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Summary

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Прикази

Хроника

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Human or Superhuman: the Concept of Hero in Ancient Greek Religion and/in Politics*

The word *hero* appears in Greek language with a twofold meaning. On one hand it is used for denoting a divine being, who lived a mortal life, but after doing some great deed deserved to become god. On the other hand, the hero stands for great and brave warrior who is ready to give his life in order to gain immortal glory, and continue to live in the social sphere, in the memory of his descendants. Exactly this epic narrative survived and was exploited many times, as a very convenient and useful pattern in constructing the ideal of brave warrior, ready to die for his country when necessary. I am going to requestion the relation between two meanings of the word *hero,* in order to get deeper insight in the meaning of this twofold term in the social and cultural context in which it appears, as a religious concept or as a narrative in war propaganda.

Hero Cult

When considering heroes in ancient Greece, it is necessary to point out the difference between hero as a divine creature and hero as a brave warrior. In the first case, the word hero used to denote a deceased person celebrated for some great deeds, who, after death, became honored and praised on the grave for his supernatural powers and influence on the living. The other type of the hero was a brave warrior whose fame was sung in epic poetry, by the bards (*ajevdoi*). But let me

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begin with the type of hero that I mentioned first – the divine creature, whose cult was organized and formed in a sanctuary, at his tomb.

According to the archeological sources, traces of this cult appear in the post-Homeric time, since the tenth century, but they became particularly popular from the last quarter of the eighth century. It was then, that the practice of rediscovering old graves and attributing them to famous mythical heroes became widespread.[1] The specific type of a hero grave is known as a *hJrw`/on* and it consists of a special kind of precinct, where sacrifices and votive gifts used to be deposited. Also, it usually used to have a special type of a tombstone and/or the altar. The boom of rediscovering hero graves and turning them into sanctuaries coincides with the appearing and development of the polis (city-state) in the 8th ct. Thus, it is possible to claim that the introduction of this cult was the result of change in the social life and new political organization. The argument in favor of this thesis should be also searched for in the character and function of heroes – namely, heroes were praised and divinized mortals meritorious mainly for the formation of the cities and for bringing social order. Thus, the constitution of such cults was aimed at justifying and empowering political associating on the grounds of family nucleus and tribes. This leads to the conclusion that the crucial aspect for understanding the hero cult is the relationship between religion and newly established social and political forms of organization. Thousands of heroes existed in Greek religion, and this enormous number is related to the local character of their worship i.e. to the fact that each city was actually a state for itself, so called *polis*.

Let me turn roughly to the case of Athens. One among many heroes was Athenian hero Theseus famous for many heroic exploits (struggling and winning horrible enemies: killing of Minotaur – half-bull, half-human who lived in a maze in Crete, and to whom Athenians had to send 7 young men and 7 girls as victims; fighting with Centaurs; Hades' origin, the abduction of Helen and many other deeds.). The Athenians believed that he was the first ruler who introduced democracy, who united all inhabitants of Athens, and who declared an Athens to be the capital.[2] But, he was not the only Athenian hero. A special category of Athenian heroes were those who were believed to be the founders of Athenian tribes. Namely, Athenian polis consisted of ten tribes *(filivai),* to which (from the time of Kleisthenes) its citizens were tied – neither by blood chains (as in former period) nor by geographical criterion, but according to democratic idea of equality – all the people from the city, inland and coast belonged to one of the tribes. All of these tribes had their heroes founders *(h{rw~ ejpwvnumo~)* – Erechteus, Aigeus, Pandion, Leos, Akamas, Oineus, Kerkops etc., and their function was to strengthen the feeling of belonging to this tribe, through common mythical genealogy and through the cultic practice.

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[1] This was the case of the Grave of the Seven against Thebes. Paus. 1.39.2, Plut. *Thes.* 29 The grave of Amphion at Thebes. Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion,* Harvard University Press, 1985, 203 cf. 5.

[2] Thuc. II, 15. Cic., *Leg.* , II 5; Plut., *Thes.* 24.

Concerning its religious aspect, honors that heroes received were quite the same as those for the deceased. What is also important, and related to the dependence between politics and religion, is that the rise in the importance of certain individual graves from hero cults coincided with the decline in importance of the dead cult.[3] Of course, it was not about the complete disappearance of the dead cult, since both family and political cults of the dead functioned as a kind of basis for society. But, the formation of the hero cult was aimed at decreasing the importance of the cult of the dead, and overtaking the power over this cult. As many researches on funeral rituals and lamentation in ancient Greece pointed: the power over the dead meant the power over the living.[4] In terms of this, one should understand also the efforts of the polis, and the newly developed mechanisms of Athenian democratic ideology to control family funeral practice by overtaking the funerals of the fallen solders and performing them publicly.[5] However, this did not happen at once.

Namely, the newly established city-states needed fresh legislation for adaptation of ritual practice around the dead and creation of new state religion. About the same time (VI-V ct. BC), all across Greek world, similar laws were introduced aimed at limiting and controlling women's behavior at the funerals. The famous legislator of Athens, Solon introduced measurements aimed at reducing the number of women relatives allowed to participate funerals. The wake was moved from the graveyard to the house, while the procession at the grave had to be finished by the sunrise so as not to disturb public peace. Apart from that, during procession (e[kfora), 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 attend the wake had only women older than sixty and the closest kin.[6] These laws also regulated the manner in which speaking about the dead was allowed and were aimed at forbidding the blood feud.[7] Newly required postulates of the funeral were general modesty in behavior and sacrifices, and as much quietness as possible. All pomp, luxury and wealth that was once characteristic for the dead cult, were transferred from the funeral rituals into the cult of the hero. Namely, as Emily Vermeule states for the pre-Solonian period "a good funeral has always been a lot of fun, a reunion stirring open emotions and bringing news to exchange, the periodic intersection to the family, the clan and the city."[8] The consequence of this change was reducing the im-

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[3] Burkert 1985, 204.

[4] Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition,* Rowman&Littlefield, Oxford 2002, Gail Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices: Women's Lament and Greek Literature*, T J Press Ltd, Patsdow, Cornwall 1995. Nicole Loraux, *The Inventions of Athens, The Funeral Oration in the Classical City*, Cambridge, Harvard UP, 1986.

[5] Thucidides, *Historiae* 2, 34.

[6] Demosthenes, *Against Macartatus* 43. 62. 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.

[7] Plut. *Solon* 21. 1; "Mourning leads to cursing", Nicole Loraux, *Mothers in Mourning,* translated in English by Corinne Pache, Cornell University Press 1998, 5.

[8] Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry,* University of California Press, Berkley 1979, 3.

portance of the private funerals and of the graveyard as a public space, where words said in the moments of crisis had very severe and penetrating influence on public and political decisions (after all, graveyards have always been the places where the decisions about the blood revenge were taken),[9] at the expense of raising the importance of the hero cult, which was a political invention that facilitated social transformation through the change and by the support of the religious cults.

One more evidence that point to the diminishing and the control over the dead cult and the rise of the hero cult, was a remarkable decrease in the number of individual tombstones of the fifth century Athens. The monumental tombstones were more frequently built by the city-state and their role was no longer to glorify an individual, but the collective; the same as the hero cult, public funerals praised and eulogized abstract and anonymous men *([Andre~)* collectively, becoming the means for manipulation and creation of the common political ideal.[10] But this is actually going to be the topic of my next chapter.

The question that imposes further is whether the hero cult developed from the cult of the dead, or not. One of the ways to answer this is to examine the parallels between those two cults that are numerous. Both cults have very similar ritual patterns: sacrificing of animals, food (crops), libation, but also weeping and lamentation.[11] Once a year, there was a festivity when a hero received offerings for the dead – *ejnagivsmata.* The same case is with the feast that appears in identical form in the both contexts (although becoming more modest in the funerals and more and more luxurious in the context of the cult of the hero). Furthermore, there are some elements of ritual praxis that disappeared from the cult of the dead, becoming incorporated in the hero cult. Such is the case of *agones,* funeral contests (sports competitions), which used to be performed at the last stage of the funeral of noble men. *Agon*, as a part of the funeral praxis, appears all up to the Classical period. However, it is possible to notice its decline in the context of funerals from the seventh century onwards, which coincides with a time when it became common in the individual sanctuaries of heroes. Gradually becoming related exclusively to the hero cult, these games are usually associated in mythology with descriptions of the first occasion of celebration and competitions, which afterwards continued to be organized periodically. The local character of such games is not surprising, if we have in mind the great importance of the cohesive function of the hero cult in the political

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[9] Loraux 1998, 33. Unlike Greek lament that was restricted by the laws to the household, mourning of Roman women was incorporated in public display, but within and under the control of civic ideology. Unlike in the Roman time when family became essential basis of the civic life, the Greek city-states (polises) treated family as a nucleus of the clan (aristocratic) system that they were trying to reject and transform.

[10] Ian Morris, *Death Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1992, 131. Renewed, but not completely the same, the boom of the hero cult happened in the Hellenistic time. Unlike the formation of the hero cult in the eight ct. and onwards, which was invented and instrumentalized by the city-state, the spread of hero cults appeared as a popular praxis of mourners who presented ordinary dead as heroes, and impact of this was reducing the importance of many heroes who used to be important before. OCD *s.v.* hero

[11] Diodorus Siculus 16. 20. 6 cf. Burkert 1985, 205.

life of polis. Furthermore, the political organization of ancient Greece was such that all city-states were independent (though sometimes they were making political alliances), while the feeling of belonging to the Greek world (similar to some kind of notion of Greek nation in contemporary terms)[12] did not exist. Therefore, it is not surprising that only four of such *agones* were Pan-Hellenic: famous up till nowadays the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games.

Numerous parallels with the cult of the dead thus point to the conclusion that the hero cult represents a continuation of the cult of the dead (although not ordinary ones, but those of appreciated and powerful noblemen), which was very energetically defended by Martin Nilsson.[13] The fact that supports this hypothesis is that before the heroization period, the dead used to be considered as divine. Even in tragedies we find the traces of the idea about this concept:

"For those who are not dead must revere the god below
by paying honor to the dead."[14]

However, Walter Burkert points out the differences between the ancestor and the hero cult, claiming that worship of heroes is directly derived from the influence of the epic poetry that flourished at a time.[15] Although relation between famous epic heroes and hero cult of the glorious mortals is essential, the hero cult might not be just a later invention, influenced exclusively by oral tradition. Even though the hero cult is not an ancestry cult in terms of the fact that it is not grounded on the chain of blood across generations, the social function of two cults is the same – the reinforcement of the social order and a religious justification of group solidarity guaranteed by the divinized dead. Exactly because the importance of blood ties is pushed into the background, another criterion turned out to be important for establishing relations with the common ancestor, and that are his merits for the foundation of the politically organized community. Thus, the fact that the city-state wanted to diminish the power and the influence of the private cults, and especially the cult of the dead in different ways (introducing e.g. All Souls day on a specific date for all the dead, instead of previous luxurious celebrations of the anniversary of the death celebrated as an individual holiday; the laws concerning limitation of the behavior at the funerals), as well as numerous similarities in the religious practice in the two cults, speak in favor of the argument that the cult of the hero did develop from the cult of dead and with the idea to replace it, at least partially.

So, heroes were mortals who became immortals after death, while their new home and their shrine was a tomb – the Earth's womb. At the same time heroes are close to the dead and to the chthonic gods. Actually it is what they are – divinized dead. The specificity that is born out of this is the main difference between

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[12] After all, the concept of nation did not appear in Europe before 19th century.

[13] Martin Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion,* Oxford 1952, 104.

[14] toi`~ ga;r qanou`si crh; to;n ouj teqnhkovta
tima;~ didovnta cqovnion eujsebei`n qeovn. Euripides, *Phoenissae,* 1321-2.
Greek text ed. Gilbert Murray, English translation E. P. Coleridge, www.perseus.tufts.edu

[15] Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion,* Harvard University Press 1985, 204.

heroes and gods. Namely, Greeks believed that gods lived far from people, unlike heroes who were always close and therefore able to give support whenever it was necessary. They helped in healing or supporting the soldiers and cities in the critical moments during the battles; they were also famous as founders of city-states, they gave prophecies (the same as the souls of the dead) and they were responsible for the fertility of the soil. Very often the cult of Christian saints is, due to continuity and many structural parallels, related to the cult of heroes. The same as heroes, saints are mortals who gained their honor after their death due to some merits. Although neither heroes, nor saints are gods, they have some kind of divine power and may influence people lives.[16] The same as behind heroes, behind Christian saints often lay mythical figures that underwent the process of dethronement.[17]

From Epic Hero to War Heroism

> "Nay, but not without a struggle let me die, neither ingloriously, but in the working of some great deed for the hearing of men that are yet to be."

> (Homer, Iliad, 22, 304-305)[18]

This quotation from Iliad (Hector words immediately before his death) briefly summarizes the heroic death sung by the epic bards that, although in a slightly different form, continued to live as a narrative and ideal long through the ancient Greek history. However, in order to understand and interpret this ideal, it is necessary to turn to the way in which ancient Greeks perceived death. On one hand, death was understood as horrible and dreadful. The other concept of death that existed in Greek public discourse was the notion of beautiful, heroic death – the death of a warrior, preferably young one, on the battlefield. As I am going to show, these two concepts are intertwined.

The first concept of death was brilliantly interpreted by Jean-Pierre Vernant who approached Greek death through the concept of otherness, but not the one that refers to representations that the Greeks invented constructing themselves in relation to the others (barbarians, slaves, women, youth), but through the concept of "the other of the person". Recognizing the absolute otherness in the mask of Gorgo[19], Vernant interprets this mask as a non-mask – the face of the Other, which

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[16] However, in the Christian saint cult it is possible to recognize not only heroes, but also old pagan divinities and cults they had in pre-Christian time.

[17] Burkert 1985, 205.

[18] This text is based on the following book(s): Homer. *The Iliad* with an English Translation by A.T. Murray, Ph.D. in two volumes. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, Ltd. 1924. www.perseus.turfts.edu

[19] Gorgo (Medusa) was a monstrous chthonic creature with the snakes on her head instead of hear, who turned into stone everyone who dared to look her directly. However, she was defeated by a hero – Perseus, who using an invisible helmet form Hades and keeping a brightly shining shield in his hand (that he received from Athene), managed to escape her glance and to decapitate her.

translates the killing gaze.[20] In this way, the face of Gorgo becomes one's double, the double in the world Beyond, the Other. "It is a strange response to your own face, like an image in the mirror (in which the Greeks could only see themselves frontally and in the form of a disembodied head), but at the same time, it is an image that is both less and more than yourself...A radical otherness with which you yourself will be identified as you are turned to stone."[21] Opposed to this is another, completely different concept of death, the one glorified in Greek epic poetry. Contrary to the perception of death that embodies horror and darkness, the unsaid, unbearable dreadfulness in the land of Oblivion, the other face of death is a glorious and magnificent ideal to which a true hero is committed. Although the concept of the beautiful death *(kalov~ qavnato~)* was constructed in epic poetry, its continuation is likely to be recognized through history. The motif of such heroic commitment lies in regaining permanent life through the name and fame reached by heroic and brave death. So, the reason for and the nature of heroic death entail ambiguous motivation to die in order to live and to live in order to die. Actually, heroes who choose to die young, in the prime of their beauty, youth and strength, avoid growing old. Instead of going down slowly and dying gradually, they give their life in some heroic exploit, while still young. In a sense, they exchange their life for staying young and alive. Life in its climax turns into death to be saved that way. Of course, their life imperishably continues in the social sphere, in collective memory, through the *glory, fame, that which is heard (klevo~)*. Obviously, the beautiful death and the glory that it brings refer only to the death of men on the battlefield.[22] Two concepts of death – dreadful and heroic one – are not as contradictory as it might seem at first site. Namely, the heroic ideal is created on the grounds of the belief that death is monstrous and unbearable. "There would be no merit in the hero confronting death, choosing it and making it his own. There can be no heroes if there are no monsters to fight and overcome."[23]

So the ideal of heroic death was created in the epic poetry. After all, the purpose of epic poetry was to recall the great deeds. That is why poetry had an exceptional role in education of the classical Greece, in transmitting and creating not only knowledge, but also believes and values that create culture.[24] However, we should not forget that epic poetry in Greek culture was always a performance, not only due to the fact that epics was transmitted as an oral poetry from generation to

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[20] The mask is reduced individuality, it is like a shadow or reflection in the mirror and it is not alive. Thus, one who wears a mask during masquerade embodies the powers of beyond and these powers control and influence its mimic, gestures and voice.

[21] Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Death in the Eyes: Gorgo, Figure of the Other,* in "Mortals and Immortals", collected Essays, trans. by Fromma Zeitlin*,* Princeton University Press 1992, 138.

[22] In her study on the issue of women's death in Greek tragedy, Loraux researched women's heroic death. She concludes that the fact that heroines in tragedies face often violent death, make these deaths similar to heroic deaths of men. However, the concept of women's heroic death (though not applicable in all cases) is that women in tragedies dye usually from suicide, while men are murdered. More on the topic se Loraux 1987.

[23] Vernant 1981, 288.

[24] Ibid, 58.

generation, but also (and this is quite important for later periods) because of the nature of the Greek books and reading, which was exclusively aloud. So, if we try to transpose this mechanism of propaganda of the immortal spirit to some other, recent, period, we should find its models not only in literature, but in all other mass media production. Another ancient Greek "medium" through which heroic ideal was "propagated" was pottery. What is important to emphasize about the Greek pottery is that it comprises the objects from everyday usage, wit various purposes – keeping or drinking wine, oil recipients, keeping corpses etc. All these vases were necessarily decorated with different images – either with the scenes from everyday life, or with different mythological scenes (often with the heroic thematic) that always formed a kind of story – one could keep a vase in hands and look at the story in the circle – from left to right, from bottom to up, from inside to outside, as a type of Greek television.[25]

What is interesting in the usage of heroic ideal in the context of public discourse of the Greek city-states is that it covers rather ambiguous ideas. On one hand, epic heroic ideal focuses on individual exploits and the estimation of virtue that distinguishes heroes among the others. After all the Achilles was "the best of the Achaeans" (a[risto~ jAcaiw`vvvvvvn).[26] On the other hand, new principles of civic ideology and participation in the political life of all citizens equally, slightly changes the heroic ideal based on human excellence (ajrethv) that started to require the feeling of belonging to the group, and contributing to the common victory.[27] The required heroic virtues can be viewed in Pericles' speech on the public funeral of the Athenian solders, after the failure of the Sicilian expedition during the Peloponnesian war:

> "So died these men as became Athenians. You, their survivors, must determine to have as unaltering a resolution in the field, though you may pray that it may have a happier issue. And not contented with ideas derived only from words of the advantages which are bound up with the defense of your country, though these would furnish a valuable text to a speaker even before an audience so alive to them as the present, you must yourselves realize the power of Athens, and feed your eyes upon her from day to day, till love of her fills your hearts; and then when all her greatness shall break upon you, you must reflect that it was by courage, sense of duty, and a keen feeling of honor in action that men were enabled to win all this, and that no personal failure in an enterprise could make them consent to deprive their country of their valor, but they laid it at her feet as the most glorious contribution that they could offer."

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[25] Sveltana Slapšak, *Ženske ikone antičkog sveta,* Beograd 2006, 12-13.

[26] Hom, *Il.* 1, 242.

[27] J.-P. Vernant, *Between Shame and Glory: The Identity of the young Spartan Warrior*, in "Mortals and Immortals"*,* collected Essays, trans. by Fromma Zeitlin*,* Princeton University Press 1992, 220.

Thus, individualism that was the main heroic virtue in epic poetry, was not desirable in democracy – it actually contradictious its concept – isonomy (the equal distribution of political rights and duties). No matter how illogical this might seem, all heroic virtues ("courage", "sense of duty", "keen feeling of honor") became incorporated in the norms of civic morality and collectivistic feeling of equality, while heroism and virtue were subjugated to the "power of Athens", not of the individual.

But let me, for a moment turn further to Pericles' speech in order to discuss the "promise" of heroic ideal of death, and the way in which it appears in the context of the fifth century Athens, becoming a narrative many times exploited by patriarchal societies, especially in the periods of crises and wars when it was necessary to mobilize people and make them eager both to die and to kill. The main prize of the heroic death is promise of the eternal glory:

> "For this offering of their lives made in common by them all, that each of them individually received that renown which never grows old, and for a sepulcher, not so much that in which their bones have been deposited, but that noblest of shrines wherein their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered upon every occasion on which deed or story shall fall for its commemoration. For heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart. These take as your model, and judging happiness to be the fruit of freedom and freedom of valor, never decline the dangers of war. "

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[28] kai; oiJ j de me;v proshkovntw~ th//˙ povlei toioivde ejgevnonto: tou;~ de; loipu;~ crh; ajsfalestevran me;n eu[cesqai, ajtolmotevran de; mhde;n ajxiou`n th;n ej~ tou;~ polemivou~ diavnoian e[cein, skopou`nta~ mh; lovgw/ movnw/ th;n wjfelivan, hJn a[n ti~ pro;~ oujde;n cei`ron aujtou;~ uJma`~ povlew~ duvnamin kaq j hJmevran e[rgw/ qew,evnou~ kai; ejrasta;~ gignomevnou~ aujth`~, kai oštan uJmi`n megavleh dovxh/ ei\nai, ejnqumevnou~ o{ti tolmw`ntes kaiv gignwvskonte~ ta; devonta kai; ejn toi`~ e[rgoi~ aijsxunovmenoi a[ndre~ aujta; ejkthvsanto, th;n povlin ge th`~ svetevra~ ajreth`~ ajxiou`nte~ sterivskein, kavlliston de; e[ranon aujth`/ proi>evmenoi. Greek text based on Thucydides, *Historiae in two volumes,* Oxford, Oxford University Press 1942, English translation by J. M. Dent www.perseus.tufts.edu

[29] koinh`, ga;r ta; swvmata didovntes ijdiva/ to;n ajghvrwn e[painon ejlavmbanon kai; to;n tavfon ejpishemovtaton. oujk ejn w`/ kei`ntai ma`llon. ajll j ejn w\/ hJ dovxa aujtw`n para; tw`/ ejntucovntio aijei; kai; lovgou kai; e[rgou kairw`/ aijeivmnhesto~ kataleivpetai. ajndrwn ga;r ejpifanw`n pa`sa gh` gavfo~, kai ouj sthlw`n movnon ejn th`/ mh; proshkouvsh/ a[grafo~ mnhvmh par

So, according to this speech, the fallen solders are heroes, who achieve immortality through the fame that "never grows old" and glory that is going to be "eternally remembered"; the tombs where they lie are the "noblest shrines", actually "the whole earth is their tomb". Even the monument is not necessary to be built because the dead will be remembered in the hearts of their descendants. It is obvious that Pericles addresses not the dead, as it is usual in the traditional lament, but the audience (as it is appropriate for a rhetorical genre such is funeral oration), in particular those men, citizens, who are advised to bravely approach death whenever the country needs this. It is the happiness to fight and die for freedom, claims Pericles.

Quoting Pericles' speech written down by historian Thucydides, inserts another "puzzle" into the picture of ancient Greek civic ideology based on the control over death and the dead. Namely, Athenians invented a new rhetorical genre – with a literary origin (not oral, as lamentation) in which they praised and commemorated those who died for the glory of their homeland. Thucydides mentions that Athenians were the only one who gave such funeral orations.[30] These orations were held usually in the time of crisis or wartime, when the polis decided to take care of the funeral of its soldiers, and deprive families from their exclusive right to take care of their dead and to accompany them to the Other world. According to the so-called ancestral law (`pavtrio~ novmo~`), introduced by the city-state, the corpses of fallen soldiers were returned to Athens and buried together.[31] It is interesting to point out that already in the ancient Greek we come across such type of manipulation that was also usual for Serbian nationalistic discourse during the end of the 20th ct. So, the title of this law points to the conclusion that the law has existed from time immemorial, although it was introduced by Athenian city-state in the 5th ct. Exactly such a claim that it was something that even "our ancestors" used to do, had the purpose of providing it with legitimacy and power.

Thus, in the periods critical for the polis, families (women) were deprived of their right to organize and perform the whole funeral ritual. More precisely, women could participate and mourn their dead who died as solders, but only in the frame of public ritual organized by the city-state. The voices of mothers, wives and sisters were smothered in the mass, so as not to be heard. Intimate, personal lamentation was replaced by official elevated funeral oration. The main differences between *ejpitavfio~ lovg~* (*funeral oration)* and *qrhvno~ (lamentation)* 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 *ejpitavfio~ lovg~* represents an official speech of some political representative, praising the dead and death as *beautiful* and desirable.

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j eJkavstw/ th`~ gnwvmh~ ma`llon h] tou` e[rgou ejndiaita`tai. ouJ~ nu`n uJmei`~ zhlwvsante~ kai; to; eu[yucon krivnante~ mh; periora`sqe tou;~ polemikou;~ kinduvnou~. Greek text based on Thucydides, *Historiae in two volumes.*

[30] Dhemostenes, *Against Leptines,* 141.

[31] The corpses, or all bones dead that were found, used to be grouped by tribe in common coffins and interred together. Thucydides 2.34.

A very important aspect of the heroic death is related to impersonalization of death. This is something that had been already mentioned, though in slightly different context – one that belongs to the hero cult At that point, I turned to the decrease of the importance of individual monuments and legislation related to the abating funerals, and now I would like to recall another part from Pericles' speech, where he invites mothers who are still young enough, to give birth to more children, not only because newborn children would bring them forgetfulness, but also for the sake of their country:

> "Yet you who are still of an age to beget children must bear up in the hope of having others in their stead; not only will they help you to forget those whom you have lost, but will be to the state at once a reinforcement and a security; for never can a fair or just policy be expected of the citizen who does not, like his fellows, bring to the decision the interests and apprehensions of a father."

(Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 2, 44)[32]

The idea that a dead child can be replaced with another one is, on one hand indicating the absence of the idea that each individual is unique. Furthermore, this passage reveals one more aspect of the war narrative that is possible to trace also in modern times – that war is, according to words of Goebbels, the most elementary form of love towards life, which does not decrease, but regenerates population. A similarly similar morbid idea, according to which the war has regenerative power, might be also recognized in the speech of Nikolaj Velimirović: "We see that the war is a poison which poisons, but also cures and rejuvenates."[33]

Conclusion

There is no doubt that both types of heroes (those from the hero cult and heroes as brave soldiers) were very important in the city-state formation and the politics that it used to pursue. But let me, for a moment, turn to the concept of hero(s) from a slightly different perspective, taking into account not civic religion, but rather early religious concepts on the grounds of which the ideas of heroe(s) could

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[32] karaterei`n de; crh; kai; a[llwn paivdwn ejlpivdi, oi|s e[ti hJlikiva tevknwsin poiei`sqai: ijdiva/ te ga;r tw`n oujk o[ntwn lhvqh oiJ ejpigignovmenoiv tisin e[sontai, kai; th`/ povlei dicovqen, e[k te tou` mh; ejrhmousqai kai; ajsfaleiva/, xunoivsei: ouj ga;r oi|ovn te i[son ti h] divkaion bouleuvesqai oi} a]n mh; kai; pai`da~ ejk tou` oJmoivou paraballovmenoi kinduneuvwsin. Greek text based on Thucydides, *Historiae in two volumes*.

[33] Ivan Čolović, *Bordel Ratnika,* Beograd 2000, 77. For Nikolaj Velimirović see also "Nove ideje", Beograd, decembar 1991. Nikolaj Velimirović used to be a theologist and an episcope of the Serbian Orthodox Church who lived from the end of the nineteenth until the half of the twentieth ct. In the period of ex-Yugoslavia wars, he became popular for his nationalistic and anti-Semitic ideas. Furthermore, in the same war and nationalistic atmosphere, the Serbian Orthodox Church proclaimed him a saint.

have been developed. Crucial for this perspective is the theory of Olga Freidenberg. According to her interpretation, the divinization of the dead should be understood through the concept of the divine that existed in the pre-religious period. Freidenberg, namely, argues that this was the period when the idea of god existed, but before the notion of the divine. "It is wrong to think that people used to believe in totems and that afterwards, they exchanged totems with the gods. The same as the image of tsar existed before the social institution of the power of tsar, the idea of god existed before religion….. and the dead were considered to be deities."[34] This is also confirmed by the fact that *[agaqo;~ daivmwn* used to be a family genius and its eponym.[35] So Freidenberg's position about the hero cult is related to her idea of the early concept of the grave (the house and the shrine of the dead and hero) as a womb that brings rebirth. The aspect of hero as a brave warrior is, according to Freidenberg, directly related to the concept of *agon*, which is understood as a confrontation with death that brings rebirth and renewal. As I have already mentioned, *agones* were competitions that used to be organized as the final stage of the funeral ritual or in the hero cult, and the whole competition was about the concept of dying and being born anew. The opponents are symbolizing life and death, and the winner is the one who stays alive. Exactly from defeat that is equaled with death develops an image of the enemy.[36] The main motive in the life of the hero is a fight that represents a metaphor of death, which brings rebirth.[37] That is how two concepts of heroes overlap, being grounded on the belief that death and dying bring new life. This is the Greek earliest fixed mythical traditional cliché on the grounds of which it was possible to construct and develop desirable patriarchal and political values, in a sense in which Ivan Čolović has brilliantly interpreted the usage of Serbian traditional clichés for the purposes of nationalistic and war ideology in the end of the 20th ct in his work "Bordel Ratnika".

Let me, just for a moment, turn to possible comparison between the two models of promotion and their relation to traditional mythology. Similarly, but not completely the same concept of "beautiful death" might be recognized in the context of wars in ex-Yugoslavia and spreading of war propaganda. As Ivan Čolović points, the powerful mechanism of this national ideology was that all political leaders, political programs and conflicts were presented through fixed traditional clichés and formulas in the same way in which values, persons and antagonisms were presented in the folklore and mythical tale. Exactly this is the force from which political formulas obtain enormous power. Exceeding political domain and entering mythical, they evoke antagonism between absolute values, such as good/evil,

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[34] Olga Mihailovna Freidenberg, *Mit i antička književnost,* translated into Serbian by Radmila Mečanin, Prosveta, Beograd 1987, 44.

[35] Aristophanes, *Wasps,* 525.

[36] The concept of the contest with the death is still alive in the contemporary times. Very famous symbolical representation of a duel with Death is a chess play in Bergman's film The Seventh Seal.

[37] Ibid, 53.

life/death, human/inhuman.[38] According to Čolović, the power of folklore and folk culture as means of manipulation is grounded in presentation and perception of it as something natural that is related to the native soil (sic!), as something original that precedes arrogance and decline of civilization. Of course, the folkloristic material for political purpose had to be reshaped and rearranged. Čolović also emphasizes that people are often ignorant of their folk tradition, which actually makes them more inclined to adopt such a pattern.[39] Concerning the construction of the Serbian ideal, important in this political/mythical machinery, a paradigm was made around the construct of the "nation elected by God" and particularly on the grounds of the Kosovo myth. Ideal Serbs became imagined as warriors, brave and courageous, but at the same time innocent and pure like virgins. This purity defines the position of the victim, while innocence leads directly to death. Thus the "beauty" of these heroic deaths lies, not in the youngness, and the attempt to gain immortality through heroic deeds as in ancient Greece, but in innocence. Innocence with weapons and death decorum invokes a special type of death and violent erotics, which adds attraction to the nationalist narrative. Death becomes ideal itself, being equated with all forces of good confronted to the powers of evil, according to the pattern of mythical binaries.

What is obvious is that heroic (warrior) ideals in ancient Greek and Serbian culture, during the end of the twentieth century are not constructed completely the same, but their function completely coincides. In both cases this ideal appears as a narrative of war propaganda, it is based on what is claimed to be traditional values,[40] necessarily trough traditional clichés, praising death as something desirable and beautiful. The fact that the ideal warrior in ancient Greece was not imagined the same as the Serbian one is based exactly on the fact that traditional models that are used for manipulation and more successful implementation of this ideal, are different. The final result is quite the same and fits to the country in war or/and the political ideal of Greek democracy that required active political participation of all its citizens regarding that "the warrior and the man of politics are completely identified".[41]

After the short excurse for searching analogies between an ancient Greek and Serbian paradigm of heroic ideal, I would like to return to the comparison I have started – between two types of Greek heroes – cultic figures and warriors. Apart from the agonic concept that is related to them both, two heroic concepts posses the component of eternal glory. Both concepts are about immortality that is achieved, not inborn (which, after all, serves as a good model). Even the epic hero, such is Achilles, bears the condition of becoming a hero because he has a mortal father and immortal mother, but he becomes one, only after choosing to have a short and glorious life, not endless and boring one:

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[38] Čolović 2002, 38.

[39] Ibid, 87-89.

[40] The aristocratic ideal of "human excellence" aretē, recognizable in epic poetry, was replaced by spirit of collectivity, essential ideal of human formation in the city-state democracy.

[41] Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece,* New York 1990, 137.

> "For my mother the goddess, silver-footed Thetis, telleth me that two-fold fates are bearing me toward the doom of death: if I abide here and war about the city of the Trojans, then lost is my home-return, but my renown shall be imperishable; but if I return home to my dear native land, lost then is my glorious renown, yet shall my life long endure, neither shall the doom of death come soon upon me."

(Homer, *Iliad,* 9, 410-417)[42]

Although the word *hero* stands for two different meanings, both enter similar domains of social, religious, mythological and public life. Namely the cult of hero is a religious cult in a sense of the definition by Emile Durkheim as "not a simple group of ritual precautions which a man is held to take in certain circumstances; it is a system of diverse rites, festivals, and ceremonies which all have this characteristic, that they reappear periodically".[43] Religious practice and importance of this cult were always supported by rich mythological content and material. On the other hand, heroic war ideal did not posses cultic dimension in Durkheimian sense of meaning, but it included rich mythological material and important mythological matrix that turned out to be successful and efficient in the situations critical for the states, when it was necessary to mobilize citizens for war, against the common enemy. Thus, both concepts of hero are closely related to death and to the manipulation in its domain, and both heroes, despite differences, were used for the needs of the state (polis) and the politics lead by it. This analysis represent just a part of the complex relations in the domain of ritualization of death, one of the biggest taboos of life, which, as it has been obvious through ancient Greek history (as well as other histories), has been, and still is, the field of various manipulations.

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[42] mhvter gavr tev mev fhsi qea; Qevti~ ajrgurovpeza
dicqdiva~ kh`ra~ ferevmen qanavtoio tevlo~ dev.
eij mevn k j au\qi mevnwn Trwvvwn povlin ajmfimavcwmai,
w[leto mevn moi novsto~, ajta;r klevo~ a[fqiton e[stai:
eij dev ken oi[kad j i{kwmi fivlhn ej~ patrivda gai`an,
w[letov moi klevo~ ejsqlovn, ejpi; dhro;n dev moi aiJw;n
e[sseta, oujdev kev m j w\ka tevlo~ qanavtoio kiceivh.

Greek text This text is based on the following book(s): *Homeri Opera in five volumes*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 1920. English translation based on the following book(s): Homer. The Iliad with an English Translation by A.T. Murray, Ph.D. in two volumes. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, Ltd. 1924. www.perseus.turfts.edu

[43] Jack Goody, *Death, Property and the Ancestors.* Stanford. Calif.: Stanford University Press 1962, 18.

Лада Стевановић

Човек или натчовек: концепт хероја у античкој грчкој религији и/или политици

Реч *хероj* појавњује се у старогрчком у два значења. У једном значењу користи се за означавање дивинизованог бића које је живело животом смртника, али је, због заслуга или неког значајног дела, након смрти заслужило божански статус. Према археолошким изворима, трагови овог култа појавњују се од постхомерског доба, тј. од X пре н. е, с тим да херојски култ постаје нарочито популаран од последње четвртине VIII века. Бум откривања херојских гробница и њихово претварање у светилишта коинцидирају са појавом и развојем полиса (држава-градова) у VIII пре н. е. То наводи на закњучак да увођење овог култа стоји у вези са променама у домену друштвеног живота и стварањем нове политичке организације. Аргумент у прилог овој тези препознатњив је у природи и функицији хероја, који су статус бесмртника стицали управо захваљујући заслугама за оснивање градова и доношење закона. У том смислу, ови култови су служили као оправдање и подршка за успостављање нове друштвене организације, која се од тог тренутка више није заснивала на крвном и племенском сродству.

Једно од питања којима се у раду бавим јесте и то да ли се херојски култ развио из култа предака. Наиме, не ради се само о томе да постоје бројне паралеле између погребних ритуала, култа предака и култа хероја, већ је дошло и до преношења делова ритуалне праксе из једног култа у други. Реч је о *агонима,* надгробним надметањима која су се одржавала као последња ритуална етапа на сахранама племства. Дакле, паралелно са законима који су рестриктивно утицали на раскош и изразито јавни карактер традиционалних сахрана (прописи су налагали одржавање процесије у рану зору, ограничен број нарикача, умереније приношење жртава), неке су етапе погребног обреда пренете у култ хероја. Како показују истраживања погребних ритуала у античкој Грчкој, контрола над мртвима и ритуалим који су њим посвећени, заправо увек представља и контролу над живима. Оно што је важно нагласити као разлику између култа предака и хероја, то је да се први култ заснива на крвном сродству и вери у божанску моћ предака, а да је други дирекетно повезан са политичким променама, са опадањем моћи породичних кланова и са новом државном организацијом, којој је овај култ и требало да послужи као

подршка у сфери религије. Иако култ хероја није заснован на крвним везама, социјална фукнција оба култа је идентична – оснаживање друштвеног поретка и религијско оправдање солидарности групе која је загарантована подршком дивинизованих покојника.

Друго значење речи херој односи се на чувеног и храброг ратника, који је спреман да положи живот како би стекао бесмртну славу и наставио да живи у социјалној сфери, у сећању својих потомака. Овај епски наратив био је експлоатисан много пута у току грчке историје, послуживши као прикладна матрица за конструисање идеала храброг ратника, спремног да погине за своју отаџбину кад год је то неопходно. Овај наратив је повезан са једним од два концепта смрти која су постојала у античкој Грчкој. Наиме, насупрот идеји да је смрт ужасна и страшна, постојало је и схватање да постоји смрт која је лепа. Управо је то смрт хероја, војника и ратника, по могућству – младог, који, уместо да стари и умире полако, полаже свој живот на олтар отаџбине док је још у пуној снази, стичући на тај начин бесмртност.

Нимало не изненађује што је овај идеал настао у епској поезији, која – уосталом – и слави велике подвиге. Не треба заборавити колико је значајна улога била епске поезије у образовању у античкој Грчкој, и то не само због преношења знања, већ пре свега због вредности које је славила, а које су учествовале у обликовању културе и јавног, дакле – политичког живота.

Осим у епској поезији слављење херојског идеала може се пронаћи у надгробним беседама на јавним сахранама атинских војника. Чувени пример једне такве беседе је Периклов говор након неуспеле Сицилијанске експедиције у којој је изгинуо велики број Атињана. Ово сухрану је антински државник искористио за мобилизацију нових војних снага и промовисање рата, не жалећи толико за покојницима, колико славећи смрт ратника. Иначе, реторски жанр надгробне беседе се појавио управо у Атини у доба полиса и представља књижевну инвенцију насупротн народној традицији тужбалица. Према антинском предању које је креирано истовремено када и ова врста беседе, одржавањем оваквих говора поштован је „закон предака“, премда се потпуно поуздано зна да се радило о иновацији и да је ова флоскула требало да послужи само да би обезбедила кредибилитет новој врсти обраћања на јавним сахранама.

Упркос очитој разлици између два значења која је покривала реч *херој*, несумњиво је да су од доба оснивања полиса, оба хероја била коришћена од стране државе (полиса) и употребљена за политику која је вођена. Анализа представља само део комплексних односа у сфери ритуализације смрти (у историјски омеђеном и у том смислу специфичном културном контексту), једног од највећих табуа живота, који је, као што је то очито у античкој грчкој историји, још од античког доба, као и данас (наравно коришћење механизам и митолошких матрица у ратничкој идеологији, како су то показале изврсне анализе Ивана Чоловића, разликују се у зависности од конкретног културног и историјског контекста) отварао простор за бројне манипулације.

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Time With or Without Death*

Researching Death in Serbian Ethnology during the Second Half of the 20th Century

Topics of ethnological research, as well as scientific discourse in general, often represent the mirror of social reality. This paper researches the ways in which dealing with death and current ethnological approaches in Serbian ethnology during the second half of the 20th century, reflect the *Zeitgeist.* The intensity and the quality of interests for this important anthropological theme varied during the researched period, wherefore it is possible to differentiate two types of works and authors: those who write about funeral rituals, and those who "read" them. From 1980s until nowadays there are three subgroups of contributions to this theme that reflect critical moments of the contemporary Serbian history. The issues raised in this paper are the following: The way in which state/society regards death, the way in which it structures death, the way in which it gives meaning to death, as well as the usage of death for political purpose and the constant effort of civilization to repress it into oblivion.

Key words:

death, ethnology, religion, politics, authors

The reasons for choosing this theme are numerous. Concerning the fact that I have been already researching death for some time, I wanted to get familiar with all relevant ethnological/anthropological studies that are dealing with death in different ways. The second reason has to do with my personal feeling that it is time some systematization of the results in the discipline was made, which would make

easier the efforts for developing a strategy for ethno/anthropological researches in our country. The last but not the least impulse for such analytical intersection has been the following question: did and in which way anthropological themes during the last fifty years reflect social and cultural reality, i.e. was the anthropological discourse about death only an immediate reflection of the cultural climate, or did anthropologists succeed in analyzing it from scientific distance? I am aware that the last question is very complex and I do not have the illusion that I am able to offer some definite answers at this moment. However, I hope that this analysis will be at least modest contribution to the further syntheses and evaluations of achievements in the frame of Serbian ethnology/anthropology.

Concerning immense ethnological literature that was written during the relevant period, I have decided to limit and focus only on the most important publications: Bulletin of Ethnographic Institute (further GEI), Bulletin of Ethnographic Museum (further GEM), Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology (further EAP), Ethnological Volumes (further ES) and Ethnological Review (further EP), as well as on monographs and some texts of the authors from Serbia who are unavoidable when one researches death..[1]

It is very known and elaborated fact that the modern time brought the attitude towards death, which differs a lot from the one of the former epochs. From the phenomenon that in traditional society used to go "hand in hand" with its antipode – life, representing thus inseparable part of its all crucial and everyday manifestations, death in industrial era has become more and more suppressed towards the margins of reality, in the sphere of private, tacit, uncontrolled and unrecognized. Professionalization of the work related to death and the dead, propagating and popularization of cremation, building fences and hiding graveyards, as well as moving ill people and those who are dying far from the eyes of *world,* represent just details of the process, which, it is possible to say, has culminated during the second half of the 20th century.[2] Anticipated by Aldous Huxley's visionary book *Brave new world*, persecution of death in this "cosmic era" turned into prohibition of its mentioning, even into prohibition of public mourning the dead.[3] Trends in Serbia, at least when it goes about dead, did not differ a lot from the global ones. However, it is important to notice that the cults related to death – if we compare this to the other customs from the life cycle – went through the least changes, at least formally. Reasons for this should be searched for in the complex phenomenon of death as eternal secret and inspiration of religious and magic way of thinking, as well as in the fact

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[1] Here I refer to following books: I. Čolović, *Književnost na groblju,* Beograd, 1983; Слободан Зечевић, *Култ мртвих код Срба,* Београд 1982; Dušan Bandić, *Carstvo zemaljsko i carstvo nebesko,* Beograd, 1990; Бојан Јовановић, *Српска књига мртвих*, Београд 1992; Ibid, *Тајна лапота*, Београд 1999.

[2] Luj-Vensan Toma, *Antropologija smrti* I, Prosveta, Beograd, 1980, 25. I. Čolović, *Književnost,* 102-104; Смиља Марјановић-Душанић, *Смрт и светост,* in: Приватни живот у српским земљама средњег века, Београд, 2004, 586; А. Павићевић, „*Друштво Огањ за спаљивање мртваца у Београду" Развој, идеје и симболи*, ГЕИ САНУ LIV, Београд 2006, 289-303.

[3] Oldos Haksli, *Vrli novi svet,* Beograd 1967; I. Čolović, see: Џефри Горер, *Порнографија смрти*, Градац 124/125, Београд 28-31.

that atheistic ideology used to be primary anti-Christian and anti-Church, while the rituals of pagan character were not perceived as ideologically too dangerous. This was beneficial for survival of complete complex of traditional funeral rituals all up to nowadays. Probably this is the reason for relatively great number of papers about death, which are, (concerning already mentioned trends), contrary to expectations, published in ethnological publications from the researched period.[4] However, another question imposes and that is – what does it mean to write about death? Namely, the fact is that ethnology of this period was above all a "science about rituals". Those rituals are always more or less related to the system of beliefs, ideas and behavior, that is called traditional religion. Therefore, the result is that it is difficult to find any paper or work that, at least indirectly, does not deal with death. Religious-magic view of the world that used to pervade everyday life in traditional society meant also constant contact with *beyond*, so the studies about e.g. rituals of baptizing or wedding, may also be considered as studies about death. I have solved this methodological problem thanks to L.V. Toma who understands the whole culture as a way in which society controls, structures, imagines, and finally forgets death. So, also those modern approaches in Serbian ethnology, by which the authors tried to escape the cliché of "research about rituals", were inspired by death. However, although attractive and precious for further reflection, this concept about anthropology as anthropo-thanatology, does not seem to me appropriate and practical for answering questions that I raised in the beginning. That is why I have analyzed only those works that directly and explicitly deal with death, or at least touch on it. One analytical review requires triage of works according to defined criteria. The most common differentiation of authors/works makes distinction between those that write about funeral rituals, and those who "read" them. The first group of authors is the most numerous, while their approach, although it belongs to the mentioned *traditional* concept of ethnology, is not completely abandoned today. However, the majority of these works was written until the 1980s. Rituals related to death appear here as a kind of exotica that challenges rationalism of the modern time, while the authors of these works leave the impression of people who are not personally interested in the theme of death. The main characteristic of these contributions is descriptivism that is meritorious for creating valuable ethnographic thesaurus. In anthropological sense, these contributions are almost completely irrelevant. The other group of authors consists of those who try to *unzip* the symbolism of death, to interpret it and to find out its messages, sense and meaning in the world of the living. In my opinion, one may say, without exaggeration, that in this regarded period, only one author was completely devoted to such efforts, only one author was focused on dealing with basic anthropological questions initiated by the phenomenon of death. It is Ivan Čolović. However, between mentioned extremes, appear also nuances.

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[4] I considered about seventy different papers and books. Citing all in the form of reference would be too ample for this text, so I will mention all titles in the complete bibliography of ethnological works with the theme of death that I am preparing. Such bibliography of works published until 1970 was prepared by Ljubomir Andreijić in GEM 34, 1971, so new bibliography will refer to the period after 1970.

As "nuancing" begins practically during the 1980s, it is also possible to divide works about death on those that were written from the 1950s till the 1980s, and those that were published during the last two decades of the last millennium. In this period, from 1952, when the first number of GEI was published, until 1976, nine papers about death were published. In the following six publications/years, which means until 1983, this theme was completely omitted from the pages of the Bulletin. Concerning GEM, since 1957 until 1981, fourteen contributions were devoted to the *last journey* of human life. The only thing that one may notice as a difference between those publications probably has to do with the strategy of scientific-research work that existed in these institutions. Namely, the texts in GEM were usually part of monographic researches of certain regions, that referred to all segments of social life, including funeral rituals. Papers in GEI deal with certain phenomenon related to death, while funeral rituals of some regions are published independently, and not as a part of wider monographic totality.[5] Descriptions of graveyards, graves, monuments and different fine arts motives appear in seven works (four in GEI and three in GEM). Due to the lack of effort to regard these materialized *echoes of death* in a wider ethnological or anthropological context, they might be described as archeological or art history contributions.

Researches of death in both publications are based on more or less same structure, which means that they refer to description of behavior (and more rarely, believes) of the community on the occasion of death. Descriptions usually start with aremark about preparation for death that used to begin while the person was still alive. Then follow enumeration of omens of death, announcement of death it, preparation of the corpse, rules of behaving in the procession, funeral, funeral feast, commemoration and All Souls Day. None of these papers includes either ethno-explication, or an effort of the author to explain certain acts, nor to relate them to the wider context. Rituals are represented as a petrified form that existed like that from the time immemorial, and that will always be such. The lack of creativity of the authors from this period might be explained by certain parameters of their work. Very important factor here might be the age and origin of the authors: they were born in the society more similar to the one that they wrote about, than to the one they belonged as ethnologists. Maybe this was the reason why they were not able to make necessary analytical distance towards the object of their research. This is of course only assumption. The main reason for the problem mentioned should be searched for in the combination of socio-political climate and the corresponding attitude towards tradition, death and religion (these two themes were always automatically related), and in the mentioned concept of ethnology of the period. According to this, every social phenomenon was treated more or less the same – as a part of folk "tradition" that should be written down and thus saved from oblivion. And while transformation was "allowed" for some other segments of social reality, death

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[5] In the year of 1978 in the first volume of Ethnological Volumes, two papers dealing with death were published. In style they did not differ a lot from those mentioned above: Tomislav Živković, *Običaj darovanja o sahranama u okolini Semderevske Palanke i nekim drugim krajevima Donje Šumadije,* ES I, Beograd, 1978, 168-175; Slobodan Zečević, *Grejanje pokojnika*, ES I, Beograd, 1978, 109-113.

was presented as independent cultural complex that resists all civilization streams.[6] Formally, death (in the rural communities) is such even today. However it is clear that under the veil of petrified forms exist essentially changed attitudes towards the *last journey*. Indication of this change gave Ivan Čolović as early as 1974, in the text *Introduction to the reading of newspaper obituaries* (*Увод у анализу новинских читуља*).[7] The text was published in the journal *Kultura,* and in a certain way it was an announcement of the change of ethno-anthropological discourse about death.

From the papers that appeared in this period, it is necessary to single out one by Dušan Bandić, published in 1975 in GEI.[8] This work suggested a new methodological and structural approach treating religious phenomena, which would later single outhits author as one of the most significant and most quoted researchers of traditional religion.

However, as it is already said, 1980s, or more exactly 1980 was a turning point in historical, cultural, social and probably every other sense. The death of Josip Broz Tito marked the beginning of long-term transition in the region of Yugoslavia of the time. More or less indirectly the beginning of this process might be recognized in the changes of the scientific discourse, although I think that changes were caused also by the appearance of more complex anthropological perception in the worldwide context, although all innovations came to us with certain delay.

It is interesting, especially in the context of anthropo-thanatological researches that the event of death was the one that opened the "the doors of perception", as if the death of "the immortal one" permitted to think about death again, and thus enabled its re-encounter with *life*. Thus, the return to religion, as it is often called the reactualization of religious views of the world in the 20th century, was not only the result of economic and social crisis and wars, but probably, above all, the need to find again the answer to the suppressed questions.

Five years after its publishing in Paris, in 1980, the huge study "Anthropology of Death" by Louis-Vincent Thomas was published in our country. A year later, in 1981, Yugoslav reading auditorium were able to get familiar with the work "Man and Death" by another French anthropologist – Edgar Morin.[9] These immense studies offered detailed, multidisciplinary researches of the phenomenon of death, its biological, psychological, sociological, historical and philosophical dimensions. Considering different ways of death and dying, as well as their metaphors, comparing modern and "primitive" societies and the perception of man as a "creature-for-death" and of human culture as a creation essentially determined by "remembering"

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[6] Милка Јовановић, *Рад Етнографког института САНУ на проучавању савремених промена у народној култури,* ГЕИ САНУ XXII, Београд 1974, 143-151.

