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Formation of cultural images of Slovenia in Czech journalism of the nineteenth century and their traces in contemporary memory

Abstract: During the nineteenth century, in the Czech press we can see the formation of symbolic images of Slovenes and Slovene culture and its history and culture that accompanied the development of mutual awareness of both countries and cultures. The intensity of these ties culminated at the beginning of the twentieth century in all areas of the contact between the two countries. During the twentieth century, thanks to both world wars and the political changes they caused, as well as due to the estrangement of both regimes during the 1950s, these relations underwent partial degradation, accompanied by erosion of awareness of Slovenian culture in what was then Czechoslovakia. The period after 1991 is accompanied by active reminders of entirely or partially vanished symbols and narratives of mutual relations (Plečnik, Majar Ziljski, Lego, Gallus, Kvederová, etc.) through events (exhibitions, conferences) or by building places of memory (memorial plaques, repair of gravestones, etc.). The study attempts to point out the evolution of some of these symbolic images and their forgetting/remembrance today.

Keywords: cultural images, Slovenian culture, cultural stereotypes, Czech media, Czech-Slovenian relations

The creation of permanent cultural images and stereotypes in a specific culture reflects the nature of intercultural relations, their past and transformation over time, and can speak, now and retroactively, about the receiving culture itself, its orientation, and preferences. They are reflected very well in literary texts, journalism, or other cultural expressions. These then adopt these images over time, can petrify and transform them, and subsequently pass them on. In is precisely in the cultural images of Slovenes that we can easily see the dynamics of cultural convergence and divergence over time, which affected the transfer of memory of cultural symbols in space and time. In this specific case, cultural proximity changed from existence within one national unit (the Habsburg monarchy and its Cisleithania prior to 1918), through the coverage of the symbolic value of the name during the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (plus until 1941 Slovenia was called Drava Banovina), and finally the appearance of an entirely new independent state on the map of Europe after 1991.

Images and cultural stereotypes are always created in some contemporary cultural context and also enter a cultural context.¹ They thus also speak of the condition and character of domestic culture on which the creators base themselves (Joep Leersen considers the pragmatic view of impact on the intended audience²). In something foreign, a cultural milieu often seeks familiar motifs, answers or confirmation of one's answers to contemporary questions and notices analogies with perception of the world in both milieus. At the same time, it is evident that these cultural images do not remain constant, but rather undergo change, and when the countries grow more distant and cultural ties are severed, evaporate, disappear, and later can appear in a different manner or form. It is this question of dynamics in the discovery and disappearance of cultural images of Slovenia in Czech journalism that we will focus on.

One of the most common motifs in the depiction of Slovenian culture in the first half of the nineteenth century in Czech culture is archaism. Interest in one's own past, reconstruction and self-confirmation of one's place and importance in it (geographically, geopolitically, and culturally) is one of the key questions of Czech national revival (it is reflected in, among other things, in the "manuscripts dispute", in motifs used when painting the National Theatre, or the transformation of public space by building monuments to important historical Czech figures). In the case of Slovenian culture, this motif is the archaic initiation ritual of Carinthian dukes, which in Czech journalism shall

1 The methodology employed in examining stereotypes is described in detail, for example, by Joep Leersen in the introduction to the publication BELLER, Manfred, LEERSSSEN, Joep (eds), *Imagology: The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007.

2 BELLER, Manfred, LEERSSSEN, Joep (eds), *Imagology: The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007, p. 27.

repeatedly confirm the ancient nature of the Slovenian nation (similarly as we also assured ourselves of ours), and became the historical narrative we most often associated with the Slovenians: the poet Milota Zdirad Polák (1788–1856) already spoke of it in his travelogue “Cesta do Itálie” [Journey to Italy] (written in 1815–1818, then printed in 1820–1822 in *Dobroslav* magazine)³, poet Ján Kollár (1793–1852) in a sonnet in the epic poem *Slávy dcera*⁴ [Daughter of Slavia] (1832), doctor and author Vilém Dušan Lambl (1824–1895) in his article about a visit to Carinthia in *Poutník* [Pilgrim] magazine⁵ from 1847, etc.

