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SLOVENIAN FOLK CULTURE BETWEEN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESSES

This article opens new perspectives on research into Slovenian non-material folk culture within the European context by focusing on song tradition and, comparatively, also on literature. Based on contemporary folklore and literary studies, this article seeks to interpret new cultural dynamics in Slovenian folk culture in the light of various concepts and theoretical discourses, such as archetypes (Jung, von Franz), culture and globalization (Beck), collective cultural memory (Halbwachs), authenticity (Bendix), identity (Honko), and intertextuality (Kristeva), and to connect it with common European folklore and literary tradition. It also aims to indicate new ways for placing Slovenian folklore and literature within the European context.

Key words: Slovenian folk culture; national identity; universality; archetype; cultural memory; cultural dynamics; culture and globalization; Slovenian literature; authenticity; originality

Introduction

Today Slovenian folk culture is caught up in a process of notable duality: on the one hand, its authenticity, originality, and specific features as elements of Slovenian national identity are strongly emphasized; but on the other, it is strongly incorporated into the flows of globalization and European integration processes, which push it into the position of being open to new cultural dynamics and influences, which means it is thus entering the environments that connect it to other European song and music traditions. Slovenian song, music, and dance traditions have already played a part in wider European culture in the past, but merely as part of larger multiethnic states that ascribed

only a loose ethnic (regional) affiliation to the Slovenian nation, such as the time of medieval pilgrimages when Slovenian pilgrims were called "Ogri/Hungarians" or the High Middle Ages, when Slovenian territory belonged to the Carolingian Empire of Charlemagne (with Aachen as its capital), which was intended to connect the western Germanic, Romance, and Slavic worlds. Every seven years, Slovenians went on a pilgrimage to Cologne. German immigrants also came to Slovenia and trade flourished. The pilgrimages to the Rhineland are said to have begun in 1349, when the black plague raged across all of Central Europe (Križnik 2005:109). Many records also indicate that Slovenian songs, weddings, and dances performed by Slovenian pilgrims were extremely appealing and popular in the Rhineland. Slovenian songs rang out during the processions through the streets of the Rhineland towns, at pilgrimage sites, and at Slovenian weddings and dances (Stabej 1965:190). It is attested that Slovenian pilgrims were received in an exceptionally festive way in Cologne: they were greeted by the ringing of a great bell when they arrived in town and were also always given preference when relics were shown, which means that people of other ethnicities were also enthusiastic about the Slovenian pilgrims' folk tradition (Stabej 1965:187; cf. Golež Kaučič 2007).

Another example of Slovenian folk culture in relation to other nations occurred in 1904 within the Austrian monarchy, when Slovenian folk songs were given equal status in the state program to collect folk songs of the nations that were part of Austria (this became the well-known OSNP collection in Slovenia). Precisely 100 years later, the *Österreichisches Volksliedwerk* in Vienna published the volume *Das Volkslied in Österreich* (Folk Songs in Austria; Deutsch, Hois, ed. Böhlau, 2004). This volume contained examples of Czech songs, music, and dances, Slovenian songs, and Serbian, Croatian, Polish, Italian, Ladin, and Romanian songs and music (Deutsch, Hois 2004:170-186). Here is a third example: In 2000, the *ÖAW Phonogrammarchiv* published a double CD titled *Gesamtausgabe der Historischen Bestände 1899-1950. Serie 4: Soldatenlieder der k.u.k. Armee* (Soldier Songs of the Austro-Hungarian Army) with accompanying scholarly commentary. This CD contains diverse songs performed by Austro-Hungarian soldiers, especially the ones serving in the 17th Infantry Regiment in Judenburg, recorded in 1916. In addition to Slovenian songs, the CD also contains Czech, Slovak, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Polish, Ukrainian (Rusyn), Hungarian, Italian (Friulian), and Romanian songs. They were recorded by Leo Hajek as part of an Austrian project that sought to collect military songs in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; Hajek worked as an assistant at the *Phonogrammarchiv* in Vienna in 1912. Eight Slovenian folk songs sung by Slovenian soldiers during the First World War were published.

