

## ŽUMBERČANI – NEKDANJI IN SEDANJI GRANIČARJI<sup>1</sup>

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AN ELUCIDATION REGARDING THE WORK PACK

## ŽUMBERČANI – NEKDANJI IN SEDANJI GRANIČARJI<sup>2</sup>

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Tematski sklop *Žumberčani – nekdanji in sedanji graničarji* je zbir prispevkov večine sodelavcev bilateralnega slovensko-hrvaškega projekta *Populacijska dinamika ob slovensko-hrvaški meji: primer širšega obkolpskega prostora*,<sup>3</sup> ki smo ga udeleženci izvajali med letoma 2005 in 2006. O podrobnostih vsebine projekta, udeležencih in njegovem natančnem poteku sem s pomočjo sodelavcev že pisala;<sup>4</sup> tokrat pa bi rada poudarila nekatere še neizrečene zahvale in ozadje skupnega podjetja.

Naj začnem s pomenljivim navedkom Damirja Josipoviča, ki je v eni izmed začetnih različic svojega besedila za to številko revije zapisal, da je bilateralni projekt trajal od leta 2003 do 2007. In takšna je zaznava o trajanju projekta večine sodelujočih. Kot bo pazljivemu bralcu vseh prispevkov vsebinsko zaokroženega sklopa več kot očitno, tako delo ni moglo nastati samo na podlagi nekaj »raziskovalnih obiskov«

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<sup>1</sup> Naslov tematskega sklopa *Žumberčani nekdanji in sedanji graničarji* je oblikoval Damir Josipovič. Strinjam se, da dovolj ilustrativno zajema ne/posredne teme preučevanja bilateralnega projekta, o katerem bo govor v nadaljevanju.

<sup>2</sup> The title of the work pack *Žumberčani nekdanji in sedanji graničarji* is formed by Damir Josipovič. I agree it comprises illustratively enough the in/direct study themes of the bilateral project that will be discussed in continuation.

<sup>3</sup> Projekt se je v celoti imenoval *Populacijska dinamika ob slovensko-hrvaški meji: primer širšega obkolpskega prostora/Populacijska dinamika na slovensko-hrvatskoj granici: primjer širega popuskega područja (BI-HR/04-05-002)*.

<sup>4</sup> Knežević Hočevar, Duška (2006). Prebivalstveno gibanje ob slovensko-hrvaški meji: primer širšega obkolpskega prostora. V: Alenka, Černelič Krošelj (ur.). *Mesto in trg na meji : 9. vzporednice med slovensko in hrvaško etnologijo : [9.] hrvatsko-slovenske etnološke paralele* (Knjižnica Glasnika Slovenskega etnološkega društva, 38). Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo, str. 35–53.

v Sloveniji oz. na Hrvaškem, kot jih Protokol bilateralnih projektov predpisuje za dve leti raziskovanja. Ni pretirana ocena, da je večina tu objavljenih izsledkov utemeljenih tudi v predhodnih medsebojnih pogovorih članov raziskovalne skupine in raziskavah: bodisi magistrskih ali doktorskih delih, bodisi v projektne delu v okviru temeljnih in aplikativnih projektih, ali v t. i. programskih skupinah. S tega vidika se kot nosilka projekta za slovensko stran iskreno zahvaljujem vsem udeležencem projekta, še posebno pa avtorjem tu predstavljenih besedil, ki so vztrajali do konca; izdaja znanstvene monografije je bil eden izmed bolj pomembnih ciljev bilateralne projektne skupine.

Da bi zadovoljivo in čim bolj kompleksno pojasnili že več kot očiten proces depopulacije na izbrani lokaciji obmejnega prostora Žumberka in Bele krajine, smo se udeleženci projekta odločili, da bomo pojave t. i. naravnega gibanja prebivalstva, migracij, povratništev in poročnosti kot tudi njihovega medsebojnega družbenega razmejevanja razložili v širšem družbenozgodovinskem kontekstu v diahroni (zadnjega stoletja in pol) in sinhroni perspektivi. S tega vidika se je pokazalo, da bi bilo nujno analizirati več vsebin in podatkovnih sklopov, ki zahtevajo premišljeno skupinsko sodelovanje; med njimi zlasti državnopravno in upravno zgodovino širšega obkolpskega območja, dostopne statistične podatke iz državnih arhivov in podatke, zbrane na terenu (pogovori z informatorji). Šele tako naj bi v celoti razložili proces oblikovanja mejnosti prebivalstva Žumberka in Bele krajine, ugotavljali vzroke, posledice in vrste migracij na tem območju ter primerjali čezmejne poročne strategije na območju zahodnega Žumberka in Gorjancev. Upati je, da bo bralec dodobra seznanjen z obljubljenim.

