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## ЕТНОГРАФСКОГ ИНСТИТУТА

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## **Colours of the New Face of Serbia: National Symbols and Popular Music\***

In this paper I address nationalist iconography in Serbian popular music, especially the role of women as the symbols of nation building. Case in point is the victory of Serbian representative Marija Serifovic in Eurovision Song Contest in 2007. I analyze the way power struggle and strategic use of the differences are embodied and embedded through a media figure of Marija Serifovic in the process of showing the “new face of Serbia”.

*Key words:*

nationalism, popular music, new face of Serbia, female media figure, subaltern, mediated selves

This paper is concerned with addressing nationalist iconography in Serbian popular music conveyed through female media figures. Case in point is the victory of Serbian representative Marija Serifovic (Marija Šerifović) in Eurovision Song Contest in 2007. This victory got a special attention in European media because a winner was from (another) postsocialist country,<sup>1</sup> because she is Roma (therefore, belonging to an ethnic group that is often a target of racism in Serbia) and because her performance was characterized as queer (or lesbian), which automatically lead to labelling her sexual orientation the same way. It has had a special symbolic weight in a Serbian society where nationalist and homophobic discourses are very strong. My starting premise is that in this context, Marija Serifovic can be viewed as a subaltern, or as a representative of inner Other(s) in Serbian society. At the

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<sup>1</sup> I say “another” because majority of the winners in recent years come from the postsocialist countries.



same time, she becomes a symbol of a “new face of Serbia”, that is, a national symbol, who is at the same time supposed to indicate changes in international image of Serbia and a distance from the militaristic and nationalistic outset that marked the imagery of the first phase of the postsocialist transition of Serbia in the nineties. Precisely, I offer a discursive “reading” of cultural-political narration that surrounded Marija’s performance and victory in Serbia.

Research questions that guide this reading will be: how is a figure of acceptable inner Other created in Serbian media? How does it relate to the creation of national symbols? In which space and under which conditions subaltern get an opportunity to “speak” in Serbian postsocialist and (post)nationalist society? Furthermore, I will try to answer how a foreign gaze (in this case, international Eurovision audience) prompts an exoticizing differences in national (self)representation, especially for the postsocialist countries in the context of EU integrations (with this victory of Serbian representative as a case in point).

This analysis draws on recent work of anthropologists working on mass media. Here, mass media is understood as representing and shaping cultural values of society. This approach attempts to see media “not so much as definers of reality but as dynamic sites over struggles for representation, and complex space in which subjectivities are constructed and identities are contested.”<sup>2</sup> Therefore, aim of the paper is to show how “benign” musical contest becomes a polygon for power struggle and strategic use of the differences, embodied and embedded through a media figure of Marija Serifovic.

After overview of theoretical apparatus I use, I will situate this case in the network of discursive practices that constituted (around) it. Then I will point to the different signifying systems shaping those practices, and identify political interests involved in this “collective national celebration”.<sup>3</sup> Through an analysis of the figure of Marija Serifovic and the cultural-political narration surrounding her victory, I will try to analyze staging of the subaltern as mediated selves in and through international media spectacle such as Eurovision Song Contest.

## **Mediated Selves in International Media Spectacle**

From the very beginning, Eurovision Song Contest (from here on referred to as ESC) has been the spectacle orchestrated by political strategies: creation of European Union by six leading western states, then strengthening of western dominance through increasing number of participating states and finally, the presence of newly formed states of former USSR and former Yugoslavia.<sup>4</sup> In the

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<sup>2</sup> Debra Spitulnik, *Anthropology and Mass Media*, Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 22, 1993, 296.

<sup>3</sup> Nikola Tošić, *Marija Šerifović pobedila za sve nas*, Blagostanje, Beograd, May 13, 2007. <http://www.blagostanje.com/marija-serifovic-pobedila-za-sve-nas/>, accessed April 12, 2009.

<sup>4</sup> Number of participants grew from 7 at the first ESC in Lugano in 1956 to 43 in Belgrade in 2008.

current constellation of power relations among the European states, Eurovision is supposed to dramatize and symbolically resolve conflicts such as the accommodation of eastern, postsocialist states in an enlarged Europe or the capacity of smaller states to compete on equal terms with large European powers.

As Miroslava Lukic-Krstanovic (Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović) argues, on the level of state and international spectacle, ideological order is established in the positioning of a song and complete performance as a *national cause*, i.e., musical fabrication of the nation.<sup>5</sup> There could be said to have evolved two attitudes towards the event. The Western, more ironic stance towards the competition, with its camp ideology etc. can be seen as opposed to more strategic attitude of the participating nations from Eastern Europe.<sup>6</sup> However, despite observed differences in approaches and announced withdrawals of some of western participants, each nation-state still invests desire, expectation and, of course, money into representation on multinational display. There is a strong tendency towards simulation in such representations, and a foreign gaze which exoticizes difference compels a pressure to such a simulation. According to Lukic-Krstanovic, enjoyment and seductiveness of ESC has turned into national exaltation and patriotism, thus estranging from music mission and competition. Anthony Shay extends Arjun Appadurai's claim that the state exerts "taxonomic control over difference" into a case that state sponsorship of a performance implies that the nation as a whole is being represented.<sup>7</sup> This logic could be applied to Eurovision, which similarly takes place under the sponsorship of states. However, Appadurai goes on to argue that "taxonomic control over difference" is only one way in which nation-states exploit transnational media flows. They also create "international spectacle[s] to domesticate difference", and hold out "the fantasy of self-display on some sort of global or cosmopolitan stage" to small groups.<sup>8</sup> This should be taken into account in the case of Eurovision. Problem of representation of these small groups, of national and different social minorities, becomes of special relevance.

Problem of representability of margins - precisely subaltern, and especially subaltern women – is addressed by Gayatri Spivak in her seminal article "Can the Subaltern Speak?".<sup>9</sup> She argues that these categories are the effects of discourse,

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<sup>5</sup> Мирослава Лукић-Крстановић, *Музички спектакл у излогу политике и производња опчињености*, Зборник радова са бугарско-српске конференције Сlike културе некад и сад: Свакодневна култура у постсоцијалистичком периоду, Београд 2008, 121.

<sup>6</sup> Göran Bolin, *Visions of Europe: Cultural Technologies of Nation-states*, International Journal of Cultural Studies, Vol. 9, 2006, 195.

<sup>7</sup> Anthony Shay, *Choreographic Politics: State Folk Dance Companies, Representation and Power*, CT: Wesleyan University Press, Middleton, 2002, 28-9; Arjun Appadurai, Disjuncture and Difference. Global Cultural Economy, Chapter 2 in: *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, 1996, 39.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Can the subaltern speak?*, in: C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (eds.) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Illinois 1988, reprinted in: P. Williams & L. Chrisman

rather than identifiable realities. Following this argument, I analyze a position of the subaltern in media spectacle as an effect of media discourses.

Departing from Carl Marx's *Eighteen Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Spivak analyses the problem of "representation" of the oppressed as the subject of knowledge, who "cannot represent themselves: [but] must be represented".<sup>10</sup> She refers to the double meaning of representation as it is distinguished in German, where it signifies both *vertreten* or representation as "speaking for" (as in politics) and *darstellen* or re-presentation as portrayal, as in art or philosophy.<sup>11</sup> As Sandra Ponzanesi explains, the two senses of representation – referring on the one hand to state formation and the law, and on the other to the theory of the subject – are related, according to Spivak, but also irreducibly discontinuous. They should never be conflated.<sup>12</sup> Spivak points out that critical theorists cannot afford to overlook these two senses in the category of representation:

They must note how the staging of the world in representation – its scene of writing, its *Darstellung* – dissimulates the choice of and need for "heroes", paternal proxies, agents of power – *Vertretung*.<sup>13</sup>

Although Spivak concludes that in the current constellation of power relations subaltern cannot speak, she at the same time makes an intervention into the representation of the subaltern, calling for taking into account an aesthetic dimension of political representation.

To analyze this way of the representation of the inner Other/subaltern in the international media spectacle through the figure of Marija Serifovic, I will use the concept of mediated selves developed by Sonia Van Wichelen and Marc De Leew.<sup>14</sup> They argue that effectiveness of the phenomena such as popularity of the symbolic representatives of the margins in media depend on a complex construction of a coming together of what they describe as mediated selves. These selves reflect strategic selves in a stable and static way that is instrumentalized both by the media as by these celebrities themselves. These include the mediated self as "other" and the mediated self as "one of us".<sup>15</sup>

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(eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, Harvester/Wheatsheaf, New York 1994, 66-111.

<sup>10</sup> Op. cit., 71. Her work is actually informed by feminism, psychoanalysis, Marxism and deconstructionism.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>12</sup> Sandra Ponzanesi, *The Arena of the Colony. Phoolan Devi and the Postcolonial Critique*, in: Rosemarie Buikema and Iris van der Tuins (eds), *Doing Gender in Media, Art and Culture.*, Routledge, London 2009.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>14</sup> Sonia Van Wichelen and Marc De Leeuw, "Please, Go Wake Up!" *Submission, Hirsi Ali, and the "War on Terror" in the Netherlands*, *Feminist Media Studies*, Volume 5(3), November 2005, 325-340.

<sup>15</sup> S. Van Wichelen and M. De Leew, op. cit., 329.

Applying these concepts to the case of Marija Serifovic, I examine the way that representation of subaltern and building of national symbols are simultaneously conveyed in these mediated selves.

## Victory of the “New face of Serbia”

In 2007 Serbian representative Marija Serifovic won Eurovision Song Contest (ESC) in Helsinki, singing a song *Molitva (Prayer)*. That inspired numerous manifestations of national euphoria in Serbia. Symbolic value of her victory gained special weight by association of her performance and her sexuality as lesbian and her origin with Roma communities in Serbia.<sup>16</sup> It was argued that this was a victory of Serbian sexual and ethnic minorities as well.<sup>17</sup> In order to illustrate importance and attention it acquired in social imagination, I will describe briefly the events that surrounded this victory, as well as the ways in which this victory was appropriated and represented by different interest groups in Serbia.

Since in May 2006 state union of Serbia and Montenegro ceased to exist, Marija Serifovic sang at ESC 2007 as a representative of “independent Serbia”, as Serbian media baptized it.<sup>18</sup> Right before she sang in semi-finals Serbia was going through maybe the hardest parliamentary crisis in its recent history. Prime minister, Vojislav Kostunica’s (Vojislav Koštunica) party supported a radical nationalist right-wing leader Tomislav Nikolic as a President of Parliament.<sup>19</sup> The world and a part of Serbian public reacted sharply, and there was an atmosphere of total suspense in respect of the possible course that future government, Serbia was waiting for from late January, could take. Then there came a victorious weekend and the national euphoria started.<sup>20</sup> Serbian media and officials reported about

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<sup>16</sup> Marija Serifovic never explicitly clarified or proclaimed her sexual orientation until May 2008 when she “revealed” that she has a boyfriend. It was rumored for years that she was lesbian, but she never confirmed that. Preparing her ESC performance, her creative team reached the solution intentionally offered to be read as queer or lesbian (with five female back vocals dressed in male suits the same as leading singer’s one, one of them locking hands with Marija to connect two halves of the heart tattooed on their hands). <http://illyriangazette.blogspot.com/search/label/serbia>, June 6, 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Nikola Tošić, *Marija Šerifović pobedila za sve nas*, Blagostanje, Beograd., May 13, 2007. <http://www.blagostanje.com/marija-serifovic-pobedila-za-sve-nas/>, accessed April 12, 2009.

<sup>18</sup> Basically, union stopped to exist when the Montenegrins voted their independency. One of the examples of referring to a victory of independent Serbia can be found here: <http://www.pressonline.co.yu/vest.jsp?id=9605>

<sup>19</sup> His party, Serbian Radical Party, was at power during the nineties, at the time of wars, social crisis and isolation from international institutions.

<sup>20</sup> Marija Serifovic won on Saturday, tennis player Ana Ivanović won Berlin tournament on Sunday, the same day a glorious welcome meeting for Marija Serifovic took place in Belgrade. On Monday, the 14<sup>th</sup> of May, Marija Serifovic visited Parliament (a visit that aroused serious Parliamentary discussion on possible political option Marija, and not only her but her parents, grandparents and the rest of the family, are favoring). On the same day Tomislav Nikolic resigned from his post since during the weekend different democratic options reached the agreement on

Helsinki events as Serbian, rather than Marija Serifovic and her team's victory. It was marked as a "triumph of the nation", "victory of all of us", "our glorious come back to international scene".<sup>21</sup> Consistence of establishing of participation in ESC as a national cause was once again confirmed. At the same time, almost all political agents/parties in Serbian Parliament, and even some that did not enter it, as Serbian Roma Union to whom Marija's family is affiliated, tried to appropriate her success as a triumph of their political option. "Our Marija" and "our victory" were main topics of many excited speeches. On one of the photographs disseminated by Internet in those days, in the place of Marija and her back vocals we can see Prime Minister and other ministers from the newly formed Government. At the same time, however, as Reuters dispatch said, Serifovic's win "gave hope to Serbia's tiny and harassed gay community".<sup>22</sup> The wire service quoted a partygoer leaving "Belgrade's only gay-friendly club" as saying, "A big win for Serbia, a small step for gay rights!".<sup>23</sup>

Thus, *Molitva (The Prayer)* in Serbia got different meanings depending on political interests invested in it. Rhetoric of appropriation dominated in all the discourses. Marija Serifovic kept on saying that she hoped her victory is a sign of the "new Serbia" beginning. Last months of 2007 and during 2008, however, she engaged in Serb nationalist propaganda, supporting abovementioned politician Tomislav Nikolic at rallies during his unsuccessful presidential campaign, which led to the heated public debate about her status of EU cultural ambassador.

As the examples above show, Marija and her victory occupied important place in signifying systems of different, even confronted political streams in Serbia. Namely, political struggles in Serbia are often understood in terms of binary oppositions, and one of popular divisions is on so called First and Second Serbia.<sup>24</sup> The first notion is supposed to refer to nationalist and conservative tendencies and groups in Serbia, while the other one is perceived as pro-European, democratic, multicultural option. Though it can be argued that such a structural model is not

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future government that Serbia finally got on Wednesday. Second program of Serbian Television that transmitted the Parliamentary Session after which Tomislav Nikolic became a President, had the highest ratings in its history. The transmission of the Eurovision Song Contest final was the first ranking in Serbia (43%), although the same evening there was also the transmission of the important Parliamentary Session (36, 8% of spectators). So, that week Serbia constantly watched one of the national television programs, and majority of viewers watched both of them.

<sup>21</sup> <http://illyriangazette.blogspot.com/search/label/serbia>, accessed June 6 2007; <http://valeriu.tihai.md/serbia-marija-serifovic-molitva-eurovision-2007-244.html>, accessed October 13, 2008; <http://www.kurir-info.rs/clanak/kurir-26-01-2008/dinkicu-se-fucka>, October 12, 2008.

<sup>22</sup> <http://valeriu.tihai.md/serbia-marija-serifovic-molitva-eurovision-2007-244.html>, accessed October 13, 2008.

<sup>23</sup> Rex Wockner, *World Round Up*, <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=14975>, May 23 2007, accessed June 6, 2007.

<sup>24</sup> Jovan Pešić, *Persistence of Traditionalist Value Orientations in Serbia*, In: Sociologija, Vol. XLVIII, N° 4, 2006, 289-307.

relevant for Serbian society, it is often taken by political analysts as a good illustration of two directions usually perceived as main streams in cultural cognition of people in Serbia. “Both Serbias” found in Marija’s victory screen for their own cultural and political projections.

That way, politics of new Serbian identity at the same time challenge and strengthen stereotypes. New, “independent” Serbia is, among other things, an outcome of strong nationalist tendencies and a consequence of wars. Dream of ethnically “clean and pure” nation still occupies significant place in Serbian cultural imaginary. Symbolic place of Marija, as well as ESC itself – (dis)position of the difference and of the models for treating the difference – provokes different reactions and among representatives of different social groups in Serbia. On one hand, socially marginalized groups like Roma (true subaltern of Serbian society), but also the part of so called pro-European Serbia, appropriate Marija as their own, as desirable political body, as a symbolic place of *difference* that promises their social visibility. On the other hand, those social groups that identify themselves with nationalistic, “traditional” and even homophobic values appropriate Marija and her success also, at the same time suppressing ethnic and sexual differences that she marks and that are the threats for their ascription and description of clear, uniform national identity.

Another type of discourse, discourse offered by Serbian state policies and media insists on the “new face of Serbia”,<sup>25</sup> which encompasses majority of the traits displayed in different, abovementioned cultural narratives in Serbia. The notion of “new face of Serbia” is an attempt to move from bipolarization to multiplicity, and through that, paradoxically or not, to produce new form of (national) unity. Participation at ESC, especially Marija’s victory, is supposed to index cultural changes that come up in the light of this “new face of Serbia”, “pacified”, “diverse” and “friendly”, face that should be shown to the international audience and that meets both European and local values. That way, post-socialist Serbia inscribe always-already present multiplicity of the voices into the public discourse.

Marija’s presence in media and Serbian politics – literally materialized in her visit to Parliament – can be considered as one of the efforts in that direction. Her popularity in media and political struggles might look like a breakthrough of the voice of the subaltern/Other into the dominant cultural discourse. However, I argue that this voice is “allowed” to speak only within certain limits of determined framework of national symbolism. Whether or not Marija has sometimes pledged allegiance to her Roma roots, she seemed much more eager to claim her victory for Serbia. She delayed her appearance on the post-show winner’s podium in Helsinki until she was handed a Serbian flag, which she draped in front of her so it would be in every camera angle; and she performed winning song wrapped up in a national flag on a collective celebration in Belgrade a few days after that. She also

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<sup>25</sup> First who used this rhetorical formula was the director of Serbian national broadcaster RTS, Aleksandar Tijanic. Soon it became a commonplace of this kind of discourse.

underlined in speeches that she was “proud to be Serbian” and that this was a victory for “all Serbia”.<sup>26</sup> Such statements go down well with governments, national broadcasters, and national publics; they also, by aligning herself with the nation, give credibility to the conflation of her two mediated selves, of being the ultimate “other” to becoming “one of us”, becoming a national symbol, an embodiment of the “new face of Serbia”.

As Anne McClintock argues, “[a]ll nationalisms are gendered”, which means that all nationalisms have a specific way of addressing women and men.<sup>27</sup> Paraphrasing Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, McClintock argues that there are five major ways in which women have been implicated in nationalism:

1. As biological reproducers of the members of national collectivities
2. As reproducers of the boundaries of national groups (through restrictions on sexual or marital relations)
3. As active transmitters and producers of the national culture
4. As symbolic signifiers of national difference
5. As active participants in national struggles.<sup>28</sup>

In terms of representation, Cynthia Enloe argues that the (symbolic) woman and her (symbolic) body come to stand for:

the community’s – or the nation’s – most valuable *possessions*; 2) the principal *vehicles* for transmitting the whole nation’s values from one generation to the next; 3) *bearers* of the community’s future generations – crudely, nationalist wombs; 4) the members of the community most *vulnerable* to defilement and exploitation by oppressive alien rulers; and 5) most susceptible to *assimilation* and co-option by insidious outsiders.<sup>29</sup>

Relying on these concepts, I argue that figure of Marija Serifovic is firmly positioned within this paradigm, as a reproducer of the boundaries of national groups (although supposedly questioning their sexual and national restrictions, as active transmitter of the national culture and as a symbolic signifier of national difference. Although some foreign media reported about Marija’s popularity in Serbia as a chance and “a sign of a small progress” for women, gay and ethnic minorities in Serbia,<sup>30</sup> I argue that Marija’s agency and its effects are not directed that way, but towards the strengthening of national unity of Serbia. As is argued by

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<sup>26</sup> Author unknown. May 13 2007. “Ponosni smo na tebe.” *Večernje Novosti*, Beograd, 7, <http://www.novosti.rs/code/navigate.php?Id=15&status=jedna&vest=103658&datum=2007-05-13>, accessed April 12, 2009.

<sup>27</sup> Anne McClintock, ‘No longer in a Future Heaven’: *Gender, Race, and Nationalism*, in: Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat, eds., *Dangerous Liaisons. Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1997, 89.

<sup>28</sup> A. McClintock, 90.

<sup>29</sup> Cynthia Enloe, *Nationalism and Masculinity*, in: Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kapla (eds.) *An Introduction to Women’s Studies: Gender in a Transnational World*, McGraw-Hill, 2006, 231.

<sup>30</sup> Warn 16.

Catherine McClintock, women are often the symbols of nation building – think of the figure of Marianne for France or the *Volksmoeder* in the case of the Afrikaner myth of the South African nation – but never the subject of this process.<sup>31</sup> I think that this is the point which Marija’s political performance eventually reaches, and does not overcome. Supporting radical nationalist right-wing party and manipulating with queer and Roma symbols without developing potent politics through them, using them as a marketing strategy, she and her team (organized and sponsored by the state) non-problematically reproduce power structures.<sup>32</sup> She brings a dimension of “ethnic drag” into contemporary media picture of Serbia, offering phantasm that is grounded on self-exotization and auto-orientalization, a symbolic figure through which different groups within Serbian society are supposed to participate in national cause.

However, something is omitted in this hyperbolic economy of participation. “Glorious victory” remains one of a few fields in which the minorities are supposed to participate. For example, access of Roma kids to education or of gay communities to any kind of legal recognition is still limited, and the level of symbolic and material violence performed on them is mainly non-transparent.<sup>33</sup> These issues are black holes of public discourse in Serbia. That is why Marija exists – to cover these holes. Marija as a particular woman, as a potential lesbian, as a concrete Roma girl has ceased to be important. She has come to stand for many different things according to the interests at stake in representing her. This is a case of the collapse between representation (*Vertretung*) in political terms and representation (*Darstellung*) as in portraying the subject-construction. The other actors – state team and media which organized her performance, “led her to the victory and celebrated with her” – have been entrusted with a level of control over the aesthetic re-presentation (*darstellen*) of Marija, but also with political proxy (*vertreten*) to act on behalf of others (subaltern and different minorities), and to point out Marija as their representative. And that is why her status of national symbol was a short-term – she did not fit the model of ethnically and racially pure and sexually straight oriented (sex bomb, preferably) singer “nacionale”, established during the first phase of transition in the nineties. I argue that it is exactly in the conflation of *darstellen* and *vertreten*, but also her two mediated selves (as “one of us” and as “other”) that the problematic nature of this media figure lies. The apparent logic that evolves out these mediated selves, namely, is the linearity of being the ultimate “other” to becoming “one of us”. This is reflected and projected in so many ways; in her narrative of being Roma and (potential) lesbian to Serbian national symbol; in her narrative of being EU cultural ambassador to right-wing supporter; in her declaration as heterosexual and ultimately in her losing a

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<sup>31</sup> A. McClintock, 90.

<sup>32</sup> While she barely addressed any Roma issues in her public performances and short-term political engagement (mainly conducted through public support to the leader of Serbian Radical Party), she explicitly avoided or denied any association with the politics of organizations for gay and lesbian rights, or declaring herself as lesbian.

<sup>33</sup> Mind recent ruining of Roma’s houses at the place where new shopping mall is supposed to be built.



status of national symbol. The apparent linear story of her success has become part of political programs in which there is no place for hybrid identities, double cultural loyalties, or blurry/messy life stories.

Marija Serifovic might look far away from everyday experience of Serbian citizens – not to mention subaltern – as a phenomenon of the entertainment scene that should not be taken seriously. But, her mediated self is a symptom of Serbian society that stages its problematic social restructuration and the danger is exactly that in this process media become “as if” “transparent” and “as if” understandingly true. Normalization of conflation of mediated selves as Other and as “one of us” through media system integrates any occasional, and even confronted social and cultural meanings. That is how Marija’s mediated selves may at the same time spread ethnic stereotypes *and* allegedly represent new face of the multicultural and democratic Serbia.

Marija Serifovic’s identity fragmentariness and refraction in the web of different discursive practices and (un)stable positions that mutually cross produce the “zone of possibility” for the subaltern, a space that is always related to the feeling of potentials that are not yet completely articulated. However, this is a case in which politics of recognition and symbolic politics coincide and balancing between them, Marija is not entering the process of self-determination that is independent from approved social norms of marginalization and centralization.

## Conclusion

This participation in ESC and all discursive strategies that follow it are the symbols of Serbia’s relation to Europe. Serbia is rehearsing its own multiplicity, trying to move on from totalitarian and nationalist agenda, but also from the First Serbia/Second Serbia polarizations. These processes are not always successful. Thus, Serbia lives in two parallel realities, in the process of endless transition. In that sense, for Serbia and its (re)presentation on international scene, it is absolutely possible to accept both rhetoric of ethnic stereotypes and antinationalist declaration, as well as values associated with that and perceived as European.

Popular culture events like ESC have the power and ability to reshape the geopolitical map of Europe and are also used in this way by the new, and potential new member states of the European Union. Those are mostly countries that undergo postsocialist transition. Participation in ESC and potential victory is a chance for them to invert social and economic order, on symbolic level. But paradoxically or not, with that inversion, they also integrate into Europe and inscribe themselves into its symbolic map. Thus this rite de passage becomes (post-socialist) transition ritual indeed.

In the case of Serbia, this process frequently indicates interiorisation of once rejected Balkanist/Orientalist perceptions of the region and/or Serbia, but also awareness of the postsocialist and post-war stigma. Identity strategies, sometimes explicated as rejection of “others” notion about one’s identity, often display clear awareness of the “Western” gaze. “Periphery-turned-Center” strategy, present in

this self-representation at ESC, uses means and notions that are perceived and offered as “authentic, traditional and native”, but essentially adopts “others” expectations and colonial discursive strategies – or what is perceived as “others” expectations, though does not necessarily have any substantial relation with them. Media figures such as Marija are used in this strategic marginalization and centralization.

In conclusion, I argue that it is necessary to always take into account possible discrepancies between discourse and power, between those who perform discourse (like Marija) and those who wield real political power to use it in their agendas (like state media and political parties). In an age of globalisation and multiculturalism, the mere fact that certain voices can be heard can mask the fact that securing a space for a certain type of discourse – or voice – is only the *first step* towards its legitimization and institutionalization. It is not enough for these voices just to be heard while they speak; or like in this case, while they (just) sing. And still, many subjects are only warming up their voices in Serbia.

(Translated by the author)

**Маријана Митровић**

## **Боје „новог лица Србије“: национални симболи у популарној музици**

*Кључне речи:*

национализам, популарна музика, ново лице Србије, женска медијска фигура, субалтерн, медијско сопство

У овом раду анализирано је представљање нације женском фигуром у иконографији србијанске популарне музике. Посебна пажња посвећена је победи Марије Шерифовић на Еуросонгу 2007, што је у србијанским медијима адресирано као „победа новог лица Србије“, а дато је и поређење са другим случајевима поистовећивања певачица србијанске популарне музике са националним симболима. Анализа показује како је идеална слика нације у србијанској популарној музици креирана кроз позицију православног фамилијализма као позиције моћи искључења – етничких, верских, сексуалних мањина и читавих друштвених група које се не уклапају у модел етнички чистог православно-породичног патриотизма. У том светлу, случај Ромкиње Марије Шерифовић, припаднице геј мањине, као новог лица Србије, постаје посебно проблематичан.



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# Belgrade Breakdance Girl: Breaking Gender-Specific Stereotypes with Dance

This paper is based on the life story of one of Belgrade break dance dancers who started dancing and competing in early youth, but later she ceased to dance. I was interested in motives which influenced that young person to begin to deal with the break dance, what she expressed by that, what the reaction was of social environment to the dance and what factors influenced her to stop dealing with this dance.

**Key words:**  
gender-specific stereotypes, dance, break-dance girl, Belgrade

This paper is a part of a wider anthropological research of modern hip hop culture in Serbia.<sup>1</sup> The article is based on my own field research during February and March 2009 in Belgrade. After meeting with the current Serbian scientific bibliography I found out that there was a lack of anthropological studies of contemporary dance forms. I felt the need to make empirical researches and look into the situation from the *inside*. I interviewed hip hop dancers, dance instructors and judges. I came to the data that the dominant position of the breakdance is that it is a primarily male game, which expresses manhood. However, ever since this dance appeared in Belgrade there were girls that dealt with it, and deal with it today. The aim of this research is to examine which factors influence a girl to start dancing, so to say, a *male game*. The question is how men view the appearance of such girls in *their* world, what are the reactions and acceptance in a wider community.

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Hip hop culture originates from the United States. Breakdance (also known as breaking, b-girling or b-boying) is a street dance style that evolved as part of the hip hop movement that originated among African American and Latino youths in the South Bronx of New York City (USA) during the early 1970s.<sup>2</sup> It is arguably the best known of all hip hop dance styles. The term break-dancing is associated to the breaks in music and the movements that can be performed in these breaks. When this occurred, dancers would fill the break with corresponding moves. Break dancing soon moved from the clubs to the street, where rival gangs in the South Bronx would, in theory, replace actual fighting and turf disputes with a break dancing battle. The theory was sound, often with the best dancer being the best fighter due to large quantities of strength needed for both activities.<sup>3</sup> The godfather of break dancing was the soul superstar James Brown. In 1969, he was getting down with his big hit "Get on the Good Foot". He accompanied it with the acrobatic, high energy moves that later inspired many a funky break party. The "good foot" became the new dance style and soon was renamed the "B-Boy". Dance battles were already established when the B-Boy became popular but its high energy and almost acrobatic nature was ideal for the competitive and heated nature of battling. Afrika Bambaataa is the legendary grand master DJ whom history has marked as the man most responsible for the successful growth of break dancing. The actual break dancing has evolved considerably from the old-style due to the addition of new ideas and techniques. It involves moving the feet sideways and onto the toes, spinning on the knees, head, elbows, hands, and mocking fighting moves (i.e. kung fu). There are hundreds of moves but 10 of the more frequently used are listed below: 1. Headspin 2. 180's 3. Handglides 4. Backwalkovers 5. Flare 6. Crab 7. Six step 8. Windmills 9. Backspins 10. Freeze.<sup>4</sup>

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Former Belgrade breakdance girl, Marija Sindjelic was born in 1986 in Belgrade. She lives in a part of the city which is called Visnjicka banja. She started dealing with the break dance at the age of fourteen, at the end of the eighth grade of elementary school. This happened because her brother's friend started dancing break dance. She saw how guys were dancing and liked that *different kind* of steps.

She says for herself that she is interested in everything that is unusual and that she is a rebel. She is attracted to extreme sports, although she has never tried to do one. On the classes of physical education in school she always liked rings, dangerous exercises. She expresses herself by anything that contains dangerous acro-

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<sup>2</sup> Paul Du Noyer (ed.), *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Music*, Flame Tree Publishing 2003, 334.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.ultrakick.net/id10.html>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.ukhh.com/elements/breaking/intro.html>

batics. In things that act as impossible for a woman she enjoys to show the opposite. People do not see her like that, nor does she. Marija has a tiny constitution and she is very feminine.

Guys who danced with her formed the dance group called “Break zone group”. They were in high school then and they were between fifteen and seventeen years old. They learned brake dance by watching music videos, and then tried to imitate steps, i.e. to perform the same. Boys practiced in the school hall during breaks. They also had rehearsals outside the school. Quiet places with the floor where they were able to whirl were suitable for practicing. Among other things, economic factors influenced Marija to deal with the brake dance. Trainings for other types of dances included monthly membership fees. In the case of brake dance dancers practiced irrespective of a hall. “We were like tramps. Where we found the free place we whirled. For example, during one period we practiced on the terrace of a shopping centre because it was covered by very good ceramic tiles. The most important thing to them was the company. Except for the permanent members of the group, about ten of them, there were temporary ones that stayed for two to three months. Apart from the high school pupils children in primary schools also came.” Some were talented, “like they were made of rubber.”

When the group has just been established nobody was able to perform a trick with whirling on the head. When she was in the kindergarten Marija was taught by her father how to stand on her head. Therefore, she was one step ahead of the team: she was a girl and she could stand on her head. She only needed to learn how to whirl when she was standing on her head. Since they were self taught, without an instructor, they had to find out how to whirl on their heads. In the beginning they applied the wrong technique, so there were a lot of falls. Although she put pieces of sponge under her clothes to lessen the fall, she regularly got bruises.

Boys accepted her as a younger sister. Everybody took care of her. Whatever she did they were satisfied. Since she was a girl, even if she made a mistake in her acrobatics, the audience would be more satisfied then with the men who made perfect performances. For example, one summer the group had a performance in the Belgrade club “Barutana.” However, because some dancers were missing, choreography was quite empty. Marija was in the audience, she did not come with the intention to dance. Group members who were her friends literally pushed her to the podium. Although she hadn’t danced for a long time her performance woke up the audience and she got the biggest applause. She always gained the biggest applause because she was a female, and that was unusual. According to Marija brake dance is a difficult dance, “it is more like a rampage, buffoonery, tossing, which is more appropriate to male sex than women. There are a lot of tricks where physical strength is required, a lot of persistence. It is a hard work.”

In the rival group “Break dance squad”, there was also a girl by the name of Yuliana. They got along well, there was no conflict. The first break dance competition in which the “Break zone group” participated in and won was on 16<sup>th</sup> of February 2001.

To Marija's friends her dealing with break dance was interesting. They had a very positive attitude. They considered themselves untalented for this dance, but they respected her. However, she didn't spontaneously dance alone to the public, for example, in the school corridor, like boys were doing it. She felt that something like that would be inappropriate for a female, "at school I was a normal girl, I was not so extreme."

At home she demonstrated what she had learned to her parents. Her father was into physical activities recreationally. She forced him to try to perform acrobatics telling him: "See, I can do it! Can you?" However, her parents felt that her break dance time is reducing her time available for learning and therefore they rose their voice against it. They had trainings late in the evening when they were all free after their daily activities. They practiced until midnight. Her parents thought that their 14-years-old daughter shouldn't stay out so late. In this period she had a problem with history classes. It was difficult for her to learn the material and she got the F mark (lack of evaluation). Her parents told her: "Success in school first, then everything else." She tried to explain to them that the poor success in the field of history had no connection with the dance and that she would always have problems with those things. However, she had to give up and she stopped dancing. After that she occasionally came to trainings, but she didn't dance actively.

For Marija's current boyfriend the fact that his girlfriend danced break dance in the past is not encomiastic (praiseworthy). For him, the break dance is "a rampage, non-feminine. He finds nothing interesting in it. He sees a female as a fragile being who needs protection, not as a rebel. He thinks that dance must have practical use. So, oriental dance is boring to him, but Latino dances are not."

Marija is currently a student at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade in the Dutch language group and she is simultaneously studying at the Advanced Medical School. Today she likes all types of dance, especially Latin. She is glad she danced break dance, because she has a lot of good memories and friends.

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Originated on a remote North American continent, break dance in Serbia encountered fertile soil. Young people full of enthusiasm copied movements of dancers shown by mass media. For Belgrade teenagers this dance was a good way to express energy and to get together.

I talked here about the girl who tried to overcome the prejudices about the division between the men's and women's dances by dancing break dance. To Marija's current boyfriend break dance is not feminine, because women are the *weaker sex*, and acrobatics is not for them. For her, the break was a way to show that women can perform dance acrobatics as well as men. Marija is not mannish, she is feminine and skilful. She had a great support from her male colleagues. Her female friends respected her, although she was different from them. The audience had a very positive attitude and gave her more credits than to male dancers. To her parents dealing with their daughter's dance was likeable. However, since they were

worried about the future of their child they insisted that she should stop with the break dance. So, although the economic factor in the beginning had a positive effect to begin dealing with break dance – because she wasn't obliged to pay classes – it played a negative role in the future. The break dance is not considered to be a profitable and remunerative job.

In the end I would like to add that Marija started dancing this product of American culture immediately after the bombing of Serbia by the United States and the member countries of NATO. Like other young people who dealt with hip hop in Serbia she testified that dance goes beyond the narrow boundaries of prejudice and politics.

**Гордана Благојевић**

## **Београдска брејкденс девојка: брејковање (ломљење) полних стереотипа плесом**

*Кључне речи:*

полни стереотипи, плес, брејкденс девојка, Београд

Овај рад представља део ширег антрополошког истраживања савремене хип хоп културе у Србији. Чланак је настао на основу сопствених теренских истраживања током фебруара и марта 2009. године у Београду. Након упознавања са постојећом српском кореолошком литературом, увидела сам да недостају антрополошка истраживања савремених плесних облика. Сматрала сам корисним да обавим емпиријска истраживања ради увида у стање *изнутра*. Интервјуисала сам хип хоп плесаче, инструкторе и плесне судије. Преовладава став да је брејкденс првенствено мушки плес за изражавање мужевности. Међутим, у Београду су се, одмах након појаве брејкденса, и девојке њиме почеле бавити. Циљ овог истраживања је да испита који фактори утичу на то да једна девојка почне да игра, условно речено, *мушку игру*. Поставља се питање како мушкарци посматрају појаву овакве девојке у *њиховом* свету, какви су реакција и пријем шире друштвене заједнице.

Истраживање је базирано на животној причи једне београдске брејкденс плесачице, која је почела да игра и да се такмичи у раној младости, а затим је у једном тренутку престала да игра. Занимало ме је да утврдим који су били мотиви ове младе особе да се почне бавити брејкденсом, шта је она



тима изражавала, каква је била реакција друштвеног окружења на њену игру, и који су фактори утицали на то да се престане бавити овим плесом.

Поникао на удаљеном северноамеричком континенту, брејкденс је у Србији наишао на плодно тло. Млади људи су са пуно ентузијазма копирали покрете плесача које су видели путем масмедија. За београдске тинејџере је овај плес био добар начин да избаце вишак енергије и да се друже.

Некадашња београдска брејкденс плесачица Марија Синђелић покушала је, играјући брејкденс, да превазиђе предрасуде о подели на мушке и женске плесове. Брејкденс је за њу био начин да се покаже да и жене могу изводити плесне акробације као и мушкарци. При том, Марија није мушкобањаста, већ је женствена и спретна. Имала је изузетну подршку својих мушких колега. Пријатељице су је поштовале, иако је била различита од њих. Публика је имала веома позитиван став и одавала јој је веће признање него плесачима мушког пола. Родитељима је бављење њихове ћерке овим плесом било симпатично. Међутим, ипак су, бринући се за будућност свога детета, инсистирали да прекине са брејкденсом. Дакле, иако је економски фактор у почетку позитивно утицао да ова девојка започне са бављењем брејкденсом (није морала да плаћа часове), на плану даље будућности одиграо је негативну улогу: брејкденс се не сматра занимањем од кога се може живети.

Марија је почела да игра овај производ америчке културе непосредно после бомбардовања Србије од стране Америке и земаља чланица НАТО-а. Тиме је, као и други млади људи који се баве хип хопом у Србији, посведочила да плес надилази уске границе предрасуда и политике.

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# **Speaking Without Words: Zorba's Dance**

Anthony Quinn "teaching dance" on the island of Crete to the music of Mikis Theodorakis is a popular image that portrays Greeks as extremely emotional, passionate and spontaneous. This paper shows the importance of dancing in Greek culture and how Greeks talk through their body by examining Kazantzakis character, Zorba, who "has many things to say but would rather dance them".

### *Key words:*

Greek dancing, Zorba the Greek, Nikos Kazantzakis

## **Entering the Dance**

My life's greatest benefactors have been journeys and dreams. Very few people, living or dead, have aided my struggle. If, however, I wished to designate which people left their traces embedded most deeply in my soul, I would perhaps designate Homer, Buddha, Nietzsche, Bergson, and Zorba.<sup>1</sup>

The words to follow are on Zorba the Greek and his dance. My goal is to show the importance of dancing in Greek culture and how Greeks talk through their body, as well as how, through body language, Greeks create a dialogue between the western-Apollonian-order with the eastern-Dionysian-chaos. Greeks act life; indeed, as Zorba, their kinsman, they dance it as well. By doing so, Greeks subconsciously and creatively use dancing as a therapeutic means of self- and psychoanalysis, as they manage to liberate themselves by healing their egos. After all, the world of Greece is a world of culture, always with the human being centered.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nikos Kazantzakis, *Report to Greco*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1965, 445.

<sup>2</sup> Spyros Orfanos, *Mythos and Logos*, Psychoanalytic Dialogues 16, 2006, 481-499.

Constantine Cavafy and Nikos Kazantzakis are two Modern Greek writers whom non-Greeks are familiar with. The popularity of the novel *Zorba the Greek* is attributed to the fact that it urged American and European intellectuals discover what they were not, what their repressed self was; in other words, it offered westerners a prototype of liberation.<sup>3</sup> Readers got fascinated by the transcendence of the ego that the East was promising them. The Mediterranean eyes of Kazantzakis's work were an attraction for the western society, which, tired from logic and abundance, admired Zorba, a daring, spontaneous hero, who refused conventions and admitted his emotional passions.

In 1964, the film "Zorba the Greek" was released and became even more popular than its "visual" 1960 relative, "Never on Sunday". The film was directed by Michael Cacoyiannis with the popular soundtrack composed by Mikis Theodorakis. The final image by which the audience left the cinema was that of Zorba's dance, a scene which became the symbol of Greece and of the Greek spirit represented by Zorba in particular.<sup>4</sup> The popularity of this theme led to the production of a Broadway 1968 musical and a 1987 ballet.<sup>5</sup> Mikis Theodorakis comments that the film's music has been turned into a myth.<sup>6</sup> Since that time, Zorba and his dancing have lent their name to restaurants and various other products over the world.<sup>7</sup>

When in Paris, between 1907 and 1909, Kazantzakis combined his studies about the French philosopher Bergson with a reading of Nietzsche. The German philosopher had a powerful influence on Kazantzakis, who, in turn, wrote a dissertation on him.<sup>8</sup> Clearly, Nietzsche's "process theology" is expressed in Kazantzakis's novel, "Zorba the Greek". According to Nietzsche's ideas about the sources of religion, god is the result of whatever the most energetic and heroic people value and create.

Peter Bien, indeed, argues how Zorba's actions are immediate reflections of Nietzsche's ideas.<sup>9</sup> To his perception, Zorba is the "superhuman" who knows that there is not a true, reasonable, permanent, ordered, or good world for us.<sup>10</sup> Throughout his works, however, Kazantzakis does not kill "his" God, as Nietzsche would do, but, instead, wishes to save Him, thing which derives from Kazantzakis's

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<sup>3</sup> Dimitris Dimiroulis, *Everything Looks Magnified*, The Tree 155-156, 2007, 45.

<sup>4</sup> Lisbet Torp, *Zorba's Dance: The Story of a Dance Illusion and its Touristic Value*, Ethnografika 8, 1992, 207.

<sup>5</sup> Original Broadway Cast, with a book by Joseph Stein, lyrics by Fred Ebb, and music by John Kander. The ballet is choreographed by Lorca Massine.

<sup>6</sup> Mikis Theodorakis, *The Anatomy of Music*, Alfios, Athens, 1990, 223-4.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of how this film distorts Kazantzakis's view see Peter Bien, *Nikos Kazantzakis's Novels on Film*, Journal of Modern Greek Studies 18, 2000, 161-170.

<sup>8</sup> The dissertation was completed in 1909 and has the title *Friedrich Nietzsche on the Philosophy of Right and the State*.

<sup>9</sup> P. Bien, *Kazantzakis: The Politics of Spirit*, Crete University Press, Heraklion, 2001, 312.

<sup>10</sup> Reed Merrill, "Zorba the Greek" and Nietzschean Nihilism, Mosaic 8 (2), 1975, 104.

wish to kill the awesome father of his childhood, whom he continued to hate and fear most of his life.<sup>11</sup>

Kazantzakis had obvious relationships with psychoanalysis. Even though he seemed to despise psychoanalysts, in 1922, in Vienna, he wrote that he is satisfied with Freud's theory for dreams and instincts. He particularly favored the dark subconscious as we see in a 1949 letter to his philhellene Swedish friend Knoes. He visited the Viennese psychiatrist Stekel to consult him in regard to his skin disease.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, it was the occasion of that illness which brought him in contact with psychoanalysis and convinced him that the power of the unconscious was stronger than his willful determination to become a religious prophet and a heroic world figure by means of self-discipline and identification with Buddhist principles.<sup>13</sup>

A psychological analysis of Zorba could argue that Kazantzakis's hero who lives everything, everyday, as for the first time, is the exact opposite of his biological father, the dreadful, authoritative Captain Michael.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, Kazantzakis felt free when the formidable man died, that "heavy lion" who had contributed to the emotional eunuchism of his childhood.<sup>15</sup>

## A New Statesman

If it had been a question in my lifetime of choosing a spiritual guide, a guru as the Hindus say, a father as say the monks at Mount Athos, surely I would have chosen Zorba. For he had just what a quill-driver needs for deliverance: the primordial glance which seizes its nourishment arrow-like from on high; the creative artlessness, renewed each morning, which enabled him to see all things constantly as though for the first time, and to bequeath virginity to the eternal quotidian elements of air, ocean, fire, woman, and bread; the sureness of hand, freshness of heart, the gallant daring to tease his own soul, as though inside him he had a force superior to the soul; finally, the

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<sup>11</sup> Peter Hartocollis, *Mysticism and Violence: The Case of Nikos Kazantzakis*, International Journal of Psycho-Analysis 55, 1974, 209.

<sup>12</sup> For more information on Kazantzakis's struggle of ascetics against sexuality as a manifestation of the mystic's struggle against his own internal violence see P. Hartocollis, *Mysticism and Violence: The Case of Nikos Kazantzakis*.

<sup>13</sup> P. Hartocollis, *Mysticism and Violence: The Case of Nikos Kazantzakis*, 206.

<sup>14</sup> Indeed, Kazantzakis's 1956 novel (*Freedom or Death*, Simon and Schuster, New York) carries his father's name in its original, Greek version (thus, *Captain Michael*). For more information on that see Stamatis Philippides, *Ambivalences: Theses on the Narrative Word of Six Modern Greek Writers*, Indiktos, Athens, 2005, 182-3.

<sup>15</sup> Zografou and Petrakou have applied psychological analyses to Kazantzakis's works and talk about his relationship with his father and how it influenced his writings. Kyriaki Petrakou, *Kazantzakis and the Theater*, Militos, Athens, 2005, 303-336 and Lili Zografou, *Nikos Kazantzakis: A Tragic*, Kedros, Athens, 1960. For Kazantzakis's own thoughts on his father see *Report to Greco*, 31-33.

savage bubbling laugh from a deep, deep wellspring deeper than the bowels of man, a laugh which at critical moments spurted redemptively from Zorba's elderly breast, spurted and was able to demolish (did demolish) all the barriers –morality, religion, homeland– which that wretched poltroon, man, has erected around him in order to hobble with full security through his miserable smidgen of life.<sup>16</sup>

An intellectual is writing a manuscript on Buddha. At the port of Piraeus, he meets with Alexis Zorba, an uneducated man, and hires him to superintend the workmen in the abandoned lignite mine on the island of Crete. Zorba values more experience and understanding than scholarly learning: “What's the use of all your damn books? You think too much, that is your trouble. Clever people and grocers, they weigh everything.” After a series of victories and failures, the writer leaves Crete, but asks Zorba to teach him to dance.

The story described illustrates the contrast introduced by Nietzsche between the Apollonian and the Dionysian outlook on life. Apollo, the writer, represents the spirit of order and rationality, while Dionysus, Zorba, represents the spirit of ecstatic, spontaneous will to live. The whole story is a fable about the mind and the body.<sup>17</sup>

Bien describes the boss's transformation this way: “His Apollonian powers, hitherto either paralyzed or misdirected, can now turn to the task of redeeming Dionysian reality, rescuing Zorba from dissolution”.<sup>18</sup> He can function now as a “tragic” artist, fuse his western mentality with Zorbatic barbarism, transform within his womb the barbarian seed, and bear an artistic son: the tragic myth called Zorba the Greek.

Kazantzakis wants his eternal Greek (or, Hellene) to be nothing different than the Greek race itself, a marvelous synthesis of both East and West. Moreover, through “Zorba,” Kazantzakis embraces both the western as well as the eastern. The protagonist wants to get rich, but, at the same time, acts very irresponsibly. He abandons rationality to live in madness. In Bien's view, he rejects the mind in favor of the heart, whereas everyone is overwhelmed by an inexorable, tragic, destructive fate (1974: 131-133).<sup>19</sup>

Kazantzakis's vision, besides being Greek, is definitely “Cretan” too. Crete, for Kazantzakis, is his homeland, an island at the southernmost part of Greece, a crossroads of many cultures and civilizations, a synthesis that he always

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<sup>16</sup> N. Kazantzakis, *Report to Greco*, 445.

<sup>17</sup> S. Philippides meditates more on these “bipolar” Kazantzakian notions (spirit-body, mind-material, abstinence-sensuality, laziness-action, logos-action, high style-folk style; *Ambivalences: Theses on the Narrative Word of Six Modern Greek Writers*, 158).

<sup>18</sup> P. Bien, *Zorba the Greek, Nietzsche, and the Perennial Greek Predicament*, Antioch Review, Spring, 1965.

<sup>19</sup> P. Bien, *The Mellowed Nationalism of Kazantzakis's Zorba the Greek*, Review of National Literatures, Greece: the Modern Voice 5 (2), 1974, 131-133.

pursues. He feels neither European, nor ancient Greek, nor eastern. He breathes another air, a composition of all these forces and its components that empower and make him proud and brave. The syncretic glance that dares to look at life and death nakedly, Kazantzakis names Cretan. It is the exact same look of the Minoan who stares at the scared bull, just before his dangerous leap.<sup>20</sup>

Scholars have traced political connotations on Zorba as well. They comment on how he expresses patriotism by being an internationalist during the Second World War period.<sup>21</sup> Although the homonymous novel was written during the dark days of the Occupation, Kazantzakis's double objective through it was to examine and project the Greek people's remarkable powers of endurance despite repeated disaster, and the artist's need to draw from the unpleasant concreteness of everyday reality in order to create abiding archetypes.

Though the film ends rather deliciously with Zorba teaching the boss how to dance, the whole point of the book's end is that the boss is liberated as an artist and is then able to write his "saint's life of Zorba." He does not become like Zorba (--as the film would have us believe). Instead, the boss converts Zorba's flesh into spirit.<sup>22</sup>

Doubtless, Kazantzakis sees Zorba as a teacher, and writes about him in the same spirit Plato "apologizes" for Socrates. For him, Alexis Zorba is a spokesman of wise teachings, who created his biographer, Nikos Kazantzakis, who, in turn, metamorphosed him into Zorba the Greek. Through these writings, Kazantzakis is now the author who applies his authority to control and expand on his hero's personality.<sup>23</sup> By creating such models, he struggles to resemble them, thus, he is also being self-created.

All in all, Kazantzakis creates a myth, as, through Zorba, he emotionally addresses great moral questions of inaction, agency and fate versus free will. He then uses this myth as his own, personal mirror.<sup>24</sup> But, will he dance?

## Zorba's Dance

I do not believe in coincidence; I believe in destiny. This bas-relief divulged the secret of my life with astonishing simplicity, perhaps the secret of Zorba's life as well. It was a copy of an ancient tombstone

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<sup>20</sup> N. Kazantzakis, *Report to Greco*, 486 and Maria Hnaraki, *Unfolding Ariadne's Thread: Cretan Music*, Kerkyra Publications, Athens, 2007, 45.

<sup>21</sup> More on these political connotations in P. Bien, *Zorba the Greek, Nietzsche, and the Perennial Greek Predicament and The Mellowed Nationalism of Kazantzakis's Zorba the Greek*, and Angela Kastrinaki, "Greek Wild Carryons and All That": *Zorba, an Internationalist during Occupation*, Nikos Kazantzakis 2004 University of Crete Conference Proceedings, 2006, 151-62.

