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FACING THE PAST, TALKING THE FUTURE

The Role of Collective Memory in the Ethnic, Cultural, and Historical Borderland[1]

Ludmiła Władyniak

Abstract: ***The paper presents the results of research conducted in the town of Teplice, in the Czech-German borderland. The assumption of the study is that the communicative memory in the region of borderland is a process that involves not only the members of a borderland region, but also* documents of memory*, in this case visual documents circulating on Internet. This process of creating communicative memory occurs in a hermeneutical triangle that includes the communication / interaction between memory users, memory makers, and visual objects of representation. The meaning of the particular elements of the borderland collective memory is constantly negotiated. The objective of the discussed research is to study the role that communicative memory plays in the cultural, ethnic, and historical borderland.***

Keywords: ***collective memory; visual analysis; photo-elicitation interview; borderland***

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Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future
T. S. Eliot

Introduction

"Monuments, museums and memorials are ... attempts to make statements and affirmations [to create] a materiality with a political, collective, public meaning [and] physical reminder of a conflictive political past" (Jelin and Kaufman in Alexander 2004: 8). What happens when there are (not yet) monuments or museums or appropriate memorials, but still, there is a need to find a way in which to cope with a conflictive past?

In a community, collective memory contributes to establishing and maintaining the identity of its members. In regard to social institutions, we can distinguish between institutionalised *cultural* memory, a domain of institutional action which leads usually to the confirmation of the status quo (museums, manuals, historical books, etc.), and interactional *communicative* memory, performed on the level of individuals and their interactions in which they actualise documents of memory (souvenirs, images, objects, etc.) (cf. Assmann 2008). On a general level, I will argue that in borderland communities with hybrid national, ethnic, regional, and local identities, everyday-life acts of communicative memory may produce a threat to the status quo identity of its members. Day-to-day interactions are always contingent, driven by a particular situation, as well as the knowledge and interests of involved individuals that, in a community whose members have a heterogeneous past, present the potential risk of identity conflict.

Central Europe lost its multicultural flavour and moved some of its borders while resettling most of its peoples after 1945. Under the communist regime, where the variety of ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds was regarded as a threat to the communist, centre-oriented state status quo, the borderland regions of Central Europe were made to forget their roots and deal with the resettlement trauma individually – mostly within narrow circles of family and relatives with the same experience. The whole-state transformation to liberal democracies and neoliberal economies as a consequence of the events of 1989 in the regions gave space and opened the possibility of talking about the pre- and post-war borderland experiences (including discriminated ethnic minorities and religious groups). This phenomenon is distinctive for most of the Central Europe

borderlands, including the region discussed in the research. In 1945, more than 2.5 million German Czechoslovaks living in the region were forced to move to Germany. Czechs and Slovaks from other parts of Central and Eastern Europe – the Czech inlands, Eastern Slovakia, Volhynia, Transylvania, Carpathian Ruthenia – settled there in their stead (Spalová 2017: 84).

The aim of the paper is to track the bottom-up phenomenon of the memory-making process in the Czech-German borderland in the town of Teplice, and to find out what is the role of the process in the life of a borderland community, as well as to identify essential elements of the local collective memory. The perspective employed in the research is microsociological, following Randall Collins's assumptions that, "The small scale, the here-and-now of face-to-face interaction, is the scene of action and the site of social actors. If we are going to find the agency of social life, it will be here. Here resides the energy of movement and change, the glue of solidarity, and the conservatism of stasis. Here is where intentionality and consciousness find their places; here, too, is the site of the emotional and unconscious aspects of human interaction" (Collins 2004: 3). Therefore, it should be highlighted here that the research findings should be regarded and interpreted on the micro-scale level of everyday interactions, without any claims for generalisation and macro-scale conclusions.

Collective memory in the ethnic, cultural, and historical borderland

Remembering is social and occurs in the social environment (Harris, Paterson, Kemp 2008: 216). Schudson argues that remembering has three aspects: collective, public, and interactive. It appears for some kind of audience and is inspired by that audience (1995: 360). The whole process of shared remembering takes place within a certain set of norms and values. Autobiographical memory is selective, but so, too, is collective memory. I find this assumption essential to the presented research.

The temporal and institutional dimensions of collective memory have been addressed by Jan Assmann, a German Egyptologist. In his understanding, collective memory consists of communicative memory and cultural memory (Assmann 2008: 117). This distinction has been, in recent decades, among the most prominent theories regarding the shared remembering within a particular social group or community. Cultural memory is a term which conveys a past that is "exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms that are stable

and already-framed" (2008: 110–111). Communicative memory, on the other hand, resides in communication and language, and includes only 3–4 generations (the previous 80–100 years), which implies a living intergenerational transmission of memory elements (events, symbols, importance of certain elements of the past for the present and future of a community, language, etc.). Whereas cultural memory stands for the transmission of meanings and is rooted in the absolute past, communicative memory is closest to autobiographical remembering. It is lived and embodied and finds itself in a vernacular language.

Collective memories are negotiable versions of the past, which are to be discussed during the communication process between members of a particular community. Considering this, I have decided to apply this juxtaposition (the division into cultural and communicative memory), as proposed by Jan Assmann, and classify the form of collective memory in the Czech-German borderland as a communicative memory (2008: 117). This assumption is based on the following indicators: there are still three generations living, the memory about the past is still an autobiographical memory transmitted mostly within families, and the remembered period covers the last 80–100 years. Assmann's theory, although a cornerstone of studies concerning shared remembering, has also become the subject of criticism, polemics, and further development.

An argument I find crucial to the discussed problem is the analytical and methodological approach by Pickering and Keightley, who raise the question of a proper methodological background for studying memory, which consists of three assumptions: (1) Any form of an individual remembering is affected and shaped by collective forms of association and belonging; (2) any form of collective remembering is participated in or interpreted by an individual with their own experience of the past; and (3) the relationship between individual and collective remembering is dialectical in the sense that there is constant interplay between those two kinds of remembering (2016: 39). This implies a different approach than that of Assmann:

> Communicative memory is cultural, and cultural memory is communicative, both in vernacular milieux and in the communications media with which cultural memory becomes increasingly associated under conditions of modernity. (2016: 47)

The authors postulate that social remembering appears across different scales, and researchers should take this into consideration any time they try to study a manifestation of shared memory. The approach might be especially useful

in studying digital forms of collective memory since social media and digitally networked communities operate across scales, mixing the individual and collective at the same time (2016: 47). The collective and shared memory found on the Czech-German borderland is mediated through digital texts of memory (mostly visual); therefore, the aspect of its interscalarity must be taken into consideration at the analytical level.

In my approach, I assume that "knowledge about the past is not the only or principal component of collective memory, but is rather a precondition or a tool for its production" (Hájek, Dlouhá 2013: 220). This kind of knowledge must be "always defined in relation to historical, cultural, social, cognitive and contextual variables within specific epistemic communities" (Jovchelovitch 2007 in Bietti 2010: 504). The whole process should be interpreted as an interpretative cooperation, which takes place through communication.

There is an obvious link between the notion of collective memory and the concept of identity, and in a borderland, this relation seems to be even more vivid and vulnerable. "Identities are projects and practices, not properties." (Olick, Robbins 1998: 122) This perspective seems most coherent with a notion of communicative memory, which is also a matter of practice and projection rather than a thing. What is more, what links the studies of identity and memory is the process of family socialisation, through which our remembering of the past is shaped by the family surroundings and experience: "This 'sociobiographical memory' is the mechanism through which we feel pride, pain, or shame with regard to events that happened to our groups before we joined them" (Olick, Robbins 1998: 123). The families which came to settle in the borderlands brought with themselves and gathered different traumas and autobiographical memories that were passed down via intergenerational transmission, mainly within the socialisation process.

As Jeffrey C. Alexander states, "Traumatic status is attributed to real or imagined phenomena, not because of their actual harmfulness or their objective abruptness, but because these phenomena are believed to have abruptly, and harmfully, affected collective identity. Individual security is anchored in structures of emotional and cultural expectations that provide a sense of security and capability... What is at stake, rather, is the collectivity's identity, its stability in terms of meaning, not action" (2004: 10). Crucial here is the meaning ascribed to the certain event, not the event itself. The traumatic status is a result of a cultural process, as Alexander puts it, which is affected by power structures and "reflexive social agents" (2004: 10). Collective trauma, therefore,

is not the result of some kind of pain, but the result of "discomfort entering into the core of the collectivity's sense of its own identity" (2004: 10). In line with this notion, memory is social and in profound connection to the contemporary situation. These identities are also constantly being constructed through the reconstruction of the past (2004: 22).

The visual memory

Susan Sontag in her book *On Photography* writes, "[p]hotographs furnish evidence. Something we hear about, but doubt, seems proven when we are shown a photograph of it." (2005: 15) This utility of visual material is strictly connected to the idea of the mediality and pre-mediality of collective memory, since "photographs give people an imaginary possession of a past that is unreal" and, similarly, "they also help people to take possession of space in which they are insecure" (2005: 9). When it comes to collective memory processes, visual resources or visual objects of representation (also as visual texts of memory) are very often focused around the emancipation and counter-narratives of the past. Images serve as one of the most powerful vehicles of memory (Kansteiner 2002: 190–191). They serve both as an "externalization and trace" (Ruchatz 2008: 367).

What I find crucial for the analysis of communicative collective memory in the place of ethnic, cultural, and historic borderland is the way visual documents are entangled into the process of communication between members of a community of memory. The images are used as facilitators of interactions centred around establishing and negotiating the newly created version of the local/regional history. As Barbie Zelizer puts it:

> As vehicles of memory, images work in patterned ways, concretizing and externalizing events in an accessible and visible fashion that allows us to recognize the tangible proof they offer of the events being represented. Images actively depend on their material form when operating as vehicles of memory, with our ability to remember events of the past facilitated by an image's availability and interchangeability. In a sense, then, visual memory's texture becomes a facilitator for memory's endurance. (2004: 9)

It seems necessary to think about visual texts of memory in the context of a process called premediation, which encapsulates the phenomenon of different

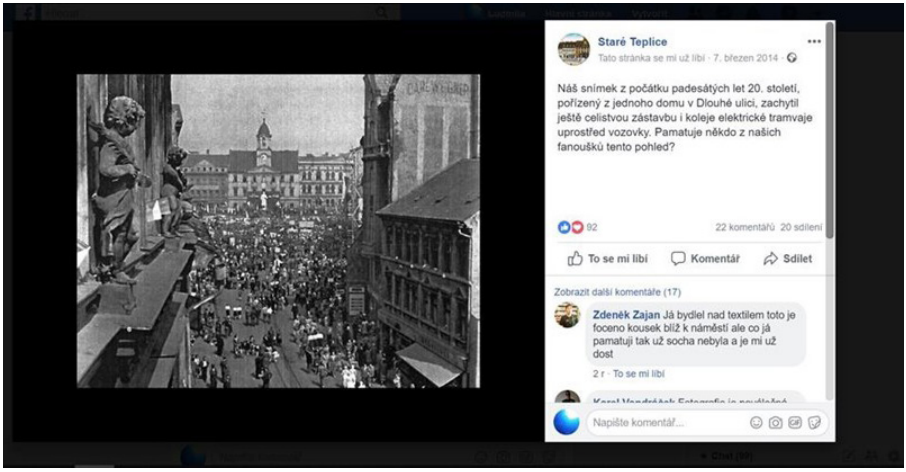

Fig. 1. A screen shot showing the social media media website devoted to the local history of Teplice. Source: https://www.facebook.com/TeplitzSchonau [available: August 2016]

media (especially visual) providing a public audience with an established schemata of how to visualise, represent, and then read past events in the future; the representation of the Vietnam War, for instance, became the given frame for the war's relationship to modern military conflicts (Erll 2008: 389–399).

Online photo-sharing has become a tool for different memory practices (MacDonald 2015: 24) including interactional communicative memory based on the circulation of different objects of representation, which are shared and exchanged among members of a community of memory. MacDonald, in a study of online circulation of family photographs among two Facebook groups devoted to Salford, in North West England, points to the fact that:

> The impulse that drives individuals repeatedly to seek out and engage others with whom their memories can be reconstructed is not itself algorithmically determined. The perception that there are other members interested in those memories is formed as a consequence of intentional human acts of communication and expression. (MacDonald 2015: 33)

Social media based or digitally-mediated communities of memory are a phenomenon which goes beyond the frame of Central European borderlands, but is common among groups or communities which deal with some kind of

social change affecting their present and shaping their future. The phenomenon is worthy of sociological interest, as most of the people actively taking part in creating a new version of collective memory are not the participants or witnesses of past events. Despite this, they create multimedia collages of memory (Kansteiner 2002: 190–191) consisting of different elements: visual, audible, linguistic, and so forth.

Research frame

The field work, the main goal of which was to gather data mainly through interviews, was conducted in the second half of 2016 and included a few visits to the town of Teplice (Czech-German borderland). Teplice is a town in the Usti nad Labem region with a population of almost 50,000 people. Since the nineteenth century, the town has been well-known for its spa. Before World War II, the town, although within the borders of the First Czechoslovak Republic, had a seventy-eight percent German-speaking population (Kural, Radvanovský 2002: 74). The described fieldwork resulted in research material that includes recordings of the conducted photo-elicitation interviews, visual material used during the research, observations, and field notes.

Research participants

For the purpose of the discussed research, a purposive sampling technique was implemented while designing the sample for both borderland locations. Purposive sampling, which could also be called judgement sampling, consists of choosing research participants on the basis of differing qualities or characteristics which are desirable from the point of view of the research. The technique is not random, and the researcher is the one who decides what criteria people are to meet in order to be included in the research sample. (Etikan et. al 2015: 2). Purposive sampling methods could be divided into a few types. Regarding the discussed research, maximum variation sampling (MVS), also known as "heterogeneous sampling", was chosen for this study. MVS is based on selecting research participants on a broad spectrum of qualities relevant to the research. The aim of this sampling approach is to comprehend the studied phenomenon at its fullest from different possible perspectives. (Etikan et. al 2015: 3).

The sample of interviewees consisted of fourteen interviewees of different age, gender, and ethnic background, including members of families which used to live in Teplice before the Second World War. The youngest interviewee was

eleven, the oldest was ninety-six when conducting the field research. The sample reflected three main ethnic groups which used to live in Teplice – Germans, Jews, and Czechs – and covers both memory makers and memory users of the community. The differentiation into memory makers and memory users have been applied according to Kansteiner (2002), based on the self-declaration of the research participants regarding their participation in various local activities concerning local past and history.

Interviewee	Age	Ethnic origin	Education	Gender	Generation in borderland	Role in the community of memory
Jana	27	Czech	higher	F	3rd	memory user (local activist)
Eliška	12	Czech-German	student	F	more than 5	memory user
Helena	11	Czech-German	student	F	more than 5	memory user
Michal	26	Czech-German	higher	M	more than 5	memory maker (local activist)
Jakub	30	Czech	higher	M	3rd	memory maker (local activist)
Eva	39	Czech	higher	F	1st	memory user
Jiří	42	Czech-German	higher	M	more than 5	memory user
Martin	72	Czech	higher	M	more than 5	memory user
Alena	62	Czech-German	secondary	F	3rd	memory user
Petr	72	Czech	secondary	M	1st	memory maker (local activist)
Jan	50	Czech	higher	M	2nd	memory user
Kryštof	52	Czech-Jewish	secondary	M	2nd	memory maker (local activist)
Barbora	96	Czech	elementary	F	more than 5	memory user
Tomáš	40	Czech	high school	M	more than 5	memory user

Table 1. Research participants in Teplice

Photo-elicitation interviews (PEIs)

The photo-elicitation interview was used for the first time by John Collier in 1967. Since that time, it has become a recognised method of collecting data within qualitative research in social sciences, mainly in visual sociology (Clark-Ibáñez 2004: 1523). It consists in conducting a semi-structured, in-depth interview with the usage of visual texts – mostly photography. The interview is framed and structured by the visuals used. Since the interview is about confronting the interviewed person with two different symbolic systems of representation – verbal and visual – it also requires reflection in the further analysis.

One of the main advantages of the photo-elicitation technique is that it enables the researcher to reduce the possibility of misunderstanding between an interviewer and an interviewee. Through the use of visual material, the questions asked during the interview are framed by that material, which helps both sides of an interview situation be more assured that they know what the interaction is about while also making the interview more contextualised.

The key element in the photo-elicitation approach is not the photo itself, but the relationship with the problem under study. The images serve as triggers for evoking certain reactions, which are to be studied in the given research. The visual material itself is not the object of study. Its so-called function is to help elicit desired information from the research participant. Since the method consists of confronting people with visuals, it also helps respondents to analyse and see their own taken-for-granted thoughts and experiences (Harper 2002: 14).

Semiotic approach to visual texts of memory

While working with the selected material, I applied a semiotic approach in the visual analysis. The selection of photographs used in the PEIs was made based on this approach. Semiotics presumes that "messages are made of signs and conveyed through sign systems called codes; meaning is derived only to the degree that the receiver of the message understands the code" (Moriarty 2002: 20–21). My understanding of how these codes, encapsulated in the photographs (visual texts of memory), work is founded on Peircean semiotics, where one of the key concepts is interpretation (against de Saussure's idea of arbitrary signs). Interpretation as such is regarded as essential when it comes to making sense

Fig. 2. Example of a *memory collage* (Michal, 30, Czech origin), Teplice, Czech Republic, 2016. Source: http://www.e-teplicko.cz/zpravy/4484-v-mukove-uctili-pamatku-padlych-americkych- letcu [available: August 2016]

out of visuals (2002: 21). According to Peirce, a sign represents somebody for something in regard to something. His theory of signs includes three elements: signifier/representation (the form of a sign), signified/referent (the object or concept), and an interpretant (the idea inside the concept; the sense made out of a sign).

In regard to this, I decided to code the pictures with metonymies (part for the whole), since the photographs are constantly denotative and connotative at the same time, and they "move" from the indexical mode, losing their primary context, becoming more and more connotative – either iconic or symbolic (Scott in Cabañes 2017: 34–35). Metonymies are connotative signs, the kind of signs which are "associated with something else, which then represents that something else" (Rose 2012: 82).

Photo Number	Main theme	Metonymy
1	classic view with the mountain	universal beauty of the place
2	Czech policemen marching out of town after the Munich Agreement	once Czech, then gone
3	the town's most representative street in the 1950s	once beautiful, then destroyed/non-existing
4	protests on Beneš Square (1989 Velvet Revolution)	once politically important, then periphery
5	a synagogue	once Jewish past, then gone
6	village of Flaje	once a normal place with people, then no place/no people
7	old brewery	once economically prosperous, then abandoned, bankrupt
8	*odsun* and liberation of Teplice in 1945	once German, then gone
9	train station in the 1960s	train station, non-connotative picture
10	crowded cafe in the old theatre building	once well-known and stylish, then average, provincial
11	football game on the local playground	universal sport activity
12	local commemorations (of American soldiers who died during WWII)	once absent in collective memory, then commemorated on the political level

Table 2. Set of photos used in Teplice PEI

The set of photos used in the interviews consisted of twelve photographs, selected from the internet sources, mostly Facebook fan pages devoted to posting, sharing, and exchanging visual texts of memory – old photographs and pictures regarding the past of Teplice. The photos represent different elements/parts of the communicative collective memory typical for the town of Teplice.

What do we talk about when we talk about the past?