V skladu s teoretično in metodološko usmeritvijo raziskovalne skupine smo raziskavo razdelili na dva vsebinska sklopa, ki jima sledimo tudi z zaporedjem tu objavljenih prispevkov. V zgodovinsko-geografskem sklopu smo sprva določili obseg preučevanega območja, tj. Žumberka in Bele krajine s svojim neposrednim sosedjem. Vsebine tem vključujejo zgodovinsko-geografski razvoj meje, demografski razvoj prebivalstva izbranega območja in etničnost. Kot temeljni raziskovalni problem drugega, antropološko-etnološkega vsebinskega sklopa pa smo določili migracije in povratništva ter primerjavo poročnih strategij na območju zahodnega Žumberka in Gorjancev v sinhroni in diahroni perspektivi.

Čeprav tu zbrani prispevki vsebinsko malenkostno odstopajo od začetno oblikovanih ambicij, bo bralec zvedel dovolj, da si bo lahko oblikoval celovito predstavo o nekdanjem in sedanjem dogajanju na obmejni lokaciji Žumberka in Bele krajine. Namesto že velikokrat presojanega državnopravnega oblikovanja tega koščka sedanje slovensko-hrvaške meje bo v publikaciji zvedel, kako so Žumberčani in Marindolci upravljali z identitetnimi (samo)prispisi v času razpustitve Vojne krajine, ko je pripadnost njihovih ozemelj postala kamen spotike med upravami Avstrije oz. Kranjske in Ogrske oz. Hrvaške zlasti v drugi polovici 19. stoletja. Marko Zajc nas v tej zvezi poleg romantičnih potopisov o Žumberčanih seznanja s peticijo Žumberčanov za priključitev Kranjski v letih 1869–71, o živahnih presojah o Žumberčanih in Marindol-

cih, ki so potekale v Kranjskem deželnem zboru leta 1881, in o razpravah, ki so se odvijale glede peticij Žumberčanov, sprva za priključitev Hrvaški leta 1881, nato pa Kranjski v letih 1882–83. Navidez lahkotnemu vstopu »zgodovinske perspektive« v vsebinski sklop *Žumberčani – nekdanji in sedanji graničarji* sledita prispevka Damirova Josipoviča in Petra Repoluska, ki bralca temeljito seznanita z demografskimi in socialnogeografskimi značilnostmi grškokatoliškega prebivalstva v Žumberku in jugovzhodni Sloveniji. Regionalno-geografska analiza obravnavanega območja, ki ga na Hrvaškem predstavljajo območja nekdanjih občin Ozalj, Jastrebarsko (Jaska), Samobor, Karlovac in Duga Resa, v Sloveniji pa območja nekdanjih občin oziroma današnjih upravnih enot, Metlika, Črnomelj, Novo mesto, Krško in Brežice, zajema celotno območje Žumberka in Bela krajine s svojim neposrednim sosedjem in hkrati zaledjem. Samo območje zgodovinskega Žumberka, ki je danes skoraj v celoti na ozemlju sosednje Hrvaške, je sicer precej ožje, vendar je bila taka prostorska omejitev nujna, da se je ohranil širši geografski obmejni kontekst Žumberka in tudi Bele krajine. Šele na podlagi take prostorske opredelitve sta namreč avtorja lahko primerno ocenila demografski razvoj prebivalstva izbranega območja, obmejnost, etničnost, historično-geografski razvoj in geolingvistiko. Skratka, oblikovala sta zahteven referenčni okvir družbenih procesov, s pomočjo katerega bo lahko bralec presojal tudi parcialne vsebine bolj etnografsko zasnovanih prispevkov. Take so tri študije primerov. V prvi avtorica Jasna Čapo Žmegač postavi pod drobnogled splošen in že »tradicionalen« demografski trend izseljevanja Žumberčanov in z analizo današnjih zgodb migrantov povratnikov bralcu približa izkustvo marginaliziranega obmejnega prebivalstva. Konkretno resničnost pod statističnim površjem predstavita tudi Duška Knežević Hočevnar in Irena Rožman, ko presojata poročne prakse župljanov žumberške obmejne župnije v Radatovičih in slovenske v Velikih Brusnicah, pri čemer zlasti proučujeta vzroke endogamnih sklepanj zakonskih zvez Žumberčanov z Žumberčani in Brusničani z Brusničani.