<sup>22</sup> P. Bien, *Nikos Kazantzakis's Novels on Film*, 164.

<sup>23</sup> Georgia Farinou-Malamatari, *Kazantzakis and Biography*, Nikos Kazantzakis Chania November 1997 Scientific Two-Days' Proceedings, 1998, 173-4.

<sup>24</sup> According to Orfanos, "Myths can be like mirrors" (2006: 8).

carving. A naked warrior, who has not abandoned his helmet, not even in death, is kneeling on his right knee and squeezing his breast with both palms, a tranquil smile flitting around his closed lips. The graceful motion of the powerful body is such that you cannot distinguish whether this is a dance or death. Or is it a dance and death together? Even if it is death, we shall transform it into a dance, I said to myself, encouraged by the happy sun falling upon the warrior and bringing him to life. You and I, my heart, let us give him our blood so that he may be brought back to life, let us do what we can to make this extraordinary eater, drinker, workhorse, woman-chaser, and vagabond live a little while longer – this dancer and warrior, the broadest soul, surest body, freest cry I ever knew in my life.<sup>25</sup>

Kazantzakis often feels compelled to describe in details and depth the gradual development of psychological conditions that lead to an imperative necessity for singing or dancing. Such activities represent, for him, the outcome, the climax, and the quintessence of the inner psychological preparation and ascent, often complex and bewildering, of the hero reaching his true liberation through these fundamental acts. Moreover, he also mentions in his writings the use of musical instruments, manipulated by his heroes as symbols of elevation at important moments. All in all, Kazantzakis sees music and dance as means of extreme elevation, often almost a religious one.<sup>26</sup>

Zorba may also be viewed not as a novel, but as a memorial.<sup>27</sup> When Zorba's flesh died, his myth started to crystallize in Kazantzakis's mind. Zorba started to become a fairy tale. Kazantzakis would see him dance, neighing in the middle of the night and calling him to spring up from his comfortable shell of prudence and habit and to take off with him on great travels.<sup>28</sup> His love (*Eros*) for Zorba, gave life to his death (*Thanatos*). The writer, who is not a dancer, immortalized him in pen.

Zorba's singing and playing on the *santouri* (dulcimer) carries his sorrow and his yearning. In Kazantzakis novel, *Freedom or Death*, the teacher, instead of answering to the question "where are we coming from and where are we going to", he grasps the *lira* (three-stringed Cretan instrument), and plays it, while the dying grandfather disembodies. As the voice of the *lira* recalls his deeds and his experiences, he transubstantiates to the soul which abandons his body.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> N. Kazantzakis, *Report to Greco*, 458-459.

<sup>26</sup> John Papaioannou, *Kazantzakis and Music*, *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 10 (4), 1983, 80-81.

<sup>27</sup> Manolis Yialourakis, *Kazantzakis Told Me...*, *The Tree* 155-156, 2007, 33-34.

<sup>28</sup> Susan Matthias, *Prologue to Zorba the Greek*, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 16 (2), 1998, 242-243.

<sup>29</sup> Roderick Beaton, *Of Crete and Other Demons: A Reading of Kazantzakis's Freedom and Death*, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 16 (2), 1998, 208.

It is the dancing, however, which Zorba manages to drag his boss in too, which acts as the intensively as well as impressively emotional and passionate act: Kazantzakis sees on the music-dance blaze-up of Zorba the contact with the timeless, a moment that transcends every cultural civilization meaning.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, on the last day in Crete, the boss learns from Zorba a remedial lesson in dancing.<sup>31</sup>

Zorba is dancing solo, arms extended, ready to fly with the eagles of Crete. He has the freedom to perform improvisational, virtuoso movements, giving himself to dancing. He jumps in the air, performing agile, acrobatic leaps, trying to show his gallantry and pride, demonstrating strength and agility, and that, in fact, he does not fear anything and anybody who threatens his freedom; He feels independent and free because he can dance. The wildness his dance might exhibit is a sweet one: self-protection against any misfortune.<sup>32</sup>

In Greece, the embodied soul can find its release not through logos but through movement. Zorba is the authentic, almost forgotten Greek self, the man who may drink, curse and sleep with women of loose morals but who has an enviable quality that the educated European lacks: He is in tune with himself. The metaphor is one that would have appealed to Plato, for it is through the means of music and dance, a language of the body (*soma*) as well as the mind (*nous*), that Zorba, in contrast to the “boss” (and perhaps to Kazantzakis himself), achieves a secure sense of his place in the universe.<sup>33</sup>

As Kazantzakis states, this novel about his diseased friend Alexis Zorba is more than anything a dialogue between a pen-pusher and an older folk person; a dialogue between a lawyer of the “Mind” and the great soul of the people.<sup>34</sup> It is apparent that Zorba’s stories are more connected to the body than to the brain. In such contexts, folk dancing becomes for Zorba and, in extension for the Greeks, a primal non-verbal behavior, an authentic voice, a “deeper body language”.<sup>35</sup>

Marta Savigliano argues how tango is the only place in which she feels comfortable, restless, but at home, especially when not at home.<sup>36</sup> Such is Zorba’s story. His dance both hurts and comforts him. It is his changing, resourceful source

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<sup>30</sup> Dimitris Papanikolaou, *Zorba's Transformations*, Nikos Kazantzakis 2004 University of Crete Conference Proceedings 2006, 92.

<sup>31</sup> But, unlike Zorba, he does not merge with the dance; in Nietzsche’s terms, he does not become the work of art (P. Bien, *Zorba the Greek, Nietzsche, and the Perennial Greek Predicament*, 159).

<sup>32</sup> M. Hnaraki, *Unfolding Ariadne's Thread: Cretan Music*, 102-108.

<sup>33</sup> Gail Holst-Warhaft, *Song, Self-Identity, and the Neohellenic*, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 15 (2), 1997, 233.

<sup>34</sup> Eleni Kazantzaki, *Nikos Kazantzakis: The Uncompromising; Biography Based on Unpublished Letters and Texts*, Athens, 1983, 567.

<sup>35</sup> For a more detailed discussion on the relationship of the folk and the authentic in Kazantzakis’s work see S. Philippides, *Topos: Theses on the Narrative Word of Seven Modern Greek Writers*, Kastaniotis, Athens, 1997, 209-230.

<sup>36</sup> Mart Savigliano, *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1995.



of identity, his strategic language, a way of talking about, understanding, exercising decolonization.

“Boss, I have never loved a man as much as you. I have hundreds of things to say, but my tongue just can’t manage them...So, I will dance them for you”. It is when feelings well up to the point where words can no longer suffice that Zorba begins dancing. For Zorba, the impersonator of the folk, or for any Greek, in extension, dance is the ultimate creative act and follows its own, natural laws. Despite the fact that the book does not end with the dance scene, most people continue to see the conclusion as the hero learning to dance and thereby to perceive the world in the manner of his mentor.

Kazantzakis’s biological father demanded that his son becomes a fighter, and not a writer. By using folk elements, such as the afore-mentioned vivid dance scene, Kazantzakis indirectly describes his liberation as a writer, which lies in the discovery of an “authentic” person; the narrator of popular, folk stories. In this sense, Zorba teaches Kazantzakis how to express himself in folk style; he becomes his foster father.<sup>37</sup>

Greeks are passionate people. They adore life and enjoy living. But, as the wise Buddha said, the more you are attached to this world, the more you suffer. From the times of Homer the complaint is the same: Life is wonderful, but so short! Let’s not forget that the Greek word for song (*tragoudhi*) stems etymologically from the ancient Greek word “tragedy”.

The original Zorba, the hero of Kazantzakis’s novel, is a passionate but not a jovial person. In his depth you can find a lot of despair. His merry-making is tinged with a strong taste of regret. You can hear this in Greek songs. You can feel it in the deep, serious expression of a male solo dancer. He is not having fun. He is expressing the beauty and agony of living. Indeed, Zorba transforms his metaphysical questionings into structured, rhythmic movement: Who made the world? Why? Why do we die? Where do we come from and where do we go?<sup>38</sup>

Dance, after all, is a body dialogue with the queries. Zorba travels with an open chest and closed eyes. His dancing teaches unity and pride, the take-off. He deals with God; He speaks a language that cannot be interpreted, but felt. Zorba taught Kazantzakis to love life’s trouble,<sup>39</sup> and not to be afraid of death. Through movement, with no fear and no hope, the writer shall be free!

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<sup>37</sup> S. Philippides, *Ambivalences: Theses on the Narrative Word of Six Modern Greek Writers*, 177-183.

<sup>38</sup> Nikos Dimou, *Dialogues: The metaphysics of “grinia”*, [http://www.ndimou.gr/dial\\_7.asp](http://www.ndimou.gr/dial_7.asp)

<sup>39</sup> After all, quoting... Zorba, “life is trouble, only death isn’t”! N. Kazantzakis, *Zorba the Greek*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1953.

## Flights

I experienced great agitation and fellow feeling as I gazed at this flying fish, as though it was my own soul I saw on that palace wall painting which had been made thousands of years before. “This is Crete’s sacred fish,” I murmured to myself, “the fish which leaps in order to transcend necessity and breathe freedom.” Did not Christ, the ICHTHYS, seek the same thing: to transcend man’s destiny and unite with God, in other words with absolute freedom? Does not every struggling soul seek the same thing: to smash frontiers? What good fortune, I reflected, that Crete should have been perhaps the first place on earth to see the birth of this symbol of the soul fighting and dying for freedom!<sup>40</sup>

Though the boss danced, he did not become like Zorba. He did not wish to pass the remaining of his life in Dionysian enthusiasm. He learnt from him, however, how to face the contradictions in life with happy disposition. He wrote a book on him, creating an Apollonian parable of Dionysian knowledge, succeeding, once more, Greece’s mission toward western civilization throughout the ages: To bring together the eastern instinct (*pathos*) with the western reasoning (*logic*).<sup>41</sup>

Kazantzakis was definitely not aware of what we would formally call today “art-” or “dance-therapy”. Following, however, a reflective path as a writer, he kept targeting resolution and personal satisfaction through his works. His Zorba is contemporary and global in that he is both real and constructed, as we all also are. The same way Kazantzakis’s Zorba opposes to the “boss”, our identity dissolves into multiple, contradictory forces. We are all many, and full of oppositions, our unity being only a fake structure.<sup>42</sup>

More than 60 years since Kazantzakis wrote Zorba and more than 40 since it became a film, Zorba the Greek is still, worldwide, the recognizable cultural-artistic product of Greece – even the “passport” of modern Greece. It may even symbolize the folkloric Greece that many of us want to get rid of, but its sincere aim is to teach us how to find personal freedom by dancing, by performing a creative act, undergoing a change analogous to creation. After all, it was a friend, Alexis Zorba, who molded Kazantzakis, who, in turn, created Zorba the Greek, and, by extension, us all modern dancing Zorbas.

(Translated by the author)

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<sup>40</sup> N. Kazantzakis, *Report to Greco*, 454-455.

<sup>41</sup> P. Bien, *Nikos Kazantzakis Novelist*, Bristol, 1989, 20.

<sup>42</sup> S. Philippides, *Dostoyevsky’s Descendants, Mereskovsky and Kazantzakis, and Kazantzakis’s Narrative Art*, Unpublished Paper Delivered at the Nikos Kazantzakis 2007 University of Crete Conference, 2007.

**Марија Хнараки**

## **Језик тела: Зорбин плес**

*Кључне речи:*  
плес, Грчка, Грк Зорба, Никос Казанцакис

Никос Казанцакис, писац критског порекла, аутор је популарног романа *Грк Зорба*, који је извршио значајан утицај на интелектуалце у смилсу откривања шта то они нису и шта је њихово потиснуто ја. Другим речима, понудио је Западњацима прототип ослобођења. Према овом роману снимљен је и истоимени филм, у коме глумац Ентони Квин подучава плес, представљајући Грчку као земљу снажних, страствених и спонтаних емоција.

Ничеов контраст између Аполона и Дионизија, и различитости у погледу на свет, представља суштину Казанцакисовог дела. Аполон – писац, представља дух рационалности и реда, док, Дионис – Зорба, представља дух екстазе и спонтаности живљења. Очигледно да је Ниче имао велики утицај на Казанцакиса: Зорбино понашање се може посматрати и као рефлексивна Ничеових идеја о надљудском.

У суштини, читава прича о Зорби је бајка посвећена идеји о свести и телу коју Казанцакис прижељкује за вечиту Грчку (или Хеленизам), а која треба да представља расу Грка као такву, једну дивну синтезу Истока и Запада. Управо кроз Зорбу, писац успева да приближи Исток и Запад, као појмове и искуства који се могу доживети у пишчевој домовини, на острву Крит.

Научници су, такође, покушали да укажу на извесне политичке конотације садржане у роману. Кроз свог главног јунака, писац поставља питања морала и судбине наспрам слободне воље.

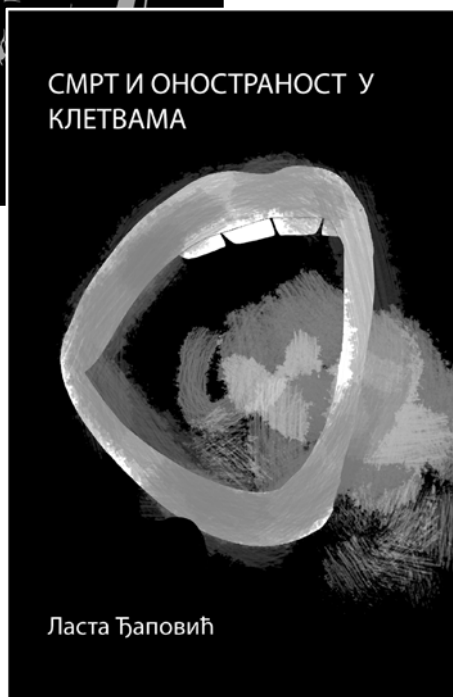
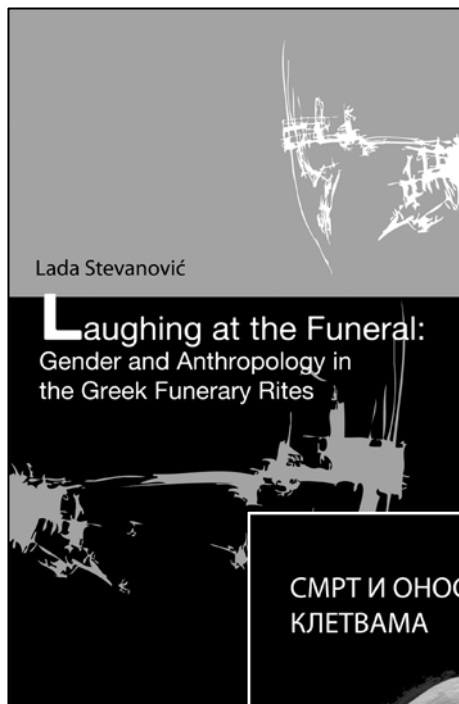
Психолошка анализа Зорбиног карактера може да укаже да главни јунак – који живи и доживљава све снажно као да је први пут, представља сушту супротност свом биолошком оцу, озбиљном, доминантном капетану Мајклу. У многим делима, писац често детаљно описује постепени развој психолошких услова који су довели до потребе за плесом или певањем.

Плес је веома важан у култури Грка, јер се Грци изражавају кроз говор тела. Кроз говор тела, Грци успостављају дијалог између западњачког – Аполоноског реда и источњачког – Дионизијског хаоса. Грци живе живот; и као Зорба, њихов рођак, они играју кроз живот.

Очигледно је да су Зорбине приче више повезане са телом и телесним него са главом и мозгом. У таквом контексту, народни плес постаје за Зорбу, и за Грке, примарни вид невербалног понашања, један аутентичан глас, значајнији говор тела, који изражава лепоту и агонију живљења.

Плес, на крају, јесте дијалог тела које поставља питања. Зорба путује кроз живот дишући пуним плућима али одбијајући да гледа око себе. Он подучава уједињење и понос. Плесач разговара са Богом, он говори језиком који не може да се преведе али се може осетити. Као и Грк Зорба, плесач има много тога да каже али пошто се то не може исказати речима, исказаће се кроз плес.

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## **Funeral Ritual and Power: Farewelling the Dead in the Ancient Greek Funerary Ritual\***

The paper discusses the development of the traditional genre of lament for the deed in Greek antiquity, that is possible to follow since the earliest written traces (of oral tradition such as Iliad) all up to Modern Greek times. However, focus of the paper is made on the development of this female oral genre and restrictive laws and measurements against this traditional form as a consequence of the formation of the first Greek city-states. What were these measurements like, who were they aimed against and why was it necessary to control ritual lament? Was this control successful?

**Key words:**

lament, women, men, power, Solonian law

### **Women in mourning and men in praising**

*Moderate lamentation is the right of the dead;  
Excessive grief the enemy to the living.*

Shakespeare, *All's Well that Ends Well*, 1.1.54-55

*At the cemetery everybody is dead,  
only women are alive.*

Duško Radović

Hecuba: "O child, son of my hapless boy, an unjust fate robs me and your mother of your life. How is it with me? What can I do for you, luckless one? For you I strike upon my head and beat my breast, my only gift; for that is in my power."

(Euripides *Trojan Women* 789 – 795)<sup>1</sup>

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Lamentation is the central part of each funerary rite. The earliest evidence that testify the existence of lament in Greece goes back to the Mycenaean period (1600-1100 BC). Painted sarcophagi with the representations of mourners from the end of the Bronze age were found in Tanagra in Boetia.<sup>2</sup> These mourners appear either in processions, or individually, with their hands raised to their heads, at the bier or around the grave. This schematic pose coincides with images from the Geometric vases, Archaic clay plaques and vases, as well as the white-ground *lekuqoi* from the Classical period. Apart from these, among Mycenaean votive and funerary offerings, we come across variation of the female clay figurine with both hands placed on the head, while the clay models from the Geometric and Archaic period repeat the same gestures. These kind of offerings, the same as painted mourners on vases or sarcophagi actually represent more lasting embodiment of an important part of funeral ritual – the expression of grief for the deceased one.<sup>3</sup>

Lamentation in the age of archaic, classical Greece, as well as the one of the rural Greece, is performed during the wake, and sometimes (when otherwise is not prescribed by the laws) during the procession and at the grave site itself. It is the duty of women and, above all, it belongs to the household and the feminine space. Therefore, by the time, it became most firmly related to the preburial wake, which is tied to the household. The lament quoted above is a fragment from the Euripides' tragedy, which, the same as many traditional laments, begins with the wailing of lamenter's (mother's) own ill fate, describing as well the acts of self-mutilation, characteristic for this phase of the ritual. Exactly these types of laments, from tragedies, represent the precious material for the research of Classical Greek ritual lamentation. Although belonging to the literary tradition, it is possible to regard it as a trustworthy evidence of antique everyday ritual practice. This position is based on the argumentation developed by Nicole Loraux, and her critique of Plato's understanding of the mimesis and the theatre.<sup>4</sup> Namely, Loraux argues that Athenian theatre is not mere imitation of life, but actually archetypal re-enactment of life. This standpoint is further supported by the argumentation of Olga Freidenberg, who developed the whole theory about the transformation and the development of the Greek literary forms, directly from the religious behavior, which further implies very strong intertwinement between ritual forms, genres, and literary contents.<sup>5</sup> On these grounds it is possible to regard laments from the tragedies as models for eve-

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<sup>1</sup> Greek text ed., by Gilbert Murray, English translation by E. P. Coleridge. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>

<sup>2</sup> Mourners painted on clay sarcophagi. About 1250-1150 B.C. Iakovidis 1966, 49, figs.5,6 cf. D. Kurtz & J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, Cornell University Press 1971, 27.

<sup>3</sup> D. Kurtz & J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, 27-28.

<sup>4</sup> Plato on mimesis, *Laws*, 658-659c, 669b-670b. Despising women's behavior during lamentation *Laws*, 395 d/e.

<sup>5</sup> See Olga Fredienberg, *Mit i antička književnost*, translated into Serbian by Radmila Mečanin, Prosveta, Beograd 1987.

ryday life laments.<sup>6</sup> Apart from that, tragedies and their plots are, from the earliest examples, related to the topics of death; they deal with murders, revenge, sacrifice, guilt, retribution and, of course, with lament.<sup>7</sup> Concerning lamentation and funeral rituals of other Greek poleis, it should be noted that, apart from Sparta - famous for its inhumanly heroic mothers (who, offering a shield to their sons going to war, bid them goodbye with words to come back “with it or on it”), it is supposed that the praxis of lamentation in other parts of the Greek world was similar to the Athenian one.

Although Greek tradition of lamentation ascribes in particular to women this important praxis, there is an earlier evidence, from *Iliad*, in which Achilles mourns, and (this is even more surprising), shows excessive grief for his killed friend Patroklos:

A dark cloud of grief fell upon Achilles as he listened. He filled both hands with dust from off the ground, and poured it over his head, disfiguring his comely face, and letting the refuse settle over his shirt so fair and new. He flung himself down all huge and hugely at full length, and tore his hair with his hands.

(*Iliad* XVIII, 22-27)<sup>8</sup>

Achilles' incontrollable behavior is a unique example of men's excessive mourning in Greek tradition. The hero pours the dust on his own head and painfully lays outstretched on the ground, tearing his hair. Finally, his pain turns into wrath, and he decides to fight against the Trojans. In the *Republic*, Plato, through the words of Socrates, comments that such exaggerated wailing is not appropriate for women, let alone men, even criticizing Homer for presenting Achilles in such unrestrained manner:

We will beg Homer and the other poets not to be angry if we cancel those and all similar passages, not that they are not poetic and pleasing to most hearers, but because the more poetic they are the less are they suited to the ears of boys and men who are destined to be free and to be more afraid of slavery than of death.

(Plato, *Respublica* 3.387 b)<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Loraux also suggests that lament in tragedies follows the model of professional rather than non-professional norms, which is the reason why tragedy does not distinguish (as epic does) difference between the professional and the nonprofessional one (*qrhno-* and *gob-*). Loraux 1985, x.

<sup>7</sup> Gail Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices: Women's Lament and Greek Literature*, T J Press Ltd, Patsdow, Cornwall 1995, 127.

<sup>8</sup> www.perseus.tufts.edu; . English translation by Samuele Buttler.

<sup>9</sup> Plato, *Respublica* 3.387b-d; Greek text based on Platonis Opera, ed. John Burnet, Oxford University Press, 1903. and English translation Plato in Twelve Volumes, Vols. 5 & 6 translated by Paul Shorey, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1969. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>



It is clear from this fragment that the very emotional reaction and expression of feelings on the occasion of someone's death is not desirable. The reason for this should be searched in the male (citizen) identity construction in Athens during fifth and fourth ct. BC. Namely, showing, experiencing and sharing someone's pain for the loss of someone dear, might put into question desirability of bravery and readiness to die for the motherland, the essential component of Athenian (and Greek) civil identity.<sup>10</sup>

This description of Achilles' mourning as a male ritual behavior, has no parallels in Greek tradition. However, there are in *Iliad* some laments of women (either human or divine) that clearly belong to the Greek tradition. Particularly interesting example is the lament of Briseis for Patroklos:

Briseis, fair as Aphrodite, when she saw the mangled body of Patroklos, flung herself upon it and cried aloud, tearing her breast, her neck, and her lovely face with both her hands. Beautiful as a goddess she wept and said, "Patroklos, dearest friend, when I went hence I left you living; I return, O prince, to find you dead; thus do fresh sorrows multiply upon me one after the other. I saw him to whom my father and mother married me, cut down before our city, and my three own dear brothers perished with him on the self-same day; but you, Patroklos, even when Achilles slew my husband and sacked the city of noble Mynes, told me that I was not to weep, for you said you would make Achilles marry me, and take me back with him to Phtyhia, we should have a wedding feast among the Myrmidonos. You were always kind to me and I shall never cease to grieve for you."

(*Iliad*, XIX 282 – 300)<sup>11</sup>

There are many patterns in this lament that may be followed through the Greek tradition of lament performing all up to 20<sup>th</sup> century. First of all Briseis mutilates herself, tearing her breasts and her neck, beginning the lament with the direct addressing Patroklos, focusing also on her own misfortune. Also, she praises him for all he has done for her, wherefore she would not ever stop grieving him.

Another example that fits into the patterns of traditional Greek laments is the one of divine Thetis and her sisters Nereides, devoted to Achilles, before he meets his death: Thetis mourns together with her sisters; she starts with the mourning herself and her ill-omen, focuses afterwards on her son's qualities and praises, comparing him to a tall tree and finishes wailing the misfortune of her son's ill fate:

"Listen," she cried, "sisters, daughters of Nereus, that you may hear the burden of my sorrows. Alas, woe is me, woe in that I have borne the most glorious of offspring. I bore him fair and strong, hero among heroes, and he shot up as a sapling; I tended him as a plant in a goodly

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<sup>10</sup> Moreover, if everybody could have grieved according to one's own wish, than it would have been difficult for the city-state to control the rage and conflict.

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>; English translation by Samuele Buttler.

garden, and sent him with his ships to Ilion to fight the Trojans, but never shall I welcome him back to the house of Peleus. So long as he lives to look upon the light of the sun he is in heaviness, and though I go to him I cannot help him. Nevertheless I will go, that I may see my dear son and learn what sorrow has befallen him though he is still holding aloof from battle.”

(Homer, *Iliad*, XVIII, 52 – 64)<sup>12</sup>

## Terminology and Structure of the Greek Lament

When it comes to terminology for the laments and mourning in ancient Greece, the most common are *gōv-*, *qrhno-* and later *kōmmōv*. The etymology for the first two (*gōv-* and *qrhno-*) is Indo-European and refers in both cases to the shrill cry.<sup>13</sup> And though etymology is very valuable as an indicator of the word origins, it does not have the essential impact on the later usage and meaning development of words. Thus, the meaning of those two words changed over time, sometimes diverging in different directions, sometimes becoming similar again. Concerning archaic usage and usage by Homer, the meaning *qrhno-* is more ordered and polished, associated often with divine performers and musical elements usually performed by professional mourners.<sup>14</sup> *Gōv-*, as a term for a less restrained lament, was a spontaneous weeping of the kinswomen. From the time of Homer and onwards, *gōv-*, was becoming more and more individualized and developed more into the narrative. But then again, when we come to the language of tragedies, these terms are often mixed up and treated as the same. Concerning later scholarly definitions *qrhno-* stands for the ritual lament for the dead, which also contains some elements of praising; it is sung on the occasions of death, but also on various occasions of mourning at the tomb. In tragedies we come across one more term - *kōmmōv*. At the beginning it was a specific type of tragic lament, often followed by the wild gestures and associated with the Asiatic ecstasy, and the same as *ip/emo-* it was also used in tragedy in the meaning of “lament, dirge”.<sup>15</sup> Eastern connection point that it is unlikely that this term is exclusively related to tragedy, and it probably evolved as a dramatic form from the ritual antiphonal lament of the professional and predominately choral mourners on the one hand, and the solo and narrative improvisations of the kinswomen on the other. From the Classical period onwards, the tendency was to treat as synonyms all different terms for a poetic lament that had originally denoted distinct aspects of the ritual lamentation of the women. Though

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Frisk, s.v. *gōv-*, *qrhno-*.

<sup>14</sup> Homer, *Odyssey* XXIV, 60, *Iliad*, XXIV, 720, *Plu. Sol.* 21, 5; *Pi. I.* 8.63-4, *Pi, P.* 12.6-8; *Pl. R.* 388d, 398e. This is also reflected in the literary *qrhnoi*.

of Pindar and Simonides, characteristic for gnomic and consolatory character.

<sup>15</sup> Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Rowman&Littlefield, Oxford 2002, 103.

the terminology is mixed and imprecise in the matter of laments in tragedies, it is important that all these laments marked with different terminology, might be treated as *qrhnoi* according to its scholarly definition, which means as ritual laments and not literary ones, since theatre and mimesis that is specific for it, represents re-enactment of the real life.<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand, it is also possible to trace the tradition (though for the most part literary one) of the men's way of expression at one's death. Unlike women's lament, which is based on a ritual act or cry of lamentation, often accompanied with music, another (literary) tradition — of epigrams, *epigo-*, *epitafio- logo-* and *epikhdeion* — developed from the social and literary activity of men. This tradition is characteristic, above all, for the elements of commemoration and praise, which are, although to much less extent, presented in the archaic *qrhno-*. I am going to return to topic of male tradition again in the context of the state control over the funeral ritual, which led to the introduction of the new rhetorical genre – funeral oration (*epitafio- logo-*).

Apart from the sources from tragedies, the research of ancient ritual lament is, due to recognizable folklore tradition, often complemented with studies of modern laments. Namely, despite the long historical period that separates them, modern and ancient laments show remarkable similarities and numerous coinciding survivals of motives and ideas. There is also linguistic confirmation that witnesses continuity. The etymology of the word *moirologoi* points to the ancient origin: both components *moiro-* and *logoi-* belong also to demotic Greek. The first is probably derived from the noun *moira* (fate)<sup>17</sup>. In the modern folk tradition *moirologoi* are thus ritual laments sung at the occasion of death. The word that is used in learned and religious language is *qrhno-*.

The comparative researches of ritual laments in Greek tradition from Classical, across Byzantine all up to the Neo-Hellenistic period, based on researching on the diversity of sources (literary, archaeological, historical, and field research) revealed that Greek traditional lament is characterized for emotional intensity, it is improvised and it has antiphonic performative structure, focusing on negative aspects of the separation of the dead from the kin group, having sociological base in the discourse of women. The characteristic of numerous fragments is to address the deceased. Also, concerning the fact that lament represents a form of public speech (since it is held not only at home, but also on the grave, which belongs to the public domain), it delivers certain (public) message to the living. Apart from this, communicational function, it also has a psychological one — it channels the pain, both of

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<sup>16</sup> Nicole Loraux, *Mothers in mourning*, Cornell University Press 1998, XI.

<sup>17</sup> Homer often uses *moira* in the formulaic phrases as the agent of death or bringer of doom. *Iliad* IV, 517, XIX. 409-10, XIII, 119 cf. Loraux 1985, 110.

lamenting herself and of the whole collective.<sup>18</sup> This, almost proverbial idea in antiquity, is expressed by the chorus of Trojan women to Hekabe:

*“What sweet relief to sufferers it is to weep, to mourn, lament,  
and chant the dirge that tells of grief!”*

(Euripides, *The Trojan Women*, 608- 609)<sup>19</sup>

So, apart from being connected to the uncontrolled behavior and self-mutilation (tearing the hair, beating the breasts and grabbing the face) that might be perceived as a danger and manifestation of madness, lament functions at least on two different levels: psychological and communicational.<sup>20</sup> Concerning the psychological level, its main function is the direct confrontation with pain and loss, that, in the case when people lose someone very close, provokes enormous sorrow that sometimes might be disastrous. It is the funeral ritual and especially lamentation, which provide the bereaved ones with the strong and direct confrontation with their own pain in order to live it through, with the support of those who are present at the funeral. The mere fact that funeral ritual is spatially and temporarily divided from the everyday reality, speaks in favor of the argument that it represents a kind of support to the bereaved to return to normal life after defined (and limited!) time period, relieved and recovered, after experiencing and going through a great distress.

Concerning the communicational aspects, lament covers two of them, addressing both the deceased and the living. The second aspect develops in the political sphere, since lament, and the domain of death and those who control it, provides very strong power in the public domain, giving the lamenters an opportunity to influence the community.

Although lament is the form that is not fixed and is being spontaneously created at the occasion of death as an emotional response to it, at the same time it is a form that is creative, and as such it obeys to certain, defined rules, or as Gail Holst-Warhaft defines, it is a “structured emotional response to death”.<sup>21</sup> Besides that, the lament is not expressed only by an individual woman, but by many (usually the closest kin, or professional mourners), and in the case that one loses control, other join to help her. That is why there are usually several lamenters, so some of them can mediate the behavior of others, if necessary. Apart from that, the participation of more women in lamentation might have also psychological function – to support the bereaved in her enormous pain. In relation to collective character of performance stands also the antiphonal structure of lament that is traceable to Homer’s

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<sup>18</sup> See more in M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Rowman&Littlefield, Oxford 2002. G. Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices...N. Loraux, Mothers in Mourning...*

<sup>19</sup> English translation by E. P. Coleridge. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>

<sup>20</sup> The examples of self-mutilation that follow lamentation are numerous in tragedies. Cf. Aeschylus, *Choephoroi* 22-31, 423-428. *Persai* 1054- 1065. Sophocles, *Electra* 89-91, Euripides, *Supplices* 71, 826-827, 977-999, 1160, *Alkestis* 86 – 92, 98 – 104, *Andromache*, 825-835. *Phoenissae* 1485 -1492. Earlier evidence also in *Iliad* X, 78, 406, XXIV, 711.

<sup>21</sup> G. Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices...39.*

*Iliad*.<sup>22</sup> This antiphonal structure also survived in popular hymns such as the one devoted to Kouretes and the Elian Hymn to Dionysos.<sup>23</sup> And, of course, due to its inherently dramatic potentiality, the antiphonal lament in tragedy passed through very rich development. It is not necessary to turn attention to all particular forms of antiphony in tragedy (soloist plus choir in refrain; chorus alone; one or more soloist and chorus; imagined dialog between the living and the dead).<sup>24</sup> The key point about this issue is that the same antiphonal structure is still characteristic for modern Greek laments.

In the close relation to the antiphonal structure of lament stands specific socio-communicational code of women. Namely, recent sociological researches of men's and women's communication, point that men are more adapted to speak publicly and in monologues, while women communicate easier to other women, preferring to take turn in conversation while somebody else is speaking, developing by reference to the previous speaker.<sup>25</sup> Exactly such dialog nature is characteristic for numerous lamentations, which implies the same women's socio-communicational model with many dialogs and taking turns in conversation, continuously exists throughout the Greek patriarchal area ever since antiquity.

Concerning the period of lamentation and circumstances under which it is being performed, it is necessary to point that to be indulged in mourning and lamentation is proper only for the defined period of time and to certain extent. The period of lamentation (as well as the form, in the wider sense of meaning) is regulated exactly by the distribution of other ritual duties. And apart from devoting herself to mourning, and being "controlled" by the other lamenters, the mourner as well had to pay attention to her own needs, thinking of having a good meal. And exactly the eating at the funeral feast defines the end of mourning.

In spite of the fact that funeral ritual and mourning ceremonies have not changed much in Greece, from the Bronze Age until the beginning or the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, even later (although it only in some remote, rural parts of the country), this ritual has not always been supported by the state, and occasionally there were attempts to restrict it, especially to restrict women's role in it.<sup>26</sup> Why was at

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<sup>22</sup> The simple strophic pattern Ax Ax Ax<sup>2</sup> is illustrated in the laments for Hector in the end of *Iliad*, XXIV, 723-46, 747-60, 761-76.

<sup>23</sup> Page 1962, 871.

<sup>24</sup> For detailed analysis on the issue see Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Rowman&Littlefield, Oxford 2002, Chapter 7.

<sup>25</sup> See more on this topic in K. Minister "A Feminist Frame of the Oral History Interview", in *Women's words. The feminist practice of oral history*, S.B.Gluck and D.Patai, (eds.), New York, Rutledge, 1991, 27-41.

<sup>26</sup> Emily Vermeule *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, University of California Press, Berkley 1979, 12; Nadia Seremetakis who researched laments in Inner Mani in Peloponnese, during the 1980s, defines these village, their ritual praxis and believes as "internal margin of the modernity". Nadia Seremetakis, *Last Word: Women, Death, Divination in Inner Mani*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1991, 1.

all necessary to control funeral ritual and expressions of pain in laments related to it and what kind of restrictions were expected by these laws?

## Control over funeral rituals

According to the Athenian legislation of Solon from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, it was not allowed to mourn the dead openly and loudly, except for the closest kin. Apart from that, the dirge was prohibited on the day following the burial, as well on the tenth day after it, or on the anniversary of the burial. Also it was forbidden to lacerate own skin or to beat the breasts (self-mutilation as an imitation of the disintegration of the corpse), or to have in any way loud or noticeable procession. The law was also aimed against too much luxury in the funerals, characteristic for the former periods and apparent from e.g. so-called Dipylon (geometric) vases from Athens. The images on these sepulchral vases from the eight century BC represent usual funeral from the period: luxurious funeral procession that consisted of carriage with the rich carpets followed by mourners, but also the games testified by the rows of the racing chariots. According to Solonian law, the luxury was eliminated – it was prohibited to bury, as a sacrifice, more than three dresses, to sacrifice an ox, and speak bad about the dead.<sup>27</sup> Apart from Plutarchus, who cites the Solon's law, there is another source for it:

The deceased shall be laid out in the house in any way one chooses, and they shall carry out the deceased on the day after that on which they lay him out, before the sun rises. And the men shall walk in front, when they carry him out, and the women behind. And no woman less than sixty years of age shall be permitted to enter the chamber of the deceased, or to follow the deceased when he is carried to the tomb, except those who are within the degree of children of cousins; nor shall any woman be permitted to enter the chamber of the deceased when the body is carried out, except those who are within the degree of children of cousins.

(Demosthenes, *Against Macartatus* 43. 62)<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 21. 4-7 Those who offended this law were punished by *gunaikonomoi* – officials specially in charged to deal with women affairs, because women always indulge in unmanly and extravagante effeminate sorrow when they mourn. It is said that this law of Solon had been influenced by Epineides of Crete, who had enacted similar law in Phaistos. M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament...* 2002, 15. More on the relation of limitation of luxury and regulation of rituals see C. Ampolo, "Il lusso funerario" in *AION* 6, 1984, pp. 71-102.

1984.

<sup>28</sup> "The deceased shall be laid out in the house in any way one chooses, and they shall carry out the deceased on the day after that on which they lay him out, before the sun rises. And the men shall walk in front, when they carry him out, and the women behind. And no woman less than sixty years of age shall be permitted to enter the chamber of the deceased, or to follow the deceased when he is carried to the tomb, except those who are within the degree of children of cousins; nor shall any woman be permitted to enter the chamber of the deceased when the body is car-

In this passage Demosthenes informs us that the wake was moved from the grave to the house, while the procession at the grave had to be finished by the sunrise. Apart from that, during procession (*ekfora*), which was actually the central part of the ritual, women were not allowed to go in front of the men, but behind them, while the right to be on the wake had only women older than sixty and the closest keen.<sup>29</sup>

Concerning the island Ceos, there was a law from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, which was probably revisited version of earlier law, with the similar main points as the Athenian one. The procession had to be performed in a deep silence and women had to leave the grave (*shima*) before men appeared, not to disturb them with emotions. Unlike in Athens, the allowance of offerings was not so limited, but the vessels had to be removed from grave afterwards.<sup>30</sup>

Another restrictive law concerning funerals was introduced in Delphi. Dated to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, this law, the same as the one from Ceos, represents probably later version of an earlier law. This one refers to the limitation of the expenses for the offerings as well as to the procession – *ekfora*, during which the corpse had to be closely veiled. It was forbidden for the procession to stop for the lamentation. This law also forbade wailing and dirges at the tombs of those that passed away long time ago. All members of the family, except the closest kin, had to go to their own homes immediately after the funeral, while only the closest kin went home of the deceased. Another interesting regulation at Ceos concerned women's clothing. Namely, the clothes of mourners should have been grey/brown (this depends on how we translate the word *faian*), i. e. mixture of black and white, but never one of those colors.<sup>31</sup> This limitation referred to women only, while men and children could have worn white. This information is interesting from the perspective of some contemporary Balkan areas, especially rural places, where, still, women dressed in black and with the black kerchiefs on their heads, are automatically perceived by the surroundings as mourning women.

All the laws mentioned were aimed in the first place at limiting the number of female relatives and moderating their role in the funeral ritual – in order to be more quiet, and as invisible as possible. What is obvious is that constitution of city-states (poleis) and introduction of democracy that brought with itself limiting display of feminine grief, actually tended to move women as far as possible from the political and public sphere. However, it should not be forgotten that laws often diverge from the social practice and that it is impossible to find out to what extent these regulations were obeyed in Athenian democracy.

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ried out, except those who are within the degree of children of cousins.” Greek tekst and English translation by A. T. Murray from <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>

<sup>29</sup> This is testified also by texts from Aeschylus's *Choephoroi* 430, 8; Diodorus 11,38; However, the word this word often refers to denote whole ceremony.

<sup>30</sup> M. Alexiou, *Ritual lament...* 2002, 15 cf. LGS 93 A, pp. 261-2.

<sup>31</sup> Polybius even uses it in the meaning of “mourning”. Polybius, *Histories*, 30. 4. 5.

There are theorists who suggest that due to restrictions of women's role in funerary ritual, women, as a kind of compensation, got important role in all those life-cycle festivities (Thesmophoria, Anthesteria, Eleusian Mysteries, Adonia) that were celebrated both in vivacious and in mourning atmosphere,<sup>32</sup> and some of which are exclusively women festivals.

As already mentioned, Greek lament has been considered to be harmful for society since antiquity and according to Gail Holst-Warhaft, the force of lament is understood by the society as a kind of possession of lamenter by dangerous powers of dark – madness.<sup>33</sup> And it is the very power of madness and the authority of the lamenter over the rituals of death, that turn whole society upside down.<sup>34</sup> This relationship between death and madness is recognizable as well in the carnivalesque atmosphere of fertility rituals that are characteristic for such a behavior, which is completely opposite from the normal. It is in that transitional period, when one social order is broken and before the new one is constituted, that women who lament overtake the control. Although there are some cultures that perceive lamenters as mad, lamenters actually mediate emotions of the whole collective.

Obviously, the city-state was afraid of the institution of lament, as well as of the impossibility to control it – and that is why mentioned laws were introduced. Namely, one of the regulations of Solonian law that I have not mentioned yet, stipulated forbidding to talk bad about the deceased.<sup>35</sup> What does this mean? And does it go about some kind of censorship in the period of crisis provoked by death? Nicole Loraux claims that it does, and that controlling the ritual, was actually aimed at controlling women.<sup>36</sup> This control and the necessity to have it, should not be understood as if women were gathering after funerals and going to agora to make demands. Women's power was spread through the lamentation on the occasion of funeral, being grounded on two basic emotions – grief and sorrow. According to Nicole Loraux, it happens during the wailing, and in the moment when the mourning one confronts with incurable loss, that eternal sorrow turns into wraith (*mhni-*), and inverts into the wish and the call for revenge.<sup>37</sup> And this call is directly related

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<sup>32</sup> N. Loraux, *Mothers in mourning...*, 1998, 21, Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous voices...*, 1995, 100. Holst-Warhaft has noticed that all those festivities (Thesmophoria, Anthesteria, Eleusian Mysteries, Adonia) were rites performed for the gods in mourning, sometimes celebrated in vivacious, sometimes in the mourning atmosphere, but obviously expressing two sides of one genuine feeling, an outburst provoked in the confrontation to the forces of life and death. Nevertheless, some of the Festivities were supported by the city-state, may be as a kind of substitution for restricted female role in funerals (for example Thesmophoria).

<sup>33</sup> Holst-Warhaft compares the possession of the lamenter with witches and shamans who are, in certain historical periods and cultures, perceived as mediums for the dangerous powers. Holst-Warhaft 1995, 27.

<sup>34</sup> About death and madness as a preoccupation of western society see Foucault 1965.

<sup>35</sup> Plut. *Solon* 21. 1

<sup>36</sup> N. Loraux, *Mothers in mourning...*, 1998, 19; This control is also related to the decisions on property inheritance. Holst-Warhaft 1985, 117.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 44; Homer, *Iliad* XVIII. 318-23; *Antigone* 1249 and 1254.



to the blood revenge (vendetta). So this is the reason why the state introduced laws in order to control ritual and to keep silence about events that the polis wanted to suppress, causing the oblivion. Unlike in the period of aristocratic clan system (when women were allowed to lament publicly), the state overtook the control over the relations and conflicts between people.<sup>38</sup> Thus, it is possible to conclude that restriction of women's role in funeral rituals and the impact that it had on the whole community, went hand in hand with the restrictive laws that were aimed at the reducing the importance and influence of the aristocratic clans. We find the evidence for just lament, arising the spirit of revenge in the verses from Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*:

The murdered man has his dirge;  
the guilty man is revealed.  
Justified lament for fathers and for parents,  
when raised loud and strong,  
makes its search everywhere.

(Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 327 – 331)<sup>39</sup>

Such an interpretation of laws controlling mourning and its impact on blood revenge, may be supported and clarified also through the research of laments in rural Greece (i.e. in some part of it),<sup>40</sup> where blood feuds existed until half and even the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as one done by Nadia Seremetakis, who proved the influence of lament on vendetta (sometimes supporting the conflict to continue, sometimes mediating it, but usually calling for revenge).<sup>41</sup> In her study, called "The Last Word", Nadia Semetakis has researched the Inner Mani region,

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<sup>38</sup> G. Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous voices...*, 1995, 102-103.

<sup>39</sup> Greek text and English translation by English Herbert Weir Smyth, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>

<sup>40</sup> One of the most important methodological postulates of anthropology of antiquity is the requirement to compare ancient Greek culture to other cultures (regardless the time span that might appear) and anthropological fieldwork experience related to Greek or other cultures is regarded useful for researcher's positioning towards a particular historical and cultural context. This standpoint is directly related to the conservative and abandoned idea that Greece is a cradle of civilization is wherefore it should and may not be compared to any other culture.

<sup>41</sup> The method of including recent research on lament, based on the immediate anthropological fieldwork experience enlightens not only some aspects of Greek lament in the historical perspective, but also helps researcher's positioning towards particular context. The study of Nadia Seremetakis is particularly interesting, since it is based on the research during the longer period of time (1981-1991), while researcher herself has been not only outside scholar, but due to her family relation with the Inner Mani settlers, she herself shared everyday life with the settlers (during uninterrupted fifteen-month stay, and also during shorter, three- to four-month seasonal stays, but also through the ongoing contacts with the Mainiants in the Athens-Pireus area and in New York, where she lived). During her stays in Greece, she shared life with her family, participated in all the rituals she was researching, even lamenting herself. The Maniants accepted her as one of them, and she successfully succeeded to mediate the multiplicity of roles (kinswoman, representative of her clan, ethnographer) using this as an advantage for the constant change of perspectives. N. Seremetakis, *Last word* 1991.

exploring this area and social practices that surround death (including dreaming, lament improvisation, burying and unburying of the dead, as well as historical inscription of emotion and senses related to the persons, things and places).<sup>42</sup>

Seremetakis notices that in Inner Mani, isolated villages in southern part of Peloponnesus, society used to be divided into two kin institutions: *gerondikiy* council of all male elders and *klama*, the women's mourning ceremonies. These two institutions at the same time complemented and opposed each other in the social structure. While *gerondikiy* represented the formal juridical institution, the *klama* had indirect political and juridical power achieved through public ritualization. The conflictual relations between two institutions expressed the inherent tension between maximal lineage of the male social unit and the minimal lineage of the household. The discussion raised upon the same issues (code killings, inheritance, property disputes, marital relations and kin obligations) was subjected to different value system. The *klama* sometimes reinforced the decision of *gerondikiy* and sometimes contested them. This opposition reflects pervasive feminine critique of the control of the social order by men and exists even today, due to a fact that *klama* still appears as a social institution.<sup>43</sup> This, in particular, means that words said by women on the funeral were the command for male and emphasizes confrontation between male and female. Gail Holst-Warhaft does not agree in terms of confrontation that Seremetakis emphasizes and underlines that women were appreciated among men when singing and creating laments but agrees with her position about female influence on further relations in the conflicts.<sup>44</sup> How open is the call for revenge in those lamentations may be clear from one of the examples that Seremetakis quotes:

*Eh, Lazaros and Panayis  
and you, Fokas and Thodoris,  
what are you waiting for?  
The killer of Panagos  
is staying in Yerakia.  
Come close to me Periklis,  
you dog of ----clan,  
for me to ask you  
and you tell me  
if you happened to be there  
at the St. Stephanos locale  
when the killing occurred*

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<sup>42</sup> N. Seremetakis, *Last word...* 1991, 1.

<sup>43</sup> As a social institution, *klama* formally outlived *gerondikiy*. The last one nominally does not exist any more, but it has continued in the new institution of urbanization and modernization – the ideologies dominated by men. Thus, the continuity of tension women's and men's practices has not ended. *Ibid.* 126 -127.

<sup>44</sup> G. Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous voices...* 1995, 47.

*of big Panagoulakas.*<sup>45</sup>

Apart from this additional, indirect, diachronic evidence of the power of words pronounced by women on the occasion of funerals, a direct one is given by Plutarch, who explains the legislation of Solon as an attempt to prevent blood feuds. Namely, the Solon's legislative measurement against "everlasting hostility" was a reaction to the Kylon affair: the blood feud that followed Megakles' massacre of Kylon's fellow conspirators, who, after the failed coup d'état, escaped to one of the city's most sacred altars.<sup>46</sup> Related to this restrictive legislation is also the establishing of a genre of *epitafio- logo-*, funeral oration, which was held by some representative of the authorities (which means men) on the occasion of public funerals. This genre has a literary origin and its main characteristic is the praise and commemoration of the dead. It was Athenian invention and Demosthenes mentions that only Athenians give funeral orations for the citizens that died for their country.<sup>47</sup> According to the so-called ancestral law (*patrio- nomo-*), introduced by the city-state, the corpses of the fallen soldiers were returned to Athens and buried together.<sup>48</sup> Namely, the conclusion that we might make through the interpretation of the title of this law is that this custom has been existing from time immemorial, although it was introduced by Athenian city-state in the 5<sup>th</sup> ct. Exactly referring to "our ancestors" had the purpose of providing it with legitimacy and power.<sup>49</sup>

In accordance to the fact that during the wartime, the polis, which took care of the funeral of its soldiers, deprived families i.e. women, from their exclusive right to take care of their dead and to accompany them to the other world. More precisely, women could participate and mourn their dead who died as soldiers, but only in the frame of public ritual organized by the city-state. Women's right to organize and perform whole funeral ritual and thus to accompany the deceased to the Underworld was, in the periods critical for the polis, taken away from them. The voice of mothers, wives and sisters was damped in a mass, not to be heard. The main differences between *epitafio- log-* and *qrhno-* is that the later is characterized with emotional intensity, focusing on the negative aspects of the separation of the dead from the kin group, while *epitafio- log-*, praises death and the dead.

In spite all the measurements, laws and obstinate efforts, first of the city-state, and later of the church (which introduced its own ritual speech over the dead) to overtake the power and the control over the dead, and through that – over the living, the women's tradition of lament was not easy to eliminate, and it continued to exist parallel to all new models of talking on the funeral, surviving all up to modernity.

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 129.

<sup>46</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 21.

<sup>47</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Leptines*, 141.

<sup>48</sup> The corpses, or all bones dead that were found, used to be grouped by tribe in common coffins and interred together. Thucydides 2.34.

<sup>49</sup> Lada Stevanović, "Human or Superhuman: The concept of Hero in Ancient Greek Religion and/in Politics" in *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta* 56/2 Beograd 2008, 16.