The analysis below discusses the most significant elements of the local collective memory in the town of Teplice, revealed through the research conducted in the Czech-German borderland. Three visual texts of memory (Fig. 3, 4, 5) were the most frequently chosen and referred to by the research participants. The

Fig. 3. Protests on Beneš square (Velvet Revolution of 1989), Teplice.
Source: https://www.gymtce.cz/index.php?sectionID=63 [available: August 2016]

study focuses on the meaning attached to the particular elements of the collective memory, represented by the visuals, as well as interprets it in the wider context of the role that the local collective memory plays in the borderland community.

Protests of 1989

The picture showing the protests on Beneš Square in Teplice (Czech-German borderland) in November 1989, preceding the main protests of the Velvet Revolution in Prague, was one of the pictures picked by the interviewees most often and included in their collages. Although the event does not belong to any official discourse on the Velvet Revolution (which means that is still not a part of the cultural collective memory regarding Assmann's differentiation), it turned out to be a visible and distinct element of the communicative collective memory.

The following extracts from different interviews indicate how the event (still not a part of any cultural memory discourse) is ritualised and shared and has become a collective experience, even among those who did not take part in it for different reasons (age, personal, etc.).

I: That one seems important to me. These are presumably environmental protests on Beneš Square, if I am correct that one, it seems to me that that it captures some important moment.[2]
(Michal, 26, Czech-German origin, Czech-German borderland)

I: That was a great feeling. This, this started with keys clinging ... and this feeling of pride that we can do it ... I am just thinking this cannot be those first days ... People did not have banners prepared at the beginning.[3]
(Martin, 72, Czech origin, Czech-German borderland)

I: So, it actually started here, the revolution in November! And it was actually here that the Communists, meaning power, spoke for the first time, THE FIRST TIME, to the people.![4]
(Kryštof, 52, Czech-Jewish origin, Czech-German borderland)

The protests are regarded as important, not only because they link an important historical event of nationwide recognition and which became institutionalised through a local event, but also – and this was highlighted by the interviewees – because it marked the beginning of the whole revolution; and this is why it is important. As one of the interviewees said, "We were here before Prague", meaning Teplice was the first place in Czechoslovakia where protests against the communist regime started on such a scale. The issue of recognition is crucial here. In a peripheral area which has lost its political and economic meaning, commemorating the events of particular political importance and potential state-wide recognition seems to be one of the functions of collective memory and shared remembering. It is important to add that the protests are also hardly present in the local public discourse and were not commemorated until a year after the research took place. Since 2017, an annual commemoration has been organised by local activists who might be classified as memory makers.

[2] I: Tak asi mi přijde důležitá tadle, to budou asi ekologický demonstrace na Benešáku, jestli se nepletu. Takže tadlecta mi jako přijde, že vystihuje důležitej moment nějakej.

[3] I: No to byl pocit úžasný, takovýho toho, nooo tak takový to cinkání klíčema začínalo, jo, prostě, asi asi hrdosti a to, že se dokážem tohle to... Já jenom přemejšlim, to nemůže bejt z těch prvních dnů. To ještě lidi neměli připravený transparenty.

[4] I: A vlastně, jak byla revoluce v listopadu hned, tak tady to vlastně začlo! A tady vlastně komunista jako moc se poprvé POPRVÝ bavil s lidem!

Little Paris: Theatre and spa life of Teplice

The metaphor of Little Paris appeared extremely often in the Teplice interviews as a phrase the members of the community of memory used to describe the town's past. The image below refers to it, as it looks like a Renoir painting and resembles the atmosphere of fin-de-siècle Paris. The photo, showing the old theatre cafe in Teplice, was also frequently chosen by the interviewees. What is important here is that the metaphor was used across gender, ethnic origin, and age categories (from an interviewee who was ninety-six to a young inhabitant of the town).

> I: This fame, that it was like a little Paris here, as my granny says, this might suit here, too.[5]
> (Tomáš, 40, Czech origin, Czech-German borderland)

> I: There was a huge difference [between Teplice and the rest of the Republic]. It was called a little Paris.[6]
> (Barbara, 96, Czech origin, Czech-German borderland)

But the image was chosen not only due to its resemblance to Paris, but also due to its representation of the prestige Teplice used to have as a well-known spa throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, where a lot of cultural activities took place, and where cultural life flourished (from today's perspective):

> I: And this one. This theatre in the nineteenth century was something. There were those, there was an opera, a musical comedy theatre, a drama theatre. They came here to the baths. And I think that the cultural life was a dominant part of that bath life, which I regard as important.[7]
> (Jiří, 30, Czech origin, Czech-German borderland)

The picture stands for the glamorous past of the place and is connected to the economic prosperity of the town and region, as well:

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[5] I: Potom tady ta stará sláva, že to tady bylo jako malá Paříž, jak říká babička, to by možná bylo ještě i tady to k tomu, že...

[6] I: To byl velkej rozdíl. To vono se říkalo Teplice malá Paříž.

[7] I: Pak tady ta. Protože vlastně to divadlo v celým 19. století, to bylo prostě něco, že jo. Tady byly ty, tady byla opera, opereta, činohra, jezdilo se sem do lázní a myslím si, že jako to ten kulturní život k tomu lázeňství silně patřil, tak proto si myslím, že je tohle důležitý.

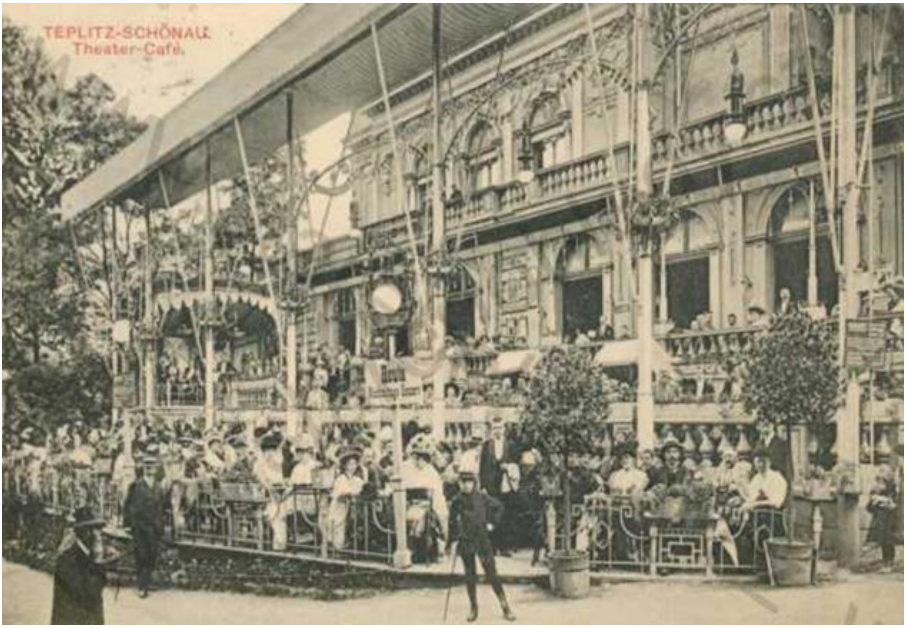

Fig. 4. A crowded cafe in the old theatre building, Teplice. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czechoslovakia_1930_linguistic_map_created_2008-10-30.svg [available: August 2016]

> I: I am thinking about those villa parts of town which the Germans left ... those ... the people, who were rich and smart, brought some culture here.[8]
> (Jiří, 30, Czech origin, Czech-German borderland)

An important element of the Little Paris metaphor is that the German past of the place is almost automatically incorporated into it.

Jewish synagogue

The third most frequent and popular element of communicative memory in Teplice that showed up in the research is the non-existing Jewish synagogue. This might be explained twofold: It is another dominant element of the memory-scape that is gone and exists only in old photographs, which refers to the aspect of loss, but it also belongs to an ethnic community which no longer lives here. Their absence, however, is the result of a third force (the Second World War

[8] I: Mně se třeba asociujou ty vilový čtvrti, co tady zbyly po těch Němcích, ty který jako, kde vlastně žili ty lidi, který byly bohatý, chytrý a přinášeli sem nějakou kulturu a to, no.

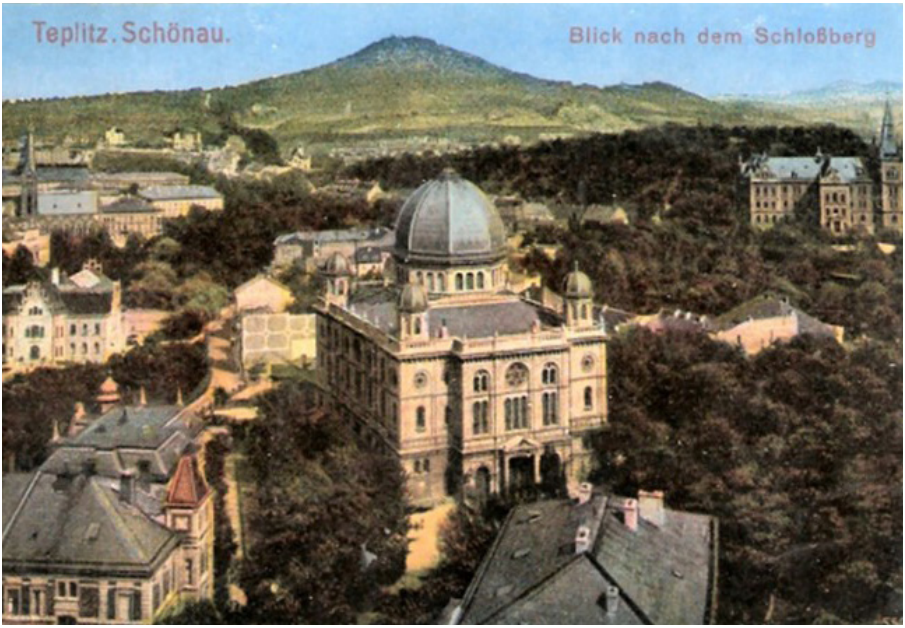

Fig. 5. The Jewish synagogue in Teplice.
Source: http://krusnohorskedivadlo.blogspot.cz/2014_01_01_archive.html [available: August 2016]

and Nazi occupation), and is not the result of Czech political or social actions. Therefore, compared to the difficult and complex history behind the expulsion of the German speaking population after 1945, it functions as a "safe" element which cannot serve as a direct face threat. It is also worth mentioning that the synagogue was well-known in pre-war Czechoslovakia, as it was one of the biggest in the country at that time.

> R: And why the synagogue?
> I: Because it was the biggest one in the Czech Republic. But is no longer here as it was demolished. I think this is an important part of the history of Teplice – this Jewish diaspora is still here somehow and, compared to the rest of the republic, it is rather significant. Or maybe significant is a too strong a word. But it is still functional, it has roots here.[9]
> (Jiří, 30, Czech origin, Czech-German borderland)

[9] R: Proč? A proč ta synagoga?

> I: The Jewish synagogue was simply fascinating. It had ... It had capacity for 2,000 worshippers. Here, before the war, eh, was the second largest Jewish community after Prague. 5,000 Jews used to live here, you know.[10]
> (Jan, 50, Czech origin, Czech-German borderland)

> I: This is one of the symbols that has disappeared, big symbols of Teplice. And the whole community disappeared with it.[11]
> (Kryštof, 52, Czech-Jewish origin, Czech-German borderland)

It should be emphasised that the synagogue is also a symbol of something that is gone, both in a material and non-material sense: the building and the people. The motif of loss and disappearance is also present here.

The results of the conducted research point to those elements of borderland history which are regarded as important and significant to the local community: struggling with economic problems (collapse of industry and the economy after 1989), loss and disappearance as a constant element of both the material and non-material borderland memoryscape (the experience of the post-migration group), and the uncertainty of the future and the desire to influence it. The meaning ascribed to those elements – recognition, belonging, responsibility – are all adaptive parts of the emancipation process. As Boyer claims, "Imagination and memories may well be functionally adaptive – not because they liberate us from down-to-earth, here-and-know cognition but, on the contrary, because they constrain our planning and decision making in efficient ways" (Boyer 2009: 20).

The interesting question over the region's future and direction of development should be raised here. There is an open inquiry as to whether the bottom-up, yet not institutionalised interactions around the local memory and commemorated past could become the breeding ground for a more advanced and organised struggle over the power in a borderland territory, manifested at the beginning, among others, through creating the local version of borderland history.

I: No protože byla, že jo, největší v Čechách a už tady není, protože byla zbouraná. To si myslim, že je důležitá část tý teplický historie, že ta židovská obec tady pořád tak nějak funguje a asi na poměry v republice je docela jako silná. Nebo silná je možná silný slovo, ale jako funkční, že to taky mělo kořeny.

[10] I: Židovská synagoga, která prostě byla fascinující. Měla... Vešlo se tam 2 tisíce věřících, což je neuvěřitelný. Tady byla před válkou, eh, vlastně druhá největší komunita Židů po Praze. 5 tisíc Židů tady bylo, jo.

[11] I: To je jedna ze symbolů jako takových, který zmizely, velkejch symbolů Teplic. A vodešla s tim celá komunita vlastně.

Conclusions

The idea of locality or community lies not only in physical space, but also in a set of interactions (Gupta, Ferguson 1992: 8). In the case of the Czech-German borderland of the Sudetes, the imaginary region lives primarily in the inhabitants' talks about the future, while looking at the mythologised past. Photographs gain their meaning through the subjective "gaze of the viewer". People produce their meaning by attaching photographs to either their own personal experience and knowledge, or to some cultural discourses (Pink 2007: 82). The visual texts of memory, mostly old photographs which have sometimes been waiting – in drawers, attics, family albums, archives, and book stores – for more than seventy or even more years to be looked at again, are being recontextualised in the process of creating the ritualised communicative memory in the ethnic, cultural, and historical borderlands of Central Europe. New meaning is attached to them through the process of, usually, online sharing, discussing, and naming. They are being placed in and out the *social frames* of the agreed-upon version of the memory. The role of the visual text of memory in the memory-making process is crucial. Without any official (cultural memory) discourse on the past, and regarding the notion of the discontinuity of borderland culture, history, and tradition, disrupted by the post-war resettlement, visual texts of memory are at the same time both the medium and the message (McLuhan 2004). They are both the facilitator of the memory-making process and a proof for belonging, and what is more, they are also the main source of knowledge about the past. Photographs are about time and place and give viewers the illusionary feeling of owning them. The popularity of visual texts of memory in the ethnic, cultural, and historical borderlands of Central Europe is also connected to the notion of control over and *ownership of the place*; the visuality makes the process almost material and tangible.

Beauty is in the eye of the beholder, and so is the memoryscape of the Central European borderlands. A landscape (a space with human activity – both material and non-material) needs a viewer, somebody who looks at it; without it, a landscape is just potential (Ćwiek-Rogalska 2017: 29–32). The landscape of the Central European borderlands has been used as a subject of great political, social, and economic shifts for the past hundred years, but it has received a new viewer: groups of borderland inhabitants who, for the first time since the new political and ethnic order was established in the post-war period, dare to see it in a new way, leaving the already-established, centre-generated frames and discourses.

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SANDŽAK AND SANDŽAKLIJE IN A STATE OF FLUX: NATION-BUILDING AND POLITICS OF IN/EXCLUSION BETWEEN SERBIA, MONTENEGRO, AND BOSNIA DURING THREE DECADES OF YUGOSLAVIA'S DISINTEGRATION[1]

Daniel Heler – Markéta Slavková

Abstract: ***This article deals with the contemporary history of Sandžak in the broader context of the politically, socially, and culturally formative processes that accompanied the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The focus is the formation and negotiation of ethno-national identities amongst the local people of Muslim origin in relation to the recent regional political developments. The article discusses mainly the political negotiations of the "Sandžak Muslim" identity in the context of the three capitals of Belgrade, Podgorica, and Sarajevo. We suggest that the aforementioned social, political (state-building processes, regime and ideology metamorphoses), and also economic transformations in Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia had a significant impact on development of public identities amongst the people of Muslim origin who inhabit the historical region of Sandžak. These issues also open the question of the politics of social inclusion and exclusion, since*** **Sandžaklije** ***of Muslim origin were often excluded and some even persecuted in the relatively recent past by the dominant regime. This study is based on an interdisciplinary approach combining mainly historical and political analysis with the additional application of sociocultural anthropology.***

Keywords: ***Sandžak; Bosniaks; Muslims; national identity; national minorities; ethnicity; interethnic relations; social inclusion and exclusion; integration; state-building; break-up of Yugoslavia***

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The Sanjak of Novi Pazar or *Novopazarski Sandžak*[2] is, in the original Ottoman Turkish sense, the ensign, and, in the figurative sense, the Ottoman military-administrative unit. It represents a little known, yet remarkably interesting region because of its turbulent history and sociocultural and religious diversity. Besides, from the political and security point of view, it represents a somewhat "controversial" presence. By its geographical location between Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Serbia, Sandžak constitutes an important region within the "Neo-Ottoman crescent" stretching from Velika Kladuša in Bosnia to Istanbul, which also connects Pomoravlje with the Adriatic (Džudžević, 2012: 15–17).[3]

Despite various attempts of ethnonational homogenisation in the past more than hundred years, Sandžak is still inhabited by diverse populations of South Slavs, namely, people of Muslim origin (i.e. mainly "Bosniaks" and "Muslims"),[4] "Orthodox Serbs", and "Montenegrins". This study attempts to discuss the political and social development of the changing relationships between the identity categories of "Muslims" and "Bosniaks" in particular historical periods.

"Bosniaks" and "Muslims" constitute the slight majority of the population in this cross-border and "ethnically" diverse region, making up roughly three-fifths of inhabitants in Serbian Sandžak and two-fifths in the Montenegrin (approximately a quarter of a million people in total) (*Popis stanovništva, domačinstva i stanova 2011 u Republici Srbiji*, 2012; *Stanovništvo prema nacionalnoj pripadnosti*, 1991).[5] The main goal of this study is to explore the

2 Hereinafter we mostly use the shortened *emic* appellation "Sandžak", by which we mostly refer to Novopazarski Sandžak – our subject of study.

3 From the overall area of approximately 8,409 km^2, the part of Sandžak that is situated in south-western Serbia (municipalities of Novi Pazar, Tutin, Sjenica, Nova Varoš, Prijepolje, Priboj) encompasses 4,504 km^2, and the Montenegrin part located in the north-east of the country (municipalities of Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, Rožaje, Berane, Plav, Gusinje) has 3,905 km^2.

4 Muslims (in Serbo-Croatian *Muslimani* with capital M or formerly *muslimani*) refers to both the religious affiliation, but also to a "national" and/or "ethnic" identity. Some people of Muslim origin identify as "Bosniaks". In present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, other successor states of the socialist Yugoslavia, as well as internationally, the preferred term is "Bosniaks"; on the other hand, it bears evident connotations with the land of Bosnia. Sandžaklie (*Sandžaklije*) is a name commonly used for the diverse populations inhabiting the Sandžak region. Some of them declare to be "Bosniaks" and some "Muslims". Others have internalised other identities, such as "Montenegrin" or "Yugoslav".

5 Based on the results of the last Yugoslav census from 1991, Slavic Muslims in Montenegro numbered 89,614, more than half of them living in rural types of settlements, while in the Serbian part of Sandžak, 174,176 people with a declared Muslim national identity residing mostly in urban settlements were counted. Yet, if we take a closer look at the region, we observe more considerable differences in the ethnic composition among various communities. In the Montenegrin part, people of Muslim Sandžak origin make up slightly more than 40% of the total population.