[7] Ivan Čolović, Ibid, *Uvod u analizu novinskih tužbalica,* Kultura 25, Beograd 1974, 168-178.

[8] Душан Бандић, *Трагови табуа у самртном ритуалу Срба,* ГЕИ САНУ XXIII (1974), Београд 1975, 95-116.

[9] Luj-Vensan Toma, *Antropologija smrti* I-II, Prosveta, Beograd, 1980; Edgar Moren, *Čovek i smrt,* Bigz, Beograd 1981.

of this necessity[10] represent even today the inspiration and call for "reading" death as an eloquent fact about life. Here, however, should be mentioned, that basic Marxist and biological determination towards life that pervade both monographs, lead both authors to the final negation of reality of metaphysical dimension of death and in a certain way of death itself.[11] But, all this does not reduces the importance of these capital works.

Although the direct influence of thanatological views of the world was recognizable in the work of Ivan Čolović, the reviews of "Anthropology of Death" published in 1982 and 1983 in GEM and GEI, together with a frequent quoting of Thomas and Morin by ethnologists who were writing about death, signify the initiation of Serbian ethnology into the "new" world of symbols and signs.[12]

In the period between 1980 and 2006, forty five papers devoted to death were published in ethnological journals. This number was duplicated comparing to the former period, probably because of the increased number of journals and periodicals that started to be published (Ethnological Volumes, Ethnological Review, Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology), but certainly because of increased interest of the authors in this topic. Furthermore, six monographs partly or completely related to the research of death were published in that period.[13] First of all, I would like to mention the study by Dušan Bandić about taboo in Serbian traditional culture, which includes very interesting chapter about taboo and regulations related to death.[14] As it has already been said, Bandić was above all the researcher of traditional religion and his greatest merit was that he defined religious system marked with this term, pointing, among other things, to the layers of the believes of different origin. His theoretical and methodological approach was also original and important mostly because it emphasized the multidimensional aspect of the investigated phenomena, but also, I dear to say, it was determined, and therefore limited anthropological range of his conclusions in advance. Namely, Bandić's perception of traditional religion and the complex of beliefs and rituals related to death was diachronical, regarding them only as a phase of religious believes of our people.[15] Insisting on the difference between pagan and Christian elements in the frame of taboo-regulations related to death, as well as on the dominant functionalist interpretation of their role [16] (which can not be refuted, but this does not exhaust all contents and meanings of culture), prevented this prolific author from entering more profoundly into anthropological dimensions of the meaning of death, not so much on

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[10] Toma, I, 23; Moren, 15, 29.

[11] Moren, 369, 387; Toma II, 368-370.

[12] Љиљана Гавриловић, *Луис Венсан Тома, Антропологија смрти I-II, Београд, 1980,* review in ГЕМ 46, Београд, 1982, 204-206; Инес Прица, *Луис Венсан Тома, Антропологија смрти I-II, Београд 1980,* review in ГЕИ САНУ XXXII, Београд 1983, 128.

[13] These monographs were mentioned in the footnote no. 1.

[14] Dušan Bandić, *Tabu propisi vezani za smrt*, u: Tabu u tradicionalnoj kulturi Srba, 105-210.

[15] Ibid, 112.

[16] Ibid, 159, 162.

social level, but primarily on the level of individual. But, it might be that this was a conscious decision to avoid this question.

In my opinion, the main contribution of Dušan Bandić to the research of death in Serbian ethnology is the *concept of afterlife dying*, which he patented in the paper with the same title, published in Ethnological Review in 1983.[17] This concept is described as the process of separation and liberation of the dead from the connections with the living, but also – and this is more important – as the process by which social community regulates its attitude towards the particular deceased and towards the ancestors through the rituals in which fear from the dead and fear of death gradually become replaced by "peaceful coexistence "of the living and the dead, trough the memory and respect of first towards the latter. This text is also published as a part of the study "Kingdom of Earth and Kingdom of Haven" ("Carstvo zemaljsko i carstvo nebesko") in 1990. I will write more about this book further in the text.

 "Serbian Cult of the Dead" ("Kult mrtvih kod Srba") is a book by Slobodan Zečević, published in 1982, and it certainly represents one of the unavoidable monographs devoted to the research about death in our region.[18] The importance of this book is that it brought to the *intellectual market* a book that represents a very detailed synthesis of Serbian traditional customs and believes about death. Pointing out the constants elements of the dead cult, which, in the author's opinion had not been essentially changed by the influence of Christianity, might represent an interesting starting point for contemporary research of the relations between religion and death.

It was in the same year, that the paper by Mirjana Prošić-Dvornić was published in the eighteenth volume of Ethnological Review. In this paper, on the example of funeral ritual, the author has pointed at the variable structure of the rite of passage and the methodological deductions that the usage of the suggested Terens Turner's "geometric-matrix-model" might offer.[19] And although, this model introduced *vertical dimension* of the structure of ritual reality, the conclusions of this text remained on the level of horizontal functionalist-structural interpretation of the phenomenon of death.

The importance of the contribution to the research of death that gave Ivan Čolović is evident from the mere fact that his name in this paper has already been mentioned several times. His book "Literature on the graveyard" ("Књижевност на гробљу") represents the most conclusive and, in anthropological sense, most important research of the phenomenon of death.[20] The analyzed epitaphs from the tombstones of six graveyards in Belgrade and three suburban graveyards, and their comparison with traditional lamentation, were not for Čolović only a discovery of an interesting genre of *wild literature,* nor did he use them as a means for pointing

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[17] Dušan Bandić, *Koncept posmrtnog umiranja u religiji Srba,* EP 19, Beograd 1983, 39-47.

[18] Слободан Зечевић, *Култ мртвих код Срба*, Београд 1982.

[19] Mirjana Prošić-Dvornić, *Pogrebni ritual u svetlu obreda prelaza,* EP 18, Beograd 1982, 41-51.

[20] Ivan Čolović, *Književnost.*

out the change/constant of human behavior towards death. This work primarily indicated the possibilities of "reading" numerous manifestations of this relationship and discovering the essential relation between life and death, crucial for understanding human society.

This book alongside with Čolović's previous books and the Zeitgeist, has initiated a series of topics in the field of ethnological/anthropological research of death. In the same year, when "Literature on the Graveyard" was published, another important paper appeared, written by Dunja Rihtman. It dealt with ethnological researches of the city in which she also mentions research of the newspaper obituaries[21]. Two years later, also in EP, Zorica Rajković wrote about legends related to tombstones of the victims of car accidents.[22] In the year of 1985 one whole part section of ES was dedicated to the topic of "Culture and Death", and apart from papers that were dealing with traditional, although not so well known, costumes related to death, there were also those written in the "new" style. Here I refer to the results of the research of the socio-emphatic functions of tombstones in villages near Belgrade, conveyed by Ivan Kovačević and also to an interesting, but very short work about perception of death by polled Belgrade citizens, by Sofija Radonić.[23] To this group belongs also a paper by Edit Petrović, published in ES in 1987, about funeral rituals among atheists. The elaboration of this topic at the time when atheism was still predominant might have made easier the interpretation of the process of revitalization of religious believes that happened during 1990s.[24] However, this was never done.

As it is obvious, the focus during the mentioned period, from the beginning of 1980s until 1990s, was on the journals ES and EP. In the period from 1982 until 1988 fifteen papers were published. GEM in the same period, published five papers dealing with death, but their content did not differ from those that were published in the previous period. In the period from 1983-1990, GEI published also five texts – two in the ethnographic context – by Dušan Bandić and Nevena Ćurčić. Bandić researched the symbolism of mirror, while Nevena Ćurčić wrote survey paper about religious as well as different theoretical concepts of interpretation of death.[25]

The "circle" was symbolically closed by the same author who had initiated it, by Ivan Čolović with the text about transformation of newspaper obituaries, pub-

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[21] In 1988 the same author published monograph „Етнологија наше свакодневице", and devoted complete chapter to the research of newspaper obituaries. See: Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin, *Etnologija naše svakodnevice,* Zagreb 1988.

[22] Dunja Rihtman, *Etnološka i folkloristička istraživanja grada,* EP 19, Beograd, 1983, 17-24; Zorica Rajković, *Obilježavanje mesta smrti u predajama*, EP 20-21, Beograd 1985, 11-24.

[23] Ivan Kovačević, *Socijalno-emfatička funkcija monumentalnih grobnica,* ES VI, Beograd 1985, 81-87; Sofija Radonić, *Pristp smrti,* ES VI, Beograd 1985, 73-79.

[24] Edit Petrović, *Posmrtni običaji kod ateista,* ES VIII, Beograd 1987, 179-186.

[25] Душан Бандић, *Огледало – капија звезда*, ГЕИ САНУ XXXIII, Београд 1984, 9-20; Невена Ђурчић, *Религијски* концепт смрти и неке могућности његовог тумачења, ГЕИ САНУ XXXVI, Београд 1988, 139-153.

lished in ES in 1988.[26] One could not say that there were no interesting and innovative texts during 1990s, but the number of those significantly decreased, while ethnological research of death returned to the safe port of *anthropological inambition.* I would like to mention here one more text, published in 1989 – not because I consider it particularly relevant for research on death, but because it seems to me that its appearance was the announcement and the mirror of the new attitude of society towards this life necessity. It is a contribution by Živko Mikić in which he deals with anthropological details (it is about physical anthropology) of identification of body remains of Montenegrian king Nikola I, queen Milena and princesses Ksenija and Vera.[27] Identification was performed just before their remains were carried to Montenegro. From today's point of view, and from the point of view of that time, this text seems like an overture for "forensic era" in which digging out the dead has become a part of everyday life – the one of the film, media, politics or war.

However, new social trends and events were announced by, who else than, Ivan Čolović with his text about death of Ljuba Zemunac published in GEI and Dušan Bandić with his monograph "Kingdom of Earth and Kingdom of Heaven".[28] Alongside with the sound of the "war trumpets" these two authors lead us to the time of actualization of new/old myths and heroes, who were intensively used in political marketing, in the following period. Both studies reveal in a certain way the elements of new way in which the society does the "organizing" and "making sense" of death, "allowing" antiheroes and heroes to *die for us,* giving legitimacy to the collective cathartic lament. In relation to this question an interesting text by Đurđica Petrović, was published in GEM in 1995 in which she pointed out the influence of important social/state institutions on the formation and suggestion of desirable forms of mourning the dead, as well as the desirable attitude to the moment of meeting of the individual and the collective with the *beyond.*[29] Text by Lada Stevanović, published in this GEI confirms that these kinds of interventions are not exclusively characteristic of the modern society, existing, in different ways since the distant past.[30]

But, let us return to *Kingdom* by Bandić. Defining the symbolism of Kosovo oath as a certain "national thanatology", in the mentioned monograph Bandić opened the question of the relation nation/religion/death, which is today, after evident rehabilitation of death as phenomenon of political manipulation, more than rel-

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[26] Ivan Čolović, *Preobražaj novinske tužbalice,* ES IX, Beograd 1988, 59-64.

[27] Živko Mikić, *Nekoliko reči o identifikaciji crnogorskog kraqa Nikole I Petrovića Njegoša, kraljice Milene i princeza Ksenije i Vjere,* EAP 5, Beograd 1989, 7-13.

[28] Иван Чоловић, *Смрт Љубе Земунца или парадокс о заштитнику*, ГЕИ САНУ XXXIX, Београд 1990, 61-71.

[29] Ђурђица Петровић, *Афектне активности у средњевековном погребном ритуалу на централном Балкану*, ГЕМ 58-59, Београд 1995, 111-124.

[30] Lada Stevanović, *Human or Superhuman: the concept of hero in ancient Greek Religion and/in Politics*, ГЕИ LVI, Београд 2008.

evant.[31] I think that this work of Bandić is particularly important because of his implicit negation of evolutionist views, and interpretation of religious language as system complementary to the language of science. Those two languages according to Bandić "supplement one another…Each represents a cultural answer to the needs that its *par* might not fulfill".[32] This knowledge (and confession) should be one of the basic perceptions and starting points of further anthropological researches of death, and the society in general.

Discovering of specific language of *political thanatology* is characteristic also for the text by Ivan Kovačević, published in 1996 in which he marks the grave (it is about the grave of Josip Broz Tito in the Hose of Flowers) as a *political place* (locus politicus), trying to explain the increasing importance of the grave in Serbian politics.[33] Unfortunately, the author did not elaborate this interesting theme, so the importance of this contribution is more in setting up the questions than in giving conclusions.

In this analytical review, it is obligatory to mention work by Bojan Jovanović "Serbian Book of the Dead" ("Srpska knjiga mrtvih") (1992) and "Secret of Lapot" (Tajna lapota) (1999), above all because of specific esthetic quality that these syntheses bring.[34] Namely, these two monographs were written in extremely beautiful literary-philosophical style that is appropriate for symbolic meaning of this, more or less, familiar reading. Particular importance of "Secret of Lapot" represents the effort of the author to request ion scientific dogma about killing old people, pointing out the symbolic dimension of this, unconfirmed legend.

In the year of 1997, the editorial board of the journal Gradac published the thematic number devoted to death. However, there are no ethnological contributions in this journal. In the year of 2004, the whole volume of Codes of Slovenian culture was devoted to this topic. The authors were linguists and ethnologists, but what surprises us most is the lack of creativity in choosing topics and methodological framework as well as the effort to regard the issue in the current context.[35]

In the beginning of the new millennium when ethnologist/anthropologists seriously and in great number became "obsessed" by constructivism and political anthropology, the interest in the private sphere is more and more a theme of historians who are revealing its inexhaustible sources of possibilities for interpretation of social reality in diachronic perspective. I do not claim that social history did not exist before, but such an interest has practically become a trend in the contemporary researches. This is testified also by the edition "History of private life" that first consisted of five volumes of translated French editions (2000-2004), appearing af-

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[31] Dušan Bandić, *Carstvo zemaljsko i carstvo nebesko,* in: Carstvo zemaljsko i carstvo nebesko, 31-42, 40.

[32] Dušan Bandić, *Komunikacijski koncept religije,* in: Carstvo zemaljsko i carstvo nebesko, 28.

[33] Иван Ковачевић, *Гроб, политика, магија,* in: Семиологија ритуала III, политика, Београд 2001, 51-56.

[34] Бојан Јовановић, *Српска књига мртвих*; Ibid, *Тајна лапота.*

[35] *Gradac*, св 124/125, Beograd, 1997; *Кодови словенских култура*, св 9, Београд, 2004.

terwards as History of Private Life in Serbia in four volumes (2004-2007). In these publications, mostly historians are dealing with death, and only two contributions were written by ethnologist.[36]

The intensity of the interest for death as well as the quality of the research of this phenomenon was oscillating during the focused period. The influence of the global and local social and state ideas and processes was mirrored also in the field of anthropological discourse. Critical situations for the society and certain researchers were reinforcing impulses for interest in death from time to time. However, this interest was constantly in inverse proportion with the increasing fear from the unknown. The closeness of war, as Morin concluded, brought some kind of weakening of the fear and one might explain the richness and diversity of ethnological production between 1980s and 1990s also by that.[37] The war situation and the disintegration of the country apparently suggested the strategy of "admitting" only "certain" and "big" heroic deaths, so individual frustrations caused by the restriction of potentially destructive and above all uncontrolled intimate and private mourning the dead (human/own, fate in general) were replaced by intensive mythologization of events of national history and participation in the collective pain on the "exclusive" funerals such as the one of Željko Ražnatović, Zoran Đinđić, Slobodana Miloševića, Nenada Bogdanovića. In the pauses between deaths of important people, catharsis was provided by mass city religious processions and transfers of remains of the dead from one place to another.

I believe that science, as a specific worldview appeared from the need to answer the basic question of human existence in time and *eternity*. Anthropology as a science about human should be, by definition, occupied by this issue to the largest extent. Or it should, at least be based on the basic knowledge that human culture is conditioned by unavoidable human fate, both in its confirmation and negation through different types of oblivion. Having this in mind, *memory of death* would be, at least, partially, *tamed*, and further research would be directed towards demystification and deconstruction of individual and social attitude to the end of *this world* existence.

But, in the end, we will face again unavoidable *wall of secrets, or* **dead end.** However, to think about it in advance might make us more calm and at least more prepared for meeting the eternity.

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[36] Александра Павићевић, *Огњено сахрањивање, Рана историја модерног спаљивања мртвих,* Приватни живот код Срба у деветнаестом веку, ed. Ана Столић и Ненад Макуљевић, Клио Београд, 2006, 984-999; Александра Павићевић, *Последња тајна,* Приватни живот у Србији у 20. веку, ур. Милан Ристовић, Клио, Београд 2007, 912-923.

[37] Moren, 45.

Александра Павићевић

ВРЕМЕ (БЕЗ) СМРТИ

Проучавање смрти у српској етнологији током друге половине 20. века

Кључне речи:
смрт, етнологија, религија, политика, аутори

Текст доноси аналитички приказ етнолошких радова који су током друге половине 20. века били мање или више директно посвећени проучавању смрти. Фокусирала сам се на етнолошке часописе: ГЕИ, ГЕМ, ЕП, ЕС и ЕАП, као и на поједине текстове и монографске студије, које сматрам незаобилазним када је у питању наведена тема.

Позната је чињеница да је модерно доба, донело однос према смрти умногоме различит од онога који је карактерисао раније епохе. Од појаве која је у традиционалном друштвеном миљеу ишла „руку под руку" са својим антиподом – животом, представљајући нераздвојни део свих његових, како преломних, тако и свакодневних манифестација, смрт је у индустријској ери све више потискивана ка маргинама стварности, у сферу приватног, прећутаног, неконтролисаног и непризнатог. Професионализација послова у вези са смрћу, пропагирање и омасовљење кремације, ограђивање и *сакривање* гробаља, а затим и болесника и смртника од очију *света,* само су детаљи процеса који је, може се рећи, кулминирао током друге половине 20. века. Трендови у Србији, по овом питању, нису много одступали од оних на глобалном нивоу. Ипак, мора се приметити да су овде култови везани за смрт, у односу на друге обичаје животног циклуса, барем формално, најмање подлегли променама. Разлози овоме леже свакако у комплексности самог феномена смрти као вечите тајне и надахнућа религијско-магијског начина размишљања, али и у чињеници да је атеистичка идеологија била примарно антихришћанска и антицрквена, док обреде паганског карактера није доживљавала као идеолошки превише опасне. Ово је погодовало опстанку читавог комплекса традиционалних посмртних ритуала све до данашњих дана. Вероватно се у томе налази и објашњење релативно великог броја радова о смрти, који су, (с обзиром на претходно поменуте трендове) супротно очекивањима, објављени у етнолошким часописима у проучаваном периоду.

Интезитет интересовања за смрт, као и квалитет проучавања овог феномена осцилирао је током фокусираног периода. Утицај глобалних и локалних друштвених и државних идеја и процеса огледао се и на пољу антрополошког дискурса, тако да је у раду издвојено три етапе писања о смрти у модерној српској етнологији/антропологији, које, на специфичан начин говоре и о времену у коме су настале.

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Museums and Geographies of (National) Power [*]

The paper raises a discussion about the relation of museums and (national) politics, primarily about the concept of "apolitcism" of museum work, the idea that is spread among many museum workers as reality. I analyze the process of appearing of big museums in Europe and Serbia, as well as the aims of their work, in order to show that museums – from the very beginning of their appearing – function as means for consolidating national borders (outer and inner), teaching about patriotism. I also analyze the influence of German romanticism, that created the illusion of "apoliticism" of the culture in general, as well as of museums.

The change of attitude towards the state-as-nation in contemporary European community means also the change of museologic activities that should take part in the constitution of Europeism/European identity as meta-nation. That change has not still come to museums in Serbia, which points to the fact that society has not changed yet in the direction of appropriating of European values.

> How does one hate a country, or love one? (...) I know people, I know towns, farms, hills and rivers and rocks, I know how the sun at sunset in autumn falls on the side of a certain plowland in the hills; but what is the sense of giving a boundary to all that, of giving it a name and ceasing to love where the name ceases to apply?
>
> Ursula Le Guin, *The Left Hand of Darkness*

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According to definitions, museums are places that gather old and valuable things, objects that are considered to be the „essence" and emanation of the past of the people that made them, used them, or even found them in their surroundings (objects from the nature in natural history museums). Furthermore, according to the assumption that exists for already two centuries, museums have appeared on the grounds of rational modern science/sciences that are "objective" (because sciences are assumed to be objective[1]) – they keep/represent extracts of "true" reality, past or present. That should mean:

• that objects and mutual relationship between them are defined and unchanged (because they exist in objective/true reality): that is particular material form of the objects brought to the same level with its meaning (form=meaning) and

• that the relationship between single objects exists independently from the reading/interpretation that is ascribed to them by museum workers, or museum visitors; from this further follows that

• ideological presumptions and differences in the discourses might not influence the values that are kept/represented in the museums, and that these values are unchangeable and given forever (in the same way as objects=material artifacts).

However, like all the collections that existed before the museums of the modern time, these are also shaped by the discursive vision of the world that directly results from the concept of the world organization (in physical/natural sense) and social power distribution.[2]

The Borders of the Nation

All big national museums appeared at the same time when national states appeared, following the ideology they were grounded on. The British Museum was founded in 1753, and the Central art museum in Louvre in 1793 (Maroević 1998: 48, 50). Also in other countries the establishing of big, state museums, followed the foundation and consolidation of the states. The Royal museum of paintings and sculpture (Spain), known later as The National museum of paintings and sculpture, and finally as The National Museum Prado, was opened for the audience in 1819.[3] At the time of its creation, it had to aims:

• to show artistic work that belonged to the Spanish crown, showing thus the richness and power of the royal family equaled with the state and

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[1] About the concept of objectivity and the model of scientific realism see: Sinđelić (1986).

[2] About the collections that had existed before the formation of museums in the contemporary meaning of the word and about their relation to the concepts of world perception and the structures of social power is written a lot. See for example: Hooper-Greenhill Eilean (1992) and Bennett (1995).

[3] Museo National del Prado: http://www.museodelprado.es/en/ingles/collection/description/

- to show to the rest of Europe that Spanish (national) art is as worthy as any other national school of arts.

- The Rijksmuseum (the Netherlands) was founded in 1800, also as an art gallery. At the time of its foundation, it was located in The Hague and it mainly contained paintings. In the year of 1808 it was moved to Amsterdam. Since 1885 it has been in the same building as today, merged with the Dutch National History and Art Museum.[4]

During the 19th century, Germany was still divided into several states and in 1852 in Nuremberg was founded the "national" and at the same time the "museum of German speaking area" showing "the achievements of culture, arts and history, from its beginnings until nowadays". This represented one of the segments of the struggle for unification of all people speaking German language. Soon after the German unification (although not complete), and the proclamation of Wilhelm I, king of Prussia, for the first German Emperor, with the emperor's decree, this museum officially became The National Museum of German Arts and Culture.

It is obvious that the states that had defined borders during the establishing of the new system, used to organize their museums as the confirmation of the power of already existing nation-as-state. This stands in accordance with Rousseau's concept of political nationalism (Llobera 1994: 151-155) based on the "social contract" in which individuals voluntarily partake, thus creating a common state. Seemingly, in this way, it is possible to keep freedom as one of the fundamental principles on which modern countries are grounded (*liberté, égalité, fraternité*): there is the assumption that there is no obligation to accept the contract, i.e. that there is the freedom of choice of the society/country with which one may make a contract.

The National museum in Germany which had been founded before the final formation of the unified national state was a part of the project of its formation and at the same time of the consolidation of its borders on the grounds of the cultural collectiveness (that is primarily reflected in the common language).[5] In this case the nation is defined as culture, the borders of which coincide with the borders of language. Cultural nationalism, that is based on Herder's definition of nation-as-culture (Llobera 1994: 165, 169, 174) refers to *assumed/inborn* affiliation to the collectivity and has nothing to do with free will, which means that free will is achieved exclusively inside the given framework of affiliation to culture-as-nation. Education, as well as museums (as part of the project of teaching culture) were understood as a part of the process of "humanization", creating the precondition for better and more fulfilled life, while political culture meant active participation in public life (Barnard 2004: 155).

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[4] Rijksmuseum: http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_encyclopedia/00046827?lang=en

[5] According to the Herder's concept of borders of nation-as-culture had to be equaled with the state borders. Herder explicitly claimed that any kind of mixture of nations inside one country is extremely unproductive. (Llobera 1994: 169).

This was the reason why in Germany, as well as in central and East-European countries that were formed under the strong influence of the German romanticism and its concept of nation and nation state, there was a strong conviction that culture and politics are completely separated.[6] This further eliminates the question of social responsibility for any kind of work in culture (and thus in museums), because responsibility results from the decisions brought by free will, being related to political participation in public life.[7] Culture is not politics, and free will exists only in the framework of affiliation to the nation. Therefore the cultural act is not compatible with the responsibility for the political act.

The similar process went on in Serbia. She, although still a vassal country of the Ottoman Empire, founded The National Museum in 1844 as a symbol of its independence, and at the same time as a sign of appropriation of European values. Some decades later, at the end of the 19th century, after the foundation of The Natural History Museum (1895), a declaration was published (in 1896) as a part of the activity of collecting the money for the construction of the museum building. In this declaration with title *Poklič za Muzej srpke zemlje (Call for the Museum of Serbian Country)* (Vasić 1970: 15) it is said among other things:

> "Serbian country is hilly and flat, fertile and infertile. It is dear and lovely to all Serbs, and attractive for foreigners. Still, there are no mirrors or places where her picture might be considered, learned or loved… `Every state and every committed nation builds in its country real temples in which all natural treasure of its country is shown to its people, while the youth are taught to know their country completely and to love it. Only Serbs do not have such a place." (Vasić 1970: 15)

It is obvious from this declaration that the main aim of museum practice should be teaching visitors about the nature of their *own* country (i.e. *own* nature) in the frame of identity construction and strengthening of patriotic feelings. What remained unincluded within the borders of the newly established national state (in Serbia, similarly as in Germany), according to Herder's concept of nation/national and its borders, was included by speaking-as-cultural domain, and – what seemed more appropriate for the Balkans – by religious-as-national one.[8]

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[6] Thomas Mann, for example, more than a century later explicitly said that he believed that "German humanity basically resists politicization." He explained: "I don't want the trafficking of Parliament and the leading parties to infect the whole body of the nation with the virus of politics. . . . I want impartiality, order, and propriety. If that is philistine, then I want to be a philistine. If it is German, then I want in God's name to be called a German." (Heilbrunn 2001).

[7] For this reason Lenny Riefenstahl was able to insist that her films (*Der Sieg des Glauben/*Victory of Faith from 1933, *Triumph des Willens/*Triumph of the Will from 1934, *Olympia* from 1938) were not designed as a means of propaganda of nation-socialim and that "she looked at the world with the pure, disinterested eye of an artist, and cared only about the noble task of giving vivid cinematic form to contemporary events." http://writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/Holocaust/riefenstahl.html

[8] Germany tried to construct similar concept ofequaling religious and national identity, especially during the year before March revolution in 1848. Still during Wartburg in 1917, Martin Luther was celebrated as a proto-German nationalist, which connected Lutheranism and German nation-

The Ethnographic museum was also established on the same premises, at the end of the 19th century and began to work at the beginning of the 20th century. It is a clear product of (German) romantic searching/establishing the origin of nation, ethnic and cultural groups (Gavrilović 2007: 64-66, 78-80) as a cornerstone for the definition of the relationship between the space that "belongs" to the nation/group and *vice versa*, which in the 19th and at the beginning of 20th century was one of the basis for establishing of the real political borders between the newly established Central and South European national countries, wherefore its formation and further work was an integral part of the state (read: political) project, although that was never said, or recognized as such.[9]

Inner Borders

Thus the borders of interest for collecting and, at the same time, representing of culture and even nature, were established in the frame of the assumed borders of the newly formed nation (those borders that were framing the county, or in the case of Germany and the countries that were appearing during the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century under the ideological influences of German romanticism – the borders of the regions where the unaffiliated members of the nation lived and which the state wanted to include). Museological acquisition and representation of culture and nature fitted to the national borders, which was in complete harmony with the state politics, and in the frame of that, with public education.

The concept of public education (and museums as its informal part) was introduced during the 19th century in all modern/civil states. It was to include all strata of society,[10] and thus support the concept of general equality. The aim of education was not only to offer equal opportunities to everyone and to raise general level of education so as to render a country more operative and prosperous, but above all the to spread and establish widely and firmly the "patriotic spirit", as it was defined by Rousseau's support for public education (Llobera 1994: 163). Such public/patriotic education included, above all, precise knowledge of borders of "home-

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alism engaging religious feelings for German nationality construction. The concept was (partly) abandoned after German unification, when all south districts with predominantly Catholic population entered the borders of the country, although strong political pressure for country secularization followed (*Kulturkampf*, 1872-1878), which the minority population such as Polish, Danish (…) felt as being discriminatory because the pressure was primarily aimed at reducing the influence and power of the Catholic Church. After 1878 the Protestants and Catholics unified in the confrontation against social-democratic movement. However, divisions on religious grounds existed for a long time, which is evidenced in the novels by Heinrich Böll (The Clown, 1963).

[9] It is still like that even today, see: Simić (2006).

[10] Public education still excluded women and all men with the special needs, as well as some other segments of the society. The discussion upon this issue opens the following question: who (in various periods) is *considered* to be a citizen (who *should be* equal). This interesting theme goes beyond this text.

land"/"native country".[11] As Nora nicely points out in relation to France, and learning geography of their own country, children started the journey, which "was a compendium of what every child should know about France (= own country, Lj. G.), a story about identity and a journey of initiation". (Nora 1996: 16). But, while French, Dutch and British concept of nation defined these borders of nation-as-state, in German concept and those that developed out of it – the concept of European nations from Middle and South Europe, these borders were defined by culture, i.e. by language, and in the case of Balkan nations, primarily, by religion.

However, even in the frame of British museological tradition from the beginning of the 20th century, appeared tendencies of dealing with "British traditions" that is, representing the nation, because it turned out that the principle of including museums in the establishing of clear patriotic spirit and national unity was very successful. Thus in 1904 started the project of establishing the "national" museum, which would show "the British spirit", and not only what British imperia possessed, which was common for the museums of anthropology of the day. The new concept of British national culture became thus a "popular fantasy" favorite with both sides of political (power) spectrum and persistently, during the first decades of the 20th century, it was applied in the local museums. The concept of "traditional culture" was introduced in the education of youth in 1905 in order "to instill a correct patriotic spirit" (Coombes 2004: 241).

However, museums did not address the whole population, not even within the nation (the same case is even today), while education, as one of the main aims of museological work from its very beginning, did not refer to all members of society. National minorities, although physically implemented into the geographic area defined as the national area, were not included in the story about the nation and its values. Museums addressed minorities only to show the power and the dominance of the majority nation, to teach minorities about the culture of majority, which should be, according to the assumption of the nation state, appropriated by them. This was a part of the process of assimilation of minorities (at least their educated/higher strata), i.e. a part of the process of national unification of residents.

In this way museums, completely harmonized with other segments of the public speech, created the image of geographic borders (real and/or desired/ projected) that included the "national" area, representing to themselves and to the others (foreigners and those who do not belong to that nation) its goods/values:

• *to themselves* with the aim of homogenization,

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[11] The construction of patriotic spirit was necessary also for possible/potential military-as-patriotic engagement, which required sacrifice of life for the needs of the national state. The declaration by Thomas Abbt, *Vom Tode für's Vaterland* (On dying for the fatherland) was published in 1761, before the most important Herder's works – the basis for German romanticism and the concept of nation were published. Although French revolutionary parole *Liberté! Égalité! Fraternité!* Finishes also with *ou la mort* (until death), which was later usually forgotten. This, at least in the time of revolution, referred to the fight for idea, and not the fight for (geographic-as-national) border.

- *to the others inside themselves* (national minorities) with the aim of introducing them in the culture-as-nation, which means assimilation and

- real *other,* which means foreigners, with the aim of confirmation of the same or higher values in relation to theirs (= other) national cultures.

This border creation had never been considered to be politics, because the borders, the same as nation, were already defined by culture, and were considered to exist by themselves.

Consequences

The concept of apolitical culture eliminates the idea of responsibility of culture towards nation, that appears unquestionable, because belonging to the nation is also considered to be unquestionable and not a part of political process. That further implies that the split inside the nation is not allowed; moreover, it is impossible (these kind of attitude is recognizable even today in the constant calling for "unity of Serbs" exactly in the frame of political projects) and implies that everyone who does not agree with this is a traitor, because of questioning the frames/borders of the nation. In addition to that, all the others who are not members of the nation (who are minorities) are under suspicion of not being good citizens, which means potential traitors, which further generates constant resistance towards giving more collective rights and positive discrimination of national minorities.

Different treatment of the nation (nation-as-state) lead to completely different consequences, even related to the development of museums. The politization of muzeological activity, as well as politization of culture in general, is completely obvious in the countries where the nation is equaled with the state. In these countries, there are numerous and serious debates about the political engagement of museums in specialized magazines as well as in wider public space. They appear, sometimes, in completely unexpected situations, being provoked – as it seems, at least from the perspective of the successors of German romanticism, by incredible reasons.

One of the recent examples happened during the president campaign in the USA in 2007, when one of the crucial questions was financing the Woodstock Museum.[12] However, it turned out that this was not related only to showing respect to the concert from almost forty years ago.[13] Actually, it was the result of the clash between two diametrically different worldviews and their value systems. The vote pro or con the Woodstock Museum actually meant the vote pro or con the war, religious, racial and gender equality, general tolerance and all other important ques-

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[12] According to American muselogic tradition, museums were by rule not financed from the public income. Only the Smithsonian Institute and its belonging museums are state-founded institutions. However, these are also financed from private donations. And in this case, the sum that was expected from the taxpayers was only a small part comparing to the means provided from other sources.

[13] Concert was held in September 1969.

tions that seem to be answered by contemporary western societies, but are actually still highly debated. What do we learn from the clash about the Woodstock Museum?

It is very often repeated in Serbia that divided opinions about the politics, economy or value system, undermine and slow down the development of the country and that we should be undivided because that is "for Serbia's good". However, the American example shows exactly the opposite. Since the political changes in the year 2000, it is often emphasized that there are two Serbias.[14] Similarly, there are (at least) two Americas. One consists of those who (physically or only spiritually/ideologically) were present in Woodstock – i.e. those who were ashamed of the war in Vietnam and had enough civil courage to publicly confront it: to refuse to go to war, to involve in demonstrations, to sing about freedom and equality – racial, gender, religious, national. The Woodstock Museum should represent the ideas of these people. The second America consists of people who were in Vietnam War and who believe that with this they helped their country and its ideas.[15] For them, the Woodstock was the gathering of non-patriots, of traitors.[16] However in the time of Woodstock it was difficult to imagine that an Afro-American woman could be Secretary of State for foreign affairs, even in the democratic administration.[17] Today that is possible even in the republican.[18] Also it was difficult to imagine that the governor of one of the biggest states might be a naturalized citizen,[19] or that woman and Afro-American might be president candidates.[20] So, although, publicly, the clash has already gone on for forty years, the things are changing, and the crucial questions are not the same any more. Some things for which the generation, whose engagement symbolizes Woodstock concert, has been fighting, have become so

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[14] About these problems see more in: Малешевић (2003: 238-441), Прелић (2006: 38-47).

[15] John McCain, the most extinguished republican candidate in the president campaign during 2007 was war veteran and hero who spent five years in Vietnam captivity.

[16] Already in 1969 *The Left Hand of Darkness* by Ursula Le Guin was published. This novel received several awards, it was translated into number of languages, and it was sold out in millions of copies. There is an unambiguously liberal answer on the question how to define patriots and traitors, the question that was clearly put in the USA during the Vietnam war: "I do not know what makes a man a traitor. No man considers himself a traitor: this makes it hard to find out". However, "patriots" in America, as in any other country do not read non-mainstream literature (although *The Left Hand of Darkness* has not been treated as a genre novel for a long time), but rather elitist (according to their national discourse) art.

[17] Martin Luther King, one of the greatest fighters for the rights of Afro-Americans was killed in the April 1968.

[18] Condoleezza Rice is Secretary of State in the Republican administration of George W. Bush since 2005. She is the second woman (after Madeleine Albright) and the second representative of Afro-Americans (Colin Powell), but the first to be the certain indicator of overcoming two basic discriminations: by gender and by race.

[19] Arnold Schwarzenegger, incumbent Republican governor of California was born in 1947, in Austria. He came to the USA in 1968 and became its citizen in 1983, keeping his Austrian citizenship.

[20] Democratic candidates for nomination for president during 2007/2008 were Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama.

generally accepted that now it is even forgotten that only four decades ago, this seemed unreachable. Thus, for example, we recognize the whole cycle in Woodstock's example: a spectacle organized in the name of (one)/against (some other) politics, transforms into memory/remembering used for the construction of history, wherefore the historical reconstruction of events returns to the everyday life (and by that to politics), through the process of musealization.

Protagonists of different ideas/politics keep different memories about the event, having diametrically different opinions about its historical value/importance, which prolongs the dialog that started during the 1960s (Stearns 2007), not only about contemporary values, but also about key historical events with "national" importance. In this way, constant, continuous negotiations move borders not only in relations between culture, "real life", and politics, but also in relations between different social groups inside the nation, widening the field of their influence, far beyond the national borders.

The other interesting – and completely reversed – example is the reflection on WW II from the discourse of Shintoistic deification of all soldiers that gave their lives for Japan/motherland in The *Yasukuni Shrine* museum (the museum of military and war) in Tokyo. All Japanese solders from WW II, including those who had been designated war criminals, were represented as national heroes in this museum. This, after reopening of the museum in the impressive new building in 2002 (Green 2002) provoked a lot of disapproval, especially in the countries that were occupied by Japan. This also led to political disagreements with China, Korea and Philippines, although this was not the state museum. However, on the 15th of August 2002, the day of the victory over Japan, this museum was visited by the mayor of Tokyo. Also a bit earlier, in May 2002, it was visited by the Japanese prime minister, which points to the conclusion that the state is not completely distanced from this kind of history interpretation.

What provokes the most criticism among non-Japanese visitors of this museum, apart from distorted image of WW II, is the fact that the exhibition provokes xenophobia and hatred towards all the others who are not Japanese, so among the comments in the impression book it is possible to read: "Kill all Koreans and Asians" (Silva 2003).

Europe without Borders: Multicultural Museum

Since the European Union formation, museum employees all around Europe have started to search for the place for museums within the new political movement. From the year of 2000, European Museum Forum has been focused on the idea that museums might also have an important role in the presentation of Europe and European culture and heritage, supporting cooperation and integrations inside European Union[21] (*Museums as crossroads*: 2), exactly because they keep

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[21] The numerous workshops were organized, as for example: The *Spirit of Europe* 2000. and/or *Access to the European Heritage in Museums* 2001.

(preserve) different cultural traditions promoting cultural differences. In this way, what once used to be the basis for making national borders between countries, should in contemporary political project become the key for mutual understanding and construction of ties, not only political and economical, but also cultural – between European regions and nations who were confronted for centuries.

European platform for museums as institutions intended for self-education of individuals, as well as of the members of the collective/community (cultural, usually understood as national) regards that museums are public institutions that might shape values that correspond to the aims of the European Union – both in the sense of relationship between nation/culture that enter its domain, as well as in the support for achieving human rights (of individuals or of the members of local and national communities). The defined aims of museological activity are following:

• cultural diversity/social integration.
• helping people in creating multiple identities.
• support for overcoming cultural inequality.
• introducing local characteristics into the European dialog.

Because of all that is mentioned, museums are expected to have entire activity related to the needs of (potential) *European* audience – all activities, from acquisitions to the themes that museum deals with, should correspond to the general European values, promoting common similarities and explaining the reasons for existing differences, making also the basis for establishing mutual understanding. The most important mission of every museum – the existence and research of collection – is in the contemporary moment understood only as a means; their protection is considered to be only the assumption, while education becomes the most important aim of the museum (*Museums as places of lifelong learning*: 6). In that sense the museological activity broadens, because it is considered that museums should make conditions for knowledge both for experts and for laymen.

On the other hand, united Europe changes not only the concept and frames of museologic activity, but also the idea about the audience and how this audience (should) experience itself, but also how museums should understand this. As it is said in the declaration of the Committee for culture and education: if we are all Europeans, then everyone of us – in any European museum – is not a foreign tourist any more, but a citizen of Europe who meets its local characteristics in some other region (*Museums as crossroads*: 4). That eliminates the borders, this time equally – of countries and cultures and in the project of construction Europeism/European identity as meta-nationality. In the same document it is considered that museums, if they do not change, might disappear in the same way in which the borders disappear between national countries in Europe. However, this is not highly possible, because new ways of muselogic work are searched for, and they should enable understanding and sharing European culture and heritage, instead of using it for teaching bor-

ders inside of it. This may be done through the new reading of the same cultural heritage that was used for making the borders that used to exist.[22]

Once transformed, European museums should, according to the assumption, consider the fact that multiculturalism represents meeting of any two individualities, because reading/interpretation/applying of cultural pattern from which they originate may never be identical. This is so even when the culture is considered to be nationally framed: two Germans or two Serbs do not have to share the same attitude towards their own cultural inheritance, nor to move inside the same frames of their own (personal or collective) contemporary culture. Therefore it is considered that multicultural approach to museums should be sensitive to different and complex relations between different communities that might be the issue of museologic work or to whom the museum is addresses. This might make any museum a unique example of reflection of the needs and parameters of the community (collective, but also of individuals that constitute it) that it represents and to whom it serves (collections, exhibitions, actions).

Thus, museums should become places that are comfortable both for tourists and local visitors, because they are obliged to treat everyone as worth/important visitor/user, offering accumulated knowledge focused on general phenomena in understandable form – digital and multilingual, which would put local characteristics in relation to the general European heritage, becoming thus close and understandable to people who live different lives in different parts of Europe, have different experiences and originate from different cultural surroundings (not exclusively, but also nationally perceived). The other possibility is establishing of European corners/rooms in which objects of general European character would be exhibited; also the borders between inter-regional projects would be flexible connecting global and local views of the objects of representation, being thus the bridges that connect two different communities.

Thus museums become a part of the process of constructing the united Europe, as a new political project, used for overcoming exactly those borders and ideas for which museums were important in the construction of "national spirit"/ "national spirits". Namely, it is believed that only in this way museums might survive under the new political circumstances. Even when some statements – such as the declaration of the magazine *Museum Aktuell,* which says that it is the magazine for museology of German speaking area[23] – resemble extremely national-as-cultural approach from the end of 18th century, they do have now (or at least should have) completely new connotation. In spite of the unification of Germany, the German speaking area still exists in several European countries. Although they speak German language, which does connect them, people have different experiences and

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[22] One of the ways to overcome national borders is the approach that was applied for the first time in the Museum of Modern Arts in New York, where pieces of artistic work were exhibited according to their style and not according to national borders/schools, which points to the world as an integral system. (Kramer 2001).

[23] *Die Zeitschrift für Ausstelugspraxis und Museologie im deutschsprachigen Raum,* http://www.museum-aktuell.de/

construct different life strategies, not only in museologic activity, but in the culture in general and in everyday behavior practice. This area is not bordered any more – neither geographically, nor politically or culturally and it is surrounded and mingled with different traditions, experiences and knowledge that have to be treated equally.

Serbian Perspectives

Unfortunately museums (and museum workers) in our country are still far from the new flows of ideas. Almost by rule they still organize exhibitions that are politically appropriate[24] (for example the exhibition about Kosovo myth from the 1990s or the endless exhibitions of icons and/or icon copies and frescoes that are still very common), or they are "apolitical".[25] In both cases museum workers often believe that they do not deal with politics and that reality they show in exhibition is really "objective", although there is no such a thing, nor it ever was.

The change of discourse, accepting of idea that every action of museum as an open political act is not so important for museums/galleries, but for the whole society that they mirror. At the same time, without an open dialog, with the state/society/media about different political possibilities in which all participants are aware of their responsibility for the society in general, museums will stay some kind of necessary trouble the purpose of which is unclear. This does not refer only to the museums, but also to the general culture, especially elite one, and also for the arts, especially modern one – that is not understandable for the wide audience which is not even a potential one.

Without constant putting question about everything that creates "eternal truths", including the question of nation, its borders and relation with the Other, the awareness of the part of the dominant elites, and the majority of so-called nation, will stay in the undisturbed and firmly bordered collective/dictated field of blood and soil, with all consequences that go with it. And the gap between our and other societies will be even deeper.

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[24] This especially refers to the way of treating the nation, which all up to nowadays did not exceed the frames of romantic concept applied in the time of appearing of museums in Serbia. That is clearly argumented in the text by Marina Simić (2006).

[25] This even means keeping of old paradigms in frame of the science which deals with museums (Gavrilović 2007: 64-73), which, according to the assumption of the museum workers/creators of the exhibitions, avoids the conflict with the surroundings, because it represents and shows to the audience what they have already learned to see in the frame of museum exhibition.

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Љиљана Гавриловић

Музеји и географије (националне) моћи

Кључне речи:

музеј, политика, нација, држава, моћ

У раду се расправља о односу музеја и (националне) политике, пре свега о концепту „аполитичности“ музејске делатности, на који се музејски радници често позивају. Анализира се процес настанка великих музеја у Европи и у Србији, као и циљеви њиховог рада, чиме се показује да музеји од свог настанка делају у функцији учвршћивања националних граница (спољних и унутрашњих) и учења патриотизма, дакле – са јасним политичким циљевима. С друге стране, анализира се утицај немачког романтизма, под чијим се упливом формира српска национална држава и све њене институције, укључујући и музеје, и на основу чијих се премиса гради илузија о аполитичности културе у целини, па тако и музејске делатности.

Промена односа према држави-као-нацији у савременој европској заједници подразумева и промену музејске делатности, која треба да учествује у пројекту изградње европејства/европског идентитета као метанационал-ности. Музеји постају део изградње уједињене Европе као новог политичког пројекта. Њима би требало да се превазилазе управо оне границе које су их чиниле битним носиоцима „националног духа“/„националних духова“, јер се верује да ће само тако моћи да опстану у новим политичким условима.

Та промена још увек није обухватила музеје у Србији, што указује на чињеницу да се ни друштво није трансформисало у правцу усвајања европских вредности. Истовремено, разумевање (и усвајање) чињенице да је свака музејска акција уједно и јасан политички чин није толико важно за саме музеје/галерије, колико је важно за читаво друштво чије су они огледало. Без јасног дијалога са државом/друштвом/медијима о различитим могућим политикама, у коме су сви актери свесни своје одговорности за друштво у целини, музеји ће и даље остајати нешто што постоји као нужно зло, а да се не зна чему заправо служи. То, чак, не важи само за музеје, већ важи и за укупну културу.

Без сталног постављања питања о свему што изгледа као заувек дате истине, укључујући питања о нацији, њеним границама и односима са „другима“, свест дêла владајућих елита, а и већине тзв. народа, остајаће и

даље негде у ненарушеном и чврсто ограниченом колективном/диктираном пољу крви и тла, са свим последицама које уз то иду. А јаз између нашег друштва и осталих савремених друштава биће све дубљи.

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From Center to Periphery and Vice Versa: The Politics of Toponyms in the Transitional Capital

This paper discusses the politics of street names in Belgrade since the beginning of 1990s until today. Given the central place of the capital city in the symbolic geography of the nation, subsequent cultural influences of the capitals' "city text overcomes its actual scale. The past fifteen years of the "toponymical transition" are characterized by several phases and specifics in commemoration and de-commemoration of various public symbols, both in the contents and means of such identity re-construction. Being mostly consistent, the de-commemoration of themes and persons connected with the related historical period and ideology is usually achieved through revision (without restitution) of street names, and also through identity politics which initiate a politically opportune transfer of toponyms in the symbolic center-periphery relation of the city (and national) text.

Introduction[1]

Identity politics with related discourses and actions in public arenas of political and social life (which consecutively vertically define identity and culture),[2] are partially being accomplished through creation and cessation of cultural connections between specific city spaces and citizens' identity. In this undertake, identity

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[2] Jonathan Hill, Thomas Wilson, *Identity Politics and the Politics of Identities*, Identities 10, Routledge, New York 2003, 2.

politics influences residents' everyday discourses and notions regarding not only the surrounding space, but also the notions of the society they live in and them-selves as constituents of the particular community that inhabits such symbolically marked (or unmarked) space. Every city is abundant in locations significant for rep-resentation and identification of its inhabitants; these locations could be marked as (anthropological) places, spaces marked as historical, connected with identity and rich in cultural values. On the other hand, "non-places" stand as opposition: the lo-cations not experienced, in most discourses, as being connected with history and/or identity.[3] The same way ideology and identity politics (and often, politics of identi-ties) define certain spaces as significant urban places, similar mechanisms could lead to a reverse process – public derogation of a certain locality in cultural sense and its transfer from a symbolic public into a symbolic "grey" zone.[4] Identity "de-struction" is compensated by adequate identity "construction" when a certain an-thropological place is being culturally degraded either through a symbolic con-quest,[5] or through creation of a new, alternative place of identification with simi-lar/same context.[6] Symbolic annihilation, opposing, and creation in the urban identi-

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[3] MarkOže, *Nemesta: uvod u antropologiju nadmodernosti,* XX vek, Beograd 2005.

[4] See Ermis Lafazanovski, *Skopje: Nostalgic Places and Utopian Spaces,* Ethnologia Balkanica 10, LIT Verlag, Berlin 2006.

[5] An illustrative example for this could be the Belgrade "Kremlin", a complex of buildings locat-ed at both sides of King Alexander Boulevard (earlier Revolution Boulevard), surrounding Pio-neers' Park (earlier the court's park). Before World War II, these buildings served as the royal court complex and Yugoslav assembly building. After the war, one of the first moves by the new government was to remove iron fences that surrounded the complex (with a proclamation that "the people's government has no barriers towards its people"), and to place stars on the top of the domes of buildings that became Federal Government and Presidency of Serbia headquarters at that time. Almost 50 years later, a similar logic was used by the newly elected Belgrade City Council (consolidated after the 1996 municipal elections) – among first decisions to be executed was the removal of the star from the top of the dome of so-called "Old Court" building, and later a placement/restoration of two-headed eagle at the same spot. Equally indicative is the process of the postponed symbolical destruction of an anthropological place which has previously been al-ready symbolically conquered – by constructing a monumental Palace of the Federation, and later, a skyscraper for the use of mass political organization of the socialist era (including Central Committee of the League of Communists) in Novi Beograd (New Belgrade), a former historical power place of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in downtown Belgrade, was symbolically destructed by partial removal of institutions of power (the already mentioned Federal Government, and Cen-tral Committee of the League of Communists, previously located in a near-by building located on Nikola Pašić Square, earlier Marx and Engels Square) towards Novi Beograd city borough, which was one of the central identity symbols of the post-war socialist renewal and development. Grad-ual dislocations of the institutions of power at a new location, new anthropological place, also car-ried a message that the proclaimed discontinuity of the socialist state with the former Yugoslavia, with additional message (accompanied with the accelerated process of de-centralization) of dis-tancing itself from the pre-war unitary state by removing some of the federal institutions from the historical part of Belgrade into newly built "socialist" part of the city.

[6] The creation of alternative, significant urban places that exist parallel to the established ones is elaborated anthropologically through studies of political struggles in transitional city capitals: a construction of opposition and anti-regime symbolic space at the main city squares, symbolic ago-ras of the post-modern time – hence, at the end of the 1980s, the Bulgarian political opposition has formed an alternative space of political legitimacy through gatherings at one of the central

ty is not achieved only within places of grandeur, localities with great identity and political capacities, but also through ideological/symbolic interventions of seemingly less importance: for instance, by a simple renaming of certain objects or appellations, such in the case of companies,[7] restaurants[8] or movie theatres.[9] Discourse intervention within urban texture and toponyms that people regularly meet every day, is possibly the most efficient since it takes over seemingly marginal markings around the city which people (to whom symbolical communication through city's toponyms and appellations is directed) regularly encounter in their everyday lives. This is especially characteristic of streets and their names, where the symbolic "conquest" of the city's meanings through (re)naming of public urban spaces is both the most prominent and most frequent.