Later we find this archaic image repeated in our country, including in texts about Carinthia written here in the 1880s and 1890s by writer and teacher Anna Řeháková (1850–1937). Her perspective of the Alpine areas of Carinthia and Upper Carniola is one of an archaic community minimally affected by modern civilization, and hence as the relic of an idyll, a sort of harmony of ancient times, disturbed by the nationalist oppression exercised by the German population. This idyllic view gradually starts to also dominate in the view of the generous and peaceful population.

This archaism is also a foundation for the ideologies of contemporary Slovenian nationalist movements such as the “hervards” who use it to build a kind of alternative concept of Slovenian history and see themselves as guardians of the legacy of the old “Slovenian” Carantania, which they somewhat non-historically take to be a source of national identity and today’s Austrian Carinthia with Zollfeld (Slovenian: Gosposvetsko polje), where the nucleus of the Carintanian state lay as the cradle of the Slovenian nation.⁶

In light of the fact that Carinthia soon lost its independence and became part of the Frankish empire, and later the territory occupied by the Slovenians was also part of political entities ruled by royal families perceived as foreign (the Habsburgs, etc.), this period was not depicted in historical images, including the role of the important Hungarian, Czech, and imperial queen Barbara (1392–1451), wife of Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg from a family of counts from Cilli, which at that time was one of the most powerful families in Central Europe.⁷

3 POLÁK, Milota Zdirad, *Cesta do Itálie*, part 1, Prague 1907.

4 In the version published in Buda in 1845, it is sonnet 292, in the version published in 1962 it is Canto III, sonnet 26.

5 LAMBL, Vilém Dušan, “Zpomínky z Korutan”, *Poutník* 1847, p. 370.

6 Cf. KOZÁR, Aleš, *Nová média a některé formy vlastenectví a nacionalismu v současném Slovinsku*, [in:] KOUBA, Miroslav, MAGINCOVÁ, Dagmar, ŘÍHA, Ivo (eds.), *Kontexty propagandy*, Univerzita Pardubice 2012, p. 152.

7 More on her importance and the contradictory interpretation of her historical role in: DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Daniela, *Čierna kráľovná Barbora Celjská*, Bratislava: Rak and Historický ústav SAV, 2013.

Another motif that is connected by us with Slovenians at this time is an image of Trieste, a city that during the course of the nineteenth century was growing rapidly, especially thanks to trade and marine transport (for example, this is already mentioned by poet Ján Kollár in his 1841 travelogue *Cestopis obsahující cestu do Horní Italie a odtud přes Tyrolsko a Bavorsko se zvláštním ohledem na slavjanské živly roku 1841 konanou a sepsanou od Jana Kollára* [A travelogue containing a trip to Upper Italy and from there across Tyrol and Bavaria taking special note of Slovenian elements in 1841 undertaken and written by Jan Kollár]. Here, however, Czech intellectuals tend to notice the rather subservient role of Slovenians: “In general life Italian is starting to overtake Slovenian, and has almost come to dominate it. While one can hear Slavic sounds from the mouths of the people in the streets and squares, but these seem to be more foreign than local.”⁸ While visiting the city, writer of poetry and prose Jan Neruda (1834–1891) observes how Slovenian identity is being squeezed out by Italian identity: “The brutal hand of Italinessimos of Trieste, eternally flattered, has committed many atrocities on the local Slavs. [...] Sometimes it seems that the poor Slavs don’t even dare sigh to themselves in their own language. You can only with difficulty convince an old Slavic flower-seller to give you a price in Slovenian, as she has experienced too much abuse.”⁹ In contrast, Czechs hardly appreciate the cultural fermentation that in Trieste led to the creation of an entire number of associations and societies supporting Slovenian linguistic and cultural identity, often even earlier than in Ljubljana. In Czech journalism, Trieste is depicted as seaside location (Lambl, Neruda, Hálek, et al.), which increased after the railway from Vienna to Trieste was completed and put into operation in 1857.