**Лада Стевановић**

## **Погребни ритуал и моћ: опраштање од мртвих у античком грчком погребном ритуалу**

*Кључне речи:*

тужбалица, жене, мушкарци, моћ,  
Солонов закон

У једном од најстаријих људских обреда, оном који прати умирање и растајање од покојника, постојање тужбалице и оплакивања на простору Грчке забележено је на вазном сликарству још у микенском периоду. Овај рад се пре свега бави тужбалицом у класичном периоду, са посебним освртом на архајско доба, али узимајући у обзир читав распон у коме се ова форма, коју су као главне учеснице погребног ритуала изводиле жене (било професионалне нарикаче, било најближе сроднице умрлих – мајке, супруге и сестре), може пратити у грчкој традицији. Упркос огромном временском распону, препознатљиви су континуитет начина извођења (антифонов) и мотиви који се у тужбалици појављују. Ово је посебно занимљиво и стога што је кроз историју било више покушаја да се над женским оплакивањем и нарицањем успостави контрола. Наиме, након оснивања градова-држава (полиса), широм грчког света дошло је до увођења законских мера које су ограничавале и регулисале нарицање, и то на тај начин што су прописивале место и време за тужбалицу. Наиме, према новим правилима, нарицање је са гробља и из погребне поворке трбало да се пресели у кућу, где је било дозвољено само најближим сродницама. Детаљном анализом ових закона – Солоновог у Атини, као и закона са Коса и из Делфа, у раду се закључује да је разлог за то следећи: увођењем нове политичке (тј. државне) структуре и напуштањем клановског уређења друштва у Грчкој, спроводе се нова правила према којима у јавном животу (а самим тим и у јавном простору) учествују искључиво мушкарци. Међутим, управо кроз традиционалну, тј. ритуалну праксу, жене су ипак задржале могућност да говоре јавно – и то на гробљу, и то у време кризе изазване смрћу, када и порука тужбалице – која је упућена једнако мртвима колико и живима – одјекује још снажније него у свакодневним приликама. Моћ над живима у том тренутку повезана је са моћи над мртвима, коју су жене у погребним ритуалима несумњиво имале. Парадоксална ситуација повезана је са ритуалном нечистоћом (тзв. *миазмом*) која прати сваки контакт са мртвима, што је несумњиво више погађало жене. Управо изложеност *миазми* носила је са собом забрану изласка у јавни простор и одласка у храмове, и могуће је да је разлог томе што су жене остале

суверене владарке овог ритуала управо тај што су мушкарци избегавали да буду изложени оваквој нечистоћи. Дакле, уместо запоседања ритуалног простора који је био и остао женска сфера, држава је (а касније и црква) покушавала да спроведе законске мере којима би сузбила погребни ритуал и утицај који су жене кроз њега добијале. Једна од форми ове „борбе“ јесте и увођење посебног реторичког жанра – надгробне беседе, коју су изводили мушкарци, углавном државници, и то на јавним сахранама након погибије војника. За разлику од тужбалице у којој се смрт оплакивала и жалила, и кроз коју су се најближи (и оне које су нарицале, али и сви остали присутни) лично опраштали од покојника, у беседи се величао покојник, као и сама смрт. Овај рад одговара на питања зашто је било толико важно успоставити контролу над тужбалицом, тј. над онима које су је изводиле, као и на питања да ли је и којој мери је то било могуће.

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# The Serbs in Slovenia: a New Minority

The breakdown of the former Yugoslavia has resulted in formation of new, independent states while the former co-citizens and constitutive people have found themselves in new roles. Some have become a majority while some have become a minority, with an aspiration to affirm the status in the public sphere. As a country with a large numbers of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, Slovenia is facing a challenge of the confirmation of ethnic pluralism within its borders, along with solutions and appropriate places for “new” minorities (the usual appellation for ethnic groups formed by the members of the former Yugoslavia, where the Serbs are outnumbering the rest). At the same time, the new minorities face a challenge of constitution, foundation of their own associations, that is, formation of their own identity and public affirmation in the new context. This paper discusses these ongoing processes with a special attention to the Serbian ethnic group.

*Key words:*

Serbs in Slovenia, migrations, immigrants, ethnic minorities, categorization of ethnic group, status of ethnic groups.

In the newly created independent states formed at the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the former co-citizens and constitutive people have found themselves in new roles. Some have become a majority while some others have become a minority, with an aspiration to affirm the status within the new conditions. During the breakdown of the former Yugoslavia, some of these states went through harsh experiences of war and ethnic conflict. In the six newly formed states, the situation regarding ethnic relations and status of citizenship varies from state to state. This paper focuses on Slovenia, which managed to confirm independence and international acclaim the first out of the former Yugoslav republics. This has happened after the “ten day war”, a conflict between Slovenian territorial defense army and JNA, in June 27-July 6 1991. Thus, this state underwent the processes of transition with the optimal starting positions for creating modern, stable democratic state.

Even in this case, such processes carried certain problems leaving thus open ended questions.

In this paper, I will discuss the status of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia in the state of Slovenia, with a special emphasis on the Serbs, as the most numerous ethnic group.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Slovenian 2002 census, around 1.9 % (38.964) declared to be Serbs. After the Slovenians themselves, Serbs so appear to be the largest ethnic group in the country. The Serbian group was formed in several migration waves since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with a special influx at the time of Yugoslavia (1918-1991), especially so after WW II, mostly due to economic reasons. Given the different migration periods, the group is not homogenous: the members have different background, education and homeland areas. As well, the members of the Serbian ethnic group are habitually scattered, occupying urban and industrial centers throughout Slovenia.

In this paper I will briefly discuss data which reflect the contemporary status of the Serbs in Slovenia – such as various legislation, attitudes of the surrounding society, and similarities with other ethnic groups from the former Yugoslavia, socio-demographic characteristics, the group activities and affirmation within public sphere and so on.

## **New Minorities in the Republic of Slovenia**

After Slovenia declared independence subsequent Constitutional legislation followed, regarding regulations and character of the state.<sup>2</sup> These included legislative criteria regarding citizenship and foreign inhabitants. The citizenship principle is determined by The Law on citizenship in 1991, as well in some other regulative (Medved 2007) but not in the Constitution. This paper focuses on the status of the former Yugoslavia immigrants.

In this regard, the new state appeared as liberal. At one time period (June-December 1991), under the favorable conditions, all members of the former Yugoslavia with permanent residence in Slovenia could ask for, and in most cases, were granted Slovenian citizenship (Žagar 2001). According to the available official data, most of the immigrants, almost 80%, have used this option (Komac 2004: 791). However, this has also created a new category of people (29.054), whose problem,

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is a result of the project EI SASA: “Ethnicity: contemporary processes in Serbia, neighboring countries and Diaspora” (147023 MSTD RS) and cooperation between EI SASA and Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, since 2006. The fieldwork was performed in October 2006 (10 days) and June 2009 (2 days).

<sup>2</sup> The beginning of the 1990’s has witnessed a breakdown of the former federal state, with the Slovenian elite leading the way toward independence, achieved in 1990’ referendum, and confirmed in June 25 1991, with a Constitutional proclaim. The secession provoked a strong reaction of the other members of the federation, especially so Serbia and JNA. After the “10 day war”, the Republic of Slovenia has become an independent and recognized state.

created by the state itself, is not solved in the proper manner until today. These are “the erased” ones, the people who, due to the administrative mistake (some argue due to “the mistake built in the system”) did not apply for the citizenship in due time, and who were then totally erased from the population base of the Slovenia. In addition, the people’s personal documents as well as proofs on legal residence on the Slovenian territory have been systematically destroyed. A large number of the immigrants from the former Yugoslavia have found themselves among the erased.<sup>3</sup>

So, the law has established a right to citizenship as well as regulations regarding foreigners. The immigrants were mostly included in the new state as citizens,<sup>4</sup> hence the next question to be asked is an ethnic pluralism of the new state and its acknowledgment through legislation.

Based on its ethnic composition, Slovenia could be determined as a relatively homogenous state. All of the modern states today have to a certain extent, various ethnic that is national categories, different than the majority. The population base in Slovenia was affected to a large extent, by the migrations from the former Yugoslavia after WW II. That is how the percentage of those who declared as ethnic Slovenians gradually decreased from census to census:

1953 - 96,52%  
 1961 - 96,65%  
 1971 - 94,04%  
 1981 - 90,77%  
 1991 - 88,31%  
 2002 - 83,06%

The censuses of the Republic of Slovenia in between 1951-2002 show the following results:

<b>Nationality</b>	<b>1953</b>	<b>1961</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2002</b>
Slovenians	1 415 448	1 522 248	1 578 963	1 668 623	1 698 657	1 631 363
Italians	854	3 072	2 987	2 138	2 959	2258
Hungarians	11 019	10 498	8 943	8 777	8 000	6243
Roma	1 663	158	951	1 393	2 259	3246
Albanians	169	282	1 266	1 933	3 534	6186
Austrians	289	254	266	146	126	181

<sup>3</sup>See for example: Dedić, et. al, 2003; Beznec 2007; Stojić 2008.

<sup>4</sup>It should be noted that Slovenia firmly applies EU laws regarding permanent residency and citizenship, with procedures being time consuming.



Bulgarians	49	180	138	103	168	138
Bosniaks	...	...	...	...	...	21 542
Czechs	807	584	442	423	315	273
Montenegrins	1 356	1 384	1 950	3 175	4 339	2667
Greeks	24	50	24	15	21	54
Croatians	17 978	31 429	41 556	53 882	52 876	35 642
Jews	15	21	72	9	37	28
Macedonians	640	1 009	1 572	3 227	4 371	3972
Muslims	1 617	465	3 197	13 399	2 6577	10467
Germans	1 617	732	400	309	298	499
Polish	275	222	191	200	196	140
Romanians	41	48	41	93	115	122
Russians	593	259	297	189	167	451
Ruthenians	46	384	66	54	57	40
Slovakians	60	71	75	139	139	216
Serbs	11 225	13 609	20 209	41 695	47 401	38 964
Turks	68	135	52	86	142	259
Ukrainians	...	...	138	190	210	470
Vlacks	9	6	4	16	37	13
Others	352	449	293	526	1 021	1 548

Vague nationality	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Yugoslavs	...	2784	6616	25 615	12 075	527
Bosnians	...	...	...	...	...	8062
Regional	...	...	2652	3932	5187	1467
Others	....	....	....	....	....	48 588
Unknown	...	...	...	...	...	126 325
No answer.	...	...	...	...	...	48 588

	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
<b>Total</b>	1 466 425	1 591 523	1 679 051	1 838 381	1 913 355	1 964 036

The Slovenian political elite have embraced, in the Constitution and legislation, an ethnic pluralism. This was done on the level of individual and, for some group, on collective level. On the individual level, the Constitution guarantees freedom to express ethnic membership, culture, and usage of language and alphabet to all citizens.<sup>5</sup> As far as collective rights, they are also protected but only in few cases. Slovenian law makes a distinction between autochthons/native and immigrants<sup>6</sup> ethnic groups. Relying on EU standards, Slovenia especially protected three native groups (Italians, Hungarians, Roma). Hence, by applying this principle<sup>7</sup> and quantities, one can distinguish several types of ethnic groups in Slovenia. This has also affected the legislation (Žagar 2001:111):

1. Slovenian people/ ethnic Slovenians, as the native, majority ethnic group
2. native national minorities with a special protection guaranteed by the Constitution – the Italians and Hungarians
3. the native Roma group, also with a special protection guaranteed by the Constitution
4. minority ethnic groups, citizens of the Republic of Slovenia but without special protection; these are further divided into two groups, which incorporate persons who declare as Serbs today:
5. small native ethnic groups, such as the Serbs in Bela Krajina, Croatians living near the border, the Germans...
6. immigrant/new comers groups with Slovenian citizenship, immigrated relatively recently, mostly in the 1960's.
7. new comers, immigrants, without the Slovenian citizenship (foreigners) but with permanent residence (ibid).

This kind of division, however, is an object of scientific critique. Firstly, the distinction among native and new comer groups is considered unnecessary (Komac, 2007; Žitnik Serafin, 2008), even random and without foundation (Šumi, 2004). Secondly, due to the fact that not all native groups have the guaranteed protection, it appears that quantity (of membership) has influenced the lawmakers-which in effect, do not correspond to the principal regulatory solution (Bašič, 2005: 86-87).

In the terminology of the new state of Slovenia, in media, wider public and within the professional literature (mostly sociology and politics), the members of the people of the former Yugoslavia (the Serbs included) are labeled as “new” or, in Slovenian, “novodobne” minorities (Bašič, 2005: 86-87; Žagar, 2001: 116-118)<sup>8</sup>,

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<sup>5</sup> Article 61, the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, Uradni list RS 1, 33/1991 (Žagar 2001: 109).

<sup>6</sup> The Slovenian term for immigrants is “priseljenci”.

<sup>7</sup> In literature which does not make this distinction between native and new comer immigrant groups, one can find a more precise definition of ‘nativity’, based on Minority Right Group, 1990, xiv, where it says that a criteria for achieving this condition should be an assumption that 2-3 generations of ancestors of the groups in question, have lived in continuum at certain area (Žagar 2001:112).

<sup>8</sup> This terms seems as the most appropriate under these circumstances, hence I use it myself.

but some other disputable terms are used also such as non-Slovenians,<sup>9</sup> immigrants,<sup>10</sup> the rest,<sup>11</sup> code ABCHMMS.<sup>12</sup> It is important to emphasize once again that their collective rights are not guaranteed. Within relevant literature there are two perspectives about how these groups should be categorized and whether their status should be equal to those of the native minorities. According to the first perspective, it is not possible to equalize immigrant group with the “classical” minority (being present for a long time at the state’s territory, being at the same time a historical territory of the given minority); this is not being done in other states, including EU which in some proclaims specifically distinguishes between these categories (Žagar, 2001: 117). The second, seemingly prevailing perspective, holds that “new” minorities, that is, “immigrants” should have the same cultural and social needs as those labeled as “classic” or “historical”, or “native” minorities (Žitnik 2004; Žitnik Serafin 2008). The difference is in the way these respective minorities originated which does not imply that the state should not equally protect them (Komac 2007/1: 1-3); likewise, the new Slovenian state still did not find the best solution in responses to appearance of these new minorities but it certainly should provide them a better protection (Kržišnik-Bukić 2003: 36- 37). Some authors, in a critical manner, connect an emphasis of the idea of autochthon minorities with badly concept or notion of the Slovenian jeopardized nation and its small scope (Šumi 2004).

The question remaining, for these authors, is not should immigrants and their descendants be treated as minority with the protection rights but ways of achieving this, considering that the protected minorities – the Italians and Hungarians – assumed an existence of a historical territory occupied by these groups, on which account the state has granted them their rights and protection. This kind of system could not be applied automatically (Komac 2007/1: 61-63).

An interesting question to pose is, besides the state and social sciences, what is the treatment received from the surrounding society? The research of public opinion and vox pops from the 1990’s until today reflect continuous negative stereotypes associated with the categories of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia (Komac, 2000: 22-27; Omerzu, 2001). The difference between the autochthon and immigrant’ groups exists in the public oppinion too, including also the descendants from these groups born in Slovenia. This intolerance is present the most in the economic sphere (a large percent of the informants consider that the new comers are taking over jobs that the Slovenians should be doing, that in the case of economic crisis the new comers are the first to be laid off, that they should go back where

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<sup>9</sup> This is a negative determination – determining what is not, instead of what it is- and the members of the Serbian group reject this notion all together.

<sup>10</sup> This term includes also a second generation, born in Slovenia. The today’s immigrants immigrated to Slovenia while it was in the federation, and they have become foreigners due to the administrative change of the state status and not by immigration to some foreign country. It could be assumed that many have come to Slovenia in the 1970’s, and not to Austria or Germany

<sup>11</sup> This term also minimizes the significance of designated groups.

<sup>12</sup> This term is an abbreviation of the first letters of all the former Yugoslavia’ minorities. According to my Serbian informants, this terms is neutral having no specific content.

ever they came from etc.), then within cultural sphere there are questions regarding freedom of ethnic identity expression – for instance, there is a negation to the right of the usage of native language and education (ibid). The negative stereotypes are accompanied by negative connotations too: Southerners, Jugovics (Kržišnik-Bukić 2003: 13), Čefurji.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting to note that the usage of the term Čefurji/Southerners is being gradually altered, accompanying markings within sub-cultural or alternative ways of expression among the Slovenian younger generations. Recently, everything connected with the “Southerner” Balkans culture became a demarcation from the Slovenian mainstream culture, while the youth became accustomed and developer in a sense of the same trend (there is a huge popularity of the Southerners music of every kind, from the Balkans ethno-music to a specific Serbian turbo-folk).<sup>14</sup> This could be explained in various ways, being that the trend is still very marginal, still it may represent a beginning of a new way of understanding and acceptance of cultural diversity within the Slovenian society, which could lead to a new way of cultural pluralism.

## The Serbs in Slovenia: population characteristics

This part of the paper will present migratory processes that brought the Serbs to Slovenia, and in addition I will assess contemporary socio-demographic characteristic of the Serbs as a minority in Slovenia.

The migratory waves from south to north which had historically formed the Serbian group in Slovenia are not recognized today in an equal level. From the four most significant waves, the third was the largest and responsible for the formation of the group declared as Serbs today. However, even older migratory waves have certain influences on the identity concept and self determination of the Serbs in Slovenia.

The oldest level of immigrants, according to the historical data, belong to the group, small in numbers, inhabiting Bela Krajina, a region in the southeastern part of the state, near the river Krupa and Croatian border. The oldest source about the Serbs in Bela Krajina dates back to 1530 (Filipovic, 1970: 156). The migration is a consequence of the Turkish presence in the Balkans. Four villages- Bojanci, Marindol, Milići and Paunovići, numbering 243 people, declare today as being Orthodox and Serbian. They probably represent remnants of once numerous Orthodox populations, the descendants of the Uskoks’ which once inhabited the area of the former Military border, in between Ottoman Empire and Habsburg Empire. The Uskoks’ and general Orthodox populations, under the Turkish pressure, used to inhabit a larger area than these four villages from today. The other former Orthodox villages in Bela Krajina and Zumberak (on the other side of the mountain Gorjanci) are inhabited today by Greek-Catholics and Catholics (Petrovic, 2009: 25). Histori-

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<sup>13</sup> This is an unclear term, relating to Southerners and also people from the Balkans. Some explanations connect it with *Čifuti*, Turkish term for Jews.

<sup>14</sup> Fieldwork data, October 2006.

cal sources noted the populations of Bela Krajina and Zumberak as being one ethnic entity; however, in time, these populations became diverse in regards to national sentiment, religion and language. The process of nation-building in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had divided them into three groups- those that today accept Greek-Catholics and Catholics affiliation and speak only Slovenian; those (Zumbek) who accept Greek-Catholics affiliation but feel like Croats, and those outnumbered, who declare as Serbs, in the four mentioned villages and, in turn, experience complex and bumpy processes regarding language and identity (ibid.: 31-32). During the past 500 years, religion, customs as well as language were preserved; the language belongs to eastern Herzegovina dialect (Ivić 1991: 270, cited in Petrović 2009: 25). The preservation of the religion and language was aided by the prohibition of mixing with the populations of different religious confessions, as well as existence of school and church. Church was a significant unifying factor until WW II, when it gradually ceased to exist in the 1960s. The population entered exogamous marriages with near by populations of Orthodox confession, from Lika and Kordun in neighboring Croatia. The surrounding majority showed somewhat less distance during the era of socialism, and raised it at the time of independence. In 1990's referendum, the population mostly voted in favor of Slovenian independence; they did not ask for a minority status or schools in Serbian language. However, as many similar destinies of ethnic minorities in conflict times, they were treated as "suspects" in the period of secession and they were not included in the territorial defense of Slovenia in the beginning of the 1990's (Petrović 2009: 36-41; Knežević Hočevar 2004).

Migratory processes between Slovenia and the other areas of the state created after WW I (Kingdom of SCS, then Yugoslavia) were active. The combined state insisted on communication, hence the migrations took place in both directions. The Serbs who came to Slovenia in between the two wars were military personel, state clerks, educational and cultural workers. Based on cenuses alone (1921 and 1931) it is not possible to estimate their exact number since the population was noted down according to language and religion, and there was an option of choosing Serbo-Croatian language. Around 2% declared for this option, but this does not include only Serbs. Based on Ortodox affiliation, it seems there were around 5000. Also, in the period between the two wars, three Ortodox temples were build, in Ljubljana, Maribor and Celje. In 1941, the churches in Maribor and Celje were destroyed under the German occupation, by the war prisoners from Serbia (Banjac, 1997: 28). The descendants of this wave who have stayed in Slovenia are third or fourth generation, which by birth, socialization and citizenship is Slovenian but have kept religio affiliation and particular need for origin remembrance (Miletić, 2002: 7).

After WW II, migrations had intensified and this actually created the group who declares today as nationally, that is, ethnically special. The new, after-the war government needed some time to develop administrative apparatus, so there were no data on migrations until 1954 (Komac 2004: 797). It is well known, however, that after 1945, a large influx of Serbs arrived in Slovenia, officers, state administrators, war orphans and especially labor force/workers, who will in the later decades become the most significant migratory factor (Banjac 1997: 29). After 1954 a

registry was formed with the precise data about migrations; however, it has many flaws, and it is considered that the real number of immigrants is much bigger than presented by the official statistic. This was probable and possible since the migration happened within one state (Komac 2004: 789-790). In addition, in 1950's political reasons contributed to the migrations also. A number of students, who originated in ideologically inapt families, managed to continue schooling in other republics, especially at the University of Ljubljana, with much less ideological pressure (Banjac 1997: 29). Then, there is the economy.

In the period after WW II, migratory movements in the socialist Yugoslavia have become accelerated – both inner and inter – thanks to foremost the country's industrialisation. The 1961 data reveal that every third inhabitant of Yugoslavia lives outside his/hers respective place of birth. After that period, migrations have lessen but still appear as significant. A lesser part belongs to inter-republic migrations. This has brought about the population of Yugoslavia in the phase of demographic makeover- from relatively static to dynamic population. In the beginning of this process, more develop areas received more migrants, while undevelop areas remain the main source of the migratory population. In the period of the 1960's and 1970's, peasant population moved first toward more urban centers and then inter-regionally (to other federal republics) or abroad. At that time, the most people emigrated from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Rural and mountain areas are being abandoned in this time period (Mežnarić 1986: 25-38).

It is not possible to determine the exact number of immigrants in Slovenia. In 1981, the estimated number was 106.224 or 5.6% out of the population as a whole (15 years old and up). This however is just an estimate since many have worked without being registered. In 1971, the majority came from Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia. Most declared as Croatians, Serbs and Muslims. There were the least Albanians. Out of the Serbs for example, the majority came from Bosnia, mostly after 1971. This is the time when the migrations from Bosnia intensify. After 1974, at the time of market cessation in Europe, the pressure to move to Slovenia became greater (ibid: 69-77).

Here is how the sociologists in mid 1980's have described the proto-type of an immigrant in Slovenia: he came to Slovenia in between 1975-1985, low skill laborer, mother tongue is Serbo-Croatian (Serbian or Croatian), he is usually married while his family does not reside in Slovenia, he supports more family members than an average Slovenian and he generally comes from the least developed area in Bosnia and Herzegovina (ibid: 77).

In spite of this grim description, there were some better educated immigrants; all in all, this profile blended well into the local population characteristics since their educational level was quite similar. For instance, in 1981 census, Slovenia had only 3.3% college educated population (ibid: 72-74).

Migratory processes continued after this period too, although in somewhat different circumstances. In the late 1980's and beginning of the 1990's, the revival of nationalism and especially the wars have contributed greatly to migrations and contra-migrations... In beginning of the 1990's, after the 10-day war and Slove-

nian's secession, many of the military personnel (the former JNA) left Slovenia for good, either voluntarily or under pressure. It is not clear how many have left while some authors try to show that this exodus has never happened (Komac, 2004: 791). In time, it is probably that some objective numbers will come into light, after emotions settle on both sides. During the 1990's wars, Slovenia has accepted many refugees who have returned after peace talks during the mid 1990's. On the other hand, since the 1990's, many young and educated from Serbia have moved to Slovenia, attracted by the better life conditions and standards; some could not, in their own country, identify with the current processes of re-construction of the national identity. Their own sense of identification is rather connected with regional and local<sup>15</sup> and some cosmopolitan. This declaration does not imply that these people do not have certain cultural needs associated with their own objective ethnic identity (i.e., language). According to censuses, in 1991-2002, there were 23.245 individuals who have moved to Slovenia, where 6375 have been given Slovenian citizenship, while 16.873 had foreign status (Komac 2004: 801).

Besides, even today there is an ongoing process of migrations of unqualified labor force, after the establishment of 1992 on Law of employment of foreigners, many times in black market, and considering Serbian population, especially so from Bosnia.<sup>16</sup>

As far as socio-demographic data on the contemporary population, the censuses from 1991-2002 provide various information. Firstly, there is a question of how many immigrants there are.

According to the 2002 census, there were 38.964 Serbs in the republic of Slovenia; in 1991, there were 47.911. Percentage rates also changed during the years:

1953: 0,77%  
1961: 0,86%  
1971: 1, 20%  
1981: 2,27%  
1991: 2,48%  
2001: 1,96%

(Komac 2004: 790).

After the periods of gradual, percentage and absolute increase of the Serbs in the given periods, the number has decreased. There is a wide range discussion within literature about possible causes of this decrease of the Serbs (ethnic mimicry, assimilation or even moving out from pressure), while statistics do not provide the adequate answer (ibid, 796).

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<sup>15</sup> These data are gathered in Ljubljana in 2007; I thank PhD J. Djordjević from EI SASA.

<sup>16</sup> These are illegal migrations and this field data is difficult to back up with actual numbers, but Peric considers the same (Perić 2005: 746).

1991 census shows that 29.3 % of persons declared as Serbs were born in Slovenia, 36,9% were born in Bosnia 20,2% in Serbia, 5,1% in Croatia, 3,9% in Vojvodina, and 3,1% in Kosovo (Komac 2000: 8).

The most common cause for moving in to Slovenia (employment possibility, often in industry and personal services) has determined the most significant feature of the Serbian population- spatial dispersion. The least amount is noted in the municipality Ljutomer, and the greatest in the municipality Moste-Polje (Ljubljana). Other industrial centers also were densely populated: Velenje, Jesenice, Kopar, Kranju, etc. (Komac 2004: 797).

As far as gender and ethnic endogamy/exogamy, in 1991 census there were 53.6% men to 46.4% women. There were more singles than married, a consequence of the migration type. Even when there is a family, visitation is individual, at least in the beginning. This implies mix marriages potentially. However, considerable number of marriages is ethnically homogenous:

Ethnically homogenous .....	46, 82%
Ethnically heterogeneous .....	53, 18% <sup>17</sup>

Serbian women tend to be in ethnically homogenous marriages more than men (Komac 2000: 12-13).

On average, Serbs are older: 10,9% is above 60 years of age, and 20,1% are up to 18.<sup>18</sup> In the time period between the two censuses, Serbian population underwent a huge change: in 1991, it is relatively young (82.8% younger than 45 years of age) while in 2002 the process is reversed (aging population). (Komac 2004: 799).

In addition to the age structure, educational levels also have change in between two censuses. In 1991, almost half of the population had elementary school and less, while today 1/3 has the elementary school and less. It should be noted that due to the methodological differences, these data are not completely comparable. The number of the least educated part of population decreased partially due to the mortality rates of the older generations. On the other hand, the population with high school educational levels has increased: more than half of the today's generation has high school educational levels (54.1%). This also is the fact among the majority. College educational levels are low among the Serbs- the greatest level is among the Montenegrins (10%), Slovenians (7.1%), Macedonians (6.6%), Serbs (4.8%). Albanians, Muslims and Bosniaks range from 1.7%-0.5% (ibid: 789-791).

As far as occupation, there is a reverse trend among immigrants and the local population: immigrants are employed in jobs which the locals do not do (less paid jobs, simple jobs...), and their numbers is considerably lower in management, administration and agriculture. Activity of the working population is presented by

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<sup>17</sup> Among these, 33,98% individuals married into the majority, while 19,20% married into other groups.

<sup>18</sup> The same is valid for the majority of populations and other ethnic groups – optimal structure and younger generations are the characteristics of those declaring as Albanians, Bosniaks, Muslims and people from Bosnia..



more retired people among the locals, while the unemployment rate among the immigrants is higher- 8.5%-11%, depending on an ethnic group (ibid: 801-802).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the population of immigrants, and especially so their descendants, provides above the average rate of delinquency (Komac 2000: 29-30).

## **The Serbs in Slovenia – an insider's outlook**

After the secession, the members of the Serbian group have started to show a need to organize themselves and to exhibit their own identity, suddenly aware of the same in the newly created circumstances.<sup>19</sup> However, this new minority unexpectedly faced the challenge to turn an ethnic category from census into a self-conscious, institutionalized community which will be connected by firmer internal ties, more than ever.

The Serbs in Slovenia represent, as argued before, a relatively numerous but spatially, socially, educationally and judging based on many other characteristics (including regional origin, lifestyle, ideological differences etc) an inhomogeneous group. This makes it more difficult to the group to organize and to expect from its members to feel as one uniform community, connected internally by ties of solidarity and cooperation. In addition, one of the evident problems was that assimilation was greater than maybe expected although many members declared their known personal desire for preservation and expression of a separate ethnic or cultural identity. An especially illustrative example is language assimilation.<sup>20</sup> Lack of collective rights also bears some negative consequences. Among others, they include unpredictable, disorderly and insufficient granting of cultural activities, grim possibilities of schooling in Serbian language, lack of media, scanty presence in the Slovenian public sphere, lack of partnership with various majority institutions etc. In Slovenian media, the Serbian community still appears as stigmatized as a consequence of the conflicts in the past decade, even though the representatives of the Serbs claim they never took part in any such event which would harm the image of the community (Banjac 1997: 34). The general intolerance toward the others surely is not a solely characteristic of the Slovenian society but the Serbian community yet feel especially addressed. On the other hand, the Slovenian state allows and grants to everybody, including the Serbs, the equality of citizens. Considering the guaranteed citizens equal rights alliance, spontaneous self-organization has caused a creation of several Serbian associations in Slovenia.<sup>21</sup> In Ljubljana, there are three associations which make a foundation however, according to the accounts of the mem-

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<sup>19</sup> Similar attitudes exist on Croats in Slovenia (Peric 2005).

<sup>20</sup> Only about 20% of those who declared as Serbs claimed on censuses they speak Serbian language within their respective families (cited according to Miletic 2003). A specially interesting is socio-linguistic aspect: hybrid of Serbian and Slovenian language, which some use to communicate among themselves and with the majority. To my best knowledge, this was not researched.

<sup>21</sup> In October 2006 there were 14 of such associations, while in June 2009 – 15.

bers themselves, also make a potential for conflicts. Additionally, in other areas (Kranj, Postojna, Radovljici, Nova Gorica) there are numerous other associations which try to organize cultural and national life of the Serbs in particular places throughout Slovenia – and taken together, they represent Assembly of Associations of the Serbian community in Slovenia – the organization which had many difficulties to organize – vanity, ignorance, fear were among several factors influencing it (Banjac 1997: 36), but it has come to certain success today, in 2009. However, authorities of this Assembly are very limited considering the Slovenian laws hence this Assembly does not represent a legitimate representative of the Serbs in Slovenia as an acknowledged entity but only an alliance of cultural associations.

Serbian Orthodox Church has also a considerable role. It is common to stress out its specific role that is, a dimension in maintaining religious and national identity, and in the new circumstances, it grew even larger. Hence, the Serbs in Slovenia have a relatively intense religious life, although it can be questioned whether this is a religious life in the narrow sense or a need to gather together in times of crisis- as experienced by the members of this community in the post-socialist and post-Yugoslavian transformation of their own status and identity. Still, even the Church does not appear as capable of uniting all the Serbs in Slovenia – within the group, there must be some who are atheists, as well as those who do not experience the Church as a national institution or vice versa. Also, due to the living in a different environment and a large number of mixed marriages, it is possible that among those who feel like Serbs there are some who confess Catholicism or Protestantism.

One of the problems stressed out repeatedly by the informants in Ljubljana is that the home state does not provide systematic and calculated interest/plan for its minorities in neighboring countries, that is, towards the Serbs in Slovenia. Another issue is that almost one third of the Bosnian Serbs belong to this group and it is still not clear whether Serbia is their home land or not.

Finally, this particular minority group has managed to achieve considerable success in levels of inner consolidation and institutionalized development thanks to the effort of certain number of people, however many problems remain, in work conception and results alike. In addition to some very liberal solutions regarding citizens' rights protection as well as integration of immigrants into corpus of the Slovenian citizens, there is still a lack of formal acknowledgment of the status of national minority for several groups, including the Serbs in Slovenia. Such granted status would allow an affirmation within the public sphere, supported by the state, as well as more systematical possibilities of maintaining one's own cultural particulars. Integration of immigrants and their descendants is not a problem unique to the Slovenian state; many other countries, including those in EU, still haven't solved these problems or offered appropriate solutions. This further point out to the complexity of inter-ethnic relations in the contemporary world, which are being solved or unsolved with more or less success by even "older" democracies, new states with intertwine issues in cultural and political powers, as well as many other questions. These and other issues offer a possibility of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism in practice as proclaimed modern values. It appears thus that some of the practical solutions contain valuable solutions tested in practice and experience, while on the

other hand, perhaps every society should be regarded as a case for itself, where unique solutions would work much better toward the road of subtle multi-ethnicity.

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**Младена Прелић**

## **Срби у Словенији као новодобна мањина**

*Кључне речи:*

Срби у Словенији, миграције, мигранти, етничке мањине, категоризација етничких група, статус етничких група

Са распадом претходне заједничке државе (Југославије) и формирањем нових независних држава на њеном простору, ранији сународници и конститутивни народи нашли су се у новим улогама: једни постају већина, а други мањине, чији статус тек треба да се афирмише и званично потврди у јавној сфери. Словенија, као земља са, између осталог, великим бројем имиграната из бивше Југославије, нашла се пред изазовом потврђивања етничког плурализма у својим оквирима, и налажења одговарајућег места за *нове* или *новодобне мањине* – што је најчешћи назив за етничке групе које формирају грађани бивше заједничке државе, међу којима су Срби данас најбројнији – а саме те мањине налазе се пред изазовом конституисања у заједницу, оснивања сопствених удружења, односно формулисања свог идентитета и његове јавне афирмације у новом контексту. У раду се говори о овим још увек незавршеним процесима на примеру српске етничке групе.

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# The Erased in Slovenia: Is There an End to the Story?

The term “Erased” refers to a part of the population in the Republic of Slovenia that has been erased in 1992 from the official population registry. A critical analysis of the given discourse confirms that the erased were not removed from the registry due to their immanent characteristics or behaviors (background, ethnic or regional, social status, being late for filing claims to obtain the citizenship in Slovenia) but due to the existence of the discourse about Slovenians which has brought about a creation and interpretation of laws, and thus allowed the removal/erasing of the particular group in question as well as other subsequent connotation regarding the term “the erased”.

### *Key words:*

the erased, discourse, Slovenia

## Introduction

This paper will present a problem of the erased as a brief account of up to date research on this phenomenon. My own research, included in my MA thesis “The Erased in Slovenia as discourse phenomenon: a pragmatic approach”, was focused, among other things, to the process of a discourse construction regarding the erased in Slovenia; my main source was material obtained in public media.<sup>1</sup> The same approach will be used in this paper, with material extended to the new ones. Also, I will take into account certain journalists’ research, since several journalists were among the first ones to reveal the existence of the erased and hence have tried to draw some attention to the problem. Scientific research followed a few years later. The Institute of Ethnography, SASA, has joined this research in 2007, in the framework of its project on ethnicity. The complexity and secrets of the phenomena has directed the research: first, contacts needed to be established with the erased

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<sup>1</sup> The MA defense was successfully completed at “Fakulteti za družbene vede”, Ljubljana, Slovenia; also, it is a part of the EI SASA project “Ethnicity: Contemporary Processes in Serbia, Neighboring Countries and Diaspora” (147023 MSTD RS).

ones, then do the interviews, then dig into legislation regarding their status, review politicians' statements about the erased, then do the analysis of the public, etc. These allowed an insight into this phenomenon as well as chronology of events. The analysis of these texts shows that even though the erased exists as a political, administrative, social etc. problem, the prevailing explanation is in its discourse,<sup>2</sup> that is, re-formation of the erased as a discourse phenomenon in accordance with the current Slovenian politics carrying a central line. This central line will be a subject of analysis especially, where the analysis is based on principles of pragmatic linguistic and critical analysis of discourse, as the two compatible scientific disciplines.

## Previous research about the phenomenon of the erased

In February 1992 more than 25000 inhabitants of Slovenia were left without their personal documents and thus without the basic human rights (Jalušič 2007, 14). This was for the most part, hidden from the public until 2002, when “the erased” (in the further text without quotation marks)<sup>3</sup> started a legal and political campaign to reveal their own position and to obtain again their anti-constitutionally taken rights (Gregorčič 2007, 93). The Slovenian public rejected the fact that the erasing has ever happened and afterwards, a tendency to justify this act ((Dedić, 2003). The erased were presented as opponents to Slovenia, its independence and development (Mekina 2007, 158). The ruling coalition, as well as opposition and the majority of Slovenians did not contribute to the solving of this problem but have even acted against the ruling of the Constitutional court, the first state institution to recognize the existence of the erased (Sever 2004). Only in 2008, the government has shown efforts to solve this problem which in turn created a huge media attention and various obstructions by right wing parties and individuals (for instance, take a look what is happening with ministry of internal affairs of the republic of Slovenia, Mrs. Kresal: [http://www.rtv slo.si/modload.php?&c\\_mod=rnews&op=sec tions&func=read&c\\_menu=1&c\\_id=195802&tokens=Kresal](http://www.rtv slo.si/modload.php?&c_mod=rnews&op=sec tions&func=read&c_menu=1&c_id=195802&tokens=Kresal)).

Several journalists dealing with human right issues in Slovenia were among the first to point out to the problem of the erased.<sup>4</sup> “The first examples of erasing

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<sup>2</sup> It will be shown that the erased ones are a product of a discourse on the Slovenians (a young nation on the road to form its own identity); hence their existence in a form of a real phenomenon is secondary (in a sense of time chronology or event in cause and consequences). A discourse has a power to create a reality – called “performance” feature of discourse in the critical analysis of discourse. The most acknowledged paper on this subject is by Austin (1990/1962). The erased appear to be a product of this power- discourse performance. Additionally, this theory holds that a discourse may present things created by itself as being ancient, or, it presents its own “performance” features as constant (see Šumić-Riha 1988).

<sup>3</sup> In pragmatic linguistic, typography is clear: a word or term without quotation marks accentuates marked, a word with single quotation accentuates a phrase, while double quotation accentuates a meaning (often metaphorical). (Levinson 1995 [1983]).

<sup>4</sup> More detailed account on erasing and accompanying consequences, accounts of the erased etc. see Crojnh 2008.

and prohibition of entering the country were described in 1992, while in 1994 it became clear we are dealing with a special category, that is, the erased” (Mekina 2007, 158, translated to Serbian by M. S.). The term ‘erased’ appears so in 1994 (Mekina 2004) and since then it is used to refer to this specific population whose numbers and some other features remain under cover; the known fact is that the term designates individuals who were erased from the registry of permanent Slovenian population in 1992. Thus, even at that time this phenomenon was put in the context of human rights violations. This is confirmed further by the reports of Helsinki monitor from 1994, since its foundation, as well as by reports of Department of Human Rights since 1995 (compare Pistotnik 2007, 209).

However, this problem did not receive much of the media or public attention until 2002, even though there was an ardent discussion among some social circles (for example, in 1999 the Constitutional court of Slovenia confirms the ruling on anti-constitutional erase, and demands from the government a set of regulations which would solve this issue). In addition to attorneys at law, the erased were discussed in the assembly but without much media attention. Only in 2002, when the erased stepped up in front of the public under the organization “The erased population of Slovenia”, the public has become “bombed” with various information on the erased. At that time, the first scientific inquiry had begun.

First, it was necessary to establish on what basis the erased were removed from the registry; this and other relevant issues are discussed in a book “*Izbrisani. Organizirana nedolžnost in politike izključevanja*” (ed. Dedic, 2003), where three authors, Dedic, Jalusic and Zorn review violations of the Constitution, laws and other legislations relevant for this particular case. Jalusic (2003) in the paper from this edited edition “Organizirana nedolžnost”, defines the erased ones as a product of the creation of the new state Slovenia and new national identity. The erased are thus experienced as unnecessary, a remain from the former home land, as something barbarian which can only cause harm to the Slovenian development. Jalusic notes that Slovenians in general have bad stereotypes about the erased which implies further the underestimation of the act by lowering its intensity or significance. Dedic (2003) in her paper discusses discrimination in process when filing for Slovenian citizenship, and provides numerous examples regarding the case of the erased. She emphasizes various attempts to legitimize these kinds of illegal actions, that is, a conscious attempt by certain lawyers belonging to the ruling political circles to legitimize discrimination.

Zorn (2003), in her paper “Politike isključevanja v nastajanju slovenske državnosti” reviews personal histories of the erased, opposing in this way, to the majority’ cultural insensitivity. For such attitudes, Feldman (1996) coined the term cultural anesthesia, defining it as concealment of unpleasant and illegal experiences of those who are constructed in cultural Others. This term belongs to another phrase, normalization, omnipresent in political sciences, and refers to presentation of things/issues as being in normal/regular state of the affairs but opposes human and civil rights (poverty, asylum seeking, ghettos etc). In addition, in the cases of cultural anesthesia, there is a tendency of concealment since no one wants to dis-



cussed or hear about it – speaking up would disturb representations of everyday life, on appropriate order (Zaviršek 2000).

After these papers, the literature on the erased is growing; one of the latest examples is a collection of papers by Beznec (ed. 2007), *Zgodba nekega izbrisa*. A context in which the erased are placed is being extended: in 2003, it was a context of national (the state, identity) as well as legal one (human rights violation in the specific case in Slovenia), while since 2007, the phenomenon becomes incorporated in various, wider aspects, ranging from contemporary civil and political rights of each and every individual (such as ideas on health insurance, rights to apatriote, rebellion against system, right to migrate, right to work, personal income...), to bureaucracy and its political features, all to representation of the erased as a part of world common affairs (the erased are being connected with different social and natives' movements, need to change global world order). All these perspectives contribute to articulation of the phenomenon of the erased.

In Slovenia, the public opinion and attitudes about the erased is taking a long time to alter. The act of erasing and thus the erased are still being a “don't” and many in fact justify the act; however, since the last elections in 2008, when the left wing prevailed, there are more and more of those who point out to the problem and urge to its solution.<sup>5</sup> These attitudes follow political changes in Slovenia. In 2004, there were numerous accounts directed against the erased (they were labeled as aggressors, betrayers, barbarians who ought to be expelled from the country, and who don't deserve the citizenship or a right to live in Slovenia and who only take advantage of the state...), which was also the position of the right wing opposition at the time; this option won the election in the same year. Since the change in government, there are more of those who hold that the ruling of the Constitutional court should be obeyed in returning the rights to the erased. At the time when the world economic crisis was announced (and its influences on Slovenia in 2009), the court ruled the erased should be given compensation for the time period they were unable to work in Slovenia; this corresponded with an increase of the erased complains and their public presentations; this has caused in turn, accounts where the erased are presented as manipulators who only want to drain the state to its bankruptcy – obviously, the issue returned to the beginning, to the state of the affairs from 2002, as well as representation of the erased as the threat and opponents to the Slovenians and their state.

Media coverage depends on a house politics; in the left wing and government newspapers, the erased are represented as being discriminated against; in left wing pro-government media, depending on a period (the left wing government erased the erased in 1992 and stayed in power until 2002, proclaiming negative accounts), attitudes are being altered about the erased (today, all these media proclaim obedience to the Court ruling and defend representatives of the Slovenian government such as Kresal from the attacks of the right wing opposition). In the right wing

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<sup>5</sup> On the government see <http://www.dz-rs.si/index.php?id=91> especially [http://www.vlada.si/si/o\\_vladi/prejsnje\\_vlade/](http://www.vlada.si/si/o_vladi/prejsnje_vlade/)

orientated media, the representation of the erased and their problem did not experience many changes during all these years. In general, the public today is much more aware of the problem, many individual life stories have been published and there are less and less of those who support erasing as a real phenomenon, even though denial on a discourse line still exists.

### **“The Fruitfulness” of the erased phenomenon**

The problem concerning the erased points out to several issues. First, there is a strong influence of the current Slovenian politics and certain politicians to administration; this has brought that many who are employed in the administration and ruling institutions, can break and disobey the Constitution ( a recent, informal conversation with a state official confirms this: those who tried to oppose the act of erasing and who acknowledged the ruling of the Constitutional Court have lost their functions; materials and documents regarding the erased issue was hidden and perhaps destroyed) (for example, a wire of the former director of Legal affairs, Debelak in 1992, published in Beznec (ed.) 2007: 237; or an appraisal and suggestions by the former Minister of the internal affairs, Bacvar in 1992, published in Beznec (ed.) 2007: 232). Even if it is a normal event, the case of the erased is characterized by the choice of the population being hurt (and not so much about the real people who got affected, but a discourse of ethnic unification being labeled to all of them). This further implies to the necessity of creating “Others” as a counterpart of the identity construction of the ‘new Slovenians’ – where cause and consequences are so intertwined, it became impossible to determine which is preceding the other. Furthermore, this entails to ethnic unification (the term used is an equivalent to a discourse in ethnic unification) of this de facto various but not primarily ethnic “Other”.<sup>6</sup>

In addition, this process implies a transformation of the victims into aggressors and aggressors into victims. All these factors taken together have caused that the status of the erased is still not solved, causing further numerous polemics.

Slovenia is not alone in this matter: many other states also acted in ways which brought about the ethnic unification of the erased. Serbian media, for instance, represented the erased as mostly Serbs, thus taking over the stereotypes from the Slovenian media and public opinion (included is 2004 referendum; see Hrastar 2004). So, the question is: what it is that allows this ethnic unification? The answer is rather simple: the erased are a by product of the Slovenian secession from SFRJ, and as such, they have taken over a general framework of the processes of national state creation, where that national often or almost always is being identified with ethnicity.

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<sup>6</sup> Ethnic composition of the erased is different in various reports. The latest ones is published in January 2009. <http://www.rtv slo.si/play/znano-natančno-stevilo-izbrisanih/ava2.27190643/> and <http://www.rtv slo.si/play/posnetek-brez-naslova/ava2.28748423/>

We have seen that the contexts associated with the erased are being expanded: from the national to global. In the next section, using linguistic pragmatism, I will try to show ways of discourse creation which allows this process.

## **Discourse on the erased: manipulation**

If we take a discourse on the erased as a starting point of our research (and every discourse is an abstraction, made of individual statements and communication events), then every publicly claimed, assumed and implicated attitudes on the erased become their designation (implying to the phrase) – ‘the erased’ in the discourse.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, extensional characteristics of what has been said, in certain statements take a trade-off with intension. This implies that the sense of what has been said predominate the reference. Hence, the ‘erased’ in discourse cease to identify some series of entities in the world, but primarily identifies a series of senses relating to inter-lexical and inter-lingual relations. In this way, within the discourse aspect of this phenomenon, we actually deal with Saussure’s sign/symbol, made up of those signifier (‘the erased’) and signified, to be understood as concept, sense, intention but not as (attainable or unattainable) an object, reference, extension, we deal with an idea totally inherent to language-system, with something which does not have to exist, to paraphrase Barthes.

The phenomenon of the erased belongs to the domain of rhetoric, domain of probability, where things could but also does not have to be, domain of imposed, linguistic worlds- the domain of discourses (compare Barthes 1990). Every discourse is made up of words, linguistic facts. And, what are words? Given names or labels for things? Tamed senses? The basic idea of pragmatics is that words are “things” to be used, for manipulation, similar to other means of obtaining certain practical goals (in the vocabulary of economic anthropology, words are money, that is, they could be exchanged for all other things, hence they are a universal means of exchange) (Mey 1993). This further means that words, (of course, words used in speech acts), as well as all other phenomena related to them, perlocutionary par excellence. The consequence of these is that there is no such thing as denotation, or a

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<sup>7</sup> The phrase ‘discourse’ implies mostly to the two different but mutually connected senses: a linguistic one pointing out to language forms features above sentence level, its syntax structure, lexical collocation, regularities of text structure (subjects, grammar characteristics in communicational event in taking over certain words, paragraphs etc), and its social features, where language forms are experienced as producing social meanings (Kress 2001, 183). On these see more in van Dijk 1998, 3; Rapport and Overing 2000, 117; Jordan 2005, 120; Mey 1993, Marmariodu 2000. I take ‘discourse’ to be socially produced flow of accounts, where a speech (with a particular place and means) on the erased becomes possible; or, in other words, as simultaneous presence of language use and language production, providing allowed meanings of the phrase. This is so because language in use is perceived as a means to create the erased, understood thus as something that ought not to be (paraphrasing Barthes) but spoken about as something that exists. Direct, separated meanings, participating in the discourse and at the same time constituting it, are being established by it. This means that certain accounts are “made” within the discourse; since there are no regulations in a discourse, there is an open possibility of an individual intervention in certain statements, implying a possibility of change within a discourse.

meaning from a dictionary, something such as “a sign with the defined sense and reference”, something which is true, something which would be “all possible worlds” (to paraphrase Leibniz). It all depends from the current prevailing conventions. The challenge is in this paradoxical effort to determine something which evades every definition (this is similar to efforts of the Ancient rhetoric, who tried to codify speech) (Barthes 1990). This effort could be described as “taming the meaning” (which evades and is unclear by definition)<sup>8</sup>. The phrase ‘the erased’ appears as a metaphor too (the term ‘the erased’ speaks about something else) but also as meta-language (the terms on something else are used when speaking about ‘the erased’), hence these collocations participate in the meanings of the phrase. That is why it appears that not the differences between similar things but combining different things, is what makes a meaning. The divergence between different things is just a result of this operation. In fact, what makes a difference is adding through assigning characteristics to something. According to pragmatic theory, a characteristic is read where expected (Mey 1993). This expectation creates a concept and aim of communication, and especially so meaning-nn, that is, a recognition of things (“attainable or unattainable”, to paraphrase Cobley) so to appears that the signs (as means of communication) a meanings conglomerate (Grice 1989). Consequences to the phrase ‘the erased’ are multiple: if ‘the erased’ is metaphorical (connotative) spoken in terms of some other phenomena, ‘the erased’ is signified (on conceptual metaphors see Lakoff and Johnson 1980). This means that ‘the erased’ represents a

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<sup>8</sup> The term meaning, the way I use it here, is explainable by comparative Saussure’s and referent theory of meaning. To paraphrase Saussure, sign making could be presented as simultaneous articulation of two contigential tails, where one represents undefined field of thoughts while the other is undefined field of sounds. Articulation involves making arbitrary cuts within these fields and their inter-connection in signs with meanings. A concept (the signifier, Barthes’ level of content) and acoustic image (signified, Bathes’ level of expression) are mutually connected in meaningful sign. As Saussure argued, in order to have a separated meanings (and every sign is a system of meanings for itself, and included in language as a system of signs), we have to articulate a field of thoughts which could be equalized with unformatted potential concepts, as well as the field of sounds, which could be equalized with available (material) means of expression, without which the sign would not be comprehensible or communicative. In referent theory of meanings, instead of the concept and acoustic image, we have sense, reference and denotation, where reference and denotation connect words with the world, but not in the same direction, as well as Saussure’s signifier. The unit with meaning is thus perceived from another perspective (compare Dijk 1989, 103...). Using a metaphor of back and forth, Saussure’s signified connects the concept with the sign users, making it so comprehensible and communicative and allowing transfer and shareability. This connection could be explained as being forth. Referent and denotation connect a foggy concept of sense with established objects in the world but not with language users as subjects of communication. This connection could be explained as being back. In both cases, we have unclear conceptual field, which is further being clarified in separate meanings in the process of delimitation, that is, assigning wider but more explicit characteristics: in Saussure’s theory, through connection with direct acoustic images, in referent theory in connection with real objects we speak about.

