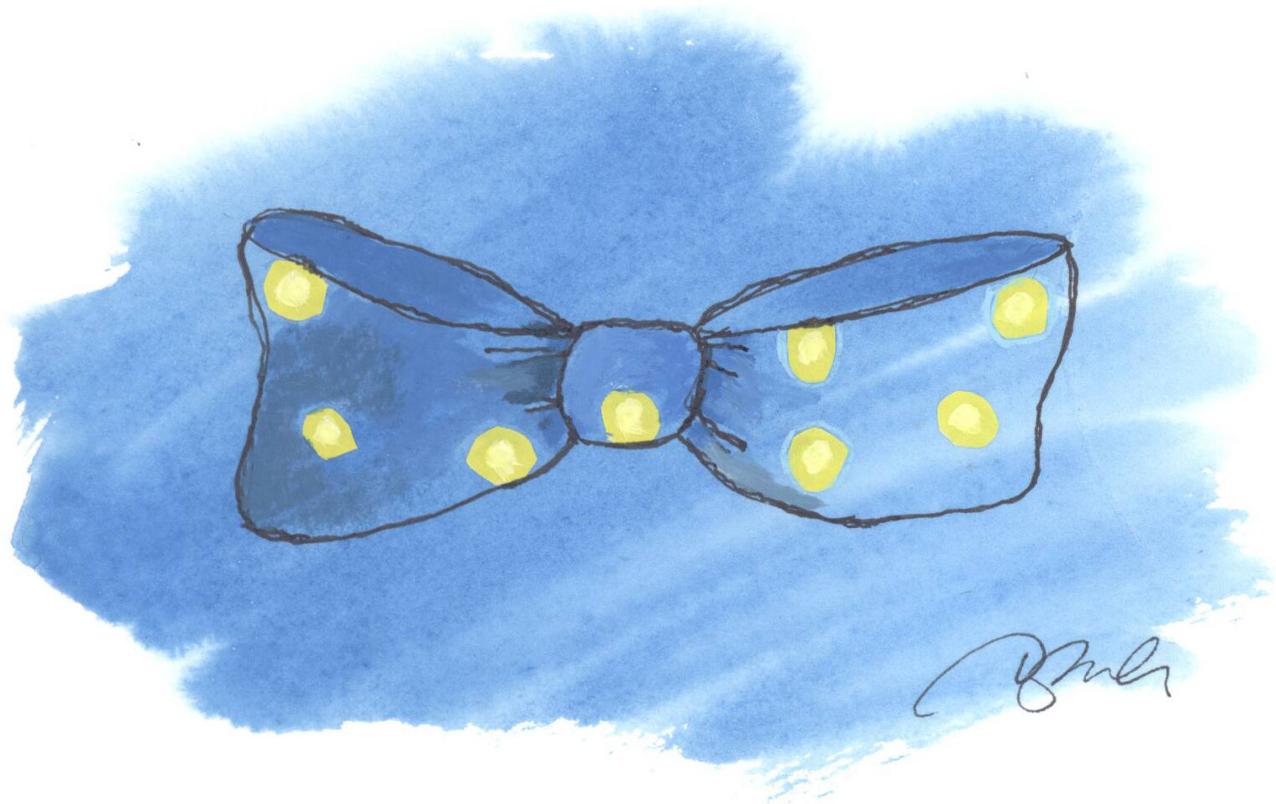


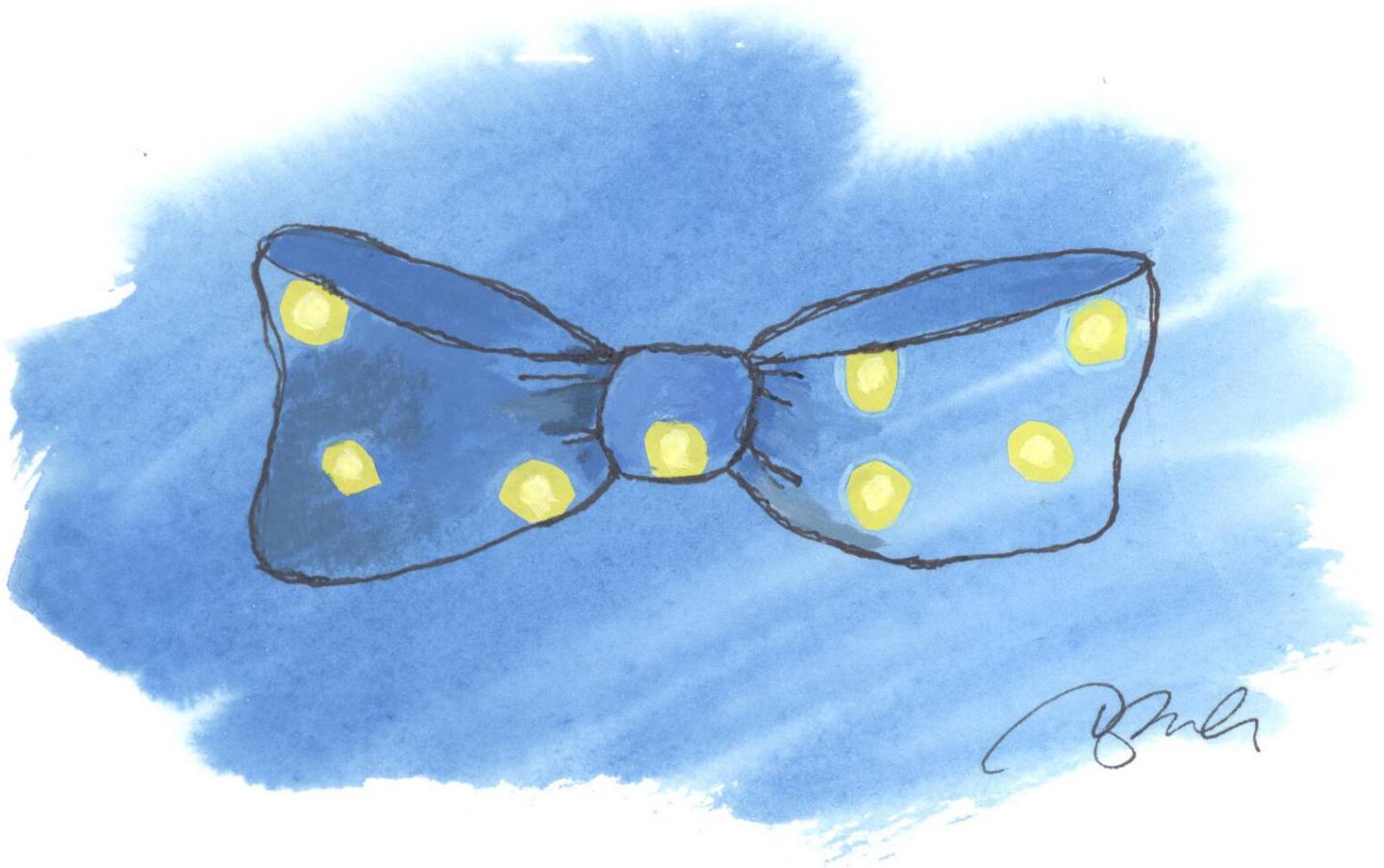
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the literary journal of students in balkan studies

Vol. 8/No. 1
Spring 2011

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We dedicate this issue to Victor A. Friedman and Meredith Clason at CEERES, in recognition of their everlasting enthusiasm and support of Balkan studies

лептир машна, leptir mašna, папионка, вратоврска
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Editor

Nada Petković

Editorial Assistant

Kaitlyn Tucker

Managing Editor

Andrew Boshardy

Cover Art

Dale Pesmen

Cartoon

Dušan Petričić

Contributing Photographers

Dragoljub Zamurović, Quinn and Andrew Dombrowski

Published with support from

The Center for East European Russian/Eurasian Studies
and the Department of Slavic Languages & Literatures
at the University of Chicago

Volume 8, Number 1

Spring 2011

Contact Address: 1130 E 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637

E-mail: petkovic@uchicago.edu

Telephone: 773-702-0035, 773-702-8033

Facsimile: 773-702-7030

EDITORS' NOTE

We would like to use this opportunity to congratulate Victor A. Friedman and Meredith Clason, director and associate director of the Center for East European and Russian/Eurasian studies, on receiving Title VI National Resource Center funding for the current four-year cycle (2010-2014). We are greatly indebted to them for their everlasting enthusiasm for and support of all the encompassed regions, and particularly, the Balkans. Their efforts encourage and enable students to explore these less commonly studied worlds, and we are grateful for the many opportunities that with which they afford us. In addition to academic courses, they offer the University of Chicago community extracurricular events, which promote and enhance knowledge of Balkan history, culture, art and politics, thereby increasing public awareness and understanding of the region. To that end, we are grateful to CEERES for sponsoring this journal, a modest attempt of the students and faculty in Balkan studies to contribute to this dialogue. Here's to you, живели!

The Editors
Spring 2011

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LOVE THY SISTER AND HONOR THY MOTHER:
Patriarchal Society In “The Ballad Of The Dead Brothers”
Meg Swaney

Though frequently grouped with epics in studies of Balkan folk traditions, the ballad is a unique form of cultural and musical expression. Whereas epics typically focus on gallant escapades of their hero, enumerating the masculine ideals of bravery, strength and cunning, the ballad is directed towards the psychological viewpoints of its characters – both male and female. In addition to being shorter and more melodic than epics, these narrative songs frequently focus on a single incident, usually a dilemma. They embrace the sphere of family and personal relationships, and thus provide unique insight into traditional Balkan beliefs, customs, and cultural institutions. For example, “The Ballad of the Dead Brothers,” known by various different names throughout the region and sung in variant forms, considers familial obligations within the framework of a traditional patriarchal society. The proliferation of this song – versions are found in Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Albania – attests to the universality of its subject matter throughout the Balkans, and demonstrates its importance to the cultures in which it is sung. By comparing the different versions, I will attempt to separate the functional content from the unessential details of the narrative, revealing the core elements of the song. Where significant disparities between variants of the ballad arise, I will try to explain why these features were either added to or absent from the song. As will be shown, not only does “The Ballad of the Dead Brothers” illustrate the exogamous kinship system widespread throughout the Balkans, but it also attempts to validate the cultural practices implicated by patrilineality by constructing its tenets as correspondent with nature. As such, the ballad functions as a cautionary tale against violations of prescribed family relations, symbolically reinforcing their implied gender hierarchies.