Fig. 1. Map of *Sandžak*. Source: https://www.wikiwand.com/sh/Sandžak

political development in Sandžak and the ethnonational genesis of *Sandžaklije* with a focus on the Bosniak and Muslim identity categories in the past three decades. This is put in the broader context of the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia, while placing an emphasis on the politically, socially, and culturally formative processes triggered by this event.

We discuss the historical and political development of Sandžak in relation to identity formation amongst its inhabitants of Muslim origin during the past 30 years. We ask what relations have the *Sandžaklije* developed with the states, regimes, and dominant nations they have been living in/with? How have the changes of political and economic regimes in present-day Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina affected the formation of *Sandžaklije's* public identities? What role did the Balkan conflicts in the 1990s play in this process?

And last but not least, to what extent are these identities constructed by the elites, and thus how do the "ordinary people" experience and express themselves in everyday life?

Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

Our suggestions and arguments are prevailingly based on the findings of Heler's Master's thesis (2014), which is written from the perspective of contemporary history and political science. The key approach was a critical analysis of historical and political narratives of the contemporary history of Sandžak and nation-building written by its elites. Apart from this, Heler has repetitively undertaken shorter study visits to the Serbian and Montenegrin parts of Sandžak between 2013–2018, conducting participant observation and informal conversations with the region's inhabitants. In 2018, these findings were revised and reinterpreted in cooperation with the sociocultural anthropologist Slavková. Additionally, the authors have carried out short-term ethnographic fieldwork during a week-long visit to Sandžak in February 2018 to validate and specify previous research findings. However, in this case, ethnography was used only as a supplementary method, and the vast majority of data was produced as part of a historical and political analysis. The short period of fieldwork consisted mainly of participant observation with informal interviews. During the fieldwork, the authors visited several localities in Sandžak, including: Priboj, Nova Varoš, Sjenica, and Novi Pazar (Serbia).[6]

From the anthropological perspective, which is grounded in a non-judgemental approach, we attempt to partly question the ethno-national-religious identity categorisations that are to a large extent the product of a political discourse, and at the same time emphasise the complexity and diversity of actual identifications of the social actors. This is also the reason why we chose to generally use quotation marks when referring to the ethno-national-religious ascribed identity labels. Bartulović (2007) calls for a more careful choice of terminology, and encourages exploring the production and workings of national identity, as well as other types of identities of the social actors. Similarly, Slavková (2017) refuses methodological nationalism as an entry point of the analysis in her dissertation concerning the post-war development in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[6] Relevant documents, artifacts were collected, and photo-documentation was made to record visual information concerning the studied phenomena.

This is further reflected in our choice of terminology when describing specific groups. Our ethnographic observations have suggested that despite some efforts of nation-building amongst the studied groups, we can hardly speak of a homogeneity. For this reason, we prefer to speak of the "people of Muslim origin inhabiting the Sandžak region" (or simply *Sandžaklije*). Not all of these individuals are religious, as they come from a specific religious tradition, and also, there are various expressions of identity on the everyday level; for example, local identity remains important in many parts of former Yugoslavia. Here, we focus mostly on the political, and in some cases, religious public identities, which are socially constructed by the ruling elites in a historical perspective.

Within the body of existing academic literature, the contemporary history, local politics, and "ethno-genesis" of *Sandžaklije* stays mostly outside the focus of foreign researchers, who tend to explore diverse places in the former Yugoslavia, but seem to be less interested in this historical cross-border region. Shorter studies on the studied issues were produced by e.g. Dimitrovova (2001), Šístek (2009), and Andrejevich (1997), and amongst monographs, the only exception is the book *The Sandžak: A History* written by Kenneth Morrison and Elizabeth Roberts (2013). The topic has recently been also intensively explored by scholars, intellectuals, and activists from the former Yugoslavia, such as Džudžević (2012), Crnovršanin and Sadiković (2001), Fijuljanin (2010), Kurpejović (2006), Imamović (2007), Kočar (2006), Andrijašević and Rastoder (2006), etc.

To summarise, in this article, we seek to explore identity in the context of the aforementioned anthropological discussions. And thus, we attempt to contribute to the fields of history, political science, and international relations, in which generally only declared ethnonational identity is taken into account, while other expressions of identity as well as the *emic* perspective of the social actors are absent or tend to be reduced.

Sandžak – A Short Historical Overview

In the discussions led by *Sandžaklije* since the 1980s, we can find various definitions of Sandžak as a distinctive historical and sociocultural region, yet the delineations of its geographical borders vary. One of the common themes in the self-defining narratives is the expulsion of various groups of Slavic Muslims from the lands that became parts of Serbia and Montenegro prior to the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). These areas are also perceived as parts of

Sandžak in Muslim and Bosniak nation-building narratives. On the other hand, the Serbian national(ist) historical discourse defines the geographical space of Sandžak as overlapping with the Old Rascia (*Raška*)[7] – nowadays considered one of the most important sources of Serbian statehood. The remains of Ras are to be found in the close proximity of Novi Pazar. In Montenegro, the term "North" does not always refer to the Montenegrin part of Sandžak, but with a bit of exaggeration, to a large part of the country without the capital, the Nikšić region, and the coast.

Briefly addressing the historical development, since the Second Siege of Vienna, the Ottoman Empire was transforming from being an active actor in great power politics into not only the object of the imperialism of Russia, Austria, and the Western colonial powers, but also into the "victim" of irredentism by the as yet inferior and underprivileged groups of Ottoman subjects. The underprivileged subjects – the *Raja* (Rayah)[8] - called for the de-feudalisation and improvement of the poor socio-economic conditions (known as the "Turkish Yoke"). Subsequent nation-building processes developed around two faiths, Christianity and Islam, which gradually shaped Sandžak from the land of two faiths into the region of "two nations". With the Great Eastern Crisis and the subsequent appropriation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 by the Austro-Hungarians, the Sandžak of Novi Pazar became the northern-most domain of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

The people of Muslim origin inhabiting Sandžak were aware of its problematic position in-between the newly emerging Balkan nations. Since the *fin de siècle,* this realisation slowly transformed into purposive nation-building, which was initially led by solitary "nation revivalists" and was based on the common understanding of history and presence (collective injustice in particular, but also the remembrance of the "golden" Ottoman Age). Specific religious and sociocultural differences, which functioned as an identity marker dividing Muslims from Christians of both the Eastern and Western rite, also played an important role, and later, this gap was deepened even further by the social construction of separate languages derived from the common South Slavic language (Heler 2016).

[7] In the Middle Ages, a part of the Serbian Principality with its historical centre in Ras – *Arsa* in Latin.

[8] The expression *Raja* (in English "Rayah" or "Raya") from the Ottoman Turkish, or Arabic, respectively, is used mainly as a term for non-Muslim and/or underprivileged subjects/people/class in the Ottoman system of the Millets. In contemporary colloquial language, *raja* means simply "common people", "bunch of people", or in Bosnian slang, also a "cool person".

In the emerging Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the national question proved to be of imminent importance in relation to the statehood and regime stability. The area was inhabited by culturally diverse populations, and the heritage of the millet system imposed certain class connotations. There were numerous casualties during the Second World War and inconceivable atrocities were committed, which then significantly shaped the further development of social cohesion and the notion of "ethnic" identity among the region's inhabitants. In contrast to this, the strategy of the newly emerging Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was to organise these diverse populations under the motto of "brotherhood and unity". The accentuation of a united collective identity went hand in hand with Yugoslavia's shift towards initially the Soviet, and later the specific Yugoslav socialist self-management model (*samoupravni socijalizam*).

These political and more general social impulses had been, little by little, approaching the periphery of Sandžak, which helped spread the national-religious identity discourse of the local people of Muslim origin that eventually developed into political ideology during the violent break-up of Yugoslavia. With the disintegration of the SFRY, Sandžak happened to be a part of Milosević's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), divided between its two respective federal units, and since 2006, the region has been again divided by the frontier of independent Montenegro and Serbia (similarly to the situation one hundred years ago) (Heler, 2016).

The Politics of Difference and Social Exclusion in the "Third Yugoslavia'

The "interethnic relations" in Sandžak started to be questioned by the late 1980s[9], despite of the nearly four decades of relatively good relations between diverse populations in the region. In the Serbian national(ist) discourse, the local "Muslims" have gradually begun to be often referred to as the ones "turned into Turks" (*poturice*) – an alien, who is suspicious and also a potential bearer of extremist religious ideas imported from the Middle East (Mandić, upcoming). Put differently, they have been increasingly defined as *the Other*. Within a similar logic, the political and religious representatives were perceived by some as "agents of Bosniak nationalism" spreading from Sarajevo; at the same time, the town of Novi Pazar was interpreted as the "Islamicised medieval

[9] In regional political centres such as Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Titograd/Podgorica, as well as in Sandžak.

Serbian metropolis of Ras" and Sandžak as a part of the "Green Transversal" that connects Bosnia and Herzegovina with Istanbul but separates Serbia from Montenegro (Kurpejović 1998).

It is evident that the political rights of Slavic Muslims in Serbia and Montenegro (at the time of the emerging Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/"Third Yugoslavia") were curtailed, and people of Muslim origin were understood as a problematic "ethnic minority" and discriminated (International Crisis Group 2005). As elsewhere in Yugoslavia, incidents that were as yet isolated occurred also in Sandžak, which led to the evocation of traumatic memories of the bloody events of the Second World War (Morrison and Roberts 2013: 130).

Mustafa Imamović (2007) denotes the period after the death of Josip Broz Tito as the time of the commencement of "Great Serbian hegemonism" that revoked most of the achievements of the SFRY, including the constitutional order established in 1974 (Imamović 2007: 568). Slobodan Milošević's accession to power and the so-called Anti-bureaucratic Revolution are commonly perceived in the "Bosniak discourse" as an attempt to pursue the plan to create the "Great Serbia".[10] In Imamović's (2007) and Fijuljanin's words (2010), "Serbian and Croatian fascists" coming to power in late 1980s wanted to divide and eliminate the "Bosniak nation". According to Kurpejović (1998), since 1987, Yugoslavia saw "more than a decade of crimes against humanity, genocide(s), ethnic cleansing, killing of civilians, raping and satanisation of Muslims with the goal of final destruction of the nation".

In order to "protect the national interests" of the people of Slavic Muslim origin in Sandžak, the Muslim National Council of Sandžak (*Muslimansko nacionalno vijeće Sandžaka* – MNVS) was established in May 1991 (Kočar 2006),[11] renamed two years later (in connection to the official name shift in Bosnia) as the Bosniak National Council of Sandžak (BNVS). During the Bosnian war, the MNVS/ BNVS made various efforts to internationalise the problem of Sandžak. Its first chairman and for some time the undisputed leading figure, Sulejman Ugljanin, participated in the peace conferences on former Yugoslavia held in Geneva and London (Fijuljanin 2010: 40).[12] Former

[10] As outlined in the SANU Memorandum in 1986, and also 140 years earlier by Ilija Garašanin in his "Nacertanije".

[11] In the words of local Bosniak activist Semiha Kočar, to "address the ethnic cleansing and terror that the regime of Slobodan Milošević carried over Bosniak people in Sandžak and elsewhere." (Kočar 2006: 34).

[12] Sulejman Ugljanin led talks *inter alia* with Cyrus Vance or David Owen.

BNVS members mostly considered this organisation a key player that served during the war as a "factor of peace and stability despite the provocations of Serbian repressive apparatus" (Džudžević 2011). The BNVS was also implicitly described as a defence platform of Sandžak Muslims in case the war spilled over the Bosnian borders. There were rumours about the secret formation of a local "Bosniak militia", however, most of the Sandžak Muslims who were willing to fight the Serbs and Croats left for the battlefields in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Andrejevich 1997; Crnovršanin and Sadiković 2005; Zulfikarpašić 1998).

Prior to this in the summer of 1990, in connection with the introduction of a multi-party system in Yugoslavia, the Muslim national(ist) Party of Democratic Action (SDA), led by Alija Izetbegović, established daughter parties in other republics of the disintegrating federation. These parties were based on the idea that the Slavic Muslims outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been considered by its leadership in Sarajevo to be members of a "single and indivisible" Muslim (later Bosniak) nation (Morrison 2008: 4). Alija Izetbegović himself visited Novi Pazar in July 1990, gathering thousands of his supporters in an SDA rally.

The establishment of SDA branches in Montenegro and Serbia increased tensions between the *Sandžaklije* and authorities in Belgrade and the former Titograd (present-day Podgorica). The Serbian and Montenegrin political leaders told people to fear the possible security threats that could arise from the political activities of SDA. These concerns were supported by the strong rhetoric of not only MNVS and SDA Chairman Sulejman Ugljanin, who openly began to argue in favour of a broad autonomy for Sandžak, and even opened up the question of "independence" (Morrison 2008: 4). However, political representatives of *Sandžaklije* still participated in parliaments and the other political bodies of Serbia, Montenegro, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Fijuljanin 2010; Crnovršanin and Sadiković 2005).

At the time, the influence of SDA, MNVS, as well as other Muslim national(ist) associations/organisations was not spread throughout the entire Sandžak region due to various internal and external reasons. Generally speaking, the centre of the nation-building Muslim and Bosniak movements can be found in the city of Novi Pazar, and its influence weakened in accordance with the "ethnic" composition. The ruling regime in Montenegro has been a much more (self)confident power holder than its counterparts in Belgrade, and thus it felt a lesser need to instrumentally create the ethno-religious divisions that played an important role in the process of maintaining good relations amongst the various countries' populations (Šístek 2009: 35).

Fig. 2. Graffiti on a building in Novi Pazar calling for the autonomy of *Sandžak*.
Photo: Markéta Slavková, 2018

At the same time, in early 1990s, Sandžak became a topic of negotiations between the political representations in Belgrade and Sarajevo about possible conciliatory solutions to the impending war. Discussions between the group around Alija Izetbegović (Adil Zulfikarpasić and Muhamed Filipović) and Radovan Karadžić, Nikola Koljević, Momčilo Krajišnik (under Slobodan Milošević), remain clouded in mystery, and cannot be accurately verified as they differ substantially (Filipović, 2008). Evidently, these talks did not stave off the coming war.

At the beginning of the Bosnian war, the MNVS and SDA in Sandžak announced a boycott of state institutions and political bodies at all levels, and using the example of Kosovo, called for passive resistance or a sort of "parallel autonomy" (Fijuljanin 2010, Dančák and Fiala 2000). This was affirmed later when the assembly of the MNVS adopted the "Memorandum on the Establishment of Special Status for Sandžak" in June 1993. The "Special Status" proclaimed the autonomy of Sandžak as a part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and demanded guarantees for the "peaceful development" of

Fig. 3. Promotional poster for the political party "United Serbia" on a hotel door in Priboj. Photo: Markéta Slavková, 2018

the region as the key condition of cooperation regarding the international recognition of FRY and lifting sanctions (Džudžević 2011).

Also, Sulejman Ugljanin, at that point in exile, who represented the nationalist wing of the local Muslim political representation, began to openly support the idea of joining Sandžak with Bosnia. Rasim Ljajić (once Ugljanin's deputy and his collaborator) adopted a more careful approach towards Belgrade, which led to tensions in the national movement and the party. Part of the people of Muslim origin, however, remained active within the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia/Montenegro or the Yugoslav Left (JUL) that to some extent followed the rhetoric of Tito's Yugoslavia (International Crisis Group 2005). Logically, from their point of view, the Socialists and JUL were certainly a more acceptable option than Šešelj's Serbian Radical Party (SRS), Drašković's Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), or other nationalist parties.

The "Memorandum on Special Status" was adopted based on the referendum organised by MNVS in 1991 as a response to similar referendums by the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia. Džudžević (2011) states that of the 264,000

"eligible voters", 185,000 participated, and nearly 99% of them voted in favour of the political and territorial autonomy of Sandžak with "the right to join any of the remaining republics of SFRY".[13] The results of the referendum are often called into question since the inhabitants of Montenegro of Muslim origin were likely to be less supportive of autonomist agenda due to the fact that this part of Sandžak has generally preserved better relations amongst its inhabitants, and the "Pazar hardliners" weren't always accepted there (Andrejevich 1997: 174–176).

For Serbian and Montenegrin authorities, the Serbian public, and last, but not least, the "Orthodox communities" in Sandžak, the referendum represented a clear sign of separatism, because they assumed that the autonomous Sandžak would not opt either for Montenegro or for Serbia. Following the referendum, the representatives of the SDA and MNVS declared the sovereignty of Sandžak as a Yugoslav republic, and demanded the deployment of UN forces for the protection of the population of Muslim origin (Lazić 2013: 940). Belgrade's governing elites reacted with the strategy of exclusion and suppression. Formal charges of subversion and distortion of the sovereignty of Yugoslavia in Serbia and Montenegro followed the arrests of four dozen members and trials with the SDA leaders in both of the republics, accompanied by "media-fuelled nationalist hysteria" (International Institute of Middle East and Balkan Studies a Policy Documentation Centre, 2005; Andrijašević and Rastoder 2006; Crnovršanin and Sadiković 2005). In reaction to this, the prosecuted chairman of SDA and BNVS Sulejman Ugljanin fled to exile, where he continued his political activities; he tried to make Sandžak visible in the "eyes" of the "international community", and continued to influence local politics (Crnovršanin and Sadiković 2005).

Since the spring of 1992, the city of Novi Pazar and other smaller settlements in Sandžak were threatened by the massive and ostentatious presence of the Yugoslav army (e.g. artillery posts on the tops of hills around Novi Pazar), reinforced units of militia (police), and inglorious Serbian paramilitary formations. *Sandžaklije* became the targets of threats by Serbian nationalists, including police terror and preventive repression,[14] as well as kidnappings, robberies, murders, and massive human rights violations (International Crisis Group, 2005; Crnovršanin and Sadiković 2005: 673, 685–686). As a result, tensions amongst Sandžak's inhabitants increased significantly, and the level of mutual

[13] Bosniak national discourse often uses the expression "re-unification with Bosnia and Herzegovina".

[14] E.g. "exploratory talks", "campaign of disarmament", and various sorts of other types of discrimination.

trust between the two main ethnonational groups started to diminish, which was further supported by armed conflicts in the broader region (Morrison and Roberts, 2013: 146). The aforementioned threats and violent events inevitably had an impact on everyday neighbourly relations.

The situation became particularly tense on the frontiers with Bosnia and Herzegovina. That, of course, raised concerns in Belgrade and Podgorica, where the governing elites did not wish the conflict to spread to their territory. Nevertheless, numerous violent incidents were recorded when the Serb paramilitary units threatened and terrorised people of Sandžak Muslim origin (possibly with the intention to spill the armed conflict over to Serbia and Montenegro). In the Serbian part of Sandžak, the ethnic cleansing began in the municipality of Priboj situated on the border with Bosnia, where parts of the Yugoslav army and the Serbian police were concentrated. Particularly shocking to the local inhabitants was the abduction and subsequent execution of altogether 35 SRY citizens of Muslim origin in Bosnia's Serb controlled territory, which happened in the Sjeverin and Štrpci massacres[15] (Fišer 2012: 53–54; Kočar 2006: 33).

In Montenegro, the most serious incident occurred in the border municipality of Pljevlja, where in the village of Bukovica, Bosnian Serb troops, with the participation of local security force members, massacred a number of *Sandžaklije* of Muslim origin and expelled the rest (Andrijašević and Rastoder 2006: Fijuljanin, 2010: 120–122; Morrison 2008: 5–6). Well-known is also the *Chetnik* paramilitaries takeover of the town of Pljevlja during the summer of 1992, where a massacre of local inhabitants of Muslim origin was averted only by an intervention of Montenegrin and Yugoslav political leadership (Morrison 2008: 5–6). These events are, in the "Bosniak" and "Muslim" discourses, understood as reminiscent of *Chetnik* massacres committed in the area during the Second World War.