In clarified field of potential signified (articulation), that is, by explaining unclear senses (assigning denotation and referents), we acquire meanings. This unclear conceptual aspect of meanings is common to both theories, that is, signified is possible to compare with sense (compare Petöfi 1989).

sense of these phenomena. Given that the sense lay in intension, that is, its features cannot be determined (in the opposite case it would become extensional) – this intension is not is not a cluster of characteristics but an operation; if it were a characteristic, then it would be an extension of some other intension – so, ‘the erased’ represents a rule or operation allowing extension assignment (other phenomena, taken to speak in terms and hence represent signifier). This is so because the meaning is only expected, that is, assigned, and represents a relation between signifier and signified, relation and relevance in between ‘the erased’ and phenomena where ‘the erased’ is spoken-in-terms-of some other phenomena, being as just a posterior, situational, “appointed since it was expected”. This means that ‘the erased’ could be spoken in terms of some other phenomena. This range is limited by usage of process of metaphorical abstraction (see Ricoeur 1994). Since this metaphorical abstraction leads toward establishing a certain order (after it destroys the preceding one), it seems that the relation between the phrase ‘the erased’ and phenomena in terms spoken about ‘the erased’, is lead by some superior principle, superior discourse (originator of classification used to be employed, destroyed and re-formed). This superior discourse is a context where this relation is being re-established continuously, where this phrase gains a sense. Inductive procedure in the analysis of individual statements regarding the phrase ‘the erased’ shows that ‘the erased’ is read as being connected with phenomena from the period when the erasing happened. This, of course, is a period when Slovenia has become an independent state. This further limits the range where metaphorical abstraction could take place (and these are: questions about citizenship, nationality, loyalty, patriotism etc). That is, a discourse of superior to the discourse on the erased is the one which relates to “Slovenian-ship”, whatever the meaning could be (understood as ethnicity, or issue on citizenship, or who can live in Slovenia).

Of course, there are attempts to place the discourse of the erased under some other discourses, which could be seen from the most recent scientific papers already mentioned, but also somewhere else: for instance, within the work of some research and activist movements of some European social centers (with the intended perlocutionary effect, to connect the problem of the erased with the current immigrants’ problems throughout Europe), as well as already mentioned discourse on human rights and efforts to define what are human rights in general (in addition to the cited scientific papers, some international organization such as Amnesty International have the same intentions). However, it seems these discourses do not have enough of juridical power to overtake the role of a superior discourse. Moreover, we could question if those discourses dealing with the problem in Slovenia, could escape saturation in the discourse of Slovenian-ship, since they already share some common characteristics such as ethnicity, right to residence, human rights.

The discourse on the erased is formed within this superior discourse, because it was expected. And the opposite, it is omnipresent, discussed and reestablished in individual accounts on the erased. That is why the discourse of the erased is just its perlocutionary and aimed effect.

It follows that the phrase ‘the erased’ cannot have some independent meaning (which is impossible, since meanings is achieved only through actualization of

context where a sign appears, and in addition, only if there is a system of signs), which however does not represent an obstacle for those who use the sign and perceived it as being reificatory, treatable as object, physically existing, real and not only actual (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). This further allows manipulation (different determination of the erased, depending on the aim of speech about them), which is in accordance with inherent, constant (more or less intensive) changes of the superior discourse. This is where discourse formation on the erased takes place, in this possibility to instrumentalize “taming the meaning” of ‘the erased’, depending on current features of discourse where this phrase is being used.

In brief, the erased are but need not to be, even though they are perceived (we become aware of this only when we start to discuss them) as existing due to the acting of the discourse which makes them into objects. Individual accounts on the erased (as well as individually existing persons who are being identified – by themselves or by others – as some erased, whatever that could mean officially or unofficially, if there is any meaning considering that we live in rhetoric world) gain sense (become extensional) only when seen as a part of discourse which is their context and which determines their further operation of intension, which further allows them extension assignment. This means that intension is not contained in the notion of ‘the erased’ and thus does not have an autonomous meaning. That is why ‘the erased’ appears or as an empty linguistic sign, filled by various phenomena (and so becomes something as secondary intension), or ways to talk about other phenomena (thus becoming something as secondary mediated extension). In accordance with these, in the case of ‘the erased’ the signifier and signified are solely a matter of perspective since the sense of ‘the erased’ originates as an effect of the superior discourse, and that is why it’s only secondary, some derivative function of the superior discourse.

Now, for a moment, I can take a stand that ‘the erased’ is a name of some real, existing phenomenon, and the name of some erased people. If ‘the erased’ is a secondary intension, and the erased (one of) secondary extension of the superior discourse about the Slovenian-ship, and if results of the analysis show that the erased are perceived as something alien, other, non Slovenian, then it follows that the erased are ought to be foreigners, others and non-Slovenians. On the other hand, the research within the group of the erased implies different results. In brief, the erased perceive themselves as a part of the Slovenian society (some even as members of the Slovenian ethnic group), even though relatively marginalized and underprivileged. Similarly, the discourse about the Slovenian-ship (and the subsequent discourse on the erased) constitutes the erased as being marginalized while the erased do not have the juridical power to create different discourse, which does not mean that within their discourse, they cannot be heard (this is where I hold tightly to Bachtin’s stand that in even the most authoritarian texts, and a discourse could be seen as a text, even not homologous but analogous, different voices compete for expression and attention) even so their voices are limited and orchestrated by the superior discourse. Moreover, because the erased were created as perlocutionary effect on the discourse about the Slovenian-ship (a kind of alter ego), they are thus necessary intertwined with it.

On the other hand, people who perceive themselves as the erased are not the only notion that the term could be applied to. This means that some aspects of the discourse on the erased could initiate new extensions thanks to the procedure of metaphorical abstraction. These new extensions could stay within the superior discourse or could leave it. If such extensions of the discourse on the erased become a part of other strong discourses, returned 'the erased' (and all that this phrase implies) would succeed in redefining and reformation based on different foundations. For now, it remains intertwined in the discourse of the Slovenian-ship in spite from the mentioned efforts to change the superior discourse.

## Conclusion

Words do not have meaning by themselves but depend on their respective usage. This confirms Saussure's stand that a linguistic sign is arbitrary. If it is arbitrary, it is not liberated. It cannot exist for itself but only as a part of the system, while the usage of the signs is not liberated thing by itself. Every linguistic sign, as soon as it becomes actualized, becomes also intertwined within complex network of a discourse. Some linguistic signs are movable within those nets while some others are completely dependable from a superior discourse which has created it. Hence, "the erased" exists as an attribute. And this plain attribute has liberty of movement around various discourses.

"The erased", as something which is a part of the discourse of the Slovenian-ship, has troubles becoming an extension or intension of some other discourse. This will stay so until the superior discourse changes enough (opens up to let, the erased' out, even though it was created to not let them in in the first place).

All these imply that there is still not an end to the story, in spite of the efforts to change the discourse about the erased. They remain antipode of Slovenians, a relict, by-product of the Slovenians' independence, barbarians, some Others, even though they are being connected with some global trends (general human rights, global social movements).<sup>9</sup> The reason should be seek in the level which overcomes the level of this particular superior discourse. Until a redefinition of the Slovenian-ship takes place, the erased will continue to exist. And this redefinition will take place only in accordance with wider political changes. The erased so remain erased until further notice.

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<sup>9</sup> It is very interesting that the erased are not totally accepted as a part of the discourse about human rights violation even though the attempts to place the erased within this discourse were among the first (Mekina 2007). One of the reasons for this is in the Slovenian legislation which defines rights only to the persons with regular status (which are being of course decreased, as we go from those with the Slovenian citizenship, to those with permanent residence in Slovenia, to those who only recently obtained a residency). The other important issue is that the erased as seen as inhuman (similar to what is happening with foreigners who are not from EU, Roma, asylum seekers etc. ). Hence, again it is about the discourse about the Slovenian-ship, who can or should obtain a Slovenian citizenship, reside in Slovenia and acquire some benefits from it.

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**Марта Стојић**

## **Избрисани Словеније: назире ли се крај приче?**

*Кључне речи:*

избрисани, дискурс, Словенија

Израз ‘избрисани’ односи се на један део популације Републике Словеније који је 1992. године био избрисан из регистра њеног сталног становништва. Применом критичке анализе дискурса потврђује се теза да ‘избрисани’ нису избрисани због неких својих есенцијалистички схваћених „иманентних“ карактеристика или поступака (порекло – етничко или регионално, социјални статус, неаплицирање за словеначко држављанство у предвиђеном року), већ услед постојања дискурса о словенству који је довео до стварања и интерпретације закона којим је омогућен настанак избрисаних, али и сва каснија придавања одређених значења термину ‘избрисани’.

Речи немају значење саме по себи, већ је оно зависно од њихове употребе. То потврђује сосировско становиште да је лингвистички знак арбитран. Ако је арбитран, онда није слободан. И не само зато што не може да постоји сам за себе, већ само као део система, нити само зато што јер употреба знакова није слободна ствар по себи. Сваки лингвистички знак – чим постане актуализован – постане уплетен у комплексне мреже дискурса. Неки лингвистички знаци могу да се померају по тим мрежама, а други су у потпуности зависни од надређеног дискурса, оног који их је створио. Тако ‘избрисани’ постоји као обичан придев. И тај обичан придев има слободу кретања по различитим дискурсима. ‘Избрисани’, као нешто што је део дискурса о словенству, врло тешко постаје екстензија или интензија неког другог дискурса, бар све до тренутка док се надређени дискурс не промени довољно (и отвори се да пусти ‘избрисане’ напоље, иако је и направљен зато да им не дозволи да уопште уђу у њега).

То значи да се за сада крај приче о ‘избрисанима’ не назире, упркос покушајима промене дискурса о њима. ‘Избрисани’ остају антипод некаквих Словенаца, неки реликт, нуспродукт осамостаљивања Словеније, неки варавари, неко Друго, иако се све чешће повезују са одређеним глобалним токовима (општа људска права, глобални социјални покрети). Разлог томе се мора тражити у равни која превазилази раван овог конкретног надређеног дискурса. Док не настане редефиниција словенства, ‘избрисани’ ће постојати.

↳ Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography SASA LVI I (2) ⇨

A редефиниција дикурса о словенству настаће само у складу са ширим политичким променама. 'Избрисани' тако остају *избрисани* до даљњег.

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## **Trauma kulturowa. Doswiadczenie zmaian systemowych w postsocjalistycznej Polsce**

Artykuł z nurtu naukowego zwanego antropologia transformacji (systemowej). Terapia szokowa w Polsce w ostatnim dziesięcioleciu XX wieku, „dzika” prywatyzacja, bezrobocie. Optymistyczne „Diagnozy społeczne” od początku nowego milenium. Pomiar poziomu ubóstwa-dyskurs w sprawie przyjętych kryteriów. Radykalna zmiana oceny wejścia Polski do UE i słabnięcie mitu łagodnego życia w PRL-u. Globalny kryzys ekonomiczny i odporność społeczeństwa polskiego. Nierówność społeczna (głosy internautów jako kontrapunkt dla hurraoptymistycznych poglądów).

**Key words:**

trauma kulturowa, kultura narzekania, faza euforii, nierówność społeczna, badania etnologiczno/antropologiczne.

Etnolodzy/antropolodzy, podobnie jak socjologowie, „od zawsze” przyglądają się zmianom społeczno-kulturowym, opisują je, analizują ich przejawy, mechanizmy, skutki i przyczyny. Uwagę badaczy przyciągają również współczesne procesy zmian systemowych. W Polsce, podobnie jak w wielu innych krajach, znakomicie rozwija się nurt zwany antropologią transformacji.

W opisach obecnych zmian, zwłaszcza w pracach socjologów, pojawia się termin ‘trauma’ (z dookreśleniem: ‘społeczna’, ‘kulturowa’, ‘społeczno-kulturowa’ lub ‘społeczna i kulturowa’). Został on zapożyczony z nauk medycznych, psychologii i psychiatrii, a następnie przeszczepiony na grunt nauk społecznych i humanistycznych.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Patrz np.: P. Sztompka, *Trauma wielkiej zmiany. Społeczne skutki transformacji*, Warszawa 2000; Idem, *The Sociology of Social Change*, Oxford 1993; Idem, *Trauma kulturowa. Druga strona zmiany społecznej*, w: *Los i wybór. Dziedzictwo i perspektywy społeczeństwa polskiego*, pod red. A. Kojdera, Rzeszów 2003, s. 67-83; patrz też: G. Chimiak, *The Creative Personalisty* –

Mianem ‘traumy’ określane są negatywne konsekwencje głębokich zmian społeczno-kulturowych, obejmujących wiele dziedzin życia. Traumatogenny charakter mają zwłaszcza zmiany szybkie, gwałtowne, radykalne, zaskakujące społeczeństwo, szokujące, „dotykające centralnych dla zbiorowości wartości, reguł czy przekonań”.<sup>2</sup> Ich przykładem są m.in. przełomy ustrojowe.

Starsze i średnie pokolenie Polaków doskonale pamięta tzw. reformy Balcerowicza. Dzięki nim udało się wprowadzić zbudować podstawy kapitalizmu, wiele zjawisk jednak, będących wynikiem przyjętej przez rząd „terapii szokowej”, spotkało się ze zdecydowaną krytyką dużej części społeczeństwa. Źródłem niezadowolenia było przede wszystkim lawinowo rosnące, nieznanie w socjalizmie, bezrobocie. Negatywnie oceniano „dziką” prywatyzację, jawne preferowanie zagranicznego kapitału kosztem rodzimych przedsiębiorstw, liczne afery finansowe, likwidację Państwowych Gospodarstw Rolnych, odchodzenie od państwa opiekuńczego, nadmiernie wysokie koszty zmian i pogłębiające się nierówności społeczne.

Negatywnymi skutkami traumy spowodowanej transformacją systemową stały się: rozczarowanie, zagubienie, apatia, bezsilność, zwątpienie i utrata sensu życia, coraz większa nostalgia za dobrodziejstwami socjalistycznej przeszłości, brak zaufania do wielu osób i instytucji. Analizując negatywne następstwa transformacji, „blokujące motywacje proustrojowe”, P. Sztompka pisze również o anomii, kryzysie tożsamości, niekompetencji cywilizacyjnej, zastępowaniu myślenia perspektywicznego koncentracją na sprawach bieżących.<sup>3</sup>

Pod koniec 2004 roku, w tygodniku „Polityka”, ukazał się artykuł Bogdana Wojciszke (z Instytutu Psychologii PAN) zatytułowany „Kraj pustych szklanek”.<sup>4</sup> Tytuł nawiązuje do znanego dowcipu o pesymistach i optymistach, którzy – jak pisze B. Wojciszke – patrząc na szklankę do połowy napełnioną mlekiem,<sup>5</sup> widzą ją w połowie pustą (pesymista) lub pełną (optymista). Z badań przeprowadzonych przez tego autora wynika, że 95 procent respondentów uważa, iż Polaków cechuje niemal powszechna skłonność do narzekania. Jesteśmy narodem, „który uporczywie koncentruje się na pustej części szklanki. O wiele ważniejsze jest dla nas to, co złe, niż to, co dobre”.<sup>6</sup> Niezadowolenie dotyczy głównie „spraw publicznych, [...] finansowej sytuacji rodziny, perspektyw na przyszłość i sytuacji w kraju” (tamże). Jednocześnie – pisze dalej B. Wojciszke – można mówić o „sta-

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*Catalyst for Alleviating the Traumatic Sequence in Poland*, “Polish Sociological Review” nr 4, 2000, 461-472.

<sup>2</sup> P. Sztompka, *Trauma kulturowa...*, s. 69; patrz też: G.Chimiak, op. cit., 71-72.

<sup>3</sup> P. Sztompka, *Diagnoza stanu państwa – 2003*, [http://www.exporter.pl/forum/agencje\\_plus/8\\_3.html](http://www.exporter.pl/forum/agencje_plus/8_3.html); patrz też: Idem, *Trauma wielkiej zmiany...*; Idem, *Trauma kulturowa...*

<sup>4</sup> B. Wojciszke, *Kraj pustych szklanek*, „Polityka” 11 grudnia 2004, 42-43.

<sup>5</sup> Wojciszke pisze o szklance mleka. W innej, znanej mi, wersji jest mowa o butelce napełnionej do połowy wódką.

<sup>6</sup> B. Wojciszke, op. cit., 42.

łym zadowoleniu z dzieci, współmałżonka i stosunków z najbliższymi”.<sup>7</sup> Jeżeli tak jest, to czy twierdzenie o „uporczywym koncentrowaniu się na pustej części szklanki” i powszechnych skłonnościach Polaków do narzekania można uznać za w pełni uzasadnione?

W cytowanym artykule czytamy, że „Polacy lubią narzekać bez powodu”.<sup>8</sup> W Polsce panuje „kultura narzekania”.<sup>9</sup> Żyjemy według normy „nakazującej doświadczać świat społeczny jako zły, a więc spostrzegać ludzi jako obdarzonych licznymi przywarami i ogólnie niegodnych zaufania, porządek społeczny jako niesprawiedliwy i krzywdzący, siebie samego zaś jako ofiarę owych złych ludzi i instytucji”.<sup>10</sup>

Twierdzenia o powszechnej skłonności Polaków do narzekania nie potwierdził, pominięty milczeniem przez B. Wojciszke, raport „Diagnoza społeczna 2003”.<sup>11</sup> Utrzymywało się wprawdzie wówczas wiele negatywnych skutków „traumy wielkiej zmiany”,<sup>12</sup> z „Diagnozy” wynika jednak, że „w porównaniu z sytuacją sprzed trzech lat „Polacy mniej narzekają i są coraz bardziej zadowoleni z różnych sfer życia”.<sup>13</sup> Brak więc, jak widać, podstaw, by twierdzić, że w Polsce dominuje „kultura narzekania”.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem. Z Bogdanem Wojciszke oraz z niektórymi dziennikarzami upowszechniającymi zdecydowanie negatywny stereotyp polskiego społeczeństwa polemizuję w jednym z artykułów: I. Kabzińska, *‘Kultura narzekania’, ‘globalny średniak’, ‘narodowa nerwica’ i inne elementy wizerunku współczesnych Polaków (na podstawie wybranych artykułów prasowych)*. *Zarys problemu*, Etnografia Polska t. XLIX, z. 1-2, 2005, 89-124.

<sup>10</sup> B. Wojciszke, op. cit., 42.

<sup>11</sup> Pierwsze badania z cyklu „Diagnoza społeczna” przeprowadzono w Polsce w 2000 roku, pod kierunkiem prof. Janusza Czapińskiego. Objęto nimi 6435 dorosłych osób, reprezentujących 3007 gospodarstw domowych. Powstała również Rada Monitoringu Społecznego, złożona z kilku pracowników naukowych (socjologów, ekonomistów, pedagogów). Celem „Diagnozy” jest m.in. badanie warunków życia gospodarstw domowych i jakości życia obywateli w powiązaniu ze zmianą społeczną, wskazanie, jakie grupy korzystają ze zmian, jakie natomiast nie odnoszą spodziewanych korzyści. O warunkach życia gospodarstw domowych wnioskuje się na podstawie odpowiedzi respondentów na pytania dotyczące ich sytuacji dochodowej i sposobów gospodarowania dochodami, wyżywienia, zasobności materialnej, warunków mieszkaniowych, korzystania z pomocy społecznej, kształcenia dzieci, uczestnictwa w kulturze i wypoczynku, korzystania z usług ochrony zdrowia, sytuacji gospodarstw domowych na rynku pracy. Jakość życia określana jest na podstawie odpowiedzi na pytania dotyczące ogólnego dobrostanu psychicznego, zadowolenia z poszczególnych dziedzin życia, subiektywnej oceny materialnego poziomu życia, różnych rodzajów stresów i strategii radzenia sobie z nimi, oceny kontaktów ze służbą zdrowia, wiedzy i opinii na temat administracji publicznej, a także systemu emerytalno-rentowego i wsparcia społecznego, ogólnej oceny procesu transformacji i jego wpływu na życie respondentów, systemu wartości oraz indywidualnych zachowań i nawyków; J. Czapiński, *Diagnoza społeczna*, [http://www.diagnoza.com/1\\_2000.html](http://www.diagnoza.com/1_2000.html)

<sup>12</sup> P. Sztompka, *Diagnoza stanu państwa...*

<sup>13</sup> E. Wilk, *Polska obok Polaków*, „Polityka” 18 października 2003, 17.

Wiele korzystnych zjawisk odnotowano w „Diagnozie społecznej 2005”. Wynika z niej np., że „o blisko jedną trzecią zmniejszyła się polska strefa biedy”, „bogacą się wszyscy”, rośnie przedsiębiorczość obywateli („Polacy są szokująco mobilni”).<sup>14</sup>

Optymizmu bijącego z „Diagnozy” i komentarza prasowego, sformułowanego przez kierującego badaniami prof. Janusza Czapińskiego, nie przesłoniła informacja, że 22 procent mieszkańców Polski żyje poniżej granicy ubóstwa. Stanowi to wszak o 9 procent mniej w porównaniu z rokiem 2000.<sup>15</sup>

Zdaniem J. Czapińskiego, za kreowanie i upowszechnianie negatywnego obrazu polskiego społeczeństwa odpowiedzialne są przede wszystkim media i politycy.<sup>16</sup>

Kolejna „Diagnoza społeczna”, opracowana na podstawie badań przeprowadzonych w 2007 roku, wykazała, że w Polsce zmniejsza się sukcesywnie obszar ubóstwa, możemy więc sobie pozwolić na większe wydatki. Fikcją jest wysokie bezrobocie. „Czujemy się bezpiecznie” i „jesteśmy szczęśliwi”.<sup>17</sup>

Znamienne są kryteria przyjęte przez twórców „Diagnozy” do pomiaru poziomu ubóstwa. Za ubogie uznano osoby żyjące poniżej minimum egzystencji, tj. za mniej niż 360 zł. (obecnie stanowiłoby to równowartość ok. 90 euro). „Linie ubóstwa wyznacz[ono] na poziomie 60 proc. od przeciętnych dochodów w państwie”.<sup>18</sup> Do ubogich nie zaliczono osób osiągających dochody w granicach minimum socjalnego (900 zł miesięcznie, tj. ok. 222 euro, według obecnych kursów). Katarzyna Skrzydłowska-Kalukin słusznie zauważa, że gdyby przyjąć to kryterium, okazałoby się, że w ubóstwie żyje ponad połowa ludności Polski! „Ubóstwo w odczuciu subiektywnym wynosi 52,7 proc. Oznacza to, że tyle właśnie respondentów uważa, że żyje w nędzy”.<sup>19</sup>

Do wyników „Diagnozy społecznej 2007” sceptycznie odniósł się znany ekonomista i polityk Ryszard Bugaj. Zauważył on m.in., że ankieterzy nie są w stanie odnotować wszystkich rodzajów dochodów, m.in. ekstremalnie wysokich oraz znajdujących się na granicy egzystencji. Badania nie obejmują też np. dochodów z

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<sup>14</sup> Skoro jest tak źle, dlaczego jest tak dobrze? Rozmowa z prof. Januszem Czapińskim, przewodniczącym Rady Monitoringu Społecznego [rozmowę przeprowadzili: Jacek Żakowski i Piotr Socha], „Polityka” 8 października 2005, 26.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, 30. Nasuwa mi się skojarzenie z wypowiedziami rosyjskiego etnologa i polityka Walerija Tiszkowa, który obarczył winą media, polityków i publicystów za przekonanie rosyjskiego społeczeństwa o panującym w Rosji wszechobecnym kryzysie, wręcz totalnej katastrofie; W. A. Tiškov, *Etnologija i politika*, Moskwa 2001, 207, 211, 226-227, 229. Badacz ten twierdził, że rosyjskie społeczeństwo uległo olbrzymiej mistyfikacji, uwierzyło w kryzys i nie potrafi dostrzec zmian na lepsze; Ibidem, 227.

<sup>17</sup> K. Skrzydłowska-Kalukin, *Możemy być z siebie dumni*, „Dziennik” 4 października 2007, 14.

<sup>18</sup> *Kto zarabia 900 złotych, nie żyje w biedzie*, „Dziennik” 2 października 2007, 10. Autorem cytowanych słów jest Tomasz Panek. Rozmowę przeprowadziła Katarzyna Skrzydłowska-Kalukin.

<sup>19</sup> K. Skrzydłowska-Kalukin, *W Polsce...*, 10.

żebractwa, płodów rolnych rolników, ani „oszczędności, jakie przedsiębiorcy uzyskują, korzystając ze służbowego telefonu, samochodu czy Internetu. Zastrzeżenia można mnożyć. Dlatego – stwierdził Bugaj - jestem ostrożny w wyciąganiu hurra-optimistycznych wniosków z ‘Diagnozy’, tym bardziej, że jej przeprowadzenie sponsorował polski biznes”.<sup>20</sup>

Bugaj nie wyjaśnia znaczenia tego faktu. Jego wypowiedź zawiera jednak sugestię, że wyniki „Diagnozy” nie są obiektywne, że może mieć na nie wpływ „osoba” sponsora, a autorzy badań mówią społeczeństwu to, co, zdaniem sponsora, chciałyby ono usłyszeć.

Na podstawie „Diagnozy społecznej 2007” można wprawdzie powiedzieć, że Polacy narzekają „na nieudane reformy, na trudne warunki transformacji ustrojowe, [...] nie przeszkadzają nam [one jednak] w zadowoleniu. Narzekanie i poczucie zadowolenia z własnego życia to dwie zupełnie inne sprawy”.<sup>21</sup> Okazuje się też, że „narzekanie na życie, ciężki los, nieprzyjazne państwo, nieprzyjaznych bliźnich to coś, co podnosi rangę i znaczenie osiągnięć ludzi, którym się coś udało. [...] Przeszkody, jakie napotykamy, mogą służyć podwyższeniu samooceny. Dlatego między innymi marudzimy – wyszukujemy i akcentujemy rzeczy, które nam przeszkadzają w życiu. [...] Część narzekania to maniera na użytek wewnętrzny”.<sup>22</sup> Można odnieść wrażenie, że narzekanie jest wyznacznikiem szczęścia, jego miernikiem. Jeśli tak jest, powinniśmy jak najprędzej wrócić do „kultury narzekania” i uznać ją za zjawisko pozytywne, godne upowszechniania.

Największy poziom optymizmu zanotowano w grupie osób młodych (do 34 lat), maleje on natomiast wraz z wiekiem respondentów. Na ogólny wskaźnik jakości życia składają się oceny sytuacji materialnej, stabilności życia zawodowego i rodzinnego oraz poczucia bezpieczeństwa.<sup>23</sup>

Okazuje się, że można być zadowolonym społeczeństwem, nie mając zaufania „do instytucji państwa”, „do obcych”, do innych obywateli. Pod tym względem Polska zajmuje jedno z ostatnich miejsc w Europie.<sup>24</sup> „Kryzys zaufania, kultury politycznej i stylu władzy jest głównym powodem tego, że w porównawczych światowych rankingach demokracji sytuujemy się na dalekim 46 miejscu, wśród <<demokracji ułomnych>>, nie tylko za krajami demokracji tradycyjnych, historycznie zakorzenionych, ale i za krajami naszej, wschodniej części Europy [...] Za to w rankingach korupcji, nepotyzmu, klientelizmu – lokujemy się niedaleko od szczytu, blisko niektórych krajów afrykańskich. Ułomne funkcjonowanie demokracji, korupcja, nepotyzm, klientelizm – to nie są przyczyny kryzysu zaufania, lecz

<sup>20</sup> *To, że ktoś ma na chleb, nie oznacza, że nie jest biedny*, „Dziennik” 3 października 2007, 21. Rozmowę z R. Bugajem przeprowadziła Barbara Kasprzycka.

<sup>21</sup> *Im bardziej narzekamy, tym bardziej jesteśmy szczęśliwi*, „Dziennik” 11 października 2007, 21. Cytat pochodzi z wypowiedzi Janusza Grzelaka, jednego z autorów „Diagnozy społecznej 2007”, dyrektora Instytutu Studiów Społecznych UW. Rozmowę przeprowadziła Barbara Kasprzycka.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> K. Skrzydłowska-Kalukin, *W Polsce jest mniej...*, 10.

<sup>24</sup> *Im bardziej narzekamy...*, op. cit.



jego skutki. Pojawiają się jako funkcjonalne substytutu zaufania wtedy, gdy jego samego brakuje”.<sup>25</sup>

Brak zaufania jest zjawiskiem niekorzystnym. Zaufanie stanowi bowiem „budulec dobrze funkcjonującego społeczeństwa, niezbędny dla zadzierzgnięcia silnych więzów i budowy demokracji. Przed nami wciąż jeszcze długa droga”.<sup>26</sup>

Zdaniem P. Sztompki, „[...] nie sięgając głębiej w historię, obecny syndrom nieufności jest efektem czterech traum społecznych i kulturowych, jakich doznaliśmy i doznajemy po przełomie roku 1989. [...] Pierwsza to trauma dziedzictwa homo sovieticus, a więc bagaż wartości, strategii przystosowawczych, ‘oddechów serca’ wpojonych przez doświadczenie realnego socjalizmu, a zupełnie nieprzystających do reguł rodzącego się niemal z dnia na dzień systemu wolnego rynku. [...] Druga trauma to trauma reform systemowych i ich ubocznych skutków, a więc nieuchronna społeczna cena radykalnych zmian instytucji i praw – gospodarczych, politycznych – oraz transformacji wszystkich poziomów życia codziennego. Jako trzecia dotknęła nas trauma słabości elit politycznych – albo nieposzlakowanych moralnie, ale wykazujących się amatorszczyzną, gdy chodzi o arkana władzy, albo amoralnych i posługujących się cyniczną socjotechniką. I jedni i drudzy, choć z odmiennych powodów, nie mogą wzbudzać społecznego zaufania. Do tego dochodzi trauma najnowsza - ‘trauma IV Rzeczypospolitej’”.<sup>27</sup>

Jej źródłem są przede wszystkim zjawiska zachodzące na scenie politycznej: bezkompromisowa walka, wzajemna krytyka, odmowa dialogu, podziały na „my” i „oni”, „swoi” i „obcy” (politycznie), wybiórcze stosowanie prawa, publiczne dezawuowanie autorytetów intelektualnych i negowanie roli elit nie należących do „naszego obozu”, obojętność władz na głos opinii publicznej i niezależnych ekspertów. Źródłem traumy jest także wrażenie przerywania ciągłości zmian, wywołane podziałem na III i IV Rzeczpospolitą.<sup>28</sup>

Chociaż po porażce Prawa i Sprawiedliwości w wyborach parlamentarnych w 2007 roku i przejściu władzy przez Platformę Obywatelską ucichły spory o IV RP, zjawiska wskazane przez Sztompkę jako źródła traumy nie przestały istnieć. Mam nawet wrażenie, że się nasiliły. W „Diagnozie społecznej 2009” odnotowano jednak „lekki wzrost zaufania do innych ludzi: z 11,6 proc. w 2007 r. do 13,4 proc. Ale to jeszcze za mało, by opuścić niechlubne ostatnie miejsce w Unii w tej klasyfikacji”.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> P. Sztompka, *Trauma IV RP*, „Dziennik” 24 marca 2007 (dodatek „Europa”); dostępne na: <http://www.dziennik.pl/dziennik/Europa/article46351.html>. Autor powołuje się na wyniki badań podane przez Intelligence Unit of „The Economist” z grudnia 2006 roku.

<sup>26</sup> *Im bardziej narzekamy...*

<sup>27</sup> P. Sztompka, *Trauma IV RP...*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>29</sup> W. Szacki, *Autoportret Polaków, którzy kryzysu jeszcze nie poczuli*, „Gazeta Wyborcza” 16 lipca 2009, dostępne na: [http://wyborcza.pl/1,75248,6825784,Autoportret\\_Polakow\\_ktorzy\\_kryzysu\\_jeszcze...](http://wyborcza.pl/1,75248,6825784,Autoportret_Polakow_ktorzy_kryzysu_jeszcze...)

Na podstawie wspomnianej „Diagnozy” można również mówić o dalszym wzroście zadowolenia polskiego społeczeństwa, jego zamożności i poczucia bezpieczeństwa, coraz lepszym wyposażeniu gospodarstw domowych, spadku bezrobocia, rosnącym dostępie do Internetu i telefonii komórkowej. Słabnie też „stopniowo [...] mit łatwego życia w PRL-u. W 2000 r. 61 proc. pamiętających życie w PRL twierdziło, że było ono łatwiejsze, w 2009 r. przekonanie to żywiło o 20 pkt proc. mniej respondentów. Radykalnie zmieniła się zaś ocena wejścia Polski do UE. W 2005 r. za korzystny wpływ ten uznawało 36 proc. osób, dziś – 63 proc.”<sup>30</sup> Czy oznacza to również, że słabnie nostalgia za socjalizmem, a raczej za niektórymi zjawiskami kojarzonymi z tym systemem, utwalonymi w społecznej pamięci jako pozytywne (brak bezrobocia, powszechny dostęp do wykształcenia i służby zdrowia, bezpieczeństwo socjalne, poczucie stabilizacji)?

„Diagnoza społeczna 2009”, podobnie jak poprzednie, „przynosi obraz Polaków jako społeczeństwa zaradnego, coraz lepiej wykształconego i zamożniejszego”.<sup>31</sup> Znamienny jest, podkreślany w komentarzach do wyników badań, brak wpływu na wypowiedzi respondentów globalnego kryzysu ekonomicznego, trwającego od września 2008 roku. „Ankiety przeprowadzono wiosną, gdy o kryzysie mówiło się już bardzo dużo, [...] Polacy [jednak] jeszcze go we własnym życiu nie dostrzegli. I liczyli na znaczący wzrost dochodów w dwóch najbliższych latach”.<sup>32</sup>

Jedynym śladem obecności kryzysu jest, zdaniem J. Czapińskiego, zrozumiałe spadki zaufania do instytucji finansowych. „Innego śladu kryzysu w świadomości i warunkach życia, zachowaniach Polaków absolutnie nie widać”.<sup>33</sup>

Czapiński nie wyjaśnia, jakie są przyczyny tej niesamowitej odporności Polaków na globalny kryzys. Wprawdzie Polsce, jak dotąd, udawało się go przeczekać, w okresie, w którym przeprowadzone zostały badania nie było jednak wiadomo, że tak się stanie. Nic też nie zwiastowało końca kryzysu.

Zastanawiałam się czy zauważony przez twórców „Diagnozy” brak reakcji osób objętych badaniami na kryzys (w skali lokalnej i globalnej) nie wynika z charakteru pytań zawartych w ankietach, przyczyny tego zjawiska tkwią jednak gdzie indziej. Według sekretarza Rady Monitoringu Społecznego, Wiesława Łagodzińskiego, zjawisko to można wyjaśnić „odporno[ścią] ludzi na wrzask medialny wokół totalnego kryzysu. Okazuje się, że ludzie są trochę obok państwa,

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<sup>30</sup> *Diagnoza społeczna: Polacy bardziej zadowoleni z życia*, [http://www.money.pl/archiwum/wiadomosci\\_agencyjne/pap/artukul/diagnoza;spoleczna](http://www.money.pl/archiwum/wiadomosci_agencyjne/pap/artukul/diagnoza;spoleczna). Badaniami objęto „12 tys. 381 gospodarstw domowych (w tym 3 699 z edycji w 2007 r.) oraz 26 tys. 178 indywidualnych respondentów (w tym 7 620 z poprzedniej edycji)”; *Diagnoza społeczna: Polacy bardziej zadowoleni z życia*, [http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/2009282,11,diagnoza\\_spoleczna\\_polacy\\_bardziej\\_zadowol...](http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/2009282,11,diagnoza_spoleczna_polacy_bardziej_zadowol...)

<sup>31</sup> W. Szacki, op. cit.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>33</sup> *Diagnoza społeczna: Polacy bardziej zadowoleni z życia*, [http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/2009282.11,diagnoza\\_spoleczna\\_polacy\\_bardziej\\_zadowoleni...](http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/2009282.11,diagnoza_spoleczna_polacy_bardziej_zadowoleni...)

żyją własnym życiem, aż tak łatwo tym medialnym humorom i histeriom nie ulegają”<sup>34</sup>.

Jak to się stało, że ci, którzy jeszcze tak niedawno byli sterowani przez media dziś już nie podlegają ich dyktatowi? Jakie są źródła tak radykalnej zmiany? Gdyby tak było w istocie, byłibyśmy chyba jedynym społeczeństwem, na które media nie mają wpływu.

Jeszcze w końcu 2004 roku naukowe autorytety publicznie głosiły, że w Polsce dominuje „kultura narzekania”, od tego czasu jednak, jak wynika z kolejnych „Diagnoz”, polskie społeczeństwo uległo zasadniczej metamorfozie. Widoczny jest „przyrost optymizmu i zadowolenia Polaków”<sup>35</sup>. Są oni „jak nigdy zadowoleni z życia [...], szczęśliwsi niż kiedykolwiek (76 proc. uważa się za szczęśliwych; w sondażu z 1993 r. – 58 proc.). I bogatsi - dochody gospodarstw domowych na osobę wzrosły od 2007 r. o 14,6 proc., a od 2000 r. o 40,1 proc. Coraz mniej rodzin ma kłopoty z dotraniem do pierwszego”<sup>36</sup>.

„Diagnozy społeczne” dowodzą, że nie ma podstaw do tego, by uważać Polaków za naród szczególnie skłonny do narzekania. Na ich podstawie można, moim zdaniem, również wnioskować, że społeczeństwo polskie znajduje się w fazie posttraumatycznej lub „przewycięzania traumy”<sup>37</sup>.

„Można by się dziwić, gdzie się podziła słynna polska skłonność do narzekania”, zauważa J. Czapiński i dodaje, że „cecha ta dała głównie znać o sobie w latach 90., kiedy mieliśmy już duże aspiracje, a nie mieliśmy możliwości, by je zrealizować. Teraz mamy takie możliwości, więc nie narzekamy, tylko je doceniamy”<sup>38</sup>.

Próbuję zrozumieć tę argumentację, mam jednak wątpliwości czy w tak prosty sposób można wytłumaczyć niezwykle szybkie przejście polskiego społeczeństwa od odziedziczonej po przodkach „kultury narzekania” do euforii związanej z udziałem w kolejnych etapach transformacji. Czy rzeczywiście w ciągu zaledwie kilku lat można wykorzenić wielowiekowe przyzwyczajenia, nawyki, wzory kulturowe?

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<sup>34</sup> *Diagnoza społeczna: Polacy...*, <http://www.money.pl>, op. cit.

<sup>35</sup> *Diagnoza społeczna: Polacy bardziej zadowoleni...*, <http://wiadomości>, op. cit.

<sup>36</sup> W. Szacki, *Diagnoza społeczna 2009: Polacy zadowoleni jak nigdy*, „Gazeta Wyborcza” 16 lipca 2009; dostępne na: [http://wyborcza.pl/1,75248,6826196.Diagnoza\\_Spoeczna\\_2009\\_Polacy\\_zadowoleni...](http://wyborcza.pl/1,75248,6826196.Diagnoza_Spoeczna_2009_Polacy_zadowoleni...)

<sup>37</sup> Według P. Sztompki, przewycięzanie traumy jest ostatnim z sześciu, wyodrębnionych przez niego, stadiów sekwencji traumatycznej. Kolejnymi stadiami są: sprzyjający traumie kontekst społeczno-kulturowy, traumatyczne sytuacje lub zdarzenia, opis traumatycznych doświadczeń i ich interpretacja, specyficzne wzorce zachowań (objawy traumy, opinie na jej temat), kontrola społeczna, będąca wyrazem adaptacji posttraumatycznej i wreszcie – faza zamykająca sekwencję traumatyczną (przewycięzanie traumy); P. Sztompka, *Trauma wielkiej zmiany...*, 21.

<sup>38</sup> *Nie narzekamy, cieszymy się z życia*; [http://www.dzienik.pl/wydarzenia/spoleczenstwo/article/415711/Nie\\_narzekamy\\_cie...](http://www.dzienik.pl/wydarzenia/spoleczenstwo/article/415711/Nie_narzekamy_cie...)

Zdaniem Jacka Santorskiego, psychologa społecznego i biznesu, „narzekanie – do niedawna powszechne – przestaje być w Polsce w modzie. Ze stanu głębokiej depresji wchodzimy właśnie w stan społecznej euforii. To taki trochę depresyjno-maniakalny cykl społecznych nastrojów. Po nadziei rozbudzonej przez ‘Solidarność’ przyszła depresja wczesnej transformacji, z której teraz się wydobyliśmy. i weszliśmy w fazę euforii. Mamy do niej pełne prawo”.<sup>39</sup>

Jeśli nastroje społeczne podlegają tak radykalnym cyklicznym wahaniom, można się spodziewać, że za jakiś czas czeka nas kolejna faza depresji, chyba że zostaliśmy z niej już całkowicie wyleczeni.

Jacek Santorski, podobnie jak twórcy i komentatorzy „Diagnozy społecznej”, uznaliby zapewne za malkontentów, koncentrujących się na pustej części szklanki, publicystów, którzy w połowie 2009 roku, na łamach „Dziennika”, dyskutowali o nierównościach społecznych w Polsce. Prof. Marcin Król, historyk idei, profesor Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pisał np.: „Zdumiewa, że w latach 90. nierówność w Polsce nie stała się przedmiotem debaty publicznej, ani hasłem politycznym, [...] nierówność dalej pozostaje niedostrzegana i tylko niektóre organizacje pozarządowe podnoszą ten problem słabiutkim głosem, bo silnym nie dysponują”.<sup>40</sup> Zdaniem Króla, „nierówność społeczna w Polsce przybrała już kolosalne rozmiary i sięgnęła najmłodszych [...] Nierówność w dzisiejszej Polsce to brak równych szans na awans do wyższej warstwy społecznej. [...] [D]ostęp do dobrego wyższego nauczania jest ograniczony przez geografę, pieniądze, sytuację rodzinną oraz niską jakość nauczania w prowincjonalnych szkołach. [...] poza fenomenem bezduszości i ograniczonej wyobraźni mamy do czynienia ze zjawiskiem bezmyślności. Jak bowiem można sobie wyobrazić Polskę nowoczesną i wewnętrznie silną z 30 proc. białych Murzynów żyjących w gettach lub w świecie wyzutym z nadziei i szansy?”<sup>41</sup>

Inny uczestnik wspomnianej dyskusji, prof. Henryk Domański, dyrektor Instytutu Filozofii i Socjologii PAN, wskazywał na nierówności dochodów i dostępu do wykształcenia, rozwarstwienie społeczne, istnienie tzw. underclass, do której należą osoby wyłączone na długi czas z rynku pracy, o bardzo niskich dochodach (stanowią one 9-11% polskiego społeczeństwa), trudności związane z tworzeniem w Polsce klasy średniej<sup>42</sup>, brak wyraźnego związku między wykształceniem i dochodami, degradację klasy rządzącej na skali prestiżu społecznego i in.

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<sup>39</sup> *Wyszliśmy ze społecznej depresji...*

<sup>40</sup> M. Król, *Spoleczeństwo zamknięte. W Polsce równość szans jest fikcją, nawet w najmłodszym pokoleniu*, „Dziennik” (dodatek „Europa”) 20-21 czerwca 2009, 10.

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>42</sup> H. Domański, *Hierarchie, klasy, bariery*, „Dziennik” 20-21 czerwca 2009, s. 11-12. H. Domański uważa, że w Polsce wycofano się z dyskursu na temat klasy średniej i potrzeby jej tworzenia. Pojęcie to bowiem ma negatywne konotacje, kojarzy się z reformami Balcerowicza, liberalizacją gospodarki rynkowej i rozwarstwieniem społecznym, Ibidem, 12.

Znamienne są komentarze internautów do prezentowanych przez media wyników „Diagnozy społecznej 2009”. Przytoczę tylko kilka wypowiedzi: „Jak kraj bez gospodarki może dotknąć kryzys? Pomyślcie!”; „Skoro jest tak dobrze, to czemu jest tak źle i tyle osób żyje od 1 do 1 [od pierwszego do pierwszego - I.K.]?”; „Skoro jest tak dobrze, to czemu tyle osób nie może znaleźć normalnej pracy?”; „A czego tu się bać? W Polsce zawsze był, jest i będzie kryzys, więc ludzie się już przyzwyczaili. Dla Polaka kryzys to normalka”; „Jest tak dobrze, że lepiej nawet nie mówić. Propaganda trwa, a co z tymi, co ledwo wiążą koniec z końcem, a co z tymi, co wyjechali z Polski?”; „Jestem ciekawa, wśród jakich grup społecznych była robiona ankieta”; „A ja proponuję wysłać ankierów do środowisk tych ludzi, którzy ledwo wiążą koniec z końcem”; Ludzie... jest tak słodko, że aż mdli i rzygać się chce!”<sup>43</sup>

Celowo zacytowałam wyłącznie wypowiedzi krytyczne. Stanowią one kontrapunkt dla hurraoptymistycznych komentarzy do wyników „Diagnozy”, upowszechnianych przez media i współpracujące z nimi autorytety. Chodziło mi również o przypomnienie, że rzeczywistość, w której żyjemy jest o wiele bardziej zróżnicowana od tej, którą pokazują środki masowej informacji. Składa się z wielu „światów równoległych”.

Kolejne „Diagnozy” informują m.in. o wzroście poziomu konsumpcji. Fakt ten wydaje się być jednym z podstawowych wyznaczników rosnącego poczucia szczęścia obywateli. Nic w tym dziwnego, żyjemy wszak w epoce kultury konsumpcyjnej, akceptowanej i pożądanej przez znaczną część społeczeństwa oraz promowanej przez biznes, ze zrozumiałych powodów zainteresowany jej nieustannym rozwojem.

Wyniki „Diagnoz” prowadzą do wniosku, że Polacy poradzili sobie znakomicie z traumą transformacji. Pozytywne skutki traumy, takie jak: mobilizacja społeczna, aktywizacja grup i jednostek, wzrost dynamiki ich działania, poszukiwanie strategii zaradczych, wyzwolenie zdolności do samoprzekształcania się, okazały się silniejsze od jej skutków negatywnych.<sup>44</sup> Jest to niezwykle ważne, nieprzewidywana trauma prowadzi bowiem do rozpadu społeczeństwa i destrukcji jego kultury.<sup>45</sup>

Zmiany, także te, które są źródłem traumy społeczno-kulturowej, mogą być badane na różnych poziomach: indywidualnej biografii, wspólnoty lokalnej, grup etnicznych, narodowych i regionalnych, społeczeństwa globalnego.<sup>46</sup> Etnologom/antropologom szczególnie bliski jest poziom społeczności lokalnych i

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<sup>43</sup> *Polakom kryzys niestraszny*, <http://finanse.wp.pl/kat,102634>, title, Polakom-kryzys-niestraszny...

<sup>44</sup> O pozytywnych i negatywnych skutkach traumy społeczno-kulturowej patrz: P. Sztompka. *Trauma wielkiej zmiany...*

<sup>45</sup> P. Sztompka, *Ambiwalencja zmian społecznych. Triumf czy trauma?*, Referat wygłoszony na sesji „Images of the World”, 30 września 2000, zorganizowanej przez Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie; <http://www.3uj.edu.pl/alma/alma/26/01/08.html>

<sup>46</sup> P. Sztompka, *Trauma kulturowa...*, 71-72.

indywidualnych biografii. Bliska jest im także perspektywa *emic*, spojrzenie na interesujące nas zjawiska „ze środka”, „z wnętrza” badanych grup. Na podstawie wyników badań terenowych możemy m.in. mówić o sposobach doświadczania zmian systemowych, o wpływie transformacji na życie poszczególnych osób i społeczności, o strategiach przetrwania, sposobach pokonywania traumy i in.

Sztompka zauważa, że ludzie są w różnym stopniu podatni na traumę, rozmaicie też adaptują się do trudnych dla nich sytuacji i radzą sobie z zagrożeniami. Wynika to m.in. z odmienności posiadanych przez nich „zasobów obronnych”, z dostępnego im kapitału społecznego, kulturowego i materialnego. „Pieniądze, kontakty i znajomości oraz wykształcenie i umiejętności to zasoby uogólnione, wymienne na rozmaite inne dobra, które zwiększają odporność na stany i sytuacje traumatyczne, dają szanse przystosowania się do nich lub nawet wykorzystania ich we własnym interesie. [...]”<sup>47</sup>

Jakimi „zasobami” dysponują rozmówcy, reprezentujący np. badane przez nas społeczności lokalne, uczestniczący w procesie transformacji? W jaki sposób wykorzystują posiadany kapitał? Jak sobie radzą, gdy brak im zasobów pozwalających na swobodniejsze poruszanie się w obecnej rzeczywistości?

W badaniach nad przebiegiem zmian systemowych i sposobami ich doświadczania nie można pominąć roli mediów, ich udziału w kształtowaniu nastrojów społecznych i kreowaniu wizji świata. Komentarze autorów kolejnych „Diagnoz” świadczą o tym, że rola ta zmienia się szybko i zdecydowanie. Zmienia się też radykalnie społeczny odbiór przekazywanych przez nie treści. W trakcie badań terenowych warto, jak sądzę, poddać analizie zasygnalizowane tu zjawiska. Czy rzeczywiście polskie społeczeństwo jest odporne na przekaz medialny? Może istotnie, zarówno na płaszczyźnie jednostkowej, jak i zbiorowej, nie tylko potrafi ono oddzielić życie prywatne od publicznego, ale też wznieść solidny mur między nimi a mediami? Może potrafi tworzyć „światy równoległe”, oddzielać je od siebie, odnajdując się jednocześnie w każdym z nich w miarę potrzeby, pokonując istniejące między nimi granice?

Etnolodzy/antropolodzy doskonale wiedzą, że w opisie badanej przez nas rzeczywistości należy uwzględnić jej różnorodność. Nie można dostrzegać jedynie pełnej lub wyłącznie pustej części szklanki. Obydwie są równie ważne, stanowią bowiem część tego samego świata. W świecie tym powinno być miejsce zarówno dla hurraoptymistów, jak i dla malkontentów.

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<sup>47</sup> P. Sztompka, *Ambiwalencja zmian społecznych...*

**Iwona Kabzinska**

## **A Cultural Trauma: Outcomes of the System Change in Post-Socialist Poland**

*Key words:*

cultural trauma, cultural plaint, euphoria, societal inequality, ethnological/anthropological research

This paper discusses the outcomes of the system change in post-socialist Poland. The author discusses various important and inter-related issues in the Polish societal sphere: shock therapy accompanied by the changes since the 1990's, unemployment, uncontrolled privatization, cultural trauma and cultural plaint. Theoretically, the paper belongs to anthropology of transformation, and it is based on sociological literature for the most part. The paper also discusses "societal diagnosis", its creators, crisis in confidence as a consequence of social and cultural traumas, the weakness of political elite and criteria used to measure poverty levels. Lately, there has been a change in mythical representation about easy life in Poland, related to the state's affiliation with EU. The change includes a lack of global crisis influence, resistance of the Polish society toward media influence, a rise in optimism and decrease of cultural plaint. Is this change in attitude due to cyclical alteration between phases of depression and euphoria? What will happen if depression returns? Did the Polish handle the trauma of transformation exceptionally well? Possible answers to these and other relevant questions are sought by the author in this paper, who uses, as additional sources for research, a world of local communities and individual accounts.

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# 15 August on the Aegean Island of Tinos

The most important festival on the island of Tinos, the "Dormition" of the *Panagia* (the Virgin Mary), is celebrated on 15 August. During the festival an official procession, carrying her *icon* (image) in its midst, is important, but also popular customs as the importance of fetching holy water and earth, having a long tradition within Greek religions. The article presents the festival on Tinos, thus exploring the relation between the official and popular religion, also related to gendered values.