The central dilemma in “The Ballad of the Dead Brothers” is the marriage negotiation of a young girl. The song begins with some version of the following scenario:

Once there were nine brothers: a single beloved sister they had, nine days’ journey away they betrothed her...

The middle one, Halil, said:
“Don’t worry, sister! When thirty days and nights have passed, Halil will come at once and fetch you” (Arapı 281).

In traditional Balkan societies, marriages were contracted as agreements between men, and the betrothed were typically total strangers. As M. E. Durham observes in *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans*, marriages were political; “they were alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the ‘house’ and thereby the tribe” (Durham 192). The dominant kinship system was both patrilineal and patrilocal: descent was carried through the father’s bloodline to his male heirs and that women would leave their homes after marriage to live in their husbands’ household. In a patriarchal society, a daughter’s presence in her childhood home was considered temporary; her main purpose in life was to marry and procreate, perpetuating the line not of her father, but of her husband. Though a girl’s father played a central role in arranging her marriage, this seemingly important character is omitted in every version of “The Ballad of the Dead Brothers.” His absence from the song allows his sons, his blood descendants and heirs, to assume his responsibilities as patriarch. Thus, it is clear from the beginning of the song that the father’s familial relationships are not of concern; instead, the listener’s focus is directed towards the interactions of both brother-sister and mother-child.

The initial predicament in “The Ballad of the Dead Brothers” is that the brothers have betrothed their sister “nine days journey away” (Arapı 281). While exogamy was the rule, traditionally tribes were accustomed to marry mostly with other neighboring tribes. This way the men could form geographically proximal and mutually beneficial alliances, while the daughter/wife was able to be near her natal family. This physical closeness was extremely important in helping the new bride transition into her new home and her new role as wife. As Bette Denich describes in her analysis of “Sex and Power in the Balkans”: severed from her own natal group, in which she has no further rights, the bride joins a household consisting of a husband who is a virtual stranger, his male agnates, other unmarried women with whom she has no consanguineal connections (prevented by exogamic prescriptions) and unmarried girls who are transitory members (Denich 251).

At first, the new bride has no sentimental attachment to any of her new family members, including her husband. She joins her husband’s family as a stranger

who initially occupies an inferior position as she becomes part of the household's workforce, where "the extended family [is] organized in a hierarchical manner, where rank [is] determined primarily by gender and secondarily by age" (Bessinger 408). In addition, she is oftentimes not considered part of her husband's family until she bears a male child, thus cementing her membership via the consanguinity of her son. Accordingly, the main problem in "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers" which must be reconciled is that the brothers have banished their sister to a distant village; they have "sinned against a time-honoured patriarchal moral norm by marrying their sister into an alien world" (Koljević 113).

In some of the variants of the ballad, the issue of geographical distance in marriage agreements is further stressed by the protestations of the girl's mother. In a Serbian version of the song, "The Brothers and Their Sister," the mother's wishes regarding her daughter are made explicit:

Many suitors wish to marry the girl;
one is a ban, another a general,
and a third man, a neighbor from the village.
To this neighbor her mother would give her
(Holton and Mihailovich 33).

Therefore, not only have the brothers violated the social norm of marrying with neighboring villages, but they have also disregarded their mother's counsel. In traditional Balkan culture, a woman's most distinguished and significant role is that of mother, since "through influence on her husband and sons, [she] can establish an indirect power base of her own" (Denich 251). By denying their mother's wish, the brothers have overruled her maternal authority. In order to ameliorate her displeasure and to honor their sister's patriarchal right, the sons promise either to take their mother to visit her daughter or to bring their sister home to visit their mother. However, as the ballad continues, the mother's sons all die (the precise cause of which varies depending on the variant of the song) leaving her all alone with no means through which to visit her only daughter. In some versions of the ballad, this betrayal causes the mother to curse the son at fault for sending her only daughter so far away:

May you fall through your coffin, Lazarus
For giving Petkana away
So far away from me! (Butler 519-521).

The mother's curse demonstrates that a moral code

has been violated, and thus she calls upon supernatural powers to restore the social order.

In traditional Balkan society a mother's curse on her children was considered the most terrible condemnation a person could receive. Though closely related to a spell, a curse is not accompanied by pagan rights, and instead functions by suggestion. The affective power of a curse was immense. As Durham observes, "In Albania a curse may lie for generations on a family and end it" (Durham 281). Curses were thought to transcend the grave, and would continue to function until their objectives had been achieved. For example, if a man was cursed that his family should not multiply, even after he died it was believed that the curse would continue to harm his family members for generations until the curse was fulfilled and none survived (Durham 281). Thus, in "Lazarus and Petkana," the mother's curse is able to affect her son even though he is already dead. In some versions of the song, the curse is invoked not by the mother, but instead by the sister, which inevitably causes her brothers' untimely deaths:

"May God send seven plagues, and all
of you be buried in the ground"
(Arapi 273).

Like the curse of the mother, the sister's curse illustrates that by marrying her into a distant village, the social structure has been disrupted, and therefore the brothers deserve supernatural punishment (and she deserves divine retribution) so that the natural order can be restored. Ultimately, the intense distress caused by the sister's marriage raises one of the brothers from the grave, who then fulfills his familial duty – both to his mother and to his sister – by bringing the two women together.

However, the curse is not uniformly present in all versions of "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers." In some variants, the swearing of an oath replaces the supernatural function of the curse. Like the curse, "the oath played a most important part in the whole tribal area of Albania and Montenegro...the tribesmen as a rule kept the oath when formally sworn with rigid fidelity" (Durham 282). As mentioned above, in an attempt to reconcile the grief caused by marrying their sister into a distant village, the brothers swear an oath to either visit their sister or to bring her home to see her mother. In these variants of the ballad, the brothers also die, yet not as the result of a curse. However, the function remains the same: the brothers are not able to fulfill their promise and their mother and sister face

interminable separation. But, because a sacred oath has been sworn, the brothers cannot rest in peace, for “a man forsworn was universally condemned” (Durham 282). In an Albanian version of the song, “Once There Were Nine Brothers,” a bird visits one of the brothers’ graves, and begins to sing:

“Arise, Halil, arise without delay, for your sister has sent you wordasking why you have not come to take her home; for an oath to God you Swore!” (Arapi 281).

Performing a similar role as the curse, the swearing of a sacred oath causes one of the brothers to rise from the dead, enabling him to fulfill his promise to both his mother and his sister.

Though functionally the oath operates as a conceptual means through which the brother/son can be resurrected, its employment is also problematized in some versions of the ballad. Many of the songs begin with the brothers swearing an oath never to marry their sister, an event which seems out of place given the exogamous kinship system in which women are seen as transitory members of the family, born to leave and born to breed. What would compel the brothers to deny their sister her innate purpose in life? In traditional Balkan society, “a woman’s nearest and dearest is naturally her brother...Her brother was her blood relative – the one to whom in dire need she could fly for protection” (Durham 148). As noted previously, a woman’s future husband was frequently a total stranger, and would oftentimes become her oppressor, and therefore a woman had no natural loyalty to her husband and his family. Blood relationships are given extreme value among Balkan peasants; however, these powerful bonds are based solely upon male blood. Since they share the same male bloodline, a sister’s attachment to her brother is oftentimes stronger than that to her husband, in whose family she will always be an outsider. Thus, as Durham states, directly quoting one of her Montenegrin informants, “A woman’s brother comes before all” (Durham 149). For example, this informant explains his consternation over the fact that his wife is entirely devoted to her brother, whom she often favors over him. As the brother is unmarried, his sister frequently carries out the domestic tasks that would have been the responsibility of his wife, sometimes impinging upon her ability to serve her own husband. The divided interest of the woman causes tension between the two men, each of which claims patriarchal rights over her (Durham 148-149). Thus, in “The Ballad of the Dead Brothers,” the broth-

ers’ oath not to marry their sister reveals an inherent contradiction in agnatic kinship and demonstrates the importance of proximal marriages in order to stabilize the tension between a woman’s loyalty to her natal home (represented here by the close relationship between the brothers and their sister) and the necessity of her to leave her home and procreate. The brothers’ desire to protect their sister from possible harm from her husband by keeping her a perpetual maiden conflicts with their responsibility to ensure that she is married outside of the village, and thus to perpetuate the social system.

But, if the brothers’ connection to their sister is so strong, if, as Djilas suggests, “the purest and most spiritual love known in Montenegro is for a sister” (Djilas 358), then what compels the brothers to send their sister so far away? In every version of the tale, only one of the brothers is willing to marry his sister into a distant village while the others object, and it is this unfaithful brother who is ultimately brought back from the dead in order to fulfill his neglected duty to his mother and his sister. In fact, the disloyal brother is persuaded to give up his sister rather easily:

the young man broke his oath, and
betrothed his sister to give himself
in-laws (Arapi 273).

The incentive of forming an alliance with a powerful family (for example, with a ban – a regional governor), not only overrides the brother’s consideration of his mother’s, his sister’s, and his other brothers’ wishes, but also disregards the social custom of proximal marriages. Yet this decision cannot be attributed solely to the brother’s political gain. “The ability of a household’s men to control its women,” claims Denich, “is one of many indicators of its strength; accordingly, evidence of lack of control over women would indicate weakness and possibly reveal the men’s vulnerability to other external challenges” (Denich 255). Thus, when the brother is questioned by his sister’s suitors why she is not eligible for marriage, his explanation that he and his brothers have sworn an oath would not be a satisfactory answer. Facing ridicule and humiliation, the brother must demonstrate that he is in control of the women in his household, and thus disregards his sworn oath.

Unsurprisingly, in some versions of “The Ballad of the Dead Brother” the sister also swears an oath along with her brothers that she will not marry. Since a woman’s sole purpose was to serve her husband and provide him with male heirs, she played a vital role in

the perpetuation of Balkan society; however, she was too often treated without the smallest consideration. If she broke down under harsh treatment [her husband's] attitude was that of a man who had a broken-winded horse palmed off on him. He had the legal right to beat her and did so if she pleaded she was too tired to fetch another barrel of water. She had no business to be either ill or tired so long as his comforts needed attending to (Durham 210).

