gifts. An individual member will partake in the funerals of his/her colleagues as a donor knowing that his/her House will be receiver of gifts at the time of his/her own death. As was the case in the past, death manifests the concern of visually communicating the worth and acknowledgement of the deceased in the form of the gifts given. The abundance of candles and flowers and the quality of the performances by hired specialists see to that. Simultaneously the State by stipulating how its citizens are to be buried and remembered, also claims the role that accrues to the village community of the deceased's living neighbours in its own renewal and asserts itself being responsible for the reproduction of the society as a whole. Yet this claim is contested. Whereas the State does offer a decent funeral for those citizens who have neither the means nor the relatives to provide for it, most people take care to have enough money to pay for the funeral, just as they took care of providing for the coffin in the past. Thus, although the village community is no longer in charge of conducting its deceased members into the Otherworld in accepting the responsibility for its members to assist the House in paying for the ceremony it still acts as a community. The col-

lection of money from the houses of the deceased's village has replaced the neighbourly help in the form of food and particular services. In the context of death, the various ties of kinship, locality, associations and the Church of which the deceased was composed are expressed, revealing his social persona. In some aspects such as gender and marital this persona continues to be articulated in the symbols employed such as the colours worn by the hired pallbearers and the form of tolling of the church bells.

Principles and forms of inheritance

The inheritance of property depends on various factors. These include the existence of landed and other forms of material property, the number of offspring, and relation of the heirs to the deceased. The legislative framework on inheritance provisions is provided by Inheritance Act of 1976 (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 15-645/1976) with changes and additional acts passed up to the present-day (Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia No. 23-1511/1978, Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 13-512/1994, No. 40-1657/1994, Constitutional Court Decision No. 117-4907/2000, Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 67-3565/2001, No. 83-4287/2001, No. 73-3239/2004, Obligations Code No. 31-1220/2013). None of these changes and amendments, however, have affected the order and nature of inheritance claims based on the principles of equality among heirs and the claims to a legitimate share.

In landed Houses the shares to be inherited are agreed upon before the death of the head of the House. As in earlier times the transfers agreed upon are also officially recorded, which is indicative of the value attached to acquiring one's own property.

The heir, commonly the eldest son, inherits the origin house, its land and most of other material property. His siblings receive help in establishing their own household, a parcel of 1 to 4 hectares on which to grow food or build a house, or a forest parcel, and money of up to ten thousand Euros. Hence, a principle of indivisibility of the landed estate is maintained, the value of which is inculcated in the progeny in the course of their upbringing. It does not, however, prevent conflicts between heirs to arise. I also recorded a case in which each of two brothers were to inherit one half of the land as none of them would

practice agriculture. However, after their father had died they did not divide the estate as agreed earlier, since this would deprive them of the subsidies to which an undivided estate would be entitled. Therefore, they kept the farm intact so as to fulfil these criteria.

As was the case in earlier times in the absence of children the head of the house may hand over the farm-hold to the neighbour's son in exchange for the latter care of the head for the duration of his life. Geodetic data on land ownership reveal that parcels are generally owned the head of the house individually. But in the absence of an heir – due to emigration for example – or unexpected death before a testament had been drawn up all siblings of the heir became co-holders, and so did their offspring again. This led to numerous parcel-holders and a fragmentation of the estate. Such land is presently abandoned; it is virtually impossible to be marketed because of the long and considerably complex process of tracing the actual holders; or if these are known they usually are unable to come to an agreement on the price of the land.

In Houses without land one child remains at home (see presently). This is agreed upon in advance; it usually is the eldest one who marries first. Other children entitled to an equal share in the estate in fact receive a fictional part in the form of a car, a sum of money, an apartment or a parcel on which to build a house. In such cases, too, the continuity of the House as a material dwelling inhabited by members in successive generations is preserved.

Marriage

In line with Louis Dumont's understanding of individualism having become the core value of Modernity (Dumont 1986), the decision to contract a marriage, that was previously taken by the two Houses or families involved, has become the choice of two individuals. It reflects the precept advocated by both Church and the State that marriage is a bond between two freely deciding individuals – even when the parents' approval is desired. In the newly established Slovenian State, both authorities relaxed some of the more strict regulations concerning marriage. In 1991, the Church introduced the possibility for only one member of the couple – instead of the obligatory two – to partake in the church marriage ritual, and the Slovenian State abolished the marriage preparation course as a requirement to obtain marriage permission (see below). Long-term partnerships

gradually become equated with marriage. In the communities under study the Christian wedding is regarded as the only proper ritual leading to the establishment of a sacred and eternal²⁵⁷ marriage relationship; the civil wedding is a mere formality required before the church wedding can be celebrated (as stipulated by the Marriage and Family Relations Act of 1977; Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, No. 15-644/1976). Some couples, however, argued that such a State issued marriage certificate can be obtained afterwards. The elderly still consider married and unmarried people as “complete” and “incomplete” persons, but the younger generation no longer maintains this distinction. Yet, to married persons a status and value is still ascribed superior to that of the unmarried people and those who live in concubinage (*na koruzi* lit. “on corn”) even though the legislative framework has changed in this respect.

The marriage ritual

The marriage ritual for the large part has retained its conventional structure. The betrothal is followed by a bachelor and bachelorette party which came to be distinguished from the “decorating evening” (*krancel večer*). On the wedding day, one performs the episode with the Fake Brides (*lažna nevesta*) and possibly the village barrier (*šranga*), followed by the civil and church ceremony, and finally the feast (*ohcet*).

Betrothal

After a period of dating lasting from one to several years the couple begins to live together and eventually marries. Until 2003, military service was mandatory. Having completed the training Slovenian men became part of the State’ army, and this marked their marriageable status as well. Since then, education and employment became the relevant conditions of marriageability and provided the social contexts in which people sensing a mutual affection may begin to date (*hoditi skupaj* literally “to walk together”). These conditions thus furnish the parameters of the forms of endogamy actually practised. The marriage partners share the locality of Dolenjska (not explicitly Podgorje), an education at

257 Couples are buried in the same grave.

the level of high school (particularly those who are to inherit the farm) and university, and certain highly valued professions such as medical doctors, lawyers, or engineers. Having met their appropriate partner the couple arranges a somewhat informal meeting of their mutual parents (if they are not acquainted yet). When the parents approve of the relationship the betrothal follows signified by the gift by the future groom of an engagement ring to the future bride. Thereafter, the couple discusses separately with their respective parents on a joint residence to be taken up before marriage. Thus, the couple arranges the accommodation and other material necessities first, and only then is the wedding ceremony planned, a sequence referred to jokingly as *najprej štal'ca pol pa krav'ca*, literally “first the stall, then the cow.”

These necessities of life are acquired foremost in the form of marital gifts transferred from the parents to children prior to marriage. The words *bala*, bridal trousseau and *dota*, dowry are regarded as outdated and are no longer used. However, when I myself turned eighteen years old my MZ asked me if she could already start buying me birthday gifts that would contribute to my future household. A future bride indeed acquires the necessary household items from her female relatives, above all from her mother and aunts.