### Key words:

Death-cult, Earth, Fertility-cult, Festivals, Greece, Healing, Icon, Official and popular religion, Saint, Water

The festival is an important means of communication, an offering or a gift, most often dedicated to a deceased guardian of society, for instance to the *Panagia* (the Virgin Mary).<sup>1</sup> In modern Greece, the festival dedicated to the "Dormition" of the Panagia, the Bearer or Mother of God (i.e. *Ē Koimēsis tēs Theotokou*), is celebrated on 15 August, marking the end of the fifteen-day fast in honour of the

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<sup>1</sup> Since 1983, I have had several periods of fieldwork in the Mediterranean, mainly in Greece and Italy where I have also been conducting research on religious festivals since 1987, cf. E. J. Håland, *Greek Festivals, Modern and Ancient: A Comparison of Female and Male Values* (in Norwegian), Norwegian Academic Press, Kristiansand 2007. There, the topics discussed in the following article also are examined further. For short outlines of the Dormition festival, see also Håland, The ritual year as a woman's life: The festivals of the agricultural cycle, life-cycle passages of Mother Goddesses and fertility-cult, in Mifsud-Chircop, G. ed. *First International Conference of the SIEF working group on The Ritual Year. In association with The Department of Maltese University of Malta, Junior College, Msida, Malta, 2005: Proceedings*, PEG, Malta 2006: 303-326, The ritual Year of the Miraculous Icon on the Aegean sacred island of Tinos, *Folklore* (Tartu), forthcoming. Since 1990 I have carried out extensive fieldwork on Tinos.



Panagia. The feast of the Dormition began in the seventh century, and in Greek Orthodoxy it still retains the name.<sup>2</sup>

Generally, August is also considered the beginning of a new season in Greece, and since the festival dedicated to the “Dormition” takes place after harvest and the threshing of the grain, in a period of holiday and leisure, it also announces the passage from summer to winter and the new agricultural season. The cyclical perspective is central in connection with the festivals of the agricultural year, and the official ideological rituals are adapted to the agricultural calendar. The orthodox liturgical year is established through the Panagia’s biography. It begins around autumn, and several important moments in her life are celebrated during this period of the year, i.e. before and around sowing and during the germination and growth of the corn crops, when the “female”, wet and fertile period in the agricultural year’s cycle replaces the “male” and dry period, because the woman is looked upon as the productive partner in a relationship in the Mediterranean area.<sup>3</sup> The Dormition of the Panagia is celebrated during the dead period of the grains’ cycle. The festival marks a turning point towards autumn, by the end of the dog days, by the end of August, when the transitional period towards the “productive part” of the year is about to begin again,<sup>4</sup> and the 15 August cycle ends by the memorial service nine days after her death. In Greece, the transition to the fertile and healing period starts when the Panagia descends into the underworld, and consequently ensures the future fertility in agreement with the divine underworld.

15 August is celebrated with special reverence all over Greece, and on this day pilgrimages are made to the greatest shrine of Greek Orthodoxy, the Aegean island of Tinos. 15 August is the most important festival on Tinos today, and this fertility – and healing-festival dedicated to the Dormition of the Panagia is particularly important due to several reasons:

## The sanctuary on Tinos

In 1823, after several mystical visions of one of the islanders, a pious nun named Pelagia, they found the Miraculous holy *icon* (image) of the Annunciation (*Euangelistriasis*) of the Panagia (*Megalochari*, *megalo*: great, *charē*: grace, i.e. the Blessed Virgin). According to the tradition, the nun Pelagia, saw repeatedly in her visions the Panagia, who ordered her to inform the elders to start excavations in order to find her icon, buried since many years ago in an uncultivated field, and to

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<sup>2</sup> There are also theological differences in the way in which Mary is viewed in the Orthodox and Catholic churches. In the Orthodox Church, Mary is not seen as immaculately conceived and bodily assumed into heaven. In Orthodoxy, the virgin remains a human intercessor and a Mother, see also *infra* for discussion of this aspect. Cf. J. Dubisch, *In a Different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender, and Politics at a Greek Island Shrine*, Princeton University Press 1995: 236.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Bourdieu, *Le Sens Pratique*, Minit, Paris 1980; E. J. Håland, Rituals of Magical Rain-Making in Modern and Ancient Greece: A Comparative, Approach, *Cosmos* 17, 2005: 197-251, 2006.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also D. Loukatos, *Ta Kalokairina*, Laographia - Paradosē 3, Philippotē, Athens 1981.

build her “house” (i.e. her church) on that place. On 30 January 1823, the icon was unearthed in the field where it had remained for about 850 years, since the church built on the ruins of a pagan temple was destroyed and burned down in the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Two years before the icon was found, the great Greek War of Independence (1821) broke out. The finding of the icon, the construction of the church of the Panagia, Euangelistrias, the enormous crowds of pilgrims and all the miracles worked by the icon, contributed to the act that in 1971, the island was declared a sacred island by governmental decree. Pelagia also became sanctified on 11 September.

Below the main church on Tinos are several minor churches or chapels. In the first chapel is a holy spring, where the pilgrims fetch water, which is believed to have fertile powers and to cure sickness. According to the tradition, the well was found during the excavations made in search of the icon, but the well was dry. On the day of the laying of the cornerstone of the Church, however, the formerly dry well became filled to the brim with water. The source is seen as a miracle, and according to the tradition it is one of the most important miracles of the Panagia of Tinos, and the chapel of holy water is called *Zōodochos Pēgē*, i.e. the “Life-giving Spring”. Since the discovery of water in this well, pilgrims regard it as sacred water. Accordingly, small or bigger bottles of this precious water are taken home by pilgrims from all over the world, and they keep it as a talisman.

The sanctuary is a great complex. “The Holy Foundation of the Annunciation of Tinos”, is a multifaceted institution of national and international dimensions, being the most important source of income at the island. The different parts of the sanctuary are gifts, such as doors and benches, and the names of the donors are always written on nameplates affixed to the dedications. Among the most famous gifts given as tokens of gratitude, is the marble fountain donated by a Moslem official who was cured of syphilis. Much of what is given to the church as offerings are retained, but much is also sold: Most of the jewellery is auctioned in Athens, and the livestock, olive oil, etc. are sold. The Church of the Annunciation as an organization is a powerful force in local politics, a philanthropic institution that controls a vast amount of wealth. It is an organization with considerable money, and it is an organization of priests. Generally, local people have an ambivalent attitude towards the Church of the Annunciation, it is a source of pride on the other hand it is “too rich”. People working in the church’s office, however, emphasize that the church is not engaged in “business”, but after the festival, along with the priests, they are counting the money the pilgrims have left, a task, which takes several hours. So, I would say that the health business on modern Tinos is illustrated in many ways, for example by the church sending talismans all over the world, on request from people who do not have the possibility to go to Tinos as pilgrims. The Holy icon is attributed to the apostle and evangelist Luke, who is believed to have painted it during Mary’s lifetime, thus, tying it to the origins of Christianity and the image directly to Mary herself. Today, the icon is covered with offerings of gold and precious stones,

and it is impossible to see what it portrays. The miracles worked by the icon have made Tinos a centre of Pan-Orthodox worship.<sup>5</sup>

### “A kilometre on my knees for Mary”

All the year, pilgrims are coming to Tinos, but the enormous crowd of devotees exceeds during the days around the August-festival, particularly after 1<sup>st</sup> August. They are coming to the shrine for their “*tama/ta*”, their pledge to the Panagia to help, mainly on people’s health problems. Many of the pilgrims are fulfilling a vow given after having a dream in which the Panagia has ordered them to go to Tinos bringing with them particular offerings to be cured. Before leaving for Tinos a mother may say: “Save my child, my Panagia, and I will creep on my knees, all the way towards your icon”. Childless couples also invoke the Panagia. People, mostly women, are making their way up to the church barefoot, on their bare and bleeding knees, or on their stomachs, and they are bringing with them various offerings, sometimes tied on their backs: candles as tall as the donor, icons, wax. They may also bring incense, silver candlesticks, censers, bread, wine, flowers, or sheep (the gypsies). The most common offering is a silver- or gold-plated ex-voto (*tama*) representing the person who has been miraculously cured by the icon, or the cured limb itself or the person or limb wanting to be cured, or a ship. The street, named Megalocharēs is leading directly from the harbour to the church. It is a wide avenue, lined with shops and booths. These are multiplied during August, since several sellers travel from festival to festival as do also several beggars. When the pilgrims disembark, they are assailed with the cries of the shopkeepers who stand outside their stores, hawking the items necessary for a successful pilgrimage.

At the top of the hill, arrived at the doorway of the church, the pilgrims offer their large candles. Afterwards, they are lining up on the steps at the Church of the Annunciation, waiting their turn to enter the main chapel, to *proskynēma*, i.e. to perform the set of devotions a pilgrim do upon entering the church, particularly the devotions in front of the miraculous icon, the most important being to kiss the icon itself. The black pilgrim-clothes are often left as dedications either to the icon or to the ruins of the foundations of the Byzantine Church, in the chapel dedicated to *Agia* (i.e. Saint) Pelagia, which is situated next to the “Life-giving Spring”. Most of the pilgrims stay for a service, but even during services many pilgrims continue to move around, engaging in their own rituals. Most pilgrims, however, confine their attentions to the main sanctuary and to the chapel of holy water below the church: “Where do we go for holy water (*agiasma*)?” pilgrims ask each other, and other pilgrims direct them downstairs, to the chapel beneath the main church where they will find the holy water front. Inside the first chapel they kiss the icons, before they take some earth from the hole where the miraculous icon was found. Afterwards, they are queuing up to obtain holy water in small bottles or they drink directly from

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. also E. A. Foskolos, *Perigraphē tēs Euresēōs tēs Thaumaturgou Agias Eikonas tēs Euangelistriās stēn Tēno kata to etos 1823. Skopoi kai drastēriotētes tou Ierou Idrymatos*, Panellēniou Ierou Idrymatos Euangelistriās Tēnou, 1996.

the tap. Many pilgrims are only carrying out the most important rituals and obtain the holy symbols before they return to the harbour.

### **Tinos, 15 August: the day the Greeks combine religion and patriotism**

In addition to the thousands of pilgrims coming to Tinos on their own, several pilgrimages are organised by representatives of the Orthodox Church, particularly in connection with the 15 August. Seriously handicapped persons in wheeled chairs also participate. The Dormition festival culminates through the *olonychia*, “the all-night-service”, between 14 and 15 August and the following procession. Many pilgrims sleep in the court. Many pilgrims also spend the night inside the church, while the priests and cantors sing invocations. Simultaneously, many are occupied by fetching earth and water in the chapel below, both seen as very powerful fertility- and healing-remedies, particularly when the Panagia is so close. Hence, many children are baptised in the baptistry in Holy water from the “Life-giving Spring.”

The Dormition of the Panagia is also an important ideological festival for the “New Greek nation-state of 1821”, combining the celebration of the Dormition with the day of the armed forces. It is illustrated through several ceremonies during the festival, particularly the procession when the icon is carried from the church to the harbour: On 15 August, Tinos becomes the centre of Greece. The service is followed by a solemn official procession when the icon is carried down the mainstreet. Top government cabinet members and the head of the Greek Orthodox Church, followed by the clergy and notables are present at the liturgy and particularly at the following procession. A military escort and lesser officials accompany them. Following the tradition, several celebrities are present, for example the last survivors of the crew of the Greek destroyer Elli, which was sank by a submerged Italian submarine as it was anchored off the Tinos harbour on 15 August 1940. A detachment of sailors marches at the tail of the procession; the national Hellenic Navy always sends warships to Tinos on 15 August, because the Panagia represents the intimate and hazardous relations of the Greeks towards the sea. So, the Hellenic Navy is honoured because it is “under the protection of the Virgin”, and the salvation of Greece always comes from the sea”. The national ideology is also manifested through the speeches given by the authorities, and by the posters hanging around in the town, announcing the festival: One poster shows the Panagia hovering over the national symbol, the Acropolis of Athens. Another poster may depict a mixing of modern and ancient symbols, or a jet flying over Tinos, or the front-page of a newspaper from 15 August 1940. The message is always the same: 15 August is proclaimed as the Day of Military Strength, and the symbols of the navy, the air force and the army are illustrated. We meet the double nature of the occasion as both a patriotic and a religious holiday, in agreement with the traditional close connection between the official Orthodox Church and the nation-state, in a patriotic sense.

Her icon is carried in procession, and also over the sick and women wanting to conceive. Several hours before the service is finished, a long queue of pilgrims lines up in the main street waiting for the icon to pass over them, and as the icon is carried down the street they stand bended in its path so that the icon may pass over them. It is important to touch and kiss the icon. In addition to the crowd of followers, thousands of onlookers watch the procession, several on their knees, some holding sticks of burning incense, incense burners or lighted candles. Several sick pilgrims lie down, as the custom was earlier, but today they are nearly trampled down. During the procession jets from the air force are regularly flying over the island, accompanied by the salutes fired by the warships and the cannon at the memorial in the harbour which was inaugurated in 2002. When the procession arrives at the harbour a service is followed by a speech given by the attending member of the Government, for example the Foreign Affairs Minister, in 1993. The ceremony officially ends when the clergy and the officials go aboard a warship carrying them half a mile outside the harbour to the point where Elli was sunk. Here, a service is held, and the priest and the new president (i.e. in 1995) throw laurel crowns on the watery tomb of the ship and its crew. Meanwhile, the ships are blowing their horns, the jets are passing over and people line across the coastline. "We came to pay honour to the Panagia, who helped us to beat the fascist", said one of the survivors of the Elli crew in 1993. "We are once again faced with an hour of danger, as the clouds of war in the Balkans have increased and threaten to spread further", said the Foreign Affairs Minister the same year.<sup>6</sup> The importance of the Panagia and the Greek nation is also emphasized during the service, and she is prayed to take care of the Greek nation as she has always done.

After the patriotic ceremony, the procession returns to the Church at 1 p.m. Mothers try to defy the police lines, to bring their sick children as close as possible to the icon. After lunch at the most fashionable hotel of the island, the helicopter of the president leaves for Athens. At 7.30 p.m. the battleships fire salutes, followed by fireworks, and the last battleship leaves at 22 p.m. The aim of the procession is that the miraculous icon may pass over the pilgrims, to purify them for another year, but the Greek nation is also purified. In short, 15 August is a special day for Hellenism, combining religion with patriotism, and the Dormition on Tinos is a profound social event.

## **Gendered times and values in Greece**

The festival is also an excellent occasion to study the relation between the female and male world, i.e. the differences between the female and male values (cf. Håland 2007), illustrating the various identities and statuses displayed in the festival. But, I want to emphasize that, as always when trying to classify different parts

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<sup>6</sup> In 1996 the crisis with the Turks on Cyprus was the main theme for the speech given to the crowd of pilgrims by the Minister of Defence, rousing the audience to thunderous applause. Thus, he was repeating the priests, praying the Panagia to resolve the relations on Cyprus.

or categories, the two opposing worlds and value-systems, the female and male, are nevertheless both complementary and interdependent.

Is the Greek nation's identity identical with a male identity as opposed to a female, domestic identity? Partly yes, partly no. Yes, because, the Greek nation and its identity belongs to a male, linear history according to an analysis based upon Julia Kristeva's and Jill Dubisch's<sup>7</sup> distinction between two kinds of time, female and male time, which I have developed into female and male values (Håland 2007). According to Kristeva (1986) men's time is linear time: time as project, teleology, linear and perspective unfolding: time as departure, progression, and arrival, in other words, the time of history. Women's time, by contrast, is, on the one hand, repetitive, that is cyclical, and on the other hand, beyond time in its ordinary sense. It is eternal, i.e. monumental time. Kristeva (1986: 191) also states that the most recent elaboration of the maternal cult is demonstrated by the body of the Virgin Mother, since her body does not die but moves from one spatiality to another within the same time via Dormition according to the Orthodox faith or via Assumption according to the Catholics. The female time is cyclical and monumental characterised by repetition and eternity.

On the other hand, we also meet a combination of a linear, male history and a cyclical and monumental female history characterized by repetition and eternity, since the Panagia announced the resurrection of Greekness to the nun in 1822. Hence, the Panagia is the first and most important saint of the New Greek nation-state. In many ways she represents Greece, and might be seen as embodying Greece in her eternal aspect. While embedded in history, the Panagia represents the never-dying spirit of nationhood (unearthed in a field), as contrasted to a specific political entity (the current state of Greece) existing in limited and delimited historical time. The account of the finding of the icon and the building of the church also represents women's time, because of the miracles and visions (forces generally excluded from official male history), embedded in men's historical time. The Panagia represents the domestic realm, but she also stands as a national and local political representation beyond the domestic realm (cf. Dubisch 1991, 1995).

## **Male world, values, identity and status**

Among all the orthodox icons the icons depicting the Panagia are most venerated, and the cult has been important since the early Byzantine period, when she, according to the legend, revealed herself, carrying a sword, on the walls of Constantinople and Athens and saved her cities. Since then, the vision about the Panagia has accompanied the armed forces of the Greeks in the same way as the ancient goddess Athena. The victory belongs to the Panagia as the commander-in-chief.

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<sup>7</sup> J. Kristeva, Women's Time, in Moi, T. ed. *The Kristeva Reader*, Blackwell 1986: 187-213; J. Dubisch, Men's Time and Women's Time: History, Myth, and Ritual at a Modern Greek Shrine, *Journal of Ritual Studies* 5/1: 1991: 1-26.

According to some the banner of Greek resistance was first raised on 25 March 1821, the day of the Annunciation. 25 March is now celebrated as a day of double import, the Greek Independence Day and the day of the angel's announcement to Mary that she would bear the Son of God. In other words, two rebirths, of humankind and of the Greeks are combined. This double rebirth is implicit in much of the shrine's iconography, ritual and history, for example the scene on the icon, and the name of the church housing the icon. The finding of the icon in 1823 was considered a divine sign, indicating the support of the fight and confirmation of the liberation of the country from the Turks. So the history of the icon is intimately bound to the history of Modern Greece. Accordingly, and as already indicated, high military, administrative and political dignitaries officially represent the Government at the celebration of the great feasts of the Church, thus making these days appropriate occasions for articulating the relationship between nationalism and religion and between church and state.

Below the main sanctuary of the church is a mausoleum commemoration the sinking of the Elli. Annually, the heroes of the Elli are wreathed, and a service is given in front of the mausoleum on 13 August. Different persons may stress different values in connection with the festival, and according to an islander, a young local man, the most important factor during the festival is the celebration of the heroes of the Elli, drawing high government representatives, etc. to Tinos. Other national ideas are also reflected in connection with the sanctuary. In front of the icon is a votive offering depicting Cyprus in gold, bearing witness of what many pilgrims ask the Panagia to receive back, or liberated from the Turks. This is also reflected by the pilgrim-ships from Cyprus, arriving once a week throughout the year, and up to twice a week during the summer season, particularly in August (cf. also n.6 supra). In the middle of the 1990s, I often witnessed a travelling teacher teaching the children from Bosnia: In 1994 and 1995 the Church invested several sums of money to help children from the devastated neighbouring area further north on the Balkans to a month's holiday on Tinos. One reason was to keep the children within the Christian faith.

So, the sanctuary on Tinos then, is both a religious pilgrimage centre and important national symbol, paralleling the resurrection of Greece, after "2000 years of sleep" (the ancient) or "850 years of burial" (the Byzantine). This is particularly demonstrated by the importance of showing ancient and Byzantine symbols, illustrated by a lion from the neighbouring ancient sacred pilgrimage island of Delos and the rests from the Byzantine church, once housing the icon. This church rested on the foundations of an ancient panhellenic temple of Dionysos, and marbles and columns from the ancient temples of Delos and Poseidon at Kionia, Tinos, were used in the construction of the church, according to the church pamphlets distributed to pilgrims (i.e. Fosklos 1996). These symbols also bear witness to the two, or double set of, Greek identities the ancient and the Byzantine, the "Hellenic" or out-

ward-facing and the “Romeic” or inward-facing, according to M. Herzfeld.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, as already indicated, certain representations of the Church of the Annunciation seek to merge this “Romeic” past with classical “Hellenic” Greece. The church and its history assert an evolution from pagan traditions to Christianity. The church stands on and is built from the past, it transcends the past it does not reject it. The Greeks are neither Hellenes nor Byzantines. They are both.

So, instead of saying that political discourse makes use of religion and religious symbolism and finds opportunity for its expression in religious occasion such as those celebrated at Tinos on 15 August, I would rather suggest that there is a combination of the two, since religious discourse also makes use of politic and political symbolism, they are both complementary and interdependent. This intermingling is particularly manifested in the aforementioned posters announcing the festival on Tinos today, thus reflecting Byzantine manifestations as well as paintings and newspapers of the war period. It may for example be illustrated by a painting of a battleground filled with soldiers during the Greek-Italian war in 1940-1941. The Panagia and the child are hovering in the clouds overhead, accompanied by angels, one of which carries a Greek flag.<sup>9</sup> According to some, the church also dedicated the whole collection of votive offerings to assist the allied during the war, thus paralleling the Panagia’s participation as illustrated in several pictures from the period (cf. Mazarakēs-Ainian 1987). Despite of this maternal participation, all the official rituals performed by representatives of the nation state and the church may be classified as belonging to a male world, representing male values, identity and status. So what about the female?

## Female world, values, identity and status

For Greeks, the events of 15 August are an expression of faith, and particularly of women’s faith and their identification with the Panagia. Generally, the Greek woman’s identity and status belong to female values, and in this connection the Panagia has a key role. Nevertheless, during the ritual chaos, which particularly is apparent in the procession, we see a female world contra a male official world represented by the Church and the police.

The festival is dedicated to the most important mother, the Panagia. Further, in family life, women are the central performers of the ritual actions performed to secure the family’s life and health. Accordingly, on Tinos, we see a tension between the official priesthood and the representative of the individual family. Generally, women are connected with birth, nurturance and the care for the dead; they are nurturing mothers, and by their activities as care-takers they manage and control the

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<sup>8</sup> M. Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the making of Modern Greece*, Pella, New York 1986, *Anthropology through the looking-glass: Critical ethnography in the margins of Europe*, Cambridge Univ. Press 1992.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. I. Mazarakēs-Ainian, *To Epos tou '40. Laikē eikonographia*, Athens, 1987: pl. (=Eik.) 11, see also pls. 4, 13, 48.



fundamental course of life. Many symbols and rituals in the festival illustrate this and are regarded as belonging to the female domain. By analysing some of their relevant aspects, it is possible to gain further insight into the meaning and importance of the customs and values related to fundamental principles within the “ideological entirety” that constitutes the festival. So, women are the guardians of their family’s spiritual health, which cannot be separated from physical health, given the role of prayers and vows in healing and protection (Dubisch 1995: 210 f.). Women are also the most frequent pilgrims arriving at Tinos. It is women who most often undertake the most difficult acts of pilgrimage, such as crawling to the church on their knees. This is also illustrated by the female bronze figure at the top of the hill. Therefore, one needs to see pilgrimage in the context of Greek gender roles, and particularly women come to a female divinity who dies annually on 15 August, is reborn and gives birth again, in the same way as Mother Earth and thus the (cyclical) agricultural year. Women’s time is non-linear and repeated, embodied in women who in the context of daily life give birth, raise children, prepare food and tend the dead in an endless cycle, and who come to the shrine as pilgrims to offer themselves that this cycle might continue. The divine female force we see through the Panagia makes, in this instance, history female, embodying cyclicity and resurrection. We meet this in the activities that most often are performed by female pilgrims, such as vows, prayers, and offerings, accompanied by oral sharing of stories of miracles. These are determined by, and conform to, the shape of events and problems of everyday lives and hence are both gendered, continuous and in a constant flux. Women’s tasks, roles and natures, supposedly, vary little through time (Dubisch 1991: 12). They are related to an eternal Mother Goddess, female domestic sphere and history. So, women come to the Panagia with prayers related to timeless or eternal issues of health, children, death and birth, because they pray and make offerings to conceive, to be healed for a sickness, or, most often, they make vows and requests on behalf of others, particularly children or perhaps one who just have died. These requests, which women make to the divine mother, are related to fertility, health and death. They belong to repetition, having a cyclical nature. Accordingly, in the festival, fertility – and healing rituals performed by women are of focal importance. Many also dedicate their handmade, often woven, offerings as well as bread, olive oil, flowers and other items produced by women as part of their domestic role, to the Panagia. Women also perform an important ritual through the crawling, which is central on Tinos to assure the well-being of the family.

Greek women have their own values in addition to, or running contrary to the male view, depending of how the male view suits their own thinking. Women display their *poetics of womanhood*, the point of which is to show how *to be good at being a woman* (Dubisch 1995: ch. 10, cf. Håland 2007), for example when performing fertility-rituals in agricultural or procreation contexts, using magic such as in healing contexts, nursing children, performing death-rituals. Several topics in the festival, such as the importance of and meanings related to the female body, motherhood, women’s general activities in the religious sphere are important ways of manifesting “a poetics of womanhood”.

The female body provides a significant source for social symbolism: It plays an important role in the “poetics of womanhood”, because bodies have social meanings that may be used in public performances. In Greece, the female body both creates and represents the family and social relations in a variety of contexts. By wearing black mourning clothes when a family member dies, women become highly visible symbols of mourning, thus of the kinship relations between the deceased and the living. Complaints about suffering are especially expressed by women lamenting their dead. They also suffer in pilgrimage. But we encounter the same complaints in relation to problems of everyday life, since they call attention to what women must endure in order to carry out their roles as wives and mothers. All these examples are part of the available “cultural material” upon which women may draw for the creation of the “poetics of womanhood”. Suffering as expressed through verbal complaint, the body, ritual actions, is an expression of social identity among women.

The idiom of suffering is particularly important in the context of women’s roles. For many women, the points of both tension and fulfilment centre around motherhood and familial responsibilities. Particularly for women, the body plays an important role in these expressions of suffering, whether it is through the many expressions of the ways women suffer in the process of bodily reproduction (Dubisch 1995: ch. 10). In contemporary Greece, a woman makes a public performance when crawling on her knees to the church with a sick child on her back in the hope of healing it, but the action takes validity through the sacrifice and suffering of the self on behalf of others. Through her maternal role, the mother’s own body is repeatedly offered as a sacrifice, and this sacrifice may be dramatized in women’s pilgrimage to the shrine dedicated to the Annunciation of the Panagia at Tinos.

In Greece, a suffering mother may give public performances of “being good at being a woman”. Her “public” audience are usually other women, who share her “public” space, interests and value-system, and therefore are interested in competing with her performance of “being good at being a woman”. A nursing mother demonstrates particularly how to “be good at being a woman”.

So, the festival is dedicated to the nurturing, healing and suffering Mother Goddess, the Panagia, the “All Holy One” (*Pan*: all/*Agia*: holy), the one who dominate all the others, the most holy. She is the most important Saint in the Orthodox Church. She is at the head of the entire church because she was the vessel of Christ. The mother’s two festivals, i.e. her Dormition and her Annunciation are the most important official festivals both religiously and politically. This is probably because of a mother’s important mediating position. The Panagia is also called *Mesitria*, the Mediator. She is essentially a human intercessor and a Mother, since her maternal role is emphasised within the Orthodox tradition, as well as her power within the heavenly and secular world.

There are several rituals, which women only can carry out. By focussing on the meaning of these rituals, we change focus from a man’s world to a woman’s world, considering values and cults, which are important to women. In a broader

perspective we realize that these cults also have importance for the official ideology.

According to Dubisch (1995: 246): “We must move away from such terms as ‘mother worship’, to which Marian devotion is sometimes reduced, and toward a more general exploration of issues both of political ritual and symbol and of the symbolism of the feminine.” Generally, Mary presents a dilemma for American and Western-European feminists, a fact Dubisch also recognises. However, I do not agree with her critique, since “mother worship” generally and the cult of the Panagia particularly does not seem to be a reduction. By this claim Dubisch contradicts herself and her magnificent analysis of the “poetics of womanhood” following up her analysis of time among Greek women, of which I am very indebted, since her analysis is an excellent way to demonstrate the importance of mother worship, the female and the female sphere within political rituals and symbolism. Unfortunately, her claim therefore demonstrates an androcentric position considering “mother worship” as subordinate to politics. Conversely, the point is that the official male political ideological ritual is dependent on the “mother worship” to manifest itself. Traditionally, the official political sphere has been the arena for male activity. Yet, by changing one’s approach from a male towards a female sphere, one realises that there have always been other arenas for power as well, and the social and political underpinnings of the society have traditionally been in the hands of the women, who are strong and active persons in their own right, thus paralleling the divine Panagia. Greek women are often strong personalities and active participants in social life. They are often stronger and more assured than women both Dubisch and I know from our own societies (cf. also Dubisch 1995). They run their households with a firm hand, and exhibit self-confidence. Several other female researchers have documented similar fieldwork experiences among Greek and other Mediterranean women.<sup>10</sup> I have discussed the historical dimension of this pattern in the Greek cultural area in other connections, drawing on ancient and modern material, demonstrating that the boundaries between a male and female sphere never have been static since women traditionally have intruded in the male sphere, on behalf of their own interests, if needed.<sup>11</sup> Other parallel representations of the Panagia are already mentioned.<sup>12</sup> Another parallel is the heroine during the Greek War of Independence, Bouboulina.

Apart from a brief comment on the similarity between the Panagia and the ancient goddess Athena, I have not discussed the parallels between modern and ancient festivals in this connection,<sup>13</sup> but as a final remark on the female dimension in the festival, I would like to mention that the festival on Tinos may illustrate that the

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<sup>10</sup> L. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honour and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*, University of California Press 1988; C. N. Seremetakis, *The Last Word: Women, Death, and Divination in Inner Mani*, The University of Chicago Press 1991.

<sup>11</sup> Håland 2007, also for the “female intruder” pattern (ch. 6).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. supra. See also Mazarakēs-Ainian 1987: pl. 16 where women and children are also assisting her, throwing stones.

<sup>13</sup> See however Håland 2007, cf. particularly 2006.

official political ideologies are adapted to deep-rooted rules or mentalities connected with the necessity of celebrating a festival dedicated to a Mother Goddess at the same time within the agricultural year, as in ancient Greece, when we also meet the same climatic imbalance of dry and wet.<sup>14</sup> It may indicate that the modern festival dedicated to a Mother Goddess has supplanted the role of one or more earlier goddesses. The similarities between the festival dedicated to the Panagia and the Panathenaia may have connection with the protecting city goddess' chthonic aspect as Virgin and foster-mother of the mythical king of Athens Erichthonios/Erechtheus. He was the divine child after whom the temple of Athena *Polias* (i.e. "of the city"), the Erechtheum is named. As already mentioned, the Panagia protects present-day's Greeks, since the Greek nation is celebrated on the "Day of Military Strength", coinciding with the Dormition. So, the cult of a protecting virginal Mother Goddess in relation to political-ideological festivals in the Greek cultural area might not be new (cf. also Håland 2006, 2007).

### Both male and female, or popular identities?

My account of female pilgrims does not mean that men do not crawl, they do, and more men have started to crawl lately, particularly younger men. A reason to this may be that the worlds of men and women become more and more intermingled. So, here we see a merging of female and male values, as we also see in the other instances. It should also be mentioned that the aforementioned tension between a female and official male world is paralleled by the tension we often see between an official and popular world, that nevertheless, most often is connected with women: The church authorities try to stop several popular rituals as the dedications of the black pilgrimage cloths to the stones from earlier sanctuaries. But the rituals continue anyway.

The tension between the female and male worlds also parallels the tension between the official society and a marginal group of people that is not small in Greek society, the gipsies. Therefore, a difficult, but important element connected to the festival, identities and statuses are the gipsies. In the early 1990's there were many of them. Today there are fewer. According to Dubisch,<sup>15</sup> they are welcomed but this is not correct. One reason that the church does not welcome them is that other Greeks started to arrive before or after the festival instead. The local Tinotes generally, have an ambivalent relation to the gipsies, describing them as "bad people" ("*kakos kosmos*"). On the one hand, "they are more religious than us", "but their religion is strange, since they only pay veneration towards the mother". Although the gipsies are marginalized in Greece as in the rest of Europe, they perform

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. J. C.B. Petropoulos, *Heat and Lust: Hesiod's Midsummer Festival Scene Revisited*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, MD 1994; Loukatos 1981: 88 f. See also Håland 2006, 2007, cf. 2005.

<sup>15</sup> J. Dubisch, Pilgrimage and Popular Religion at a Greek Holy Shrine, in Badone, E. ed. *Religious Orthodoxy and Popular Faith in European Society*, Princeton University Press 1990: 113-139.

all the rituals in the same way as other pilgrims. On the one hand, the two different groups of pilgrims are united into one society during the rituals, particularly during the holy night between 14 and 15 August and during the procession. But, paradoxically, the gypsies are on the other hand, further marginalized by their daily tasks, their offerings, i.e. sheep, and clothing. Even if several of their activities are not approved, they are recognized for showing greater enthusiasm when carrying out the rituals, and are often admired for this, by the other Greeks.

### **Some general perspectives on the festival, its rituals, symbols and meanings**

In the festival of the Panagia, the religion unites both economic and religious activities. The festival demonstrates communication between several parts, and may be regarded as a ceremony that is performed to renew and confirm networks that constitute local village and national solidarity. This is illustrated by the general pilgrims who arrive the island, but also the Tinotes residing in Athens, USA or around the Mediterranean, coming home for summer. The festival expresses the relationship within the human world by emphasizing solidarity and symbolizing the relationship with local “ancestors” (the builders of the church, whose tombs are situated at the east side of the church in the courtyard), national (the heroes of the Elli) parallels and the history of the nation.

The cult of the Panagia that is manifested through the festival joins many functions and meanings in a complex cultural-personal metaphor that relates expressions of reciprocity as instances of the underlying form of the society. This is particularly illustrated through the votive offerings or gifts dedicated to the Panagia, and they have to be periodically renewed, also through an annual festival. The cult of the Panagia is the key element that joins all the other activities. The religious aspect of the cult is that around which all other activities circulate, and under the religious “umbrella” we find economic, social and political meanings. One may claim that the festival is important because of the wishes of a power-elite combining religious and political ideologies, but there are also basic factors in the cult that are important for people generally, having strong roots in traditional popular cult, for example popular customs related to the importance of fetching holy water as well as other symbols (such as earth, flower buds or pieces of candles after the liturgies). The festival demonstrates a blending of different factors for example political ideology and fertility.

One may wonder why people collect divine earth at Tinos. Is this because Greece became liberated, or is it because the earth from where the icon was found is believed to have curative properties? A genuine “social meaning” (the celebration of the Greek nation-state) does not exist independent of an implied social or individual meaning. Perhaps people believe that the earth purifies the Greek Nation symbolically? People relate many meanings to the festival, a fact that emphasises the different meanings of a symbol.

The festival is still celebrated during a period of holiday and leisure, after harvest and the threshing of the grain. It also commemorates an important life-cycle passage, the death or rather the sleep of the Panagia. Other life-cycle passages are also important in connection with the festival, such as the importance of being baptised. Women are the practical performers of the rituals that are of focal importance in connection with the life-cycle passages. Men are the performers of the public rituals, but the point is that these rituals cannot take place before the “women-dominated” rituals have finished: The official rituals where men are agents cannot be performed before women have done the preliminary work, and thus manifested their “poetics of womanhood”. Women have primary control of the processes of production and reproduction, and women enjoy relative independence from male performance in the basic life processes. Although, a male-dominated religious hierarchy controls the church, women most frequently attend church and domesticate its interior as seen through all their offerings and its regular ritual practice.

## Conclusion

So, how important is the popular aspect of the festival connected with fertility and healing for the manifestation of the national ideology, and who depends on whom? Do peoples’ beliefs and customs reflect one or several value-systems, and how do these relate to men and women? How are the value-systems expressed through the relationship between official religion and popular belief?

Women’s rituals connected with fertility-cult and healing plays an important role in the festival and accordingly within the official male and national value-system. This is the value-system, from which the festival and the society, which it reflects, traditionally have been considered. The absence of the female value-system leaves previous analyses one-sided and incomplete. Therefore, a comprehensive analysis requires the female point of view to be included. Hence, I have argued for the importance of changing our approach when working with the material. Taking account of the female sphere in Greece provides us with a basis for considering the female part of society. But, by so doing, the official male perspective, which is similar to the Western male perspective generally applied within Greek studies, has to be deconstructed. By analysing the festival, we may locate two contradictory views, one connected with the female sphere and the other connected with the male sphere. This means that there is not a one-way power or male dominance in the Greek cultural area, but rather competing powers, related to men and women and their respective spheres. The two opposing value-systems are nevertheless both complementary and interdependent. Hence, there are several meanings and values connected to the festival and its rituals, popular and official, female and male, since the pilgrimage site on Tinos presents an interrelationship of history, ritual and gender. Here, different interests - sacred and secular, local and national, personal and official - all come together - we meet an intersection of social, economic, religious and political life, learning that a political explanation can never entirely account for cultic arrangements.

(Translated by the author)

**Еви Јоана Халанд**

## **Празник Пресвете Богородице на егејском острву Тинос**

*Кључне речи:*

култ мртвих, Земља, култ плодности, фестивали, Грчка, исцељивање, икона, званична и популарна религија, свето, вода

Овај рад се базира на теренским испитивањима на Тиносу, спроведеним у више фаза од 1990, а у фокусу рада је фестивал посвећен Успењу Богородице. У савременој Грчкој, фестивал Успења Богородице се прославља 15. августа. Фестивал се одржава након жеталачких радова и означава прелазак од лета ка зими. На егејском острву Тинос, овај фестивал, повезан са плодношћу и исцељивањем нарочито је значајан. Црква Panagia Euangelistrias (Благовести) дугује своју славу чудотворној икони, ископаној 1821, која представља Благовести. Чуда која су се потом дешавала допринела су да Тинос постане центар свеукупне православне религије, са честим ходочашћима ка овоме центру у време фестивала Успења. Фестивал Успења Богородице је такође важан идеолошки фестивал за нову Грчку нацију, насталу 1821, што се може уочити у низу церемонија које чине саставни део овог фестивала, а где посебно место заузима процесација иконе, када се икона проноси од цркве према луци. Укратко, 15. август је сасвим посебан дан за Хеленизам, сједињујући у себи религију и патриотизам. Фестивал Успења је веома значајан друштвени догађај на Тиносу а представља и добру прилику за проучавање односа између мушког и женског света. Постоји неколико значења и вредности повезаних са фестивалом и пратећим ритуалима, популарна и званична значења, женска и мушка, јер место ходочашћа на Тиносу представља такође и спој историје, ритуала и пола. На овом месту сусрећу се различите сфере – световна и света, локална и национална, лична и званична, представљајући тако раскрсницу путева друштвеног, религијског и политичког живота.

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### Legal Inheritance in the Domain of Ideal and Real\*

This paper discusses customary and legislative practices and their inter-relationship in the contemporary time. Furthermore, the paper will accentuate the relationship of ideal patterns in the legislative and customary practices, in regards toward the real behavior. By doing so, the paper will reveal the possible consequences streaming from attempts to apply the ideal patterns of the customary domain in the juridical practice.

**Key words:**

institution of inheritance, customary law, civil law, regulations, juridical practice, ideal patterns

Based on ethnological and law literature review, and my own empirical data, I argue that there is a parallel application of legislative and customary regulations within the system of inheritance in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Serbia.<sup>1</sup>

The parallel existence of the customary law and legislation would not cause commotions within professionals *per se*, however, it is only that the legislation is recognized by law normative, i.e., the legislation is legitimate while the other isn't. Besides, these two systems have totally different structures, with many regulations

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<sup>1</sup> See Павковић, Ф. Никола. 1983. *Традицијско право и савремена сеоска породица*, Гласник Етнографског института САНУ XXXII, Београд, 41-46; Исти; 2003. *Porodica i seoska zajednica u Šumadiji*, Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke, 114-115, Novi Sad, 223-254; Гавриловић, Љиљана. 1989. *Обичајноправно регулисање породичних односа*, Гласник Етнографског музеја из Београда, 52-53, Београд, 43-71; Крстић, Ђурица. 1979. *Правни обичаји код Куча, Анализа реликата – методологија – прилози за теорију обичајног права*, Београд. Посебна издања Балканолошког института, 7, 1979; Лукић, Радомир. 1971. *Наше ново право и сељачко друштво*, Глас Српске академије наука и уметности, CCLXXX, Одељење друштвених наука, 15, Београд, 145-159.



being in collision. I find it very important to emphasize, that in spite the collision, there are mutual, intertwining influences between the civil and customary law. That is, these legal systems are not mutually exclusive but under mutual influences, which in effect, represents the main characteristic of their relationship. Also, it is important to note that the customary law is the most represented in the domain of civil, inheritance and family law.<sup>2</sup> These are the spheres of private law, which was left out of the direct influence of the law and legislations, as examples of “public politics”.<sup>3</sup> This is the reason why the customary laws are contained for the most part within the institution of inheritance.<sup>4</sup> In addition, it is worth to note that the parallelism of the civil and customary law exists at the class of juridical practice but not in the theory of law.<sup>5</sup>

The research, which I will partially present in this paper, is in accordance with the subject and the cited theories.<sup>6</sup> Thus, I was able to analyze both legislative systems, in order to point out to foundations and their inter-relationship at the moment.<sup>7</sup> The inter-relationship between customary and law legislations is also analyzed at the level of juridical practice.<sup>8</sup> The interesting question concerns a relation between juridical and customary regulations and, on the other hand, the actual practice. This question implies, among other things, a need to understand differences be-

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<sup>2</sup> See: Крстић, Ђурица. 1972. *Савремено изучавање обичајног права – принципи и методи*, Архив за правне и друштвене науке, Проблеми републичке уставности, бр. 2, књ. XLV новог кола, Београд, 205.

<sup>3</sup> Milenković, Miloš. 2008. *Problemi konstitucionalizacije multikulturalizma – pogled iz antropologije, Deo prvi: o „očuvanju“ identiteta*, Етноантрополошки проблеми, Часопис Одељења за етнологију и антропологију Филозофског факултета у Београду, год. 3, св. 2 (н.с.), Београд, 46-47.

<sup>4</sup> See Гавриловић, Љиљана. 1989: 43–71

<sup>5</sup> See Гавриловић, Љиљана. 1987. *Судска пракса као начин превазилажења колизије између обичајног и позитивног права*, Етнолошке свеске, VIII, Београд – Крушевац, 141-145; Иста, 1989: 43-71.

<sup>6</sup> I have performed a fieldwork in Vranje and its surroundings in 1996-2000; the focus was the practices of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The fieldwork assumed an application of qualitative ethnological and anthropological fieldwork – foremost interviews and participant observation. I have analyzed court archive sources (inheritance and will) and law sources, especially so *Закон о наслеђивању – са објашњењима и напоменама*, издање „Архива за правне и друштвене науке“, Београд 1955 (the first federal law in the former FNRJ); and current Inheritance Law from 1995. године (see: Тодоровић, Владимир. и Кулић, Роса. 1996. *Наследно право и ванпарнични поступак у пракси, Закон о наслеђивању са објашњењима, Закон о ванпарничном поступку са објашњењима*, „Службени Гласник“ са п.о. Београд, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> This paper deals with inheritance rights on movable and immovable properties since this is the domain of a will. Besides, the civil right and normative contain regulations on properties inheritance. This is where a difference between law and ethnological conception becomes obvious (see Pavković, F. Nikola. 1982. *Etnološka koncepcija nasleđivanja*, Етнолошке свеске, IV, Београд, 25-39).

<sup>8</sup> The term juridical practice is used to denominate a segment of law which applies legislation in order to regulate certain law or status.

tween an ideal and real mode of behavior, that is, differences in what individuals think and what they actually do.

The research was also directed toward revealing possible factors which determined an application of certain rules in inheritance, both in customary and legislative regulations. This applies foremost to type of kinship among testator and legal inheritor of something - a heir, gender of a heir, content of what is being inherited, but also the influence of law, seen in the context of “public politics”<sup>9</sup> influence.

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Inheritance Laws (in further text: IL) being in application in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Serbia regulate inheritance based on law and bequest. There are two types of basic inheritance:

1. legal, that is inheritance without a will,
2. inheritance based on a will.<sup>10</sup>

It is important to note that an individual can inherit a part of legacy/assets through will and a part through legal inheritance.<sup>11</sup> That is, IL does not exclude the possibility of parallel application of both inheritance types. However, based on the literature review and my own data, I argue that there are no differences between these two types of inheritance in regards of application of customary law, that is, the ideal patterns. Some structural differences between normative and customary law are more evident in legal type of inheritance, hence they could be better explained. That is why the focus of the paper is placed on a relationship between civil and customary law in regards legal inheritance. Blood or civil relatedness between a defunct and heir is a pre-condition in application of legal inheritance.<sup>12</sup> Legal heirs are differentiated by the class of relatedness with the defunct: closely related kin will out-pass the more distant kin and so on.<sup>13</sup> According to IL, the first class of heirs includes children and spouse of the defunct. Children (born in marriage or out of wedlock) and a respective spouse inherit equal parts.<sup>14</sup> If the defunct had no offspring - the first class is being omitted – that is, the respective spouse becomes included into the second class. The second class of heirs includes the defunct parents

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<sup>9</sup> Milenković, M. 2008: 46-47.

<sup>10</sup> See article 2 ЗН/95. in: Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 29-30; this paper discusses ruling of IL in application from 1995; regulations do not differ from the preceding IL valid through 1946-1995.

<sup>11</sup> Article 2 ЗН/95.in: Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 30.

<sup>12</sup> Legal heirs are considered to be in blood relatedness with the deceased, then heirs in civil relatedness, that is, related by adoption or spouses (Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 45)

<sup>13</sup> Недељковић, Борислав. 1940. *Првенство мушких сродника над женским у српском наследном праву, Агнатски карактер српске породице*, Правна мисао, Часопис за право и социологију, септембар-октобар 1940, Београд, 432).

<sup>14</sup> Art. 9 ЗН/95. (у: Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 48).

and their offspring (brothers and sisters of the defunct).<sup>15</sup> The third class includes grandparents and their offspring,<sup>16</sup> while the fourth class includes grand-grandparents.<sup>17</sup> IL from 1995 allowed a possibility of inheritance by the defunct grand-grand-grandparents and more distant relatives.<sup>18</sup> If the defunct has no legal heirs, the state inherits.<sup>19</sup>

Based on the above cited, it is safe to conclude that the type and closeness of relatedness are the basis dividing relatives into legal inheritance class. This has provoked a considerable attention in foreign and local legislatives.<sup>20</sup> There are two different standpoints, one arguing for limitless right to inherit regardless of the closeness of the relatedness, and the other arguing for limited right to inherit, conditioning so relatedness. This limited circle of relatives with the right to inherit is a characteristic of the most contemporary law systems.<sup>21</sup> Since the 1990's in Serbia, there is a tendency to widen the limited circle of legal heirs but only in cases of direct heirs that is ancestors.<sup>22</sup>

In legal inheritance there is also a right to represent (*ius representationis*), applied mostly when a carrier of one inheritance class dies before the defunct.<sup>23</sup> It is important to note that an individual who uses the right to represent inherits the defunct but not his/hers defunct ancestor whose place in inheritance he/she occupies. Hence, in the same class of inheritance, there could be an uncle, niece, an aunt and nephew, that is, relatives from the first and second inheritance class. This representation right appears also in the second and third class of inheritance.<sup>24</sup>

Inheritance can include movable and stationary items as well as certain rights and obligations.<sup>25</sup> Inheritance parley is a court procedure which regulates inheritance, rights and heirs, with flexible time schedule between the beginning and end. Time intervals depend on heirs, their free will and aims, according to the judges from Vranje municipality court. It is possible to complete the procedure in only one day if there is consent between the heirs about the inheritance division,

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<sup>15</sup> Art. 12 ЗН/95. (у: Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 54).

<sup>16</sup> Art 16 ЗН/95. this corresponds to 17 ЗН/74. (у: Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 58).

<sup>17</sup> Art. 19 ЗН/95. this introduced again the IV class of inheritance as provided by 20 и 21 ЗН/55. (in: Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 61).

<sup>18</sup> Art.20 ЗН/95. this possibility was provided by 22 ЗН/55. (in: Тодоровић, В. And Кулић, Р. 1997: 62).

<sup>19</sup> Art. 21 ЗН/95. (in: Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 62-63).

<sup>20</sup> See Благојевић, Борислав. 1988, *Наследно право у Југославији*, Права република и покрајина, „Савремена администрација“, 83-85.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 1988: 83.

<sup>22</sup> I conclude this based on comparison of IL from 1946 and 1995.

<sup>23</sup> Art. 10 ЗН/95. this special regulation of representation are being applied in cases of exclusion of exigent heirs (art. 63 ЗН/95.), in undeserving inheritance (art. 6 ЗН/95.) and in cases of waiver of inheritance (art. 213 ЗН/95.); in: Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 52-53.

<sup>24</sup> Art. 10 ЗН/95. in: Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 52-53.

<sup>25</sup> See 1 ЗН/95. in: Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 24.

which is suggested by the judge and according to law. The judge has to respect the defunct will. That is, the judge has an obligation to divide the inheritance as suggested by the respective heirs but in accordance with the legislations. This means that the judge is responsible for modulation of normative with the wishes of the heirs, which is not so difficult to achieve, at least according to the empirical sources. However, without the consent, the procedure could last forever, until a solution is found to please everybody concerned. Most of the time, the judges see that customary law stands in a way of reaching the consensus, since normative does not correspond to the customary laws. However, I take a different view since I do not consider that normative is a cause of conflict between heirs, that is, relatives in inheritance procedures. If this was the case, then conflicts would not arise in the application of only one law system, and based on my data, there are plenty.<sup>26</sup> In the next part of the paper, I will point out to the main principles of the customary law, and I suggest possible conclusions about the parallel usage of the two structurally different legal systems.

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The basic norms of the customary law determining heirs and their share of inheritance are: type of kinship and lineage between the defunct and heirs, as well as gender of heirs. In the customary law, similar as in the legal inheritance, a right to inherit is chiefly given to blood relatives. Closer related kin are given advantage over more distant ones. However, in contrast with the legal inheritance, the customary law provides a difference between blood relatives based on gender and lineage. Hence, the defunct sons have advantage, that is, male offspring. If there are no male heirs, respective daughters gain a right to inherit, and in cases without offspring, inheritance is divided among a respective spouse and brothers, that is, their male descendants. This is the case of horizontal class of inheritance. It is applied when there is a shortage of male heirs on one side.<sup>27</sup> It is clear that the customary law even in the application of horizontal class of inheritance gives advantage mostly to male relatives, that is, to the defunct brothers and their sons.<sup>28</sup> It follows that the customary law respects patrilineal type of inheritance. However, in spite that it is primary, it does not follow that it is always the only one. This type of inheritance is not possible to apply in all cases, such as in when there are no sons but only daughters. Besides, the customary law of inheritance sometimes applies some principles of matrilineal and matrilateral inheritances. Matrilateral is used in inheritance of assets which belong to a woman, that is, a respective mother. In the customary law of

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<sup>26</sup> See Ђорђевић Црнобрња, Јадранка. 2009. *Наследно-својински односи у Врањском крају у другој половини двадесетог века*, докторска дисертација, Библиотека Одељења за етнологију и антропологију Филозофског факултета у Београду, 1-250.

<sup>27</sup> Pavković, F. N. 1982: 33.

<sup>28</sup> The application of horizontal class of inheritance, as well as vertical, in the customary law is in correlation with the basic principle of the customary regulative – the deceased immovable assets is being inherited by male heirs, so it can be explained as an aim to keep a family assets within agnatic family.

inheritance, assets by women, that is, mothers are being inherited by daughters, and if a woman hasn't had any daughters, then it is inherited by respective sons. This is the case of matrilineal type of inheritance.

