Mednarodna konferenca
KRAJI SPOMINA, KRAJI MEJE

Conferenza internazionale
LUOGHI DELLA MEMORIA,
LUOGHI DI CONFINE

International conference
SITES OF MEMORY, SITES OF BORDER

Povzetki / Riassunti / Abstracts

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Četrtek, 25. maj 2017
Knjižnica Znanstveno-raziskovalnega središča Koper,
od 9.30 do 18.00

Petek, 26. maj 2017
Sejna soba Pretorske palače, od 9.30 do 18.00

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Univerzitetna založba **Annales**

KOPER 2017

VSEBINA

TEMATSKI OPIS KONFERENCE

KRAJI SPOMINA, KRAJI MEJE

Vzpostavitev kolektivnih identitet ter identifikacij s prostorom je najkompleksnejše in najbolj nestabilno na etnično in/ali versko mešanih območjih z dolgo zgodovino sprememb političnih meja. Iz tega razloga so prav take regije še posebno primerne za poglobljeni študij interakcij med občutki identifikacije, narodnosti (in s tem povezanimi miti) ter simboli, ki izražajo omenjene oblike pripadnosti.

Konference *Kraji spomina, kraji meje* se primarno osredotoča na območje severno-jadranske regije, katere zgodovino zaznamuje velika pestrost sprememb političnih in simbolnih meja. Vse od začetka 20. stoletja je to območje pogosto ležalo na najpomembnejših geopolitičnih ločnicah. Izkusilo je večkratne spremembe političnih meja ter državnih oz. ideoloških sistemov. V tem kontekstu je izjemno pomembno vprašanje, kako so različne tu živeče družbene skupine kljub sovražni politični klimi uspevale ohraniti medsebojne interakcije. Skozi to regijo so potekale nekatere najpomembnejše simbolne mejne črte, ki so zaznamovale mentalno podobo sveta v 20. stoletju: tu sta se simbolno srečevala Zahod in Vzhod, romanski, germanski ter slovanski svet, Evropa in Orient, fašizem in antifašizem, demokracija in komunizem. Različne ideologije, državni sistemi in njihove prostorske politike so še danes »zakodirani« v tukajšnji kulturni krajini. Zaradi teh značilnosti je severno-jadranska regija posebno zanimiva kot študijo primera, ki je relevantna za vso Evropo.

Čeprav se konferenca torej prvenstveno posveča vprašanjem povezanim s severno-jadransko regijo, to ne pomeni, da izključuje ostale evropske obmejne pokrajine. Nasprotno, vključiti želi kar najširši pregled različnih študij primerov ter tako primerjalno predstaviti politike identitete, spomina in prostora v različnih obmejnih regijah.

Na konferenci se bo skupina znanstvenikov interdisciplinarno posvetila različnim aspektom zgodovine spomina in meja. Referati bodo obravnavali sledeča medsebojno povezana vprašanja:

- Kako vidiki grajenja spomina delujejo na mejnih področjih?

- Kako sedanje razumevanje nacionalnih, regionalnih in lokalnih meja oblikuje zgodovinske narative? Kako le-ti krepijo ideološke agende?

- Kakšno vlogo igra prostor pri grajenju kolektivnih identitet na mejnih območjih? Kako posamezniki in institucije konceptualizirajo ter si prisvajajo prostor?

- Katere so poteze kontinuitete ter preloma med različnimi političnimi in ideološkimi sistemi?

- Kako je "ljudstvo" reagiralo na ideološke impozicije? Kakšen je bil njihov vpliv na kolektivni spomin?

Programski odbor: Borut Klabjan, Jože Pirjevec, Egon Pelikan

Organizacijski odbor: Tilen Glavina, Matic Batič

SITES OF MEMORY, SITES OF BORDER

The construction of collective identities and territorial belongings are most complex and unstable in ethnically and/or religiously mixed regions with a long record of political border shifts. Such regions provide a particularly appropriate setting for developing a more complex understanding of the links between feelings of identity, of belonging, of nationality (and related myths) and of the symbols that express these various forms of identification.

Conference Sites of memory, sites of border focuses primarily on the northern Adriatic region, noted for its history of changing political and symbolic borders. Since the beginning of the twentieth century the area has frequently been situated on major geo-political fault lines. The region has experienced regular re-drawings of borders and reconfigurations of state orders. The question of how different societies managed to interact despite volatile or hostile political conditions is of enormous importance. The symbolic boundaries that shaped the mental mapping of the world were located in this area: West vs. East, Latin/German vs. Slavic, European vs. Orient; antifascism vs. fascism; democracy vs. communism. Different ideologies, state systems and their spatial politics are encoded in the landscape until the present. This makes the northern Adriatic an ideal region for a case study that has great relevance for the whole of Europe.

Although the focus lies on the questions dealing with the northern Adriatic region, this does not mean that other border areas around Europe are excluded. The conference aims to include as broad specter of different case-studies as possible in order to comparatively present politics of identity, memory and space in different multifaceted regions.

The conference will bring together a group of scholars working interdisciplinarily on aspects of memory and borders. Conference papers will deal with the following interrelated questions:

How do aspects of memory constructions work in border regions?

How are narratives of the past shaped by present understandings of national, regional or local boundaries? How do they reinforce ideological agendas?

What is the role of space in forging collective identities in border regions? How do individuals and institutions conceptualize and claim space?

What are the patterns of continuity, along with change, between different political and ideological systems?

How did "common people" react to ideological impositions? What was their impact on vernacular memories?