During the entire nineteenth century, Catholics strove to link Slovenes with Anton Martin Slomšek (1800–1862), Bishop of Maribor (Lavant), primarily as an eloquent preacher. Among other things, a number of his speeches and sermons were translated into Czech. This applies in the same measure to the Prague Archdiocese as well as the Olomouc Archdiocese, hence at the very least to the Czech-language portion of the priesthood. His importance is stressed not only due to his theological qualities, but also the national and educational aspects of his work: “If it were not for selfless writer-priests who published religious education and other generally educational as well as entertaining books for the people [...], today there would perhaps be nary a trace of the Slovenes. Slovenian priests sparked a love for their homeland and their despised language

8 KOLLÁR, Ján, *Cestopis obsahující cestu do Horní Italie a odtud přes Tyrolsko a Bavorsko se zvláštním ohledem na slavjanské živly roku 1841 konanou a sepsanou od Jana Kollára*, Prague: I.L. Kober, 1862, p. 70.

9 NERUDA, Jan, „*Obrazy z ciziny*,“ *Spisy Jana Nerudy*, Vol. VIII, Prague: ČS, 1950, p. 249.

in people, helped purify a defiled language, gave it gravity and importance in social life, and thus with the help of some lay writers, resuscitated neglected Slovenian literature.”¹⁰ Credit for these translations is primarily due to Moravian priests František Sušil (1804–1868) and his successor, Matěj Procházka (1811–1889), who in 1864 printed Slomšek’s extensive biography in a calendar entitled *Moravan*.¹¹ Obituaries that were published here after Slomšek’s death, either in the main catholic magazine, *Blahověst* [Good news], or in book form, sound entirely like hagiographies.¹² Translator Vojtěch Pakosta (1846–1892) or, for example, František Štingl (1868–1944), priests from the Prague Archdiocese dealt with either Slomšek himself or his work. We can primarily find their articles in the conservative review *Vlast* [Homeland] (1884–1941), which in the 1890s published, among other things, a series of articles entitled “Listy ze slovinských vlastí” [Letters from Slovenian countries].¹³

Large group excursions by Czechs to Slovenia in the 1890s allowed a number of Czechs to get to know the land, who then returned repeatedly and reported their experiences in the Czech press – for example, articles by journalist and Balkan expert Josef Jakub Toužimský (1848–1903) in *Zlatá Praha* [Golden Prague] magazine.¹⁴ This thus gave rise to opportunities not only for the development of large-scale tourism between both countries, but also business in this area. In our country, Slovenia was presented as an idyllic landscape with hospitable inhabitants, as one can read in travel articles and books by the aforementioned Anna Řeháková or in the literary works of writer Gabriela Preissová (1962–1946). In both cases, the dark side of this idyll is nationalist oppression by Germans. They both write about it as an explicit theme in their journalistic and literary texts (see, for example, the book of stories *Korutanské povídky* [Carinthian stories] by Gabriela Preissová from 1895¹⁵). Here, according to them, the German majority denies Slovenes the right to be educated in their own language (the story “Stinný apoštol” [Shadowy apostle]), and schools and the Church become instruments of Germanization of rural Carinthia.

10 JEŽEK, Jan, 1883: *Z dějin křesťanství mezi Slovany. Part I. Slované jižní*, Brno: Benediktinská knihtiskárna, p. 91.

11 PROCHÁZKA, Matěj, 1864: „Antonín Martin Slomšek,” *Moravan, kalendář na rok přestupný 1864*, Brno: V komisi u Antonína Nitsche, p. 223.

12 SLOMŠEK, Anton Martin, 1876: *Slomšek-ovy Homílie na epištoly roku církevního*, Brno: Škola Božského Srdce Páně, 1876.