The geopolitical integration of Slovenian folk culture

Slovenia's geopolitical location has always placed Slovenian folklore within the context of eastern or southern Europe, although it has never belonged there, at least not in its basic characteristics. Due to Slovenia's regional divisions, it has frequently been placed among certain other regions (e.g., the Mediterranean), even though it best fits among the Central European countries. On the other hand, Slovenian folk songs (e.g., ballads) have paradoxically always been part of western European culture. In his book *European Balladry* (1939), William James Entwistle highlighted Serbian epic poetry as authentic, specific, and exotic; however, he did not even mention Slovenian ballads, let alone define them as being notably specific or different from German ones, for example. He probably did not even know them, although with 300 different types, Slovenian ballads are extremely numerous and diverse (in comparison, there are 305 types of English and Scottish ballads). Even the well-known Slovenian Slavic specialist and ethnologist Matija Murko mentioned that Slovenian folk songs were not as interesting as the Serbian epic tradition. His field research, carried out between 1930 and 1932, and his book *Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike* (In the Footsteps of Serbo-Croatian Folk Epic; Zagreb 1951) met with wide response around the world. Murko's study of Serbian and Croatian epics led British and American researchers (folklore specialists) in particular to become interested in them, and this has continued until the present day; these researchers include Albert Lord, Milman Parry, John Miles Foley, David Niles, and others. In the foreword to his book *Serbo-croatian Heroic Songs* (Milman Parry, ed. Albert Bates Lord, Harvard University Press, Serbian Academy of Sciences, Cambridge, Belgrade 1954), Milman Parry wrote that he became interested in South Slavic epics solely thanks to this Slovenian ethnologist and Slavic specialist; at that time, Murko worked as a professor at the University of Prague and in 1933 he gave lectures at the Sorbonne, where Parry met him. Murko thus paved the way to Serbo-Croatian poetry to a much greater extent than to Slovenian folk songs. Throughout history, Slovenians have thus belonged more to Western Europe in terms of the content, form, and method of performing folk culture despite their geographical and political position among the South Slavic nations. The question thus arises whether the overly "European nature" of Slovenian folk culture prevented the "west" from getting to know Slovenian tradition as specifically Slovenian in the past.

Universality and archetypes

Regardless of the geographical and political locations of individual nations, including Slovenians, the universality of structural and content-related folklore elements has already connected various folklore traditions in the past;

in European folklore, formulas, verse patterns, content, and themes have traveled freely, which led to cultural integration of European traditions. European integration is not something new. Universal folklore elements have always bound nations together, and archetypal contents in songs and narrative tradition have not evaded Slovenian culture. This means that the universality of the folk can serve as a foundation for the integration of national cultures. In terms of content, Slovenian ballads used both ancient tradition and the tradition of Germanic, Romance, and Slavic nations. Because ballads or their motifs or themes can travel and establish themselves in various national traditions, one can say that particular national traditions receive them and thereafter transform them in their own way, or that particular traditions take over an entire reservoir of content, motifs and themes, myths, and so on independently of others; these represent "archetypal" stories. These are derived from the active imagination of individuals in various communities and, even though an archetypal story comes from an individual, it must be common to the entire collective because otherwise it could not exist in the collective memory (von Franz 1997:15; cf. Jung 1995). The archetype is a "natural constant" of the human psyche, represented through folk songs or fairytales in its most primitive form (von Franz 1997:17). The Orestes motif traveled from the Greeks to the Aromanians and from there to the Slavs, finally being put into words in the Slovenian version titled *Rošlin in Verjanko* (Rošlin and Verjanko, Š 139-141). The Indo-European blood feud motif is already extremely atrophied. The Oedipus motif was altered in the song *Sin nevede (Sv. Lukež, Sv. Matija) ubije očeta in mater* (A Son [St. Luke, St. Matthias] Unknowingly Kills His Father and Mother; SLP 51), because the Christian motifs completely concealed the old mythological core. The story of Orpheus and Eurydice is depicted in the song *Godec pred peklom* (The Fiddler at the Gates of Hell; SLP 48). However, this song demonstrates a very unusual geographic distribution because it can be found in central Slovenia, Resia (Slovenian ethnic territory in Italy), Moravia, and Lusatia (among the Sorbs). The theme of the animal ballad *Lovčev pogreb* (A Hunter's Funeral; Š 970) is said to have come to Slovenia from France. This theme or motif is said to have entered European tradition from a series of stories about the cunning fox titled *Le Roman de Renard*, whereupon the fox later transformed into a hunter (Golež Kaučič 2002). A good example of traveling story is the ballad about the dead bone that chastises a wastrel, which is part of a series of narrative motifs about a dead man that visits a wastrel. This theme is known to nearly all European nations, usually in prose form; however, it has also taken the shape of a song among the Bretons, French, Spaniards, Flemish, and Kočevje Germans. Slovenians know both versions. In the 17th and 18th centuries, it was used as an example in sermons, but it also entered literature (used by Svetlana Makarovič and Veno Taufer in contemporary Slovenian poetry) and music through Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* (cf. Žižek 1989:27;