Programme Committee: Borut Klabjan, Jože Pirjevec, Egon Pelikan

Organisation Committee: Tilen Glavina, Matic Batič

PROGRAM

Mednarodna znanstvena konferenca / International conference

KRAJI SPOMINA, KRAJI MEJE
SITES OF MEMORY, SITES OF BORDER
Koper, 25.–26. 5. 2017

ČETRTEK, 25. maj 2017 / GIOVEDÌ, 25 maggio 2017 /
THURSDAY, 25th May 2017
Knjižnica / Biblioteca / Library ZRS Koper

9.30–10.00
Pozdravni nagovori in uvod / Discorsi di benvenuto e introduzione /
Welcome speeches and introduction

10.00–11.30

Hannes Grandits (*Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*): **Changing**
legitimations of state borders and the idea of "Phantomborders"

Nancy Wingfield (*Northern Illinois University*): **German Summer**
Solstice Celebrations as Twentieth-Century Radical Right-Wing
Nationalist Mobilizing Rituals

Borut Klabjan (*Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper*; *European*
University Institute): **Habsburg Sites of Memory in Trieste/Trst**

Diskusija / Discussione / Discussion

11.30–12.00 Coffee break

12.00–13.30

Marta Verginella (*Univerza v Ljubljani*): **National Mapping of Urban Centres in the Austrian Littoral between the 19th and 20th Century**

Dragica Čeč (*Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper*): **Nationalism, regionalism and border in Postojna: story of a monument**

Vanni D`Alessio (*Università degli studi di Napoli, Sveučilište u Rijeci*): **Shaping the Adriatic Urban Multiethnic Space. National and Transnational Landmarks in 20th century Rijeka**

Diskusija / Discussione / Discussion

13.30–15.00 Kosilo / Pranzo / Lunch

15.00–16.30

Matic Batič (*Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper*): **»Le Terre Redente si presentano a noi come vecchie terre italiche«. Building *italianità* in *Provincia di Gorizia* in the interwar period**

Klaus Tragbar (*Universität Innsbruck*): **Conquest by Architecture? Strategies of Appropriation of Italy in Alto Adige and the Trentino after 1920**

Gaetano Dato (*University of Bristol*; *Università degli studi di Trieste*): **The Redipuglia Shrine – Memory, Border, Commemoration**

Diskusija / Discussione / Discussion

16.30–17.00 Coffee break

17.00–18.30

Emilio Cocco (*Università degli studi di Teramo*)**: Borders in the Sea. Maritime memories, symbolic exchanges and material dislocation in the Northern Adriatic region**

Tanja Petrovič (*ZRC SAZU*): **Construing Ponte Rosso as a Memory Site: Remembering Socialism, Imagining the Class**

Katia Pizzi (*University of London*): **Cold War Trieste on Screen**

Diskusija / Discussione / Discussion

19.00 Večerja / Cena / Dinner

PETEK, 26. maj 2017 / VENERDÌ, 26 maggio 2017 / FRIDAY, 26th May 2017

Pretorska palača / Palazzo Pretorio / Pretorian Palace

9.30–11.00

Egon Pelikan (*Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper*)**: Tone Kralj and the Space along the Border. Ideological Marking of Space along the Slovene-Italian Ethnic Border: Art between Catholicism, Fascism and Slovene Irredentism**

Pieter Judson (*European University Institute*): **Carlo, „The Border Killed Him": Men and Women of ‚der fremde Heimat'**

Vanesa Matajc (*Univerza v Ljubljani*): **Sites of Memories on the Isonzo Front during the Great War: the Rhetoric of Border Space in Interaction of the Spatial Signs and Representations of this Space in Fiction, War Diaries, and Reports**

Diskusija / Discussione / Discussion

11.00–11.30 Coffee break

11.30–13.00

Oto Luthar (*ZRC SAZU*): **Memory, Revision, Resistance. Reviving the Aura of Partisan Monuments along the Slovenian-Italian Border**

Manuel Loff (*Universidade do Porto*): **Border(line) memories of the Spanish Civil War: Spanish Republican refugees in Portuguese borderlands**

Gašper Mithans (*Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper*): **Burnt villages as sites of memory**

Diskusija / Discussione / Discussion

13.00–14.30 Kosilo / Pranzo / Lunch

14.30–16.00

Pamela Ballinger (*University of Michigan*): **Sites of Memory Hiding in Plain Sight? Italian Repatriate Settlements in the Post-Fascist Metropole**

Mila Orlić (*Sveučilište u Rijeci*): **Making and remaking of *esuli*'s memory in Italy: from the "long silence" to the building of a national myth**

Urška Lampe (*Inštitut IRRIS*): **Today's Perception of the Lapidary in Memory of the post-World War II Deportees from Gorizia in the Gorizia Park of Remembrance**

Diskusija / Discussione / Discussion

16.00–16.30 Coffee break

16.30–18.00

Vida Rožac Darovec (*Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper*): **Commemoration of the Antifascist Movement TIGR within the Context of Policy of Remembrance in the multi-ethnic Borderland *Primorska* after Slovenia's Independence in 1991**

Vjeran Pavlaković (*Sveučilište u Rijeci*): **(Re)Framing the Nation Locally: Croatian Commemorative Culture in the Context of Rijeka**

Kaja Širok (*Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije*): **The Past in the Present. Commemoration and Politics of Memory in border region**

Diskusija / Discussione / Discussion

18.30 Večerja / Cena / Dinner

POVZETKI REFERATOV

CHANGING LEGITIMATIONS OF STATE BORDERS AND THE IDEA OF "PHANTOM BORDERS"

Hannes GRANDITS
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For over more than a century, East-Central and South-Eastern Europe has witnessed the emergence of a number of new states and the consolidation of new borders. These changes were accompanied by a corresponding change in the argumentation for the very legitimacy of statehood and state borders. The first wave of changes occurred when historically developed dynastic principles of order were supplanted by (and/or combined with) the principle of national self-determination after the First World War (or in part already before). A second wave relates to the restoration of the states destroyed by the violent and short-lived attempt of the Axis powers to create a new order in Europe. Finally, a third wave of changes after the Cold War witnessed the up-grade of several constituent republics of some states into fully-fledged sovereign states. Recurrently, these changes corresponded to periods of significant upheaval in the political structures of the region, not only in terms of new power relations but also in the realm of new systems of organised knowledge. However, "subdued" or "old" ideas about the legitimacy of existing boundaries did never fully disappear.