Maoz Azaryahu[10] was one of the first to extensively study changes in urban toponymy, making his case by studying Berlin street names during the 1980s, while the subject was initiated in South-Slavic anthropologies by Dunja Rihtman-

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squares in Sofia, the Saint Alexander Nevski Square, which was constructed, through various symbolic practices and political activities, as symbolically equal political place with, till that time, the official symbol of political power in Sofia, in symbolical ownership of the political party in power, *9. Septemvri* (September 9th) Square, now called Prince Alexander Batenberg Square: Radost Ivanova, *Zbogom dinosauri, dobrodošli krokodili!*, XX vek, Beograd 2000, 27.

[7] Such as the mass renaming of companies and factories in former Yugoslavia after World War II: *Bata* to *Borovo* (international brand to place name), *Siemens* to *Končar* (private brand to the name of the partisan fighter), *Union* to *Kraš* (foreign brand-name to the name of the partisan fighter) etc. Such a process also linguistically disguised the fact the most of such establishments were in fact nationalized and confiscated private property. Interestingly enough, after the collapse of the socialist system, similar processes were not as frequent, possibly due to perception of the importance of retaining the brands' visibility among customers which would heavily suffer in case of renaming the company.

[8] Almost an ideal example could be the renaming of the restaurant *Ruski Car* (Russian Tsar) in Belgrade's *Knez Mihailova* street (city's central commercial street) after WW II; the name presented an obvious ideological threat to the authorities trying to consolidate the newly established socialist system, in the midst of conflict with the Soviet Union. The restaurant was renamed *Zagreb*: such a name became equally disturbing for the government officials in late 1980s and early 1990s who promptly exchanged the earlier motto "bratstvo i jedinstvo" (brotherhood and unity) for war cry "All Serbs in one state" – hence the Russian tsar, under the current political circumstances, returned into his/its old premises.

[9] Movie theatres, which represent spaces of substantial flux of people, are frequent targets of linguistic alterations. For example, all cinema halls in German-occupied Belgrade that carried "nonnational" names (*Casina, Union, Rex*…), by 1943 got renamed, this time using "ideologically and nationally" appropriate names – *Nova Evropa* (New Europe), *Šumadinac* (deriving from Serbian region called Šumadija), *Morava* (after a river in Central Serbia) etc: see Olivera Milosavljević, *Potisnuta istina*, HOLJPS, Beograd 2006, 52. Under different circumstances, and as a sole and isolated case, similar happened in Zagreb after the first multi-party elections in 1990, with an indicative renaming of the theater *Balkan* into *Evropa*, which was in appropriate accordance with the publicly proclaimed distancing of Croatia from the Balkans, and symbolical accession/return to Europe: Stef Jansen, *Svakodnevni orijentalizam: Doživljaj "Balkana"/"Evrope" u Beogradu i Zagrebu*, Filozofija i društvo XVIII, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Beograd 2001, 47.

[10] Maoz Azaryahu, *Street Names and Political Identity: The Case of east Berlin*, Journal of Contemporary History 21/4, SAGE Publications, London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi 1986.

Auguštin[11], using Zagreb as an example. The streets naming is, of course, in the first place an administrastive action, with an aim to identify and differentiate certain streets and enable spatial orientation within the settlement.[12] Research of street names as a system of political symbols hence shows that the city toponymy, in an organized modern state, „never changes or constitutes spontaneously, but as a rule, depends on political ideologies and political power".[13] The goal, among other things, is to contribute to the establishment of a desirable political consciousness among the population.[14] Commemoration in urban toponymy, that is, commemorative names (of persons or geographical and general notions) of city's toponyms (streets, squares and parks) enroll history and geography in "city text", making them so an integral part of people's everyday life. So, engaged in colloquial language and communication, urban toponyms become active participants in construction and perception of social reality, transforming therefore history into an element of "natural order of things", hiding at the same time, its induced and artificial character.[15] Katherine Verdery argues that political and social power is being exercised through control of both history and landscape, so street names grow to be where they probably interlink the most.[16] The level of influence of centers of social power, and the reverse influence of colloquial discursive practices, on the symbolic constitution of city's toponymy, is appraised differently. It could be assumed that an ideological and political influence of politics significantly overrides in (re)naming of streets and squares, certainly in national capitals. A capital city's text, as well as its entire architexture (especially so the segment most susceptible for frequent discursive re-construction, official street toponymy) is of greater importance (during the on-going process of nation-building) than street appellations in other cities, especially considering the significant place of a capital in symbolic geography of a nation. Hence a capital's toponymy becomes a unique *lakmoes* of an ideology and society's politics in a given historical period. Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin concludes that street renaming is just a part of the effort of molding a given nation, its ideology, culture and worldviews; renaming becomes so a contemporary magical practice,

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[11] A paper originally published in the journal *Vijenac* no 23, 1995 (which later became a part of the book published in the edition *XX ve*k), has largely inspired and initiated interest to write this paper. See Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin, *Ulice moga grada*, XX vek – Čigoja štampa, Zemun-Beograd 2000.

[12] Maoz Azaryahu, *The power of commemorative street name,*. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space. 14, 1996, 312.

[13] D. Rihtman-Auguštin *op. cit,* 48, 49.

[14] M. Azaryahu, *Street names...*, 581.

[15] Maoz Azaryahu, *German reunification and the politics of street names: the case of East Berlin*, Political Geography 16/6, Elsevier Science Ltd 1997, 481.

[16] See Ketrin Verderi, *Šta je bio socijalizam i šta dolazi posle njega,* Fabrika knjiga, Beograd 2005, and Duncan Light et al, *Toponymy and the Communist city: Street names in Bucharest, 1948–1965*, GeoJournal 56, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dodrecht-Norwell 2002. 136.

where certain memories are sent into oblivion while others are being established.[17] Taking arguments into account concerning ideological construction (and destruction) of meanings of elements of city text presented so far, pages to follow would try to shed a light on the basic characteristics of renaming of Belgrade streets and squares since the beginning of 1990s. At the time when the fall of the Iron Curtain caused changes of many street names in the cities of Eastern and Central Europe, the similar processes in the capital of Serbia/Yugoslavia inevitably showed certain particularities.[18]

"From working population to Serbian folks" (from Marshal Tito to Serbian rulers)[19]

The epoch during which the "working population" became gradually transformed into the Serbian folks (late 1980s and early 1990s), also witnessed the change in street names in Belgrade. The public identity politics of the majority elites have almost simultaneously formed public images that shaped "new" identity of the state and its citizens alongside with the new street map of the capital. The process of streets' renaming began simultaneously with the final phase of restructuring of the national consciousness in Serbia, by turning a latent, nominal, national identity into an eruptive and exclusive category.[20] The turmoil of such politics acted openly, so the Serbian Assembly (on June 24th, 1991) recommended that Belgrade City Council (and other Municipal Councils throughout Serbia) commence an initiative to change the names of the cities, streets and squares that bore "the names of those responsible for the ripping off Serbian industry and for decades long economic policies that harmed Serbia."[21] "Those who ripped off Serbia" were numerous, among them a number of persons (and notions) from the recent Yugoslav history,

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[17] D. Rihtman-Auguštin, *op cit*, 60. More on politics of collective memory in contemporary Serbia see: Мирослава Малешевић, *Насиље идентитета*, Културне паралеле (ур. Драгана Радојичић), Етнографски институт САНУ, Београд 2008.

[18] Tidal wave of changes of street names is not a characteristic of the recent transitional period in Belgrade or elsewhere. Even more so, the era in which the scale of street renaming was the most comprehensive, is thought to be the period when the Communist Party came to power. However, this is not entirely true for Belgrade, since the biggest alterations in Belgrade's toponymy happened during the quisling rule of the city (1941-1944), when new names were given to 112 streets in central Belgrade alone, while the wholesome number of street name changes in wider city area (comprising then suburban, now urban, neighborhoods) rises to approximately 600: Олга Манојловић-Пинтар, *Културни живот Београда у време немачке окупације 1941-1944 у светлу писања београдске штампе,* Годишњак за друштвену историју 1/1, УДИ, Београд 1994.

[19] The first part of the subsection's title is borrowed (and translated) subtitle (*Od radnog do srpskog naroda*) from: Ivan Čolović, *Bordel ratnika*, Biblioteka XX vek – Čigoja štampa, Zemun-Beograd 2000, 153.

[20] Мирјана Прошић-Дворнић, *Модели „ретрадиционализације": пут у будућност враћањем у прошлост*, Гласник ЕИ САНУ XLIV, Етнографски институт САНУ, Београд 1995, 307.

[21] Nebojša Dragosavac, *Masovno preimenovanje ulica u Beogradu (Mass renaming of streets in Belgrade)*, text in Belgrade daily *Danas,* March 2nd, 2004.

who, only the day before, were political role-models and seniors of those same Assembly deputies who passed the recommendation. People and notions which "ripped off Serbia", along with accidental collateral damage, were located and summoned, so an extensive campaign of street name changes has begun, Belgrade included (after 1940s, the biggest one).[22] Azaryahu states the significance of ideological and symbolic contents of names/notions being removed (de-commemoration) as well as those being installed instead (commemoration).[23] In the first half of the 1990s Belgrade's topography saw the disappearance of the names of Josip Broz Tito (the streets in downtown Belgrade and neighborhood of Zemun), Edvard Kardelj,[24] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Georgi Dimitrov, Ho Chi Minh, Emperor Haile Selassie, Stjepan Radić,[25] but also terms of "Brotherhood and Unity", October Revolution, or in 1992, Fočanska street was renamed,[26] etc.[27] New street names bore names of "Serbian rulers"[28] Nikola Pašić,[29] Ilija Garašanin,[30] Arsenije Čarnojevic,[31] King Petar I,[32] Field-marshal Bojović,[33] Žanka Stokić,[34] Milan

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[22] The biggest renamings occurred in 1906, 1908, 1909, 1930, 1940, 1943, 1946, 1947, 1948 and 1965: Марко Леко, *Београдске улице и тргови: 1872-2003,* ЗУНС, Београд 2003, 85.

[23] M. Azaryahu, *Street Names...*, 581

[24] Unofficially "second man" of socialist Yugoslavia, and leading Marxist theoretician among Yugoslav communists.

[25] Leading pre-WW II Croatian federalist politician assasined by a Serb unitarist deputy in 1928.

[26] Street named after a Bosnian town Foča got its new name in 1992 just as the city's original name was changed to Srbinje (a newly designed coin deriving from the Serb ethnonym), a decision passed and forced upon by Serb para-military and political warlords which ruled the city at the time. New name of the street was Merošinska, after a town in Southern Serbia.

[27] The data on old and new street names until 2003 are taken from a detailed and comprehensive registry compiled by Marko Leko (М. Леко, *op. cit*), while changes from 2003 onwards were provided from City of Belgrade Official Gazette (*Службени лист града Београда*) and city's official web pages: www.beograd.org.yu.

[28] The Marshal Tito Street was not given its previous name (King Milan Street), but, based on the almost blueprint from Zagreb (renaming of the Victims of Fascism Square into Croatian Noblemen Square/*Trg hrvatskih velikana* was carried out on December 10th, 1990), the street was named Serbian Rulers Street/*Ulica srpskih vladara*. The parallels could also be found in purely practical motives of authorities initiating renaming in both cities – the Serbian Assembly, which passed recommendations for street name changes, probably did not feel comfortable at the address Marshal Tito Street (where Assembly's building was situated), while the Victims of Fascism Square in Zagreb was the location of the headquarters of the then ruling HDZ party.

[29] Long-standing conservative Serbian Prime minister.

[30] Foreign secretary from the time of Principality of Serbia.

[31] Serbian Patriarch who led the exodus of Serbs (mainly from Kosovo) in 17h Century.

[32] King of Serbia (1903-1918) and King of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918-1921).

[33] Military leader from the Balkan Wars and World War I.

[34] Serbian actress condemned during socialist era for her comic appearances during German occupation of Serbia.

Tepić,[35] Nikola Tesla,[36] the river Sava, peace[37] etc. By only glancing at the "off-the-map" list of names, one can read a symbolic *farewell* to the international workers' movement and the Non-Aligned Movement, but also to multi-national socialist Yugoslavia. Persons (and to some extent also notions) after whom the streets were renamed were mostly taken from the national history before World War II. – the early 1990s saw a selected list of names that experienced indirect "rehabilitation" by this street renaming (Pašić, Garašanin etc), or witnessed their perceived historical role being emphasized in accordance with the current political mythology and political and war aims (Patriarch Čarnojević, Field-Marshal Bojović etc). However, the "street travesty" from this period did not aim for "restitution" of the street names, since, as a rule, the streets were not given their previous respective names (regardless of the epoch) but totally new ones.[38] In contrast with the majority of other postsocialist states, Belgrade and Serbia at this time weren't experiencing the loudly announced symbolic return to "the old ways", which were eradicated because of allegedly "non-historical" episode of communism (which was the common public narration in many postsocialist countries) – urban street (re)naming served the purpose of correction of memory, but without "revolutionary" discontinuity that would try to find its legitimization in the past, that is, in the previous street names.

Keeping that in mind, names of streets/squares that have kept their old names are equally interesting – although bearing the same (or similar) connotations like the de-commemorated names, Belgrade still had streets named after Lenin, Red Army, Yugoslav People's Army, Revolution, General Zhdanov,[39] Ivan Milutinović,[40] Dimitrije Tucović[41] etc. Substantial parts of the socialist pantheon and WW II partisan mythology were still present in urban toponymy. The ruling elite clearly distanced itself from the previous system, by taking the streets away from promi-

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[35] Open symbolism is seen from the name removal of the street Stjepan Radić and change into the street of the Serb/Yugoslav Army officer who got killed in Bjelovar in 1991 during war in Croatia.

[36] Even though famous scientist of Serbian ancestry already had the street named after him, even during his lifetime, in 1925 (the present day Dr. Aleksandar Kostić Street).

[37] Almost ironically, in midst of wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, October Revolution Boulevard got the name Boulevard of Peace/*Bulevar Mira* in 1992.

[38] Except in few cases when, again, complete restitution didn't occur- only a part of the July 7th Street (*Ulica 7. jula*, named after the date celebrated in Serbia as the day of the beginning of the anti-fascist uprising) was given back the name of King Petar I, and King Milutin Street was extended on the part previously named after Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie. In the neighborhood of Zemun restitution of street names was somewhat more present, where certain streets (Kozara, Maxim Gorky, Marshal Tito, Georgi Dimitrov etc) in 1992 got the previous names back (Vasilija Vasilijevića, Pregrevica, Glavna, Dobanovačka etc), from the appropriate historical period, different in every street (that way the central Zemun street named after Marshal Tito did not become King Petar I Street, as had been its previous name until the war, but *Glavna ulica*/Main Street/, the way it was called until 1923).

[39] One of the Soviet commanders of the liberation of Belgrade from the fascists.

[40] Montenegrin partisan chief who died imediatly after liberation of Belgrade in 1944.

[41] Leader of he Serbian workers' and social-democratic movement before World War I.

nent socialist leaders like Tito and Kardelj for example, but did not make a complete break away. The Serbian regime from the 1990s, which could be described as nationalist-authoritarian, kept its power also by means of nationalist rhetoric, but as many other postsocialist political structures, did not limit itself to schematic and consistent worldview, with an aim to maintain the widest possible support from the population.[42] Ideological (mis)use of different names and terms from the distant and recent past was used as a tool by the representatives of power in different segments of public discourses, so during the whole decade the notions of Yugoslavia and *Yugoslav* were recycled and politically exploited in different ways[43] (parallel, and consistent with the self-proclaimed continuity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with previous socialist Yugoslavia); in the midst of Yugoslav wars in 1990s one's own side was often self-presented as "anti-fascist" in the conflict which was sometimes presented as a continuance of World War II[44] etc. Politically opportune ideological and symbolic eclecticism was manifested also on the streets of the capital, where, due to such ideological ambivalence, many of the street names that bear the reminiscence of People's Liberation War (1941-1945) and post-war history remained unchanged. At the same time, wider revision of urban toponyms reminiscing geographical places from other Yugoslav states didn't happen.[45] Renaming of streets in the first half of the 1990s do not witness, hence, a transfer to the wholly new system of symbols and signs in the city text – the aimed changes in names of certain central cross-roads had made opportune corrections in the segment of public commemoration of the post-war past that the ruling circles wanted to distance themselves from. At the same time, some street names that reflected war and post-war traditions were kept, with a goal to maintain an illusion of continuity for purely opportunist reasons. "Renaming the past" was appropriately done only half-way. That is how it was possible for one of central Belgrade streets to bear one name in its first part (King Petar street) and a second, different name in its other part (July

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[42] Erik Gordi, *Kultura vlasti u Srbiji,* Samizdat B92, Beograd 2001, 21-33.

[43] Where Yugoslavia served as a floating marker which meant different things to different people even without ideological interventions from the 1990s. Marina Simić, *EXIT u Evropu: Popularna muzika i politike identiteta u savremenoj Srbiji,* Kultura 116/117, ZAPROKUL, Beograd 2006, 117.

[44] Ildiko Erdei, *Medijska konstrukcija realnosti korišenjem različitih vremenskih modela i perspektiva,* Kulture u tranziciji, Plato, Beograd 1994, 131.

[45] This was commonly the case in other countries of former Yugoslavia. Every capital city, through urban toponymy symbolically also marks the territories of a given state, so rivers, cities etc., are given street names, which represents a symbolic legitimization of authority over certain territories. In the 1990s, Belgrade was a metropolis of different entities: Republic of Serbia but also Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (self-proclaimed heir of the former Yugoslavia), and at the same time, spiritual and political center of "all Serbs", who, with more or less success, had under military and political control various parts of other former Yugoslav republics, with sometimes open and sometimes hidden aspirations towards unification into one state, where geographical space onto which Serbian/Yugoslav authorities claimed rights was variable, dependent on current war efforts or political aims. With a relatively undefined geographical frame of "national territory" and public proclaims of continuity of two Yugoslav states, a systematic re-configuration of the capital's topography which would assume wide renaming of streets and squares that bear names with geographical connotations did not happen.

7th street): the symbols that were seemingly ideologically confronted (a 20th Century Serbian king and date of communist uprising in World War II) were in fact in complete accordance with the identity politics and aims of the ruling establishment of that time – an ideological "buffet" serving elite's purposes was being spread through Belgrade's topography – something for everyone, everything for someone.

However, since 1997, the above mentioned street was solely named after King Peter the 1st. In 1997, when the opposition came to win the ruling power in the capital, yet another wave of renaming took place, but this time with different characteristics and goals. Limited in its reach (due to regulations that dictated also verification of renaming at the national level, where foe parties held power), the new renaming was also a significant mean of resistance against the ruling regime, and contrary to the pervious renaming, this one most commonly represented the 'restoration" of older street names, mostly in central Belgrade.[46] New/old names were given exclusively to the streets that previously commemorated People's Liberation War and international and Serbian socialist movement.[47] So, Revolution Boulevard becomes King Alexander Bld. – *Južni bulevar* (Southern Bld.), *Đure Strugara* Street – *Carigradska* (Constantinople str.), *Filipa Filipovića* – *Sazonova* (after Sergey Sazonov, imperial Russian foreign secretary), *Ivana Milutinovića* – Princess Zorka str., *Moše Pijade* – *Dečanska* (after medieval Serbian monastery), *Save Kovačevića* – *Mileševska* (after another monastery), Dimitrije Tucović Square – Slavija Square, etc. The principle of "restitution" which took its legitimacy from the previous (pre-socialist) state of urban toponomy, still was not (nor could it be) automatic or ideologically neutral – hence Lola Ribar Street did not gain back its most recent pre-war name (Georges Clemenceau str.), nor the one that came before it (*Bitoljska ulica*, after a town in present-day Macedonia), but the appellation that the street carried until 1922, *Svetogorska* (after Mount Athos in Greece containing an orthodox monastic state). In a similar way, the General Zhdanov Street did not become *Ulica Zrinskog i Frankopana* (after Croatian nobility), the way it was called during the whole inter-war and war time, but *Resavska* (after a river in Central Serbia), which had been that street's name until 1921. The symbolic commemoration (de-commemoration along side) in the period 1997-2000, in contrast to the previous one, was not taking its legitimacy in the current political will, but allegedly in the history. However, it was inevitable that "the return to the past" also assumed an intervention in history, since "looking back" means drawing a certain border line – that border-stone, after all, was not a period "before communists came to power" or "pre-war". It was obvious that certain street names from the period of Kingdom of Yugoslavia (commemorating French Prime minister, Croatian feudalists/national heroes etc), in contrast with some other, were seen as inadequate in the contemporary context, so the ideological choice was the more "traditional" or "older" names, very likely because of strong nationalist ideologies present among

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[46] Except in the case of Lenin Boulevard in Novi Beograd, named after Mihailo Pupin, and a few streets in Zemun.

[47] Except in the case of the Serbian Rulers Street, now given back the pre-war name King Milan Street.

all political parties in Serbia of that time. Even in the attempt of restitution of public symbols, skewed choice is inevitable, since simple "rewinding" of history backwards is not possible considering that the symbols of the past are transcending into the contemporary time, outside their previous context. In this way, the restoration of urban toponomy also assumes an ideological intervention and selection of history, that is, a subsequent writing of the (city's) history, molded in this way under the motto "return to the old", with an actual aim to serve the contemporary purposes.

From a People's Hero to a Mountain Fairy

After large-scale political changes in Serbia in 2000 and interlinking of political power at the city and the national level, the renaming of the streets continued in the new political constellation. Committee for monuments, names of squares and streets of the Belgrade City Council (*Komisija za spomenike, nazive ulica i trgova Skuštine grada*), with eminent public persons as its members, began to work on March 15th, 2001.[48] The Committee announced that "we should return to the established and long lasting spiritual values of the Serbian people also by giving the streets their old names back, the names that were wrongly suppressed due to a simplistic appraisal of the history after 1945."[49] In 2002, the Committee passed a suggestion for 33 changes in the street names in central Belgrade municipalities of Vračar and Stari Grad, with a supposed aim, as it was announced more than once, to restore the names of the streets from the time before communists came to power, and with "a basic principle to give the streets, whenever possible, their original names back."[50] One of the criteria was to "restore the original names of the streets, which reflect the times when the respected streets were formed, and for the historical nucleus of Belgrade that would mean the names from the period 1896-1914."[51] However, the suggested names showed a totally contrary situation – from the 33 new street names, only nine were actually old (from any given period of the Belgrade history), while all the rest were totally new appellations, including the names of recently deceased contemporaries or the members of the Committee.[52] Instead of

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[48] Prominence of the Committee's members wasn't only characteristic for Belgrade – committees of the similar caliber were founded in other transitional capitals, like in Sarajevo and Berlin. All of them had different administrative powers but also different directions and results of activities. See M. Azaryahu, *German reunification...* and Guy M. Robinson et al, *Remaking Sarajevo: Bosnian nationalism after the Dayton Accord*, Political Geography 20, Elsevier-Pergamon 2001.

[49] И. Вушковић, *Имена опет као некад (Names as they once were),* article in Belgrade daily *Danas*, April 6ʰ 2002.

[50] *Називи по делу, а не идеологији (Names given because of deeds, not ideology)*, text in Belgrade daily *Glas javnosti*, April 10th, 2002.

[51] *За преименовање користити универзалне вредности (Universal values should be used to rename the streets)*, text of the news-agency *Tanjug* published in Belgrade daily *Glas javnosti* on January 8ʰ 2002.

[52] That way, the suggested renaming included General Mahin street becoming a street named after Mića Popović (who died in 1996), Vladimir Nešić street named after Borislav Mihajlović Mihiz (died in 1997), Djura Salaj str. becoming Desanka Maksimović (died in 1993) str, Malajička be-

the announced restoration (which was mostly executed in the earlier, 1997-2000 period), "a revision without restitution" was suggested, a correction of urban toponymy that resembled more the one that happened in early 1990s, but which was presented as a "return to the old street names". It was more a case of an aimed symbolic marking of the city center rather than actual renaming with the old street names, and the duplicated commemoration of the streets (November 29th Street becoming Despot Stefan Boulevard, even though the despot already had a street named after him for more than a century just a kilometer away)[53] testifies to this, as well as renaming the part of the street *Tadeuša Košćuškog* into *Venac Slobodana Jovanovića*, with an explanation that "the street named after Slobodan Jovanović already exists, but in an unsuitable part of the town."[54] The suggested toponymic commemoration (multiplication of street names, rare appearance of the old street names etc.) that wasn't altogether, if at all, trying to reinstall old street names as it had been suggested earlier, appeared as hiding the real goal of de-commemoration – according to this proposal, for instance, at the location of the municipality of Stari Grad (English: Old Town), the historical nucleus of Belgrade, there would be not one single street name that associates to People's Liberation War and the post-war history (except for one street named after brothers Baruh) – geodetically correct, from the part of the town perceived as the oldest and historical, the heritage of the WW II and socialism was being expelled, while at the same time new names were being inscribed onto space, not the pre-war, "traditional" urban toponymy, but new street names with the appropriate political and ideological contents, with an aim to represent Serbian history and/or culture through the urban text of the oldest part of the city capital.

A prominence of a city nucleus and downtown, in the wholesome symbolic city text is regular, so the research has shown that the citizens perceive as the symbols of their city some elements of the city architexture which belong to the historical heritage more than some others,[55] and this also appears to be the case in Belgrade. That is, it appears that the citizens of Belgrade appraise more urban values to the downtown than to outskirts.[56] A symbolic "conquest" of the center metaphor,

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coming Borisav Pekić (died 1992) str. Almost all names and notions that were to be changed were connected with People's Liberation War, workers' movement and post-war era, with a few collateral victims: the village of Malajnica, Tadeusz Kosciuszko (Polish national hero), Dragoslav Jovanović (pre-WW II dean of the Belgrade University) and Jovan Jovanović Zmaj (a famous Serbian 19th Century poet) in a part of the street named after him after the war.

[53] *Ulica Visokog Stevana* (Visoki Stevan Street) in Dorćol neighborhood – the despot, under his colloquial pseudonym (*Visoki Stevan* – Stephen the Tall), had a street since 1896 – М. Леко, *op cit* 312, and Бранко Цига Миленковић, *Београд: људи и улице*, Беостар, Београд 1998, 27.

[54] *Називи по делу, а не идеологији (Names given because of deeds, not ideology)*, text in Belgrade daily *Glas javnosti*, April 10th, 2002. „The unsuitable part of the town" in question is the Belgrade outskirt called Višnjica. A confusing proposal was also the suggestion to rename *Maršala Birjuzova* street into *Stara Kosmajska* (Old Kosmajska street) even though Kosmajska street already existed in the neighborhood of Žarkovo (Kosmajska was the old name of the street later renamed after a Soviet general that took part in the liberation of Belgrade in 1944).

[55] Ognjen Čaldarović, *Suvremeno društvo i urbanizacija,* Školska knjiga, Zagreb 1987, 217, 218.

[56] Бојан Жикић, *Когнитивне „приче за дечаке": урбани фолклор и урбана топографија,* Етноантрополошки проблеми 2/1, О. за етнологију и антропологију ФФ, Београд 2007, 86.

also through the city's toponyms, has a strong discursive power in shaping identity, so the initial focus on renaming the streets in central boroughs of Belgrade should not come as a surprise. This also meant the proposal to rename the central city square (*Trg Republike* – the Republic Square), which would also produce the strongest political effect. Bojan Žikić states that in a frequent cultural conceptualization, "city" and "downtown" are being identified with a city with capital C, that is, Belgrade itself, and that The Republic Square carries, more than any other places, a symbolic connotation of the city representation as such – given that, symbolically, this location represents the whole, acquiring power over the part, it assumes also symbolic power over the whole – at the same time, a symbolic control over the square means having a control over what it represents (Belgrade), but also over what the image of the capital connotes in our socio-cultural context, and that is the image on the state and image of its society and culture.[57] The suggested renaming of the Republic Square, which signifies republican post-war political system (location named *Knežev spomenik*, Prince's Monument, got this name after WW II), to (since 1896 not in use) *Pozorišni trg* (Theatre Square), had a potential communicative power of considerable effect, since the renaming of the symbolic center (which is not only center of Belgrade but to some extent of the nation as well) would mark a clear discontinuity, even so a symbolic annulment of the effects of the war and post-war history. At the same time, it would represent a political declaration with strong proclamatory value which would signal significant changes.[58] A complete "eradication" of the "undesirable" names and notions from urban toponomy of a capital downtown, which is a metaphorical center of the nation, and which is perceived as an authentic, historical part of the town, with simultaneous markings with "desirable" (but not necessary older) names and notions, does not shape just the "city text" but indirectly also the perception of the national history and culture.

The focus upon the symbolic center is not accidental, since it connotes history, authenticity and tradition. Consequently, "the Committee decided to 'move' the changed street names of central zones of Belgrade to the parts of the city built after WW II, where they belong considering the appropriate time period."[59] "The appropriate time period" of certain people and/or notions, combined with the urban symbolic geography of the Center and Periphery (where both categories appear totally arbitrary) make a part of the process of "re-configuration" of time and space which follows the change in political order.[60] A metaphorical example is arguing for the "movement" of the street named after professor Slobodan Jovanović (famous Serbian anti-communist jurist and emigrant), with all the subsequent connotations, from the city's outskirt to the downtown, and, at the same time, "eviction" of the street named after professor Dragoslav Jovanović (pre-WW II communist-tolerant University dean), with all of its symbolic luggage, from the city's center to some suburban area, one day, if then. At the same time, this is about the transfer of a political

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[57] *Ibid*, 88.

[58] M. Azaryahu, *German reunification...*, 481.

[59] I. Vušković, *Imena opet....*

[60] Duncan Light et al, *op. cit.* 136.

symbol to the center, and not only of the city text but also to the center of history, and the opposite, sending the other to periphery, of the city and of national discourse.

However, the two Jovanović professors did not switch addresses after all. "The proclamatory value" of the suggested changes was too evident and in substantial discordance with the public opinion, so the set of new names, among which some carried a lot of controversy,[61] were greeted with complaints from various segments of the public. In spite, the Committee, with changed membership, approved in the next year most of the suggested changes (26 out of 33),[62] hence the process of renaming continued without manifest "epochalism" and open political proclaims, but with a faster tempo and greater volume of street naming/renaming. From the beginning of 2004 until April 2008, the urban area of City of Belgrade territory has witnessed 126 streets, squares and parks officially being renamed (not counting the streets or squares that bear numerical or descriptive markings, such as *Altina 1*, *Nova 2*/New 2, *Kružni put 6*/Circular road 6 etc). Out of these, only 45 new names are actual old names (from any historical period).[63] When we compare this number with 153 street name changes in the administrative area of Moscow counting 10 million inhabitants, Bucharest (288 changes), which is twice larger than Belgrade, and administrative areas (*Bezirk*) that incorporated former East Berlin, approximately the same size as Belgrade (less than 80), in the period from the beginning of transition until 1997,[64] it appears that the Belgrade street renaming was of a great magnitude in the past four years. Already in 2004, 192 streets were (re)named, most of them in Belgrade *in stricto senso* (the territories of the 'city proper' municipalities), out of which 95 streets got their commemorative names for the first time, such as streets previously designated as *45. nova ulica* (45th New

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[61] The suggested changes included naming two little streets in Vračar municipality, by that time numerically marked with 501 and 502, after officials of the quisling regime in Nazi-occupied Serbia, Svetislav Stefanović and Vladimir Velmar-Janković.

[62] Renaming of the Republic Square was too big of a bite to chew, as well as naming streets after Stefanović and Velmar-Janković. Other changes were postponed too, with different explanations: see *Нових 26 имена (26 new names),* text by D. Radeka in Belgrade daily *Вечерње новости,* April 3rd, 2003. Although not received too well by the general public, most of the new names were implemented, which points to the power of the public sphere and centres of power upon this segment of urban (re)construction – Azaryahu states that, however it might seem that citizens dislike some proposals (or the other way round, that it is a mass endorsed proposal), the final process of selection and renaming is in the end determined and dependant on a political will. – M. Azaryahu, *op cit,* 481.

[63] Out of 2500 streets in Belgrade, since February 2004 until the first half of 2006, more than 500 streets changed their names (Z. Vuković, *Честе промене остаје улица збуњују грађане /Frequent changes of street names confuse citizens/*, Belgrade daily *Danas*, August 15h 2006.); however, those were the streets in Belgrade metropolitan area, with both renaming and new naming of streets that bore no names (or bore descriptive and numerical designations) until then.

[64] See: Robert Argenbright, *Remaking Moscow: New Places, New Selves*, Geographical Review, Vol. 89, No. 1, American Geographical Society, New York 1999, 14; Duncan Light, *Street names in Bucharest, 1990–1997: exploring the modern historical geographies of postsocialist change*, Journal of Historical Geography 30, Elsevier Science Ltd 2004, 160; and M. Azaryahu, *op cit*.

Street), *Nova 4* (New 4), etc, while the rest of the streets (almost a hundred) were renamed.[65] The last wave of renaming (from 2004 until now) is consistent with previous ones, with red line being de-commemoration of persons and notions connected with World War II, post-war history and socialist movement (from 126 streets in the city proper that changed names, only 18 did not have a direct association with this historical period and most were named after geographical locations). The process was open, considering that the return of the old names was not the rule, on the contrary, and that even streets that, since their creation had names connected with the "proscribed" period and ideology, got renamed (19 of them until April 2008). Even though it was not so publicly acknowledged as in the previous periods, de-commemoration of People's Liberation War and socialism as one of the aims of renaming was not kept hidden,[66] even that the explanations for renaming included other motives such as duplicated street names etc.

The renaming of this period is characterized furthermore by revision of the post-war appellations without the restitution of the previous street names, done even when old names were not present in the present/actual urban toponomy, sometimes with a comical outcome[67] and due to the nature of the process also with arbitrary

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[65] This was the largest renaming of the streets in Belgrade in this century, while in the next years, naming the non-designated streets was more emphasized, mostly in the Belgrade satellite suburban settlements (such as Batajnica, Sremčica, Ostružnica etc.), while renaming, although numerous, was less than in 2004.

[66] The then current president of the Committee stated in an interview for Belgrade daily *Danas* on July 22nd 2003 (by journalist Jasmina Čolak – *Nije nam mandat da završavamo građanski rat/We don't have a mandate to finish the civil war*): "My personal opinion, not necessarily shared with the other members, but I believe many of them do share it, is that a hero of the civil war is the one who refuses to participate in the war and who saves human lives from raging ideologies. That is the reason I will use every effort that, soon, one street in Belgrade gets the name of Toma Maksimović, regardless of what the gentlemen from SUBNOR (WWII Veterans' Association) think about it. All of my youth, I've been listening to these war rentiers, whether I wanted or not, and now, for a change, I would like to hear the anonymous citizens who place flowers and candles on the grave of this great man on daily basis, in *Novo Groblje* cemetery". And so be it. In 2004, a street in Vračar municipality, previously marked as *Nova 4* (New 4), was named after Toma Maksimović, commissioner for refugees of Serbian quisling government during Nazi occupation.

[67] The street named after Veljko Lukić Kurjak (people's hero from WW II) did not get its pervious name (*18. oktobra*) but was named *Pavla Jurišića Šturma* (after a World War I Serbian general), even though, only half of kilometer away, a street named after the general had already existed (*Generala Šturma*), and still exists. Street name duplications that were supposed to be solved by new renamings, were actually multiplied because of the authorities eagerness and hurry to de-commemorate certain persons and terms, so in 2004 (except medieval despot Stefan, who got yet another street named after him) the street named after Janko Lisjak (another WW II fighter) in Zemun changed the name into *Josipa Kulundzića* street, only to find Josip Kulundžić get another street named after him next year in a different Belgrade neighborhood (Mali Mokri Lug). The duplicated street names were only an excuse for removal of certain street names out of urban toponymy: most often, the issue of the duplicated names is not questioned unless those names are connected with a certain historical period or geography: for instance, there are two streets named after medieval Serbian emperor Dušan, one in Dorćol neighborhood, the other in Zemun, both carrying identical names (*Ulica Cara Dušana*), as well as two streets named after Karadjordje (19th Century Serbian military leader and popular hero) which are also identical in appellation

criteria.[68] The arbitrary choice was inevitable also through the process of restoration of previous street names which was also carried out (with randomly chosen historical periods from which old toponyms were chosen), when, for a swift de-commemoration of certain people and/or notions, it was even appropriate to return to the toponomy and street names that existed during the German occupation of Belgrade: hence street *Milana Ilića Čiče* (named after a World War II hero) became street *Vile Ravijojle* (after a mythical creature, mountain fairy sometimes present in Serbian folk epic poetry) which was its previous name from 1943-1946, but not *Ninčićeva*, as it was called until 1943; the same way, *Moslavačka* street (named after a region in continental Croatia) became *Kamenorezačka* (Stone carvers' Street), the way it was called only during the occupation. What differs the most between the recent renaming and the previous ones is mass changes of names of the streets that had been carrying those names from the beginning – hence even the neighborhoods built in "the appropriate time period", previously envisaged as a "retreat" for "communists and others" who were to be "cleansed" from central and historical parts of the city, were not seen as suitable for carrying such name-plates any more. Original street names in quarters built after WW II were also the subject of revision, which went as far as changing the street names commemorating fighters against fascism killed in battles, with newly coined vernacular designations – so for instance, *Partizanska* street in Vidikovac neighborhood was named *Vidikovački venac* (Vidikovac Wreath), and street *Franje Ogulinca* in Zvezdara municipality was named *ulica Zvezdarskih jelki* (Firs of Zvezdara Street). Ideological context of renaming is excellently illustrated by the name change of street *Alije Alijagića* in 2005, renamed after Milorad Drašković – a historical irony that the street in question, named after an assassin changes the name into his victim's (Alija Alijagić, activist of the communist terrorist organization "Red Justice", shot dead Milorad Drašković, Interior Secretary of the Government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in 1921), testifies on fragility of the official versions of history and also on the aim of streets' renaming, to twist and mold the image of history and nation through such process. This is also the case in the recent times, and clearly it is not the case of giving back the old street names and correcting the "toponymic violence" of the previous rulers. This is illustrated by the case of a street named after another assassin in the downtown Belgrade, after whom the street was named by communist authorities in 1947, but whose name is not on a waiting list for change – following the previous logic, Gavrilo Princip Street should be called Archduke

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(*Karađorđeva ulica*) – none of these street names are disputed, although they are obvious and confusing doubles in different parts of the city, and even though all four of them have previous, more "traditional" names.

[68] In 2004, in Zemun, many streets changed names; some got their previous, old names back, while some didn't – along certain persons who, for some reason, did not deserve to gain back the street name, pre-war street names that undoubtedly point out to the former inhabitants of German ethnicity in Zemun's borough Novi Grad (German: Franztal) also weren't restored, and those streets got completely new names: street *Mladena Stojanovića* so did not become *Štracova* (*Straz Gasse*) but *Atanasija Pulje*, *Ognjena Price* becomes *Djordja Čutukovića* instead of *Badenska* (*Baden Gasse*, Baden street), *Petra Drapšina* becomes *Živka Petrovića* and not *Vendelinova* (*Wendelin Gasse*, Saint Wendelin street) etc.

Franz Ferdinand of Austria Street.[69] Restoration of toponyms is obviously not the aim of street renaming, considering that street names with "appropriate" historical or symbolic contents are being kept even if they were introduced into the city text by "inappropriate" rulers. It is more the case of tailoring of architexture by removing or marginalizing the currently "unsuitable" names or notions, and by installation of politically and symbolically more "suitable" appellations, already seen in previous historical periods, with such practice being equally politically instructed and motivated as previous street renaming practices which are allegedly presently being "corrected" and judged.

Even though de-commemoration *per se* represents a symbolic and discursive quality, it is worth mentioning what is being commemorated by new street names. And while the list of names and notions which disappeared from the street-map more or less clearly shows what is attempted to be removed/forgotten through changes in the city toponyms, the recent identity strategies appear not to reveal what is being written in the urban text instead of socialist and WW II heritage and occasional place-names from former Yugoslavia. Some traits can be spotted though, after careful examination of the hundreds of new street names being introduced in this century. The streets were mostly named after many respected pre- and post-war Serbian and foreign public persons who are mostly politically neutral and with respectable professional biographies. However, among numerous new street names (hundreds of them), some were shyly "smuggled in", experiencing so a unique "toponymic" rehabilitation and legitimization of their bearers, before they underwent eventual legal/judicial or historical rehabilitation.[70] A fact that certain controversial names are being installed in the city text quietly, without open symbolic demonstrations which often accompany name changes, speaks up on insecurity of these recent alterations of the urban text – identity politics are being realized both non-intrusively and indirectly, and political "package" is being written in the urban appellations almost secretly in such cases, most often through street tables at the

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[69] That it is not a question of a symbolic distancing from the violent methods in politics or "raging ideologies", testifies also the undisputed presence of several street names connected with pre-WW I *Mlada Bosna* terrorist organization (whose member was the above mentioned Gavrilo Princip), which were mostly introduced by the communist authorities after WW II. Also, naming of a street after Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis (Serbian military officer engaged in the coup and murder of the Serbian dynastic couple in 1903, and leader of the organization *Black Hand* involved in the murder of Austrian-Hungarian heir to the throne) in 2004, who was sentenced to death for treason by the Serbian military court in the so called *Thessaloniki trial* in 1917, and later judicially rehabilitated by the communists in 1953, illustrates that consistency and principles in 'rewinding history" rarely can be present, and that opportunistic selectivity is more often its characteristic.

[70] That way, many individuals, whose historical and public roles are perceived by the most as controversial, got the streets named after them: Nikolaj Velimirović and Justin Popović, both Serbian orthodox theologians usually considered as rigid conservatives and with dubious ties with fascism; Dragiša Vasić and Grigorije Bošković, pre-war intellectuals engaged in collaboration during WW II; Jovan Rašković, Milošević backed Serb leader in Croatia; previously mentioned Toma Maksimović etc. The lack of substantial public reaction to these renamings (in contrast with some previous cases) could also be connected with the fact that most of these names were given to the streets in low frequent suburban area of Altina on the outskirts of Zemun municipality.

city's outskirts. Contrary to the previous renaming, and not only in Serbia, the last wave of commemoration in urban toponymy could not be characterized as so-called "ritual of revolution",[71] considering the lack of open proclamatory effect of re-configuration of the city's text. Azaryahu so states that interventions in urban toponymy are being implemented easly and openly by authoritarian government or in the case of general social consensus. In converse cases, changes in appellations could meet opposition and often become a political battlefield. It is possible that a consciousness of the lack of general, or at least major support for significant part of the new commemorative symbolism (and considerably so of de-commemoration also) conditions the lack of an open proclamation on introducing new identity elements in architexture, and actualization of "indirect" strategies during reconfiguration of urban symbolic space, such as a transfer of meaning to a new toponym/name,[72] or quiet commemoration on spatial (and symbolic) periphery. Similar to the process of transferring toponyms being de-commemorated from the center to periphery (both spatial and symbolical), during the commemoration of persons or notions that are not currently publically undisputed symbols, the process does not take direct inscribing in the generally visible urban (and symbolic) space of the center (or near it), but in less prominent space of periphery, often not so that they would stay on the periphery, but with a possible intention to, such as the suggested transfer of Slobodan Jovanović from Belgrade's outskirts to the downtown (and from the margins of the national mythology into its center), start to approach both spatial and symbolic center in the appropriate moment.[73] Even without a transfer to

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[71] M. Azaryahu, op cit.

[72] Such as the renaming of street *Proleterske solidarnosti* (Proletarian solidarity) into *Anti-fašističke borbe* (Anti-fascist struggle), which was also explained (not taken into account misunderstanding or gaps in knowledge of the notion being de-commemorated) by "a need to emphasize liberation traditions of our people which aren't ideologically colored." – *Ulica antifašističke borbe (Street of the anti-fascist struggle)*, news wire of *Beta* news-agency, published on the internet portal B92.net, archive for October 19[h], 2007.

[73] In the capital city's topography, an important aspect in symbolic space markings is a relation between center and periphery; the same could be said to be true at the national level. A public reaction and recognition of certain de-commemoration depends also on the part of the city in which de-commemoration takes place, central or peripheral – the more a vanishing/emerging symbol is further away from the, primarily symbolic, center of the city (but also the nation), weaker is the reaction/recognition of the process. The same applies to the society as a whole – for instance, the naming of squares in Serbian towns of Arandjelovac and Smederevo, after Milan Nedić and Dimitrije Ljotić (leading quislings during World War II) was met with a weak reaction (at least in the capital city) also because of strong marginalization of most towns in Serbia's interior in general cultural perception of Serbia as a whole. Disputes over naming of streets after Mile Budak (writer turned quisling official during WW II) in Croatia testify on the importance of physical and symbolic locations of certain toponyms closer to the urban and symbolic center. Difficult arguments took place over in the cities where streets in the center or close to it were named after Budak, while the argumentations almost did not happen in Zagreb where Budak silently and non-pompously got a small street on the edge on the capital, in semi-rural neighborhood of Sopnica, unknown to the most citizens and invisible in general conceptualization of the urban space. Similar things happened in Serbia, with squares and streets dedicated to Zoran Djindjić (Serbian prime minister assassinated in 2003) – both naming and removal of his name from the streets in smaller towns happened mostly in silence and without loud reactions. However, renaming of *Bulevar*

the center, a silent commemoration indirectly means also a silent normalization and legitimacy – if we accept that "the street table is the cheapest form of statue",[74] the fact remains that a monument is erected to someone or something regardless how visible it is and where it is placed.

Instead of Conclusion

(De)commemoration in Belgrade's urban toponomy in the past years reveals several aspects of identity politics in the society experiencing intensive changes, where some of them are, due to the limited scope of this paper, only briefly mentioned or are yet to be examined (symbolic presence/absence of the marks of minorities in the urban text,[75] reading in of symbolic geography of the nation in the capital's toponymy[76] etc.). They are also a part of the broader process of reconfiguration of architexture which is being established also by renaming of objects and institutions all over the city, interventions in memorial heritage etc. – it could

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AVNOJ-a (commemorating WW II supreme anti-fascist council of former Yugoslavia) in Novi Beograd into *Bulevar Dr Zorana Djindjića* has become a primary socio-political topic in 2007, also due to the fact that the boulevard is one of the main traffic routes of the Belgrade's quarter which functions as a secondary city center (on national level as well, with increasing concentrations of institutions of political, social and economic power in Novi Beograd) which was recognized by some political players also as symbolical act (which previous renamings elsewhere didn't provoke; meanwhile, the act of de-commemoration of *AVNOJ* for the majority was not problematic in itself) – and at the same time as an act that could be used in political struggles – the whole case, whose context and long lasting (until today – in May 25th 2008, posters and flyers with words "Street of Slobodan Milošević" were put all over the boulevard: see *Žele da izazovu sukob DS i SPS*, on internet portal Blic.rs, archive for May 26th 2008) demands a separate analysis; the case brought into light, in stripped and radical form, political foundations of politics of streets renaming in the transitional Serbia.

[74] Duncan Light et al, *op. cit.*

[75] For example, the mentioned avoidance of re-commemoration of the streets in Zemun, which refer to its previous inhabitants, the Germans, is simultaneously accompanied by commemoration of a number of streets within city, named by ethnonyms from the distant past (*Keltska ulica*/Celtic Street, *Tribalska ulica*/Tribali Street etc), which reveals what kind of ethno-historical image of the city is being constructed through urban toponyms. Except for the gap in the place of considerable part of the 20th century history, a gap concerning the recent city's history in relations to various ethnic groups' presence in Belgrade is being created to good extent – through toponyms, long lasting city's history is being emphasized, while many historical episodes are being left out. A symbolic emphasis on Belgrade's ancient roots goes as far as simultaneous distancing from the most recent past and finding a link with the most ancient: paradoxically, the city text in the 21st century does not connect the city space with, for example, WW II partisans (after the renaming of *Partizanska street* and *Partizanski put*), while there is a symbolical connection with Roman legions (recently renamed *Ulica Četvrte Flavijeve legije*/Street of the 4th Legion Flavia).

[76] Where a geographic commemoration of the capital's streets is almost everywhere a symbolic mapping of a national territory – in this sense, a mass street naming (mostly in suburban and satellite settlements, at the margins of the city text) after toponyms from Kosovo in the past few years was quite indicative. This assumed a suggestion (from 2005) that almost every street in Belgrade's satellite settlement of Sremčica be named after towns and villages in Kosovo, which provoked considerable hostile reaction of its inhabitants.

be argued that different alterations of parts of the urban text jointly lead to decomposition, modification and construction of certain aspects of the city's identity as a whole, where the change of urban toponyms stands as the most frequent and most common segment of such transformation. Since the beginning of 1990s, the identity building through urban space testifies on introduction of new, in the first place national symbols in the beginning of this period, along with elements of identity restoration in second half of the decade, and fast tempo and range of renaming after 2000 show even more diverse cluster of symbols that are being encoded through urban appellations. And while the content of the commemorative fund is variable, de-commemoration shows a considerable consistency regarding themes being wiped out from the street tables: initially partial process of removal of the toponyms connected with WW II and socialist ideology and system, became encompassing in time – firstly international, and immediately afterwards, or parallel, also mutual Yugoslav notions and individuals with such context vanish from the city text, so that at the end, the process definitely extends to the designations of local, Serbian origin. "The red line" of the de-commemoration is clear, more or less – a creation of an extensive identity gap in regards to WW II and post-war history. However, the "gap" is not filled with historical toponymic "package", or it is being done only sporadically and in certain phases of this period, in difference with many other postsocialist cities where restoration of the pre-communist city text was performed most of the time with consistency, and with an aim of a symbolic "over-lap" of the post-war period through establishment of continuity with the time before socialism, also through renaming of the streets. Identity restoration in Belgrade is lesser in magnitude and not a rule, and entirely new symbols are usually being written in the city toponymy which cover a wide range of notions and names – de-commemoration clearly shows what is "unwanted", while commemoration shows that maybe it's not really clear what is being "wanted", or, the new commemorative symbolism is still not being implemented openly. It appears that the directions of commemoration are hidden through a set of toponyms emerging from new political mythology which is not installed in the center of the city text, but carefully and in silence at peripheries. Toponymic revision (without restitution) is being actualized with a lesser dosage of epochalism and public proclamation, and seemingly without visible radical actions, hence the impression of a symbolic ratification of political and social changes is not present. Even more so, often careful and publicly non-aggressive politics of the city's toponyms testifies more on insecurity of these kind of identity politics – thus, such interventions in public spaces can be characterized not so much as a symbolic public announcement of changes and re-configuration of a new national view on history and geography, but more as a political means in creation of an identity change to come, through spatial legitimization of certain values and symbols, whose encoding in the city text aid to the potential, future, legitimacy and regulation of a certain cultural construction of the nation through other broad channels of communication with the public.