Consequently, it is not unexpected that young girls approached their pending marriages with a certain degree of apprehension. It is understandable that the daughter in "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers" would rather cling to her brothers, her nearest and dearest blood relations, than be married off to a total stranger who may or may not beat her. This fear also explains why she curses the brother who gave her away, as some versions tell it, and why she makes him swear an oath to come visit her, as is told in other versions. However, a woman's dread of marriage is far from universal in traditional Balkan society. Durham reports that many future brides are unafraid of their betrothed husbands, since they know his reputation and that of his village. Thus, once again the song demonstrates why distant marriages are causes for potential dread, since the bride has no way of knowing what to expect of her husband and his family. "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers" is a way of expressing this trepidation and desire for escape, as well as the detrimental consequences when these social norms are not upheld.

Though ultimately the brother fulfills his duty to his sister and his mother, "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers" still ends tragically. After the guilty brother rises from the dead and fetches his sister home to their mother, he returns to his grave to rest in peace. Nevertheless, his female relations do not have a joyous reunion. Instead, after reuniting,

Mother and daughter got to their feet,
embraced each other, fell dead on Halil's
grave (Arapi 280).

The song leaves no survivors, thus indicating the destructive repercussions when socially prescribed moral codes are violated. The brothers first breach normal social behavior when they attempt to keep their sister from being married, and then defy it again when they marry their sister to a distant village instead of to a neighboring tribe as their mother wishes and as custom dictates. Consequently, the brothers are punished for their transgressions, and order is restored through supernatural intervention. The

fact that the social code is restored through divine retribution represents an attempt to rationalize the practices implicated by an exogamous kinship system and a patriarchal society as corresponding with nature. Though these customs are social constructs, the intervention of the supernatural to uphold the dominant system portrays the social structure as upheld by natural order, indicating that this is the way things ought to be. In addition, though the women in the song are blameless, their death similarly reinforces these social norms. Forced to live in a home with oftentimes domineering husbands and overbearing mothers-in-law, young mothers developed strong, affective ties with their children, especially their sons. As Bessinger notes, "these ties are bolstered over time, due in part to the significant role of sons in patrilineal households. Consequently, the bond between a mother and her sons forms one of the most hallowed social relationships" (Bessinger 415). As demonstrated earlier, the relationship between brother and sister is also uniquely strong in patrilineal societies. Djilas underscores this point further by claiming that "the grief of a sister is absolute, and only death can assuage it" (Djilas 358). In traditional Balkan society, the relationships between mother and son and brother and sister are paramount, and therefore in "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers," "the sister and the mother also die – innocent but tied by their blood and fate to their men" (Koljević 113).

As has been demonstrated using "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers," folklore maintains the stability of culture. In *Contributions to Folkloristics*, William Bascom discusses the social and cultural contexts of folk traditions, suggesting that folklore is much more than entertainment, but also has particular social functions. He demonstrates the role folklore plays in "validating culture, in justifying its rituals and institutions to those who perform and observe them" (Bascom 57). Using this interpretive framework, "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers" can be read as a cautionary tale which attempts to endorse the norms of patriarchal society by construing their violation as transgressions against nature which will be supernaturally punished as such. Similarly, Bascom claims that folklore also has an educative role and "fulfills the important but often overlooked functions of maintaining conformity to the accepted patterns of behavior" (Bascom 59). "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers" can additionally be understood as a form of social control that is employed against those who attempt to deviate from social conventions. For example, the sister's wish to remain unmarried, to stay in her natal home, can be interpreted as articulating latent desires which op-

pose traditional Balkan patriarchal society. In her discussion of genderized power relations in the Balkans, Denich observes that although a woman's loyalty to her new husband may develop naturally, "the examination of institutional mechanisms for controlling women indicates that coercion is necessary to reconcile the opposition between women's individual interests and the requirements of group survival" (Denich 252). Therefore, Balkan folklore in general – and "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers" in particular – functions as a form of psychological coercion which insures conformity to the accepted cultural norms implicated by a traditional patriarchal society. By demonstrating the fatal consequences of violating this code – a punishment which is rationalized as a transgression against the natural order – "The Ballad of the Dead Brothers" mediates the tension between individual and social desires, while also reinforcing the obligations of blood-kinship within Balkan society.

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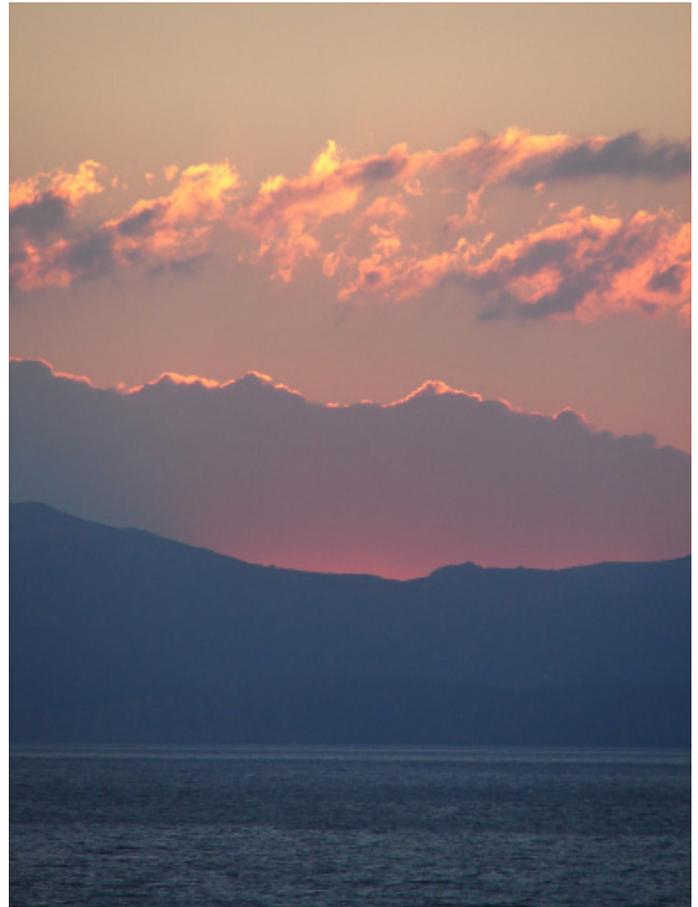
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MOJ RODNI GRAD

Paige Paulsen

Iz sam iz Seattla. Vrlo je kišno ali ljepo također. Ima nekoliko brda i ja živim na jednom. Zove se brdo sv-jetionika. Ima park preko puta moje kuće. Kad kiša pada, galebovi hodaju naprijed-nazad ispred moje kuće. Moji roditelji i ja mislimo da galebovi vole jesti gliste u zemlji. Ponekad, vozim moj bicikl uz obalu zaljeva, vežbam i gledam zalazak sunca.

Moji roditelji rade u kazalištu. Moja majka je profesorica također. Ima mnoga kazališta iako Seattle nije mnogo velik grad. Moji prijatelji, roditelji, i ja idemo u kazalište često. Radujem se jesti male krofne na otvorenoj pijaci na koju sam išla kao đak kad same bila mlađa.

Vratit ću se u Seattle preko ljeta.

MY HOMETOWN

Paige Paulsen

I'm from Seattle. It is rainy there, but also beautiful. It has several hills and I live on one. It is called Beacon Hill. There is a park across the street from my house. When it rains, seagulls walk back and forth in front of my house. My parents and I think that the seagulls like to eat worms in the ground. Sometimes, I ride my bike along the shore of the bay, I exercise and watch the sun rise.

My parents work in theater. My mother is also a professor. There are many theaters although Seattle is not a big city. My friends, parents, and I go to the theater often. Beforehand we like to eat little donuts at the public market where I went to daycare when I was a little girl.

I will return to Seattle for the summer.



POZORIŠTE
Nicolás Grosso

Devojka sedi u kupeu i čita knjigu. Čuju se tipični zvukovi voza. Ulazi čovek, koji sedi nasuprot devojci i počinje da čita novine. Vrata se otvaranju i ulazi inspektor.

INSPEKTOR: (*Bezizražajno.*) Karte, molim vas.

DEVOJKA: (*Dajući kartu inspektoru.*) Izvolite.

Inspektor joj vraća kartu; zagleda čoveka, čekajući.

INSPEKTOR: Izvinite, mogu li videti vašu kartu, molim vas?

ČOVEK: (*Ne okrećući glavu.*) Karta? Ne hvala, to me ne zanima.

INSPEKTOR: (*Iznenaden.*) Izvinite? Nisam vam nudio kartu, zatražio sam da vidim vašu kartu.

ČOVEK: Ah. Razumem. Ja je nemam.

Devojka gleda čoveka, zbunjena, ne verujući.

INSPEKTOR: Da li mislite da sam glup? Ako nemate karte, moraćete sići na sledećoj stanici i platićete kaznu.

ČOVEK: (*Još bez pokreta glave*) Čekajte, čekajte, ovaj članak je zanimljiv.

INSPEKTOR: Neću ovo trpeti! Platite sad!

ČOVEK: Da li vi imate kartu?

INSPEKTOR: Šta kažete?! Naravno da nemam. Ja sam inspektor, ja kontrolišem da li putnici imaju karte! Svaki putnik mora platiti ako hoće da se vozi vozom! Ako ne biste platili, ne bih zarađivao!

ČOVEK: Evo! Vi nemate kartu! Ako vi niste dobar primer, kako pretpostavljate da ja imam kartu! Prvo, vi kupite kartu!

INSPEKTOR: Ovo je šala! Posao mi je na vozu. Ćutite i platite ili zovem se policiju.

ČOVEK: Razumem, vi ne trebate kartu zato što radite na vozu. Recite mi: da li predsedniku treba karta? Ne treba mu, zar ne?

THEATER
Nicolás Grosso

A young woman sits in a compartment and reads a book. The ordinary sounds of the train are heard. A man enters, and sits opposite the young woman and starts reading the newspaper. The door opens and the conductor enters the compartment.

CONDUCTOR: (*Expressionless*) Tickets, please.

YOUNG WOMAN: (*Giving her ticket to the Conductor*) Here you are.

The Conductor returns her ticket and looks at the man, waiting.

CONDUCTOR: Excuse me, may I see your ticket please?

MAN: (*Without turning his head*) Ticket? No thank you, I am not interested.

CONDUCTOR: (*Surprised*) Excuse me? I didn't offer you a ticket, I asked to see your ticket.

MAN: Oh, I see. I don't have it.

The young woman looks at the man, confused, not believing.

CONDUCTOR: Do you think that I am stupid? If you don't a ticket, you must get off at the next station and pay the fine.

MAN: (*Still without moving his head*) Wait, wait, this article is interesting.