Amongst others, Crnovršanin and Sadiković, as well as *Sandžaklijes'* public opinions, mostly deem these incidents as part of a plan to create a *cordon sanitaire* to detach them from Bosnia (Crnovršanin and Sadiković 2005: 679). As a reaction to these violent acts and the growing insecurity, Sandžak villages near the frontiers, inhabited by people of Muslim origin, were deserted during the Bosnian war (Ibid.). Within the Bosniak nation-building narrative, these

[15] The Sjeverin massacre on 22 October 1992. Sixteen Serbian citizens of Muslim origin were kidnapped from a bus nearby the border in Bosnia and subsequently tortured and murdered in Višegrad. During the Štrpci massacre, 19 civilians were abducted from a train and murdered on 27 February 1993 nearby Višegrad.

violent events are often interpreted as part of the "never ending cycle of genocide committed upon us" (Crnovršanin and Sadiković 2001).

The Yugoslav Army and police tolerated crimes committed mostly by the "Serbian volunteers" and Bosnian Serb forces, and thus clearly favoured the ethnonational logic over the protection of their own citizens. As a result, dozens of local people of Muslim origin were killed, many more fled their homes, and the "interethnic" relations further deteriorated throughout Sandžak (Kočar 2006: 33). According to various "Muslim" and "Bosniak" organisations, approximately 15,000 *Sandžaklije* were subjected to various forms of violence by Serbian, Montenegrin, and federal authorities and nationalists (Fijuljanin 2010: 40; Crnovršanin and Sadiković 2005: 686). Morrison (2008: 7) notes that Sandžak became a favourite "excursion destination" for Serbian fascist and nationalist politicians, such as Vuk Drašković or Vojislav Šešelj, accompanied by their "paramilitary boys". In the autumn of 1993, Serbian warlord and MP for Priština, Željko Ražnatović, visited Novi Pazar on the occasion of the football match between FC Novi Pazar and FC Priština, followed by violent clashes between the two clubs (divided on an ethnonational basis) (Ibid.).

The consequence of such a "policy of terror" was a mass exodus of the inhabitants of Muslim origin – the estimated number of refugees is about 60–80,000 (Morrison, 2008: 3). With regard to the massacres and number of refugees, the representatives of the "Muslim" and "Bosniak" leadership called for the deployment of international troops to protect *Sandžaklije*, which even further exacerbated the already poor relations with the governing regime (Ahrens 2007: 226). 11 July was later declared by the BNVS to be the "National Day of Remembrance of the Genocide of Bosniaks in Srebrenica", but also as a day to commemorate the victims of the massacres in Sjeverin, Bukovica, and Štrpci, as well as of older historic massacres of local "Bosniaks", which are understood within the nationalist discourse as the "Serbian Orthodox occupation" and the hundred-year-long "Golgotha" of the "Bosniak nation" (Fijuljanin 2010: 51).

In the context of the war rage of 1993, the Congress of Bosnian Muslim Intellectuals in Sarajevo was convened. The congress decided that the Muslims shall "return" to the traditional name/ethnonym *Bošnjaci* (Bosniaks), and members of the nation were defined based on religion (Islam in this case), Bosnian (*bosanski*) language,[16] common heritage, culture and traditions, and belonging

[16] Bosnian language was created and defined as a Ijekavian variant of the Shtokavian dialect written in the Latin alphabet with a hypertrophied presence of Orientalisms (Turkisms).

to the patria of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Džudžević 2011: 18).[17] The language of the inhabitants of the former Yugoslavia, in particular Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia, is, in principle, very similar, and marginal differences (usually in vocabulary) often originate from the respective religion and achieved status (Steinke 2014: 220).

The name change from "Muslim" to "Bosniak" is worth mentioning since it is not only a simple switch of ethnonyms, but it bares much more significance. The war in Yugoslavia led to the accentuation of the ethnonational aspect of identity, and changed the sense of belonging amongst the affected populations. Pilipenko argues that it was the "re-formation while maintaining the basic elements of its structure" (Pilipenko 2014: 64). Moreover, Šístek points out that, unlike in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in certain parts of Sandžak, these labels had not disappeared during the socialist period, which "could partially explain the more or less smooth adoption of the new ethnonym" in some parts of the region during the 1990s (Šístek 2014: 3).

Interestingly, from the bottom-up perspective, the dichotomy between "Bosniaks" and "Muslims" seems to be largely artificial, and related (at least in Montenegro) primarily to the nationalist elites vying for political support, and as it usually happens, also for material means. Despite the apparent politicisation of this dichotomy, the ethnonational identity of majority of the "Bosniaks" is still very much interchangeable with the "Muslim" identity, and vice versa. It is quite common to use the terms "Bosniak" and "Muslim" as synonyms in everyday conversation.

How fluid these categories are is also suggested by the fact that some people of Muslim origin perceive Serbian as their mother tongue (the most numerous answer in Montenegro in the latest census); other frequent answers are Montenegrin or Serbo-Croatian, however Bosnian also appears frequently (*Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova u Crnoj Gori* 2011). A large number of the population did not want to specify the name of their mother tongue (24,748), and a smaller number titled the language simply as "mother tongue" (3,318) (*Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova u Crnoj Gori* 2011). This situation can be compared to the brief conversations that took place about 140 km away in Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of 2018, when two locals, Mirza and Edin, coincidently expressed the same opinion concerning

[17] In the town of Tutin, a "Centre for Bosniak Study" was established as national institution in order to pursue the history, culture, language and literature of Bosniaks, and also issues the journal *Bošnjačka riječ*.

the "language matter" – they claimed that it would be the best to call all of the languages the former Yugoslavia as the "Balkan languages", both laughing as they said that.[18]

This furthermore shows that the notion of "ethnicity" and "nationality" is a social construction, as is the label of the language itself, and is used flexibly and instrumentally to communicate certain opinions. Despite of the diversity of appellations, we can speak of a linguistic unity of Southern Slavic populations (including the various groups of "Muslims" and "Bosniaks").

Nevertheless, on the political level, the Congress had almost an immediate impact on developments in Sandžak, which was understood by the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities and public opinion as if the "Bosniaks" were now the "fifth column of Alija Izetbegović" (Dimitrovova, 2001: 98). In a publication by the BNVS titled "The Bosniak Identity," Bosniaks are defined as an indigenous people/nation of the Balkans that differs from other nations by being denied the right to a national identity, the "hundred years of struggle" for national affirmation is seen as a "fight for physical self-preservation", and "*Chetnik* genocides" during both the Second World War and the 1992–1995 conflict are considered as the culmination of the long-lasting oppression (Džudžević 2012: 5).

With the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the emergence of an entity at the borders of Sandžak called *Republika Srpska* (technically, a result of ethnic cleansing),[19] the demands for including Sandžak in Bosnia and Herzegovina became "somewhat" unrealistic. Other *Sandžaklije* representatives focused on the recognition of their national rights and the preservation of sociopolitical and religious relations with Sarajevo without questioning the sovereignty of the FRY (Andrejevich 1997: 192). Thus, the question of autonomy or "irredentism" brought the first significant public split in the SDA and BNVS, when the faction of Sulejman Ugljanin was partially deposed by Ugljanin's deputy Rasim Ljajić, who tried to lead a constructive policy towards Belgrade and also take over the Bosniak national institutions in Sandžak (Ibid.).

Apart from Ljajić's faction, another rival to the power of Sulejman Ugljanin appeared – The Islamic Community of Sandžak (*Mešihat Islamske zajednice Sandžaka*), established as a counter organisation to the Islamic religious

[18] Fieldnotes Markéta Slavková, Sarajevo-Priboj, 6 February 2018.

[19] *Republika Srpska* is from the West and by the "Bosniaks" mainly seen as a product of ethnic cleansing. On the other hand, we argue that the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is also yet another product of these processes.

institutions in Belgrade. This religious organisation, founded in 1993 by the young, ambitious, well-educated, and capable Mufti of Novi Pazar, Muamer Zukorlić, (with the support of Ugljanin), quickly earned popularity throughout the region, where after the fall of the socialist regime, religion started to play a much more visible role in the public life. Zukorlić, who was appointed to his position with the help of religious chiefs from Sarajevo, initially also enjoyed the trust of BNVS and Ugljanin, but the first conflicts between him and the Sandžak Bosniak political establishment soon appeared (Morrison and Roberts 2013: 8–9). Meanwhile, the Podgorica-based Islamic Community of Montenegro (*Islamska zajednica u Crnoj Gori*) was established in 1994, and gained decisive support among local believers of diverse backgrounds, including the "Montenegrin Sandžak Muslims" that had been claimed also by Novi Pazar's Islamic community (Šístek 2009: 37–38). Last, but not least, the Islamic Community of Montenegro was fully supported by Montenegrin state authorities, which is also a significant factor.

Ever since the Dayton Accords, tensions in Kosovo began to increase while a part of the local Albanians abandoned the tactics of passive resistance and embarked on an armed resistance against the Serbian administration. Albeit temporarily, tensions in Sandžak heightened again. Many of Sandžaklije felt uncertain, and as they observed convoys of Kosovo Albanian refugees rushing through their towns and villages towards safety, they thought that it was only a matter of time when the repressions of the regime would again turn against them (*International Crisis Group* 2005). In Sandžak, the increased presence of security forces was apparent, sporadic violent incidents took place, and later, the region became a target of NATO air raids due to its strategic geographic position and military installations. The refugees from Kosovo were then joined by a significant number of *Sandžaklije,* especially from the Serbian part of the region, who sought a safe haven in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond (Morrison and Roberts 2013: 171–173). In the context of the engagement of NATO in Kosovo and the subsequent period of Western ostracism of Belgrade, in 1999, the BNVS adopted the "Memorandum on the autonomy of Sandžak and special relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina" as the official platform for the "peaceful solution to the situation in Sandžak" (Džudžević 2011: 6–7; Fijuljanin, 2010: 126–127.). This shows that *Sandžaklije* responded not only to the direct political impulses from Belgrade, but also to the indirect threat of the Bosnian and Kosovo wars.

Democratic Serbia: Towards the Politics of Integration?

The regime change in Belgrade in 2000 meant a certain shift in the political status of national minorities in the country. Under the new constitution, the law on the protection of minorities was introduced in 2002, and numerous international conventions were ratified (Fijuljanin, 2010: 325). Moreover, for the first time since Tito's Yugoslavia, Belgrade abandoned the hostile policies implemented by the previous regime, and made an effort to include local people of Muslim origin in the Serbian state. Mutual contacts between national Serbian and local Bosniak political leadership significantly intensified, and not only Prime Minister Đinđić was meeting with the *Sandžaklije* bigwigs regularly (*International Crisis Group* 2005). Rasim Ljajić became the federal minister for minorities and human rights *inter alia* leading negotiations with The Hague Tribunal (Fijuljanin 2010: 127). Since 2000, we can observe a certain reconciliation in Sandžak, however, the latent conflict is still present and is often manifested in the activities of nationalist and religious radicals from both sides (Morisson, 2008: 7). At first, the BNVS (still dominant amongst the "Bosniak") only cautiously supported the events of 2000, and so with it the opposition alliance DOS and Vojislav Koštunica, a candidate for president. But, according to their leaders, "Bosniaks" had significantly contributed to the fall of Slobodan Milošević, and thus towards the general democratisation (Fijuljanin 2010: 127).

After the fall of Milošević's regime (October 5, 2000), Ugljanin returned to the City Hall of Novi Pazar, which led to local political tensions (*International Crisis Group* 2005). As a result of the internal political cleavages, the local branch of the SDA disintegrated into more than ten different political parties, however, only two became important – Ugljanin's "The Party of Democratic Action of Sandžak" (*SDA Sandžaka*) and the "Social Democratic Party of Serbia" (*SDP Srbije*) led by Ljajić. The political tensions amongst the "Bosniaks" also somehow reflect the party-personal divisions of Serbian national politics – Sulejman Ugljanin, and thus, the SDA and BNVS (later BNV), as well as Ljajić's *SDP Srbije,* cooperated closely with Koštunica's "Democratic Party of Serbia" (DSS) or the "Democratic Party" (DS), led at that point by Boris Tadić, and lately, with the ruling "Serbian Progressive Party" (SNS) (*International Institute of Middle East and Balkan Studies a Policy Documentation Centre* 2005). Generally, the strategy of Bosniak political leadership seems somewhat opportunistic – when there are opportunities and resources in Belgrade's governmental structures, there is an interest

Fig. 4. Graffiti in Sjenica mentioning among other things the political parties SDA and SDP. Photo: Markéta Slavková, 2018

to cooperate, and in less favourable conditions, they turn to the nationalist confrontational politics aimed towards the centre.

Unlike in Montenegro, in the Serbian part of Sandžak that declares to be "Bosniaks", "Muslims" are fewer in numbers (*Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava Srbije i Crne Gore* 2004).[20] Compared to the year 1991, we can see a significant demographic decline of over 20,000 people of Muslim origin, which occurred most likely because of both physical and psychological threats during the wars in Bosnia and Kosovo, but also because of economically motivated migration (except Novi Pazar) (*Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava Srbije i Crne Gore* 2004).[21] In the 2011 census run in independent Serbia, 145,278 Bosniaks and 22,301 Muslims were counted, together making up roughly 2.5%

[20] According to the Serbian census in 2002, there were 135,670 Bosniaks (for the first time recognised as a national category), and only 15,869 people who opted for the older category of Muslims.

[21] Specific is the case of ethnic cleansing in the Priboj, where there was a kind of *cordon sanitaire* created along the borders with BiH, where the original number of nearly 11,000 people of Muslim origin was reduced to almost 7,000 in the municipality.

of the total population of Serbia (*Popis stanovništva, domačinstva i stanova 2011 u Republici Srbiji* 2012).

With the newly introduced law on national minorities, the BNVS held on 6 September 2003 an electoral assembly in Novi Pazar, and in accordance with the new law, the council was renamed as the Bosniak National Council (*Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće* – BNV). Sulejman Ugljanin was re-elected president. The BNV was supposed to defend the rights of "Bosniaks" both in the political and cultural sense. Based on international conventions, Belgrade had to finally begin to recognise Bosnian as a minority language, introducing it as one of the languages of the local administration and gradually, "after a hundred years", in education as well (Fijuljanin 2010: 29–20).

The Anti-Serbian wave of violence in Kosovo in the spring of 2004, and the consequent burning of mosques in Belgrade, Niš, etc. that came as a response from the Serbian nationalists showed that the previous wars were hard to forget. The situation was further worsened by the fact that most of the crimes have not been investigated at all. Some people of Muslim origin have made clear that without resolving the past, there is no democratic future. Even after 2000, they still point out that their civic and minority rights often exist only "on paper'; the practices of violence and power abuse by authorities, especially the Serbian security apparatus, continues up to the present day.

The return of the refugees from the 1990s, who formerly lived in the ethnically-cleansed border areas with Bosnia and Herzegovina, needs to be dealt with. In their point of view, the *Sandžaklije* continue to be politically, socially, and economically marginalised and ostracised (Kočar 2006: 34–37). On the other hand, violence is triggered due to the rivalry between the various political actors in Sandžak. The factions of Ugljanin and Ljajić fight hard for political and other capital, lucrative positions at the City Hall of Novi Pazar, and other municipalities and occasional violent clashes are part of local political struggle (Novosel 2007).

Ugljanin, as well as the majority of political and religious leaders from Novi Pazar, opposed the division of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, because the independence of Montenegro significantly reduced their authority and their chances of pursuing autonomy for Sandžak. Furthermore, mutual cultural, social, and economic contacts among the "Sandžak Bosniaks" from the both sides of the border were feared to be seriously hindered (Šístek and Dimitrovova 2002). However, the fact that the majority of the Montenegrin people of Muslim origin voted for the independence of Montenegro illustrates that "Pazar" had a limited influence in the Montenegrin part of Sandžak.

Elections to the BNV were accompanied by a fiery campaign in 2010. The increasingly influential mufti, Zukorlić, finally achieved a bare majority, but by the decision of Belgrade, the conditions for the establishment of the BNV were changed, and two thirds of votes instead of a simple majority was required. Since almost half of the seats in the BNV assembly were held by Ljalic and Ugljanin, the BNV inaugural session was blocked, as well as the functioning of the organisation (Lazić 2013: 944–945, 947). Soon after, Zukorlić announced that he did not intend to candidate in the new government-initiated elections to the BNV, and he formed an alternative National Council of Sandžak (*Narodno Vijeće Sandžaka – NVS*) instead (b92.net, 2011). Since then, the mufti has been actively participating in public life, introducing new educational projects, dealing with the "genocide of Bosniaks", publishing his own newspaper, and eventually establishing a political party, the "Bosniak Democratic Union" (BDZ), which was supposed to "defend the national interests of all Bosniaks in Sandžak", he also opened the questions of autonomy and the possibility of civil disobedience, and last, but not least, he harshly criticised Ugljanin's and Ljajić's factions for being loyal to Belgrade (Lazić 2013: 947; Mehonić 2012).

Religious and political tensions amongst the Bosniak leadership can be traced back (at least) to February 2007, when the Belgrade-based *Rijaset* and *Reis-ul-ulema* were established with the support of Sulejman Ugljanin, his loyal imams, and also the government of Prime Minister Koštunica. This symbolically meant a "declaration of war" to mufti Zukorlić as the religious authority in the Serbian part of Sandžak, and at the same time, a disassociation from The Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Islamska zajednica u BiH*) in Sarajevo. The Bosnian *Reis-ul-ulema* (at the time), Mustafa Cerić, issued a *fatwa,* based on which he condemned the new "Reis" in Belgrade, Adem Zilkić, and, thus, symbolically excommunicated him from whole Islamic community (*Islamska zajednica u Srbiji*, 2012).

On the other hand, it should be noted that Zukorlić did not succeed to fully control the Islamic Community in Serbian Sandžak because of the heterogeneity of the *ummah*. The internal tensions in the Islamic Community in Serbia (supported by Belgrade) opened up a niche for the emergence of the phenomenon of *Wahhabism,* whereby in recent years, incidents among the supporters of the "traditional" local form of Islam and of *Wahhabism* have multiplied. On one hand, some claim that mufti Zukorlić is known for "turning a blind eye" to the issue of condemning supporters of radical Islam (Trivić, 2011). On the other hand, there has been an assassination attempt on Zukorlić by the Wahhabis,

who were further accused of terrorism and anti-constitutional behaviour (Blic, 2007). Despite of the fact that Wahhabis in the Serbian political and media discourse are often made visible, they only control a small number of mosques in comparison to fractions of Ugljanin, Zukorlić's supporters, and the Belgrade-based *Reis-ul-Ulema* (Bajrović 2007).

Although Sandžak is primarily depicted in the Serbian political and media discourses as a "hotbed" of radical Islamism, according to well-informed estimations, there is "only" a few hundred of Wahhabis here, and those ready for armed struggle can be probably counted "only" in dozens (Mehonić 2012), which clearly shows that they do not constitute a serious security threat. Generally said, this phenomenon is very marginal in comparison to the local forms of Islam.

Various features pointing to the existence of the phenomena of radicalism and Wahhabism can be observed in the everyday social practices of these movements' followers. One can see more conservative or even radical Islamic movements in streets of Novi Pazar. At first sight they differ by specific fashion practices, e.g. fully covered women dressed in a *niqab* or a *burka,* and specific male clothing associated with long beards and ankle-length trousers. Generally, Wahhabis are perceived by the local population of Slavic Muslim origin with suspicion, and are often criticised. They are seen as "strange" people, who do not fit the local approaches to "being Muslim". They are mostly perceived as religiously, culturally, and even ethno-nationally different.