From the parents' point of view their transfer of objects at marriage to the couple is valued as a voluntary gift contributing to the setting up of a new family/household and as such a source of pride to them. But the bride and grooms consider it transfer that they are entitled to. What thus is a ‘free gift’ for the parents is a ‘right’ for the children.

As discussed earlier (see p. 235), the parents of both bride and groom seek to contribute gifts equally. The gift objects include the upper storey of the groom's parents' house usually made available to the child that marries first. One subsequently builds an extension to the origin house, or a new house altogether on the land next to and belonging to the origin house. Parents of the bride contribute to the down-payment of a car, an apartment or a house, or help with building a new house, a plot and purchase bedroom furniture. In case a House will not practice agriculture and in case of a House without sons, bride's parents may provide the residence and groom's parents contribute money and other necessities for their joint life. Such informal transactions may be a source of conflict between siblings as well as between the spouses especially in case of divorce.

One child needs to remain at home. To that end in case of a landed house the couple settles virilocally, whereas if there are no sons or in case of a landless house a couple settles uxorilocally. If a couple or a child refuses to live in the same house as the parents the latter may say that they did not work so hard to build the house just for themselves. Nevertheless, living with one's parents is generally avoided. It usually occurs only when a house lacks sufficient land to support two or more different households while apartment does not count as a permanent living solution (cp. p. 196).

It is therefore not the rules of village endogamy but the post-marital residence patterns of children settling in the vicinity of their parents, that lead to the dense networks of kinship relations in the villages.

Once engaged and setting up a joint dwelling the couple can plan the wedding. This is not only the occasion on which social relationships can be ceremonially acknowledged, it also provides the opportunity to express the romantic quality of the event in the opulent display of luxury wealth. The bride decides on buying or renting the long white bridal dress and the groom on an appropriate suit. The best man and the bride's maid will seek to dress themselves in the same colours. The couple selects the rings at the jewellery shop and has them engraved with the date of marriage. The bride's other accessories involve a bouquet at the flower shop and a garter. They make the reservation for the civil and church ceremonies, for the wedding meal at a restaurant, order the wedding cake at the pastry shop, hire a photographer and a cameraman, and book the accordion player to accompany the ceremonies and a band to play at the feast. Friends with expensive cars are approached to drive the bride and her maid of honour in one car, and the groom with his best man in another; in case none of such cars are available, one borrows them from a local car dealer. The two cars are distinctively decorated with flowers and possibly involve plates with inscription *groom* or *bride*. All providers of these services are selected from the couple's social network of kin or other relations on personal recommendations. Only rarely the couple makes use of internet forums and randomly selects suppliers. The costs of the goods and services are divided in half to be covered by the newlyweds and their parents.

The decision whom to invite to the wedding depends on the maximum number of guests that one can accommodate. Invitations are also extended to recipro-

cate those that the bride and groom had received themselves on earlier occasions. Usually, relatives up to the fourth “knee”, *koleno* and their spouses (i.e. P, PP, Sb, SbSp, PSb, PSbSp, PSbCh, PSbChSp) in addition to the couple’s closest friends are invited. The marital status of the guests is irrelevant. On the average, around 120 guests attend a wedding. If possible printed invitations are delivered by the couple personally.

Three weeks before the wedding women of both houses, their relatives and neighbours start baking the pastries for the bachelorette and bachelor party, for the ‘decorating evening’ and finally for the actual wedding. Both families prepare the food to be consumed before the actual wedding ceremony, in addition to the food offered between the civil and church rituals, and the “farewell pastry” (*šajdezen*). The latter pastry is prepared by both families – usually including bride’s and groom’s mothers and their sisters as well as female neighbours and friends. It is placed in a decorated box with the name of the newlyweds and the wedding date written on it. It will be distributed at the end of the feast among all wedding guests.

The bachelorette/bachelor party

One or two weeks before the wedding, the bachelor parties for the groom and the bride (*dekliščina/fantovščina*) are usually jointly held in the firehouse, a vineyard or picnic area. Although there is no strict rule as to whom to invite, it is mainly those who will not be invited to the wedding ceremony itself, that is, friends, colleagues and distant relatives. The various groups of guests of whom the future spouse is a member, join in presenting the gift which is a contribution to the new household or to the honeymoon. Such gifts are chosen from the list of objects which the couple has selected beforehand in particular stores. Those who present a large collective gift commonly do so in front of everyone else. But it is rare that individual persons who wish to express by the nature of their gift their relationship with the newlyweds do so publicly as well. One usually leaves one’s gift in the special room. The party unfolds according to a programme designed by the best man, the maid of honour, and the couple’s best friends. It includes different games drawing on the idea of the “wild and free youth” and jokingly alluding to the future spouse, which causes embarrassment with the couple and amusement among the spectators. Usually, one

specific task is assigned to the groom designated as the Way of the Cross. It is to test whether the groom is prepared for the marriage and should make him aware of what cross his marriage will be for him to bear. Whereas Trdina noted in the late 19th Century that marriage was compared with a cross, according to my informants the current practice is of recent origin and may be one form of the more general tendency to have bachelor parties feature a debauchery in cages, chains, strippers, homosexual practices, or goats (see Štamcar 2004).

Decorating evening

The day before the wedding, the “decorating evening” (*krancel večer*) takes place in front of bride’s and groom’s house. Late Friday afternoon, unmarried village women gather in front of both houses to prepare decorations for the house entrance and the maypoles. Unmarried men go into the woods to collect two small and possibly one large maypole – large maypole is usually set for the groom and/or for the bride in case of uxori-local postmarital residence – while consuming alcoholic drinks and being accompanied by a musician playing the accordion. The men usually cut down the tree(s) in the forest belonging to the groom’s and bride’s House. Lacking these they look for appropriate trees in neighbouring forests and ask the owner co-villager for permission. Once one week after the marriage the trees are pulled down again – the big maypole is left standing for one month – the villagers jointly present a gift such as a kitchen appliance to the newlyweds.

To what extent a particular “decorating evening” conforms to the above description depends on the relations between the houses in the village community – and their relation to the houses of the bride and the groom in particular – on the degree to which the act is considered to befit the village. The ceremony is generally performed by those peer groups, in which the bride and the groom are members (such as scouts, a choir, a fire brigade, a marching band) who represent or act in cooperation with the other villagers. Moreover, the status and prestige of the bride’s and the groom’s houses determine whether the ceremony is performed in its complete form.