This paper will first introduce the evolution of legitimacy norms of state borders during the 20th century. It will then evaluate how reference to the "past" could create something like "Phantom borders" which, although historically based, could be deployed in a new context or even from the basis of "updated" ideas about territorial configurations.

GERMAN SUMMER SOLSTICE CELEBRATIONS AS TWENTIETH-CENTURY RADICAL RIGHT-WING NATIONALIST MOBILIZING RITUALS

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The summer solstice (*Sonnenwende),* which was long celebrated in mountainous regions across Habsburg Central Europe, exemplifies the conference theme of borders and shifting political boundaries. In the late nineteenth century, festivities in Cisleithanian Austria began to take an increasingly German national character, in an example of "invented tradition." Participants consciously employed a particular discourse to connect their practices to an imagined past. Focusing on the Bohemian Lands, I signpost three eras of increasing nationalization of the celebrations: the Badeni era at the turn of the nineteenth century, the interwar era, when Czechoslovakia, as elsewhere in Habsburg Central Europe, was a multinational state governed as a nation-state, and the late 1930s, when, owing to the Munich Conference, Czechoslovakia's German-occupied borderlands came under the rule of Nazi Germany. In the decades before the First World War, members of the voluntary associations into which the Monarchy's diverse peoples had increasingly structured their social lives played important roles in organizing *Sonnenwende* celebrations, which were similar across Austria. In nascent interwar Czechoslovakia, these festivities were often orchestrated by two of the most important national voluntary organizations in the Bohemian Lands: the *Deutscher Turnverband* and the *Bund der Deutschen.* As these groups' politics became increasingly nationalist and anti-Slavic, so, too, did summer solstice celebrations.

Czechoslovakia's nationalist Germans began transforming the summer solstice celebration into a festival of the Sudeten German community following the Sudeten German Party's success in the November 1935 parliamentary elections. The rhetoric associated with the commemorations would become increasingly similar to that of the Nazis in neighboring Germany following party leader Konrad Heinlein's April 1938 call for complete Sudeten

German autonomy within the Czechoslovak state and freedom to adhere to the German "world view." That year's *Sonnenwende* festivities were part of a transnational, pan-German celebration that was inimical to Czechoslovak democracy. Heinlein's vision of community was not, however, that of the Nazi party, as Czechoslovak's Germans soon discovered.

HABSBURG SITES OF MEMORY IN TRIESTE/TRST

Borut KLABJAN
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In this paper, I will analyze Habsburg sites of memory in nowadays Italian Trieste with the aim to reconstruct different practices associated with the transnational image of the Empire in different time frames. On the basis of archival material, newspapers and by adapting Pierre Nora's methods to this contested border town, I will analyze popular memory over the long term, from the end of the 19th century until the present.

From the late 19th century, imperial statues and symbols were constructed to testify the belonging of Trieste to the Habsburg Empire. Most of them were, however, vandalized and removed after World War I, when the city was annexed to Italy. Some of them were completely destroyed, while some others were restored in the following decades. Especially after World War II discussions started about their relocation, causing harsh debates and evocating a variety of affiliations and loyalties in a single urban space. Their relocation draws attention to the city's Habsburg, Central European, and supposed cosmopolitan past and testifies to Trieste's eternal nostalgia for the "golden age" of the Habsburgs. However, at the same time, they reflect overlapping and multiple loyalties which still shake local memories and are encoded in the urban landscape.

NATIONAL MAPPING OF URBAN CENTRES IN THE AUSTRIAN LITTORAL BETWEEN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY

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The Italian national majority was in possession of numerous nationally important sites (squares, buildings, coffee houses), unlike Slovenes, who came out empty-handed, particularly in Trieste. Even though they frequented some churches, met in particular squares, visited several coffee houses and theatres, these meeting points did not have a distinct Slovene national character. In 1848, the headquarters of the first Slovene reading society was located in Tergesteo Palace, in the very centre of the mercantile, multiethnic and multilingual Trieste; however, as the Slovene national organization grew, locations in which reading societies' activities were carried out, began to move to the suburbs. As a result of the city's nationalization, which contributed to the majority's national marking of the urban space, the minority language was ousted from numerous churches. The Slovene population, whose national organisation in urban centres of the Austrian Littoral had begun in the mid 19th century, considered the buildings in which they held their meetings not merely as the headquarters of Slovene sociability, but also as veritable national fortresses. At the turn of the 20th century, the suburban inns frequented particularly by petty bourgeois and the working class became what the city's coffee houses had been for the Italian national movement. It was only the economic and political development of the Slovene national community at the end of the 19th century that enabled a new national localization of the Slovene national community in the very centre of the city. The construction of Narodni dom (the National Hall) in Trieste and Trgovski narodni dom (the Mercantile National Hall) in Gorizia confirmed the Slovene national presence in the heart of the city, where the Italian local authority refused to grant them national rights. The paper will also address other forms of national mapping, highlighting, in particular, the intertwinement of the collective and individual efforts, which were not as visible in Trieste as they were in Gorizia, where the city's multiethnic structure was more favourably disposed towards the Slovene existence and presence in the very centre of the city.