The processes of de-commemoration and commemoration are totally complementary and mutually dependent. Writings of new elements of identity in space are not possible without erasing old toponyms from that same space. Similar to other transitional capitals, from the beginning of the 1990s, Belgrade has experienced

street renaming (most often without restitution of "pre-communist" appellations), that aimed at de-commemoration of particular individuals and notions which were in discord with the political and national ideology of the most recent times. With the beginning of this century, this process becomes even more systematic considering the volume of de-commemoration of toponyms that bear any direct connection with 50 years of WW II and post-war history – mere association with this historical period or socialist ideology qualifies certain notions/individuals for removal or marginalization in the public space. This kind of politics of city toponyms points out to a symbolic public "amnesia", being done by general cleansing of space from symbols connected with certain epoch – de-commemoration is often appearing as an aim for itself, even regardless of contents being written in the place of previous symbols. The vanishing of the signs representing one historical era from the city space gradually becomes all-more encompassing, firstly by a systematic de-commemoration of the epoch from the city's center, wiping out of symbols of the certain historical period from the city's core which is perceived as authentic and historical, where, in time, "de-commemorated center" actually becomes wider and wider, covering more and more parts of the city; by doing so, the notions and names that could associate to certain historical period or value-system are gradually being marginalized or totally removed. This trend, where certain appellations vanish from the center of the city text, and gradually become removed from the city's periphery as well, leads not only to marginalization, but also to complete removal of certain identity markers from the urban identity, and also indirectly, from national identity as well, considering the central place of the capital's symbolic text in the imaginary symbolic geography of the nation – by repressing particular appellations in the capital city, as a part of cluster of identity politics in the society, certain epoch and its symbolic luggage are being pushed to margins, or into total oblivion, also at the level of the national identity. In this case, an old motto "We build the city, while the city is building us" also appears as true, considering that identity reshaping of the space considerably aids to the construction of the population's identity, reaching far beyond the capital. Through politics of toponyms, the capital's city text reshapes the image of the nation and history, and in the recent times, that image is greatly lacking WW II and socialism, which sends out a message much farther away than the pavements of the city streets. New streets tables are being hanged today, as it has always been the case, with the intention to be "carved in stone", but history reveals that such kinds of identity interventions face materials more fragile than stone.

Срђан Радовић

Од центра до периферије, и обратно: политика топонима у транзицијској престоници

Кључне речи:

градски текст, урбани топоними, улице, идентитет, Београд, комеморација, декомеморација, центар, периферија

У раду се разматрају карактеристике политике (пре)именовања уличних топонима у Београду од почетка деведесетих година до данас, која се посматра као део идентитетских политика у транзиционом друштву којима се историја и географија уписују у „градски текст", чинећи их интегралним делом људске свакодневице. Културно формативни карактер градског текста (и архитекстуре) престонице превазилази оквире самог града с обзиром на централно место главног града у симболичкој географији нације, те он утиче и на обликовање „националног текста" и сведочи о садржају и стратегијама *nation-building*-а у одређеном периоду. У току преко петнаест година „топонимске транзиције" у Београду уочавају се различите фазе и особености уклањања и инсталирања различитих јавних симбола, како у смислу садржаја, тако и начина овакве иденитетске (ре)конструкције. При комплементарном процесу истовремене комеморације и декомеморације симбола у урбаном тексту, од самог очетка деведесетих година до данас, као константа се јавља углавном конзистентна декомеморација појмова и особа повезаних са конкретним историјским периодом и идеологијом, док комеморација показује варијабилност у смислу вредности и порука које новоуспостављени топоними носе са собом. За разлику од већине других транзицијских престоница, у главном граду Србије не долази до свеобухватне „рестаурације" пресоцијалистичког уличног називља – нити у једном од таласа преименовања, симболички повратак на (претпостављено) старо/традицио-нално се не показује као политички довољно опортун, и иако се интервенција у градску топонимију најчешће легитимише прошлошћу, она заправо представља савремени израз политичке воље која топонимску баштину обилно редукује, рециклира и селективно реинсталира. Прекрајање овог сегмента градског текста углавном се врши преко ревизије (најчешће без реституције) одређених топонима, и кроз идентитетске политике које иницирају политички пригодан трансфер топонима на симболичкој и

просторној релацији центар – периферија градског (и националног) текста – „ревизија без реституције“ топонима циљано „чисти“ централне и историјске делове престонице од неподобних јавних симбола потискујући их ка периферији, где се временом новоозначени центар просторно све више шири и симболички потире проскрибовану баштину на маргине и градског и националног тескта у симболичку „сиву зону“ и невидљивост. Одсуство епохализма при увођењу нових/старих симбола у јавни простор града убрзава процес просторно/историјске реконфигурације с обзиром да се конструише представа о рутинском и техничком карактеру овог процеа, али и сведочи о несигурности оваквих идентитетских политика које избегавају прокламативну обзнану „промене“ и увођење препорних симбола у централни/видљививији део града (који се, могуће привремено, смештају у рубне квартове градског подручја) – пре него симболичко потврђивање већ реализоване друштвене и политичке промене, најрецентнија преиначавања (бео)градског текста представљају један од агенаса идентитетских политика које кроз просторну легитимизацију одређених вредности и симбола придоносе потенцијалној, будућој, легитимизацији и норматизовању одговарајуће културне конструкције нације кроз друге канале културног комуницирања у друштву.

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Holiday text message well-wishing*

Text messages became an important means of everyday communication, especially so among the younger generations. As a relatively new way of communication, sending and receiving of text messages is shoving other, classical means, such as letter writing. Sending a written message via cellular phone became usual means of communication in almost all life circumstances. This paper discusses messages sent out as well-wishing/cards for the most important yearly holidays.

Key words:

holidays, well-wishing/cards, communication, text messages

One of the main features of the contemporary way of life is a need for fast information transfer and accessibility. The new technologies so became indispensable. The accessibility of cellular phones and possibility of faster, easier and simpler way of communication have made the usage of cell phones popular and widespread in the today's Serbian market.

Europe has witnessed the same phenomena during the 1980s, when cell phones became a means of mass communication. At the same time, the 1980s experienced the increasing influence of global culture (especially mass-media and information technology) in creation and shaping of the new ways of communication.

In Serbia, modernization of information technologies commenced during the 1990s, and entered mass usage with the new millennium. Computer and mobile technologies were inaccessible for larger segments of Serbian population until very recently.

Among other things, the accessibility of cell phones, their relatively easy usage and possibilities of faster and more efficient communication, have contributed to their widespread handling, even though the greatest optimists could not predict a decade ago so fast and mass development. This inclination is especially prominent among the younger generations. In a way, the youth represent a force and initiator for changes, and the contemporary time aids to their benefit: today, it is not enough just to think fast but also to achieve the set goals in a short time period what is being desired or thought.

The contemporary tempo of life and work requires a need for fast information transfer. The new trends in communication allow that the flow of information is far more accessible, fast and mass, than in any of the previous periods. The product of the new communication, which is experiencing its full affirmation in Serbia now days, is a cell phone. Besides making people "always within reach", a cell phone also influences the creation of a subculture in communication.

Sending and receiving of text messages is within the domain of private. Still, other mass media (radio, television, and printed media) do influence the content of the messages. In order to establish a contact, it is necessary to have a group that shares the common interest for mutual communication, which, partially, corresponds with the definition of folklore as a communication within one or more smaller groups.[1] On a daily basis, or only at certain time periods (festive or business events) the communication group creates a specific tradition which can be framed, both in time and space, and hence acquires a foundation required to be designated as folklore communication.

In the 1980's, some researchers have pointed out that new creative forms are becoming a contemporary tools of folklore tradition.[2] These kinds of creative forms, such as obituaries, epitaphs, jokes, and in the last decade emails and text messages, are just some of the examples of the new forms that, in time, became a part of the everyday culture. Media, of course, had their own substantial influence.

Some of the early research pointed out to the connection of audio-visual media and folklore, which in a specific way combine art. As transmitters and mediums, media have included folklore in the technical means of announcement. Radio, television (and, in recent time, internet and cellular phones) are included in transmission and availability of the creation, which could be regarded as a result of a specific process of tradition diffusion, and hence, called folklore.[3]

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[1] On group communication, see: Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin, *Kultura grupe i usmena komunikacija*, Narodna umjetnost 19, Godišnjak Zavoda za istraživanje folklora instituta za filologiju i folkloristiku, Zagreb 1982, 55-72.

[2] Ivan Čolović, *Divlja književnost*, Nolit, Beograd 1985, 9-16.

[3] Hermann Bausinger, *Usmeno*, Narodna umjetnost 19, Godišnjak Zavoda za istraživanje folklora instituta za filologiju i folkloristiku, Zagreb 1982, 17.

The development of modern, contemporary communication has influenced a creation of folklore communication that is specific compared with oral or written communication. In this kind of diffusion, "folklorism"[4] partly becomes clearly: in the previous forms of communication, folklore was experienced as, more or less, a transformed form of oral folk narratives. In the new means of communication (emails, text messages), communication is not oral, nor does it have an oral medium (an anchor), therefore, it could be regarded as a form of direct communication.

As Antonijevic pointes out, text messages along with graphite and email are in effect a modern means of verbal, expressive and symbolic communication.[5] This communication in formulaic form makes use of special language, patterns and narrative schemes to express individual and/or group attitudes, feelings and understandings. These schematic messages can be longer or shorter, in rhymes or not, which correspond to some already existing oral or written folklore forms. They transmit a certain "worldview" and cultural values, reflecting the users and in this way, confirming and creating a particular identity.

Therefore, text messages become an inspiration to many analyses. Their content reveals the creativity of the authors, regardless of the authors' anonymity. Usually, the real author is anonymous since messages cruise around; received messages are almost always send furthermore, with more or less adjustments. The sender is always known, as the initiator of "texting". In this way, the content remains saved from the oblivion, at least for some time.

If a media is to be taken as a form of message, than the choice of cell phone for transmission of such messages implies that the media itself is being semanticsized, in accordance with the special status given by its users. Cell phone traveled a long way: from being a status symbol among the first generation of users, to the symbol reflecting the new time/era aided by the wireless revolution. Cell phone became the main feature of large number of such texts, appearing as a person who speaks, kind of like an object, or locality in itself. So, texting (sending and receiving messages) involves hence multiple meanings.[6]

There are different kinds of messages, the most common being of a personal nature, and recently, well-wishing messages, sent out for particular annual holidays. This paper will discuss the latter ones, sent massively during or for certain calendar holidays. These kinds of messages will be treated as well-wishing/cards.

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[4] "…folklorism, in itself, is not good or bad. Instead, it represents many heterogeneous faces of our culture and society. It was not created in our time, but it emerged as a part of the mass culture. The level and quality of "folklorism" depend on the level of its carriers and organizers- and taken more broadly, on the level of the society as a whole". Maja Bošković-Stulli, *Usmena književnost nekad i danas*, biblioteka XX vek, Prosveta, Beograd 1983, 249.

[5] Драгана Антонијевић, *Антрополошки приступ модерним облицима фолклорне комуникације : графити и формулативне SMS и имејл поруке*, Свакодневна култура у постсоцијалистичком периоду, Зборник Етнографског института САНУ 22, Београд 2006, 282.

[6] Тијана Цвјетићанин, *Електронски фолклор тинејџера: SMS поруке*, Гласник Етнографског института САНУ LIV, Београд 2006, 116.

In the past several years, text messages/well-wishing cards have become a part of the holiday communication; previously, in once traditional community, that was the time designated to expect a special kind of well-wishing. The availability of cell phones aided to this mass usage during holidays- there are very few people today that do not use cell phones.

In this paper, I discuss a number of selected text messages, sent out as well-wishing on The Christmas Eve, Christmas, Serbian New year, Valentine's Day (the newly introduced holiday, accentuated by public service media), 8th March, Easter and family' Saint Day.

The following messages were selected from the collected empirical data.[7]

Нова година
New Year

С Новом годином пуно здравља и љубави.
I wish you good health and love in the New Year

***

Срећна Нова година и све најбоље.
Happy New Year and all the best.

***

Много здравља, среће и љубави и све што сте пожелели да вам се оствари у Новој години. Срећна Нова!
I wish you good health and love in the New Year, and let all of your wishes come true. Happy New Year!

***

Пуно здравља, среће и испуњење свих жеља да би се могле смислити нове и веће жеље. Сретна Нова година!
I wish you good health and happiness in the New Year, and let all of your wishes come true, so you could wish for more. Happy New Year!

***

Пуно среће и лепих снова, нека ти донесе година нова! А све што бол и тугу ствара нека ти однесе година стара! Срећна Нова година!
I wish you happiness and pleasant dreams, and let all the sorrow stays with the old year! Happy New Year!

***

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[7] SMS messages analyzed here were sent and received among many of my friends and family during the holiday seasons in 2007 and 2008. I want to thank everybody for sharing and keeping these messages. Due to their substantial number, only a limited number could be presented in this paper.

Новогодишње звонце већ се клати, срећа у животу нека вас прати, а бол и тугу што живот ствара нека однесе година стара. Срећна Нова година!

New Year's bell is ringing, let the happiness be with you and pain and sorrow stay with the old year. Happy New Year.

<div align="center">***</div>

Све што је лијепо и што се срећа зове нек вам донесе година нова, а све што је тужно и што немир ствара нека однесе година стара. Сретна нова година!

I wish you all the beauty and happiness in the New Year and I wish you all sorrow gone with the old year. Happy New Year!

<div align="center">***</div>

Док честитку читаш/те ову и годину чекаш/те нову из мог срца прими/те жељу – дочекај/те је у весељу. Нек ти/вам је живот пун среће и снова, нек ти/вам је срећна година нова!

With all of my heart I wish you the best, merrier and better New Year! Happy New Year!

<div align="center">***</div>

За дане нове, за дане боље, за све оно што се СРЕЋА зове! За РАДОСТ и ЛЕПОТУ, ЗА СВЕ НАЈЛЕПШЕ У ЖИВОТУ! СРЕЋНА ГОДИНА НОВА!

For the new days, for the better days, for happiness! For joy and beauty, for all the best in life! Happy New Year

<div align="center">***</div>

Погледајте звезде ... све ће Вам рећи, оне Вас воде ка Вашој срећи ... Кад имате срећу све Вам је лако. Ми управо желимо да Вам буде тако. Срећну Нову годину жели Вам породица (...)

Look at the stars…they will tell you all, bring you to your happiness…when you have happiness, all becomes easy. We wish you happiness. Happy New Year from the …family

<div align="center">***</div>

Нова година: Нека ти снови постану стварност, нека ти срећа постане трајност, нека ти љубав срце греје и нек` ти се испуне све жеље. Срећна ти Нова година! ☺

New year: let your dreams become reality, and your happiness lasting, let love warms your heart and all of your wishes come true. Happy New Year! ☺

<div align="center">***</div>

У 2008. желим ти следеће: добру енергију, што више равнодушности према свему нелепом што те окружује, тихо место у којем ћеш увек наћи мир и некога на кога се увек можеш ослонити. Не заборави

звезду на небу, ону коју следиш од рођења и која те никад изневерила није. Добро да те посети што чешће, лоше да те заобиђе. И светлости много ти желим и једноставног радовања. Срећни ти празници!

In 2008 I wish you the following: good energy, indifference toward ugly things, calm place where you will find your inner peace and someone to rely upon. Don't forget a star in the sky, the one you follow since birth and that never disappointed you. It is good if a star visits you more often than not. And I wish you light and simple joy. Happy holidays!

***

Управо смо на ваш жиро рачун број 2008 уплатили 366 дана здравља, среће и љубави, пуно радости при трошењу. СРЕЋНУ НОВУ ГОДИНУ желе Вам (...)

We just transferred on your account no 2008 366 days of good health, happiness and love, many joy while spending. Happy New Year

***

Кад ти сат стане у пола ноћи, руку вам пружити нећемо моћи. Зато вам шаљемо поруку ову. Да вам пожелимо сретну годину Нову. Све најбоље у Новој години.

When you watch stops in the middle of the night, we won't be there to help. Hence this message, to wish you happy New Year. All the best in the New Year

***

Пуно здравља, љубави, зајебанције, узајамне толеранције. Добре финансије, sex без рекламације и што мање секирације у 2008.

I wish you good health, love, fooling around, mutual tolerance, good finance, sex without advertising and the least amount of worrying in 2008

***

Ваш годишњи хороскоп за 2008: ЗДРАВЉЕ: звезде вам се смеше, ПОСАО: звезде вам се смеше, ЉУБАВ: звезде вам се смеше, SEX: звезде умиру од смеха!

Your annual horoscope for 2008. HEALTH: stars are smiling upon you. WORK: stars are smiling upon you. LOVE: stars are smiling upon you. HEALTH: stars are smiling upon you. SEX: stars are dying out of laughter!

***

Нека буве од хиљаду египћанских камила нападну гузицу онога који те зајебе 2008. и нека му руке буду прекратке да не би могао да се почеше. Срећна Нова година!

Let the fleas from a 1000 of Egyptian camels attack the ass of Who ever screws you up in 2008, and let his/her hands be too short to scratch. Happy New Year

***

Новогодишње звоно већ се клати – СРЕЋА; ЉУБАВ И ЗАДОВОЉСТВО – нек вас у животу прати. А проблеме разне што живот ствара нек однесе година стара. СРЕЋНА НОВА 2008!

The New Year's bell is ringing- LOVE, HAPPINESS AND JOY- be all with you. Let the old year take away all the life problems. Happy New Year

***

Погледај звезде и све ће Ти рећи, оне те воде ка твојој срећи. Кад имаш среће све ти је лако, а ја управо желим да Ти буде тако! Срећна Нова година!

Look at the stars, they will tell you all, they will lead you toward your happiness. When you have happiness, everything becomes easy and I wish you that exact thing. Happy New Year

***

Желим ти: да те не боли оно што те је болело, да те воли онај ко те није волео, да оно што имаш буде веће од онога што немаш, да си потребнија другима него они теби, довољно простора да будеш срећна, довољно снаге да све ружно претвориш у лепо, да не волиш изгубљено и да не изгубиш вољено! СРЕЋНА НОВА ГОДИНА!

I wish you: that all the pain goes away, that the one who didn't love you love you, that what you have becomes greater than what you don't have, that you be in demand more than you are demanding, enough space to be happy, not to love what is lost and not to lose what is loved. Happy New Year

***

ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ → Ово је седам гуза Деда Мразових ирваса. Спремају се за старт. Брзо их пошаљи даље на седам бројева да ти не усеру целу 2008. годину. Не враћај!

ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ → These are the 7 asses of the Santa Claus reindeers. They are ready for a start Send them fast to 7 phone numbers so they don't shit in your new year. Don't send back!

***

Запамти за 2008 годину: Живот је кратак, прекрши правила, брзо опраштај, љуби полако, воли искрено, смеј се неконтролисано и немој се кајати за било шта што ти мами осмех на лице... Пошаљи ово људима које не желиш да изгубиш у 2008 години укључујући и мене. Ако добијеш три одговора прави си пријатељ!

Remember this in 2008: life is short, break the rules, forgive easy, kiss slowly, love honestly, laugh without control and don't regret about things that bring a smile on your face. Send this to people you don't want to lose in 2008, including me. If you get 3 answers, you are a true friend!

***

Пошаљи ово људима које не желиш да изгубиш у 2008 години укључујући и мене. Ако добијеш три одговора прави си пријатељ!

Send this to people you don't want to lose in 2008, including me. If you get 3 answers, you are a true friend

***

Нека вам Нова буде боља! Да вам лове не узмањка, да вас нитко не насања. Да откријете нове позе, да вам партнер увек може. Да пијете добра вина, да вас мази и судбина!

Let the New Year be better! Let money be abundant and no one screws you up. Discover new positions, let your partner always be willing. Drink good vine, and let the destiny be gentle with you!

***

Сретно ти ново лето,/ Више га ове године мет`о,/ Еври ти изи џепа вирили,/ Злобници ти у дупе пирили,/ Много те друг воли,/ За остале те курац боли.

Happy new summer/ have more sexual partners/ euros coming out of your pocket/ envious people blow into your ass/ have good friends/ for the rest don't care

***

Желим ти 12. месеци здравља, 53. викенда уживања и среће, 365. дана без нервирања, 8760. сати љубави, 525 600 минута лепих тренутака и 31 536 000 секунди секса.

I wish you 12 months of good health, 53 weekends of joy and happiness, 365 peaceful days, 8760 hours of love, 525 600 minutes of pleasant moments and 31 536 000 seconds of sex.

***

Долетео сам у завоју, санке су одлетеле, дарови отисли у курац. Рудолф је цркао, а остали јелени су спиздили у први кафић. Тако да ме не чекаш. ДЕДА МРАЗ!

While flying around one curve, my sledge has flown away, and gifts went to hell. Rudolph has died and the rest of the dears headed towards a nearest bar. So, don't wait for me. Santa

Бадњи дан[•]

Christmas Day

Још лепша јутра ти свитала, песма ти у сусрет хитала, љубав те у животу пратила за сва добра добрим ти се вратила. Срећни бадњаци и Бадње јутро!!!

I wish you many nice dawns, songs and love and goodness in your life. Merry Christmas

<center>***</center>

Бадњаци ти срећни ови, Бог нека те благослови. Да ти срећом дом заблиста, јер рођење славиш Христа. Срећан Бадњи дан и божићни дани. Наздравље!

Merry Christmas, God bless you. I wish you happiness. Cheers!

<center>***</center>

Поштовати треба вјеру БАДЊАЦИ се јутрос беру, прекрсти их како ваља, то је симбол православља, да се корјен неби утро наздравље ви бадње јутро!

Respect you faith, cross the yule log tree as the symbol of Orthodoxy, cheers on Christmas morning

<center>***</center>

Да вам се оствари сваки сан нек помогне Бадњи дан. Да у кући новац тече нек помогне Бадње вече. Нек се срећа с здрављем сроди – МИР БОЖИЈИ! ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ!

Let the Christmas Day fulfill all of your dreams. Let the Christmas Eve bring money to you. Happiness and health be abundant. Peace from God Christ is born

<center>***</center>

Бадњак се ложи, ватра пламти, здравље и срећа нека вас прати, нека вам свако ново сутра буде радост бадњег јутра, а срећан вам Божић сутра!

[•] A central place in annual cycle of the holidays is occupied by Christmas holidays. Among several holidays celebrated at that time, the most important ones are Christmas Day and Christmas. On Christmas Day, several rituals are being performed, which are, according to the beliefs of the members of community, very important for the up-coming year. The rituals performed on the holiday include bringing a yule log tree and straw into the house, as the most important elements of celebration. Yule log is most often oak or bitter oak tree, and it stays in the house for three days, when it is being taken outside and placed on a particular spot in the backyard. Christmas can commence after yule log and straw are brought in the house, and dinner is consumed.

The yule log is being light, fire is burning, let health and happiness be with you, let tomorrow be like the glory of the Christmas morning, and merry Christmas tomorrow.

***

Бадњи дан је и бадњаци се ките нека и вашу породицу штите. Да Вам срећа увек у дому траје, а Бог драги све најбоље даје. Срећан Бадњи дан.

It's Christmas Day and yule logs are being decorated, protecting your family. Let happiness always be in your home and let God give the best to you. Merry Christmas

***

У пламену празника искрене жеље се роје. Бог нек благослови и сачува тебе и твоје. У твој дом сва добра да донесе – здравље, срећу, миран сан! Срећан Бадњи дан!

In the light of the holiday fire I wish you the best. God bless you and your family. Let your home have all goodness- health, happiness, peace and good sleep. Merry Christmas.

***

Док задњи бадњак гори, слушај срце што ти збори: благостање, мир и доброта нек вас прате целога живота.

While the last yule log burns, listen to your heart: let abundance, peace and goodness follow you throughout your life

***

У далеком граду, у зимској ноћи, Христ спаситељ отвори очи. Од радости и среће анђели запалише свеће, а један од њих рече: "Нека вам је срећно Бадње вече!"

In a remote city, in the quiet winter night, Christ was born. In happiness and glory, angels put on candles and one of them said: Merry Christmas Eve.

***

Добри доме добар дан, са срећом вам Бадњи дан, да вам Бог подари сваку срећу и злата пуну врећу, уз бадњак и уз вино да вам увек буде фино. Мир Божји, Христос се роди!

Good home, good day. Merry Christmas, let God gives you happiness and a bag full of gold; enjoy vine and yule log. Peace from God, Christ is being born

***

Бог велики нек те чува и стазама среће води и оствари сваку жељу која твоме срцу годи. Срећан БАДЊИ ДАН!

Let God the Great guard you and fulfill all of your desires. Merry Christmas Day)

***

Нека бадњак свето дрво удовољи мојој жељи и да увек срећно живе моји драги пријатељи. Да вас греје ватра света, да вам срећа кућом цвета! Христис се роди!

Let the holly tree yule log make all my wishes come true: that all of my friends live happily. Let the holly fire warm you, and your hose be enlighten in happiness. Christ is being born)

***

Нек Острошки Василије чува твоје најмилије, а небеска добра вила у помоћ ти вазда била, а Бог драги нека рече: срећно било Бадње вече!

Let Vasilije Ostroski guard your kindred, let the heavenly fair always be there for you, and let dear God say: merry Christmas Eve.

***

Нека вас срећа кроз живот води! Срећан вам Божић и Христос се роди!

Let happiness be in your life. Merry Christmas, Christ is being born

***

3 пахуље љубави. Пошаљи их драгим особама и мени назад. Ако ти се до Бадњака бар 3 врате, за Божић ће ти се десити оно што већ дуго чекаш! Делује!

Send 3 flakes of love. Send to your dear friends and back tome. If at least 3 come back by Christmas, you long term desire will come true on Christmas.

***

Из Хага ми Шешељ рече да честитам Бадње вече свим Србима српске крви – међу њима ти си први. Нек Крст Часни коло води – МИР БОЖИЈИ! ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ!

From Hague, Seselj told me to send his well-wishing on Christmas Eve to all the true Serbs- and you are the 1st among them. Let Holly Cross lead the dance- Peace from God, Christ is being born.

Божић

Christmas

МИР БОЖИЈИ И ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ!
PEACE FROM GOD, CHRIST IS BEING BORN!

***

МИР БОЖИЈИ! ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ! Вама укућанима, ваши (...)
PEACE FROM GOD, CHRIST IS BEING BORN, to you and your family, yours…

***

МИР БОЖИЈИ! ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ! Среће, здравља, љубави ...
Peace from God, Christ is being born. Much happiness, health, love…

***

ВАИСТИНУ СЕ РОДИ! И вама сретан Божић и година која је испред нас.
He is truly born! And to you merry Christmas and the year ahead

***

Срећан Божић. Пуно здравља, љубави и успеха.
Merry Christmas. Many success, health and love

***

Нека ти светслост новог јутра обасја душу и испуни је радостима и нека ти Бог подари све што немаш, а желиш и сачува све што имаш а волиш! Христос се роди!
Let the light of this morning enlighten your soul and fulfill with joy, and let God give you what you don't have, and keep for you what you have. Christ is born.

***

Христос се роди! Нека ти светслост овога дана да оно што немаш и желиш а сачува оно што имаш и волиш! Срећан Божић.
Christ is born. Let the light of this day gives what you don't have, and keep for you what you have and love. Merry Christmas.

***

Нека вам је сретно лето, што имате нек је свето, што немате Бог ће дати, нек вас увек срећа прати! Мир Божји, Христос се роди!
Happy summer, let all you have become sacred, what you don't have God will provide, let happiness be with you. Peace from God, Christ is born!

***

Тебе Боже сада молим за све оне које волим, испуни им сваку жељу, нека живе у весељу. Нек им сваки буде дан као Божић радостан. Мир Божји! Христос се роди!
I pray to you God, for all my loved ones, fulfill their wishes, let them live in harmony. Let their every day be like jolly Christmas. Peace from God, Christ is born

***

Добро јутро кућо стара, ево 7. јануара. Пршти слама под ногама. Срећан Божић свима вама!
Good morning good old house, here's January 7th. Straw is crackling. Merry Christmas to you all

***

Добри доме Божић стиже, нек вас греје ватра света, нек вам срећа кућом цвета! Да крст часни коло води – МИР БОЖИЈИ! ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ!

Good home Christmas is coming, let the holly fire warm you and happiness fulfills your home. Let the holly cross lead the dance, Peace from God, Christ is born

***

Добри доме Божић стиже драгом Богу да смо ближе, да те греје ватра света, да ти срећа кућом шета, да Крст часни коло води и нек се Христос роди!

Good home, Christmas is coming so we will be closer to dear God, let the holly fire warm you and happiness fulfill your home. Let the holly cross lead the dance, and let Christ be born

***

Бадњак се ложи, ватра пламти, здравље и срећа нека Вас прати и нек Вам ново сутра буде радост Божићног јутра. МИР БОЖИЈИ! ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ! СРЕЋАН БОЖИЋ ЖЕЛИ ВАМ (...)

Yule log is being lighted, fire is burning, let health and happiness be in your home, and tomorrow like the joy of Christmas morning. Peace from God, Christ is born

***

Христос се роди! Нека драги Небески Богомладенац Тебе и најмилије ти огрне Љубављу, Радошћу и Вером испуни ваша срца. На Здравље и на Спасење.

Christ is born! Let god give you and your dear ones love, happiness and faith

***

Људи се у животу срећу случајно, А онда заједно деле све, Река живота их носи неким другим људима, Али им срце остане крај правих пријатеља! МИР БОЖИЈИ И ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ!

People meet by coincidence. And then share everything. The river of life takes them to some other people, but their heart stays with the true friends. Peace from God, Christ is born.

***

Кандило нам мир мирише, Дим тамјана душу гали, Икона нам слогу пише, Бадњак искру среће пали. Док се крстим Бога молим/Да ми чува све што волим./Међ вољеним твоје име мило,/Све ти здраво и весело било! Срећан Божић и Бижићни дани, Бог нека те од лошега брани! МИР БОЖИЈИ И ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ!

Light brings peace, the smoke of incense soothes the soul, icon brings peace, yule log brings happiness. I pray and cross to God to keep what I love, including your good self, I wish you all the best. Merry Christmas and Christmas days, let God guard you from bad and evil. . Peace from God, Christ is born

***

Од данас још лепша јутра ти свитала, Срећа ти у сусрет хитала, Љубав те у животу пратила, А сва добра добрим ти се вратила. МИР БОЖЈИ И ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ!

Have better days in front of you, love and happiness to fill your life, all good deeds be returned to you. Peace from God, Christ is born

***

Нек данашњи благи дан теби буде радостан, нек ти Божић врата злати, нек те свака срећа прати. Анђео среће нек те води! МИР БОЖИЈИ – ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ!

I wish you joy today, I wish that Christmas brings you luck and fortune, and Angle of happiness. Peace from God, Christ is born

***

Тебе Боже сада молим за све оне које волим, испуни им сваку жељу, нека живе у весељу. Нек им сваки буде дан као Божић радостан. Мир Божји! Христос се роди!

I pray to you God, for all my loved ones, fulfill their wishes, let them live in harmony. Let their every day be like jolly Christmas. Peace from God, Christ is born

***

Свето дрво бадњег јутра, што ти данас кућу краси, нек донесе сваку срећу и од сваке муке спаси. Да оствариш сваки сан помого ти Бадњи дан, да у кући новац тече помогло ти Бадње вече. Нек се срећа с здрављем сроди. МИР БОЖИЈИ – ХРИСТОС СЕ РОДИ!

Let the holly yule log of Christmas morning which decorates your house brings in all happiness and saves you from sorrow. I wish that Christmas day fulfills all of your dreams and brings lots of money. Happiness and health! Peace from God, Christ is born

***

Нека господ са небеса пошаље ти мерцедеса, а по жељи нашег Христа нека буде дизел 300. Ваистину се роди мерцедес је увек у моди! СРЕЋАН БОЖИЋ!

Let God gives you a Mercedes car as a present, and Christ to make it the model diesel 300. Christ is born and Mercedes in always in! Merry Christmas

***

1. Да се облачиш по последњој моди, 2.да ти виски увек годи, 3. да се брчкаш у ђакузи води, 4. да изгледаш као билдер-боди, 5. на лотоу 7 убоди! Ваистину се Христос роди!

1. I wish you: to be dressed according to the latest fashion, 2. to always enjoy whiskey, 3. to enjoy Jacuzzi, 4. to look like a body builder, 5. to win at lottery! Christ is born

Српска Нова година
Serbian New Year

У зидинама Хиландара родила се вера стара, родила се још од Христа, ја је волим јер је чиста. Та времена беху давна. Срећна Нова година православна!

Within the walls of Hilandar, an ancient religion was born, since Christ and I love it since it's pure. These happened in olden times. Happy Orthodox New Year

***

Нек ти се дани у овој години што спорије и сретније троше, нек те погоди све што је лепо и нека те промаши све што је лоше. Сретна српска Нова година!

Spend your days slowly and merry in this coming year, let only nice things happen and bad things avoid you. Happy Serbian New Year.

***

Нек нас мрзе људи дрски што причамо брате српски, нек је вина пуна чаша, срећна нек је српска наша. Славила се у времена давна НАША ПРАВА СРПСКА ПРАВОСЛАВНА!

Let other peoples hate us for speaking Serbian, let our glasses be vine full, happy our Serbian year. It was celebrated in ancient times. Our Serbian Orthodox!

***

У најлепшој српској ноћи мој ће поздрав теби доћи. Пуно среће, здравља и весеља од искреног пријатеља. С чашом вина и наздравље. Живело нам православље. Срећна Нова година!

In the most beautiful Serbian night, my well-wishing goes to you. Much happiness, health and joy from your true friend. Cheers! Long lived Orthodoxy. Happy Serbian New Year.

***

Док честитку шаљем ову, православну славим Нову. Честитам је свим Србима, а посебно најмилијима. Ко је слави овог дана, Бог га чува од душмана. Ко честитку ову прими у весељу нека живи, нек`га срећа увијек прати, јер добро се добрим врати. Срећна Нова православна!

I send out this well-wishing while I celebrate Orthodox New year. I greet all the Serbs, especially my loved ones. Who celebrates at this day, God guards him from evil. Let the one who gets this well-wishing live in joy, enjoy happiness. Happy Orthodox New Year

Дан заљубљених
Valentine's Day

Ако појам среће није илузија и ако човек заиста може бити срећан, онда желим да ти овај дан буде леп као нежност, као младост, као љубав... Срећан ти Дан заљубљених!

If the notion of happiness is not an illusion and if a man could really be happy, then I wish that this day be as nice as possible, as youth, as love. Happy Valentine's Day.

<div align="center">***</div>

Најлепше је очима кад се твог лика сете, кад заплаче душа као мало дете. Још је теже срцу кад рана заболи кад му се не јавља неко кога срце воли!

It is the most pleasant to my eyes when I remember your face, when my soul cries like a little child. It is even more harder for the heart when someone you love doesn't call

***

Поезија за дан заљубљених: сунце је распиздило своје зраке, врапци се деру ко коњи. Мене пичи депресија, у души ми опсесија. Јебо матер, ако те не волим!

Poetry for Valentine's Day: Sun shines too much, birds whine like horses. I'm totally down, obsessed. Screw the mother if I don't love you.

Осми март
March 8th

Срећан 8. март! Много здравља, љубави и среће!
Happy March 8th. Much happiness, love and health

<div align="center">***</div>

Да будеш срећна и пуна ко брод, да све мушкарце бациш на под, ми смо рибе, они су шкарт. Срећан ти 8. март!

I wish you to be happy and rich, to submit all men, we are chicks they are bumps. Happy March 8th

<div align="center">***</div>

Лепа као вила, нежна као свила, чиста као роса, сјајна као сунце, снажна као стена... Буди поносна што си жена... Срећан 8. март!

Beautiful as a fairy, gentle as silk, pure as dew, shiny as Sun, strong as a rock. Be proud of your womanhood. Happy March 8th

<div align="center">***</div>

Једна звезда за срећу, једна звезда за смех, једна звезда за... шта набрајам? Све звездице неба нек се спусте теби на длан и испуне жеље на данашњи дан.

One star for the happiness, one for laugh, one for…what am I saying? All the stars should come and make your wishes come true.

Ускрс
Easter

Нек ти кућа у весељу блиста и срећно ти васкрсење Христа! Као празник животног зачетка и остале среће и напретка. Христос Воскресе!

I wish your house to spark from joy, merry resurrection. A holiday of life creation and happiness and development. Christ Resurrected.

<div align="center">***</div>

Пријатељи су као звезде... не видиш их, али ипак постоје! Нек вам овај благи дан мир и љубав донесе. Са вером у Христа! Христос Воскресе!

Friends are like stars…you don't see them, but they are around. Let this day bring you peace and love. With the faith in Christ! Christ Resurrected

<div align="center">***</div>

Христос Васкрсе! Обновимо себе Христом васкрслим и светлимо свету добром и врлином!

Christ Resurrected. Rebuild ourselves with Christ that resurrected and show the world our virtues

<div align="center">***</div>

Бог велики и сви свеци и сви дани и месеци и године што долазе нека вашу кућу пазе. Мир Божији дому твоме слава Христу распетоме. Мир Божији! Христос воскресе!

Let God and all the saints and all of the days and months in a year guard our house. Peace from God in your home and glory for Christ. Christ Resurrected

<div align="center">***</div>

За слогу и размевање, за срећне дане, за потајне наде, за неостварене жеље, за љубав и праштање, за благословене године које су пред нама. Христос воскресе!

For harmony and understanding, for happy days, secreted hopes, unfulfilled wishes, for love and forgiveness, for blessed days ahead of us. Christ Resurrected

Породичне славе
Family' Saint Day

Срећна слава! (...)
Happy Saint Day!

***

Све најбоље, срећу и весеље, желе (...)
All the best, happiness and joy, from ….

Well-wishing sent out during holidays, to a particular family or individual are not recent. Well-wishing at the onset or on the holiday date during a calendar year is very ancient. The well-wishing is possibly as old as the holidays themselves, and represent an important mark. Among other things, they have allowed families, extended and nuclear to show respect to one another, wish good things and development to each individual within a group. The content of well-wishing depended on a holiday itself, but also on the prevailing social norms in a given community/group. During historical development of holidays, well-wishing was adjusted in accordance with the prevailing cultural and historical circumstances within a given society, and what changed usually was the way of well-wishing.

The oldest and the most usual mode of well-wishing is so-called personal well-wishing. Usually, this involves visiting someone's home on a holiday day during one calendar year, when an invited guest used to come wishing all the best to all the family members. In traditional communities, such was Serbia until WWII, there was a custom of well-wishing for holidays. Usually, these included winter-spring holidays, such as Christmas, Newly wed day, Easter but also family' Saint Day. These holidays had strict rules of well-wishing, in a sense that it was established who does well-wishing or what such wishes are suppose to contain. The content was more or less similar for a particular holiday, regardless of a family or the well-wisher. The same scenario repeated itself for years even in cases when the well-wisher of a particular house changed.

Well-wishing directed toward the family and head of the household was in accordance with the holiday' meanings- good year in terms of abundance, fertility, health etc. The most significant/well known well-wisher is *polazenik*, a designated individual who pays visits on Christmas Day. *Polazenik* can visit several homes, but

the well-wishing stays the same.[8] Well-wishing was also practiced by a ritual procession, on Christmas Eve and Serbian New year: *koledari*, singers (korindjasi), *vertenasi, zvezdari,[9] sirovari*.[10]

The Newly wed day is a borderline winter holiday, hence the customs associated were adjusted accordingly.[11] However, in the past several decades, this holiday is more in honoring the newly wed, where guests/well-wishers address their future marriage in terms of happiness and longevity. A characteristic feature of Easter is colored eggs, shared at home, in church after the service, or given away at village fairs to the kindred as the holiday well-wishing. Family's Saint Days were marked by salutations, as a form of well-wishing to the host and the family members.

Well-wishing dominated by an individual or group was widely spread until WWII. After the period, was gradually replaced by a special, particular well-wishing depending on the occasion (in written form, on paper, sold at particular shops). This kind of holiday communication included postal service; this is just another example of the post-war modernization in Serbian society that later on, initiated significant changes in habits and behavior.

Well-wishing card assumes New Year's well-wishing- in the post war period, it became a mass and most well-known means of holiday communication. These well-wishing sent out by friends and family meant that a person, regardless of his/her place of residence, is not forgotten. These usually contained "an ordinary text", not very creative (such as "happy holidays, happy New year and Christmas and so on), which was also determined by a limited writing space. These short messages are "public", sent out without envelopes and easily accessible for reading to everyone.

Contrary to these well-wishing sent out by regular mail, today' text messages are very personal. The sender and the content are only known by the receiver, which makes these messages protected and discrete, unless of course, the receiver reads aloud the messages in question to others.

Also, other forms of well-wishing received a considerable amount of popularity at times: this is the case of well-wishing during 1970's broadcasted by radio.

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[8] On *polazenik*, see more in Миле Недељковић, *Годишњи обичаји у Срба*, Београд 1990, 38-60; *Српски митолошки речник*, Етнографски институт САНУ- Интерпринт, Београд 1998, 357-361; Милина Ивановић-Баришић, *Календарски празници и обичаји у подавалским селима*, Посебна издања Етнографског института САНУ 59, Београд 2007, 97-98.

[9] Мила Босић, *Годишњи обичаји Срба у Војводини*, Музеј Војводине - Прометеј, Нови Сад 1996, 106-128.

[10] *Српски митолошки речник*, 409; Миленко С. Филиповић и Персида Томић, *Горња Пчиња*, Српски Етнографски зборник, Расправе и грађа, 3, Београд 1955, 94.

[11] See: М. Ивановић-Баришић, *н. д*, 153-155; М. Босић, *op .cit* 226-229

The radio well-wishing[12] contained a musical theme also. These were usually sent out for birthdays, weddings, baptisms and therefore are not the focus of this paper. Music involved was in accordance with wishes of the receiver, however, it also happened that it was in a total opposition with well-wishing expressed.

The latest well-wishing assumes text message communication that allows instant and fast delivery, which stands out in opposition with the previous mode-depended on mail and postal service, errors in addresses and so on. Even if cellular net is busy at time, it is only temporarily, allowing messages to reach its destination with fair amount of certainty.

Considering the mass usage of well-wishing over cell phones, it appears that their content are more bold and straightforward when compared with well-wishing from the previous periods. In times when holidays represented the crossing-point of social events in a community, it was clearly established was appropriate/allowed or forbidden/inappropriate holiday behavior. The content of the contemporary text message well-wishing (lascivious, with political connotation regardless of a generational gap in sending/receiving) would probably be considered inappropriate in a traditional community.

The text messages presented in this paper point out to the creativity and imaginative effort of the authors hence also variability in content.[13] The content of the messages corresponds to the modern times and their creators- from very classical to political and lascivious messages. This shows an altered relationship of the users toward media and holidays as well. Cell phones provide direct communication liberating at the same time from rigid patterns of communication in traditional communities. The present day communication is easier due to technology but also due to the profound changes in family relationships and functioning (family roles have loosen up).

In addition to oral communication, this new communication provides textual messages, which creates a possibility for communication without "real communication", that is, without actually speaking to someone. Messages sent out via cell phones are in effect a written way of communication, largely adopted during the last decade. In comparison with the other form of written communication- letters- (until recently the most used form of communication regarding different events) it is easily recognizable that letters were much longer, detailed and with more content than cellular mode of communication.

Letters were never taken to be a part of the folklore communication, regardless of their possible content: some included life histories for example. Sometimes, letters written by famous or influential individuals served as a written source for research and understanding of certain rules of a given society; contrary, text

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[12] Добрила Братић, *Елементи за етнолошку анализу радио-порука (на примјеру честитки, жеља и поздрава Радио-Новог Пазара)*, Гласник Етнографског института САНУ XXX, Београд 1981, 61-68.

[13] In addition to written text, SMS could contain graphical features not shown here due to technical reasons.

messages are said to belong to a certain folklore genre, which in its essence has fulfilled the need for efficacy and summaries present in popular culture.

Based on the above, it is justified to ask whether is it possible and in which way, to compare text message well-wishing with well-wishing known during the 20th century? In certain segments, it seems appropriate to compare the different means of communication. This regards primarily the function of well-wishing. The basic and most important function of well-wishing is a wish for abundance, happiness and health for the receiving individuals. These wishes are also the most important ones in text message well wishing. The main difference is that oral communication, once dominant in traditional communities, has become less applicable due to technology development (except in cases of classical phone communication). The content of this communication is being influenced by local particulars (society we live in) and cultural values (adjustments into global processes).

Therefore, it is justified for ethnology/anthropology as a discipline to study contemporary processes and changes, as consequences of various processes and altered life conditions in the contemporary society. The transformation of certain customs is at times difficult to spot hence they remain outside of ethnology/anthropology. It is especially difficult to mark a phenomena and related changes within customs that are gradually disappearing or altering their forms.

The new means of communication is just one of the possibilities in studying contemporary forms of customary practice in our society. This new means- well-wishing via cell phones- exists parallel with the previous modes of holiday communication (so-called printed well-wishing cards became in mass usage in the after-war period, while so-called personal well-wishing was dominant in our society until WW II).

As this brief report shows, holiday well-wishing, as a form, is not specific to our contemporary period. What is specific is more and more influence of modern technology into the spheres of spiritual life. As in the past, contemporary well-wishing aims to wish all the best in the coming holiday times, both for individuals and community. Historically speaking, this intent has not changed. The change is in the means/ways of well-wishing to a community and individual.

A subject of considerable interest to ethnologists/anthropologists is the relationship of traditional and contemporary contents, in this case text messages. What is really new in these new messages (that didn't exist before) and which traditional cultural values have changed and became altered into new conditions?

In Serbia, text messaging represents a totally new and modern form, closely related with the development of new technologies, only recently accepted broadly. As can be seen from the presented examples, the contents send out via cell phones are connected with various themes important for an individual life, while holidays appear as a convenient time to wish what in some other circumstances seem much harder.

The novelty in text message well-wishing is a result of the contemporary way of life. Hence, the conclusion could be that the content is adjusted twofold: to

the modern way of life and in accordance to the presumable needs of the receivers, at least as the senders perceive.

Considering all stated, do text messages in its function represent a new element of our contemporary customary practice? The parts of ritual practice that once existed in the traditional society had an important function in fulfillment of certain societal needs- including the ones that emphasized integration of a family unit. Today, the same elements exist in altered forms- implying that text message well-wishing, at least in particular segments, fulfill the same needs of a community members.

However, the holiday well-wishing, at least for now, do not act as a mediators for change of the established holiday needs, especially in terms of influencing vanishing of certain holidays and related customs. They nevertheless, allow a new insight into possible problems. And this represents a clear mark of text messages, whose content is being adjusted towards time, actual problems and current situation within the society. To receive a SMS within a family does not imply that established customs will cease to exist. On the contrary, holidays are being enriched in this way, since the new contents, at least for the time being, do not replace the established ritual practice nor affect considerably its change. SMS messaging enhances one of the basic function that well-wishing assumes, primarily, good wishes for the coming period.

The last decade of the 20th century, and the beginning of the 21st century are considered to be a time of technical innovations, and as such, present a significant registrar for dating changes in current social relationships. At the same time, they are initiators for changes. That is an individual as a part of his community (civic society), in the midst of development of modern media and communication means, and embraces more and more these new forms of communication. In this process, an individual, gradually and in time, becomes a player that does not deal with the act (process) but just participates; he, nevertheless, leaves his own mark. Participating individual so becomes a part of a popular culture, since sending and receiving messages are a need for many people.

As Fisk states, in order to find a place in a popular culture, a good has to correspond with people interests.[14] According to this argument, popular culture is not spending/consuming, but a culture- something like an active process of creation and transmission of meanings and satisfactions within a particular social system. Furthermore, regardless of the level of industrialization, a culture cannot be described only in terms of buying and selling goods. Fisk moreover argues that popular culture is being created by people, not the industry of culture. All that industry of culture is capable of producing is a repertoire of texts or cultural sources, which will be used or ditch by a different people, in the long lasting process of creating one's own popular culture.

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[14] Džon Fisk, *Popularna kultura*, Clio, Beograd 2001, 31-32.

Милина Ивановић-Баришић

Празничне SMS честитке

Кључне речи:

празници, честитке, комуникација, SMS поруке

Брз проток информација све више постаје потреба, па самим тим и битна одредница савременог начина живота. Из тог разлога, и нове технологије постају све значајније у домену комуникације. Приступачност мобилних телефона и препознавање могућности да се са њима брже, лакше и једноставније обавља комуникација подстакли су њихово релативно брзо ширење на српском тржишту. Модернизација у смислу коришћења информатичких технологија почела је на нашим просторима током деведесетих година прошлог века, да би тек уласком у нови миленијум процес постао незаустављив.

Истраживачи су још осамдесетих година уочили да се појављују нови облици стваралаштва, који постају савремени облици фолклорне традиције. Ова врста стваралаштва временом је постала део свакодневне културе (новинске тужбалице, епитафи на надгробним споменицима, вицеви, у последњој деценији – имејл и SMS поруке).

У последњих неколико година, *SMS поруке/честитке* су постале део празничне комуникације, код скоро свих празника који су и у традиционалној заједници били време када се очекивала посебна врста честитке (Бадњи дан, Божић, Српска нова година, Осми март, Васкрс, породичне славе, у последњих неколико година – Дан заљубљених). Томе је допринела и чињеница да мобилни телефон није више привилегија само одређеног броја материјално добростојећих појединаца.

Са појавом и омасовљавањем празничног честитања путем мобилног телефона, стиче се утисак да је текст празничних порука много "смелији", чиме се на неки начин потире граница између дозвољеног и недозвољеног садржаја честитке, у односу на период пре већег продора масовне културе. Један од разлога је и то што се у време када су празници били окосница друштвених догађаја у заједници тачно знало шта је дозвољено/примерено, односно, шта је забрањено/непримерено празнично понашање. Међутим, садржаји појединих порука које у нашем времену круже током празника (ласцивни, као и они са политичком садржином), без генерацијског

ограничења приликом слања и читања, највероватније у традиционалној заједници, због владајућих норми понашања, не би били примљени са одобравањем.

SMS честитке указују како на разноликост садржаја, тако и на маштовитост и креативност њихових стваралаца. Садржај ових порука је у складу са временом, али и њиховим ствараоцима – од класичних порука до порука са ласцивним или политичким садржајем. То нас упућује на запажање да је однос корисника промењен не само према медијуму преноса, него и према прилици/празнику када се комуникација обавља.

Мобилни телефон, иако само средство које омогућава директну комуникацију, истовремено омогућава ослобађање од комуникативних стега које су постојале у традиционалној комуникацији, пре свега због обичајних норми које су диктирале међусобне односе у заједници. Свакако да садашња комуникација постаје све једноставнија – не само из техничких разлога, већ и због чињенице да су измењени породични односи, што је узроковало "лабављење" улога које су појединци имали у време празника.

Празничне честитке – као начин исказивања жеља за напредак појединца, породице, па самим тим и сеоске заједнице – нису специфичност нашег времена. Али оно што јесте посебност времена у коме живимо, а што се све више огледа и у садржају и у начину празничног честитања, то је уплитање све развијеније комуникационе технологије и у област духовне сфере живљења. У суштини – како у прошлости, тако и данас – основни смисао празничног честитања јесте да се упуте жеље да време које следи иза празника, можда боље рећи – између два празника, буде успешније за заједницу и појединца, а све то посматрано у односу на време које је претходило честитаном празнику. То је, у основи, нешто што се није битно променило до нашег времена. Међутим, како се може видети, све више се, уклапајући се у савремене друштвене токове, мења начин упућивања жеља колективу и појединцу.

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Historical Tradition in Serbian Genre Literature[*]

This paper discusses two Serbian science-fiction stories with a special emphasis on the motives in their narrative structure; the motive analysis is focused on those motives that represent a transposition of "historical tradition" elements. The key words connecting images appearing in this context are: fear of losing (national) identity and a strategy of resistance towards those, who presumably, want to "take over" the identity. In this sense, a return to "the historical tradition", in the analyzed texts, aims to reassess certain past models indicating at the same time those that have successfully served and endured as historical models in this discourse.