The customary law also takes into account when defining an heir and respective parts of inheritance, a place of residence. The principle of patrilocal residence comes into play; this principle is almost equally important as the principle of patrilineal type of inheritance. This means that a right to inherit a father's assets is given to his son or sons who resided with their respective natal family.<sup>29</sup> It follows that a son, or sons, was obligated to care for aging parents and their funeral; in return, a son acquires a right to inherit the whole assets- movable and immovable- of the defunct.<sup>30</sup> In the case of patrilocal residence of the married couple, there is a mix of the two customary law principles – patrilocality and care of one's aging parents. However, the application of the principles is not always possible, hence, there are some modifications in usage. For example, modifications are necessary when there are no male heir/offspring or when either of the respective sons do not reside with the natal family any more. In this case, as the data show, family assets are inherited by the son who cared for the parents. When there are only female heirs/offspring, matrilocal residence comes into play, and accordingly, it is the respective daughter who cares for parents and their funeral. In return, she is to inherit everything which was in the ownership of her father. However, this example of inheritance is different than classical inheritance – when a son inherits his father- not only due that a daughter inherits her father but also, and in spite of matrilocality, due to the application of patrilateral type of inheritance.

It follows that the application of certain customary law in inheritance depends greatly upon the gender of heirs. In spite that patrilocality and patrilineal types are mutually connected principles, a connection is not unbreakable, and that is, changes within one principle do not initiate automatically changes within the other. The gathered data show that possible changes in residence of a couple do not initiate changes in application of the patrilineal inheritance. This means that in inheritance – even in cases when a couple does not reside patrilocally – there is an application of patrilineal transmission of inheritable goods. A lack of male heirs/offspring results in omitting of the patrilinear transmission, that is, the patrilateral transmission takes place - the assets are inherited by daughter. Another ex-

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<sup>29</sup> See Pavković, F. Nikola. 2003. *Porodica i seoska zajednica u Šumadiji*, Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke, br. 114-115, Novi Sad, 223-254.

<sup>30</sup> Based on the literature review and fieldwork data, it appears that the assets are almost always in the ownership of a father, as a consequence of the cited principles which determine marital and kin relationships in strong patriarchal ideology, as in the case of Serbia (see Gorunović, Gordana. 2006. *Marksistički model dinarske zadruga u srpskoj etnologiji*, Antropologija, Časopis Centra za etnološka i antropološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu, broj 2, Beograd, 110-142; Ивановић, Зорица. 2008. *Антрополошка истраживања сродства – парадигме и перспективе*, докторска дисертација, Библиотека Одељења за етнологију и антропологију Филозофског факултета у Београду).

ample is when a woman adds her spouse's last name to her family name.<sup>31</sup> However, if such a woman has a brother, she does not inherit immovable family assets. Both of the mentioned principles co-exist, and both influence independently the customary law of inheritance of material goods and last names.

It follows that there are differences in the contents of inheritance among civil and customary law. That is, customary law provides possibility of inheritance of material assets, both movable and immovable, but also of social and spiritual goods.<sup>32</sup> Last name, which is treated in customary law as a basic social good, is an example of such distinction. It is important to note that last name is not inherited according to regulations of IL but in accordance with The Family Law.<sup>33</sup> However, as we will see, the problem is not in the differential determination of the inheritance content but in means according to which it is divided among heirs. It turns out that a type and lineage of relatedness between the defunct and heirs, as well, as gender of heirs, are the basic criteria which determine heirs and their respected share. In addition, rules and alignment procedure which determine shares in inheritance are different in customary law from those in normative.<sup>34</sup> To summarize, customary law considers all male descendants of the defunct as equal in inheritance of father's assets. However, as we were able to see, it often happens that brothers are not equal in inheriting family assets.<sup>35</sup> That is, in determination of heirs and share parts, several things influence inheritance: did any of the possible heirs lived in the same domicile with the defunct, care for parents or pursued an education.

Besides, in customary law, inheritance of goods is in correlation with the nature of inheritable goods. There is a connection in between assets and gender of heirs. Hence, immovable assets are inherited by male and movable assets by female relatives of the defunct. This of course does not imply that males do not inherit movable assets, that is, only immovable assets. The practice shows that a choice of heir is depended on an economic value of immovable and movable goods. Some immovable goods of a higher value, such as: a car, tractor, agricultural vehicles etc,

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<sup>31</sup> A possibility of choosing last name in marriage is present in civil but not in customary law. Keeping a family name by daughters is an example of intervention of legal toward customary law practice.

<sup>32</sup> This is ethnological conception of inheritance which differs from legal one in contents of the inheritable assets. See Pavković, F. N. 1982: 25-39.

<sup>33</sup> The current family Law is published in „Službeni Glasnik RS“, br. 18/2005. Its regulations are available at: <http://www.lawyer.co.yu/baza/gradjansko%20pravo.htm>

<sup>34</sup> Heirs belonging to the same class of inheritance should share the same amount of inheritance, according to the laws. This means that heirs from the same class are given the equal share of inheritance. Inheritance is divided equally among heirs. See more in Благојевић, Б. 1988: 186.

<sup>35</sup> The same is valid for the deceased daughters. In cases of only female descendants, an advantage in inheritance is given to a daughter who has lived with the deceased in the same domicile or who took care of parents.

based on an unwritten rule, are being inherited by son. Daughters, in contrast to sons, inherit furniture, savings etc.<sup>36</sup>

The cited above points out to some irregularities in inheritance, implying not only gender inequality but also inequality within one gender. The second issue was not discussed especially within the local legal and ethnological/anthropological literature. Hence, the gender inequality is considered as one of the main problems appearing due to the parallel application of civil and customary law. The parallelism of juridical and customary regulations brings into light all the differences between regulations and actual practice.

This practice which I observed during my fieldwork shows that in inheritance there is a wide usage of customary law regulations, that is, it is often the case that actions are taken in accordance with the general customary law regulation, summarized in this way: females who have brothers do not inherit their father's assets, or his immovable goods. These females are in obligation to be present at probate proceedings but also to waiver their own share or to renounce it to the male heirs. This renounce is a possibility given to each and every heir during the process.<sup>37</sup> In practice, this right is mostly used by female heirs. This however does not imply that women with brothers never act in accordance with legal normative, but those cases are very rare, and frequently, as shown in practice, are the consequences of conflict between a brother and sister, originated before probate proceedings. A possible conclusion is that these conflicts could solve the problem of the inequality, but they are definitely not the adequate solution to the problem. So, the practice shows that these conflicts do not lead toward more application of legal regulative in inheritance nor to more equality between genders or within one gender, but quite the opposite – they provoke other problems.

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Based on the structural characteristics of the analyzed law systems, between legal normative and customary law, there are many similarities especially so in regards to conditions to be fulfilled so that a subject could gain a right to inherit. In addition, there are other similarities and they testify on the mutual influences and intertwining of the two systems. This time, however, I would like to point out to the differences among these systems, considering that they could provide a better understanding of direction to be taken, if we want to explain why a practice is not a reflection of normative but imaginary order.

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<sup>36</sup> There is a considerable influence of economic value of assets on inheritance relationship and organization of family relations in whole. The influence of this factor is discussed in correlation with the rest of the factors and in context with societal changes and attitudes in the given social time and space.

<sup>37</sup> Goods cannot be inherited against the will of heirs. A heir has the right to waiver, and provides a negative heir statement (See Тодоровић, В. and Кулић, Р. 1997: 296-297; *Enciklopedija imovinskog prava i prava udruženog rada I-III*, Tom drugi, 1978: 360-364).

The most easily perceived difference is in the inequality of gender in inheritance. That is, civil law and normative declare equality to all heirs from the same class. This is supported by the basic principle declared by the all Constitutions in application since 1946 and further.<sup>38</sup> However, in very frequently, a practice does not correspond to normative. That is the reason why we can denominate law and normative as one level, and juridical practice as another level. This division could be seen as a consequence of disparity between law theory and practice, but also as a consequence of widely used customary law in inheritance practice.

The inequality of sexes, as well as inequality within one gender, is correlated with the disparity existing among law theory and practice; however, the parallel usage of civil and customary law in inheritance cannot be explained solely by unadjusted features of law theory and practice, which in addition is not a feature of the inheritance right solely.<sup>39</sup> That is why I have tried to understand the unadjusted features between normative and practice in inheritance in relation of ideal-real. It turned out that many individuals in inheritance procedures aim at achieving ideal patterns of behavior which exist in their respective minds.<sup>40</sup> It follows that customary law is not being used in inheritance because its rules are adjusted with societal reality, as considered by Romantic oriented researchers of customary law, but because the application of the rules allows reproduction of ideal patterns of behavior. Furthermore, the essence of the problem is not only in efforts to organize marital, family and inheritance relations in accordance with the imaginary model existing in individual minds, but it is in the assumption that these models are formed according to the values declared by patriarchal ideology.<sup>41</sup> If we try to look upon the rules of marital and kin systems, which are the foundation of customary law rules, as one of the most important societal context that reproduces ideology of gender, specific for the given society,<sup>42</sup> then the efforts to act in inheritance procedures within the framework of ideal patterns could be treated as a problem. Finally, it follows that the usage of customary law in judicial practice contributes to pertification of the existing relations and practice – which certainly cannot be considered as a positive in-

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<sup>38</sup> In article 15 in Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, in application from 2006, says that the state grants equality to both men and women and develops a politic of equal possibilities. ([http://www.parlament.sr.gov.yu/content/cir/akta/akta\\_detaili.asp?Id=382&t=Z#](http://www.parlament.sr.gov.yu/content/cir/akta/akta_detaili.asp?Id=382&t=Z#)).

<sup>39</sup> On this subject see more in Beljanski, Slobodan. 1999. *Pravo i iluzija*, Biblioteka XX vek.

<sup>40</sup> On ideal and real patterns of behavior in Serbian patriarchal society see Гавриловић, Љиљана. 2005. *Појединац и породица*, Гласник Етнографског института САНУ ЛIII, Београд, 197-212.

<sup>41</sup> This patriarchal ideology is characterized, among other things, by constant efforts to reinterpret basic facts of life experience, in ways which will overcome them and establish an authority of man in various domains of life and experience (Ивановић, Зорица. 2002. *На кога личе деца: сродство код Срба и принципи перцепције сличности међу сродницима*, Обичаји животног циклуса у градској средини, Посебна издања Етнографског института САНУ, књ. 48, Београд, 388).

<sup>42</sup> Gorunović, G. 2006: 129.



fluence of law and normative, as examples of “public politics”<sup>43</sup> on socio-cultural changes.

If we take the above said as the main problem aimed to be solved, then I can argue that the only direction, assumingly leading to changes in the present inheritance practice, goes from an individual toward the community. Of a special importance then, is a legitimacy achieved at the level of an individual,<sup>44</sup> that is, a connection of individual with law and customary law. This implies that possible changes in inheritance are being determined by a degree of awareness of an individual, and their attitude to face possible consequences when acting against ideal patterns imposed by the community. Thus, it is illusory to hope that civil law and regulations will be realized in reality unless there is a change in perception of inheritance rights and status by the subject. Additionally, it is not arguable that law and the rest of “public politics”<sup>45</sup> could contribute to faster changes at individual level as well as at the community level.

**Јадранка Ђорђевић Црнобрња**

## **Законско наслеђивање на релацији идеално – реално**

*Кључне речи:*

институција наслеђивања, обичајно право, грађанско право, прописи, пракса, идеални образац

Паралелном анализом обичајноправне и законодавне праксе, ауторка настоји да покаже какве су основе обичајног и грађанског права, и какав је њихов однос у савременом тренутку. У том контексту се проблематизује питање односа између идеалтипских образаца – како у законодавству тако и у обичајноправној пракси, и реалног понашања, са намером да се сагледају последице које произилазе из настојања да се обичајноправни идеалтиски образац у потпуности примени у пракси.

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<sup>43</sup> Milenković, M. 2008: 45-57.

<sup>44</sup> Гавриловић, Љ. 1989: 44, 70-71.

<sup>45</sup> Milenković, M. 2008: 45-57.

Ауторка у вези са тим констатује да се појединци приликом наслеђивања углавном руководе обичајноправним правилима, али не због тога што су та правила усклађена са друштвеном стварношћу, као што су сматрали романтичарски усмерени истраживачи обичајног права, већ зато што им примена тих правила омогућује репродукцију идеалтипских образаца понашања. То значи да су евентуалне промене у наслеђивању условљене степеном освешћености појединаца и њиховом спремношћу да се суоче са последицама које настају уколико поступају мимо идеалних модела понашања које намеће заједница. У том погледу, од посебног је значаја „легитимитет који се остварује на нивоу појединца“, како истиче Љ. Гавриловић, односно – однос појединца према закону и обичајном праву. Из овога следи да је илузорно надати се да ће се основна грађанска права и прописи реализовати у пракси уколико не дође до промена у перцепцији наследних права и положаја од стране субјеката. При том, није спорно да право и остале *јавне политике* могу да допринесу томе да се промене на нивоу појединца, а следствено томе – и на нивоу заједнице, лакше и брже спроведу.



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# An Ethnological Look at the Issue of Prolonged Adolescence \*

In our environment there exists a special kind of intergenerational connectedness within the family in the form of a strong commitment of the parents to support their children in the course of their entire life (financial assistance, paying for education, providing for housing/shared housing, attending to and care of offspring). The Socialist system had recognized this role of the family and the social care was directed towards the family (allocation of flats according to the number of members of the household, cheap holidays for employee families provided by trade unions, etc.)

In the turbulent times of the post-socialist period, social care and safety from the previous Socialist system vanished. The family became the most important and only source of support for young people. This led to so-called extended childhood or delayed growing up, which is expanding so as to involve increasingly more generations and age groups, including even persons from 16 to 35 years of age.

### *Key words:*

extended childhood, post-Socialism, inter-generational relations.

Numerous research was carried out in order to establish the interdependency and causality of various aspects of family life, with the aim of better understanding the nature of relations within the family, the interdependency of roles and functions of certain family members. The study and observation of family life, as well as determining the factors of family changes, are at the same time enabling us to recognize and determine the course of development of the family.

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The interest of researchers in the family is completely understandable for the latter is, on individual basis, the strongest and the most effective emotional, social and economical connection, which plays an important role in protecting all its members. That is particularly manifest in times of social crisis, when the function of the family is to alleviate negative social influences, assuming functions that should have been exercised by other social institutions. The family is much more than raising children, a Christmas dinner or a family feast. It provides the individual security, advice, loans; it protects him from the outside world, it provides him connections, leaves him inheritance, heals the wounds of failure, encourages him and takes part in victories. The family is the place where the child is raised, upbrought and prepared for starting an independent life and making his own family. It is precisely the latter – teaching young people how to become self-supporting and how to start their own family lives – that is the theme of this essay.

The family map of Serbia is dominated by two kinds of households - single unit households or two-member households.<sup>1</sup> Data obtained from the research carried out by the Youth Coalition of Serbia show that barely a tenth of young people aged 25 years or more are living independently. In other words, up to 70% of youth in Serbia are enjoying all the benefits of prolonged adolescence. At the same time, official statistics are showing that only a quarter of young people from the same age group are getting married. One third of people in Serbia are not married and are most often living with their parents – whether it's because they don't have a job, they did not graduate or do not have a romantic partner.<sup>2</sup>

Merely a third of all married couples live independently, making their family nest outside of their parental home after having left the house where they have spent their childhood. The number of young married couples living in their own flats is measured in per thousands, while exact data show that only 2,5% of young couples have the privilege of living out of wedlock in their own home, namely a home inherited from their parents. According to a survey by Media Gallup, up to 57% from 25 to 34 years of age in Serbia are living with their parents. The figure is 32% for the 35-44 age group and up to 27% in the 45-54 age group.<sup>3</sup>

The decline of the modern city family is also evident from the large number of families functioning as family cooperatives. Comparative sociological-ethnological research show that – as opposed as to the West, where single unit households consist of young and educated singles without children, who are pursuing a career and enjoying travel – in our country, such households comprise mainly

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<sup>1</sup> Blagojević Marina, *Demographic Picture of Serbia in the 90s: Dichotomy and Stagnation*, Societal Changes and Everyday Life: Serbia in the Early 90s, ur. Silvano Bolčić, ISI FF, Beograd 1995, 31-55.

<sup>2</sup> *Youth in Serbia 2002. National Study of Youth*, Ministarstvo prosvete i sporta i Centar za proučavanje alternative, Beograd, 2002; *What is Serbia Offering to Young People*, Magazin, Studentski svet, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> TNS Medium Gallup, Kompanija za istraživanje javnog mnjenja, tržišta i medija, Extended Childhood nov. 07, [www.tnsmediumgallup.com](http://www.tnsmediumgallup.com)

elderly married couples without children or with children that have emigrated abroad.<sup>4</sup>

A rise in the number of multi-generational families is visible and emergent – up to a third of city families comprise three generations of people. The phenomenon of the family cooperative, as the ideal model of family life, was for centuries the most desirable form of community in our patriarchal environment. However, the time of change after the Second World War, accompanied by the economic boom, overrode that patriarchal pattern of living. Newly-wed grooms carried their brides over the threshold of their own homes, as proud holders of housing rights to a socially-owned apartment, while the easily obtainable multi-decennial loan enabled an optimum figure of four tenants per flat. This favorable economic period for the families of the Socialist Yugoslavia lasted almost four decades, more precisely until the second half of the eighties, when the crisis forced young couples and families to move out of their rented flats and return to the homes of their childhood. Amid the general social chaos, the family rallied together, tightening its ranks. Parents made space for the younger generation in their apartments and houses, physical and spiritual space was being compartmentalized, walls are torn down, but with them also many newly assumed roles and position. A new climate in the family was ushered.

What is the cause of this re-traditionalization of the Serbian family? It should be reminded that psychological, social and economical bursting at the seams of the modern family started simultaneously with the historical breakup in the early nineties, which marked the end of half a century of national unity. The middle class family, stripped of its relative social abundance, suffered the deepest structural changes. A substantially impoverished family budget, sometimes on the brink of poverty and bare existence, led to everyday variations on the theme “there isn’t any”, “we can’t afford it” and “not now”, as well as to radical changes in the value system.

This was a particularly difficult period for young people to start an independent life, due to the generally hopeless condition of the entire society. At that time, the only genuine path to independence was probably immigration, as a large number of youth was forced to leave not only their family and city, but also home country, and even the continent.

A strong immigration wave of Serbian youth started in the nineties, when the younger generation, faced with a harsh crisis, decided to take their university diplomas and foreign languages proficiency abroad, so that their children get to chance to be borne in a more peaceful, safer and happier place. The Ministry of Youth and Sports claimed in a presentation that in the ten years between 1990 and 2000, more than 500.000 mainly young and well educated citizens left Serbia. In

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<sup>4</sup> Smiljka Tomović-Mihajlović, *Childhood in Rakovica, Daily Life of Children in Worker's Families porodici*, Institut za sociološka istraživanja, Beograd 1997; Ista i Suzana Ignatović, *Youth in Transition: Between the Family of Origin and the Family of Choice*, Youth Lost in Transition, Centar za proučavanje alternative, Beograd 2004.

addition, according to certain expert estimates, precisely in that period, our country lost more than 12 billion euros due to a brain drain.<sup>5</sup>

The biggest problems of youth relate to unemployment, housing, mobility, education, culture, healthcare, a poor social climate and non-participation in decision making.

When a young couple decides to have a family, due to the inability to secure housing, they accept the kind proposal of the young woman's or young man's parents to live together with them. The young woman/man assumes the spousal role overnight, but at the same time remain a child, even when they become parents themselves. At one time, however, that young woman/man shall, for any reason whatsoever, accentuate that role in that family, causing at least two persons to be unhappy. In a multi-generational family one question is always looming – who is the “boss” and whose rules must be respected. In such a situation, the youngest marriage is most often the first to break up, because it represents the most fragile and weakest relationship, since all other relations are cemented with emotional, economic, organizational and hierarchical ties, spanning back several generations. Needless to say that the authority of the parents in such situation is brought into question and that the roles and models for identification are irrevocably muddled up.

No doubt that different generations under the same roof have different views of the world, the upbringing of children and life goals. It's precisely there that the breakups occur – at the level of roles, life cycles and loyalty. Moreover, in the family cooperative all members have multiple roles to play and that “play” is, in every sense, a huge burden. For example, a overt and merciless war often erupts between the first and second generation, which war may last for decades, involving the parents inducing their children a huge sense of guilt for having sided with its partner or star and finish every conversation with the words: “Until you are under our roof...!”

Since he/she is unable to sit on two chairs, one of the partners often escapes into alcoholism or some other emotional “island” engulfed in a storm of raw emotions, sending thereby the message to its spouse that he/she is unable to assume the role of husband/wife and be the other part of the couple. I will here quote a discussion from an Internet forum: “My wife and I spend the first year of our marriage thinking about how we would settle down on our own in a cute little home we would arrange with a lot of care and love. The second year passed with us dreaming how we would soon hear the sweet laughter of our children resounding in that home! In the third year, we were concerned about whether our virtual home would be too small for the kid that in the meantime already started walking and running? In the fourth year, we stopped dreaming and arranged my room in my parents' apartment, transforming it into a living room. The fifth year marked the final demise of the principle of parliamentary democracy in the multi-generational commu-

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<sup>5</sup> *What is Serbia Offering to Young People*, Magazin, Studentski svet, 2007.

nity! And the sixth year? Everything I wanted from it was a bit of peace and calm in the bathroom! That nobody is knocking on the door when I go in and that I never hear “Are you coming out soon?” again. I WILL – all these years I had to wait for my father to shave himself first, my wife to take a shower before leaving for work, my mother to take the laundry out from the washing machine, my daughter to play with her dolls while sitting on the chamber pot, for our frequent guests doing the same while reading the newspapers from cover to cover, the dog running into the bathroom to drink some water, for the water in the boiler to heat up... Living in a with one’s parents is such a chore!”<sup>6</sup>

The independence of couples in terms of earnings and housing space is typically considered as one of the necessary preconditions for getting married and starting a family. Without such independence, marriage and children are “postponed”, often indefinitely. Certain couples opt for the so-called temporary/initial “version” of married life – living with the parents of one of the young spouses, namely receiving financial assistance and shared housing space. Such a decision is not the outcome of a mutual desire, but is most often made out of necessity, as a transitional solution until the young couple becomes self-reliant and financially stronger.

Apart from the problems suffered by young people wanting to have a family, young adults are also having difficulties when wanting to live on their own. Namely, prolonged living with one's parents often results in problems of adult children trying to become self-reliant. Due to a poor financial situation, such young adults are faced with serious obstacles even to the prospect of leaving the parental home. Consequently, their adulthood is postponed, namely their childhood is prolonged. The parents are “helping” their children over 20 years of age in every respect: they attend to all administrative chores for them, they take them to the doctor, buy them clothes, upbringing the children of their children, enroll them in faculties, take care of their exams and generally – the parents are burdened by the problems of their children. We, hence, have “children” that should live their independent lives, but can’t or won’t and parents who, consciously or unconsciously, behave as if their adult children are still wearing shorts. There are many Internet fora on which the parents of adult children are complaining to one another about their problems and exchange experiences:

“You said it yourself – you have a problem with self-reliance. Although I don’t think you have made a drastic mistake somewhere along the way, I would rather say it is a consequence of excessive attention and the spoiledness of mum’s daughter and firstling. Nothing unusual, we are all late in noticing that our children have grown up, especially our first-borns. They are, as a rule, overprotected and excessively coddled and pampered. The next child is another story, not that much time is devoted to it and it must rely on its own, which is not bad at all. On the contrary. We are dumbfounded when we get to see how self-unreliant our firstlings have

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<sup>6</sup> <http://www.zenskisvet.com/forum/tema/118-1/Odrasla-deca-i-roditelji.htm>



grown up to become. But it's never too late. They have to stumble upon life once, don't they?<sup>7</sup>

„This is, actually, a major societal problem. My friend has a daughter who is finishing her studies at the Music Academy who DOES NOT WANT to pass her final exam for the last two years... The son of my bridesmaid is preparing his graduation thesis and is announcing HE WILL NOT get a job, but continue some kind of post-graduate or doctoral studies... When we were young students, everything was completely different and it's difficult to make comparisons and blame only the children. My main motive for studying is to have a better living standard than my parents. Our children see that when they become independent, they might end up with having a lower standard of living! Consequently, they lack stronger motivation. That, of course, doesn't mean they have the right to be insolent, lazy...“<sup>8</sup>

Family research on the territory of our country reveal changes to the family structure and functionality, associated with wider societal developments and transition. In addition to changes in family constellation (single parent families resulting from divorce, accident, wars or the desire to raise a child on one's own), social and political transition are believed to be at the core of the decline of the number of children in families, increased divorce rate, later marriage and a return to multi-generational families.

Changes may be also observed in the functionality of families. Research has established that families are moving closer to more complex, multi-generational families. These changes may be understood as strength of the family and its response to the wider societal uncertainty. The family is an institution that can and should protect its members. Hence, in difficult, turbulent and stressful times, it represents a safe haven for all its members. Contrary to the harsh environment, the family provides salvation, but this protected environment has led to inter-family problems: strong control over certain members, acceptance/tolerance or lack of young people's autonomy in making their own decisions and forming their own positions about life, The incidence and intensity of conflicts in the family, etc.

(Translated by Bogdan Petrović)

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<sup>7</sup> [http://www.ana.rs/forum/problemi\\_sa\\_odraslom\\_decom-gde\\_smo\\_to\\_pogresili](http://www.ana.rs/forum/problemi_sa_odraslom_decom-gde_smo_to_pogresili)

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

**Зорица Дивац**

## **Етнолошки поглед на проблеме „продуженог детињства“**

*Кључне речи:*  
продужено детињство, постсоцијализам,  
инергенерацијски односи

Истраживања породица на територији наше земље указују на промене у породичној структури и функционалности, које се повезују са ширим друштвеним догађањима и транзицијом. Осим промена у констелацијама породица (једнородитељске породице настале услед развода, несрећа, ратова или жеље да се самостално подиже дете), са друштвено-политичком транзицијом повезује се и смањен број деце у породицама, учесталост развода, касније ступање у брак, али и враћање вишегенерацијским породицама. У периоду транзиције посебно је тешко осмостаљивање младих особа због лошег и бесперспективног положаја у коме се налази цело друштво. Највећи проблеми младих везују се за незапосленост, стамбено питање, мобилност, образовање, културу, здравље, лошу друштвену климу и неучествовање у доношењу одлука. Познато је да се у нашој култури негују јаке везе између родитеља и деце, у несигурним и тешким временима оно постају још јаче, а то се огледа у постојању јаке обавезе родитеља да подржавају своју децу током целог живота (финансијска помоћ, школовање, обезбеђивање/дељење стамбеног простора, чување и нега потомака). Тако одрасли потомци остају деца својих родитеља до касних тридесетих година живота.

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## Podobe kulture v vizualni etnografiji

V članku so obravnavani nekateri vidiki vizualne etnografije, ki danes vplivajo na delo s kamero na etnološkem terenu. Avtor se sprašuje kaj je vizualna etnografija v okviru sodobnih pogojev vizualne produkcije, kakšna je vloga kamere v najznačilnejšem žanru vizualne etnografije (človek, ki govori) in kakšne so etične (kulturne) dileme v razmerju med snemalcem in njegovim objektom snemanja.

*Key words:*

vizualna etnografija, vizualna antropologija, terenske metode

I

Govoriti o vizualni etnografiji pomeni govoriti o vizualni produkciji v humanistiki in družboslovju, npr. v etnologiji, antropologiji in sociologiji, kjer raziskovalci uporabljajo vizualno tehnologijo za beleženje kulture vsakdanjega življenja in njenih protagonistov. To je način uporabe vizualne tehnologije za zbiranje vizualnih informacij in analiziranje podatkov v raziskovalnem postopku, zlasti po zaključku terenskega dela. To je tudi način uporabe vizualnih zapisov za spodbujanje nadaljnjega sodelovanja med raziskovalci in njihovimi informatorji na terenu ter za izboljšavo komunikacije med posamezniki, skupinami in kulturami. Zaradi prevladujoče vloge kamere in snemalca nekateri imenujejo vizualno etnografijo kar kameraetnografija (Margolis).

Današnja vizualna tehnologija omogoča, da se raziskovalec približa ljudem in različnim kulturnim pojavom, ne da bi jih pretirano zmotil. Kljub razmeroma ceneni snemalni opremi pa je kakovost slike in tona zelo dobra. Nastaja izjemno širok spekter vizualnih izdelkov. Če odštejemo profesionalne raziskovalce kulture, prihajajo avtorji iz vseh družbenih slojev, vseh starosti in spolov. Internet in večmedijska tehnologija ponujata nesluteno demokratizacijo vizualnih predstavitev. Vendar se avtorji teh vizualnih izdelkov prevečkrat zanašajo na zanesljivost in samodejnost svojih kamkorderjev in premalo upoštevajo, da je osnova kakovostne vizualne produkcije snemalna večšina in poznavanje vizualne govornice, ki jo je

razvila kinematografija. Za raziskovalce kulture pa še posebej velja, da morajo stalno spremljati in preverjati metodološke novosti na področju vizualne produkcije v etnologiji in antropologiji. Pričujoči članek je namenjen predstavitvi nekaterih vidikov vizualne etnografije, ki danes vplivajo na delo s kamero na etnološkem terenu.

## II

Na področju raziskav kulture lahko govorimo predvsem o naslednjih usmeritvah vizualne etnografije:

1. snemanje za raziskovalčevo lastno uporabo, za študij, za arhiv,
2. snemanje za komunikacijo z ljudmi, ki jih raziskujemo,
3. snemanje za komunikacijo s širokim občinstvom.

Glede na te usmeritve oblikujemo tudi vizualne izdelke. Za raziskavo in arhiv zadošča oblika grobega gradiva, medtem ko za komuniciranje s širšim občinstvom, zlasti za posebne festivale, raziskovalci izdelujejo različne oblike etnografskega filma s podobnim komunikacijskim aparatom, kot ga imajo dokumentarni filmi.

Osnova vizualnega izražanja je tudi v vizualni etnografiji kinematografski oz. filmski jezik. Vizualna etnografija ne more sama izumljati svojih izraznih sredstev, npr. kadriranja, kompozicije slike, montaže itd. Čeprav je med produkcijo dokumentarnega filma in produkcijo vizualne etnografije veliko podobnosti, se moramo zavedati tudi razlik med njima. Vsekakor pa smo v istem čolnu, ko govorimo o filmskem jeziku (Križnar 1999).

Izhodišče za konstrukcijo zgodbe je v vsaki od teh kategorij različno. V dokumentarnem filmu, ki v veliki meri gradi na izhodiščih fikcijskega filma, se produkcija začne s pisanjem zgodbe. Slike in prizore za film režiramo ali – v primeru dokumentarnega filma – vzamemo iz realnosti in jih sestavimo v zgodbo, ki bi jo želeli povedati ali pokazati s končnim izdelkom.

V etnografskem filmu je pot obratna. V realnem kulturnem okolju s pomočjo kamere iščemo elemente za zgodbo, ki je lastna obravnavani realnosti. Osnova za to zgodbo je notranja avtonomna bit dogajanja, neke vrste vizualna inteligenca, ki obstaja v realnosti, nevidna našim očem in neprepoznavna, dokler je ne obudimo v obliki filmskih podob. Izdelki vizualne etnografije bolj prikazujejo kot pripovedujejo, kaj je odkrila kamera.

Metoda snemanja v etnografskem filmanju je pretežno observacijska, način vizualne naracije pa teži k realističnemu učinku. Zato rezultate te kombinacije imenujemo »observacijski realizem«. Njegove značilnosti so dolgi opazovalni kadri, večinoma posneti iz roke, počasna montaža, in kot je priporočal Heider (1976), »whole bodies and whole action« (cela telesa, celo dogajanje). Tudi, če se ne ravnamo dobesedno po Heiderjevem nasvetu, načeloma v etnografskem filmu uporabljamo pri snemanju ljudi take plane, da nam slika poleg govora odkriva še neverbalno govorico telesa. Običajno so pri neverbalnem izražanju poleg obrazne

mimike najaktivnejše roke. Zato je bližnji plan, ki odkriva človeka od pasu navzgor, velikokrat najprimernejši. Ni priporočljivo prevečkrat uporabljati velikega plana in detajla. Ta plana sta značilnejša za druge filmske zvrsti. Prav tako niso priporočljivi ekstremni zorni koti in rakurzi ter uporaba objektivov z ekstremnimi žariščnimi razdaljami. Stojišče kamere naj se prilagodi višini in razdalji, običajni med ljudmi, ki so predmet raziskovanja.

Kamera in snemalec imata veliko vlogo pri oblikovanju filmskega realizma. Za produkcijo vizualne etnografije je značilna ekipa enega, torej raziskovalec in snemalec v eni osebi. Snemalčeve reakcije in odločitve zato v veliki meri odločajo o naravi filma. Snemalec v bistvu že montira, ko izbira in niza prizore enega za drugim. On je tisti, ki se mora v hipu odločiti za primeren plan, zasuk ali zorni kot. Dobra informiranost o pomenu dogajanja mu omogoča, da poišče za kamero tak položaj, ki bo dominanten za dojetje vsebine oz. avtonomne biti dogajanja. V tem primeru je položaj kamere tudi privilegiran položaj.

Značilnost sodobne vizualne etnografije je tudi tesno sodelovanje raziskovalca/snemalca s protagonisti pri vseh fazah produkcije, tudi pri zasnovi snemanja. Njihovi komentarji pomagajo raziskovalcu (in kasneje gledalcu) razumeti dogajanje pred kamero. S pomočjo protagonistovega govora, njegovega izjavljanja pred kamero, ustvarjamo kontinuiteto filmskega dogajanja. Odlika številnih etnografskih in tudi dokumentarnih filmov je, da je njihova naracijska struktura grajena na izjavljanju protagonistov, brez dodanega komentarja izza slike.

Ko Tullio Sepilli govori o komunikaciji v znanosti s pomočjo filma, ugotavlja, da gre za dve vrsti tehnike snemanja ljudi. Prva je t.i. tehnika brez spodbujanja, druga je tehnika s spodbujanjem sogovornika. Razlika med njima je osnova za dva različna pristopa: observacijskega in participacijskega. V prvem primeru naj kamera ne bi spreminjala vedénja sogovornika, medtem ko v drugem primeru kamera predstavlja dejavnik sprememb vedénja. Njena prisotnost povzroči posebno vrsto komunikacije med kamero in njenim objektom snemanja (Marano, 2007, 95-96). Govorimo o refleksivnosti filma pa tudi o posebnih trenutkih resnice za oba, ki sta udeležena pri tem, za snemalca in za osebo, ki je pred kamero.

MacDougall (2006) odkriva tri možne vloge kamere pri beleženju realnosti. Kamera je lahko odzivna, interaktivna ali konstruktivna. Prva interpretira, ne da bi provocirala ali motila dogajanje. Na izzive odgovarja brez vmešavanja. Druga predstavlja vsebino tako, da sproti beleži tudi lastno razmerje s subjektom pred kamero. Tretja pa interpretira vsebino tako, da jo razbije na sestavne dele, ki jih ponovno sestavi po zunanji logiki. MacDougall se zavzema za filmski postopek, ki naj ohrani čim več avtonomne biti dogajanja. Torej gre za zavestno odločitev o metodologiji vizualne etnografije in s tem za vlogo kamere. To govori o racionalnem značaju etnografskega filma, ki ga je Tony de Bromhead takole izrazila: „In ethnographic film the communication of knowledge is given priority over the creating of an emotional experience“ (V etnografskem filmu dajemo prednost znanju pred ustvarjanjem emocionalne izkušnje) (Bromhead, 1996, 10).

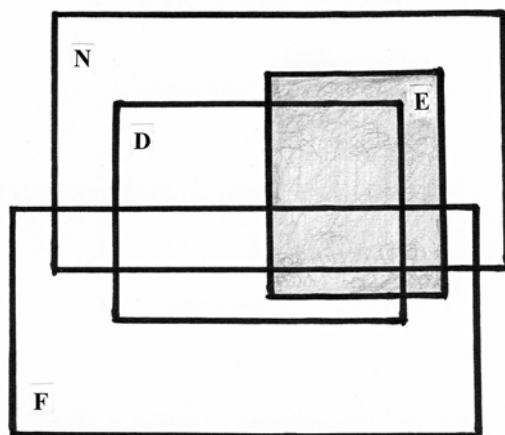
Eden od namenov vizualne etnografije je okrepiti raziskavo, jo izboljšati v številnih pogledih. Nekateri gledajo na dober vizualni zapis kot na „thick description“ (krepak opis), ki je tak, da pojasni ne samo vedénje, temveč tudi kontekst, tako da vedénje postane smiselno tudi zunanjemu opazovalcu (Geertz, 1973). Toni de Bromhead pa etnografske filme imenuje tudi „informational films“ in spet navede podobno razlikovanje kot prej: „Prednost naj bo dana informaciji, ki jo želimo sporočiti in ne poetičnosti, čustveni izkušnji in dramatski napetosti“ (Bromhead, 1996, 13). To je gotovo ključna specifična diferenca med dokumentarnim in etnografskim filmom, ne smemo pa je razumevati kot omejevanje razvoja etnografskega filma. Ali je npr. *Nanook s severa* (1922) brez emocionalne izkušnje in dramske napetosti? Nasprotno: njegova bistvena moč je v prenašanju avtorjeve emocionalne izkušnje gledalcem. Podobno lahko ugotovimo za dramatsko napetost, ki jo je Flaherty načrtno ustvarjal s preprostimi filmskimi sredstvi.

Dokumentarni in etnografski film se razlikujeta v nekaterih medijskih standardih. Televizijski dokumentarci imajo predpisano trajanje (29 ali 59 minut). Televizija ljubi hitro montažo, čim manj neposrednega govora v kamero, veliko slikovnih vložkov v posnetke govorcev in verbalni komentar iza slike.

Vizualni izraz etnografskega filma je drugačen: ni časovne omejitve, montaža je počasna, slikovni vložki se uporabljajo smiselno kot minimalni dodatni opis konteksta ali kot pripomoček za krčenje realnega dogajanja in hkrati za ohranjanje neprekinjenosti akcije, ljudje govorijo v kamero, komentar iza slike je redkost. Namesto verbalnega komentarja se v etnografskem filmu za pojasnjevanje konteksta uporabljajo podnapisi ali mednapisi.

Posebnost dramaturške strukture vizualne etnografije je linearnost pripovedne linije, z malo suspenza in brez umetno ustvarjenih dramatskih viškov.

Zaradi omenjenih specifičnih lastnosti ima etnografski film posebno mesto med filmskimi zvrstmi. Pred letom dni preminula antropologinja Barbara Lüem je objavila naslednjo shemo, da bi označila položaj etnografskega filma v okviru filmskih zvrsti:



SHEMA

Legenda Sheme:

- N – nefikcijski film
- D – dokumentarni film
- E – etnografski film
- F – fikcijski film

Za vizualno etnografijo je ključno vprašanje, kaj je dostopno kameri v realnosti fizičnega prostora. Kamera nima rada vseh vsebin. Observacijski realizem kot posebna vrsta vizualne konstrukcije realnosti, pri kateri je slika bolj simulacija realnosti kot njena interpretacija, ne zmore neposredno zajeti abstraktnih ravni kulture. Ta ugotovitev nas vodi v razmišljanje o razmerju med latentno, skrito ravno kulture in manifestativno, fenomenološko ravno kulture. Kameri je dostopna samo vidna, manifestativna raven kulture. Zato je ena prvih kategorizacij etnografskega filma govorila o tem, da sta osnovni in edini tematiki etnografskega filma ritual in tehnologija. Vse, kar sega preko teh dveh področij, naleti pri realizaciji in opredeljevanju na težave (Edgar Morin v Kuret, 1959).

Človek je osrednja tema vizualne etnografije. Če sistematiziramo njegove položaje v etnografskem filmu, lahko ugotovimo, da kamera vidi človeka predvsem kot:

1. osebo, ki govori,
2. osebo, ki nekaj dela (rituali, tehnologija, telesna govorica),
3. človekovo naravno in kulturno okolje.

To so trije žanri manifestativne ravni realnosti, ki so vidne in vedno prisotne sestavine etnografskih, pa tudi dokumentarnih filmov.

### III

Govor je pomemben sestavni del večine etnografskih filmov. Težko najdete etnografski film, v katerem ljudje ne bi govorili neposredno kameri ali med seboj. In kadar govorijo kameri, gre skoraj vedno za neke vrste izjavljanje, ki je podobno intervjuju. Kamera že s svojo nemo prisotnostjo in uperjenostjo v človeka zastavlja vprašanje, na katerega on odgovarja verbalno ali neverbalno.

Ko je razvoj vizualne tehnologije omogočil sinhrono tonsko snemanje na terenu (16-milimetrski film in kasneje elektronska tehnologija) se je izredno povečalo število filmov, ki so temeljili na govoru. Tako observacijski filmski slog kot slog cinéma vérité temeljita na posnetkih govorečih ljudi. Začelo se je s filmom *Kronika nekega poletja* (1959) Jeana Roucha in Edgarja Morina in traja še danes, le da danes med poznavalci vlada že odpor do prevlade govorjenja pred kamero (»talking heads«) v etnografskem filmu. Kljub temu bo govorjenje vedno pomemben sestavni del filmov o ljudeh, ker je govor pač pomembna sestavina človekove kulture, če ne celo najpomembnejša, saj predstavlja glavni način izražanja abstraktnega mišljenja.

Intervju ali razgovor spada med zvrsti video žurnalizma, zato se njegovih osnov lahko učimo od televizijskih novinarjev. Osrednja oseba video intervjuja je intervjuvanec, ki ima za sogovornika osebo, ki postavlja vprašanja ali samo posluša odgovore in izjave. Da bi dobili avtentično podobo razgovora, moramo v okviru slike prikazati oba, čeprav vsakega na različen način.



## Razgovor

Za izvedbo so potrebni trije ljudje: intervjuvanec, oseba, ki sprašuje in snemalec. V kadru sta spraševalec in intervjuvanec, ki odgovarja na vprašanja. Standardna oblika posnetka, glede na položaj kamere, je posnetek, v katerem najprej vidimo oba, nato po rahlem premiku kamere ali zooma samo še govornika. V filmu se lahko uporabita vprašanje in odgovor ali pa samo odgovor, če je to smiselno. Intervjuvanec je vedno predstavljen s sliko in besedo, medtem ko je oseba, ki sprašuje lahko predstavljena samo zvočno.

V zadnjem času vse več avtorjev prakticira spraševanje izza kamere med snemanjem, kar naj bi nadomestilo klasičnega spraševalca, vendar ta način včasih povzroča težave. Zaradi bližine mikrofona na kameri je vprašanje glasno in razločno (v prvem tonskem planu), odgovor pa je tišji in zato manj razumljiv. Razen tega gledalec ne more identificirati govornika izza kamere.

## Izjava

Za snemanje izjave sta potrebni najmanj dve osebi: snemalec, ki v tem primeru igra tudi vlogo spraševalca in govornik. Protagonistu postavimo vprašanje pred snemanjem. Vendar to ni samo postavljanje vprašanja, temveč predvsem empatična motivacija sogovornika, da bi bila izjava čim bolj izčrpna in sproščena.

Med snemanjem razgovora gleda intervjuvanec v sogovornika, mimo kamere, v primeru izjave pa intervjuvanec lahko gleda v kamero, to je, v gledalca. Etnografski film nima namena skrivati pozicije kamere, nasprotno, pogled v objektiv je sestavina refleksivnosti etnografskega filma. Drugače je v dokumentarnih filmih, kjer pogled v kamero razbije iluzijo, da se vse dogaja kot da kamere ni, kar je vodilo številnih dokumentarističnih slogov.

Opisani obliki intervjuja in izjavljanja v kamero se velikokrat uporabljata tudi pri snemanju etnografskega filma, čeprav je v realnih okoliščinah, ko prihaja do hitrih sprememb na prizorišču, razmerje med snemalcem in intervjuvancem veliko bolj dinamično. Tudi kadriranje se včasih spreminja neodvisno od želje snemalca. Pri snemanju etnografskega filma se moramo prilagajati pogojem na terenu in ustvarjalno spreminjati pravila.

Načeloma v etnografskem filmu uporabljamo pri intervjuju take plane, da nam slika poleg govora odkriva še neverbalno govorico telesa. Neverbalna podpora govora je pomemben sestavni del govora. To je področje telesne govorice, ki je pri človeku še najmanj inhibiran način izražanja in komuniciranja. S preučevanjem neverbalne komunikacije se je pravzaprav začel razvoj vizualne antropologije (Darwin 1872, Birdwhistell 1970, Hall 1966, Collier 1986). Na tem področju se je tudi najprej pokazala prednost in nujnost uporabe vizualne tehnologije pri raziskovanju kulture. Navadno so pri neverbalnem izražanju razen obrazne mimike najaktivnejše roke, ki med govorom oblikujejo virtualni ali proksemični človekov prostor, nekakšno nevidno prostorsko skulpturo. Zato je bližnji plan, ki odkriva človeka od pasu navzgor, velikokrat najprimernejši. Ni priporočljivo, da bi dalj časa

snemali v velikem planu, ki pušča ob strani kontekst dogajanja. Veliki plan je značilnejši za igrani film, ker prinaša intimne informacije o človeku, kar ni vedno najpomembnejša razsežnost etnografske informacije, medtem ko so intimna emotivna stanja bistvena za sporočilnost igranega filma.

Način kadriranja intervjuja, ki izhaja iz video žurnalizma je našel mesto tudi v dokumentarnem filmu. Do večjih razlik med slogoma dokumentarnega in etnografskega filma prihaja pri načinu vključevanju intervjujev in izjav v film. V etnografskem filmu je pomembno, da so izjave ter intervjuji izpeljani na tak način, da imamo občutek kot da gre za dialog med snemalcem in protagonistom, za razgovor med dvema protagonistoma ali za razgovor protagonista z gledalci. Ko v etnografskem filmu gledamo človeka, ki govori, ne smemo imeti občutka, da je na zaslišanju. To je včasih težko doseči zaradi avtoritativnosti kamere, ki pri nekaterih ljudeh še vedno vzbuja pretirano spoštovanje. S pomočjo protagonistovega govora, njegovega izjavljanja pred kamero, ustvarjamo kontinuiteto dogajanja. Odlika številnih etnografskih pa tudi dokumentarnih filmov je, da je njihova naracijska struktura v celoti grajena na izjavljanju protagonistov, brez dodanega komentarja izza slike.

## IV

V zadnjem času se v svetu zabavne elektronike, zlasti med mladimi, pa tudi med ljudmi v akademskem svetu, uveljavlja misel zelo lahkotnega, sproščenega snemanja z naključno izbranimi pripomočki, kot so npr. mobilni telefoni, male digitalne kamere in tudi cenen DV-kamkorderji. V spominu imam sliko z velikega popkoncerta v Ljubljani, ko razgreta množica najstnikov ves čas koncerta dviguje v zrak svoje telefone in fotoaparate in med silovitim vreščanjem neprekinjeno beleži dogajanje na odru. Če pogledamo to množico od zgoraj, vidimo v zatemnjenem prostoru dvorane samo modre LCD-zaslone. Če pa bi pogledali sliko na teh zaslonih, bi videli, da je izredno nizke kakovosti, da se snemalna naprava sunkovito premika in da snemalec sploh ne nadzoruje, kaj je ujel na zaslon. Med snemanjem poskakuje, kriči, se pogovarja in maha s telefonom ali fotoaparatom.

Ne kaj dosti boljšo sliko prinesejo s terena nekateri raziskovalci. Ker niso imeli pri roki boljše opreme, so se zadovoljili s telefonom ali z malo digitalno kamero. Zanesla jih je pozornost do vsebine in so se premalo osredotočili na vizualno pismenost njihovega izdelka. Tako gradivo je lahko dovolj informativno za raziskovalca, ni pa uporabno za komuniciranje s širšim krogom gledalcev.

Canon v svojih reklamnih publikacijah napeljuje na način uporabe DV-kamkorderjev, ki mu pravijo „Freecording 24/7“, kar naj bi pomenilo neprekinjeno snemanje 24 ur na dan. In res, če pogledamo lastnosti njihovih najnovejših izdelkov, vidimo, da mala videokamera vsebuje disk ali kartico za neprekinjeno snemanje v trajanju 22 ur. Simbol omenjene sproščene uporabe snemalne tehnologije je poza snemalca, ki opravlja svoje delo z eno roko na boku, z drugo pa s kamero visoko v zraku, kjer se svetlika LCD-ekran. Pogosto snemalec obrne kamero tudi k samemu sebi in mimogrede poda izjavo ali komentar, nato pa spet

nadaljuje mehansko beleženje dogajanja. Množična uporaba snemalnih naprav prinaša popolnoma nove razmere na področju vizualne produkcije. Ta postaja nepregledna, kaotična, z zanikanjem starih in z ustvarjanjem novih estetskih meril. To je velik izziv za raziskovalce vizualnih pojavov. Velika diferenciacija metod in izraznih sredstev nas sili v preučevanje le-teh, saj danes ne verjamemo več v samoumevnost raziskovalnih metod oz. v njihovo ideološko nedolžnost. Hkrati pa raziskovalci želimo obvladovati svoje metode in izrazna sredstva, ki morajo biti do neme mere standarizirani, da so rezultati različnih raziskovalcev primerljivi.

Načelo neprekinjenega snemanja je profanacija načel vizualne etnografije. Prihaja do nove funkcije snemalnih naprav. Uveljavlja se načelo velikega brata, zamisel skrite kamere, ki opazuje od daleč in ji nič ne uide. Taka kamera nadzoruje dogajanje brez prave osredotočenosti na bistveno, medtem ko vizualna etnografija preišljeno sestavlja vizualno pripoved z izbiro posameznih kadrov (beri: dominantnih pogledov), da bi ujela avtonomno bit dogajanja. Z analizo tako nastalih vizualni tekstov naj bi raziskovalci prišli do novih spoznanj o raziskovani tematiki. Hkrati pa naj bi izdelek vizualne etnografije odrazil pogleda obeh strani, ki sta vpleteni v realizacijo: raziskovalcev in sogovornikov pogled.

Nova tehnologija, ki je vsakemu dostopna in enostavna za upravljanje, predstavlja še neko drugo možnost, ki se ji je težko upreti. To je možnost zelo velike bližine med kamero in njenim objektom. Če je to človek, se mu lahko v hipu, brez posebnih tehničnih priprav, približamo do skrajnega velikega plana ali celo do detajla, ne da bi zmotili dogajanje. To možnost v veliki meri izkorišča industrija pornografskega filma. Gre pa tudi za neko vrsto bližine, ki je etično še bolj sporna. To je vdor kamere v nematerialni intimni prostor ljudi. Z malo kamero lahko, zaradi njene neinvazivnosti, posnamemo zelo intimna razmerja med ljudmi, v družinah ali drugih skupnostih, kar sicer ni dostopno ljudem zunaj teh skupnosti. Ta pojav najprej opazimo, če si ogledujemo družinske videoarhive, v katerih so posnetki, za katere snemalec nedomačin nikdar ne bi dobil odobritve. Ko se zgodi tak vdor v zasebnost posameznika ali skupine na področju vizualne etnografije, dobimo sicer zelo privlačne informacije, ob katerih pa se vprašamo, kako daleč se bodo avtorji še spustili v prizadevanju za čim tesnejši stik. Ali še obstaja etična meja, ki je ne bi smeli prestopiti? K sreči večino avtorjev na področju vizualne etnografije vodi želja po dobrohotnem vživljanju v medčloveška razmerja in akademska diskretnost, ne pa želja po atraktivnosti in zaslužku. Ali ni morda hiper intimna bližina nekaterih sodobnih vizualno etnografskih izdelkov nadomestek za nekdanje prikazovanje eksotičnih vidikov kultur tretjega sveta v etnografskih filmih?