As Morrison suggests, animosities between the religious and political leaders in Serbian Sandžak, where "everyone knows everyone", contribute significantly to the further escalation of the conflict in the small polity (Morrison 2008: 13). Thus, rather than radical Islamism, conflicts amongst its political ruling class and the religious elites have more serious impacts on destabilising the region.

Amongst the other expressions of extremism that are highly condemned are the occasional attempts to rehabilitate the *Chetnik* movement and thus legitimise the persecution and crimes against the population of Muslim origin (Rahić 2015). The terror and atrocities committed are hard to forget and are often used instrumentally in terms of the construction of a collective identity centred around the feeling of being excluded and discriminated.[22] The question of the equal access to participation of inhabitants in state structures remains

[22] For example, the editorial of "Bošnjačka riječ" magazine wrote several years ago that despite of the recent improvements, the year 2012 commemorates "one hundred years of the occupation of Sandžak and assimilation of the Bosniaks".

Fig. 5. Variation on graffiti calling for the autonomy of *Sandžak* in Novi Pazar.
Photo: Markéta Slavková, 2018

to be answered. For example, people of Muslim origin are under-represented in the security forces and generally also in the public sector. In Novi Pazar, only about one third of the policemen are non-Serbs (Obradović 2011).

More than fifteen years after the change of the regime, people of Muslim origin and their leaders are generally not very satisfied with the policies of Belgrade, as they are not inclusive enough. The requests for more "self-governance" in Sandžak have not been heard, and there are serious economic problems, which are emphasised overall (Fijuljanin 2010: 329). In 2009, the BNV adopted the document entitled the "Declaration on the status of Sandžak Bosniaks in Serbia", where the local "Bosniaks" are again pronounced to be a part of the large "Bosniak nation", with Bosnia and Herzegovina being their *patria* (Džudžević 2011: 9–11). Apart from being granted minority rights, the declaration further demanded employment and the economic development of the region, e.g. introduction of "Bosnian" as the official language in education and media, or protection of Muslim cultural heritage (Ibid.). At the same time, the shift towards the "regionalisation and autonomisation" of Serbia

(and thus, of Sandžak) is seen as inevitable following the European Union "standards", which have recently become highlighted by Sandžak politicians (Ibid.). In the international context, minority rights and ideas of decentralisation and regionalisation continue to be frequently discussed in relation to the models of Basque Country or of South Tyrol (Džudžević 2010). Also, Catalonia's recent call for autonomy and the events of the beginning of 2018 were closely observed by public media in Sandžak, and were also discussed amongst the broader public with interest.[23] Nevertheless, only the future will show whether contemporary Serbia is going to continue to shape its policies with an emphasis on social inclusion.

Conclusion: The Shifting Politics of In/Exclusion in Sandžak

In this article, we attempted to offer insight into the development of the politics of in/exclusion concerning people of Sandžak Muslim origin in relation to the state-building processes and ethnopolitics between Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last three decades of Yugoslavia's Disintegration. We discussed how the contemporary ethnonational and religious identity categories were actively shaped throughout this period by the actual political, as well as religious actors, and overall, how they were influenced by particular regimes. This helps reveal the mechanism of the social construction of these categories, and also shows how they are instrumentally used to achieve (most commonly) a greater access to power. Last, but not least, we attempted to illuminate the dynamic negotiation of a position of *Sandžaklije* in Serbian public discourses, within which both attitudes of inclusion and exclusion resonate.

During the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, religious identities were suppressed in the public life, and the importance of "ethnicity" was weakened, as well, since the state supported the idea of "Brotherhood and Unity". Slavková (2015) notes that this period is remembered in a positive light by many inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which also explains the contemporary phenomenon of Yugo-nostalgia. This is not only the case of Bosnia, but the phenomenon is widespread throughout the entire former Yugoslavia. The inclusion-oriented politics of SFRY was also welcomed in Sandžak, and during that time, the region was relatively well-off, employment rates were high, and the relations amongst various populations inhabiting the area were good. Bojan

[23] Fieldnotes Markéta Slavková, Sandžak, February 2018.

Fig. 6. Flags of Serbia, *Sandžak,* and the European Union in front of the municipal building in Sjenica. Photo: Markéta Slavková, 2018

from Nova Varoš said that during the SFRY, when he was a child, people did not distinguish who was a "Serb" and who was "Muslim" between each other, but now even small children are aware of such distinctions. He found it both absurd and disturbing.[24]

This major shift in the perception of various citizens occurred in the Serbian-governed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), which employed nationalist politics, and ultimately, an exclusionist approach. The accentuation of a nationalist discourse that speaks via the politics of difference eventually started to impact the everyday life of populations that had lived together in peace during the SFRY. The attitude towards people of Sandžak Muslim origin quickly deteriorated with the outbreak of the Bosnian war. Throughout most of the 1990s, *Sandžaklije* felt, and in several cases, were also existentially threatened by Milošević's regime. Following the same ethnonational logic, the Serbian regime perceived local "Muslims/Bosniaks" as an imminent threat to

[24] Fieldnotes Markéta Slavková, Nova Varoš, 8 February 2018.

the security and territorial integrity of FRY. Sandžak leadership reacted with a request for broader autonomy or even secession. This also suggests that exclusionist politics, and especially the persecution of *Sandžaklije* of Muslim origin, divided the populations according to the "logic" of ethno-national-religious categorisation. Nevertheless, it is the concrete acts of oppression and violence that make these socially constructed categories experientially real to social actors.

The aforementioned processes of nation-building suggest that the placid coexistence of diverse populations is closely linked to the politics of in/exclusion. To be brief, the more exclusionist and oppressive the politics, the bigger chance that a social conflict is going to arise. Attitudes towards local people of Muslim origin have been different in Serbia than in Montenegro. Although during Milošević's regime Serbia employed the politics of exclusion, the approach has shifted in recent years towards the idea of greater inclusion and tolerance. This is especially visible in Montenegro, where these ideas were to a great extent implemented by Đukanović as part of his successful campaign against Milošević.[25] Along with the politics of inclusion, one can observe the decline in the so-called "interethnic tensions".

The shift towards more pro-inclusion attitudes of the centres of power in Podgorica and Belgrade was generally welcomed by the Muslim leadership in Sandžak, which, albeit certain reservations, accepted the new authorities. The case of Montenegro can serve as a good example. In Montenegro, the politics emphasising the inclusion of people of Slavic Muslim origin supported the sustenance of relatively good relations amongst the various groups of inhabitants. In contrast to this, in the Serbian part of Sandžak, relations are still tense mainly due to conflicts within the Bosniak political and religious leadership. These and other governing elites often instrumentally use the ethnonationalist and religious discourse in order to gain influence over the political developments in the broader post-Yugoslav region, and ultimately to gain access to greater power. Overall, we suggest using the case of *Sandžaklije* from both Serbia and Montenegro as proof that social cohesion is significantly shaped by political discourse, which employs the rhetoric of either inclusion or exclusion.

[25] Later on, Đukanović strove for the country's independence.

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HOMO AVIATICUS: A BOHEMIAN, A WORKER, AN APOSTLE, A FAILURE[1]

Ondřej Váša

Abstract: ***The essay analyses Bohemian avant-garde poetry and popular aviation literature of the 1920s and 1930s, trying to reconstruct a typical poetic figure of the period technological imagination, i.e. the figure of "homo aviaticus". To organize the scattered sources, the essay first outlines Jünger's conception of "the worker" and presents him as the model aviatic figure. The key elements of this "Gestalt" – his Ahasuerian nature, his mobile and mobilizing character, and his utilization of death – serve as the key coordinates on which the essay triangulates the Bohemian "homo aviaticus" in question. The essay subsequently interprets the poetry of Vítězslav Nezval, Jaroslav Seifert, and others (the authors published in the almanacs Devětsil, Disk, Život…), and reveals their ambivalent attitude to the aviation which they seemed to praise. The last third of the essay uncovers the intrinsic ambivalence of the figure itself: while the aviatic man used to be defined in terms of his spiritual superiority, the real problems concerned his body, so that in the end, he could only meet the expectations pinned on him at the price of self-destruction.***

Keywords: ***aviation; aviator; pilot; avant-garde; Jünger; Haldane; Bernal; transhumanism; infrastructure; Czech poetry***

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"I repeat that we live in the heroic age. Maybe you will say that this age is less heroic, since an individual dwindles in importance, that this is the age of betrayals. However, is not betrayal a sign of the heroic age?"
J. B. S. Haldane, 1949

"Once we have the mechanical ability to fly as one of our qualities, personalities will evolve by a manifold of bird attributes. New characters will emerge; Shakespeare will have to write addenda, even Dr. Čupr will have to republish his Leitfaden der empirischen Psychologie."
Jan Neruda, 1869

Who is this man?

Homo aviaticus should have been careful what he wished for, as there seems to be a certain conflict in his heart, a discord deeply rooted already in his ancestry. Is it not symptomatic for him that while he identified himself with Icarus – a boy with courage, but also the one who did not make it – his true line of descent derives from Daedalus, the designer who managed not only to fly, but, first and foremost, to survive his own heavier-than-air invention? Yet despite of his actual aerial victory, Daedalus was displaced into the hangars as "the patron of the aircraft designers while Icarus [remained] the patron of the daredevils" (Hartman 1926: 4).

The actual aviation reality even amplifies this peculiar divergence. The thing is, in spite of the official ethos, the real problem of aviation was not so much how to get up, but how to get back down. After all, balloons rise up just as naturally as smoke, and even the pioneering bird men Otto Lilienthal, Octave Chanute, or Wilhelm Kress managed to fly long before they could proclaim themselves pilots. The efficient technological combination of the existing instruments, including propellers and engines, and last, but not least, the mimetic match with open-air phenomena, did not do the trick. It was the ability to turn a fall into a landing that made us aviators.

Now who was he anyway, this *aviatic man*? Or at least his Bohemian offshoot, whom we will try to portray here? He surely did not thrive before the Wright brothers, as even the devoted Zeppelin captains – let alone the resigned balloonists – soon understood that although they sailed the airy seas with an unprecedented grandeur, they rode their Leviathans of the skies towards

Fig. 1. "Leviathans of the skies." Zeppelin over Stará Paka, probably 1916, photograph, Státní okresní archiv Jičín

inevitable extinction.[2] The inflamed dispute over the lighter- or heavier-than-air principles naturally continued to radiate some residual heat, and it is fair to admit that even in the mid-1930s, it rather remained an undecided issue. But no one really opposed the fact that the airshippers sold the gravity down the air streams, while the pilots, cumbersome as they were, managed to outperform its power. Regardless of his strength, however, *homo aviaticus* discreetly retired with the 1940s. Not only because the heroic times were simply over; he matured into a wholly different character. The aviator, for a while a jubilantly greeted hero or even an angelic saviour who was supposed to fly mankind to the promised land, proved to have much greater talents for an unprecedented destruction. The undisciplined boy quickly learned to obey orders, and the former knight of the sky, still more a sportsman than a soldier, turned into an anonymous serviceman.

Yet during the 1920s and 1930s, he still represented a most curious figure, a man born out of the hopes pinned on the new infrastructure that embraced

[2] One of the key figures of the German airship scene, Hugo Eckener, recognized the air ships as "monsters", while another passionate apologist, Ernst Lehmann, called them "the mammoths of the skies" or "the Leviathans of the near future". What is especially telling is that even when they celebrate the spectacular achievements of their protégé, they do it in a distinctly defensive tone. See, for example, Eckener 1910: 9 or Lehmann 1927: 89, and compare Lempertz 1925: 123–128 with Eckener 1925: 130–137 and 1928: 108–114.

both air traffic and elevated ways of thought. The period in question created an extraordinary split personality: a man of steel with his feet on the ground but with his mind in the clouds, a chosen one who was meant to lead mankind while he needed to leave the all-too-human people behind.

So let us run a background check on this man as he has risen from Bohemian popular aviation literature and avant-garde poetry. And let us do it with one specific question in mind: what were the limits of the pioneer that should not have had any?

Ahasuerus at work

It has to be said first that the Bohemian sources are rather scattered, and to make some sense of them, we need to perform a certain methodological trick. We need to see them from a distance, and we need to insert them into a prosthetic framework which would help us reveal their essential coherence – which is undoubtedly there – that may otherwise remain unnoticed. If the choice fell on Ernst Jünger's conception of "the worker" (*der Arbeiter*), then already for the reason that it represents a rare attempt not only to nominate, but also to expose a new social type with all of its uneasy controversies. Obviously, we cannot afford to go into much detail; but it will be more than sufficient to highlight the features that delimit our man's territory.

First, contrary to his alienated Nietzschean father, Jünger's worker was a street urchin, a child of "our daily life, with its inexorability and merciless discipline, its smoking, glowing districts, the physics and metaphysics of its commerce, its motors, airplanes, and burgeoning cities. With a pleasure-tinged horror, we sense that here, not a single atom is not in motion – that we are profoundly inscribed in this raging process" (Jünger 1930/1992: 128).

The worker is the figure of such a world: tireless, he works everything to his own wilful image. He is actually closer to a performance than to a man, representing something as a function of will and energy, corresponding to the wholly new levels of entropy, which had themselves mobilised the world into a flux of disposables. The worker is a wilful work *at* work, we might say, and no wonder that the "total mobilisation" Jünger talks about finds its proper fulfilment in war: a process which turns everything either into a source or into a target. In fact, the division line is blurry, and war no longer represents a trivial conflict; it is a universal transformation. The combat does not divide, but unites the soldiers, as in the case of the "wreath that was placed on Richthofen's grave

by an English pilot" (Jünger 1926: 393). Unfortunately, the same communion applies to the rest of citizens, as well, and "giving out the night-flight bombing order, the squadron leader no longer sees a difference between combatants and civilians". There are no uninterested observers any more; the total mobilisation is "far less consummated than it consummates itself" and "in war and peace, it expresses the secret and inexorable claim to which our life in the age of masses and machines subjects us" (Jünger 1930/1992: 128).

Even death does not exclude itself from this claim. Quite the opposite. If the goal is a permanent transformation of the world, death represents a logical conclusion of the exploitation of life's energy. In Jünger's words, "dying itself has become easier" and "death is taken for granted as something to be anticipated while flying a glider or participating in winter sports".[3] In a like manner, the "victims claimed by technological processes seem unavoidable", as for example "the countless victims of aviation" that "are not in a position to affect the process in the least". Death, which we used to see as a stroke of fate, turned into "a special touch of dry necessity" (Jünger 1932/2017: 152 and 1934/2008: 54).

Again, such a "heroic realism" manifests itself best in war, since a man who is up to the "heroic consciousness" can "handle the body as a pure instrument, and extracts from it, beyond the boundaries of the instinct for self-preservation, a range of complex achievements". Which is exactly what is catalysed "in the whirling flames of shot-down aeroplanes" or "in the airtight compartments of sunken submarines", where "work still occurs that truly lies beyond the realm of life" (Jünger 1932/2017: 116). The only thing missing is will, which can be nevertheless easily implemented, as in the case of the "manned planes [that] can be constructed as airborne missiles, which from great heights can dive down to strike with lethal accuracy the nerve centres of enemy resistance" (Jünger 1934/2008: 42). But if such a useful suicide is only able to produce "a breed of men that can be sent off to war as cannon fodder", then we can safely infer that the real worker, to meet his technological destiny, has to metabolize himself in the act of self-destruction.

The aviatic allusions are by no means coincidental (see also Ingold 1980: 232–238). The worker may indeed be represented by a soldier or a submarine captain, but it seems that he does his best as an aviator. As the early war diaries

[3] To quote one of the Bohemian sources in advance, compare Jünger's notions with the exalted words about acrobatic flight and a pilot whose "spirit burns all the bridges of his previous life and boldly rushes towards death" (Novák 1922: 101).

Fig. 2. "Death is taken for granted as something to be anticipated while flying a glider or participating in winter sports." Unknown artist, Ex libris Aeronautae Francisci Aloisi Willwerth, 1920s–1930s, print, paper, Památník národního písemnictví

already show, Jünger was truly a member of his generation who watched the deeds of the aviators with heightened attention. So it should not surprise us that when he "shared (the) room with a young fighter pilot from Richthofen's squadron", he did not hesitate to call him "one of the tall and fearless types (*verwegenen Gestalten*) our nation still produces" (Jünger 1920/2004: 194). Now it may not sound *that* laudatory, but the term "Gestalt" is far from being innocent. In Jünger's context, it represents a "fundamental ontological status, the very form of being itself" (Novák 2006: 37). And if the "worker-type" already stands above the obsolete bourgeoisie, flying introduces a proper elite of the new offspring, an evolutionary prodigy favoured by the technological force majeure. "Aerial combat" is thus "the activity not of a particular class, but of a race" and "the number of individuals within a nation who even qualify for such elevated elite achievements is so limited that pure aptitude must suffice as legitimation". After all, the ideal is not just to breed, but to fabricate these men in full accordance with the total self-mobilisation of human resources, and so "in the application of psycho-technical methods we witness the quest to get hold of these things by scientific means" (Jünger 1932/2017: 117).

But the true reason why to identify the worker with the aviator is that no other figure is more apt to dominate the space that has itself become totalized – we might even say virtualised – by its mobilisation. "In the total space there is [...] no centre, no central residence. Every point possesses the potential significance of a centre at one and the same time" and "any sector of this space – be it a threatened province, a great trial, a sporting event, a natural catastrophe, or the cabin of a transatlantic aeroplane – becomes the centre of attention and thereby of action" (Jünger 1932/2017: 284). Notice the very strange cascade of the events in question, not to mention the fact that Jünger elegantly substitutes the space coordinates – a point or a sector – for incidents, i.e. time coordinates. If they have anything in common, it is their permeability, so to speak, a potential to be lived, experienced, gone through. And of course a man worthy of his times is obliged to do so, as the "Ahasuerian" type whom we shall not "lead into libraries but into streets and squares, into houses and yards, onto aeroplanes and underground trains", that is, to the places where "man is at work" (Jünger 1932/2017: 141). The modern Ahasuerus, in contrast to the obsolete home-based citizen, does not accumulate the results of his actions to secure his presence in space and time. He proceeds the other way around, which is: if all the events in question are themselves moveable phenomena of the mobilised world, he has to work in the epicentre of every action to be truly present. And if aviation offers

both the most up-to-date infrastructure and the catalyst of the world at work, who else than the aviator, the fastest and the most energetic wanderer, would be the best candidate for the figure of Ahasuerus?[4]

Yet Ahasuerus is also the figure of mobilised thought. The advantage of the "homeless consciousness" lies in the ability to associate an otherwise dissociated world; it can understand the poetic semanticity of the new phenomena long before the domestic artists even notice the change (Jünger 1932/2017: 102). Instead of reflecting the things already done, Ahasuerus is able to recognize and interpret the signals of the reality of which he is an instigator, so that where the bourgeois citizens "carelessly ignore [the signs] as they pass", our wanderer is able to read them off the "broken down fences and crossroad posts". However brief and insufficient such a summary would be, we might say, for example: where the citizen considers an aircraft to be a mere useful object, something that does not have any aesthetic or symbolic value of its own, the Ahasuerus-worker registers these "nameless forms" (*namenlosen Gestalten*) (Jünger 2015: 12), appreciates their character, understands their symbolism, and reads their message. An aeroplane is still a tool, of course, but the Ahasuerian "stereoscopic vision" (Blok 2017: 42–50) is able to decode the technological shapes and figures as the expressions of the world (Novák 2006: 37–56; Novák 2008: 22–50).