Za konec bi rada poudarila še dvoje. Tu objavljeni izsledki udeležencev bilateralne skupine še zdaleč ne zajemajo vsega zbranega in analiziranega gradiva. S tega vidika je tematski sklop prvi korak na poti k obsežni znanstveni monografiji, ki se ji ne bomo odrekli. Ta korak pa nam je omogočilo uredništvo revije *Dve domovini*, za kar se mu iskreno zahvaljujem. Prav tako smo udeleženci projekta pri pisanju avtorskih prispevkov ugotovili, da zbrano gradivo in naše preliminarne analize odpirajo veliko več novih vprašanj, kot pa dajejo odgovorov na začetno oblikovane hipoteze. Predvsem neprecenljivi pogovori z informatorji so nas prepričali, da marsičesa ne vemo in da bi določene nekonkluzivne vsebine v prihodnje še kazalo preučiti. Pri tem računamo na nadaljnjo »odprtost« Žumberčanov in drugih informatorjev, ki so izkazali pripravljenost sodelovanja v raziskavi. Od njih smo se veliko naučili in ni pretirano, če jih gledamo kot enakovredne sodelavce projekta. Z njihovo pomočjo si želimo bolj kontinuiranega in ne zgolj enkratnega preučevanja. Eden izmed ciljev udeležencev projekta je namreč tudi oblikovanje modela interdisciplinarnega pristopa, ki vodi v sinergijo znanstvenoraziskovalnih rezultatov, skupnih podatkovnih zbirk in sodelova-

nje v uveljavljeni bilateralni oziroma mednarodni raziskovalni skupini. Upati je, da bo pričujoči tematski sklop marsikoga spodbudil k pogledu tudi zunaj mejá svojega »akademskega plemena in ozemlja«, pri čemer bo znal ovrednotiti prednosti in pomanjkljivosti večdisciplinarnega sodelovanja.

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The work pack *Žumberčani – nekdanji in sedanji graničarji* (People of Žumberk – the onetime and present-day border guards) is a set of contributions of the majority of cooperators in the bilateral Slovene-Croatian project *Populacijska dinamika ob slovensko-hrvaški meji: primer širšega obkolpskega prostora* (Population dynamics along the Slovene-Croatian border: the case of a broader space along the river Kolpa),<sup>5</sup> which the participants carried out during the years 2005 and 2006. I have already written with the help of co-workers<sup>6</sup> about the details of the content of the project, participants, and its precise course; this time I would like to point out some not yet uttered acknowledgments and the background of the joint enterprise.

Let me begin with a meaningful quotation by Damir Josipovič who wrote in one of the initial versions of his text for the present issue of this review that the bilateral project was in course from 2003 to 2007. And such is the perception on the duration of the project of the majority of participants. As it will be more than obvious to an attentive reader of all contributions of this by content completed project, such a work could not have been realised based on only a few “research visits” in Slovenia and Croatia as the Protocol of bilateral projects regulates for two years of research. Not exaggerated is the estimation that the majority of the here published contributions are mainly grounded in preliminary discussions between members of the research group and in researches, whether master’s or doctoral works, project work within fundamental and applicative projects or in the so-called programme groups. From this aspect, I thank sincerely as the holder of the project for the Slovene side all participants in the project, especially the authors of the here presented texts that persevered to the end; the publication of the scientific monograph was one of the more significant final goals of the bilateral project group.

To illustrate satisfactory and as complexly as possible the more than obvious depopulation process on the chosen location of the bordering area of Žumberk and Bela krajina, the project participants have decided to explain the phenomena of the

<sup>5</sup> The complete name of the project was *Populacijska dinamika ob slovensko-hrvaški meji: primer širšega obkolpskega prostora/Populacijska dinamika na slovensko-hrvatskoj granici: primjer širega pokupskog područja (BI-HR/04-05-002)*.

<sup>6</sup> Knežević Hočevar, Duška (2006). Prebivalstveno gibanje ob slovensko-hrvaški meji: primer pirskega obkolpskega prostora. In: Černelič Krošelj, Alenka (ed.), *Mesto in trg na meji : 9. vzporednice med slovensko in hrvaško etnologijo : [9.] hrvatsko-slovenske etnološke paralele*, (Knjižnica Glasnika Slovenskega etnološkega društva, 38), Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo, pp. 35–53.

so-called natural movement of population, migrations, recurrent migrations and marriages as well as their interactive social delimitation in a broader social-historical context in diachron (the last century and a half) and synchronal perspectives. From this viewpoint, it appeared it would be of necessity to analyse more contents and data, which demand deliberate group cooperation, especially the state-legal and administrative history of the broader region along the river Kolpa, accessible statistical data from the state archives, and data collected in field (interviews with informers). Only then, we could complexly explain the process of the formation of boundariness of the inhabitants of Žumberk and Bela krajina, establish causes, consequences and types of migrations in that region, and compare the cross-border marriage strategies in the regions of west Žumberk and Gorjanci. It is to hope the reader will be well acquainted with the promised.