Ena glavnih nalog današnje vizualne etnografije ni samo raziskovati nove načine vizualne reprezentacije kulture s pomočjo vseh oblik vizualne tehnologije, vključno z mobilnimi telefoni, digitalnimi fotoaparati in malimi kamerami, temveč tudi odkrivati katere vsebine so najprimernejše za vizualno dokumentiranje. Niso vse enako primerne. Avdiovizualno beleženje ljudi med govorjenjem je eno najizzivalnejših področij vizualne etnografije. Odkrivanje novih načinov uporabe in vodenja kamere pri raziskovanju vsakdanjega življenja s pomočjo sodobne vizualne tehnologije bo v veliki meri pomagalo razjasniti še vedno dokaj skrivnostno in

neraziskano naravo vizualnih komponent kulture ter njen pomen za razumevanje kulture in sveta.

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**Naško Križnar**

## **Images of Culture in Visual Ethnography**

<p><i>Key words:</i> visual ethnography, visual anthropology, field-work methods</p>
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Visual ethnography is a kind of ethnographic filming which aim is to gather visual information and to help analyzing the data in the process of a research.

It can help also to enhance communication between researcher and his subjects in the field or between researcher and the audience. Because of the prevailing use of a camera visual ethnography is called also camera-ethnography.

This field of anthropological activity is raising different questions. The basis of visual literacy in this case is a general cinematographic language. First question is: how much knowledge does a researcher need to have if he or she is using a camera in the field?

What is the difference between TV production of documentary and the production of visual ethnography? How to construct a visual narrative to keep a relevant information about the culture in question and how to avoid the stress on emotional experience and dramatic suspense, characteristic for artistic or commercial filmmaking? New visual technology is opening many new possibilities in approaching people. How close can we go in approaching people not to step over the thin line of unethical behavior?

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## **За един ритуал преди и след сто години**

### **Функции на Гергьовденската обредност във всекидневния живот на Българите от с. Чушмелий в Украйна**

Целите на настоящия текст са свързани с изясняване ролята на един календарен обред (и изобщо на ритуалите) не само за поддържането на стародавни традиции в локалните български общности в Украйна, но преди всичко като фактор за разволя и ситуирането на тези групи в условията на динамичните социално-икономически и историко-културни промени в началото на XXI век. Особено значение имат функциите на съхранените български обреди в контекста на сложната социална и културна ситуация след разпадането на СССР и обособяването на самостоятелните държави Украйна и Молдова. Различните празнично-обредни форми могат да се разглеждат като част от общностните стратегии на малките етнически групи за оцеляване и запазване на тяхната етнокултурна идентичност.

Теренните етнографски изследвания в с. Чушмелий (дн. Криничное), Болградски район бяха извършени във връзка с проект на Етнографския институт с музей – БАН на тема: "Междуетнически отношения: взаимодействие на културите. Българските преселници в Бесарабия. Традиции и идентичност". В рамките на проекта от 2005 до 2008 г. екип на ЕИМ проведе няколко последователни етнографски експедиции и бяха посетени общо над десет български и гагаузки селища в Болградски, Измаилски, Арцизски и Татарбунарски район на Одеска област в Украйна.

*Ключови думи:*

Гергьовден, етнокултурна идентичност,  
език, традиция, българи в Украйна

*В памет на големия българист  
Акад. Николай С. Державин*

## **Акад. Н. Державин и говорът на чушмелийци. Селищната етнокултурна традиция преди и след сто години.**

През 1914 г., когато издава своя фундаментален труд “Българските колонии в Русия” акад. Николай Державин пише за с. Чушмелий, (дн. Криничное, Болградски район, Одеска област) следното: “Това село ми даде най-пълнен етнографски материал, толкова пълен, че в другите села на Бесарабска губерния намирах само останки от бита, който успях да открия в това именно село” (Державин 1914: 49). И тук авторът подчертава нещо особено важно: “причината за такава етнографска устойчивост в случая” той е склонен да види изключително в езика. “Чушмелийският говор, шуменски по произхода си, толкова рязко се отличава по своите фонетични, морфологични и лексикални особености от всички обкръжаващи го български говори, че чушмелийци постоянно са обект на присмех от своите съседи”. Н. Державин говори за етнографска и национална обособеност на чушмелийците: “осмяти от съседите, те неволно се разграничават от тях и продължават да живеят със своя собствен национален запас”. По такъв начин, подчертава Державин, особеностите на говора изиграват в случая онази спасителна роля, каквато българския език въобще е играл в историческата съдба на целия български народ” (Державин 1914: 49).

В този кратък пасаж от своето изследване за традициите на българските преселници от историко-културните области Бесарабия, Таврия и Крим Н. Державин определя наблюдаваните и регистрирани от него езикови и културни особености именно в с. Чушмелий с израза “явление”. По-късно и други изследователи изтъкват особеностите на селото в етнографско и езиково отношение, като специално обръщат внимание на неговата обособеност сред останалите български преселници в Бесарабия. Авторите на “Атлас болгарских говоров СССР” (1958 г.) говорят за еднородно население, произхождащо от Шуменския край в България и по името на селото обособяват чушмелийски тип говори в Бесарабия (Бернштейн, Чешко 1958: 11; 32-33).<sup>1</sup>

Възможно ли е днес, близо 100 години след проучванията на големият руски учен-българист, да се направят подобни наблюдения и да бъдат потвърдени неговите констатации с оглед развоя на традицията в изследваното тук селище? По отношение на езика, без претенции за

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<sup>1</sup>През 1958 г. по време на българо-украинска експедиция сред българите в Бесарабия, българската фолклористка Райна Кацарова посещава с. Чушмелий и записва множество песни (вж. за това у Горбан 2004: 141-142; Попова 2001: 112; Кацарова 1959). В средата на 90-те години на ХХ в. Гинка Димкова от Шуменския университет също записва песни в селото. То и до сега представлява обект на засилен научен интерес. През 2006 г. тук съвместна етнографска експедиция орагизират Учебно-научния център по социална антропология на Руския държавен хуманитарен университет и Историческия факултет на Одеския национален университет И. Мечников (вж. Полевые 2007). На 5-6 май 2009 г. в с. Чушмелий се проведе семинар на тема: “Чушмелийската група в структурата на българите – история, култура, език” с участието на етнологи от Украйна и България.

професионален лингвистичен подход и оценка, а по-скоро като пряк опит от разговорите при проведените теренни етнографски проучвания, веднага може да се отбележи следното. Навярно това е единственото българско бесарабско село, в което вместо руските наречия “счас” (сейчас) и “уже” – така силно и отдавна навлезли в говора на хората тук – до ден днешен се употребяват техните български съответствия, изговаряни по старинному и много красиво – “нине” и “веке”. Тази особеност на чушмелийската реч сякаш притъпява неизбежно настъпилата русификация, много по-ясно изразена в говора на другите селища на български преселници в тези райони. Това прави общуването със сънародниците ни тук още по-пълноценно и дори създава илюзията за пребиваване в родината, всъщност в една отдалечена на толкова километри, но наистина тяхна “Малка България” в областта Бесарабия.

С оглед начина на говорене изпъкват по-общите и дълбоки културни особености в общуването на различни нива в преселническата общност. Известно е, че бесарабските българи, а и изобщо населението в този смесен район, при официални поводи и на публични места говори предимно на руски език. В същото време част от по-възрастните хора, особено поколението израстнало и получило начално образование при румънската власт (1918 – 1944 г.), не знаят руски или са го усвоили само говоримо впоследствие. Днес по-младото поколение масово усвоява държавния украински език. При такива условия езикът изпълнява важните функции да подчертае етнокултурната идентичност. Значението на езиковия фактор в процесите на акумулиране на културна памет и изява на идентичност в рамките на изследваното селище се подсилва от разпространеното у самите хора разбиране за обособеност на техния говор и култура от останалите български села в района. Подобно на множество други елементи от локалната селищна традиция, за някои от които става дума по-долу, местния диалект се изтъква като белег за различие и специфика. На тази основа – най-вече във връзка с езика (и обичайно-обредната система) – както в миналото, така и днес в общността се формират различни представите за уникалността на село Чушмелий, за своеобразния нрав на жителите му и за изключително устойчивата им културна традиция. Това от своя страна създава предпоставки за самочувствие и гордост у местните хора. В селото често могат да се чуят различни интерпретации на темата за чушмелийският диалект, а именно, че той е най-близък до българския книжовен език, че местните българи произхождат от Македония, защото в говора им се срещат много често частиците “ке”, “аке”,<sup>2</sup> че по своя говор чушмелийци си приличат най-вече с хората от българо-гагаузкото с.

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<sup>2</sup> Всъщност това са диалектни форми на местоимението как – “каке”. За особеностите на чушмелийския диалект вж. Журавлев 1955; 1958; Чешко 1950: 240. Ст. Стойков определя съртския говор като особено архаичен, с редица белези на съобщност с рупските говори в България (Стойков 1979). Областта Сърт е разположена в близост до гр. Шумен, а повечето историко-културни и етнографски данни сочат, че това е региона, откъдето се преселват в Бесарабия жителите на с. Чушмелий, срв. напр. Милетич 1902; Шабашов 1999.



Кубей (дн. Червеноармейское), Болградски район<sup>3</sup> и с нито едно друго българско село в Бесарабия и т.н. (срв. АЕИМ, № 675-III; 690-III: 63).

Известно е, че на базата на единство най-вече в говора и традиционното народно облекло (особено женското) се формират и най-ясно се проявяват границите между отделните етнографски групи с характерните за традиционния период от развоя на културата отношения на изолация помежду им, строго спазване принципа на селищната брачна ендогамия и т.н.<sup>4</sup> Език и култура са неразривно свързани, а по думите на руският учен Н. И. Толстой самата култура (и нейните отделни компоненти) също може да се възприема като текст, като своеобразен език (срв. например Толстой 1980; 1983: 188-189; 1995: 15-26; 1995а: 34-36). Разгледан именно в такъв по-широк контекст – в неговата взаимосвързаност с всички останали елементи на културната традиция, като част от нейните многообразни прояви, езикът в определена степен се явява и нейна същност. Той е един от белезите, които определят традицията (Интервю 2006; срв. и Толстой 1995: 36). Ето защо съвсем прав е Н. Державин, когато изтъква спецификите на чушмелийския диалект и неговата запазеност като съществен фактор в процеса на съхранение на селищната етнокултурна памет на новите територии в изключително устойчив вид.

За отбелязване е обаче, че наред с говора живите следи на тази памет ясно се забелязват и в редица други форми и явления от всекидневния живот на българите от с. Чушмелий, включително до съвременността. Подобно на езика те също се изтъкват като знаци за различие и неповторимост и се изявяват като напълно равнопоставени и всъщност взаимозаменяеми елементи в единната система на идентификация и самоизява в общността. Една от тези прояви несъмнено е празнуването на Гергьовден, което успях да наблюдавам в селото на 6 май 2008 г.

Описаните по-долу обичаи и обреди, изпълнявани на този ден, предоставят възможност за потвърждение на изказаното от големият руски

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<sup>3</sup> За общите особености между българския език, който гагаузите в с. Кубей говорят и чушмелийския диалект (групата на т. нар. чушмелийски (шуменски) говори в Бесарабия), вж. Бернштейн, Бунина 1949: 396; Шабашов 1999:

<sup>4</sup> Подобна закономерност отбелязва още Й. Иванов, който посочва, че повечето от названията на отделните групи население в Македония са “местни прозвища, давани обикновено от съседни селища за присмех или за обозначаване на някой характерен белег на носията и на говора” (Иванов 1917: 62; срв. и Младенов 1965). Белезите, които Л. Милетич използва като сигурни с оглед установяването на селищата със старо българско население в Североизточна България, са именно наречieto (т.нар. о-говори) и облеклото на жените (двупрестилчената носия), между които той констатира здрава връзка (Милетич 1902: 23-24). Като основен белег за оразличаване на етнографските групи в Странджа помежду им Ст. Райчевски посочва именно облеклото и диалекта (Райчевски 1991). Срв. обобщено и у Симеонова 1987. Тук е мястото да се спомене, че въпроса за етнографските различия между отделните групи български преселници в Бесарабия е поставен, но не е достатъчно разработван в науката (срв. напр. Маркова 1966; Шабашов 1999; Шабашова 1999).

учен становище за изключително високата степен на съхраненост на езика и културата в с. Чушмелий и за определянето му като своеобразен резерват на български етнически традиции и днес. Освен това те позволяват да потърсим причините за подобно състояние в етнокултурното развитие на селището (и като цяло на българската общност в Бесарабия) именно като резултат от действието на комплекс от културни маркери, които не се свеждат единствено до ролята на езика. Ясно е, че тук става дума за съвкупност от прояви на етнокултурната традиция и преплитането на техните функции – един своеобразен културен текст, език за формиране и изява на идентичност. От друга страна, всички тези форми на културата безспорно се отразяват в говора, в езика на чушмелийци. Именно той е първия “видим” белег, който не само показва, но и по особен начин определя своеобразието, степента на архаичност и запазеност на традицията като цяло в изследваното село.

От времето на регистрираните от Н. Державин културни факти и реалиите, които днес наблюдаваме на терен в селото са изминали около сто години. Промените, настъпили в културата за този хронологичен отрязък поставят въпроса за устойчивостта на механизмите и формите, посредством които се възпроизвежда и функционира тя. По-важно е обаче не просто отпадането или съхраняването на конкретни факти и явления, но и значението на динамиката в този процес като маркер за стабилизиране или разколебаване на общностните идентификационни процеси. Целите на настоящия текст са свързани именно с изясняване ролята на един календарен обред (и изобщо на ритуалите) не само за поддържането на стародавни традиции в локалните български общности в Украйна, но преди всичко като фактор за разволя и ситуирането на тези групи в условията на динамичните социално-икономически и историко-културни промени в началото на XXI век. Особено значение имат функциите на съхранените български обреди в контекста на сложната социална и културна ситуация след разпадането на СССР и обособяването на самостоятелните държави Украйна и Молдова. Различните празнично-обредни форми могат да се разглеждат като част от общностните стратегии на малките етнически групи за оцеляване и запазване на тяхната етнокултурна идентичност.

Теренните етнографски изследвания в с. Чушмелий (дн. Криничное), Болградски район бяха извършени във връзка с проект на Етнографския институт с музей – БАН на тема: “Междуетнически отношения: взаимодействие на културите. Българските преселници в Бесарабия. Традиции и идентичност”. В рамките на проекта от 2005 до 2008 г. екип на ЕИМ проведе няколко последователни етнографски експедиции и бяха посетени общо над десет български и гагаузки селища в Болградски, Измаилски, Арцизски и Татарбунарски район на Одеска област в Украйна.

## **“Ут България този закон”.**

### **За началото на празника на Свети Георги**

Гергьовден е храмовият празник на църквата, съборът в с. Чушмелий. Отбелязването му и до днес е неотменна социална норма във всеки дом на селището. През последното десетилетие се среща практиката част от по-младите хора да празнуват и извън своите домове – на *гьола*, т.е. на брега на близкото езеро Ялпук.

По думите на някои по-възрастни респонденти празника на Св. Георги се обвързва пряко с началото на самото селище и с неговия български произход, с преселването от България. Неговото ежегодното отбелязване и ритуалното повторение на множеството обреди се осмисля като форма на запазване и предаване на самата етническа традиция и идентичност:

“Имауми черква мънинка. Трийси къщи било у нас. Втъря туй селу били. Чи додва ут България, ут България додвъ ут турскуту мучение. А чи кату додва и искат черква да има. Да има черква и тязи трийси дама земат озят камън, рязън камън. И напраили черква, мънинкъ... Ут камън напраянь. И тгъй написана у анциклапедиятъ. Одиуми ний и ас одиу дъ търся черква. Ох, у анциклапедиятъ у Измаил. Чи тгъс черква светенъ святой Гьорги ... Тряя дъ я светит, кът я светивъ назначава святой ... Се ут България. Ут България доди туй сичкуту дъ праят курбани. ... А пък туй бяши зъ Гергьовден изключителъну. Сякуй идин дъ си напрай курбан. То ут България туй. Искъм дъ ви кажа – ут **България закон, български закон. За ко бяши, зарад турците. Зарад мучениятъ ...** Значит излазяли нъ Гергьовден, на Гергьовден муматъ ко напраиль? Нацапалъ вратата със кръв. Чи ко бяши то? Чи душе дъ гледът и кату видяли тгъс кръу и значитса тя, тгъс мума ако напраиль тя... Ас чуу ут старите оръ, ут старите кумшии чу...” (АЕИМ, 690-III: 8-9).

В думите на Мария Кириловна, р. 1928 г. от Чушмелий се забелязват следи от легендата за спасение на българите от насилствено потурчване и точно подобен на нея сюжет. Разказът за коленето на животно и мазането на вратите с кръв с цел имитиране на вече извършено убийство на момче, чийто дом турците отминават, е вариант, който се среща най-често при обяснение на обредните действия с жертването на петел на Петльовден в североизточните български краища (Николова 1973). В случая с гергьовденския курбан от с. Чушмелий на преден план отново е изведена идеята за спасението, а отгук и мисията на празника като етноинтегриращ фактор:

“Турят си и сядът там да ядът и да славят Свето Гьорги, дъ просят зъ спасение. Зъ тьявну спасение от турците. И за здрави... За туй утишле нъ къра. Вънка, нъ улцатъ. На улцатъ утишле да ядът. На Святой Герги, ем тогу дъ уважават, ем дъ съ спасят ут турците, дъ ни съ издивават над тях... Утишле нъ къра дъ съ

просят, дъ съ молят дъ им пумогне, българите. **Скрили съ ут турците дъ ни ги намерят... Затуй Святи Герги, за туй назначин ут България, ут България този закон**” (АЕИМ, № 690-III: 9).

Освен по линия на етническото противопоставяне (турци – българи) и извеждане корените на гергьовденския обред като реакция от многовековното чуждо подтисничество, функциите и символиката му се търсят и на локално селищно равнище. И в този случай празникът се възприема и представя като специфична чушмелийска традиция, без аналог нито в България, нито сред преселниците в Бесарабия:

**“Можн там (в България – б.а., Г. Г.) тожн не е внде ... А пък нащу селу, нащи сяла другие ни праива. Ашоту святой Гьорги черкватъ...”** (АЕИМ, № 690-III: 10).

Най-вероятно подобни представи стоят в основата на изключително високата степен на съхраненост на обредността около Гергьовден в селото. Действията, изпълнявани на този ден, практически се ограничават в рамките на семейно-родствения кръг и махалата. И до днес Гергьовден в с. Чушмелий протича като празник на малките общности на съседите, отделните семейства и групи от родственици.

За отбелязване е, че различно развитие получава обреда в други български селища от Бесарабия (например с. Пандъклий (дн. Ореховка), Болградски район, с. Делжилер (дн. Дмитровка), Татарбунарски район, гр. Тараклия, Молдова и много други), където той прераства в общоселско празнично веселие от типа на съвременните фестивали и събори с характерна програма от изпълнения на художествената самодейност, спортни състезания, гости от местната администрация, от България и т.н. и/или с организирането на общоселски курбан и трапеза в двора на черквата.

## Структурата на празника

Николова е запазила онези основни черти и елементи, които през 1914 г., макар и съвсем накратко описва Н. Державин – колене на агне във всяка къща; приготвяне на обредни хлябове и ястия; изнасяне на изпечените агнета на улицата и устояване на трапези по махали (Державин 1914: 165).

През деня на самия празник (6 май 2008 г.) имах възможност да наблюдавам как хората в една от махалите на селището, където бях отседнал, се приготвиха и направиха своята гергьовска трапеза. Всичко се извърши в тесния кръг на съседите от тази улица (около 6-7 къщи), които по време на празничните дни от престоя ми (наскоро отминалия Великден, *Суфунден*, настоящият Гергьовден) ме възприеха като част от тяхната малка общност. Така към преките наблюдения на съхранените български традиции, език и културна памет, се прибави и невероятното усещане за общуване със съвсем близки хора-съседи. Механизмите на празника веднага се задействаха и аз не

останах просто един външен наблюдател, а споделих трапезата на тези хора, играх хора с тях и т.н. – за кратко, но съвсем пълноценно станах техен “свой”.

Вечерта преди празника, на събиране и размисъл в махалата пред дома на една от съседките – Варя, по повод разговора, който водихме за различни обичаи и т.н., стана и своеобразно обсъждане и консултация между жените за предстоящия празничен ден – замесването на хляба беше в центъра на разговора. Още тук се долови стремеж у моите събеседници не само да ми разкажат, но и да представят по подобаващ начин онова, което се случва на Гергьовден в селото им и което със всяка измината година, както твърдяха те, постепенно се променя. Подтиквани от мен, а и сами убедени, че по този начин не просто съживяват спомен за миналото и символично пренасят част от “оня” живот тук и сега, но и че поддържат общностната памет за едно променящо се и изчезващо пред очите им наследство, хората от тази махала освен, че празнуваха, но и (ми) показваха своя Гергьовден. Това навярно бе нещо като подход, своеобразно представяне и разясняване пред мен, чужденеца – българин, но идваш от далече<sup>5</sup> – традициите на собственото им село и същевременно израз на тяхното дълбоко вътрешно убеждение за всичко извършено като жива следа на общностната културна памет. В определен смисъл това поведение може да се определи като изява на, така да се каже, представителна идентичност. Както това се случи неведнъж при проведените в рамките на посочения проект теренни експедиции, чуждото, но същевременно и българско присъствие в мое лице и в този случай провокира у местните хора стремеж да се демонстрира най-“автентичния”, характерен само за общността на българските преселници образ, отразен в езика, обичаите, традициите (срв. напр. Георгиев 2008; Георгиев 2008а). С оглед на това наблюдаваните на Гергьовден в с. Чушмелий обредни действия разкриват ролята на етноложките проучвания освен като метод, но и като фактор при определяне на идентичността. Присъствието в общността на “външния” човек в лицето на изследователя, който обаче участва, макар и от страни (предимно чрез наблюдение) в “обредната игра”, предоставя възможността за боравене и с методите на т. нар. рефлексивна антропология или поне опит за прилагането им. Споделяйки голяма част от случилото с мен самия на терена, ми се струва, че това спомага не само за по-доброто разбиране на културните явления и процеси, които изследваме, но и на собствения ни опит, на позицията ни не просто на питащи и изследващи, а и на една от страните в контекста на културата на общуване и саморефлексията при теренните проучвания.<sup>6</sup>

Най-напред рано сутринта присъствах на коленето на агнето в дома на други от съседите – Панчо и Маша. Преди коленето Панчо се прекръсти, като

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<sup>5</sup> Именно в Чушмелий по време на теренната ни работа чухме и показателното определение на група деца, адресирано към нас – “болгаръй инастранцъй”, вж. Минчева 2008.

<sup>6</sup> За осмислянето на теренния опит и отношението информатор – изследовател вж. Симеонова 2008; Чохаджиева 2001; 2005; 2008 и цитираната там литература.

при това подчерта, че така е запомнил и така са правили неговите дядо и баща. Заколи агнето и го одра доста сръчно и бързо. При акта на жертването вече почти никой в селото не спазва характерните обредни действия и изисквания за осветяване на агнетата в черквата и заколването им “*вътря къщи пудир вратата*” (АЕИМ № 675-III: 14). В миналото гергьовското агне се е закичвало с китка и свещ на рогата, а с кръвта от него са се белязвали челцата на децата в къщата. Тук е мястото да се отбележи, че някои други от гергьовденските обреди, съблюдавани строго в миналото, вече са отпаднали в наши дни. Такива са например сутрешното миене и търкаляне в росата, *душенето* на младите булки след устройване на общите трапези на улицата по махали и т.н. (АЕИМ, № 690-III: 15; 690-III: 62).

След заколването на агнетата започна приготвянето на месото за курбана, който се пече общо. Няколко комшии в махалата се събират в дома на един от тях и там в пещ поставят тавите с курбаните. Вярва се и до сега, че не е добре курбанът да се пече сам в пещта или в печката. В такъв случай при него се слага камък. Друго вярване сочи, че агнето трябва да се изпече цяло:

“Два гудини клахми и пу пулвинъ пекъхми, давахми пулвинатъ нъ сино ми, то кату доди ут Измаил тука дъ жувя. И зевъ дъ ни мрът агниутъ. Зевъ дъ измирът. То трябъ дъ заколиш цялу нъ къщата, на двору. И сетня мъжа ми кът каза пойчи нямъ дъ дели. Пичи гу, туряй гулям лиен, и пичи гу цяличку и ас гу нъпъльниу вътря ас булгур...” (АЕИМ, № 690-III: 91-92).

Месото за курбана се слага сурово върху булгур или самото агне се пълни с булгур, поставя се в тава или друг съд, покрива се с фолио в наши дни (в миналото с листа от лапат) и се пече в пещта. Булгурът се *надува* – вари се и се приготвя с много мазнина (най-вече свинска мас). Той не трябва да е нито много гъст, нито пък прекалено рядък. Слага се още дафинов лист и други подправки – нарязан пресен лук, черен пипер. Месото се поставя върху булгура, нарязано на парчета. Поставя се и главата от агнето.

Когато се събраха в дома на Маша и Панчо, съседите им – само жени от махалата – запалиха пещта със снопчета от съчки и пръчки, които всяка една от тях донесе от дома си. Така за подпалването на огъня в *собата* допринесоха всички, които буквално (жените и моя милост) и символично (останалите присъстващи вечерта на трапезата) взеха участие в общото приготвяне на храната.

Пещта трябва да бъде опалена добре – да започнат да се виждат искри в нея и да тлее отвътре. Тогава събраха тавите с курбаните си и ги наредиха в пещта. Събраха се около 6-7 тави с курбани. В пещта те престояха около четири часа, като тя се затваря добре и повече не се отваря. В миналото пещите са се използвали и за лечение на настинка и други подобни състояния – затваряли са болния вътре:

“Кату упичеш лябу, пудир лябу у собатъ. Пустилат ина ругузинкъ и в собтъ. Чисту гол и там веки кът си намазанъ ас гас и съ

испутивъш. Тиче ут теби удъ и лижиш нъ тя ругузинкъ... В собътъ вътри и турят капаку дажи. Ку ши бъди тушну силну, уткрийш манну капакъ, пак... Очин убуу праминааши, то излазяши сичкуту ут кокалти” (АЕИМ, № 690-III: 97).

Сутринта преди поставянето на тавите в пещта присъствах на месенето и приготвянето на хлябовете за Гергьовден в дома на друга от съседките в махалата – Кина. Вечерта преди празника Кина се консултира с останалите жени и особено с по-възрастните от тях, които бяха седнали на размисъл на улицата пред дома на Варя и Кирил. Тя не беше сигурна в правенето на хлябовете *Бугувица* и *Рангелски*. *Уфчарка* тя знаеше как се прави. *Кравай* всяка от жените можеше да меси и пече, защото това е всекидневна практика в селото.

Кина замеси хлябовете в нощова, останала от майка ѝ, която тя до днес използва, защото по думите ѝ тук хлябът се получава по-добре, отколкото в друг съд – втасва и става по-хубав. Информаторката беше напичила нощовата с цвете – божур, така както е правила майка ѝ. На хлябът *уфчарка* Кина сложи направена от тестото *кирлига* (гегата на овчаря) и топченца от тесто, които изобразяваха овцете с агнетата. В миналото, а и до сега функциите на четирите обредни хляба ясно определят структурата и взаимоотношенията на гергьовденската трапеза като умален образ на връзките и ролите в самия социум:

“Рангелъ ут два пръта, длияг. За кой турян, за ко съ прай рангялъ? Закогу турят на тее, на тая дупка турят чашагъ с вину. Ут тятуту напраяну прът. И турят тый таа чаша с вину ... за чашата има дупка. Тый бяше. То нине нямъ. Идин резян ляп и на тогу ляба малку курбан. Булгур и мисо. Ша турят нъ тогу рязяне и пудаваг. Кумшиите... Той земъ туй рязяне лябу и земъ туй чаша и пий вину. Зъ Свити Герги, за здрави. Сетни ша идиш, ша пудадеш на други. Ша пустелят ругузинката. И мъжите ша сениат нъ лганцъта. Слагат на зимить. Сетне сипва нъ чинийката. Нъ Гергьовден нъ улцъгъ излазями, не е дома. Ранше беши нъ зимить, счас нъ столуви. Нъ другъгъ маулъ там, други съ збрали. Синката сима ...” (АЕИМ, № 675-III: 14).

Вечерта към седем часа всички комшии се бяха събрали на трапеза в двора на Мария Василевна Жекова, която пое, така да се каже, организацията на празника. Нейният син – Сашо бе изкарал колата си отвън и беше включил уредбата на колата с българска музика. Звучаха песните на известната изпълнителка от България Славка Калчева, които са особено популярни в това село и в останалите бесарабски български селища. Най-напред Мария Василевна прекъди трапезата с кандило и благослови. Всеки беше запалил свещ върху тавата със своя курбан и на всеки от донесените хлябове. След това съседите започнаха да режат от хлябовете си и да вечерят. На трапезата имаше пресен чесън и лук, различни салати, курбан, хляб, вино, безалкохолни напитки. Мария Василевна мина и наля на всички от бутилката, която бях

донесъл от България, след това се изредиха двама-трима от мъжете, които също наляха на всеки от своето вино.

Вечерта продължи с игри, песни и веселие. М. Василевна раздаде по една зелена клонка на децата, за да се удрят помежду си, така както се е правило това в миналото, но с листа от лапат. Някои от жените запяха песни, които са се изпълнявали специално за Гергьовден. Те търсеха в съзнанието си позабравените песенни образци – “Залюла са е Драгана”, “Що гуратъ нъ русиль мириса”, “Разбуля съ Видъ”, “Юда тиче” и др. Част от тях добре помнеха песните, останалите не толкова, всички обаче имаха желание те да прозвучат и да се запишат именно сега, на празника. На тази основа дойде и коментара към жените, които не можаха така добре да си припомнят и да изпеят гергьовските песни – на времето те били “по-модерни моми”, вече от друго поколение, което не е толкова свързано с традицията на селото. По такъв начин гергьовденската трапеза на хората в една от махалите на българското с. Чушмелий, Болградски район се оказва своеобразен индикатор за “старо” и “ново” в културата на селището, за “външните” и “вътрешни” елементи – свои и привнесени, запазени или проникнали по различни пътища тук, за динамиката на цялостната културна ситуация в наши дни и за функциите на един стародавен обред в съвременния всекидневен живот.

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Ситуацията на преселване, установяване и продължителното съществуване на дадена човешка група далеч от собствената етнокултурна територия поставя въпроса за **устойчивостта и динамиката в колективната историческа и културната памет** на локалните общности, за настъпващите в тях адаптационни процеси при овладяване на пространството и ситуирането им в новата среда. Може да се каже, че процесът на мигриране и оцеляването в новите условия представлява специфичен исторически експеримент с важно научно значение, чрез който могат да се определят факторите за това кое е най-устойчивото в културата и за това какво се променя в нея и какво отпада. В такъв смисъл руската изследователка Людмила Маркова определя най-голямата българската диаспора, разположена на териториите на днешните държави Украйна и Молдова, като своеобразна естествена “лаборатория” за извършване на подобни проучвания (Маркова 1995: 61).

Още от времето на преселването на българите в Бесарабия и първоначалния период на установяване и адаптиране на общността в новата етнокултурна среда (края на XVIII – нач. на XIX век) песните, обичаите и като цяло всички елементи от културната традиция играят съществена роля за интеграция (сплотяване и устойчивост) на групата и нейното възпроизводство вече близо двеста години.<sup>7</sup> Освен това следва да се има предвид, че в

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<sup>7</sup> За механизмите на възпроизводство и съхранение, които поддържат социалната стабилност и етническата хомогенност на локално ниво в преселническите общности на



преселническите общности се съхраняват и предават множество обреди, вярвания, фолклорно-музикални образци и т.н. в качеството им на част от по-стари културни пластове, които далеч от метрополията, се променят бавно и остават активни (актуални) за по-продължителен исторически период. За отбелязване е и фактът, че при емиграцията – в условията на изпитания от всякакъв род – в локалните общности се проявяват особено ярко именно устойчивите етнически белези на групата (Бонева 2000: 767).

Според твърдението на Л. Маркова, за разлика от останалите дялове на културната традиция (и най-вече жилището, облеклото, стопански дейности и др.), обичаите от жизения и календарния цикъл, особено сватбения обред, е сред най-устойчивите и консервативни нейни елементи, проявяващи своеобразие в границите на всяко отделно селище на българите преселници в Бесарабия (Маркова 1995: 75). Безспорно подобен е случаят и с разглеждания тук гергьовденски обред от село Чушмелий в Бесарабия. В предаденото по-горе описание ясно се очертава картината на съхранени и добре функциониращи български (старинни) обредни практики, чието по-точно установяване и сравнение с тези от метрополията може да бъде обект на самостоятелен анализ.<sup>8</sup>

Наред с тесните им обредно-регулативни функции тук трябва да се има предвид и фактът, че ритуалите и празниците в локалната общност както в миналото, така и днес изграждат ядрото на колективната културна памет и заедно с това участват във формираната и поддържаната на такава база идентичност (срв. Асман 1997: 143-144) на различни нива – групова, родова, семейна, личностна и т.н. Възщност, те се оказват онези културни образи на паметта и идентитета, които и до ден днешен не са загубили своята яркост и стабилност в общностното съзнание на преселническата група за близо двеста години. Като форма на познание за света и средство за неговото хармонично поддържане, пише Ив. Георгиева, ритуалите се превръщат в знаци, които консолидират общността (Георгиева 2003: 23). Някои автори специално подчертават ролята на празнично-обредната система у българските общности зад граница не просто като маркер при определяне и изява на тяхната идентичност, но и като сфера, която те суеверно поддържат и практикуват до днес (вж. напр. Миланов 2000: 156-157; Нягулов, Миланов 1998).

Като елемент от традицията, достигнал до наши дни сравнително добре запазен и функциониращ в съвременния всекидневен живот на изследваното селище, гергьовденската обредност показва изключителна виталност в ролята на знак за принадлежност, но в различен аспект. На един първоначален етап тя се изявява като строговътрешен ориентир, пазещ точно

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българите, живеещи на територията на бившия СССР, срв. по-общо например у Маркова 1984; Бонева 2000: 761-783; Бонева 1999: 207-221; Бонева 2003; Бонева 2004: 86-87; Георгиева 2002; и цитираната там литература.

<sup>8</sup> Тук само може се отбележи, че гергьовденската обредност в с. Чушмелий напълно съвпада с тази от селища в района на Шумен, т. нар. Съртски край. Срв. у Тодорова 1989; 1990.

определен тип културна информация, а в настоящото време все повече като един от факторите, който подсилва чувството за етнокултурна обособеност и различие с останалите групи на територията на Бесарабия. Все по-широкият достъп, засилените “външни” контакти в процеса на разкриване на “своето” пред “чуждия” поглед (какъвто бе например случая с моето посещение на Гергьовден в селото) изграждат новия смислов и функционален заряд на културната традиция и особено на някои нейни компоненти, сред които безспорно значимо място заемат и календарните обреди и празници със своята разгърната структура и богата символика.

Във връзка с казаното дотук трябва да се има предвид и самата същност и функциите на ритуала като представителна традиционна форма, според израза на Св. Захариева (Захариева 1999: 54). Тази изследователка заявява, че модулността “интервенира в ритуалната структура, променя ритуала и често го редуцира във времето, предлагайки същевременно типично в свой “стил” изобилие от взаимозаменяеми компоненти. Новите моменти, интегрирани от ритуала, продължават да носят и експлицират новата символика...” до такава степен, че според авторката в много случаи “тъкмо подменените компоненти усилват ритуално-освещаващата роля на обредния процес, неговата празничност и сила на преживяването” (Захариева 1999: 55). Ето защо, позовавайки се казаното от Св. Захариева, тук трябва да се изтъкне особената стойност на ритуалите в общностния идентификационен процес както в миналото, така и в наши дни. Може да се каже, че те са представителна традиционна форма в общностния културен живот на локалната група, но в смисъла на разбирането за традицията като сбор от историко-културни конфигурации с ясни проявления в съвременността. В такъв план изпълняваните до днес обреди на Гергьовден в изучаваното селище бележат континюитета в културната памет на българската преселническа общност, разкривайки не просто съхранени старини, а постоянно моделираните и ревитализиращи се форми на традицията във всекидневния живот. Всичко това сочи, че ритуалът носи етоса на винаги активните и актуализирани празнични, представителни форми на себеизява в групата, но в същото време включва и широк спектър от минали и сегашни, действащи, но и латентни прояви на идентичност. Всъщност, може да се говори за изразеното (най-вече) чрез ритуалите особено съзнание за принадлежност и за опазване, запазване и предаване през поколенията на точно определени белези в културата. Те могат да се възпроизвеждат за сравнително дълъг период и то в някои случаи (например при преселване, изселвания и т.н.) дори без пряка връзка с конкретните пространствени и времеви параметри на породилата ги дадена локална общност. Така колективната културна памет проявява свойството да се запазва, актуализира и препраща (и към миналото и в настоящето и към бъдещето) често пъти далеч от мястото и периода на своите “изначални” форми на съществуване и репродуциране само като локално-прикрепен културен феномен. Без съмнение, при всяка нейна изява винаги е налице стремеж за постигане на характерното за минали времена единство между носителите ѝ, средата (най-

често собственото им селище) и времето (най-често празниците) на едно нейно (първо)начално съществуване.

Наред с близо двувековното битуване на Гергьовден като строго локален културен феномен, следи от което ясно се забелязват и в съвременността, може да се говори за неговата нова роля и все по-засилващото му се значение като групов (общностен) идентификационен маркер както за отделните части на българската колония, така и за нея като цяло. Макар изпълнявани вече нетолкова активно и пълноценно (а някои напълно отпаднали от употреба), в съзнанието на представителите на общността обредите от календарния и семейния цикъл присъстват трайно като маркери на българското, “чисто” етническото. В наши дни обаче те играят роля не просто за разграничение, отделяне и обособяване, т.е. за изолация посредством средствата на културата. На преден план сега се цели изтъкване на етническите характеристики, но същевременно и едно по-плътено интегриране с външния свят и по-точно демонстрация и показ на собствените културни специфики.

Ето защо може да се говори за своеобразно вторично ситуиране и самоопределяне на групата чрез подобни културни изяви, но вече не в ролята им на бариери, а на катализатори в общуването. По такъв начин различните обреди, песните и изобщо проявите на културната традиция в наши дни се оказват много устойчива, но в същото време променяща се и постоянно разширяваща се форма за изява на идентичност. В условията на все повече напредващия процес на глобализация и унификация в съвременния свят тази им роля вероятно ще се засилва. Както подчертава Г. Симеонова етническата функция на традиционните календарни празници въпреки всички трансформации, през които те преминават, остава жизнена и придобива особена актуалност и значимост (Симеонова 2000: 116).

В новата ситуация на етническо възраждане и консолидиране на отделните български локални групи (а и на останалите етнически общности) в Украйна след 1990 г.<sup>9</sup> езикът, народните традиции и т.н. придобиват особена стойност. Те се осъзнават не просто като белези на различието, а все повече се изтъкват в ролята им на аргументи при отстояване на местните културни специфики. Така някои от “традиционните” им функции в миналото като изключително локални културни маркери (в обсега на дадено селище и район, в семейството и дома) отстъпват място и по-точно получават ново значение на символно-репрезентативни фактори в/на културата на преселническата група като цяло. Нещо повече – заемаша определящо положение при изтъкване (и дори в стремежа за доминиране) на собствените културни традиции, тези маркери се оказват особено символно натоварени до степен, че освен като носители на вътрешно-общностна културна информация те обрастват и с все повече външно-емблематични за самата култура значения. В такъв план би

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<sup>9</sup> По-общо за тези процеси сред българска общност в Украйна в миналото и в съвременността вж. напр. Киссе 2006: 125-127 и сл.

могло да се говори за ново отношение, за своеобразно преоткриване от страна на представителите на отделните групи на техни “изконни” черти и белези, към които те са се придържали строго в определен период, а в наши дни отново ги издигат, но като икони и стереотипи, според определенията на Конрад Кьостлин (Kostlin 1999: 34). Така народните традиции стават “авангардът, най-модерната култура, обещаваща да предложи главните маркери на идентичността” (Ракшиева 2004: 24).

В условията на локалните селски общности на българите в Бесарабия тази тенденция може да бъде добре съчетана с изключително високото ниво на съхраненост на обредността и на други елементи от културната традиция, която освен под формата на наследство все още действа и като реален регулиращ фактор във всекидневния живот на селищата. Както подчертава Т. Бонева именно селските общности в Бесарабия са онази среда, където от времето на преселването и до днес се поддържа етническата хомогенност и българско етническо самосъзнание като резултат от взаимовръзки, самооценка и разграничаване от “чуждите” (Бонева 2001: 777-778). Съзнанието за принадлежност и за опазване и предаване през поколенията на точно определени белези в културата превръща “другия”, дори етнически различния в “свой”. Тази, нека я наречем културна ендегамия, не само действа като притегателен център за всеки свой член към кръг от специфични ценности, но същевременно и излъчва (изнася дори извън границите на селището) и постоянно възпроизвежда един устойчив и сравнително приспособим модел на идентификация. Ситуациите на изява и самоопределение на индивида извън малките общности на семейството, рода, селото и т.н. въпреки всичко поставят въпроса за “въздействията върху онаследената българска етническа основа на традиционната идентичност на бесарабските българи”. В такъв план автори като Бл. Нягулов говорят за елементи на своеобразна българо-руска симбиоза в колективната самоидентификация на българската диаспора в бившите съветски републики (срв. по-подробно у Нягулов 2007: 91-104). Това влияние, разбира се, пряко засяга и моделира и “вътрешния” живот на различни поколения (особено на по-младите) в локалните групи, без обаче все още да доминира над българската линия на идентификация при всяка една от генерациите и социалните прослойки в тях. Всъщност, актът на изразяване у представителите на българската общност в Бесарабия на двойствена или колеблива идентичност се наблюдава най-вече в една откъсната, чужда на родното място (дори в прародината България) среда. Съвсем друга е ситуацията в самите селища на българските преселници, където езика на обряда, ако използваме определението на Г. Симеонова, се владее все още говоримо (срв. подробно у Симеонова 2000: 126), макар и неактивно. Днес обаче чрез “стария” обреден език се конструират и излъчват съвсем нови послания. Възпроизвежданият (макар и не в своята цялост) културен текст на традицията вече се натовазва с по-представителни и в известна степен по-престижни функции (наблюдение от външни хора, записване, документирание и т.н.). По този начин на закрепване и предаване на информацията, пише Г. Симеонова, се разчита не единствено на съвременния, а и на бъдещия

получател, което на теория повишава жизнеността на традицията” (Симеонова 2000: 125).

Всичко това може да послужи като база за изграждане на културни стратегии с цел понижаване на рисковете от демографските проблеми и обезлюдяването, което е тревожен факт в някои от българските села в изследваните райони (Грек 2008: 112-113). Процесът на поддържането на традицията и същевременно на все по-целенасочено завръщане към корените (най-вече в резултат от дейността на елитите през последните десетилетия) под формата на нов живот за редица обичаи, обреди и т.н., би могъл да предопредели и “новия” бъдещ живот на самите селища на българите в Бесарабия с оглед на икономическата, демографска и социална обстановка, в която се намират те в началото на XXI век. Днес Чушмелий е едно от най-големите, многолюдни и богати български селища в Бесарабия. Тук то е известно като “луковото” село – преди няколко десетилетия жителите му масово започват да отглеждат и да продават по пазарите на цяла Украйна арпаджик. Понастоящем производство на зеленчуци (лук, репички и др.) продължава. За отбелязване е, че всичко това жителите на селото са склонни да обяснят отново със специфичната си душевност и качества като носители на уникални традиции: *“Най-гулям акъл имат. Работни, ну и с гулям силну акъл. Те придумават за този арпаджик ас ко дъ гу сеят, кък дъ гу изваждат...”* (АЕИМ, № 690-III).<sup>10</sup>

Както се изразява Фернанд Бродел “една нация може да съществува само ако непрестанно търси себе си, трансформира се според смисъла на собственото си логично развитие, идентифицира се с най-доброто и същественото, което притежава, тоест открива себе си в обозначенията, които са познати на всичките ѝ членове” (Braudel 1986: 17). От това изключително ценно културно наследство, пишат други автори, “вървят нишките и в съвременността, които поддържат съзнанието за национална (resp. и за локална, родова, личностна и т.н. – Г.Г.) идентичност и достойнство” (Василева 1993: 234). По такъв начин до голяма степен се формират новите (своеобразни) регулативни функции на традицията, които се оказват изключително интересен и особено перспективен обект за бъдещи етноложки изследвания. В контекста на историко-културното развитие на една от най-старите и големи български общности зад граница в Бесарабия, където нивото на съхраненост и трансмисия на етнокултурната специфика е особено високо, тези проблеми придобиват още по-голямо значение и актуалност.

И така, днес обредността от календарния и семейния<sup>11</sup> цикъл служи за идентификация на етнокултурно равнище – функция, каквато тя запазва от т. нар. традиционен период от развоя на културата. За разлика от миналото

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<sup>10</sup> Показателно е мнението за изключителната обособеност, независимост и специфика на селото дори и по време на социализма - то е известно като Чушмелийската република.

<sup>11</sup> За функциите на обредността от жизнения цикъл и специално за сватбата при българските преселници в наши дни срв. Георгиев 2009.

обаче, когато тези функции са действали само като част от символното многообразие на обреда, в новите територии на Бесарабия и особено в съвременните условия на доминиране на етническата линия на самоопределяне и интензивни межкултурни взаимоотношения (в рамките на общността и извън нея), те постепенно се разширяват и засилват.

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**Galin Georgiev**

## **For One Ritual Before and After Hundred Years**

### **Functions of St. George's Day-Rites in Everyday Life of Bulgarians from the Village of Chushmeley, Ukraina**

*Key words:*

St. George's day, ethnocultural identity, language, tradition, Bulgarians in Ukraina.

The aim of this text is to present the role of one calendar rite first of all as factor for the development and the position of local bulgarian communities in the conditions of dynamic social-economic and cultural-historic changes in the beginning of XXI c. The different feast-ritual forms can be examined as part of the strategies of the small ethnic groups for survival and preserving of their ethno-cultural identity.

The ethnographic researches in the village of Chushmeley (Krinichnoe), Bolgrad region, the district of Odessa, are made in connection with a project of The Ethnographic Institute with Museum-BAS for studing of the Bulgarians in the region of Bessarabia.



## Scientific Critique and Polemic

### *Julie Mostov. Soft Borders: Rethinking Sovereignty and Democracy*

Palgrave Macmillan, May 2008

A political theorist who has lived, studied and worked in former Yugoslavia since the 1970s, conceptualizes political space and relationships of social cooperation. *Soft Borders* encourages sustainable resolutions to ethno-national conflicts, economic and social development.

The book starts with the author's preface and acknowledgments. Mostov supports her soft versus hard borders theory and defends transnational citizenship exercised within and across multiple, fluid polities. In her introduction, Chapter 1, she outlines her argument further and specifies what she means by sovereignty particularly in reference to borderlines and movements. She then proceeds to provide the readers with the summary, main idea and goal of each chapter that follows.

Chapter 2, "Locations and Boundaries of Sovereignty", situated in a currently transitional moment, Mostov explores sovereignty internally and externally, historically but also symbolically. She locates decision making authority in terms of subsidiarity and explores ways in which the arrangement facilitates and encourages relationships of equality and interdependence. According to her, sovereignty moves in an invented sphere, yet is deeply rooted in intellectual, legal and political traditions. Democracy, after all, is defined by the logical requirements of what the writer calls "relational sovereignty".

In Chapter 3, "Sovereignty and Ethnocracy", "ethnocracy" – a politics of national identity – is examined as the attempt of rulers to defend national interests as defined by common culture, history, religion, myths and presumed descent. Mostov judges this as a dangerous combination in ethno-national conflicts that poses huge obstacles to peaceful resolution of complex questions of international nature. To support her arguments she highlights the case of the fragmenting Yugoslavia (Kosovo, in particular) questioning the intractable nature of such conflict as well as presenting the ambiguity produced mostly in Europe due to political and economic instability in the Balkan region.

Chapter 4 speaks of "The Politics of National Identity". Social cooperation requires thick bonds of common history, language and culture. A feminist theory and the case of former Yugoslavia are examples that illustrate the politics of national identity as they promote notions of belonging inconsistent with democratic choice. Collective rights have continued to convey fixed relationships of inequality, an example being the identification of women as privileged bearers of identity and boundary markers of their communities. Mostov suggests a rearticulation of spaces where a move toward decoupling citizenship from nationality is necessary.

The relationships that foster democratic social cooperation and make possible

an understanding of citizenship decoupled from nationality are sought in Chapter 5, “Democratic Polities: Thin Bonds and Soft Borders”. Mostov’s soft border approach envisions democratic practices of social cooperation exercised through multiple and overlapping polities and by individuals and groups with multiple and fluid identities. She seeks to depoliticize ethnonational identities by arguing that the enjoyment of public goods and basic rights should be independent of membership in any particular identity community.

Mostov’s idea of soft borders is analyzed further under the lenses of a) transnational citizenship, b) membership in multiple soft border polities, c) thin bonds strengthened through democratic practices of social cooperation and d) access to various levels of transnational or international organizations by a variety of actors in Chapter 6, “Transnational Citizens in Multiple Polities”. Readers consider possible ways in which to facilitate legal border crossings and cross-border polities as a democratic practice that respects ethnonational ties and identities.

Lastly, Chapter 7, “Reconstructing the Polity”, continues the discussion initiated in Chapter 6, proposing that cooperation relies on trust built through reiterated positive experiences of social choice. All in all, if we are to think of a future in which there are better possible solutions to regional conflicts, we need to think in terms of softening borders. Transnational information networks play a critical role in this softening of borders and global cities with large numbers of migrants and a juxtaposition of class and ethnic differences stand out as a particular kind of soft bordered political space.

The book concludes with rich notes, bibliography and index. It is a work that explores the democratic potential of cross-border polities and transnational public spaces, but also the destructiveness of hard borders and hard border thinking in a globalizing world. The model it proposes, that of opening the opportunities and avenues for collective action, sounds timely in an era of strong migration and constant mobility.

The ways of communication Mostov envisions suggest new geographies in a global world where still hard ethnocentric borders prevail. They also relate to contemporary trends of building new fortresses against labor migration. The “soft” solutions are not easy (– taken their global economic effects in particular) though capable of providing long-term strategies for peace and prosperity in the southeast European region. What is nostalgically longed for – a community and all the embodied past that comes with it – will eventually seek to be heard. Perhaps multicultural education and anthropological advice as prerequisite paths could assist a hardcover book to reach its soft goals smoother.

This *Soft Borders* review coincides with the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, a historical event that suggests bringing down very hard borders. Is the essence, after all, found in connecting bridges but also the sacrifices it takes to bridge every distance locked in a constant battle between the old and the new? If so, then the healthiest aspect of a nation is to be found in societies that are destroyed over and over again, that remain fields of sacrifice and struggle, as well as in the flexibility of traditions and their cultural bridges.

Maria Hnaraki

**Ján Botík, *Etnická história Slovenska. K problematike etnicity, etnickej identity, multietnického Slovenska a zahraničných Slovákov***

Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Konštantina Filozofa v Nitre  
Slovenské národné múzeum Bratislava – Martin  
Archeologický ústav SAV Nitra  
Lúč – vydavateľské družstvo, Bratislava, 2007, 1-231.