Fake Bride

On one Saturday morning, sometime between Spring and early Autumn – but not during the Christian fasting period – each side gathers at the house of the bride and the groom respectively to enjoy a meal and present the marriage partner in question with the gifts selected from the list of the desired items. The groom's side then forms a cortège of cars that drives to the bride's house. There, the ceremony of resistance performed by the fake brides as well as the task which the bride's father sets for the groom that have been discussed earlier (see p. 160) are still performed. The events are followed by communal meal. In the meantime, women from the bride's side decorate cars with balloons and ribbons made of decorating paper. Thereafter, the cortege departs to the places where the civil and church ceremonies are to be performed, honking and throwing sweets to the observing bystanders on the way. If the rule of parish endogamy is broken, a symbolic village barrier (*šranga*; see p. 161) is erected. There the groom's best man negotiates with village men and they settle on a sum of money – in fact, agreed in advance – that he is to pay them, so that they let the cortege pass. This money is used by the villagers to throw themselves a village feast and to buy a gift such as a washing machine for the newlyweds.

Civil and church ceremonies

The civil and church ceremonies have not changed much since the last quarter of the 20th Century, except that in their performances they may reflect the financial status of the bride's and/or the groom's house. In the Yugoslav communal system, the Municipality represented the state authority in the marriage ceremony. Thereafter, this role was transferred to the Administrative Unit and performed by the Registrar (*matičar*), while mayors and persons who acquired prominence on the local level are assigned the role of State's Trustee (*državni pooblaščenec*). The couple asks a particular Trustee, usually one whom they deem to be a gifted speaker, to take part in the marriage ceremony. Civil ceremonies take place at locations such as the Otočec Castle, the Kostanjevica Monastery Church, the Devil's Tower or the Museum Gallery, hence at sites

emanating a historical grandeur,²⁵⁸ or at the Novo Mesto town hall. The ceremony itself involves playing the marriage anthem, a speech in which the registrar recites the provisions of the marriage law, followed by the couple's exchange of vows and their confirmation by means of signatures.

After the civil ceremony, the closest female relatives of the bride who had cooked and baked the foodstuffs take baskets filled with these from the trunk of the car and offer it to the wedding guests. In the meantime, the couple takes part in the photo session. Thereupon the cortege heads for the church. Although the wedding no longer needs to take place in the parish church of the bride this is a common practice. The church is decorated by the bride's female relatives and friends. The money spent, the preparations made and the people's involvement all serve the purpose of the two ceremonies establishing a formally acknowledged relationship between the spouses, their relatives and peers on the basis of ceremonial precepts laid down by the Church and the State. It is only after this purpose has been achieved that the bride will adopt her husband's family name and become associated with his House without relinquishing her connection to her origin House altogether.

Feast

Afterwards, the joint wedding feast (*ohcet*) is celebrated in a pub. The tables are placed in such a manner that they separate the groom's guests from the bride's guests. Those who had not presented their gift to the newlyweds at their respective houses – usually distant relatives, friends and colleagues – form a line to do so now. The entertainment games played during the feast display the competitive character between both parties. And the bridal bouquet is thrown to unmarried women, the groom retrieves the bride's garter and throws it to the unmarried men. Villagers or work-colleagues of the parents dressed as Guiser figures still come even if the wedding does not take place in the pre-shrovetide time. At the departure, guests receive the farewell pastry (*šajdezen*) presented by the couple.

258 An informant narrated how when a daughter of the last owner of the local castle arrived from Austria to wed, locals came to observe the marriage ceremony expecting her and the ritual to be regal in nature.

Conclusion

I have examined the marriage relationship in view of the present-day political, legal and economic frameworks provided by the secular State, the democratic political system and the economy governed by free market principles. On the one hand, the Podgorje marriage ritual reveal how the legal codes of the State hardly impact on the established structure of the marriage ritual. On the other hand, the access to commodities available on the market brings about a differentiation in the status of marriage couples, their respective Houses, and their social networks as articulated in the glamour embodied in the prestige goods purchased.

The considerations informing the choice of the marriage partners reflect the importance of the notion of equality between them. This notion of isogamy is accompanied by a patrilineal tendency in the identity of the household, evident from the persistent adoption by the wife of her husband's family name. The exchanges, on which the contraction of the marriage relationship is conditional, also indicate the resilient structure of the marriage ritual. The resilient structure of the marriage ritual is maintained in that exchanges, that no longer are performed by certain groups exclusively (e.g. married, unmarried, villagers, relatives), are now conducted by others. For example, peer groups perform tasks previously done by villagers exclusively such as decorating house's entrance, dancing dressed as Guiser figures at the feast. In this ritual kinship and other social relations are re-established when members in the communities of kin, co-residents, and formal and informal peers are called upon to act as the givers and the marriage partners as the receivers of gifts. Having been purchased as commodities on the market, in the context of these marital transfers they become valued as gifts that renew social relations.

The traditional communal meal of *kepe* uniting the families of the spouses has become obsolete, even though the two families may in fact meet for lunch on the Saturday following the wedding. But as in former times affinal relationships are shaped above all by the post-marital residence the concomitant marriage exchanges expressing the value of these relationships. It is still usually the wife who settles with the husband's and she does not become the head of his house until her mother-in-law has passed away. As in so many virilocal resi-

dence systems the relationship between an in-marrying woman and her mother-in-law is marked by a certain avoidance, as it is prone to conflicts in which only the husband can mediate. And yet a son commonly avoids confrontations with his parents on behalf of his wife. In the case of uxori-local residence such conflicts are far less likely to erupt. The in-married husband accepts that he is subordinate to the members of his wife's House of origin and he will not oppose the decisions taken by the head of that house. It is thus the continuity of the House, secured by the in-marrying spouse and the couple's progeny that is of prime value. The affinal relationship between the spouses' respective houses is subordinate to that value. Hence contacts between the spouses' parents are quite rare and restricted to situations involving grandchildren and important anniversaries.

Conclusions from Part Four

The transformation from Socialism to Capitalism, rather than generating an instant radical change, led to a gradual normative remodelling of the economic system of the Yugoslav federation into that of the Slovenian Nation-State. Socialism is remembered for the shortages in all kinds of goods and services and the increasing differences in wealth – deficiencies from which particularly the peasantry suffered. However, there is also a widespread nostalgic longing for a Socialist era without the disparity of the present and with its State sustained systems of production, distribution and social security. Nowadays the economy is no longer controlled by the State but appears to be left to the “invisible hand” of the free market. However, the role of the State in the market is far from obsolete. Factors such as the State ownership of companies and the role of the State as the main subscriber of contractors defy the idea of an absolutely ‘free market’ of demand and supply. Left-wing political ideologists endorse this situation, arguing that the State is responsible for securing the national assets. Such an ambivalence of a political ideology of a ‘free market’ and factual interventions to the contrary in the daily economy can also be observed in the relationship between the secular Slovenian State and the Catholic Church. Slovenia's political structure during the last twenty-five years normatively rests upon a separation of the State and the Church, and yet the State supports the latter to resurface and actively intervene in public life. Right-wing political ideologists

embrace the Church as the carrier of Slovenian nationalism and therefore advocate its particular position in the Slovenian society.

