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NEIGHBORS AND NEIGHBORHOOD IN THE BALKANS

Introduction to a Thematic Issue

The present issue of *Slovanský přehled / Slavonic Review* has been primarily conceived as a thematic issue with a territorial focus on Southeastern Europe. The Studies /Articles section of our journal is thematically focused on the topic of **Neighbors and Neighborhood in the Balkans**. The special issue was edited by František Šístek and Markéta Slavková. The remaining sections of our journal offer additional texts geographically devoted to Southeastern Europe. However, the present issue also includes documents, book reviews, and news from academic life with a territorial focus on Central and Eastern Europe. The next issue of *Slovanský přehled / Slavonic Review* (nr. 2/2023) will in turn, primarily include articles devoted to Eastern and Central Europe.

The articles published as part of the special issue on "Neighbors and Neighborhood in the Balkans" represent a selection of papers from the 6th International and Interdisciplinary Conference in Balkan Studies "Balkan Express 2021: Neighbors and neighborhood in the Balkans", held in Prague on November 12–13, 2021.[1] The organization of the gathering was financially supported by Strategy AV 21 – Top Research in Public Interest, a research program of the Czech Academy of Sciences. The conference was jointly organized by several top Czech research and educational institutions and associations: the Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences; Faculty of Humanities of Charles University, Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences; Institute of International Studies of the Faculty of Social Sciences of Charles University and the Czech Association for Slavic, Balkan and Byzantine Studies. The Balkan Express Conferences, organized since 2013, are the largest conferences in Balkan Studies held on a regular basis in the Czech Republic. The 6th Balkan Express conference organized in November 2021 approached the Balkan past and present through concepts and ideas of neighbors, neighborhood and neighborly relations.

The neighborly relations in the region have been understood with a certain ambiguity. On the one hand, the neighborhood (*komšiluk*) plays a central role in

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1   For a more detailed report, see: František ŠÍSTEK – Markéta SLAVKOVÁ, Conference "Balkan Express 2021: Neighbors and neighborhood in the Balkans", (Prague, November 12–13, 2021), *Slovanský přehled / Slavonic Review,* vol. 108, nr. 2/2022, pp. 421–424.

the daily lives of people in the Balkans, on the other hand, the region is characterized by deep and long-lasting mutual animosity and repetitive violence among neighbors.[2] The neighborhood is therefore perceived as a "breeding ground of distrust, jealousy, hatred and conflict"[3]. In this view, the Balkans is the infamous "powder keg of Europe", where neighbors driven by "ancient hatreds" simply "kill, loot, rape and expel one another" with greater frequency than in other parts of Europe. The latter negative (and stereotypical) perception of the Balkans often prevails. For example, the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s were, besides other things, depicted as the "war of neighbors against neighbors". Such understandings are not only a simplification, but more importantly, they overshadow the complexity of actual existing everyday relationships in the Balkans, which span across the religious and ethnic boundaries.

Neighborhood and neighborly relations in the Balkans, inextricably linked with broader issues of ethnic conflict, confessional and social divisions as well as coexistence and mutual interdependence, have been approached from many different angles by scholars of the region in the post-Communist period. Historians of the early modern age contributed to the discussion by highlighting the conceptual difference between tolerance as an intellectually elaborated concept characteristic of the modern era and more rudimentary toleration, which according to them, fittingly captures the practical experience of coexistence in "traditional", pre-modern Balkan societies.[4]

The classical *emic* understanding of the Balkan notion of neighborhood, which formed under Ottoman and Mediterranean social and cultural influences, emphasizes social inclusion and the unique relations, respect, and mutual coexistence among neighbors in the region regardless of their faith and ethnicity.[5] In his presentation at the Balkan Express conference, Slovenian anthropologist Bojan Baskar showed that the notions of a neighborhood (*komšiluk*) and the neighborly relations have also a theological background and introduce obligations and rights

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2   IBID., pp. 421–422.
3   IBID., p. 422.
4   *Tolerance and Intolerance on the Triplex Confinium. Aproaching the 'Other' on the Borderlands. Eastern Adriatic and Beyond, 1500–1800*, ed. Egidio IVETIC and Drago ROKSANDIĆ. Padova: Cleup, 2007. The main theoretical concepts and methodological perspectives offered by this collective volume are discussed in the following book review published in our journal: František ŠÍSTEK, Triplex Confinium: tolerance a netolerance mezi Jadranem a Dunajem v letech 1500–1800. Egidio Ivetic, Drago Roksandić, eds: Tolerance and Intolerance on the Triplex Confinium, *Slovanský přehled / Slavonic Review,* 3–4/2010, pp. 413–418.
5   ŠÍSTEK – SLAVKOVÁ, p. 422.

among neighbors as a part of the mutually shared ethical norms[6]. Baskar further argued that these ideas are equally formed by all three 'Religions of the Book' (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam). Surprisingly, Baskar pointed out that only Islam elaborated a corpus of definitions, sayings, and rules regulating the relations among neighbors and that Islamic ethics applies to all neighbors, regardless of their faith.

Historian Elijas (Eli) Tauber from Sarajevo, founder and director of the recently opened Archive of the Jewish Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina and leading expert on Jewish history, society and culture of that Balkan country, prepared and presented an exhibition entitled "When the Neighbors Were Real Human Beings" at the 6th Balkan Express Conference in November 2021. The exhibition focused on the destinies of persecuted Jews in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Second World War whose lives were saved thanks to the solidarity and friendship of their non-Jewish neighbors. Eli Tauber provides the following concise definition of komšiluk in his monograph on the same topic: "The word komšiluk (pronounced kom-shee-look) originates from the Turkish word komşuluk and most closely translates to the neighborhood. However, this translation is inadequate because in Bosnia and Herzegovina, komšiluk is not limited to a shared space but encompasses sharing one's life - as in one's worries, hopes, fears, meals, rituals of birth and death, and of course, coffee drinking. Komšiluk functions as a local community and is governed by voluntary decisions of individuals to participate in it or not."[7]

In recent years, the key concept and practice of komšiluk, associated with neighborly relations in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman part of the Balkans and, more particularly, with Bosnia and Herzegovina, were discussed and critically reassessed, among others, by anthropologist Bojan Baskar,[8] anthropologist David Henig[9] and historian Xavier Bougarel.[10] Among the recent contributions to the

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6   Bojan BASKAR, Because We Are Neighbors, presentation at the Balkan Express Conference "Neighbors and Neighborhood in the Balkans", November 13, 2021.

7   Eli TAUBER, *When Neighbors Were Real Human Beings.* Sarajevo: Institute Researching Crimes Against Humanity and International Law, 2016, p. 3

8   Bojan BASKAR, Komšiluk. Imperijalna dediščina ali mediteranska institucija?, *Etnolog* (19) 2009, pp. 157–172; IBID., *Komšiluk* and Taking Care of the Neighbor's Shrine in Bosnia and Herzegovina, In *Sharing Sacred Spaces in the Mediterranean: Christians, Muslims and Jews at Shrines and Sanctuaries*, ed. Dionigi ALBERA and Maria COUROUCLI. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012, pp. 51–68.

9   David HENIG, 'Knocking on my neighbor's door': On metamorphoses of sociality in rural Bosnia*, Critique of Anthropology*, vol. 32, n. 1, 2012, pp. 1-19.

10 Xavier BOUGAREL, "Twenty Years Later: Was Ethnic War Just a Myth?", *Südosteuropa*, vol. LXI, n. 4, 2013, pp. 568-577.

scholarly literature focusing on the "dark side" of neighborly relations, the monograph by historian Max Bergholz, *Violence as a Generative Force: Identity, Nationalism and Memory in a Balkan Community,*[11] which presents a detailed study of a violent break-up of communal coexistence in the region of Kulen Vakuf in Western Bosnia after the occupation of Yugoslavia and establishment of the fascist Independent State of Croatia in 1941, has received critical attention. At the same time, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and other Balkan scholars continue to provide new case studies on different aspects of neighborhood and neighborly relations and their everyday life dimensions.[12]

The present thematic issue of *Slovanský přehled / Slavonic Review* – "Neighbors and Neighborhood in the Balkans" offers articles on different aspects of neighborhood and neighborly relations from the late 19th century and the interwar period until the present, based primarily on historical (archival research) and anthropological (field research) methodology. It includes the following contributions in the Studie / Articles section:

Krzysztof Popek (Institute of History, Jagiellonian University, Cracow), Muslims in Rural and Municipal Councils in Bulgaria at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Century;

Božica Slavković Mirić (Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade), Neighborly Relations in Kosovo and Metohija between the Two World Wars – Examples of Family Cooperatives ("porodične zadruge");

Konstantinos Tsivos (Institute of Greek and Latin Studies, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague), Greek and Slavic Macedonian Refugees in the Postwar Period / The Example of Political Refugees in Czechoslovakia;

Petros Marazopoulos (Department of Classical Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno), "Reversed Nested Orientalisms": The Concept of Orientalism in a European Context;

Marzena Maciulewicz (Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw), Research on Neighborhood(s) in Post-Conflict Urban Settings. Microcosm of Neighborly Relations in Mitrovica, Kosovo.

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11 Max BERGHOLZ, *Violence as a Generative Force: Identity, Nationalism and Memory in a Balkan Community.* Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2016.

12 See for example: *Everyday Life in the Balkans,* ed. David MONTGOMERY. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019; Keith DOUBT – Adnan TUFEKČIĆ, *Ethnic and National Identity in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Kinship and Solidarity in a Polyethnic Society.* Lanham: Lexington Books, 2019.

There is no need to present the topics and key arguments of individual articles in greater detail in this introduction. For quick orientation, check the abstracts and summaries available alongside each article further in this issue.

František Šístek – Markéta Slavková

STUDIE / ARTICLE

Muslims in Rural and Municipal Councils in Bulgaria at the Turn of the 19ᵗʰ and 20ᵗʰ Century[1]

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Muslims in Rural and Municipal Councils in Bulgaria at the Turn of the 19ᵗʰ and 20ᵗʰ Century

The modern Bulgarian state, created in 1878, was not ethnically and religiously homogeneous. In 1881, 26 % of the country's population were Muslims (527,000) and in 1910 they comprised 14 % (602,000). Despite that, Muslims did not hold any posts in Bulgaria's central administration, nor did they generally occupy them at the level of districts (*okrag*) and counties (*okoliya*). However, the situation was different in commune (*obshtina*) governments. Muslims were formally represented in the councils of cities and villages in the northeastern parts of the country and the Rhodope Mountains (the areas where they were concentrated) and had the opportunity to play an important role in making decisions on key issues related to local finance, infrastructure and education together with Bulgarians. In some cases, they managed to efficiently participate in the functioning of lo-

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cal governments, while in others they played only a symbolic role. The case of Muslim rural and municipal councilors at the turn of the 19th and 20th century can be analyzed as an interesting example of the durability of the centuries-old tradition of *komshuluk*. The paper is based on the original studies of the materials found in the State Archive in Varna, as well as on the press from this period.

Keywords: Bulgaria; Muslim minority; local government; turn of the 19th and 20th century; Balkan history

The Balkan lands are well known for their ethnically and religiously heterogeneous populations, which were even more diverse in the 19th century than today. Bulgaria was no exception and kept its multiethnic character, even though after the creation of the state in 1878 the number of non-Bulgarians markedly declined. There were Greeks, Roma people, Armenians, and Jews, but the most numerous group were the Muslims who were there as a result of the settlement and Islamization taking place during the Ottoman period. The Principality of Bulgaria was inhabited by 527,000 Muslims, who constituted 26 % of the population. Two years after the unification with Eastern Rumelia[2] in 1887, 676,000 (21 %) Muslims inhabited the whole Bulgarian territory; in 1900, 643,000 (17 %); and in 1905, 603,000 (15 %).[3] However, the Muslims had little political influence on the society: they did not

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2   The Principality of Bulgaria, formed according to the San Stefano Treaty of March (February OS) 1878 after the Russian-Turkish War, did not survive in its primary borders (it comprised territories that are today located in parts of Bulgaria and Thrace, Northern Macedonia, southern Serbia, and eastern Albania). According to the Berlin Treaty of July 1878, the state's territory was limited to the northern Bulgarian lands and Sofia district (formerly called the Sanjak of Sofia) as a Turkish vassal state under the strong Russian influences; in the south, Eastern Rumelia was founded as an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire. In this multiethnic province a balance was to be maintained between Bulgarians, Turks, and Greeks; however, the provincial government and assembly were dominated by Bulgarians. The Muslim community was represented by their religious leaders (*muftis*) who was treated as a part of the local administration. The Principality of Bulgaria unified with Eastern Rumelia in 1885. For more about the relations between the local Bulgarian authorities and minorities in the province of Eastern Rumelia see: Zhorzheta NAZĂRSKA, "Malcinstveno-religiozna politika v Iztochna Rumeliya (1879–1885)," in: *Musulmanskite obshtnosti na Balkanite i v Bălgariya*, ed. Antonina Zhelyazkova (Sofia: IMIR), pp. 155–158.

3   *Istoriya na bălgarite 1878–1944 v dokumenti*, t. 1: 1878–1912, ch. 1: Văzstanovyavane i razvitie na bălgarskata dărzhava, ed. Velichko GEORGIEV – Stayko TRIFONOV (Sofia: Prosveta, 1994), p. 135.

hold any posts in Bulgaria's central administration before the 1920s,[4] nor did they generally occupy positions at the level of the districts (okrag) and counties (okoliya). The situation was different in commune (*obshtina*) governments. Muslims were represented in the councils in the cities and villages in the northeast of the country and the Rhodope Mountains (the areas where they were concentrated) and they had the opportunity to participate in making decisions on key issues related to local finance, infrastructure and education together with Bulgarians and other minorities. In some cases, they managed to participate efficiently in local governments, while in others they played only a symbolic role. The case of Muslim rural and municipal councilors in Bulgaria at the turn of the 19th and 20th century can be analyzed as an interesting example of the durability of the centuries-old tradition of *komshuluk*.

Turks (approximately 85 % of the Muslim community in Bulgaria) were by far the most numerous Muslims, and they were mainly concentrated in the northeastern regions of the Principality. The other groups were Bulgarian-speaking Muslims, also known as Pomaks, who were settled in the Rhodopes (most of which was part of the Ottoman Empire until 1912) and also in the Lovech region; and then there were Tatars – descendants of the immigrants from Crimea – who lived near the major centers of the Turkish population. Additionally, a significant proportion of the Bulgarian Roma were also Muslims, despite not being considered part of the ummah. These differences notwithstanding, the Balkan Muslims can be characterized as an ethnic group – a religious community of people living on a specific territory, closely related to each other in terms of mentality, culture, economic interests and sense of belonging, but with distinct origins and not sharing a common language.[5] "Muslim," "Turk," or "Ottoman" – these terms were used interchangeably by the Balkan Muslims to refer to themselves, regardless of their ethnicity or language.[6] Although religion was one of the main identity paradigms among the Muslims in the Balkans, it would be inappropriate to speak of a homogeneous com-

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[4]   However, it should be mentioned that after the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), the government of Vasil Radoslavov and his party (the Liberal Party) cooperated with Muslim members of the Bulgarian parliament who had been elected in the region of the Rhodope Mountains and in Western Thrace (incorporated into Bulgaria in 1913).

[5]   Vanya DODUNEKOVA, *Izmenenie na etnicheskata struktura na naselenieto v Bǎlgariya spored prebroyavaniyata v XX vek* (Sofia: Tipografika, 2008), pp. 12–13.

[6]   Konstantin JIREČEK, *Knyazhestvo Bǎlgariya. Negova povǎrkhnina, priroda, naselenie, dukhovna kultura, upravlenie i noveysha istoriya*, ch. I: Bǎlgarska dǎrzhava (Plovdiv: Hr. G. Danov, 1899), p. 156.

munity. The Ottoman Muslims, retaining the characteristics of an ethnic group, were a conglomerate of communities that professed Islam and had a sense of a bond based on sharing the same faith and subjection to the sultan-caliph.

The topic of Muslim representation in the rural and municipal councils in Bulgaria at the turn of the 19th and 20th century has not been well researched in historiography, though there are occasional references to it. Muslim representation was addressed in the works of the Bulgarian historian Zhorzheta Nazărska; however, her research discusses all the minorities living in the Bulgarian state, focusing on the period of 1878–1885.[7] Some aspects of the topic were also mentioned in studies published by the Turkish historians Ömer Turan and İbrahim Yalimov.[8] We should additionally mention Milena Methodieva from the University of Toronto, whose book *Between Empire and Nation: Muslim Reform in the Balkans* deals with the question of the Muslims' public activity in Bulgaria at the turn of the 19th and 20th century in some sections.[9] Considering the relatively underdeveloped state of research to date, this analysis had to be based on archival studies, mostly using the materials found in the State Archive in Varna, as well as on the press from this period, examined using the case study method.

The Ottoman Balkan people had developed local government structures based on traditional pre-Turkish forms. At the lowest level, the villages and town districts (mahallahs) were managed by local officials whose titles differed depending on the language: *muhtar*, *kmet*, *arhon*, *knez*, *chorbadzhi*, *koca-başi*, *hodzabashi*, etc. Some of them were chosen by the male population of the village from the wealthiest or most influential members of the commune, and others were nominated because of their kinship or affiliation to the clan which traditionally held the post. They administrated the village in cooperation with the most important members of the community – the elderly men. Most of the villages were part of a larger organization – the commune (Bulgarian *obshtina*). Their duties included acting as mediators between the villages and the Ottoman administration, participating in the assessment and collection of taxes, and preparing lists of conscripts. During the crisis of the central government the position of local authorities strengthened, and

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7   Zhorzheta NAZĂRSKA, *Bălgarskata dărzhava i neynite maltsinstva 1878–1885 g.* (Sofia: LIK, 1999).

8   Ömer TURAN, *The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria (1878–1908)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998); İbrahim YALIMOV, *Istoriya na turskata obshtnost v Bălgariya* (Sofia: IK "Ilinda-Evtimov", 2002).

9   Milena METHODIEVA, *Between Empire and Nation. Muslim Reform in the Balkans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2021).

they retained the Ottoman system in the provinces.[10] In the 1860s, during the *Tanzimat* reforms, *nahiye* councils were elected in rural communes and town districts of the Balkan regions on the basis of these models. The greatest differences compared to the old councils of elders were the guaranteed (theoretically) equal representation of Muslims and Christians and a more formal character (functioning on the basis of written law and not only customs etc.).[11]

The city councils that functioned during the Ottoman era were maintained as an institution after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the emergence of the modern Bulgarian state by the Russian occupant authorities.[12] However, the old council members were dismissed and new ones were nominated top-down by the Russians to ensure the domination of Bulgarian Christians. At the same time, there were also some representatives of the other religious and ethnic groups. In the following years, council members were elected by the city residents. A candidate had to know the Bulgarian language in speech and in writing, be endowed with full civil rights, have lived in the city for a minimum of one year, and own property there. Members of the military, officials, and, most importantly for our study, clergy could not become councilmen. Even though there is no clergy in Sunni Islam, the religious leaders (*imams*, *muftis*, *mullahs*, etc.) were treated as such and they did not have passive suffrage. The first elections to the city councils, held in October and November 1878, resulted in the success of the Bulgarians. For example, in Sofia, there were only three non-Bulgarian representatives (10 %), even if 22.8 % of the capital's inhabitants were Muslims and Jews. Just after the war, the Turks were also inadequately represented in the city councils in the towns where they were numerically predominant at that time, such as Ruse, Varna, Silistra, Razgrad, and Eski Dzhumaya (Tărgovishte).[13]

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10 Barbara JELAVICH, *Historia Bałkanów*, vol. 1: Wiek XVIII i XIX (Kraków: WUJ, 2005), pp. 67–68.

11 Roderic DAVISON, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 147–153.

12 At the beginning of 1878, the Russians occupied the territories of Bulgaria, Thrace, and eastern Macedonia. Their presence lasted until June 1879 in the case of the Principality of Bulgaria, until March in the Adrianople Sanjak, and until April in Eastern Rumelia. For more about the Russian administration on the Bulgarian lands, see Goran TODOROV, *Vremennoto rusko upravlenie v Bălgariya prez 1877–1879* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata komunisticheska partiya, 1958); Mariya MANOLOVA, *Normotvorcheskata deynost na vremennoto rusko upravlenie v Bălgariya (1877–1879)* (Sofia: CIELA, 2003). More about the transformation of the *nahiya*s into the *obshtina*s in: Valeri KOLEV, *Obshtinite v Bălgariya (60-te – 80-te godini na XIX vek)* (Sofia: IF-94, 2006).

13 Z. NAZĂRSKA, *Bălgarskata dărzhava*, pp. 120–123.

However, in subsequent years, the representation of Muslims in municipal councils became more adequate to the size of the community in towns in the northeast of the country (not only in the above-mentioned cities, but also in Provadiya, Osman Pazar [Omurtag], Shumen, Kesarovo, Preslav, Tutrakan, and Dobrich [Hadzhioglu Pazardzhik]). For example, in Varna, where 35 % of the inhabitants were Muslims, they had five representatives (out of fifteen) in 1880, and in 1891 it was four out of twenty.[14] In the 1880s–1900s in Provadiya, where about half of the inhabitants were Muslims, they comprised between 25 and 40 % of the city council representatives.[15] There were Muslims in the councils in the western and northwestern Bulgarian towns from which they were systematically emigrating, such as Sofia, Vidin, and Lom Palanka (Lom). For example, in the 1880s, in the capital's city council, one seat was reserved for Muslims, even if there were no homogeneous Muslim communities there. In 1879, in Vidin, there were six Bulgarians (including the chairman) and four Muslims in the municipal council. Additionally, the local Orthodox bishop, *mufti*, and rabbi could participate in the work of the administrative committee (an executive body that was a remnant of the Russian occupation).[16] In the south, Muslims were represented in the councils of Plovdiv, Burgas, Stanimaka (Asenovgrad), Peshtera, and Tatar Pazardzhik. However, it should be stressed that in the cities where Muslims were in the majority (such as Novi Pazar, Osman Pazar [Omurtag], Kurt-Bunar [Tervel], Akkadănlar [Dulovo], and Balbunar [Kubrat]), there were more Christians on the councils, which was the result of the local Muslim community's lack of political involvement, or – in some cases – electoral fraud. In fact, at the turn of the 19th and 20th century, it was a rule that the majority of city councilors must be Bulgarian, regardless of the town's ethnic composition.[17] When a municipal council was dominated by minorities, the

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14 Dărzhaven Arhiv-Varna (DA-Varna), f. 58k, op. 2 a.e. 2 l. 1; DA-Varna, f. 717k, op. 2 a.e. 1 l. 1.

15 DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 1–14.

16 Felix KANITZ, *Dunavska Bălgariya i Balkanăt*, vol. I (Sofia: Borina, 1995), p. 78.

17 *Balkanska zora*, god. I, br. 142, 28 August 1890, p. 2; *Balkanska zora*, god. I, br. 143, 29 August 1890, p. 2; *Balkanska zora*, god. I, br. 153, 11 September 1890, p. 3; *Balkanska zora*, god. I, br. 157, 17 September 1890, p. 3; *Stefan Stambolov. Lichen arkhiv*, vol. 3: 1890, ed. Milen KUMANOV – Dimităr IVANOV (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 1997), pp. 187, 469–470; *Stefan Stambolov. Lichen arkhiv*, vol. 4: 1891, ed. Milen KUMANOV – Dimităr IVANOV (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 1997), pp. 218, 248–249, 256, 271–273, 294–295; Vasil DECHOV, *Minaloto na Chepelare. Prinos za istoriyata na Rodopa*, vol. 2, ed. Georgi Ivan CHICHOVSKI (Chepelare: Obshtina Czepelare, 2002), p. 213.

central authorities had no qualms about canceling the councilors' mandates in order to guarantee the advantage to the Bulgarians.[18]

The rural councils' composition – as in the case of the municipal ones – was changed after the creation of the Bulgarian state. According to the regulations passed in 1879, half of the councilmen were elected, and half of them were nominated by a mayor appointed by the Minister of Internal Affairs. Then this solution was modified, and the composition of the rural councils was decided entirely by the votes of the commune's inhabitants. The candidate for the council had to have reading and writing skills in "any language";[19] however, not much weight was given to this criterion in practice.[20] In the communes where only Muslims lived, the rural councils were dominated by their representatives, which could be illustrated by the example of Provadiya County after the War of 1877–1878 or Aytos County in 1890.[21] Muslims were represented also in rural councils in communes of mixed populations; however, they were usually in the minority to Bulgarians. In these cases, the Muslims were also not allowed to form a majority in key council committees that dealt with elections, tenders or finances.[22]

A mayor (Bulgarian kmet, Turkish muhtar) was the head of the commune council and coordinated its work – he was selected from the councilmen and confirmed by the monarch (in the case of a city) or by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (in the case of the countryside). During the Russian occupation, many Muslim muhtars were dismissed on the charge of "hostility to the Christian population."[23] After the war, in cities, the mayors were selected in every mahallah (town district) that usually had non-Bulgarian ethnoreligious characteristics, so in the Muslim part of a town there was a Muslim *muhtar*.[24] However, in 1880, central authoroties decided that there would be only one mayor for the whole city, and as a result the function was held only by Bulgarians. In rural communes where Muslims were in

18 Z. NAZĂRSKA, *Bălgarskata dărzhava*, pp. 123–127.
19 Nauchniyat Arhiv na Bălgarskata akademiya na naukite (BAN), f. 3, op. 1 a.e. 1115 l. 10; Z. NAZĂRSKA, *Bălgarskata dărzhava*, pp. 120–121.
20 DA-Varna, f. 158k, op. 2 a.e. 105 l. 23.
21 DA-Varna, f. 852k, op. 1 a.e. 7 l. 3, 6, 40, 56, 63; DA-Varna, f. 659k, op. 1 a.e. 1 l. 3–4; *Dărzhaven vestnik* 12, No 43 (24 February 1890), p. 3.
22 Natsionalna biblioteka "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodiy" v Sofiya – Bălgarski istoricheski arkhiv (furthermore NBKM-BIA), f. 63k, op. 8 a.e. 99 l. 1365, 1369; DA-Varna, f. 519k, op. 1 a.e. 1 l. 1; DA-Varna, f. 484k, op. 1 a.e. 5 l. 1; *Balkanska zora* 4, No 907, 6 May 1893, p. 2.
23 M. MANOLOVA, *Normotvorcheskata deynost*, p. 47.
24 Borislav DENCHEV, *Varna sled osvobozhdenieto. Edno zakăsnyalo văzrazhdane na bălgarshtinata* (Sofia: Anubis, 1998), pp. 20–22.

the majority, their representative was usually a muhtar.[25] Mayors were supposed to read and write in the official state language (Bulgarian); however, during Stefan Stambolov's government (1887–1894), muhtars who could write and read in Ottoman Turkish were accepted. It was explained that the non-Bulgarian communities had not had enough time to adapt to the new regulations and should not be isolated from local decisions.[26] In 1902, this solution was legally confirmed – the requirement of literacy in the official language was limited to the communes where Bulgarians were in the majority.[27]

At the local level, at the turn of the 19th and 20th century, government was mostly dominated by Bulgarians, so in the communes where there were populous Muslim communities without significant representation, the authorities allowed them to elect special officials. The most important of these was the Muslim assistant (*pomoshtnik*) to the mayor, a position which was not described in any act but was a gesture of goodwill from the Bulgarian government toward the Muslims and a form of integrating that population with the new state. The tasks of the assistants were to advise on matters relating to Muslims, to represent the interests of this population at various levels of local government, and to assist in the performance of tasks that concerned their vital problems. The assistant was also a deputy – he took over the mayor's duties during his absence.[28] In autumn 1881, Muslim assistants were nominated in Ruse, Varna, Silistra, Razgrad, and Sofia.[29] It was the norm that in cities with a significant Muslim community, for example, in Provadiya, there was a Muslim assistant to the mayor throughout the period before the First World War.[30] The assistant was supposed to know how to read in Ottoman Turkish – illiteracy could be a reason for dismissal.[31] The dismissal was an individual decision of the mayor;[32] however, in the face of budget problems and the government's

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25 *Dărzhaven vestnik* 16, No 89, 29 April 1894, p. 4; *Dărzhaven vestnik* 17, No 75, 10 April 1895, pp. 3–4; Z. NAZĂRSKA, *Bălgarskata dărzhava*, pp. 129–130.

26 *Stefan Stambolov. Parlamentarni rechi 1879–1894*, ed. Dimităr IVANOV – Milen KUMANOV (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 1995), pp. 203, 232–233.

27 Richard CRAMPTON, "The Turks in Bulgaria, 1878–1944," in *The Turks of Bulgaria: The History, Culture and Political Fate of a Minority*, ed. Kemal KARPAT (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1990), p. 67.

28 DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 3 l. 1; DA-Varna, f. 484k, op. 1 a.e. 4 l. 11.

29 Z. NAZĂRSKA, *Bălgarskata dărzhava*, pp. 112–114, 123; İ. YALIMOV, *Istoriya na turskata obshtnost*, pp. 76–77.

30 DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 1–14.

31 DA-Varna, f. 519k ,op. 1 a.e. 5 l. 4.

32 DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 19 l. 16.

efforts at economizing, the positions of Muslim assistants were often the first to be abolished. For example, a series of such layoffs took place in early 1894.[33] In addition, in the rural commune that included an individual Muslim village, the mayor could appoint his special representative – someone chosen from the local population to be a mediator between the Muslims from the village and the commune authorities.[34]

The presence of Muslims in the municipal and rural councils was key to the participation of that ethnoreligious group in the public life of Bulgaria – we need to remember that they made the important decisions about the local community related to: the aid to returning refugees after the War of 1877–1878; public health; the preparation of censuses; conscripts and lists of voters;[35] tax collection and financial supervision;[36] the settlement of immigrants;[37] the rent of communal estates (buildings, arable land, vineyards);[38] helping citizens in difficult situations;[39] expropriations related to investments;[40] and the appointment of lay judges.[41] Each of these matters had vital importance not only for the Muslim inhabitants of Bulgaria, but also in many ways for the Islamic schools and mosques – the most important collective institutions for the Muslim community. However, it should be pointed out that the Muslim councilmen were not particularly active during the meetings, even in cases where they were an essential part of the council.

The local elections – unlike the parliamentary ones – were not held directly, but through delegates. In the case of elections in rural communes, every village that was part of the commune chose a defined number of councilmen. For example, in the Cherkovna rural commune (Varna district), all six villages elected two representatives each. Five of the villages were inhabited by Bulgarian Christians; in one, Ayazma, about half of the inhabitants were Bulgarians and the second half were

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33 *Dărzhaven vestnik* 16, No 23, 31 January 1894, p. 4.
34 DA-Varna, f. 519k, op. 1 a.e. 2 l. 86–88; DA-Varna, f. 484k, op. 1 a.e. 4 l. 7.
35 DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 4 l. 65; DA-Varna, f. 163k, op. 1 a.e. 4 (minutes no. 3); DA-Varna, f. 519k, op. 1 a.e. 2 l. 71–73; DA-Varna, f. 519k, op. 1 a.e. 4 l. 45–46.
36 DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 2 l. 32.
37 DA-Varna, f. 717k, op. 2 a.e. 2 l. 31; DA-Varna, f. 78k, op. 1 a.e. 8 l. 108.
38 DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 4 l. 1. 29–30, 68; DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 6 l. 61–63; DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 20 l. 13–14, 45–56; DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 23 l. 28–29; DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 13 l. 4–5; DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 25 l. 16–18, 36–37; DA-Varna, f. 484k, op. 1 a.e. 5 l. 3; DA-Varna, f. 87k ,op. 1 a.e. 12 l. 12–13, 19–25; DA-Varna, f. 484k, op. 1 a.e. 5 l. 24.
39 DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 18 l. 30; DA-Varna, f. 105k, op. 1 a.e. 146 l. 470.
40 DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 4 l. 17; DA-Varna, f. 87k, op. 1 a.e. 16 l. 45–48.
41 DA-Varna, f. 779k, op. 1 a.e. 4 l. 2–3; DA-Varna, f. 163к, op. 1 a.e. 2 (minutes no. 1).

Turkish Muslims. In this case, each group had one councilman. Thus, there were eleven Bulgarians and one Turk in the Cherkovna Rural Council. They were elected by delegates – in 1892, there were 3,251 villagers in the Cherkovna commune and 58 delegates elected the twelve members of the rural council.[42] The Muslim community could organize significant support for its representatives during the local elections, especially in towns. For example, in May 1893, in an election in Plovdiv with 53 candidates, two Muslims were elected (the Ibrahimov brothers: Riza and Mehmed) to positions among fourteen the councilmen. Each brother gained approximately 4,700 votes, which gave them the sixth and seventh placements.[43] There were 36,033 inhabitants of Plovdiv at that time.[44]

The local elections in the multiethnic territories were different than the parliamentary ones, though this was mostly the case in the northeastern parts of the country. During the elections to the Bulgarian parliament, the National Assembly, there was rivalry between the political parties in which there were Bulgarians and Muslims, but in the case of the commune councils, the ethnic and religious differences had their importance for representation. This is illustrated by the elections to the city council of Varna in which Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, and Armenians competed against each other.[45] Local elections could also be used as a form of manifestation of the attitude of the population towards the Bulgarian state, as happened after the War of 1877–1878, when the Muslims and the Greeks boycotted the elections to the city council of Varna.[46]

The key question related to the presence of Muslims in the Bulgarian local government was language – most of the Muslims in Bulgaria were Turkish and did not know Bulgarian. After the emergence of the first commune councils, there were some proposals that people who did not know Bulgarian should not be councilmen. This was motivated by the practical problems posed by organizing the meetings and preparing the minutes in multiple languages.[47] However, it was not as much of an obstacle as it might seem. In the multiethnic councils, after the presen-

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42 DA-Varna, f. 158k, op. 2 a.e. 105 l. 3, 12, 23.

43 *Balkanska zora* 4, No 907, 6 May 1893, p. 2; *Balkanska zora* 4, No 907, 20 May 1893, p. 2.

44 Stoyu N. SHISHKOV, *Plovdiv v svoeto minalo i nastoyashte. Istoriko-etnografski i politiko-ikono-micheski pregled* (Plovdiv: Fond. Balkanski kult. 2016), p. 157; Mihail SARAFOV, "Naselenieto v Knyazhestvo Bǔlgariya po trite pǔrvi preobroyavaniya," *Periodichesko spisanie* 41–42 (1893), pp. 785–786.

45 *Svobodna Bǎlgaria* No 13, 25 April 1881, p. 2.

46 Borislav DRYANOVSKI, *Istoriya na Varna*, vol. 3: 1878–1944 (Varna: Slavena, 2015), pp. 282–283.

47 DA-Varna, f. 19k, op. 2 a.e. 5 l. 1–2.

tation of the subject of the meeting in Bulgarian, it was summarized in Turkish, then there was a discussion in which non-Bulgarians could participate with the help of an interpreter. Finally, there was a vote.[48] In rural councils, where there were only Turkish Muslims, they ignored the law about Bulgarian as the only official language of the state and only worked in Turkish.[49]

The Muslim local government officials – like the Bulgarian ones – were involved in party arrangements and were frequently elected due to clientelism or nepotism.[50] During the government of Stefan Stambolov, the norm was to dismiss officials or councilmen, also the Muslim ones, on the charge of Russophilia or cooperation with the opposition. This kind of situation could also arise after a party rival who applied for a position or wanted it for his associate promulgated denunciations of an official.[51] At that time, in Silistra the key role was played by Hadzhi Yahi Yumerov, a Tatar politician close to Stambolov (and after that to the next prime minister, Konstantin Stoilov), who was regularly elected as parliamentary deputy or to various local posts.[52] In March 1897, the journal of the Democratic Party, *Zname*, reported that he was the "master and ruler of Silistra" and thanks to his influence in Sofia he was able to replace the Muslim assistant to the county governor of Kurt-Bunar (Tervel): Kurti Seliametov was supplanted by Yumerov's brother.[53] When there was rivalry between members of the same party or between different parties, Muslim candidates for mayors and councilmen were accused of specific things. In December 1896, the People's Party (*Narodna partiya*) put up Hazdhi Alish from Bansko as a candidate to the Rural Council of Lăzhene in the Rhodopes Mountains. *Zname* formulated a number of accusations against him: according to the journal, his sons had avoided military service and declared themselves as Ottoman citizens, and one of them had even participated in the Babyak

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48 DA-Varna, f. 717k, op. 2 a.e. 1 l. 9, 32, 45, 106, 117.

49 DA-Varna, f. 852k, op. 1 a.e. 7 l. 3, 6, 40, 56, 63; DA-Varna, f. 659k, op. 1 a.e. 1 l. 3–4; *Dărzhaven vestnik*, god. XII, br. 43, 24 February 1890, p. 3.

50 Tsentralen dărzhaven arkhiv v Sofia (furthermore TsDA), f. 159k, оп. 1 a.e. 147 l. 30–31; NBKM-BIA, f. 63k, op. 8 a.e. 99 l. 1189, 1365, 1369; *Balkanska zora*, god. IV, br. 907, 6 May 1893, p. 2; br. 925, 2 June 1893, p. 3. On the clientelism in Bulgarian politics at the turn of the 19th and 20th century, see: Krzysztof POPEK, *"Turecka opończa, belgijska peleryna". Obraz państwa bułgarskiego w twórczości satyrycznej przełomu XIX i XX wieku* (Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2016), pp. 128–155.

51 *Stefan Stambolov. Lichen arkhiv*, vol. 3, pp. 176, 421, 473; *Stefan Stambolov. Lichen arkhiv*, vol. 4, pp. 430–431.

52 DA-Varna, f. 827k, op. 1 a.e. 13 l. 1.

53 *Zname* 2, No 89, 12 March 1897, p. 3.

revolt (it was the rebellious region of the Rhodope Mountains, finally pacified in 1891 by the Bulgarian army).[54] Hadzhi Alish was called "an agent in the service of the Sublime Porte" who allegedly compiled reports on the cooperation between the government in Sofia and the Macedonian activists, even personally organizing the attacks against *chetniks* on the border with Macedonia. He was also called a "bandit".[55] This example shows how typical accusations were formulated against the Muslim local politicians by their opponents.

The bane of Bulgarian politics, including local government, was corruption, traditionally called *baksheesh*, in which Muslims were also involved. Officials treated their post not as public service, but as a business; the line between public and private money was blurred. For example, three of the ten disciplinary cases against mayors in the Varna District in 1891–1892 concerned Muslims who were accused of defalcation of a total of 898,10 levs.[56] These were not isolated cases. The accusations against Muslim *muhtars* were related not only to defalcation but also to the unlawful increase of salaries of local officials or corruption. When disciplinary proceedings began, the mayor was suspended and his duties were taken over by an assistant or a deputy.[57] If the charges were proven in court, the most common penalty was imprisonment and a fine to cover the budget losses.[58] In cases of Muslim assistants or a mayor's representatives delegated to a village, charges usually resulted in dismissal without starting the disciplinary procedures.[59] As can be the case in a young democracy, the elections were also not free from misdeeds and fraud, in which Muslim local government officials (*muhtar*s, mayor's assistants, representative to a village) also participated.[60] For example, in December 1901, the former *muhtar* of Turk Arnautlar (today: Belogradets, Varna District) and his assistant, who were both Muslims, were charged with falsifying the commune elections by adding additional ballots.[61]

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed the first Muslim attempts to become independent from Bulgarian parties and to create their own lists; however,

54 See more: Krzysztof POPEK, *Muzułmanie w Bułgarii 1878–1912* (Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2022), pp. 149–153.
55 *Zname*, god. II, br. 65, 14 December 1896, pp. 3–4.
56 DA-Varna, f. 717k, op. 2 a.e. 2 l. 52–53.
57 DA-Varna, f. 659k, op. 1 a.e. 1 l. 3–4, 17–19, 32–41; DA-Varna, f. 163k, op. 1 a.e. 1 (resolution 22); DA-Varna, f. 163k, op. 1 a.e. 2 (minutes no. 12).
58 DA-Varna, f. 519k, op. 1 a.e. 4 l. 1.
59 DA-Varna, f. 163k, op. 1 a.e. 1 (minutes of 6/19 October 1901).
60 *Nezavisimost* 5, No 23, 15 November 1880, p. 3; *Nezavisimost* 5, No 43, 18 February 1881, p. 5.
61 DA-Varna, f. 659k, op. 1 a.e. 1 l. 3–4, 17–19.

this phenomenon was typical only of the local elections, and the plans to create a Muslim parliamentary party in Bulgaria were not realized until the 1990s. In February 1912, the Muslims put up an independent candidate in the municipal election in Plovdiv – he gained 156 votes, which was not enough to get to the city council (191 were needed). In that year, the Muslims succeed in Peshtera with 188 votes, which was the third score after the Democrats (562) and the coalition of Liberal and Conservative parties (Tonchevists, Radoslavists, Narodniaks, and Stambolovists – 411). In Varna, the Muslims got 455 votes, which was the fifth score after the ruling party (Democrats), Tonchevists, Radoslavists, and Communists. The Muslim candidates also succeeded in Orahanie (Botevgrad), where they got 103 votes – it was the third position after the Narodniaks and Social Democrats.[62]

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In historiography, especially in Turkish and Western literature, we can find opinions that the Muslims in Bulgaria were oppressed after the collapse of the Ottoman rule. Of course, there were many examples of discrimination of that population related to the questions of remigration after the War of 1877–1878, agrarian reforms and expropriations, and brutal pacification of the resistance in the northeast and the Rhodopes.[63] However, the relations between the Bulgarian authorities and the Muslims were not only negative. The activity of the Muslims in the local government on the commune level was an example of peaceful ethnic relations in Bulgaria, although the situation also was not black and white. On the one hand, the Muslims were insufficiently represented, their position in the city councils was marginalized, and they were accused of treason and connections with the Ottoman authorities; they also needed to deal with the problem of corruption and clientelism. On the other hand, special Muslim officials were nominated as assistants to

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62 *Volya* 2, No 37, 14 February 1912, pp. 2–3.

63 See: Krzysztof POPEK, "'To Get Rid of Turks'. The South-Slavic States and Muslim Remigration in the Turn of 1870s and 1880s," in *Crossroads of the Old Continent. Central and Southeastern Europe in the 19th and 20th Century*, ed. Krzysztof POPEK – Michał BALOGH – Kamil SZADKOWSKI – Agnieszka ŚCIBIOR (Kraków: Petrus, 2021), pp. 63–85; Krzysztof POPEK, "De-Ottomanisation of Land: Muslim Migrations and Ownership in the Bulgarian Countryside after 1878," in *Turkish Yoke or Pax Ottomana. The Reception of Ottoman Heritage in the Balkan History and Culture*, ed. Krzysztof POPEK – Monika SKRZESZEWSKA (Kraków: Nowa Strona, 2019), pp. 85–110.

a mayor or as mayor's representatives delegated to a village as a nod of acknowledgement to the Muslim community, and some of the rural councils in the northeast were dominated by Muslim representatives. This situation was similar in many ways to how it had been in the Ottoman Empire where Christians were isolated from the central government, but – especially after the Tanzimat reforms – they could still be represented at the commune level. These structures inherited the pathologies described above. The model adopted by the state of Bulgaria would not have been possible to implement without the centuries-long tradition of komshuluk, which was became one of the most important positive factors shaping ethnic relations in the Bulgarian lands after 1878.

SUMMARY

The modern Bulgarian state, created in 1878, was ethnically and religiously heterogeneous. In 1881, 26 % of the country's population were Muslims (527,000) and in 1910 it was 14 % (602,000). Despite that, Muslims did not hold any posts in Bulgaria's central administration, nor did they generally occupy them at the level of districts (*okrag*) and counties (*okoliya*). However, the situation was different in commune (*obshtina*) governments. Muslims were represented in the councils in cities and villages in the northeast of the country and the Rhodope Mountains (the areas where they were concentrated) and had the opportunity to play an important role in making decisions on key issues related to local finance, infrastructure and education together with Bulgarians. In some cases, they managed to efficiently participate in the functioning of local governments, while in others they played only a symbolic role. On the one hand, the Muslims were not sufficiently represented, their position in the city councils was marginalized, in the political rivalry they were accused of betrayal and connections with the Ottoman authorities, and they also needed to deal with the problem of corruption and clientelism. On the other hand, special officials were elected as Muslim assistants to a mayor or as mayor's representatives delegated to a village as a nod of acknowledgment to acknowledge the Muslim community, and some of the rural councils in the northeast and in the Rhodope Mountains were dominated by Muslim representatives. This situation was similar in many ways to how it had been in the Ottoman Empire, where Christians were isolated from the central government but could be represented at the commune level. These structures inherited some pathologies. The model adopted by the state of Bulgaria would not have been possible to implement without the centuries-long tradition of *komshuluk,* which became one of the most important positive factors shaping ethnic relations in the Bulgarian lands after 1878. The paper is based on the author's original studies of materials found in the State Archive in Varna, as well as on the press from this period, examined using the case study method.

STUDIE / ARTICLE

Neighborly Relations in Kosovo and Metohija between the Two World Wars – Examples of Family Cooperatives (*porodične zadruge*)[1]

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Neighborly relations in Kosovo and Metohija between the two world wars – examples of family cooperatives (*porodične zadruge*)

In Kosovo and Metohija, the patriarchal way of life prevailed between the two world wars, so the population was organized into the traditional tribes, *fis*, and family cooperatives. These communities represented economic and social units in which each member had a specific role, among other things, in preserving and nurturing traditions and customs. In Metohija, Albanian family cooperatives had up to 80 or even more members. There were also dual-faith cooperatives (Catholic and Islamic) in which special attention was paid to customs and religious obligations. The members of the family cooperative formed one blood community, kindred (*fis*), and members did not marry each other as long as there was an awareness of their common origin. Under the influence of agrarian reform, industrialization, and modernization, but also the aspirations of the members of the cooperative

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for personal income, these family cooperatives were subdivided into smaller families. This affected the size of their property holdings, which became smaller. The awareness of kinship among Albanians was much stronger than among Serbs, so the cooperative remained among them longer. In the years preceding the Second World War, due to the process of modernization, many family cooperatives broke up into smaller families.