CONDUCTOR: I will not take this! Pay now!

MAN: Do you have a ticket?

CONDUCTOR: What did you say? Of course I don't! I am a conductor, I check to make sure that passengers have their tickets. Each passenger has to pay if he want to take the train! If you didn't pay, I wouldn't have a job.

MAN: There! You don't have a ticket! If you are a bad example, how could you assume that I have a ticket. First, you should buy a ticket.

CONDUCTOR: This must be a joke. My job is on the

INSPEKTOR: Pa ako je predsednik, naravno da mu ne treba, mi radimo pod predsednikovom vladom!

ČOVEK: Onda, ne moram kupiti kartu, jer sam sin predsednika!

INSPEKTOR: Prvo, ti nisi sin predsednika! Predsednik nema sinove! Drugo, da si sin predsednika, ipak bi morao platiti; ako ne bi platio, to bi bila korupcija!

ČOVEK: Ali svi političari su korumpirani! Naravno da predsednik nije kazao da ima sina, ali evo mene! A zašto predsednik ne mora kupiti kartu, on je običan građanin!

DEVOJKA: Stanite! Kako to može biti? Razumem da vama, inspektoru, ne treba karta. Ali zašto je predsednik važniji od mene! I on mora kupiti kartu! I ovo je korupcija!

INSPEKTOR: Ne pitajte mene, pitajte željezničku kompaniju! Svet nije pravedan, ni za mene ni za Vas. Sad, molim Vas da platite kartu! Moram nastaviti posao!

DEVOJKA: (*Uzbuđena*) Ali deo vašeg posla je odgovoriti na naša pitanja! Željeznička kompanija je velika i neefikasna, nikada se neću moći žaliti! Ne shvatate u kakvoj zemlji živimo?! Kako možemo poboljšati stanje ako dopuštamo da političari rade šta hoće! Zar se ne pitate zašto naši vozovi putuju sporije nego što ide konj! Zašto na našim univerzitetima uvek ima štrajka, češće od izlaska sunca! Zašto je sve bolje u inostranstvu?

Čuje se kako se voz usporava.

INSPEKTOR: Gospođice, ja nisam ni političar ni novinar! Slažem se, ali ja ne mogu rešavati probleme naše države. Moj specifičan posao je kontrolisati karte, i to je to! Ako ovaj gospodin nema kartu, mora kupiti jednu! Ako imate pitanja i primedbe, idite kod predsednika ili u sedište Narodne Željeznice.

DEVOJKA: (*Ljuto, vičući*) Ovo je neprihvatljivo!

Čuje se kako voz staje.

INSPEKTOR: Okreće se prema čoveku. I ovo je neprihvatljivo! Mislite da možemo poboljšati stanje zemlje i vozove ako neki čoveka ne želi platiti kartu! Kazaću ovo poslednjeg puta! Platite kartu sada, molim vas!

train. Be quiet and pay for a ticket, or I will call the police.

MAN: I understand, you don't need a ticket because you work on the train. Tell me, would the president need to buy a ticket? He wouldn't need one, would he?

CONDUCTOR: Well, if he is the president, of course he doesn't need one. We are part of the government!

MAN: Then I don't need to buy a ticket, because I am the son of the president.

CONDUCTOR: First of all, you are not the president's son! The president doesn't have any sons! Secondly, if you were the son of the president, you would still have to pay, and if you didn't, it would be called corruption.

MAN: But all politicians are corrupt! Of course, the president didn't say that he had a son, but here I am. And why shouldn't the president buy a ticket? He is an ordinary citizen.

CONDUCTOR: Do not ask me, ask the railway company. Life is not fair, for either of us. Now, please pay for the ride. I have to continue my work.

GIRL: (*Agitated*) But part of your job is to answer our questions. The railway company is big and inefficient, I could never file a complaint! Do you not understand what country we live in?! How could we improve the situation if we allow politicians to do whatever they want. Why don't you ask yourself why our trains are slower than horses! Why are the strikes at our universities more frequent than the rising sun! Why is everything better abroad?

One can hear the train was slowing down.

CONDUCTOR: Miss, I am no politician, nor a journalist. I agree with you, but I cannot solve the problems in our state. My job is to specifically to collect tickets, and that's it! If this gentleman did not pay for a ticket, he must buy one! If you have questions and complaints, go to the president or to the headquarters of the national railway.

YOUNG WOMAN: (*Yelling angrily*) This is unacceptable!

One can hear the train stopping.

CONDUCTOR: (*Turning to the man*) This is unacceptable. Do you think that we can improve the situa-

ČOVEK: (*Ustaje*) Ne hvala! Ovo je moja stanica! Zanimljiv je bio razgovor! Vidimo se!

Inspektor se ne kreće, zbunjen je. Čovek trči hodnikom, i skače iz voza na peron. Inspektor ne može verovati svojim očima, i goni čoveka. Ali prekasno je, voz kreće i čovek bježi.

DEVOJKA: (*Izlazi iz kupea*) Kako je život nepravedan danas!

tion in our country if a person does not pay for a ride? I am saying this for the very last time! Pay for the ticket now, please!

MAN: (*Getting up*) No thank you! This is my station! It was an interesting conversation! See you!

The Conductor doesn't move, completely befuddled. The man runs through the corridor, and jumps out of the train onto the platform. The Conductor cannot believe his eyes, and he chases the man. But it is too late. The train leaves and the man escapes.

YOUNG WOMAN: (*Exiting the compartment*) Life is really unjust these days!

Као дешњак, прича мојих руку није толико прича о животном развоју моје десне руке колико је прича о комплексу ниже вредности моје леве због мог животног искуства у заједници која не уважава леве руке.

После првог покушаја мојих родитеља да остворе наследника њиховог имена, родила се моја сестра. Иако је била страшно компликовано дете, све су јој гледали кроз прсте. То је било док нису приметили нешто у њеном развоју што је било много више забрињавајуће него немирно и размажено понашање. Приметили су, колико год да су пробали да је одвикну, да је она све више и више користила леву руку уместо десну. Иначе стрпљиви људи, могли су да пређу преко тога што је била некарактеристично непослушна, убеђивајући се да ће се поправити у наредним годинама. Али овај нови развој у њеном понашању је био неприхватљив—видело се да ће постати... левак.

Урадили су све у својој могућности да је промене, али њена твдоглавост је била првокласна. Предавши се судбини, прихватили су да јој нема наде, и решили су се да роде још једно дете које неће поновити то исто неприродно понашање њихове ћерке и њене руке.

Тако сам ја настао. Хијејархија је постојала чак и у почетку иако је моја лева рука била рођена са близњакињом која јој је била сасвим једнака. Рано у животу, приметила је да се њеној сестри више обраћа пажње него њој. На пример, кад се требало руковати, људи су увек пружали своју десну, једино пружајући леву ако им је десна била заузета. Без обзира на такве повремене увреде, лева је осећала да ће велике ствари постићи у животу, као да је део нечега већег од себе, и тиме одржала морал.

Године су пролазиле, и научила је да у овом свету не постоје једнака права за обе руке. Мало по мало, уз вежбу, десна је постојала све вештија у односу на леву. Упркос томе, лева је увек хватала сваку прилику да се докаже и да нешто научи. Видећи моју сестру и њен супериоран однос са њеном левом, почела је да жели већу улогу у свакодневном животу. Кад је било време за мене да научим да пишем, лева је прво ухватила писаћи инструмент

As a right-handed person, the tale of my hands is not so much a story of the life-long development of my right hand as much as it is the story of the inferiority complex of my left due to my life-long experiences in a society which does not value left hands.

After the first attempt of my parents to create a successor to inherit their name, my sister was born. Even though she was an extremely difficult child, they overlooked everything. That was until they noticed something in her development that was much more troubling than restless and spoiled behavior. They noticed that, however much they attempted to change it in her, she used her left hand more and more instead of her right. Otherwise patient people, they could go past the fact that she was uncharacteristically disobedient, convincing themselves that she would improve in the following years. But this new development in her behavior was unacceptable— it was obvious that will become...a lefty.

They did everything within their power to change her, but her stubbornness was first-class. Submitting themselves to fate, they accepted that they could not change her, and they resolved to give birth to one more child that would not repeat the same unnatural behavior of their daughter and her hands.

That is how I came to be. A hierarchy existed even in the beginning even though my left hand was born with a twin who was her equal in every way. Early in life, she noticed that more attention was paid to her sister than to her. For example, when a handshake was in order, people would always extend their right hands, only offering their left hands if the right hands were occupied. Discerning such occasional insults, the left always felt that she would accomplish great things in life, as though she was part of something greater than herself, and with that she maintained her morale.

The years passed, and she learned that in this world there did not exist equal rights for both hands. Little by little, with practice, the right became more and more skilled in relation to the left. In spite of that, the left always grabbed every opportunity to prove herself and to learn something. Seeing my sister and her superior relationship with her left, she started to wish for a greater role in everyday life. When it was time for me to learn how to write, the left was the first to grab

али моји родитељи су муњевито скочили и одузели оловку и дали је десној. У том тренутку се све променило. Лева се тужно ухватила за сто да ми одржи тежину док ми је десна учила како да буде све спретнија. Никад нисмо разговарали, али увек сам могао да осетим њен бол, и знам да је тада настао вечни суптилан осећај неспретности и немогућности.

Шта год да се десило у животу, однос између обе руке је увек био савршен. Уместо да љубоморно одмаже у покрету, својој супротној страни побољшава ефикасност. Увек има добре намере али могу објективно да кажем да просто није важна као десна. Мислим да би хтела да пише, као свој одраз са друге стране тела, али не уме ни правилно држати оловку. Једини корисни покрет са оловком је кад додаје десној. Понекад баца лопту, али никад ван десет метара, и само брука себе и мене. Толико је навикла да се све увек гура у десној да је прихватила споредну улогу са ретким побунама.

Жао ми је да не могу да искористим цео потенцијал рођене руке. Толико се труди али без вајде, и због тога се осећа инфериорно. Волео бих да једног дана научим да користим обе руке једнако али то се највероватније неће десити. Чини ми се да је овај однос вечит, бар за моју јадну леву руку.

a writing instrument but my parents quickly jumped and took it away and gave it to the right. In that moment everything changed. The left sadly grabbed the table to maintain my weight while my right learned how to be evermore able. We never spoke, but I could always feel her pain, and I know that in that moment an eternal feeling of clumsiness and inability was created.