Golež Kaučič 2006:170-179; Petzold 1967:103-141). Slovenians have thus adopted many foreign elements as well as rejected certain elements that did not speak to them. Similarly, they were able to open up their song tradition to all those elements that could significantly enrich their original tradition. It was through songs in particular that they could better understand and thus more easily accept the diversity of European ethnicities and nations.

Cultural memory

If folk culture is a series of collective memories, then the cultural memory of a nation is an important remnant of the past that shapes the nation's identity. Every nation has its own historical memory; when it creates works and incorporates them into its own cultural heritage it thus also shapes its own cultural memory. If historical elements can be owned by all Slovenians, folklore is also canonized tradition and certain individual literary works can either be part of the cultural memory themselves or they include works that immediately evoke the sense of a common cultural horizon. One type of these canonical texts that continues to appear in literary works of various writers is folk songs. Folk songs are also canonical texts because they are the bearers of an individual nation's identity; for example, one could hardly imagine the English and Scottish cultural tradition without "Barbara Allen", the German without "Lenore", the Romanian without "Mioritza", the Bosnian without "Hasanaginica" (Hasan Aga's Wife), and the Slovenian without "Lepa Vida" (Lovely Vida) or "Kralj Matjaž" (King Matthias), which have achieved mythical status in time and space. All of these songs then pass from folk tradition into the text cannon through the education process and continuous repetition and transformation of meanings, as well as intertextual processes, and return to cultural and literary circulation through various memory processes. They thus experience various dynamic processes within culture and society. In addition to the memory of what is written, folk songs are also included in the individual's auditory (visual) memory. This means that the individual has heard the song in its audio form or read it in printed form as well. Thus in engaging their memory in folk songs, individuals also form a collective cultural memory. The concept of collective cultural memory can also be transferred from the national to the transnational level. A good example of this is "Lenore" (Sl. "Mrtvec pride po ljubico" [A Dead Man Comes for His Beloved]), which was not only transferred to various national folklore traditions, but also found its place in poetry and literature of various nations, which makes it archetypal (cf. Jolles Neugebauer 2000:195-221 and Golež Kaučič 2003:107-115). Folk songs thus represent a collective tradition derived from individuality. According to Halbwachs, "Collective memory distinguishes itself from history in at least two respects. It is a continuous stream of thought, whose continuity is by no means artificial because it keeps

from the past only what is still alive or capable of living in the consciousness of the group that maintains it... Thus history ends where tradition ends – that is, at the moment when collective memory fades away or dissolves. As long as the memory is preserved, it is not necessary to fix it with writing or fix it at all" (Halbwachs 2001:85-87). Cultural memory is not merely national, but also transnational and could therefore serve as a linking factor within the mosaic of national cultures.