Discussing any kind of literature as a work of art surely overcomes my formal education and also the framework of anthropology, in the context of literary works. However, if we suspend the assumption of autonomy in the sphere of esthetics, and instead emphasize historical, political and social contexts of production and reception of literary presentations,[1] we arrive in the field potentially interesting to anthropologists. Anthropologists, hence, focus their analysis on writings as a social practice, emphasizing mutual interlink of text and practice, that is, an anthropological inquiry of literature should be focused on mutual connection of written products and broader cultural and social processes.[2] Namely, the basic idea of this approach is the attempt to establish the ways, means and effects that serve one culture pre-

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[1] Zoran Milutinović, *Susret na trećem mestu*, Београд 2006, 25.

[2] Eduardo P. Archetti (ed.), *Exploring the Written. Anthropology and the Multiciplity of Writing*, Introduction, Scandinavian University Press, Oslo 1994, 13.

senting itself to and within itself.[3] Along the same lines, I agree with Bahtin, in that the author is a prisoner of the time and society he/she writes in, or more bluntly, in Foucault's terminology, a prisoner of a certain historical discourse, where literary texts must be seen exclusively through this presumption.[4]

In this context, a genre literature is an ideal model for analysis, considering that in this type of creative work, the key is in the way cultural consumers experience a part of cultural communication with creators of cultural products.[5] Notions like convention, structure or precisely built horizons of expectations, which help to define a genre, imply that a genre work carries a potential for communication, which, in turn, brings into research a real socio-cultural context. A genre, that is, in this context, a literary subculture, is based on certain mutual preferences shared by the author and the consumers, and refers to the narrower framework of subjects which limit the literary work in question. As pointed out by Žikić, when such a personal preference becomes a part of public, i.e., socio-cultural behavior, regardless of its artistic-esthetic aspects – then it also becomes a relevant subject of many disciplines that treat man as a socio-cultural creature.[6]

In other words, if a genre, in a certain way, conditions the reader's interpretation of a text, it is important to focus on how readers identify that genre, and not on possible theoretic classification of the same. Even if a definition of genre through formal categories manages to overcome its own limitations, "the ordinary" consumer will continue to classify a text, mostly within certain "unspoken" conventions[7]- the consumer will simply "know" whether he/she is reading a horror or science-fiction. In fact, it could be argued that genres exist only in cases when some social group announces and follows the rules constituting these genres.[8]

In this sense, a genre is not to be understood as a fixed category, culturally given once and forever. In addition, a genre is, as well as other segments of popular culture, a form constantly changing and altering, which overcomes purely essentialist attempts to establish it. Even though certain conventions, rules and structure do

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[3] Z. Milutinović, *Susret na trećem mestu*, 149.

[4] Марина Симић, *Да ли су антрополози (још увек) књижевници? (кратак преглед антрополошких приступа проблему књижевности и антропологије),* Зборник Матице српске за књижевност и језик, књ. LIII, свеска 1-3/2005, 549-560.

[5] On relevance of genre literature in anthropological studies see: Bojan Žikić, *Strah i ludilo: prolegomena za antropološko proučavanje savremene žanr-književnosti,* Etnoantropološki problemi, Nova serija, god. 1, sv. 2, Beograd 2006; Иван Ђорђевић, *Употреба традицијских мотива у фантастичној књижевности,* Гласник Етнографског института САНУ, Београд 2006; Бојан Жикић, *Страх, зло и лудило,* in: Иван Ковачевић, Бојан Жикић, Иван Ђорђевић, Страх и култура, Београд 2008, 67-127.

[6] Б. Жикић, *Страх, зло и лудило...*

[7] See Daniel Chandler, *An Introduction to Genre Theory,* http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/intgenre/intgenre1.html .

[8] Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, *Social Semiotics,* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1988, 7.

exist within a genre, they also incline to constant alterations, with a cumulative effect. This effect allows a genre to be recognizable, but at the same time, to acquire new meanings. These meanings are constructed within this chain of cultural communication by the author's creating the assumption of his/hers "ideal reader". This refers to the author's choice of the subject, but also context related to the readers' ethnic, class, religious or gender affiliation.[9]

Therefore, genre literature is based on a certain "cultural capital", mutual within the communication chain. This primarily refers to the kind of rigidity, immanent to genre, reflected in "unspoken" knowledge of a recipient, who reads/understands the things he/she expects to find. These shared meanings, in fact, represent a basic constituent allowing a genre to be identified as subculture within a given culture, and in this case, within one we usually call popular culture. However, another fact makes things even more interesting for anthropological inquiry: the "rigidity" of the genre form, paradoxically, facilitates constant installation of new meanings, which the recipients incorporate in their conceptual maps, which, on the other hand, is made possible by the reader possessing the basic, pre-given (unspoken) cultural understanding of the given genre. In this way, the transfer of cultural meanings takes place between the author-sender ("a prisoner" of the time and society they live and write in) and the reader-recipient (also "a prisoner" and product of a society, but also constituted within a genre that is, a subculture they belong to). I will try to illustrate this with an example. For instance, Ursula Le Guin, is widely considered as one of the greatest and best writers of science-fiction, i.e. she is consensually considered to be "a genre writer", whose books have been successfully sold around the world. The fact that her numerous books are colored with segments of feminist theory hardly implies that her readers/readers of science fiction are also feminists. Boldly, I'm inclined to assume that the majority of her readers have never even met any classic "feminist" work,[10] and would probably not do so even if they had a chance. Still, this does not diminish the wide readership of Le Guin, or her popularity within the genre. The thing is, the author, in a certain way, firstly legitimized herself as a member of the genre subculture. The readers, finding themselves in a cozy and familiar world of science-fiction, brimful of space crafts and new worlds, tacitly accepted the feminist undertones sent by the author.[11] Ursula Le Guin is no "elite" writer, whose works are read by exclusively dedicated and relatively narrow circle of "consumers of higher art" but the author of a pop-culture genre, whose aims are foremost, good sells and broad audience; hence, it becomes clear that sending such potentially subversive, cultural messages aimed at targeted group has a far more importance than, for example, a seminar on gender equality in the factory hall of Industrija Motora Rakovica (a fabric producing car engines in Serbia) outside normal working hours. I dare to claim this type of cultural transfer

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[9] See D. Chandler, *An Introduction...*

[10] At the time when I was reading Le Guin for the first time, I did not have a clue that such a thing as feminism exists at all, which did not prevent me for considering her my favorite author.

[11] Interestingly, the works of le Guin provoked a special subgenre of science-fiction, named by theoreticians as "feminist science-fiction".

pushes recipients into certain type of discourse, through communication using known, "rigid", cliché like forms of a given subculture.

The goal of this paper is a motif-analysis of the two Serbian science-fiction stories, with a special emphasis on those motives that in the narrative structure of the stories present a transposition of elements of "historical tradition".[12] I refer to the last 20 years or so of the socio-cultural milieu in Serbia, especially so with the process of tradition revival, and the usage of the tradition, where it is understood as a process in which traditional elements are being cut out of their primary context and used afterwards for aims not immanent within.[13] The usage of the motives will be interpreted in the context of their transformation and re-contextualization with regards to the social reality of the culture where this literature originates.

Future Serbia

The two stories analyzed in this paper belong to the so-called anti-utopia type of science-fiction[14]. This is a broad filed of literature and the general character-istic is "a vision of dangerous and alienated future societies".[15] Most of anti-utopias are based on the assumption that there are different kinds of social restrictions, forced upon inhabitants of these "future worlds". Closely related, and often impos-sible to separate from anti-utopia is a subtype of science-fiction called post-apocalyptic literature. Post-apocalyptic literature discusses a society after some ca-tastrophe, caused by various factors, earthquakes, epidemics, volcano eruptions or man-made disasters such as nuclear or environmental pollutions. In this case also, the main intention of an author of post-apocalyptic literature is to criticize society, conveying possible disastrous consequences of current social trends. This kind of science-fiction reached the peak of popularity after WW II, at the time of world-wide fear of nuclear war.[16]

The story *Равнодушност црвеног сунца* (Indifference of the Red Sun) by Miodrag Milovanović belongs to the classic type of anti-utopian prose. The story is situated in contemporary Belgrade under German rule and dominant cultural influ-ence. The main protagonist is a woman living in this prosperous and technologically well developed but alienated city; in a time machine, she manages to go back to the

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[12] On motives in historical tradition in the genre literature see Иван Ђорђевић, *Антрополошка анализа 'традицијских' мотива у домаћој научно-фантастичној књижевности*, un-published MA thesis, library of Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, Belgrade University of Philosophy.

[13] On the process of tradition revival see Slobodan Naumović, *Upotreba tradicije*, Mirjana Prošić-Dvornić (ed.), Kulture u tranziciji, Beograd 1994.

[14] Anti-utopian literature should not be reduced to science-fiction but a large number of science-fiction works certainly belong to this genre.

[15] The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition, under: dystopia

[16] See Paul Brians, *Nuclear Holocausts: Atomic War in Fiction, 1895-1984*, Kent State University Press, 1987. This large study contains more than 800 references of movies and literature dealing with a possible threat of nuclear catastrophe.

past, in order to change history and prevent the German rule over entire central Europe. The moment she finds appropriate to intervene is neither WW I nor WW II, as one might assume, but the beginning of the 19th century and the first days of the Serbian Rebellion. The woman does not try to influence Karadjordje or some other leader of the rebellion but Sava Tekelija, a well known Serbian intellectual. Her aim is to prevent this Hungarian Serb from attempting to mediate and appeal for the Austrian Emperor's help and military aid, in the liberation wars against the Turks. She succeeds in this task, influencing Tekelija to meet with Karadjordje instead with the Emperor Frantz and afterwards, the history goes back to the forms we know today.

The novel *Jeka* by Zoran Jakšić could not be classified as the classic anti-utopia but more so in the genre of post-apocalyptic prose. This novel constructs a dark world of the future, in ruins after a military misuse of a great power based on sound. Apocalypse has brought about the geographic restructures of the world as we know it today, so instead of Siberia, the Siberian Sea came about, while the Adriatic Sea has dried up completely. Still, humankind has survived, with social order regressed into a type similar to feudalism.[17] The main protagonist in the novel is a Serbian *knez* (a prince) Velibor, a ruler of the fortress-like town of Vuchitrn, who solely has the ability to communicate with a deadly sound powers, in the story named "TheVoices". The narrative is focused on the war between Serbia (with a capital in Saint Andreja) and so-called new Osmanli, who attempt to steal the knowledge of the Voices from *knez* Velibor, and to use it in their final goal – conquering the world.

The basic level of cultural contextualization in the both stories is connected to location reference – both stories take place in Serbia. In the first story, *Равнодушност црвеног сунца,* the activity is happening both in the present and past times, while *Jeka* addresses some imaginary future time, but with a clear reference to the ethnic identity of the main protagonist. In the first story, however, the location reference is extended by the time period also, as well as by the usage of the prominent individuals from the Serbian history – in this case, it is Sava Tekelija and his role in the first Serbian Rebellion. On the other hand, in the story *Jeka*, the cultural capital is not based on a real or possible historical content but is being contextualized through the war between Serbs and new Osmanli, obviously inevitable even in a scary post-apocalyptic world.

The world constructed by the author in *Равнодушност црвеног сунца* treats Serbia in the late 20th century, and this world is fundamentally different from the reality known to the more "culturally competent" readers. Namely, when the main protagonist, the woman, visits the town of Novi Sad in the beginning of the story, she wants to take a ride by using the public transportation, however, she is not faced with the familiar traffic jams and waiting in lines – instead, she just presses the button with a number of the electro-bus she wants to get on, and immediately

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[17] This is common plot in science-fiction. Probably the most known example of human "space civilization" with feudalism is *Dina* by Frank Herbert.

receives an answer from a melodious but synthetic voice: "Zwei Minuten". "The electro-bus", needless to say, has arrived precisely on time.

This cozy and obviously functional world, however, does not satisfy the main protagonist- the aim of her trip in the Vojvodina capital is an attempt to "return to the past", in a time machine, the usual tool in science-fiction.[18] Her "trip" to Novi Sad at the beginning of the 19th century is in fact motivated by the attempt to change the historical chain of events- to eliminate the past domination of the German political and cultural influences in Serbia. After she successfully succeeded in this attempt, she comes back to "her" (our) time, landing in Belgrade she doesn't know. For her, the city is new and different, but for the general reader, more than a familiar one- the author takes us in a short walk from Kalemegdan Donji Grad to Knez Mihailova street, with familiar images of the dirty docs, noisy street-cars and loaded garbage cans. In this world, as the woman pleasingly realizes, people speak Serbian and use Cyrillic letters. The people she meets are very different than those she has met in the "German" Belgrade. Hence, one of the first images she encountered were some people sitting in front of a little house and doing nothing.

> „Снајка – викну јој један од њих, испијајући неко пиће из смеђе флаше – јел' ти вруће? 'Оћеш да се разладиш?"

> "Hey you, little lady – said one of the men sitting and sipping a drink from a brown bottle – are you hot? Wanna cool off some?"

Even an ordinary event, such as going to a bookstore, where the woman attempted to buy a book on Serbian history, so she could learn about the "new" world, tells her about some different customs in Serbia. An encounter with a sales woman is an illustrative example:

> „Ова само подиже главу ка њој, ни не покушавајући да сакрије нестрпљење. Ни говора о услужности према купцу на кога је била навикла (...) Питала се како власник књижаре трпи овакво понашање ове девојке. И зашто само она ради у тако великој књижари."

> "[the sales woman] she just raised her head toward the woman, without even trying to conceal impatience. There was not a hint of servility that the woman was accustomed to (…). She was wondering how the owner of the bookstore keeps up with the girl's behavior. And why is she the only employee in such a big bookstore."

The contrast between these two worlds, the "Serbian" and "German" Belgrade, is more than obvious. Instead of noiseless electro-buses, there are noisy street-cars, instead of servility and niceness, there are impatience and rudeness. The

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[18] Time machines and the motif of traveling through time is one of the most exploited motives in the science-fiction literature. In this case, however, the plot is not centered around potential paradoxes that may appear in this "walk through time"; in this story, the popular gadget is used exclusively as a genre tool, without any elaboration on how the time machine was created or how it the functions.

dichotomy constructed in this way is one of the most frequent and most exploited stereotypes presented through the opposition Serbs: Germans. The basic level of characterization in this context is the German working ethics – "they live to work. That is why they have so much, because they have saved and accumulated wealth for themselves".[19] This stereotype portrays Germans as "working machines, pedant, dedicated to work and deprived of sense of humor",[20] and lives for more than 100 years. In 1923, Dragiša Vasić argues: "A German always works, he is always in a hurry: he does not waste any time and is serious as a machine…Sometimes he will join the dance…but he dances in the same way he works…He holds his woman as if she were some kind a of technical thing, still life…because he is a man made to work, and not a man to play games".[21] Similar images, in their purest sense, could be find in the domains of sports, when, for example, on one side, is "a football of knowledge and heart" (Red Star) versus "Latek's machinery from Moenhengladbah (Borussija)", that is, "a football of speed and rhythm, power and boldness".[22]

If the Germans are so cold and functional, what about the construction of the other in the pair – "us", the Serbs. According to the story, the working ethics in Belgrade after her intervention is not at a high level – lazy workers drinking bear, shop assistants are not servile enough or at all…In fact, this is an auto-stereotype, which could be defined in these terms: "we are the lazy people".[23] But, although we "don't know how to work", we are, on the other hand, nicer and more hospitable than the "cold and restrained Germans", which is illustrated by the example of the cheerful beer-drinkers who do not hesitate to invite a total stranger to share whatever they got to share.

So, what happened in the early 19th century that as a consequence had Germans ruling the entire Central Europe, including Serbia at the end of the 20th century? According to the story, the key event was a diplomatic success of Sava Tekelija, in his quest for help from the Austrian Emperor for the Serbian Rebellion Movement. This is an authentic historical event, and this renowned benefactor truly tried to provide support for the rebellions, not only within Vienna court but also with Napoleon as well.[24] However, this initiative failed.

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[19] M. Živković, *Nešto između...,* 91.

[20] Ibid, 92.

[21] Andrej Mitrović, *Predgovor: Srbi o Nemcima*, u zbirci Srbi o Nemcima, Beograd 1996. , 15. citations from M. Živković, *Nešto između...*, 92.

[22]According to Ivan Čolović, *Divlja književnost*, Beograd 1985, 236-237. This is an announcement of a football match between Red Star and Borussia, in October 1977.

[23] See Срђан Радовић, *Глобализација идентитета у закаснелој транзицији: представе о Европи и Србији међу студентима у Београду*, ГЕИ САНУ LV (1), Београд 2007, 54; Also Dragan Popadić, Mikloš Biro, *Autostereotipi i heterostereotipi Srba u Srbiji,* Nova srpska politička misao br. 1-2, Beograd 1999, 45.

[24] *Историја српског народа*, Пета књига, други том, Београд 1981, 19. Sava Tekelija is remembered as the first Serbian PhD and great benefactor that helped to found Matica Srpska. In Budapest, based on his legacy, so-called Tekelijanum was founded, as a school for Serbian pupils and a central place for education for young Serbs during the 19th century. As far as politics, Teke-

In the story *Равнодушност црвеног сунца,* the main protagonist manages to overturn historical events by bringing Tekelija and Karadjordje together, which brings about the fall of the Hungarian Serb, since Karadjordje did not want to accept the general Austrian protectorate over Serbia. What are the consequences for the state' future? The main protagonist of the story, the woman, learns about the main events through history books; she comes to a conclusion that the history of Serbian people is not bright, according to the scenario in which Tekelija failed. In a conversation with him, at the end of his life (she visited him with the help of the time machine), she says:

„Нисам ни помишљала да ће Турци тако лако поново прегазити Србију. Много људи погибе.“

„И сад је тешко у Србији“, рече он (...)

„Биће још теже“, рече она. „Много ће се ратова водити и много ће Срба изгинути.“

„Хоће ли бар Србљи имати своју државу? Хоће ли се испунити мој сан о Илирском краљевству?“ рече он узбуђено.

„Хоће, али ће та држава мало среће Србима донети. Када сам вам послала поруку, вратила сам се у доба из кога сам пошла да видим шта сам учинила. Србија је опет била пред ратом.“

"I never though the Turks would conquer Serbia again, so easy. Many people have died."

"It is a difficult time for Serbia, now", he says (…).

"It will be even more difficult", she says. "There will be many wars and many Serbs will be killed."

"Will the Serbs, at least, have their own state? Will my dreams of The Illyrian Kingdom be fulfilled?" he asked, excited.

"Yes, they will, but that state will bring very little luck to the Serbs. When I sent a message to you, I came back to the time I set off from to see what I have done. Serbia was at the brink of war, again."

The not-so-bright future of Serbia implies that the decision of the main protagonist to change the history is at least problematic, when it comes to "people's fate". It is evident that something must have influenced the woman to undertake so risky and uncertain deed.

„Зато што сам живела у будућности за коју сам веровала да је најгора од свих могућих. Цела средња Европа била је под немачком влашћу. Живело се добро, али су сву надарену децу

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lija's influence was indirect even though some data show he had had the ambition to be the leader of the future state.

осталих народа одузимали родитељима још као бебе и школовали их по интернатима за Немце. Језици других народа су одумирали. Обичаји такође. Ја сам тек пред крај гимназије сазнала за своје порекло. Сазнала да сам Српкиња.“

"It is because I was living in the future I believed to be the worst of all possible. The entire central Europe was under the German rule. Life was good, but they were taking all the gifted children from their parents, from the rest of the nations, since they were babies and educated them in institutions for Germans. Languages of other people were dying out. Customs too. Only at the end of my high school did I found out about my background. I found out I'm a Serb."

When it comes to the fate of the state after the 19th century rebellion, she says to Tekelija:

„У свету који сам уништила (...) цар вас је поставио за намесника Србије. А Били сте на челу Србије двадесет девет година, успевајући да вештим дипломатским потезима сачувате мир.“

"In the world I destroyed (…), the Emperor made you a vice-gerent of Serbia. You were the leader for 29 years, managing to keep peace by diplomatic measures."

The narrative structure of the story offers a crucial dilemma – to chose "good life", in peace and prosperity but under the alien rule or engage in war and suffer but keep one's own ethnic identity. Tekelija's wisdom and diplomacy, supported by Austria, obviously brought the needed stability to Serbia but the final consequence of such politics is vanishing of the Serbian people, in this context related to loosing the mother tongue and customs, as crucial markers of the identity. The reference to "children being taken away" – a creation of new "German janicar", tells us that there is no difference between the invaders, between a huge and anachronic empire such as Ottomans', and a "developed' civilization such as Germany at the end of the 20th century. According to this narrative, the aim is the same – "soul kidnapping", loosing the most significant gift left by the ancestors – national identity.

The main protagonist, in this case, is not bothered by the dilemma- even though she is well aware that the fate she is inflicting on "her people" is laden with temptations and troubles, she still does not want to re-turn history in the direction which would result in "the death of the nation". The usage/appearance of individuals from the historical tradition, such as Sava Tekelija – becomes clear in this context. Because Sava Tekelija, even though he was a great benefactor and a fighter for the "Serbian cause", was not a "real Serb" – he was raised and educated in an alien world, and prone to influences from outside, and ready to sacrifice the "essence" for material prosperity. Albeit his attentions are truly honest, his essential misunderstanding of his own people and their historical priorities leads to a debacle as the main protagonist understands it- to assimilation into German or any other nation.

In this case, the key word is fear – a fear of loosing the ethnic identity, seen from a perspective of a dominant narrative in the past two decades of the 20th century. This novel searches for answers in the historical tradition of the Serbian nation, presenting potential alternatives and solutions offered by our ancestors, and in this context, offering also a representative model of behavior in the contemporary time.

The future of the Serbian state, as presented in the second analyzed story, is also not bright. The novel *Jeka* presents an image of a post-apocalyptic Serbian empire in a conflict again with Osmanli. The narrative structure, though, is not focused on battles between the armies, but on a personal drama experienced by *knez* Velibor. The military aspect of the plot is solved right at the beginning, the powerful Turkish army effortlessly conquered the city of Vucitrn. The main part of the story relates to the chase of the Ottoman military official Armin after the *knez*, with a goal to take over the powers which allow *knez* Velibor to rule the so-called "Voices".[25]

The *knez*'s dilemma in this situation is a difficult one- to use "The Voices" and defeat new Osmanli, but with a considerable risk of breaking the oath and potentially cause new apocalypse, or to accept the defeat of the Serbs but keep the secret of "the lethal weapon", even if the stake is death.

Velibor of Vucitrn is obviously facing a similar dilemma to the one that torchered his "senior colleague":

> Царе Лазо честито колено,
> Коме ћеш се приволети царству?
> Или волиш царству небескоме,
> Или волиш царству земаљскоме?
> Ако волиш царству земаљскоме,
> Седлај коње, притежи колане!
> Витезови сабље припасујте,
> Па у Турке јуриш учините:
> Сва ће турска изгинути војска!
> Ако л' волиш царству небескоме,
> А ти сакрој на Косову цркву,
> Не води јој темељ од мермера,
> Већ од чисте свиле и скерлета,
> Па причести и нареди војску;
> Сва ће твоја изгинути војска,

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[25] Novelty, in this story, beside the apocalyptic vision of the future, is "Voices". They represent a result of scientific discovery which allows a transfer of human thought in certain sound data. According to the story, these specific sounds- "solitoni", are placed deep inside the Earth, existing in magma. The apocalypse on Earth was caused by an attempt to use "The Voices" in military purposes, which brought about volcano eruptions , drying of seas and similar catastrophes. Velibor's power to communicate with "The Voices" is inherited through his family, but with a requirement never to allow "sound powers" to be used as weapon.

Ти ћеш, кнеже, с њоме погинути.[26]

Emperor Lazar, you who are an honest man,
Which empire will you chose?
Will you chose the Heaven, or
Will you chose a life on this Earth?
If you prefer the empire on this Earth,
Then saddle your horses, and fasten the girths!
Knights, you take out your swords,
And chase the Turks away:
All the Turks will die!
But if you prefer the empire in Heaven,
Then you should build a church in Kosovo,
With foundations made not of marble
But pure silk and scarlet,
Then bless your army and order War;
All of your army will be killed,
And You Emperor, will die too.

This represents a classic traditional pattern that belongs to the Kosovo mythical cycle. The key references for a culturally competent reader are the location – *knez* rules from Vucitrn, a city in Kosovo – and so to speak – the social reference- the social order functioning on the basis of city-fortress. This provides a clear association to the Middle-Age Serbian state. The enemy is the same – the new Osmanli, but with the same characteristics of the "original" enemy. This image of a Turk, presenting him as "a wild, impulsive and fanatic Asian", who has to be a barbarian if he wants to stay true to his religion, and who "never pretends to be a humanist, he doesn't even have a notion of humanity, nor is he allowed to have one",[27] could be illustrated with the following example:

„Тела заробљених Радунових људи била су обешена по гондоли заповедничког дирижабла (...) По труплима прибијеним попут трофеја видео је трагове ужасног мучења. На тренутак на кобилици угледа Радунов леш, удова неприродно савијених.“

"The bodies of the captured Radun's people were hanged all over (…) The bodies, at a display like trophies, showed signs of terrible tortures.

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[26] *Пропаст царства српскога,* Вук Караџић, *Српске народне пјесме,* II, Нолит, Београд 1969, 186-188.

[27] A description of Zivojin Zujovic, cited in O. Milosavljević, *U tradiciji nacionalizma...*, 286. An interesting fact, according to the author, is that the Turks, even though labeled as "eternal enemies" by the Serbs, were not always portrayed as having only negative characteristics. Even when they were labeled as "wild Asiatic clans", their bravery and military skills were never questioned, or even some degree of tolerance. See: ibid, pp. 284-291. This is similar to their representation in the novel *Jeka*- even though the brutality of the new Osmanli is more than obvious, they are portrayed as extraordinary trained and efficient army, while Armin-pasha represents a model of "Eastern wisdom".

For a moment, he spotted Radun's corpse, his extremities un-naturally detached."

Velibor, on the other hand, is portrayed as a "hero, who fights and dies for his faith".[28] His decision is similar to the Lazar's decision, he chooses the empire "for ever and ever". In the novel, the concept of "holiness" is not presented in the classical Christian code- in fact, this aspect is not mentioned at all. Instead, "The Voices" appear; even though they are to a certain extent a human product, they do posses Godly powers, they inhabit eternity, and have powers that largely overcome the understanding of the ordinary mortals. When Velibor refuses to use the power he has over the "Voices", he expresses a deep worship towards the great power of these entities. In addition, "holiness" of the Serbian prince is not under any doubt, considering that even the enemy, Amin-pasha, describes Velibor like this:

„Ти си свети човек Вел'бор пашо, то је сваком видљиво“, рече он. „Али чак и светост мора да научи да ми се уклања са пута.“

"You are a holly man, *knez* Velibor, that is obvious to everybody", he says. "But even holiness has to learn to get out my way."

This is the point where the true character of the Ottoman soldier reveals completely. What he wants from the Serbian *knez* is not the territory itself but also powers over "Voices".

„Легенда каже да онај ко држи медаљон моћи заповеда над три војводе: белим, црвеним и црним (...) Црни има моћ да ваља читаве планине; онај на чијој се страни бори готово је непобедив. Ко зна име све тројице, тај је господар рата (...) Ти знаш шта желим, зар не? Откриј ми име црног војводе.“

"Legend says that the one who holds a medallion has a power over the three dukes: white, red and black (…) The black duke has a power to move mountains; no one can defeat the one on whose side the black duke is fighting. The one who knows the names of all three dukes, is the lord of the war (…) You know what do I want, right? Reveal the name of the black duke."[29]

This time also Velibor refuses to break the oath, and tries to commit suicide with his sword. Belial, the black duke, though not summoned, shows up. Commenting on the event, Amin-pasha says:

„Послушај ме, Гласу. Од сада ћеш бити продужетак моје моћи. Послушај ме и изврши, убијај и пустоши. Мој слуго, заједно ћемо покорити свет.“

„У том тренутку, небо се провали. Белиал се смејао.“

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[28] Dušan Bandić, *Carstvo zemaljsko i carstvo nebesko*, Beograd 1997, 229.

[29] The black duke, known under the name Belial, is the most powerful of all "Voices".

"Listen to me, you the Voice. From now on, you will be an extension of my power. Obey and enact, kill and destroy. My servant, together we will conquer the world. At the same moment, the skies break down, Belial was laughing."

The supernatural entity, hence, has revealed itself. Apocalypse has started again. Apocalypse caused by greed and desire for an absolute power. This is about a classical Biblical metaphor on Sodom and Gomorra, the destruction of the world which did not respect "the laws of God". The coming punishment could wipe out the humankind from the face of the Earth. However, this is not a destiny fated for *knez* Velibor, the holly man. He remains untouchable in this replica of the Last Judgment, while lavas erupt and humankind dies in torment, Belial saves him. *Knez* recognizes that even if he dies, he will continue his life in another dimension, among the "Voices". So, he is rewarded for a martyr's death – an eternal life in the "Heaven's empire".[30]

Velibor's decision not to use the "Voices" is caused not only by the given oath. Imprisoned by Amin-pasha, he assesses his options:

„Зашто не позовеш Белиала сада? упита се. Једним ударцем збрисао би и мучитеље и жртве. Ватром би наплатио Јеленин, Радунов бол. Шта је то до чега ти је још стало? Али *слика легија бола над Европом* од претходне ноћи још је била жива.“

"Why don't you summon Belial now? He asks himself. With this one shot, he would destroy both the tormentor and victims. A fire would be a pay off for Jelena's and Radun's pain. What is it that you still care about? But *the image of pain and sorrow over Europe* (my cursive) from the last night was still alive."

In this way, the conflict between *knez* Velibor and Amin-pasha gains a new dimension. It is not the question of a local war, a conflict between two empires. The stake is the destiny of the entire "old continent"! This appears to be a version of the ubiquitous myth about Europe, according to which "Europeans are forgetting that they are indebted mostly to Serbia for their survival and peaceful development, for in Kosovo, Serbia has defended successfully Western Europe from the Turkish invasion."[31]

This narrative is not just the "Serbian specialty", but is also very popular among other peoples as well: "For the Austrians, the Slovenians appear as wild horde and they need an imaginary wall for protection. The Slovenians build walls

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[30] D. Bandić, *Carstvo zemaljsko...*, 230.

[31] I. Čolović, *Politika simbola,* 45. Slobodan Miloshevic also reminded Europeans of this fact, during a speech on the celebration of 600 years of the Kosovo battle: "Six centuries ago, here in Kosovo, Serbia had defended itself. But Serbia had also defended Europe. Serbia was at Europe's dam, protecting European culture, religion, society as a whole. That is why today it appears unfair and also un-historical and totally absurd to discuss on Serbian membership in Europe". *Политика*, 29. Jun 1989. ibid. 45.

before the invasion of un-civilized Croatians; the Croatians take a distance from their neighbors, the wild Serbs; the Serbs think about themselves as the last shield/protectors of Christianity which guards them (but also Europe) from the Islamic invasion. The cultural boundaries and walls are built up and shifted four times – and all justified by the protection of Christianity against the wild horde."[32]

The main lesson of the novel *Jeka* is found in the thoughts of the *knez* Velibor:

> „(...) војске нових Османлија јуриле су на крилатим коњима и палиле град за градом. Историја се враћала. Царство српско и османлијско сукобљавали су се поново, јуришали једно на друго, макар и на небу, макар и после апокалипсе, а све то било је истргнуто негде из давнина, као да се прошлост мора враћати опет и опет (...) Исти сукоби понављали су се од памтивека, све док свака разлика између појединих периода не нестане."

> "(…) the army of the new Osmanli ran around on Pegasus and burned city after city. The history repeated itself. The Serbian and the Osman empires were in war again, going after one another, even in skies, even after the apocalypse, and all these were torn out somewhere from the olden times, as if the past had to return over and over again (…). The same conflicts had been reappearing since for ever, until all differences between certain periods disappeared altogether."

History comes in cycles, hence. Even if it is the 14th century, when the Serbs and Ottomans fought over in Kosovo, or in the 19th century, when the rebellions fought for independence, or in the 20th century or some post-apocalyptic future, a fight for the nation preservation is inevitable. The historical cycle of events warns, that even in times of potential prosperity, there has to be caution about the possible conflicts. The image of the world, in which "all differences between certain periods disappear" in fact points out to an un-historical, mythical image of the nation existence, and where the only possible answer comes out from the "essential" holy story about Kosovo. To survive, and preserve an identity, is made possible only within a framework of this model.

Conclusion

The key words connecting the analyzed images are fear of losing (national) identity and strategy of resistance towards the ones who, presumably, want to "abduct" the identity. In this sense, the return to the "historical tradition" in the analyzed material, aims at assessing certain models offered by the past; which have unquestionable value and at selecting those historical models who have solved suc-

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[32] Slavoj Žižek, *Uživanje u pokornosti i sluganstvu*, Naša borba, 5.1.1997, cited by M. Živković, *Nešto između....*, 96.

cessfully, in this discourse, a problem of national survival at the "stage of nations", such as *knez* Lazar or Karadjordje.

It is very interesting that almost all narrators emphasize the inevitable sufferings and not so bright future of the Serbs, while at the same time, this alternative is being fully accepted if the national identity is at stake. In this light, the analyzed narratives function as a reflection of a culture, selective or chosen tradition with constant selection and re-election of the precursors.[33] The motives from the "historical tradition", in this genre re-interpretation, have an exclusive function of re-affirming the dominant public speech from the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990's, offering desirable models in current socio-political moment- which represents the only correct, "patriotic" road into the "happy past" of the Serbs.[34]

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[33] Dean Duda, *Nadziranje značenja: što je kultura u kulturalnim studijima*, Časopis Reč, 64/10, Decembar 2001, 241.

[34] М. Прошић-Дворнић, *Модели ретрадиционализације: пут у будућност враћањем у прошлост*, Гласник Етнографског института САНУ, књ. XLIV, Београд 1995, 307.

Иван Ђорђевић

Историјска традиција у домаћој жанровској књижевности

Циљ овог рада јесте мотивска анализа двеју приповедака које припадају корпусу домаће научнофантастичне књижевности, при чему се посебан акценат ставља на оне мотиве који у наративној структури приповедака представљају транспозицију елемената „историјске традиције“. Реферишући на социокултурни миље у Србији у последњих двадесет година, пре свега имам у виду захуктали процес ретрадиционализације, за овај период веома карактеристичан, и – са тим у вези – „употребу традиције“ схваћену као „процес у оквиру кога се елементи традиције исецају из свог основног контекста и користе за остваривање циљева који им по себи нису иманентни“. Употреба наведених мотива биће тумачена у контексту њихове трансформације и реконтекстуализације, у односу на друштвену реалност културе у којој ова књижевност настаје.

У овом раду полазим од претпоставке да је жанровска књижевност заснована на извесном „културном капиталу“, који је заједнички унутар комуникацијског ланца аутор – читалац. То се превасходно односи на ону врсту „крутости“, иманентне жанру, која се одражава у „прећутном“ знању реципијента о томе да чита оно што очекује. Та (по)дељена значења, заправо, представљају основни конституент који омогућава да се жанр идентификује као поткултура у оквиру дате културе, у овом случају – оне коју уобичајено називамо популарном. Оно што, међутим, феномен чини још интересантнијим за антрополошко испитивање јесте чињеница да сама „крутост“ жанровске форме, наизглед парадоксално, омогућава константно учитавање нових значења, која реципијент, с обзиром на базично и априорно (прећутно) културно разумевање које у оквиру жанра поседује, инкорпорира у сопствену концептуалну мапу. На тај начин се врши трансфер културних значења на линији *аутор пошиљалац* ('заробљеник' сопственог времена и продукт друштва у којем пише) – *читалац реципијент* (такође 'заробљеник' и продукт друштва, али и конституисан у оквиру жанра, односно поткултуре којој 'припада').

На основу анализиране грађе може се закључити да кључне речи које повезују представе које се у овом контексту стварају јесу страх од губитка (националног) идентитета и стратегија отпора према ономе ко, претпостављено, тај идентитет жели да „отме“. У том смислу, повратак у „историјску традицију“ има за циљ управо преиспитивање појединих модела које нам прошлост нуди и, уз позивање на њихов несумњиви ауторитет, одабир оних историјских узора који су, у овом дискурсу, проблем опстанка на „позорници нација“ успешно решили. Мотиви из „историјске традиције“, кроз овакву жанровску реинтерпретацију, имају искључиво функцију потврђивања доминатног јавног говора краја осамдесетих и почетка деведесетих година прошлог века, нудећи пожељне моделе за актуелни друштвенополитички тренутак.

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Serbia – from Miki and Kupinovo to Europe: Public Performance and the Social Role of Celebrity *

This paper deals with the analysis of public performance and social role of a media star in the post-socialist Serbia on the example of Miki Đuričić, the participant of the first series of reality show *Big brother* in this region. The issues are regarded through the prism of theater anthropology of Erving Goffman, corrected and complemented with Baudrillard's concepts of simulacrum and simulation. Discursive, symbolic, social, cultural and political practices are discussed as well as the impact of that performance and the efforts of their representation in the light of "new face of Serbia".

In September 2006, for the first time, the broadcast of the world famous *reality show Big Brother*[1] started in Serbia, achieving the highest watching rate already during the first days. It is considered that the greatest merit for this belongs to the one of the participants, Miroslav Miki Đuričić, a beekeeper and woodcutter from the village in Srem, Kupinovo. It was because of him that numerous spectators followed the events in the house of *Big Brother* either on TV or on the internet. They were retelling his conduct in great details, and "mikisms" – his famous quotations appropriate for any situation (such as "my day smells Paco Rabanne way"[2] for the morning or "If I knew why I was afraid of dark, I wouldn't be afraid of it at all"

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[1] This is common Big Brother for Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Hertzegovina.

[2] Serbian word for day – "dan" makes rhyme with Rabanne.

for the evening) entered the repertoire of the popular culture instantly. A star was born. "Beekeeper as penicillin, beekeeper on the prescription!"[3] was the slogan of the Big Brother audience these days. His fans decided that his leaving the house of Big Brother with the song that reminded him of his birthplace Kupinovo ("Come, baby, to Obedska bara") overshadowed the adoration of the new Constitution. They also decided that this should not be the end of his career. As one of delighted participants of B92 forum suggested: "Let's go everybody for the ZEN lessons to Kupinovo!" Thus, this paper is not devoted to the analysis of the phenomenon of *Big Brother,* but rather to the analysis of performance of Miki from Kupinovo as a celebrity. Why he, and why in this key?

Miki's performance on the media scene and in the social field is sometimes considered as something that reexamines every normative, dominant and excluding model of thinking and acting, representing in a wider sense the criticism of identity formations and politics of identity, inclining to transgression of each dominant and normative discourse that is imposed and proposed to any society. Image and act of "uncrowned king of the *Big Brother"* are therefore important here exclusively in the sense of their discursive, cultural and political outputs. The fact that cultural and political outputs allegedly, symbolized by Miki Đuričić are represented and interpreted in the light of "new face of Serbia", cleared and emancipated from the Balkan "mud", wars and nationalist discourse, deserves, at least, careful requestioning that will be made in this paper.

The aims of this paper are to do a formal analysis of the performance of the celebrity, thus initiating the debate on the "social role" of Miki Đuričić in the postsocialist mass-media simulacrum of the so called second transition in Serbia. First I will focus on theoretization of mass-media culture in the beginning of articulation of mass-media mass consumer society in the Western culture in the middle of the last century, and afterwards I will point to the change in the reflection on media phenomena by introducing more contemporary concepts of simulacrum and hyperreality.

Methodology that I used for the formal analysis of the performance is based on Goffman's theatre anthropology[4] made by using dramaturgical i.e. theatrical principals in the analysis of social life. However, this text does not represent literal application of Goffman's concept of theater anthropology, but rather requestioning possibilities of its usage in the contemporary context. Reason for this is culturological aspect of this concept according to which "social role" is not reality, but representation and reservation of reality.[5] However, Goffman also claims that the role does make an impact on reality, participating in the production of identity of its owner. By this conclusion, the borders between real (natural, everyday, real) and

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[3] This is a commentary from forum RTV B92 about Big Brother.

[4] Erving Gofman, *Kako se predstavljamo u svakodnevnom životu*, Geopoetika, Beograd 2000, 29.

[5] With this one should not forget that complete idea was conceived some fifty years ago, when some other concepts were impossible to think.

fictional (mass-media) are relativized. I insist on this when I use Goffman's theory in this text, holding to the criticism of Goffman's concept given by Ana Vujanović.[6]

Trying to define public performance of the celebrity in culture, I also introduce Baudrillard's concept of "simulacrum and simulation". Simulacrum is a copy without an original, the system of signs that continues to exist, real and true; its reality originates from itself. In a representation the sign only is real. In a simulacrum, real is only what is signed, while the system of signs refers to itself as a reality.[7]

Why do we need such revision of Goffman at all? Because his theory, as it is pointed out by Ana Vujanović, although represents very operative model for the analysis of public performances, assumes the gap between theatre scene of the social life and the reality of everyday life. The title of the study, *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, refers to the existence of two completely different and separated realities – presenting and living everyday life, artificial role and some "real" and stable identity. Only by redefinition of the relation between private and public, fictional and real scene where we live, do the theories of culture deprive the mass-media and media entertainment of an alibi of separation and isolation from real life. Contemporary mass-media, namely, transform and produce reality that is more real than reality, reality without cause; hiding its own media, they hide social processes of performing that reality.

According to such methodology, I regard public performances of Miroslav Miki Đuričić not as a transcendent and artificial phenomenon, but as a cultural reality which is a part of reality of our postsocialist everyday life, privacy and identity.

I identify "naturalness" as a dominant instrument of Miki's performances, so the main thesis of the text is that "naturalness" is the effect of almost perfectly hidden media, and almost perfectly hidden social process of producing that reality. That means that the performance practice of Miki Đuričić hides social reasons, procedures and mechanisms of its appearing. His "naturalness" (illusion of spontaneity, authenticity, closeness) is the crucial mechanism of censorship of his functions in a concrete society. In that sense, it will be important to identify particular phases in his performing. Mass-media societies of information and semiotic period (period known as late modernism: late capitalist, late socialist and late postsocialist) allow exceptional place for this social practice (mass-media scene), which never transcends society, but rather represents intrasocial operational practice.

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How do Miki's story, syntagm of myth or dramaturgy of performance look like in short? We project the "beginning of the story" retrospectively. Everything

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[6] Ana Vujanović, *Javni nastup i društvena uloga*, Kultura: časopis za teoriju i sociologiju kulture i medija*,* br. 102, Zavod za proučavanje kulturnog razvitka, Beograd 2002, 54-62.

[7] Ibid, 16.

that we know about him, we actually found out after Miki became a tenant of the *Big Brother* house. It came to us in the manner of dense comparative narration, while we followed what was going on in the *Big Brother*. After leaving the house of *Big Brother* Miki talked about his former life like this: "I work as much as I need. I go to the forest, I work three days as a horse and then I sell wood, take the money, and as long as I have the money I do not do anything else. I realized that I don't need this. I don't feel free". However, his life has completely changed during the last year. He almost never entered the forest, he moved from Kupinovo to Belgrade twice and it seemed that the freedom in his life gained completely new meaning. Miki said that his life in Kupinovo was difficult.

Numerous representatives of his generation may identify or sympathize with these elements of his narrative. He spent his youth in the period of transition and he had never traveled out of Serbia. He did not finish high school because his family did not have enough money. He quarreled a lot with his father, and he was "a good pal" only with his grandfather. "Everybody told me that – we will send your sister to school because she has to get married, and you will stay in the village, so you don't need anything. Half of the property is already sold out and now I've started to sell the rest"[8] because "a monotonous life when you've got everything is not worthy". He worked in the forest, he collected bees, he was betting at the bookies, played cards. That is how Miki's life looked like until the September 2006. Soon after first several days of his staying in the house of *Big Brother,* Serbia (and several bordering countries) were infused with *mikimania.* He became the most famous tenant, and his "jokes" and adventures were intensively retold. He was considered the main favorite for the winning. After only several days, he got a fun-club web-site. Even rumors about him as a candidate for the president appeared. However, after two weeks in the house, Miki decided to leave. After this he was a guest in many TV and radio shows, entertaining but also political (including *Impression of the Week* and *Polygraph).* He filmed two advertisements for peanuts (first one brought him 55 000 Euros, which is more than a half of the money of the prize in *Big Brother* – without VAT), he played for the first team of Football Club Tehničar, trained by ex-coach of the representation of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Santrač; he became the first man in Serbia who appeared with two girls at the cover sheet of the prestigious men's magazine "Playboy", he bought a grange, traveled out of the country for the first time (before that he did not have a passport; according to some estimations, it is the case with 75% citizens of Serbia), he hosted *Big brother,* radio-show *Miki's ŠNIP* (Shocking program with no reason) on B92, he was a guest star in the popular series *Mile against transition,* participated in the poker tournament in Istria, received the offer from the Ministry of Environment to become the promoter of their actions[9]... In September 2007 he returned to the house of *Big Brother,* entering it as a star, and leaving it again on his own initiative, after forty days. Since March 2008 he has participated in Radio Television Pink TV show *Dancing with the Stars*.

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[8] M. Radojković, *Miki se vraća u kuću*, Blic, Beograd, 28. oktobar 2006.

[9] He had to give up on this, because he did not have the necessary high school diploma.

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Miki's performance might be roughly divided into two phases. The first phase comprises Miki's staying in the house of *Big Brother* and his first performances after leaving it. In the second phase I include his gradual integration into the media (entertainment) scene of Serbia, which, as we may conclude from some forums, coincided with the decline of his popularity and loosing money, culminating with his re-entering the house of *Big Brother* – a thing he said he would never do – and with his participation in the show of RTV Pink, for which he claimed that he would never be its guest. The changes in the performance might be indicative for a change in the whole cultural model they represent (index). Before I turn to each of these phases in particular and to the changes that separate these phases one from another, I am going to give several common remarks about his public performance during the last year and a half.

Performance, i.e. performing the social role, means, according to Goffman, two types of activities. In his study, Goffman points out that "Expressivity of individual includes two extremely different types of the sign activities. One includes expressions that are *produced* by individual, and the other type are those expressions that *reveal* him or her"[10] Ana Vujanović rejects expressivity, suggesting instead of it the concepts of production and offering.[11] However this does not reduce the importance of Goffman's classification. There is, respectively, activity that is constitutive for a certain role and the one that falls out from it and disturbs it. According to Goffman, the second one is "revealing", falling out from the symbolic armor which performance offers.

Both mentioned activities, or in poststructuralist terms, textual productions, are present in Miki's performance during the regarded period. However, the second one, in his case, does not corrupt his performance, as we might expect according to Goffman. It is impossible to read in it anything that the produced signs intentionally hide. Miki's (physical) flaws and errors are not at all more discrediting than what he consciously offers. There are numerous examples for that. During his stay at the *Big Brother* house, he, for example, calls himself "natural idiot", and very similarly he addresses the audience (this way he revolutionizes one-side reception show into interactive one). He says to himself: "My nose is a bit curved, because, when I was little, I used to fall down rectilinearly", "give me the shirt, I can't go so naked, look at my spoilers "aesthetics does not count, the message does", "I played marbles until five, six years ago; people were telling me – you idiot, leave marbles to the kids…", "among us here, I'm the most stupid, but you're stupid as well", "old horse doesn't learn in the car. I ask 'Big Brother' to go to my home, to dig out my diploma from primary school and to bring it here"... These are some of his most popular quotations.[12] He is the one who breaks the rules of the house most often; he is the

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[10] E. Gofman, op. cit, 16.

[11] This actually is the essential for Goffman's method that keeps quite clear border between performance of social role and real identity of public person.

[12] http://sr.wikiquote.org. Most of his quotation is possible to find on this web address.

one that rarely controls cursing and he is able "to criticize everyone" "he is able to tell everything looking straight in the both[13] eyes of *Big Brother*. All this is the constitutive part of his naturalness. Simultaneously and explicitly he works from the both sides of production. Defects and errors are welcomed. They construct his spontaneity and immediacy that are the basis of his performance. By this (at the first sight, paradox), such a performance makes strong and stable "symbolic armor" that, practically, protects itself from the cracks that might appear as a result of "revealing", unintentionally produced signs. Every exaggeration is desirable because it is already integrated in the system that allows it and anticipates it. In the final instance, however, this usage, and even, emphasizing errors might lead to the contra effect, in the case when it is not seen any more as slipping, which, it seems, started to happen in the second phase.[14] This, however, does not mean that, behind the "personal façade" (according to Goffman) which seems to be consciously and intentionally offered, we might find the "truth" of society, its suppressed contents that cause the process of production behind this "façade". There is nothing behind it, and the complete signifying practice happens on the surface. The way of performing includes the content and its organization. There is discursive membrane that promises the meaning and sense for people of late postsocialism who, through offered "entertainment and not only entertainment" search for the solution – or, at least – the possibility to suppress the problems of everyday life. But, resistance of material media is already shown and its demystification is not necessary. It is revealed as something that constitutes performance, and not as something that would bother this constitution. The media itself become illusory transparent.

Beekeeper Has Just Left the Building …[15]

I consider that the first performances of Miki are not only first performances in the house of Big Brother but also the first performances after leaving it. They are characteristic of, in Goffman's terminology, so called undignified appearance. His »personal facade« is far from the glamorous media ideal of the "real man" – representing maybe even its opposite. He is chubby, he does not exercise in the gym, and his wardrobe is totally „out". On TV, in press, but also on forums that follow *Big Brother* he is described as typical example of "ordinary man", "typical represent of Serbian folk", "honest Lala, jokester", „nice guy from Srem" and "clever, openhearted and intelligent Serbian peasant". During his stay in the first series of *Big brother* (15-29 September 2006) and in the shows in which he was a guest immediately after leaving the house (which happened on his own initiative, although, according to forums, polls and betting places, he was the main favorite for winner),

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[13] So called left and right eyes of *Big Brother* are monitoring systems used in the show.

[14] The content of the posts at B92 forum from the last three days of the first series of *Big Brother* that mention Miki with negative connotation might be summed up with a commentary from the forum: "Why is he surprised that PINK Serbia accepts him – he belongs to them!" http://forum.b92.net/lofiversion/index.php/t18508-1700.html

[15] *Shepard has just left the building* is famous song by Rambo Amadeus, one of Miki's favorite musicians, about the leader and his herd, i.e. swarm.

he was constructing and strengthening such an appearance. He insists on honesty and he answers all the questions ready and "openly". His appearance and manners are completely "out": his cloths are unconventional, his language as well, in front of the cameras he behaves "spontaneously" and he does not hide his "inglorious" past (he did not finish high school, he was a beekeeper and woodcutter and he spent most of the time in the bet places etc.) This is the quotation of the first Miki's appearing in Big Brother: "I screwed up 28 years of my life. I live with my father, mother and divorced sister... She has a son. Kid is the fan of Zvezda, and I'm the fan of Partizan; he put the posters of Zvezda all around the house… Everyone gave up on me. You're my chance to blow them all in one moment and never come back!"[16]

What is the most obvious in this performance is the mentioned work with the flaws. The effect of such a work is the explicit display of defects, and their intentional inclusion in the performance (instead of suppression and hiding), transform them into the constitutive part of the performance, and not into something that corrupts it.

Great attention and some kind of cultural shock[17] were provoked by his statements on the account of politicians and show business stars,[18] his political attitudes, music, film and media preferences.[19] In that sense, extremely emphasized was the fact that he was much better informed and had completely different way of thinking than other tenants of the *Big Brother* house – mostly students and artists (four of the tenants actually graduated from the university). "Why would my parents pay for school, when you may, as good Will Hunting says, go to the library and take the book you want to read!", is one of his famous statements. He works with his flaws: "I ask mister Ivan Klajn to publish in the next NIN if there are any spelling mistakes, or this is ok! I've never written this! You need high school for everything!"