Whatever happened in life, the relationship between my hands was always perfect. Instead of jealously hindering movement, she increased the efficiency of her opposite side. She always had good intentions but I can objectively say that she simply is not as important as the right. I think that she would like to write, like her reflection from the other side of the body, but she does not even know how to properly hold a pen. The only useful motion with a pen is when she hands it to the right. She sometimes throws a ball, but never more than ten meters, and she only embarrasses herself and me. She became so used to everything being given to the right that she accepted a side role with little rebellion.

I regret that I cannot use the entire potential of my own two hands. My left tries so hard but without avail, and because of that she feels inferior. I would like to learn one day how to use both hands equally but that most likely will not occur. It seems to me that this status is eternal, at least for my poor left hand.



ГОСТОПРИМСТВО У СРПСКОЈ ДОМАЋИНСКОЈ КУЋИ

Ани Карличић

Гостопримство је важан концепт у српској култури, а храна је увек у првом плану у правој домаћинској кући. Док је у Америци можда доста послужити госта пићем, у Београду је стандардно понудити такође нешто слатко (највероватније направљено који сат пре). Док у Америци «не» значи «не», у Србији се преводи мање или више као «можда». Ако гост одбије понуду за јелом, домаћин наставља да набраја цео садржај фрижидера – од спремљених јела па све до младог сира који је јуче купио на пијаци – све док се или не прихвати нешто или док нема више хране у фрижидеру да набраја, у ком случају опет помене млади сир са пијаце. После неколико минута домаћин почиње опет да набраја шта има за понуду (али само за сваки случај, пошто се гост можда предомислио).

Гост мора да има јако убедљиве разлоге зашто не може јести или ће домаћин мање или више бити увређен, и «нисам гладан» ретко кад важи као оправдање. Ако се посете три пријатеља током једног дана препоставља се да ће ова процедура бити поновљена сва три пута, а јадни гост неће бити способан крајем дана да закопча панталоне.

Ако гост почисти тањир одмах му се даје друга проција. Логично би било да је лакше одбити другу понуду после завршетка прве, али ово уопште није случај. Неки људи, гладни или не, једу убрзано – можда не воле да им стоји храна дуго у тањиру или можда је то само ствар навике. У сваком случају, у српској кући ово уопште није препоручљиво. Ово саље погрешну поруку домаћину, специјално ако сте случајно рекли у почетку да нисте гладни. Он ће мислити да је ваша прва иурека била неистина и да наравно желите још али сте можда превише стидљиви да тражите.

Постоји изрека «здравље улази на уста», али у српској култури ово у највише случаја није, као што би помислили, промоције доброг избора; не значи да треба пробирати здраву храну. Срби третирају ову изреку као «што више то боље». Најздравији су они који су јешни. Пробирљива деца морају бескрајно да се боре од бакиних порција. Иронија постоји у томе да ова иста култура много уважава витку и савршену фигуру. Када се описује особа његов или њен физички изглед је увек у првом плану, а чак и најмања дебљина може да изазове критицизам.

HOSPITALITY IN A SERBIAN HOUSEHOLD

Ani Karličić

Hospitality is an important concept in Serbian culture, and food is always of central focus in an authentic household. While in America perhaps serving a guest a beverage may be sufficient, in Belgrade it is customary to offer something sweet as well (most likely cooked up some hours prior to the guest's arrival). While in America "no" implies "no", in Serbia the term is translated more or less as "maybe". If a guest declines offered food, the host continues listing all of the contents of the fridge – from finished meals to the fresh cheese he just bought yesterday at the farmer's market – up until either something is accepted or until he runs out of foods in the fridge to name, in which case he once again begins to list what he has to offer (but just in case, for the guest has possibly changed his mind).

The guest must have extremely convincing reasons explaining his inability to eat or the host will more or less be offended, and "I am not hungry" rarely serves as justification. If three friends are visited in the course of one day, it is assumed that this procedure will be repeated all three times, and the poor guest will no longer be capable of buttoning his pants at the day's end.

If the guest wipes clean the plate, he is instantly given a second portion. Logically, it should be easier to refuse a second offer after finishing the first, but this is not the case at all. Some people, hungry or not, eat at a speedy pace – it may be that they do not like their food to sit long on the plate or it may only be a thing of habit. In any case, in a Serbian household this is not recommended at all. This sends the wrong message to the host, especially if you originally, unwittingly, claimed not to be hungry. He will think that your first utterance was untruthful and that you, of course, desire more but are perhaps too meek to ask.

There exists a saying "health enters at the mouth", but in the Serbian culture this, in most cases, is not, as you would assume, a promotion of good choices; it does not call for a selection of healthy foods. Serbs treat this saying as "the more (you put in your mouth), the better". Those who are healthiest are likewise those with big appetites. Children who are picky eaters are at an endless battle with grandma's portions. Irony exists in that this same culture extremely values a slim and perfect figure. When a person is first characterized his or her physical appearance is always a central focus, and even the smallest imperfection can generate criticism.

RAT I MIR
Мери Поткоњак

Prve godine na universitetu, živela sam u studentskom domu, Max Palevsky. Moja cimerka je bila bogata devojka i iz New Yorka. Zove se Tiffany. Mi smo bile potpuno različite. U početku, živele smo mirno, ali naš mir je bio kratka veka. Moja prijateljica mi je poverila da je Tiffany rekla svima da sam debela. Ona je išla na spavanje rano, dok sam ja učila do kasno. Vraćala sam se u moju sobu na prstima tako da je ne bih probudila. Iako sam pokušavala da uđem u potpunoj tišini, probudila sam je često. Iako je život sa mojom cimerkom bio neugodan, zimi je bilo još gore.

Te zime, odlučila je da oslabi dve funte dok spava, tako da je otvarala prozor često. Ne bi me brinulo da moj krevet nije bio pored otvorenog prozora, i da nekoliko dana docnije nisam bila bolesna. Jedne noći, odlučila sam da zatvorim prozor, ali kad sam to učinila, ona se popela na moj krevet i otvorila je prozor. Zato što sam imala ispit ujutro, čekala sam nekoliko dana i opet sam zatvorila prozor. Ali ovog puta, moja glava je bila pored prozora i Tiffany ga nije mogla otvoriti. Bila je ljuta, ali sam ovog puta ja pobedila.

WAR AND PEACE
Mary Potkonjak

My first year at university, I lived in the dormitory Max Palevsky. My roommate was a rich girl from New York, named Tiffany. We were very different. In the beginning, we lived peacefully, but our peace was short lived. My friend confessed to me that Tiffany told everyone that I was fat. She went to bed early, while I stayed up late studying. I would return to my room on tiptoes, in order to not wake her. Although I tried to enter very quietly, I would often wake her up. Though my life with my roommate was unpleasant, it was even worse in the winter.

That same winter, she decided to loose two pounds while sleeping, so she would often open the window. I would not have been concerned if my bed had not been next to the open window, and if I had not gotten sick a few days later. One day I decided to close the window, and when I did, she hopped on my bed and opened it again. For the sake of peace, and because I had an exam in the morning, I waited for a few days until I closed the window again. This time, however, my head was right by the window, so that Tiffany could not open it. She was angry, but I won.

МОЈИ ДРАГИ ЦРНОГОРЦИ
Алек Митровић

Моји вољени Црногорци су се нашли у културном простору између прошлости и садашњости—оног из старе Југославије, и ове садашње Европске уније. То што резултира је чудан менталитет—један који не зна што да ради са традицијом а колико треба дозволити новима обичајима. По њима, жене су на свијету да буду мајке и лијепе ствари. Има неких жена које су почеле да имају добре послове, али те приче нису обичне. Највећим делом, друштво воде мушкарци.

С друге стране, они знају како да живе живот у најужем значењу ријечи. Славе живот, као прави јунаци душе. Можда пију много, можда леже на плажи предуго—али имају увјек њихово друштво око себе, увјек су са пријатељима. Њихове породице су велике па они могу да имају велике вечере, око дуга стола, и са многим гостима, све једући, пијући, и смејући се.

То су моји земљаци, и врло сам поносан да сам пола Црногорац.

MY DEAR MONTENEGRINS
Alec Mitrović

My beloved Montenegrins found themselves in the cultural space between past and present; that from the old Yugoslavia and today's European Union. The outcome of it is a very strange mentality. The mentality that does not know what to do with tradition and how much to allow new trends to arise. According to them, women in this world are meant to be mothers and beautiful things. There are some women who started with their careers, but such stories are not very common. By and large, the society is lead by men.

On the other hand, they know how to live their lives in the literary sense of the word. They celebrate life as real heroes of their souls. Perhaps they drink too much, or perhaps they lie on the beaches too long, but they always in the company of their friends. Their families are big, which allow them to have big family dinners around a long table with many guests, all eating, drinking and laughing.

Those are my countrymen, and I am very proud to be half Montenegrin.



MOJA IDEALNA KUĆA

Marko Pavišić

Moja idealna kuća bi bila izvan grada i gradskog meteža, okružena velikom livadom, voćnjakom i vinogradom. Zidovi od kuće će biti od čvrstog hrasta po savjetu moga djeda. Sjeverni zid će biti sav u staklu od poda do plafona sa pogledom na planine otkud svježi planinski vjetar nježno duva po livadi oko kuće i osvježava dušu. Južni zid će isto biti od stakla da bi se mogao vidjeti lijepi, plavi Jadran.

Naravno bih htio da imam mnogo spavaćih soba za goste i porodicu, ali osim toga bih htio još i neke neuobičajene sobe. Htio bih da imam malu teretanu sa spravama za vježbanje i vrećom za udaranje. U podrum bih stavio akvarijum sa mnogo egzotičnih riba i mini bioskop da gledam filmove sa društvom. Na drugom spratu koji se rotira, stavio bih koncertni klavir u akustičnoj sali da mogu da sviram i da gledam ili na more ili na planine, zavisno od toga što me više inspiriše tog dana. Na trećem spratu u podkrovlju, ću staviti biblioteku punu snova i mudrosti od najvećih mislilaca naših vremena. Moja spavaća soba će biti luksuzna u tome što će pored kreveta biti džakuzi, pa kad se probudim da mogu malo da počinem. Pored kuće će da stoji velika garaža puna mašina i alata za popravku auta i za moje automobilske projekte.