Keywords: neighborhood; Kosovo and Metohija; family cooperatives; tradition; interwar period 1918–1941

Introduction

In the period between the two world wars (1918–1941), a patriarchal system of social relations prevailed in Kosovo and Metohija, which expressed the population's moral understandings, social and economic organization, and artistic feelings, which they expressed through poetry and decorative arts. The most obvious characteristic of this patriarchal regime was the social and economic organization in the form of tribes, fraternities (*bratstva*), and family cooperatives (*porodične zadruge*).[2]

In my paper, I will deal with family cooperatives in the period between the two world wars, analyzing the topic on the basis of scholarly historiographical and ethnographic studies, travelogues, statistical materials, and the period press. Grigorije Božović was one of the most renowned Serbian interwar writers, and his travelogues are important for researchers studying the interwar period. Božović's stories mainly focus on Kosovo and Metohija, but he also deals with Macedonia. Rebecca West's *Black Lamb, Gray Falcon* is an important travelogue of Yugoslavia, and it also covers everyday life in Kosovo and Metohija. Two Englishwomen who traveled in the Balkan Slavic countries in the second half of the 19th century, Georgina Muir Mackenzie and Adelina Paulina Irby, challenged prejudices about the Slavs as a "wild" people and introduced the English to a people that most knew nothing about. Edit Durham is also a notable travel writer, and she especially became known for her anthropological observations about the life of Serbs and Albanians from the beginning of the 20th century. (However, some Serbian historians believe that after visiting the Albanian territory she became a lobbyist in support of

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2   Jovan CVIJIĆ, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje: osnove antropogeografije* (Beograd: Marso, 2011), p. 122.

Albanian independence).[3] The ethnological books and papers about Kosovo and Metohija by Tatomir Vukanović, who concentrated on the history, folklore, and culture of inhabitants of Yugoslavia in general and the Kosovo and Metohija in particular, are another indispensable source. Atanasije Urošević was a Serbian geographer and ethnologist who made a great contribution to the study of the history of Kosovo and Metohija with his studies of the ethnic structure, ethnic processes, settlements, villages, and families in these regions. Branislav Nušić was a highly respected writer and consul in Bitola, Skopje, Thessaloniki, Serez, and Pristina, so his writings (ethnography and personal diaries) have also been very important for my research. Adam Pribićević was a publisher, writer, and politician. His book *From Gentleman to Peasant* shows his daily life as a settler in Kosovo and Metohija. Vladan Jovanović's recent research focuses on southern Serbia and the period between the two world wars, relying on archival material from Serbia and the region. From the statistical sources, I should single out the results of the population census that were significant for the structure of the population in this area. Press like the *Southern Review* (*Južni pregled*) and *Vardar* gave us significant data for the daily life of the population.

This paper is divided into several sections to provide a logical structure for readers. In the first part, which discusses family cooperatives, I will analyze their presence, number of members, prevalence, significance, and the differences among them. I will also examine categories of members within these cooperatives and their roles in the household. At the end of this section, I will discuss how and why these cooperatives began breaking up. I will also analyze the smaller families that emerged from the cooperative households. In a special section, I will provide a brief analysis of Albanian *fis* in Kosovo and Metohija in this period and their mutual relations. I will dedicate one section to domestic life, housekeeping, and hygiene as important aspects of each household's living conditions, and there I will analyze the way of life, the types of houses, the conditions in which people lived, and also their social connections. The final section is dedicated to the modernization of houses and living conditions, because the way of life began to change in the years approaching the Second World War, although the modernization process proceeded slowly because the population's mindset was closed to novelties.

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3   Aleksandar RASTOVIĆ, "Meri Daram o Srbima," *Istorijski časopis* 51/2004, pp. 129–155.

Family cooperatives

Blood relatives were considered members of the same family, and they formed cooperatives. The family cooperative was one of the remnants of the traditional clan system of the Serbian people. Several generations descended from a common ancestor lived in compounds, where collective property, collective production, and use of goods and social equality of all members, which was guaranteed by custom, were preserved.[4] Family cooperatives were still prevalent in the 19th century, and they persisted into the 1930s in Kosovo and Metohija (cooperatives in Turkish *kalabaluk* and in Albanian *shpijanik*).[5]

The sources generally agree that cooperative life was better preserved among Albanians in Metohija, where there were Albanian cooperatives with large numbers of members. Milenko Filipović mentions that in Istok, in 1931, there was an Albanian cooperative comprising over 80 members who were able to marry each other.[6] Around Peć and Djakovica some of the Albanian cooperatives had 90 members each.[7] Mirko Barjaktarović states that in 1940 the Tahir Shehua family cooperative from the village of Planeja near Prizren had about 100 members who lived in five houses with thirty rooms.[8] The average number of members in Serbian cooperatives in Kosovo and Metohija was around 15. In the mountain villages of Stari Kolašin in 1933 the Serbian cooperatives were better preserved than in the lower villages, and they averaged 25–30 members. However, there were also exceptions among Kosovo Serbs. According to Mirko Barjaktarović, in the village of Labljana the cooperative of Dimitrije Stojanović Borgović had 93 members in 1932.[9] Atanasije Urošević also provides an example from 1938 in which Serbs had slightly more family members than Albanians: in the Sirinićka župa region there was an

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4   Vidosava NIKOLIĆ-STOJANČEVIĆ, *Etnološka proučavanja Srba u Metohiji* (Leposavić: Institut za srpsku kulturu – Priština, 2003), pp. 11–27.

5   Mitar VLAHOVIĆ, "Etnološka promatranja na Kosovu polju," *Južni pregled* 12 (decembar 1930), pp. 574–577.

6   Milenko S. FILIPOVIĆ, *Različita etnološka građa sa Kosova i Metohije* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1967), pp. 50–52.

7   Petar VLAHOVIĆ, "Etnološke odrednice Kosova i Metohije," in *Kosovo i Metohija u svetlu etnologije: zbornik radova*, ed. Mirjana MENKOVIĆ (Beograd: Etnografski muzej – Muzej u Prištini: Centar za očuvanje nasleđa Kosova i Metohije – Mnemosyne, 2004), pp. 220–228.

8   Mirko BARJAKTAROVIĆ, "O porodičnim zadrugama na Kosovu i Metohiji," in *Kosovo i Metohija u svetlu etnologije: zbornik radova*, pp. 328–353.

9   Ibidem, pp. 328–353.

Albanian family cooperative that had 33 members, and a Serbian one with 42. Until 1934, there was a huge cooperative in this area (the Serb Durlević family's cooperative in Drajkovac, which had 106 members); however, it split that year and ended up with 99 members.[10] The Durlevićs came from the tribes of Šalja, Beriša, and Krasnići. Some interesting details about them are mentioned in the magazine *Vardar*. They spoke Serbian, but pretended to be Albanians, emphasizing "I am a Serb, but Šalja." No administration could "impose Serbism on them, because there was no administration on Shara": "It was a completely autonomous part of Yugoslavia in which the whole world is a native." When a clerk or district chief came to the village, it was an event. The Durlevićs had 45 hectares of land, which they had not acquired through agrarian reform, and they did not even believe that they would get it (they said "This is Kosovo"). They had their 200 sheep, a mill, a forest, a church, and a cemetery.[11]

The population of Kosovo and Metohija considered family cooperatives to be very important. Their birth rate was high, so it can be assumed that they felt it was better to raise large numbers of children at home within the cooperative. Mirko Barjaktarović also draws this conclusion when he points out that a family with few members was called a "solitude" (*samotinja*).[12] He also tells readers that family co-operatives were closed, that they kept their members and traditions, and he describes the duties assigned to each member. For Albanians, the cooperative was "a small state that guarded its borders, had its own customs, and where anyone who could go to war was a soldier."[13] Immovable property (houses, other buildings, and land), as well as livestock, and money and debts were held in common. Barjaktarović states that each member received what he needed (food, clothing, shoes), and smokers also got tobacco from the cooperative property.[14]

An interesting phenomenon were dual-faith cooperatives, which consisted of members of the Catholic and Islamic faiths, because some members had been "Turkified" in the past and had kept their faith (Milisav Lutovac noted such a case

10 Atanasije UROŠEVIĆ, *O Kosovu: gradovi, naselja i drugi antropogeografski spisi* (Priština: Narodna i univerzitetska biblioteka "Ivo Andrić", 2009), pp. 240–242.

11 *Vardar*, 4 January 1934, p. 12.

12 Mirko BARJAKTAROVIĆ, "O porodičnim zadrugama na Kosovu i Metohiji," pp. 328–353.

13 Archive of Serbia Belgrade (furthermore AS), Fund Security Information Agency, folder 112, Mirko BARJAKTAROVIĆ, *Život i običaji Arbanasa od dolaska Turaka do naših dana.*

14 Mirko BARJAKTAROVIĆ, "O porodičnim zadrugama na Kosovu i Metohiji," pp. 328–353.

in 1936 in the Metohijan village of Kosurić).[15] This is also confirmed by Mirko Barjaktarović's research. He states that in households like this, there was exceptional attention to the customs and religious obligations of those of other faiths, primarily because they were close relatives, and also because of their shared economic interests.[16]

In each family cooperative, members were assigned responsibilities according to their ages, and they also had special names or titles in accordance with their roles. In his research, Tatomir Vukanović shows us the titles and divisions of work and obligations within the cooperative. At the head of the cooperative were the host and the hostess. This elder managed all the adult men from the cooperative. He took care of the house, organized household chores, and his family. Then there were names in the family for men and women by age. They called newborns, infants, and small children "crazy." A "child" was 5 to 9 years old. From the age of 10 to 15, youths were called "boy" or "girl." From 16 to 18, a man was a "boyfriend" and a woman was a "girl" (for marriage); a "groom" was a man when he proposed to a girl and he planned to marry her within a year, and then he was a "husband" after their wedding. A "begged girl" was the one who had been given the betrothal ring, and a "bride" bore that name for a year after entering into marriage. She became a "wife" after she gave birth to children. After the age of 50, a man became an "old man" (Gnjilane and Sredačka župa).[17]

In their study of villages, using Suvi Do, Denda, and Dželetović as examples, Denda and Dželetović-Ivanov show us shows us the strict gendered division of work in the family cooperative. These were very tiring duties because of the large number of family members in the house, and there was almost no time for rest. The organization of work was determined by the older members of the cooperative. Men did physically harder jobs, and the women were housewives working in shifts. Their housework included preparing food, making clothes, and giving birth and raising children. Women did not engage in field work, but they did garden chores and in many cases also worked with the poultry and livestock. They also picked fruit, harvested grain, and cut lawn grass, and hay and clover. They carried water from wells, often from neighbors' homesteads, because not every house had its own. They used a lard-based soap for washing laundry, which they made using soda

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15 Milisav LUTOVAC, *Gora i Opolje: antropogeografska ispitivanja* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka, 1955), p. 23.

16 Mirko BARJAKTAROVIĆ, "O porodičnim zadrugama na Kosovu i Metohiji," pp. 328–353.

17 Tatomir VUKANOVIĆ, *Srbi na Kosovu*, I (Vranje: Nova Jugoslavija, 1986), pp. 223–225.

ash. The women sewed and made their own clothes, and also mended them. They got up early, and in the evening, they lit kerosene lamps and went to bed late. In winter, they pickled cabbage, dried cheese, prepared butter by putting milk in a "stick" (churn) and stirring until they got butter. They kneaded bread in a wooden vessel called *naćva*, and baked it in ovens built from bricks in which *tala* (corn) or straw was burned. They usually baked five pans of bread at a time. They rarely visited women in other households, because they did not have enough time to rest. When it was market day, they went shopping, but only if they could also sell some of their own products.[18]

Women had many jobs in the house and strictly defined obligations in life. A female child was "someone else's burden" or "someone else's bone" because from the moment of her engagement, she belonged to her husband's home and family, and the girl's family had no obligations to her (except in the case of her husband's death). From the moment of marriage, a woman was obliged to contribute with her work, and to give birth and raise children, but she did not have the right to appropriate what she produced, or even the children she gave birth to and raised. Female children did not have the right to inherit property, because they moved to another house upon marriage. The women in the family cooperative did not have the right to make decisions, and obedience was expected from them without discussion. After the division of the cooperatives this began to changing: husbands consulted with their wives on various issues, but the wives still lacked any right to decide. In such a traditional environment, the role of a woman was reduced primarily to the role of a mother, so it's logical that only a very few women did not participate in childbirth. During her trip to Kosovo and Metohija, Rebecca West concluded that because these women were destined to give birth and raise children, they paid little attention to themselves and their appearance. She describes how she was very impressed by the "beautiful young woman" she met in Priština, in a clean dressing room, but "she seemed somewhat neglected because she forgot she had to save her womb."[19]

As in any patriarchal society, as a rule, children had to respect their parents. Tatomir Vukanović describes that the host could punish his children, but they were not allowed to "raise a hand" against him, and this also applied to a married son if they lived together in a community.[20]

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18 Petar DENDA – Pavle DŽELETOVIĆ-IVANOV, *Suvi Do* (Beograd: Odbor za proučavanje sela SANU, 1993), pp. 37–39.
19 Rebeka WEST, *Crno jagnje i sivi soko: putovanje kroz Jugoslaviju* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 2000), pp. 672–673.
20 Tatomir VUKANOVIĆ, *Srbi na Kosovu*, I, pp. 223–225.

The patriarchal cooperative kept and nurtured folk tales, charms, curses, oaths, toasts, riddles, sayings, question-asking games, and proverbs, as well as its customs and beliefs.[21] Milisav Lutovac gives the example of the people in Gora preserving their traditions, especially singing songs. They sang when they left and when they returned from work in the fields. The women sang when they knitted and embroidered handicrafts. The inhabitants of Gora had a very developed cultural and social life, and all the songs were a reflection of their way of life; that is, they sang about going to work abroad (*pečalba*).[22]

The disintegration of family cooperatives was influenced primarily by the agrarian reform and colonization in Kosovo and Metohija that began after the Balkan Wars and was definitely regulated by laws passed in the 1930s, but also by the strengthening of the aspirations of individual members of the cooperative to dispose of their personal earnings independently. We can also see data on the breakups of family cooperatives reflected in census data, which can be deduced by the reduction of the average household size (while the number of households was growing). The number of households in the territory of Kosovo and Metohija in 1921 was 84,889, and in 1931 it was 108,761 (in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia the number of households in 1921 was 2,347,879, and in 1931 it was 2,709,309).[23] In addition to family members, in 1921 and 1931 all persons who lived in the household were counted, regardless of their relationship with the elder.[24] The disintegration of family cooperatives can also be observed when analyzing the size of the properties, which were becoming smaller over time: ownership structure data from 1931 indicates that 37.72 % of farms had holdings with an area of 2 to 5 hectares.[25]

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21 Zoran VUKADINOVIĆ – Milovan J. BOGAVAC, *Srpska prosveta i kultura u Kosovskoj Mitrovici* (Priština: Institut za srpsku kulturu – Prizren: Učiteljski fakultet, 2001), pp. 149–156.

22 Milisav LUTOVAC, *Gora i Opolje: antropogeografska ispitivanja*, pp. 43–44, 54–55.

23 *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31 marta 1931 godine*. Knj. 1, Prisutno stanovništvo, broj kuća i domaćinstava (Beograd: Opšta državna statistika, 1937), p. XI; *Vardar*, 9 July 1933, vol. 99, p. 7.

24 Vladimir SIMEUNOVIĆ, *Stanovništvo Jugoslavije i socijalističkih republika: 1921–1961: ukupno stanovništvo, polna i starosna struktura* (Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1964), p. 11, 31–32, 36.

25 In Kosovo and Metohija, out of 64,900 households, 3,100 were without land; i.e., up to 0.51 hectares; 4,000 with 0.51 to 1.0 hectares; 9,300 with 101 to 2.0 hectares; 24,300 with 2.01 to 5.0 hectares; 16,800 with 5.01 to 10 hectares; and with over 10 hectares there were 7,400 families. Thus, 62.6% or two thirds of agricultural households lived on a property with less than 5 hectares (Momčilo ISIĆ, "Sitnoposedništvo kao kočnica ekonomske modernizacije Srbije u prvoj polovini XX veka," in *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima 20. veka*, ed. Latinka PEROVIĆ – Marija OBRADOVIĆ – Dubravka STOJANOVIĆ (Beograd: Institut za noviju

During the division of the family cooperative, first all the property was divided into equal parts (land, house, garden, buildings, and household), and finally the debt was divided. In Prizren Podgora, the division of cooperatives was determined by the host, and during the division, godparents were also shared.[26] Barjaktarović states that in cases where the division was difficult, they called older neighbors, and individuals were apportioned parts of the property by gambling.[27] Atanasije Urošević provides an example of one family cooperative – Durlević – in Drajkovac. When that large family had to divide in 1934, they called on prominent Serbs to help them, but when this attempt did not succeed, they invited Albanians, who contributed to the division.[28]

Even when family cooperatives were divided, the members mostly still lived in the same building, divided by partitions.[29] Milenko Filipović confirms in his research that even where cooperatives began to decline, family relations remained as they had been before in cooperatives when it came to the division and distribution of labor, inheritance, order of marriage, eldership, and so on. The son did not leave his parents' house to go somewhere else in the village, but stayed there until his parents died. Then he decided whether to remain there or move away. The community sharing their property and labor was so important that often the families that made up the cooperative also shared houses and kept all or part of the entire property and thus created a "cooperative".[30] This confirms how strong the patriarchal relations were, as well as the traditional preservation of family ties, even though modernization tried to penetrate and there were pressures to create new, smaller families.

In his studies, Milenko Filipović states how new groups with their own customs emerged from family cooperatives, and he highlights the differences between Serbs, Turks, and Albanians. In the Gornja Morava region, if one cooperative was divided, new families would emerge from it. They became "sections" (*odeljaci*); these sections formed one blood community or clan (*kabil*, *fis*, relatives or kinship),

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istoriju Srbije, 2018), pp. 101–111; Nikola VUČO, *Privredna istorija Jugoslavije* (Beograd: Visoka škola političkih nauka, 1962), p. 6; Ali HADRI, *Kosovo i Metohija u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji* (Beograd: b.i., 1969), pp. 57–58.

26 Milenko S. FILIPOVIĆ, *Različita etnološka građa sa Kosova i Metohije*, pp. 50–52.

27 Mirko BARJAKTAROVIĆ, "O porodičnim zadrugama na Kosovu i Metohiji," pp. 328–353.

28 Atanasije UROŠEVIĆ, *O Kosovu: gradovi, naselja i drugi antropogeografski spisi*, p. 243.

29 Vidosava NIKOLIĆ-STOJANČEVIĆ, *Etnološka proučavanja Srba u Metohiji*, pp. 11–27.

30 Milenko S. FILIPOVIĆ, *Etničke prilike u Južnoj Srbiji* (Skoplje: Štamparija "Južna Srbija", 1937), pp. 451–457.

and members did not enter into marital relations as long as there was an awareness of common origin. Each family had its own plot in the cemetery. Members of one clan who lived in the same village were usually grouped together and their houses formed one *mahala* (in Albanian *maala*, in Turkish *takim*) which was named after the clan itself. Serbs had fewer houses in their extended families because of difficult circumstances and because many of them moved out of the area. Among the Turks, the kinship was more narrowly defined than among Serbs and Albanians (up to three degrees *laube*). Albanians had large families. The practice of polygamy as well as the high birth rate contributed to the strengthening of the Albanian clans.[31]

Albanian *fis*

When Albanians from northern Albania arrived in Podrima they continued to adhere to their customs and forms of organizations. One of these were the landscape units, and another was the *barjak* (flag), a territorial military unit. The barjak contained several *fis* that could be, but were not necessarily blood relatives. Among Catholic Albanians, it was *vlaznia* (brotherhood). The term *ndami* (sections) had the same meaning; i.e., those created by division. A narrower family or families who had a common origin and lived together in the same village in the same neighborhood were said to be a "garden"(*bašta*), but this term also referred to more extended families; i.e., branches that lived in different villages. *Galap* (Arabic "surname") was also used to refer to the fraternity. All those who were of the same lineage from the same ancestor and bore the same family name were considered mutual relatives (*kusherin*). There were many Muslim Serbs in Podrima who considered themselves members of the Gash tribe, so they called the Muslims of that tribe *kusherins* (relatives).[32] The Muslim clans mostly took the names of the great Albanian *fis*, so they were considered to be connected to the fis in the Albanian homeland. Atanasije Urošević states that the largest number of Albanian *fis* were in the areas north of the Sharr Mountains and Skoplje Montenegro; Albanians had immigrated there from Skadar Malesia, Luma and Mirdita, an area characterized by this form of tribal organization in northern Albania.[33] In Kosovo and Metohija

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31 Ibidem, pp. 451–457.

32 Milenko S. FILIPOVIĆ, *Različita etnološka građa sa Kosova i Metohije*, pp. 52–56; Tatomir VUKANOVIĆ, *Srbi na Kosovu*, I, pp. 223–225.

33 Atanasije UROŠEVIĆ, *Gnjilane i okolina* (Kosovska Kamenica: Lokalna kancelarija Zajednica – Beograd: Rantes – Gnjilane: Knjižara "Sveti Sava", 2001), p. 77. For more on *fis* in Albania,

in the period between the two world wars, the Albanian *fis* ranked according to their power were: Krasnići, Gash, Beriš, Sop, Šalja, Tsač, Krue Zi, Bitić, Klimente, Škrelje, Kastrati, Hoti, Mzi, Društin, Merturi, and Kuči.[34] Larger groups of the same *fis* were in Gnjilane Karadag (Berisha), Gnjilane Golak (Krasnići), and the southern foothills of Kopaonik towards Mitrovica and Vučitrn (Shala). Krasnići also took place around Kačanik, although there were other *fis* among them. Later, the *fis* lost its legal significance, and only their names survived. The tribe belonged to the nearest family, and new opportunities made the feelings of solidarity that developed within a village and between families different in nature than they had been before.[35]

Atanasije Urošević states that within Albanian *fis*, members did not marry each other, although in some places this rule was violated, especially because Sharia allows fourth-degree relatives to marry (for example, one's paternal uncle's brother and maternal uncle's sister). There was a ban on endogamy in the village even when not all the residents were from the same *fis*;[36] however, this ban on endogamy could not be maintained among Albanian Catholics, because they avoided marriage with Serbian Catholics and could marry even within the family itself when kinship was more distant than the fourth degree. For the same reasons, endogamy within the genus also existed among Catholic Serbs.[37]

The *fis* was said to be "above faith," and members helped each other and were obliged to take blood revenge. Each *fis* had its own chief, whom they called *baryaktar* or *aga*. That title was not hereditary, and usually these were men of great moral authority who were consulted by people not only from his own *fis*, but also from others. Among the Albanians in the vicinity of Prizren and in Metohija, some prominent people and some of the chiefs were considered senior chiefs (*plakudheut*, *plaku e ketij dheut*, parish or provincial elder). Their kind of leader was not elected, but, like the *baryaktar* or *aga*, he was a man of great moral authority and his title was not hereditary. A man like this was approached for advice by people from

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customs, and picturesque descriptions of Albanian life at the beginning of the 20th century, see: Mary Edith DURHAM, *The Burden of the Balkans* (S.I.: Kessinger Publishing, 2010).

34 Tatomir VUKANOVIĆ, *Drenica: druga Srpska Sveta Gora: antropogeografska i etnološka razmatranja na terenu i u narodu vršena 1934–1937.godine* (Priština: Muzej: Narodna i univerzitetska biblioteka, 1998), pp. 129–139.

35 Atanasije UROŠEVIĆ, *Gornja Morava i Izmornik: antropogeografska ispitivanja* (Beograd: Narodna štamparija, 1931), pp. 126–135.

36 Idem, *O Kosovu: gradovi, naselja i drugi antropogeografski spisi*, pp. 80–82, 240–242.

37 Idem, *Gornja Morava i Izmornik: antropogeografska ispitivanja*, pp. 126–135.

his own *fis* as well as from those outside it, especially when "it came to blood" or dying, division of property, disputes over the land and other serious matters. These leaders adhered to the Law of Leka Dukadjini.[38] Milenko Filipović gives an example of Prenk Tair from the village of Dolja in Has, who had such a reputation among the inhabitants of Podrima; without his participation no trial of Catholics could be conducted in the Đakovica, Peć, or Prizren districts, but his reputation declined because he once received a bribe and approved of the kidnapping of a girl; and soon after this he died (1938 or 1939).[39]

The Serbs who became Albanians bore the names of the *fis* who had influenced them to convert to Islam or to become Albanians. The clans and fraternities were very branched. The Krasnići, for example, were not only in northern Albania, but also in Metohija, Drenica, Kosovo, and Gornja Morava. Each *fis* bore the name of the one from the home area that had been its ancestor; that is, the name of the *fis* in which the ancestors became brothers. This means that the descendants of Albanianized Serbs and Romani, as a rule, bore the names of original Albanian *fis* (Gash, Berish) because their ancestor had placed himself under the protection of a certain *fis* or entered the *fis* that had the strongest influence in converting him to Islam or convincing him to become Albanian.[40] They completely identified with these clans and adopted their characteristics (way of dressing, behavior etc.) Due to the fact that in Kosovo and in the surrounding areas the *fis* also celebrated *slavas* (celebrations dedicated to a particular saint), the opinion arose that members of the same *fis* are all those whose *slava* was the same. This assumption was not only adhered to when people who had converted to Islam entered the *fis*, but it was passed on to the Serbs who remained in Orthodoxy. Thus, the Nočići Serbs in Plementina thought they were Krasnići because they celebrated Vrače; the Ćosići in Mirač were counted among the Gashi because they celebrated Saint Paraskeva's Day, etc. It is interesting that Orthodox Romani in some villages were also tied to certain *fis*. In Glogovac, some Romani pretended to be members of Shala, and some pretended to be members of Kliment. This affiliation was not based on the *slava* they celebrated, nor on the reliance on their neighbors, but "it is possible that the Albanians gave it to them because of their miserable appearance, because for the Kosovo Albanians they are the poorest tribes in northern Albania."[41]

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38 See more in: *Kanon Leke Dukađinija* (Podgorica: CID, 2011).
39 Milenko S. FILIPOVIĆ, *Različita etnološka građa sa Kosova i Metohije*, p. 59.
40 Idem, *Etničke prilike u Južnoj Srbiji*, pp. 487–491.
41 Atanasije UROŠEVIĆ, *O Kosovu: gradovi, naselja i drugi antropogeografski spisi*, pp. 366–370.

Tatomir Vukanović states that during the conversion of Serbs to Albanian *fis*, it was not known whether a ceremony was held, while a religious rite (*kurban*) was performed among Albanians and a great feast was held.[42]

Housing and hygienic conditions

The basic form of the house in Kosovo was a ground floor house (in Gnjilane *dolma*) that had two sections with a porch (*ayat*) in front of them (the Moravian type of house), and there were also a smaller number of two-story houses (Vardar-type houses). They were mostly made of wood and covered with mud, while the houses made of hard material (brick or stone) were located in places that were connected to the administrative centers by roads. Roof tiles were the main covering material,[43] and later those who had been in America (only Orthodox) covered their roofs with sheet metal. In the description of her journey through Peć, Mary Durham tells us that "most of the houses are built of rubble and mud and they are all real shanties."[44] By the Second World War, houses like these gradually disappeared, and the buildings lost their function, because family cooperatives disintegrated, giving way to houses where the changes were most often reflected in the addition of the entrance porch.[45]

Milisav Lutovac gives an example of interior furnishing of a house in Ibarski Kolašin. The houses were in two parts – a "house" with a fireplace, and a "room". The fireplace was only later replaced by a tin stove, the so-called "French." The furniture and utensils were very simple and sparse. There was a fireplace in the middle of the room, and chains held a hanging cauldron above it. The fireplace later moved from the middle to the wall. There was a "pot" (*crepnja*) and some kind of oven called "peer" (*vršnja*) for baking bread by the fireplace. Next to the fireplace were low, small, three-legged stools. On the wall was a box for salt (*soljarnik*) and a *lojčarik* for cutlery. At one end, there were *naćve* for flour and bread mixing. There was also a bed and a trunk in the room. If the bed was made of planks and had its

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42 Tatomir VUKANOVIĆ, *Drenica: druga Srpska Sveta Gora*, pp.129–139.
43 Milenko S. FILIPOVIĆ, *Različita etnološka gradja sa Kosova i Metohije*, pp. 30–35.
44 Meri DARAM, *Kroz srpske zemlje* (Beograd: Slobodna Evropa, 1997), p. 246.
45 Ljiljana TOJAGA VASIĆ, "Prilog proučavanju seoske arhitekture severnog dela Kosova", in *Kosovo i Metohija u svetlu etnologije: zbornik radova*, ed. Mirjana MENKOVIĆ (Beograd: Etnografski muzej – Muzej u Prištini: Centar za očuvanje nasleđa Kosova i Metohije – Mnemosyne, 2004), pp. 305–317.

feet driven into the floor it was called a *tronj*, and if it was bought from a carpenter and movable then it was called a "bed". In the vicinity of Prizren straw was placed on the bed, and it was covered with a sheet of hemp (*penjava*) or a quilt made of leather (*plja*). Towards the bed in the wall was a *dolap*, a recess with a door for holding food and drinks. In Kosovo, there were porches where individual families in the cooperative could sleep, called *klijet*, *klet*, *ižina*, *zgrada*, *vajat*, or *ćiler*. There was not supposed to be a fire on the porch, and if a fire was lit there it was a sign that the married family member had separated from his parents.[46]

Atanasije Urošević discusses the differences between Serbian and Albanian courtyards, and describes the Muslim gardens, whose beauty he emphasizes. The area where the house and other buildings in Kosovo were, was called *obor* (*dvor*, *avlija*). There was a thick, high fence around the barn with spikes placed on top, and Albanians covered their walls mud and reeds as well as placing stakes and spikes on top. There was a garden in one part of the yard. The Albanians had double-winged gates with a small door – *kapidžik*. Two doors led from the yard to the street a large one to let cars and cattle through and a smaller "door" (*vratnica*) for the family. In the vicinity of Prizren there was a type of two-story house with an open balcony facing toward the yard, as in Povardarje.[47] Describing family cooperatives, Mirko Barjaktarović states what was in the yard that could be used by all members of the cooperative. The facilities included cattle pens, a grain barn, a fruit dryer, a well or a pump, a place where work tools stand, a corn basket, a bread bakery, a place for wood, and two toilets (male and female).[48]

Ljiljana Tojaga Vasić, describing the rural architecture of the northern part of Kosovo, compares Serbian and Albanian houses and comes to the conclusion that the differences were not great. In Metohija, she says, there was no difference between Albanian and Serbian houses. These were one-story buildings, mostly made from stone, and later from brick, due to the family arrangement and for better security. There were only doors on the ground floor and small windows with heavy wooden shutters on the floor above it. As mentioned above, the yard around the house usually had a high wall or fence around it. There were few side buildings, and usually everything was kept in the house. The ground floor of the house served as a cattle barn. From there, stairs led to the first floor, where there was a "house"

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46 Milisav LUTOVAC, *Ibarski Kolašin: antropogeografska ispitivanja* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka, 1954), pp. 97–102.

47 Atanasije UROŠEVIĆ, *O Kosovu: gradovi, naselja i drugi antropogeografski spisi*, pp. 13–14.

48 Mirko BARJAKTAROVIĆ, "O porodičnim zadrugama na Kosovu i Metohiji," pp. 328–353.

with a fireplace, sleeping quarters, a guest room, and a dairy or a pantry. Muslim houses differed only in their internal layout. They had two rooms: a *selamluk* and *haremluk*, and where there was only one room, it was divided by *kanats* – movable partitions. Every Muslim house had a *hamamdzik*, a small bathroom. This was also the case in Catholic houses, where the floorplan was the same as in Muslim houses. Upstairs, attached to the outside, was a toilet made of planks, with a small window. Households had very few items in them. Vessels used for food could be wooden, earthen, or metal (those that went into the fire), and there were also vessels made from gourds, such those that held water, wine, or brandy. In the women's chambers, there were chests that held their dresses. Those chests were brought into the household by brides. The same was with the Serbs. Bedding was kept on top of these crates during the day. As a decoration, large potatoes, apples, corn cobs, etc. were hung around the room. There was a large bed– the *tronj*, a chest – *sandak* – for some of the clothing and linens, jewelry, and money, and some other clothing items were hung on large wooden pegs nailed to the wall.[49] Branislav Nušić describes the details of the decoration in Serbian houses, including the fact that each one had a religious section on one wall. Cups, plates, nice soap, and apples or quinces were lined up on the shelf. On the east side, in a niche in the wall, there was an icon, picture of a household saint, and rosaries, and a lamp was lit there every Sunday and on holidays.[50]

Mirko Barjaktarović, describing the Albanian houses in Djakovica, states that only rich people had a separate guest room or even special guest house. Small children slept in cradles made of boards, and the carpenters in Djakovica put various patterns on them with oil paints. In the villages around Djakovica, the guest house was a special ground floor building that had a bedroom and an entrance hall. The guest room was spacious. Next to the wall were pillows, and the floor was covered with straw; only in some houses was there a bed. In the middle of the wall was a chimney, a fireplace, which was made with patterns designed e. g. with bricks.[51]

Town houses were usually located along the street line; only Muslims built them set back from it. The newer type of town houses had an additional floor above the street, and this second floor was set at a right angle to the ground floor and had

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49 Ljiljana TOJAGA VASIĆ, "Prilog proučavanju seoske arhitekture severnog dela Kosova," pp. 305–317.
50 Branislav NUŠIĆ, *Kosovo* (Priština: Panorama, 2007), pp. 94–100.
51 Mirko BARJAKTAROVIĆ, *Život i običaji Arbanasa od dolaska Turaka do naših dana*; Milenko S. FILIPOVIĆ, *Različita etnološka građa sa Kosova i Metohije*, pp. 35–40.

arched windows and doors, but this was quite rare in relation to small inconspicuous houses with 2–3 sections.[52] Atanasije Urošević gives an example of the very typical houses in Kosovska Mitrovica, which included a house with rooms on a first floor that was set over a square base. Many such houses also had warehouses on the ground floor with arches on the doors and windows.[53] Tatomir Vukanović states that such houses also existed in other parts of Kosovo and Metohija. They had a basement, in the middle of the house there was a kitchen, about two or three rooms for the family, and one large guest room. Next to the house was a *ćenef* (toilet), which in wealthier households had a window and a brick canal with running water (Peć, Prizren). The houses mostly had dirt floors, but later plank flooring was laid down. In the town houses, a Pirot or Persian rug was placed on the wooden floor. There were curtains on the windows decorated with homemade lace. The interiors and exteriors of the houses were cleaned, washed, and painted on religious holidays.[54]

Social relations imposed on the Albanians in certain parts of Kosovo and Metohija the construction of residential building "towers" (*kullas*), with massive stone walls, square foundations, and low roof structures, in locations that could not be approached unnoticed.[55] The tower was built as a kind of fortress and was a national and religious symbol of the Albanians. Towers were particularly prominent in Drenica, Junik, Klina, Istok, and Peć (also in Montenegro, Macedonia and Turkey).[56] Grigorije Božović wrote "When Arnautin[57] crosses the threshold, he wants to be safe as if he were in a real fortress, he wants to rest carefree and flee from there only when he hears a cannon."[58] Božović also describes them as "aristocratic

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52 Atanasije UROŠEVIĆ, *O Kosovu: gradovi, naselja i drugi antropogeografski spisi*, p. 285.

53 Ibidem, pp. 343–345.

54 Tatomir VUKANOVIĆ, *Srbi na Kosovu,* II, (Vranje: Nova Jugoslavija, 1986), pp. 11–30.

55 Petar VLAHOVIĆ, "Etnološke odrednice Kosova i Metohije," p. 223.

56 Sahar RASSAM, *Traditional Houses in Western Kosovo: A Descriptive Survey of Kullas in the Municipalities of Istok and Klina* (unpublished paper) https://s3.us-east-1.amazonaws.com/media.archnet.org/system/publications/contents/3336/original/DPC0961.pdf?1384774307 (accessed on 19 April 2023).

57 Arnautin is an old fashioned term for an Albanian (particularly north-Albanian) in Serbian and Montenegrin sources, as well as a Turkish ethnonym used to denote Albanians in the Ottoman Empire.

58 Albanian towers are considered monuments of residential architecture, and they were especially prevalent in the western part of Metohija. All of them were built in the 19th centuryt by wealthier people, and some have been preserved to this day (22 registered among cultural monuments after the break-up of socialist Yugoslavia). See: Branislav KRSTIĆ, *Kosovo izmedju istorijskog i etničkog prava*, (Beograd: Kuća Vid, 1994), p. 48.

castles."[59] Georgina Muir Mackenzie and Adelina Paulina Irby, who traveled through Slavic countries under Turkish rule, write about towers in their travelogues. They also describe them as defensive and that many brothers of the same parents along with their own families live in them.[60] Ljiljana Tojaga Vasić describes the interior of these houses. The windows on the ground floor were narrow slits, and the furniture within was simple. The tower had a barn on the ground floor, where large animals were housed, and on the first floor above there was a kitchen, a pantry, and a toilet (*ćenef*). If the tower had two floors above the ground floor, on the highest one there was a common men's room. The entrance was an opening in the floor through which the steps from the barn passed. The opening was a lid that closed when guests entered, so it thus gained the function of part of the floor. The most common furniture was *minderluks* (low seating beds), mattresses, and carpets. One type of fireplace was used for heating, and later it was sometimes replaced with a cast iron furnace.[61]

Mirko Barjaktarović states that with the expansion of the family cooperative, other buildings started to be built next to the tower. As the family cooperative grew, a new house would be added in the yard, ground floor or upstairs with new "apartments," a more spacious women's room, a larger kitchen, the necessary food storage, and a women's toilet. All rooms had windows, and often massive wooden shutters.[62]

Sources generally agree that the settlers[63] brought better cultural and hygienic habits. Regarding hygiene, personal cleanliness was poor, morning washing was

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59 Grigorije BOŽOVIĆ, *Slike Kosova i Metohije (putopisi i reportaže)* (Priština: NUB "Ivo Andrić", 2006), pp. 47–53.

60 Georgina Mjur MEKENZI, *Putovanje po slovenskim zemljama Turske u Evropi* (Beograd: Luxphoto: Rotary club, 2007), p. 158.

61 Ljiljana TOJAGA VASIĆ, "Prilog proučavanju seoske arhitekture severnog dela Kosova," pp. 305–317.

62 Mirko BARJAKTAROVIĆ, "O porodičnim zadrugama na Kosovu i Metohiji," pp. 328–353.

63 Settlers were colonists from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1929 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), who were settled in Kosovo and Metohija on uncultivated state land, plots abandoned by emigrants, and land confiscated from outlaws (*kachaks*). The greatest priority was given to the colonization of Metohija due to the national interest, economic needs of the population and public safety. Settlement was not easy. Adam Pribićević, one of the most famous settlers (brother of the famous Yugoslav politician Svetozar Pribićević), describes in his book *From Gentleman to Peasant* the difficulties he had to make arable land. Also, because of security, he believed that it took more courage to go to Kosovo than to go to America. At the end of 1939, the population included 9.2 % colonists. Nevertheless, colonization changed the image of Kosovo and Metohija in terms of demographic, ethnic, cultural and national aspects. See more: Božica

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superficial, and bathing was rare, except for among the settlers who paid the most attention to order and cleanliness. Bed linen was washed when it got dirty. They changed clothes once a week, and this clothing was mostly tattered and in patches. Many suffered from scabies.[64] Mitar Vlahović writes that in Sredačka Župa the food was simple and badly prepared, using a lot of salt and spices, and meat and dairy products were not sufficiently represented. Bread was the most common staple of the diet, and it made mostly from non-wheat flour, or sometimes from several types of grain.[65] Stojan Čupković emphasizes that the diet of the settlers was a little better and more generous, so the food improved a little, except for among the Albanians.[66]

Modernization of houses and living conditions

The construction of modern buildings proceeded quite slowly. The buildings were built mostly on private initiative, but not all were built according to hygiene regulations. The prevalence of poor domestic hygiene varied by geographical locality, and some of the habits were associated with the traditional patriarchal habits and traditions, and could reflect the household's economic power. Vladan Jovanović's research analyzed the results of a survey from the beginning of the 1930s, which showed that in the area of the Vardar Banovina 95 % of peasants did not whitewash their houses, 40 % slept with cattle in the same room, and 80 % did not know about soap. He concludes that almost 32 % of urban households in the Vardar Banovina

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SLAVKOVIĆ MIRIĆ, *Političke, ekonomske i kulturne prilike na Kosovu i Metohiji 1929–1941* (Beograd: Prosveta – IP Pricip, 2018), pp. 277–301; Nikola VUČO, *Poljoprivreda Jugoslavije*, (Beograd: Rad, 1958); Milivoje ERIĆ, *Agrarna reforma u Jugoslaviji 1918–1941* (Sarajevo: "Veselin Masleša", 1958); Aleksandar PAVLOVIĆ, "Prilog o ekonomsko-socijalnom položaju kolonista na Kosovu i Metohiji 1918–1941," *Arhiv* 1–2/2009, pp. 91–104; Milovan OBRADO-VIĆ, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija na Kosovu: 1918–1941* (Priština: Institut za istoriju Kosova, 1981); Vladan JOVANOVIĆ, "Tokovi i ishod međuratne kolonizacije Makedonije, Kosova i Metohije," *Tokovi istorije* 3/2006, pp. 25–44; Đorđo KRSTIĆ, *Kolonizacija u Južnoj Srbiji*, (Sarajevo: Đ. Krstić, 1928).

64 Tatomir VUKANOVIĆ, *Drenica: druga Srpska Sveta Gora: antropogeografska i etnološka razmatranja na terenu I u narodu vršena 1934–1937.godine*, pp. 161–162; *Vardar*, 6 November 1935, p. 1.

65 Mitar S. VLAHOVIĆ, *Sredačka župa* (Skoplje: Skopsko naučno društvo 1931), pp. 28–38.

66 Stojan ČUPKOVIĆ, *Dvadeset godina naše kolonizacije u Srezu Nerodimlje na Kosovu* (Beograd: Centralni higijenski zavod 1940), pp. 507–509.

lived in unhygienic buildings.[67] Radosav Purić and Kosovka Ristić researched housing conditions in Kosovo and Metohija and came to the conclusion that the houses were too small to accommodate such a large number of family members. The wooden ceilings were infested with bed bugs, and the rooms with earthen floors harbored fleas, so the occupants protected themselves from the parasites using magic or ash. The houses were usually damp all the way up to the roof – and the roofs were leaking. The yards were full of garbage, ponds, and cesspits. In Priština, there was 9.9m² of air per capita in such houses (for comparison, prison cells in Yugoslavia had to have at least 25m² of air per convict).[68] In Little Kosovo (Malo Kosovo), there was about 6.7 m² of living space per inhabitant in houses, so if a household had over six members, each had 40–50 m².[69] Adam Pribićević describes the anguish of a small peasant room "which was used for a kitchen, a bedroom, a salon, an office, a dining room, a shelter for brooding hens, newly hatched chicks, newborn calves until they dry, and so on, and is regularly packed with things and people."[70] In the *Vardar* magazine, they concluded that Serbs and Montenegrins accepted changes and the process of modernization faster than other residents of Kosovo and Metohija.[71]

Conclusion

From the sources I used in the work, I can conclude that family cooperatives survived for a long time thanks to the patriarchal way of life that was maintained in Kosovo and Metohija in the period between the two world wars. By combining travelogues with ethnographic and historiographical literature, I have described family cooperatives, their way of life, and the slow process of household disintegration. The family cooperative represented a large number of generations who had a common ancestor and lived together. According to sources, they had a large estate and a large number of members (up to 80 or more). Each family cooperative had its own business organization, which helped it to survive for many years. However, due to the agrarian reform and the aspirations of some members of the cooperative

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67 Vladan JOVANOVIĆ, *Vardarska banovina 1929–1941* (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011), pp. 548–551.
68 Radosav PURIĆ, "Stambene prilike u Južnoj Srbiji*,*" *Južni pregled* 10 (1936), pp. 324–330.
69 Kosovka RISTIĆ, *Malo Kosovo: antropogeografska studija* (Priština: s.n., 1971), pp. 183–188.
70 Adam PRIBIĆEVIĆ, *Seljak* (Zagreb: B. Miletić, 1936), p. 5.
71 *Vardar*, 9 July 1933, vol. 99, p. 7.

to manage their own earnings, the cooperative were eventually divided. Thus, smaller households were created and the estates were fragmented. Cooperatives among Albanians survived for a long time, and *fis* survived as a special organization. The *fis* is a community whose members are linked to each other as kin through the same patrilineal ancestry and live in the same territory. It has been translated in English as "tribe" or "clan." The houses and conditions in which the members of the cooperative lived were not satisfactory, especially in the countryside. According to the sources I used, the settlers brought much better cultural and hygienic habits to the area of Kosovo and Metohija. The influence of the nearby towns spread to the villages, but it went very slowly, because the peasants were hesitant in accepting the new way of life; still, the changes were certainly visible. The developments were halted by the outbreak of the Second World War, which definitely changed the way of life of the population of Kosovo and Metohija. But even today, we come across examples of Albanian family cooperatives and membership in clans or tribes.