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[16] http://sr.wikiquote.org

[17] Obviously, peasant with eight grades of primary school who watches the films by Jim Jarmusch is being recognized as some kind of dissonance in the local cultural cognition. When Marko Vidojkovic asked him "about the type of the village that we do not know", he said "there are more 'peasants', as you like to call them, in the cities, than in the villages. There are two thousands people in my village and twenty of us like Jarmusch, and are there twenty thousand people in Belgrade who like Jarmusch?" http://www.b92.net/kultura_old/index.php?view=61&did=20752&plim=20

[18] Some of his most noticed and the most commented statements were those about folk star Ceca and the prime minister Koštunica, about politicians Dejan Mihajlov and Dobrivoj Budimirović Bidža, psychologist Jovan Marić, TV B92 and its director Veran Matić (although this was not broadcasted, but one could see it on the live stream).

[19] Among his favorites are Jarmusch, Wenders, Kaurismaki (film), Murakami (literature), Nina Simon, Janis Joplin (music)… I mention each of them separately, because the members of the forum about *Big Brother,* especially on B92 forum reacted on these names very strongly, especially concerning the film directors who are usually not concerned as a mainstream, having a status of "cult".

Magazine *Danas* notices that as such, Miki gains popularity of so called first and so called second Serbia.[20] Among the tenants of *Big Brother* he is a friend with a big Serb (Montenegrin?) Nikola and with a Muslim Edin, saying: "nationality doesn't matter. Edin and Dragana are the same for me – Bosnians". Not long after that he says: "Hey, I'll be honest with you. You're cool for me, how can I not like stupid Bosnian?"

Although one may argue about what is first and what is second Serbia, and refute (with the strong points) that such structural setting may be relevant model of Serbian society,[21] it is enough to say that the first ones recognize, in Miki's courses and the attitude "nothing human is strange to me", resistance towards the new world order, and their own locally oriented phantasms. The others emphasize his critical remarks on SRS, the prime minister and the church, as well as the fact that he is informed about alternative[22] art scene. The first emphasize his primary school, life in the village, „folk spirit", while the other see him as one who is an expert in alternative (film) arts and poker, getting delighted with assumed dissonance of his origin, level of education and cultural affinities. This is the reason why "both" Serbias find in him the monitor for their own social projections and see him as culturally preferable.

As formally uneducated, but being familiar with different media popcultures that are more or less present, versed peasant, interested in different cultures who never traveled out of his country, represents that painful spot that is suppressed by society, being however reconstituted and revealed exactly on the cultural scene (scene of the exceptional mass-media signifying practices such as entertainment, sexuality, arts and even religion) that actually has a function to hide it. "I am a likable peasant who doesn't hesitate to say what he thinks. And then again, I'm completely acceptable." He is supposed to index cultural changes that are considered to come with "new face of Serbia", face that is turned to both "European" and "local" values. That is why we talk about "Serbia from Miki"[23], and Serbia as a "country of peasants in the Balkans", but also peasants that accept European values. Miki himself claims that "there are many Mikies in Serbia", he declares to be a leftist, "but real left, not what is considered to be left in Serbia". The last statement is not a reliable indicator that "there are many Mikies in Serbia". His presence in the media is represented as an effort to produce plurality of voices and to inscribe in our reflection already present multiplicity of possible voices.

My thesis is that his popularity in media might look like breakthrough of the voice of the Other into the dominant cultural discourse. However this voice is socially accepted only because it interiorized everything that keeps it in the position awarded by the dominant discourse. It brings a dimension of "exotic" into contem-

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[20] Aleksej Kišjuhas, *Mikizam ili Treća Srbija*, Danas, 12.10. 2006, 17.

[21] A reaction to the dual structural assumption about Serbian society might be the same critic/joke as for any other dispute about number of the poles – "is two too little, or too much?"

[22] Alternative, again, but it depends on a perspective.

[23] Not to say that it is Serbia after Miki.

porary media picture of Serbia, offering phantasm that is grounded on self-exotization and auto-orientalization[24] of rural.[25] Namely, Said suggests that all discourses *about* cultures are always ideological and that discourse and the process of orientalization and colonization never happens "somewhere else", but that it is present whenever the center and the periphery intersect.[26] But, through the recognition of "healthy, folk spirit "[27] and in the reasoning about its appearance, Serbian culture is being reminded of the alleged "alienation from its own roots", giving to itself almost sedative dose of pastel, integrating these "good old values" into the new identity of Serbia. Interpretation of the "new face of Serbia" (that recognizes European system of values) through the performance of Miki Đuričić on one hand actually represents the production of identity of the world of the Other that *is possible to see and to be seen,* that might be translated into the dominant discourse and system of values in order to receive a sense. The Other, the periphery, are always visually *pre-represented,* while "real", "correct" citizens of Serbia/Europe (among whom, on the other hand, Miki should be integrated, even as preferable pattern) at least watch television (if they do not go to museums or circus) in order to get familiar with their periphery, their own (inner) Other, who are always – ethnically, racially, by gender or by any other orientation – determined. Miki is not the Other in ethnic or in the racial sense, managing thus to satisfy more successfully the wide diapason of the local phantasms about own identity, while cultural fiction that he symbolizes is easier integrated into the desired and assumed center, i.e. in more of them. After all, he offers his own model of peaceful coexistence: "I love Kupinovo more than Srem, I love Srem more than Vojvodina, I love Vojvodina more than Serbia, I love Serbia more than the rest of the world, but I also love the whole world! That's the true globalism."

He constructs the figure of the clever Serbian (Vojvodian?)[28] peasant who is supposed to show that the "province is not on the map, but in one's head", the figure that becomes paradigm of identification. How paradigm is constructed and does it exist in the media? Yes, the media do construct reality that is true, that is hy-

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[24] At this place we may remember of one more Goffman's concept – auto-stigmatization.

[25] About the romanticists' cry for the missing void of the "real nation" and rural authenticity, symbolic of peasantry in Serbia and its role in political mobilization and instrumentalization see, for example Слободан Наумовић, *Устај сељо, устај роде: симболика сељаштва и политичка комуникација у новијој историји Србије*, Годишњак за душтвену историју II/1, Београд 1995.

[26] Edvard Said, *Orijentalizam*, XX vek, Beograd 2000.

[27] During the time when the story about the offer of the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Panning, the sociologist Ratko Božović said: "He is perceived as a man who does not stand the type of the Orwellian imprisonment such as *Big Brother*. He is natural, persuasive, spontaneous and as such he is the closest to the definition of the man from nature, and a man for nature." S. M. Stajić, *Miki u vladi*, Press, 10. 7. 2007. Once again the associating line and semantic polygon is established: spontaneity-naturalness-nature-peasantry.

[28] Popular are also his commentaries with the strong local (Srem) reference. "These are like those that go tomorrow to Ruma for fair!" (describing how the tenants of the house dressed up for the Saturday broadcast), or "this doesn't exist even in Đurđenovac…", turning these places into the "new mythical topoi"of jargon speech.

perreal – more real. The media construct harmless peasant that impresses everybody and who does not bother anybody. But, it is not him who does not bother others; he constructs expected *role* of the one who does not bother. He identifies what social margin can and may be. He built an ideological curtain over the margin, showing it as acceptable, even nice. Actually, the idea of a "nice and acceptable friend of the Other/ours" that is imposed through the media picture (about) chosen representatives (entertainers) from the margin by the dominant centre is the real code, *point-de-capiton* through which the position of centre is revealed.

All this tactics (dramaturgy) of scene performances was very effective. Goffman emphasizes that if the "performer" hides some aspect of his identity being afraid that it will become visible at some moment, he endangers his performance. In the situations which are, in Goffman's terminology, completely harmless – which means in the situation that do not represent direct danger for such uncovering – he will show tension, nervousness and insecurity. Miki never seems nervous or insecure. He satisfies criteria of the successful performance that Goffman set – coherency and consistency. Not only did he not hide what might have been considered as a flaw in the bourgeois society, he rather insisted on these faults, emphasizing them rhetorically. The audience was familiar with the "game rules", having a choice – either to refute him as an indecent buffoon or to accept him "as he was".[29] But, he offered himself as a confirmation of tolerance of the audience itself. The audience constructs its identity of the polemic, polyphone, civil society on the grounds of accepting his "buffoon provocations" and "congeniality". Not only did they accept him, but he has grown into a legend of the local entreating scene. The audience accepted him, because they needed him; as "our Other", as the object towards which they could constitute a subject of a normal, healthy, tolerant and critical society. Thus, there has been already-prepared-and-desired-social-role,[30] which Miki successfully played.

This place, the role that he accomplished was the role in relation to which the audience confirmed its identity and its actual wideness, openness and plurality. His social function was ideological in the sense that we might be relieved: „He is the Other who does that for us… He is so nice (humorous-jokester) in his criticism and so acceptable that we love him, which means that we love the other people who are like him and we love subversion[31] that he likes; although we will never include

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[29] Generally, it seems that almost all participants of the *Big Brother* in this region, insist on sincerity, naturalness and "being what you are" as qualities that should make the winner. As a member of B92 forum noticed about first series of *Big Brother,* commenting "strategies" of some tenants "all they think – everybody should vote for me – I'm not clever, I'm not educated, I'm not decent, I'm not a good person, but bro, I'm so sincere!" http://forum.b92.net/index.php?showtopic=18508&st=7005, 25. 2. 2008.

[30] According to Goffman, performers create roles for themselves; and when they find themselves in the situation for public performance, they chose one of the roles that society had prepared, performing them more or less successfully.

[31] Whichever of Miki's preferences we mark as a subversion – if we do this at all (this of course depends on the groups which makes evaluation and whether they want subversion) – political vot-

them in our world. Of course we love them, we proved that through Miki!" The society allows his performances to take a special place and close the gap in the field of the social practice. His social appearance is not fictional, but he uses fiction to constitute reality. He is a constituent of the symbolic order of everyday reality of Serbian society. He is a part of our everyday life and the only thing that he hides by his sincerity is that the truth of the society is raveled exactly through him, through his "manifestation" and role. Like Baudrillard's Disneyland, he offers illusion that reality is out of him; but it is not. In that sense, from Goffman's theater anthropology to Baudrillard's simulacrum, only one generation step in theory was necessary, one move was done – the one in which it became understood that the media *do not represent,* but *produce* reality, reality more real than real (hypperreality), if we understand that real is some immediate, objective reality by itself.

The Beekeeper Has Just Left the Building

Miki's status has been changing through time. The media dilemma is not anymore whether he is a "natural idiot" or "ingenious farmer", but "good Schweik" or "fat cunning guy from Srem".[32] Although, in his first performances, he claimed that he "hates pretending" and he tried to keep distance from the stage mainstream, as time went by he became incorporated into the stage mainstream, he started to go out in Belgrade's floating boat pubs, and to talk about some show business stars as his friends. He achieved some kind of American (Hollywood) dream in a local, Balkan, postsocialist way. He showed his richness and a certain power of the successful figure. His originality is verified by the fact that be became a brand. He achieved the illusion of American (Hollywood) dream: from the beekeeper and woodcutter without a permanent job, through the Big Brother participant up to the media star. He became successful and the culture, in which he succeeded, is therefore characterized by power and tolerance. He proved that we live in an open society, in which intelligence, sense of humor and originality certainly pays off (although this does not refer to the hard work). Is it really so?

In September 2007, in spite of spectacular escape (which was actually going out with permission) from the *Big Brother* house, with invitation for Obedska bara and proclaimed decision to finish with the *Big Brother,* Miki comes back to the *Big Brother* house as a participant of the second series. Is the reason for his comeback hidden? Of course not. He is in debts and he does this for earning money and increasing popularity. In this phase, Miki performs with the new identity and incredible (hypperreal) spontaneity and open boastfulness – "See what I had and what I lost!"[33] However, several days after his father Mirko entered the house and after Miki's fight with other tenants, Miki left it again.

ing for LDP or insisting on not opting for any political party, love for Rambo Amadeus or tambour players, sports activities as protests during the 1990s, or gambling with big losses etc.

[32] Saša Jovanović, *Miki Đuričić: moj poslednji intervju (4. deo),* Press, 14. 12. 2007, 26.

[33] According to some press information, Miki is in dept for 55 000 Euros, which is the same amount of money that he received for the first recorded commercial. Of course, this information

After the second leaving *Big Brother* hose, Miki shared with the audience his dreams about life in a village/Vojvodina grange idyll[34] or an escape to the nature/mountain where he would find "his lair and grow a beard in order to be unrecognized",[35] far from the "big dirty city". Furthermore, he plans to publish a book about his media Odyssey with the title *How I was systematically destroyed by idiots*. In the meantime he takes part in the TV show of RTV Pink – *Dancing with the stars*. He does not make a sharp difference between RTV Pink and RTV B92 any more. "I would host a 'Grand Show',[36] I have already been in one 'Grand show' that is called 'Big Brother'",[37] says Miki.

However, something is omitted in this hyperbolic transparency. The other "who succeeded" (businessmen and Serbian politicians) will never do it like this. And not only because they do not lose. Real power (political and economic) will never be demonstrated in this way.[38] That is why Miki exists. He speaks about our society: "It is possible that dreams come true in Serbia. If you try hard, you will succeed. In this society everyone has equal options." But he shows: "In this society dreams may come true only for those who unproblematically reproduce dominant paradigms. Look at me, for example." As Slavoj Žižek says, truth about society and truth of the society are never and may never be identical.

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should not be taken for granted, but I emphasize it here because of the discourse created in/by the media about the rise and (temporary?) fall of Miki's lucky star. The fact that the same amount of money is mentioned as his first big fee and as his (at the moment last) big loss, represents symbolic closing of this cycle.

[34] As an illustration of this rural romantic utopia of the second transition in Serbia I quote an excerpt from Miki's "last" interview: "Every night I dreamt like that at the house. I dreamt awake, before I fall asleep. I saw myself: orchard, some sheep, some pigs… Granges in Vojvodina are now very cheep. This has to be nicely organized, near the river, near some canal. Everybody needs a pig for Christmas, and a lamb for slava; everybody needs honey. I would have fruits there, I would make raki, and because it's difficult to sell it for everyone, I would have an advantage, because people know me. Wherever I go, everyone would buy from me. I would have some benefit from this so called brand "Miki from Kupinovo". Of course I would make labels with my picture and I would put it on the honey bottle. I would do these kinds of things and live easily. If somebody needs my opinion, once a week I would write something from the perspective of a relaxed peasant. As a grange chronicle. That is what I've dreamt about all my life. I could have done all of this, but also I wasn't able, because Belgrade ate me. We all have plans, dreams, but life is a different player." Saša Jovanović, *Miki Đuričić: moj poslednji intervju (4. deo),* Press, 14. 12. 2007, 26. Or, as Miki explains, referring to the popular culture, to the corpus of knowledge familiar to everyone: "Yes, yes to drive a sled. You all like to listen to Đorđe Balašević, but you don't understand it all!" And about his birth place: "I'm in the army and there are some Pirot, Vranje, and other hills. When I've heard a song about Srem ('oh, it would be grate, if heart and soul could go back to my home, Srem alone') I jumped over the fence and ran away home."

[35] Ibid.

[36] Grand Show is RTV Pink music show.

[37] Саша Јовановић, op. cit.

[38] After all, how many public performances does Dragoslav Mišković have?

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I think that this analysis of Miki's performance at least to a certain extent confirmed the starting assumption: phenomena, performances and social roles do not hide and do not express some hidden reality; they are our social and cultural reality. Mass-media are not some other reality isolated from everyday life. They constitute everyday life. Reality is more real than real because it represents the assembly of dynamic images that constitute roles, effects and poses that should be followed. Mass-media stars are reflection that is never transcendent, simulacrum that persuades as that it is not real.[39] With this analysis of Miki's performances, I conclude that it is not the content of these performances that is dangerous, it is not about "what they say", but "how they say", i.e. it is the construct of the performance that is dangerous. Media become "as if" "transparent" and "as if" understandingly true. The naturalness and literalness of media figure such as Miki are supported with powerful symbolic and media machinery, with the Law of the society that gravitates to show itself as healthy, normal and tolerant. Materiality of the media is not perceived any more as a framework that offers its content and which does not creates society through the media. That is why the system strengthens the uniting practice of the performance that contracts the intentionally produced activity and the one that is allegedly "revealing".

Such praxis integrates any occasional, and even confronted social and cultural meaning. That is how Miki may at the same time spread ethnic stereotypes *and* allegedly represent new face of the independent Serbia. In the independent Serbia, created, among other things, as a result of strong nationalistic tendencies and as a consequence of wars, the dream about "ethnically clear nation" is still very important, as well as an exclusiveness toward any kind of difference and prejudices towards the "Others".[40] Symbolic place of Miki – (dis)position of the difference[41] and models for treating the difference – provokes different reactions among the representatives of different social groups in Serbia. On one hand, socially marginalized groups, but also the part of so called pro-European Serbia, appropriate Miki as their own, as desirable political body, as the symbolic place of *difference* that promises them social visibility. On the other hand, these social groups that identify themselves with nationalistic, "traditional" and conservative values appropriate him also, at the same time suppressing his "possible" difference that is a threat for clear, uniform identity.

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[39] Ana Vujanović, op. cit., 62.

[40] Unfortunately, examples for such a claim are numerous: increasing homophobia (beating of the participants of the first and by now the last *Pride* parade in Belgrade in 2001 and attacks of some football funs with the blessing of some representatives of the Serbian Orthodox church), religious intolerance towards representatives of Muslim religion (setting on fire Bajrakli mosque in Belgrade in 2004 and invitation to boycott shops and objects possessed by Muslims in Sombor in 2008), xenophobia (seting on afire embassies, after proclamation of Kosovos independence in March 2008).

[41] This does not necessarily means that Miki Đuričić identifies with any position of difference; moreover, he claims that "there are many Mikis in Serbia".

Miki Đuričić is essentially an ambivalent phenomenon that represents the result of the cultural media industry that was, and still is, determined by the national and political ideology that is marked by the fights for meanings of different ideologies, but also by a global spectacle. At the same time, his identity's fragmentariness and refraction in the web of different discursive practices and (un)stable positions that mutually cross – being constantly in the process of metamorphosis – produce the "zone of possibility" that is always related to the feeling of potentials that might not yet completely articulate. Possible symbolic capital of the social change is grounded on multiple cross-identity formations that produce identity as it is. Impress of the space that he occupies, his dominant political context is written in Miki's identity and he is imprisoned by the determination of "wherefrom I come", without the process of self-determination that is independent from approved social norms.

Miki Đuričić, a media star is at the same time a symbol of Serbia's attitude towards Europe, of Serbia in the process of coming closer and playing with its own multitude. The content of these processes and knowledge is constantly being fractionated in reality and finally Miki, the same as Serbia, lives parallel in two realities, in endless inner transition. For him, just the same as for Serbia, it is absolutely possible and acceptable to accept *both* the rhetoric of ethnic stereotypes *and* antinationalist attitude as well as European values through this position *and* affinities towards subcultures usually with connotation of urbanity, and all this through the participation in the global spectacle. In the end, he transforms his *unarticulated potential* into the market capital, which actually would have been his only output in the end – had he managed not to lose his money.

Маријана Митровић

Србија од Микија и Купиново(м) до Европе: јавни наступи и друштвена улога медијске звезде

Кључне речи:

Мики из Купинова, медијска звезда, јавни наступ, друштвена улога, постсо-цијализам, друга транзиција, Србија, Европа

У овом раду се покреће анализа јавног наступа и друштвене улоге медијске звезде у постсоцијалистичкој Србији кроз пример Микија Ђуричића, учесника првог серијала reality show-a *Велики брат* на овим просторима. Ови проблеми се посматрају кроз призму позоришне антропологије Ервинга Гофмана кориговане и допуњене Бодријаровим концептима симулакрума и симулације. Уз ослонац на Гофманову методологију анализе друштвених наступа кроз међуигру свесно и ненамерно продукованих знакова, као и Бодријарово одређивање такве хипертранспарентности као симулације, расправљају се дискурзивни, симболички, друштвени, културни и политички учинци његових наступа и покушаји њиховог представљања у светлу „новог лица Србије“. Ово „ново лице“ Србије која пролази кроз другу фазу транзиције се у дневно-политичком и медијском дискурсу представља као симболички очишћено од искључивости које су доминирале првом фазом.

Пракса Микијевих наступа, посматрана у различитим фазама, интегрише контрадикторна значења и симболичка инвестирања различитих друштвених група у транзицијској Србији. Он постаје једна од медијских симулацијских фигура које треба да приближе претпостављене полове србијанског друштва, у исто време репродукујући стереотипе и афирмишући неке од локалних етно-експликација тзв. „европских вредности“.

Мики Ђуричић је амбивалентна појава јер представља резултат културне медијске индустрије, која је маркирана борбама за значење различитих идеологија, али и глобалним спектаклом, док истовремено, његова идентитетска фрагментарност и разломљеност у мрежи различитих дискурзивних пракси и (не)стабилних позиција производи извесни симболички капитал могућности друштвене промене, која још увек не може у потпуности да се искристалише, као, уосталом, ни „ново лице Србије“.

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Power of Categorization: Natives and Incomers in Southeastern Kosovo[*]

The paper is based on fieldwork conducted over the course of a period from 2003 until 2006 at refugee centers in Serbia proper and Southeastern Kosovo, more specifically in a part of the area known today as Kosovsko Pomoravlje. The paper is intended to present preliminary results of the probe into the issue of relations between the native Serbs and Serb incomers (colonized in the area after 1918 as part of the agrarian reform drive). Incomers from Southeastern Serbia to whom the native population ascribed the "Šop" identity are the focal point of the research.

Key words:

Kosovo, Kosovsko Pomoravlje, Serbs, Albanians, Sops, natives, incomers, colonization, ethnic identity, identification, categorization

Field research in Southeastern Kosovo started in 2003 among internally displaced people from this area at refugee centers in Smederevo, Vranje and Vranjska Banja, and *in situ* in the enclave of Vitina, which, in addition to the town of Vitina itself, also comprises villages of Vrbovac, Grnčar, Binač, Klokot and Mogila.[1] The research subsequently resumed[2] in the Vitina enclave but also in Gnjilane

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[1] The field research was a part of the bigger ethno-linguistic project *Studies on Slavic speech in Kosovo and Metohija* by the Institute of Serbian language, SASA, granted by UNESCO. Sound data from 2003, used in this paper, are kept in the sound archive of the Institute of Serbian language, SASA. On everyday life in the after-the war period see Сања Златановић, *Свакодневица у енклави*, Гласник Етнографског института САНУ LIII, Београд 2005, 83-92.

and surrounding villages (Šilovo, Gornje Kusce, Gornji Livoč, Parteš, Pasjane, etc.).[3] From the very outset of the field research at "Radinac" refugee camp near Smederevo, in an interview of an elderly woman from Cernica near Gnjilane, the issue of relations between the *natives* and *incomers*, self-identification and identification by others, stood out. Talking about weddings in Kosovo, the female interviewee referred to her own family as "native" as opposed to the incomers whom she referred to as "Šops" [Sops], thus drawing a sharp *we/they* dividing line. In the course of further research among the displaced people from Kosovo, this issue permeated and was, at times, even dominant in almost all the interviews conducted. My informants that fled Kosovo in June 1999 and who are officially designated in Serbia as "internally displaced people", effectively placing them in a non-status *neither-here-nor-there* limbo, continued, in their hearts and minds to live in Kosovo. The *natives/incomers* division was still conspicuously relevant, reinforced by the gloom of refugee life reality. During the field researches in 2005 and 2006, the interviewees were burdened with the problems of their subsistence, their life under the protectorate and anxiety over the final solution to the Kosovo status, hence, colonization was discussed with restraint taking into account the passage of time and mostly when I brought up the issue in my questions. Nevertheless, their stories confirmed my opinion that the issue of relations between the (at least) two groups within the Serb ethnic community in the area under scrutiny as well as the ways in which these groups define and designate one another must be inevitably explored further.

As Richard Jenkins explained, ethnicity (other forms of collective identity as well, depending on the social context) always represents the result of interaction between continuous processes of external and internal designation, self-identification and identification by others. The external and internal definitions are intertwined and dependant on one another, so that one cannot be understood without the other.[4] The external definition – categorization – is an important dimension of the internal definition.[5] In cases of mutual consent, the internal definition becomes confirmed; if there's no consensus, then one group imposes a name and categorization to another group which considerably influences the social experience of the categorized.[6] According to this approach (where society and its categories are taken to be social constructs), identities are fluid, determined by the situation and open to negotiation, while at the same time, being significantly influenced by external definition, the question of power and dominance.[7] This paper only aims to present a

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[2] This part of the project was carried out within the projects of the Institute of Ethnography, SASA.

[3] All toponyms are given in their Serb vernacular variants.

[4] Ričard Dženkins, *Etnicitet u novom ključu: argumenti i ispitivanja*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd 2001, 97, 127, 285. [Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*, SAGE Publications, London 1997].

[5] Ibid, 101.

[6] Ibid, 94.

[7] Ibid, 91, 291.

preliminary result of the research,[8] and it is directed towards understanding the role of internal definition – categorization in terms of groups- in processes of identity construction among the members of Serbian community in the area of Southeastern Kosovo. The interpretation of one's own identity among the incomers in Kosovo, and sometimes even among the natives, is closely related to the possible interpretations given by the other party respectively.[9] Focusing on the external definition, the so-called "neighborly discourse",[10] allows a deeper insight into the dynamics of identity shaping processes in a border and multi-ethnic area.

Colonization – Background

After 1912 Kosovo merged the Kingdom of Serbia and the government brought various agricultural legislation and demographic measures (colonization) to aid the process of merging. During WW I the process ceased, only to be continued with more intensity after 1918, in the next agricultural reform. Manifesto by Alexander Karadjordjević from December 21/24, 1918[11] identified the necessity of agricultural reform on the whole territory of the united Kingdom, with an aim to terminate residues of feudalism and give the land to the farmers and war volunteers. Colonization was further supported by various acts: in 1919, a policy[12] was proposed that emphasized colonization; the legislation referring exclusively to agricultural reform and colonization of Kosovo was proclaimed in 1920: "Policy on colonization of new southern areas".[13] Non-occupied state land, rural and municipal land were designated for colonization. The policy defined regulations accordingly, so that every family would get four or five hectares, and in city areas no less than two hec-

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[8] The problem in the relationship between the Serbs natives and incomers (Šops), self-identification and identification by others is briefly presented in Sanja Zlatanović, *„Šopovi" u Kosovskom Pomoravlju,* Skrivene manjine na Balkanu, Balkanološki institut SANU, Posebna izdanja 82, Beograd 2004, 83-93.

[9] Compare Vered Talai, *Social boundaries within and between ethnic groups: Armenians in London*, Man (N.S), 21, 1986, 267-268.

[10] The term "neighboring" discourse is introduced by Biljana Sikimić, *Etnolingvistička istraživanja skrivenih manjina – mogućnosti i ograničenja: Čerkezi na Kosovu,* Skrivene manjine na Balkanu, Balkanološki institut SANU, Posebna izdanja 82, Beograd 2004, 259-281. The discourse about "others" is analyzed in several other papers: Marija Ilić, *„Izgubljeno u prevodu": Romi u diskursu Srba iz Trešnjevice,* Banjaši na Balkanu: identitet etničke zajednice, Balkanološki institut SANU, Posebna izdanja 88, Beograd 2005, 121-144; Svetlana Ćirković, *Etnički stereotipi o Romima u Srbiji: pragmalingvistička analiza*, Društvene nauke o Romima u Srbiji, Odeljenje društvenih nauka SANU, knj. 29, Komisija za proučavanje života i običaja Roma, Beograd 2007, 169-186; Sanja Zlatanović, *Đorgovci: skica za portret podeljenog identiteta,* Društvene nauke o Romima u Srbiji, Odeljenje društvenih nauka SANU, knj. 29, Komisija za proučavanje života i običaja Roma, Beograd 2007, 195-197.

[11] Newspaper *Slobodne novine,* no. 2/1919, cited according to: Bogdan Lekić, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941*, Udruženje ratnih dobrovoljaca 1912-1918, Službeni list SRJ, Beograd 2002, 100, 222.

[12] Newspaper *Slobodne novine,* no. 11/1919, cited according to: B. Lekić, op cit., 100, 223-225.

[13] Newspaper *Slobodne novine*, no. 232/1920, cited according to: B. Lekić, op cit., 288-292.

tares. Depending on land quality, there was a possibility of acquiring even more land. The policy benefited colonizers in many other ways: free transportation, usage of state building material such as woods for house building and so on. The agricultural reform was a slow and difficult process though, the same as colonization.[14] The state help did not aid enough: the colonists had to take matters in their own hands, cut woods, build houses and fertilize land. The colonization was marked by various irregularities, weak organization and inconsistency.[15] However, it was a planned colonization: people from (mostly from Lika, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Monte Negro, Metohija and Southeastern Serbia) settled on the states' designated areas, they could not choose like the ones that moved in before WW I.[16] In fact, they began to inhabit the areas with predominantly Albanian population. Atanasije Urošević explains it in the following way:

> After the World War, many Serbs have moved in. This was aided by colonization. For the most part, the new colonizers were given land for free, to move in. It is only here, that the colonizers were settled in where the government determined; they could not choose the lace like the first ones. Therefore, these others are not found everywhere, but only in the areas designated by the government. The majority reside in the western part of Gornja Morava (west of Požeranja and Vitina), an area inhabited solely until the Liberation by the Albanians. The main roads were taken care off too. That is why the colonists were moved again in the western part of Gornja Morava, with certain distances near the road from Uroševac all the way to Požeranja […]. Economy caused this population to move out of their native area, but the government added up a political moment too.[17]

Other authors, like Milovan Obradović, also claimed that the national goals were the foundation of the colonization of Kosovo.[18] However, the recent Serbian literature[19] disputes the argument, claiming no such goal was present. On the other hand, all of the informants, the natives and incomers alike, view the colonization as a national strategy.

The local Albanians did not accept the incomers well: they were against colonization, land sharing, Serbian enhanced presence in the Albanian homogenous

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[14] See Атанасије Урошевић, *Аграрна реформа и насељавање*, Споменица двадесет-петогодишњице ослобођења Јужне Србије 1912-1937, Скопље 1937, 819-833. Lekić documents data and events on the reform and colonization in Yugoslavia in 1918-194: B. Lekić, op. cit., 221-579.

[15] See B. Lekić, op. cit., 136-139

[16] Атанасије Урошевић, *Горња Морава и Изморник*, Насеља и порекло становништва, књ. 28, Српски етнографски зборник LI, Београд 1935, 81.

[17] А. Урошевић, *Горња Морава и Изморник...*, 81-82.

[18] Milovan Obradović, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija na Kosovu (1918-1941)*, Institut za istoriju Kosova, Priština 1981, 104-105.

[19] B. Lekić, op. cit., 197-198.

villages, especially so since these Serbs were from a different area.[20] The native Serbs too, had similar opinions: the incomers, although coming from the same genetic pool spoke differently, had different customs and behavior; the natives were especially bothered by the way the incomers had got the land – for "free" (which is emphasized even today) – unlike them, whose ancestors acquired it "in blood". Some sources even point out to the notable examples of cooperation between the native Serbs and Albanians against the incomers, perceived as the usurpers.[21] Hence, the status and standings of the incomers were very difficult: they were not welcomed well by the local populations and the state failed to provide necessary means of support.[22] My informants described the hard life of their parents and ancestors in the period of colonization. In a quest for better life, they have traveled by foot, some families in harnessed vehicles managed to move some of the belongings, while once there, they had to clean and cut forests and fight to survive.

The fieldwork among the incomers was focused on groups from wider area of the city of Vranje, from poor villages near Surdulica, Vlasina, Vladičin Han, Vranjska Banja and Pčinja that were once settled on the territory of Southeastern Kosovo, in the villages of Vlaštica, Žegra, Cernica, Požaranje, Trpeza, Grmovo, Drobeš, Kabaš, Novo Selo, Tankosić, etc. There were some incomers from villages in Vranje's vicinity who used to buy houses and estates from the Muslim population in Gnjilane.[23] After arriving in the new environment, they labeled *themselves* as *Vranjanci*, while the natives designated *them* as *Šops*.

Naming

The incomers, especially those from Southeastern Serbia, were regarded as Šops by the native populations. In the villages with mixed population of the natives and incomers from the Vranje area, the natives made a clear distinction between incomers from Monte Negro, Herzegovina etc. In certain villages, like Vrbovac and Grnčar (near Vitina), the natives labeled pejoratively all incomers (and not just those that came from the Vranje area, but also Montenegrins and those from Herzegovina) as *Šopi*, *Šopci* or *Šops* (*Šop* – masculine, *Šopka* – feminine, *Šopce*/*Šopciki* – child, children), regardless of their actual place of origin. One informant, born in 1939, from the village of Vrbovac explains it:

> [1] We did not make any distinction. All people from Vranje, or where ever, we labeled "Vrcari", or "Šops". The same. (*So, all incomers were "Šops"?*) Yes, all incomers, all were "Šops", all were "Vrcari".

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[20] Atanasije Urošević, op. cit., 153.

[21] M. Obradović, op cit., 195; Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short Hiistory*, New York University Press, 1998, 264-288.

[22] On status and standings of the incomers see M. Obradović, op cit., 176-183.

[23] Атанасије Урошевић, *Гњилане*, Гласник српског географског друштва, св. XVII, Београд 1931, 48-49; Slobodan Simonović, *Dubnica i Dubničani*, A propo, Kruševac 2000, 81-102.

(*Why did you call them "Vrcari"?*) Well, it is our tradition, that is how my mother and grandmother spoke. "Vrcari" implies that they came from someplace else. Aliens. All people here labeled them like they [the incomers] were not Christians, so not to be trusted.

[2] We called them Šopci.

In the Vitina area, the incomers were also called *Vrcari*, the label derived from common occupation, rope making (*vrca*-rope). The natives hence had identified all incomers with the common label, while the incomers had perceived and maintained clear cut cultural boundaries.

The incomers had not accepted the assigned label for themselves (along with all that the name designated). During the interviews, the subject was rarely brought up by the informants themselves. When asked bluntly about it, most of them showed mixed emotions of humiliation and anger. Physically, they reacted by a gulp down and voice change. As an example, I present a transcript of an interview with an elderly female and her son (internally displaced from Žegra, Gornje Kusce). The son wanted to know if his father's family (the groom's), before marriage, had brought her wool so she could make presents (the informants are marked with the first letter of their respective names; my questions are in parenthesis):

[3] N: No, they didn't bring me any. That was the custom among the natives. And we were Šopo…but not really, we are from Vranje! (*That is how the natives used to call you, right?*) Shh…We are from Vranje, dear, but the nickname was given to us…Č: OK, OK, they used to call them Šops. But they are…(*Were they called Šops, Šopci or Šopi?*) Č: Šops, Šopci, Šopci, Šops, that is all the same! (*So, the natives called the incomers from the Vranje area like that?*) Č: No, not from Vranje. Actually, all were labeled the same: people that came from Vranje, Han, from Lika and Monte Negro, in the Vitina area. Some Montenegrins were in Vitina.

A female informant, born in 1952 in Gnjilane, into the family of natives, explains how her husband addressed her sister-in-law (a brother's wife) who was born into the incomers:

[4] "Šopke", "Where are you Šopke"?, and she would get angry: "I'm not a Šopke, I am from Vranje"! "No way, you are Šopka for me"!

Even though the incomers did not accept and were opposed to the external definition, many examples show that the definition was also internalized.[24]

It is now necessary to explain several issues regarding historical geography. *Šopluk* or *Šopsko* is a mountain area in the central Balkans. The boundaries of *Šopluk* are not clearly defined, in fact, literature provides different margins. These boundaries are difficult to establish since the residents refuse to be identified as

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[24] See R. Dženkins, op cit., 125.

Šops; instead, others are always called Šops, the ones living further away[25]. The name itself carries a deep pejorative connotation, assuming a very simple man, living isolated in mountains, far away from civilization.[26] There are multiple theories and assumptions on their origin, the meaning and origin of the name, but Slavic component has never been questioned.[27] At present, *Šopluk* includes the area in between Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria (nevertheless, state borders have been changed many times), with the largest part being in Bulgaria. Šops belong to the three south Slavic people and declare themselves as such.

It still remains an open question if the colonists, from the wider area of Vranje, were Šops or not, considering that they were identified as such by the local populations. The boundaries of *Šopluk* in Serbia are fluid hence the answer can be different. Jovan Cvijić defines Šops as the population of the higher/mountain parts of Pčinja, Vlasina, Lužnica and Pirot.[28] Rista Nikolić argues that the boundary goes from Bela Palanka and Pirot basin, encircling the villages of Vlasina, Crna Trava and Pčinja, so that Šops settle in mountain areas, and are not found in Pomoravlje.[29] From the cited authors, it could be concluded that a part of colonists surely originated in the territories inhabited by Šops. Throughout this manuscript, and in my discussion on the relationship between the natives and incomers, the colonists are marked with quotation marks ("Šops"), respecting their decline to be identified as such.

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[25] Šop is always someone else, living even far away from the Šopluk boundaries. The population of Sredačka Župa pejoratively designate Sirinićani as being Šops, see Desanka Nikolić, *Etnokulturni stereotipi stanovnika Gore i Sredačke župe*, In: Šarplaninske župe Gora, Opolje i Sredska – antropogeografsko-etnološke, demografske, sociološke i kulturološke karakteristike, Geografski institut „Jovan Cvijić" SANU, Posebna izdanja, knj. 40/II, Beograd 1995,179.

[26] Young people in Kosovo explained, jokingly, that the name ŠOP is a short-term for "broadly educated mountain-man". This, as it turns out, is a widely accepted explanation even among younger generation in Vranje, where the population of the Pčinja villages bear the name Šop.

[27] See more in: П. Р. Славейков, *Неколко думи за Шопите,* Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество, кн. IX, Средецъ 1884, 106-123; Ю. Трифоновъ, *По произхода на името „Шопъ",* Списание на Българската академия на науките, кн. XXII, София 1919, 122-158; Ст. Л. Костовъ, Е. Петева, *Селски битъ и изкуство въ Софийско,* Материали за историята на София, кн. VIII, София 1935, 11-28; В. Хаджиниколов, *Проблеми на етнографското изучаване на София и Софийско,* Народната култура в София и Софийско, Българско историческо дружество, секция „Етнография", Етнографски институт и музей към БАН, София 1984, 11-30; Р. Сефтерски, *Софийските Шопи като историко-етническа формация в светлина на последните изследвания,* Народната култура в София и Софийско, Българско историческо дружество, секция „Етнография", Етнографски институт и музей към БАН, София 1984, 55-65; Петко Христов, *Границите на „Шоплука" и/или Шопи без граници,* Skrivene manjine na Balkanu, Balkanološki institut SANU, Posebna izdanja 82, Beograd 2004, 67-82.

[28] Јован Цвијић, *Основе за географију и геологију Македоније и Старе Србије*, књ. I, Београд 1906, 179.

[29] Риста Николић, *Крајиште и Власина*, Насеља српских земаља, књ. VIII, Српски етнографски зборник, књ. 18, Београд 1912, 222-223.

The incomers in Kosovo called the natives by the same name the natives used for themselves, (*Starosedelci* – masculine, *Starosedelka* – feminine) which clearly testifies on the power relationship. The colonists/incomers too, used to label the natives with somewhat pejorative name too, in their intra-group communication, or in their respective individual reactions to the enforced naming; hence the natives were called "hempen" (since they engaged in hemp raising more than the incomers) and "tails" (*reparci*) (a "tail" is a specific decoration made of spun out black wool that the native women wear around their waists, with fringes hanging at the back).

[4] We used to call them "hempen". Because they raised hemp, and for us, it represented something gross, that is, raising hemp, sinking there, what do I know, in a whirlpool. And then, they call me "Šop" and I call them "hempen" (male informant, born in 1954 in Vlastica; he lives in a rented place in Vranje).

The native identity of the Serbs and Albanians in the area of Southeastern Kosovo, in the period of colonization, in not altogether undisputed. The notion of a native group is problematic in itself.[30] Besides, Atanasije Urošević provides the data on several waves of migrations and colonizations from the different areas, at the different time periods and for different reasons.[31]

Categorization

In the process of mutual identification both the native and incomer Serbs have denied each other the ethnic membership. The natives questioned Serbian identity of the incomers, taking them to be Šops and not real Serbs. This defined the incomers further as those belonging to "a different religion" (the less educated informants presume that the term religion assumes also ethnic and religious affiliation, as well as identity in general).

[5] We didn't marry them since we assumed that it would mess up the (our) religion. They had a different way of speech, hard to bear: they used bad words, and swear a lot even mentioning the closest family members. This model also developed in our speech too, that you can say those things, but much later on (male informant born in 1939 in Vrbovac).

[6] We didn't marry them, nor gave our daughters. "How can you give your daughter to Vrcari, or to take a wife from them?! Their families are like…you know. His rooster, sings from his vehicle. They were moving around all the time, there's no consistency in them… they just announce: "I'm leaving now". Then they sell something, and move

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[30] Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Pluto Press, London 2002, 125 (second edition).

[31] А. Урошевић, *Горња Морава и Изморник...*, 68-91.

on. So, I would not give away my child to this kind of people. They move around, they would take my children away too. But now the time has come and we all live like that. Now a rooster sings on vehicle to everybody. And who would say it would come to this! (male informant born in 1939 in Vrbovac).

[7] They were not counted as one of "us", these people that came from Vranje. They were really different. (…). My grandmother had the same opinion (…). Šops and the natives did not mix in marriages (female informant born in 1941 in Klokot, lives in Binač today).

On the other hand, for the incomers, the natives seemed similar to the Albanians. In describing the natives, the incomers emphasized the fact that the natives were longer under the Turkish rule than the people from Vranje (until 1912, while Vranje got liberated in 1878); moreover, the natives lived together with the Albanians, hence were experienced as "others" and culturally backwards by the incomers.

[8] They lived a very different life, these people, the natives. They lived among the Albanians. It was in the Turkish times. And those people who stayed to live among the Albanians, they accepted a lot of the Turkish way (…) Their women went around covered (…). They used…to live here…in the Turkish times…And so were we…live here in the Turkish times, but here…they stayed to live together with the Albanians…The same as Albanians, men and women were separated. It took them a long time to overcome this (female informant born in 1941 in Žegra, lives in a rented place in Vranje).

[9] They were not allowed to harass the natives (the informant is addressing the Albanians). The natives were the same as the Albanians – eye for an eye. And we – we were mellow people…And the natives were much more impulsive (male informant born in 1927 in Vlasina, then moved to Kabas, internally displaced in Binač).

The natives and "Šops", although belonging to the same ethnic group (though sometimes denied by each other), religion, language and dialect (of the Prizren-Timok type but with a different local versions), lived as two endogamous groups. Mixed marriages are entered from 1960's though sporadically, in specific family circumstances. Older people at both sides did not approve of the new practice.

[10] When one of us, the native, takes a Šop person for his/hers wife/husband, she/he is not looked upon as a human being (male informant born in 1926 in Pasjane, today lives in a camp in Vranjska Banja).

[11] They used to mock me, laugh at me, because I took her for my wife (*Who mocked at you?*) Well, my neighbors! (*And what do they say?*) Why have you taken a Šopka? A rooster sings from her vehicle, they used to tell me. They move around constantly, they came here from somewhere. They will stay here for awhile too, and then they

will just move on. And really, they ran away! (male informant, around 70, born in Žegra, now internally displaced in Gornje Kusce).

[12] The relationship between the Serbs and us, the incomers, was not very good. Not so good. There was a mutual distrust, so no one be-friended with the natives, nor has given away a bride. Maybe I was the first one to "break the ice". I married a native woman from Šilovo (…). My father had never accepted her (male informant born in 1936 in Vrbica, a Montenegrin, now internally displaced in Šilovo).

Since 1980's, mix marriages appear more frequent but the distinctive identities have remained until today. Many of the informants, even though being internally displaced from Kosovo, emphasize that they are the natives, that their sons are married with the native women and so on. Children from the mix marriages are called mutts. In a few cases that I've come across, these children, now grown ups, say they feel as "natives", choosing hence a more favorable identity. If a father appears to be a native, then they experience their own identity as indisputable.

The distinctive identities are based on the interpretations of the local and regional differences. The local, that is, regional identities in certain aspects assume a significance of an ethnic identity. The members of another group are experienced as different while possible kinship relation between the groups is seen as a threat to one's own identity (see transcript [5]); children from such mix unions are considered to be mutts etc. The natives openly declare to view the incomers as "aliens", "being non-Christians" (see transcript [1]). The "Šops", familiar with these attitudes, have mentioned during the interviews that the natives never considered them to be "true" and "great" Serbs. An ethnic identity, as explained by Mladena Prelić, represents a social construction but formed in such way to acquire primordial attributes, so ordinary people experienced it in essential and primordial sense.[32] The natives do not see the "Šops" as carriers of the same ethnic identity; they lack primordial devotion (the feeling of companionship and solidarity which develops from a belief in blood kinship, same origin and similar).

An interesting research question here appears to be an overlap of ethnic and gender, as well as local and gender identities. During the conversations with both males and females, the images on other group gathered around a few key subjects, especially so around the women's behavior and dress; this issue was prone to stereotyping among both groups. The natives described women of the "Šops" group as being not clean enough (in a broader sense of the word), with more liberated behavior and dress.[33] If someone from the natives would marry a "Šop" girl, his relatives would experience her as dirty and would reluctantly eat the food she prepared. They used to say that the bread she made is "hard as a rock". This established stereotype is clearly evident from the story told by a woman from Vrbovac (born in 1981

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[32] Младена Прелић, *Етнички идентитет: проблеми теоријског одређења*, Традиционално и савремено у култури Срба, Етнографски институт САНУ, Посебна издања 49, Београд 2003, 279, 281.

[33] Compare А. Урошевић, *Горња Морава и Изморник...*, 154.

in Klokot, married into the Vrbovac village) on one such Šop girl who got married into the natives; the informant could not even tell if the bride was originally from newcomer's family from Vranje or some other area.

> [13] When he married her, she was so dirty, she didn't keep the house or herself either, for she was very dirty. When she was making bread…soft bread is kneaded first, then put into this special pot…then comes the rest. However, she made it so awful that it was uneatable, but her sister-in-law and mother-in-law had to try it, that was the custom (…) Her in-laws didn't pay a visit to her native house since she was dishonest. The in-laws saw their son and daughter-in-law but didn't go, they stayed home. That's how the story goes, what I heard about her. Now, she's changed, works, keeps herself up. She lives now better than anyone else, let me tell you. She uses a lot of stuff. Keeps her body fit. And she got more beautiful, keeps the hygiene. But when she came, that's how it was. This is what I've heard about her (*And how old was she when she got married?*) Well, young, like 18-19.

The opposition clean/dirty implies a number of other antagonisms: one's own (ours)/ alien, native/mobile population, "true Serbs"/"Šops" and so on. The stereotype on cleanness referred solely to the incomers' women, whose dress (*futa,* a hand woven skirt), and more liberated behavior provoked comments and mock. Atanasije Urošević wrote that the natives referred to women of incomers in a derogatory manner as "futarke" on account of their unusual skirts.[34] On the other hand, "Šops" found it strange that among the natives, during various social gatherings such as family' saint day, weddings and so on, males and females are seated separately and do not dance together.[35] They further explained that the natives' upbringing of female children was very strict. For example, when approached by somebody on the road regardless of the sex, a native woman would just lower her head down and not say hello. She was dressed in long dress, with many layers made of hemp, and her head was covered with two scarves, one covering her face (according to the description given by the "Šops"). The differences in female dress, used to establish the boundaries, have become elements which made them permeable. Since the 1960's, the native women have made skirts *futa* and worn them in everyday occasions; their skirts are woven in black, and are distinguished from the "Šops'" by the decoration and the way of fastening. Even today, older women in rural areas are dressed in this type of skirts. The traditional dress, on the other hand, richly decorated and layered, is carefully kept and wore only at weddings.

At the time of colonization by the incomers, the natives engaged in cattle breeding, and some agriculture (corn and wheat) their diet focusing on these products. The native women were very skilful in kneading (bread, pita and *filije*, a type of layered dough specially baked outside). The incomers engaged less in cattle

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Compare op cit., 139.

breeding and more in various types of agriculture: they raised various fruit, vegetables and wine growing, an also were skilful artisans. During my research, I have heard several stories on how the natives used to eat only green tomatoes (baked) while the red, ripe ones were thrown away. Then, from the incomers, they learned the usage of ripe tomatoes. The incomers made wine and brandy, while their women made various dishes out of vegetables and winter food-stash *(turšija)*. The differences in cuisines and house decoration are even today a foundation to consider the "Šops" women as dirty and unskillful to make bread, a highly valued food in the traditional culture of the natives. On the other hand, the "Šops" women valued themselves as better and more progressive housewives: they made dishes out of vegetables that the natives never even heard of and slept in beds while the natives slept on the floor, on straw.

The natives, being very proud of the native identity (they constantly emphasized they are the natives since their ancestors had lived on the same land thousand and some more years), see the "Šops" as a very mobile population, constantly on the move, and unable to settle in one place (*pevac na kola*, a rooster on their vehicle announcing the recent move) and this makes their characteristic feature. All the presented accounts and stereotypes of members of one group or another tells us more about the people doing the categorization than vice versa.[36] In their description of the incomers, the natives reveal the main constructs of their own identity: relationship with the ancestors, highly valued tradition, family and kinship relations, and attachment to the land and their homes where they live "since forever". A widely used metaphor *pevac na kola* ["a rooster on the vehicle"] illustrates the relationship of the natives toward change of residence and changes in general. Since they live (or used to live) in a multiethnic environment, the natives have a need to emphasize the Serbian identity, describing so themselves as the carriers and guardians of ancient Serbian customs and religion. Both groups, especially so the "Šops", have shown a very good knowledge of the outer determination of their respective identities. It even happened that the "Šops" imitate the way of speech used by the natives when discussing the "Šops".

The "Šops" in the post-war context and discourse

Since the 1960's, and more intensively in the 1980's, the „Šops" are moving out of the area, settling in Vranje and other parts of inner Serbia. In the Southeastern Kosovo, they used to inhabit rural areas where the majority of population was Albanian. The Albanians have perceived them differently than the natives with whom they had lived for generations, and pressured the Šops accordingly. These explanations were given by both the natives and incomers. Besides, the natives, contrary to the incomers, lived in extended kinship families, which provided security in troubled times. However, the natives criticize the "Šops" for being the first to leave Kosovo. They think the incomers got the land as a gift, so it was easy for

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[36] R. Dženkins, op. cit., 110.

them to abandon or give away that same land. Very few incomers have stayed in the Southeastern Kosovo, mostly the ones who married into the native families. The villages they once inhabited today belong to the Albanians. In the post-war context and discourse, the relationship of the natives toward the incomers bounces between negative opinions and condemnation to a deep regret: if the natives had formed kin relations and truly accepted the incomers, the incomers would not be able to leave so easily, and perhaps Kosovo would have been kept. The natives also mention they had a closer relationship with the "Šops" than with colonizers from the other areas. In spite that the agricultural reform and subsequent colonization aimed, at least in one part, to be a national strategy to settle Kosovo with the Serbian population, the representatives of the government and Church had not found it necessary to work in overcoming the differences and hence boundaries within the Serbian community. Many of my informants recognize this fact, with a deep regret. As all the other internally displaced people, the Kosovo „Šops" remain in constant unpredictable position. They were not accepted by the natives, while their native community does not recognize them as one of "their own". Their name is a result of categorization, which had the power to determine undertones of the everyday life.[37]

The current image of Kosovo as an area marked only by Serbian-Albanian conflict is oversimplified and wrong; this image implies a wrong conclusion on rigidness of the two peoples and languages.[38] Until the end of the 20th century, cultural boundaries and endogamy existed and were maintained among the Serbian population in Kosovo. Given the complicated reality of Kosovo territories, identities seen as practical products of social interactions, can be better understood only if we include the situation "within" and wider socio-historical context.[39]

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[37] Compare R. Dženkins, op. cit., 99.