Culture (literature, folklore) and globalization

New media, the World Wide Web, the fluidity of borders and their "erasure" in Europe, and globalization in economics and politics have all resulted in intense and in-depth changes to cultural currents and also had a strong impact on national cultures and folk tradition within these. This impact does not affect what is archived and conserved, but rather live folklore and its transformation, which is notably different than in the 19th century due to the media-friendly environment. According to Ulrich Beck, globalization means that there are no national boundaries any longer and that "everyday activities in various dimensions of business, IT, ecology, technology, transcultural conflicts, and civil society have lost their boundaries" (Beck 2003:39). Despite Fukuyama's predictions that economic transformations will lead to the end of history and Perlmutter's answer that the history of a some sort of global civilization has begun (cf. Beck 2003:77), which of course poses the danger that nations will lose their autonomy due to their economic dependence on stronger nations, the awareness of identity is nonetheless increasing precisely because of the fear of assimilation of the specific cultural elements. After 1989/1990, when nations gained new independence, central and eastern European cultures began re-integrating into the culture of the Old Continent. This was a sort of re-Europeanization, which represented the first stage of re-integration. The western world began getting to know these countries from a different perspective. Suddenly even culture had a greater value because interest in the "new" countries also meant interest in their cultures. The paradox of this process was that the stronger cultures began to "discover" the "younger" cultures as if they had not been living side-by-side for centuries. For example, Italian society finally got to know the Slovenian writer Boris Pahor, who lives in Trieste, in 2007, when his 1967 novel *Nekropola* (The Necropolis) was translated into Italian, as if the cultural value of a neighboring nation and its official language could only be recognized within the new EU. The Slovenian poet Uroš Zupan wrote a poem about our Babylonian differentiation: "Little nations are bombastic, / but unfortunately we don't know them / and they don't know us either" (*Lokomotive* [The Locomotives] 2004:59-60). However, it seems that we do know certain ethnicities better: the ones that operate more globally and are more aggressive

and economically stronger. For example, all European nations know Byron, but it is difficult to imagine the British knowing Prešern. Mutual influence should be reciprocal, but it is not. European integration processes facilitate the transfer of information, rather than cultural elements; or else they only transfer cultural elements in processes that are one-way and dependent on the audience's interests, such as the entrance of Serbian trumpet tradition or Dalmatian male group folk singing into Slovenia, whereas Slovenian music is either not transferred to Croatia and Serbia at all or is transferred merely as isolated examples, rather than as a widespread phenomenon. According to France Bernik, mutual cultural influence is only possible in a relationship between equivalent cultures or at the level of dialogue (Bernik 2003:7). However, according to Beck (2003), precisely this cultural dialogue is merely a way of imposing strong cultures on the weaker ones. In contrast, Janet Wolf believes that even in the time of globalization the "persistent diversity" in cultures, which is even said to be the result of this globalization, should be recognized and acknowledged (Wolf 1989:165). During integration and globalization, intensive reshaping of national identity is taking place. This is especially evident in the central, eastern, and southern European countries, where the established cultural currents are beginning to break because of new social turning points. These can be either positive or negative, but they both have an impact on new perceptions and roles of culture, including national literature and folk culture. The fact that some countries are now included in the European Union arouses "a feeling of satisfaction that eastern countries belong to the European cultural environment" (Javornik 2006:7). On the one hand, a relativization of the national culture within European integrations can be observed, but on the other a search for new identity through tradition itself. According to the Macedonian literary scholar Jasmina Mojsieva Guševa (2006:55-61), all the small cultures or nations have ended up in globalization processes; their basic definitions, symbols, literature, and culture will be integrated into the global culture and will thus dissolve in it. The Slovenian literary historian Darja Pavlič states that "(in Slovenian literary creativity) it is no longer enough to resemble (western Europe), but one must rather be different to a sufficient extent" (Pavlič 2006:109-116). This difference and specific nature is, however, achieved in folklore, which, on the one hand, is universal in its contents and archetypal stories, but on the other have quite a few original stories, ballads, and lyric poems within it as well. Thus it involves universality and identification with stories known to various national traditions, but at the same time a quality of being different and a specific nature that are in fact the features that attract attention because uniformity is no longer attractive. Only true polyphony of cultures as a conceptual polyphony will be able to foster integration of all the European cultures, literatures, and arts. However, if cultures that are numerically larger wanted to predominate, or if smaller cultures themselves agreed to silent cultural