The present-day political structure which the Slovenian State adopted also in response to a globalised world has given rise to the emergence of multiple social contexts in which the Podgorje residents seek to perform their various tasks in accordance to their own specific system of values. The Socialist regime advocating an ideology of planned economy assigned to the producers and distributors of goods and services the highest value. This corresponds to the principle of gift-exchange according to which the givers of gifts are hierarchically superior to the receivers. In the current post-Socialist State, the ideology of the free market assigns to the consumer a privileged position relative to the producer of goods and services. Only if the consumer's demands and wishes are met will the producer attain success in the market. At first glance, therefore, the hierarchical order of the former Socialist economy appears to have become inverted. Indeed, the ethics of the free market values social relations in terms of the competition following from demand and supply mechanisms and taking place in a separate autonomous sphere of social actions labelled 'the economy'. However, since all "economics is culture" (cp. Gudeman 1986) these actions are subject to the cultural representations which assess the economic quests of the individual as to their culturally conceived social and ethical legitimacy. Thus, to engage in any type of exchange is measured by the value of obtaining social relations, that is, to acquire or reproduce the social identity of belonging to a social collective such as the House, an association, a company, professional group. From the local point of view, all these social collectives operate according to principles that emulate the modes of exchange that reproduce the House. As a result, an economy of the 'free market' with its 'open' competition for goods, services and labour is to a large extent illusory. Therefore, what following the standards of a 'liberal economy' would qualify as 'corruption' or 'nepotism' – practices which in the current the economic crisis more than ever come to the fore – in fact comply with the social conventions through which the local social structure is sustained.

Chapter 10: Concluding remarks and recommendations for future research

This study has focused on the transformations of the socio-cultural identities of the Dolenjska region, and of the inhabitants of Podgorje in particular, from the 19th Century to the present. I have studied above all the exchange relations, in which these identities are articulated. Here I intend to formulate more general conclusions about these identities and discuss some issues for further research.

The research questions posed at the onset of the study concerned the impact of the political system prevailing in a given historical period on the local social structure. These questions were inspired by the theoretical argument that it is the long-term cycles of exchange through which those relationships are constructed, perpetuated, re-constructed and terminated that generate and validate socio-cultural identity. In this perspective, I have studied the Dolenjska social structure as reflecting such historical processes of continuity and discontinuity.

In Part One I described how the Old Slovenian society emerged from the 6th Century onwards when people settled permanently in the Eastern Alpine area. At that time, Slavic properties of social organisation were reshaped and under Germanic influence the society began to experience processes of social differentiation and feudalisation. This Old Slovenian society comprised of several social categories. These provided for a politically organised society with a centralised hierarchy which communicated between local communities. These were the features of a proto-feudal system. A core precept of the ideology in which these proto-states were grounded stipulated that the peasantry should authorise its princely ruler. The Old Slovenian social structure was based on the core concepts of the 'house' (*hiša*), village community (*soseska*) and of elder head (*župan*) governing the territorial (*župa*) and legal communities (*veča*). The lack of data on the Old Slovenes of the Dolenjska region, however, did not allow for an analysis of the impact of the political system on the local social structure.

In the early 10th Century the Old Slovenian society came to be integrated into the German Empire. This brought about a transformation of the political system from one that was grounded in a Slavic cosmology into one that derived its legitimacy from Christian theology. The imposition of a feudal system onto the

Old Slovenian society resulted in a long-term cycle of exchanges between the strictly separated social categories of feudal society. Their participation in these exchanges provided the local people with their social and religious identity. Thus, the exchanges between farmers and their lords, ultimately subordinated to the all-encompassing exchange with God, bore witness of a hierarchical order that would last forever. But with the emergence of the Habsburgs' provincial authority in Kranjska in the 14th Century these exchanges connecting lords to farmers became compromised. Along with the demise of a feudal system that ceded its place to capitalism in 1848, notions of the State and the Nation emerged serving to articulate the political identity of the people. At the level of the overall polity the relationship between farmers and lords was reconceptualised as one between citizens and the State represented by a ruler. But at the level of local communities the traditional forms of authority persisted and the political and legal position of the peasantry remained unaltered. Likewise, the Catholic Church, of old embedded as an integral part in the feudal structure, continued to represent and mediate the relations between the believers and the Christian God in unaltered form well into the mid-20th Century.

In Part Two I demonstrate how in this period the exchanges conducted in the rural communities of west Podgorje reflect principles that are characteristic of a pre-modern ideology. Particularly the analysis of the indigenous concept of the House has revealed how the social person was composed of different constituent aspects. That person occupied a position subordinate to that of the community and as such integral to the social order. The individual person therefore was neither complete in and of him/herself, nor was his/her individual identity considered fully independent. To a considerable degree a person's identity derived from the House to which (s)he belonged – a social category pre-existing in time and space the life of each individual member.

The transmission of immaterial and material property, effected by the performance of life cycle rituals, aimed at safeguarding the House's property and thus manifested the relations between the dead and the living. The perpetuation of the House across the generations was the responsibility of the House's head. He should implement the will of his predecessor and impose his own will before his death, stipulating the rights and duties that determined the position of his House's members. Marriage constituted a socially acknowledged relationship from which the children were to be born who would ensure the continuation of the House.

The House as a *personne morale* provided its members with their respective social identities, their status, and their connection with an origin projected in the past and in the land. Each House claimed for itself a relative autonomy; it valued itself higher than the other Houses with which it constituted the village community. Whereas the members of the House did exchange gifts with those of other Houses these exchanges, conducted between individual village people, served their own needs rather than those of the village community as a whole.

This overall community was represented by the village church. The church represented all those Houses engaged in the communication and ritual exchanges with God. But at the trans-local, supra-village level it was the land that encompassed all these partial identities into the notion of Podgorje people.

In the pre-modern Slovenian society of the first half of the 20th Century the polities were still grounded in the relation between the temporal and the divine ruler. But in the second half of the 20th Century, this political ideology was transformed into a Marxist conceptualisation of the state following the establishment of the secular Socialist Yugoslav polity in 1945. Religion as the source of socio-political legitimacy became discredited and the relations between the nations and their national territories re-conceptualised. New relationships of long-term exchange connected the citizens to the Socialist State. This endeavoured to construct a legal system that would be consistent with the established local norms and practices. Local agents carried out adjustments so as to bring the politically envisaged ideas and norms in accord with the established beliefs and practices. My locally conducted research demonstrates, however, to what extent this State-political quest has failed. The norms proclaimed by the State were founded on the premise of a separation between the State and the Church that was not supported by the local population. And yet Houses did begin to acquire a different significance. Their members came to be classified as a State-defined category of 'working people' even though their socially acknowledged tasks remained to be those of an established agriculture – albeit under newly established conditions. As a result, a particular hierarchical pattern of value organisation emerged from the interdependence of these two fields of action. In this context, configurations of values (Dumont 1986) of modernity in its political modality of secular State Socialism contrasted with those of a pre-modern agricultural community of Houses and its village church. It generated conflict-ridden social identities.