NATIONALISM, REGIONALISM AND BORDER IN POSTOJNA: STORY OF A MONUMENT

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Postojna in the second half of the 19th century was a small regional settlement with around 2000 inhabitants. Positioned near economically important railway Vienna-Trieste, it developed into a flourishing tourist destination. As regional centre and tourist destination Postojna become a symbol of monarchical patriotism as well as ethnical homogeneity of Slovene-speaking middle class. Different public spaces were used as loci of collective participation in the politics and public life.

Regional officers express their loyalty to monarchy with symbolic marking of the most important public space – tourist attraction - Postojna cave. Several caves in the cave system were named after members of Habsburg family or celebrated with monuments and inscriptions. On the other hand, the administration of the used several visits of the emperor and other members of the Habsburg family as a marketing strategy to underlay the importance of destination.

With growing popularity of building of national monuments, the regional politicians recognized its political and cultural potential. Monuments have acted as important centres around which local and national political and cultural positions have been articulated. With different categories of analysis I will contribute to the debate about the construction of "national monuments" through reception of the Vilhar's monument in newspapers as well as in tourist guides. Although Miroslav Vilhar (1818-1871) for short time actively participated in political life (for one mandate he was a member of the land diet) and as a member of editorial board of political newspaper became a political prisoner, he was also known as popular composer and poet. Analyse of the public actions of raising money and social structure of donators for statue, as well as building and unveiling of a statue of Miroslav Vilhar could reveal different cultural elements of imagined community. But since

he never lived in this regional centre, the important emphasis was given not only to Slovenian but also to Vilhar's regional identity.

Political changes after WWI (with Rapallo treaty Postojna came under the rule of Italian kingdom) changed the reception of the statue in public discourse and latter in collective memory. From representing person as symbol of virtues and values of the nation, statue becomes a central symbol of martyrdom of the nation under Italian rule. On the other hand, the demolition of the monarchic monuments remains unnoticed since they were demolished also in Yugoslavia. The statue was rebuilt and unveiled in 1995.

SHAPING THE ADRIATIC URBAN MULTIETHNIC SPACE. NATIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL LANDMARKS IN 20TH CENTURY RIJEKA

Vanni D'ALESSIO

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Rijeka entered the 20th century as a divided city. During the first half of the 20th century various political and administrative borders run across and around its urban area, implying multiple and mutually challenging state and national realities and projects, defining the territory and shaping different attitudes and belongings. The 1948 unification of Italian Rijeka (Fiume) and Yugoslav Sušak into the new Yugoslav and socialist city of Rijeka was accompanied by new discourses of political legitimation. This paper will discuss how the discourses produced by power structures, by organizations and by sets of individuals, were implemented with, and accompanied by the production of visual icons portraying multiple and challenging national and transnational discourses. The paper will focus on the employment of material icons in the public space and on the iconoclastic attitudes against those symbols and linguistic signs which evoked legacies or enduring presences of a disturbing "other", which could be usually declined in linguistic and national terms. The iconic and symbolic value addressed to landmarks, which appeared, disappeared or were transformed in Rijeka, was an aspect of the 20th century political and ideological ethno-national contest that troubled the city as the overall Northern Adriatic. This paper will also try to shed light to different forms of agenda among the local inhabitants, which often participated but also eluded the ethno-national contrast and challenge.

»LE TERRE REDENTE SI PRESENTANO A NOI COME VECCHIE TERRE ITALICHE«. BUILDING *ITALIANITÀ* IN *PROVINCIA DI GORIZIA* IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Matic BATIČ
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This paper deals with selected aspects of Italian spatial politics at the eastern border of Italy in the interwar period. The area of *Provincia di Gorizia* was annexed by the Kingdom of Italy after the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920. Severe measures against the Slovene population, which reached their pinnacle after the Fascist party had assumed power in 1922, soon followed. The Italian authorities also started an extensive programme of construction and rebuilding, which significantly changed the cultural landscape of this area and partially continues to define it until the present day. The Italian building policy cannot be adequately understood solely in utilitarian terms, because it also represented one aspect of the broader process of Italianisation. Italian spatial interventions here have not yet been systematically researched and put in their proper historical context, although Gorizia and the surrounding region were strategically and ideologically important in interwar Italy. This can be attributed to the fact that historians dealing with this topic have concentrated mainly on related happenings in the bigger city of Trieste, which lies nearby.

The aim of the paper is twofold. I will first sketch the modern theoretical understanding of space and symbolic spatial features as one of the means which have been used to build and sustain homogenous national communities from the 19th century onwards. This conceptual framework will then be used in order to analyse some selected concrete cases of Italian spatial interventions in the aforementioned region. I will pay attention not only to architectural styles and symbols which were employed to achieve the desired political message, but also to the ideological underpinnings which lay beneath them. I will nevertheless argue that distinct building projects in this region should not be understood only as a direct reification of abstract ideological impositions, but were rather the result of complex interworking of

many different factors, the idea of an ideal Italian architectural style being only one of them. Other factors, such as war devastation caused by fighting along the Isonzo front, individual dispositions of the employed architects, cultural workers and the changing local and national political landscape also played an important role in this process.

CONQUEST BY ARCHITECTURE? STRATEGIES OF APPROPRIATION OF ITALY IN ALTO ADIGE AND THE TRENTINO AFTER 1920

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This paper will address strategies of appropriation adopted by the Italian state in the formerly Habsburg territories South Tyrol and Trentino after World War I and the commencement of the contract of St. Germain on the 16th of July, 1920.

In regards to content, focus shall be given to state building measures that were applied throughout the entire area but with a differing emphasis within the new territories. Architecture and urban development played a key role in accelerating the process of Italianization. In doing so, topoi like »italianità« and »modernità« formed the new cultural and political points of reference, which were applied differently in the mainly Italian-speaking Trentino than in the predominantly German-speaking South Tyrol.