SUMMARY

The family cooperative, in Kosovo and Metohija, represented a large number of generations who had a common ancestor and lived together. It represented the expression of the patriarchal and traditional way of life. The members of the cooperative had a large estate and a large number of members. In Metohija, Albanian family cooperatives had up to 80 members or even more. These communities represented economic and social units in which each member had a specific role, among other responsibilities, in preserving and nurturing traditions and customs. There were also dualo-faith cooperatives (Catholic and Islamic) in which special attention was paid to customs and religious obligations. However, under the influence of agrarian reform, industrialization, and modernization, as well as the aspirations of the members of the cooperative for managing their personal income, the family cooperatives were eventually divided into smaller families. The awareness of kinship among Albanians was much stronger than among Serbs, so the cooperative was kept with them longer especially in the form of *fis* (tribe or clan). The *fis* is a community whose members are linked to each other as kin through the same patrilineal ancestry and live in the same territory. The houses and conditions in which the members of the cooperative lived were not at a satisfactory level, especially in the countryside. The settlers brought much better cultural and hygienic habits to the area of Kosovo and Metohija. The influence of the nearby towns slowly spread to the villages, because the peasants were distrustful of the new way of life. After the Second World War, the way of life of the population of Kosovo and Metohija had definitely changed. Nevertheless, family cooperatives and belonging to *fis* still exist among the Albanian population in Kosovo and Metohija.

STUDIE / ARTICLE

Greek and Slavic Macedonian Emigrants in the Postwar Period: The Example of Political Refugees in Czechoslovakia

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Greek and Slavic Macedonian Emigrants in the Postwar Period: The Example of Political Refugees in Czechoslovakia

The Macedonian question was a key concern during the Greek Civil War, especially during its final phase (1946–1949). This article is based on research using primary archival material from the National Archive in Prague (Czech Republic) and on the bilingual émigré newspaper *Agonistis – Borec*. The first part of the article summarizes the contradictory approach to the Macedonian question by the Communist Party of Greece (hereinafter KKE) during different phases of the Civil War. Next, it examines the demographic structure of the Greek and Slavic Macedonian refugees, who had, after the defeat of the Greek communists, found asylum in the Soviet Union and its satellites, focusing on the example of political refugees in Czechoslovakia. After this, it focuses on the impact that important political events of this period, particularly the de-Stalinization and the removal of Nikos Zachariadis from the leadership of the KKE, had on the relations between Greek refugees and Slavic Macedonian refugees, mainly in the light of the

establishment of the "Ilinden" organization, the education of refugee children, and the prospect of their repatriation.

Key words: Greek Emigration; Macedonian question; Slavic Macedonian emigration; Greek Civil War; KKE

To this day, the Greek Civil War (1946–1949) remains one of the longest and bloodiest conflicts in Europe's postwar history. The extent of international intervention in this conflict can probably only be compared to the wide international involvement in the Spanish Civil War in the mid-1930s and later to the international intervention in Korea. The last act of the Greek Civil War was played out in late August 1949 in the Grammos-Vitsi mountain range near the Greek-Albanian and Greek-North Macedonian borders. In other words, the last round of this conflict took place in areas inhabited by a compact Slavic Macedonian population, which made up the largest minority in pre-war Greece. This war is considered to be the first open conflict of the Cold War.[1] The end of the Civil War led, among other things, to the forced displacement of nearly eighty thousand Greek inhabitants to the Soviet Union and "people's-democratic" countries. The armed units of the communist Democratic Army of Greece (hereinafter DSE) headed to Tashkent, Uzbekistan, and the second most numerous group went to post-February 1948 Czechoslovakia.[2] This resulted in the formation of new Greek communities in Czechoslovakia as well as other Central and East European countries (especially in

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1   From the vast bibliography on the Greek Civil War and its international dimension, see, for example: John O. IATRIDES – Linda WRIGLEY (eds.), *Greece at the crossroads: the Civil War and its legacy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); Mark MAZOWER (ed.), *After the War was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation and State in Greece, 1943–1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); David CLOSE (ed.), *The Greek Civil War. Studies of Polarization* (London: Routledge, 1993); Stathis KALYVAS – Nikos MARANTZIDIS, *Emfylia Pathi* (Athens: Metaixmio, 2015); Jordan BAEV, *Mia matia ap' exo: O emfylios polemos stin Ellada* (Athens: Filistor, 1999); Pavel HRADEČNÝ, "Zdrženlivý internacionalismus. Občanská válka v Řecku a československá materiální pomoc Demokratické armádě Řecka," *Soudobé dějiny* 10 (2003), No 1–2, pp. 58–92; Konstantinos TSIVOS, "The Greek Civil War in the Czech Press," *Neograeca Bohemica* 15 (2015), pp. 65–87.
2   Riki van BOESCHOTEN, "'Enotita kai Adelfotita': Slavomakedones kai Ellines politiki prosfyges stin Anatoliki Evropi," in eds. Eftychia VUTIRA – Vasilis DALKAVUKIS – Nikos MARANTZIDIS – Maria BONTILA, *To oplo parapoda. Oi politiki prosfyjes tu elliniku emfyliu polemu stin A natoliki Evropi.* (Thessaloniki: Ekdosis Panepistimiu Makedonias, 2005), pp. 49–51.

the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and East Germany) which are to this day considered an integral part of the greater Greek diaspora.[3]

The specificity of this Greek political emigration lies in the fact that it occurred after the extensive population movements had already ended in the rest of Europe. While Greeks had never been an ethnic group that traditionally inhabited the Czech lands, they represented the largest group of "friendly foreigners" in socialist Czechoslovakia.[4] The new communist regime in Czechoslovakia received the incoming émigrés from Greece very positively, as they represented ideological comrades with the aura of fighters who had fought hand-in-hand against Anglo-American imperialists. Initially, their stay in Czechoslovakia was considered temporary, but the Cold War atmosphere and the different political orientations of Greece and Czechoslovakia convinced the Czechoslovak authorities as well as the Greek communist leadership that the emigrants' stay in Czechoslovakia would be prolonged. In this article, I endeavour to explain the most important stages of the life of the Slavic Macedonians within the framework of Greek emigration in Czechoslovakia, especially the question of their coexistence with their Greek compatriots, but also with the Czech(oslovak) majority society.[5] I will combine historical and social approaches to the subject. The article draws mainly on archival materials stored in the National Archive in Prague (NAP), especially the archives of the International Section of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Fund 100/3) for the Greek refugees and the relevant materials stored in Klement Gottwald's Fund (100/24). Furthermore, it is based on the bilingual émigré newspaper *Agonis-*

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3   For Greek emigration see Eftychia VUTIRA – Vasilis DALKAVUKIS – Nikos MARAN-TZIDIS – Maria BONTILA (eds.), *To oplo parapoda. I politiki prosfyges tu elliniku emfyliu polemu stin Anatoliki Evropi.* (Thessaloniki: Ekdosis Panepistimiu Makedonias, 2005); Katerina TSEKOU, *Ellines politiki prosfyges stin Anatoliki Evropi.* (Athens: Alexandria, 2013); Magdalena Semczyszyn, *The Polish People´s Republic and the Greek Civil War* (Szczecin: IPN, 2016); Gavrilis LAMBATOS, *Ellines politikoi prosfyges stin Taskendi (1949–1957).* [Greek political refugees in Taskend] (Athens: Koukkida, 2020).

4   For Greek emigration in Czechoslovakia, see P. HRADEČNÝ, *Řecká komunita v Československu. Její vznik a počáteční vývoj (1948–1954)* (Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny, 2000); K. TSIVOS, *Řecká emigrace v Československu (1948–1968) – Od jednoho rozštěpení k druhému* (Praha: Dokořán, 2012); Kateřina KRÁLOVÁ – K. TSIVOS, *Vyschly nám slzy... Řečtí uprchlíci v Československu* (Praha: Dokořán, 2012); Antula BOTU – Milan KONEČNÝ, *Řečtí uprchlíci. Kronika řeckého lidu v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku 1948–1989* (Praha: Řecká obec Praha, 2005); Jana POLÁKOVÁ, *Dva životy, dvě kultury, dvě země* (Brno: Nadace Hellenica, 2020).

5   The vast majority of the refugees settled in the Czech lands. Only a few refugees settled in Slovakia.

tis – Borec and on the bibliography I referred to in the first footnote. For the Slavic-speaking refugees I use the terms "Macedonians" and "Slavic Macedonians" according to usage in period archival materials.

The number of Civil War political refugees from Greece, based on a convergence of data, can be estimated at 80,000.[6] Of these, 18,000 to 22,000 were refugees who settled in Yugoslavia, an overwhelming majority of whom were Slavic Macedonians.[7] 24,000 to 28,000 of the overall number of refugees were children, while at least 56,000 more refugees settled outside of Yugoslavia. The percentages of adult refugees and refugee children by country and nationality, based on the Communist Party of Greece's (KKE) census taken shortly after the end of the Civil War,[8] are shown in the following tables:

Adult refugees:

Country	Total	Slavic Macedonians	Percentage
USSR	11,980	2,954	24 %
Czechoslovakia	11,941	3,800	32 %
Poland	11,458	5,479	47 %
Romania	9,100	4,000	40 %
Hungary	7,253	3,299	45 %
Bulgaria	3,071	380	12 %
East Germany	1,128	0	-
Total	55,881	19,912	35 %

6   Georgios ANTONIOU – Stathis KALYVAS. *I politikoi prosfyges tou Elliniku Emfyliu: Kinonikes ke politikes proseggisis* (Thessaloniki: Panepistimio Makedonias, 2015), p. 9.
7   Spyros SFETAS – Iakovos MICHAILIDIS, "Politiki Prosfyges sti Jugoslavia," in: Georgios ANTONIOU – Stathis KALYVAS, *I politiki prosfyges tou Elliniku Emfyliu: Kinonikes kai politikes proseggisis.* pp. 42–43.
8   Katerina TSEKOU, "Refugees from Greece in Eastern Europe (1945–1989)," in: Magdalena SEMCZYSZYN, *The Polish People's Republic and the Greek Civil War*, p. 138.

Child refugees:

Country	Total	Slavic Macedonians	Percentage
Yugoslavia	1,857	1,581	85 %
Czechoslovakia	3,500	1,800	51 %
Poland	3,500	1,750	50 %
Romania	4,256	2,177	51 %
Hungary	3,000	1,750	58 %
Bulgaria	672	0	-
East Germany	1,128	0	-
Total	17,913	9,058	50 %

Before the Second World War, only a few Greeks lived in Czechoslovakia. We can track the massive presence of Greeks in Czechoslovakia back to April 1948, when 4,000 Greek children arrived in Czechoslovakia. Some historians refer to the first period, during which most of the incoming refugees were children (i.e. between 1948 and August 1949) as the "optimistic refugee phase."[9] Following the August 1949 defeat, successive transports of adult political refugees started reaching Czechoslovakia. Most of them arrived by railway from the Greek community of Buljkes in the Yugoslav province of Vojvodina, with the rest arriving from Greece after an exhausting trip of many days by boat, through Albanian ports via Gibraltar until they reached the port of Gdynia in Poland. Altogether, including the already-settled children, there were more than 12,000 of these Greek refugees, and along with the community in Poland, they were the second largest community of Greek political refugees after the community in Tashkent in Soviet Uzbekistan. After a short time in quarantine, they were settled in approximately 40 towns and villages in the Jeseník, Krnov, and Žamberk districts near the Polish border. Approximately one third of the people who were forced to immigrate together with the communist partisans to the People's Democratic States were Slavic Macedonians.

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9 Ilios YANNAKAKIS, "Ta opla para poda. I engatastasi ton politikon prosfygon stis sosialistikes chores," in Eftychia VUTIRA – Vasilis DALKAVUKIS – Nikos MARANTZIDIS – Maria BONTILA (eds.), *To oplo parapoda. I politiki prosfyges tu elliniku emfyliu polemu stin Anatoliki Evropi,* p. 5.

The Macedonian question during the Civil War

The Macedonian question played a significant role during the Occupation and then during the Civil War (1946–1949). During the prewar period, Greek communists were the only political formation to adopt the Comintern policy of an independent "Macedonian nation."[10] During the triple occupation of Greece by Germany, Italy, and Bulgaria, the pro-communist National Liberation Front (EAM) allowed the creation of a special Bureau responsible for northern Greece's Slavic speaking population called *Slavomakedonski narodno-osvoboditelen front – SNOF*. Partisan units belonging to this organisation, however, came under Tito's control and the SNOF leaders started promoting the unification of Greek Macedonia with the newly created Yugoslav Macedonia.[11] In the same period the first plans of the postwar Greek governments appeared, which envisaged the removal of about 120,000 Slavic Macedonians outside the Greek borders. The instigator of this proposal was Sir Reginald Leeper, the ambassador of the United Kingdom in Athens. Similar proposals for the mass removal of the so-called "malignant tumour of the Slavic Macedonians" were made by several Greek ultra-nationalist leaders, who were, in some cases, former collaborators with the Nazis.[12] They were inspired by the events that took place between 1945 and 1946 in Czechoslovakia; i.e., the expulsions of the Sudeten Germans, and compared this population to the Slavic Macedonians living in Greece. For example, the right-wing MP Pericles Iliades, in his speech in the Greek Parliament on 30 April 1947, described the presence of the "Slavophonic" population of Macedonia as a "blow greater than the Italians or the Germans" during the occupation. He also pointed out that the Poles, Czechs, and Russians had displaced millions of Germans. In this context, he wondered whether

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10 Evangelos KOFOS, "The Impact of the Macedonia Question on Civil Conflict in Greece, 1943–1949," in John O. IATRIDES – Linda WRIGLEY, *Greece at the Crossroads – The Civil War and Its Legacy* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp. 274–318; Angelos ELEFANTIS, *I Epagelia tis Adinatis Epanastasis. KKE ke Astismos sto Mesopolemo* (Athens: Themelio, 1976); Ireneusz Adam ŚLUPKOV, *The Communist Party of Greece and the Macedonian National Problem 1918–1940* (Szceczecin: self-published, 2006); Vlasis VLASIDIS, "The 'Macedonian Question' on the Bulgarian Political Scene," *Balkan Studies* 32 (1991), no 1, pp. 71–88.

11 Kostas TSIVOS, "Makedonská otázka v souvislosti s řeckou občanskou válkou – Slavomakedonci jako součást řecké emigrace v Československu," *Slovanský přehled* 95 (2009), No 3, p. 324.

12 Tasos KOSTOPOULOS, *I apagorevmeni glossa. Kratiki katastoli ton slavikon dialekton stin elliniki Makedonia.* (Athens: Mavri Lista, 2000), p. 202.

it was not "a sin that for the sake of such a tiny minority, moreover a minority of inferior human quality, the Greek land should suffer so much hardship."[13]

Shortly after the liberation of Greece from Nazi occupation, dozens of villages were affected by terror against the Slavic Macedonian population. As the Greek historian Evangelos Kofos writes in this regard, "the situation in Greek Macedonia in 1945–1946 was not dissimilar to cases of countries emerging from foreign occupation where minorities had, for one reason or other, collaborated with the occupiers, only to find themselves the target of nationalist revenge after the war. Although in Greek Macedonia persecution never involved genocide-like practices, such as those committed, for example, in Yugoslavia against the Germanophone minorities, the climate was hardly tolerable for persons associated directly or indirectly with either one of the two "Slavic menaces": Bulgarian and Slavic Macedonian. As a result, the number of Slavophones crossing into Yugoslavia in 1945–1946 increased to 15,000–20,000."[14] Most of them took refuge in the newly established Yugoslav People's Republic of Macedonia, others in Bulgaria, and still others overseas, mostly in Australia and Canada.[15]

When the final phase of the Civil War broke out, Slavic Macedonians played an important role in the ranks of the DSE. At that time, the split between Tito and Stalin was also fully manifested on the international scene. Their rift had a fatal impact not only on the Greek Macedonians' relations with the KKE, but also on the relations of the KKE with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and, ultimately, on the fate of the entire communist uprising in Greece. Although the KKE agreed with Cominform's position towards Tito, for obvious reasons, they did not make a public affair out of it in order not to lose their most important supplier of military aid. The disputes about the further development of the communist insurrection in Greece were also polarized in the leadership of the KKE, with the followers of Secretary General Nikos Zachariadis on the one side, and the chairman of the mountain government and commander of the partisans, General Markos Vafiadis, on the other.[16] At the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the KKE, which

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13 Ibidem, p. 203. Iliadis's speech was considered so important by the Greek Parliament that it had it printed as a publicity brochure.

14 Evangelos KOFOS, *The Impact of the Macedonian Question on the Greek Civil War*…, p. 297. See also Spyros SFETAS – Iakovos MICHAILIDIS, *Politiki Prosfyges sti Jugoslavia,* p. 39.

15 Riki Van BOESCHOTEN, "'Enotita kai Adelfotita': Slavomakedones kai Ellines politiki prosfyges stin Anatoliki Evropi…," p. 69.

16 For more details on the rupture of relations between Tito and Stalin and between Zachariadis and General Marcos, see Vasilis KONTIS – Spyridon SFETAS (eds.), *Emfylios polemos. Eggrafa*

convened at the end of January 1949, Vafiadis was stripped of all military and political positions and subsequently sent "for rest" to the Soviet Union.[17]

One of the most important decisions of the Fifth Plenum of the KKE Central Committee was a change in the Party's position on the Macedonian question. As the relevant resolution stressed: "In northern Greece, the Macedonian (Slavic Macedonian) people have given everything to the struggle and are fighting with great heroism and self-denial, which deserves admiration. There must be no doubt that after the victory of the DSE and the popular revolution, the Macedonian people will have a national revival, as they themselves want it and are proving today by their bloody sacrifices. We must therefore guard the unity of the two peoples like two eyes in the head and strengthen it daily."[18]

With this resolution, the KKE moved from the position of equal rights for minorities to the platform of national self-determination of the Macedonian nation. The change surprised the KKE party base and most of the Greek officers in the DSE ranks. Moreover, it provided further proof to the Greek conservative government of the KKE's dependence on a "foreign centre" and its intention to break up Greece and sell out Greek Macedonia to foreign powers. During the final phase of the Civil War, hundreds of Greek communists were sentenced to death as traitors to the nation and minions of foreign interests. Zachariadis later attempted to justify the change of status at the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the KKE by the urgent need to recruit new fighters among Slavic Macedonians before the decisive battle for the northern Greek city of Florina, and at the same time to stem the tide of desertions from the ranks of the DSE to Yugoslav Macedonia. At the same time, Zachariadis wanted to thwart the Yugoslav leader's plans to create a Balkan federation in cooperation with Bulgaria and Albania, and he also tried to drive a wedge between the Greek Macedonians and their Yugoslav compatriots.[19]

In accordance with the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the KKE, in March 1949 the first two ministers from among the Slavic Macedonians were appointed to the so-called "Mountain Government," and the 11th Division of the DSE was renamed the "Macedonian Division." At the same time, Macedonian partisans

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apo ta jugoslavika ke ta vulgarika archeia (Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 2000); See also: Nikos PAPA-DATOS, *Akros aporrito. Oi sxeseis ESSD-KKE, 1944–1952* (Athens: KPSM, 2019).

17   NA Prague, fond 100/24 (Klement Gottwald ÚV KSČ), vol. 99, a.u. 1142.

18   NA Prague, fond 100/24 (Klement Gottwald ÚV KSČ), vol. 99, a.u. 1142.

19   Nikos ZACHARIADIS, *Syllogi Ergon. Telikos logos stin 3i Syndiaskepsi tu KKE* (Ekdosi tis KE tu KKE, 1953), pp. 593–595.

represented at least approximately half of DSE's combat-ready formations.[20] However, these were desperate steps that did not prevent the definitive defeat of the DSE in late August 1949. The victory of the Greek Royal Government was facilitated in no small measure by the fact that Tito closed the Yugoslav-Greek border in July 1949 for leftist partisans and allowed the troops of the Royal Greek Army to cross Yugoslav territory into the rear of DSE's army. This initiative later served Zachariadis to label Tito as the main culprit in the defeat of the Greek communist uprising.[21]

In the countries of the socialist camp there was then talk of Tito's betrayal and of a stab in the back by the DSE. The Greek Macedonian leadership served as a scapegoat for Zachariadis. Its leaders were arrested in Albania in October 1949, declared as "Tito's agents" and deported to the Soviet Union, where they were sentenced to forced labour in Siberia in 1952.[22] After Khrushchev's accession to the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – CPSU and the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the convicted Slavic Macedonians were granted remission of the rest of their sentences. Most of them returned to Yugoslav Macedonia, which received them as national heroes.[23]

The Slavic Macedonian "minority" in exile

The defeat of the communists also marked the end of Slavic population in Greece. Ultranationalist postwar Greek governments applied harsh measures aimed at their elimination or the forced Hellenisation of the remaining Slavic population. Following the military defeat, the exiled leadership of Greek communists abandoned the controversial demand for the secession of Macedonia from Greece. De-

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20 British general Chris Woodhouse in his book, states that while in 1948 there were 11,000 Slavic Macedonian fighters in the DSE, in 1949 there were 14,000 out of a total of 20,000 partisans. Christopher WOODHOUSE, *The Struggle for Greece, 1941–1949* (London: Hurst Company, 2002), p. 262. Similar figures are given by Pantelis Vajnas (Pando Vojnov), a divisional general of the DSE, subsequently chairman of the Slavic Macedonian emigrant organisation Ilinden and later general of the Bulgarian People's Army. Pantelis VAJNAS, "O Dimokratikos Stratos ke i Slavomakedones," *Dimokratikos Stratos* 10 (1948), p. 410.

21 Nikos ZACHARIADIS, "To stileto tu Tito chtypa pisoplata ti Laikodimokratiki Ellada," *Dimokratikos Stratos,* 23. 7. 1949.

22 Tashko MAMUROVSKI, *Paskal Mitrevski and his Time (1912–1978)* (Toronto: Risto Stefov Publications, 2016), pp. 135–145.

23 Spyridon SFETAS, *Anepithymiti symmachi ke anexelengti antipali: i schesis KKE ke NOF sti diarkia tu Emfyliu (1946–1949)* (Thessaloniki: Valkanika Symmikta (8), 1996), p. 245.

spite this, Nikos Zachariadis continued to support the idea of the existence of an independent organisation of Macedonians in exile. It was on his initiative that the new organisation "Ilinden" was founded in 1952. The first branch of the organisation, which was to spread to all the countries where political refugees from Greece were settled, was founded in Czechoslovakia at a conference held at Těchonín. Subsequently, a new founding conference of Ilinden was convened in the remote village of Kroscienko in Poland which was attended by delegations from all other "people's republics," but not the Soviet Union.[24]

At the conference in Těchonín, the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSČ) was represented by Marie Thelenová, a member of the International Department of the Central Committee of KSČ, who in her report summarised the composition of the Macedonians in Czechoslovakia as follows: "There are a total of 3,000 Slavic Macedonians in Czechoslovakia, of whom about 1,000 are children and some 650 secondary-school aged. A large number of them are enrolled in preparatory schools for universities and vocational schools. Macedonian comrades very much appreciate the opportunities given to them by the government of Czechoslovakia to obtain schooling and vocational education."[25]

Thelenová also "Macedonian comrades can rightly boast their good work results, exemplary and decorated workers in all of the places where they are (proportionally much greater than the Greek comrades), but they remain far behind and are passive in terms of political work." The low level of political activity shown by the Slavic Macedonians was obviously related to the deep political differences that erupted within their ranks, as well as their low level of education, as Thelenová noted on the deep disunity among the Slavic Macedonians. She also drew attention to the need to combat illiteracy, since there were more than 300 illiterates among the 1,350 adult Slavic Macedonians.[26]

The data of the KSČ International Department on the Slavic Macedonian emigration often relied on Secret Police (StB) reports, which focused mainly on Macedonians' contacts with the Yugoslav Embassy in Prague. For example, one report that mapped the internal disputes within the Greek emigration stated: "The first group of Macedonians, numerically smaller, will join Yugoslavia. The leader of this group is [Mitsos] Velakis, editor of the Greek magazine *Agonistes*. The second

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24 NA Prague, fond 100/3 (MO ÚV KSČ), vol. 146, a.u. 576.

25 Report on the meeting of the officials of the Slavic Macedonian ILINDEN organization on 9th July 1952. NA Prague, fond 100/3 (MO ÚV KSČ), vol. 146, a.u. 576.

26 Ibidem.

group of Macedonians, larger in number, is in favour of the Communist Party of Bulgaria."[27]

Judging from the StB report, Tito had a strong influence within the ranks of the Slavic Macedonian refugees, even at the height of the hysteria directed against the Yugoslav leader. The Czechoslovakia security agencies also warned that materials originating from the Yugoslav embassy in Prague which promoted the Yugoslav position on the solution for the Macedonian problem had been intercepted in Brno. The unnamed author of this report opined that: "In connection with the demand for the creation and recognition of Macedonia as an independent state, chauvinistic sentiments are arising among the Greek and Macedonian emigration, which do not contribute in any way to the Greek emigration as a whole. These moments cause pessimistic moods among the less politically advanced emigrants, which lead them to the Greek embassy, where they demand re-patriation to Greece even at the cost of renouncing their ideas, often even treason."[28]

Personal disputes within the Ilinden organisation, expressions of mutual distrust between Greek and Macedonian emigrants, and, above all, the suspicion of Czechoslovak authorities that the organisation was operating under the baton of Tito's Yugoslavia, led to the Illinden's dissolution in 1954. However, the Greek emigrant newspaper *Agonistes* was published with the Macedonian supplement *Borec* until 1968.[29] At the time of de-Stalinization, the exiled leadership of the Greek Communist Party, under pressure from the USSR and other fraternal parties, decided to depose the once all-powerful Nikos Zachariadis in March 1956. During the KKE's 7th Plenum, which met in February 1957 and which decided the expulsion of Zachariadis from the party, the decision on the Macedonian issue adopted in 1949 was also revised. The essence of the new position lay in the full recognition of the equal rights of the Slavic Macedonians in the imaginary people's democratic "refugee-land" whose borders stretched from Karlovy Vary in Czechoslovakia to Tashkent in Uzbekistan.[30]

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27 Secret report on the situation of the Greek political emigration living in the territory of the Czechoslovakia. 17. 6. 1951. NA Prague, fond 100/3 (MO ÚV KSČ), vol. 146, a.u. 576.

28 Some problems of the Greek refugees in ČSSR (undated), NA Prague, fond 1261/0/44 (Antonín Novotný, ÚV KSČ), vol. 421, a.u. 3.

29 Kostas TSIVOS, "Rok 1968 podle periodika Agonistis. Vnitrostranická krize a Pražské jaro v interpretaci listu řeckých politických emigrantů v Československu," *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Studia Territorialia. Supplementum* 1 (2010), No 1, pp. 25–36.

30 Resolution of the VII Plenary Session of the KKE Central Committee, NA Prague, fond 100/3 (MO ÚV KSČ), vol. 142, a.u. 553.

The situation of Greek and Macedonian émigrés in the 1960s

In 1962, the leadership of the Greek party asked the KSČ Central Committee for an analytical survey to obtain detailed data about the make-up, location, and financial income of the émigrés. According to the survey, there were a total of 13,039 Greek émigrés in Czechoslovakia, including 4,465 children under 15 years of age and 8,574 adults, who completed their own questionnaires.[31] Among the adult respondents, 8,452 stated Greek citizenship. Only 116 stated Czechoslovak citizenship, and just 6 émigrés stated no citizenship. The second questionnaire pertained to adult émigrés' ethnicity. Of those 6,752 respondents claimed Greek ethnicity, while 1,812 claimed Macedonian ethnicity. Just 6 listed "other" as their nationality, and 2 did not indicate any.

The emigrants comprised a diverse mosaic of ethnicities as well as languages and cultural backgrounds. Approximately one third were Macedonians – Slavic speaking inhabitants of Northern Greece who were intensively involved with the communist DSE army during the civil war. Apart from them, there were also some Aromanians (Vlachs), members of the nomadic tribe of shepherds who spoke a dialect close to the Romanian language, several dozen Sephardic Jews from Thessaloniki, who spoke a Spanish-Jewish dialect (*Ladino*), and several Turkish-speaking members of the Muslim community from Greek Thrace. Among the Greeks themselves, former refugees from Asia Minor and the Black Sea region who settled in Greek Macedonia after the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey, constituted a significant group. One of the groups of these refugees were the *Karamanlides*, a Turkophone group from inland Asia Minor, whereas other groups had come from Greek enclaves around the Caucasus or the Black Sea. These émigrés spoke in a distinct dialect, whereas refugees from Asia Minor (*Mikrasiates*) spoke standard Greek. Another large group of émigrés were "the locals" (*dopii*); i.e., Greeks who had lived in compact groups in various regions of North-Western Greece. There were also smaller groups of individuals from other regions of Greece among the émigrés.[32]

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31 Archiv Českého červeného kříže, složka Řecká emigrace, Výtah z dotazníkové akce Ř ke dni 20. 3. 1964. [Czech Red Cross Archives, Greek emigration folder, Excerpt from the questionnaire action Ř as of 20 March 1964.].

32 Marián SLOBODA, "Řecká a makedonská etnická skupina v Česku: lingvistické aspekty jejich vzniku a vývoje," in eds. Mira NÁBĚLKOVÁ – Mária ŠIMKOVÁ, *Varia X: Zborník materiálov z X. kolokvia mladých jazykovedcov* (Bratislava: Slovenská jazykovedná spoločnosť pri SAV, 2003), pp. 103–113, See also Konstantinos TSIVOS, "The Greek Emigres in Czechoslovakia

At the instigation of the KKE during the Civil War, the first ever Macedonian schools were opened in the areas controlled by the DSE and the first books and newspapers were printed in the Macedonian language, such as the newspaper *Nepokoren* (Unbroken). The editor-in-chief of this newspaper was a Macedonian teacher, a pre-war member of the KKE, Done Sikavitsa, who settled in Czechoslovakia with the first groups of child emigrants. He became a member of the Committee for Aid to Children (EVOP) and was directly responsible for the education of Macedonian children in their mother tongue. Sikavitsa undertook with great enthusiasm the imposed task of creating the foundations of a "Macedonian school, created in the fire of war and revolution."[33] At a meeting of Macedonian teachers convened in 1949 in Poland, Sikavitsa explained to his colleagues that "Macedonian and Greek children must be educated in the spirit of friendship and unity [...] to learn to hate fascism, tyranny and exploitation. To love their people, their homeland and their culture." At the same time, he warned the Macedonian teachers against the traitorous policies of the "Tito clique." He urged them to stop using textbooks imported from Skopje and written according to the newly created rules of the written Macedonian language, as he believed that "the traitor Tito was spreading his poison everywhere, even in mathematics textbooks."[34] Despite fiery expressions of loyalty to the Stalinist KKE leadership, Sikavitsa himself was accused in 1950 of being "Tito's agent" and sent into Romanian exile, from where he returned to Skopje for good after the removal of Zachariadis in 1956.[35]

In addition to Czech and Greek, Macedonian children in children's homes were taught the basics of written Macedonian. For the most part, they lived harmoniously with Greek children. Many of the Greek children learned Macedonian and formed strong bonds with their Macedonian peers.[36] An exception in Czechoslovakia, at least according to some oral and written accounts, was the children's home in Klokočov, with majority of Macedonian children. The teaching there was only in Macedonian, even for the Greek children in this home. The Macedonian management of this home refrained from teaching of Greek and, on its own initiative, changed the Greek to Slavic surnames. Sukulidis became Sukulovski, Uzinis was

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and Their Life in the 1960s," *Glasnik – Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography* LXVII (2019), No 3, pp. 545–557.

33 Riki Van BOESCHOTEN, "Enotita ke Adelfotita. Slavomakedones ke Ellines politiki prosfyjes stin Anatoliki Evropi...," p. 60.

34 Ibidem

35 Ibidem, p. 61.

36 Ibidem, pp. 63–68.

transcribed as Uzonov, etc.[37] This led several Greek parents to write letters of protest demanding from the leadership of the KKE party organisation in Czechoslovakia that their children's Greek names be returned to them, with the proviso that the children should subsequently be transferred to other children's homes so that they would not forget their Greek.[38]

The situation between young Greeks and Macedonians improved significantly after 1952 when the children switched to Czech schools, although the level of Czech knowledge among Macedonian and especially Greek children was low. With their transition to Czech schools, the structure of the Greek emigrants' instruction changed fundamentally. Teacher Lysimachos Papadopoulos described this transition as a "feat," as during one year thousands of refugee children sat at the same desks as the Czechoslovak children.[39] In the following years the number of kindergartens gradually decreased until the last of them (Šilheřovice) was finally closed in 1962. The number of Greek- or Macedonian-language classes was reduced in order to increase the number of Czech classes.[40] At secondary schools, the curriculum was identical to the Czech curriculum, with the addition of four classes of Greek and two classes of Greek history and geography. Similarly, children of Slavic origin also had to take Macedonian. During the 1960s, Greek and Macedonian language became an "extra" class and together with Greek geography and history classes, it became more or less optional.[41] In the meantime, Greek and Macedonian children identified far more with their Czech peers and naturally became reluctant to spend time studying the languages spoken in the old homeland. In smaller emigrant communities (Šumperk, Jindřichov, Losiny), there was a shortage of Greek teachers and young emigrants only studied in Czech.[42]

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37 Kostas SAMARAS, *Co je Makedonský problem* (Opava: unedited, 2009), p. 22. Compare similar situation in Hungary in the kindergartens at Balatonalmádi (Greek kindergarten) and Fehérvárcsurgó (Macedonian kindergarten) in Loring M. DANFORTH – Riki van BOUSCHOTEN, *Children of the Greek Civil War. Refugees and the Politics of Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 132.

38 Kostas SAMARAS, *Co je Makedonský problém*, pp. 22–23.

39 Lysimachos PAPADOPOULOS, *Děti bouře* (Prague: Nemesis, 1998), p. 39.

40 Loring M. DANFORTH – Riki van BOUSCHOTEN, *Children of the Greek Civil War*, pp. 151–152.

41 See the relevant letter of the teacher Yannis Noutsos to the KKE's Political Bureau where he complained about the reduction of the hours of teaching the Greek language. (Unclassified material), NA Prague, fond 100/3 (MO ÚV KSČ), vol. 237.

42 NA Prague, fond 100/3 (MO ÚV KSČ), vol. 137, a.u. 539, Report of the IX. Conference of the Party Organization of the KKE in the Czechoslovakia.

In the 1960s, a lack of interest in instruction in their mother tongue was caused by the unclear prospects of repatriation. Furthermore, second-generation emigrants manifested a clear tendency to identify with the local environment and not set themselves apart from their Czech peers. Sometimes this happen with their parents' silent consent, as they lost the hope of repatriation being any close, other times inter-generational disputes were a common thing. The urgency of the problem is evident from the frequent meetings and conferences convened by Greek teachers and the party leadership to deal with the issue, but also from the many reports with excessive moralising and patriotic content that started to appear in the *Agonistes*.[43]

Despite the generally endogamous tendency in the Greek emigration, which was also manifested on the ethnic level, several mixed Greek-Macedonian marriages were established in the emigration. While in exile, young émigrés had to overcome many outdated traditions and superstitions that used to be the norm in Greece. The sons and daughters of emigrants had far more opportunities to date, marry, and establish a family living in emigration. The tradition of providing the bride with a dowry was abandoned as well as the tradition requiring that newlyweds should come from the same village.[44] Mixed marriages became frequent in the 1970s and became predominant in the 1980s. Until 1971, marriages where a Greek man married a Czech woman prevailed over those of Greek women marrying Czech men. After that, the ratio nearly levelled out. Greek émigrés in mixed marriages, however, did not take the opportunity to obtain Czechoslovak citizenship. In 1974, only two hundred émigrés had Czechoslovak citizenship.[45]

The prospects of repatriating to Greece became increasingly difficult for emigrees of Slavic origin. In the early 1960s, hundreds of them therefore moved either to Bulgaria or to Australia and Canada, to which thousands of their compatriots and relatives had moved in the meantime from devastated villages of northwestern Greece. Furthermore, the dictatorship of the colonels established in Greece

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43 For example, an article entitled "Mother Tongue Teaching," where the editor criticized those Greek parents who were of the opinion "never mind, let our children learn only Czech". The editor of the article reminded that "once we all return to Greece, our children will have to be able to work with Greek." *Agonistis* No. 17 (590), 4 April 1958, p. 2. Cf. another article in a similar vein, titled "So that all our children learn their mother tongue," *Agonistes* No. 5 (683), 19 February 1960, p. 3.

44 Sofia DANIELIDU – Jaroslav MAŇAS, "Řecká rodina v českém prostředí," *Zpravodaj KSVI,* vol. 3, 1986, p. 158.

45 Antula BOTU – Milan KONEČNÝ, *Řečtí uprchlíci. Kronika řeckého lidu v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, p. 371.

in April 1967 thwarted Greek émigrés' hopes of returning. In 1968, the Yugoslav leadership offered the Macedonian emigration in Eastern Europe favourable conditions for settling in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Tito provided them with apartments, jobs, and generous pensions for their involvement in the Greek Civil War. According to a report of the Social Department of the Czechoslovak Red Cross, a total of 1,226 Greek emigrants took advantage of this offer between 1968 and 1975. In the vast majority of cases, they were Slavic Macedonians, but there were also several dozen Greeks who were related to Macedonians or who were attracted by the Yugoslav authorities' generous offer.[46]

Conclusion

In the interwar period, as well as in the postwar period, the KKE contributed significantly to the creation of a new national consciousness among the Slavic population of Greek Macedonia. Despite the KKE's changing and contradictory policy towards the Macedonian question, the Macedonians played a significant role in the ranks of the partisan army DSE during the most important phase of the Greek Civil War. The Slavic Macedonians and their leadership became scapegoats in Greece after the rupture between Tito and Stalin and the final defeat of the Greek communist uprising in 1949. The defeat also practically meant the end of the mass presence of the Slavic population in Greece. The postwar ultra-nationalist Greek governments applied harsh repressive measures to eliminate or involuntarily Hellenise the Slavic population. Even after the victory of the socialist PASOK movement in Greece in 1981, when the real anti-fascist resistance was officially recognized and an amnesty was declared for all participants in the Civil War.[47] Nevertheless, that law also included a discriminatory exemption for persons that were "not originally Greek," as a result of which many native Slavic Greeks who had registered as "Macedonians" abroad were only allowed to visit Greece as citizens of other countries. The Macedonian question, together with the traumatic experience of the Asia Minor catastrophe (1922), has created very conservative and anachronistic reflexes in all pre- and postwar Greek governments

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46 Ibidem, p. 410.
47 Law on the recognition of the National Resistance (1285/1982). By joint decision of the Ministers of Interior and Public Order (G. Gennimatas and N. Skoularikis), published in the *Efimerida tis Kyverniseos* FEK 1983/B/1.

and were subject to criticism, especially by human rights experts. Mutual distrust between the Greek and the Slavic Macedonian elements has not been overcome even in the countries of former emigration, even though the two communities lived side by side (or rather together) for many years.

SUMMARY

After the end of the Greek Civil War (1949), about 80,000 left-wing partisans, sympathisers, and their families found refuge in the Soviet Union and its satellites. Thirteen thousand of them, the second largest group, took refuge in Czechoslovakia. About one third of those emigrees from Greece were Slavic Macedonians, members of the largest ethnic minority living in postwar Greece. The Macedonian question played a very important role during the Civil War, and the "Macedonian minority" became a very important component of the fictional Greek "refugee land." The KKE leadership's effort to grant "minority rights" to the Slavic Macedonian refugees and create Slavic Macedonian organization met with suspicion by the host countries. The different policies of the Yugoslav and Greek governments determined to a significant extent the strategic choices and relations between the Greek and Macedonian refugees in the host countries.

STUDIE / ARTICLE

"Reversed Nesting Orientalisms": The Concept of Orientalism in a European Context

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"Reversed Nesting Orientalisms": The Concept of Orientalism in a European Context

My paper aims to examine ways in which the term "Balkans" was negotiated in modern Greek culture during the 19th and 20th centuries, based primarily on modern Greek literary texts of various kinds; however, in order to approach the issue more globally, other types of textual evidence from the relevant period are discussed, such as diplomatic, historical, and political texts. The goal of my research is to develop a theoretical pattern which explains the variety of Greek attitudes towards the Balkan nations. To describe this evolutionary scheme, based on the theoretical framework composed of seminal works including Edward Said's *Orientalism*, Maria Todorova's *Balkanism*, and Milica Bakic-Hayden's *Nesting Orientalisms*, I discuss an ideological and discursive mechanism which I call "reversed nesting orientalisms". Thus, I highlight the imaginary relationship as it was created, evolved, and consolidated in terms of narrative representations within modern Greek culture, with the broader goal of reaching a deeper understanding of the historical, political, cultural, and ideological factors which shaped modern Greek discourse about the Balkan nations.

Key words: modern Greek culture; Balkanism; symbolic geography; Southeastern Europe; Orientalism; national images and literature

How has the term "Balkans" been perceived in modern Greek culture? The connotations of the term in Western culture are well known: the Balkans were linked from the very moment of their discovery, inter alia, with elements of primitivism, violence, backwardness, and exoticism, whereas the narratives that accompany the "Balkan myth" were "made up of both belligerence and deceit, a portion of hostility and intrigue."[1] Thus, the Balkans frequently served as a mirror for Western Europe, through which Europeans could differentiate themselves from a reversed image and, mainly, prove how advanced and civilised they truly were.[2] Those constructions were consolidated in the Western imaginary, as the Balkans became perceived as a periphery of the European space; a periphery that, without the sincere interest of the West, wasn't able to achieve anything.[3] Although a considerable amount of scholarship scrutinizes the Western imagination concerning the Balkan Other, there is a dearth of analysis of the relationships between Greece, the West, the East, and the Balkans, as they have been perceived and consolidated in modern Greek culture.[4] In addition, the fact that Greece geographically belongs in the Balkan Peninsula, but was often construed – both within the Greek and the Western imaginative geography – as the "only western state in the Balkans" reveals the complexity of the hierarchical geographical patterns discussed here.

In this article I aim to offer an introductory examination of the following questions. To begin with, examining the ways that the term "the Balkans" has been negotiated, is based primarily on modern Greek literary texts of various kinds, written in the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition, other types of texts produced within the relevant period are also taken into account, such as diplomatic, historical, anthropological, and political texts. On the basis of this evidence, I discuss the

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1   David NORRIS, *In the Wake of the Balkan Myth. Questions of Identity and Modernity* (New York: St Martins' Print, 1999), p. 3.

2   Bozidar JEZERNIK, *Wild Europe. The Balkans in the gaze of Western travelers* (London: Saqi in association with the Bosnian Institute, 2004), p. 29.

3   Reginald WYON, *The Balkans from Within* (London: Finch & Co, 1904), p. 156.

4   Regarding the aforementioned issue, see Vassilis GOUNARIS, *Ta Valkania ton Ellinon. Apo ton Diafotismo eos ton A'Pagkosmio Polemo* (Thessaloniki: Epikentro, 2007). Gounaris uses an extensive list of Greek sources referring to the Balkans, focusing, however, mainly on press articles of the examined period. Gounaris defines Greek discourses on the Balkans as totally dependent on contemporary political and diplomatic reality. The author also uses other types of sources – such as political texts, literary works, and poems – concluding that Greek stereotypes regarding the Balkans have not changed dramatically since the end of the First World War. In this article, among other aims, I demonstrate how the socialist period, as well as the post-communist era, redefined the relationship between Greece and the Balkans through representations of the different political, economic, and social realities in the aforementioned areas.

modern Greek attitudes towards the Balkans, as well as Greek self-perceptions regarding the country's position in between Western Europe and the Balkan Peninsula. In addition, I develop a theoretical schema which explains the variations of the Greek word that refers to the Balkan nations. In more detail, the Greek "exploratory" discourse concerning the Balkans at the beginning of the 19th century acquires an aethniclly charged tone at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. These narratives are gradually replaced by constructed narratives highly characterized by an ideological and political tone during the period of Balkan socialism. After the end of the Cold War, and as we approach the modern era, Greek representations of the Balkans evince a clear goal: to distinguish the "European," "Western," and "civilized" Greece from the "non-European," "Eastern," and "primitive" Balkans. To describe this evolutionary scheme, based on the – sometimes overlapping – theoretical patterns developed in Edward Said's *Orientalism*,[5] Maria Todorova's *Balkanism*,[6] and Milica Bakic-Hayden's *Nesting Orientalisms*,[7] I discuss ideological and discursive mechanisms which I call Reversed Nesting Orientalisms.

Thus, in this article, I study Greek images that examine both the Balkans as a whole and those that depict only certain Balkan ethnicities. I argue that, although Balkan nationalities were associated in Greek thought[8] with different stereotypes, the function and targeting of these individual constructions were common, aiming to differentiate Greece from the Balkans. In addition, I choose not to include Turkey in the present study. Indeed, the view of European Turkey as "synonym of the Balkans,"[9] the identifications of the Balkans as a "legacy of the Ottoman Empire,"[10] or even the view of the Turkish Other as a "danger from the East"[11] in the Greek collective memory show the multifarous roles played by the Ottoman Empire in

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5 For more detail, see Edward SAID, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

6 For more detail, see Maria TODOROVA, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

7 Milica BAKIC-HAYDEN – Robert HAYDEN, "Orientalist Variations on the Theme 'Balkans': Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics," *Slavic Review* 51 (Spring 1992), pp. 1–15.

8 I do not perceive Greek thought as a homogenous unity; throughout the present study, I aim to present the central ideas, perceptions and stereotypes with which the Balkans have beenassociated in Greek thought

9 Misha GLENNY, *The Balkans: Nationalism War and the Great Powers* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), p. xxiii.