The result is that reality reveals itself "as if in a dream" (Jünger 1932/2017: 102), and the civilizational or technological figures that the Ahasuerian aviator discerns from above – characteristically, fortifications or orderly patterns of deployed troops – are even "magical". Yet, however hallucinatory these magical figures may seem, "visions of this kind possess something immediately intelligible"; they unravel the truth of the otherwise unintelligible world (Jünger 1934/2008: 45).[5] It is only significant that these images are themselves Ahasuerian; in the world completely "hammered by roads and rails, by cables and radio channels, by flight paths and shipping lanes, it is becoming ever more difficult to decide in which country, on which continent the images captured by the photographic lens were taken" (Jünger 1932/2017: 227). Let

[4] When Jünger, after the Second World War, complains about the "frontiers, variations in political and economic forms which hinder the exchange of men and goods" in context of the potential of "flight, radio, and the forces streaming out of the atom", it leads us back to the aviator as a delegate of the world that should have, but did not come (Jünger 1948: 45). Luckily.

[5] It is worth mentioning the observation that the aviators, the new types of the warriors, defend themselves against the "unbelievable" shrapnel by photographing it and thus making it real (Dessoir 1916: 16, 25–26).

us remember the fusion of a soldier with a civilian, or of an ally with an enemy; the ambivalent *universal* images of the new world only echo the universality of the wandering worker.

So here we have our aviator: he is at the top of the ontological food chain, he represents the totally mobilised worker, half-way to becoming a sort of machine himself, consciously embracing death, which fulfils his transformation. He speaks the language of the new world: and that speech unfolds in things rather than in words.

Icarus is dead, long live Icarus

The Bohemian *homo aviaticus* developed exactly into these contours: if an aeroplane is "a bird representing the boom of our spiritual strength, constantly singing a work song" (Pánek 1927: 6), then we ourselves are the "people of accurate and responsible work. Free from the past, we work with every movement of our hand to create the world to our own image". Speaking of images, we are "interested in statues, paintings or poems only if they embody the acting human force" and "to ease our existence of a burden, we want to transform time and space. For in order to get by our nature, we have to subdue matter which resists our desire; the substances that need to be transformed are space, time, light, stone, colour, word and everything that sets its own being against us". Which includes "solving the problem of an aircraft heavier than air" (Kassák 1927: 9). In another period manifesto, we read that we "immerse our hearts in today's proletarian life [...] to create [...] archetypes of the new worker-creator, new forms of life, love, marriage, a new world at the heart of which will be a good, pure man" (Berák et al. 1922/1971: 335).[6]

The traditional aviator Icarus, whose flight primarily represented a spiritual ascent, had to adapt, and the boy who used to chase nature's mysteries has become "the first who declared war on mysterious nature", as we read in one of the 1920s commercials of Masaryk's Aviation League, the official aviation association of the newly founded Czechoslovak Republic. Elsewhere, we read that Icarus may have "lost his thing before the gods, but the modern pilot will prevail, he flies in God's face. For him, the heavens are open" (Honzl 1922: 92). The modern Icarus is clearly treated as a figure of victory, yet this triumph no longer accounts for individual salvation. It is a collective achievement, and the

[6] This manifesto was brought to our attention by Miloš Zapletal's study. See Zapletal 2014: 112.

Fig. 3. “Icarus is dead, long live Icarus.” Rudolf Adámek, Icarus, 1912, woodcut, paper, private collection

pilot disappears behind "the mask [that] ironically clings to a human body [...] You know, the pilot's clothes. Their moderate grey effects the modern man with much stronger emotions than the light effect of Icarus. Can you see the mask's rationally shaped boldness in the hard leather helmets of the pilots behind the engine wires? Its horror is calculated and accurate. Its pathos is perfectly serious despite its extravagance. Its typical, comprehensible shape involves hundreds of variations of dramatic situations. It does not promise what it cannot give – it promises a victory" (Honzl 1923: 5). In one word: the modern Icarus matured into a modern *type*, fully compatible with the Jüngerian *Gestalt*.

The flight itself becomes the new poetry, and when Karel Teige dramatically asks: "Shimmy, blues, tango, festive aviatic foxtrots above the city rooftops – is it still a dance and choreography?" (Teige 1924/1971: 549), the answer is definitely *yes*. The modern artist "ignores fatigue, symbolism, sleepwalking or expressionism and owns up to the artistic 'Americanism' in its most revolutionary form", which, among other things, includes "air traffic" (Černík 1923: 14). For Vítězslav Nezval, it is thus necessary to utilize the "superiority born out of the modern urban realities [which] increased the visual powers of the contemporary artist", to look up "at a flying aeroplane and hear the lark's song" (Nezval 1924/1971: 567) and to "ride on the luminous wings of the avions" (Nezval 1928/1966: 118).[7]

There is a flip side of that coin, as well, because the new poetry may very well be the death of the old one. After all, if the real poetry is written in the grammar of technology, should not the poets humbly resign? Let the poets listen to the songs of the aeroplanes as much as they like, but as "a product of mankind's poetic and economic endeavour, filled with gasoline and oil, shiny and fresh", the aircraft "pass into the hands of the airmen". These are "the eternally modern beings in the sense that they are in constant motion. They cannot stop just to admire something, since the loss of speed equals death. [...] There is no sentimentality in the clouds". To be fair, even these men still "smell the stars" and hear the calling of the "faraways and depths", but such affects are just "rapid outbursts" and what counts is the "beautiful roar of the aircraft engine" and the moment when the "live sun of the propeller finally shines at maximum performance" that we know so well from Jünger (Štoll 1927: 7–8).

[7] Let us quote aside one of the later coincidental references: the aviators are "almost poets, perhaps because they rise up, to heaven, closer to the Unknown" and because, "detaching themselves from the earth and its pain, they fly towards the source of life: to the sun" (Charous 1937: 32).

Even optimistic Nezval notices that the new "free man" may well resemble God, but as he "reaches for the new stars" and transforms the "crystals of the old reality into the new forms", he inevitably "*violates*" it. The aviator is a destroyer of a calm night and makes it "burn just like a necklace" and the "mad airmen", who "who woke up tonight from a sleepwalking dream" are responsible for a catastrophic "miracle" (Nezval 1923: 49) when

> the aeroplane suddenly took off into the night
> to raise the flag on the battlements of the [diamond] crown [of night]
> and behind it thousands of aeroplanes flew
> some of them burned like rockets
> raising the number of stars
> some of them returned like the tired builders of Babylon
> and those which raced relentlessly
> made constellations out of letters
> to rule the world
> to rule the world, to the avant–garde!

The aviators themselves

> resemble a sower who piles up the stars into his lap
> and throws them to the ground just like seed
> which would resist the fire in the years to come
> when the whole planet will look like Jean d'Arc at the stake
> who won't recant a single word from what has been said.

Let us not be mistaken, the aviators *do* write poetry. Only that, in wholly Jüngerian fashion, they "inscribe the clouds with the poems more fiery than the Versailles gold" (Nezval 1926/2017: 108–111).

Even more interesting is the case of the Nobel prize winner Jaroslav Seifert, but before we proceed further, let us recall a certain aviatic poem that (especially after its 1919 translation by Karel Čapek) fostered the talents of many of the Bohemian poets, including Nezval or Konstantin Biebl. In his groundbreaking *Zone* (Apollinaire 1913/2011: 5), Guillaume Apollinaire wants us to

> behold the Christ who flies higher than aviators
> he holds the world record for altitude

as

> they say this century mimics Simon Magus in Judea
> it takes a thief to catch a thief they cry
> angels flutter around the pretty trapeze act
> Icarus Enoch Elijah Apollonius of Tyana
> hover as close to the airplane as they can
> sometimes they give way to other men hauling the Eucharist
> priests eternally climbing the elevating Host
> the plane descends at last its wings unfolded
> bursts into a million swallows
> full speed come the crows the owls and falcons.

Seifert himself confessed to the "fanatic fervour for Guillaume Apollinaire" in his collection *On the Waves of TSF* (1925), where he explicitly alludes to the "Shepherdess Eiffel" that is "tired of this elderly world" at the beginning of Apollinaire's poem. It might thus seem that Seifert's own variation on the theme *All the Beauties of the World*, opening the techno-optimistic almanac *Život – La Vie* (1922), falls in line with the never-look-back attitude. Except for where Nezval hears the larks, Seifert listens to the "aeroplanes [that] sing the song of evening like the nightingales" (Seifert 1997: 91–92). Consider for yourself:

> At night, the black skies of streets were ablaze with lights,
> how beautiful were the ballet dancers on bills between black type,
> low, very low grey aeroplanes like doves had swooped down
> and the poet remained alone among flowers, stupefied.
> Poet, perish with the stars, wither with the flower,
> today no one will mourn your loss even for an hour,
> your art, your fame will wane forever and decline,
> because they resemble flowers in the graveyard;
> for aeroplanes, which are fiercely soaring up to the stars,
> in your stead now sing the song of steely sounds
> and beautiful they are, just as lovelier are the jolly electric blossoms
> on the houses in the street than the flower-bed variety.

Where Apollinaire's Icarus and Christ lag behind the aviators, Seifert's melancholy poem stylizes the singing of the planes into the swan song of art. When

he looks down on “all the beauties of the world”, he sees the inevitable demise of the poet, for

> that which was sacred art only yesterday
> suddenly was transformed into things real and plain,
> and the loveliest pictures of today were painted by no one,
> the street is a flute and it plays its song from dawn till night
> and high above the town to the stars aeroplanes glide.

In other words, “art is dead, the world exists without it”. Even the “Shepherdess” is not innocent, considering the fact that the “falling stars [are] trapped in the iron constructions of lookout towers” (Seifert 1997: 91–92). In the end, aviation is nothing but vulgar (Seifert 1997: 144): to prove the point, it suffices to enter

> the radio bar [where] a drunken pilot wagers
> that he will reach the stars before you finish your cigarette
> what countless pleasures life could allot
> but poets do not have wings.

These doubts are far from being an isolated occurrence within Seifert’s oeuvre (Seifert 1921, 1923/1997: 49, 89). First, there are the early and wholly negative social connotations, as only the “masters” dominate the skies, while the poor boy hopes that one day

> high, high, high above Prague
> [he too] will fly in an aeroplane.

The poet himself

> sits in the train station’s restaurant,
> over civilization’s beauty he silently cries,
> what use are aeroplanes, those metal birds, to him
> when in them he cannot fly
> and in clouds above him into the distance they fade.

But even on the level of poetry, Seifert addresses the phenomena with a distinct distrust, as in the poem *Electric Lyre* (Seifert 1923/1997: 53) where he

begins to sing of the beauty of propellers,
advancing in the supple caress of clouds with force,
and thrusting the eagle, about to fly higher, back below,
about the machine's iron that burns with a luminous glow,
about the power of the crowd, which marches and annihilates.

The aeroplanes are at one with the devastating forces, and so, in the *City in Tears* (1921), Seifert refuses their reality altogether (Seifert 1997: 40):

To the wisdom of [his] heart more eloquently the bird speaks
in the dust of streets
and the aeroplane into the sky may it fly,
be it to Mount Blanc or Mount Everest!"

Later on, he only confirms these positions. The memories of how he

used to dream as a kid
back then, the road of aviation wanted I to hit

and how

helpless in an unrest that was [his] lot
the white machines [he] used to spot

are openly self-depreciating, especially in context of the introductory exclamation:

Jarmila, where's Hynek, oh my fears
he fell asleep over Mary's tears

paraphrasing Karel Hynek Mácha's *May* (Seifert 1933/1954: 65). The poem characteristically called *The Petřín Lookout Tower* (where is the Shepherdess now?) first and foremost expresses sorrow, and everything suggests that there is more to this sadness than just a blurred memory of being young. When, a few years later, Seifert alludes to Mácha and his poem *The Night*, he mourns for him in a somewhat Phaetonian fashion (Seifert 1936/1957: 15–16):

With you I walked, whispered your verse
While you dashed above the shores
Just like a torch whose fiery hair
Wrenched it from its mundane forms.

Not the aviator, but the poet is the real airman; the aviator only violently took over his traditional dominion. Even when Seifert celebrates *Army Day*, he cannot resist the notion that the airplanes "shatter the clouds" and "disturb" the lion on the cathedral (Seifert 1957: 114).

And, of course, there is war, whose atrocities degraded the old mythopoetic imagination as when "the thunderous battles followed one after another on the far horizons. It was just too boring to devote the healthy youth's precious seconds to the Trojan War, suddenly so small and so ridiculous. [...] What was the famous wooden horse in front of the walls of Troy against the bombers and heavy artillery?" (Seifert 1929/1957: 303). These bombers are giving "lessons from above" to the "cultureless barbarians" (*Abyssinian Lullaby*, 1935), they should "burn the whole nest down" with the incendiary bombs (*Prague During the War*, 1956), and the promise that "the aeroplanes will be here in a moment" (*Children Play*, 1938) is no longer an expression of curious hopes but a sinister warning, horribly echoing Jünger's vision of "a child in the cradle who is threatened like everyone else – even more so" (Seifert 1957: 101–102, 154 and 1957a: 74; Jünger 1930/1992: 128). When Seifert's friend, František Hrubín, keeps on repeating his Icarian mourning "and that's how the world looks to me now, seven years after Hiroshima" (*A Metamorphosis*, 1957), we may add that the world of aviation looked to Seifert the very same way, only seven years earlier.

Should we return back to the period between the wars, the question remains whether the poets did not announce their departure without leaving the room. And if we stretch yet another axis through the Bohemian references, it is hard to resist the temptation to see it that way.

Consider the paragraph from Svatopluk Čech's novel *Icarus* (1885/1908), where the young daredevil Vysocký is about to jump and fly: "'What a bright, dazzling night today!' said Vysocký in a lowered voice, agitated by a powerful excitement. 'Memorable night! The night man will make a new great step again on the path towards the noble end that is set for his earthy existence, the night he ascends one brilliant step closer to perfection, closer to the superior beings, to the angels, to the mysterious ancient soul of the universe. The night he throws away the shackles that bind him to the earthy dust!" (Čech 1921: 234).

Fig. 4. "Military airplanes shatter the clouds." Anonymous, poster for Czechoslovak Air Force Day, 1953, published by MNO, lithography, paper, private collection

Now compare the excerpt with Konstantin Biebl's tribute to Apollinaire's *Zone*, the poem *New Icarus* (Biebl 1929/1978: 23, 37): "The poet New Icarus" first

> floats lightly in space and time
> from the plaster statue up to the foundation of Rome, from the foundation of Rome
> to the history of the first rose
> from the first rose to all the women in the world
> from China India to Java
> and then back through Egypt and through the blue Italian sky
> directly to your straight nose
> its beauty my love
> my love only the air and the sea.

Then, at the end of the poem, he unburdens his memory-loaded conscience:

> How many times in all
> oh you sweet vanity
> will I feel the dreadful fall
> straight into infinity

and confesses:

> I love the change
> I sail all the seas.

Notice that despite Vysocký promises to "bring the revival and renewal to the whole human society [...] on his wings", he speaks fully in terms of a spiritual ascent, long before and – judging from the later re-editions – long after the first manned flight. It is true that the exalted boy dies trying, which only emphasizes his somewhat ridiculous character, but unlike Čech's character "Mr. Littlebug", a sort of Švejk of Bohemian aviation, he is rendered with all gravity. The aviator is primarily a poet, somebody to be treated with dignity. And so is Biebl's Icarus, whose novelty is not exactly new. As much as both writers draw on the aviatic metaphors and realities, their heroes remain men of letters instead of men of air; the only difference is that Vysocký wants to ascend through the spheres to reveal the mysteries, while Biebl's Icarus descends through time and enjoys the zone experience.

By the way, the tradition of such Icarus-poet treatment proved its power since it tended to rewrite even an actual pilot's life narrative, as it happened ten years after Milan Rastislav Štefánik's death in 1919. The writer and the soldier Rudolf Medek (Medek 1929: 183) thus saw him

> closer to the stars which he knew and trusted
> more than the evil chatter of men
> he'd like to embrace our land in his ken
> she gave him life and her he fostered.

His fall was not one of those accidents Jünger happily embraced. It was as fatal as *fated* (Medek, 1929: 182; Hartman: 192–193). No wonder he is mourned much more as a fallen Phaetonic visionary than as a general: "Just like a genius struck by lightning or a burning and glaring meteor, he fell from the heights onto the native soil, where he was awaited by the crowds and his own mother who was trembling with joy and love among them. They all awaited him just to stare dumbfounded at the death of their national hero" (Tavík 1929: 217). Not wholly undeservedly; Štefánik's diaries are not short of the romantic musings on the soul entering the cosmic "palace of beauty and goodness" and "the kingdom of harmony" (Štefánik 1906/1935: 69).

But there is another paradox: if we accept that the new Icarus was an escapist (whether through the cosmos or the film strip of his memories), he would be much closer to a balloonist than to a pilot.[8] A typical balloonist wants to "break away from this vale of tears" and to be "alone in the universe, few thousand meters high, surrounded by a magnificent silence, far away from everything earthly" (Churý 1927: 2). He does not really care where he goes; he just wishes that his "voyage will continue for ages" (Rumples 1928: 150) in order to "wander these endless plains ceaselessly" (Mládek 1909: 88). That is also why the "romantic voyages through the air will not perish" despite that the aeroplanes "seized the air", for "wandering through the air without a destination has its charm even in our deeply practical age", as one of the enthusiastic late balloonists, Rudolf Rumples, said in 1909 (Ditrych 2005: 41).

The balloonist is not a subject of work, we might add with Jünger, and here we touch on the much important, if not key, attribute of our hero: the balloonist

[8] For the connection of a balloon flight to 19th and 20th century art, including dance (and opium), see Lahoda 1988: 205–213.

may climb higher than any existing aircraft, he may almost live in the air, but only for the price of giving up his volition and letting it go with the wind. But the real *homo aviaticus* is a man of *will*.[9]

May his will be done

Not that the aviators were born like that. Even in the mid-1920s, "many consider them [to be] the careless elements who pointlessly and 'sinfully' gamble with their lives" (Dvořák 1925: 8). Some of the pilots even seemed to doubt their will, as they succumbed to outdated superstitions, relied on talismans, refused to light their cigarettes before take-off, and so on (e.g. Corso 1920: 14, 17; Hamšík 1925a: 27; Štoll 1927: 20). Yet the vice that Thomas Mann so aptly mocked was only an insignificant detail in the general image of a knight in shining armour.[10]

So there he was, a flier strengthened and toughened by combat, yet "changing the workplace of Mars for the one of Mercury" (Lynx 1932: 5). Unlike the poets, the propagators of aviation were quite sure that the aviators "are not murderers" and that "only the aviators' high culture of spirit and heart can provide an eternal lasting peace between the people of different nationalities" (Rypl – Pánek 1918: 141). Their solidarity and the readiness to help each other "no matter the affiliation" was legendary (Stanovský 1927: 54, 66; Baťa 1937: 68; Forejtník 1936: 31), and their sensitivity alone did not tolerate any petty quarrels since "for the pilot, the world is so small and the individual countries so close to each other that he feels more vividly the panhuman unity and the

[9] That is – with the exception of women. One of the period articles mentions that "women are so fearless because they lack fantasy. They ride in the air as blithely as in the car on the ground" (unmarked newspaper clipping probably from 1928, archived in the collections of the State District Archives in Kutná Hora). However ridiculous as this opinion is, it is an irony that one of the Czech female pilots, Ely Hamšíková, speaks in the same way: "All your senses are free during the flight. They can wander through the cosmos, and that is probably the most beautiful thing about piloting. [...] I have to confess that [...] I liked the magical dreaming much better than the precaution and thoughts about a forced landing" (Hamšíková 1930: 420).