Pored svega ovoga, najvažnije je da moja idealna kuća bude ona u kojoj se moja porodica i prijatelji osjećaju prijatno. Ne mora to da bude kuća kao što sam sad opisao: kuća iz snova sa milion soba i skupim namještajem. Dovoljna je meni kuća u kojoj mogu da se fino raskomotim poslije teškog dana ali da isto ne bude božanstveni zatvor tehnologije i udobnosti. Moja kuća će da prima sve ljude sa dobrom voljom i imaće prosotra da ih ugosti, bez obzira da li će to biti dvorac ili prijatna mala kućica.

MY IDEAL HOUSE

Marko Pavišić

My ideal house would be on the outskirts of town and far from the city commotion, surrounded by a big meadow, orchard and vineyard. The walls of the house will be covered in hard oak, as my grandfather advised. The north wall will be entirely made of glass from floor to ceiling, with a view of the mountains from which the fresh mountain breeze would blow around the house and refresh my soul. The southern wall will also be made of glass, so that you can see the beautiful blue Adriatic Sea.

Of course, I would love to have many bedrooms for my guests and my family, but in addition, I would also like some unusual rooms. I would like to have a little gym equipped with speed bags. In the basement I would place an aquarium with exotic fish and a mini house theater to watch movies with my friends. On the second floor, which would rotate, I would place a grand piano in an acoustic room, so that I can play and watch the sea and the mountains, depending on what inspires me on a particular day. On the third floor, in the attic, I would place the library, filled with dreams and wisdom of the best thinkers of our time. My bedroom will be luxurious in such a way that I will put a Jacuzzi next to my bed, so when I wake up I can rest a little. Adjacent to the house will be a big garage full of tools for fixing a car and for my various projects building cars.

In addition to this, the most important thing is that my ideal house is the one in which my family and friends will feel comfortable. It does not need to be the house I described, or the house of my dreams, with expensive furniture. I would be happy with a house in which I can feel relaxed after a hard day, even if it is not a divine prison of technology and comfort. Regardless of whether my home will be a palace or a comfortable little house, my home will receive all the guests with goodwill and will have space to host them.

MOTHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS IN SERBIAN FOLK SONGS

Tae Yeon Kim

Serbian folk songs elucidate similarities and differences between the mother-daughter and mother-son relationships in Serbian culture, in addition to depicting the respective roles of the mother, son, and daughter within the larger social scheme of the family. The mother's worth is defined by her children, who have a special relationship with her. In these folk songs, the mother connects to her son as a nurturer and sustains an actively reciprocal relationship with him but connects to her daughter only through their shared experience of womanhood.

In Serbian folk songs, the woman's value is tied to her children and, in particular, to producing and raising male heirs for the continuation of her husband's lineage. According to Maria Todorova, "only a woman with children was considered a woman" (55). The sons shape both the mother's and the family's identity. As a result, these songs identify the hallmark of a good mother as the quality of her son. In "The Wedding of Tsar Dušan," the tsar praises the hero's virtue with the exclamation: "[b]lessed the mother that brought you to this world" (Holton 69). Similarly, in "The Wedding of King Vukašin," Momčilo praises his sister's female virtues of kindness and faithfulness and asserts that she will bear a "brave" son for the king (Holton 94). This passage not only demonstrates that the woman acquires social value through her son but also stresses that a virtuous woman bears good sons. Furthermore, by bearing sons, the woman "secure[s] a place in the group, bound to it through a blood tie" (Denich 251). The woman, unrelated by blood to her husband's family, must earn her place among her in-laws because she is considered liminal and inferior, not quite an outsider nor completely included in her husband's blood-related family (Mandel 162). The significance on earning a place within the husband's family as a mother of a male heir of caliber is evident in the figure of Mehmed's mother, who "had given up her whole lifetime and cast her youth at the feet of an old man in order to bring up such a son" (Međedović 100). The sacrifice of youth, an irreplaceable and irrevocable surrender, in exchange for an honorable, heroic son suggests that the son is equally, if not more, valuable. The value of the mother and the value of the son are inextricably intertwined.

Likewise, daughters with womanly virtues, both physical beauty and moral integrity, bring honor to the mother and the family, just as honorable sons do. In

"The Wedding of Meho, Son of Smail," Fatima possesses a "white face and flowing hair" (Međedović 122). The color of her face suggests moral purity and her hair portrays her feminine elegance. Enraptured by Fatima, Mehmed asks himself, "Could any mother have borne such a daughter? I wonder from what line and family she is?" and also exclaims "may you live and bring happiness to your mother!" (Međedović 122). Like the son, the mother attains value through her daughter. Furthermore, men boast not only about their wives, sons, and sisters, but also about their daughters and their brother's daughter (Međedović 80), highlighting the daughter's role in upholding the family's reputation. The Serbian family structure, until the conclusion of World War II, consisted of the *kućna zadruga*, a large network of extended family in which the man's authority reigned and the woman assumed the subordinate position (Hofman 7). Because of this tight familial network, the virtuous daughter not only honors her father and mother but also her father's brother. Additionally, the family shapes the daughter's identity just as it shapes the son's identity. When Meho meets Fatima, he asks her who her father is before he asks her name (Međedović 122-3), which underscores not only the supremacy of the patriarch but also the inseparable link of the daughter's identity to her family.

Conversely, the consequences for the woman who fails to fulfill her motherly duty also propagate the values of motherhood. In "The Wife of Hasan Aga," a misunderstanding instigates divorce: the wounded Hasan Aga perceives his wife's absence as an insult, but the wife was acting in accordance to the Balkan Christian belief in the impropriety, as a woman, of witnessing her husband in his times of weakness (Holton 237). Despite her innocence, the wife is still culpable and, consequently, a tragic figure. Although she demonstrates loving, motherly qualities in her plans to visit her children and give them gifts after the divorce (Holton 240), because of the divorce, she no longer has a presence in the household and cannot raise her children. Thus, she is deficient as a mother because "women are expected to socialize their sons along lines securing the future interests of the household" (Denich 252). In "The Wife of Hasan Aga," the tragedy builds from the divorce and the mother's absence from the household, cumulating in her alienation from her children and her death. She collapses and dies when Hasan Aga calls his sons "orphans" and tell them that

their mother does not love them (Holton 240). Both the label of “orphans” and the claim about their mother’s indifference effectively alienates the children from their mother. Because the mother’s close ties to her children, this alienation is lethal metaphorically and physically, both in the loss of her value as a woman and in the loss of her life. It is noteworthy that Hasan Aga speaks only to his sons and not to his other children when he denounces their mother, which further evidences the significance of male children to the woman’s value.

In folk songs, the concepts of a good wife and a good mother are inseparable. In Serbian society, the husband and wife’s relationship focuses more on their role as parents than as spouses (Hammel). The nature of this relationship implies that the wife is connected to the husband through child, who is blood-relation that bridges the two. A bad wife, therefore, is doubly detrimental to the family because of her dual role as a wife and as a mother. The gravity of the situation is conveyed in “The Wedding of Meho, Son of Smail” in the assertion that the husband can have “no greater sorrow” than a bad wife (Međedović 79). In “The Wedding of King Vukašin,” Momčilo’s former wife Vidosava is condemned even though King Vukašin seduced her (Holton 94). Arguably, the condemnation stems in part from the idea that a “woman’s value lies not so much in her fertility...but in her ability to assure the legitimacy of a man’s seed” (Delaney 86). Because of her betrayal of her husband, Vidosava is devalued because her actions call into question her ability to bear legitimate heirs for her husband. Furthermore, the wife’s infidelity is a sign of the husband’s weakness, his inability to control his wife (Denich 254-5). Adultery places an additional strain on the bond between the husband and wife, already precarious because they are not related by blood. A bad wife is a bad mother, and a bad mother is a bad wife because she threatens his honor and his lineage.

As a mother, the woman has a special relationship to her child. In “The Wife of Hasan Aga,” the sons offer dinner to their mother who is on her way to remarry after their father has divorced her (Holton 240). This action conveys the sons’ attachment to their mother. This filial connection supersedes the formal divorce that excludes the mother from her former husband’s family and, therefore, from her children’s family. The mother-child relationship begins before the child’s birth in the physical connection in utero as the child grows within her. After birth, the infant maintains a physical connection to the mother through suckling, and the mother continues to give sustenance to her

child. Because of this physical connection, it is most difficult for the wife of Hasan Aga to leave her youngest child, a male infant (Holton 239). Because of his age, he still obtains sustenance directly from her and needs her care the most. Even after the child matures, the mother continues to give symbolic sustenance in her role as a nurturer.

The mother’s continual presence as a nurturing figure conveys the notion of eternal motherhood in her sustained relationship to her son, reflecting the enduring paternal lineage that survives via the mother through her son and his future male descendants. Even though the mature son no longer derives physical sustenance from his mother as he did as in utero and as an infant, he obtains representational nourishment. For instance, in “Marko Karljevič and the Mina of Kostur,” Marko asks his mother for advice and she tells him to go to the tsar’s army (Holton 183-4). Following her advice brings him honor in successful conquests and the victory over the Arab troops (Holton 185, 188). Although the mother is a woman, taking her advice is empowering, not emasculating, as demonstrated in the glorified battles and the show of Marko’s strength and cunning against the Mina of Kostur. Listening to the mother is an act of respect, both a part of the son’s filial duty and of his manhood. The mother’s advice acts as the representational sustenance that helps her son grow in honor and reputation, a surrogate for the physical sustenance she used to provide. Likewise, in “The Wedding of Meho, Son of Smail,” the mother has kept garments for her son, Mehmed, until he is ready to wear them, and when the time comes, she helps dress him (Međedović 100-101). The change of dress symbolizes Mehmed’s transition into manhood. By dressing her son, the mother guides this transition and plays out the intimate role as the nurturer, again recalling the nurturing she gave him as a child.