10 M. TODOROVA, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 40.

11 For more detail, see Alexis IRAKLIDIS, *I Ellada kai o ex Anatolon kindynos. Adiexoda kai Diexodoi* (Athina: Polis, 2001).

contemporary Balkan affairs. However, I believe that the Greek perceptions regarding the relationship between Ottoman administration and the formation of the contemporary Balkan reality cannot be analysed in this article. In any case, I have the opinion that the dominant Greek discourse examines the Ottoman factor as one of the most important causes of the underdevelopment observed in the Balkan peninsula.

In particular, in the period between the founding of the Kingdom of Greece (i.e., 1830) and the preparation of the Balkan Wars, Greek narratives regarding the Balkans are characterized by an exploratory attitude; Greek authors struggle to categorize the Balkan ethnicities as potential allies or enemies and attempt to realize the complexity of the geopolitical developments in the broader area. These oscillations are also observed in Greek texts of the period, as the constructions that accompany the Balkan nations prove to be ambiguous. The relevant Greek literary production is mainly found in travel literature, part of which incorporates elements of sociopolitical, anthropological and economic views. For instance, we could refer to the romantic depictions of Romania in Alexandros Rizos Ragavis's travel memoirs,[12] to the Greek images of Montenegro as a heroic, romantic, but also primitive country as depicted in Georgios Tertsetis's travel memoirs,[13] and in the relevant "Ode" by Georgios Martinelis,[14] as well as to the portrayal of the Albanian Other based on the elements of "besa" and "honour" as observed in the epic poetry of Grigor Prlicev,[15] but also to the political, social, economic and geopolitical aspects of the Balkan Peninsula, as examined and narrated by various Greek travel memoirs of the late 19th and the early 20th century.[16] On the one hand, this evidence explores the Balkan Peninsula and aims to introduce the Balkan peoples to Greek-reading audiences; on the other, these texts also contain concrete stereotypical con-

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12 Alexandros RIZOS RAGAVIS, *Apomnimonevmata – Tomos Protos* (Athina: Georgios Kasdonis, 1894). In his memoirs Ragavis depicts Romania as a romantic, wealthy, and culturally rich country, also perceiving Bucharest as an "Eastern Paris."

13 Georgios TERTSETIS, *Apanta Georgiou Tertetsi* (Athina: Chr. Giovanis, 1967).

14 Georgios MARTINELLIS, *Oi iroes tou Mavrovouniou* (Kerkyra: Typografeion i Kerkyra, 1876).

15   Grigorios STAVRIDIS, *O Armatolos* (Athina: Typografeio Athinas, 1860).

16 There are many such works, but in particular see P. PARASKEVOPOYLOS, *I Megali Ellas: ana tin Rosian, Roumanian, Servian, Mavrovounion, Tourkian, Samon, Kritin, Kypron, Aigypton kai Palaistinin* (Athina: Ekati, 1998), Neoklis KAZAZIS, *O ellinismos en ti chersoniso tou Aimou. Entyposeis taksidiou* (Athina: Ek tou typografeiou i 'Anaplasis', 1899) and A. SOFIANOPOULOS, *Pos eida ti Valkaniki. Politiki, koinoniki kai oikonomik erevna* (Athina: Ekdotikos Oikos G.I. Vasileiou Stadiou, 1927).

structions regarding the Balkan nations, the use of which will become more prominent in the following decades.

Respectively, the literary work of Pinelopi Delta, Ion Dragoumis, and Kostis Palamas reflects the dominant Greek national and political ideas during the Balkan Wars and their aftermath; ideas which can also be found in minor Greek writers of the same time period. In the aforementioned evidence, the Greek narratives turn out to be largely homogeneous as well as deeply nationalistic. Thus, a large number of negatively-charged stereotypical depictions of the Balkan nations emerge, especially regarding the Bulgarian Other. Pinelopi Delta's historical novels discuss the "Macedonian Struggle" (1904–1908), but in some of them Delta sets the narrative in the years of Byzantium and more in detail during the years of the reign of Emperor Basil II, known as "Basil the Bulgar-slayer." By setting the narration in the Byzantine time, Delta not only attempts to promote a schema of Hellenic continuity, but also constructs the image of the Bulgarian Other as a diachronic enemy to the Greek national interests.[17] According to Stathis Gourgouris, the reappearance of Byzantium in modern Greek thought arose largely in response to the well-known study by the Austrian historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer; this reappearance not only formed as a clear connecting element between ancient and modern Greece, ensuring the desired cultural continuity for the Greek imagination, but it also legitimised Greece as a modern civilization that was equivalent to European civilization.[18]

Kostis Palamas is considered to be a Greek national poet and his poems include images of the Balkan nations over a long period of time, namely from the mid-1880s until the second decade of the 19th century. The remarkable alterations concerning the images of the Balkan Other in Palamas's poems reveal the strong connection of contemporary political and historical developments with national images in literary texts. Thus, in the tense atmosphere before the Balkan Wars and the Macedonian struggle, Palamas portrays the Bulgarian Other as cruel, traitorous, and disrespectful.[19] As in the early 19th century, the historic opportunity for the Balkan nations to end the Ottoman rule in the Balkan Peninsula seems more

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17 Penelope DELTA, *Gia tin Patida* (Londino: Typografeio G.S. Veloni, 1909); Idem, *Ton kairo tou Voulgaroktonou* (Londino: Typografeion G.S. Veloni, 1911); Idem, *Sta mystika tou Valtou* (Athina Typografeion tis Estias, 1937).

18 Stathis GOYRGOURIS, *Ethnos – Oneiro. Diafotismos kai thesmisi tis sychronis Elladas* (Athina: Kritiki, 2007), pp. 200–201.

19 See, for example, the poems *O Voulgaros* and *O Skylogiannis*, in Kostis PALAMAS, *Apanta* (Athina: Biris- Gkovostis, 1962).

likely than ever, and Palamas openly discusses the idea of a Balkan Confederation in his poems,[20] according to Rigas Feraios's vision. Thus, he urges all Balkan nations to leave behind their historical differences and the stereotypical constructions that accompany them, in order to move forward into the "new era" by creating a solid Balkan brotherhood.[21] The possible solutions with regard to the succession of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Peninsula are also discussed in the work of another very well known Greek writer, Ion Dragumis. Dragumis, both in his essay and his literary work, examines the idea of an Eastern Federation, an idea closely linked both with the Eastern question and the Greek "Great Idea."[22] The national images of the Balkan nations in the time period under discussion prove the close relationship and interaction between the period historical, political and geopolitical reality with literary stereotypical depictions, whilst the Balkan Other is portrayed in Greek thought through a simplified, binary form: as potential enemy or ally in regard to Greek national interests and aspirations.

During the period of the Balkan socialist regimes, the Greek perspective of the Balkan Peninsula once again shifts radically. The Balkan myth, as known through the Greek national images in the 19th century, is replaced by highly political and ideological constructions. As the Greek reading audience sought narratives that examine the truth behind the sealed borders of the communist regimes, curiosity arose about the regimes of Tito, Enver Hoxha, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Todor Zhivkov in former Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria respectively. In the meantime, relations between Greece and the Balkans during the socialist period were indeed frozen.[23] The new political reality in the Balkan Peninsula not only served as an interesting narrative framework for – mainly – travel literature, but also contributed to the formation and consolidation of a very specific idea in the

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20 Regarding the Greek perspectives about the creation of a Balkan Federation see in detail Leften S. STAVRIANOS, "The Balkan Federation Movement – A Neglected Aspect," *The American Historical Review* 48 (October 1942), pp. 30–51. See, in addition, Christine GALITZI, "The Balkan Federation," *The Annals of the American Academy* 168 (July 1, 1993), pp. 178–182; Loukianos HASSIOTIS, "The Ideal of Balkan Unity from a European Perspective (1789–1945)," *Balcanica* 91 (2010), pp. 209–229.

21 See, for example, the poems *Sti chora pou armatothike* (To the country that was armored) and *Balkaniki Sympoliteia* (Balkan Federation) in Kostis PALAMAS, *Apanta* (Athina: Biris – Gkovostis, 1962).

22 A. J. PANAYOTOPOULOS, "The Great Idea and the Vision of Eastern Federation: A propos of the views of I. Dragoumis and A. Souliotis-Nicolaidis," *Balkan Studies* 21 (1980), pp. 331–365.

23 Dimitris TZIOVAS, "Introduction," in Idem (ed), *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 7.

modern Greek imagination, according to which, Greece stood as the only Western state in the heart of the "communist," "non-European," and "primitive" Balkans. This idea of separating Greece from the Balkan context also emerged in the West; according to Mark Mazower, the Balkan nations gradually disappeared for the West during the period of the Cold War, as he explains that the Iron Curtain divided Southeastern Europe in two parts. Since Albania, Bulgaria, former Yugoslavia, and Romania were isolated from Europe, becoming almost inaccessible, Greece simultaneously became considered as a Western country in communist Eastern Europe,[24]

Thus, the highly controversial modern Greek literary evidence of the period – in which travel literature largely prevails – examines the socialist regimes, often in comparison with the contemporary reality in Greece, at social, political, ethical and economical levels. At the same time, Greek authors perceive the socialist regimes as a clear intersection and as an obvious dividing factor between Greece and the Balkans, as Greece's Europeanization came in strong opposition to the Balkan isolationism of the same period. In that sense, I believe that in modern Greek culture an obvious disunity can be observed: on the one hand, one can find extremely positive depictions of the regimes and "Homo socialisticus" in travel literature written by leftist Greek authors such as Themos Kornaros,[25] Kostas Birkas,[26] Lambros Malamas,[27] and Vassos Georgiou.[28] In contrast, the depictions of the Greek authors and journalists that politically belong either to the centre or to the right – such as Giorgos Theotokas,[29] Maria Ralli,[30] and Minas Lambrinidis[31] – insist on the concepts of isolationism and lack of freedom, and they characterise the communist ideology with the latter.

In the post-communist era, Greek texts addressing the Balkans multiply; they include novels, as well as testimonies, memoirs, documents, and travel litera-

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24 Mark MAZOWER, *Ta Valkania* (Athina: Patakis, 2000), p. 32.
25 Themos KORNAROS, *Odos Promitheos. Taksidia Rosia – Elvetia – Romi – Voulgaria – Roumania* (Athina: Chronos, 1975).
26 Kostas BIRKAS, *Rouania* (Athina: Kerdos, 1963).
27 Labros MALAMAS, *Alvania. I nifi ton aeton* (Athina: 1980).
28 Vasos GEORGIOU, *I Alvania simera. Entyposeis kai stoxasmoi apo tin periigisi tis* (Athina: Sychroni Epochi, 1981).
29 Giorgos THEOTOKAS, *Taskidia: Persia- Roumania- Sovietiki Enosi- Voulgaria* (Athina: Vivliopoleion tis Estias, 1971).
30 Maria RALLI, *Peripatos sti Roumania kai sti Moscha* (Athina: Fexis, 1964).
31 Minas LABRINIDIS, *I Alvania simera … Entyposeis apo mia episkepsi* (Athina: 1987).

ture. Many authors such as Tilemachos Kotsias,[32] Dimosthenis Kourtovik,[33] and Christos Chartomatsidis,[34] and journalists such as Leonidas Chatziprodromidis[35] and Periklis Boutos[36] focus on the fragmented, post-communist Balkans. The Greek discourse in those contemporary texts retains some of its political tone, since Greece's Europeanization strongly contrasts with the widespread instability in the Balkan Peninsula. In more detail, Chartomatsidis examines the problematic aspects of socialist Bulgaria through a nostalgic gaze and a slightly ironic writing style. Kotsias's novels depict both communist and post-communist Albania, offering interesting perceptions and comparisons regarding the Albanian identity, as well as examining the prejudicial tendencies towards Albanian economic migrants in the Greek state during the 1990s.[37] On the other hand, Kourtovik discusses whether Greece really belongs to the Balkan Peninsula, while he examines the role of history in the creation of modern Balkan passions.[38] Moreover, Greek authors pay attention to the economic and social developments in the Greek state and the Balkan countries, forming narratives that incorporate concrete stereotypical constructions in the Greek imagination regarding the Balkans. According to Andrew Hammond, during the post-communist period and after the Yugoslavian civil war, the West's response was to "set the tone the conceptualization of the whole peninsula": "The understanding of Yugoslavia as a collection of fractious, malevolent entities was central to the wider discursive recovery of Victorian Balkanism [...] Indeed, for Western commentators working elsewhere in the peninsula, the representation of Yugoslavia formed a pre-arranged interpretative framework which needed very little modification when accounting for Romanian orphanages, Bulgarian poverty, Albanian anti-government protests, or any other of

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32 See Tilemachos KOTSIAS, *Ta efta parathira* (Athina: Kedros, 2002) and Idem, *Kodikas Timis* (Athina: Psichogios, 2013).

33 Dimosthenis KOURTOVIK, *Ti zitoun oi varvaroi* (Athina: Ellinika Grammata, 2008).

34 Christos CHARTOMATSIDIS, *Oi peripeteies tou Bregka* (Athina: Patakis, 2001) and Idem, *Kitharistas se taverna* (Athina: Patakis, 1996).

35 Leonidas CHATZIPRODROMIDIS, *Giougkoslavia. I ekriksi tou ethnikismou. O valkanikos kai evriteros perigyros* (Athina: Paraskinio, 1991).

36 Periklis BOYTOS, *Paratiritis stin Kroatia* (Athina: To Rodakio, 1992).

37 See also the novels of the Albanian writer and journalist Gazmend Kapllani who escaped to Greece. In his novels, Kapllani dramatizes the suffering of the Albanian Other who crossed into Greece during the 1990s. His literary texts soon became very popular and were translated in many European languages.

38 Kourtovik examines modern Greece as undoubtedly belonging to the Balkan Peninsula. For a different perspective, see Dimitris MARGARITOPOULOS, *Oi Apenanti* (Kerkyra: ALDE, 2013).

those post-communist crises on which western journalists and travel writers dwelled."[39]

A similar tendency is observed in Greek thought: as the newly emerged Balkan countries seemed unable to recover from the communist experiment and they are moreover tested by constant, political and economic pressures, Greek writers examine the emerging landscape from a point view of an – often "Western" and "more European" – observer,[40] through narratives evincing a sense of superiority. Vesna Goldsworthy characterises the depictions of the communist factories and nuclear stations as contemporary "Ruritarian" images for the Western imagination.[41] The emerging Balkan landscape also served as a charming narrative framework for Greek literary production, whilst the constructions included in these texts are characterized by distinct "Orientalist" characteristics. In that sense, Greek thought still aspires to separate Greece from the Balkan context once again.

Bearing in mind the evolution of the Greek discourse regarding the Balkan nations from the 19th century onwards as well as the relative narrative constructions used both to describe and to examine the Balkan Other, and moreover based on the "Greek superiority complex over the Balkan nations" – as described by Maria Todorova – I believe that in modern Greek thought (and in a country stated south on the European map) an obvious idea of superiority was established, over states located more northernly than Greece. In summary, the theoretical schema which I call "reversed nesting orientalisms"[42] attempts to shed light on three main mechanisms: the Greek narratives about the Balkans and their "Orientalist" characteristics; the dominant ideas that shaped the aforementioned superiority complex; and the simultaneous efforts of Greek thought to both separate Greece from the Balkans and to converge with the West. In other words, modern Greek thought, in order to justify its European and Western self-perception, consolidated specific constructions regarding the "East," and the "primitive" and "non-European" Balkans.

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39 Andrew HAMMOND, "The danger zone of Europe – Balkanism between the Cold War and 9/11," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 8 (2005), No 2, pp. 135–153.

40 See for example the novel of Kostas BOURIS, *Balkan Tourist* (Athina: Sychroni Orizontes, 2007).

41 Vesna GOLDSWORTHY, *Ruritania. Anakalyptontas ta Valkania* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2004), p. 286.

42 For an analytical overview of the aforementioned analytical schema see in detail Petros MARAZOPOULOS, *Ta Valkania sti neoellini koultoura. Opseis tis diaxeirisis enos orou* (Thessaloniki: Epikentro, 2023).

At the same time, I examine the individual ideas that shaped the so-called Greek "superiority complex" towards the Balkans. Describing the imaginary self-perceptions of Greece, Todorova believes that Greek identity is characterized by a concrete hierarchy of multiple sub-identities. She explains that Greeks would describe themselves first as Greeks, second by using their local identities (i.e., Cretan, Macedonian, etc.), and third by mentioning their European identity. Only then, they would refer to their Balkan heritage. As Todorova is sure that Greeks are not very enthusiastic about the idea of being described as "Balkan," she describes the Greek idea of cultural, political and economic superiority at the Balkan Peninsula as an excessive "superiority complex."[43] Aiming to explain how this idea was created and consolidated in the Greek imagination, one should take into account that similar ideas are frequently also observed in the imaginary of other Balkan nations. According to Alexander Kiossev, Balkan nations constantly attempted to be excluded from a possible inclusion in the "Balkan tragedy," as "The cultures of the official Balkan nation states have for decades, if not centuries, attempted to escape the image of the 'dark Balkans.' The process of nation-building and self-determination has been carried out by the different national elites following the traditional models of Western nation-building."[44]

Therefore, even during the contemporary period, it is not rare for them to question the European aspects of their neighbours' identity. In the Greek case though, it went well beyond than that. More in detail, Greek antiquity, the fact that the modern Kingdom of Greece gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire first, the consolidated belief in Greece's cultural superiority, the contradictions between the communist Balkans and the parallel Greek attempt at European integration and, finally, the distancing of Greece from the "Balkan chaos" in the 1990s – politically, socially, and economically – can be recognized as the structural, individual elements that shaped and consolidated the idea of the Greek superiority over the Balkan states.

Regarding the literary motifs attributed to the Balkans as a unified region, since the 19th century the area has been associated with myths of robbers, with ethnic fragmentation violence, ignorance, and primitivism, as well as the belief in all kinds of superstitions and invisible spirits. Moreover, the romantic representa-

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43 Maria TODOROVA, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 111.
44 Alexander KIOSSEV, "The Dark Intimacy: Maps, Identities, Acts of Identifications," in *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*, ed. Dusan BJELIC – Obrad SAVIC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 165–190.

tions of the Balkan kingdoms, although characterised by a clearly positive tone, do promote the image of a "noble savage." During the Balkan Wars, the aforementioned romantic views evaporate as the Greek nationalist narratives of the period result in the production of mainly negative stereotypes and highly charged depictions of the Balkan neighbours. These constructions do not only separate Greece from its Balkan identity, but also emphasize the connection of the peninsula with notion including nationalism, violence, and instability, among others. On the other hand, the socialist Balkan regimes, for the right-leaning authors, are connected with elements of isolationism, lack of freedom, and fear and ignorance of Western civilization, whilst leftist authors portray the communist societies as synonymous with prosperity, scientific progress, and social happiness. For the later, Homo socialisticus did not only historically exist, but also resembled the figure of a morally untainted, perfected model human being. It is noted that in the post-communist era, these dual, contrasting perceptions are replaced by narratives that describe the Balkan socialist regimes as a historically failed experiment, as well as a Kafkaesque world of loss and fear. The fragmentation of former Yugoslavia and the instability that characterizes the rest of the post-communist Balkan states result in depictions which give particular emphasis to anti-Westernism, danger, extremism, and anarchy, but also poverty and human loss as well as a tendency to imitate anything considered Western. Thus, rather frequently the contemporary Balkans are depicted as a dystopian place, whilst the modern Balkan chaos is a common literary place for Greek novels. I consider it rather obvious that these constructions serve as elements that emphasize the distinction of Greece from the Balkan Peninsula. In regard to the specific characteristics attributed to each Balkan nation in the Greek imagination, the Bulgarian Other should be considered, along with the Albanian Other, as the Balkan nation with the most depictions in the Greek literary production. Indeed, it seems that a similar interest for the Bulgarians emerged as early as the Byzantine period, as the Byzantines had developed a "sense of superiority' over their Bulgarian neighbour that was based on a comparison of the intellectual, administrative, and strategic abilities of the two sides. According to Petar Angelov, part of the contempt that the Byzantines often showed for the Bulgarians was inherited from the ancient Greek historians, and the corresponding characterizations they used against the barbarian peoples.[45] Many scholars and historians have drawn attention to the Greek depictions of the Bulgarian Other; Sanya Velkova, examin-

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45 Petar D. ANGELOV, "The Bulgarians through the Eyes of the Byzantines," *Bulgarian Historical Review* 4 (1994), pp. 18–33.

ing the time period during the late 19th century and the early decades of the twentieth believes that "One might also point out that most of the characteristics of Bulgaria and the Bulgarians in the Greek historical and popular literature of the early 20th century have proved to be enviably durable [...]. The image of Bulgaria and the Bulgarians as part of the collective image of the Balkan neighbour evidently retains some of its basic elements, alongside which certain new characteristics are undergoing a process of endorsement, thus deepening the gulf between Bulgarians and Greeks with such contrasting notions as: rich versus poor, up-to-date versus backward, coarse and boorish versus refined and courteous; a nationality that confers prestige versus a nationality that places one in a different category."[46]

In addition, Diana Mishkova states that the belief in the Greek cultural superiority in the Balkan Peninsula was aiming to serve as a means of escaping the country's Balkan framework and the simultaneous consideration of Greece as belonging to the European area. Mishkova points out that the idea of Europe was identified as a symbol of power and superiority and moreover had an influential role in shaping representations of the Self within the Balkans. She concludes that the idea of Greek superiority was indeed so strong so as to justify the emergence of a "Greek Orientalism" with regard to Bulgaria.[47] In any case, the Bulgarian Other was associated in the Greek imagination from the early 19th century with poverty, rural life, superstition, ignorance, and – rarely – exoticism. The Balkan Wars, the national disputes in the region of Macedonia, as well as the Bulgarian cooperation with the Germans during 1940 should be considered as the historical context in which Greek thought consolidates the perception of the Bulgarian Other as cruel, violent, and disrespectful.

The image of the Albanian Other differs greatly in Greek texts of the last two centuries. On the one hand one can find depictions that refer to the Albanian *besa*, bravery and the myth concerning the common origin of the two nations, especially in texts written during the 19th and early 20th century. On the other hand, Albania is rather often associated with anarchy, danger, and backwardness in contemporary texts, specifically during the communist regime of Enver Hoxha, as well as in the post-Hoxha time period. In addition, the negotiation of the mass migration from Albania to Greece after 1991 in contemporary Greek literary works

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46 Sanya VELKOVA, "Perception of the 'Neighbour' in Periods of Crisis: The Beginning and the End of the Twentieth Century in Bulgaria and in Greece," *Balkan Studies* 42 (1993), pp. 109–114.

47 Diana MISHKOVA, "In Quest of Balkan Occidentalism," *Tokovi Istorije* 1–2 (Jan 1 2006), pp. 29–62.

appears to be extremely interesting. But on the side, the relevant, dominant Greek discourse turns out to be accusatory regarding the marginalization, social injustice and prejudice suffered by Albanian economic migrants. However, there are also direct or indirect comparisons between the two countries, comparisons that reveal chaotic differences between "European" Greece and "primitive" Albania.

The Greek perceptions of the Montenegrin Other highly correspond to the relevant Western images and can mainly be found in Greek texts of the period between 1840 and 1910. In that sense, they mainly depict a romantic, heroic country, but they do also refer to a primitive and "incomplete" nation.[48] Respectively, the depictions of the Romanian Other are distinguished by a clear intersection: although until the establishment of the Ceausescu regime Romania was connected with the notions of grandeur and luxury, modern Romania is linked with violence, suppression, and political instability, as well as ignorance about contemporary Western civilization. Despite the fact that friction was observed between Greece and Serbia in the region of Macedonia, Greek representations of the Serbian Other mainly depict a proud Orthodox ally; at another level, Serbians are also connected with backwardness, intense nationalism and anti-Westernism, elements that are attributed to them mainly after the consolidation of Tito's socialist regime.[49]

Regarding the people of North Macedonia, the predominant perceptions are proven to be extremely negative. In various Greek texts both of the 19th and the 20th century, the North-Macedonian Other is represented as an embezzler of Greek cultural, historical, and linguistic achievements. The dominant Greek discourse regarding the broader area of Macedonia proves to be rather coherent – attempting to protect Greek national interests – and, in certain texts, nationalist. Only in the second decade of the 21st century do different perceptions emerge, such as the portrayal of the North-Macedonian Other as a suffering victim of dark geopolitical and national interests in the broader region. Finally, with regard to the Croat, the Bosnian and the Slovenian Other, the examined representations were considered

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48 For an in-depth analysis of the Greek images of Montenegro, see Angeliki KONSTANTAKO-POULOU, *Politiki kai mnimi sta Valkania: Oi ellinikes eikones tou Mavrovouniou, 19os aionas – A Pagkosmios Polemos* (Ioannina: Panepistimio Ioanninon, 2004). The monograph is also available in Montenegrin translation, see Angeliki KONSTANTAKOPOULOU, *Grčke slike Crne Gore do Prvog svjetskog rata* (Podgorica: Matica crnogorska, 2011).

49 For more details on the creation and the consolidation of the "Greek-Serbian friendship," see Basil C. GOYNARIS, "A Mysterious Bond Forged by History: The Making of Greek-Serbian Traditional Friendship in 19th Century Greece," *Balkan Studies* 45 (2004), pp. 5–22.

insufficient in the attempt to record the dominant stereotypical constructions that accompany the aforementioned nations in modern Greek thought.

Thus, to summarize, from the early 19th century to the present day, the Balkans were a constant matter of interest to Greek thought, since Greek authors not only attempted to depict the Balkan nations, but also to negotiate their images of them. Simultaneously, the consolidated ideas which formulated the Greek sense of superiority in the Balkan Peninsula can be examined in parallel to the narratives used by Western Europe towards the south-eastern part of Europe. Modern Greek thought mainly understood and examined the commonalities between Greece and the Balkans through the prism of the common Ottoman legacy in the broader area. However, perceiving the Balkan Other with terms such as primitivism, ethnic complexity, anti-Westernism, constant friction and inferiority, among others, led to specific constructions that served as elements to distinguish Greece from the Balkan context. As for the "European Greeks," the Balkans could be now portrayed as a "younger brother," or, simply, as a place resembling foregone Greece. In that sense, Greece's inclusion in the term "Balkans" was often perceived as mainly schematic, as the prevailing self-image of the Greek state referred to Greece as the "only real Western country in the Balkan Peninsula." Bearing in mind that the aforementioned constructions dominated into modern Greek culture from the early 19th century until at least the first decade of the 21th century, an interesting topic for further discussion is the evolution of the Greek hegemonic, Orientalist narratives in the contemporary era, especially after the Greek economic crisis.

SUMMARY

Greek interest concerning the Balkan Other has proved to be profound and constant from the early 19th century to the present day. In addition, Greek representations regarding the Balkan nations in the aforementioned long time period are characterized by significant oscillations that, nevertheless, can be explained within the historical and political context in which they were created. More specifically, the Greek "national" discourse concerning the Balkans at the end of the 19th century is gradually replaced by constructed narratives highly characterized by ideological and political overtones during the period of Balkan socialism. After the end of the Cold War, and as we approach to the modern era, Greek representations regarding the Balkans possess a clear imaginary geographical goal: to distinguish the European, Western and civilized Greece from the non-European, Eastern and primitive Balkans. Despite the fact that Greek authors acknowledged the commonalities between Greece and the other countries in the Balkan Peninsula, the main perceptions of the Balkan nations led to specific, often highly charged, narrations and constructions. These constructions not only consolidated the idea of the Greek sense of superiority in the broader era, but also served as elements to distinguish Greece from the Balkan context. Thus, Greece's inclusion in the term "Balkans" is often perceived as schematic, since the prevailing self-perceptions distinguished the "European," "Western" and "civilized" Greece from the "non-European," "Eastern," and "primitive" Balkans.

STUDIE / ARTICLE

Research on Neighbourhood(s) in Post-Conflict Urban Settings: The Microcosm of Neighbourly Relations in Mitrovica, Kosovo

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Research on Neighbourhood(s) in Post-Conflict Urban Settings: The Microcosm of Neighbourly Relations in Mitrovica, Kosovo

This paper addresses the issue of investigating neighbourly relations in a contemporary post-conflict urban space, based on research conducted in Mitrovica,[1] Kosovo, and it includes references to the outcomes of research in other post-conflict urban settings. The study focuses on the ways neighbourly relations are expressed in language, it inquires into whether there are any significant traditions which influenced the contemporary forms of these relations, what their place is within other social relations, and how they manifest in everyday life. Finally, it discusses how changing socio-political circumstances, especially within the framework of the

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[1]   In this paper the city is referred to as "Mitrovica" instead of its Serbian ("Kosovska Mitrovica") or Albanian (indefinite – "Mitrovic(ë)", definite – "Mitrovica") variants. The rationale behind this choice is to use a shorter form which is commonly encountered in English publications and which is also probably the most neutral designation of the city in the context of linguistic disputes over Mitrovica's status.

most recent conflict, affect their existence and shape their contemporary dynamics.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to elaborate on the main currents of research on neighbourhood and neighbourly relations in contemporary urban settings with a special focus on the context of the city during and in the aftermath of a war. Its analysis is based on sources gathered during fieldwork[2] in Mitrovica and the region, but it is important to emphasize that the research in Mitrovica had not originally been planned and conducted with the exclusive purpose of investigating relations within neighbourhoods in this city. Rather, the objective of my research in Mitrovica was broader: I had intended to explore the state of contemporary social relations in this city and the dynamics of social structure in the context of integration and disintegration processes. I outlined the complex relations between Mitrovica's residents through their everyday social practices, such as communication, mobility, and mutual contacts. Crucially, the resulting analysis exceeded description of the two dominant communities living in Mitrovica: it also includes discussion of responses collected from members of minority groups and others, such as foreigners. For this reason, I created a research team consisting of 22 independent interviewers from different local communities (Albanian, Bosniak, Roma, and Serbian) who conducted structured interviews. Finally, the research findings were complemented by

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2 Fieldwork is to be understood as a set of practices, including coexistence and living with the community within which one conducts research. The proper research phase from November 2017 to June 2018 was preceded by preliminary research carried out from 2015. During my fieldwork, I organised long-term stays on both sides of the city, its North and South, in different locations, as well as short-term stays supported by scholarships in Niš, Pristina, and Belgrade. This was an important element of my research, due to possible differences in perceptions of the city, depending on the season, the main location during my stay, activities planned, and experiences. Research was conducted using several methods: structured and semi-structured interviews, unanticipated conversations, observation involving partial participation, and the analysis of written and visual materials. I have gathered 304 structured interviews conducted by a research team consisting of 22 independent interviewers from different local communities (Albanian, Bosniak, Roma, and Serbian) and recorded 24 semi-structured interviews with adult residents of Mitrovica. Interviews were conducted in Albanian, English, or Serbian depending on the interviewees' preference.

an analysis that integrates possible reasons for disintegration; e.g., these resulting from economic inequalities, religion, rural-urban frictions, political affiliations, and individual behaviour. The investigation of the perception of neighbours was only one of the aspects of my research which, in my opinion, should be continued. However, it was only after conducting the research in Mitrovica that the issue of neighbourly relations became my main focus. This is why I later conducted in-depth analysis of the state of research on neighbourhoods in other post-conflict communities in the region and experienced neighbourly relations in various urban settings for myself. Therefore, to enhance my remarks on how the issue of urban neighbourhood should be addressed, or rather what other researchers should take into consideration when facing this research problem, I will use selected outcomes of my fieldwork conducted in Mitrovica, Kosovo as well as results of my further research and observations on this topic.

According to my experience, there are several areas which should be addressed while investigating neighbourly relations in a contemporary post-conflict urban space: the historical background of the city development, its contemporary characteristics as an urban setting (in this case as city of *post-* orders) and reference to contemporary distinctions, especially other ones than those determined by ethnic/national or confessional identities in shaping relations among inhabitants of a post-conflict city.

The city, as well as the neighbourhood within it, is not an independent phenomenon with strictly defined boundaries or a stable structure of relations. Throughout the centuries it operates within a wider framework (including administrative, political, and economic spheres), and it always remains a part of dynamic network(s). The most important factors are the city's spatial expansion, diversity, population growth, functional and infrastructural development, and they change together with its position on a centre-periphery axis. The history of Mitrovica's development – from a small settlement to an industrial centre – may serve as an example of this process.

Mitrovica appears in documents of the second half of the 15th century (the period of the Ottoman conquest), and only in the 16th century it is described as an urban settlement. Its status and development – as well as that of other cities located on the Balkan Peninsula – was closely connected with the Empire's current geopolitical position[3] and with the rise and fall of nearby settlements, mostly Trepča and

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3   Nikolai TODOROV, *The Balkan City 1400–1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983).

Zvečan, but also Vushtrri/Vučitrn and Banjska.[4] Until the end of the 19th century and the 1873 construction of the railway line connecting Mitrovica and Skopje, Mitrovica remained a small and rather insignificant Turkish-Eastern type settlement, judging by the number of public buildings such as mosques, hans, hamams, and workshops.[5] What is extremely important until the end of the 19th century, and partly until the end of the Second World War, the city was located exclusively on the right bank of the Ibar river. This fact would significantly influence Mitrovica's further development, especially during the socialist period. From 1874 onwards Mitrovica was developing into a significant trading centre, and after 1878, also into a military and political urban centre. With the onset of the 20th century, and especially after the Second World War, Mitrovica gradually became an industrial centre of great significance. The reactivation of the Trepča Mines[6] in the 1920s under British ownership was a crucial moment for Mitrovica's further development. Postwar Mitrovica was a socialist city with a great industrial complex; however, the new order was not equally distributed across the urban fabric of Mitrovica. In the 1950s, the first investment in the new residential area in the north was initiated by the Trepča mining company.[7] Thus, a division between the northern and southern parts emerged as a result of socialist urban solutions. The former was progressive and represented the future development of both the socialist city and socialist society, while the latter was reminiscent of a backward, conservative, and not-quite-urban environment with limited transformation potential. Remnants of this divi-

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4   Atanasije UROŠEVIĆ, "Kosovska Mitrovica – antropogeografska istraživanja," *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SANU* (Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti) 2–3 (1953–1954), pp. 63–90; Avram POPOVIĆ, "O postanku Kosovske Mitrovice," *Južna Srbija* 2/12 (1922), pp. 169–174; Milislav LUTOVAC, "Zvečan, Trepča i Kosovska Mitrovica," *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva* 30/2 (1950), pp. 87–99; Ali HADRI – Živko AVRAMOVSKI, eds., *Kosovska Mitrovica i okolina / Mitrovica dhe rrethina* (Mitrovica/Mitrovicë, 1979); Tahir ABDYLI, ed., *Titova Mitrovica 1945–1980/ Mitrovica e Titos 1945–1980* (Titova Mitrovica/Mitrovica e Titos, 1985).

5   Atanasije UROŠEVIĆ, "Kosovska Mitrovica – antropogeografska istraživanja," *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SANU* 2–3 (1953–1954), pp. 63–90.

6   Trepča Mine – Miniera e Trepçës (alb.), Rudnik Trepča (srb.). Industrial complex crucial for the economic development of Mitrovica (and Kosovo region), especially from the 1920s onwards.

7   For more information, see: T. ABDYLI, ed., *Titova Mitrovica 1945–1980/ Mitrovica e Titos 1945–1980* (Titova Mitrovica/ Mitrovica e Titos, 1985); Pieter TROCH, "Socialist Urban development in Kosovska Mitrovica – Compressed Socio-Spatial Duality in a Medium-Sized Industrial City in Yugoslavia'a Underdeveloped South," *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* 25/2 (2018), pp. 33–61.

sion still persist in the contemporary cityscape.[8] It is worth underlining that the urban development that had begun in socialist Mitrovica was later interrupted by the collapse of Yugoslavia.

Many contemporary cities in the former Yugoslavia, as well as throughout the Balkans, can be characterized as post-socialist, post-industrial, then later as postwar, or post-conflict. Their inhabitants experience (post)modern social reality[9] marked by uncertainty, fluidity, randomness, and intensive processes of globalization and individualization at the same time. Nevertheless, the dynamic of post-orders differs significantly depending on the history of the city and its position within the centre-periphery axis. For instance, the experience of socio-economic transformation and post-industrial decline will be completely different in Belgrade – the capital city of socialist Yugoslavia – and in Mitrovica – a small, or at best medium-sized industrial city in the peripheries, with its development depending on the functioning of the Trepča complex. The same concerns their urban orders, the history of their functions within a wider context, and the influence of architectural orders that followed the "Ottoman city." In the case of Mitrovica, the socialist city is present throughout the entire urban fabric,[10] since such a large part of it was built after the Second World War. And finally, there is no doubt that the experience of war in the 1990s and the post-conflict reality are completely different in the case of the capital of former Yugoslavia, and of the city located in the north of Kosovo – Yugoslavia's former province. According to Pieter Troch, in Mitrovica the post-conflict reconstruction of the city intertwines with the post-socialist urban transformation and the post-industrial decline.[11] Moreover, keeping in the mind dynamic of the city's development, one should expect that the experience of urban reality in particular districts and thus, neighbourhoods will probably be different as well. In this paper, the characteristics of the post-conflict city remain my main reference point; nevertheless, with an emphasis on its constant interrelation with other *post-* characteristics, I also take a closer look at different dimensions of con-

8   Pieter TROCH – Thomas JANSSENS, *Layers of time in the Urban Landscape. Visions of socialist urbanity in Mitrovica* (Berlin: Jovis, 2018).
9   Ulrich BECK, *World Risk Society* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publisher, 1999); Zygmunt BAU-MANN, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); Manuel CASTELLS, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); Anthony GIDDENS, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).
10   Pieter TROCH – Thomas JANSSENS, *Layers of time in the Urban Landscape. Visions of socialist urbanity in Mitrovica* (Berlin: 2018).
11   Ibidem.

flict in this post-conflict city at a micro level of resolution, through analysis of complex relations among the residents of various neighbourhoods.

An important aspect of this contribution remains the focus on distinctions[12] other than those determined by ethnic/national or confessional identities in shaping relations among inhabitants of a post-conflict city. The approach focusing on distinctions among inhabitants of a particular city other than ethnic/national, or confessional, which instead takes into account differences of age, gender, political affiliations, origins, economic status, level of education, profession, personal character, etc. to explain their mutual relations, is not new neither innovative,[13] but it is still underestimated by researchers working on topics related to Kosovo and other post-conflict cities.

Ger Duijzings, who conducted research in Kosovo in the 1990s, stated that in daily life and local contexts non-ethnic divisions are much more salient than ethnic ones. He provides examples of such dimensions, as clan or tribal loyalties, religion, the urban-versus-rural dichotomy, language (not always coterminous with ethnic divisions), gender, and political or ideological differences (for instance, between communists and "counter-revolutionaries" in the 1980s) which might lead to diversity in a society.[14] Emily Shaw perceives Mitrovica and Kosovo as a place where potentially contradictory motives of larger groups and local actors meet;[15] therefore, dynamics between conflicted groups on national-local axis, also within the same ethnic/national group, should not be glossed over. Ivan Gušić argues that

12 Pierre BOURDIEU, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).
13 David HENIG, "'Knocking on my neighbour's door': On metamorphoses of sociality in rural Bosnia, *Critique of Anthropology* 32/1 (2012), pp. 3–19; Stef JANSEN, "Who's Afraid of White Socks? Towards a critical understanding of post-Yugoslav urban self-perception", *Ethnologia Balkanica* 9 (2005), pp.151–167; Monika PALMBERGER, *How generations remember: Conflicting histories and shared memories in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016); Anders STEFANSSON, "Urban Exile: Locals, Newcomers and the Cultural Transformation of Sarajevo," in *The New Bosnian Mosaic. Identities, Memories and Moral Claims in a Post-War Society*, eds. Xavier BOUGAREL – Elissa HELMS – Ger DUIJZINGS (Routledge: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), pp. 59–78; Cornelia SORABJI, "Bosnian Neighbourhoods Revisited: Tolerance, Commitment and Komšiluk in Sarajevo," in *On the Margins of Religion*, eds. Frances PINE – João de PINA-CABRAL (New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), pp. 97–114.
14 Ger DUIJZINGS, *Religion and the Politics of Identity in Kosovo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
15 Emily SHAW, "A tale of three cities: Considering divided cities in the former Yugoslavia," *Centre for Slavic and East European Studies* 7 (2003), pp. 7–11, 21–26.

postwar Mitrovica is shaped by urban conflicts over peace(s) produced by various governing attempts. He identifies several dimensions and groups of individuals, who often pursue contradictory goals, representing different governing attempts (both organised and ambiguous) by the residents of the city, e.g. domestic actors such as family and friends, criminal gangs, and local elites, and by outside ones such as Belgrade, Pristina, or Brussels.[16] During his research, Rok Župančič made an observation within Serbian community, and he argued that the EU peacebuilding engagement in Kosovo intensified the intra-ethnic split of Serbs into what were called "boycotters" and "integrationists."[17] When it comes to the influence of particular socio-political groups on the contemporary reality in Kosovo, researchers also point out that the higher education system and academic environment are important and frequently underestimated factors.[18] It seems that, except for affiliation with particular groups or actor(s) within the urban space, people's residential status is what matters most. Miloš Luković has noted that, apart from ethnic and confessional differences, the residents of Mitrovica might be divided into three groups according to their residential status: *refugees*, *newcomers*, and *old citizens*.[19] Aleksandar Pavlović, apart from noting acts of solidarity, also identifies the elements of division in the Serbian community regarding, among others, the residential status of its members. There is a difference between the native inhabitant (*starosedelac*) and a newcomer (*doseljenik*).[20]

Nevertheless, total rejection of ethnic/national and confessional divisions in regard to the relations shaped within conflict context, where politics of identity was the driving force, is completely unjustified. Therefore, I will not abandon either conflict or the group distinctiveness framework. Rather, my aims in terms of researching neighbourly relations in urban settings are to draw attention to the city in conflict as a context, and to take a closer look at the issue of conflict in neigh-

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16 Ivan GUŠIĆ *War, peace & the city: Urban conflicts over peace(s) in the postwar cities of Belfast, Mitrovica, and Mostar* (PhD diss., Lund University Lund: 2017).

17 Rok ŽUPANČIĆ, "EU peace-building in the north of Kosovo and psychosocial implications for the locals: A bottom up perspective on normative power Europe," *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 21 (2018), pp. 1–18.

18 Adthe HETEMI, *Student Movements for the Republic of Kosovo: 1968, 1981 and 1997*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements (Palgrave MacMillan: Cham 2020); Denisa KOSTOVICOVA, *Kosovo. The politics of identity and space* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005).

19 Miloš LUKOVIĆ, "Istorijske, urbano-demografske i sociolingvističke osobenosti Kosovske Mitrovice," in *Život u enklavi*, ed. Biljana SIKIMIĆ (Kragujevac: Prizma, 2005), pp. 11–87.

20 Aleksandar S. PAVLOVIĆ, *Svakodnevni život stanovnika severne Kosovske Mitrovice* (PhD diss., University of Belgrade, Belgrade 2016).

bourhoods in everyday (group and individual) practices and motivations. That is why, in the next section, I elaborate on the issues of urbicide, the concept of "new wars," and the destruction of cities in the context of the conflict in Yugoslavia. After that, I focus on the cultural phenomenon connected with the neighbourly relations in the Balkan region, such as narratives about the local concept of *komshiluk* in post-conflict context. Finally, I present an overview of the microcosms of changeable neighbourhoods in Mitrovica and elaborate on the identified specifies of neighbourly relations in the urban settings.

The destruction of the city: new wars and urbicide

The entanglement of cities in wars and their importance as military centres has been in flux throughout many centuries. In medieval Europe, cities played a special role as fortified spaces.[21] Mitrovica, for instance, played the role of a strategic garrison at the end of the 19th century, when it became a border city of the Ottoman Empire, after the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 had been implemented. Modernity transforming the relationship of cities and states resulted in cities losing their military significance to some extent; however, the capitals, and perhaps centres of districts that remained political, administrative and military centres of power, formed an exception.[22] Industrial cities, including Mitrovica, also fall into this category. During the Second World War, the Nazis paid special attention to Trepča, as lead and zinc production were indispensable for their war machine.[23] Due to Trepča's importance to the German war economy, Mitrovica came under special German administration in occupied Serbia;[24] along with the neighbouring districts it constituted a special unit in the German occupation zone and became the seat of the Kreiss-Komandantur.[25] Industrial cities were of great strategic importance as en-

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21 Martin SHAW, "New Wars of the City: Relationships of 'Urbicide' and 'Genocide'," in: *Cities, War and Terrorism. Toward Urban Geopolitics*, ed. Stephen GRAHAM (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp. 141–153.

22 Ibidem.

23 Tahir ABDYLI, ed., *Titova Mitrovica 1945–1980 / Mitrovica e Titos 1945–1980* (Titova Mitrovica / Mitrovica e Titos, 1985).

24 Miloš LUKOVIĆ, "Istorijske, urbano-demografske i sociolingvističe osobenosti Kosovske Mitrovice," in *Život u enklavi*, pp. 11–87.

25 Ali HADRI – Živko AVRAMOVSKI, eds., *Kosovska Mitrovica i okolina / Mitrovica dhe rrethina* (Mitrovica/Mitrovicë: 1979).

gines of industrialized wars.[26] During the war, the city played a crucial role as a provider of mineral resources rather than being a significant military garrison. Nevertheless, with the onset of modernity, cities in general were no longer built for military defence, and became open to attack, especially in the face of new techniques of total warfare that used tanks, warplanes, and bombs.[27] Additionally, due to their political, economic and cultural importance, urban areas became strategic targets.