In accordance with the theoretical and methodological orientation of the research group, we have divided the research into two thematic parts, which we follow with a sequence of the here published contributions as well. In the historical-geographical part, we have defined at first the size of the studied area, which is Žumberk and Bela krajina with their immediate neighbourhood. The theme contents include the historical-geographical development of the border, demographic trends in the population of chosen area, and ethnicity. As a fundamental research problem of the second, anthropologic-ethnological thematic pack, we have defined migrations and remigrations, and comparison of marriage strategies in the area of Žumberk and Gorjanci in synchronous and diachrone perspectives.

Although the here collected contributions in regard of content digress insignificantly from the initially formed ambitions, the reader will learn enough to be able to form an integral image on the onetime and present events on the bordering locations of Žumberk and Bela krajina. Instead of the many a times estimated state-administrative formation of this part of the actual Slovene-Croatian border, one will learn from the publication how the people of Žumberk and Marindol dealt with identity (self) attributions in the time of dissolution of Vojna krajina (Borderland) when the affiliation of their territories became a stumbling block between the administrations of Austria or Carniola and Hungary or Croatia, particularly in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Marko Zajc acquaints us in this respect, besides romantic travelogues on the people of Žumberk, with the petition of the Žumberk people for the annexation to Carniola in the years 1869–71; on brisk judgements of Žumberk and Marindol people, which were in course in the Carniolian province chamber in 1881, and on debates regarding the Žumberk people petitions, initially for the annexation to Croatia in 1881, and to Carniola in the years 1882–83. The apparently easy entrance of the “historical perspective” into the work pack *Žumberčani – nekdanji in sedanji graničarji* is followed by contributions of Damir Josipovič and Peter Repolusk, which acquaint the reader thoroughly with demographic and social-geographic characteristics of the Greek-Catholic population in Žumberk and southeast Slovenia. The regional-geographic analysis of the treated region, which is in Croatia represented by precincts

of former communes of Ozalj, Jastrebarsko (Jaska), Samobor, Karlovac and Duga Resa, and in Slovenia by the precincts of former communes or actual administrative units of Metlika, Črnomelj, Novo mesto, Krško and Brežice, includes the entire area of Žumberk and Bela krajina with their immediate vicinity and at the same time hinterland. The area of the historical Žumberk itself, which is today almost entirely on the territory of the neighbouring Croatia, is otherwise much narrower, yet, such a space limitation was necessary in order to preserve the broader geographical bordering context of Žumberk and Bela krajina as well. Only based on such territorial definition the authors could assess adequately the demographic trends in the population of the chosen region, bordering, ethnicity, historical-geographical development and geo-linguistics. In short, they have formed an exacting reference frame of social processes with the help of which the reader will be able to estimate partial contents of the more ethnographically schemed contributions as well. Such are three case studies. In the first, the author Jasna Čapo Žmegač places under the microscope the general and already “traditional” demographic trend of emigration of the Žumberk inhabitants, and by an analysis of the present-day migrants-remigrants reveals before the reader the experience of the marginalized bordering population. Concrete reality under the statistical average is presented by Duška Knežević Hočevar and Irena Rožman who estimate marriage practices in particular of the parishioners of the Žumberk bordering parish in Radatovići, and Slovene in Velike Brusnice whereat they estimate the causes for endogamous marriages among the people of Žumberk and among the people of Brusnice.

In the end, I would like to point out two more things. The here published findings by the bilateral group participants do not include by far all the collected and analysed material. From this aspect, the work pack is the first step on the way to a comprehensive scientific monograph, which we will not resign. This step was made possible by the editorial board of the review *Dve domovini*, for which I thank them sincerely. The project participants have also ascertained when writing the contributions that the collected material and our preliminary analyses open more new questions than give answers to the initially formed hypotheses. The invaluable interviews with informers in particular have convinced us that we do not know many a thing and that certain non-conclusive contents should be studied in the future. We rely upon further “openness” of the Žumberk people and other informers who were ready to take part in the research. We have learned a lot from them, and it is not exaggerated to consider them equal participants in the project. With their help, we desire a more continuous and not merely a single study. One of the goals of the project participants is namely the shaping of an interdisciplinary approach model, which leads to a synergy of scientific-research results, common databases, and to cooperation in the asserted bilateral or international research group. It is to hope that the present work-pack will encourage many a person to a prospect outside the borders of their “academic tribe and territory”, whereat they will be capable of evaluating the advantages and deficiencies of multidisciplinary cooperation.