Because of the mother’s significant role in his upbringing, the close relationship between the mother and the son also manifests in the degree of power she has over him. For instance, in “Banović Strahinja,” the mother “chided” her son for his absence during the attack by the Turk Vlah Alija (Holton 110). Her outspoken manner with her son contrasts with the acceptable behavior of a wife, who is under the authority of her husband (Hofman 7) and thus expected to show modesty and deference. The mother, however, attains some social status because of her age (Hofman 8). While the mother is still subject to the patriarchal hierarchy, in her own subordination to her husband, her age, blood-relationship to her son, and her contribution to his upbringing allow her to have more power

in her interactions with her son than his wife does. Furthermore, the son has a duty to show respect and to care for his mother. In "Prince Marko's Plowing," the mother asks Marko to relinquish the warrior life in exchange for an agrarian one because she is weary of washing his blood-stained clothes and is concerned about the food supply (Holton 168-9). Marko obeys his mother's wishes, demonstrating the appropriate filial respect, and prepares his plow and oxen, but instead of plowing a field, he plows the "tsar's highway," killing Turkish soldiers and reaping booty for his mother (Holton 169). Thus, the song reconciles the tension between the filial duty to listen to his mother, which would require him to perform a less glorious agricultural task, and the need to assert manhood through heroic endeavors. Here, Marko displays heroism by killing the Turks, but demonstrates his obedience to his mother by plowing as she had asked, winning the victory against the Turks without shedding his blood, and bringing back booty, which could be used to provide food. This song suggests that filial loyalty through obedience to the mother is consistent with manhood and heroism, just as listening to the mother's advice is in "Marko Karljevič and the Mina of Kostur."

As in "Prince Marko's Plowing," "The Wedding of Tsar Dušan" highlights an example of the son's filial duty. Upon hearing that his "mother is dying...[and] wishes to give him her blessing, so that no curse shall remain upon him," Miloš weeps and "jumped up onto his nimble feet" (Holton 53), suggesting that he speedily headed home. This emotional and physical response is evidence of filial loyalty, showing the closeness of the mother-son bond. Furthermore, the need to receive the mother's blessing to avoid any curses is suggestive of the mother's enduring power over her son. In contrast, in "Marko Karljevič and the Mina of Kostur," Marko asks the tsar sultan, whom he calls his foster-father, for the permission to celebrate St. George's day with his family and friends (Holton 186). When the Arab soldiers attack during his absence, Marko delays his return until the fourth morning (Holton 186-7). By allowing the Arabs to attack and decimate the tsar sultan's army, Marko underscores his worth as a warrior when he single handedly defeats the Arabs upon his return. Although Marko did not really celebrate the feast, which he used as an excuse to temporarily leave the army and amplify his personal glory, his actions nevertheless suggests the strength of blood-relationships. Portrayed when Marko addresses the tsar sultan as his foster-father, the tsar sultan and Marko share a close relationship. However, because they are not related by blood, Marko can prove his valor at the expense of the tsar sultan and his army. The immediate

response of Miloš stands in sharp contrast, highlighting the particular closeness between mother and son. While the dutiful sons reap rewards, disobedient sons that disobey their mother suffer consequences. In "The Brothers and Their Sister," the mother desires that her daughter marry a neighbor, but her sons marry her to a "ban beyond the sea" (Holton 34). According to Koljevič, the "brothers have not only disregarded their mother's wise advice, but also sinned against a time-honoured patriarchal norm by marrying their sister into an alien world" (qtd. Holton 33). Here, the mother attempts to preserve the patriarchal values through her advice to her sons. Ultimately, her sons meet their death (Holton 34) because of their breach in conduct to the mother and, consequently, to their family.

In comparison to sons, daughters do not hold the same status in the family but serve as a means of forging familial connections through their marriage. In Serbian villages, the "birth of a daughter was greeted with disappointment, since her presence in the household was considered only temporary" (Hofman 8). Because the inferior and impermanent status of the daughter, "the mother of daughters only is also in a difficult situation, without a permanent blood tie to the group and failing to provide her husband with direct heirs." (Denich 252). Nevertheless, paralleling the duty to raise honorable sons, the mother has a duty to raise virtuous daughters because of the function of the daughter in creating new familial relationships through marriage. In "Marko Karljevič and Musa the Robber," Marko entreats his mother to nurture the slave girl and to "[g]ive her to wed like your own sweet daughter, so that we'll gain new and friendly in laws" (Holton 195). Marko's words explicitly define the daughter's function in forming relations between families. Indeed, the girl marries into a "good house" of "nine loving, caring brothers" where Marko "often drank his fill of wine" (Holton 195). The song portrays an ideal marriage, in which the daughter is taken care of by her new family and her male blood-related family members gain connections and maintain good relations with her male in-laws. The girl's marriage focuses not on her and her spouse but on the new familial ties that form from their union.

The woman's role as a means to expand familial connection is evident in "Banović Strahinja" as well. Here, Strahinič Ban forgives his unfaithful wife in order to preserve relations with his in-laws (Holton 130). The good relations with his in-laws manifest in Strahinič Ban's position at the dinner table near the "right arm" of his father-in-law and the generous hospitality, conveyed through food and drink, that his in-laws show him. The woman as a mother and wife is central in

creating these relationships.

However, while the mother and son have a sustained, reciprocal relationship, in which the mother maintains the role of the eternal nurturer and son demonstrates a constant, filial loyalty to her, the Serbian songs do not portray such a reciprocal relationship between the mother and daughter. In the patriarchal social structure, the mother and daughter had a close relationship (Lockwood 493). However, the songs do not focus on the closeness of the mother-daughter bond but rather on their shared experiences in womanhood, in their shared roles as mother-wives and as females in a patriarchal social structure. The reciprocity of the mother-son relationship is absent arguably because such a sustained relationship is not feasible with the daughter, who will eventually join the husband's family. Upon marriage, often the "bride loses her identity and is addressed by the genitive form of her husband's first name" (Halpern 46). She no longer belongs to her family but to her husband's family after her marriage.

The relationship between the mother and daughter focuses on preparing the daughter for her future role as a mother, wife, and a bridge between families. This preparation is an expression of their shared womanhood: the daughter is destined to fill the same roles in society that her mother fills and has filled. For instance, Fatima's mother intended to raise her daughter to give her to "Mehmed, that worthy son of Smailaga" because "[t]hat would be the marriage of mountain spirit and falcon! And the two houses would be especially well matched" (Međedović 127). Fatima's mother shows that the mother's connection to her daughter primarily rests on preparing the daughter for marriage for the betterment of the family. Their relationship does not exhibit the active and sustained reciprocity of the mother-son relationship.

In addition to priming the daughter for marriage, the mother and daughter connect through their shared subordinate position relative to men. In "The Brothers and Their Sister," the mother and daughter embrace at the end and both die because their lives are tied "by blood and thus by fate" to the lives of the males in the family, who have died (36-7, 33). Even though some songs demonstrate the mother's power over her sons, the death of the mother and daughter reflects their subordinate status in the patriarchal society, suggesting that their existence depends entirely on the men in their family. Furthermore, their embrace marks the unity of their experience as women in this social structure.

The Serbian folk songs depict close ties between the woman's value as a wife and mother to her children. The mother's duty to raise virtuous daughter for the purpose of forming interfamily relationships is complementary to her duty to raise heroic sons who bring honor to the patriarchal family identity. With her son, she sustains an actively reciprocal relationship, but with her daughter, she relates through a sense of shared womanhood. In both cases, the mother-child relationship serves to uphold the values and ensure the survival of the patriarchal family.

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WHAT HAS ATHENS TO DO WITH CONSTANTINOPLE?

Jenkins, Fallmerayer, and Byzantium's Place in the Historiography of Greek Ethnicity

Jake Ransohoff

"A new future requires a new past."

- Eric Foner¹

"Happy countries have no history."

- Aldous Huxley²

On November 5th, 1962, Romilly Jenkins – Director of Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks Research Center in Washington, D.C. – delivered the annual Louis Semple Taft Lectures at the University of Cincinnati. In his high-profile lecture series, entitled “Byzantium and Byzantinism”, Jenkins reviewed the thesis of nineteenth-century German historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer that modern Greeks bear no ethnic relation to their classical namesakes, due to Slavic settlement of Byzantine Hellas in the seventh century. Ultimately, Jenkins concluded, “the main structure [of Fallmerayer’s thesis] was firmly based; and, in an age dominated by Romantic prejudice, he successfully vindicated the pursuit of objective truth.”³ The immediate response among Greek populations across North America and Western Europe overwhelmingly negative.⁴ Jenkins’ conclusions on the Fallmerayer thesis likewise opened fissures in the international academic community, stimulating heated rebuttals by the ethnic Greek Byzantinists Peter Charanis and Speros Vryonis in defense of the continuity between classical and modern Greek populations.⁵ Turkish-born Byzantinist, Cyril Mango, entered the fray in 1965 with his defense of Jenkins entitled “Romanticism and Hellenism.”⁶ The public outcry and academic criticism following the delivery of Mango’s defense ultimately resulted in the University of London’s revoking of his position as Koraes Chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies that same year.⁷

The heatedness of this academic debate demonstrates the deep importance which the idea of continuity between classical and modern Greek culture, language, and most importantly ethnicity still holds for the location of contemporary Greek identity. Indeed, the passionate language of invective and polemic has historically dominated discourse surrounding the Fallmerayer Thesis, both among its supporters and detractors. Yet in the midst of these competing passions, very little has been done to frame arguments for discontinuity in their historiographical contexts, or understand how these implicit contexts condition Greek responses to such arguments. In light of this

deficiency, the present study represents an attempt to move beyond the usual criticisms of chronology and source material, and instead evaluate the intellectual genealogies of these competing positions, and what their respective proponents have at stake in the debate. This paper is not concerned with finding in favor of one side or another in the unresolved controversy surrounding Jenkins and the Fallmerayer Thesis, or with adding yet another layer to this already overburdened debate. Rather, by making explicit the often-neglected intellectual biases underlying historiographical notions of discontinuity between classical and modern Greece, I attempt to understand the ways in which these notions have been received by both detractors and supporters. Such an understanding, I argue, is a necessary first step for overcoming the ideological narrowness which hinders our modern search for an adequate language of historical change.