Killing the cities remains one of the characteristics of "new wars," defined as a new type of organized violence that developed during the last decades of the 20th century.[28] The conflict in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s exemplifies this kind of "new war," especially in Bosnia. "New wars" can be contrasted with earlier ones in terms of their goals and methods of warfare, and in the way they are financed. The aim is to mobilize extremist politics based on fear and hatred in order to make people perform identity politics, which has been understood as a claim to power based in a particular identity. The new mode of warfare borrows from counter-insurgency movements, and uses techniques of destabilization, atrocities against non-combatants, sieges, destruction of historic monuments, etc. as essential strategies. Fighting units are highly decentralized and include disparate range of different types of groups: paramilitary units, local warlords, criminal gangs, police forces, mercenary groups, and only after that, also regular armies. "New wars" operate within decentralized economic systems and are highly dependent on external sources.[29]

During the war in the 1990s, numerous Yugoslav cities faced various kinds of destruction: they were put under siege, battered with constant firepower and air strikes, objects or places located within the city deliberately were targeted by armed forces, and city inhabitants killed or displaced. Residential areas, and neighbourhoods within them, were no exception.[30]

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26 M. SHAW, "New Wars of the City."

27 Ibidem.

28 Mary KALDOR, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 1999).

29 Ibidem.

30 It is worth emphasizing that cities became victims not only of hostile attacks from different types of groups involved in the immediate military actions in former Yugoslavia, but also destruction caused by the NATO bombings of 1999. One of the objective of the controversial NATO Allied Force operation (23 March – 10 June 1999) was to stop the military action and to immediately end the violence and repression in Kosovo. However, the NATO strikes were aimed at both the Yugoslav military potential and at infrastructure linked to civilian targets: roads, bridges, power stations, oil depots, and factories. Unfortunately, as a result of mistakes, numerous accidental lo-

In many cases, the destruction deliberately wrought on cities was so severe that it was described using the special term "urbicide," which is defined as a form of genocide carried out against a city: it is the systematic, planned, and deliberate destruction of urban space. This term is mainly used to refer to urban centres in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially Mostar and Sarajevo. In literature, the sense of "urbicide" is also expressed as "killing of the city" [*ubijanje grada*][31] or as a broader "cultural genocide" [*kulturocid*].[32] The urbicide can be interpreted through the different backgrounds of hostility towards the city. The cities were built by the Ottoman Turks, where Muslims were predominantly concentrated, while the villages were inhabited largely by Christians. Cities, supposedly, were considered by the aggressors as a symbol of Ottoman power and as spaces that had been appropriated culturally by Islam and its adherents.[33] Following this perception, with the emergence of nationalism, rural areas were therefore connected – for the purpose of nationalistic narrative – to notions of national purity and tradition, whereas cities were associated with a despised heterogeneity and oppression. Urbicide is also considered as a form of genocide (similar to ethnocide, politicide, etc.) rather than as a separate phenomenon. This understanding of urbicide implies that both the spatial and the social order should be taken into consideration in these discussions, since it is problematic to separate the targeting of an urban community from the destruction of urban fabric.[34] Urbicide is interpreted in terms of a crime committed not only against a group of people (defined as a hostile ethnic/national group), but also urban society, which is characterized as pluralistic, democratic, and cosmopolitan. Ethnic-nationalist political movements often draw on rural and small-town hatred of the city, which was seen as a source of moral pollution that must be "cleansed".[35] Bogdanović has no doubt that in the centre of military doctrine of

cations were hit. 1400 people were killed as "collateral damage", and many facilities were destroyed, including historic cites (M. KALDOR *New and Old Wars*).

31 Bogdan BOGDANOVIĆ, *Tri ratne knjige* (Novi Sad: Artprint, 2008)

32 Ewa WRÓBLEWSKA-TROCHIMIUK, "Kulturocid i urbicid (Chorwacja)," in *Leksykon idei wędrownych na słowiańskich Bałkanach (XVIII–XXI w.)*, ed. Grażyna SZWAT-GYŁY-BOW, t. 10 (Warszawa: Instytut Slawistyki PAN, 2018), pp. 202–206. See: https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12528/1521 (accessed 14 April 2023).

33 Agata JAWOSZEK, "Kulturocid i urbicid (Bośnia i Hercegowina)," in *Leksykon idei wędrownych na słowiańskich Bałkanach* (XVIII–XXI w.) ed. Grażyna SZWAT-GYŁYBOW, t. 10 (Warszawa: Instytut Slawistyki PAN, 2018), pp. 202–206. See: https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12528/1521 (accessed 14 April 2023).

34 M. SHAW, "New Wars of the City".

35 Ibidem.

1990s one of the first goals was that of killing cities: he argues that killers of cities present hostility towards everything that the city represents – complex semantic sequences of spirit, morality, speech, taste, style … [36] Moreover, the action of killing the city may not be observed exclusively in the framework of military actions; namely, murders and physical destruction. The cultural deterioration of the city, expressed also in terms of its peasantization after the conflict, which is connected to the massive shifts of population and particularly the inflow of newcomers, is perceived as a dimension of urbicide as well.[37] Urbicide reveals therefore more than a conflict on a confessional or ethnic/national basis (how the war in the 1990s has usually been perceived), but also conflicts intertwined with clashes between locals and newcomers, and axes that divide populations into categories of urban-rural and/or civilisation-barbarism. Because of these conflicts, cities become less heterogenous, and they are divided, plunged into economic crises, and stripped of infrastructure and cultural heritage.

Researchers who want to approach the issue of neighbourhood and neighbourly relations in a post-conflict urban setting, such Mitrovica today, should take several other factors, in addition to the historical background, into consideration. Namely: the destruction of the city's spatial order, deaths and casualties, shifts of population, post-conflict urban environment reconstruction, and, last but not least, the local perception of urbanity as well as of neighbourhood, neighbours, and neighbourly relations.

The urban space of Mitrovica changed significantly in the 1990s and later as a result of the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia and the Kosovo War. During the armed conflict Mitrovica went through a phase of massive destruction, when the residential areas, infrastructure, and most of its cultural heritage were damaged or destroyed and many of its inhabitants killed or displaced.

One of the dimensions of city's destruction was its division resulting from the French KFOR decision in 1999 to block temporary bridges on the Ibar river, aimed at preventing Albanians from relocating into the northern part of Mitrovica, as well as from the events perpetuating division that followed. The main bridge, which remains a symbol of the dissolution, serves as a reminder of the NATO bombings and of numerous incidents of disintegrating potential that took place

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36 B. BOGDANOVIĆ, *Tri ratne knjige*.
37 Anders STEFANSSON, "Urban Exile: Locals, Newcomers and the Cultural Transformation of Sarajevo," in *The New Bosnian Mosaic*, pp. 59–78; Bogdan BOGDANOVIĆ, *Tri ratne knjige* (Novi Sad: Artprint, 2008); Ivana MAČEK, "'Imitation of Life': Negotiating Normality in Sarajevo under Siege," in *The New Bosnian Mosaic*, pp. 39–58.

after the conflict in Mitrovica. A description of the events located on the bridge or in its vicinity could indeed be the subject of a separate study. However, one should particularly bear in mind the 1999 division of the city, 2004 riots, 2008 declaration of Kosovo's independence and ensuing riots, 2011 riots and setting up barricades, the reactions to Brussels Agreement in 2013, the "Peace Park" construction in 2015, and the initial and further works on the bridge reconstruction since 2016.

At the time of dissolution the southern part contained: the main bus station, the Trepča Mines, the Orthodox Church, the Christian Cemetery, the Catholic Church, and some sports facilities, while the northern part had: the regional hospital, most of the modern buildings, the Bosnian district, and the Muslim Cemetery. Over time, communities on both sides of the river developed their own, separate institutions (for example, local administration, universities, and health care facilities) which allow them to fulfil most of their vital needs without having to cross the river. The subsequent disintegration of the city (also on an administrative level) caused a new spatial (dis)order due to the provision of access to all the important services for inhabitants. The division, which at first was supposed to be a temporary solution, only deepened with the establishment of dual infrastructure and with the population shifts to from, and within the city. Changes in spatial and social dimensions also obstructed in-city mobility, and affected the frequency of interactions. Moreover, they caused the emergence of places that many avoided or even considered dangerous, and they interfered with inhabitants' mental maps of the city and neighbourhoods.

One of the most striking phenomena in the destruction of the urban fabric that was typical for the Yugoslav war in the 1990s was the damage dealt to cultural heritage sites. The purpose of such actions was to remove physical landmarks defining and dedicating parts of the social environment to particular groups. The destruction of religious buildings and historic monuments was supposed to erase all traces of cultural claims to a specific area.[38]

When it comes to the cultural heritage of Kosovo, among the main targets of destruction were sacral objects (churches and mosques with libraries), tower houses (*kulla*), dervish lodges (*tekke*), archives, and historic bazaars. The most dramatic actions of heritage destruction in Mitrovica took place in 1999, 2000 and 2004, and were directed at both Albanian and Serbian cultural sites.

Most of the mosques in Mitrovica and in Kosovo were destroyed in 1999 by hostile forces, and none of the old mosques have survived in the city. The following

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38 M. KALDOR, *New and Old Wars*.

mosques are no longer present in the city of Mitrovica: the Bajri or Hamidiye Mosque (*Xhamia e Bairit*: 19th century – 1999) located close to the garrison, the Ibër Mosque of Mitrovica (*Xhamia e Ibrit*: 19th century – 1990s) located near the main bridge in the northern part, the Gazi Isa Beg Mosque (*Xhamia Gazi Isa Beg*: 18th century – destroyed twice: 1912, 1999), and the Mosque of Hajji Vesel or Hysen Çaush (*Xhamia e Haxhi Veselit*: 18th century – 1999).[39] Analysis of the damage to these buildings indicates that their destruction was deliberate rather than a result of being caught in cross-fire of military operations.[40]

The destruction of Serbian sacral heritage started in mid-1999 as revenge attacks by the returning Albanian population. St. Sava Orthodox Church, in the southern part of Mitrovica, which had been built in several phases between 1896 and 1913, was attacked on March 2004 by local Albanians, who looted it and set it on fire.[41] A UNESCO report also mentions the 1999 destruction of a Serbian Chapel and cemetery in Mitrovica.[42] The destruction of cultural heritage remains a great loss not only to the city itself, and to the particular groups connected to its non-material value, but also to the neighbourhoods within which those objects or places used to serve many integrating functions and were inevitable reference points for everyday practices.

The techniques of destabilization exploited by the new warfare involve population expulsion through means such as mass killing and forcible resettlement. The reason why new conflicts are characterized by high numbers of refugees and displaced persons is that most of the violence is directed against civilians.[43]

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39 Jusuf OSMANI, *Vendbanimet e Kosovës – Mitrovica, Zubni-Potoku, Zveçani* (Prishtinë: 2005); Azemi AVNI, *Toponimet e Mitrovicës* (Prishtinë: 2015); Sabri BAJGORA – Robert ELSIE – Petrit SELIMI, eds., *Destruction of Islamic Heritage in the Kosovo War, 1998–1999, Interfaith Kosovo* (Pristina: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, 2014).

40 Andrew HERSCHER – András RIEDLMAYER, "Monument and Crime: The Destruction of Historic Architecture in Kosovo," *Grey Room* 1 (2000), pp. 108–122; S. BAJGORA – R. ELSIE – P. SELIMI, eds., *Destruction of Islamic Heritage in the Kosovo War, 1998–1999, Interfaith Kosovo*.

41 Ivana ŽENARJU, "Izgradnja i opremanje crkve svetog Save u Kosovskoj Mitrovici (1896–1913)," *Baština* 34 (2013), pp. 393–417.

42 Cultural heritage in South-East Europe: Kosovo. Protection and Conservation of a Multi-Ethnic Heritage in Danger, UNESCO Mission Report April 2004, http://portal.unesco.org/es/files/23707/11011375003Kosovo_Mission_Report_2.pdf/Kosovo%2BMission%2BReport%2B2.pdf (accessed 14 April 2023).

43 M. KALDOR, *New and Old Wars*.

As a result of the 1998–1999 war and its aftermath approximately 220 thousand people were displaced from Kosovo.[44] The largest wave of migration was taking place in the 1990s, reaching its peak during the war in 1998–1999, when 51,728 residents were reported to have emigrated.[45] The large-scale displacements within Kosovo took the following patterns: Albanians moved from northern municipalities Leposavić/q, Mitrovica North, Zubin Potok, and Zvečan/Zveçan to Mitrovica South and Priština/Prishtinë; Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptians (hereinafter RAE) moved from different areas to predominantly RAE neighbourhoods; and Serbs moved from different areas either to northern municipalities of Leposavić/q, Mitrovica North, Zubin Potok and Zvečan/Zveçan or to Serb-majority municipalities such as Gračanica/Graçanicë and Štrpce/Shtërpcë. Albanian and RAE Internally Displaced Persons (hereinafter IDPs) were displaced primarily from Mitrovica while Serbian IDPs from different locations in Kosovo, in most of the cases the original displacement took place in 1999.[46]

During the period preceding the conflict, the war itself, and also the post-conflict phase, the city of Mitrovica experienced significant population shifts and in many cases total change of neighbourhoods composition as well. Several trends significantly influenced their social composition, and consequently also social relations in Mitrovica: emigration, internal displacement, influx of people from villages and neighbouring rural municipalities,[47] and, in the period that followed the conflict, returns of IDPs.

Mitrovica experienced significant emigration flow after the 1990s, the greatest level in 1992 with around 11 % of migration from this municipality, but it was

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44 Assessment of Voluntary Returns in Kosovo, November 2019, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, https://www.osce.org/mission-in-kosovo/440726 (accessed 14 April 2023).

45 Migrimi Kosovar, Agjencia e Statistikës së Kosovës (ASK), Prishtine 2014, https://ask.rks-gov. net/sq/agjencia-e-statistikave-te-kosoves/add-news/migrimi-kosovar-2014. (accessed 14 April 2023). The first report on Kosovan migration prepared by the Kosovo Agency of Statistics based on various data for the migration period from 1969 up to 2011 (2011 Population and Housing Census).

46 Profiling of Internally Displaced Persons in Kosovo. Assessing the route to durable solutions for IDPs in Kosovo, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 2018, https://www.unhcr.org/see/10865-profiling-of-internally-displaced-people-in-kosovo.html (accessed 15 April, 2023).

47 Eggert HARDTEN, "An overview of the development of Mitrovica through the years" (The Kosovar Stability Initiative: 2014), http://www.iksweb.org/repository/docs/Dokumenti_per_ Mitrovicen_03_864583.pdf, (accessed 15 January, 2019).

still visible in the years 1997–2000.[48] According to a UNDP poll, 67.4 % of Serb residents of North Mitrovica did not live in Mitrovica before 1999, while 19.8 % of Albanians declared themselves to be newcomers and 57.3 % stated they had lived in Mitrovica before 1999; however, many refused to answer this question.[49] The majority of IDPs lived in the Mitrovica region in 2011.[50] Additionally, many of those who were forced by the conflict to migrate had to move from one part of the city to another. About 30 % of representatives of all the groups declared that they had been displaced from the southern to the northern side of the city, or vice versa.[51]

This data is confirmed in my research: about one third of respondents answered positively when asked whether they had been displaced or changed their place of residence in the city. Those who had, had mostly migrated between the southern and northern parts of the city, but some had also moved within the same parts, with a few respondents having been displaced from other settlements close to Mitrovica (for instance, Leposavić/q or Vushtrri/Vučitrn), and some of them having emigrated temporarily during the war. In terms of ethnic/national identity, more Serbs than Albanians (25.6 % vs. 18.3 %) declared that they had been displaced. At the same time, all of the Ashkali respondents, most of the Roma, half of them Turks, and a few Bosniaks, claimed they had changed their place of residence. A significantly number of respondents declared living in Mitrovica permanently, while several had been displaced during the Kosovo War.[52] All the above could lead to the conclusion that as a result of conflict the city went through tremendous changes in its social composition, with a large part of North Mitrovica residents never having had any contact based in mutual coexistence with their South Mitrovica counterparts.

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48 Migrimi Kosovar, Agjencia e Statistikës së Kosovës (ASK), Prishtine 2014, https://ask.rks-gov.net/sq/agjencia-e-statistikave-te-kosoves/add-news/migrimi-kosovar-2014 (accessed 15 April, 2023).

49 Mitrovicë/a Public Opinion Survey, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), March 2011, http://unkt.org/en/mitrovica-public-opinion-survey-2011/, (accessed 10 March, 2016)

50 Kosovo. Durable solutions still elusive 13 years after conflict, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, October 2012, https://www.internal-displacement.org/publications/kosovo-durable-solutions-still-elusive-13-years-after-conflict (accessed 15 April, 2023).

51 Mitrovicë/a Public Opinion Survey, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), March 2011, http://unkt.org/en/mitrovica-public-opinion-survey-2011/ (accessed 10 March, 2016)

52 Marzena MACIULEWICZ, *Divided Cities. A Case Study of Mitrovica* (PhD diss., Faculty of "Artes Liberales" – University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2019).

Another important trend which should be taken into consideration while approaching the issue of the neighbourhoods social composition are the returns. Repatriates face difficulties in accessing housing, education, social assistance (including the health care system), and finding suitable employment.[53] Many still face obstacles in obtaining personal and property documents from their places of origin, in repossessing their property, or getting compensation for it.[54] It is interesting that the majority of Albanian IDPs prefer to return to their place of origin, by contrast with RAE and Serbs – an overwhelming majority of whom prefer to integrate in their places of displacement.[55]

In many cases of post-conflict urban centres in former Yugoslavia, the disintegration of the city was analysed from the perspective of a destroyed community.[56] Research on Mostar, Vukovar, and Mitrovica, as well as other aforementioned studies on divided cities, shows that the ethnic/national dimension of community's disintegration prevails over other aspects of division. Most analyses of disintegrated communities in divided cities focus on the relations within two dominant groups; e.g., Croats and Bosniaks (in Mostar), Serbs and Croats (in Vukovar), or Albanians and Serbs (in Mitrovica). To what extent we can talk about a previously integrated community is a rather problematic issue, but in post-conflict context the process of community's disintegration should be somehow addressed. The dynamic within communities remains an important reference point for research on neighbourhood(s).

Today's Mitrovica is inhabited predominantly by two communities: Albanians and Serbs, and one may argue that exploring relations between these major groups is more than enough. But Mitrovica's residents include Albanians, Ashkali,

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53 An Assessment of the Implementation of the Legal and Policy Framework for the Reintegration of Repatriated Persons in Kosovo, December 2016, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, https://www.osce.org/kosovo/290871 (accessed 15 April, 2023).

54 Kosovo. Durable solutions still elusive 13 years after conflict, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, October 2012, https://www.internal-displacement.org/publications/kosovo-durable-solutions-still-elusive-13-years-after-conflict (accessed 15 April, 2023).

55 Profiling of Internally Displaced Persons in Kosovo. Assessing the route to durable solutions for IDPs in Kosovo, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 2018, https://www.unhcr.org/see/10865-profiling-of-internally-displaced-people-in-kosovo.html (accessed 15 April , 2023).

56 Šime PILIĆ – Mateja BOŠNJAK, "Hoće li Mostar ostati komunikacijski podijeljen grad?", *Informatol* 44 (2011), pp. 101–114; Dinka ČORKALO-BIRUŠKI – Dean AJDUKOVIĆ, "Od dekonstrukcije do rekonstrukcije traumatizirane zajednice: primjer Vukovara," *Revija za socijalnu politiku* 16/1 (2009), pp. 1–24; E. SHAW, "A tale of three cities: Considering divided cities in the former Yugoslavia," pp. 7–11, 21–26.

Bosniaks, Egyptians, Gorani, Montenegrins, Roma, Serbs and Turks.[57] The foreigners, namely the representatives of international organisations, military forces, EU representatives, NGO workers and volunteers etc., are another group which is often ignored in research and does not appear in the statistics. The same applies to the diaspora whose representatives visit Kosovo mostly during summer, and who significantly influence the overall situation in the city, especially in the economic sphere (UNDP 2014). Therefore, the influence of local minorities, foreigners, and the diaspora on situation in neighbourhoods should be taken into consideration.

Komshiluk as a local phenomenon of neighbourly relations

Analysis of the neighbourly relations wouldn't be complete without cultural background. It is crucial to take several factors into consideration: how the issue is expressed in language; significant traditions which influenced its contemporary forms; the place of this relation within other social relations; the way it is manifested in everyday life; and how changing socio-political circumstances, especially within the framework of the latest conflict, affect it. Particularly in the Balkans, the phenomenon of *komshiluk*, which corresponds with the all mentioned above contexts, should not be omitted from any discussion of neighbourly relations.

The words *neighbour*(*hood*) have two equivalents in Serbo-Croatian and contemporary Serbian language: *komšija*/*komšiluk* and *sused*(*stvo*). According to the dictionary *Turkisms in the Serbo-Croatian-Croatian Serbian language* compiled

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57 Municipal profiles 2018, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Mission in Kosovo (2019), https://www.osce.org/mission-in-kosovo/410279 (accessed 15 April, 2023). Its northern part, including the surrounding villages, is inhabited by approximately 29,460 people, there are about 22,530 Kosovo Serbs and 4,900 Kosovo Albanians residing in the city and in surrounding villages, as well as approximately 1,000 Kosovo Bosniaks, 580 Gorani, 210 Turks, 200 Roma, and 40 Ashkali residing in the city (OSCE 2018). According to *Kosovo Population and Housing Census 2011*, there are 70,289 people (71,909 in the municipality) living in South Mitrovica: 69,497 Albanians, 518 Turks, 416 Bosniaks, 528 Roma, 647 Ashkali, 23 Gorani, and 14 Serbs (OSCE 2018). Statistical data should be used with a critical approach, many important data on the real situation is not included in reports or simply may not be up to date. The census of the whole city organised in 1991 was boycotted mostly by the Albanian population. The last census by Kosovo Agency of Statistics took place in 2011, and the next one is pending. Since the 2011 census did not include the northern part of Kosovo, the statistics which take into consideration indicators other than ethnic/national identity are available only for the southern part of the city. Problems with organizing censuses are not characteristic only for Kosovo but are commonly recognized in the other post-conflict territories.

by Abdulah Škaljić, the word *komšiluk/konšiluk* comes to local languages from Turkish *komşuluk/ konşuluk*.[58] In dictionaries of Serbo-Croatian literary language,[59] *komšija* is defined as a neighbour while *komšiluk* has two meanings which locate it in rural and urban settings: namely, neighbouring houses and a group of houses in the village or small village. *Sused* is someone who lives nearby, perhaps either a nearest or next-door neighbour, or just seats next to the other, while *susedstvo* is the group of neighbours. None of these meanings imply either emotive or traditional relation, but instead refer to the local group located in the rather small setting of dwellings.

The Albanian derivative from the Turkish word takes the form *komshi* or *kojshi* (in the North) for neighbour,[60] while in Kosovo local variants of *kojshillëk/ kojshilluk* are used to refer to the neighbourhood.[61] In addition, in Albanian there are also the terms *gjiton/gjitoni* (used only in southern Albania) and *fqinj/fqinjësi* or *fqinjëri*, which is used in Kosovo. The word *fqinj* refers not only to someone who lives next door, but also to those who live in neighbouring states (with shared borders) or other places or phenomena located close by in a physical or metaphorical way, such as sharing a village or language.[62] Obviously, the word *fqinj* has more meanings than *komshi* and is not connected exclusively with the idea of local community.

Dictionary definitions do not correspond completely with my linguistic experience in the region, based on the observation of the language practices as well as conversation with native speakers. In my opinion, there is a significant difference between those two equivalents, which lies in the nature of relations implied. According to Denis Ermolin, old citizens of Pristina expressed that they feel the difference between the local word *kojshi* or *komšija* and its synonyms *fqinj* and

58 Abdulah ŠKALJIĆ, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom-hrvatskosrpskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1985).

59 *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog i narodnog jezika*, vol. X, (Beograd: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, 1978); *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika*, vol. VI (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1976).

60 Tahir DIZDARI, *Fjalor i orientalizmave në gjuhën shqipe* (Tiranë: 2010).

61 Denis ERMOLIN, "Multiple voices of the past: (Hi)stories and Memories from the Ethnically Mixed Neighbourhoods in Pristina," *Colloquia Humanistica* 10 (2021), pp. 61–82; https://is-pan.waw.pl/journals/index.php/ch/issue/view/125 (accessed 15 April, 2023).

62 Androkli KOSTALLARI ed., *Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe, Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqiptërsisë, Instituti i Gjuhësisë dhe i Letërsisë* (Tirane: 1980), http://www.fjalori.shkenca.org/ (accessed 15 April, 2023).

sused, where the first one emphasizes local long-lasting relations and the second is used to describe the presence of newcomers.[63]

Taking all of the above into consideration, I am convinced that the observation of local linguistic practices and the recognition of locals' opinions on terms used to describe the neighbourhood is essential. It will not only enable the comprehension of interesting semantic nuances which appear in living language, but also helps define what neighbour(hood) means to a particular local community. As a result, this will bring us closer to solutions for studying the neighbourhood, and a decision on whether *komshiluk* should still remain an important reference point.

Since neighbourly relations were not the focus of my research in Mitrovica, I have imposed the following definition of neighbour: a resident of a space nearby, which may include a shared building, street, part of the street, or backyard. Respondents were asked to declare (using a three-point scale: important, neutral, not important) which of the listed characteristics they consider important when thinking about their neighbour. The perception of a welcomed neighbour was crucial to identify whether ethnic/national component still remains vital in a context of (dis)integration processes. More than 70 % of respondents agreed that characteristics connected with individual character were the most important: they claimed that it was crucial whether a neighbour took care of the surroundings and kept them clean, whether he or she was friendly and sociable, and whether she or he was aggressive or calm.[64] The outcome was satisfying in regard to the more general research on (dis)integration processes I conducted. Nevertheless, when it comes to the issue of neighbourly relations, linguistic practice must also be tightly integrated into the focus of a project. Therefore, the language used for the description of relations and spaces within the neighbourhood should remain the object of analysis.

Researchers in general agree that *komshiluk* is an important cultural phenomenon of the neighbourly relations within local communities in the Balkans. Nevertheless, there are among them disputes over its origins, characteristics, limits, interdependence with external circumstances on above-local level and eventually

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63 Denis ERMOLIN, "Multiple voices of the past: (Hi)stories and Memories from the Ethnically Mixed Neighbourhoods in Pristina," *Colloquia Humanistica* 10 (2021), pp. 61–82. https://ispan. waw.pl/journals/index.php/ch/issue/view/125 (accessed 15 April, 2023).

64 Marzena MACIULEWICZ, *Divided Cities. A Case Study of Mitrovica* (PhD diss., Faculty of "Artes Liberales" – University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2019); Eadem, "Newcomers and locals. Invisible boundaries among inhabitants of a divided city in the Balkans," *Colloquia Humanistica* 8 (2019), pp. 203–220, https://ispan.waw.pl/journals/index.php/ch/article/view/ch.2019.013 (accessed 15 April, 2023).

methodological approaches. *Komshiluk* is described as the idea, concept, category, strategy, practice, regulation system, relation, or process combined with cultural and social phemomena.

Magdalena Lubańska, in her research on relations between Bulgarian-speaking Muslims and Orthodox Christian in Bulgaria within the framework of narratives concerning non-coreligionist neighbours, stated that *komshuluk* is a cultural strategy of peaceful existence developed by a local community.[65] Those findings confirm previous research Tsvetana Georgieva conducted in similar settings, where she defines *komshuluk* as traditionally-managed system of rules relating to ongoing personal and social contact between people belonging to different religious and ethnic groups.[66] Similar observations have also been made in narratives about Islam and Christianity in a multi-confessional local community in Macedonia.[67] All of these works refer to the concept of dual-code or contradictory narratives which remain the experience of different confessional groups with the memory of a turbulent past.

The origins of *komshiluk* are linked with the socio-political situation and religion, both deriving from social contexts that go back to the Ottoman Empire. The unstable political environment (distant position of the central government) and, above all, the multicultural character of the region, resulted in the development of neighbour-oriented strategies, and this seems to be crucial in maintaining social order at the level of local communities.[68] Researchers also emphasized the place of religion in understanding the importance of *komshiluk*.[69] Neighbourhoods as a faith-based category can be defined at least both ways: at the group level –

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65 Magdalena LUBAŃSKA, "Komshuluk (Good Relations Between Neighbours) and Ressentiment Against Members of a Different Religion," in *Muslims and Christians in the Bulgarian Rhodopes. Studies on Religious (Anti)Syncretism* (De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 55–95.

66 Cvetana GEORGIEVA ,"Coexistence as a system in the everyday life of Christians and Muslims in Bulgaria," *Ethnologia Balkanica* 3 (1999), pp. 60–85.

67 Karolina BIELENIN-LENCZOWSKA, ed., *Sąsiedztwo w obliczu konfliktu. Relacje społeczne i etniczne w zachodniej Macedonii – refleksje antropologiczne* (Warszawa: Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2009).

68 Maciej FALSKI, ed., *Neighbourhood as a Cultural Category and Social Problem*, Colloquia Humanistica 4 (2015), pp. 5–10, https://ispan.waw.pl/journals/index.php/ch/issue/view/71 (accessed 15 April, 2023).

69 Olimpia DRAGOUNI, "The category of neighbourhood in Islamic modernism of Yugoslavia: 'Fetve' of Husein Đozo", *Colloquia Humanistica* 4 (2015), pp. 61–82. See: https://ispan.waw.pl/journals/index.php/ch/issue/view/71 (accessed 15 April, 2023); Bojan BASKAR, "Komšiluk. Imperial legacy or a mediterranean institution?," *Etnolog* 19 (2009), pp. 157–172; Cornelia SORABJI, "Bosnian Neighbourhoods Revisted: Tolerance, Commitment and Komšiluk in Sarajevo", in *On the Margins of Religion*, pp. 97–114.

where religious communities are considered as neighbours – and at the level of individual practice, where being a neighbour is a crucial element of the moral duty sanctioned by the Islamic religious tradition.[70]

Depending on the context, neighbourly relations can be practiced in various forms from the level of everyday ordinary life (greeting each other, taking care of the neighbourhood, watching someone's flat, providing assistance if needed, spending time together for instance, drinking coffee, exchanging gifts), through cyclic events (celebrating religious and important family events), to extraordinary experiences (mutual aid in a crisis like sickness or war). The participation in the neighbourly relations may be the result of one's religious beliefs, pragmatic calculation, personal affection, or some combination of all of them.

Another problematic issue is the limits of the neighbourhood, whether one defines it as a boundaries of the territory or place, or in terms of relation.[71] When it comes to spatial differentiation, the neighbourhood does not consist of administrative units,[72] nor can it be *a priori* defined as the space of particular yard, building, or district. It assumes mutual contact based on face-to-face relations,[73] which rather do not overlap with any top-down divisions that can be drawn on a map without knowledge of these other contexts. Therefore, it should be analysed in terms of subjective perception of its inhabitants who defines boundaries of social and spatial contact with people as well as objects (through essential elements of urban landscape such as cafeterias, streets, shops or bazaars, sacral objects, and non-residential places). Such a subjective definition may be the result of people's spatial organization of their environment and culturally determined sense of space.

The boundaries of a neighbourhood may refer also strictly to its social dimension. An interesting definition on the boundaries of neighbourly relations refers to everyday practice among different religious groups and raises the question of

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70 Cornelia SORABJI, "Bosnian Neighbourhoods Revisted: Tolerance, Commitment and Komšiluk in Sarajevo," in *On the Margins of Religion,* pp. 97–114.

71 Setha LOW, *Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016); Eadem, *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999); David DELANEY, *Territory: A Short Introduction* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2005).

72 Tony BRINGA, *Being Muslim the Bosnian way identity and community in a central Bosnian village* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

73 Cornelia SORABJI, "Bosnian Neighbourhoods Revisted: Tolerance, Commitment and Komšiluk in Sarajevo," in *On the Margins of Religion,* pp. 97–114; David HENIG, "'Knocking on my neighbour's door': On metamorphoses of sociality in rural Bosnia," *Critique of Anthropology* 32/1 (2012), pp. 3–19.

the limit of good-neighbourly relations vs religious syncretism or potential assimilation.[74] It emphasized the concern or a problematic choice between one's neighbour and confessional community or beliefs. Separated from the religious context it may also lead to the question of the boundaries between own (or one's family's) well-being and neighbourly kindness. Living in Kosovo, I have experienced myself how the physical proximity of households (especially in the Ottoman-style old parts of the city) can be the cause of extremely enjoyable moments while, for instance, drinking coffee in the morning, as well as terrible quarrels over the noise or the view. It seems that in this context what should be brought into focus in terms of neighbours' otherness in differences in temperaments, aspirations, personal habits, and social standing is that all of these are experienced at different times as positive and as negative.[75] The outcomes of my research confirmed that personal character traits are most important while thinking of a welcomed neighbour.[76]

It is worth mentioning that the *komshiluk* has been instrumentalized within political frameworks, and it is idealized or demonized depending on the political situation. On the one hand, the idea of multicultural neighbourhoods perfectly supported socialist Yugoslavia's ideology of brotherhood and unity. However, after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, on the other hand, the dynamic of the *komshiluk* has been used to explain or even justify the conflict and hostility among ethnic/national groups during the war in the 1990s. Its disintegration was considered the violation of previously (in many cases idealized) relations. Researchers, such as Cornelia Sorabji and David Henig (who conducted research in Bosnian neighbourhood) propose to rescue *komshiluk* from political debates and its ethnicization by returning to its original meaning. Instead, it should be defined as human relations between physical neighbours living in proximity to each other who, in practice, often belong to the same ethno-nations,[77] or, in other words, a social process that embraces localized, face-to-face sociality, morality, and life worlds.[78]

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74 Magdalena LUBAŃSKA, "Komshuluk (Good Relations Between Neighbours) and Ressentiment Against Members of a Different Religion," in *Muslims and Christians in the Bulgarian Rhodopes. Studies on Religious (Anti)Syncretism* (De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 55–95.

75 Cornelia SORABJI, "Bosnian Neighbourhoods Revisited: Tolerance, Commitment and Komšiluk in Sarajevo," in *On the Margins of Religion,* pp. 97–114.

76 Marzena MACIULEWICZ, *Divided Cities. A Case Study of Mitrovica* (PhD diss., Faculty of "Artes Liberales" – University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2019).

77 Cornelia SORABJI, "Bosnian Neighbourhoods Revisted: Tolerance, Commitment and Komšiluk in Sarajevo," in *On the Margins of Religion,* pp. 97–114.

78 David HENIG, "'Knocking on my neighbour's door': On metamorphoses of sociality in rural Bosnia," *Critique of Anthropology* 32/1 (2012), pp. 3–19.

I am afraid that completely abandoning the conflict as an analytical framework for the investigation of the relations between neighbours in this region is impossible. Nevertheless, as some of the researchers propose, it is worthwhile to shift the focus from the level of ethnic/national or confessional group conflicts to everyday life practice, individual perspectives, and the experience of the conflict within the city. The conflict that took place in this urban settings is the context that researcher cannot just simply ignore while trying to conduct fieldwork, acting like the war in the 1990s did not take place. Conflict as a reference point in neighbourly relations among local inhabitants of the post-conflict city is a fact. One of my interlocutors, when asked about his neighbours at the beginning of the one of our conversations, became upset and stated that she/he wouldn't elaborate on political issues. However, without the knowledge of the instrumentalization of neighbourhood relations for political purposes in the past, one wouldn't understand this interlocutor's argument.

Microcosms of changeable urban neighbourhoods in Mitrovica

It is worth emphasising that each neighbourhood, regardless of whether it is located in the southern or northern part of Mitrovica, is a specific microcosm of complex relations with its own history of internal shifts and development. Obviously, the first characteristics which comes to our mind in case of Mitrovica is North and South divided by the Ibar river. However, the city is also divided into several other quarters or neighbourhoods which I have identified using several maps, mostly contemporary, often contradictory or incomplete, and my own on-site observations and interviews with locals. Certain names of neighbourhoods appear only in one of the available sources, while other are not official but commonly used. Therefore, the description presented below should be treated as a general overview. Apart from the centre(s), the following neighbourhoods can be identified: the Bosnian district, the Romani district, the less known Partisans' Hill, Minors' Hill, the Ilirida neighbourhood, the Bair neighbourhood, the Tavnik neighbourhood, Bridge of Blood, and the industrial zone.

The recent conflict undoubtedly influenced the change in the neighbourhoods of Mitrovica, including their spatial organization and the relations inhabitants have with their neighbours. Many of my interviewees stated that they used to know their entire neighbourhood, but now they hardly even know who lives in

their building. One of my respondents named such interactions as "relations without exaggerated familiarity."[79] The composition of a neighbourhood is either highly changeable (many people live in the city temporarily, as can be observed based on the number of properties for rent) or "incomplete;" for instance, when some of the neighbours live abroad and return only for summer, when flats are abandoned and no one moves in, or when the status of a property is not regulated.[80] Under such circumstances it is hard to imagine making them a part of a united neighbourhood.

One of the respondents born in Mitrovica was forced to move from the northern to the southern part of the city, and has had to change homes several times since 1999. She/he currently lives in the south, in a neighbourhood she/he characterise as suburban. She/he does not feel connected with the neighbours as much as in the past, pointing to the level of education and the difference between the centre and peripheries of the city. She/he still stays in touch with ex-neighbours and maintain superficial relations with the current ones; the communication with new neighbours is connected mostly with important religious or personal events.[81]

One may conclude from the above that dynamic of changes within neighbourhoods and differences between the particular neighbourhood are significant. Depending on the contemporary social structure and status of a particular district within the city, its location, its spatial organization, and its architectural characteristics, as well as history of its development within the city, the outcomes of the research may lead to a different conclusion. For instance, when one looks closer at neighbourhoods within quarters such as Bair, Tavnik and the "Three High-rise Buildings," it can seem like one is observing different universes.

The "Three High-rise Buildings" (*Tri solitera*) are home to a multicultural community of people living in three modern buildings that are the tallest buildings in Mitrovica, located right next to the Ibar bank in the northern part of the city. This place is identified as one of Mitrovica's mixed neighbourhoods. The buildings were constructed in the 1970s, with functional and comfortable apartments that were considered an example of urban modernity. The Bair is an old district in the southern part of the city which belonged to "old Mitrovica."[82] Under the Ottoman Empire, this is where the mosque (*Xhamia e Bairit*) and military garrison were located. It is also the area where the main residential expansion of the city took place.

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79   Interview June, 2018, Archives of the author.
80   Interview April, 2018, Archives of the author.
81   Interview April, 2018, Archives of the author.
82   Atanasije UROŠEVIĆ, "Kosovska Mitrovica – antropogeografska istraživanja," *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SAN*, II–III (1953–1954), pp. 63–90.

During the socialist period, reconstruction and new building projects in this district were limited, which resulted in the comparatively lower quality of Bair dwellings, with provisional solutions awaiting proper urban development to bring improvements. In addition, some of its residential areas were built with solidarity purposes and many of its residents constituted workers.[83] Tavnik was established in the southern part of Mitrovica on the basis of a private housing initiative. After the Second World War, this area opened to the west and southwest of the historical city centre, and, in the face of increased need for residential districts, it was dedicated to individual family houses.[84] However, this peripheral area remained relatively underdeveloped, and its urbanisation only began in the late 1970s.

After the Second World War and the war in the 1990s, Mitrovica experienced a construction boom and had to face the problem of illegal building on a huge scale. Many residents (mostly newcomers) tried to solve housing problems by constructing temporary buildings on their own initiative, leading to additional infrastructural chaos in the city. In many cases, authorities had no other options than either including those trends into the urban development plan (adjusting to the situation), or legalizing structures that were already built. Importantly, the issue of private house construction, often illegal, appeared with varying intensity in different districts, according to what was determined by former urban politics and the availability of land.

Aspects which might be crucial within the framework of this comparison are different architecture (multi-storey apartment blocs vs. detached houses surrounded by a wall), social composition (mostly in terms of urban-rural and local-newcomer distinctions, ethnicity/nationality, and age), status strictly connected to the location within the city (north/south), and the history of development (new/old). The choice of neighbourhood within a particular district of Mitrovica will therefore have consequences for the research on many levels, starting with communication (which language of conversation should be used) and ending with the conclusion on characteristics of neighbourly relations.

The last important issue which I would like to address is the particularity of contemporary urban neighbourhoods. The presented subject of research concerns universal interpersonal relations formed in urban spaces undergoing enormous

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83 Pieter TROCH, "Socialist Urban development in Kosovska Mitrovica – Compressed Socio-Spatial Duality in a Medium-Sized Industrial City in Yugoslavia's Underdeveloped South," *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* 25/2 (2018), pp. 33–61.

84 Ibidem.

transformations, which is something happening worldwide today. The boundaries which limited and at the same time constituted human relations in the past have been blurred with the globalization processes and expansion of the space of flows.[85] The impact of all the circumstances mentioned above, and then the contemporary migration processes, new communication practices and mobilities in the city, as well as relations between residents is undeniable.[86] Traditional definitions of the city[87] or differentiation between the rural and urban zones that pretend to be universal no longer correspond with the reality. The borders between "the proper" city, suburbs, and rural areas are fluid and changeable.

The urban vs rural distinction is of these problematic binaries. Nevertheless, it can be recognized when addressed to a particular urban setting, taking into account the specifics of the context. In the described urban settings, a distinction between rural-urban or rather the specificity of urban neighbourhood can be observed in the interrelation between different dimensions of one's social roles within the city and in the contact of newcomers with the locals.

Exclusively in the urban settings there appears to be an interrelation between neighbours and citizens of the city. In my research, the interviewees emphasised the importance of local community, not only at the level of their immediate neighbourhood (residents of nearby space), but also at the level of local citizenship, meaning an integrated and engaged community of citizens of Mitrovica, regardless of ethnic origins: "We, the citizens of Mitrovica, Albanians and Serbs, knew each other and stayed together, I think that the division was more visible between Mitrovica's citizens and the others, either Albanians or Serbs, seriously."[88]

The urban neighbourhood is also the setting in which we can observe massive population shifts and the inflow of newcomers on the huge scale. When it

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85 Manuel CASTELLS, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Cambridge – Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

86 Ulf BRUNNBAUER, ed., *Transnational Societies, Transterritorial Politics. Migrations in the (Post) Yugoslav Region 19ᵗʰ–21st century* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009); John URRY, Sociology Beyond Societies Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century (New York and London: Routledge, 2000).

87 George SIMMEL, *Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben* [The Metropolis and Mental Life] (Dresden: Petermann 1903); Max WEBER, "The City [1921]," in *Economy and Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); Louis WIRTH, "Urbanism As A Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology* 44/1 (1938).

88 "Mi smo se, mislim građani u Mitrovici, što Albanci što Srbi znali smo se i držali smo se zajedno, mislim da je više bila podela na građane Mitrovice i na ostale, bilo to Albanci ili Srbi, stvarno" Interview June, 2018, Archive of the author.

comes to Mitrovica, I can conclude on the basis of conversations with several inhabitants that the presence of newcomers was the most disturbing in everyday life practices and in terms of governing the city.

My interlocutors pointed to the fact that newcomers, in many cases, came from rural areas and that they transferred their behaviours and values to the city, making the locals feel uncomfortable at best. In the both parts of the city, the lists of concerns and problems were similar: people behaved badly or were impolite; they did not respect house rules; they left their garbage in the corridor; they were loud and disrespectful; or they showed no interest in the local neighbourhood or community issues: "[...] those are people who come, most of whom come from small settlements and villages; therefore, they have some of their own habits and some of their own ways of life they have incorporated into something that was a normal life for us, whereas to us their lifestyle models were totally incomprehensible. And shocking. You know, we are talking about noise, we are talking about disrespecting house rules, we are talking about garbage left in the corridor, which is a public space [...] At one point the building resembled the Bronx [district of New York City] from the 1980s. And this was taking place in most of the buildings."[89]

I have also realized that newcomers shouldn't be perceived as a homogenous group. Firstly, because the people included in this group have different origins and came from different places. Secondly, they have settled in different locations (different neighbourhoods) in the city or still experience the in-city mobility. Moreover, they settled in Mitrovica for different lengths of time: those are a short- and long-term stays, planned or not, with the intention to stay in the city, or not to, without any confidence in whether or when they will move elsewhere. Finally, they came to Mitrovica for various reasons, and from my experience there is a significant difference in the perception of person in the IDP category and the political figures sent from the outside to govern the city.

In the opinion of my interlocutors, the newcomers took over the main functions in the city and influenced its economic and political situation against residents' will. One group of this type that my respondents mentioned are the newly-

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89 "[...] to su ljudi koji dolaze, kojih većina njih dolazi sa malih sredina i sa sela, tako da su neke svoje navike i neke svoje načine funkcjonisanja života utkali u nešto što je nama bilo, nama normalni život, što nama njihovi modeli funkcjonisanja su bili totalno neshvatljivi. I šokantni. Znate, pričamo o galami, pričamo o nepoštovanju kućnog reda, pričamo o smeću koje se ostavlja po ulazu koje je javno dobro [...] U jednom trenutku je zgrada potsećala na bronx osamdesetih. I to se dešavalo većinom zgrada." Interview June, 2018, Archives of the author.

arrived politicians who are neither familiar with the local context nor interested in it, but instead focus on their own agenda.

As one interviewee stated, "Now there are many of these actors who have become very strong from the Serbian community, somehow they even control Serbia, not only the North, but believe me, Serbia, the Serbian government."[90]

"Those who decide about Mitrovica are not in Mitrovica, people who fought for it are no longer asked anything, it is mostly people who are tradesmen or businessmen, whatever we call them […], who have changed political IDs, political affiliation, with the change of interests."[91]

As a result, the citizens are also divided regarding their political orientation, connections with political structures, and "acts of loyalty." – they need to make a choice between local and national values. Therefore, newcomers are often blamed for the chaos which can be observed in the city.