The politico-economic domain of the 'socialist market' as a sphere of relations between producers, distributors and consumers operated on a distinction between the positions of the exchange partners involved. As a producer or distributor of commodities and services, or an employer in a socialist enterprise one was assigned a hierarchically higher position than as the consumer respectively the employee. But the money received as pay for one's labour in a firm, and the goods purchased with it, could be transferred as gifts circulating along relations different from those of the market. Indeed, the politico-economic sphere of Socialism and the sociality of the House domain constituted two morally distinct spheres of exchange, without the prevalence of the one provoking the disappearance of the other. In this manner, the social identities of Podgorje people as discussed in Part Two persisted in addition to the newly acquired identities introduced by the transformed political structure.

Following the transformation of the socialist economy of the Yugoslav Federation to the capitalist economy of the national Slovenian State partly embedded in international organisations the State largely ceded the economic control to the free market, even though the two remained relatively entangled. It is of interest that a comparably dynamic relationship pertains between the secular Slovenian State and the Catholic Church, so that national and religiously defined identities continue to be intertwined.

The political structure of the overall Slovenian society has generated multiple and interdependent societal contexts in which the Podgorje residents act according to the values pertaining to these various contexts. The principles of the 'free market' require that the demands of the 'consumer' as to the quality and price of the commodities offered for sale are given priority. Only then may one expect to be successful in the market. We have observed, however, how these ethics of the 'free market' became incorporated into those culturally embedded economic practices that identify the individual pursuit of commodities or services as legitimate and valued action. To engage in an exchange in order to obtain a desired object or service becomes subject to the value of attaining social relations, that is, the acquisition and enactment of the social identity of belonging to a collective. As was the case under the Socialist regime the various collectives have adopted the principles of social reproduction of the House – socially inherent practices through which the local social structure is sustained.

This accounts for the fact that the socio-cultural identity of the Podgorje people has been remarkably persistent over time. This resilience proved to be a result of a continuity in the exchange practices and the resulting patterns of relationships. The fact that no significant migrations from the area have taken place has been an important element in this process. By the same token a significant discontinuity could be revealed by employing a model distinguishing pre-modernity from modernity. This model enabled us to identify precisely the changes in the political structure brought about by establishment of the Socialist Yugoslav State.

With the present analysis of the Dolenjska region as an example research of the other Slovenian regions in their post-Socialist condition are called for, focusing on the question how the long-term exchange cycles have affected the socio-cultural identity of their inhabitants. Such additional synchronic and historical comparative research would shed a light on the Slovenian society as a whole and on other Slavic societies that shared comparable historical changes in their political structure.

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Appendix: List of kinship terms

The list is extracted mostly from Etymological Dictionary of the Slovenian Language by Marko Snoj (2003) and Slovene-German Dictionary by Maks Pleteršnik (2006 [1894–1895]) with my translations (A.R.). Abbreviations used: IDE – Indo-European, PS – Proto-Slavic, OCS – Old Church Slavic, CS – Church Slavic; f – feminine, m – masculine; R – the term or one of its meanings was recorded along the south border of the Slovenian populated territory, mostly south of Podgorje and in the southeast Štajerska, that is in areas of a considerable Serbo-Croatian linguistic influence.

consanguineal terms

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
IDE	<i>*ured^h-</i> , <i>*uerd^h-</i>		‘to increase’ (Snoj 2003: 626)
PS	<i>*ròdъ</i> , <i>*stārъ</i>		‘lineage, tribe’, initially ‘growth’ (Snoj 2003: 626), ‘old’ (Snoj 2003: 695)
OCS	<i>rodъ</i>		‘lineage, generation, birth’ (Snoj 2003: 626)
Old Slovene	<i>rôd</i> ; <i>rodítelj</i> or <i>stârš</i>	/; P/+1	‘descent, kin, lineage; parent’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 428, 429, 564)
Slovene	<i>rôd</i> ; <i>rodítelj</i> or <i>stârš</i>	/; P/+1	‘descent, kin, lineage; parent’ (Snoj 2003: 626)
PS	<i>*otъcъ</i>	F/+1	‘father’, derived from children’s designation <i>*ata</i> (Snoj 2003: 462)
OCS	<i>otъcъ</i>	F/+1	‘father’ (Snoj 2003: 462)
Old Slovene	<i>ôce</i> or <i>áta</i> , <i>áte</i> ²⁵⁹	F/+1	‘father’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 752, 7)
Slovene	<i>ôce</i> or <i>áta</i> , <i>áte</i>	F/+1	‘father’ (Snoj 2003: 462, 22)
PS	<i>*otъčimъ</i>		from the verb <i>*otъčiti</i> , ‘to make one to be a father’. Initial meaning ‘made to be a father’ (Snoj 2003: 462)
CS	<i>otъčimъ</i>	sF/+1	‘stepfather’ (Snoj 2003: 462)
Old Slovene	<i>ôčim</i>	sF/+1	‘stepfather’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 753)
Slovene	<i>ôčim</i>	sF/+1	‘stepfather’ (Snoj 2003: 462)

259 Commonly, there are several similarly sounding derivatives of each term carrying the same meaning. For the clarity of this Table not all are listed.

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
IDE	<i>*māmah₂, *mamah₂, *máh₂tō(r)</i>	M/+1	‘mother’ (Snoj 2003: 377, 385)
PS	<i>*mamah₂, *māti</i>	M/+1	‘mother’ (Snoj 2003: 377, 385)
Old Slovene	<i>māmā</i> or <i>māti</i>	M/+1	‘mother’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 544, 552)
Slovene	<i>māma</i> or <i>māti</i>	M/+1	‘mother’ (Snoj 2003: 377, 385)
PS	<i>*māt’exa</i>		deriving from <i>*māti</i> (Snoj 2003: 370)
OCS	<i>maštexa</i>	sM/+1	‘stepmother’ (Snoj 2003: 370)
Old Slovene	<i>máčeha</i>	sM/+1	‘mother’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 535)
Slovene	<i>máčeha</i>	sM/+1	‘stepmother’, “not real mother” (Snoj 2003: 370)
IDE	<i>*suHnú</i> (from IDE <i>*seuH</i>)	S/-1	initially “*’the one who was born” (Snoj 2003: 655) (from IDE <to give birth>) (Snoj 2003: 655)
PS	<i>*sŭnъ</i>	S/-1	‘son’ (Snoj 2003: 655)
OCS	<i>synъ</i>	S/-1	‘son’ (Snoj 2003: 655)
Old Slovene	<i>sīn</i>	S/-1	‘son’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 474)
Slovene	<i>sīn</i>	S/-1	‘son’ (Snoj 2003: 655)
IDE	<i>*d^hugh₂tēr</i> (from IDE <i>*d^hug-</i> and <i>*-h₂ter</i>)	D/-1	‘daughter’ (uncertain etymology) (Snoj 2003: 200)
PS	<i>*dъt’i</i>	D/-1	‘daughter’ (Snoj 2003: 200)
OCS	<i>dъšti</i>	D/-1	‘daughter’ (Snoj 2003: 200)
Old Slovene	<i>hčī, hčērka</i>	D/-1	‘daughter’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 263)
Slovene	<i>hčī, hčērka</i>	D/-1	‘daughter’ (Snoj 2003: 200)
IDE	<i>*pād^hugh₂torukah₂</i> or <i>*pā-ph₂toruko-/ah₂</i>	WD?, HD?/-1; WS?, HS?/-1	“not real daughter” or “belonging to the not real father” (Snoj 2003: 497)
PS	<i>*pāstorъka</i>	WD, HD/-1; WS, HS/-1	‘stepdaughter’ (Snoj 2003: 497)
CS	<i>pastorъka</i>	WD, HD/-1; WS, HS/-1	‘stepdaughter’ (Snoj 2003: 497)