13 Cf. KOZÁR, Aleš, „Slovenska literatura in češki katoliški tisk 19. in prve polovice 20. stoletja” [in:] PAVLIČ, Darja (ed.), *Obdobja 40. Slovenska poezija*, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, Ljubljana 2021, p. 469–475. ISBN 978–961–06–0542–3.

14 TOUŽIMSKÝ, Josef Jakub, “V bílé Lublani,” *Zlatá Praha*, No 36, 29 July 1887, p. 574.

15 PREISSOVÁ, Gabriela, *Korutanské povídky Gabriely Preissovové*, Prague: J. Otto, [1895].

Historian Irena Gantar Godina called the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century was “one of the most fruitful periods of Czech-Slovenian cooperation”¹⁶. Starting in 1898, *Alpský věstník* [Alpine journal] is published, a monthly published by the Czech Committee of the Slovenian Alpine Society (founded in 1897), which reflected the activities of the society focused on cooperation with Slovenians.¹⁷ Soon this Czech committee began to issue very valuable guidebooks for the Slovenian part of the Alps for Czech hikers.

The daily press also reflects a number of social events that took place at the close of the century, primarily in Prague. These included promotional events, balls, photo projection evenings, cultural evenings (in 1900, for example, a gala supper was held on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Slovenian poet France Prešeren), and many others. The proceeds from a number of these events were used, for example, to build a Czech chalet in the Alps, to cover publication costs, etc.

Aside from the aforementioned specialized and touristic publications, an entire number of promotional articles more or less for the general public were published in the Czech press, describing what it was like to stay in the Alps and the beneficial effects of the climate there on human health. For example, Slavist František Prusík (1845–1905) and his wife Ludmila Prusíková (1852–1925), were enthusiastic promoters of trips to Slovenia and described their vacations in articles in the *Národní listy* daily paper.¹⁸ A similar role was played by texts by Josef Penížek (1858–1932), translator of Slovenian poet France Prešeren into Czech, who published a series of sketches entitled “Na jih” [Going South] in *Zlatá Praha* magazine.¹⁹ During this time Slovenian-language magazines were even being published in Prague: *Domači prijatelj* (Domestic friend, 1904–1914, edited by writer Zofka Kvederová) or *Napredna misel* (Forward thinking, 1912–1914, edited by psychologist Mihailo Rostohar).²⁰

A trip by Slavist Adolf Černý (1864–1952) to the Rezija Valley in the spring of 1898 also played a significant role for Czech research into Slovenes. He described it in his brochure “V údolí Resie” [In the Rezija Valley] (1899) and then in an article in *Slovanský přehled* [Slavic overview]²¹ which he was edit-

16 GANTAR GODINA, Irena, “Slovensko-češki stiki do 1918,” [in:] PÁNEK, Jaroslav (ed.), *Samostatný stát mezi většími sousedy – podnět pro slovinskou politiku a kulturu*. Prague: Slovanská knihovna při Národní knihovně ČR, 1999, p. 36. 47.

17 PELC, Martin, “Působení českého odboru Slovinského alpského spolku. Z každodennosti česko-slovinských vztahů před rokem 1914,” *Slovanský přehled* 94, 2008, no. 1.

18 E.g. PRUSÍK, František, “Na Bled!”, *Národní listy*, 16 June 1900, p. 2.; PRUSÍKOVÁ, Ludmila, “Z pobytu na Bledu,” *Národní listy*, 10 January 1900, p. 1, 11 January 1900, p. 1.

19 *Zlatá Praha*, 1913, No 32–37.