In Trent it was paramount that the prized architectural framework of the city »freed« from Austrian dominion, a representative Piazza be implemented, and the politically endorsed pure Italian character be promoted through propagandistic representation. In Bolzano, by contrast, racial-ethnic motivations for urban development steered the rapid Italianization and models of submission for »non-natives«, similar to a test run, were developed. These models were put into practice through architecture, urban development, and infrastructural measures from the middle of the 1930's after the conquest of Mussolini's »Impero«.

Through the use of a comparative perspective, the contrasting strategies of appropriation in South Tyrol and Trentino enforced by the Italian state through architecture and urban development shall be identified. This comparative approach will focus on the main cities of Trent and Bolzano before then distinguishing between the aforementioned cities and the more minor towns of Rovereto and Merano in their articulation of different constructional challenges.

THE REDIPUGLIA SHRINE – MEMORY, BORDER, COMMEMORATION

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The history of the biggest Italian WW1 memorial is also the history of the relationship between the Italian state and the public memory of WW1 at the Italian-Yugoslavian border. The presentation tracks the foundation of the Redipuglia shrine in the 1930s and then move to show and interpret the development of the main commemorations along the time, since 1945; both national and local perspectives are included. The shrine hosts more than 100,000 corpses of Italian soldiers, and is one of the major sites of memory of the Italian nation. It is a key for the understanding of the Italian collective identity, its multiple layers and different ideological approaches, from the fascist era to the Cold War. In addition, the memorial is located in the new lands conquered in 1918, thus it also represents a way in which Rome symbolizes its hold on a longtime contested border, and onto a region shared by Italian and Slovenian communities. This characteristic was particularly relevant during the post WW2 era. Finally, the analysis tackle the issue of the feedback of the public discourse on WW1 to the transformation of the Italian national identity, and why the Redipuglia shrine's relevance faded in the last few decades, together with the "heroic" memory, to other sites shaped for staging the memory of victimhood.

BORDERS IN THE SEA. MARITIME MEMORIES, SYMBOLIC EXCHANGES AND MATERIAL DISLOCATION IN THE NORTHERN ADRIATIC REGION

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In my paper I wish to spotlight the concepts of borders and mobility from a maritime perspective.

I focus on the Northern-Adriatic region, which is a site where nation-state building and border-making process have been long-lasting and controversial processes. Also, a site where the distinction between the reality of borders (clear-cut dividing lines between terrestrial political entities) and the imagination of frontiers (places of interaction and overlap) is quite sensitive and encourages a proliferation of diverse cultural memories. From this standpoint, the maritime memories of the Adriatic region before the nation-state represent a transnational and multicultural resource both for discourses of hybridity/plurality and exclusive appropriation of cultural heritage.

In this perspective I approach border-making as a morphogenetic process that involves symbolic exchanges and material dislocations across the borders made "in" and "with the sea". Accordingly, the sea is not merely taken as a natural phenomenon that provides the physical background for social dynamics. On the contrary, from a "material-relational" perspective I approach the "fluid ontology" of seawater to better grasp the mobile nature of borders and memories in the North Adriatic. Thus, I aim to provide a dynamic time-space analytical framework to understand the role played by maritime memories in some relatively neglected social-material dynamics.

CONSTRUING PONTE ROSSO AS A MEMORY SITE: REMEMBERING SOCIALISM, IMAGINING THE CLASS

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This paper discusses ways in which individuals and groups remember mass shopping of "Western goods" by Yugoslavs in Trieste from the 1960s to the 1990s. Engaging with various materials, ranging from popular culture products (films, music) and newspapers articles to oral histories, it discusses the frames in which Ponte Roso is memorialized as both a site related to personal experience of shopping and a symbol of socialist subjects' desires and aspirations. The paper argues for a necessity to look at these frames from a vantage point of moral and affective economies among different social groups in socialist Yugoslavia, as well as a part of broader interpretative and memory regimes that mark post-Yugoslav postsocialism.

COLD WAR TRIESTE ON SCREEN

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Trieste played a substantial role in the early Cold War, both material and symbolic, due to its key geopolitical positioning in south-central Europe at the border between Italy and Yugoslavia. Winston Churchill's renowned 'Iron Curtain' speech of 1946, singled out Trieste in the Adriatic, together with Stettin in the Baltic, as the southern and northern poles respectively of an imaginary, yet iron-cast and all too irreconcilable, divide between the democratic west and totalitarian east. This paper examines film as a medium through which Trieste is thrown into relief as a space imagined as a spy-ridden, exotic and glamorized. This is an orientalized urban space along the lines of Casablanca or Algiers (see Hollywood productions such as *Casablanca* and *Pepe le Moko*). Slovenian films such as *Na svoj zemlji* (1948); *Trst (*1951) and *Hudodelci* (1987) reflect the non-aligned positioning of Yugoslavia within the eastern bloc after the Cominform split of 1948. This paper explores some of the manners in which Trieste's fractured and divided identity aligned itself with, as well as it reflected, the polarization of the Cold War era. Born of frequent and unsettling shifts of the border, as well as of social, political, linguistic and cultural divides historically rooted in this area, films set in Trieste and this region in the Cold War era encompass a fabric of contested and irreconcilable memories, rooted in urban spaces and symbolically laden with Cold War binaries. Together with other cultural artefacts, cinema vividly and compellingly captures the 'fractured memories' (Foot, 2009) of this region, returning them as a blueprint of Cold War era polarization on a global scale.