[10] We should add that despite the general ardour and despite the apparent omnipresence of aviation in the public space, the actual experience of flight was still rather scarce, and there were not many pilots around. For example, in 1935, Masaryk's Aviation League started the "One thousand new pilots for the republic" campaign, the fact of which reveals a simple truth: the republic desperately lacked professional aviators. To sketch in the situation, in the same year, the private Czechoslovakian Airlines had only 10+ planes at its disposal (if we deduct those that were grounded), no Bohemian transport plane could carry more than 10 passengers, and the best Bohemian fighter biplane, Avia B-634, could fly only 415 km/h, falling way behind the rivals Messerschmitdt Bf 109 or Hawker Hurricane. Just to compare, on 13 September 1935, Howard Hughes flew his H-1 to a new world speed record of 567 km/h.

necessity of fraternal conditions" ("Letectví..." 1926: 5). They are the ones who will bring up the whole society: "Nothing in the world is as qualified to teach us to love one's neighbour as the flight sport. The aeroplane can take us to distant lands with its extraordinary speed and without losing much time. There, we learn the customs and characters of different nations, which will change our understanding of their demands. Meeting other people can get us over the various prejudices, which the personal acquaintance tends to correct [...] We will make friends and the friendships will pass from the individuals to the whole families or even to the whole nation". To sum it up, "aviation, by its very speed, is destined to propagate peace" (R. Š. 1925: 5).

Paradoxically – yet not unlike the German or Italian scene – as much as aviation carries general ideals on its wings, it is also a "Czechoslovakian national profession just like seafaring is a traditional occupation of coastal nations" (Žežula-Marcelli 1922: 100). That "our sea is in the air" has actually become the official motto of the Czechoslovak Air Force. Yet the metaphor goes way beyond the geographical deficits and their substitution. "A spirit needs the sea", says the premise, and since "our sea is in the air", aviation will help us to grow, prosper, and flourish, just as the sea helped the ancient Greeks. Aviation will become an "instrument of the Slavonic mutuality", and the aviator thus represents much more than an exceptional individual: he is our "specific cultural type" (Pánek 1933: 7).

Or a saviour. Apollinaire's reference to Christ may have been (more or less) ironic, but the popular aviation imagination proved to be an ideal breeding ground for the martyrs "with the halo of the saints [who] accept [the challenge of the old gods] and die smiling as they are overcome by the servants of hell" (Vaňhara 1928: 37).

Of course, the very process of taking off evokes religious images almost spontaneously, as "when a plane starts rolling, when it lifts off lightly and turns into a glaring point, fading into an endless blue of a summer sky, you feel as if the heavy matter dispersed in the radiant ether right before your eyes, and you want to sing the praises and bow to this miracle of ascension of a son of man!" (Plass 1927: 8–9). There is something in flying itself that makes it similar to faith, since "what is the difference between a dead man who fell from the sky and a man who fell from a scaffold? The death of the first appears to us as the death of a believer, for a mental state responsible for our determination to enter a plane is closer to faith rather than courage". And however this "unconditional, fanatic, the body and soul pervading faith" (Štoll 1927: 11–12) is a matter of

youth and should be better called a lack of imagination, the distinct religious overtones are clearly present, at least latently.

And being such a latent believer, the pilot is the ideal evangelist of the new church. If an aircraft workshop is a "workshop of humanity [that] sends out messengers in the form of machines and technical achievements to save humanity", then the pilots represent "an avant-garde of progress. On the wings of their airplanes they carry the desire for something better, for the world of brotherhood", seeing that "all is so petty down below. Up there, every endeavour acquires its real and true form" (Pánek 1927: 9, 37, 51). This we already know, certainly, but there is one important word missing that we have not heard yet: as the minister of defence František Udržal put it, if "a plane becomes the most pervasive propagator of culture and the most prominent pioneer of mutual recognition", then it becomes an "*apostle* of peace and quiet" (Udržal 1927: 7).

There is, of course, the traditional Bohemian heresy, by which these apostles must defend the country "by the spirit of Hussites" ("Československý..." 1925: 2) or spread the word in the sequence "first a plough, then a chalice, then the wings" (Pánek 1930: 9). But if we overlook the local oddities including the bizarre fantasy that pilots will sprinkle an anti-alcohol agent so that the people will stop drinking, flying is generally in harmony with God's will. In fact, the first flight opens up the heavens for man: it is a *baptism*: "The creator himself has inspired man with the idea of an aircraft to raise the human kind from the dust up to his heights" and with the first flight we "have received the baptism of the high human culture" (Pánek 1929: 31, 304–305). Similarly, a boy who is well aware that "he is part of something big, something that the human spirit won over matter", feels, when he is about to fly for the first time, "just like at the first communion" (Felix 1936: 57).

Even one of the key players of the period aviation scene, Tomáš Baťa, approached aviation as a chapter in the story of salvation. Man "underwent a change as great as when he [...] pulled his head out of the dust and raised his mind to God". Aviation, then, among the other things mentioned above, "brings up in man the need to serve and to forgive" and the reason why Italian aviation stands out is the fact that its minister "was raised by the real aviation, the celestial one that brings man closer to God and teaches him to serve the people" (Baťa 1932: 12–13).

Last, but not least, the religious imagination has naturally found its way into the period anxieties and dreams, as when the general Jaroslav Plass tried to interpret the apocalypse in terms of an aviatic event (not unlike Thomas Burnet

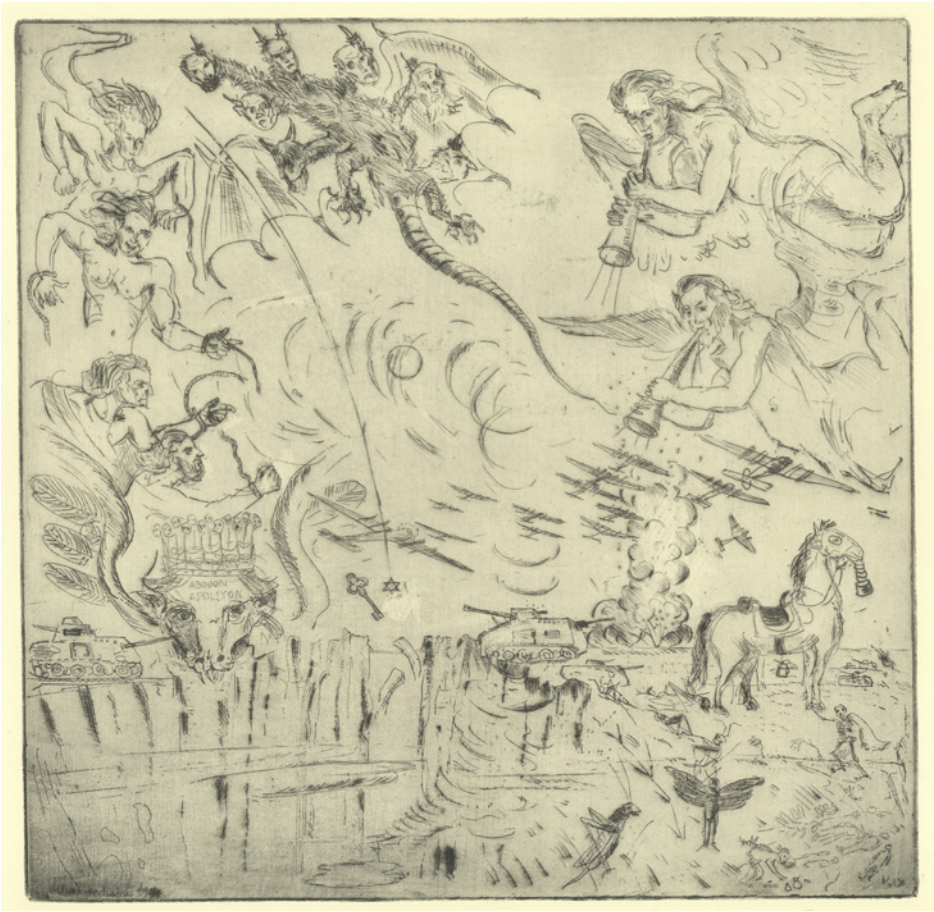

Fig. 5. "Apocalypse in terms of an aviatic event." Vladimíř Pecháček, Apocalypse, Chapter IX, 1947, etching, paper, private collection

in his *Telluris Theoria Sacra* in 1681), and warned of the devastating effects of the aero-chemical war (Plass 1929: 153–158, 277–279, 340–341). Or when one of the novelists shared this most uncanny dream: "Franta really flew [...] until his monoplane landed [...] in the tall grass in a spacious, wide landscape. Soon his smile disappeared from his face. He started to be scared and he began to sweat. The black figures were creeping out of the darkness and the crosses were outlined [against the sky]. At first Franta thought that they whisper: crucify, crucify him! But then he realized that he had landed in Australia and that the black natives were sneaking towards him with their boomerangs" (Přikryl 1932: 9).

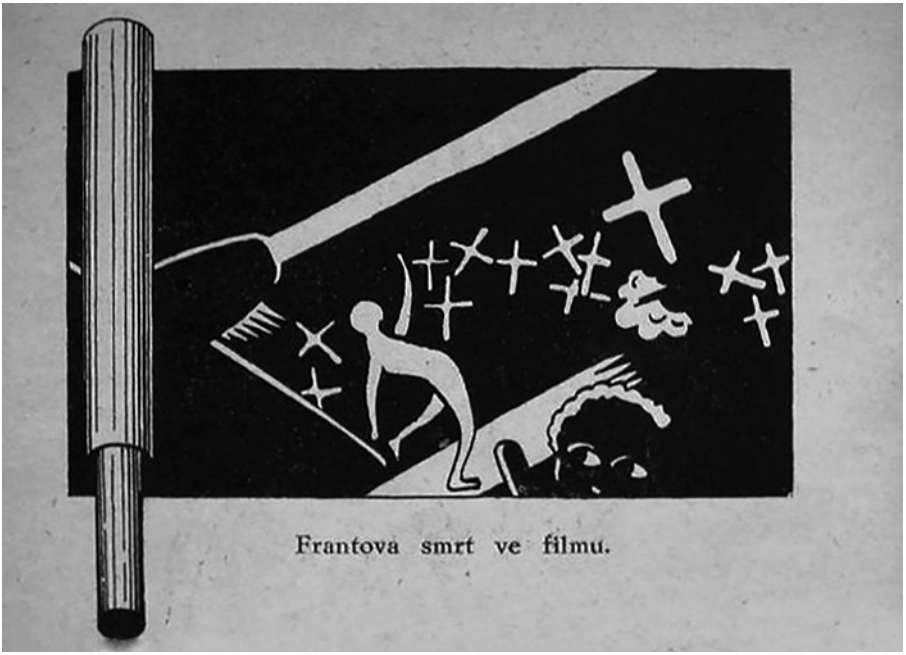

Fig. 6. "Crucify, crucify him!" Illustration from Josef Přikryl's book, Ikaros (1932)

This is his body which will be given up...

But what is truly characteristic of *homo aviaticus* is that he does not remain untouched by the "Gospel of his wings" (Pánek 1931: 65). He is a man of *transformation*.

In some ways, his experience may resemble the original impressions of the balloonists. He does "bathe in the absolute, he is getting closer to the canopy of the heavens, passionately and fiercely. The wind [...] connects him with the universe". But contrary to a balloonist, who always sobers up from his trip, the aviator "*drinks* the absolute" and his "soul that triumphed over the matter" is forever altered by this victory (Pánek 1930: 22–23, 47; Pánek 1930a: 6, 8).[11]

[11] If we frequently refer to Pánek, it is because he was one of the leading and most exalted popular propagators of aviation; nearly all of the aviation magazines regularly published poetry and prose that drew on the same metaphors, only in poorer quality.

Together with this experience, he "breaks free from the mean thoughts that used to keep old man to the ground, he rises into the breadth of the brighter knowledge. [...] He will do what the wiser tiny voice of his heart tells him" (Hartman 1926a: 30). The flight is a rite of transition; where old man "killed a bear with an axe", new man "becomes a pilot by the age of eighteen" (Pánek 1948: 14–15).

Needless to say, man should not have to fly just to be able to do what is right, but the transformative demands of aviation entail much more than that. Because once we accept aviatic man to be the man of will and transformation – can there be one without the other? – a certain repressed element starts to resurface.

Let us return back to our initial avant-garde crossroad, this time going the route of the 1922 poem *Aeroplan*. Miloš Jirko first prods his "victorious Icarus" into rising "higher and higher, farther and farther from the Earth's gravity". Which he does, but judging from his final cry "Gods! Where are you?", he is not too happy with the loneliness of his triumph (Zapletal 2014: 108–109). Up to this point, the poem falls under the traditional category of the falling (and failing) Icarus-poet, be it face down or head up. But in the middle of the poem, Jirko comes to the exalted futurist paraphrase of Luke 22:1–2:

> This is my body
> this is my blood
> gas, metal and metal
> young aviator sits in my airy head
> my brain
> engine thrust
> the heartbeat, counting

We have to add that besides some sporadic offshoots and vague or coincidental analogies, futurism had only a limited impact on Bohemian imagination. Yet the motif of an engine-heart was, of course, quite widespread. Baťa's often quoted memory of his flight to India reflects the "left engine. Its regular clatter is as important to us as our heartbeat. I can feel the friendship growing between us. It is the same friendship that exists between a man and a horse" (Baťa 1932: 17–18). Which is not far from the image of a perfect machine whose "harmony of purpose and external form [...] impresses us the same way as the look on the beautiful, perfectly cultivated body of an athlete" (Krejcar, 1922: 189). No

wonder that there is only a little step from this admiration to an actual sexual fantasy. "Whenever [the pilot] approached the plane, he always thought of the delicate shape of the wooden struts connecting the wings – a shape formed by the aerodynamic laws – and how they had something in common with the fresh firmness of Héla's calves! [...] And the other way around, both awesome columns of Héla's delicate body, the shapes purer and rarer than any Greek could carve, always reminded him of the airplane's struts. After all, besides the beauty, the correspondence went much further: both represent columns standing at the gates of life and death" (Hartman 1926a: 17).

How does this affect the aviatic man? However improbably, one of the threads leads us onto the pages of the official military newspaper, *Officers Papers*. The essay on the air force officers begins in the usual spiritual fashion: the pilots are the "guests of the future – the representatives of today before the future", and aviation is the expression of all those who "long for a higher life; indeed, aviation symbolizes the desire of the modern soul to rise above matter and merge with the universe again!" What is worthy of our attention is how smoothly the author moves on to the qualities of the body: "Nerves, hearts, lungs must be unharmed, since the flights in higher altitudes place great demands on a body structure. Already getting in the plane is not easy; it requires great physical dexterity, which is all the more needed for all the work that an aircraft officer does on an aircraft" (Hartman 1923: 2).

The ease of the transition and a perceptible imbalance between the two arguments – the more poetic is the former, the more compelling is the latter – betrays that something important is going on under the surface of the prevalent spiritual definition of the airman. Is the elevated spirit really that what makes him special?

Something suggests already the relationship of the aviator to the element of air: the pilot must be somewhat "up" to the air, as an animal living in the air which is "the most sensitive environment. The true feeling of air must be innate – it is impossible to learn" (Kalva 1919: 25). Needless to add, in the air, "you are something more than man", but what should catch our attention is the emphasized predisposition. The requirements on the pilots often seem to look for somebody chosen rather than just apt to be trained: the pilot has to be mature, self-possessed, have an increased sense of stability, perfect hearing, nerves, courage, willpower, lungs, heart, he must be able to act with sangfroid, yet to be decisive at the same time, he must be determined, disciplined and, of course, he must be free of any physical defects and he must not know fear (Hamšík 1924: 12 –28; Leonhardy 1928: 141).

The overshadowed body-problem comes into sight especially once the pilot is presented as someone to be followed. The youth is instructed to accomplish a "beautiful harmony of perfect body and noble soul" (Čihula 1926: 390), and flying offers a wide range of spiritual pleasures, indeed, but it stands out only because it accompanies them with the benefits to both the mental (nerves) and the physical (lungs, stomach) (Zdeněk 1923: 154–155). As another author resolutely says: "No other sport is as demanding as the flying sport. And no other sport, I say no other sport, can bring up people so calm, prudent, and clever as the flying sport. If any sport is destined to change the character of man, i.e. to bring the human soul and the heart to goodness and to teach him a quick and correct assessment of circumstances and situations in his life, then it is above all the flying sport". Which nevertheless leads to a term that explicitly brings in the body as the indispensable part of the aviatic education: "The flying sport can bring us what the Greeks called *kalokagathia*" (R. Š. 1925: 5). One of the most important Czech aircraft designers of the interwar period, Pavel Beneš, goes even further and does not doubt that "the ancient Greeks would surely love this sport, if it were to arise at that time" (Beneš 1919: 5).[12]

But it did not and the question is if it even could. Should not the aviator be a man of the future, after all, a future that is near, but has not happened yet? If "an individual who wants to become a good aviator must be physically and mentally ahead of time" (Malkovský 1930: 503), another and not wholly rhetorical question is what time and what specific condition we are talking about. To use yet another fragment of the period imagination, if the pilots develop "their own

12 The subsequent innocent remark on the "Icarian devices" and Gabriele D'Annunzio's "incomparable novel" *Forse che sì, forse che no* (1910) should not be overestimated, despite of the fact that the novel was translated into the Czech language immediately after it was published and contains many motifs we have come across. For example, D'Annunzio synthesizes Dante Alighieri, Leonardo da Vinci, Friedrich Nietzsche, and himself (Demetz 2002: 30–38) into a figure of the victorious Icarian Übermensch who makes the nature to "lift its bans one by one" and steals the heavens for the "ascension of his kind" (D'Annunzio 1910: 68). Then he draws an image of how "each machine had inside its craftsman just as a cobweb has its spider, inseparable. [...] Man was a prisoner of the monster he gave birth to" (D'Annunzio 1910: 80), and continues with the various instances of the to-be-one-with-the-machine fantasies, including a very unusual encounter. The pilot first admires a puzzling sculpture: "Was it Daedalus? Was it Icarus? Was it the Demon of the mad human flight? [il folle volo, another reference to Dante] That wasn't the Athenian craftsman [...] nor his careless son, for the well-built middle-aged body revealed adult vigour, grew into perfection, completed." (D'Annunzio 1910: 462). Then, immediately after the sculpture evokes Michelangelo's slave that takes on the wings and breaks free of his chains, the pilot spontaneously recalls his aeroplane and cries its name: "Heron!" (for the complex analysis see esp. Esposito 2015: 132–139). But again, Bohemian aviation only echoed rather than adopted the futurist poetics.

peculiar physiognomy" (Hamšík 1924: 26), does it regard only their ontogeny, or do we talk about a phylogenetic transformation as well?