20 URBANČIČ, Boris, *Česko-slovinské kulturní styky*, Prague: Euroslavica, 1995, p. 34.

21 ČERNÝ, Adolf, “V údolí Resie,” Prague: F. Šimáček, 1899; ALSO, “V údolí Resie,” *Slovanský přehled II*, 1900, p. 16–26, 79–84, 113–118. Regarding the topic cf. also: KALETA, Petr.

ing at the time. He was interested in the local dialect, folklore traditions, and last but not least, social conditions. Černý also wrote about his texts in other magazines such as *Květy*, [Blossoms], *Zlatá Praha*, or the aforementioned *Slovanský přehled*, which featured many important texts about Slovenian writers. *Slovanský přehled* played an important role in designating France Prešeren a leading figure of Slovenian literature in our country. For his contacts with Czech poets František Ladislav Čelakovský (1799–1852) and Karel Hynek Mácha (1810–1836) were what made it possible to speak of an analogy to current cultural cooperation even in the 1830s.²² For Czech readers, Prešeren became an emblematic figure of Slovenian literature, thanks to his prominence often presented as an analogy to Mácha.

In her study, Slovenian literary historian Božena Orožen summarizes the key themes of nineteenth century Czech journalism in relation to Slovenia as follows: “admiration for natural beauty and concern for the fate of the nation or at least sympathy for Slovenes”²³. We have drawn attention to proof of both in the text. However, we also find interest in individual symbolic historical periods and referential cultural figures. If in his methodological analysis Leersen mentions the frequent duplicity of cultural images of the other in the sense of a positive image and a negative image,²⁴ it needs to be said that in our case we find no negative analogy. Most likely this is caused by the effort to search for and find in Slovenes an approximation of our own culture, representing the same values and interests, a close culture sharing the idea of “Slavic mutuality”.

Československo-jihoslovanská liga [Czechoslovakia-South Slavic League], founded in 1921 with the aim of strengthening mutual cooperation, published the eponymous magazine *Československo-jihoslovanská liga*, later renamed to *Československo-jihoslovanská revue* [Czechoslovakia-South Slavic Review] (1930–1940).²⁵ It reflected the development of economic, political, and cultural cooperation including tourism, which had been muted by war, and even though the association and the magazine were conceived as “South Slavic”, Czech/Slovenian topics were more than plentiful. The texts were mostly informative and aimed at the public with proclamations of “bonding Czechoslovak-South Slavic brotherhood”.²⁶ In this aspect, inter-war journalism continued with the

“Adolf Černý in njegov prispevek k spoznavanju Slovencev v Reziji v češkem okolju,” *Acta Histriae*, 2014, No 3, p. 633.

22 VINKLER, Jonatan, „Posnemovalci, zavezniki in tekmeči,“ Koper: Annales, 2006.

23 OROŽEN, Božena, „Slovenski kraji in ljudje v spisih starejših čeških leposlovcov,“ [in:] *Celjski zbornik*, Vol. 13, No 1, 1968, p. 171.

24 LEERSEN, op. cit., p. 29.

25 KOLÁŘOVÁ, Kateřina. Časopisy Československo-jihoslovanské ligy: sonda do pramenů k dějinám meziválečných československo-jugoslávských styků. *Porta Balcanica* 2015, vol. 7, no. 1, p. 47.

26 Ibid, p. 52.

rhetoric of times past. However, changes in the borders of countries after the disintegration of Austria-Hungary in 1918 meant that Trieste definitively became culturally Italian in Czech minds. Proof of this are works such as those by Jan Severin (1891–1980), who in his collection of travel sketches about Terst *Na průsečíku Evropy* [On the intersection of Europe] (1956) Trieste mentions Slovenes and their presence in Trieste and its vicinity only quite marginally. The prior anti-Germanification tone and emphasis on cultural and national archaism, symbols of the national revival period, also disappeared from Czech texts. Literary figures remain a cultural symbol, primarily F. Prešeren, supplemented by the frequently translated Ivan Cankar (1876–1918), whose works were also frequently performed on Czech theatrical stages.