TONE KRALJ AND THE SPACE ALONG THE BORDER. IDEOLOGICAL MARKING OF SPACE ALONG THE SLOVENE-ITALIAN ETHNIC BORDER: ART BETWEEN CATHOLICISM, FASCISM AND SLOVENE IRREDENTISM

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After the World War I, the old political border finally disappeared with the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920, the ethnic border, however, had been systematically adjusted to the political one in the context of "frontier fascism" by the regime.

Apart from several anti-regime activities of the Secret Christian-Social Organisation, one of their members came up with an extraordinarily original idea; to draw the "lost" ethnic frontier in the territory of the national-political conflict.

In the period between the two wars one of the most distinctive and recognizable voices of the battle for territory in the Giulia region was the Slovene ideological national marking, carried out by the painter Tone Kralj in cooperation with the Secret Christian-Social movement.

It is a phenomenon of ideological marking unprecedented in Europe in terms of its systematic ecclesiastical-artistic "covering" of the ethnically territory. At the time of its emergence Tone Kralj's language was comprehensible even for the illiterate or in the specific case of the Slovenes in the Giulia region under the fascist law – for the condemned to illiteracy.

The Catholic, national and social idea all merged into a subversive creative intertwinement and each of the approximately 50 churches that Tone Kralj painted in over half a century is at the same time an irredentist, a nationalist and an antifascist marking of the Slovene ethnic territory.

The paper portrays the phenomenon of this original frontier story from various perspectives.

„THE BORDER KILLED HIM": MEN AND WOMEN OF ‚DER FREMDE HEIMAT'

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This paper analyses examples drawn from German nationalist borderland literature around the First World War in the context of local histories of the Alpine and Adriatic regions. It seeks to relate these nationalist claims to the ways in which borders might have mattered to local inhabitants of these regions at that historical moment. The literary examples confirm that the very concept of the border sought to stabilize broader imaginings of the nation rather than to strengthen particular border identities. This is hardly a new argument. But I want to use it to consider the ways we formulate basic questions about the situations in which borders and their cultural memorialization matter, and less about the various meanings of difference those borders need to construct.

SITES OF MEMORIES ON THE ISONZO FRONT DURING THE GREAT WAR: THE RHETORIC OF BORDER SPACE IN INTERACTION OF THE SPATIAL SIGNS AND REPRESENTATIONS OF THIS SPACE IN FICTION, WAR DIARIES, AND REPORTS

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The paper examines the Slovene-Italian border space in terms of the historical-spatial identity that was ascribed to it by the collective imagination of World War I and the Isonzo front. Its meaning was created by the collective or, more precisely, cultural memories of the self-identified national communities and that were involved in the battles on the Isonzo front. The paper addresses the question of the memorial culturalisation of this space in light of New Historicism and the theory of semiotics, i.e. as interaction of spatial-rhetorical signs and verbal-linguistic semiotisation of these signs which was produced by literature, diaries and reports on the Isonzo front. The paper (dealing with the south part of the Isonzo front, i.e. from the gulf of Trieste to Gorizia) presents the space of battles as represented by "indexes" (Peirce) as sites of memory (architectural objects such as gravestones, military cemeteries, sepulchres, ossuaries), characterized by the collective, principally ethnic, identities of the fallen soldiers: Slovene, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian, etc. This can be recognized in the emblems, architectural styles and verbal-textual signs (surnames, language, even motifs of the epitaphs) on the objects. In a narrower sense, sites of memory function as symbolic signs: the observer's recognition of their meaning requires interpretation which is created through the collective memory, and this is supported by literary and other kinds of texts. The paper presents referential sites of memory (Redipuglia, San Michele, Doberdob, Oslavia) in view of the following texts: *Doberdob*, a novel written by soldier and Slovene literary author Prežihov Voranc, Austrian soldier Hans Pöschl's diary, Italian officer Giacinto de Caroli's diary, Slovene catholic priest Albin Mlakar's diary, Austrian reporter Alice Schalek's report from the battlefield, and (as an aspect of an external observer) Ernest Hemingway novel by *A Farewell to Arms*. These texts represent

collective identities and cultural memories which endow this border space with the identity of the Isonzo front and give it additional meaning: a) historical: in the course of history meaning was produced in terms of national, i.e. political-ideological collective identities which (in the form of national auto- and hetero-stereotypes) refer also to this space; and b) in the contemporary trans-national collective memory meaning is produced through the humanist lens of the catastrophic character of WW I (Fussel). Both of these aspects of collective memories are created in an interaction with the space of the Isonzo front and its verbal-textual semiotisations, whereby sites of memory of WW I create one of the central rhetorics of this space.

MEMORY, REVISION, RESISTANCE. REVIVING THE AURA OF PARTISAN MONUMENTS ALONG THE SLOVENIAN-ITALIAN BORDER

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The presentation describes commemoration practices in Slovenian villages along the Slovenian-Italian border region between Trst/Trieste and Gorica/Gorizia. The paper is centered on changes in the management of the memorial landscape, with a particular focus on an annual international commemoration at Lazec near the karst village of Temnica.

Analyzing the process of the radical reinterpretation of the WWII history in Slovenia, the author is particularly interested in the popular resistance against the mainstream rearrangement of the memory of the Partisan movement and the collaboration with the Nazi and Fascist occupying forces.

Three decades after Socialism it is clear that what started as necessary reconsideration of the most traumatic part of national history turned into "cultural war" and politics aiming at fixing the exclusive definition of national identity. Part of the struggle about the past therefore became a struggle over interpretative resources within society.

Another part are the changing commemorations like the one in Lazec and the most interesting change is the transformation from classical commemoration into popular resistance against the naturalization of a revisionist narrative. After being a typical site of mourning the partisan monuments turned into a site of demonstration against the symbolic re-interpretations of the past which attempt to influence the interpretation of current national interests. In part they can also be seen as a ritual of revitalizing the collective and organizing it against the one sided interpretation of the past.