[38] Radivoje Mladenović, *Slovenska lingvistička pripadnost, konfesionalna pripadnost i etnički transfer u svetlu skrivenih manjina na jugozapadu Kosova i Metohije,* Skrivene manjine na Balkanu, Balkanološki institut SANU, Posebna izdanja 82, Beograd 2004, 245.

[39]R. Dženkins, op cit., 111; M. Prelić, op cit., 248.

Сања Златановић

Моћ категоризације:
староседеоци и досељеници југоисточног Косова

Кључне речи:
Косово, Косовско Поморавље, Срби, Албанци, „Шопови“, староседеоци, досељеници, колонизација, етнички идентитет, иденти- фикација, категоризација

Рад се заснива на теренским истраживањима обављаним у периоду од 2003. до 2006. године у избегличким центрима у Смедереву, Врању и Врањској Бањи и, *in situ* на подручју југоисточног Косова: у енклави Витина, коју – осим истоимене варошице – сачињавају и села Врбовац, Грнчар, Бинач, Клокот и Могила, као и у Гњилану и околним селима (Шилово, Горње Кусце, Горњи Ливоч, Партеш, Пасјане и др.) Рад има за циљ да дâ прелиминарне резултате истраживања проблема односа Срба староседелаца и досељеника (колонизованих у периоду после 1918. године, у оквиру аграрне реформе). У фокусу разматрања су досељеници из југоисточне Србије, којима је староседелачко становништво приписивало идентитет „Шопова“.

Према друштвеноконструктивистичком приступу, идентитети су променљиви, ситуационо условљени и подложни преговарању, а у тим процесима важну улогу играју спољашња дефиниција, односи моћи и доминације. Етницитет (у зависности од друштвеног контекста, и други облици колективног идентитета) увек представља резултат интеракције континуираних процеса унутрашњег и спољашњег одређења, самоиденти- фикације и идентификације од стране других. Спољашња дефиниција – категоризација – значајна је димензија унутрашње дефиниције (Р. Џенкинс). Рад је усмерен на сагледавање улоге спољашње дефиниције – категоризације у процесима конструисања идентитета међу припадницима српске заједнице у области југоисточног Косова. Начин на који досељеници, али у појединим ситуацијама и они који себе одређују као староседеоце на Косову, интерпретирају свој идентитет уско је повезан с тим како њих интерпретирају ови други. Усредсређеност на спољашњу дефиницију, тзв. „комшијски дискурс“ (Сикимић), омогућава продубљенији увид у динамику процеса

друштвеног обликовања идентитета, и то на подручју које карактерише погранични карактер и мултиетницитет.

Староседеоци и „Шопови“, иако истоветни по етничкој припадности (премда су је једни другима, у извесном смислу, доводили у питање), религији, језику и дијалекту (призренско-тимочки дијалекатски тип), само с различитим локалним говорима, живели су као две ендогамне групе. Дистинктивни идентитети двеју група заснивају се на интерпретацијама локалних и регионалних разлика. Локалним, односно регионалним идентитетима придаје се у појединим њиховим аспектима значај етницитета. Припадници друге групе опажају се као другачији, и то у таквој мери да се изражава бојазан да они првима могу угрозити идентитет уколико би дошло до орођавања (в. транскрипт [5]), деца из таквих бракова сматрају се *мелезима* и сл. Етнички идентитет представља друштвену конструкцију, али формирану на такав начин да задобија примордијалне атрибуте, односно – обични људи доживљавају га у есенцијалном и примордијаланом смислу (Прелић). Староседеоци не опажају „Шопове“ као носиоце истог етничког идентитета, јер недостаје примордијална привреженост (осећање заједништва и солидарности, које произилази из веровања у крвно сродство, заједничко порекло и сл.)

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Recent Turkish Migrants in Serbia and the Role of the Serbian-Turkish Friendship Association[*]

The theme of this work is the population of recent Turkish migrants who live on the territory of Serbia. I wanted to establish which factors from a wider social context have an effect on the selection of signs by which ethnic groups are differentiated. Parallel to this I wanted to establish if there are any factors which could have an effect on ethnic closeness, and on what level.

Key words:

Turkish migrants, Serbia, ethnic identity, *Balkan mentality,* Serbian-Turkish Friendship Association

The theme of this work is the population of recent Turkish migrants who live on the territory of Serbia. Therefore, here I will not write about the descendants of the Turks who moved to Serbia in earlier centuries. Bearing in mind the turbulent relations between Serbs and Turks in the past, I've set a goal for myself to enquire into the reasons why Turks nowadays choose (or don't choose) to live in Serbia. The structure of migrants and problems they are dealing with in everyday life are observed in the work.

At the beginning of this work I need to emphasize that so far there haven't been any works on the theme of contemporary Turkish migrants in Serbia and the Serbian-Turkish Friendship Association "Inat". The aim of this work is to fill in the existing gap in our knowledge. This work was completed after my own empirical research and the using of theoretical literature from the field of ethnology and anthropology. In keeping with the theory of Frederic Barth I contemplate ethnos as a

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continuous process of subjective distinction between the *we* and *they* groups, in this case between Turkish migrants and native Serbian population.[1] I followed the idea of M. Prelic who thinks that one of the tasks of a researcher is to grasp how ethnicity functions in practice, understood by the participant as essential.[2] One of the aims of this research is to reveal cultural signs, i.e. the phenomena to which participants alone give the significance of ethnical identity symbols. The elements of any form of social identity, including ethnic, comprise signs and symbols.[3] A symbol, according to Geertz, is any thing, act, event, quality or relation which serves as a transmitter of a certain conception. This conception is the meaning of the symbol.[4] Ethnic symbols are visible characteristics of a certain group, which are believed to mark the togetherness of the group, and at the same time they separate it from any other ethnic group.[5] I wanted to establish which factors from a wider social context have an effect on the selection of these signs by which ethnic groups are differentiated. Parallel to this I wanted to establish if there are any factors which could have an effect on ethnic closeness, and on what level.

To collect my oral sources I used the interview method as well as free conversation with the Turkish migrants and the president and active members of the Association.

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According to the data I got in the embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Belgrade in April 2007, from consul Mr. Selim Celik, about 150 Turkish citizens live in Serbia. They are mostly businessmen who reside in Serbia alone, while their families are in Turkey. Serbia has a very strict visa regime, which significantly reduces the number of migrants from Turkey. Mr. Hasan Oktem, the Turkish ambassador in Serbia, believes that about 1000 citizens of Turkish descent live in Serbia, while in Kosovo and Metohija there are about 30.000 Turks.[6]

None of the official institutions' representatives could tell me the exact number of Turkish citizens in Kosovo and Metohija. The usual answer is that there are a couple of hundreds. The current situation in Kosovo and Metohija does not al-

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[1] F. Barth, *Introduction in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, The Social Organization of Culture Difference,* ed. F. Barth, Little, Brown and Co., Boston 1969, 9-16.

[2] М. Прелић, *Проучавање етничког идентитета – нека теоријска питања*, „Традиционално и савремено у култури Срба", Посебна издања Етнографског института САНУ 49, Београд 2003, 283.

[3] Leach E. R., *Culture and communication: the logic by which symbols are connected: an introduction to the use of structuralist analysis in social anthropology*, New York: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1976, 21.

[4] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures,* New York 1973, 91.

[5] Ю. В. Бромлей, *Очерки теории этноса*, Москва 1983, 127.

[6] Mr. Hasan Oktem presented this fact in his interview for a newspaper "Glas javnosti" (November 19th, 2005, 12).

low any field research in that region, and therefore I will mostly deal with the Turks who live on the territory of Serbia proper.

According to the Turkish ambassador in Serbia, Mr. Hasan Oktem, the relations between Serbia and Turkey at political level are excellent. In the field of economy, however, our relations are not satisfactory; we need more investments, and Turkish businessmen are afraid to invest in Serbia.[7]

Although both parties are interested in investing, Turkish participation in investing in Serbia is very small. However, there are some exceptions like "Efes's" purchase of Pancevo's brewery and 64,4% of Zajecar brewery shares. Also, Turkish firm "Ozer Motor" from Istanbul started building a factory for the production of electric motors and engine equipment in Boljevac in September 2007.[8]

It is believed that the main reasons why Turks don't invest in Serbia are the visas Turks have to get in order to enter Serbia, as well as the obtaining of a complicated documentation to start business. However, in the Serbian Economic Council they do not think that visas are the problem. They think that Turks are mainly inclined towards cooperation with the EU and only in the second place with the countries outside the EU. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of the Republic of Serbia also does not think that visas are the problem because the export from Turkey to Serbia has increased in recent years despite the visa regime.[9]

Turkey exports textile, leather, vegetables, fruit, vehicles, metal products, industrial machines, electric equipment. From Serbia they mostly import steel, iron, rubber and plastic products.[10] Therefore, Turks who live on the territory of Serbia proper mostly have their own private firms. There are about 30 business firms, and most of them are in Belgrade.

Besides trade, recent Turkish migrants in Serbia are also involved in other activities. We should mention the Anatolia Foundation for Development and its representative Mr. Burhan Karagulle and Mr. Uygar Sin. The Foundation did some humanitarian work from 2001 until 2007. They organized free English and computer classes. In this way they helped young people who were looking for job, since in order to get a job a certificate that guarantees certain knowledge you need to have a certificate that you have certain knowledge of English language and that you can work on a computer in order to get a job.

In September 2006 a school for foreign languages *Bejza* was opened in Belgrade. The director is Turkish.[11] He says that they had no problems either with its opening or with the permission to stay. In 2006 there were 37 learners of Turkish

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[7] "Glas javnosti", November 19th, 2005, 12.

[8] "Blic", July 9th, 2007, 8.

[9] "Blic", August 22nd, 2006, 10.

[10] "Glas javnosti", November 19th, 2005, 12.

[11] You can find information about the school on site: www.bejza.edu.yu

language in the school. Teachers (the three of them) are all from Turkey and the classrooms have multimedia equipment. Students of Turkish language also attend the course because of a high level of teaching. At weekends they organize projections of Turkish films. Students have the opportunity to talk about Turkish culture and to learn more about the way of life in Turkey today. In this way the school is raised to the level of a cultural centre. In May 2007 three students took part in The Fifth International Turkish Language Competition in Istanbul. This was the first time that Serbian competitors took part in the competition.

Almost all Turkish examinees say that they feel at home in Belgrade and that they don't feel like they are abroad. However, in everyday life there are certain problems which may look insignificant at first sight, but still have a great influence on their life.

Male migrants prevail in the sex structure of Turkish migrants who have come in the last ten years. Although they are married, their families live in Turkey. They say that it is hard for their women to fit in. Their husbands spend most of their time at work, and they are used to having company in the morning when they drink tea or coffee. They don't speak Serbian and it is hard for them to make friends in the new surroundings. For these reasons many of them decide to go back home. As the result of this, their husbands are forced to finish their jobs and return to Turkey.

Turkish firm owners mostly employ Serbian workers. Sometimes there are misunderstandings due to the cultural differences. One Turkish firm owner complained that Serbs have too many red letters in the calendar when they don't work, *and they would rather die then work on Sundays*. He was surprised when his driver resigned his job, although he had had quite a good salary, when he was offered to work on Sundays and be additionally paid. The driver said that he was also dissatisfied because he didn't have enough time for his social life (due to the working hours from 9 am to 6 pm). The Turkish employer says that Turks first ask how high the salary is, and Serbs first ask about the working hours. Here one can see the difference between the systems of values. We need to look at the etymology of the Serbian word *nedelja* (Sunday) – it is *ne-dela*, i.e., this is the day when you don't work. Besides, some Serbian workers joke about this and say: "What's the use of money if you don't have time to spend it!"

Some Turkish migrants complain that they have a problem with food in Serbia for religious reasons. Namely, pork is a taboo in Islam, and in Serbia every meat is grilled on the same grill. Other than that, they like Serbian cuisine since there are many dishes similar to the Turkish ones.

In Serbia everyone can dress freely the way they like. Namely, women can wear headscarves and pantaloons in public if they want to. Nevertheless, in Serbia, and especially in Belgrade, they don't wear this kind of clothes. Turkish women, however, who wear headscarves, attract attention of people in the street by wearing different outfit and they sometimes feel awkward because everybody is looking at them.

All examinees agree that both Serbs and Turks have a lot of prejudice because they don't know each other well enough. One of the ways to overcome this was the founding of the association of Serbian-Turkish friendship called "Inat".

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The Association of Citizens "Inat" was constituted as a non-party, non-governmental and non-profit association of citizens with the purpose of developing mutual friendship within the Serbian-Turkish community, cherishing a well-neighbourly relationship, scientific research of ethnological matter, protection of cultural and historical monuments of both nations in this region, preserving tradition, protection of ecological and human rights in general as well as stimulating cooperation between the two nations, both individually and through social, political and economic institutions in the fields of economic and national affirmation in the world.

The association was founded at the end of 2004 at the initiative of Mr. Dragoslav Milosavljevic, Serbian businessman who worked in France for many years. He is also the president of the association. The general secretary is Ms. Milka Zlatic and the vice-president is Mr. Nedred Duran. According to the words of the president of the association, they need financial means to keep this kind of society working. The procedure for the official opening took a while. And during many attempts to do this they came up with the name for the association (*inat* means spite). Since they didn't get any help from either government, they founded the association *"iz inata"* = out of spite. The word *inat* (spite) is a Turkish word accepted in Serbian language, and spite was their only driving force. They occasionally get some financial help from goodwill donors.

The association has about 500 registered members and a few thousand sympathizers. As for the ethnic structure, the majority of members are Serbian (95%). Among them there are citizens of Turkish descent as well as other nations. Some of them have the so-called Muslim surnames (Tufegdzic, Subasic, Gegic). Also, there are 28 Turkish citizens.

The sex structure is made of 55% male and 45% female members. As for the education, 60% have a university degree. There are doctors, engineers, architects, authors, painters, professors, firm owners. About 30% of the members are 20 to 30 years old. About 25% are born outside Serbia. All members are active and take part in the work with their own ideas and initiatives.

In the statute of the Association it is written that their goal is to collect and study scientific and professional literature, the national heritage related to life and development of the Serbian and Turkish regions; Organize professional gatherings, counsels, seminars, memorials of important events and other activities within this framework individually or with other organizations; Publish books and other editions from their field of interest and in accordance with the law; Coordinate scientific and professional personnel to work on scientific, professional and research projects concerning ethnological and human rights issues; Cooperate with universities,

professional associations and other organizations – domestic and abroad, dealing with Serbian-Turkish history and human rights in general.

They have great plans and interesting ideas, but no money to achieve them. All they have is enthusiasm and voluntary work of their own members. They haven't even been able to pay the phone bill for several months. So, they don't even have enough money for basic needs, not to mention bigger projects.

"Inat" has organized some important exhibitions, lectures and seminars since its foundation which have contributed to the affirmation of Turkish culture and art. On Tuesdays they have a Culture, Art and Friendship Day. Active members meet in the ambience of an oriental salon. They solemnly celebrate Turkish Republic Day (October 29) in the association's offices with the representatives from the Turkish embassy.

The association also organizes Turkish language courses for its members (for Serbian members) and Serbian language courses (for Turks). Turkish language courses have been taking place in the association's offices since January 2005. In the first year lecturers were from the Philological Faculty of the University of Belgrade, from the Department of Oriental Studies. One of them was Ms. Prof. Dr Mirjana Teodosijevic. The Department of Oriental studies was founded in 1926 at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade. Turkish language has been taught ever since 1925 as the foreign selected language.[12] At first they used textbooks in classes. However, since this method turned out to be very hard and demanding they passed to another method – the Assimil Serbian-Turkish. In the learning process better students help the new ones, and in this way they are able to include new students throughout the year. The offices are available from 8 am to 10 pm. Because many people were interested in these courses they introduced Sunday terms as well. So far 150 students finished the course. At the same time there are Serbian language classes for Turks who live in Serbia.

Business cooperation between Serbia and Turkey also improved thanks to the association. A delegation of the association took part at Istanbul social and economic forum in July 2006 organized by Turkish Economic Council. On this occasion the association was invited to attach to the structures of the Turkish Economic Council. According to the deal the Serbian team for cooperation was to be formed mainly by firms that helped the "Inat" association both in its economic and non-economic work.

There are also branches of the association in Novi Sad, Nis and Novi Pazar. In the Novi Sad branch there are schools of Persian, Turkish and Arabic.

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[12] M. Teodosiyeviç, Belgrad Üniversitesi Filoloji Fakültesi Doğu Dilleri Kürsüsü'nün Kuruluşunun Yetmişinci Yıl Dönümü, *Hasan Eren Armağını, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları*: 773, Ankara 2000, 296.

Conclusion

Although Serbia and Turkey maintain good political relations, Serbia is a country with few Turkish migrants. I've already mentioned that they are mostly small firm owners and employ Serbian workers. Their families are in Turkey, so they always try to finish their business as soon as possible and then go back to Turkey. Perhaps this is one of the factors why they are so little engaged in the promoting of Turkish culture.

Most examinees believe in the existence of a common *Balkan mentality* even though the research has shown that for the examined population of Turkish migrants there are also some distinguishing symbols of ethnic identity in the Geertz meaning of the word. The transmitters of the conception of ethnic distinction in a given case are primarily language as the main factor of communication, then clothes in the sense that wearing headscarves and pantaloons as a very different style of appearing in public attracts attention and individuals who wear them feel embarrassed, as if they were in a shop window. An ethnic marker is also an attitude towards work and one "taboo" day of the week – one does not work on that day, and its name speaks for itself. Food can also be a factor of ethnic distinction and this originates from the differences between religions – in Islam pork is a taboo.[13] One might think that Islam is the main reason why a Turkish cultural centre does not exist in Serbia. However, the Islamic Republic of Iran has had a cultural centre in Belgrade since 1991. They have promoted their country by many wonderful programmes.[14] Turkey doesn't have a cultural centre in Serbia. Nevertheless, this research has shown that there are factors which contribute to ethnic closeness. In this case it is the association of Serbian-Turkish friendship which represents the institutionalized level of interethnic communication. The association of Serbian-Turkish friendship was founded on the initiative of the Serbian side. That an association like this should exist looks amazing to many if we have in mind Serbian-Turkish relations in the past. However, if we take into consideration that 95% of the members are Serbian, we can say that Serbs are trying harder to promote Turkish culture than Turks themselves. Besides, this association also plays an important role in establishing economic cooperation with Turkey. This alone speaks for itself about the good will on Serbian side, which makes Turkish migrants feel well accepted in Serbia nowadays, although there are so few of them.

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[13] J. L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford History of Islam,* Oxford University Press/New York 2000, 111.

[14] You can read about Iranian cultural centre on site: www.nur.org.yu

Гордана Благојевић

Новији турски мигранти у Србији и улога Друштва српско-турског пријатељства

Кључне речи:

турски мигранти, Србија, етнички идентитет, балкански менталитет, Друштво српско-турског пријатељства

У раду се посматра популација новијих турских миграната који живе на територији Србије. Разматра се структура мигранта, мотиви који су допринели да изаберу баш Србију као земљу у којој живе и проблеми са којима се суочавају у свакодневном животу. Према подацима добијеним у априлу 2007. године у амбасади Републике Турске у Београду, у Србији борави око 150 турских држављана. То су углавном бизнисмени који сами бораве у Србији, док су им породице у Турској. Према слободним проценама турског амбасадора, у Србији живи око 1.000 грађана турског порекла, док на Косову и Метохији живи око 30.000 Турака. Нико од представника званичних институција није знао да саопшти тачан број турских држављана на Косову и Метохији. Тренутно стање на Косову и Метохији не дозвољава обављање теренских истраживања на том подручју, тако да ћу се у овом раду бавити претежно Турцима који живе на територији уже Србије.

Постоји мишљење да главни разлог због којег Турци не инвестирају у Србију јесу визе које они морају да набаве уколико желе да уђу на нашу територију, као и бројна документација која је у Србији неопходна при покретању бизниса. Међутим, у Привредној комори Србије не слажу се са тим да су визе проблем. Сматрају да су Турци превасходно окренути сарадњи са Европском Унијом, а тек онда са земљама ван ЕУ. У Министарству за економске односе са иностранством Републике Србије, такође, сматрају да визе нису проблем, јер последњих година, упркос визном режиму, расте извоз из Турске у Србију.

По питању полне структуре мигранта, међу Турцима који су дошли у последњих десетак година преовладавају мушкарци. Ако су и ожењени, породице су им у Турској. Кажу да је женама тешко да се уклопе. Мужеви проводе већи део дана на послу. Оне су саме, а у својој отаџбини су навикле

да у преподневним часовима имају друштво за кафу. Не знају језик, тако да им је тешко да склопе пријатељство у новој средини. Из тог разлога се многе одлучују да се врате у Турску. То за последицу има да су и мужеви приморани да заврше своје послове пре предвиђеног рока и врате се у Турску.

Сви испитаници се слажу да Срби и Турци имају доста предрасуда једни о другима. Оне потичу из њиховог међусобног непознавања. Један од начина превазилажења предрасуда јесте оснивање Друштва српско-турског пријатељства под називом „Инат“. Друштво је основано крајем 2004. године, а представља облик институционализоване интеракције припадника различитих народа. Процедура за званично оснивање трајала је дуго, па је и назив настао током покушаја да се ствар озваничи. Немајући помоћ ниједне владе, основали су удружење *из ината*. Инат је био једини ресурс са којим су могли да крену. Повремену материјално-финансијску подршку имају од донатора.

Турска нема свој културни центар у Србији. Неко би могао помислити да је ислам препрека. Међутим, Исламска Република Иран има свој култруни центар у Београду од 1991. године и остварује изузетне програме којима промовише своју земљу. Друштво српско-турског пријатељства „Инат“ основано је на иницијативу српске стране. Постојање таквог друштва многима изгледа зачуђујуће, с обзиром на српско-турске односе у прошлости. Међутим, ако се узме у обзир да 95% чланова Друштва српско-турског пријатељства чине Срби, може се рећи да су Срби ангажованији у ширењу турске културе од самих Турака. У сваком случају, ово Друштво, осим промовисања турске културе, има улогу и у успостављању економске сарадње са Турском. То сведочи о постојању добре воље на српској страни, што доприноси томе да, иако малобројни, турски мигранти осећају да су у савременој Србији добро прихваћени.

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Impact of Paternal Investment Among Women in Sandzak*

An evolutionary model of facultative reproductive strategies explains much of women's life history strategy in terms of the absence or presence of their fathers and parental investment they made. This paper assesses direct paternal investment and behavioral outcomes in 164 women in the Sandzak region, using human behavioral ecology approach, with a special emphasis on female reproductive strategy.

Introduction

This paper assesses direct paternal investment and behavioral outcomes in 164 women, using human behavioral ecology approach, with a special emphasis on female reproductive strategy. This study incorporates genetic influences, as well as simultaneously assessing paternal effects, in order to more firmly establish a causal relation between paternal investment and the outcomes for women. The study will also asses the effects of paternal investment across cultures.

Human behavioral ecology is the application of evolutionary biology models to the study of behavioral variations in humans. The approach is sometimes referred to as evolutionary ecology, while evolutionary approaches to the study of human behavior fall under a variety of names such as sociobiology, biosociology, biocultural science, human ethology and evolutionary psychology (Cronk 1991). Human behavioral ecology attempts to explain behavioral diversity as a conse-

quence of environmentally dependent responses made by individuals in their attempts to maximize their inclusive fitness. The specification of environmental factors that constrain an individual's attempt to maximize fitness is crucial to this goal. As a consequence, individuals develop behavioral strategies designed to solve adaptive goals.

In general, the amount of investment an offspring receives from parents depends on relatedness between parent and offspring, the effect of investment on the offspring and the effect of investment on parent's future reproduction and survival. These hypotheses have been positively evaluated using cross-cultural and ethnographic case studies (ref). Life history theory organizes research into the evolutionary forces shaping the timing of life events, with a particular focus on age-schedules of fertility and mortality (Kaplan, Hill, Hurtado & Lancaster 2001:293). According to life history theory, each species or subspecies has developed a characteristic life history adapted to the particular ecological problems met by its ancestors (Wilson, 1975). Life history deals with important developmental events such as age at first and last reproduction, growth rates, birth intervals and senescence. Furthermore, life history strategies reflect two basic decisions: to reproduce now or later, and the amount of resources to invest in each offspring. Choosing one over the other depends on the costs and benefits of alternatives. Humans have evolved psychological mechanisms that use father absence during childhood as a cue for developing life history strategies (Draper and Harpending 1982, 1988).

Even among the few mammalian species in which paternal investment is common, human paternal care is unique in many ways (Geary 2000). Paternal investment usually includes provisioning and protecting young. Across many different species, a combination of improved offspring survival rate, quality, paternity certainty, and alternative mating strategies is the main social and ecological correlate of the evolution and proximate expression of paternal investment (Clutton-Brock 1991, Thornhill 1976, Williams 1966, Dunbar 1995). Human parental investment is complex, involving different types of resources: there is a trade-off between investment in direct childcare and indirect investment (Quinlan 2003). Some parents emphasize investment in education, status symbols at a cost to direct care. High levels of paternal investment in humans – income, play time, quality time – are correlated with better child outcomes such as social and academic skills.

An evolutionary model of facultative reproductive strategies explains much of women's life history strategy in terms of the absence or presence of their fathers and parental investment they made (Belsky, Steinberg and Draper 1991). This model proposes that the absence/presence of a woman's father during her childhood can provide a predictive cue for the amount of paternal investment that a woman can expect from her own partner later on. Hence, women have developed facultative response to such cue that they mature earlier if their father is absent during the childhood than if he is present (Kanazawa 2001). There are many studies that empirically support this model (Ellis, McFadyen-Ketchum, Dodge, Pettit and bates 1999, Surbey 1990, Wierson, Long and Forehand 1993), but theories put forward to explain why women should respond to father absence in this way are not being apparently rationalized (Kanazawa 2001, Geary 2000). Father absence could serve as a

cue for canalization of reproductive strategies (Draper and Harpending 2000, Ellis 2000), or may change patterns of parental care influencing development (Barber 2000, Ellis et al. 2003). In addition, father absence may affect development through shared genes, modeling of mothers' sexual behavior and exposure to unrelated males (Comings, Muheleman, Johnson and macMurray 2002, Amato 1999, Ellis 2002). There are unique relations between paternal investment and some child outcomes. In modern Western cultures, father absence is a risk factor for many undesirable developmental outcomes, such as early sexual activity, teen and adolescence pregnancy, unstable marriage patterns later in life (Quinlan 2003, Bumpass, Martin and sweet 1991, Ellis et al. 2003, Glenn and Kramer 1987, Hogan and Kitagawa 1985). All of these findings are consistent with the view that the lack of parental investment is linked with decrements in children's later social and cultural success (Geary 2000:64). Vandamme and Schwartz (1985) found that children from father-present homes tend to score higher on standardized tests. However, these findings between paternal investment and child outcomes are confounded by genetic and child evocative effects (Geary 2000, Parke and Buriel 1998). Kaplan and his colleagues (Kaplan et al. 1998) found that intelligent and motivated children are more likely to receive (education related) paternal investment than other children are, but even these might be related to shared genes (intelligence).

This study examines direct paternal investment (the amount of time and effort the fathers have spent with their daughters) and its associations with women's reproductive strategies in Sandzak, a southern province of Serbia. As such, this study extends the relation between "father absence", and genetic effect (intelligence) and the evocative effects dependent variables only rarely studied (Reiss 1995).

Method

The fieldwork was conducted in three settlements in the Sandzak area, in close proximity of the largest town of Novi Pazar in 2006-2007. The names and locations of the settlement are undisclosed. This is an area with the largest concentration of Serbian Muslim population, known as Bosniaks. The other populations, which make national or ethnic minorities, consist of Orthodox Serbs and Montenegrins, and smaller groups of Turks and Albanians. The populations of Sandzak are largely gender stratified, characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and hierarchical relations in which the patriarch or his relatives have considerable autonomy over family members, regardless of the religious affiliation (Mušović 1985, Gavrilović 1985, Rudić and Stepić 1993). Strong control is exerted on women in almost every sphere of their lives: freedom of movement, decisions in family affairs, economic independence, and their relation with their husbands. Sandzak has been one of the poorest areas of Serbia, but in the nineties it experienced a startling economic boom, thanks to private activity and small businesses mainly concentrated in the textile and footwear sectors. However, the beginning of transition period has produced a sudden collapse of this economic expansion resulting in mass unemployment. Nevertheless, many local people engage in a not-so-secret black

economy, smuggling goods to and from Serbia to Kosovo and taking advantage of differences in prices and duties. According to the National Employment Agency, about one third of the local, healthy working-age adults are jobless, where young women make more than 40%.

I report results from self-questioner and cognitive achievement test (Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices –SPM-, the most widely used of all culture-reduced tests) administered to 164 women. In this present sample, raw scores obtained on SPM were used in statistical analyses. Several variables measured reproductive strategy: age at first and last reproduction, fertility (number of children ever born, miscarriages, mortality of children), birth spacing, patterns of marriages, husband's paternal investment, sexual intercourse frequencies and birth control. Other variables measured age, religion, socioeconomic background, employment, education, patterns of parental marriages, paternal investment (time and effort invested, measured numerically) and cognitive achievement.

Descriptive Statistics

ethnicity	gender	age	N	minimum	maximum	mean	Std. deviation
Bosniak	F		97	17	65	35.51	10.41
		Years of schooling	94	2.00	16.00	10.5319	3.2018
		Age at 1st reproduction	97	16	34	21.08	3.83
		No miscarriages	97	0	5	.40	0.91
		Intercourse frequency per year	97	.00	364.00	163.6804	82.6972
		Women autonomy	97	.00	7.00	2.6907	1.6225
		Valid (listwise)	94				
	M	age	138	22	60	36.12	8.72
		Years of schooling	135	2.00	16.00	10.7704	3.3855
		Age at 1st reproduction	138	17	39	23.50	3.63
		No miscarriages	138	0	3	0.19	.48
		Intercourse frequency per year	138	.00	364.00	150.0725	79.7223
		Women autonomy	138	.00	7.00	2.6377	1.6387

		Valid (list-wise)	135				
Serbs	F	age	67	22	61	38.51	10.31
		Years of schooling	67	8.00	16.00	12.4776	2.7434
		Age at 1st reproduction	67	19	39	24.69	4.96
		No miscarriages	67	0	1	7.46	0.26
		Intercourse frequency per year	67	2.00	208.00	51.0746	44.9324
		Women autonomy	67	.00	7.00	6.2836	1.3462
		Valid (list-wise)	67				
	M	age	61	22	60	41.18	10.02
		Years of schooling	61	8.00	16.00	12.3934	2.6031
		Age at 1st reproduction	61	18	38	26.74	4.00
		No miscarriages	61	0	1	4.92	.22
		Intercourse frequency per year	61	2.00	156.00	47.3279	36.8541
		Women autonomy	61	2.00	7.00	5.6393	1.1110
		Valid (list-wise)	61				

Results

All women in the sample were born into a two-parent family. 89% stayed with the two parents, while 11% of women's parents divorce/separated.

39% of the women experienced teenage and adolescent pregnancies (between the ages 15 and 20 years). For the sake of comparisons, approximately 10% of girls in the United States become pregnant each year, at the same age span, and this is considered to be the highest rate of teenage pregnancy among Western industrialized countries (Ellis et al. 2003:801). The high rate of teenage and adolescence pregnancies in the Sandzak sample could be explained by cultural (religion) and traditional influences, however, when religion is controlled for, the rate….In addition, Christian fathers made more paternal investment then Muslim fathers did.

Husband investment-father investment

GENDER				Father Investment			Total
				Very little investment (in time, resources, care)	Relative investment (in time, resources, care)	Great in-vestment (in time, resources, care)	
F	ETHNICIT	BOSNIAK	Count	53	38	6	97
			% within ETHNICIT	54.6%	39.2%	6.2%	100.0%
		SER	Count	3	49	15	67
			% within ETHNICIT	4.5%	73.1%	22.4%	100.0%
	Total		Count	56	87	21	164
			% within ETHNICIT	34.1%	53.0%	12.8%	100.0%
M	ETHNICIT	BOSNIAK	Count	32	82	24	138
			% within ETHNICIT	23.2%	59.4%	17.4%	100.0%
		SER	Count	6	49	6	61
			% within ETHNICIT	9.8%	80.3%	9.8%	100.0%
	Total		Count	38	131	30	199
			% within ETHNICIT	19.1%	65.8%	15.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests				
GENDER		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
F	Pearson Chi-Square	45.940(a)	2	.000
	Continuity Correction			

	Likelihood Ratio	54.096	2		.000
	Linear-by-Linear Association				
	N of Valid Cases	164			
	Pearson Chi-Square	8.360(b)	2		.015
	Continuity Correction				
M	Likelihood Ratio	8.913	2		.012
	Linear-by-Linear Association				
	N of Valid Cases	199			
a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.58.					
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.20.					

Symmetric Measures					
GENDER		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
F	Nominal by Nominal — Phi	.529			.000
	Nominal by Nominal — Cramer's V	.529			.000
	N of Valid Cases	164			
M	Nominal by Nominal — Phi	.205			.015
	Nominal by Nominal — Cramer's V	.205			.015
	N of Valid Cases	199			
a Not assuming the null hypothesis.					
b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.					

After controlling for all the variables, women whose fathers were absent or non-invested, have on average, an earlier age at first reproduction, more frequent miscarriages and child mortality, higher fertility, less education, more marriages (partners), more arranged marriages, and turbulent and conflict marital relationship (including the risk of partner violence) with the current partner, than women who reported substantial paternal investment. Cognitive achievement, measured in raw

test scores, does not influence paternal investment in this sample. Children evocative effect and genetic influence are not significant in paternal investment.

Discussion

In terms of mammalian reproduction, mothers throughout the world show a much greater engagement in their children than fathers do. This is due to biology of mammalian reproduction, resulting in higher levels of maternal than paternal care. Under these circumstances, the cross-species pattern is for the reproductive strategy of females to be centered on parental effort and the reproductive strategy of males to be focused on mating effort (Trivers 1972). From this perspective, the feature of human parental effort is that many fathers show some degree of care and indirect investment in their children. The degree of care varies across cultures.

It is possible that cultural (religious) forces influence reproductive behavior and timing. Human cultures tend to be father absent or father present, reflecting differences in the relative emphasis of men on mating and parenting (Draper and Harpending 1988). The so-called "father-absent" societies are characterized by aloof marital relationships, a polygynous marriage, local raiding and warfare and little or inconsistent direct paternal investment in children (Draper and Harpending 1988, Hewlett 1988, Whiting and Whiting 1975). In pastoral and agricultural societies many men are able to accumulate resources needed to support more than one wife; in cultures without the prohibition of having only one wife men compete with each other for the establishment, social dominance and control of resources that women need to raise children (Borgerhoff Mulder 1990). Social and economic dominance influence the number of women a man can have and the number of surviving children (Irons 1993). The investment of wealth in mating effort is a successful reproductive strategy for men in these cultures. In contrast, father-present societies are commonly found in unstable ecologies or large, stratified societies, and these are characterized by ecologically or socially imposed monogamy (Draper and Harpending 1988). High levels of paternal investment is necessary for children survival while ecological conditions limit men's ability to accumulate wealth, hence limiting mating opportunities.

In many industrial societies, monogamy is socially imposed, and the result is a relative shift in men's reproductive efforts, from mating to parenting (MacDonald 1995). Legal and social prohibitions against polygynous marriages are combined with women's preference for high-investment monogamous marriages, limiting men's mating opportunity and hence reducing the opportunity cost of paternal investment. On the other hand, though direct paternal investment in children tends to be lower in polygynous cultures, under some conditions high status men are able to invest more material resources if not their actual time than lower status and monogamously married men. Nevertheless, in cultures that allow polygyny, even monogamous men often divert social and material resources from their families to their mating efforts, in their attempts to attract and obtain more wives (Hames 1992).

Traditionally, Islam in Sandzak has tolerated polygyny and encouraged large families and numerous children. Although illegal since 1946, polygyny is encouraged by certain religious circles in Sandzak, and there is a current increase in number. For example, in spite that Serbian marriage law recognizes only one wife, that did not stop religious leader (mufti of Novi Pazar) Muharem Zukorlić from taking a second wife (Bakračević 2007). When social or ecological conditions do not impose monogamy, many men focus more on mating than on parenting. The available human data on polygyny and reproductive success tell that polygyny benefits the male: men gained in fitness from increasing degrees of polygyny (Daly and Wilson 1983). The care that females give becomes a resource for which males compete: the male who manage to inseminate a female also wins for his descendants a share of the female's parental investment.

Conclusion

This study posits a direct effect of quality of early paternal investment (father presence vs. absence, quality of paternal care giving, father-mother relationship) on women reproductive strategies and important behavioral outcomes. The analysis examined the unique effects of father investment on a variety of psychosocial and educational outcomes, after controlling for effects of familial and ecological stressors. The child evocative effect (more intelligent individuals receive more paternal care) was found insignificant. These results are consistent with life history theory. In addition, despite numerous studies on father absence, very few studies have examined the direct relation between paternal investment and behavioral outcomes for women. The current research suggests that, in relation to women's reproductive strategy, paternal investment is important in its own right. This does not imply that other correlates are unimportant, but rather that reproductive behavior and strategies may be sensitive to direct paternal care. Variation in parental care may be the causal link between types of environment and risks, and human life history (Wilson and Daly 1997).

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Утицај очинског улагања у кћерке: случај жена у Санџаку

Еволуциони модел факултативних репродуктивних стратегија објашњава велики део животне историје жена, у зависности од присуства/одсуства оца и родитељског улагања. У овом раду је представљено истраживање очинског улагања и његових последица на понашање и животну историју 164 жене у регији Санџака. Као основни приступ, у истраживању се користи екологија понашања, са нарочитим освртом на женске репродуктивне стратегије. Такође, у анализу су укључени и потенцијални генетски ефекти. Екологија понашања је апликација модела еволуционе биологије у истраживању и објашњавању људских друштава. Овај приступ покушава да објасни различитости у понашању, као последицу одговора на зависност од услова средине, у напору индивидуа да максимизирају инклузивни фитнес. Спецификација фактора срединског и друштвеног окружења који ограничавају појединце да максимизирају фитнес представља можда најзначајнији чинилац. За последицу, имамо да појединци развијају стратегије понашања, дизајниране тако да реше адаптивне проблеме. Анализа је показала, после контролисања свих варијабли, да жене чији је отац био одсутан или чије је улагање било минимално имају, у просеку, ранију репродукцију, чешће побачаје и већу смртност деце, већи фертилитет, мање образовања, више бракова и партнера, више уговорених бракова, као и проблематичне и конфликтне брачне односе (укључујући и ризик од насиља у кући), у поређењу са женама код којих очинско улагање било сразмерно веће и континуирано. Когнитиво достигнуће, измерено у виду резултата теста, не утиче на родитељско улагање у овом узорку, а генетски и евокативни утицај деце нису статистички значајни. Ово истраживање сугерише да је родитељско улагање важно, само по себи, у односу на женске репродуктивне стратегије. Наравно, овакав закључак не искључује и друге факторе који могу бити једнако важни. Варијације у родитељском улагању могу бити каузална веза између врсте окружења и ризика и људских животних историја.

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TWO METHODS OF CONTEMPLATION: YOGA AND HESYCHAST PRAYER

An Exercise in Comparative Religion*

Using Arvind Sharmas's comparative method of *reciprocal illumination*, this essay examines two contemplative methods, the Hindu yogic, as defined in Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtra,* and the *hesychast*, as developed primarily within the Eastern Christian monastic tradition. Despite differences in the overall theological context, the similarities in several aspects of the technique are worth noting as they point out that the practice, rather than theory, reveals the common ground – a similar understanding of the nature of human mind, and its inner workings.

"Comparison is the hallmark of the study of religion," notes Arvind Sharma, "and the raison d'Λtre of that form of it called comparative religion."[1] Despite its critics, the comparative method remains very important in the academic study of religion, which has increasingly become multitraditional and polymethodic in nature. Sharma's method of *reciprocal illumination,* in which "comparison is not meant to serve some other end, but is used to clarify the items under comparison themselves,"[2] is especially suited for the study at hand, in which the data from two religious tradition, Hindu and Eastern Christian, are not used to valorize them in any way, but rather to put them in a dialogical relation so that the very exercise of comparative examining may enhance our overall and/or specific understanding of

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[1] Arvind Sharma, *Religious Studies and Comparative Methodology* (Albany: SUNY, 2005), 247.

[2] *Ibid*, 254.

religious phenomena we are looking at. In other words, our goal is not to establish theological or ontological superiority of one method over the other (theological and ontological reductionism), nor is the purpose of the comparison to simply show similarities between the two ways. Rather, the intention is to see if one contemplative practice can shed light onto another so that the experience of each, as described by the practitioners, "the insiders", may become more intelligible to those who study them – hence reciprocal illumination.

Yet in our case, right at the beginning, we are reminded by Theophanis the Monk, one of the spiritual masters of hesychasm, who says in his Ladder of Divine Graces that "*experience teaches one, not words*."[3] Thus our task of comparative effort takes place in the shadow of the question of how to approach our subject knowing that it is grounded in practice and that means experience rather than solely on speculation, or divorced from it. The answer to this question, however, is only going to be sporadic, more as a sign of awareness of the problem than an attempt at tackling it. If the knowledge in question is gained through experience, and for yogis and Eastern monks alike, experience is a way of knowing, all we can know as scholars is <u>*about*</u> the experience. In that sense it is "about" that we are talking about.

Since in our times the term yoga has acquired various popular connotations, one feels compelled to specify the context in which it will be used here. My discussion on yoga is based on one of the classical texts of Indian philosophy called *Yoga-sūtra* ascribed to the author Patañjali.[4] Scholars commonly distinguish six schools or 'views' (*darśana*s) in Indian philosophical tradition, yoga being one of them. It is often paired with another school called *sāṃkhya*,[5] which is interesting for us here only in that Patañjali uses its two key concepts in his own elaboration of yogic contemplative practice: those terms are *puruṣa*, often translated as pure consciousness or spirit, and *prakṛti*, material nature.[6] Another interesting idea from *sāmkhya* is its theory of evolution of unconscious matter, which takes place or can take place only through the presence of conscious *puruṣa*, who is only a witness, but who mysteriously becomes entangled in and thus bound by material nature falling into the fatal error of identifying its being with it. Material nature is understood as energy in potential form, always ready to flow out and actualize itself. The term that defines the relationship between pure consciousness and material nature according to both philosophical views is that of 'ignorance' (*avidy*ā). While *sāmkhya's* answer as to how this ignorance should be removed is more theoretical in

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[3] *Philokalia*, vol. III, G.E.H. Palmer, et.al eds. (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995), 67 [emphasis added].

[4] The dates on Patañjali waver as far apart as the 3rd or 2nd century BCE (thus identifying him with the famous Sanskrit grammarian Patañjali, the author of *Mahābhāṣya*), and the 3rd century CE (based on the textual analysis). The issue of dating is not of any significance for us here though.

[5] The first proponent of *sāmkhya* is said to be Kapila (ca. 7th century BCE), but the first complete text of this philosophical school , *Sāmkhya-kārika* of Īṣvarakṛṣṇa, was composed several centuries later (ca 3rd century). The other two philosophical pairs are *nyāya-vaiśeṣika* and *pūrva mīmāmsa -uttara mīmāmsa;* the latter is better known as *vedānta*.

[6] The two can also be discussed in terms of subject – object.

nature, Patañjali's concern in his *Yoga-sūtra* is more pragmatic, making yoga more of a path-philosophy in which speculative and practical go hand in hand. In words of one scholar, "Patañjali is not engaged in a search for new knowledge. Rather, he seeks a new perspective on the nature of knowing…"[7] Patañjali thus provides a *method,* a liberating discipline by means of which yogi realizes an absolute calm, beyond words and our ordinary ways of knowing. Some would call such experience and/or state of mind mystical; others would deny it any mystical dimension.[8] However, the question can be legitimately asked – how do we (scholars) know whether it is one or the other? Isn't the question as much about what we understand as "knowledge" as it is what we hold experience itself to be?

The text of *Yoga-sūtra,* its 195 aphorisms (*sūtra*s), is divided into four parts: the first (*samādhi pāda*) contains the famous definition of yoga, and refers to a blissful state (*samādhi)* wherein yogi witnesses his true nature. The second (*sādhana pāda*), which contains his equally famous eight limbs of yoga, i.e., the discipline of freedom itself. The third, (*vibhuti pāda*) discusses the supra-normal powers that develop as a side effect of the ascetic effort and the dangers and subtle challenges they pose for yogi; and lastly, in the fourth part (*kaivalya pāda*), Patañjali describes the nature of spiritual liberation and the reality of the transcendental self. At the very beginning of *Yoga-sūtra,* Patañjali defines yoga as: *citta-vṛtti-nirodha*. Namely, yoga is cessation (*nirodha*) of the turning (*vṛtti*) of the thought (*citta*). The notion of *citta* is very complex indeed; it is commonly translated as mind or thought, but in reality it comprises the totality of mental processes including thought, memory, dream, imagination, associations, and the like. In other words, yoga is inhibition of the oscillations (*vṛtti*) of mental substance. The oscillations of mental substance, such as thought and imagination, for example, take place automatically and are opposite in nature to concentration, which is the first of the three steps on an inner ladder of ascent to the state of complete spiritual emancipation (*samādhi*). However, before one gets to the three inner steps, there are five outer ones to contend with. Or, to be more precise, there are three strictly outer, and two mediating between the outer an inner. They together constitute the famous eight limbs of yoga: The first limb (*yama*) is a commitment (vow) to live by five moral principles. The second limb (*niyama*) pertains to observances while the third to the body posture (*asana*). The fourth limb is breath control (*prāṇāyāma*); the fifth is the withdrawal of senses (*pratyāhāra*). Finally, there are three inner limbs, which define yogic contemplative practice in the narrow sense: concentration (*dhārāṇa*), meditation (*dhyāna*) and contemplation (*samādhi).* I will return to these in a moment.

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[7] Barbara Stoler Miller, *Yoga: Discipline of Freedom* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996), ix.

[8] Thus Barbara Miller, for example, says that what Patañjali talks about is "far from the mystical ecstasy of poets like St. John of the Cross or the ritual ecstasy of the shaman in the trance." *Ibid*., x). The problem here, and otherwise when such claims are made, is that the statement implies that the scholar knows what St. John of the Cross experienced in contradistinction to a yogi.

In the hesychast tradition of contemplative practice – a spiritual trend which coincides with the very beginnings of monasticism in Christian East, but which was codified as a specific method of prayer in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries – the key term to is the *hesychia* itself. The etymology of the word is not certain, but we encounter it in the use of ancient Greek philosophers as the state of calmness, the cessation of external causes of trouble or the absence of inner agitation.[9] In the Old Testament the similar meaning is found and in the New Testament, as in the Gospel of Luke (14:4) it is also used in the sense of being silent, or in reference to observation of the "Sabbath rest" (Lk: 23:56).[10] However, the current understanding of hesychia in Orthodoxy draws primarily on its interpretation in the writings of the holy fathers from the 4th to 15th century, assembled in *The Philokalia*, that anthology of the Orthodox spirituality, (compiled in the 18th century), or from the writings inspired by it. There hesychia means stillness: "a state of inner tranquility or mental quietude and concentration which arises in conjunction with, and is deepened by the practice of pure prayer and the guarding of heart and intellect."[11] However, in *The Philokalia* stillness is sometimes seen as "a virtue, sometimes as a method of the control of senses and the acquisition of the virtues, and sometimes as the fruit or end result of ascetic practice and self-mastery."[12] Since this stillness is discussed primarily in relation to mind or intellect, **nous**, another complex concept, we have to look into its meaning first. *Nous* does not correspond to the current use of intellect as a discursive rationality grounded in sense perception, but rather it is a spiritual intellect which has a potential for a direct apprehension of the eternal truths about God and the meaning of the created world (*gnosis*).

However, in order for one to ponder the eternal truths, the intellect has to be induced to come back into one's self and be enclosed within the body. It was precisely this aspect of prayer practice which involved body that became an object of attacks by theologians from the west, such as Barlaam of Calabria, resulting in Gregory Palamas' famous defense of those who devotedly practice a life of stillness, namely the hesychasts.[13] From the stand point of our topic, it is this psycho-somatic aspect of the hesychast practice that links this method of contemplation with the one outlined in *Yoga*-sutra of Patanjali. Of the holy fathers who paid special attention to the psycho-somatic technique we can mention Nicephorus the Hesychast (the Solitary), Gregory of Sinai, and Pseudo-Symeon. Even though the descriptions of the hesychast techniques may vary the prayer that they all have in mind is the prayer of the heart, also known as Jesus Prayer. The full version of this

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[9] Tomaš Špidlik, *Prayer: The Spirituality of Christian East,* vol. 2 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 2005), 321.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *The Philokalia*, vol.1 (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1984), 364.

[12] See Vincent Rossi, *Presence, Participation, Performance* in Paths to the Heart: Sufism and Christian East, James Cutsinger, ed. (Bloomington, in: World Wisdom, 2002), 74.

[13] St.Gregory Palamas, the 14th century Greek father, Archbishop of Thessalonica, systematized main ideas and practice of the hesychasts; also known for his doctrine of essence and energies of God common in the Eastern Orthodox Church.

prayer is: *Lord Jesus Christ, son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner*. In practice, however, a shorter form is often used: *Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me*. Other elements that are commonly associated with this prayer are: a) a quiet, possibly darkened place (monastic cell, for example) to keep the mind from distractions, b) a low chair on which the monk sits, "because attentive prayer requires a restful position,"[14] and c) especially breathing, which is the most important aspect of the technique, but of course not of the prayer itself. It is done in such a way that while sitting the chin or beard is pressed against the chest while the eyes and attention are brought to the center of one's belly, the navel. This is why the critics of the hesychasts called them 'navel-psychics' with the clear intention, as Gregory Palamas notes, to slender and disqualify them. He and many Orthodox spiritual masters before and after, have pointed out that it is not at all "out of place to teach beginners in particular to look within themselves and to bring their intellect within themselves by means of their breathing."[15] Palamas goes on to explain breathing as a method helpful to those whose intellect, due to inexperience, continually "darts away" as soon as it has been focused on something.

> "That is why some teachers recommend them to pay attention to the exhalation and inhalation of their breath, and to restrain it a little, so that while they are watching it the intellect, too, may be held in check. This they should do until they advance with God's help to a higher stage and are able to prevent their intellect from going out to external things, to keep it uncompounded, and to gather it into what St. Dionysius calls a state of 'unified concentration.' This control of the breathing may, indeed, be regarded as a spontaneous consequence of paying attention to the intellect; for the breath is always quietly inhaled and exhaled at moments of intense concentration, especially in the case of those who practice stillness both bodily and mentally"[16]

With this Palamas not only justifies the use of breathing in Jesus Prayer, but also explains that it is only a physical method, a preparation of the body for true inner prayer – the prayer of the heart. The heart that occupies central place in Orthodox 'spiritual anatomy' does not refer to the faculty of being passionate or emotional in the usual sense of the word. As the Coptic monk Makarios of Egypt in his *Spiritual Homilies* observes, heart is a place of unity of human person as a whole – body, soul and spirit:

> The heart governs and reigns over the whole bodily organism; and when grace possesses the pasturages of the heart, it rules over all the members and the thoughts. For there, in the heart, is the intellect (*nous*), and all the thoughts of the soul and its expectation; and in this way grace penetrates also to all members of the body.[17]

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[14] Špidlik, 341.