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
Old Slovene	<i>pástorka</i> (f)	WD,HD/-1	'stepdaughter/stepson' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 12)
	<i>pástorak</i> (m)	WS, HS/-1	
Slovene	<i>pástorka</i> (f)	WD,HD/-1	'stepdaughter/stepson' (Snoj 2003: 497)
	<i>pástorek</i> (m)	WS, HS/-1	
IDE	<i>*dʰédʰo/ah₂</i>		"older member of the family: grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt" (Snoj 2003: 98)
PS	<i>*dědъ</i>	FF?, MF?/+2	"grandfather, head of big family" (Snoj 2003: 98)
OCS	<i>dědъ</i>	FF?, MF?/+2	'grandfather' (Snoj 2003: 98)
Old Slovene	<i>dêd, stàri óče</i>	FF?, MF?/+2	'grandfather' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894, 1895]: 126, 562)
Slovene	<i>dêd, stàri áta</i> ("old father")	PF (FF, MF)/+2	'grandfather' (Snoj 2003: 98)
PS	<i>*bāba</i>		'old woman' (Snoj 2003: 27) from IDE "duplication of the syllable <i>ba</i> " (Snoj 2003: 27)
OCS	<i>baba</i>	FM?, MM?/+2	'grandmother' (Snoj 2003: 27)
Old Slovene	<i>bábica or stára máti</i>	FM?, MM?/+2	'grandmother' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894, 1895]: 8, 562)
Slovene	<i>babica, stára máma</i> ("old mother")	PM (FM, MM)/+2	'grandmother' (Snoj 2003: 27)
IDE	<i>*h₂anōu</i>		initially 'little grandfather' (Snoj 2003: 828)
	<i>*nep̥t̥ih₂-</i> (f) (from IDE <i>*nepot-</i>)	ChD/-2; SD/-2, SbD/-1	'child's daughter, granddaughter' (from IDE 'grandson, descendant') (Snoj 2003: 439); 'son's daughter, sibling's daughter' (Friedrich 1962: 2)
	<i>nepoHts</i> (m)	ChS/-2, ZS/-1, SbS/-1	'child's son, grandson, sister's son, sibling's son' (Friedrich 1962: 2)
PS	<i>*vьnūikъ</i>	SS?, DS?/-2	'child's son, grandson' (Snoj 2003: 828)
OCS	<i>vьnikъ</i>	SS?, DS?/-2	'child's son, grandson' (Snoj 2003: 828)
Old Slovene	<i>sinóvəc</i> (m)	SS/-2	'son's son' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 475)
Slovene	<i>sinóvka</i> (f)	SD/-2	'son's daughter' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 475)

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
	vnúk (m) vnúkinja (f)	DS?, BS?/-2 DD?, DS?/-2	‘grandson’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 771) ‘granddaughter’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 771)
Slovene	<i>vnūk</i> (m) <i>vnúkinja</i> (f) ²⁶⁰	SS, DS/-2 SD, DD/-2	‘child’s son, grandson’ (Snoj 2003: 828) ‘child’s daughter, granddaughter’ (Snoj 2003: 828)
IDE	<i>*b^hrah,ter-</i>		initial meaning in not known
PS	<i>*brātrъ</i>	B/0	‘male sibling, parents’ son, brother’ (Snoj 2003: 54)
OCS	<i>bratrъ</i>	B/0	‘male sibling, parents’ son, brother’ (Snoj 2003: 54)
Old Slovene	<i>brát</i>	B/0	‘brother’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 51)
Slovene	<i>brät</i>	B/0	‘brother’ (Snoj 2003: 54)
Slovene	<i>pólbrät</i>	MS/0 or BS/0	‘stepbrother’ (Bajec 1994: 897)
IDE	<i>*süésōr</i>		“initially ‘*woman (of approximately the same age) of own lineage’” (Snoj 2003: 651)
PS	<i>*sestrǎ</i>	Z/0	‘female sibling, sister’ (Snoj 2003: 651)
OCS	<i>sestra</i>	Z/0	‘female sibling, sister’ (Snoj 2003: 651)
Old Slovene	<i>séstra</i>	Z/0	‘sister’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 468)
Slovene	<i>séstra</i>	Z/0	‘sister’ (Snoj 2003: 651)
Slovene	<i>pólséstra</i>	MD/0 or BD/0	‘stepsister’ (Bajec 1994: 907)
IDE	/	/	/
PS	/	/	/
CS	/	/	/
Old Slovene	<i>brátranec, bratič</i> R (m)	MBS, FBS/0	‘uncle’s son’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 51)
	<i>sestrânc</i> (m)	FZS, MZS/0	‘sister’s sons’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 469)

260 Also ‘grass of third generation’ (Snoj 2003: 828).

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
Slovene	<i>bratranec</i>	PSbS (FBS, FZS, MZS, MBS)/0	‘male cousin’ (Snoj 2003: 54)
IDE	/	/	/
PS	/	/	/
CS	/	/	/
Old Slovene	<i>brátranka</i> R (f)	FBD/0 or MBD/0	‘father’s brother’s daughter’ or mother’s brother’s daughter’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 51)
	<i>sestrična, sestrána</i> (f)	ZD/-1, MZD, FZD/0	‘sisters’ daughters’ R, ‘aunt’s daughter’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 469)
Slovene	<i>sestrična</i> (f)	PSbD (MSD, MBD, FZD, FBD)/0	‘female cousin’ (Snoj 2003: 651)
IDE	<i>*neptih₂</i> - (f) (from IDE <i>*nepot</i> -)	ChD/-2; SD/-2, SbD/-1	‘child’s daughter, granddaughter’ (from IDE ‘grandson, descendant’) (Snoj 2003: 439); ‘son’s daughter, sibling’s daughter’ (Friedrich 1962: 2)
	<i>nepoHts</i> (m)	ChS/-2, ZS/-1, SbS/-1	‘child’s son, grandson, sister’s son, sibling’s son’ (Friedrich 1962: 2)
PS	<i>synovicha</i> (f), <i>synovichI</i> (m)	BD/-1, BS/-1	‘brother’s daughter’, ‘brother’s son’ (Friedrich 1962: 7)
	<i>sestrěnicha</i> (f), <i>sestrichU</i> (m)	ZD/-1, ZS/-1	‘sister’s daughter’, sister’s son’ (Friedrich 1962: 7)
	<i>*bratrǎnъ</i> (from <i>*brǎtrъ</i>) (m)	BS/-1, ZS/-1?	‘initially ‘brother’s son, nephew’’ (Snoj 2003: 54)
	<i>*netĭ</i> (f); CS <i>netii</i> (m)	ChD/-2; SbD/-1, SbS/-1	‘granddaughter, niece’ (Snoj 2003: 439)
Slavic	<i>*net’akъ</i> (m)	SbS/-1	‘nephew’ (Snoj 2003: 439)
CS	<i>sestričьna</i> (f)	ZD/-1	‘sister’s daughter, niece’ (Snoj 2003: 651)
	<i>sestričištъ</i> (m)	ZS/-1	‘sister’s son, nephew’ (Snoj 2003: 651)
	<i>bratanъ</i> (m)	BS/-1, ZS?, BSS?, BDS?-2	‘brother’s son, nephew, brother’s grandson’ (Snoj 2003: 54)
	<i>netii</i> (m)	SbS/-1	‘nephew’ (Snoj 2003: 439)