From a certain point of view, it would seem so. Aviation represents "an old idea", a "simple principle" that is "woven into the fabric of the universe" and is "similar to an etheric wave. [...] Our brains are the devices that detect it" (Hartman 1925: 6). Aviation is subjected to "the law which governs everything in the universe", and that teleological law is responsible for "the conquest of the air [...] as a necessary, practical ability of the new humanity to be enjoyed in the happy future" (Žežula-Marcelli 1922: 100). In other words, aviation is *providential*. Is it not telling how easily these excerpts echo a note from one of the first serious analyses of a heavier-than-air flight? "The act of flying, when properly adjusted by the Supreme Author of every power, requires less exertions than, from the appearance, is supposed" (Cayley 1810: 87), says George Cayley in 1810, and the quote is for a change suspiciously similar to Jean-Baptiste Lamarck's "Supreme Author of all things" from 1809 that is "bringing into existence so many wonderful things" (Lamarck 1914: 40).

So, "who knows if the desire to rise in the air like a bird or a butterfly that has haunted [us] from everlasting" does not stem from "a dark memory of the days when [our] huge and clumsy ancestors, the winged reptiles, had brought the flesh of their body – surely 'heavier than air' – to carry quite well through the air when pursuing their prey?" (Hartman 1926: 3). No wonder that as far as the rising generation is concerned, one of the period articles speaks about "training of the aviatic embryos" ("Rodí se letci..." 1930: 30–33); aviation is a matter of *evolution*.

But once we reach this point, the dominant spiritual rhetoric suddenly acquires a wholly new meaning, or, to be precise, a slightly different balance with a most ironic consequence. Let us walk the path for the last time at an accelerated pace: first, the flight provides "a divine enjoyment that brings the aviator into ecstasy", thanks to which he "feels the magnificence of the universe. He feels the being and infinity of the primal force, he feels God. There he is not a human like on earth, there is somebody else, more perfect, better" (Budín 1925: 2). This better man is – that would be the second step – "the soul of the aircraft while the engine is the heart and fuel is the blood. [...] An aviator is not just a driver, he becomes more and more part of the aircraft. His whole intelligence must penetrate matter to animate it, to lead it". Which leads us to the claim – and this would be the third step – that finally admits the true imperfective nature of aviatic man: "The aviator must simply represent the ideal of the *eugenics* of body and spirit" (Hamšík 1925: 4–5).

Fig. 7. "The conquest of the air [is an] ability of the new humanity to be enjoyed in the happy future." Max Švabinský, Satyr Foretells an Ascent to Space, 1945, lithography, paper, private collection.

Yet it is not the spirit that needs improvement, but the body, and while the spirit roams the universe as fast as light, "the constitution of the human body is not designed for these crazy speeds". Of course that the spirit "does not accept [...] the boundary beyond which man, as he was created, cannot go" (Budín 1925: 2), but what the spirit does or does not accept is already of secondary importance. If "further intensification of the requirements on the aviator for his physical fitness and mental acuity" is only "*probably* impossible", which means that man simply "*has to* overcome himself", then the celebrated victory over matter does not really consist in its humiliation as in its effective metamorphosis. The end that our aviatic man is heading to, the logical consequence of his aspirations, is not so much an Icarian spiritual transcendence, as a Daedalian physical transformation, and what ascends to heaven is not a liberated soul, but enhanced flesh.

More human than human

If we should render some general conclusions, there is something alarming about where this path does lead to, especially if the aspiring aviatic man "has not reached the final destination" (Budín 1925: 2). It seems almost inevitable that if he followed his own ambitions to accelerate beyond all earthly limits – for where exactly should he stop and why in the stratosphere? – he would have to go to space and "drink the Absolute" up to the point of becoming cosmic. Should not he then follow the steps that John Desmond Bernal described in his futuristic (as well as worrying) book *The World, The Flesh and The Devil* in 1929, i.e., in the age of his prime?

Let us only briefly recall that Bernal in all seriousness envisions the transformative expansion of the human race involving the enhancement of the human body up to its complete remaking. Then, "bit by bit the heritage in the direct line of mankind, the heritage of the original life emerging on the face of the world, would dwindle, and in the end disappear effectively, being preserved perhaps as some curious relic, while the new life which conserves none of the substance and all the spirit of the old would take its place and continue its development. Such a change would be as important as that in which life first appeared on the Earth's surface and might be as gradual and imperceptible" (Bernal 1929: 57). But the process does not stop – and if it follows its own logical imperative, than it cannot stop – until there is nothing left, including the memory of what used to be a human: "consciousness itself may end or vanish in a humanity that

Fig. 8. "Aviatic man has not reached the final destination." Jan Konůpek, In Space, 1930s–1940s, etching, paper, private collection

has become completely etherialized, losing the close-knit organism, becoming masses of atoms in space communicating by radiation, and ultimately perhaps resolving itself entirely into light" (Bernal 1929: 57). In other words: the total resurrection of man into a fully operational *worker* of the whole universe is the end of the human condition.

So, should not the aviatic man have been more careful what he wished for? And is it not telling how willingly Icarus did hand over the reins to the drone operators and automatic pilots, sending the body away while his soul remains comfortably chained to the ground? In fact, it almost seems that all our unfortunate aviator did was break the sound barrier of conscience, thus failing all of the metaphors and expectations pinned on him. He was supposed to bring Heaven to Earth, but left us with the jets that are helping ruin the planet. He was supposed to bring peace, but he dropped the atomic bomb. He was supposed to begin the new era, but on September 11, 2001, he practically ended the millennium in the worst way possible.

Of course, the question is why any driven driver should be trusted as a prophet, when even the Red Sea was crossed on foot.

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Blanka Jedličková – Milena Lenderová – Miroslav Kouba – Ivo Říha (eds.)
Krajiny prostřených i prázdných stolů. I. Evropská gastronomie v proměnách staletí [Landscapes of Set and Empty Tables. I. European Gastronomy throughout the Centuries]

Univerzita Pardubice 2016,
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Landscapes of Set and Empty Tables. I. European Gastronomy throughout the Centuries is the first book of a two-part collective publication, which was produced by a group of researchers associated with the University of Pardubice in an interdisciplinary collaboration with other scholars from the Czech and Slovak Republics. The project was initiated at a conference, where these topics were discussed and examined in detail. The result is an ambitious study that tries to expand the knowledge production of the history of Central European gastronomy and consumption practices from the Middle Ages to the late 20th century.

The first volume (2016) covers an impressively long historical period, and offers a truly interesting and valuable overview of the changes and shifts in European Gastronomy, with an increased focus on the socio-geographical space of the Czech and Slovak lands. Overviews of this character are unique in the recent research of Czech social sciences, and along with *Traditional Food in the Central Europe,* published by the Institute of the Ethnology CAS in 2013, it constitutes an isolated attempt to offer better insight into the history of regional food studies. The authors find inspiration in the classic Czech ethnographic production on food and the history of gastronomy (e.g. Čeněk Zíbrt, Marie Úlehlová-Tilschová, Naděžda Melniková-Papoušková, Magdaléna Beranová, Lydia Petráňová).

Apart from the introduction, the publication consists of altogether fourteen main chapters written by different authors, which follow a chronological and thematic order. In the introduction, Milena Lenderová defines the domain of food as an integral element of human societies, and underlines its necessity for survival. As she further argues, the ways in which life is sustained (food production, preparation and consumption practices) varies across time, space, social hierarchies, and the "stage of development" of human societies (most likely referring to the technological advancement). Subsequently, she offers an overview of various both Czech and foreign prevalently historical studies, which have inspired the collective publication.

The first chapter written by Hana Miketová takes the reader to the medieval Court of Krakow, and depicts the relationships between food practices and diplomacy. Miketová shows how alliances were created and sustained by various feasts, and also explains changes in the menu, which included new exotic and luxurious ingredients imported from abroad. The following chapter by Tünde Lengyelová continues to discuss the shifts in Central European medieval cuisine in the Hungarian Kingdom in the Early Modern Period under the title: "We don't even want to eat the food of our fathers" – citing Peter Apor in his book *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*. After that follows, in my opinion, one of the best chapters from

the collective publication by Karel Černý, examining the introduction and the symbolic meaning of three important exotic food items: chocolate, coffee, and tea, which have essentially transformed the European foodways. Černý not only presents interesting historical insights, but also highlights the economical contexts and cross-cultural dynamics between the places of production and the places of consumption. The thematic section on the changing foodways from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period ends with a chapter by Marie Buňatová, which examines the spice and exotic fruit trade in Early Modern Prague. The historical evidence clearly shows that the trade was well-established, and various kinds of exotic products were available not only to the ruling classes, but also newly to the burghers of Prague.

Iveta Coufalová takes the reader to the year 1730, to the military camp of Polish king Augustus II the Strong in Zeithain, and discusses Baroque festivities and representations of power, in which food played an important role. The event is remembered namely for a large mobile bakery, in which an enormous *stollen* was baked. Subsequently, a chapter on diplomatic eating practices at an imperial embassy in St. Petersburg, where a diplomat of Czech origin resided in the first half of the 18th century, follows. The chapter is the result of the collaboration of Vítězslav Prchal and Filip Vávra, and offers a thorough analysis of kitchen bills. Marie Macková brings interesting insight into the salt trade in the Hapsburg monarchy in relation to the state salt monopoly in her study titled: "Salt for Gold". Vladan Hanulík focuses on the emergence of the "rational" approaches to consumption practices within the context of the development of both Western medicine and alternative healing practices in the 19th and 20th centuries. The chapter offers intriguing reflections; nevertheless, the overall claim that the contemporary consumer at large increasingly becomes a *homo consumericus medicus* seems slightly too enthusiastic.

The following three chapters are concerned with food in relation to armed conflict and food shortages, with emphasis placed on WWI. The chapter by Tomáš Jiránek discusses the shifts and developments of military eating practices in the "long 19th century", and asks about the character and the ideological sources of various strategies and innovations (quite often influenced by the introduction of modern nutritional science). Gabriela Dudeková analyses changes in consumption habits during WWI, including the restrictions and increased control of food supplies. Attention is paid to the rationing strategies of the state in relation to growing poverty and despair in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This historical rupture is further examined by Markéta Slabová on the example of South Bohemia. The chapter contains very valuable depictions of local strategies of dealing with the overall scarcity of food based on the personal correspondence of a married couple from the village of Rájov.

The historical shifts in wedding festivities in the 19th and 20th centuries are analysed by Zuzana Pavelková Čevelová with a focus on the urban environment. The research is based at large on the vast Czech ethnographic production on this topic. The question as to why such an important ritual of passage such as

a wedding started to increasingly accent simplicity and non-flamboyancy in the 20th century is not satisfyingly explained, and thus, constitutes an open field for subsequent research. Karel Rýdl examines the topic of the emergence and development of culinary education in the Czech lands up to 1948. The chapter brings insight into the development of the culinary education generally provided by all-female schools. Also, the newly emerging cookbooks played a significant role. The last chapter of the first volume is written by Martin Franc, who brings an engaging analysis of eating guidelines and practices amongst school children in former Czechoslovakia between the 1950s and 1980s. The chapter thus offers insight into the socialist period, and also helps us to better understand the socialist modernisation processes.

Overall, the collective publication "Landscapes of Set and Empty Tables" constitutes a unique attempt to describe and interpret the historical changes in gastronomy and eating practices in the broad socio-historical context of the Czech lands. It is a useful source of information, and can serve as inspiration for further research. One of the few drawbacks of the publication is that the research findings are not interpreted further in terms of a partial comparative analysis. On the other hand, this opens up space for future academic endeavours, and as the findings of the collective publication show, the domain of food still has the potential to bring new and exciting findings. I strongly recommend it to anyone with an interest in the food history of Central Europe.

Markéta Slavková

Jakub Chavalka – Ondřej Sikora (eds.): *Nietzsche On Virtue*

2nd Special Issue of The Philosophical Journal, 2018

Prague, Filosofia 2018. 204 p.

The special issue of *The Philosophical Journal* called **Nietzsche on Virtue** deals with one of the motifs of the work of this "great destructor of values". It is a collection of texts by nine authors from several Czech universities that was created as the extended result of a philosophy workshop held in Pardubice in October 2017. The main goal of the collection is to underline and analyse the unjustly ignored motif of the *bestowing virtue* (*Die schenkende Tugend*). Although generally this concept is not considered to be as significant as the key concepts of the Übermensch, will to power, eternal return of the same, transvaluation of all values and The Death of God, the authors declare that it is by no chance a marginal motif, for it can be understood as an important point for interpreting Nietzsche's *magnum opus,* **Thus Spoke Zarathustra**, while also giving an inspiring semantic perspective on Nietzsche's work as a whole. Thus, this concept is supposed to both specify and enrich the reading of Nietzsche.

The focal text of the majority of papers is the speech entitled *On Bestowing Virtue,* which lies at the end of the first part of *Zarathustra*. The full version of the speech is to be found at the beginning of the collection in both the German original and the Czech translation by Otokar Fischer. Despite the fact that the interpretations of various authors naturally reach beyond the scope of the speech by using a historicising approach or placing the speech in

relation to works of other authors, it is this very speech that becomes the imaginary core of the whole project. Nietzsche's understanding of the "highest virtue" is thematised from a variety of angles and by accentuating different aspects in the papers. I will first deal with the three studies that engaged my interest the most.

The first study *On Progress, Degeneration and Nietzsche´s Bestowing Virtue* by Jakub Marek represents a distinctive comparative study that uses the work of Søren Kierkegaard as a peculiar "interpretation foil". It shows the differently motivated, yet parallel attempts of both authors at rejecting the idea of progress and tracing down certain traits of decline or straightforward degeneration contained within the idea of progress (in Kierkegaard's case, it is primarily the decline of authentic Christianity, or Christianism) in accordance with the patterns of the (also biological) thinking of the second half of the 19th century. Both authors express their critical view of herdness and the nivelisation of humankind in their thinking. For Nietzsche, the specific "cure" does not consist in the restoration, rectification of decadence, but in the unveiling of their sources – paradoxically, the adopted (incorporated) moral judgements are precisely these sources! "Alas, much ignorance and error hath become embodied in us! Not only the rationality of millenniums – also their madness, breaketh out in us. Dangerous is it to be an heir!"[1] announces Zarathustra in his speech. It is necessary to affirm the end of the "last man" for it will enable the advent of the Übermensch. Zarathustra's bestowing virtue is essentially philosophical and represents the overcoming of man. It is a gift of an ambiguous nature, though – it is both a poison and a cure, it resembles a snakebite that brings about the transformation of a man into a philosopher.

The important theme of embodiment and its pitfalls resonates especially in Jakub Chavalka's study – *Dangerous It Is to Be an Heir* – which I consider to be the apex of all of the texts in the collection. It seems to provide the most complex reading of the motif of bestowing virtue. Chavalka uses the anthropological figure of an heir to explain the problem of the constitution of the "worldly" virtue not as a transferred narrative, but an authentic act of self-creation. This is a very thought-provoking theme, and it is worth following it in other books by this author.[2]

Another interesting paper is the study by Jakub Šenovský, *Nietzsche and Aquinas – The Question of Resentment in Summa Theologica*. The author works at the Catholic Theological Faculty of Charles University, and is thus quite a solitary speaker for the explicitly Christian positions within the project. Yet, Šenovský definitely does not try to mask the divergences between these two very different authors. Instead, he provides an unbiased interpretation of Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals,* and, above all, an erudite analysis of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica,* in which he shows that Nietzsche's claim about the bitterness, bodily weakness,

[1] Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. Part 1, Chapter 22.

[2] Chavalka, J., *Přivtělení a morálka: pojetí tělesnosti ve filosofii Friedricha Nietzscheho.* Praha, Togga 2014; Chavalka, J., *Dějiny a sebetvorba: Jacob Burckhardt jako Nietzschův modelový čtenář.* Praha, Karolinum 2019.

vengefulness, and powerlessness of every Christian morality, as well as the thesis that "the blessed ones find joy in the suffering of the damned", does not stand its ground in Aquinas. The emphasis that Thomas places on autonomous reason, thanks to which man can break away from matter, and on the superworldly goal of human existence is in sharp contrast to Nietzsche's acclaimed effort to lead "the flown-away virtue back to the earth – yea, back to body and life: that it may give to the earth its meaning, a human meaning!"

The interpretations of other authors also revolve around Nietzsche's concept of bestowing virtue, around crucial anti-metaphysical accents expressed in the concepts of earthliness, bodiliness, overcoming/end of man, and the superhuman. Individual studies then highlight specific intersections in their interpretations, such as compassion (Kateřina Sváčková), dialogue (Ondřej Sikora), pathos of distance and the will to power (Tatiana Badurová), solitude and overcoming of the human (Tomáš Houdek). The partially historicising study of Aleš Prázny tracks the evolution of Nietzsche's viewpoint of the foundations of education (alternative to Christian culture). The last study by Jakub Sirovátka then confronts the bestowing virtue with the efforts to overcome the ethical and axiological relativism in Nicolai Hartmann's work.

In my opinion, the niveau of individual papers spans from detailed interpretation studies focused on a specific topic to studies dealing with moments with a far greater philosophical reach (especially the problem of embodiment and self-creation). Some studies even bare traces of a kind of re-actualisation of Nietzsche's thinking, such as the very apt critique of nivelisation supported by arguments drawing from Nietzsche's work (Marek, Chavalka). However, Marek's comparison of the fictive city of the Colourful Cow mentioned in Zarathustra to the "global herd" would definitely require further analysis. Nevertheless, such an analysis could not do without surpassing the horizons of Nietzsche's works towards more present-day views, and the authors that point to contemporary problems related to post-modern de-realisation and the collapse of metaphysics.[3]

Nietzsche himself was well aware of the many pitfalls and paradoxes of the struggle with metaphysics, of course, and they indeed have a distant character within his semi-poetic discourse. All of the authors of the collection attempted at a consistent interpretation of Nietzsche's often-times enigmatic insights, and perhaps also inspired those readers who are not that familiar with the wider context of Nietzsche's work to read him more. There is no doubt great merit in their joint effort.

The depth of Nietzsche's thinking provides room for further interpretations, but it also represents a very up-to-date challenge to contemporary philosophical thinking. His work speaks to us more if we do not take philosophy merely for an academic aggregate of concepts and approaches, but rather if we perceive it as inquiring into the problematisation of traditional or habitual foundations, truths and values. The collection *Nietzsche on Virtue* undoubtedly is a meaningful attempt to deal with this challenge.

David Sajvera

[3] See e.g.: Vattimo, G., *Transparentní společnost*. Praha, Rubato 2013.

CZECH ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The Czech Association for Social Anthropology (CASA) is a civic association of professional academics in social anthropology, graduates, and students of social anthropology and supporters from related disciplines. It is part of the academic community of the Czech Republic. CASA has been a member of the Council of Scientific Societies of the Czech Republic since 2010, and a member of the World Council of Anthropological Associations since 2012.

The aims of CASA are

- to support the development of scientific research and education in social anthropology;
- to represent Czech social anthropology in relation to the government, public and non-governmental organizations, and on international anthropological forums;
- to popularise the achievements of social anthropology among the general public;
- to create and cultivate relations among social anthropologists and specialists of related disciplines in the Czech Republic and internationally;
- to maintain contacts and establish cooperation with similar professional organ- izations in the Czech Republic and abroad.

To attain its aims, the association organizes specialized conferences, lectures, and seminars, and prepares and produces publications. It elaborates and presents suggestions concerning the improvement of education and research in social anthropology, and offers the findings produced in social anthropology for practical implementation while respecting scholarly standards and ethics. The association assists its members in research and other scholarly activities, actively cooperates with similar organizations abroad, and participates in the global development of social anthropology.

CASA welcomes the applications of new potential members, including, but not limited to, students and graduates in social anthropology and related disciplines who would like to participate in the development of the discipline.

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