assimilation, this would impoverish national and even European cultures. This is why, even in folk culture, new cultural changes are not necessarily negative; however, folk tradition must be preserved in its originality and be allowed to develop, change, and grow with various new patterns, dynamics, currents, and principles. Only in this way will the creativity of one national culture be able to penetrate another. What is most important is that all cultures be equal, open to others, and interested even in those cultures they have not known so far. One must be aware that the European west, which has practically lost its folklore, now seeks to revitalize it; it has finally discovered the value of folklore as a national element, albeit belatedly. Or, as Rajko Muršič put it, "we mystify folk culture and identify with it only when it no longer exists in reality" (Muršič 2002:8), whereas central, eastern, and southern Europe, which still have their folklore, tend to emphasize the elite culture and neglect folk culture. Therefore there is a strong tendency to strengthen national self-confidence and prevent the national from becoming inferior to transnational (traditional) or European. What does "European" actually refer to, anyway? A panel titled "Is there a European heritage of songs or a European heritage in songs?" which took place as part of the 9th SIEF congress, held in Derry from 16 to 20 June 2008, addressed the question of whether there is a common European song heritage (tradition) or whether European tradition can be found in songs. Six papers presented by researchers from Estonia, Slovenia, Scotland, and England tackled this topic from various angles (integration of two nations: the Italian and Slovenian, and Scottish and English; integration of two genres; various perceptions of Christmas carols from the Slovenian perspective; and political songs in Scotland, Ireland, and Germany). It turned out that we all agree that we are part of the European tradition, but that we nonetheless remain within our ethnic territory and at best connect with a neighboring nation. However, one cannot claim that we can find something that is exclusively European (perhaps in contrast to American). It nonetheless still seems that Western Europe is more self-confident in its culture, for which it believes it is already or must be known by other European countries, whereas its familiarization with the "others" is considerably poorer.

It is difficult to claim that there is an affiliation with European culture, which is not some sort of a one-piece organism, but a mosaic of national organisms.¹ Despite the desire for an economic and political community, an individual nation's desire to remain culturally unique remains very strong. However, one may fear that this somehow also involves contemporary cultural imperialism because "instant culture", which is becoming

¹ In a way, this nationality mosaic has already been presented: an example of a festive integration of EU nations occurred in Brussels at the end of 2006 when all of the 25 nations sang 25 national Christmas carols at the European parliament in a joint "European choir".

increasingly stronger in Europe, is one that can destroy cultural heritage or push it entirely into the elite sphere, with commercial mass culture becoming the predominant one; this is reflected in Slovenia in the commercial use of folk culture by folk-pop and turbo-folk bands. Here, the national character and identity are gaining negative connotations and sometimes folklore is strongly rejected by consumers of culture.

Authenticity, originality, identity

Various folklore traditions can be observed through authenticity, originality, and identity concepts because today folklore may enter new cultural dynamic processes and new performative processes, is subject to changes, and can draw in foreign influences, which it then integrates into new organisms, and at the same time preserves its own authenticity. However, it seems that in seeking the deep truths of folk songs, and authenticity in folklore and folklore studies (Bendix 1997) as well in transcending it, one should still be aware of identity, which Lauri Honko describes as a true reflection of tradition and culture and a distinguishing feature of nations: "group identity' as a set of values, symbols and emotions joining people, through constant negotiation, in the realization of togetherness and belonging – constituting a space for 'us' in the universe as well as distinguishing 'us' from them" (Honko 2003:2). In 1858, the Slovenian writer Fran Levstik wrote that "literature (which in realism was derived from folklore) holds a mirror to the people, through which a person's face is crystallized and from which people recognize themselves". 150 years later, Alan Dundes wrote something similar, saying that folklore is a "mirror of culture" (*Interpreting Folklore* 1980:VIII). Today one can thus say that folklore is what people still carry in their auditory and visual memories and that it is still a part of culture, although it is strongly subjected to transformative principles of the modern world. The question thus arises of what Slovenian folklore actually is: is it some sort of indigenous flower, an endemic plant at home only in the language and culture of Slovenians, and whom it marks as Slovenians? The ethnopoetics of folklore remains fundamental: it is derived from ethnicity, because one knows that ultimately folklore is an expression of an individual ethnic group – and only later, a nation. Should it be protected as a dying relic of the past? Do young Slovenians really identify with it? Unfortunately, young Slovenian students born in 1987 and 1988 (2nd- and 3rd-year cultural studies and Slovenian studies students at Ljubljana's Faculty of Arts) are not familiar with Slovenian folk culture, are not particularly interested in it, and do not identify with it; however, they do acknowledge its role as a bearer of national identity. They are also struggling with its popular transformations because they are poorly acquainted with contemporary Slovenian folk revival groups and performers. These findings were obtained by a detailed survey carried out in 2008 by a cultural studies