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
Old Slovene	<i>sestrána</i> or <i>sestrična</i> (f)	ZD/-1	‘sister’s daughter’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 469), Snoj 2003: 651)
	<i>bratična</i> , <i>bratána</i> or <i>sinóvka</i> (f)	BD/-1	‘brother’s daughter’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894, 1895]: 51, 475)
	<i>sestràn</i> R, <i>sestrič</i> R or <i>sestránac</i> (m)	ZS/-1	‘sister’s son, nephew’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 468-469, Snoj 2003: 651)
	<i>bratič</i> R, <i>bratàn</i> or <i>sinóvac</i> (m)	BS/-1	‘brother’s son’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894, 1895]: 51, 475)
Slovene	<i>nečák</i> (m)	SbS/-1	‘nephew’ (Snoj 2003: 439)
	<i>nečákinja</i> (f)	SbD/-1	‘niece’ (Snoj 2003: 439)
IDE	<i>*h₂áuh₂io-</i> (from IDE <i>*h₂áuh₂o-</i>)		“*’belonging to mother’s father, grandfather”, “‘from mother’s father, grandfather” (Snoj 2003: 797)
PS	<i>*ũjьць</i>	MB/+1	‘all mother’s brothers’ (Snoj 2003: 797)
CS	<i>ui</i>	MB/+1	‘all mother’s brothers’ (Snoj 2003: 797)
Old Slovene	<i>ũjac</i> (m)	MB/+1	‘all mother’s brothers’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 708, Snoj 2003: 797)
	<i>ũjna</i> (f)	MZ/+1 MBW/+1	‘all mother’s sisters’ (Snoj 2003: 797), ‘mother’s brother’s wife’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 709) R
Slovene	/	/	/
PS	<i>*str̥jьь</i> , <i>*str̥jььць</i> (from IDE <i>*ph₂trujo-</i> or PS <i>strūjus</i>)	FB/+1	uncertain etymology (from IDE adverb ‘father’s’ or PS ‘grandfather, old man’ (Snoj 2003: 705), ‘father’s brother’ (Friedrich 1962: 7)
CS	<i>stryi</i> , <i>stryicь</i>	FB/+1	‘father’s brother’ (Snoj 2003: 705)
Old Slovene	<i>stríc</i> (m)	FB/+1	‘father’s brother’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 584, Snoj 2003: 705)
	<i>strína</i> R (f)	FBW/+1	‘father’s brother’s wife’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 585, Snoj 2003: 705)
Slovene	<i>stríc</i> (m) <i>strína</i> (f)	PB (FB, MB)/+1 PZ/+1	‘uncle’ (Snoj 2003: 705) ‘aunt’ (Snoj 2003: 705)

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
PS	<i>*tetã</i>	MZ/+1	“initially children’s word” (Snoj 2003: 762), ‘mother’s sister’ (Friedrich 1962: 7)
OCS	<i>tetãka</i>	MZ? FZ?/+1	‘aunt’ (Snoj 2003: 762)
CS	<i>teta</i>	MZ? FZ?/+1	‘aunt’ (Snoj 2003: 762)
Old Slovene	<i>têta</i> (f)	MZ, FZ/+1	‘mother’s sister, father’s sister’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 659)
	<i>têtac</i> R (m)	MZH, FZH/+1	‘mother’s sister’s husband, father’s sister’s husband’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 659)
Slovene	<i>têta</i>	PZ (FZ, MZ)/+1	‘aunt’ (Snoj 2003: 762)
Slovene	<i>mala/mrzla têtta</i> (f) <i>mali/mrzli stríc</i> (m)	PPSbD/+1 PPSbS/+1	“small/cold aunt”, “small/cold uncle” not used; instead referred to as ‘mother’s/father’s cousin’ (Bajec 1994: 1393, 1323)
Slovene	<i>mala/mrzla sestrična</i> (f) <i>mali/mrzli brátranec</i> (m)	PPSbChD +0 PPSbChS +0	“small/cold cousin” (Bajec 1994: 1212) (Bajec 1994: 63)
Old Slovene	<i>práteta</i> (f) <i>prástríc</i> (m)	PPZ/+2 PPB/+2	‘grandaunt’, ‘granduncle’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 210)
Slovene	/	/	/
Old Slovene	<i>prábratična</i> (f) <i>prábratič</i> (m)	SbChD/-2 SbChS/-2	‘grandniece’, ‘grandnephew’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 207)
Slovene	/	/	/

affinal terms

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
Old Slovene	<i>prádèd</i> ²⁶¹	PF/+3	‘great-grandfather’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 207)
Slovene	<i>prádéd</i>	PF/+3	‘great-grandfather’ (Bajec 1994: 963)
Old Slovene	<i>prábábica</i> ²⁶²	PM/+3	‘great-grandmother’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 207)
Slovene	<i>prábábica</i>	PM/+3	‘great-grandmother’ (Bajec 1994: 963)
Old Slovene	<i>právnúk</i> ²⁶³ (m) <i>právnúkinja</i> (f)	ChS/-3 ChD/-3	‘great-grandson’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 213) ‘great-granddaughter’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 213)
Slovene	<i>právnúk</i> (m) <i>právnúkinja</i> (f)	ChS/-3 ChD/-3	‘great-grandson’ (Bajec 1994: 970) ‘great-granddaughter’ (Bajec 1994: 970)
CS	<i>svojakъ</i>		“kin” derived from PS * <i>svojъ</i> “own” (Snoj 2003: 713)
Old Slovene	<i>svâštvo</i> R		‘affines’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 598)
Slovene	<i>svâštvo</i>		‘affines’ (Snoj 2003: 713)
IDE	* <i>mangjō-</i> and * <i>manu</i>		“initially *‘the one with testicles’” (Snoj 2003: 418)
PS	* <i>môžъ</i>	H/0	‘man, husband’ (Snoj 2003: 418)
OCS	<i>môžъ</i>	H/0	‘man, husband’ (Snoj 2003: 418)
Old Slovene	<i>môž</i>	H/0	‘man, husband’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 602)
Slovene	<i>môž</i>	H/0	‘man, husband’ (Snoj 2003: 418)
IDE	* <i>gʷénə₂</i>	W/0	‘woman’, ‘wife’ (Snoj 2003: 867)
PS	* <i>ženā</i>	W/0	‘woman’, ‘wife’ (Snoj 2003: 867)
OCS	<i>žena</i>	W/0	‘woman’, ‘wife’ (Snoj 2003: 867)
Old Slovene	<i>žéna</i>	W/0	‘woman, wife’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 947)
Slovene	<i>žéna</i>	W/0	‘woman’, ‘wife’ (Snoj 2003: 867)

261, 262, 263 For each successive generation another *pra-* is added.