Many respondents did not express any problems with integrating with the newcomers nor did they mention any disturbing characteristics. Some respondents did not mind the newcomers as long as the most crucial issues, such as traffic, garbage, paying bills, and respecting everyday rules were settled.[92] This, of course, applies both to those who come to the city for a short-term stay and to those who live here on a permanent basis. They appreciate the value of diversity and realise that it makes the city more vibrant. Referring once again to the outcomes of my research, I would like to underline that more than 70 % of respondents agreed that the most important factor for them in neighbourly relations is the personal character and behaviour of their neighbour, among the others they appreciate a neighbour to take care of the surroundings and keep them clean.[93] Sometimes, respondents even condemned the discriminatory behaviour of people from the urban community towards the newcomers, accusing them of being driven by prejudices and stereotypes.[94] Finally, some were pointing out that it is always easier to blame someone from the outside for all the problems and mistakes.

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90 Interview April, 2018, Archives of the author.
91 "Oni koji odlučuju o Mitrovici nisu u Mitrovici, ljudi koji su se borili za nju ne pitaju više, to su uglavnom ljudi koji su privrednici ili biznesmeni, kakogod da ih nazovemo […], koji su menjali partijske knjižnice sa promenom interesa." Interview April 2018, Archives of the author.
92 Interview April, 2018, Archives of the author.
93 Marzena MACIULEWICZ, *Divided Cities. A Case Study of Mitrovica* PhD diss., Faculty of "Artes Liberales" – University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2019).
94 Interview April, 2018. Archives of the author.

I am concerned that the presence of newcomers and the perception of the role of the citizen are significantly influencing the dynamics of relations between neighbours. Surely, those are not the only categories which should be referred to when describing contemporary urban neighbourhoods, but it was the most visible part of my research for this particular context. Research on neighbourly relations therefore required getting acquainted with the perception of the local community at different levels (neighbourhood – district – city) seen through different social roles corresponding with them: neighbour, citizen, inhabitant, etc. This will help identifying how the local community is perceived and how it corresponds to different notions of community, for instance, the national idea. The same approach works for the further research on new residents, identification of differences among groups of newcomers, and more in-depth analysis of its structure and its distribution within the city space that would enrich the analysis of relations within the city and its neighbourhoods. The proposed approach emphasizes the fact that the neighbourhood is not independent phenomenon but remains a part of the city's network of relationships and that the groups, commonly perceived as homogenic, are more internally differentiated upon a closer look.

Conclusion

I am convinced that addressing the neighbourly relations in contemporary urban settings such as Mitrovica, requires in-depth qualitative research conducted within particular neighbourhood(s). Researchers who take a sociological approach, working mostly with quantitative data, often propose, at conclusion of their works, that qualitative research is needed in order to enrich and explain the outcomes they present.[95] The quantitative research may present the trends and scale of phenomena, but it cannot be the basis for understanding motivations and grasping nuances; and these are the most important elements that enable us to comprehend the complexity of observed reality.

Moreover, I believe that all the arguments assigned to different approaches of conceptualizing neighbourhoods (especially *komshiluk*) mentioned in this paper are linked with the local context of particular communities' dynamics in both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. This is why the specific local context (while

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95 Geran-Marko MILETIĆ, *Who is (Still) Socializing with Neighbors? A Contribution to the Analysis of Local Social Relations* (Zagreb: Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, 2015), pp. 97–115.

not underestimating historical and cultural background), should be in the focus while approaching neighbourly relations. Special attention should be paid to the development of the city and the specific features of local urbanity in terms of the particular neighbourhood. Conclusions about neighbourly relations may be different depending on the neighbourhood's spatial characteristics (old/new or central/peripheral districts and its architecture), the community's characteristics (the distinctions already mentioned), whether it is located in an urban or rural setting, and its status within wider frameworks. We can agree that *komshiluk* is not necessarily a concept exclusively applicable to the multi-cultural communities or inter-group ethnic or confessional relations. Depending on the context, it may also be applied to ethnically or confessionally homogenous communities where neighbours differ in other aspects. But the characteristic of community as a multi-cultural (no matter on what grounds) or presence of the memory of turbulent past will influence relation in the neighbourhood as well as should be taken into consideration in methodology.

In addition, the need to include residents' subjective perceptions and opinions about their neighbourhood and relations within it is obvious. The operationalization of neighbour(hood) should come from the local interlocutors, without imposed perspectives, because it is strictly connected with the dynamic and characteristic of contemporary local community as well as its past. The presence of the narrations relating to the *komshiluk* phenomenon (whether idealized or demonized) in inhabitants' statements on neighbourhoods is also worth noticing.

Finally, while conducting my research in Mitrovica, I have identified promising issues which should be further explored in research on cities, neighbourhoods and neighbourly relations, namely urban-rural and newcomers-locals distinctions. Even though those categories are not new, it is important to observe how they intermingle and influence the city in a context of changing post-conflict social reality within globalizing world.

SUMMARY

The article elaborates on the main directions of research on neighbourhood and neighbourly relations in contemporary urban settings with a special focus on the context of the city during and in the aftermath of a war. It begins with the state of research on social relations in Mitrovica and the historical background of Mitrovica's urban development. Subsequently, I elaborate on the issues of urbicide, the concept of new wars, and the destruction of cities in the context of the conflict in Yugoslavia. Then, I introduce the reflection on *komshiluk* as a local phenomenon of neighbourly relations. Finally, using the results of my research, I present the overview of changeable urban neighbourhoods in Mitrovica and propose how the problem of neighbourly relations in contemporary urban settings may be addressed. Using the examples of selected districts within Mitrovica, I conclude that each neighbourhood should be perceived as a separate microcosm because of its specific social composition, spatial organization and architectural characteristics, location, and status, as well as the history of its development within the city. Additionally, neighbourhoods went through tremendous changes as a result of massive destruction of their urban fabric and the deaths or displacement of their inhabitants during the war in the 1990s. Those circumstances should be treated as areas of special focus. I argue that the specificity of urban neighbourhoods can be observed in the interrelation between the residents' social roles within the city and in the contact of newcomers with the locals. The conclusion is that research on neighbourly relations should be based on in-depth qualitative research conducted within a particular neighbourhood(s), taking into consideration the specific local context, and not underestimating historical and cultural background, and it should include residents' subjective perception of their neighbourhood and the relations within it.

RECENZE / BOOK REVIEWS

Michal TÉRA,
Kyjevská Rus. Dějiny, kultura, společnost,
Červený Kostelec: Pavel Mervart, ediční řada Russia altera (34), 2019, 721 s.,
ISBN 978-80-7465-413-8.

Nakladatelství Pavel Mervart, známé již po řadu let svou čilou aktivitou v publikování kvalitní a leckdy přímo objevné odborné literatury zaměřené zejména na oblast východního slovanského, řeckého a orientálního křesťanství, vydalo objemnou knihu Michala Téry, jenž ji před nedávnem (na podzim 2021) úspěšně obhájil na pražské Filozofické fakultě Univerzity Karlovy jako svou habilitační práci pro obor slavistika.

Autor monografie, vyučující na Katedře literární kultury a slavistiky Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Pardubice, vystudoval na FF UK obor historie (ale už během pregraduálního studia se věnoval také ruské filologii jazykovědné i literárněvědné). Doktorský stupeň pak získal na oboru slovanské literatury (2007) obhájením disertace *Perun. Historie a typologie slovanského hromovládce*, kterou posléze poněkud přepracovanou vydal knižně.[1] M. Téra je také jedním z pěti autorů nových *Dějin Ruska* v ediční řadě Dějiny států,[2] nově přeložil a bohatě komentoval tzv. Nestorův letopis,[3] vydal ve svém překladu výbor středověkých ruských památek *Svatí a hříšníci*,[4] přeložil objemnou monografii významného ruského byzantologa a slavisty S. A. Ivanova *Byzantské misie*.[5] Vedle toho má ve své bibliografii množství

1 Michal TÉRA, *Perun – bůh hromovládce*, Červený Kostelec 2009, 2017².
2 Zbyněk VYDRA – Michal ŘOUTIL – Jitka KOMENDOVÁ – Kateřina HLOUŠKOVÁ – Michal TÉRA, *Dějiny Ruska*, Praha 2017.
3 *Vyprávění o minulých letech aneb Nestorův letopis ruský*. Přeložil, úvodní studií, poznámkami a komentáři opatřil Michal Téra, Červený Kostelec 2014.
4 *Svatí a hříšníci: Staroruská literatura 11.–12. století*. Vybral, přeložil, úvodními studiemi a poznámkami opatřil Michal Téra, Červený Kostelec 2015.
5 Sergej Arkaďjevič IVANOV, *Byzantské misie aneb Je možné udělat z „barbara" křesťana?,* Červený Kostelec 2012.

dalších odborných textů – článků, recenzí a překladů (z ruštiny a polštiny). Načrtnutá publikační (resp. badatelská, překladatelská a ediční) činorodost a tematická koncentrace našeho autora vyústila právě do monografie publikované roku 2019 pod titulem *Kyjevská Rus. Dějiny, kultura, společnost.*

Hned na úvod je třeba podtrhnout, že předkládaná kniha svým značným rozsahem (přes sedm set stran) daleko předstihuje významné minulé českojazyčné pokusy postihnout dané téma: příslušnou část Macůrkových velkých třídílných *Dějin východních Slovanů* (1947) i monografii Borise Dmitrijeviče Grekova *Kyjevská Rus* přeloženou z ruštiny (česky 1953; originál 1944). Térova práce je ostatně po dlouhých sedmi desetiletích (po zmíněných knihách J. Macůrka a B. D. Grekova) vůbec první česky psanou původní velkou syntézou na široké téma politických, sociálních a kulturních dějin staré Rusi.

Struktura knihy je logická a účelná, rozvržení látky do tematických oddílů (kapitol) a jejich zpracování vyzrazuje promyšlenost a smysl pro uměřenost (např. rozsah každé ze čtrnácti hlavních kapitol v průměru výrazně nevybočuje z rozsahu od 35 do 50 stran).

V nepříliš dlouhém úvodu (s. 11–14) M. Téra vysvětluje svůj autorský záměr a cíle a knihu čtenářům stručně představuje, mj. sděluje, že jejím hlavním „cílem i ambicí je poskytnout českému prostředí základní přehled o politickém vývoji, společenské struktuře a kulturním životě Kyjevské Rusi s využitím co nejširšího spektra pramenů a současné odborné literatury. Jedná se tedy o jistý druh syntézy, který má umožnit českému, historicky poučenějšímu publiku představit tento fenomén raně středověkých evropských dějin a pomoci lépe pochopit nejstarší dějiny východních Slovanů.“

Následuje jádrová část knihy, obsahující čtrnáct rozsáhlých kapitol, které jsou pojaty jako relativně autonomní podrobné studie, ovšem vnitřně provázané, takže dohromady pokrývají celé vymezené téma, tj. před-historii a širší dějinné pozadí (kapitola 1.–4.), vlastní dějiny (kapitola 5.–11.) a zásadní aspekty sociální a kulturní (kapitola 12.–14.) staré Rusi. Samy nadpisy kapitol s podtituly velmi dobře ve zkratce vystihují obsah: 1. *„Gomer a všechny jeho voje“. Východní Evropa ve starověku* (s. 17–50); 2. *„Vyšel národ lživý“. Teorie o slovanské etnogenezi a rozsídlení Slovanů* (s. 51–84); 3. *Od Volhy k Dunaji. Turkické národy ve východní Evropě na počátku středověku* (s. 85–124); 4. *„Od Varjagů k Řekům.“ Skandinávští Germáni ve východní Evropě* (s. 125–166); 5. *„Odkud jest pošla ruská země.“ Vznik staroruské státnosti v 10. století* (s. 167–212); 6. *„Rusům je pití rozkoš“. Formování staroruského státu a christianizace za vlády Vladimíra I.* (s. 213–246); 7. *Bratři a bratrovrazi.*

Konsolidace staroruského státu za Jaroslava Moudrého (s. 247–286); 8. *Bratři a bratranci. Rurikovci v druhé polovině 11. a v první polovině 12. století* (s. 287–332); 9. *„Království v sobě rozdělené". Dezintegrace Kyjevské Rusi v druhé polovině 12. a v první třetině 13. století* (s. 333–380); 10. *Rus a step. Turkičtí kočovníci ve východní Evropě a kyjevský stát* (s. 381–418); 11. *„A byl nářek, vzdycháni a smutek". Mongolský vpád a jeho důsledky* (s. 419–484); 12. *„U Slovanů vládnou přísné pořádky". Společenská struktura Kyjevské Rusi* (485–540); 13. *Dělníci poslední hodiny. Církevní organizace a křesťanství na Kyjevské Rusi* (s. 541–594); 14. *Pergamen a bříza. Písemná, knižní a literární kultura Kyjevské Rusi* (s. 595–630). V deváté kapitole pojednávající o postupné dezintegraci Rusi pak jsou vyděleny subkapitoly věnované vývoji v jednotlivých regionech, resp. správních/státních útvarech (*Polock, Smolensk, Perejaslav, Černigov a Rjazaň, Vladimir, Halič a Volyň, Novgorod, Kyjev*), podobně v desáté kapitole o turkických kočovnických vlnách nacházíme subkapitoly, jež se podrobněji zaměřují na jednotlivá etnika (*Pečeněhové, Oghuzové – Turci, Polovci*). Text jádrové části je průběžně prokládán asi stovkou obrázků, mapek a ilustrujících fotografií (většinou rozličných artefaktů včetně rukopisů a iluminací, archeologických předmětů nebo architektury), získaných z rozličných zdrojů a od různých institucí (srov. seznam vyobrazení, s. 683–689), v některých případech vytvořených či upravených naším autorem přímo pro knihu (hlavně názorné mapky a tabulky).

Kratší poslední oddíl, resp. závěr je nadepsán *Místo závěru. Komu patří Kyjevská Rus?* (s. 631–639). Autor v něm kromě některých podstatných shrnutí a závěrů rozebírá otázku vyslovenou v podtitulu (přičemž poctivě probírá různé aspekty tohoto starého „ideového sporu", který se specificky vyostřil v nejnovější době v souvislosti s politickými ději ve východoslovanské oblasti). M. Téra se ze svého nezávislého, do dnešních střetů nezapojeného nadhledu přiklání k odpovědi „nikomu a všem" s tím, že z pozdějších tří velkých východoslovanských národů žádný „nemůže tvrdit, že je jediným a pravým nositelem dědictví Kyjevské Rusi" (přestože hmatatelnější kontinuitu se starým Kyjevem v řadě hledisek pochopitelně a obhajitelně přiznává ruskému severovýchodu, resp. Moskevské Rusi).

Po resumé v angličtině (641–642) a ruštině (643–644) následuje bibliografie (*Prameny a literatura*, s. 645–681), která je úctyhodná: zahrnuje asi 90 položek pramenných a zhruba 700 položek odborné sekundární literatury (z jazyků převažuje ruština a polština – záslužné je už to, že čeští badatelé takto získávají veliký bibliografický soubor odborných položek „východní" provenience; nechybějí samozřejmě velké jazyky západní, ale můžeme narazit mj. i na studii v lužické srbšti-

ně; chtěli-li bychom být hnidopišští a hledali-li bychom nějakého zajímavého, a přece „chybějícího" autora, snad by to mohl být nedávno zesnulý rusko-francouzský badatel Vladimir Vodoff). Náročná bibliografie je redigována pečlivě, ale nedopatřením tu našemu autorovi „vypadla" jedna jeho vlastní kniha (*Vyprávění o minulých letech aneb Nestorův letopis ruský*), ač na ni v textu odkazuje – předpokládám, že bude doplněna v případě dotisku nebo druhého vydání.

Poslední tři desítky stran knihy zaujímají tři podrobné rejstříky, jež jsou při takto velikém objemu svazku pro čtenáře v podstatě nepostradatelné: rejstřík osobních jmen (691–704), rejstřík jmen autorů, překladatelů a editorů (705–711), rejstřík etnických a zeměpisných názvů (712–721).

Rád bych vyslovil několik dalších poznámek k obsahu a způsobu zpracování. Jak už bylo výše naznačeno, Michal Téra k práci na svém díle přistoupil ve chvíli, kdy už byl s tématem dopodrobna a důvěrně obeznámen a obsahově i metodologicky velmi dobře připraven, mj. díky své vědecké práci z předchozích let, včetně překladatelské a interpretační práce s prameny (srov. některé důležité knižní tituly zmíněné v úvodu této recenze). Tomu, kdo se svazkem pročte, bude jasné, že autor své cíle formuloval až příliš skromně (viz výše citace z úvodu knihy, kde je řeč o „základním přehledu"): čtenář má před sebou sedmisetstránkovou monografii, naplněnou obrovským množstvím soustavně uspořádaných a fundovaně interpretovaných informací (z mnoha disciplín: obecných, politických, sociálních, kulturních a církevních dějin, archeologie, jazykovědy, literární vědy, teologie), podrobných, ale srozumitelných výkladů, minuciózních postřehů, zajímavých exkursů. Kapitoly jsou (a to bych rád podtrhl) průběžně doprovázeny hojnými citacemi z pramenných textů (zpravidla se pod čarou uvádí i znění v jazycích originálu – v církevní slovanštině, staroruštině, latině, staré severštině...). Autor při výkladu neustále sleduje širší pozadí, hledá a předkládá vazby a paralely v okolních kulturách, takže obraz staré Rusi je kreslen plasticky, přirozeně zasazen do bližších i vzdálenějších kontextů. Tematická šíře je značná, takže je samozřejmé, že v některých pasážích se autor musí více opírat o sekundární literaturu než přímo o vlastní výzkum (patrně hlavně v „pomocných" úvodních kapitolách). Zdá se mi ovšem sympatické (a platí to zvláště v dnešní době, kdy se mnohdy volí spíš jednodušší cesta složení díla z částí vytvořených kolektivem dílčích specialistů; přitom však taková „kolektivní monografie" téměř vždy vykazuje zřetelnou větší či menší disparátnost jednotlivých oddílů), že se vůbec jednotlivec rozhodl vytvořit takovouto syntézu – mj. lze díky tomu i v tak rozsáhlé knize rozeznat jednotící rámce a vodící červenou nit tvarovou i autorsky interpretační.

Stylistická stránka Térovy práce je na velmi dobré úrovni, o knize lze říci, že se zkrátka „dobře čte". Ze svěžích formulací a spádu textu (který není ani přeplněný, ani informačně „řídký") lze myslím usuzovat i na pedagogické kvality autora.

Zde bych připojil ještě pár slov na okraj jedné „dekorativní" věci, jež mne při prvním čtení překvapila: každá z jádrových kapitol je totiž na způsob motta uvozena citací z humorných „vikinských příběhů" švédského beletristy Runera Jonssona (1916–2006). Snad by kontrast mezi seriózním odborným textem tlusté monografie a zábavným diskursem těchto mott mohl někoho překvapit či pohoršit – myslím nicméně, že (nejen my, kteří jsme kdysi příběhy chytrého malého vikinga Vika s úsměvem na tváři hltali) bychom měli autorovi tuto libůstku tolerovat a chápat ji spíše jako odlehčující pedagogickou hříčku a malé rozptýlení pro čtenáře.

Redakční práce na knize byla nepochybně nelehká a konstatuji, že (s ohledem na mnohé nároky a úskalí textu) se dá považovat v zásadě za velmi uspokojivou. Jazyková a redakční pochybení jsou vzácná, uveďme několik příkladů:
– na s. 8: v *obsahu* je ruskému *резюме* přiřazena stránka 642 – správně má být 643;
– na s. 478: „Ve svém tlaku na řádové a švédské državy ve východním Pobaltí se Alexandr spojil i litevským Mindaugem" – chybí předložka s; doporučuji skloňovat raději *Mindaugasem*;
– na s. 27: „před Hérodotem [...] v Homérovi a H̠esiodovi" – nedůslednost v přepisu řecké délky, má být Hésiodovi; ve své Periégésis *(Περιηγησις)* – v řecké alfabétě vypadl přízvuk, má být Περιήγησις;
– na s. 16: v mapce nacházíme „byzantinizující" podoby v přepise řeckých názvů (*Kalos Limi̠n*, *Odi̠ssos*), asi jde o autorovo přehlédnutí, resp. relikt z dřívější fáze práce na knize; doporučoval bych všude (bez ohledu na to, k jakému období se dotyčná mapka vztahuje) zcela jednotně užívat přepisy v „tradiční starořecké" (resp. erasmovské) podobě (tj. *Kalos Limḗn*, *Odḗssos*).

Také bych se přimlouval, aby delší církevněslovanské a staroruské ukázky pod čarou byly v případném dotisku či druhém vydání vysázeny už ne v přepise do latinky, nýbrž cyrilicí, a to „starými typy", jak se to pěkně podařilo např. v publikaci V. L. Janina (v překladu Jitky Komendové) *Středověký Novgorod*, vydané u téhož nakladatele jako Térova *Kyjevská Rus*.[6]

Závěrem rád shrnuji, co vyplývá z předchozích odstavců: kniha M. Téry je podle mého soudu zdařilým a významným počinem. Český i jinojazyčný zájemce

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6   Valentin. Lavrentjevič JANIN, *Středověký Novgorod v nápisech na březové kůře*, Červený Kostelec 2007.

bude tuto monografii stěží moci nechat stranou, pokud se bude chtít seriózně zabývat celkem či dílčím úsekem rozlehlé tematické oblasti dějin a kultury staré Rusi.

Josef Bartoň

Marek JAKOUBEK,
V Bulharsku nám s hrdostí říkali „Češi", tady s pohrdáním „Bulhaři". Obyvatelé Vojvodova v Bulharsku a na jižní Moravě,
Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury (CDK), 2021, 202 s.,
ISBN: 978-80-7325-535-0.

Marek Jakoubek, antropolog a bulharista, se Vojvodovem – jedinou českou vesnicí v Bulharsku – začal zabývat již na sklonku 90. let minulého století. Od té doby uplynuly více než dvě dekády, a nutno říci, že pokud jde o studium vojvodovské tematiky, Jakoubek během těchto let rozhodně nezahálel. Výsledkem jeho badatelských aktivit je řada publikací, která již překročila desítku.[1] Počet dílčích studií si vůbec nedovolím odhadnout.[2] I ve své nejnovější knize *V Bulharsku nám s hrdostí říkali „Češi", tady s pohrdáním „Bulhaři"*, s podtitulem *Obyvatelé Vojvodova v Bulharsku a na jižní Moravě*, vydané již tradičně v brněnském CDK, se Jakoubek věnuje opět Vojvodovu, a to – jak napovídá podtitul knihy –, jak jeho bulharské éře (od roku 1900 do roku 1950), tak i té české, tedy i době po reemigraci z Vojvodova na jižní Moravu po druhé světové válce. Právě programový a systematický zřetel, věnovaný post-reemigračním dějinám vojvodovské komunity je pak tím, co tuto publikaci odlišuje od jejích předchůdkyň asi nejvíce.

Jádrem knihy je soubor 11 textů od 11 různých autorů, napsaných v rozpětí let 1930–2015. Jednotícím prvkem všech textů je Vojvodovo, lépe a přesněji řečeno, život členů vojvodovského protestantského společenství a události s ním spojené. Každá z kapitol se věnuje jednomu pramennému textu, a název každé z nich

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1 Přehled všech monografických publikací o Vojvodovu je dostupný na vojvodovských webových stránkách: www.vojvodovo.cz (1. 6. 2023).

2 K dispozici jsou již také dva bibliografické přehledy prací věnovaných Vojvodovu, a to jednak prací českých a slovenských a jednak prací psaných bulharsky. Srov. Marek JAKOUBEK, Bibliografický soupis českých a slovenských prací o Vojvodovu, české krajanské obci v Bulharsku (do r. 2013), *Porta Balkanica* 7, 2014, č. 2, s. 62–77; Idem, Vojvodovská bibliografická inventura — druhé kolo (bibliografický soupis bulharsky psaných prací o Vojvodovu, české krajanské obci v Bulharsku do r. 2020, *Studia Ethnologica Pragensia* 2, 2020, s. 111–121.

začíná stejným slovem – „očima" (*Očima bulharské novinářky*, *Očima metodistické-ho kazatele*, *Očima českého učitele* atd.). Pokud jde o pozadí jejich vzniku, záměr autora a mnohá další kritéria, jde o poměrně značně heterogenní konvolut textů. Najdeme tu například slovníkové heslo, text delegátky posledního transportu voj-vodovských Čechů a Slováků do ČSR, texty potomků obyvatel Vojvodova, nebo třeba zápisky spisovatele a velvyslance ČSR v Bulharsku Františka Kubky. Některé texty vznikaly již se záměrem zveřejnění, jiné byly původně určeny především užší-mu kruhu rodiny a potomkům, anebo měly sloužit k ještě jiným účelům.

Každá z kapitol obsahuje text od jednoho autora, který je opatřen poznám-kovým aparátem, průběžnými vysvětlivkami a komentáři. Každý z textů je také do-plněn prologem, doslovem a ediční poznámkou. V tomto ohledu je třeba uvést, že samotný přepis originálních textů zabírá jen 1/3 knihy, zbylé 2/3 pocházejí z pera M. Jakoubka. Jak se říká „antropolog se nikdy nespokojí jen s popisem", právě ony „nepramenné" dvě třetiny jsou tak prostorem, ve kterém Jakoubek pramenné texty analyzuje a interpretuje.

Nemáme zde prostor detailně rozebírat každou z uvedených jedenácti kapi-tol. Zastavím se zde tedy jen u jedné. Kapitola se jmenuje *Očima českého učitele* (kap. II., str. 10–34). V prologu kapitoly je vysvětlen posun, který sociokulturní antropologie podstoupila, když svou pozornost přesunula z výzkumů „cizích", „exotických" oblastí na výzkum „doma", tedy na výzkum (ve) své vlastní společnos-ti a kultuře. Součástí tohoto posunu je například i vyšší míra využívání metody ar-chivního výzkumu, který byl do té doby vlastní především jiným disciplínám, mj. i tuzemské etnologii. Součástí prologu je i zamyšlení autora nad tím, čím se mohou vzájemně inspirovat (tuzemská) etnologie a antropologie, anebo reflexe významu archivního výzkumu pro antropologii Evropy. V následující ediční poznámce je vy-světlen důvod a okolnosti vzniku textu, popis jeho skladby, původ textu (za jakým účelem vznikl a kde se nachází), rovněž je představen jeho autor. Kapitolu uzavírá oddíl nazvaný *Několik poznámek k textu*, který se věnuje zejména osobě a působení jeho autora – prvního vojvodovského učitele Jana Findeise, působícího v obci od roku 1926.

O tom, že Marek Jakoubek je jednoznačně největším znalcem Vojvodova asi není pochyb. Vzhledem k množství již publikovaných prací bychom se ovšem jistě mohli zamýšlet nad tím, zda je ještě vůbec možné objevit něco nového. Odpovědí na tuto otázku nám může být vyjádření autora, který hned v úvodu knihy vysvětlu-je, že „Archivní výzkum byl […] v rámci vojvodovských zkoumání doposud do značné míry programově upozaděn, a to proto, že věk informátorů se nezadržitelně

zvyšoval a bylo zřejmé, že není daleko doba, kdy tento pramen informací o Vojvodovu navždy zmizí. Pramenům archivním tento osud až na poměrně vzácné výjimky nehrozí, v jeho případě tedy bylo takříkajíc možno počkat." (str. 11.).

Recenzovaná publikace je tak svým způsobem právě výstupem této do jisté míry nové kapitoly studia vojvodovské historie, která se již neopírá o informátory, ale čerpá v první řadě z (archivních) materiálů a textů.

Archivní výzkum a vydávání materiálových edic je mimo jiné také nutným návratem *ad fontes* a takto i před nánosy dez/intepretací a výkladů založených na informacích z druhé ruky, jak totiž Jakoubek vysvětluje, „[...] nahlédneme-li do prací o Vojvodovu, hemží se to tam odkazy na Heroldovou (zejm. Heroldová 1986, 1996), Vařeku (Vařeka 1990), Vaculíka (2009) a další, kteří jimi uváděné informace o vojvodovské komunitě ve všech případech a beze zbytku převzali. A přitom je také – ať už záměrně či omylem – velice často upravili, zkreslili a (tedy) znehodnotili. Jejich práce (proto) jako důvěryhodný zdroj informací o dějinách a životě vojvodovské komunity sloužit nemohou, a tedy by ani neměly." (str. 29).

Jak jsem již uvedla, řada textů tvořících pramenný základ publikace je výstupem archivního výzkumu, tj. Jakoubek musel tyto texty vyhledat, identifikovat, přepsat, resp. v řadě případů pak přeložit. Právě v tom – tedy ve zprostředkování jinak nedostupných pramenů – lze pak spatřovat základní přínos vydávání materiálových, resp. pramenných edic. Bulharsko sice není zase až tak vzdálenou zemí, nicméně vzhledem k tomu, že dostupnost některých materiálů může být (a je) celkem problematická – bulharské archivy se řídí mnohdy pravidly, které u Středoevropana vzbuzují směsici nepochopení a údivu –, jako i vzhledem k nutnosti přesunu mezi státy a nezbytnosti delšího pobytu v „cílové zemi", představuje archivní výzkum činnost, která od badatele vyžaduje značný čas, trpělivost a neutuchající energii; je na místě tyto skutečnosti čtenáři, seznamujícímu se s obsahem Jakoubkovy práce v pohodlí domova, alespoň připomenout.

Závěrem bych chtěla M. Jakoubkovi popřát hodně zradu při „lovu" dalších zajímavých archivních materiálů, ale také mu chci i poděkovat za jeho aktivitu, která je inspirativní a podnětná zdaleka nejen pro zájemce o poměrně úzkoprofilovou tematiku samotného Vojvodova.

Tereza Lančová

Florin CURTA,
The Long Sixth Century in Eastern Europe,
(= East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, Vol. 72),
Leiden – Boston, Brill 2021, 516+XIV s.,
ISBN 978-90-04-45677-8.

Florin Curta proslul především svými inovativními tezemi o původu Slovanů,[1] nic-
méně již několikrát prokázal své schopnosti i na poli syntetických prací, pojednáva-
jících o vývoji na velkém geografickém i chronologickém prostoru.[2] V této své nej-
novější publikaci se zaměřil na období 6. a 7. století ve východní Evropě, přičemž se
pokusil jednak celistvě pojednat o hospodářském a společenském vývoji v daném
prostoru, jednak vstoupit do debat vedených ohledně transformace Evropy mezi
antikou a středověkem. V tomto ohledu si autor zvolil opravdu nelehký úkol, neboť
geografický rámec této publikace tvoří oblast sahající od české kotliny k uralskému
pohoří, od pohoří Pindus až k řekám Pečora a Severní Dvina. Hned z kraje je také
vhodné vyjasnit autorem zvolené časové rozmezí, byť jeho odůvodnění patří i k sa-
motnému Curtovu výzkumu. Dějiny výše nastíněného geografického prostoru za-
jímají autora zhruba od rozpadu hunského kmenového svazu v závěru 5. století do
příchodu Bulharů na balkánský poloostrov a vzniku nových sídelních center spoje-
ných se Slovany ve druhé polovině 7. století. Právě v této době mělo dojít k zásad-
ním hospodářským a společenským změnám na tomto území, a to daleko výrazněj-
ším než například mezi lety 700–900.

Dosavadní badatelé se zabývali pozdně antickou / raně středověkou promě-
nou římského světa především z pohledu západní Evropy a Středomoří, východní
Evropa bývala vždy tak trochu opomíjena. Dějiny východní Evropy proto neměly
zásadní vliv na formulování hlavních tezí o proměně římského světa. Východoev-
ropské dějiny tak byly spíše včleňovány do již hotového narativního rámce. Tento
nedostatek se pokusil F. Curta napravit ve své publikaci ***The Long Sixth Century in
Eastern Europe***. Curtův přístup by se dal přirovnat například k průkopnické práci
Ch. Wickhama, který komplexně a z nadnárodní perspektivy zkoumal proměnu

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1   Srov. Florin CURTA, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Re-
    gion, c. 500–700*, Cambridge – New York 2001; v upravené a revidované podobě pak především
    Idem, *Slavs in the Making: History, Linguistics, and Archaeology in Eastern Europe (ca. 500 – ca.
    700)*, London – New York 2021.
2   Srov. Idem, Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250, Cambridge – New York 2006;
    nejnověji pak Idem, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300). Vol. 1–2*, Leiden – Boston
    2019 (recenze ČČH 119, 2021, s. 405–408).

společnosti a hospodářství v západní Evropě a Středomoří.[3] Není proto divu, že právě s modelem Ch. Wickhama napříč svou knihou Curta polemizuje.

Nutno přitom říci, že dosavadní disproporce mezi bádáním o západní Evropě a Středomoří na jedné straně a východní Evropou na straně druhé je podmíněno dochovanou písemnou pramennou základnou, neboť východní Evropa stála povětšinou mimo zorné pole dobových autorů. Tato skutečnost pak nachází v Curtově práci přímou odezvu v míře a intenzitě pozornosti věnované archeologickým pramenům. Curtova archeologická erudice je proto v tomto kontextu značným pozitivem. Přesto je třeba při interpretaci Curtových závěrů neustále držet na paměti omezenou výpovědní hodnotu archeologického materiálu a možnost existence alternativních výkladových linií stran tohoto materiálu.

Curtova monografie je členěna do dvaceti kapitol. V prvních dvou se autor výběrově vyrovnává s dosavadním diskurzem a představuje základní rámec publikace. Stěžejní výzkumné kapitoly (3–20) jsou pak členěny do tří hlavních částí. V první části se Curta zabývá oblastmi, které byly v úzkém kontaktu s římským světem, ve druhé části pak oblastmi, které nijak přímo s římským světem nesousedily. V závěrečné třetí části pak Curta komparativně porovnává dílčí tendence v hospodářském a společenském vývoji. Z hlediska stanovených otázek si autor všímá především forem diskontinuity a kontinuity. Zatímco tak například oblasti dnešního Polska měla postihnout výrazná demografická krize a o krizi lze oprávněně hovořit i v případě vnitřních oblastí Balkánu, na Krymu lze pozorovat kontinuitu, a to především ve městech. Ve všech kapitolách Curta přitom upozorňuje, že vývoj v žádné z popisovaných oblastí nelze redukovat na popis „jednoduchého rolnického hospodářství". Curta naopak neustále poukazuje na velkou míru sociální stratifikace, která byla především západními autory zplošťována, a na rozmanitost hospodářské specializace.

Z textu je zcela jasně patrný autorův nesmírný přehled, ostatně málokterý autor by si troufl napsat přehledové a zároveň inovativní hospodářské a společenské dějiny takto geograficky rozsáhlého a značně diverzifikovaného prostoru. K přednostem publikace v tomto ohledu patří autorova snaha reflektovat jednotlivá národní bádání. Curta tak například pracuje i s českojazyčnou literaturou. Výběrově lze zmínit Curtovu reflexi prací J. Tejrala či N. Profantové. Zde je však třeba upozornit na jistou potíž, které se patrně publikace, jež se vědomě snaží postihnout dějiny tak širokého prostoru, nemůže zcela vyhnout. Ačkoliv nelze pochybovat

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3   Chris WICKHAM, *Framing the early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800*, Oxford 2005.

o autorově erudici a přehledu v oboru, přesto někdy může přebírání citací a tezí z jednotlivých národních historiografií působit spíše eklekticky než jako koherentní výběr reflektující celistvě daný diskurz a s ním spojené badatelské otázky. Za nedostatek by pak bylo možné označit skutečnost, že autor opomíjí mnohé kritické příspěvky a alternativní možnosti výkladu. Nicméně v takto obsáhlé publikaci, jejíž cílem je především vybudovat východoevropskému prostoru důstojné místo v debatách o proměně římského světa v raném středověku, patrně není možné dát prostor veškeré kritice a autorův výběr literatury lze proto hodnotit jako velmi zdařilý. I přes veškerý autorův přehled však vzhledem k výše nastíněným problematickým bodům může při interpretaci dílčích skutečností dojít k určitému zkreslení. Pokud se například podíváme, jak Curta přistoupil k problematice blízké českému publiku, jakou je interpretace raně středověkého sídliště v Roztokách u Prahy, pak na jednu stranu reflektuje dosavadní archeologický výzkum (s. 114–115), na druhou stranu při výkladu funkce sídliště tyto závěry značně zplošťuje (s. 130).

Curtova práce i přes svoji obsáhlost představuje spíše předběžný obraz toho, jak lze chápat společenskou a hospodářskou transformaci římského světa optikou východní Evropy. To však nelze vnímat jako výtku, ale jako podnět k novému a inovativnímu promyšlení dějin transformace Evropy v době raného středověku. Je pochopitelně velmi obtížné přijít s takovým výkladovým konceptem, který by dokázal adekvátně reflektovat vývoj v prostoru od Chazarské říše po vizigótské *regnum*. Avšak v návaznosti na tento podnětný příspěvek F. Curty se snad dostane východoevropskému prostoru v dosavadním narativu větší pozornosti.

Martin Šenk

Jindřich DEJMEK (ed.),
Cirkulární telegramy Československého ministerstva zahraničních věcí z let komunistického režimu (1956–1989). Díl druhý, Cirkulární telegramy MZV 1969–1980, svazek II/1 (1969–1972), svazek II/2 (1973–1977),
Praha, Historický ústav 2022, 787 s. a 1024 s.,
ISBN 978-80-7286-396-9, 978-80-7286-398-3.

Výzkum československé zahraniční politiky po srpnu 1968 zůstává i nadále omezen na některá dílčí témata. Hlavní příčina spočívá v míře „vytěžení" příslušných fondů Archivu Ministerstva zahraničních věcí České republiky, který v pozici specializo-

vaného archivu pečuje o dokumenty pocházející z provenience rezortu zahraničí. Badatelé využívají především dílčí písemnosti uchovávané ve fondu Teritoriální odbor, třebaže je většina úřední diplomatické korespondence již několik let formálně „odtajněna". Důležitý zdroj informací představuje šifrovaná telegrafická korespondence uchovávaná ve fondech Telegramy odeslané a Telegramy došlé. Není náhoda, že tento typ dokumentů tvoří nedílnou součást každé kritické zahraničně-politické edice dokumentů v „krátkém" 20. století. Česká a slovenská historiografie má v tomto směru co dohánět, především s ohledem na dějiny studené války zvlášť, když si uvědomíme čilou ediční činnost menších států typu Polska nebo neutrálního Švýcarska.[1]

V roce 2020 zahájilo Nakladatelství Historického ústavu Akademie věd ambiciózní projekt v podobě nové ediční řady *Cirkulární telegramy Československého ministerstva zahraničí z let komunistického režimu 1956–1989*. Klade si za cíl zpřístupnění základní materie československé zahraniční politiky od podzimu 1956 do prosince 1989, tedy od konání XX. sjezdu KSSS až po definitivní odchod komunistů z pozice vládní strany v podobě jmenování nové vlády národního porozumění. První dva díly prvního svazku edice Cirkulářů se věnovaly období let 1956–1968. Recenzované monografie na ně chronologicky navazují, když přibližují léta 1969–1977. Zahrnují tedy nejenom pozvolné odeznívání reformního procesu v Československu, ale zejména období celkového uvolnění napětí v mezinárodních vztazích, známé pod francouzským označením *détente*, které vyvrcholilo konáním Konference o bezpečnosti a spolupráci v Evropě v létě 1975.[2]

Pokračování ediční rady se stejně jako v případě předchozích dílů ujal Jindřich Dejmek. Těžko bychom hledali v českém a slovenském prostředí někoho, kdo o československé zahraniční politice napsal více. Bez přehánění se jedná o „stálici" Historického ústavu Akademie věd České republiky a zároveň jednoho z nejvýraznějších historiků své generace. J. Dejmek od počátku své vědecké kariéry těžil z podrobné znalosti archivního materiálu. Dovolím si tvrdit, že nikdo nestrávil více badatelských hodin v Archivu Ministerstva zahraničí než on. Jako vystudovanému archiváři mu není cizí ani obsáhlá ediční činnost. V letech 2000–2011 se zásadním

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1 Polsko vydává příslušné dokumenty formou ediční řady *Polskie dokumenty Dyplomatyczne* a Švýcarsko prostřednictvím *Diplomatische Dokumente der Schweiz*.

2 Jitka VONDROVÁ – Jaromír NAVRÁTIL (eds.), *Prameny k dějinám československé krize v letech 1967–1970, Svazek 4/3 Mezinárodní souvislosti československé krize 1967–1970*: *září 1968– květen 1970*, Brno 1997.

způsobem podílel na vydání devíti svazků řady A („modré") *Dokumentů české zahraniční politiky 1918–1945*.[3]

Při pohledu na oba díly zaujme jedna v evropském kontextu unikátní skutečnost. V zahraničí bývají podobně náročné a obsáhlé ediční počiny dílem systematické a dlouholeté práce kolektivu několika autorů, které jednotlivé svazky vydávají s několikaletým odstupem. Samotná heuristika představuje krajně obtížný a velmi časově náročný úkol. V Archivu Ministerstva zahraničních věcí totiž neexistuje k obrovskému množství příslušné materie žádná pomůcka ani rejstříky. Téměř v úplnosti dochované telegramy jsou řazeny chronologicky, a tak nezbývá nic jiného než prozkoumat desítky tisíc dokumentů. K tomu je nezbytné připočítat samotný výběr dokumentů, přepis materiálů a v neposlední řadě jejich kritické zhodnocení, včetně opatření odpovídajícím poznámkovým aparátem vyžadujícím skutečně obsáhlé znalosti. J. Dejmek veškerou práci odvedl sám, a proto se jedná o bezesporu mimořádný a časově velmi náročný vydavatelský počin!

Recenzované monografie si zachovávají osvědčenou kompozici předchozích dílů. Cenná je již editorova úvodní studie koncipovaná jako nástin zahraničněpolitických aktivit Československa v prvním desetiletí normalizačního režimu (1969–1979/80). J. Dejmek v ní přináší nejenom známá fakta, například o vztazích se Sovětským svazem nebo o obtížné cestě k „narovnání" vztahů se Spolkovou republikou Německo, ale také přibližuje méně známé vnější aktivity Československa v Latinské Americe nebo v rámci mezinárodních organizací, především pak na půdě Organizace spojených národů. Čtenář tak může nabýt uceleného dojmu o mnohostranných aktivitách „posrpnové" diplomacie. Na úvodní zamyšlení navazuje pasáž o personální a organizační struktuře ministerstva zahraničních věcí ve sledovaném období. Vychází z editorových předchozích výzkumů.[4] V knize dále nechybí ani ediční úvod a poznámky.

Monografie zpřístupňují celkem 1870 (!) v drtivé většině dosud nikdy nezveřejněných dokumentů z období 1969–1977 dvou základních typů.[5] První, po-

3 Jindřich DEJMEK et. al. (eds.), *Československo na pařížské mírové konferenci. Dokumenty československé zahraniční politiky*, sv. A/2/1-2, Praha 2000, 2011; Idem, *Československá zahraniční politika a vznik Malé dohody 1920–1921. Dokumenty československé zahraniční politiky*, sv. A/3/1-2, Praha 2004, 2005; *Československá zahraniční politika v roce 1936, 1937, 1938*, Praha 2000–2004, 2007.

4 Jindřich DEJMEK, *Diplomacie Československa, 1. díl. Nástin dějin Ministerstva zahraničních věcí a diplomacie (1918–1992)*, Praha 2012.

5 Jedinou kritickou edici „posrpnových" dokumentů představuje Jitka VONDROVÁ – Jaromír NAVRÁTIL (eds.), *Prameny k dějinám československé krize v letech 1967–1970, Svazek 4/3 Mezinárodní souvislosti československé krize 1967–1970: září 1968–květen 1970*, Brno 1997.

četnější skupinu telegrafických zpráv tvoří informace, které resort zahraničí rozesílal buď všem, nebo vybraným zastupitelským úřadům v zahraničí. Druhý typ dokumentů představují instrukce ministerstva formou cirkulárních telegramů pro všechny nebo vybraný okruh zastupitelských úřadů. Přepis materiálů byl prováděn podle pravidel pro vydávání novodobých historických pramenů.[6] Každý z chronologicky řazených dokumentů je opatřen záhlavním regestem, obsahujícím datum a čas jeho vyhotovení, základní typovou charakteristikou dokumentu (rozdělení na informace a instrukce) a základním shrnutím dokumentu.

Pouze v regestové podobě byly otištěny materiály z období první čtyř měsíců roku 1969 (dokument č. 1–53). Editor je zpřístupnil již dříve formou výběrové edice dokumentů ve Sborníku archivních prací, což nemusí být pro potenciálního čtenáře právě komfortní.[7] Částečně J. Dejmek vykompenzoval tento drobný nedostatek zpřístupněním klíčových pasáží některých dokumentů formou obsáhlých citací v poznámkovém aparátu.

Ke kvalitě recenzovaných svazků přispívá i vhodně zvolená obálka v tvrdé vazbě. Na přední straně dominuje barevná fotografie Černínského paláce, doplněná portrétem tehdejších ministrů zahraničí Jána Marka, resp. Bohuslava Chňoupka. Jeden z dobových cirkulárních telegramů tvoří vkusné doplnění zadní strany knihy. Lze očekávat, že součástí závěrečného třetího dílu druhého svazku bude anglické resumé, výběrová bibliografie k československé zahraniční politice 1969–1980 i jmenný rejstřík.

Přínos dalších dvou dílů ediční řady *Cirkulární telegramy Československého ministerstva zahraničí z let komunistického režimu* je nesporný. Fundovanou, a přitom spolehlivou formou zpřístupňuje základní materiál nejenom ke studiu československé zahraniční politiky, ale také k soudobým mezinárodním vztahům. Zřetelně ukazuje, že Československo tehdy svíral krunýř sovětského bloku, nicméně i tak sledovalo – v rámci možného – vlastní dílčí cíle. O mnohých z nich máme dosud jen nepatrné znalosti. Závěrem lze vyjádřit přání, aby J. Dejmek měl odpovídající institucionální podporu, energii a mentální síly k brzkému dokončení v českém a slovenském prostředí unikátní ediční řady, která pomáhá prohloubit znalosti o peripetiích československé zahraniční politiky.