student Jana Samsa at Ljubljana's Faculty of Social Sciences. The student analyzed the issue of Slovenian identity, nation, and ethnicity, and the relation of these concepts to Slovenian folk song tradition, the performative currents of folk elements, and the literary transformations of folklore.

The interconnectedness of folklore and literature through intertextuality

The international concept of intertextuality introduced by Julia Kristeva in 1969 can also help reveal folk antecedents in literature. This transfer of elements between two poetic currents also represents a new cultural dynamic, which enables fluid transfers from folklore to literature and erases the boundaries between genres and even poetic systems, as well as crosses national borders. This is how transnational intertextual (intermedial) sets could be created as part of European cultural processes; these sets would represent sequences of texts (including music and art works) with a common theme, running through various time periods and styles in various content-related and formal (musical) manners, representing canonized cultural tradition. For example, the most representative sample in Slovenian song tradition is the strongly intertextual series of "Lepa Vida", which has been transferred from a folk antecedent into various literary forms (and also into music, art, theater, and everyday life) throughout several centuries (Golež Kaučič 2003:117-125).² Works with a "common content" thus shape a special literary tradition (Vodička 1976:53-54), which is an "important factor of identity and continuity of a national or international literary unit system" (Juvan 1990:92). As an example, it is interesting that in some way postmodernism in literature helped preserve folk songs or, in other words, helped preserve tradition, and at the same time changed it, gave it new meanings, and preserved the old ones. In contemporary Slovenian poetry, Veno Taufer created the concept of "used words" in his poetry (cf. headword "Used words", Golež Kaučič, in Brown & Rosenberg 1998) by citing Slovenian folk songs and thus including them in his poetic organisms (Taufer 1975). Slovenian folk culture could be referred to as ethno poetic culture, whereas one could refer to contemporary postmodern poetry as autopoetic (Hribar 1984), although new folk song transformations can be seen in it – again, going back to tradition. Postmodern cultural identification through folklore varies greatly. Using the example of Claudio Magris' novel *Danubio* (The Danube, 1986; Slovenian translation 2006), one can see that the binding element within a literary work can also be

² "Intertextual series running through several centuries are created primarily by 'working on the myth', which continually fosters new versions; these versions seek to convey the provoking elements of the myth and the elements that cannot be fully consumed to contemporary horizons of expectations" (Pfister 1985:57-58).

a folk song. In this novel, the European spatial entity is also connected by a river (e.g., the Danube). As a sort of subject of the novel, the Danube represents the symbol of connections between various nations and cultures, which Magris highlighted and which was also confirmed in the foreword to the Slovenian translation by Predrag Matvejević. Matvejević wrote that Slovenians are also connected with the Danube in a way because all three major Slovenian rivers (i.e., the Sava, Drava, and Mura) flow into it. However, this is not the only connection with Slovenia. Magris selected an empirical quote of two verses of the Slovenian folk historical ballad "Kralj Matjaž rešen iz ječe" (King Matthias Rescued from Prison) as the main epigraph of his novel. In all the international editions of this novel, the Slovenian folk ballad is thus used as an intertextual antecedent making allusions to the Danube and travel on it, but in reverse, from Turkey to Slovenia. Thus, Slovenian folklore has also indirectly entered the European and global cultural environment.