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
IDE	*g'enh ₁ -	DH/-1	'to beget, to produce', initially "kinsman or the one who fathers (a new generation)" (Snoj 2003: 853), 'daughter's husband' (Friedrich 1962: 3)
PS	*zĕtь	DH/-1, ZH?	'son-in-law, brother-in-law' (Snoj 2003: 853)
OCS	zĕtь	H/0, DH/-1	'groom, son-in-law' (Snoj 2003: 853)
Old Slovene	zĕt	DH/-1	'son-in-law' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 904)
Slovene	zĕt	DH/-1	'son-in-law' (Snoj 2003: 853)
IDE	*snusah ₂	SW/-1	possibly from IDE *sneu 'to tie' (Snoj 2003: 676) from which the initial meaning follows: "'the one ties (two families)'" (Snoj 2003: 676), 'son's wife' (Friedrich 1962: 3)
PS	*snъxǎ	SW/-1	'daughter-in-law' (Snoj 2003: 676)
OCS	snъxa	SW/-1	'daughter-in-law' (Snoj 2003: 676)
Old Slovene	snáha, snéha	SW/-1	'daughter-in-law' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 520)
Slovene	snáha	SW/-1	'daughter-in-law' (Snoj 2003: 676)
IDE	swĕk̑wros (m) swĕkrwH (f)	HF, WF?/+1 HM, WM?/+1	'my male chief' (Friedrich 1962: 3) 'my female chief' (Friedrich 1962: 3)
PS	*tĭstь (m) *tĭst'a (f)	WF WM ->WP/+1	'wife's father' (Friedrich 1962: 8) 'wife's mother' (Friedrich 1962: 8) etymologically unclear: from PS *tetà or IDE *tek(')-, 'to give birth, to father' (Snoj 2003: 752)
	svĕkrъ (m)	HF/+1 HM/+1 ->HP/+1	'husband's father' 'husband's mother'
Old Slovene	tāst (m) tāšča (f)	WF? HF?/+1 WM? HM?/+1	'father-in-law' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 649) 'mother-in-law' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 649)
	svĕkrv R (m) svĕkrva R (f)	HF/+1 HM/+1	'husband's father' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 599) 'husband's mother' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 599)

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
Slovene	<i>tâst</i> (m) <i>tâščâ</i> (f)	HF, WF/+1 HM, WM/+1 ->SpP/+1	'father-in-law' (Snoj 2003: 752) 'mother-in-law' (Snoj 2003: 752)
IDE	<i>daHyweHr</i> (m) <i>ĝHlows</i> (f) <i>yenHter</i> (m) <i>syowr</i> (m)	HB/0 HZ/0 HBW/0 WB/0	'husband's brother' (Friedrich 1962: 3) 'husband's sister' (Friedrich 1962: 3) <husband>s brother>s wife> (Friedrich 1962: 3) 'wife's brother' (Friedrich 1962: 3)
CS	<i>svojaĽ</i>		"kin" derived from PS * <i>svojĽ</i> "own" (Snoj 2003: 713)
Old Slovene	<i>dęvęĕr</i> (m) ²⁶⁴ <i>zôĽva</i> (f) <i>šurjâk</i> R (m) <i>šurjâkinja</i> R (f) <i>svâst</i> R (f) <i>svęst</i> R (f) <i>svâk</i> R (m); <i>svâkinja</i> R (f)	HB/0 HZ/0 WB/0 WBW/0 WZ, HZ/0 WZ, BWZ; HBW/0 ZH, BW/0	'husband's brother, bride's best man' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 134) R 'husband's sister' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 927) 'wife's brother' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 644) R 'wife's brother's wife' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 644) R 'wife's sister, husband's sister' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 598) R 'wife's sister, brother's wife's sister; husband's brother's wife' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 600) R 'sister's husband', 'brother's wife' (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 598)
Slovene	<i>svâk</i> (m) <i>svâkinja</i> (f)	ZH, WB, HB/0 BW, WZ, HZ/0	sister's husband, wife's brother, husband's brother' (Snoj 2003: 713) 'brother's wife, wife's sister, husband's sister' (Snoj 2003: 713)

264 Dęverĕk, husband's brother's son (Pleteršnik 2006 [1894]: 134).

language	lexeme	Denotatum/ Generation	Gloss
Old Slovene	<i>pašánoga</i> (f)	WBW/0	‘wife’s brother’s wife’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 12)
	<i>pašánog</i> or <i>pašénog</i> R (m)	WZH/0	‘wife’s sister’s husband, sisters’ husbands’ (Pleteršnik 2006 [1895]: 12, 13) from Turkish language
Slovene	/	/	/

Transformation of Communal Identity in Slovenia: The Dolenjska Region from the 6th till the 21st Century

Anja Rebolj

The core question addressed in this study is how the political regimes have modified the social structure of communities in the region of Dolenjska, of Podgorje in particular, in southeast Slovenia in the course of fifteen centuries. By means of ethnographic and historical data and by mobilising social-anthropological models of social structure, of social relationships, value and exchange, and of the reproduction of the social order as part of cosmological one, the analysis of the various ways in which the vicissitudes that have marked Slovenia's political history – the focus being on the 19th and 20th centuries – has shown how community structures have adapted themselves so as to persist in the face of profound political change.

Die Kernfrage dieser Arbeit ist, wie die politischen Regimes die soziale Struktur der Gemeinschaften in der Region Dolenjska, insbesondere von Podgorje, im Südosten Sloweniens im Laufe von fünfzehn Jahrhunderten verändert haben. Anhand ethnographischer und historischer Daten und unter Bezugnahme auf sozialanthropologische Modelle der Sozialstruktur, sozialen Beziehungen, Wert und Austausch sowie der Reproduktion der Sozialordnung als Teil der Kosmologie, hat die Analyse der unterschiedlichen Ansätze durch welche die Wirren, die die politische Geschichte Sloweniens geprägt haben – mit dem Fokus auf das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert – gezeigt, wie sich die Gemeinschaftsstrukturen angepasst haben, um angesichts der tiefgreifenden politischen Veränderungen bestehen bleiben zu können.

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