Miroslav Šepták

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6   Ivan ŠŤOVÍČEK, *Zásady vydávání novověkých historických pramenů z období od počátku 16. století do současnosti*, Praha 2002.

7   Jindřich DEJMEK (ed.), *Cirkulární instrukce československého MZV z počátečního období normalizace (srpen 1968 – duben 1969)*, Sborník archivních prací 64, 2014, č. 2, s. 405–561.

ZPRÁVY / BOOK REPORTS

Československo-jihoslovanská liga (1921–1929) a Československo-jihoslovanská revue (1930–1939). Bibliografie časopisů,
sestavila a úvodní studii napsala Kateřina Kolářová,
Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, Slovanská knihovna 2022, 354 s.,
ISBN 978-80-7050-757-5.

Publikace *Československo-jihoslovanská liga (1921–1929) a Československo-jihoslovanská revue (1930–1939). Bibliografie časopisů* by se mohla stát velmi užitečnou při studiu a poznávání činnosti Československo-jihoslovanské ligy, československého spolku vzniklého v roce 1921 a činného především v období mezi světovými válkami a usilujícího o propagování nejrůznějších československo-jugoslávských styků a posilování vzájemnosti států československého a jugoslávského a jejich národů. Jedním ze způsobů, jak Liga vyvíjela svou činnost, bylo vydávání časopisů – ve 20. letech 20. století *Československo-jihoslovanská liga*, v dekádě následující *Československo-jihoslovanská revue*. Obě periodika, vycházející jako měsíčníky, byla v souladu s činností spolku a s jeho orientací na propagování československo-jugoslávských styků. Zpravovala o vzájemných návštěvách, výměnách studentů, vítání jugoslávských hostů v Československu a také o spolupráci mezi Československem a Ju-

goslávií v oblastech školství, kultury, umění, turistiky apod.

Úkol vytvořit bibliografii, který před sebou Kateřina Kolářová měla, nebyl snadný, vždyť čítá impozantních 4 475 záznamů! Aby svému zadání dostála, musela se pustit do podrobného rozboru spolkových časopisů za skoro dvacetileté období, kdy vycházely. Při tom jí určitě pomohly její odborný zájem a dlouhodobé zkoumaní dané problematiky v jejích kvalifikačních pracích (bakalářská, magisterská diplomová a rigorózní), které v posledních letech obhájila na Ústavu slavistiky Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity v Brně, a několik odborných textů, které vyšly v periodicích (v časopisech *Kultúrne dejiny*, *Slovanský jih* aj.).

Pro čtenáře bude velmi užitečný editorčin vlastní text (s. 9–51) o několika podkapitolách. V úvodu vedle stručného popisu samotného díla prezentovala i dosavadní stav výzkumu (jeho tematika byla nepochybně pro badatele v období mezi světovými válkami, popřípadě v době socialismu, mnohem atraktivnější než pro ty současné). V dalších podkapitolách kladla důraz na historický kontext vzniku slovanských vzájemnostních spolků v Československu, mezi něž patřila i Československo-jihoslovanská liga. Kateřina Kolářová se zabývá jejím vznikem, vývojem a působením v meziválečném období a analyzuje výše uváděné časopisy. Tyto podkapitoly nabízejí čtenáři

spoustu dodatečných informací, zejména biografických údajů jednotlivých osobností spjatých s přípravou zkoumaných časopisů nebo autorů, kteří do časopisů přispívali. V poslední části vlastního textu, tedy v ediční poznámce, připomněla Kateřina Kolářová i některé překážky, se kterými se během vytváření bibliografie potkávala (řešení otázky autorství, problematika zařazování příspěvků do jednotlivých tematických oddílů apod.). Na několika stránkách publikace (s. 55–59, 151–157) nabídla čtenářům i stručné vysvětlení každého ze zkoumaných oddílů.

Bibliografie zabírá podstatnou část knihy (s. 60–150, 158–315). Editorka ji rozdělila na logické části – kulturu, umění, hospodářství, různé osobnosti, politiku, sokolstvo, sport, vojenství, turismus a další styčné body československo-jugoslávské meziválečné spolupráce. Rozdělení je pro čtenáře velmi přehledné a spolu se jmenným rejstříkem mu umožňuje snadněji vyhledávat ve zkoumaných časopisech jednotlivé autory či články. Na konci publikace se nacházejí seznamy dešifrovaných autorských značek (velmi užitečný nástroj při sledování textu), archivních pramenů, dobového tisku (především jde o noviny Ligy), sekundární literatury (monografie, sborníky, články v časopisech, sbornících a ročenkách) a elektronických zdrojů. Domnívám se, že v souvislosti s uváděním sekundární literatury se jako lepší řešení nabízí možnost rozdělování literatury na dobovou a soudobou, což editorka neuplatnila. Pro čtenáře, zvlášť pro vědecké kruhy, by takový seznam literatury byl užitečnější a přehlednější.

K samotnému textu obdivuhodné bibliografie pravděpodobně nebude mít budoucí čtenář podstatných poznámek. Uváží-li se skutečnost, že v tuto chvíli je do jisté míry omezen distanční přístup do digitální knihovny Národní knihovny ČR a do programu Kramerius (zde se nacházejí digitalizované časopisy Ligy), získává publikace ještě větší význam. Čtenáři nebo badateli se tak nabízí možnost najít bez problému autora nějakého textu, článku, případně zjistit nějakou osobu pomocí zde recenzované publikace, aniž by se musel obracet na hůře přístupnou digitální knihovnu.

Na závěr ještě jednou zdůrazňuji význam, který by publikace mohla mít: určitě osloví každého, kdo se zajímá o Ligu, zvlášť o její kulturní styky v meziválečném období, a jakékoli formy československo-jugoslávských kontaktů. Jistě ale zaujme i běžného čtenáře, který vedle výkladu v úvodu najde možná v obsáhlém seznamu autorů a textů motivaci k tomu, aby sám dál bádal, aby si něco dalšího přečetl. Vedle nepochybně velkého úsilí a času, které editorka své práci věnovala, chci pochválit samotný nápad připravit něco takového v dnešní době, jež obvykle dává přednost monografiím nebo kolektivním monografiím.

Chvályhodné je nakonec i odhodlání nakladatelství Národní knihovny ČR a Slovanské knihovny v Praze tento text, jak bylo původně plánované, ke 100. výročí vzniku Ligy vydat.

Milan Sovilj

Československo-polský spor o Těšínské Slezsko v letech 1918–1920 se na první pohled

zdá být badatelsky vyčerpaným tématem. Jsem přesvědčen, že tomu tak není. Zatímco diplomatické okolnosti byly skutečně již detailně popsány, stále přece jen chybí hlubší vhled do nazírání na tento spor ze strany dohodových mocností – zejména Francie a Velké Británie. Na svého badatele také čeká téma poměrů na sporném území, včetně plebiscitních příprav, činnosti místní správy atd. Nyní se do rukou českého čtenáře dostává kniha vzpomínek britského člena mezispojenecké komise, která v únoru 1919 do Těšínského Slezska přibyla po týdenní československo-polské válce. Jedná se o vzpomínky Jamese A. Roye, který je vydal už v roce 1921. Nedočkaly se většího zájmu mezi britským čtenářstvem, neboť spor o Těšínské Slezsko byl vnímán jako „jeden z nejobskurnějších" ve střední Evropě, o kterou Britové ostatně nejevili příliš zájem.

Vzpomínky jsou psány formou deníku. První záznam nese datum 13. února 1919 a poslední 27. června 1919, mezi záznamy jsou však i mnohadenní mezery. Autor vystudoval před válkou anglickou filologii, což se odráží ve stylistické vytříbenosti textu. Jako mnoho dalších Britů sloužil v letech 1915–1918 v armádě. Jelikož uměl německy, působil zejména u zpravodajců a podílel se na výslechu německých zajatců. Jazykové znalosti ho předurčily k tomu, aby se stal tajemníkem britského důstojníka působícího u Mezispojenecké komise v Těšíně. Vzpomínky (deník) Roye odrážejí vnímání této části Evropy očima sice vzdělaného, ale s touto částí kontinentu nepříliš obeznámeného občana britského impéria. Pokud bychom měli charakterizovat ve stručnosti jeho vztah k československo-polskému sporu, asi by ho nejlépe vystihlo jeho zvolání v závěrečné části pamětí: „Co za změť je tahle střední Evropa!" Lze přitom

předpokládat, že podobně to vnímala i většina britských elit, na což ostatně ukázal i malý zájem čtenářů o první vydání.

Kniha obsahuje celou řadu zajímavých pasáží, které určitě najdou využití mezi historiky zabývající se situací v Těšínském Slezsku v dané době. Autor se leckdy nebránil ani ostrým až nediskrétním charakteristikám zejména dohodových činitelů působících v komisi (v tomto ohledu jsou zajímavé i paměti polského diplomata Władysława Günthera *Pióropusz i szpada* vydané v Paříži v roce 1963). Anotované vydání je přitom od jiných odlišné tím, že obsahuje jak původní anglickou verzi vzpomínek, tak i český a polský překlad. Netroufám si posuzovat kvalitu polského překladu, nicméně český se mi nezdá být špatný, byť nechápu, proč se např. na straně 162 vyskytuje polská koncovka u skloňovaného příjmení polského malíře Józefa Chełmońského (ještě navíc chybně bez ł). Co si však zaslouží výtku, je ediční zpracování. V textu je mnoho míst, které doslova volají po vyjasňujících poznámkách. Určitě by stálo za to vysvětlit poněkud zmatený výklad válek o Slezsko v 18. století (s. 119). Nepochopil jsem pravidlo, podle kterého se editor rozhodl v poznámkách připojovat životopisné medailony. Zatímco anglická královna Alžběta I. jím byla poctěna, na osobnosti zásadní pro dění v Těšínském Slezsku v popisované době (např. Tadeusz Reger, Feliks Władysław Bocheński nebo Jan Michejda) se zapomnělo. Stačilo přitom sáhnout například po protokolech ze zasedání Národní rady Těšínského knížectví (vyšly v ediční řadě Bibliotheca Tessinensis v roce 2016). Z hlediska editorského je proto anotovaná publikace, bohužel, promarněnou šancí. Příčinu lze možná hledat i v tom, že neprošla recenzním řízením. Bezpochyby každý

historik by v odborném posudku takové nedostatky vytkl a žádal jejich zapracování.

Přesto je dobře, že vzpomínky J. A. Roye máme alespoň v této podobě. Stanou se pro historiky dostupnějším pramenem.

Jiří Friedl

Mečislav BORÁK,
Svědectví ze Životic. Těšínsko za druhé světové války a okolnosti životické tragédie,
2. upravené a doplněné vydání (k vydání připravil Radim Jež),
Český Těšín, Muzeum Těšínska 2022,
207 s.,
ISBN 978-80-86696-65-2.

Čtenářské úspěchy knih Karin Lednické čerpající látku z novodobých dějin Těšínska vyvolaly u širší veřejnosti zájem o historii této nejvýchodnější části České republiky. Tím spíše, že se obecně příliš neví o tom, jak komplikovaná národnostní struktura zde byla, kvůli čemuž není snadné historii tohoto regionu pochopit a tím pádem i vyložit. Dvacáté století Těšínsku přitom přineslo řadu zvratů souvisejících jednak s česko-slovensko-polským sporem o toto území, a pak také s nacistickou okupační politikou. Není přitom příliš známo (a to ani mezi historiky), že za druhé světové války byly zdejší poměry velmi odlišné od těch v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava.

V jedné z posledních knih K. Lednická beletristicky zpracovala téma tzv. slezských Lidic – masakru obyvatel Životic, malé obce, která je dnes součástí Havířova, 6. srpna 1944. Nacisté tehdy v odpovědi na přepadení skupiny gestapáků v místním hostinci polskými partyzány povraždili 36 mužů z Životic a okolních obcí (dalších 41 lidí bylo odvlečeno do koncentračních táborů, přičemž po válce se vrátili jen čtyři). V souvislosti s knihou Karin Lednické vzrostl zájem veřejnosti o tuto tragickou událost. Muzeum Těšínska v Českém Těšíně se rozhodlo vyjít vstříc poptávce a v druhém upraveném a doplněném vydání publikovat knihu historika (a dlouholetého člena redakční rady *Slovanského přehledu*) Mečislava Boráka (1945–2017), jenž patřil k předním znalcům německé okupační politiky ve Slezsku a česko-polských vztahů ve 20. století. Borákova práce vyšla už v roce 1999, ale dodnes neztratila nic ze své aktuálnosti. Stále zůstává vynikajícím a čtenářsky velmi přístupným zpracováním problematiky nejen samotné životické tragédie, ale na jejím pozadí i okupační politiky nacistů na Těšínsku. Jednotlivé kapitoly přibližují tragickou historii tohoto regionu v letech 1938–1945 s patřičným přihlédnutím k místním specifikům, které českému čtenáři (zvláště z jiných částí České republiky) nejsou tak dobře známy. Díky Borákovu stylistickému nadání máme přitom co do činění s čtivou knihou, která si zároveň zachovává vysokou odbornou úroveň. Typický pro Borákův přístup k historické vědě byl přitom fakt, že v analyzovaných událostech viděl a stavěl do popředí člověka. V knize se tedy setkáváme s plejádou hrdinů, ale také kolaborantů a válečných zločinců, z nichž některé po válce stihl i zasloužený trest. Obratné využívání pramenů, tolik typické pro Borákovy práce, činí četbu velmi přitažlivou.

Od prvního vydání se kniha liší zejména mnohem kvalitnější obrazovou přílohou a lepší grafickou úpravou. Vedle toho je součástí knihy i stať od Rudolfa Žáčka o Mečislavu Borákovi. Není přitom jen pouhým výčtem vědeckých úspěchů M. Boráka, ale

též vzdáním pocty tomuto nejen vynikajícímu znalci českých/československých a polských dějin a také laskavému člověku, který v historickém řemesle vychoval nemálo žáků. I z tohoto důvodu si zachovává Borákova kniha i po více než dvaceti letech svou aktuálnost.

Jiří Friedl

ZPRÁVY Z VĚDECKÉHO ŽIVOTA /
NEWS FROM ACADEMIC LIFE

Obituary: PhDr. Mirjam Moravcová, DrSc.
(March 22, 1931 – March 10, 2023)

PhDr. Mirjam Moravcová, DrSc., ethnologist from the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague, passed away on Friday, March 10, 2023. Her funeral, attended by family members, friends, colleagues, academic dignitaries and students, took place at the great hall of the Strašnice Crematorium in Prague. The funcionalist space from the 1930s, adorned with marble and almost free of decorations was filled with rays of sunlight penetrating through its long narrow windows from both sides. The well-known Prague music group Džezvica, which has been recreating the rhythms and melodies of the Balkans, performed several Bulgarian and Czech folk songs. Two speeches, the first by her granddaughter, the second by her friend and colleague, professor Zdeněk Pinc from the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University, were moving as befits the occasion but also exceptionally witty and humorous. It was a beautiful day, with deep blue sky, bright flowers in bloom and intense sunlight, the first real spring day in Prague this year. It was, as we all knew, also dr. Moravcová's 92nd birthday, March 22, 2023.

Dr. Mirjam Moravcová was a doyenne of Czech ethnology and Balkan Studies whose academic career spanned incredible seven decades. At the occasion of her 90th birthday in 2021, historian Ladislav Hladký summed up her professional life and scholarly output, including selected bibliography, in an article published by our journal in Czech (see: Ladislav Hladký, Devadesátiny PhDr. Mirjam Moravcové, DrSc., *Slovanský přehled / Slavonic Review* 107 [2021], nr. 1, pp. 275–280). Jubilatory texts were also published in other Czech scholarly journals (see especially: Hedvika Novotná, K devadesátým narozeninám PhDr. Mirjam Moravcové, DrSc., *Lidé města / Urban People* 23 [2021], nr. 1, pp. 123–128). In spring 2021, a special panel dedicated to the 90th birthday of Mirjam Moravcová with several presentations summing up different aspects of her outstanding contribution as an ethnologist, teacher and active figure of Czech academic life was held as part of the bi-annual meeting of the Czech Association for Social Anthropology (CASA), which she personally attended and greatly enjoyed. A new wave of articles marking her passing will probably follow. In this obituary, I will try to limit the overview of her long career only to the most important facts without trying to be exhaustive.

Born on March 22, 1931 as Mirjam Stará in the town of Turnov, a well-known gateway to the picturesque region of rocks and castles known as the Bohemian Paradise, she

moved to Prague with her parents shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1951–1955, she studied ethnology (*národopis*) and history at the Faculty of Philosophy, Charles University in Prague. At the height of the Cold War division of Europe and Stalinist rule of terror in Czechoslovakia during the first half of the 1950s, she applied for one of the few foreign exchange programs available to students of her generation. She managed to spend a part of her studies in Sofia. She fondly remembered her student days in Bulgaria for the rest of her life. This stay also triggered her lifelong interest in the peoples and problems of the Balkans in general.

Since 1954 until 1964, Mirjam Moravcová worked as a researcher at the Slavonic Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (*Slovanský ústav ČSAV*). For the next five years, she was employed at the Institute for the History of European Socialist Countries of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (*Ústav dějin evropských socialistických ČSAV*), alongside historians who focused on the Slavic countries and the Balkan peninsula. From 1969 until 1993, Mirjam Moravcová was institutionally affiliated with the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czech Academy of Sciences (*Ústav pro etnografii a folkloristiku ČSAV*). For many years, she was engaged in the research of the worker's culture in Prague.

The last three decades of her life after the Velvet Revolution (1989) also represented the most fruitful and rewarding period of her academic career. Instead of retiring, she joined the brand new Institute for Liberal Education (*Institut základů vzdělanosti*) at Charles University, transformed into the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in 2000. Mirjam Moravcová belonged to a relatively large group of scholars who got their first opportunity to teach and influence young generations directly only after the fall of the Communist régime. Since the mid-1990s until the end of her life, she taught courses and seminars in ethnology, supervised M. A. and Ph.D. students. Her main research interests which she also shared with her students evolved around urban anthropology, minorities and diaspora communities in the Czech Republic (a relatively new and extremely dynamic topic in the post-Communist period) and their festivities. She retained a special interest in Bulgaria and the Balkans. After 2000, Mirjam Moravcová often collaborated with her daughter, anthropologist Dana Bittnerová, who also became institutionally affiliated with the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in Prague. The post-Communist period was also most fruitful for Mirjam Moravcová in terms of academic output. Most of her books and co-edited publications were published in the last three decades of her life. In 1992, Dr. Moravcová launched a series of edited volumes published under the title *Lidé města / Urban Dwellers*. She later managed to transform the edition into the journal *Lidé města / Urban People*, the first scholarly periodical in the Czech Republic focusing on social anthropology, and served as its first editor-in-chief (1999–2007).

Dr. Mirjam Moravcová was my Ph. D. supervisor at the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in 2002–2007 (social and cultural anthropology). The first book I published back in 2006 was a collection of papers on Czech images and stereotypes of Eastern Europe co-edited with her and David Svoboda, historian of modern Ukraine. The "Balkan Express" interdisciplinary conferences she helped to co-organize in 2013 have grown into

the largest scholarly gatherings in Balkan Studies held in Prague on a regular basis. Dr. Moravcová was an active participant and distinguished member of the organizing committee of the Balkan Express conferences until her passing. This year's conference (*Balkan Express: Between Orientalism and Occidentalism*), planned for November 2023, will be officially dedicated to her memory.

Dr. Mirjam Moravcová was blessed with a long, fruitful and happy life. She was able to actively enjoy the scholarly work she so passionately loved as well as the attention and affection of her family, countless friends, colleagues and several generations of students for many decades. Apart from official portraits, it is difficult to find photographs of dr. Moravcová standing, sitting or walking alone. Whether its the black-and-white pictures from the 1950s or recent photos from the early 2020s, most photographs from the successive phases of her professional career spanning seven decades show her in a company of other (usually smiling) people. Despite her advanced age, she actively participated in academic life literally until the last day of her own life, including research and routine university duties such as theses defences. On March 9, one day before her passing, as her colleague and friend from the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University prof. Zdeněk Pinc recalled in his speech at her funeral, dr. Moravcová watched the inauguration of the new Czech President Petr Pavel on TV with keen professional interest as an example of a first class public festivity (and found words of praise for the thoughtfull choreography and appropriate symbolism of the ceremony in the end). Festivities indeed represented the main recurrent topic of her research and scholarly output in recent years. Just a few days after her death, Moravcová's new major contribution to the topic – an English language monograph entitled *Ethnic Diaspora Festivities in the Czech Republic: Cultural Traditions between Isolation, Integration and Hybridization* (Praha: Karolinum, 2023) – appeared on the shelves of Czech bookstores fresh off the press. The book, based on the results of the author's long term field research, focuses on several immigrant groups which have created a more permanent and distinct diaspora in the post-Communist Czech Republic, with emphasis on the processes and strategies of abandonment, hybridization and various transformations of public festivities in the new environment.

František Šístek

Zemřel přední odborník na dějiny východní Evropy, prof. PhDr. Michal Reiman, DrSc.

Ve věku nedožitých 93 let zemřel dne 10. března 2023 významný historik ruských a sovětských dějin Michal Reiman. Za své reformní postoje v 60. letech a aktivní účast v politickém dění v období pražského jara byl perzekuován a zbaven zaměstnání. Živil se jako překladatel a po smrti svého otce roku 1976 našel nakonec druhý domov a práci na univerzitě v německém Tübingenu. Byl zaměstnán také na vysoké škole v Kasselu a od roku1980 působil na Svobodné univerzitě v Berlíně. Během normalizace byl však zbaven v ČSSR občan-

ství. V emigraci patřil k československé exilové skupině Listy, v jejímž stejnojmenném periodiku publikoval. V zahraničí se aktivně zapojoval do četných německých, italských i mezinárodních diskusí k aktuálním politickým a historickým otázkám, vztahujícím se předně k SSSR a východnímu bloku. Ostrakizace z historické obce a odchod do exilu musely být nepochybně traumatizující a přelomové události v jeho životě, nicméně přinesly mu v konečném důsledku pro jeho odbornou práci četná pozitiva. Měl možnost dostat se k literatuře a pramenům, které zůstávaly v době normalizace československým historikům nepřístupné. Setkal se s odborníky, jejichž pohled na dějiny východní Evropy nebyl svázán ideologií a propagandou. Mohl se zkrátka zapojit do svobodných diskusí, rozšířit si odborný rozhled a formovat své myšlení v úplně jiném a širším kontextu. To vše pak uplatnil ve svých dalších pracích a přinesl zpět do českého prostředí po sametové revoluci.

Do vlasti se po pádu komunismu pravidelně vracel a spolupracoval zde s celou řadou odborníků. Na počátku 90. let především s pracovníky obnoveného Ústavu dějin východní Evropy ČSAV, po jeho zrušení v polovině roku 1993 pak s těmi, kteří působili v Historickém ústavu AV ČR. Kromě další odborné spolupráce s vysokými školami byl od roku 1995 činný jako pedagog v Institutu mezinárodních studií Fakulty sociálních věd Univerzity Karlovy. Hojně publikoval na stránkách *Slovanského přehledu* a zároveň byl od poloviny 90. let členem jeho redakční rady. V posledních deseti letech působil jako člen mezinárodní vědecké rady tohoto periodika. Do vysokého věku se aktivně účastnil konferencí, mj. i těch, které připravovalo Výzkumné centrum dějin a kultury východní Evropy. Publikoval řadu analytických studií a několik syntetizujících knih. Působil i v řadě komisí, spolků či sdružení; byl např. dlouholetým členem Česko-ruské komise historiků a archivářů a členem vědecké komise Výzkumného centra dějin a kultury východní Evropy Historického ústavu AV ČR.

Z Reimanova díla připomeňme jeho vlastní vzpomínky *Rusko jako téma a realita doma a v exilu. Vzpomínky na léta 1968–1990* a *Čínský deník a skupina Listy, jaro 1981.* Z odborné činnosti upozorněme především na knihy *Ruská revoluce: 23. únor – 25. říjen 1917*; *Lenin – Stalin – Gorbačov, kontinuita a zlomy v sovětských dějinách*; *The Birth of Stalinism* a *O komunistickém totalitarismu a o tom, co s ním souvisí.* Výsledky svých letitých výzkumů vyložil v obsáhlé publikaci z roku 2013 *Zrod velmoci. Dějiny Sovětského svazu 1917–1945*, již vypracoval ve spolupráci s Bohuslavem Literou, Karlem Svobodou a Danielou Kolenovskou. Jedná se o ucelený výklad dějin Ruska a SSSR od druhé poloviny 19. století do konce druhé světové války, který rozrušil četná klišé a zjednodušující konstatování, přičemž byl soustředěn na zevrubné vysvětlení velmi složité a často nepřehledné vnitropolitické situace velmoci. Ve stručnější formě a prakticky v tomtéž časovém rozsahu byla vydána práce v Německu v roce 2016 pod názvem *About Russia, Its Revolutions, Its Development and Its Present* (obsáhleji k životu a dílu srov. Lenka Vlčková Kryčerová, *Devadesátiny historika Michala Reimana*, Slovanský přehled 106, 2020, č. 2, s. 394–396)

Prof. Michal Reiman byl nepochybně ve svém oboru významnou mezinárodní autoritou. Zanechal za sebou celou řadu podnětných knih a studií, o něž se mohou další badatelé opírat a představují pro ně zdroj užitečných informací a v neposlední řadě i tematickou a metodologickou inspiraci. Každý, kdo prof. Reimana znal, na něj vzpomíná i po lidské stránce. Byl učitelem a kolegou ochotným kdykoli poradit a pomoci. I např. varováním před

nevhodně zpolitizovanými názory, které, jak si sám ve své životní zkušenosti mnohokrát ověřil, dokázaly člověka a jeho dílo jednostranně kritizovat či odmítnout.

Vzpomínejme na něj jen v dobrém.

Lenka Vlčková Kryčerová – Radomír Vlček

Conference "*Bosnia and Herzegovina: Post-Colonial and Post-Conflict Heritage of a European State*", (Prague, November 10, 2022)

The international interdisciplinary conference *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Post-Colonial and Post-Conflict Heritage of a European State* took place in the Vila Lanna in Prague on November 10, 2022. It was organized by the Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the Prague Security Studies Institute. The gathering was financially supported by Strategy AV21 (Strategie AV21), research program of the Czech Academy of Sciences. One of the key aims of the conference was to provide an opportunity for an exchange of the latest research results and new ideas among top scholars from different countries, representing different disciplines (especially history, political science, anthropology, media and religious studies). The participants approached, analyzed and contextualized some of the key problems of Bosnian and Herzegovinian society in a broader historical perspective from the second half of the 19th century until present. The event also highlighted important anniversaries. In 2022 three decades passed since the beginning of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995), one of the most devastating conflicts on European soil since the end of the Second World War. The year 2022 also marked the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent and sovereign European state. The organizers of the conference wanted to bring to focus the attempts at undermining the integrity and even the very existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This trend has been threatening the progress of European integration and regional stability of the Western Balkans. The conference *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Post-Colonial and Post-Conflict Heritage of a European State* therefore put special stress on the idea of statehood in relation to the multiethic and multireligious society in a historical and interdisciplinary perspective.

There were altogether 10 academic presentations (30 minutes each) by 12 researchers from several European countries (France, Croatia, Germany, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Czech Republic). *Can Bosnia and Herzegovina Survive Without an Empire?* – asked the first speaker of the morning session, historian Xavier Bougarel (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris). He stressed the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina functioned as part of an empire for much of its modern history, since the Ottoman times until the break-up of Yugoslavia and the proclamation of independence in 1992. According to him, "this integration into a wider political entity explains at least in part the preservation of its plurinational character and its consociational institutions. In the early 1990s, nationalist parties have deliberately destroyed this fragile balance..." Bougarel then posed the

question whether the protracted political stalemate and institutional crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be resumed without the involvment of the European Union in the role of a new empire of sorts, an empire which is itself based on consociational institutions just like post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In his presentation entitled *"The Time When Each Nation Got Its Own Glasses": Crisis of Modernity and the Arrival of New "Political Climate" Before the Fall of Yugoslavia,* anthropologist Radan Haluzík (Center for Theoretical Study, Charles University, Prague) linked the period of inceasing nationalist tensions leading to the break-up of the Yugoslav federation at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s with the growing criticism of the socialist version of modernity and the simultaneous spread of postmodern thinking. The metaphors and tropes of posmodern relativism were, according to Haluzík, disseminated especially through the widely read daily press and magazines. He primarily focused on the metaphor of *"seeing the world through different glasses"* as depicted by Yugoslav cartoonists, including its increasingly nationalist connnotations.

Historian Ivo Goldstein (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb) presented his paper entitled *Historical Revisionism, Neo-Ustashism, Neo-Chetnikism and the Monopolization of the Just Side.* He first stressed the fact that after the Second World War, which was even more ferocious in Bosnia and Herzegovina than in most parts of occupied Yugoslavia, the society largely managed to overcome the past in the first postwar decades and achieve a high degree of cohesion and mutual trust. As a result of the desintegration of the federal state and the ensuing war in 1992–1995, the socialist culture of memory was replaced by the separate and often mutually exclusive national cultures of memory of the Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks. All three of them have been affected by historical revisionism in different ways. According to Goldstein, the list of historical events, personalities and issues misinterpreted by political instrumentalization in the service of particular nationalist agendas is indeed long, but the role of the Chetnik and Ustasha movement during the Second World War has arguably represented the most crucial question in the post-Yugoslav period. Nationalists on all three sides, Goldstein concluded, have assumed the position of a supposedly "good, just side" which is, however, largely constructed on false foundations.

The political scholar and islamologist Zora Hesová (Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague) outlined in her presentation *Bosnian Islam as "European Islam": Thirty Years After the Independence* the development and specificities of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the beginning of the 1990s. The role of the central religious institution, the Islamic Community (*Islamska zajednica*), which actually represents a legacy of the Austro-Hungarian colonial era, has remained a defining feature of Bosnian Islam throughout the post-Communist period. Hesová stressed the role of the Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the sphere of education, its relations and coexistence with the secular state and its importance as a forum for questions of religious and national identity as well as political discussions.

The paper of anthropologist Ger Duijzings (University of Regensburg) entitled *What Went Wrong and Why? Reflecting on the NIOD Srebrenica Report Twenty Years Later*

focused on the official Dutch report on the circumstances of the fall of the Srebrenica Safe Area in July 1995, published in 2002, which represents "one of the academic legacies of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina". Duijzings, as one of the authors of the report, discussed the document with a critical distance of two decades. He explained the origins and background of the report, its impact at the time of publication and political consequences. The most famous impact included the resignation of the Dutch government in response to the implications of the Dutch peace keeping forces which failed to protect the inhabitants of the Srebrenica enclave from genocide committed by the Bosnian Serb troops of general Ratko Mladić. The anthropologist also reflected on his own role and contribution to the NIOD report.

The afternoon session was opened by historian and anthropologist František Šístek (Institute of History, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague) who in his paper *Representations of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Czech Public Discourse (1992–2022)* provided an overview of the main features, key protagonists and transformations of the Czech public discourse on Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last three decades. He first analyzed the Czech perspectives on the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s, paying special attention to the role of President Václav Havel as a defender of multicultural, civic and united Bosnia, the journalist Jan Urban as an example of an engaged eyewitness of the conflict, and, to complete the picture, the personality and discourse of the physician and publicist Rajko Doleček, staunch defender of the Serbian nationalist cause in Czech public space, personal friend of convicted war criminals Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić. Šístek then discussed the rise of Islamophobic stereotypes in Czech representations of the country after 2001 and the recent image of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a fragile state threatened by disruptive Russian influence.

The anthropologist Mario Katić (Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, University of Zadar) in his presentation *Mechanism of Social and Urban Design in Post-war Bosnia: The View from the Periphery*, based on diverse ethnographic and historical material dating from the mid-19th century until present, including the results of his own decade-long field research, provided a refreshing perspective on the mechanisms of social urban design and their transformations. Based on case studies of thirteen different locations, including the Muslim settlements on the Sava river bank, the towns of Vareš and Novi Travnik and the region of Usora, the presentation first summarized the main features of the formative historical period under the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, framed as an imperial and colonial rule of outside powers over a periphery. The second part of the paper dealt with the socialist period and post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Historian and Slavicist Petr Stehlík (Faculty of Philosophy, Masaryk University, Brno) tackled the often contested concept of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian literature, including its history in changing political circumstances since the 1960s until present, in his presentation *Bosnian-Herzegovinian Literature: The History of a Transnational Concept and Its Prospects in the Post-Conflict Society*. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian literature was elaborated as a transnational concept integrating all the domestic literary traditions and authors regardless of their ethnic and religious identity. Stehlík summarized the main arguments of

the proponents of Bosnian-Herzegovinian literature as well as those of its oponents and adversaries. The dissolution of Yugoslavia, the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992–1995 and the subsequent polarization of society along ethnic lines brought new challenges. In the second part of his presentation, Stehlík outlined "the forms, limits, and prospects of employing the concept of Bosnian-Herzegovinian literature in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as beyond its borders."

The political analysts Anja Grabovac and Tamara Grabovac together with anthropologist Markéta Slavková (Prague Security Studies Institute) discussed the current state of geopolitical influence of selected external actors in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina in their presentation *Western Balkans at the Crossroads: Geopolitical Influence of External Actors in Post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina,* based on the results of their ongoing research project focusing on the links between the trend of democratic backsliding in the Balkans and the influence of external powers including Russia, China, Turkey, and the Gulf States as well as the EU and the US. Their main aim was to explain how the local political actors have contributed to stability or instability of the region. They also described various types of influence activities and approaches used by external actors in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina including the specific tactics and mechanisms employed in order to project and increase their influence.

The last presenter, the independent political analyst Srećko Latal from Sarajevo, reflected on the most recent political developments affecting his homeland in his paper with the fittingly alarming title *Bosnia and Herzegovina Reaches Critical Crossroads at the End of 2022.* "Years of democratic backsliding, ruthless political infighting and brain-drain, as well as the steady decline of the EU and US presence and growing influences of Moscow, Ankara, and Beijing, have almost completely unraveled Bosnia and Herzegovina's Dayton peace agreement," he argued. Despite the obvious failure of the Dayton agreement from 1995 to create the basic conditions necessary for building a functioning and stable state which would be able to join the EU, Latal expressed his conviction that a complete collapse of the post-Dayton institutional arrangement would most likely lead to even more dramatic results, including the break-up of Bosnia and Herzegovina and a possible outbreak of a new armed conflict. In a similar vein as several other speakers, he highlighted the crucial role of external factors, especially the EU and individual EU countries. The "continued failure" of the EU in the region, as Latal put it, has been instead rather aggravating the situation and exposing Bosnia and Herzegovina to new political and security risks, including the disruptive influence of divisive regional and geopolitical forces. "The EU and EU member countries may have the very last chance to prevent another catastrophic – possibly even violent – crisis in the Balkans," warned Latal.

The event was closed with a general discussion and final speech by HE Martina Mlinarević, the ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Czech Republic, writer and journalist. The audience was mostly composed of young people, students, journalists, government officials and junior researchers from Czech and foreign universities and academic institutions. The international interdisciplinary conference *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Post-Colonial and Post-Conflict Heritage of a European State* was the largest scholarly gathering

devoted to Bosnia and Herzegovina organized in Prague in 2022 – the year of the Czech Presidency of the Council of the European Union.

František Šístek – Markéta Slavková

Politicky motivované násilí v jihovýchodní Evropě ve 20. století

Tématem workshopu uspořádaného 8. listopadu 2022 v Historickém kabinetu Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze bylo chování států jihovýchodní Evropy ke svým občanům, jež vykazovalo znaky jistého druhu represe a politicky motivovaného násilí. Hlavní příspěvky přednesli Borut Klabjan z Vědecko-výzkumného centra v Koperu, Slovinsko, Martin Previšić z Filozofické fakulty Univerzity v Záhřebu, Chorvatsko, a Amir Krpić z Filozofické fakulty Univerzity v Tuzle, Bosna a Hercegovina. Workshop moderoval a vedl Ondřej Vojtěchovský z Ústavu světových dějin FF UK, podílejícího se na jeho organizaci.

Tři příspěvky přinesly velmi podrobné a velice zajímavé pohledy na politické násilí především v prostoru severního Jadranu a centrální části balkánského poloostrova na konci 19. a ve 20. století. První z přednášejících, Borut Klabjan, se zaměřil na severní část Jaderského moře, tedy na slovinské a chorvatské pobřeží, přesněji na Terst, a na Istrii těsně po první světové válce, kdy tato území po zániku rakousko-uherské monarchie prakticky provizorně ovládla Itálie, jež zde ale nedokázala v prvních pár letech zformovat státní instituce, které by hájily občany bez ohledu na státní či etnickou příslušnost. Místo toho v každodenním životě dominovaly a běžné fungování státu omezovaly různé druhy násilí, jichž se dopouštěla italská armáda spolu se stoupenci fašistické strany, která i v této části Itálie postupně posilovala pozice. I v mezinárodním měřítku se jednalo o vážný problém, jelikož Itálie tehdy neměla dobré vztahy se svým prvním sousedem – právě vzniklým jugoslávským státem, který si také činil nároky na podstatnou část Istrie a pobřeží, kde žilo též slovanské obyvatelstvo. Klabjan ve svém příspěvku upozornil, že politické násilí se neomezilo jen na období těsně po první světové válce, ale pokračovalo i po říjnu 1922, kdy fašisté po známém pochodu na Řím ovládli Itálii, což mělo přímý vliv na zvýšení emigrace ze severní části Itálie do jiných států, včetně jugoslávského.

Další z účastníků workshopu, Martin Previšić, zpracoval téma jugoslávského stalinismu a politického násilí v Jugoslávii po druhé světové válce. Ve svém příspěvku zobrazil tehdejší složitou dobu a události v širším kontextu závěru druhé světové války na jugoslávském území. Vítězi tu byli jugoslávští partyzáni v čele s Josipem Brozem Titem. Již tehdy bylo zřejmé, že jejich odpůrce čeká v nejlepším případě vězení, v horším fyzická eliminace. Široká byla škála vojenských a politických oponentů, kteří se lišili podle toho, jakou vinu si přinesli z války, zda a do jaké míry se podíleli na válečnému teroru a násilí. V některých případech zásahy proti nim mohly být represemi nového komunistického režimu proti politickým oponentům, v jiných zase odplatou ustašovcům, domobraně, příslušníkům četnického hnutí aj. Previšić upozornil, že je velmi těžké přesně určit (dokonce i z velkého časového odstupu), kde se nacházela hranice mezi represí nového komunistického jugoslávského

režimu vůči politickým oponentům (mohli např. přijít o majetek nebo dostat trest odnětí svobody) a politickým násilím proti jiným odpůrcům, které komunisté označili za kolaboranty, nepřátele apod. (ti dokonce přicházeli o život). Další část svého příspěvku věnoval Previšić jugoslávskému stalinismu, tedy Stalinovu zbožšťování v Jugoslávii, což po roztržce mezi ním a Titem v létě roku 1948 přivádělo ty, kteří se toho dopouštěli, do vězení (především do jednoho z nejznámějších politických táborů komunistické Jugoslávie Goli otok). Vedle statistických údajů prezentoval Previšić také velmi tvrdé podmínky, ve kterých se ve vězení Goli otok žilo a pracovalo (Pustý ostrov – název tohoto jadranského ostrova v jihovýchodní části Kvarnerského zálivu, vystihuje jeho ráz nejlépe). Na příkladu poměru jugoslávského státu a komunistického režimu k vězňům z tohoto ostrova Previšić zdůraznil, že léta 1945–1955, popřípadě 1956, byla v Jugoslávii obdobím velmi krutého, radikálního komunismu.

Poslední z přednesených příspěvků (autor Amir Krpić) se zabýval poněkud starším obdobím a trochu jinou tematikou. Politickému násilí státu proti občanům se však nebylo možné vyhnout. Tentokrát v Bosně a Hercegovině za rakousko-uherské okupační správy v letech 1878–1914, tedy do začátku první světové války. Soustředil se na postoj nové státní správy k držení zbraní obyvatelstvem. Ve svém referátu připomněl, že rakousko-uherská okupační správa se ihned po převzetí moci rozhodla v Bosně a Hercegovině držení a především nošení zbraní zakázat (nutno podotknout, že nejen obyvatelstvo Bosny a Hercegoviny, ale i jiných částí Balkánu, zejména pod tureckou správou, mělo ve zvyku nosit zbraň). I když nová správa trvala na dodržování zákazu, část obyvatelstva, zvlášť v rurálním prostředí, toto nařízení odmítala a bránila se mu. Osobám, jež nařízení nerespektovaly, hrozily přísné tresty. Některé prameny, jak ukázal Krpić, dokonce hovoří i o trestu smrti. Situace se ještě zpřísnila bezprostředně před první světovou válkou, kdy se rakousko-uherská okupační správa rozhodla obchod se zbraněmi zakázat. Krpićův příspěvek zdůraznil, že výzkum tohoto tématu má do budoucna mnoho možností a že může přinést další důležité poznatky.

Přednášky účastníků workshopu byly proneseny v srbochorvatštině, což jejich srozumitelnost nijak neomezilo, ba dokonce možná ještě podnítilo velmi užitečnou debatu, do níž se zapojili relativně četní posluchači z pražských institucí i z Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity v Brně.

Milan Sovilj

Šestnáctý ročník pražské Konference mladých slavistů

Nehledě na nepříznivé okolnosti se na pražské Filozofické fakultě Univerzity Karlovy (FF UK) ve dnech 1. a 2. prosince 2022 uskutečnil již šestnáctý ročník mezinárodní Konference mladých slavistů s obecným tématem *Slované: nacionalismus a národní stereotypy*. Dvoudenní sympozium představuje pokračování dlouhodobého projektu, který započal jako studentské setkání ve vzdáleném roce 2005 a postupně přerostl v reprezentativní vědeckou akci s vlastní publikační řadou a mnoha ohlasy v odborné literatuře. Stejně jako v minulých

letech měla konference limitovaný počet účastníků. Přihlášku mohli podat mladí badatelé v oblasti slavistiky, pojímané jako soubor různých, nejen filologických vědeckých disciplín, ve věku do 35 let bez ohledu na dosažený titul nebo působiště. Podmínkou pro zařazení do programu bylo zaslání anotací nabízených příspěvků, které byly následně posouzeny členy organizačního týmu. Pracovními jazyky tradičně zůstaly všechny jazyky slovanské dle vlastní volby.

Zatímco epidemiologická omezení uplynulých let se nepříznivě projevila na organizaci všech veřejných akcí, začátek ruské agrese proti Ukrajině v únoru roku 2022 pak zvlášť těžce dopadl na slavistická setkání. Šestnáctý ročník Konference mladých slavistů, původně plánovaný na druhou polovinu roku 2021, nebyl výjimkou a musel být dvakrát odložen. Navzdory radikálně změněné mezinárodní situaci se organizátoři rozhodli ponechat v platnosti původní program, oproti prvotnímu záměru však umožnili ve zdůvodněných případech online vystoupení.

Na Konferenci mladých slavistů roku 2022 zaznělo celkem dvanáct referátů od zástupců vysokoškolských pracovišť ze čtyř států (Česko, Chorvatsko, Itálie, Ukrajina) a od dvou nezávislých badatelek. Největší skupinu tvořili mladí lidé z České republiky (šest účastníků). Konferenci oficiálně zahájil Marek Příhoda, zástupce ředitele Ústavu východoevropských studií FF UK a hlavní organizátor akce, a Radomír Vlček, vědecký pracovník Historického ústavu Akademie věd České republiky v Brně a zároveň předseda České společnosti pro slavistická, balkanistická a byzantologická studia, pod jejíž záštitou se konference konala.

Vlastní konferenční program začal třemi referáty sekce Dějiny a kultura. Jako první se ujala slova Romana Fojtová (Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy), jež se zaměřila na zahraniční enklávu Zelów (Zelov) v Polsku, kterou od roku 1803 obývali čeští protestanté (*Koncept krajanství – případ Zelów*). Za cíl si vytkla představit tradiční vnímání Zelova jako diaspory odloučených krajanů a následné nacionalizační snahy krajanské péče typické pro 20. století. Zmínila, že díky zájmu a činnosti Jana Auerhana, Josefa Folprechta a dalších osobností okolo časopisu *Naše zahraničí*, misijních farářů z Kostnické jednoty, byly postupně zmapovány české zahraniční enklávy. Cílenými krajanskými aktivitami získali zelovští Češi povědomí o vlastních dějinách, které bylo podpořeno působením faráře Bohumila Radechovského v letech 1909–1919. Kostnická jednota se následně pokusila repatriovat několik rodin ze Zelova do nově založeného Československa. Kamil Polehla (Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy) v příspěvku *Proměny moravské identity ve 20. století* představil rysy této identity v průběhu minulé století a především její reflexi stranami a hnutími, které se na této otázce profilovaly. Konstatoval, že zatímco zpočátku můžeme u těchto autonomistických či separatistických hnutí pozorovat jasný důraz na zemskou identitu, v pozdější době dochází stále častěji k apelu na identitu národnostní. Tato nejednoznačnost často štěpila moravistické hnutí. Postupně zmínil historické tradice, na které se odvolává moravská identita (odkaz Velkomoravské říše a Moravského markrabství), dále rysy českého národního obrození na Moravě, přijetí nového československého státu moravskými politiky, poměry na Moravě v době první Československé republiky a německé okupace i německé pokusy o zneužití moravského nacionalismu. K oživení debat o moravské otázce

došlo s nástupem pražského jara a zejména po sametové revoluci, kdy vznikala politická uskupení, jež se profilovala jako obránci moravských zájmů (Hnutí za samosprávnou demokracii – Společnost pro Moravu a Slezsko a Moravská národní strana, hlásající moravský nacionalismus). V závěru se zamyslel nad příčinami úpadku moravistických hnutí a poklesu počtu lidí, kteří se hlásí k moravské národnosti. Nezávislá badatelka Anastasija Ždanovskaja v referátu *Evoljucija češsko-německich vzaimnych stěreotipov na rubeže XIX–XX vv.* analyzovala české satirické periodikum *Humoristické listy* z let 1879–1906, na jehož stránkách byla aktivně využívána stereotypní témata a obrazy, implicitně zaměřené na sebeuvědomění prostřednictvím zesměšňování „Jiného“. S pomocí kvantitativní analýzy představila odlišnost obrazu Němce v českých zemích a za jejich hranicemi, přesněji na území Rakouska-Uherska. Uvedla výrazné stereotypy z české strany – Němcům vlastní pocit ponížení a jejich frustraci z vlastního postavení v rámci habsburské monarchie, sklon k alkoholismu, hrubost, aroganci a uzavřenost ve vlastní kultuře. Došla k závěru, že pozornost k Němcům rostla ke konci 19. století, přičemž byla více zaměřena k vlastním, domácím Němcům, k nimž se projevoval znatelně kritičtější přístup.