New cultural dynamics?

A singing group from Podmelec near Tolmin heard the folk ballad *Riba Faronika nosi svet* (Faronika the Fish Carries the World, which is no longer a part of living folk tradition) in an adapted form on a CD intended for school music classes, but then learned the lyrics from Karel Štrekelj's collection of folk songs. Although they did not change the lyrics, they completely adapted the melody in their own way, despite having the original melody in their memories as well. This demonstrates how new global media and cultural dynamics can influence local ones. The singers brought the song back into cultural circulation in the same narrow local environment in which the song was originally created (2005:177-189). Thus one can observe an altered relationship towards the folk as something old and anachronistic, but prophetic in its content; with new cultural currents that are penetrating rural areas, the folklore bearers' tastes are also changing. The cultural function of their singing is evident, one that is esthetic on the one hand, and educational and revitalizing on the other.³ Based on the folk song described above, the new matrixes and cultural dynamics of contemporary Slovenian folk culture can be divided in the following manner: 1. Original song (i.e., folklore), 2. "Folk" adaptation (e.g., gatherings of folk singers and musicians), 3. Re-creative performance (e.g., folk revival, dance festivals, dance societies, etc.), 4. Artistic adaptation (i.e., transfer into classical music, pop, jazz, rock, etc.), 5. Literalization (i.e., transfer into literature), and 6. Artistic representation (e.g., six folk modes in the Slovenian cultural environment).

³ The singers believe that the audience has different tastes today. They said: "Nobody would've listened to us if we'd sung the old way."

What other cultural dynamics may be seen today from the viewpoints of authenticity, new creative currents, and commercialization of folklore? This commercialization was well defined by the American folklore specialist Richard Dorson as a contrast between folklore and "fakelore" or "spurious and synthetic writing" (Dorson 1969:60), which can be applied to folk and pop-folk music in Slovenia, where this dichotomy is clearly visible, and to the fact that only those that know folklore well (folklore specialists with extensive field research) can distinguish between authentic and fake folklore. However, what happens to the transformational processes in culture that open up new perspectives in cultural dynamics and connections between popular and folk music, literature and folk poetry, and revitalization and folklorization of folk culture? Dorson believed that "fakelore" found its place in the literary works of writers. However, it is difficult to agree with this assessment because in postmodern environments of contemporary poetry folklore is cited and generally has a different message, reaches a different circle of readers, and has its authenticity left untouched. Without doubt, all of these processes, which simultaneously also include influences from European and American cultures, must be taken seriously and treated accordingly. New cultural dynamics, such as new performative functions of folklore, provide new insights into folk culture, including the fact that some people get to know the most basic and original folk elements through other communication currents and cultural dynamics rather than the authentic folklore: performers, literary works, festivals, and commercialization. The new media (e.g., opera, film, television, rock or jazz, the Internet) utilize or reactivate the canonic and traditional themes precisely because of this; in this way they can use what is relatively well-known to attract as many cultural consumers as possible. Integration processes do not affect folklore directly; however, they do indirectly change the social climate, which on the one hand emphasizes the value of tradition, and on the other hand treats folklore as an anachronism in modern society, especially in urban centers. Folk music has found new adapted forms and contents in revival music, and folk dance has found them in folklorizations and stage performances throughout Europe.

In the process of changing and connecting cultures, receptions of various cultures, including Slovenian culture, are of course different. In addition, the dynamics of change also differ; on the one hand, folklore is being canonized and, on the other, it is being transformed, newly produced, and also instrumentalized (i.e., used to promote political parties).