Аутор ове репрезентативне монографије – Јан Ботик (Ján Botík) – један је од водећих словачких етнолога и професор на Катедри за етнологију и етномузикологију Филозофског факултета Универзитета Константина Филозофа у словачком граду Нитра. Књига је настала у реализацији званичног пројекта ВЕГА: „Етничка историја Словачке – етнокултурни развој у светлу друштвено-научних спознаја“, уз подршку Истраживачког центра најстарије историје Средњег Подунавља. У њу су уграђене свеколике ауторове способности у зрелој фази научног стваралаштва: ерудиција и инвенција дугогодишњег истраживача и аналитичара, те искуство педагога и културолога. Тако је настала ова синтетичка и веома језгровита студија, која може служити и као универзитетски уџбеник и као енциклопедијски приручник.

Сам аутор је у *Уводу* дао напомене које се тичу структуре и садржаја књиге. Он упозорава на то да се у савременом стању науке расправљање о проблематици етничке историје и етничког идентитета не да ограничити на једну од дисциплина друштвених наука. Овом проблематиком залази се у тумачење друштвено-политичког процеса хиљадугодишњег трајања, а у његовом зачетку – подсећа аутор – тек су положене историјске основе многих европских народа и држава. Стога разумевање тога процеса захтева ослањање на најразличитије изворе: писане, материјалне, иконографске,

уметничке, фолклорне, демографске и друге. Стручњаци из појединих дисциплина могу осветлити само неке од аспеката тога слојевитог и сложеног процеса. Из тих разлога је приступ етничкој историји Словачке морао бити интердисциплинаран, уз коришћење резултата које је словачка наука стекла у сфери историографије, археологије, етнологије, фолклористике, лингвистике, социологије, психологије, политикологије, демографије, историје уметности и других научних дисциплина. Монографија је ипак конципирана – како истиче аутор – с етнолошких методолошких полазишта, али је из њеног интердисциплинарног карактера произишао „арсенал“ обрађених појмова и коришћених термина. Аутор такође наглашава да слику етничке историје Словачке није конципирао етноцентрички и изолационистички, према историји већинског етникума или државотворнога народа – Словака. Та слика је стварана применом комбинованих етничких и територијалних принципа анализе и обраде. Утолико ова слика обухвата и друге етникуме у Словачкој – Мађаре, Немце, Русине, Роме и друге, али су у њу укључени и Словаци у дијаспори.

Књига има четири дела: I. *Основни појмови теорије етницитета и етничког идентитета* (стр. 6-17) ; II. *Етничка слика Словачке* (стр. 18-33); III. *Мултиетничка Словачка и њена културна разноврсност* (34-175); IV. *Словаци у дијаспори* (176-212. Поред тога, књига има садржајан *Увод* (стр. 4-

5), кратке *Заључке* (стр. 213) и опсежну *Литературу* (стр. 214-228). Књига је штампана у високој техници, а снабдевена је мноштвом фотографија, цртежа и карата, што на изванредан начин документује и илуструје садржај текста.

Први део књиге посвећен је основним појмовима теорије етницитета и етничког идентитета: концепција народа и етничког/народног идентитета; етницитет, етничка заједница и етнички идентитет; језик и култура као атрибути етницитета и идентитета; етноним, етноцентризам, етнички стереотипи и предрасуде; социјално/колективно памћење, етнички/народни симболи и митови; процесуалност етницитета и етничког идентитета.

У другом делу књиге сумиране су историјске етапе развоја Словачке: насељавање и устаљивање Словена у карпатско-дунавској котлини; продор старих Угара и настанак мађарске државе; ситуација на територији Словачке у средњем и новом веку; настанак Чехословачке и савремене Републике Словачке.

Најобимнији и најразуђенији је трећи део, који обухвата око 60% укупног текста књиге. Има чак десет одељака, у којима се говори о

етничким заједницама у Словачкој, а то су: Словаци, Мађари, Немци, Јевреји, Русини и Украјинци, Роми, Хрвати, Срби, Бугари и Чеси. Ови одељци немају истоветну структуру јер аутор осветљава битне одреднице ових заједница и њиховог обитавања на територији Словачке. Тако се добија мозаична етничка слика Словачке у прошлости и садашњости, а серијом драгоцених етничких карата пропраћене су различите епохе. Инвентивно и веома прецизно дати су подаци о досељавању, животу и одликама Срба, Хрвата и Бугара на територији Словачке.

Четврти део књиге осветљава живот и судбину Словака у дијаспори, и то како у „Доњој земљи“ (Мађарска, Румунија, Србија [Војводина], Хрватска [Славонија] и Бугарска), тако и у прекоокеанским земљама (САД, Канада, Аргентина). Обрађена су и најважнија питања реемиграције Словака, и проблеми који у вези с тим настају.

Својим одликама, монографија Јана Ботика заслужује пуну пажњу и наших етнолога, историчара, културолога и словакиста, а за њено ваљано и трајно коришћење у српској средини било би неопходно имати и њен превод на српски језик.

Милош Луковић

### ***Слике прожимања***

Драгана Радојичић, *Слике из Боке*, Етнографски институт САНУ, Београд 2008, меки повез, 1-170.

Заједничко културно наслеђе јужнословенских простора много се чешће током последњих деценија испостављало као елеменат разграничавања него, што би било логично и очекивано, као фактор мирољубивог и толе-

рантног суживота локалних заједница. Својатање историјског наслеђа постало је једна од примарних политичких стратегија стварања националних држава, чије су елите, све од реда, са својеврсним цинизмом гледале и на

најмање наговештаје југоносталгије. С друге стране, поједини ангажовани интелектуалци (барем у Србији), као да су били задужени за поништавање сваке „илузије“ о аутентичности локалних традиција и предања. Потоње су доследно и систематично проглашаване манипулативним конструктима, без икаквог објективног утемељења и вредности. Међутим, и они који су „нову“ традицију конструисали и они који су се здушно бавили њеним обесмишљавањем били су подједнако удаљени од реалног живота културног наслеђа и његових носилаца. Нови колективни идентитети, који су у постсоцијалистичком периоду настајали у региону бивше Југославије, јесу били подложни манипулацијама, али им је тежња и извориште била аутентична потреба за сопственим, личним и националним позиционирањем у глобалном свету.

Управо овим реалностима приближава нас књига „Слике из Боке“, аутора др Драгане Радојичић, научног саветника у Етнографском институту Српске академије наука и уметности. Замишљена као колаж *слика*, ова студија доноси вредну, до сада недовољно познату и несистематизовану

грађу, и запажања из три сегмента народног живота становништва Бокоторског залива. Речник термина из области материјалне културе, аналитички приказ архивске грађе везане за народно градителство, те анализа божићних обичаја, сведоче о посебном богатству и разноврсности културних утицаја, који су се током историје смењивали на овом подручју, као и о актуелном прожимању традиционалних и модерних образаца мишљења и делања. Писана живим језиком некога ко изнутра познаје истраживану културу, ова студија доноси убедљиве аргументе о суштинском прожимању различитих слојева и мрежа културне баштине, коју вековима *живи* становништво које себе назива *Бокељима*.

С обзиром на искуство транзиције, сложићемо се да друштво још увек не располаже делотворним рецептима за помирење локалних и глобалних вредности и захтева (пост)модерног друштва. Ипак, књига „Слике из Боке“ може послужити као солидан доказ да је „помирење“ могуће и да је један његов део – упознавање и признавање истовремене истоветности и различитости у оквиру идентитетског језгра којим располажемо.

Александра Павићевић

### ***Lidová kultura. Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska***

1. svazek: *Biografická část* (1-284); 2. svazek: *Věcná část A-N* (1-634);

3. svazek: *Věcná část O-Ž* (635-1298);

Hlavní redaktoři: Stanislav Brouček, Richard Jeřábek

Etnologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky,

Ústav evropské etnologie Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity,

Mladá fronta, Praha, 2007.

Наслов ове опсежне тротомне енциклопедије у преводу гласи: „Народна култура. Етнографска енциклопедија Чешке, Моравске и Шлезиие“. То је

прво енциклопедијско дело које се односи на народну (традицијску) културу (*lidová kultura*) етнографских области у саставу данашње Чешке



Републике, а то су Чешка, Моравска и Шлезивија (већи део Шлезивије налази се пак у границама Пољске, где се назива *Śląsk*).

Први том (*I. svazek*) има поднаслов *Biografická část* („Биографски део“). Приредио га је Рихард Жежабек (*Richard Jeřábek*), недавно преминули (2006) водећи етнолог Масариковог универзитета у Брну, а биографске одреднице написало је 20 аутора. Како је то наглашено у „Уводу“, у овом тому дато је мноштво информација о истраживањима и објављеним радовима репрезентативног броја чешких професионалних и аматерских истраживача у области етнографије и фолклористике (као и странаца који су се бавили чешком етнографијом и фолклористиком), виђених у контексту научних достигнућа у другим земљама. При том су коришћена искуства стечена у раду Енциклопедијског института некадашње Чехословачке академије наука (*Encyklopedický institut ČSAV*), као и у изради општега чешког биографског речника (*J. Tomeš, Český biografický slovník XX. století. I-III. Praha 1999*). У „Издавачким напоменама“ објашњени су: кон-цепција биографског дела Енцикло-педије, принципи и начин састављања именика, категорије одредница, њихов обим и израда, као и избор личности чији су портрети посебно приказани (реч је о оним личностима које су својим истраживањима или објављеним радовима највише допринеле утемељењу и развоју чешке етнографије и фолклористике).

Биографски том садржи импозантних 848 одредница. У посебном додатку наведена је листа дипломираних апсолвената етнографије (*národopis*) на Карловом универзитету у Прагу (509) и Масариковом универзитету у Брну (203) – укупно 712 имена (с датумом рођења и датумом дипломирања), која

обухвата период 1940–2002/2003. године. Сви ови подаци на уверљив начин показују велики капацитет чешке етнографије, који се посебно развио у последњих седам деценија, што је и омогућило припрему и објављивање оваквога капиталног енциклопедијског дела.

Обимни други и трећи том (2-3. *svazek*) имају једниствену пагинацију (стр. 1-1298) и заједнички поднаслов: *Věcná část* („Предметни део“). Они обухватају: теорију и историју етнографије као научне дисциплине, проблематику етнографских региона, народнога уметничког стваралаштва, народну духовну и материјалну културу, фолклор и фолклористику. Одреднице су прилично опсежне и садрже упуте на ширу литературу. Претежни део одредница посвећен је чешкој, моравској и шлеској етнографској проблематици. У њима се – на примеру појединих компоненти – исказује у кратким цртама шири развојни процес појава о којима је реч. У одредницама се такође говори о некадашњим и садашњим етничким мањинама и чешким земљама, те о њиховој култури; на пример: о ишчезлим острвима немачког језика у приграничном подручју, о енклави пољског становништва у Шлеској, око града Тјешина, о остацима француског становништва у кијовском региону, о хрватској колонизацији у јужној Моравској, о јеврејској и ромској популацији у разним регионима. Структура и садржај одредница опредељени су према њиховом значењу, а одреднице су поређане по абецедном реду чешке латинице. О свему томе прецизно се говори у „Издавачким напоменама“ на крају трећег тома Енциклопедије.

Ово капитално дело чешке етнографије припремио је тим од неколико десетина познатих специјалиста у области етнологије, културне антро-

пологије, етнографије, историје, историје културе, историје народног стваралаштва, историје књижевности, музеологије и сродних дисциплина. Језгро ауторског тима чинили су не само истакнути стручњаци из разних етнографских институција већ и представници блиских научних дисциплина, као што су историја и право, демографија и историјска географија, агрономија и др.

Редакцијски одбор сачињавали су сарадници Етнолошког института Академије наука Чешке Републике (*Etnologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky*) и Института за европску етнологију Филозофског факултета Масариковог универзитета (*Ústav evropské etnologie Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity*) у Брну, а завршне радове реализовала је техничка редакција Етнолошког института Чешке академије наука у периоду од 2001. до

2007. године. Главни уредници су Станислав Броучек (*Stanislav Brouček*) из Прага и Рихард Жежбек из Брна. Издавачком подухвату придружила се и издавачка кућа „Млада фронта“ (*Mladá fronta*) из Прага.

Опсежни предметни, именски и географски регистри на крају трећег тома Енциклопедије омогућавају брзу оријентацију у проналажењу одредница и њихово успешно сагледавање и повезивање. У Енциклопедији се налази и 1.200 ликовних прилога (слика и цртежа), а на унутрашњим странама корица сва три тома дате су изванредно илустративне карте етнографских целина у Чешкој, Моравској и Шлезиви. Атрактивна ликовна опрема корица (тврди повез, формат А4) и квалитет штампе сва три тома такође доприносе укупном утиску да се ради о научном делу које је темељно припремано.

Милош Луковић

### **Петар Славковски, *Свет који нестаје. Традиционална аграрна култура Словака у централној и јужној Европи***

Skavkovský, Peter. Svet na odchode : tradičná agrárna kultúra Slovákov v strednej a južnej Európe. Bratislava : Veda, 2009. 216 s. Etnologické štúdie, 16. ISBN 978-80-224-1086-1. Тип: ААВ

Прилагођавање природној средини и снабдевање животним намирницама представља свакодневицу помоћу које човек стиче не само биолошка добра, већ и културни идентитет. Ово истовремено означава и ниво културне зрелости при хуманизацији природне средине. Материјалне, социјалне и духовне манифестације, као и однос према природи, организација породице и друштва, вредносне оријентације – све ово је у прошлости у Словачкој

било под значајним утицајем сеоског начина живота. Зависност од пољопривредне производње прожимала је духовни живот сељака и одразила се на богати аграрни култ њихових предака.

Ово су полазне тачке Петра Славковског, сарадника Етнографског института Словачке академије наука, аутора монографије *Свет који нестаје*, који уједно наглашава да ову стару културну основу, која је усредсређена на просперитет сеоских породица,

налазимо у свим европским сеоским аграрним друштвима као део културне баштине. То је, у очима аутора, био свет у коме се данашње стање ствари вредновало на основу тога колико се оно разликује од онога што је планирано за сутра. Основни предуслов за остваривање циљева било је јединство изграђено на лојалности тим циљевима. Аграрна култура је представљала оптималну експлоатацију човека, земље и пољопривредног оруђа у одређеним историјским и друштвено-економским условима. Она је била хармонично јединство рада, искуства и потрошње.

Важан предмет истраживачеве пажње представљају и историјске околности. Од неолитске револуције, па све до 50-тих година XX века, аграрна култура је била најважнији део производних снага материјалне културе, као и других аспеката живота људи који су живели на територији Словачке. Аутаркија је била егзистенцијална потреба. Производња хране и основних сировина остала је најважнији део сеоског живота, чак и након што је подела рада јасније одређена. Разноврсност начина живота и сеоске породице осигурала је, по мишљењу Петра Славковског, дугу историјску егзистенцију на широком европском тлу.

Аутор са много истрајности разјашњава културни систем прединдустријског друштва, који је карактерисала значајна стабилност. Ово је била реалност словачког села чак и почетком XX века. Аграрне друштвене групе (сеоска породица, рурално друштво) биле су уређене у складу са нормама утемељеним на културним обрасцима. Ове друштвене групе су у традиционалној култури важиле за креаторе идеалних образаца животних активности – неке врсте приручника за понашање које се сматрало нормалним

у друштву, и истовремено су креирале вредносне критеријуме. Због тога је микрокосмос сеоског друштва био простор организован под утицајем друштвених снага које су породицу и појединца оријентисале ка материјалним, односно нематеријалним вредностима. Људи су у датим околностима бирали оне делатности и материјалне и друштвене способности које су били у стању да развију. Истовремено, те делатности су морале задовољити и њихове основне потребе и интересе на начин на који је то било оптимално у датом историјском и културном развоју.

Предмет истраживачке пажње Славковског, између осталог, јесте и традиционална народна култура у Словачкој. Њу је карактерисала изузетна стабилност система, који је често био на граници изолације. У временима кризе и друштвених промена људи су били приморани да напуштају домовину како би поправили своју социјалну и економску ситуацију. Тако је било и крајем XVII и почетком XVIII века, у време великог сиромашења сељака. У том временском периоду почеле су и миграције словачког становништва ка југоистоку, простору такозване Панонске низије (простор на територијама данашње Мађарске, Румуније, Србије (Војводина) и Хрватске (Славонија). Док су се за време колонизација словачки расељеници већином премештали у границама једне државе, после распада Аустроугарске постали су емигранти, одвојени од матичног језгра. Тако су се Словаци одједном нашли на подручју Мађарске, Румуније, Србије, Хрватске и Бугарске. У овој позицији, одвојене од своје матице, нашле су се и групе Словака који су, у складу са новим државним границама после 1918, постали грађани Пољске, Аустрије и Украјине. Због тога и данас налазимо

енклаве словачке мањине у земљама средње и јужне Европе. Иако живе ван свог изворног етничког поднебља, њихова култура представља саставни део културне историје словачког народа.

Културне вредности традиционалних аграрних заједница, које су се у прошлости преносиле са генерације на генерацију, сачињавале су уједно и основу за културну разноликост. Миграције становништва ка новим територијама јачале су културна зближавања између словачке мањине и осталих етничких заједница. У новом мултиетничком окружењу, словачка мањина је – на основу културе донете из Словачке – морала да изгради модел културе и живота који би јој створио реалне шансе за преживљавање у новим условима.

Аутор се позива и на анализе истраживања материјалне, социјалне и духовне културе у пределима где је словачка мањина настањена у средњој и јужној Европи, а које показују, с једне стране, да је традиционални културни модел који потиче из Словачке преживео у великој мери. Са друге стране, припадници словачког етноса унели су иновације у своју традицију и праксу под утицајем новог

социјалног и материјалног окружења. Показало се да нови животни услови и могућности економског и социјалног раста представљају за словачку мањину много важније факторе од саме традиције. Повољни привредни и друштвени услови помогли су словачким колонистима да брзо превазиђу разлике између своје изворне културе и оне коју су изградили у новом окружењу.

Славковски закључује да је сваки простор у коме живе људи, посматрано из културне перспективе – јединствен. Он сматра и да се култура може посматрати као скуп стратегија које човеку омогућавају да се прилагоди окружењу. Људи су у конкретним животним условима бирали оне делатности, као и материјалне и социјалне вештине, које су могли да развијају. Управо је свестраност аграрне културе омогућила њену дугу историјску егзистенцију на широком европском тлу. Словачка и словачки сељаци били су њен саставни део.

Читање ове монографије могло би отворити нова питања код истраживача различитих струка. Но она је свакако написана са намером да од заборава сачува важан сегмент словачке културе у матици и расејању.

Милеса Стефановић-Бановић



## Chronicles

### „Држава, наука, култура“

научни скуп у организацији Етнолошко-антрополошког друштва Србије,  
Београд, Етнографски музеј 11-12. јун 2009.

Иницијатива обновљеног Етнолошко-антрополошког друштва Србије да свој први научни скуп посвети теми актуелног односа државе, науке и културе, показала се као више него корисна и потребна платформа за уочавање и резимирање различитих врста и нивоа проблема са којима се тренутно суочава етнологија/антропологија, али и хуманистичке науке у целисти.

Током дводневног заседања, своје радове изложило је двадесет етнолога/антрополога и два историчара уметности. Рад се одвијао у оквиру три панела: 1) Култура ревизије у савременој Србији: узор, учинци, последице; модератор проф. др Иван Ковачевић, Катедра за етнологију и антропологију Филозофског факултета у Београду, 2) Идентитет(и) и јавна сфера; модератор др Младена Прелић, из Етнографски институт САНУ и 3) Нова концептуализација музејског рада: мисије и визије, концепције и стандарди; модератор мр Мирјана Менковић, Етнографски музеј у Београду.

Односу државе према науци и култури био је посвећен први панел, чији су учесници покушали да укажу на погубне последице ревизионистичких захвата на научно-истраживачки рад. Бирократска суштина ревизионистичког подухвата, те недостатак увида у специфичности научног истраживања

везаног за хуманистичке науке доводи озбиљно у питање опстанак ових дисциплина, као и институција које су њихови носиоци. Ово је свакако у супротности не само са прокламованим проевропским курсом државе, који иначе налаже повећање броја научника и већа издвајања за науку из државног буџета, него противречи и Декларацији о заштити нематеријалне културне баштине, чији је потписник и Србија, и у коју свакако спадају научна и културна делатност. Др Иван Ковачевић је у свом излагању, под називом „О ћуркама, пилићима и цитатним индексима“ указао на недостатности сциентрометријских метода оцењивања квалитета научног рада кроз његову квантификацију. Осим тога, инсистирањем на објављивању научних радова у часописима који се налазе на листама чији уређивачи и сами истичу њихову немеродавност у погледу резултата истраживања из области хуманистике, ове дисциплине су изведене на тржиште коме не припадају. Тиме је извршена маргинализација њиховог стварног друштвеног и културног потенцијала и значаја. Кључне елементе стратегије којом би посленици у хуманистичким наукама указали на друштвену релевантност својих истраживања истакао је у свом излагању др Милош Миленковић (доцент на Катедри за етнологију и антропологију Филозофског факултета у Београду).

Увид у улогу управо етнологије/антропологије, не само у проучавању актуелних идентитетских стратегија, него и у креирању идентитета, требало би да омогући друштвено конструктивну и усмерену сарадњу државе и науке на пољу културне и социјалне политике.

Са друге стране, на опасности и негативне аспекте утилитаризације хуманистичких дисциплина указали су др Драган Булатовић (професор на Катедри за историју уметности Филозофског факултета у Београду), др Ангелина Милосављевић – Аулт (Факултет лепих уметности) и др Александра Павићевић (научни сарадник у Етнографском институту САНУ). Знања и перспективе које општем интелектуалном капиталу прилаже хуманистика налазе се у културним темељима цивилизације. Њима се врши *образовање за културу*, којим се осмишљава целокупна стварност. Стога је тежња ка установљавању тржишне вредности и *употребљивости* њеног (стварности) идеацијског аспекта у потпуности апсурдна, јер почива на омаловажавању *идеје* у односу на *материју*, што би требало да представља превазиђену (и презрену?) идеолошку матрицу.

Но, бирократске методе културне ревизије не доводе у питање само смисао научно истраживачког – рада. Њихове последице се озбиљно рефлектују и у области образовања, и то примарно у сфери рада универзитетских професора. Ово је била тема излагања др Бојана Жикића (професор на Катедри за етнологију и антропологију Филозофског факултета у Београду). Он је учеснике скупа упознао са структуром радног времена и обавеза професора, у којој на административне послове одлази већи проценат радних сати него на уже стручне.

О пореклу и теоријским основама, те о истраживачкој традицији културе ревизије, говорила је Ивана Гачановић (дипломирани етнолог/антрополог, докторант на Катедри за етнологију и антропологију Филозофског факултета у Београду).

Као што је већ поменуто, о једној од кључних етнолошко-антрополошких тема, наиме, тема – о теми идентитета – расправљано је у оквиру другог панела. Основни аргументи и сучељавање позиција заговорника мултикултурних политика и њихових критичара били су изложени у раду мр Јелене Васиљевић (истраживач-сарадника Института за филозофију и друштвену теорију) – „Политике идентитета и критика културног есенцијализма – нужно непријатељи?“. Након овог, претежно теоријског рада следило је излагање др Сенке Ковач (професор на Катедри за етнологију и антропологију Филозофског факултета у Београду), у коме је она изложила део својих истраживања о процесу конструисања новог државног празника Сретења, који је одсликао усвајање нових идентитетских образаца у српском друштву на почетку 21. века. Др Мирослава Лукић-Крстановић (научни сарадник у Етнографском институту САНУ) говорила је о дисбалансу конструктивних категорија различитости и етнитета, које се налазе у законским регулативама, и актуелних случајева дикриминације, заснованих на стереотипима о херметизацији различитости и етнитета. Овај панел је завршен излагањем Марије Ристивојевић (дипломирани етнолог/антрополог, докторант на Катедри за етнологију и антропологију Филозофског факултета у Београду) о улози музике у конструисању националног идентитета. Ауторка се конкретно усредсредила на феномен експанзије world music-а и тзв. етно музике, која

се поклапа са актуелизацијом националних покрета и идеја из осамдесетих, и посебно из деведесетих година двадесетог века, и која сведочи, између осталог, о унутрашњим контрадикторностима процеса глобализације, сасвим очитледним на пољу културног стваралаштва.

Какав ће углед и статус, улогу и значај имати етнологија/антропологија за друштво и културу, то умногоме зависи од начина њеног јавног презентовања. Ову област деловања првенствено покрива музеолошка пракса, којој је била посвећена трећа секција научног скупа. Концепцијско осавремењивање, брисање разлика између елитне и свакодневне културе, те укључивање музеја у живот окружења које презентују и коме презентују одређену, музејским средствима испричану причу – основне су тенденције савремене музеолошке праксе. У мањим срединама, с обзиром на невелик број институција културе, музеји играју кључну улогу у процесу образовања и презентације културног наслеђа, а тиме и у процесу формирања идентитета, док се у већим градовима, а посебно у престоници, они често јављају као парадигме колективних идентитетских образаца.

О променама кроз које музеји, али и друге установе културе у Србији морају да прођу да би постале релевантни фактори друштвеног и културног образовања говорила је мр Мирјана Менковић (музејски саветник у Етнографском музеју у Београду). Ово излагање представљало је предлог својеврсне стратегије унутрашње организације музеја, која би била најоперативнија за процес европеизације музеја у Србији.

Мр Милош Матић (виши кустос у Етнографском музеју у Београду) се у свом излагању „Антропологизација

нематеријалног културног наслеђа“ осврнуо на значајне формулације Конвенције о заштити нематеријалне културне баштине, које су, са једне стране, отвориле бројне полемике око дефинисања тог појма, а са друге – омогућиле конструктиван антрополошки приступ проучавању нематеријалног културног наслеђа. Елементи теоријског приступа баштини, односно – конкретно предметима материјалне културе, били су присутни и у раду Петра Декића (кустос у Народном музеју у Смедеревској Паланци).

О проблемима и препрекама на путу иновативних приступа и приближавања музејских садржаја посетиоцима говориле су Невена Васић и Ивана Тодоровић (кустоси у Народном музеју Ужице), док је мр Тијана Јаковљевић (кустос у Музеју града Новог Сада) указала на проблем (не)видљивости мањинских заједница на музејским поставкама.

Снежана Шапоњић-Ашанин (виши кустос у Народном музеју у Чачку) упознала је учеснике скупа са садржајем основношколског предмета *Народна традиција* и са веома спорним концептом традиције који представља његову основу. У изради плана и програма за овај предмет нису учествовали етнологи/антрополози, а као предавачи се јављају крајње некомпетентне особе, чиме је читав овај пројекат обесмишљен. Супротно овом искуству, етнологско-занатлијске радионице организоване у Народном музеју у Чачку, о чему је говорила Ивана Ћирјаковић (кустос у Народном музеју у Чачку), представљају креативни спој знања и умећа, те тако од музеја чине привлачна места окупљања.

Нужност отварања музеја за различите групације унутар локалних заједница, као и императив модерног



маркетиншког приступа јавности, биле су теме последњег предавања, које је одржала Ивана Јовановић (кустос у Музеју града Новог Сада).

Предавања која су се могла чути на скупу „Држава, наука, култура“ представљају свакако сажету слику тренутног стања на овој тројној релацији, која

позива на ургентну акцију њених главних актера, али и солидан основ за заједничку стратегију посленика у хуманистичким дисциплинама уопште, а посебно етнолога/антрополога, која би потом довела до њиховог активнијег учествовања у важним друштвеним и културним токовима.

Александра Павићевић

## Научни скуп у Чешкој Републици

У Чешкој Републици је од 14. до 16. октобра 2009. године одржан научни скуп под називом „Антоњин Вацлавик (1891–1959) и европска етнологија. Контексти времена и дела“ (*Antonín Václavík (1891–1959) a evropská etnologie. Kontexty doby a díla*). Скуп је уприличен поводом 50-годишњице смрти знаменитога чешког етнолога Антоњина Вацлавика и 90-годишњице оснивања Масариковог универзитета (*Masarykova univerzita*) у Брну, центру Моравске области. Публиковани су програм и резимеи поднетих саопштења, а почетком 2010. године биће објављен зборник радова с овога научног скупа.

Организатори скупа били су: Институт европске етнологије Филозофског факултета Масариковог универзитета (*Ústav evropské etnologie Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity*) и Музеј југоисточне Моравске (*Muzeum jihovýchodní Moravy*) у Злину, у сарадњи с Катедром етнологије и културне антропологије Филозофског факултета Универзитета Коменског (*Katedra etnologie a kultúrnej antropológie Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského*) у Братислави, Чешким етнографским друштвом (*Česká národopisná společnost*) из Прага, градом

Лухачовице (*Město Luhačovice*) и варошицом Позловице (*Městys Pozlovice*).

За место одржавања скупа одабрано је познато бањско место Лухачовице (*Luhačovice*), у чијој је околини рођен Антоњин Вацлавик. Лухачовице су смештене у живописном побрђу микрорегиона Лухачовско Залесје (*Luhačovské Zálesí*), на југоистоку Моравске области. Значај овога научног скупа потврђује и покровитељство декана Филозофског факултета Масариковог универзитета, хејмана (начелника) Злинског региона (коме припадају и Лухачовице) и државног сенатора с тог подручја, те чињеница да га је финансијски подржало и Министарство културе Чешке Републике. Радне седнице скупа одржаване су у пространој сали Градског дома културе „Електра“. Поред тога, организатори су, уза сву указану пажњу, омогућили учесницима и разгледање града и околине, а положени су и венци на родну кућу Антоњина Вацлавика у варошици Позловице (*Pozlovice*), која је данас спојена с Лухачовицама.

У оквиру програма скупа представљени су ново чешко издање књиге А. Вацлавика, *Volkskunst und Gewebe – Textil v lidové tvorbě*, као и

библиографије етнографског часописа *Národopisny věstník 1906-2006* те других периодика Чешког етнографског друштва, а приказани су етнологски филмови *Daj Bože što je dobro*, Лижине Косикове (Jiřina Kosíková) из Етнологског института Чешке академије наука – Одељење у Брну (документ настао током научне екскурзије по Србији), и филмови *Poklad na ostrově Lastovo* и *Jakub a Filip – zvonu pro Inovce*, аутора Павела Попелке (Pavel Popelka), директора Музеја Јана Амоса Коменског у Ухерском Броду. Учеснике скупа поздравили су и угледни званичници, а приређен је пригодни фолклорни програм под називом „Лухачовски сусрет“ (*Luháčovická setkání*).

Скуп је имао међународни карактер и по тематици и по учесницима. Поднето је укупно 35 саопштења. Аутори саопштења били су из Чешке Републике (26), Словачке (6) и Србије (3). Рад скупа одвијао се у оквиру шест тематских целина.

I. Антоњин Вацлавик – оснивач модерне чешке и словачке етнологије. Саопштења: Јосеф Јанчај (Josef Jančář) из Стражњице (Чешка Република): *Антоњин Вацлавик и чешка етнографија друге половине 20. столећа*; Зита Шковјерова (Zita Škovierová) из Братиславе (Словачка): *Проблематика социјалне културе у делу Антоњина Вацлавика*; Милош Мелцер (Miloš Melzer) из Шумперка (Чешка Република): *Професор Антоњин Вацлавик и његов значај за музејску презентацију народне културе*; Марија Халмова (Mária Halmová) из Мартина и Љубица Хорватова (Ľubica Chorávtová) из Братиславе (Словачка): *О пољу деловања Антоњина Вацлавика у Словачком етнографском музеју*; Романа Хабартова (Romana Habarto-vá) и Људмила Тарцалова (Ludmila Tarcalová) из Ухерског Храдишта

(Чешка Република): *Антоњин Вацлавик и Словачки музеј у Ухерском Храдишту*.

II. Пројекти и теоријске поставке. Саопштења: Јармила Прохаскова (Jarmila Procházková) из Брна (Чешка Република): *Мелодије говора – заједничка тема Антоњина Вацлавика и Леоша Јаначека*; Душан Холи (Dušan Holý) из Брна: *О Вацлавиковом пројекту ‘Hornácká dědina’*; Вјера Коважу (Věra Kovářů) из Брна: *Вацлавикова етнографска истраживања региона Валашко (Valašsko) и монографија тог региона*; Алена Калинова (Alena Kalinová): *Антоњин Вацлавик и студије народног сликарства на стаклу*; Ева Вечеркова (Eva Večerková) из Брна: *Ускришња јаја у 20. веку*; Алена Кшижова (Alena Křížová) из Брна: *‘Volkskunst und Gewebe’ – дело Антоњина Вацлавика у контексту свог времена*; Владимир Ј. Хорак (Vladimír J. Horák) из Остраве (Чешка Република): *Рефлекси обичаја изношења смрти и приношења маја као саставни део пролећног новогодишњег циклуса у делу Антоњина Вацлавика*; Јан Куча (Jan Kuča) из Брна: *Регион Хорацко (Hornácko) у делу Антоњина Вацлавика*; Алена Прутка (Alena Prudká) из Злина (Чешка Република): *Документација о традиционалној архитектури у делу А. Вацлавика*; Милош Рејсек (Miloš Rejsek) из Брна: *Поглед на орнамент у делу професора Антоњина Вацлавика*.

III. Етнологска славистика и балканистика. Саопштења: Јан Ботик (Ján Botík) из Нитре (Словачка): *Допринос Антоњина Вацлавика развоју словачке крoатистике*; Ленка Новакова (Lenka Nováková) из Брна: *Јужно-моравски Хрвати у миколовском региону*; Милош Луковић из Београда: *Садашњи пројекти и теренска истраживања Балканолошког института САНУ – традиција и иновације*;

Зорица Дивац из Београда: *Етнологије и њихова продукција у Србији (XXI век)*; Драгана Радојичић из Београда: *Етнологија у Црној Гори од половине XX века*; Јиж Мачуда (Jiří Mačuda) из Знојма (Чешка Република): *Словенска етнологија и језичка припрема. Свадба у бившој Олењечкој губернији јуче и данас*.

IV. *Између етнографије, етнологије и антропологије*. Саопштења: Марта Ботикова (Marta Botíková) из Братиславе: *Студијски програм етнологије на Филозофском факултету у Братислави. Настава историје ове дисциплине*; Здењек Ухерек (Zdeněk Uherek) из Прага (Чешка Република): *Садашња настава етнологије и социокултурне антропологије у Чешкој Републици*; Мирослав Валка (Miroslav Válka) из Брна: *Моравска етнографска школа – реалност или фикција?*; Јиж Лангер (Jiří Langer) из Рожна под Рахоштом (Чешка Република): *Промисливање о значају помоћних наука*; Вацлав Михаличка (Václav Mihalička) из Новог Јичина (Чешка Република): *Савремени задаци етнологије у излагању етнографског региона јавности (на примеру региона Лашко)*.

V. *Методологија и историографија дисциплине*. Саопштења: Петар Јанечек (Petr Janeček) из Прага:

*Текстови и контексти. Усмена фолклористика између европске етнологије, културне антропологије и науке о књижевности. Перспективе усмене фолклористике у академском дискурсу 21. века*; Хана Хлошкова (Hana Hložková) из Братиславе: *О методологији истраживања народне прозе у Словачкој на прелому 19. и 20. века*; Вјера Седлакова (Viera Sedláková) из Мартина (Словачка): *Поље деловања Карола Плицека у Словачкој 1923-1938*; Јана Поспишилова (Jana Pospíšilová) из Брна: *Фолклористичко дело Олдржиха Сироватке (Oldřich Sirovátka) у контексту свога времена*; Мартина Павлицова (Martina Pavlicová) из Брна: *Зденка Јелинкова (Zdenka Jelínková) и чешка етнохореологија*.

VI. *Антоњин Вацлавик и родни крај*. Саопштења: Бланка Петракова (Blanka Petráková) из Злина: *Корени сазнања – Антоњин Вацлавик и Лухачовско Залесје*; Јозеф Коларик (Josef Kolařík) из Злина: *Дијалекат Лухачовског Залесја у току последњег столећа*; Андреа Зобачова (Andrea Zobačová) из Брна: *Лухачовско Залесје објективом Карела Фојтика (Karel Fojtík)*; Роман Кашпар (Roman Kašpar) из Лухачовица: *Микрорегион Лухачовско Залесје – баштина проф. А. Вацлавика?*

Милош Луковић

**Report on activities**  
**Institute of Ethnography, SASA**  
2001-2010

**Projects**

- 2002-2006 Institute of Ethnography, SASA engaged in two projects funded by the Serbian Ministry of Science and Technology, by means of project finance
- 2006-2010 Institute of Ethnography, SASA engaged in three projects funded by the Serbian Ministry of Science and Technology, by means of project finance

**Publishing**

- **Гласник Етнографског института САНУ** (Bulletin of Institute of Ethnography, SASA), six issues since 2006 (no XLVIII – LIV). Since 2007, there are two volumes of the journal per year, the second is published in English language (issues LV, LVI and LVII). Total of 12 issues.
- **Зборник радова ЕИ САНУ** (Collection of Papers, IE SASA) was resumed in 2005. Six issues were published, along with one Етнокултуролошки зборник (Сврљиг 2001.)
- **Посебна издања ЕИ САНУ** (Special Editions IE SASA)- monographs, total of 27.
- One publication from Библиотека Животопис бр. 5 (Library Memoir, no 5)
- All the editions of IE SASA are published regularly and in continuum, total of 47 publications while the journals have published 172 papers in Serbian and other languages.

**Scientific meetings and conferences**

- Institute of Ethnography, SASA has organized a total of 12 scientific meetings (five in cooperation with other institutions)
- In 2003, Institute of Ethnography, SASA has organized three cycles of public lectures, continued in 2008 and 2009.
- Many researchers have participated at international and domestic scientific conferences and meetings. Several foreign scholarships were awarded (Greece, Holland, Great Britain, USA) and also several researchers lectured at foreign universities (Slovenia, Greece, USA).

**International scientific cooperation**

Institute of Ethnography, SASA, has resumed and further developed cooperation with **ЕИМ БАН, РАН, ZRC SAZU**, has signed contracts on cooperation

and collaboration with similar institutes from Slovakia' and Check Academy of Sciences as well as Masaryk University in Brno- a total of five contracts have been signed on international scientific cooperation.

### **Field research**

- The researchers of Institute of Ethnography, SASA carried out individual field-work since there was no means to support and organize fieldwork on the project level.

### **Awards**

In 2004, the researchers of Institute of Ethnography, SASA were awarded with nine awards: two for ethnological film, one for publishing and six awards for scientific work, awarded by the Ministry of Science. In addition, in 2008, another award for publishing was granted.

In 2007 Institute of Ethnography, SASA founded **Награда ЕИ САНУ** (IE SASA Award, biennale).

### **Presence in media**

- Institute of Ethnography, SASA regularly presents published work at International Book fair in Belgrade, publicly presents the work within Serbia (Library of Belgrade) and abroad (Bulgaria, EASA conference in Ljubljana, Slovenia, etc.).
- In 2007, to honor the sixty years of Institute of Ethnography, SASA, RTS, documentary program made a film (33 minutes) **Етнографски институт САНУ – 60 година постојања**.
- The researchers of Institute of Ethnography, SASA have been present in the local and foreign media (paper and electronic).

Institute of Ethnography, SASA also created a logo.

### **About Institute of Ethnography, SASA**

- In 2001, Institute of Ethnography, SASA employed 13 people in science and research field (2 PhDs and 11 MAs) and 6 people were employed in administrative service.
- At the end of 2009, Institute of Ethnography, SASA employs 25 people in science and research field: 11 PhDs, 12 MAs, 2 young researchers- MAs and 5 people in administrative service- a total number of 30 people employed.
- Since 2001, Institute of Ethnography, SASA has employed 10 young ethnologists and 2 PhDs (5 researchers obtained PhD, 5 obtained MA while 2 got master degrees), one librarian advanced into research team, obtained MA and became a PhD candidate.

## **Work and technical conditions**

Since 2001, Institute of Ethnography, SASA has managed to renew computer and technical equipment thanks to means obtained from the Ministry of Science.

In June 2007 Institute of Ethnography, SASA has moved into new address (Knez Mihailova 36) by means obtained from the Ministry of Science and SASA.

These and all other daily chores were handled mostly by the Director of Institute of Ethnography, SASA, Secretary of Institute of Ethnography, SASA, Secretary of the editorial board and projects, chief accountant, and certain researchers.

This report was made by

Professor Dragana Radojičić, Director  
Marija Đokić, secretary of the editorial board  
Nevenka Spasojević, Secretary of Institute of Ethnography

**Извештај**  
**о раду Етнографског института САНУ**  
**и његова кадровска структура**  
у периоду од 2001. до 2010. године

**Пројекти**

- У 2002. години отпочео је нови пројектни период у трајању од 4 године, као и **пројектно финансирање**. Етнографски институт САНУ је у 2002. г. радио на **2 пројекта** које је финансирало МНТР РС.
- У 2006. години отпочео је нови пројектни период у трајању од 5 година, а настављено је са **пројектним начином финансирања**. Етнографски институт САНУ од 2006. г. ради на **3 пројекта** које финансира МНТР РС.

**Издавачка делатност:**

- **Гласник Етнографског института САНУ**. Објављено је **6** бројева (XLVIII – LIV) у времену од 2001. до 2006. г. Од 2007. г. Гласник излази у две свеске, од којих је свеска 2 на енглеском језику (бројеви LV, LVI и LVII). Дакле, од 2001. до 2010. г. објављено је укупно **12** гласника.
- **Зборник радова ЕИ САНУ**. Ова едиција је обновљена 2005. г. Изашло је укупно **6** зборника радова и један Етнокултуролошки зборник (Сврљиг 2001)
- **Посебна издања ЕИ САНУ**. У оквиру ових издања објављују се монографије, којих је изашло укупно **27** током извештајног периода.
- **Библиотека Животпис**. Објављена је једна свеска (бр. 5).
- Издања Етнографског института излазе редовно и у континуитету. Укупно је изашло **47 публикација**, а у периодици су објављена **172 рада** на српском и на страним језицима.

**Научни скупови и трибине**

- Етнографски институт САНУ организовао је укупно **12 научних скупова**, од чега је 5 било у суорганизацији.
- У 2003. години одржана су три циклуса **Трибине** Етнографског института САНУ, а током 2008. и 2009. г. настављено је са предавањима у оквиру трибине под називом *Етнолошка/антрополошка преиспитивања. Перспективе теренских истраживања*.
- Истраживачи из нашег института учествовали су у великом броју са рефератима на међународним научним скуповима у земљи и иностранству. Такође, држали су предавања на иностраним универзитетима (Словенија,

Италија, Грчка, САД), а имали су и неколико иностраних стипендија (Грчка, Холандија, Енглеска).

### Међународна сарадња

- Етнографски институт САНУ обновио је, успоставио и развио сарадњу са сродним институтима: Бугарске академије наука (БАН), Руске академије наука (РАН), као и са Научноистраживачким центром Словеначке академије наука (ZRC SAZU). Потписани су уговори о сарадњи са сродним институтима Словачке и Чешке академије наука, као и са Масариковим универзитетом у Брну. Укупно узев, потписано је 5 уговора о међународној научној сарадњи.

### Теренска истраживања

- Није било могућности за организацију теренских истраживања на нивоу целих пројеката, али су истраживачи појединачно обављали теренска истраживања, у складу са материјалним могућностима.

### Награде

- У **2004.** г. истраживачи Етнографског института САНУ добили су **9 награда** – две за етнолошки филм, једну за издавачку делатност и шест за научноистраживачки рад (од стране Министарства за науку). У **2009.** г. добијена је **једна награда** за издавачку делатност.
- Године **2007.** установљена је **награда Етнографског института** (бијенална).

### Медијска презентација

- Институт се редовно представља са својим издањима на Међународном сајму књига у Београду, јавно промовише своја издања у земљи (Библиотека града Београда) и у иностранству (Бугарска, EASA конференција у Љубљани итд.).
- Поводом јубилеја Етнографског института САНУ, 2007. године је први пут снимљен филм о Институту (у трајању од 33 минута): *Етнографски институт САНУ – 60 година постојања*, у продукцији документарног програма РТС-а.
- Истраживачи Етнографског института САНУ били су током извештајног периода присутни и у домаћим и у страним медијима (штампаним и електронским).
- На Интернет је постављен **сајт** Института ([www.etno-institut.co.rs](http://www.etno-institut.co.rs)).
- Креиран је **лого** Института.



## Кадровска структура

- На крају 2001. године Институт је имао 13 научних радника и истраживача, од чега 2 доктора наука и 11 магистара истраживача, као и шесторо запослених у администрацији – стручне службе.
- На крају 2009. године Институт има 25 научних радника и истраживача: 11 доктора наука, 12 магистара, 2 истраживача–магистранта и петоро запослених у администрацији – стручне службе. Дакле, 2009. годину Институт завршава са укупно 30 стално запослених.
- У периоду од краја 2001. г. примљено је 10 младих етнолога и 2 доктора наука (5 истраживача је докторирало, 5 магистрирало, а двоје је добило звање мастера), један библиотекар прешао је у истраживаче, магистрирао и пријавио одбрану докторске дисертације.

## Техничка опремљеност и услови рада

- Од 2001. године Институт је обновио компјутерску и техничку опрему из средстава добијених од стране Министарства за науку.
- Институт је током јуна месеца 2007. године обавио пресељење у нове просторије у Кнез-Михаиловој 36/IV. Средства за пресељење и опремање новог простора делом су добијена од САНУ, а делом од МН РС.
- **Наведеним пословима бавили су се директор Института, секретар Института, секретар Редакције и пројеката и шеф рачуноводства, уз залагање и труд појединих истраживача.**

Извештај сачинили:

проф. др Драгана Радојичић, директор  
Марија Ђокић, секретар Редакције и Научног већа  
Невенка Спасојевић, секретар Института

## General Guidelines for Submissions

In the past 50 years, the Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography, SANU has published results from ethnology and anthropology and other related sciences. It aims to be a transnational journal and to encompass all scholarship on human cultures and therefore makes a strong commitment to a comprehensive view of anthropology and ethnology and provides a forum for active scholarly critique as a major means by which to achieve this view. It is distributed in more than 70 countries worldwide, and it is the only journal of this kind in the area.

The Bulletin of IE SASA builds a comprehensive ethnology and anthropology by publishing analytic, theoretical, or synthetic articles that communicate to the ethnologists and anthropologists and to scholars in related disciplines. Scholarships (previously unpublished) in several formats are published: original scientific articles, reports, critical comments, book reviews, bibliographies and other anthropological news items. Publications could be in Serbian, English or other world languages. The Bulletin makes a commitment to publish articles contributing to current trends in ethnology/anthropology and related disciplines.

You are kindly invited to submit your article for our journal by April 1<sup>st</sup> every following year.

Sincerely,

Editorial Board of the  
Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography, SASA

Contributions submitted for review should take the following format:

- length up to 30.000 characters (with spaces), this doesn't include the title (please don't use caps lock), key words, abstract and resume;
- name, institutional affiliation, address and e-mail address of the author;
- abstract of 250 words, key words (up to 6) and summary approximately 10% of the manuscript's length;
- summaries are translated to English language; if the manuscript is written in a foreign language, it must be accompanied by a summary up to 1 page in Serbian language;
- an electronic version (in Word doc) send at [marija.djokic@ei.sanu.ac.rs](mailto:marija.djokic@ei.sanu.ac.rs);
- Times New Roman, in Cyrillic, notes in the text, accompanied by tables, marked illustrations etc.

- If Ancient Greek or Ancient Slavic are used, submit also used fonts.
- Graphic contributions to be submitted in an electronic form, for drawing *Line art* resolution of 600 dpi, and photographs in resolution of 300 dpi. A graphic contribution in word doc must be accompanied by *tif*, *pdf* или *jpg*.
- *Submitted material is not returned to the authors.*

Please cite literature and authors according to the Chicago manual of style (meaning no footnotes unless they are textual, and with reference list at the end of the text) – more details on this citation style can be found in the digested instructions ‘Guide for Citing Resources: Chicago Manual of Style (Author-Date System)’, which can be found (and downloaded) as a pdf file on this URL: <http://library.osu.edu/sites/guides/chicagoauthor.php>.

## Упутство ауторима

Гласник Етнографског института САНУ, познат широј научној и стручној јавности као једина етнологска публикација међународног ранга у Србији, већ више од пола века објављује резултати истраживања етнологских и антрополошких, као и сродних наука.

У Гласнику се објављују следеће категорије чланака: оригинални научни радови, прегледни чланци, научне критике, полемике, прикази, хронике и библиографије. Политика редакције Гласника је да публикује само радове који се први пут објављују, и то на српском или на неком од светских језика.

Гласило Етнографског института настоји да објављује радове који прате светске научне токове у матодолошком и тематском погледу. Наш перманентни циљ је што бољи и квалитетнији часопис, као и учешће еминентних аутора, како из земље тако и из иностранства.

Најљубазније Вас позивамо да као угледни аутор/сарадник пошаљете свој прилог (чланак, осврт, приказ, критику и сл. ) до 01. априла сваке наредне године.

У уверењу да ћете се одазвати нашем позиву упућујемо Вам изразе нашег поштовања и жеље да заједно оснажимо Гласник ЕИ САНУ.

Срдачни поздрави

Редакција ЕИ САНУ

Рукописи за објављивање у издањима Етнографског института САНУ предају се у следећем облику и року који одреди Редакција.

Издања Етнографског института штампају се ћиричним писмом.

У Гласнику Етнографског института објављују се радови обима до једног ауторског табака (30.000 знакова, са проредима) – укључујући напомене и друге прилоге. Овај збир карактера не укључује наслов (наслови и поднаслови не смеју да буду куцани само великим словима), апстракт, кључне речи и резиме.

### **Поред основног текста рукопис обавезно садржи:**

- Име и презиме аутора, назив установе, адресу и електронску адресу, као и годину рођења (захтев НБС, неопходан за УДК).
- Величина апстракта не сме да прелази 250 речи, а резимеа 3000 карактера. Кључних речи треба да буде највише шест.
- Резиме се преводи на енглески језик. Уколико је текст на страном језику, резиме мора бити најмање обима једне стране и објављује се на српском језику.
- Рукопис се предаје у електронској верзији или e-mailом на адресу [marija.djokic@ei.sanu.ac.rs](mailto:marija.djokic@ei.sanu.ac.rs) као Word документ. – Користи се фонт *Times New Roman* ћирилица, са напоменама испод текста. Уз рукопис се предају сви потребни прилози (илустративни прилози, табеле...) у изворном формату. Посебно треба дати списак илустрација, потписе испод њих, те име и презиме аутора прилога.
- Уколико аутор има потребе да користи старогрчко или старословенско писмо обавезно треба да достави и фонтове које је користио.
- Графички прилози могу се доставити у електронском облику и то за цртеже обавезно као *Line art* у резолуцији од 600 dpi, а фотографије у резолуцији од 300 dpi. Ако аутор угради графички прилог у свој Word документ, обавезно мора доставити исти тај графички материјал и као посебне документе у облику *tif*, *pdf* или *jpg*.
- *Прилози се не враћају аутору.*

Литература и аутори у тексту цитирају се према Чикашком систему цитирања (значи без употреба фуснота, које треба да буду само текстуалне, а са библиографском листом на крају текста) – детаљније о начину цитирања на основу овог система можете видети на сажетом упутству *Guide for Citing Resources: Chicago Manual of Style (Author-Date System)* који можете видети у pdf фајлу на следећем линку:

<http://library.osu.edu/sites/guides/chicagoauthor.php>.