The long period of culturally and economically fruitful cooperation was interrupted by World War II and then the 1950s. Despite the fact that conditions relaxed after that, it was still difficult to travel abroad, as evidenced in correspondence between Czechs and Slovenes archived in the National and University Library in Ljubljana, where Czechs often ask their Slovene friends to send an invitation, be it for themselves or a friend. This partial restriction on mutual relations understandably weakened Czech awareness of Slovenia, its culture, and history. A similar deficit can also be sensed due to limited opportunities for the publication of books translated from Slovene literature, especially contemporary poetry, which were at least partly replaced by magazine articles, published primarily in *Světová literatura*, which published “almost a hundred Slovenia-related articles [... wherein] a number of featured works had no chance of being translated into Czech prior to November 1989.”²⁷

Historian Jaroslav Pánek assessed this awareness of Slovenes at the beginning of the 1990s as follows: “While ten years ago few in the Czech lands knew about Slovenia, for from far away the Slovenes merged with the somewhat amorphous mass of ethnically indeterminate Yugoslavs, since the beginning of the 1990s at least some information about them has entered the consciousness of at least slightly educated Czechs.”²⁸ Pánek also mentioned one stereotype about Slovenia from that time, which appears in people with personal experience with Slovenia to this day, as the “Switzerland of Central Europe”.²⁹ It is evident that the earlier idealism had evaporated from the image of mutual relations, leaving behind only pragmatism as the consequence of the economization

27 KODET, Josef, „Recepce slovinské literatury v revue Světová literatura (1956–1996),“ [in:] JENSTERLE-DOLEŽALOVÁ, Alenka, *Vzájemným pohledem: česko-slovinské a slovinsko-české styky ve 20. století*. Prague: Národní knihovna ČR – Slovanská knihovna, 2011, p. 175.

28 PÁNEK, Jaroslav, “Slovinsko na sklonku druhého tisíciletí,” [in:] PÁNEK, Jaroslav (ed.), *Samostatný stát mezi většími sousedy – podnět pro slovinskou politiku a kulturu*, Prague: Slovanská knihovna při Národní knihovně ČR, 1999, p. 3.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

of thought,³⁰ characterizing the relationship of Czechs with other Slavic nations as well.

Up to now the “ambassadors” of Slovenian themes in the Czech lands were primarily literary scientists, historians, and researchers, especially František Benhart (1924–2006). It was Benhart who tried to present leading Slovenian works and authors (such as Drago Jančar, Aleš Debeljak, Tomaž Šalamun, and many others) and after many years of limited availability of Slovenian authors and not very many book translations into Czech, he drew the attention of the Czech literary public to Slovenian literature.

The new circumstances after the fall of the Communist regime resulted in significant growth in tourism in both countries, and hence increased interest in travel books. However, most guides published here during this time were of foreign origin, usually translated from English or German (guidebook series such as Lonely Planet, Rough Guides, Baedeker, etc.). For various reasons including the varying approach of publishers to the editorial process, these are often of quite variable quality, including linguistic. Inconsistency and errors in the use of Slovenian exonyms in Czech show that they are no longer firmly entrenched in the consciousness of Czech speakers. This is typical for declensions used when referring to the capital city of Slovenia: in addition to the only correct form *Lublaň*, the Czech national corpus also includes the forms: *do Ljubljany* [to Ljubljana], *Návštěvníci Ljubljaně* [Visitors to Ljubljana], *Ljubljanou* [through Ljubljana], *v Ljubljani* [in Ljubljana] or *Ljublana*.³¹ Slovenia is evidently also the only Slavic country that Czech speakers have a problem in naming correctly. This goes completely against the context of the nineteenth century, when the city of Ljubljana was regularly labelled in Czech texts with the *epiteton constans* of “white Ljubljana” as an analogy to the label of “Golden Prague”, still in use today. At the same time we see that the formerly common names of Bělák for Villach and Celovec for Klagenfurt have also disappeared from use.