V následující jazykové sekci Agata Reclik (Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity) zkoumala texty z oblasti umělecké publicistiky (např. fejetony, sloupky, úvahy) několika českých spisovatelů 19. a 20. století se zřetelem k jejich reflexi jazykových a jazykovědných problémů a otázek (*„Rázná slova, malebná gesta a neurčitá hesla" – zneužívání jazyka očima českých spisovatelů*). Předmětem analýzy se stali Jan Neruda (1834–1891), Svatopluk Čech (1846–1908), Karel Čapek (1890–1938) a Karel Poláček (1892–1945) z důvodu jejich angažovaného publicistického zájmu o český jazyk a českou společnost. Referující představila jejich názory na zneužívání a ideologizaci češtiny s ohledem na dobový kontext a proměny politicko-společenské situace. Věnovala se například kulturním a národním stereotypům, působení politiky na používání frází, klasifikaci vlastních jmen se zřetelem k politické orientaci jejich nositelů, zneužívání tzv. symbolických jmen či zásahům do pravopisné struktury jazyka. Neruda a Čech se ve své publicistice věnovali problému germanizace, vystupovali proti dominanci němčiny a za používání slovanských jmen. U pozdějších autorů (Čapek, Poláček) vidíme na jedné straně reakci na projevy rostoucího nacionalismu, fašismu a komunismu v tehdejším jazyce, kritiku antisemitismu, přehnaného slavjanofilství a vlivu sovětského Ruska (Sovětského svazu) po vzniku Československa v roce 1918, na straně druhé jejich nesouhlas s přílišnými nacionalizačními snahami (bojem proti dvojjazyčným nápisům) či odpor k používání frází. Alessandra Marabini (Univerzita Alda Mora v Bari) si zvolila téma národních stereotypů ve frazeologii (*Frazeologizmy kak sposob predstavlenija sociokulturnych stěreotipov russkogo naroda*). Na úvod definovala úzkou a širokou koncepci frazeologie a frazeologismu. V návaznosti na široké pojetí frazeologie zahrnula do svého příspěvku frazeologické jednotky a obraty (idiomy, rčení a přísloví) vyjadřující etnokulturní stereotypy spojené s ruským národem. Hlavní část jejího vystoupení tvořil rozbor frazeologických výrazů, které mají etnokulturní charakter a vyjadřují stereotypní postoje ruské společnosti. Zmiňované frazeologické jednotky tak získávají roli kulturních stereotypů. Spektrum frazeologických jednotek umožňuje zformovat jazykový stereotyp, odkazující na konkrétní objekt mimojazykového světa.

První konferenční den uzavřel online blok příspěvků kulturně-historické sekce, kde měli vystoupit badatelé z Kyjeva. Do jeho realizace ale osudovým způsobem zasáhla válka. Z původně pěti přihlášených účastníků se v důsledku ruských útoků na životně důležitou ukrajinskou infrastrukturu mohli přes veškerou snahu zúčastnit jen dva. Marija Hajseňuk (Kyjevská univerzita Boryse Hrinčenka) na konkrétních příkladech rozkryla zvláštnosti fungování vzdělávacího systému na pravobřežní Ukrajině v první třetině 19. století v kontextu střetu polských a ruských národních idejí (*Osvita na Pravoberežnij Ukrajini u peršij tretyni XIX st.: miž rosijskym ta polskym nacionalizmom*). Charakterizovala vzdělávací politiku Ruského impéria na ukrajinských zemích zaměřenou na integraci nově připojených teritorií a sjednocení školského vzdělávacího systému a analyzovala cíle carských reforem školství a jejich důsledky. Popsala vliv polské šlechty, usilující o zachování myšlenky polského státu, na rozvoj vzdělanosti na pravobřežní Ukrajině v daném období. Vrcholem těchto snah se stalo polské povstání 1830–1831, po jehož potlačení se zásadně změnil postoj ruské vlády k polské otázce. Povstání se stalo katalyzátorem zesílené rusifikace a přísné kontroly nad vzdělávacím systémem a obsahem výuky. Bohdan Bezpalko (Kyjevská univerzita Boryse Hrinčenka) se věnoval problematice sovětské propagandy v oblasti školního vzdělávání v Ukrajinské sovětské socialistické republice ve 30. letech 20. století, konkrétně změnám v přístupu k nacionalismu (*Pytaňňa nacionalizmu v raďanskij školnij propahandi URSR u 1930-ch rr.*). Poukázal na postoj bolševiků k myšlence národní identity slovanských národů, které se ocitly pod jejich vládou. V případě ukrajinského národního uvědomování a zápasu za národní práva konstatoval ve zkoumaném desetiletí zcela odmítavý postoj k nim jak v letech po převzetí moci bolševiky, tak i ve starším období ukrajinského národního obrození.

Druhý konferenční den otevřely dva referáty sekce Dějiny a kultura. Jindra Lavrenčíková (Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Pardubice) se zaměřila na problematické národnostní vztahy a židovskou otázku v Království Jugoslávie v období krátce po nástupu Adolfa Hitlera do funkce německého kancléře v roce 1933 (*Adolf Hitler kancléřem: Rok 1933 a židovská otázka na pozadí národnostně-politických sporů v Království Jugoslávie*). Na úvod vymezila samotné téma, představila použité zdroje a periodika, nastínila politické poměry a národnostní spory v meziválečné Jugoslávii, vývoj místního antisemitismu, postoj jugoslávských židovských komunit k souvěrcům ve Třetí říši a pomocné akce těm, kteří byli nástupem nového nacistického režimu postiženi. Zmínila rovněž protižidovský bojkot, který byl hitlerovským Německem vyhlášen 1. dubna 1933, a reflexi následné odvetné židovské akce metodou sondy do výsledků stávajícího historického výzkumu. Soňa Dvořáčková (Filozofická fakulta Masarykovy univerzity) upozornila na význam archeologie při formování novodobých národů a rizika jejího možného zneužití (*Archeologie ve službách nacionalismu. Příklady z jihoslovanského prostoru*). Referující konstatovala, že archeologie často sloužila k obhajování různých nacionalistických nároků, především těch územního charakteru, kdy národ chtěl doložit, že sídlí na svém území „od nepaměti". Jihoslovanský prostor, který se stal předmětem příspěvku, není v tomto ohledu výjimkou. Vzdálená minulost byla opakovaně využívána pro potřeby formování a utvrzování současných identit (starověcí Ilyrové, Dákové či Thrákové). Obecné téma bylo demonstrováno na podrobné analýze dvou kon-

krétních příkladů z Bosny – případu domnělých bosenských pyramid a raně středověkých pohřebišť, jež jsou účelově označována za chorvatská.

Na závěr konference zazněly tři literární příspěvky. Alžběta Růžičková (Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy) se věnovala tvorbě současné polské autorky Olgy Tokarczukové (*Stereotypy v próze Olgy Tokarczuk*). Podle jejích slov je Tokarczuková (* 1962) často označovaná za člověka, který nejen svým dílem, ale i občanskou angažovaností a vystupováním stereotypy boří. V jejích textech však právě stereotypy hrají významnou roli, ať již u vesnických postav nebo při popisu cizinců. Například v románu *Denní dům, noční dům* (*Dom dzienny, dom nocny*, 1998) se v centru pozornosti ocítá hraniční území Kladska, v románu *Běguni* (*Bieguni*, 2008) jsou stěžejním tématem moderní poutníci. Nicméně využití stereotypů je zde mnohdy poměrně funkční s ohledem na to, že jde o prózy s výraznou mytičností, která vede k archetypálnímu, a tedy i stereotypnímu vnímání světa. Tokarczuková se nevyhýbá problémům, jež jsou typicky polské, jako je přerušení vztahu k místu a půdě v souvislosti se změnami polských hranic nebo obrazu Poláka jako bytosti trvale poznamenané historií. Petra Grebenac (Univerzita v Záhřebu) se ve svém vystoupení (*Katěgorija nacionalnoj iděntičnosti v rasskaze Vladimira Sorokina „Marfušina radost"*) zaměřila na identitu v dystopickém románu ruského spisovatele Vladimira Sorokina (* 1955) *Cukrový Kreml* (*Sacharnyj Kreml*). Podle jejích slov lze Sorokinovu prózu, vydanou v roce 2008, nazvat románem jen podmíněně. Mluvíme spíše o sbírce povídek spojených stejným chronotopem. Děj všech příběhů se odehrává v Rusku roku 2028, v autokratickém státě, připomínajícím moskevské samoděržaví vlády Ivana IV. Hrozného (1533–1584). Země však žije v době pozoruhodného technologického pokroku a je silně ovlivněna Čínou. Na druhou stranu byly přerušeny téměř všechny vazby s Evropou. Na příkladu první povídky pod názvem *Marfušina radost* (*Marfušina radosť*) se referující pokusila rekonstruovat umělecké ztvárnění procesu utváření ruské národní identity. Zmínila jednak zjevné mechanismy formování národa, otevřeně vnucované úřady, ale i skryté způsoby realizace národní identity, které určují život obyčejných lidí a ovlivňují jejich podvědomí. Ve své analýze použila teoretické přístupy k identitě zformulované Anthonym Smithem, Timem Edensorem, Slavojem Žižekem a Lvem Gudkovem (pojem negativní identifikace). Milica Nikolič (nezávislá badatelka) se věnovala slovanskému tématu v románu srbského spisovatele Milorada Paviće (1929–2009) *Krajinka namalovaná čajem* (*Predeo slikan čajem*), poprvé vydaném v roce 1988 (*Strategii reprezentacii slavjanskoj iděntičnosti v romaně M. Paviča „Pejzaž, narisovannyj čajem"*). V Pavićově textu sledujeme syntézu srbské a ruské identity. Hlavní hrdina, srbský architekt Atanasije Svilar se v díle transformuje do postavy Afanasije Fjodoroviče Razina. Pavić na jedné straně jako kulturní historik studoval vztah slovanských národů v době baroka v 17. a 18. století a zajímal se o koncept „barokního slovanství". Na druhou stranu jako spisovatel a významný představitel postmoderny zařadil slovanskou tematiku do uměleckého světa svých děl. Referující došla k závěru, že autor pomocí techniky intertextuality a „poetiky hry" vytvořil určitý „slovanský prostor", obnovující vztahy slovanských národů, charakteristické pro barokní éru.

Další úspěšný ročník Konference mladých slavistů se mohl realizovat díky bezprostřední podpoře Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy, která poskytla důstojný prostor pro

jednání a mimořádná stipendia členům organizačního týmu, a rovněž díky úsilí studentů různých oborů a stupňů studia, bez nichž by náročná realizace konference nebyla možná, stejně jako členů akademické obce, kteří se ujali moderování jednotlivých sekcí a ve značné míře tak přispěli ke zdárnému průběhu sympozia. V rámci konferenčního programu byl prezentován publikační výstup předchozího, patnáctého ročníku, který se uskutečnil online ve dnech 3. a 4. prosince 2020. Recenzovaný sborník *Rusko a slovanský svět: staletí soužití a střetů*, vydaný v roce 2021 v zavedeném nakladatelství Pavel Mervart, nabízí sedmnáct textů od přispěvatelů ze šesti zemí (Česko, Chorvatsko, Polsko, Rusko, Slovensko, Srbsko), rozdělených do tří základních oddílů (Jazyk, Literatura, Dějiny a kultura). Jazykově (čeština, chorvatština, polština, ruština, slovenština, srbština) a tematicky různorodé odborné studie postihují různé roviny a projevy vzájemných komplikovaných vztahů mezi Ruskem a slovanským areálem. Ve formě dílčích sond ukazují, že Rusko působilo na menší národy nejen vojenskou silou a mocenským vlivem, ale i svou kulturou a jazykem, bez nichž si novodobý vývoj slovanských etnik můžeme těžko představit. Východní říše do společenského a kulturního kontextu vstupovala rovněž ve své mytizované podobě jako prostor, kam ostatní národy opakovaně projektovaly vlastní cíle a plány, a v neposlední řadě se ocitla za vlastními hranicemi i jako početná a aktivní emigrace.

Stejně jako v minulých letech se i v případě šestnáctého ročníku Konference mladých slavistů předpokládá příprava recenzovaného sborníku příspěvků, jehož publikace se očekává na konci roku 2023 a jehož vydání finančně podpořilo Akademické centrum Borise Němcova pro výzkum Ruska FF UK. Nezbývá než si přát, aby organizační tým našel dostatek sil a motivace k uspořádání dalšího, již sedmnáctého konferenčního ročníku a zejména, aby studovaný areál, označovaný tradičně jako slovanský, přestal být místem válečných operací. K vzájemnému poznání a porozumění mezi představiteli různých zemí svým skromným dílem doufejme přispělo i loňské pražské setkání mladých slavistů.

Marek Příhoda

Čtvrtý ročník konference Studentské dialogy o východní Evropě (Brno – Olomouc – Praha)

Ve čtvrtek 20. října 2022 se v prostorách Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze uskutečnil již čtvrtý ročník mezioborové konference *Studentské dialogy o východní Evropě (Brno – Olomouc – Praha)*. Vědecké setkání mladých badatelů se realizuje v rámci spolupráce tří slavistických pracovišť – Ústavu slavistiky Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity (FF MU), Katedry slavistiky Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Palackého (FF UP) a Ústavu východoevropských studií Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy (FF UK). Úspěšným absolventům bakalářského a magisterského studia a doktorandům na počátku odborné dráhy byl opět nabídnut prostor k prezentaci závěrečných prací, osobnímu setkání s kolegy z partnerských akademických institucí a navázání nových kontaktů. Vědecké spektrum re-

ferátů sahalo od lingvistiky přes literární vědu až po kulturní a historická studia se zaměřením na východní Evropu a přímo vycházelo z programů realizovaných jednotlivými univerzitními slavistickými centry. Vzhledem k omezené kapacitě plynoucí z formátu jednodenního sympozia mohlo s vlastním příspěvkem vystoupit maximálně pět referentů z každého pracoviště na základě předběžné interní nominace. První konferenční ročník se odehrál 18. října 2019 na Filozofické fakultě Univerzity Karlovy. Následující setkání, původně plánované 14. října 2020 na Masarykově univerzitě v Brně, se z důvodu proticovidových opatření muselo mimořádně konat online. Třetí ročník proběhl znovu prezenční formou 14. října 2021 v Olomouci.

Role hlavního organizátora čtvrtého ročníku se zhostil Marek Příhoda, zástupce ředitele Ústavu východoevropských studií FF UK (ÚVES FF UK). S organizací na zbývajících dvou pracovištích pomáhali Jiří Gazda (FF MU) a René Andrejs (FF UP). Dvanáct nominovaných a přijatých referátů bylo rozděleno do tří konferenčních sekcí (kulturně-historická, jazyková a literární sekce), pracovními jazyky se staly čeština, ruština a slovenština.

Studentské dialogy o východní Evropě roku 2022 zahájil Stanislav Tumis, ředitel ÚVES FF UK, a zástupci dalších partnerských institucí – Zdeněk Pechal, vedoucí Katedry slavistiky FF UP, a Josef Šaur, proděkan pro studijní záležitosti v bakalářském a navazujícím magisterském cyklu a zástupce vedoucího Ústavu slavistiky FF MU. První kulturně-historickou sekci otevřel příspěvek Anny Danielové z Masarykovy univerzity *Časopis Sintaksis v kontextu třetí vlny ruské emigrace. Jeho cíle a proměny*, věnovaný ruskému exilovému časopisu *Sintaksis*, který v roce 1978 spolu se svou ženou Marijí Rozanovovou (* 1929) v Paříži založil literární vědec, spisovatel, politický vězeň a emigrant Andrej Siňavskij (1925–1997). Referující se soustředila na oblast literární kritiky a esejistiky, jež se objevovala na stránkách časopisu. Zmínila vlastní koncepci umění, formulovanou zakladatelem periodika pod literární maskou Abrama Terce. Siňavskij byl stoupencem svobodného literárního jazyka a obhájcem estetické a stylistické nezávislosti umění. Eugen Kozej (Univerzita Karlova) se zaměřil na různé aspekty právní úpravy používání jazyků v ukrajinském školství, která byla přijata v letech 2017–2020 (*Rozhodnutie Ústavného súdu Ukrajiny o ústavnosti zákona o vzdelaní*). Dotkl se otázky, jak se uvedená legislativa projevovala v praxi, s jakou kritikou se setkala u sousedních států a jaké byly její cíle. Své závěry dokumentoval statistickými údaji a průzkumy veřejného mínění. Zvláštní pozornost pak věnoval klíčovému rozhodnutí Ústavního soudu Ukrajiny z roku 2019. Olga Leshkova (Univerzita Karlova) si za téma svého vystoupení zvolila roli osobností z období staré Rusi v politice paměti (*Obrazy „hrdinů minulosti" v politice paměti v moderním Rusku*). Konstatovala, že v prvních desetiletích 21. století jsme ze strany státních orgánů a státních činitelů v Rusku svědky snahy o vytvoření stabilní a jednotné vize národních dějin a postupné vytlačení z širšího veřejného historického narativu alternativních pohledů na národní historii. Tento nový (ve skutečnosti znovu oživený) narativ má za úkol zformovat jednoduchý a srozumitelný ideologický základ pro konsolidaci národa kolem aktuálního politického režimu a jeho lídra a dále – zdůraznit historickou legitimitu a správnost současného kurzu jak vnější, tak vnitřní politiky ruského vedení. Hlavní témata současného veřejného historického narativu jsou spojena

s obrazem „hrdinů slavné minulosti" a „slávy ruských zbraní". Klíčovou roli zde hraje kult Velké vlastenecké války (1941–1945) a narativ boje na život a na smrt s fašismem / nacismem / nacionalismem. Zájem o starší historická období, zejména o dobu před petrovskými reformami, je výrazně menší a váže se spíše na konkrétní politickou konjunkturu. V tomto smyslu má mimořádné postavení tzv. Smuta (Období zmatků), která se prezentuje především jako vítězství nad agresivním vnějším nepřítelem (vyhnání polsko-litevského vojska z Moskvy národní domobranou v čele s Mininem a Požarským). Yuliya Svetlova (Univerzita Karlova) se v příspěvku *Bakinskij kosmopolitizm: kak v uslovijah odnogo goroda žili azerbajdžancy, armjaně, russkije i jevreji v XIX – načale XX veka i čto iz etogo vyšlo?* pokusila rozkrýt příčiny vzniku, proces formování a finální osud kosmopolitismu ve městě Baku jako fenoménu 19. – počátku 20. století na příkladu čtyř hlavních tamních komunit – ázerbájdžánské, arménské, ruské a židovské. Každou etnickou skupinu zhodnotila na příkladu nejvlivnějších představitelů, zmínila kontext její existence a interakce s ostatními. Rovněž se stručně dotkla otázky jejich kořenů a popsala rysy bakuského kosmopolitismu v době Ruského impéria i v okamžiku jeho rozpadu. Isabela Vaverková (Masarykova univerzita) si zvolila téma působení pravoslavného kněze Nikolaje N. Ryžkova (1868–1920) v českém prostředí na počátku 20. století (*Nikolaj Nikolajevič Ryžkov v českém prostředí*), které zasadila do širšího historického kontextu vývoje pravoslavné církve v Rakousku-Uhersku a v českých zemích. V okamžiku, kdy se Ryžkov stal duchovním správcem dvou českých pravoslavných chrámů, nastupují snahy o organizaci života pravoslavných věřících. Hlavním cílem referátu bylo na základě analýzy Ryžkovových aktivit poukázat na jeho vliv na náboženský i společenský život tehdejších pravoslavných Čechů v Praze a Karlových Varech. Pozornost byla mimo jiné věnována spolku Pravoslavná beseda, kterému Ryžkov v letech 1909–1911 předsedal, i jeho kontaktům s pražskou odnoží starokatolické církve či s představiteli tehdejší české inteligence.

V následující jazykové sekci se Dariia Andreeva (Univerzita Karlova) v příspěvku *Osobennosti obrazovanija gipokoristiceskich imjon ot inojazyčnych antroponimov v češskom i russkom jazykach na internet-sajtach, posvjaščonnych filmam, serialam, fan-tvorčestvu* zabývala hypokoristickými názvy (též hypokoristiky nebo odvozenými názvy) ze zahraničních antroponym v češtině a ruštině, které používají návštěvníci internetových stránek, kde se diskutuje o filmech, seriálech nebo vzniká fan art. Zmínila pravidla fungování systému hypokoristických jmen a své závěry dokumentovala na praktickém materiálu převzatém z internetu. Anna Caldrová (Masarykova univerzita) seznámila posluchače s proměnami frekvence a souvislostmi výskytu vybraných ruských reálií v češtině po roce 1989 (*Ruské společensko-politické reálie v současné češtině*). Problematiku zasadila do obecného kontextu česko-ruských vztahů. Zmínila historii rusismů v češtině a intenzivní přejímání z ruštiny do češtiny v době českého národního obrození i v éře komunistického režimu v Československu (tzv. sovětismy). Její analýza vycházela z vlastního výzkumu rusismů, založeného na datech z Českého národního korpusu, který umožňuje jednoduché vyhledávání napříč různými obdobími i druhy textů a pomáhá tak získat poměrně dobrý obraz o zastoupení a způsobu využití rusismů v současném českém jazyce. Pozornost soustředila na tři konkrétní lexémy – šturmovik, mužik, činovník. Uladzimir Morozuk (Univerzita Karlova) srovnal

feminina označující povolání ve třech východoslovanských jazycích – v ukrajinštině, běloruštině a ruštině (*Feminativy, oboznačajuščije professiji, v ukrajinskom, belorusskom i russkom jazykach*). Konstatoval, že se po rozpadu Sovětského svazu každý z výše uvedených národních jazyků vydal ve vztahu k femininům vlastní cestou. V současné době ukrajinský jazyk zaznamenal největší posun směrem k neutrálnímu statusu feminin. Pravopis z roku 2019 umožňuje jejich použití bez stylistických omezení. Běloruština má naproti tomu dvě podoby – oficiální, která neuznává feminina jako neutrální lexikální jednotky, a neoficiální (tzv. taraškevice), jež je aktivně využívá. Ruština si zachovává konzervativní trend stylistické příznakovosti feminin a odmítání jejich užívání ve spisovném jazyce.

V rámci poslední, literární konferenční sekce se Zuzana Dupalová (Masarykova univerzita) dotkla oblasti česko-ruských kulturních vztahů (*Vliv Puškinova dramatu Boris Godunov na česká lžidimitrijovská díla 19. století*). Na úvod zmínila, že historický námět z období ruské Smuty přelomu 16. a 17. století o prvním samozvanci a pozdějším carovi Lžidimitriji I. (1605–1606) se stal mezi literáty oblíbený především v 19. století, a to hlavně v ruském a německém prostředí. Za nejvlivnější dramata o Lžidimitrijovi lze považovat fragment hry *Demetrius* (1805) Friedricha Schillera (1759–1805) a tragédii *Boris Godunov* (1825) Alexandra Puškina (1799–1837). Zmíněná tematika se nicméně objevila i v jiných zemích a především díky německému vlivu pronikla i do českého prostředí. Referující stručně prezentovala vybraná česká lžidimitrijovská díla vzniklá v 19. století v souvislosti s schillerovsko-puškinskými vlivy se zaměřením na Puškinovu stopu v nich, konkrétně román *Dimitri* Prokopa Chocholouška (1819–1864), drama *Dimitri Ivanovič* Ferdinanda Břetislava Mikovce (1826–1862) a libreto k opeře *Dimitrij* od Marie Červinkové-Riegrové (1854–1895), zhudebněné Antonínem Dvořákem (1841–1904). Dvořákovo hudební dílo, poprvé uvedené v roce 1882, se stalo první velkou domácí operou na slovanské téma a zároveň výrazným příkladem průniku ruské kultury do českého prostředí. Jan Foltýn (Univerzita Palackého) si za předmět svého vystoupení (*Role polyfonie v románu Orfografija Dmitrije Lvoviče Bykova*) zvolil dílo současného ruského spisovatele Dmitrije Bykova (* 1967). Bykov ve svých románech rozvíjí koncepci o cyklickém vývoji Ruska. Podle jeho názoru se v ruské historii opakují čtyři období – období reforem, mrazů, liberalizace a stagnace společnosti. V případě románu *Ortografie* (*Orfografija*, 2003) se autor blíže zabývá prvním obdobím tohoto cyklu, jehož podstatu přibližuje na pozadí porevolučního Petrohradu a Krymu. Zásadní úlohu ve vyprávění sehrává nediegetický vypravěč, který prostředkuje dialog mezi futuristickými a konzervativními umělci. Spor obou táborů se týká případné spolupráce s bolševiky v oblasti kultury a vede k rozpadu fikčního světa na různá ideologická hlediska. Progresivní umělci v nich spatřují příležitost ke kulturní revoluci, naproti tomu jejich odpůrci k bolševikům přistupují jako k hrozbě celospolečenského formátu. Prostřednictvím této neustálé polemiky se z fikčního světa stává interpretačně otevřený prostor. Názorová pluralita je v závěru románu nahrazena nastupujícím obdobím mrazů, které postupně omezuje svobodu petrohradských umělců. Románová polyfonie se rodí jako reakce na konkrétní události (např. reformu ortografie, založení umělecké komuny a další) a slouží jako prostředek ke znázornění nových aspektů i souvislostí a současně předává jasné poselství – bez vzájemného kompromisu a porozumění se Rusko nevymaní z područí všemocné-

ho cyklu. Alexandra Novotná (Univerzita Palackého) se v příspěvku *Lety na Mars v ruské sci-fi literatuře* zabývala zobrazením planety Mars v ruské a sovětské sci-fi literatuře v období let 1892–1940. Pokusila se o hlubší analýzu nejdůležitějších literárních děl s tematikou Marsu, jež v sobě nesou prvky utopie a popisují tak vizi dokonalé společnosti, kterou zasazují na Mars, považovaný za planetu-dvojče Země. Podle názoru referující jsou příběhy ovlivněny nejen soudobými ideologiemi, ale také filozofií a náboženstvím, které následně definují obraz společnosti. Zároveň jde o zajímavý náhled do toho, jaký vliv mělo zrychlení vývoje technologií na myšlení autorů a vizi budoucnosti. Hanna Paulouskaya (Masarykova univerzita) se zaměřila na rozbor dokumentární sbírky vzpomínek *Jsem z ohnivé vesnice* (*Ja z vohněnnaj vjoski*, první vydání v roce 1975) od Alexandra Adamoviče (1927–1994), Vladimira Kolesnika (1922–1994), Janky Bryla (1917–2006) z hlediska žánru (*Žanrovoje svojeobrazije knigi Ja z vohněnnaj vjoski A. Adamoviča, V. Kolesnika, Ja. Brylja*). Kniha náleží ke klasice běloruské dokumentární prózy, jejíž žánrová podoba následně inspirovala nositelku Nobelovy ceny Světlanu Alexijevičovou (*1948) k vlastní tvorbě. Dílo charakterizuje mozaiková skladba, využití rozhovorů-monologů lidí, kteří přežili masové popravy, autenticita a zpověď. Referující předložila hypotézu, že soubor textů *Jsem z ohnivé vesnice* odkazuje na dokumentární fikci a je hybridní formou, kterou lze definovat jako román-reportáž.

Za další úspěšný ročník *Studentských dialogů o východní Evropě* se patří poděkovat FF UK za poskytnutí potřebného zázemí, studentům Ústavu východoevropských studií FF UK, kteří pomáhali s praktickou realizací, a v neposlední řadě zaměstnancům ÚVES FF UK za moderování konferenčních sekcí a příspěvek do diskuze. Podobné akce nemají jen výlučně odbornou, pracovní složku, ale poskytují rovněž šanci k neformální debatě. Po skončení oficiálního programu se proto stejně jako v minulých letech odehrálo večerní setkání účastníků. Proběhlá konference kromě jiného nabídla studentům pražské filozofické fakulty, kteří se jí ve velkém počtu osobně zúčastnili, možnost poznat výsledky bádání kolegů z domovského ústavu i ze spřízněných univerzit, a případně se inspirovat pro volbu tématu závěrečné práce. S potěšením mohu konstatovat, že po každém předneseném příspěvku zazněly dotazy či polemické komentáře. Z konference se sice neplánuje kolektivní knižní výstup, ale zájemci budou mít jistě příležitost seznámit se s přednesenými referáty ve formě dílčích vědeckých studií a článků, jež účastníci budou zveřejňovat v následujících měsících a letech. Jednu z vítaných publikačních platforem představují odborná periodika zúčastněných pracovišť.

Sympozium *Studentské dialogy o východní Evropě (Brno – Olomouc – Praha)* si za poslední čtyři roky nejen vybudovalo svou vlastní tradici, ale vyprofilovalo se i jako nejvýznamnější veřejná akce v úspěšném a perspektivním projektu strategického partnerství brněnské, olomoucké a pražské slavistiky. Na podzim roku 2023 se chystá uspořádání dalšího, již pátého ročníku na půdě Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity v Brně.

Marek Příhoda

Konferencia „Promýšlet Evropu dvacátého století: Ve stínu obra"

Ve stínu obra – práve tak znel názov už deviateho ročníka konferencie *Promýšlet Evropu dvacátého století*. Pri výbere témy sa nechali organizátori inšpirovať udalosťami posledných mesiacov a konferenciu venovali rôznorodým motívom asymetrického spolunažívania. Nad jednotlivými formami hegemónie, ale aj formami dôležitého zanieteného odporu voči hegemónom, diskutovali účastníci konferencie počas dvoch dní – 7. a 8. novembra 2022.

Organizátorom konferencie bol doktorandský spolok Historia Europeana, pôsobiaci pri Historickom ústave Filozofickej fakulty Masarykovej univerzity v Brne. Po náročnom období covidovej pandémie mali účastníci opäť jedinečnú možnosť vypočuť si jednotlivé výstupy v zasadacej sále Juhomoravského kraja.

Konferenciu otvoril prof. Jiří Hanuš (prorektor pre personálne a akademické záležitosti MU), ktorý sa vo svojom úvodnom slove zamyslel nad dnes už prežitou dobou impérií a nad tým, ako sa s týmto prežitkom vyrovnáva Rusko. Rovnako dôležité bolo aj zamyslenie nad vzťahom Ruska k dnešnej Európe. Za Historický ústav privítala účastníkov konferencie doc. Denisa Nečasová (zástupkyňa vedúceho ústavu), ktorá súčasne poďakovala spolku Historia Europeana a vyjadrila nádej na pokračovanie úspešnej spolupráce. Ondřej Varaďa (Masarykova univerzita) privítal účastníkov za spolok Historia Europeana a vyjadril svoje potešenie nad opätovnou možnosťou stretnúť sa osobne, čo po covidových ročníkoch považuje za malé víťazstvo. Vo svojom prejave tiež vyjadril názor, že medzinárodná vedecká spolupráca je výrazom jednoty západného sveta.

Prvý konferenčný blok nazvaný *Československo a Evropa 20. století* otvorila Dana Vedra (Masarykova univerzita), ktorá rozprávala o nacistickej germanizačnej politike v strednej Európe. Jej doterajší výskum spája migračné vlny v Európe so vznikom nacionálnych štátov, riešiacich svoje interné problémy s menšinami odsunom. Taktiež sa zamyslela nad vnútornými migračnými procesmi v Československu a svoj príspevok uzavrela myšlienkou, že za problém boli vždy považované menšiny, nie národno-štátne usporiadanie. Patrik Beňuš (Slovenská akadémia vied) vo svojom príspevku analyzoval dopad novembra 1938 na poľnohospodárstvo na južnom území dnešného Slovenska, ktoré bolo odtrhnuté v rámci viedenskej arbitráže. Zámerom príspevku bolo skúmanie vplyvu nemeckej hospodárskej politiky na tento poľnohospodársky sektor. Ondřej Varaďa (Masarykova univerzita) predstavil listy československých legionárov adresované T. G. Masarykovi, uložené v agende Kancelárie československých légií Ministerstva národnej obrany. Príspevok predstavil systém organizácie starostlivosti o legionárov na podklade globálnych udalostí.

Popoludňajší program bol venovaný zahraničným účastníkom, pričom väčšina z nich sa pripojila online. Aj napriek drobným technickým problémom, ktoré sa v priebehu týchto dvoch blokov vyskytli, mali účastníci možnosť vypočuť si nové zaujímavé myšlienky v anglickom jazyku. Druhý konferenčný blok s názvom *Power Dynamics in 20th Century Europe* otvoril Kajetan Stobiecki (Herder Institute for Historical Research on East-Central Europe), ktorý sa vo svojom príspevku venoval nemeckej komunite v Plzni a vnímaniu kolektívnej bezpečnosti. Príspevok mal formu prípadovej štúdie vývoja česko-nemeckých vzťahov a predstavil genézu česko-nemeckých roztržiek od 19. storočia a kultúrno-politic-

kých zápasov, vrátane bojkotu konzumácie plzenského piva. Nataša Henig Miščič (Institute of Contemporary History Ljubljana) sa zaoberala zmenami v sporiteľniach na území Drávskej bánoviny v priebehu veľkej hospodárskej krízy. Vysvetlila, že sporiteľne čelili veľkému tlaku zo strany vkladateľov a všeobecnú paniku podporoval najmä nedostatok relevantných informácií vo verejnom priestore.

Posledný konferenčný blok prvého dňa priniesol netypicky zamerané príspevky, pretože sa zameral na európsku politiku v zámorí, čo sa nám môže javiť ako opomínaná téma. Tento blok s názvom *Beyond the Horizon: European Policies Overseas* otvoril Mohamed Mohamady (Philipps-Universität Marburg) s príspevkom *Egypt in the Soviet Strategy, 1952–1970*. Podľa autora príspevku Sovietsky zväz až do roku 1955 nemal jasne vytýčenú stratégiu týkajúcu sa krajín tretieho sveta, avšak Egypt sa nachádzal v pozornosti ZSSR už od októbrovej revolúcie, pretože predstavoval významnú mocenskú základňu Veľkej Británie. Adam Morzak (University of Lodz) vo svojom príspevku sledoval britskú politiku voči Japonsku pod rúškom blížiacej sa druhej svetovej vojny, pričom vysvetlil, že výrazný vplyv na japonskú zahraničnú politiku malo predovšetkým Nemecko. Dolly Afoumba (Phillips-Universität Marburg) predstavila zaujímavý príspevok o kolonizácii prostredníctvom peňazí na príklade britskej kolonizácie v Keni. Prvý konferenčný deň uzavrela Julie Afoumba (Univesity of Douala), ktorá analyzovala vplyv médií v priebehu afrického hnutia o nezávislosť francúzskych kolónií. Na príklade Kamerunu ukázala ako francúzska správa dôsledne cenzurovala akékoľvek informácie oponujúce jej nadvláde a aplikovala intenzívnu antinacionalistickú propagandu.

Druhý konferenčný deň zahájil blok s názvom *Dilema moci a ducha*. Tento blok otvoril Adam Strašák (Masarykova univerzita), ktorý uvažoval nad pozíciou prvej československej republiky ako obra chrániaceho cirkvi. Vo svojom príspevku vykreslil spory medzi rímskokatolíckou cirkvou a československou husitskou cirkvou v medzivojnovom období a tiež spôsoby, ktorými sa tieto konflikty riešili. Jan Ševčík (Masarykov univerzita) sa zaoberal československými okultistami v období Protektorátu. Uvažoval nad vzťahom nemeckého okultizmu a nacizmu, počiatkami ariosofie a rozšírení germánskeho okultizmu do Nemecka a Československa, aj jeho pôsobenie v priebehu druhej svetovej vojny. Petra Černá (Masarykova univerzita) sa vo svojom príspevku sústredila predovšetkým na osobnosť novinára Afréda Fuchsa, katolíckeho intelektuála stojaceho na rozhraní katolíckeho konzervativizmu a prvorepublikového liberalizmu. Dopoludňajší blok druhého dňa uzavrel Jakub Marša (Masarykova univerzita), ktorý odprezentoval sondu do cirkevného prostredia v Československu po februári 1948. V príspevku sa zaoberal jednak spôsobom, akým bol vykresľovaný Sovietsky zväz v oficiálnej tlači Cirkvi československej, a jednak mierou odozvy predstaveného diškurzu medzi duchovnými a veriacimi Cirkvi československej v Brne.

Posledný konferenčný blok s príhodným názvom *Teorie moci? Ideje a politika mocenského diskursu* otvoril David Mareček (Univerzita Hradec Králové) analýzou reakcie USA na vojenské zásahy v Poľsku a Maďarsku v roku 1956, teda v čase Eisenhowerovej politiky strednej cesty. Klára Pinerová (Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, v. v.i.) zase sledovala úlohu občianskej spoločnosti v rehabilitačných procesoch v Československu v 60. rokoch.

Vo svojom príspevku predstavila najvýznamnejšie organizácie, ktoré sa rehabilitáciami zaoberali, ich činnosť a stratégie, ale aj vzťah ku komunistickému režimu. Jakub Švec (Žilinská univerzita v Žiline) sa zaoberal otázkou, prečo sa práve liberalizmus stal z hľadiska politickej filozofie hegemónom v politickom diškurze. Účastníkom konferencie predstavil genézu liberalizmu ako pôvodne nedemokratickej ideológie presúvajúcej sa od pravicového elitárskeho liberalizmu k ľavicovému sociálnemu liberalizmu. Posledný príspevok predniesol Jaromír Dvořák (Univerzita Karlova), ktorý sa zaoberal spôsobom, ktorým postmodernizmus otvoril cestu k skúmaniu nových sociálnych tém, napríklad mikrohistóriu, dejiny každodennosti, gender studies atď.

Konferenciu uzavrela Tereza Richtáriková za spolok Historia Europeana, ktorá poďakovala všetkým organizátorom, Historickému ústavu FF MU, Juhomoravskému kraju a kolegom zo spolku Historia Europeana. Téma konferencie inšpirovala nielen k pestrej škále konferenčných príspevkov, ale aj k pútavým a plodným diskusiám na konci každého prednáškového bloku, čím splnila svoj hlavný cieľ, a síce stať sa prostriedkom inšpirácie a spoznávania sa v rámci komunity historikov moderných dejín.

Tatiana Peťková

Centralist Ambitions and Peripheral Realities in the 20th Century: Contested Identities in Yugoslavia (16 May 2023, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague)

This conference served as a platform that brought distinguished international researchers together to discuss a compelling idea (a precisely-defined topic). The conference presentations focused on analysis of tensions and negotiations of the forms of identity between the power center and the periphery in phases of transformation (political, social, cultural, etc.), as well as important socio-political changes (crises, changes in ruling structures, military conflicts). Participants offered examples of diverse methodological approaches, from local and migration history to institutional and cultural-historical research. The main organizer, who brought his great idea to life there, was Milan Sovilj, PhD., a researcher at the Department of Modern Transnational and Intellectual History of the Institute of History in the Czech Academy of Sciences. His main focuses are on Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations, the history of Yugoslavia, and international relations among the states of Central and South-Eastern Europe in the 20th century.

The first panel, titled *Tensions and Negotiations between the Power Centre and the Periphery*, was led by Ondřej Vojtěchovský from the Institute of World History, Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague, and it consisted of three presentations. Tomaž Ivešić from the Study Centre for National Reconciliation in Ljubljana presented a paper titled *Yugoslav National Categories and the Post-World War II Censuses*. The author mentioned that in the census taken in 1948, Muslim "identity" could be further specified in the categories "Serb Muslim," "Croat Muslim," and "Muslim undefined," which connected Muslim and Yugoslav identity. However, in the 1961 census question, the "Muslim" category should not be considered eth-

nic, but rather religious. The 1971 census brought horizontal conflict between the Yugoslav, Muslim, and regional categories. In 1981, there were several municipalities where from 25 to 38 % of people defined themselves as Yugoslavs, and one of those places was Bosanski Šamac. Igor Duda from Juraj Dobrila University of Pula spoke on *Local Community vs. Municipality: Relations between Social Self-management and Bureaucracy in Yugoslavia in the 1970s and 1980s.* The core of his presentation came from the project *Mikrostrukture jugoslavenskoga socijalizma: Hrvatska 1970–1990* (Microstructures of Yugoslav Socialism: Croatia 1970–1990). An interesting example he presented dealt with the municipality of Split and the role of the *mesna zajednica* in the Croatian government. Josip Mihaljević from the Croatian Institute of History in Zagreb and his paper *Identity of Yugoslav Gastarbeiters in Socialism and Post-socialism* focused, as we can tell from its title, on Yugoslav guest workers and their identity. He found that they identified themselves as working class, as well as members of specific groups, and by their status as foreigners abroad and sometimes also in their homelands. Many of these *gastarbeiters* came from the periphery and so-called "passive" areas.

In Panel II: *From Local and Regional to Global,* another three wonderful papers were presented. Pieter Troch from Ghent University presented *The (im)possibility of Multiple Nationhood: The Case of Interwar Montenegro.* Zoran Janjetović from the Institute for Recent History of Serbia in Belgrade discussed the German minority – *E Pluribus Unum: Creation of the German Minority in Interwar Yugoslavia*, and finally Anita Buhin, who is affiliated with the Institute of Contemporary History, FCSH / IN2PAST at Nova University in Lisbon shared a paper titled *Hegemonic Dalmatian Masculinities: Between Mediterranean and Socialist Identity.*

Panel III: *Contested Identities in Exile and Diaspora* was led by Edvin Pezo from the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies in Regensburg. It opened with a paper by Vesna Đikanović (Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade) *Forging an Identity – The case of Yugoslav Migrants in the USA and the Policy of Integral Yugoslavism.* Đikanović insisted that the Yugoslav government tried to make the migrants as part of the nation, although with problematic results. Milan Sovilj them presented his research paper *Contested Identities and Nationalities in Exile: The Case of the Yugoslav Exile Government During the Second World War and its Elites after 1945.* Sovilj analyzed the composition of the exiled government (around 15 people) from the perspective of their nationalities, and also discussed the challenges they had to face – such as the creation of the Chetnik movement and establishing the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). Ivan Hrstić, from the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar in Zagreb presented a paper *Development of diasporic identity in a triangle of interrelations between the state of emigration, the state of immigration and the diaspora itself – the case of pre-World War II emigrants from Croatia to Australia and New Zealand until the 1990s.* Despite having quite a long title, the paper was interesting – at the beginning, Hrstić defined diaspora as "a fluid process and not fixed group identity." In the selected region there are around 300,000 Croats and their descendants. Émigrés before the Second World War defined themselves as Yugoslavs, although later some became admirers of Ante Pavelić and changed their identification. In New Zealand, however, the author related that Dalmatian identity prevailed over Croatian.

Panel IV: *Building Blocks of Identity and Unity* was inaugurated by Michal Janíčko from the Institute of World History in the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague with his presentation *Interaction between the Communist Leadership and Public Opinion in Slovenia in the late 1980s*. The author discussed the differences between the "official" Slovenian leadership rhetoric and how they framed the issues of crisis in Slovenia. For example, in 1987 Kučan stated: "We are facing nationalist euphoria in Slovenia, populist nationalism." However, it is interesting that other statements he made were quite different. One of the most interesting papers presented was by Tanja Petrović, from the Institute of Culture and Memory Studies in the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana. Her topic was a simplified presentation on the JNA (*State Ideology, Institutional Policies, and Day-to-Day Reality of Military Service in the Yugoslav People's Army*). The JNA, as the author emphasized, "strove to strengthen the spirit of Yugoslavism among officers and soldiers." It was described as the "forge of yugoslavism" and a school of brotherhood and unity. The Yugoslav army was considered to be one of the most Yugoslav institutions. However, although it represented "radical equality," it was also separated from people and considered too conservative. The final two papers described, respectively, the media and football: Marko Zajc and Jurij Hadalin's *The Yugoslav Media Space: "Eight Mirrors Held Up to the Public by the Media of the Yugoslav Republics and Provinces,"* and Stipica Grgić's *Playing Football with Different Outcomes: Hajduk Split and their Australian Tours of 1949 and 1990.*

The conference provided a platform for scholars to come together and engage in open and fruitful discussions on these topics. It is anticipated that this event in Prague will foster new collaborations among the participants in the future. Additionally, we would like to acknowledge the excellent organization work on the conference, which contributed to its overall success.[1]

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