BORDER(LINE) MEMORIES OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR: SPANISH REPUBLICAN REFUGEES IN PORTUGUESE BORDERLANDS

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The Spanish War keeps a special symbolic role in Europe's collective memory of the 20th century. For the Portuguese and the French, especially those living near to the Spanish borders, it involved a number of political, ethical and humanitarian dilemmas. Source and pretext for full fascistisation of Salazar's dictatorship, war in Spain brought very harsh social and political consequences to Portuguese society, opening the heaviest repressive period of the dictatorship. Repression was particularly cruel to communities living near to the Spanish border, both in the Southern (Alentejo, amongst whose peasantry the Communist Party was well-rooted) and in the Northern (small-property Catholic rural areas) Portugal. In these parts of the country, (mostly) rural communities were faced in the Summer of 1936 with thousands of Spanish Republican refugees seeking for protection in Portugal, fleeing from improvised firing squads and day to day assassination by Phalangists and Francoist military. Individuals and social groups, Portuguese military and police officers, as well as local authorities and political police agents had to choose between pushing refugees to the other side of the border and deliver them to the rebels or to comply with international law. But they also had to decide how to react to humanitarian solidarity of common people towards the refugees, which had an inevitable political meaning under a fascist regime. To this day, State or local institutional memory on those events, as well as popular collective memorial accounts of those days, when the inter-state border drew a very obvious line between life and death, still play an instrumental role in some of these borderlands local/regional identity. In a time in which political and humanitarian refuge has become a central element of moral and political disruption, it may be important to get back to this moment in the Iberian history.

BURNT VILLAGES AS SITES OF MEMORY

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In the contribution, selected villages in Italy, Slovenia and Croatia that were burnt by Nazi and Fascist soldiers during World War II will be analysed. The transformation of traumatic memories will be discussed by problematizing oral "testimonies" vs. "narratives". The focus is on the question of commemorations of the tragic events and the rebuilding of the villages, which bears the message that locals resisted the attempts of occupation forces to "erase" the villages. The presentations of the burnings of the villages, however, usually does not fit the common propaganda of "heroes" and may even be interpreted as defeats of the resistant movements to protect civilians. Consequently, not rarely, commemorations of these tragedies were in Yugoslavia concealed within celebrations of the victory in World War II and the praise of National liberation movement, one of the main fundaments of post-war Yugoslav identity. On the other hand, burnt villages, accompanied with killings, imprisonments, deportations to concentration camps and forced labour, raids and migrations (due to the lost homes), show the great sacrifice of the civilian population. Often villages were burnt, because the locals helped the partisans. Otherwise, these measures Nazis and Fascists, with the help of collaborations, employed during the offensives and as a revenge against successful partisans' actions. Burnt villages in spite of its historical significance cannot be defined in all cases as sites of memory, but instead as sites of oblivion. Although, the current trend is to "remember" and commemorate these events on the local level, while much has to be done in historiography and in dissemination of its findings to the general public to evaluate these tragedies on the transregional (multi-national) and national levels.

SITES OF MEMORY HIDING IN PLAIN SIGHT? ITALIAN REPATRIATE SETTLEMENTS IN THE POST-FASCIST METROPOLE

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Despite the ever-growing critical discussion of Italy as a postcolonial space, many scholars still dismiss Italian decolonization as one marked by cultural amnesia. Deeming the fascist imperium's end a "nonevent," for example, Karen Pinkus reads Antonioni's 1962 film *L'eclisse* as symbolic of the displacement of memories of colonialism onto Italy's post-war "conquest" of its urban peripheries with their transformation into housing projects. Whereas such readings focus on displacement as a psychological process, in this paper I instead focus on a literal displacement of the colonial past: the return of Italian settlers from the African colonies and Balkan possessions lost after World War II. These displaced Italians were among those groups for whom the new neighbourhoods featured in Antonioni's film were built. In addition, some repatriates and national refugees (particularly those from Istria) were resettled in areas that had been showpieces of fascist architecture, such as Rome's EUR and the Sardinian "new town" of Fertilia!

On the one hand, such sites constitute anachronistic ruins of empire that, as Ann Stoler puts it in her work on imperial ruins, "condense alternative sense of history." On the other hand, such imperial debris provided a foundation for the postwar nation. Indeed, many fascist projects of land reclamation – including those housing Italians from the former possessions -- were only completed after 1945.

Drawing upon archival and interview data, this paper builds upon the growing work on both ruination and Italian postcolonialism in order to examine to what degree memories of colonialism and fascism were displaced onto these repatriates and to what degree these populations were "reclaimed" for the nation through their resettlement in "productive" ruins. The very productivity of those spaces often obscured their visibility as sites of memory.

MAKING AND REMAKING OF *ESULI*'S MEMORY IN ITALY: FROM THE "LONG SILENCE" TO THE BUILDING OF A NATIONAL MYTH

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In this paper I will critically analyze the memory of those communities who left Istria in the Second postwar period and came to Italy. The events which represent the core of the collective memory of the Istrian refugees, and which regard above all the experience of the so-called exodus and *foibe*, haven't found place for a long time in the public memory in Italy. Things radically changed when in 2004 "Giorno del ricordo" was established as national Memorial Day, and those events and the collective memories of the Istrian refugees became one of the main pillars of the new national Italian identity.

The aim of my presentation is to analyze the memory of the Italian *esuli* in a twofold perspective. The first one concerns the social memory of *esuli* communities living in Italy, often based on a difficult relationship with local realities, and characterized by a long and complicated process of integration in the Italian society. The second perspective – which is frequently in complex and not always direct relationship with the first one – consists of a public construction, determined by political will and finality. In this sense, I will try to verify how the public memory in Italy, since 2004 onwards, has influenced, or contributed to redefine, the collective memory of *esuli* communities.