Several travel magazines also appeared on the Czech market – aside from the traditional *Lidé a země* [People and the Earth] and *Turista* [Tourist] one can also mention *Koktejl* [Cocktail], *Lidé a hory* [People and the mountains] or *Země světa* [Countries of the world], which occasionally also published texts on Slovenia, but in general tended to prefer more remote and exotic destinations. Following the advent of the internet, travelogues in great part moved to this virtual space and take various and sundry forms, from a list of experiences on one’s vacation to (semi-)commercial texts from travel agencies.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Cf. KOZÁR, Aleš, „Slovinská toponyma v českém jazykovém prostředí,“ *Opera Slavica*, Brno: Masarykova univerzita, XXIII, 2013, No 4, p. 233.

In 1996 a new symbol for mutual Czech-Slovenian relations was found: the architect Plečnik, whose major retrospective exhibition took place in that year at the Prague Castle. A number of academic monographs and articles were then devoted to him as well as many popular texts, for example by Zdeňek Lukeš in the *Lidové noviny* daily paper, or television documentaries, including *Drahý Mistře* [Dear Sir] by Pavel Koutecký (1996), “Dílo Josipa Plečnika – Mezi Lublaní a Prahou” [The work of Josip Plečnik – Between Ljubljana and Prague] from the *Národní klenoty* [National jewels] series (2017) or the popular *Šumné stopy* [Rustling traces] by David Vávra (about Slovenia in 2012 and about Serbia in 2018). In the regions, Slovenian art historian and ambassador to the Czech Republic Damjan Prelovšek presented Plečnik’s work through photo exhibitions. The Czech public began to connect Plečnik with labels such as “world-famous”³² or “foremost European architect”³³, “excellent Slovenian architect”³⁴, etc., he was mentioned on the occasion of various and sundry anniversaries, and closely linked to the first Czechoslovak president, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937).

New Slovenian films were also featured regularly, for example at the film festival in Karlové Vary, as well as contemporary and older art. Along with literature losing its prestigious role in the public space and its retreat to a position more akin to a subculture, Slovenian writers also disappeared from general awareness, even though, for example, practically all works by the currently most-translated Slovenian writer and essayist, Drago Jančar (*1948), have been translated. Through scientific conferences, for example, the academic community is striving to restore awareness of half-forgotten names that played an important role in Czech-Slovenian cultural relations, such as Jan Václav Lego, Marija Majar Ziljski, Zofka Kvederová, etc. Success in popular culture was achieved only by the rock band Laibach, which regularly plays concerts in the Czech Republic when on tour.

The absence of other shared cultural images elicits questions as to how capable of creating symbology Czech-Slovenian relations currently are, that is, which ones exceed the threshold for the creation of broader disseminations of symbols and stereotypes, and by how much. There is also the question of the degree to which a general level of education and awareness of other cultures

32 ŘEZNIČKOVÁ, Alena, „Architekt Plečnik ovlivnil tvář Prahy, honoráře od prezidenta nepřijal,“ *IDnes*, 7 January 2017. URL: <https://www.idnes.cz/bydleni/architektura/architekt-plecnik.A170105_225716_architektura_rez>.

33 [-kk-]. “Drahý mistře,“ *Filmový přehled*, URL: <<https://www.filmovyprehled.cz/cs/film/9024/drahy-mistre>>.

34 KUHAR, Peter, MAREŠOVÁ, Milena M., “Skromný architekt světového významu Josip Plečnik: ‘Nejměňte me nikdy...’ *Český rozhlas Vltava*, 18 March 2017, URL: <<https://vltava.rozhlas.cz/skromny-architekt-svetoveho-vyznamu-josip-plecnik-nejmenujte-me-nikdy-5342502>>.

and nations plays a role, and the share the social group of academics and experts that evidently played a role in the creation of these stereotypes in the nineteenth century has today in the creation of stereotypes. Similarly, it seems that the role of the media is more of one of petrification rather than initiation. The dynamic of manifestations of intercultural relations, as we attempted to outline in this paper, thus offers important supplementation of Leersen's concept of cultural stereotypes.

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