Can the cultural specifics typical of each European nation merge into common cultural worlds without their identities being assimilated or, in other words: Can we have a common European culture, a common European heritage of folk culture and literature, in which various ethnic groups and their cultures are visible and recognizable, but at the same time also have a recognizable common European identity? The answer to this question has al-

ready been given in Derry, where it was established that European heritage is composed of a mosaic of national identities, which are still very strong and independent of each other, but do have universal common transferable patterns, which in songs include primarily form and content. It can still be said that interconnectedness and integration is possible primarily between neighboring nations or nations with similar traditions (e.g., Lithuania and Slovenia have similar types of ballads, although they are far apart, whereas Slovenia and Serbia, which are much closer to each other, have completely different song traditions). This means that the connecting factor must primarily be the specific features of ethnic groups, and at the same time also the new ways of cultural transformations of folk elements that are similar in the majority of European nations. In addition, the connecting factor could also be the identification of archetypal forms and contents that have traveled through the European cultural tradition in the past and were shaped through various national identities into new contents and forms, and at the same time created the knowledge of a common European tradition and individual national special features. These features served as cohesive material and created a common European cultural heritage amid all this diversity. To strengthen the common without losing the individual means to create broad knowledge about individual folk traditions in all of Europe, regardless of their geopolitical positions. This could be achieved through joint projects, such as the publication of a CD on the European folk tradition, in which a common theme and universal elements would be found and at the same time national specifics would be emphasized. Another possibility is the publication of a book titled *European Folk Songs*,⁴ and the publications *European Folklore*, *European Cultural Memory*, and *European Intertextual and Intermedial Series*.⁵

Conclusion

A detailed analysis of common cultural and folklore patterns within the national and international contexts still lies ahead. Its results will show that Europe truly is an entity in which there is no more polarization between west and east, and north and south, at least with regard to cultural polyphony within the common cultural environment.

⁴ Only two books on European folk songs and ballads have been published to date: *Das Europäische Volkslied* (The European Folk Song; Werner Danckert 1939) and *European Folk Ballads* (Erich Seemann, Dag Strömbäck, Bengt R. Jonsson, eds. 1966).

⁵ This could be accomplished through EU programs, including the existing *HERA* (Humanities in the European Research Area) partnership, which would enable transnational cooperation within individual projects.

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SLOVENSKA NARODNA KULTURA IZMEĐU NACIONALNOG IDENTITETA I EUROPSKIH INTEGRACIJSKIH PROCESA

SAŽETAK

U ovome se radu otvaraju nove perspektive u istraživanju slovenske nematerijalne narodne kulture u europskome kontekstu, usmjeravajući se na tradiciju pjesme i, usporedno, na književnost. Zasnovan na suvremenim folklornim i književnim studijama, rad nastoji prikazati novu kulturnu dinamiku u slovenskoj narodnoj kulturi u svjetlu različitih koncepata i teorijskih diskursa, kao što su univerzalnost i arhetipovi (Jung, von Franz), zajedničko kulturno pamćenje

(Halbwachs), kultura i globalizacija (Beck), autentičnost (Bendix), identitet (Honko) i intertekstualnost (Kristeva) te ih povezati sa zajedničkim europskim folklornim i književnim tradicijama, kao i pronaći nove načine smještanja slovenskog folklora u europski kontekst. U procesu mijenjanja i spajanja kultura recepcije se različitih kultura, pa tako i slovenske, očekivano razlikuju. Povrh toga, različita je i dinamika promjena; s jedne se strane folklor i književnost kanoniziraju, a s druge mijenjaju, iznova proizvode pa i instrumentaliziraju. Europsko je nasljeđe mozaik nacionalnih identiteta koji su još uvijek vrlo jaki i nezavisni jedni od drugih, no posjeduju sveopće zajedničke prenosive obrasce, koji u pjesmama prije svega uključuju oblik i sadržaj. Spajaju ih prije svega osobitosti etničkih skupina te istodobno i novi načini kulturne mijene narodnih elemenata sličnih većini europskih naroda.

Ključne riječi: slovenska narodna kultura; nacionalni identitet; univerzalnost; arhetip; kulturno pamćenje; kulturna dinamika; kultura i globalizacija; slovenska književnost; autentičnost; izvornost