TODAY'S PERCEPTION OF THE LAPIDARY IN MEMORY OF THE POST-WORLD WAR II DEPORTEES FROM GORIZIA IN THE GORIZIA PARK OF REMEMBRANCE

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After the liberation of Venezia Giulia in May 1945 by the Yugoslav troops, several arrests took part in the big city centres of the region, especially in Trieste and Gorizia. The representatives of the local Yugoslav authorities arrested numerous persons, among which there were prisoners of war, collaborators, people suspected of war crimes, political suspects and those who violated the Yugoslav occupation policy during the 42 days of their rule in the region. When it was clear that Yugoslavia would be forced to withdraw its troops from the territory, several people, mostly of Italian nationality, were relocated and transferred in Yugoslav camps – today, those events are known as deportations.

There are two monuments commemorating the deportees in the Gorizia Park of Remembrance, but the lapidary bearing the names of 665 people allegedly deported from Gorizia is much more disputed ever since his inauguration in 1985/86. In the last years, the lapidary is once again becoming subject of dispute between the two national groups of the region, Italian and Slovenian. In addition, at the end of April 2015 the monument has been subject of acts of vandalism for the first time in his history, which reflects that its "problematic nature" is on the highest point in its history. The paper will, therefore, be dealing with the historical background of the monument and especially the nowadays perception by both national groups, as it seems the problem of the deportees is today one of the most boiling issues between the Italians and Slovenians of Gorizia.

COMMEMORATION OF ANTIFASCIST MOVEMEN TIGR WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE POLICY OF REMEMBRANCE IN IN A MULTI-ETHNIC BORDERLAND PRIMORSKA AFTER SLOVENIA'S INDEPENDENCE 1991

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The paper deals with the policy of remembrance in the Primorska region following Slovenia's independence, when we found ourselves in a multi-ethnic borderland that was faced with a new reality and with different expectations from its inhabitants. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of socialist empires, the 1990s brought radical changes to this area. History was being rewritten; towns, streets and squares were renamed, monuments torn down, public holidays changed, etc. The fall of socialism in the late 1980s and in the 1990s coincided, on the one side, with the beginning of a call for attention to the injustices experienced by the local Italian population, to the problems of the post-war exodus and the foibe, and on the other side, with the unveiling of the concealed history of politically undesirable groups and their role in the anti-Fascist resistance, particularly of the clergy of the Primorska region and the TIGR movement. When trying to answer the question who directs the commemoration of TIGR, we can concur with the theory which sees remembrance as negotiation between various visions of the past, the "bottom up" and the "top down," the left and the right. The initiative for the establishment of the TIGR Association of Primorska came from civil society, but at a time when it served Slovene politics. By emphasising the hidden part of history it met with a positive response in that part of the public which had experience with and memories of the TIGR movement, and saw the neglect of TIGR as a historical injustice. The association has managed to rise to an equal footing with the Union of the Associations for the Values of the National Liberation Movement of Slovenia; it has been introducing new commemorative functions, putting up monuments and commemorative practices, widely publishing memoires and historical works, etc. In this way it created the conditions to elevate the movement to the level of national myth.

(RE)FRAMING THE NATION LOCALLY: CROATIAN COMMEMORATIVE CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF RIJEKA

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The project „Framing the Nation and Collective Identity in Croatia: Political Rituals and the Cultural Memory of Twentieth Century Traumas" (FRAMNAT) has been researching commemorations dedicated to the victims of the Second World War and the Croatian War of Independence (Homeland War) in the 1990s at the national level. However, many of the national holidays are commemorated locally throughout Croatia, especially in those regions which were particularly affected by warfare in the last century. Rijeka, at the forefront of the antifascist struggle in the first half of the century was spared direct fighting in the Homeland, has commemorated the past differently than the as prescribed by official narratives. Whereas the antifascist struggle was marginalized in many parts of Croatia since the 1990s, Rijeka continued many of the traditions of previous commemorative practices (Tuhobić, 3. maj). Moreover, while the key events of the Homeland War (Vukovar Remembrance Day, Victory and Homeland Thanksgiving Day) are observed locally, Rijeka has also hosted artistic interventions that have provided alternative narratives that have pushed for a more pluralistic understanding of the past. This chapter draws upon the FRAMNAT research that shows how local and regional remembrance challenges attempts by the state to impose a single official narrative of the recent past, as well as collective identities as part of the nation-building project.

THE PAST IN THE PRESENT. COMMEMORATION AND POLITICS OF MEMORY IN BORDER REGION

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Il Goriziano (Goriška), the border area between Slovenia and Italy, has been (and still is) a place of contested memories, where different groups construct their identities on different, very often opposing interpretations of the region's past events. It is clear, that images of the past are preserved through cultural acts of remembering, where each side collects artefacts and stories which works at the preservation of their national interpretation of self. What for one side is a source for memory building, sinks for the other into oblivion, what one side celebrates, the other forgets. The territory was ravaged by acts of violence in both the First and Second World Wars, as well as in postwar years. Younger generations are reminded of the past chiefly through memorials, crypts and military burial grounds, silent witnesses to the atrocities that the twentieth century inflicted on the region.

But what happens if the territory begins to act as a cultural place of reconciliation? Understanding the pain of the other, the stories that connects the identity building of other groups in the territory becomes a vital message of peace and coexistence. The monuments, the (hi)stories and the preserved narrations constructing the national heritage on XX century stop to act as ruptures of history, involving all the parties to collaborate on a new perspective on how to tell (or show, present) the complex story of self the area of different constructions of the memory landscapes and interpretations of the (same) cultural heritage.