[15] Gregory Palamas, *Philokalia*, vol. IV, 337.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Quoted in Kallistos Ware, *How do we Enter the Heart?*, in Paths to the Heart, 12.

St. Makarios, however, also advances the idea of heart as an unique place of human and divine encounter and as such he sees it as highly ambiguous: it is open below "to the abyss of the subconscious" or, in Makarian language, to "dragons and lions" and "gaping chasm;" but it is also open above "to the mystical supraconsciousness" and the Divine Light, "the angels," "life" "treasures of grace" – "the Kingdom" itself.[18]

Into that heart, thus conceived, Theophan the Recluse, the 19th century Russian spiritual writer, invites a practitioner to descend. "You must descend from your head into your heart. At present your thoughts of God are in your head. And God himself is, as it were, outside of you, and so your prayer and other spiritual exercises remain exterior."[19] Here the Russian *staretz* makes an important remark about a common human misapprehension of God as an "outsider vis-à-vis one's self. An yet, the ascent to God is in reality the descent into one's heart, where the Kingdom of God is to be found by the seeker in accordance with the Gospel's "The kingdom of God does not come with observations; nor will they say, 'See here!' or 'See there!' For indeed, the kingdom of God is within you" (Lk. 17:20-21).[20] If we look more closely at what is being suggested here we see that the Biblical assertion that the Kingdom is not grasped by "observation" suggesting external, tangible means; the notions of "See here" and "See there" likewise suggest the tendency to be misled, looking from outside, or distracted, looking from the standpoint of human mind. In the quote above, Gregory Palamas warns of this tendency of mind/intellect (*nous*) to "go out to external things" i.e., be outwardly dispersed through the senses. Hence the ascetic effort consists in bringing *nous* back within itself, into the heart.

Why is breathing suggested as a method to achieve this, and why heart as the final destination? Is there anything that the two share? What breathing and heart do have in common is **rhythm.** While breathing reflects rhythmic patterns of breath exchange between inside and outside, thus mediating between the two, through exhalation and inhalation, the heart reflects and directs the rhythmic circulation within, by pumping blood in and out of the organ. In terms of prayer practice we see the shift from cerebral system to the rhythmic system, because the rhythmic system is natural, and when focused on makes concentration effortless, as natural as breathing or beating of the heart. Linking the words of prayer, such as in Jesus Prayer, with the rhythm of one's breathing makes the prayer itself flow naturally. Mental repetition of the prayer in the end gives way to wordless prayer, or silence – which is the inner state of stillness or hesychia, which resembles the surface of the calm water reflecting, in the experience of some hesychasts, the uncreated light of God.

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[18] *Ibid,* p. 14 and 15.

[19] Theophan the Recluse in *The Art of Prayer* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1977), 183.

[20] Interestingly, as noted in the commentary to this Gospel passage "the Greek word for 'within you' can also be translated as 'among you' or 'in your midst'" suggesting that the notions of "in" and "out" melt away with grasping of the mystery of the Kingdom. See *The Orthodox Study Bible* (Nashville, Tennessee: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1997), 183.

Now if we step back for a moment and look at these two contemplative traditions side by side we shall inevitably notice a number of similarities in methods that accomplish the respective final goals. However, the contexts in which those methods are used are defined in radically different terms. Before we come to that, though, I would like to briefly touch on some similarities in contemplative technique and let certain aspects of one tradition reflect on the other. For example, in Orthodox tradition the spiritual way is usually divided into three stages, variously called by different fathers: the first one is *praktiki* or *catharsis* or purification; the second is *physiki* or *photismos* or illumination, and the third one is *theologia* or *henosis* or union. The first one, purification, is external in nature and is defined as practice of virtues. In Patañjali's eightfold scheme, that we have outlined earlier, we can see that the first three limbs are external too. (1) *Respecting five moral principles*: non-violence, truthfulness, abjuration from stealing, celibacy and absence of greed, certainly resonates with the ten commandments corresponding, more or less directly, to some of them; (2) *Observances*, such as ascetic practices (fasting), the study of sacred lore, and dedication to the Lord of Yoga,[21] correspond to the fasts (purification of body), vigils and prayers (purification of mind), on the one hand, and feasts of the liturgical calendar in the Eastern Orthodox tradition. (3) *Posture* is also a shared concept but, interestingly, completely differently conceived. Even though Patañjali does not specify what he means by posture other than saying that it should be comfortable and relaxed ("steady and easy" are his words), the tradition holds that what is meant by yogic posture is the so called lotus posture, i.e., sitting cross-legged with the back straight, often with eyes closed and generally relaxed body. The hesychasts, as we have seen, talk about curved back, chin on the chest – a circular body position, so to speak. (4) *Breathing* or *breath control* is understood and used in both traditions in a similar way: in *Yoga-sūtra* it is said: "The modification of breath in exhalation, inhalation, and retention is perceptible as deep and shallow breathing regulated by where the breath is held, for how long, and for how many cycles."[22] We have seen from Palamas' quote above that hesychasts understand breath control in this way, too. Difference comes in later developments, because in yogic tradition breathing exercises become much more elaborate taking life of their own, not necessarily related to contemplative practice in narrow sense, but in conjunction with further development of the posture practice (*haṭha-yoga*). In Eastern Church, however, breath control has been primarily associated with the hesychast practice and almost exclusively confined to select monastic circles. (5) The yogic practice of the *withdrawal of senses,* "when each sense organ severs contact with its objects"[23] is almost identical to the hesychast understanding of the same phenomenon and is variously expressed by different church fathers: "put away

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[21] It is not clear who "Lord of yoga" is; the term *īśvara* refers to "lord" but here it seems to be more in the sense of an archetypal yogi, who is a model, so to say, to the aspirant. Certainly, dedication to the Lord of Yoga implies yogi's commitment to the liberating discipline. See Miller, *Yoga*, 55-56.

[22] Miller, *Yoga*, 58.

[23] *Ibid,* 59.

your physical senses (hearing, sight, smell, taste and touch)," or "enclose yourself in your body", or "shut the doors of your perception," etc.

Now, when it comes to the last, and most important, three limbs of Patan-jali's *Yoga-sūtra* (6,7, and 8), *concentration, meditation and pure contemplation,* the definitions are in characteristically *sūtra* style, brief and simple and yet right on target. Thus, "concentration is binding thought in one place. Meditation is focusing on a single conceptual flow. Pure contemplation is meditation that illumines the object alone, as if the subject were devoid of intrinsic form."[24] These are the internal limbs of yoga, and yet, compared to what Patañjali calls *seedless contemplation* (*nirbīja samādhi*), they too are external. Namely, seedless contemplation is the culmination of the transformative practice of the whole yogic endeavor resulting in the liberation of the spirit (*puruşa*) from its entanglement with the material nature. This is described in the concluding aphorisms of the *Yoga-sūtra:* "Freedom is a reversal of the evolutionary course of material things, which are empty of meaning for the spirit; it is also the power of consciousness in a state of true identity."[25]

These last limbs of yoga and their culmination in a state of true identity, correspond in many ways to the Orthodox ideas of illumination and union. Illumination is contemplation of the inner meanings (*logoi*) of the created world, based on watchfulness (*nepsis)* and discrimination (*diakrisis)*. Practice of watchfulness is for the Eastern monks grounded on the Biblical calls to "Be attentive to yourself, lest there arise in your hearts a secret thing which is an iniquity" (Deut. 15:9) or "Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation" (Matt. 26:41). Watchfulness as a concerted effort of attention necessary for mastering not only the art of prayer of the heart, but any skill, is closely related to concentration, being focused on presence in the present – here and now – the assumption being that only in the present can His Presence be experienced. Close attention to or following of one's inner and outer 'movements' results in their more nuanced perception, which further stimulates a finer discrimination between things. The goal of this spiritual alertness in the context of contemplative practice is *noetic prayer*, in which the *nous* is liberated from its enslavement to reason, to the passions and the surrounding world and returns from its distraction within the heart."[26]

If we were to translate this into Patañjali's terminology, the observing subject, or *neptic person* (the one who is watchful) is *draşţŗ*, or the "observer" (the spirit, *puruşa*, in its conscious aspect), who is a detached witness of the world extrinsic to itself – including thoughts. This is now where discrimination comes into play for a yogi, since no matter how subtle and noble, human thought may be, in yogic understanding it still belongs to the realm of (invisible) material nature, *prakŗti.*[27]

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[24] Miller, *Yoga*, 60.

[25] *Ibid,* 83.

[26] Metropolitan of Nafpaktos Hierotheos, *A Night in the Desert of the Holy Mountain*, Effie Mavromichali, transl. (Birth of theotokos Monastery, 1991), 189.

[27]*Prakŗti* i.e. material nature in its visible and invisible forms manifests in three qualities (*triguna*): *sattva*, relate to lucid, subtle, cohesive quality (associated with god Vişŗu); *rajas*, "pas-

"Through discrimination (*viveka)"* Patañjali says, "one comprehends differences of origin, characteristic, or position that distinguishes two seemingly similar things."[28] This means that the aspirant on his/her path of yogic self-realization in the end has to be able to distinguish between the true self, the spirit (*purusa*) and the matter in its finest thought-form (*sattva prakṛti*). Namely, when the "turnings" even of the subtlest thought, which resembles the spirit the most, have ceased (thought always being bound in time), the stage is set for the *realization* of the absolute freedom, in which there is nothing, no-thing, to prompt further "turnings of thought" and is for that reason called "seedless contemplation" (*nirbīja samādhi, kavalya*). The common ascetic strategy to "stop the turning of thought" in yoga by repetition of the sacred syllable AUM or OM, the primordial sound from which all speech and thought are said to derive, parallels (again only as a strategy!) the hesychast invocation of the holy name in Jesus Prayer to assist in combating thoughts or trivial imagining, "the ceaseless chattering of our *logismoi*."[29] The difference is that unlike yogi who seeks no help outside of himself, the hesychast takes "refuge in the power and grace that act in the Divine name."[30] The point, however, is that this method is used in both cases to aid concentration, by blocking the formation of new impressions or thought-forms, so that monk's mind/thought could be "fixed" in prayer, or that the one of yogi ceases to "turn" or oscillates. As one monk describes what the hesychasts do: "they breath in the words 'Lord Jesus Christ' and exhale the words "have mercy on me; or "we breath in all the words of Jesus prayer and we breath out saying them again."[31] Repetition of the syllable AUM "reveals its meaning" says Patañjali, and the practice of "focusing on the single truth" (AUM as an expression of the ultimate reality) enables yogi to prevent "distractions" caused by oscillation of thought.[32]

Finally, the last, eighth limb of yoga, contemplation, as we have already noted, is twofold: pure contemplation in which the meditative subject is so absorbed in the object of meditation that the distinction between the two is completely lost. The thought becomes pure, crystal-clear, and in that sense "colorless." Capable of reflecting everything around it but without identifying with any 'color' (thought-modification) this state of pure contemplation brings yogi direct knowledge of the world and realization that the spirit is radically different from it. He is now free

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sion", refers to revolving element from which arise the breath of life and action (associated with god Brahma), and *tamas* or dark, inert, disintegrating quality (associated with god Siva); these three *gunas*, like energy existing in potential form and in varying proportions, mark stages of existence, from inanimate to pure consciousness.

[28] Miller, *Yoga*, 72.

[29] Bishop Kallistos Ware, *The Inner Kingdom* (Crestwood, NY: St.Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000), 100. *Logismos, logismoi* (pl.) in Orthodox spiritual writings refer to thought-form(s), that can be positive (sent by God) or negative, "the equivalent of conventional devils;" "It is from spiritual guidance and discernment that we will be able to differentiate one type from the other." Kyriacos C. Markides, *The Mountain of Scilence* (New York: Image, 2002), 118-119.

[30] Ware, *The Inner Kingdom,* 100.

[31] Markides, *The Mountain of Scilence,* 58.

[32] See Miller, *Yoga*, 36-38.

from any selfish (egoistic) attachment to the world, his body included, which gives him "mastery" over the realm of material and extraordinary powers (*siddhis*) that come with it. However, Patañjali warns that "one should avoid enthusiasm or pride" because of that "lest harmful attachments recur."[33] Also, the practice should not culminate in the superior material condition, but in ultimate spiritual attainment, which brings us to the notion of seedless contemplation in which that final goal is realized. Patañjali notes by way of conclusion that since thought as an object of perception cannot illumine itself it depends on the spirit, who is self-luminous, for knowledge of its own processes. So long, he says, as "a thought is the object of another thought, there is an infinite regression from intelligence to intelligence, and a confusion of memory."[34] "Awareness of its own intelligence occurs," according to Patañjali, "when thought assumes the form of the spirit through consciousness that leaves no trace."[35] This consciousness is really a supra-consciousness in which "even wisdom ceases, and contemplation bears no seeds."[36] It ends in freedom, which Patañjali defines as "a reversal of the evolutionary course of material things, which are empty of meaning for the spirit; it is also the power of consciousness in a state of true identity."[37]

In the third and final stage of Orthodox contemplative way, that of union, the realization of the secret of divine Love in human heart takes place. "God is love; and he who abides in love abides in God, and God abides in him" (I John 4:16). The goal of practice is not "to guide the nous (noetic faculty) to absolute nothingness through the 'Jesus prayer', but to turn it to the heart and bring the grace of God into the soul, from where it will spread to the body also."[38] This union with God through Christ in the Holy Spirit is conceived and realized as a personal loving relationship, communion, between the Creator and creature. In other words, it is not a divorce from the material world, but rather an attempt at its transfiguration, or as an Antonite monk of our time put it: "we must not try to get rid of the garment of the soul, as the philosophical systems claim, but we must try to save it. We don not want to reach the point where we do not desire life so that suffering ceases. We practice the Jesus Prayer because we thirst for life and we want to live with God eternally."[39] That thirst is quenched only when the *nous* descends into the heart, when the oral prayer "of the lips" has been interiorized into mental prayer and, which further matures into prayer of the heart, in which the whole person is consumed. It is no longer "a series of specific *acts* of prayer" but "a *state* of prayer that is unceasing."[40] Having reached this stage, hesychast's prayer becomes effortless –

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[33] Miller, *Yoga,* 72.

[34] *Ibid,* 79.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid*, 42-43.

[37] *Ibid*, 83.

[38] Hierotheos, *A Night in the Desert of the Holy Mountain,* 49-50.

[39] *Ibid,* 50.

[40] Ware, *The Orthodox Way,* 123.

just as a cloud pours rain (to illumine this state with Patañjali's words). It is also a natural state, in a very specific meaning of the word, since *nous* in the state of re-integration is reflective of its true nature. The prayer itself becomes self-acting, and its only language is silence of "Christ in me;" of witnessing the uncreated light of God. Interestingly, even though Patañjali's concern is primarily with the technique – for he does not engage in speculation on what happens in that state of mind which he apophatically refers to as "seedless contemplation" – he does say that the achieved freedom represents "a reversal of the evolutionary course of material things" reflecting "the power of consciousness in a state of true identity". One wonders if the achieved (comm)union with God can be viewed as anything less than "a reversal of evolutionary course of material things."

By way of conclusion, if we were to define the ultimate goals of both contemplative traditions in terms of spiritual freedom, we would say that in the yogic tradition of Patañjali the freedom that is set as a goal is **freedom *from*** – from the metaphysical ignorance of the knowing subject, the true Self, the spirit vis-à-vis the lucid quality of nature (expressed in human thought that can take everything as its object, including the divine). The language in which Patañjali expresses the yogic discipline of freedom is elegant, concise, direct and brilliantly psychologically nuanced, exposing the mechanisms whereby humans construct false identifications and identities. But it is at the same time a very impersonal, "technical" language addressing a mode of being to which the yogin aspires through his practice. Even Patañjali's introduction of Īśvara (Lord) in the *Yoga-sūtra,* as a possible object of yogic concentration, and in a special sense of devotion, seems to correspond primarily to an impersonal experiential reality of an archetype of the yogin, rather than to a divinity of the kind represented in the Christian God.[41] This is why the language of the hesychast writers stands in sharp contrast to the one of the *Yoga-sūtra,* in that it is directed to the disciple as a person--a fallen, fragmented human being, who needs to be healed – and who's Lord has instrumental role in it. The language here reflects the theological reality of Christ the Savior in which salvation is not attained through one's effort alone, and does not emanate from oneself, but is attained in synergy with Christ, as a personal relationship "in God". In that sense we would say that the goal of Christian freedom is not a freedom *from*, but rather **freedom *for*** – for communion with God in Love.

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[41]*Cf.* Eliade, *Yoga*, 73-76.

Милица Бакић-Хејден

Два метода контемплације: јога и исихастичка молитва

Оглед из упоредне религије

Кључне речи:

компаративна религија, контемплација, хиндуизам, Yoga-sūtra, источно хришћанство, исхаизам, Исусова молитва

Полазећи од компаративнг модела који Арвинд Шарма зове *реципрочна илуминација,* овај оглед разматра два контемплативна метода која су се развила у склопу двеју врло различитих религијских традиција, какве су хиндуизам и источно хришћанство. Циљ поређења није валоризовање елемената који се доводе у узајамни однос, већ њихово евентуално појашњење у светлу другог. Будући да је у оба случаја у питању пракса заснована на искуству и знање које из ње произилази, академски истраживач овакве религијске феноменологије мора бити свестан да истражује, пре свега, *о* чему је ту реч, а не *у* чему је ствар.

У тексту се разматрају контемплативни метод развијен у Патањђа- лијевој *Yoga-sūtri,* једном од најпознатијих дела класичне индијске филозо- фије, и исихастичка пракса *Исусове молитве* (умно-срдачне молитве или молитве срца), која се превасходно разви(ја)ла у окриљу источнохришћанског монаштва. Иако су већ на први поглед уочљиве паралеле између појединих елемената осмочланог Патањђалијевог пута и православног концепта *praktiki- physiki-theologia* (очишћење, просветљење, сједињење), као на пример – упознавање и руковођење моралним правилима, пажњу привлаче психосо- матски аспекти који се везују за положај тела, дисање и окретање чулне перцепције од споља ка унутра, а све у циљу припреме ума, његовог сабирања (концентрација), што је предуслов за јога медитацију и контемплацију, односно за исихастичко тиховање, у коме се молитвено-сабран ум уздиже ка Богу, спуштајући се у сопствено срце, као средиште сусрета с Њим. Занимљиво је да (насупрот популарној перцепцији јоге данас) Патањђали не поклања велику пажњу физичком положају тела, барем не више него исихастички духовници. Као и дисање, Патањђали *āsanu* тј. положај тела сагледава, пре свега у функцији заустављања непрестаних 'осцилација ума',

које су препрека његовом усредсређивању, и у том смислу је он и за њега 'техничке' природе. Код исихаста се такође уочава корисност одговарајућег физичког положаја тела при срдачној молитви, као и 'везивање' даха за име Исусово (зарад лакшег преласка пажње са линеарно-церебралног на ритмични систем даха, односно срца), али се инсистира на њиховом необавезном и искључиво инструменталном карактеру. Наиме, пракса се не препоручује без надзора искусног духовника, и то само као помоћно средство у разгоревању срца, тј. љубави према Богу.

Суштинско усмерење духовне праксе коју описује Патањђали јесте у ослобађању свести, тј. духа (*puruṣa*), од метафизичког незнања (*avidya*), које је довело до погрешне идентификације духа са материјалном природом (*prakṛti*), укључујуци и менталне процесе који су њена најсуптилнија манифеста-ција. Јога је у том смислу дисциплина духовног ослобађања свести, која води до пре-познавања њеног правог идентитета, који пак није условљен матери-јалним природом нити заваран њеним најсуптилнијим облицима испољавања. Овим остварењем апсолутне слободе прави се, по Патањђалију, 'еволутивни заокрет'. Његов контемплативни метод, међутим, будући неличан, представља јасан контраст наведеном хришћанском моделу исихаста, који је сав утемељен на личном односу човека и Бога. Хришћански теолошки оквир одређује у сваком сегменту молитвену праксу исихаста, и у том смислу је она непримењљива ван хришћанског контекста, док је Патањђалијев модел лакше 'уклопив' у друге духовне и религијске системе, а у неким, касније изведеним, редуцираним формама, и у разне облике секуларне праксе.

Ако бисмо кроз појам слободе дефинисали и једну и другу контемплативну праксу, рекли бисмо да се у случају Патањђалијеве јоге може говорити о *слободи од* – од незнања о правој природи суштинске неусловљености духа материјалном природом, док се у случају исихастичке праксе ради о остварењу *слободе за* – за заједништво с Богом у Љубави. Но, управо са становишта религијске феноменологије и у духу поменуте реципрочне илуминације, можемо се даље питати да ли то блажено стање духа (односно свести), у коме је остварена потпуна духовна слобода, није управо оно што чини 'слика Божја' по којој је човек створен, а која у крајњој анализи заиста представља 'еволутивни заокрет'. Ма како се одређивали у односу на ове 'духовне чињенице', из ових двеју традиција, неспорно је да удубљивањем у методологију контемплативног процеса у оба случаја, иако са различитим нагласком, открива импресивну слику разумевања унутрашњег света човековог у свој његовој изнијансираности.

Прикази

Мирослава Малешевић, *Женско*
Српски генеалошки центар, Етнолошка библиотека, књига 25,
Београд 2008. 264 стране

Студија мр Мирославе Малешевић *Женско. Етнографски аспекти друштвеног положаја жене у Србији*, објављена као 25. књига у оквиру Етнолошке библиотеке Српског генеалошког центра, усредсређена је на један, у домаћој продукцији, скоро у потпуности занемарен проблем. Реч је о питању односа жене и културе патријархата у Србији, у распону од руралног традицијског па све до савременог „урбаног" социјалног миљеа.

Ова књига заправо представља изабрану збирку текстова који су резултат ауторкиних вишегодишњих етнографских истраживања, писаних у различитим периодима и различитим поводима. Тематски, студија је подељена на четири целине. Прва је посвећена историји борбе за женску равноправност. Рад о *Женском покрету* представља допринос упознавању историје феминистичког покрета у Југославији између два рата, и усредсређује се на, у касније „револуционарно доба" скоро заборављену, причу о борби грађанске женске популације за достојанствен социјални положај. Студија о *Осмом марту*, са друге стране, читаоцу нуди не само причу о настанку и развоју овог „женског празника", већ, још важније, на веома луцидан начин показује механизме помоћу којих је патријархална култура успела да један оригинално „борбени дан" трансформише у бенигно празновање лишено иквог значења, и добру прилику да

једном годишње, ето, покажемо како водимо рачуна о „нашим другарицама / дамама", *купујући* их слободним даном, обилним ручком, цвећем и синдикалним попустима.

Друга тематска целина посвећена испитивању друштених односа и положаја жене у руралној средини. Текст *Дан распусног живљења* посвећен је обичају познатом под именом *ревена*, који је дефинисан као женски празник, дан када сеоске жене организују окупљања која карактерише неумереност у јелу и пићу и разуздано и ласцивно понашање. Мушкарцима је приступ овим забавама био забрањен, а уколико би се неки и усудио да тога дана непозван упадне на „прославу", дошао би у опасност да буде прилично добро испребијан. Дакле, жене су на тај дан имале право да раде оно што је у осталом делу године у оквиру традицијског друштва било дозвољено – мушкарцима. Анализирајући овај и у другим културама широко распрострањен обичај, ауторка указује да је функција овог ритуала „извртања" заправо само учвршћивање постојећег патријархалног друштвеног поретка. Међутим, како текст показује, чак и овај женски „краткотрани искорак у слободу" се временом гасио, бивајући замењен све распрострањенијим Осмим мартом – у оквиру кога се, наизглед парадоксално, како мр Малешевић наглашава, у потпуности „одсликава строгост непромењених морал-

них схватања о жени, уз које су тако добро ишли осмомартовски каранфили и парфеми".

Трећа целина усредсређује се на проблематику конструкције женског идентитета и употребе женског тела у оквиру популарне културе (*Дијета – масовна женска неуроза, О здравом духу у витком телу, Менопауза – последња мистерија крви* и *У посети срећној породици с часописом Нада*). *Менопауза,* рад који је посвећен социјалним аспектима старења и улогом менопаузе у њима, уз ризик да звучим потпуно неакадемски, јесте и мој омиљени текст у овој књизи. Мислим да је разлог томе чињеница да је рад писан као лични чин, где интерпретативни апарат управо због тога добија на суперорности. Критикујући друштво које престанак репродуктивних функција жене на известан начин симболички означава као њену социјалну смрт, Мирослава Малешевић у потпуности успева да се издигне изнад положаја суперорног академског грађанина који са висине посматра један друштвени феномен, и да кроз ауторефлексивност, заправо, ту критику учини неупоредиво снажнијом и аргументованијом.

Последњи сегмент књиге посвећен је одрастању девојчица и младих девојака у савременој Србији, са акцентом на културном условљавању њихових родних улога. Текстови *Велика је и мала матура, Снови о будућности: како дечаци и девојчице виде своје родне улоге* и *"Оправослављење" идентитета српске омладине* третирају начине помоћу којих се ствара концепт "бити жена" у оквиру савременог србијанског друштва. Последњи текст нарочито истиче улогу и пораст утицаја Српске православне цркве у овом процесу, где се кроз један специфични „национално/црквени" модел девојчицама сугерише да је њихово место тамо где су „одувек припадале" – у кући, а да је њихова улога да буду лепе и да рађају децу. Иако ауторка примећује да је доследно спровођење оваквог модела тешко остварно, она истовремено указује да наречени концепт – корак по корак – и даље, ношен повољним ветром друштвених околности, успева да наметне слику света у коме, ако жена већ на неки начин мора учествовати у „мушком свету", она нужно треба да буде спремна на „себеукидање" и „прихватање мушке доминације – у друштву, у браку, на послу – без разлике".

Књига *Женско*, кроз различите приче о различитим временима и „различитим женама" указује на један процес репродукције патријархалног друштва, почевши од његових манифестација у руралном традицијском социокултурном миљеу, па све до савременог доба. Ауторка изузетно вешто и луцидно указује како процес друштвеног развоја, започет модернизацијским реформама у доба социјализма, заправо не само да није угрозио постојање патријархата, већ је, на известан начин, донекле управо захваљујући овим процесима, патријархат опстао и ојачао, а нарочито у периоду ерупције етнонационализма и општег „повратка традицији" као верном пратиоцу анахроних социјалних збивања у Србији у последње две до три деценије.

Ова књига јесте пре свега изузетна етнографска студија. Феминистичка је у оној мери у којој се феминизам схвата као захтев да жене буду слободне да дефинишу себе уместо, како истиче ауторка цитирајући Сузан Фалуди, „да њихов идентитет увек изнова одређују њихова култура и њихови мушкарци." *Женско* свакако представља изузетан допринос на једном у овој средини мало испитиваном пољу антрополошког интересовања, с

тим што значај ове студије далеко превазилази уске оквире дисциплине. Поред тога, и можда још важније, ова књига нам показује како наука може бити не само корисна већ и изузетно лепа и занимљива када се њоме бави

неко као што је Мирослава Малешевић. *Женско* је текст који се чита лако и брзо а о њему се размишља дуго. Од једне књиге се тешко може више очекивати.

Иван Ђорђевић

Saša Nedeljković, *Čast, krv i suze: ogledi iz antropologije etniciteta i nacionalizma*

Odeljenje za etnologiju i antropologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu i Zlatni zmaj, Beograd 2007, str. 326

Књига Саше Недељковића – *Част, крв и сузе: огледи из антропологије етницитета и национализма* – представља резултат ауторових дугогодишњих истраживања феномена етницитета и национализма. Књига се састоји из седам засебних, међусобно лабаво повезаних студија, које из различитих тематских углова осветљавају и разјашњавају комплексну природу етницитета на простору Балкана. У предговору аутор објашњава своје истраживачке интенције и одабрани наслов – *част* и *жртвовање* (парафраза познатих реченица Винстона Черчила и Макса Вебера), који индиректно указује на суштину етницитета и национализма. Теоријске претпоставке изложене у уводном поглављу – *Етничка група, народ, нација, раса: појмовник, теорије, систематизације* – упућују на конструктивистички приступ анализи етничких феномена у студијама које следе.

Проблем употребе мита у савременој српској култури, и то у периоду изразите националне кризе – НАТО бомбардовања 1999. године, разматра се у студији *Мит, религија и национални идентитет: митологизација у Србији у периоду националне кризе*. Истраживање је конципирано тако да обухвати и институционални и

индивидуални ниво односа према националном идентитету и актуелним друштвеним процесима уопште, те да се добијени модели упореде. Институционални ниво прати се посредством текстова објављених у часопису „Војска“ у периоду март-јун 1999, који је за истраживани проблем парадигматичан, јер изражава ставове војног, а самим тим – и државног врха. Индивидуални план рецепције и разраде националног мита добијен је на основу есеја који су студенти Београдског универзитета писали на тему „Српство“. Саша Недељковић закључује да је у посматраном периоду изражен висок степен корелације између институционалног нивоа, који нуди митско-религиозни кључ за разумевање актуелних догађаја, и митологизације на индивидуалном плану. Реторика институционалног модела је – у односу на индивидуални – уобличенија и доследнија, заснована на појмовима и сижеима различитих митолошких система, при чему се потенцира виђење нације као религиозне категорије, тј. врши се снажна етнификација универзалистичке религије каква је хришћанство. На индивидуалном плану, Недељковић запажа слабије уобличену митолошку визуру, а од старих митова – употребу искључиво хришћанског и косовског.

У студији *Историографија и национални идентитет: етногенеза Црногораца у антрополошкој перспективи* разматра се однос историје и антропологије на примеру етногенезе Црногораца. Као предмет истраживања, уместо саме прошлости, узета је прича о прошлости, тј. историографски наратив. Истраживање је концепирано тако да испита у којој мери етногенетске конструкције кореспондирају са актуелним политичким пројектима и интересима. Изложене су и размотрене теорије о етногенези Црногораца (најутицајнија, тзв. *српска теорија*, према којој Црногорци представљају део српског националног корпуса; тзв. *хрватска теорија*, која заступа став да су Црногорци етнички Хрвати, и *унутрашња теорија*, која Црногорце одређује као самосвојан етнички ентитет), а повучене су паралеле и са сличним примерима у региону (Босна: етничка припадност становника ове области, али и других на Балкану, била је предмет различитих конструкција). Упоредном анализом резултата историографских истраживања из различитих средина, као и критиком основних извора које карактерише низак степен поузданости, Саша Недељковић убедљиво показује да прошлост представља ствар интерпретације, да се она увек са становишта савременог тренутка тумачи на одређени начин, при чему се потискују или наглашавају неки њени аспекти. С обзиром на то, антропологија се, будући усредсређена на субјективне перцепције стварности, показује, према мишљењу аутора, као кредибилнија од историографије, која све више постаје предмет антрополошких проучавања, а све мање – помоћна или партнерска дисциплина.

Студија *Организовани криминалитет као вишезначна поткултура: хајдучија између грађанске и националне идеологије и између народне и* националне културе посебно је занимљива јер отвара нова подручја истраживања у домаћој етнологији и антропологији. Саша Недељковић, компаративном анализом традиционалних и савремених облика криминала, отвара проблем културне вишезначности криминалног понашања, као и проблем настанка, трансформације и контекстуализације одређених видова криминалитета. Подробно је размотрена природа везе криминала и културе, с посебним освртом на мафијаштво, тероризам и хајдучију. Културолошка анализа хајдучије извршена је с обзиром на њену позиционираност у оквиру опозиције *грађанска идеологија / национална идеологија*. Недељковић показује на које све начине мафија, тероризам и хајдучија кореспондирају са етничком и националном припадношћу, тј. како се на овим облицима организованог криминала огледа интеракција фактора као што су државни апарат, етничка и национална повезаност и привредно-економски систем.

У емпиријски заснованој студији *Етнификација социјалних група и политизација културних специфичности: Словени и балкански Египћани*, прегледном анализом различитих извора и њиховом деконструкцијом када је реч о заједници балканских Словена, односно анализом 'објективних' и субјективних показатеља етничког идентитета балканских Египћана, аутор, у складу са својим конструктивистичким приступом, подвлачи да је у данашњем свету симулација и антиесенцијализма постала нефункционална подела на праве и измишљене традиције.

Два последња обимнија поглавља – *Језик и национални идентитет* и *Однос између религиозног и националног идентитета* – посвећена су језику и религији као најважнијим аспектима етничког и националног идентитета. Аутор најпре разматра везу језика и

национализма, проблеме диглосије и глотографије, градећи на тај начин појмовни оквир за испитивање лингвистичке и социолингвистичке перспективе јужнословенског простора. Анализа социолингвистичких процеса у односима Срба и Хрвата, као и Срба и Црногораца, посебно је занимљива и актуелна. Лингвистички процеси, исто као и религиозност, условљени су кретањима и стратегијама на политичком плану. Религиозни идентитет Црногораца размотрен је у склопу односа са Србима/Србијом и Хрватима/Хрватском, као и са православљем и католичанством као ширим идентификацијским оквирима.

У монографској студији Саше Недељковића, проблеми етницитета и национализма разматрани су контекстуализовано, у сложеном, динамичном и међузависном односу бројних друшт-

вених фактора. Разматрањима је обухваћен како политички и институционални, тако и субјективни план конструкције и деконструкције различитих аспеката етничког и националног идентитета. Теоријска утемељеност истраживања, детаљно познавање извора и њихова свеобухватна интерпретација чине ову студију узорном, оригиналном и инспиративном. Она покреће значајна теоријска и методолошка питања и представља незаобилазну литературу за све оне који покушавају да разумеју процесе конструисања идентитета на Балкану.

На крају, али не мање важно: књига садржи резиме на енглеском језику, списак коришћених извора и литературе, као и прегледан индекс појмова, тако редак поступак у домаћој етнологији и антропологији.

Сања Златановић

Хроника

Предавања одржана у оквиру Трибине Етнографског института САНУ, 2008. године

Драгана Радојичић
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АРХИВСКА ИСТРАЖИВАЊА И ЊИХОВ ЗНАЧАЈ ЗА ЕТНОЛОГИЈУ

Ако су некада манастири и цркве били главни центри у којима су се чували примарни извори, развојем друштва ту улогу су већ давно, поготово у развијеним земљама преузеле за то специјализоване институције – *архиви*. Архиви су данас интердисциплинарне установе, савремене, истовремено окренуте култури, управи, науци, школству-образовању. Можда максима да *је сваки онај који зна где се налазе подаци за науку, веома близак да њоме и овлада (Qui scit ubi scientia, proximus habenti est)* најверније одражава спојивост рада архивиста и истраживача у науци. На примерима више аутора-етнолога, који су се у свом научном раду ослањали на архивске изворе, сазнајемо димензију и улогу ових извора за етнологију. Чињеница је да се писаним изворима ове врсте, нарочито оним из ранијих векова, у поређењу са подацима који се прикупљају путем анкета или интервјуа, посвећује све мање пажње.

Истраживање културних феномена из наше даље прошлости најчешће је остваривано путем „већ написаног" – не ретко без провере истог, те се поставља питање редефинисања таквих закључака из такозваног романтичарског заноса, или пак из дела квазинауке која се истим нестручно али обилато служи.

Минуциозно, континуирано и стрпљиво праћење културних феномена у историјској ретроспективи, путем архивских вести, представља обогаћивање наших сазнања о нама самима, на чему и инсистира етнологија као научна дисциплина.

Ма како се бавили свременим темама које захтева убрзани ритам живота, ипак поједини истраживачи не заобилазе архивске изворе, већ уочавају значај истих, који при анализи одређених културних феномена из наше прошлости, могу да пруже валидне податке и да утичу на редефинисање појединих, већ изграђених ставова у етнологији.

Могуће је да у будућности архивска грађа буде доступна и у електронском облику, што свакако не умањује потребу да се истраживачи нађу на терену у архивској институцији.

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ТЕРЕНСКИ РАД МЕЂУ НЕПОСТОЈЕЋИМ ЉУДИМА
Етнографија друштвено маргинализованих група

10. новембар 2008.

У овом предавању дискутовано је о питањима теренског рада између друштвено маргинализованих група у циљу стварање етнографије о њима као и ради антрополошког проучавања њихових друштвених и културних карактеристика. Наведена су искуства из неколико истраживачких пројеката, реализованих на подручју Републике Македоније, усмерених углавном ка истраживању адолесцентских популација мушкараца који имају секс са мушкарцима (МСМ), адолесцентима који нуде сексуалне услуге уз надок-наду (АНСУ) и адолесцентима који инјектирају дроге (АИД). Разматрана су различита искуства у методологији приступа таквим групама, у методологији организовања теренског рада између њих и у методологији избора испитаника. У предавању су разматрани позитивни и негативни аспекти истраживачког рада међу друштвено маргинализованим групама. Посебно је акцентован проблем активног укључивања припадника самих циљних група у истраживачки процес и теренски рад.

Љиљана Гавриловић

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О УСПОМЕНАМА, ХЕРОЈИМА И ПУТОВАЊИМА
Клод Леви-Строс на терену

27. новембар 2008.

Маја 2008. године у Галимаровој библиотеци *Плејаде*, поводом прославе стотог рођендана Клода Леви-Строса, објављен је избор из његових дела. У то издање је ушло седам Леви-Стросових кључних књига (по његовом избору), насталих у периоду од 1955. (Тужни Тропи) до 1993. године, када је изашла његова последња књига *Regarder, Écouter, Lire* (на енглески преведено као: *Look, Listen, Read*). Издање је допуњено досад необјављеним тексто-вима, пре свега белешкама из „зелене бележнице“ (путничког дневника), која се чува у архиву француске Национал-не библиотеке, и из које су читави делови ушли у *Тужне Тропе* и друге Леви-Стросове текстове, али и терен-ским белешкама, које су – за разлику од брижљиво забележених асоцијација и размишљања у дневнику – крајње сумарне.

Леви-Стросов јубилеј изгледао је као прави тренутак за преиспитивање не само његовог значаја за развој антропологије и/или настајање света

онаквог у каквом данас живимо, него и за разматрање његовог теренског рада – дела његовог антрополошког ангажмана који је, у стручним круговима, најчешће нападан и/или маргинализован.

Предавање је обухватило анализу Леви-Стросових теренских искустава у Бразилу, Бурми и Источном Пакистану (данас Бангладеш), његових изјава о/поводом теренских истраживања, као и анализу примедби које су његовом теренском раду упућиване од стране превасходно британских и америчких антрополога, формираних, бар када се ради о теренској пракси, у другачијој антрополошкој традицији. Свеукупно, разматрање Леви-Стросовог теренског рада и његових резултата показало је, с једне стране, да англосаксонски концепт теренског рада није једини могући, а са друге – колико савремено популарно поимање антропологије широм света, у чијем се центру налази антрополог-као-акциони херој, дугује управо Леви-Стросу и његовом теренском раду.

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КОЛИКО ИМА ПРАВОСЛАВНИХ ВЕРНИКА ДАНАС?
О социолошким критеријумима религиозности

15. децембар 2008.

Аутор у овом предавању покушава да одговори на питање о броју верника данас уопште у двема посткомунистичким и православним земљама, а потом и броју самих (православних) верника. У том смислу се анализирају бројни резултати створене емпиријске евиденције уз употребу великог броја индикатора о којима аутор расправља у предавању. Аутор их анализира прво као индикаторе представне димензије религиозности, затим као индикаторе веровања у догматско језгро хишћанства, индикаторе актуелне црквено-обредне праксе и као индикаторе традиционалног односа према религији и цркви. Овим анализама настоји се да се пронађе онај критеријум или скуп критеријума који ће најбоље да изрази религиозност становништва на православном религијско-црквеном простору. У тој анализи се идентификују три приступа у руској социолошко-религиолошкој заједници. Први је именован као класични, позитивистички приступ, други као постласични или феноменолошки а трећи као синтетички. Затим аутор расправља о појму везаности људи за религију и цркву и о индикаторима те везаности, као и о индексима који су социолошки погоднији за испитивање религијско-црквеног комплекса. На крају предавања аутор даје неколико методолошких упустава за социолошко искуствено истраживање религије.

Реч на отварању изложбе:
Зооморфни орнамент у традиционалној култури Шумадије

аутор Светлана Радојковић

Поштовани гости,

Господине директоре,

Желим да се, пре него што кажем нешто о изложби *Зооморфни орнамент у традиционалној култури Шумадије*, захвалим аутору ове изложбе – колегиници Светлани Радојковић, сараднику Народног музеја у Крагујевцу, што нам је омогућила да се путем визуленог доживљаја, као најснажнијег вида човекове перцепције, подсетимо прошлости становника Шумадије, али и да понешто ново о тој прошлости научимо.

Циљ који је ауторка овом изложбом себи поставила, изложбом као значајним видом музејске делатности, садржи се не само у томе да се заинтересованима омогући увид у збирке које су углавном похрањене у деопоима, већ да се истовремено прикаже један, сасвим мали исечак традиционалне културе народа који живи на простору Шумадије. На изложби чију поставку чине предмети настали током друге половине 19. и прве половине 20. века, колегиница С. Радојковић представила је посматрачу занимљиву и релативно мало обрађивану етнолошку тему – народно стваралаштво које ауторка назива народном уметношћу.

Народна уметност, а предмети изложени на овој изложби јесу само њен делић, представља израз схватања *лепог*, пре свега – појединаца који те предмете стварају, израз њихове инспирације и надахнућа. Посматрајући изложене предмете, посматрач се информише о нивоу културних сазнања, као и општих уметничких спознаја, не само стваралаца, него и колектива чији је он представник. Стога је за похвалу одлука ауторке да нам визуелно дочара овај сегмент народне уметности.

Орнаменти су свакако један од најраспрострањенијих начина за исказивање мисли, осећања, опажања и искуства појединца, али и колектива. С обзиром на чињеницу да је орнаментика врло креативан начин испољавања лепог, није необично то што се исти орнаменти често налазе на различитим врстама материјала. Због своје прилагодљивости, преношени су из једне средине у другу. Често су у том преношењу прилагођавани потребама и особеностима заједнице која их је прихватала, али и схватању естетског од стране исте те заједнице.

Зооморфна орнаментика је на изложби представљена предметима намењеним свакодневној употреби, и то: *колекција текстилног покућства* (ћилими, ирами, јастуци, пешкири, торбе, кухарице); *делови народне ношње* (јелеци, прегаче, рукавице); *предмети покућства од дрвета* и *метала* (дрвене кашике и преклади); *предмети од печене земље*; *музички инструменти* (гусле); *накит*; *ускршња јаја*; *штапови* и *луле*.

Историјски посматрано, разлози за обожавање животиња различити су, па је, сходно томе, и двојак однос човека према њима. И док је једне настојао да умилостиви, другима је био задивљен због њихове лепоте, што су само неки од разлога због којих се у народној ликовној уметности, а посебно на предметима за свакодневну употребу, пред-

метима коришћеним у свечаним приликама, предметима за обављање обичајних радњи и слично, могу назрети садржаји који представљају далеку реминисценцију митова, легенди, бајки, али и снова генерација безимених стваралаца.

Без обзира на лепоту и визуелни доживљај који изложени предмети изазивају код посматрача, запамћене слике временом бледе из сећања, као оне снимљене полароид апаратом. Да у потпуности не би избледеле, ауторка се потрудила да о њима остави и писани траг. Каталог изложбе, истоветног наслова – *Зооморфни орнамент у традиционалној култури Шумадије*, поред помоћи у разумевању саме изложбе, представља и значајан допринос упознавању традиционалног наслеђа Шумадије, али и бољи увид у овај

сегмент народног стваралаштва уопште.

И на крају, али не као најмање важно, потребно је напоменути да изложба и каталог *Зооморфни орнамент у традиционалној култури Шумадије*, којима нам се представила виши кустос С. Радојковић, представљају значајан допринос упознавању традиционалног српског и шумадијског наслеђа, као и делатности Народног музеја у Крагујевцу. Још једном се захваљујем аутору изложбе на успешном представљању њенога рада јавности, али и на успешном представљању музејског фонда.

Ко није погледао изложбу, сада има прилику!

Хвала!

Крагујевац,
17. октобар 2008. године

Милина Ивановић-Баришић

Реч на отварању изложбе: *Производи абаџијског заната*

аутор Снежана Томић-Јоковић

Поштовани гости,

Поштовани домаћини,

Пре него што нешто кажем о изложби *Производи абаџијског заната*, желим да се захвалим аутору Снежани Томић-Јоковић, сараднику Музеја на отвореном „Старо село“, на пруженој прилици да се подсетимо прошлости становника златиборског краја, али и да понешто ново научимо о њој.

Простор у коме се налазимо дочарава нам не само некадашњу амбијенталну целину златиборског села, већ и део традиционалне културе становника који су живели или још увек живе на овом простору.

Циљ који је ауторка овом изложбом себи поставила јесте да јавности прикаже производе абаџијског заната. Намеравајући да припреми изложбу, С. Томић-Јоковић сигурно није размишљала о томе у којој ће мери њен труд дочарати посетиоцу – приликом гледања експоната, а посебно приликом читања текста каталога ове изложбе – неко, за многе од нас присутних не тако давно време, када је начин живота био поприлично другачији у односу на садашњи, посебно у односу на начин живота генерација рођених током осамдесетих и деведесетих година прошлог века.

Поштовани посетиоци, абаџијски занат, као и производи абаџијских занатлија, као што су горњи делови одеће – јелеци, копорани, подгрудњаци, гуњеви, зубуни и друго, упућују на неко другачије време у односу на време нашег садашњег живљења, на време када је техничких помагала било тек толико да се рад ових занатлија може назвати занатом, а не домаћом радиношћу. Ова напомена заправо значи да је ручни рад био најважније обележје рада абаџија.

Оно што се на изложби не види, а што се у тексту Каталога може прочитати, јесте следеће: како се абаџијски занат развијао, те који су то били најважнији проблеми са којима су се абаџије сусретале у свом раду. Желећи да нас ближе упозна са историјским развојем овог заната, С. Томић-Јоковић се потрудила да нам приближи начин рада, али и да укаже на материјале који су коришћени за израду појединих делова одеће (на пример: уваљани или неуваљани, у четири нити ткани, вунени материјали – познатији у народу као сукно).

Из текста Каталога који прати изложбу, поред осталог, сазнајемо понешто о односу абаџија и терзија након ступања на снагу Уредбе о еснафима из 1847. године. На овом простору су, пре свега због сродности рада, а донекле и због материјала коришћених за израду предмета, у једној еснафској организацији делале абаџије и терзије. Заједничка еснафска организација требало је да члановима обезбеди опстанак, да утиче на квалитет производње, одређује таксе, добитак, висину надница и томе слично. Међутим, како у животу није све једноставно, а Уредбом није било обезбеђено разграничење послова по занатима, то је често

долазило до несугласица, а најчешће због преплитања надлежности и преузимања послова.

Већ крајем 19. века, абаџијски занат се полако повлачи у сеоске средине, где опстаје још следећих неколико деценија, када га у потуности потискује индустријска производња.

Ниједан занат, па ни абаџијски, није могао постојати без помагала, односно – без алата. Без обзира што се доста тога радило руком, постојао је малобројни и, по изради, доста једноставан алат, који је занатлијама, као што се и на поставци може видети, помагао при раду: аршин, маказе, игле, напрстак, утија, закачка, шило, клешта и друго.

Када је реч о одевним предметима, пажњу посматрача увек привлаче крој и орнамент. Абаџије су, поред шивења, радиле и украшавање сашивених предмета, обично апликацијама (нашивање материјала за подлогу) и гајтанима, који су такође нашивани на подлогу.

И на крају, али не као најмање важно, потребно је напоменути да изложба и каталог *Производи абаџијског заната*, којима нам се представила Снежана Томић-Јоковић, представља значајан допринос упознавању српског традиционалног наслеђа, али превасходно – упознавању наслеђа златиборског краја, као и делатности Музеја на отвореном „Старо село“. Још једном се захваљујем аутору изложбе на успешном представљању јавности свога рада, али и музејског фонда.

Ко до сада није погледао изложбу, сада има прилику! Хвала!

Сирогојно,
30. јул 2008. године

Милина Ивановић-Баришић

Упутство ауторима

Гласник Етнографског института САНУ, познат широј научној и стручној јавности као једина етнолошка публикација међународног ранга у Србији (R 52), већ више од пола века објављује резултати истраживања етнолошких 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 перманетни 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 ћириличним писмом.

У Гласнику Етнографског института објављују се радови обима до једног ауторског табака (30.000 знакова) – укључујући напомене и друге прилоге.

Поред основног текста рукопис обавезно садржи:

- Име и презиме аутора, назив установе, адресу и електронску адресу.

- Апстракт обима до 100 речи, кључне речи (до десет) и резиме обима до десет посто дужине рукописа.

- 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 u електронској верзији или e-mailom на адресу mari-ja.djokic@sanu.ac.rs као Word документ. – Користи се фонт *Times New Roman* ћирилица, са напоменама испод текста. Уз рукопис се предају сви потребини 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 обавсзно 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.*

Напомене (фусноте) се уређују на следећи начин:

Напомена треба да садржи све податке о аутору, назив рада, публикацији у којој је рад објављен, издавачу, месту и години издавања, те броју страница на које се односи, без икаквог скраћивања код првог навођења. Када се аутор помиње први пут наводи се његово пуно име и презиме, а касније само иницијал имена и презиме. Исти принцип је и код навођења часописа или публикације у којој је рад објављен. Први пут се наводе потпуни подаци са односном скраћеницом у загради. У следећим навођењима доноси се само скраћеница.

Напомене испод текста:

аутор – први пут: Мирјана Прошић-Дворнић – следећи пут: М. Прошић-Дворнић

часопис – први пут: Гласник Етнографског института САНУ (ГЕИ САНУ) XI. – следећи пут: ГЕИ САНУ XI,

Курзивом се обележава назив рада.

[1]M. Vodopija, *Maturiranje као rittes de passage,* Narodna umjetnost 13, Zagreb 1976; M. Prošić, *Teorijsko-hipotetički okvir za proučavanje poklada kao obreda prelaza,* Etnološke sveske I, Beograd 1978; ista, *Pogrebni rituali u svetlu obreda prelaza, na primeru Stonskog primorja,* Etnološki pregled 18, Beograd 1983; И. Ковачевић, *Разбијање предмета као граница појединих фаза свадбеног ритуала,* Симпозијум Сеоски дани Сретена Вукосављевића VII, Пријепоље 1979; isti, *Semiologija rituala,* Prosveta – XX vek, Beograd 1985, 115-142.

Као скраћенице користи се:

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други пут: М. Prošić, *Teorijsko-hipotetički okvir za proučavanje poklada kao obreda prelaza.*

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[1]M. Vodopija, *Maturiranje као rittes de passage,* Narodna umjetnost 13, Zagreb 1976; M. Prošić, *Teorijsko-hipotetički okvir za proučavanje poklada kao obreda prelaza,* Etnološke sveske I, Beograd 1978; ista, *Pogrebni rituali u svetlu obreda prelaza, na primeru Stonskog primorja,* Etnološki pregled 18, Beograd 1983; И. Ковачевић, *Разбијање предмета као граница појединих фаза свадбеног ритуала,* Симпозијум Сеоски дани Сретена Вукосављевића VII, Пријепоље 1979); isti, *Semiologija rituala,* Prosveta – XX vek, Beograd 1985, 115-142.

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