The debate over post-classical Greece’s relationship to classical civilization has its roots in the medieval political conflicts between Western Europe and the Greek-speaking Byzantine Empire.⁸ In the words of Steven Runciman: “ever since our [Western European] Crusading forefathers first saw Constantinople and met, to their contemptuous disgust, a society where everyone read and wrote, ate food with forks and preferred diplomacy to war, it has been fashionable to pass the Byzantines by with scorn and to use their name as synonymous with decadence.”⁹ While Runciman’s above generalization clearly leans towards hyperbole, it nonetheless conveys an adequate sense of how modern Western images of Byzantium have been tailored by the biases of medieval Western perceptions. Ideologically, the two respective ecclesiastical and temporal authorities of Latin Christendom – the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor – exercised their powers in opposition to Byzantine claims. The Pope of Rome and Patriarch of Constantinople struggled irregularly over the issue of ecclesiastical primacy from the fifth century onward, ultimately resulting in the so-called “Great Schism” between the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches in 1054.¹⁰ Likewise, after

the coronation of Charlemagne as “Roman Emperor” in 800, the Byzantine and (Holy) Roman Emperors clashed over the political legacy of the Roman Empire, and its symbolic claims to universal sovereignty over temporal Christendom.¹¹ Official documents from the Medieval West, then, were often motivated by these political considerations in their representations of Byzantium. Liudprand of Cremona, Emperor Otto I the Great’s ambassador to Constantinople, wrote an account of his mission in the city circa 969, in which he flatters his lord and patron Otto by contrasting the corruption, decadence, and effeminacy of Byzantium to the virile and virtuous German court.¹² Tellingly, Liudprand denies the Byzantine monarch his title of “Emperor of the Romans”, instead referring to him as “Emperor of the Greeks.”¹³ With the advent of the Crusades in the eleventh century, Byzantine treachery became a common trope among Western European chroniclers seeking to account for Crusader failures or defeats at the hands of Muslims.¹⁴ After the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the French knight Geoffroi de Villehardouin justified the Crusaders’ actions by invoking Byzantine perfidy and heresy.¹⁵ The above instances are only a few conspicuous examples of the enormous corpus of anti-Byzantine literature produced in the Medieval Latin West, which can be used to map out how long-term political tensions between the Latin and Greek Christendom influenced West’s characterization of Byzantine culture in later periods.

The various Byzantine stereotypes found in medieval Western documents were synthesized into a systematic value judgment on the quality of Byzantine civilization by the first complete Western European history of Byzantium – Edward Gibbon’s monumental *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published in six volumes between 1776 and 1787. Gibbon, in his own words, set out to “deduce the most important circumstances of [Rome’s] decline and fall; a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth.”¹⁶ Writing in the intellectual milieu of the European Enlightenment, during the golden age of Neoclassical art and literature, Gibbon was very much a product of his times: he viewed Classical civilization as the peak of human achievement, Europe as “the most civilized portion of mankind”, and largely dismissed religious devotion in its various institutional and dogmatic forms as an “irrational superstition.”¹⁷ Gibbon married his Enlightenment tastes with his Eurocentric bias, and used them in tandem to fashion a cohesive theory of historical development, framing history itself as a constant struggle between the West (the essence of which was

the civilization of Classical Greece and Rome) and the “Orient” (which encompassed the decadent and dogmatic antithesis of all that the rational and scientific West represented).¹⁸ Thus, the decline of Rome could be explained as a process of Orientalization: a gradual degeneration of Classical virtues, which had brought Rome to greatness, into a sybarite and effete Oriental decadence.

The ultimate product of this degenerative process, to Gibbon, was Byzantium. Gibbon only had regular access to medieval source-material in Latin dealing with Byzantium. His knowledge of Byzantine literature, while remarkable for his own time, was extremely poor by standards of modern scholarship, and he dismissed those limited materials he did have access to as degenerate due to their departure from the classically “pure” forms of Attic Greek composition.¹⁹ Hence, Gibbon breathed new life into the old Medieval Latin caricatures of Byzantium found in Liudprand and Villehardouin, which so conveniently reinforced his own cultural and Eurocentric biases. These politically-motivated anti-Byzantine philippics by Medieval Latin authors, in the hands of later-day Enlightenment historians, were taken as indices for mapping how the rise of “mystic” Christianity and the relocation of the Roman imperial capital to Constantinople in the East rotted the very essence of Rome, leaving it to the Renaissance scholars and statesmen of the West to revive that essence and bequeath it to the Enlightenment intellectuals of Gibbon’s own day.²⁰ Byzantium was Rome “in name”, but it had been so thoroughly polluted by the degenerate cultures of the wild Barbarian and the effete Persian as to cease to be Rome “in spirit.” To Gibbon, Rome did not fall; rather, it wasted away under the influence of the Orient until there was nothing left of Roman cultural purity.²¹

With the advent of Philhellenism and the creation of an independent Greek state after 1828, the legacy of Byzantine civilization gained a new and immediate importance for the political landscape of Western Europe. Anti-Greek sentiments of a Gibbonian ilk are widely present in the travelogues of various aristocratic Europeans who had journeyed through “European Turkey” during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²² However, the rise of Romantic Nationalism in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars (c. 1800 – 1815) resulted in a temporary reevaluation of Western attitudes towards contemporary Greeks.²³ Early Romanticism found its first full expression in the popular brand of Philhellenism championed by Romantic intellectual figures such as Lord Byron in England, Francois Pouqueville in France, and Wilhelm von

Humboldt in the German states.²⁴ While the initial policy of the Great Powers was to maintain neutrality, prevailing intellectual trends spread the popularity of the “Greek cause” among the bourgeois classes that had come to dominate European society following the French Revolution. The “conviction that the modern Greeks were lineal descendants of the ancient Greeks”, and thus deserved independence from the Ottoman Empire as part of “the West”, gained wide popular (if not political) currency throughout Europe in the 1820’s.²⁵ Along with strategic considerations, it was this conviction of racial continuity that ultimately justified England and France’s belated but decisive intervention in support of the Greek rebels.²⁶ Such conviction set up the condition that modern Greeks were part of the West inasmuch as they participated in the Classical past which Gibbon and his contemporaries viewed as the definitional essence of Western civilization. As Greece’s position under the Ottomans meant its “natural” moral and material progress had been suffocated under the intrinsic degeneracy of Oriental culture, its place in the West relied entirely on the Western European notion that modern Greeks were the physical and racial descendants of Pericles and Plato.²⁷ That racial link was the thread, however tenuous, which attached Greece to France, England, and Germany in the larger imagined community of heirs to Helleno-Roman Classical heritage. The entire *de jure* justification for Greek independence rested on Greece’s belonging to the West; that belonging, in turn, rested on the racial continuity between ancient and modern Greece. To deny that continuity would be tantamount to denying Greece’s place in Europe.

However, the experience and immediate aftermath of the Greek War of Independence lead to a revival of old anti-Greek sentiments, if only on a broader scale. The Greece which enthusiastic European Romantics like Lord Byron and Francois-Rene de Chateaubriand traveled to with such high expectations was a far cry from their imagined Classical paradise; the violence of Greek politics and corruption of Greek national institutions after 1828 was the very antithesis of their idealized Classical models.²⁸ The Modern Greek bore no resemblance to the Doryphoros of Polykleitos; the illiterate Theodoros Kolokotronis cut a sorry figure next to the demi-godlike Epaminondas.²⁹ In the words of Chateaubriand: “Never see Greece, Monsieur, except in Homer.”³⁰ How could *these* be the very Greeks who gave birth to all of Western Civilization? To Chateaubriand and other Philhellenes disappointed in the wake of Greek independence, this distance between imagined Classical ideal and present reality required an explanation.

Such a systematic explanation came in 1830, with the publication of Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer’s *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea warhend des Mittelalters*. Fallmerayer, a Bavarian political figure, gentleman historian, and prolific traveler, was deeply influenced by Gibbon’s *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and invoked Gibbon’s representation of Byzantium to explain the disappointment of Philhellenism: the legacy of modern Greece was not the classical virtue ancient Greece, but rather the degenerate Orientalism of multiracial Byzantium.³¹ Greece, so Fallmerayer’s thesis would have it, was entirely depopulated in the Byzantine period; migrating Slavs repopulated Greece, and were slowly reabsorbed by the Byzantine state in a process of Christianization. Submerged under waves of Slavic settlers in the sixth century, Fallmerayer concluded that “not a drop of genuine and unmixed Hellenic blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of modern Greece.”³² As Gibbon explained the decline of Rome as a debasement of Classical civilization with Oriental despotism and decadence under Byzantium, so did Fallmerayer extent this representation to explain the contemporary state of Greece as a debasement of Hellenic racial purity with the mongrel Slavic blood of Byzantium. In both these instances, it is the period of Byzantine rule in Hellas that accounts for immense cultural distance between the ancient past and the contemporary present of Greece.

Fallmerayer may be accurately said, if not to inaugurate, then surely to indicate, a new chapter in Western attitudes towards of Greece. His thesis operated with direct consequences for Greece and “Greekness” which were absent in the earlier arguments of Gibbon and his contemporaries. While Gibbon defined Byzantium as inherently anti-Classical, he was not concerned with the wider implications of this view for the ethnic heritage of Greek-speaking peoples. There is no explicit evidence to suggest that Gibbon himself, in 1776, held any strong opinions towards his contemporary Greeks as an ethnic group; certainly, the Ottoman Sultan’s Greeks subjects had no independent role in the dynamics of pan-European politics at this time. However, during the period of Fallmerayer’s work on Greek ethnicity, the “Greek Question” occupied a major place in international politics, and the activities of European governments in the Balkans were actively justified by the notion of continuity between ancient and modern Greeks. Thus, the Fallmerayer Thesis not only operated explicitly as a theory of historical population movements in the Early Middle Ages, but also implicitly blocked the very causeways for Greek par-

ticipation in Europe by “showing” how modern Greeks came into being under the inherently anti-European Byzantium.³³ Modern Greece, so Fallmerayer held, is not Hellenic but Byzantine, and thus not European but Oriental. Upon initial publication, Fallmerayer’s work was controversial within the European intellectual community; however, as European fashions moved away from Hellenism, and the initial optimism towards the modern Greek state died out throughout the 1840s and 1850s, Fallmerayer was vindicated in his views, and obtained an unparalleled reputation among German Medievalists of his generation.³⁴

The Fallmerayer Thesis, from the time of its formulation during the very year that an independent Greek nation-state came into being (1830), has helped make explicit the largely implicit parameters in which Greece must imagine its own identity and history in order to remain part of Europe. The gauntlet erected by the Philhellenes and thrown down by Fallmerayer at Greece’s inception has burdened modern Greece with a consciousness of what is at stake in its history: history is not only a narrative of the past, but functions to validate Greece’s place in the present as part of “the West.” France’s position in Europe is in no way contingent on the Modern Frenchman being a descendant of Vercingetorix;³⁵ yet, due to the conditions under which Greece was admitted into the “West” by other European powers, Greece’s position in Europe has historically depended on the Modern Greek’s position as a descendant of Pericles in the Western imagination.³⁶ This intellectual genealogy for Greece’s nationhood, beholden to external perception, has joined history and performance in the popular Greek imagination to such an extent that the two can often no longer be distinguished in much of current Greek historiography.³⁷ The challenge of the Fallmerayer Thesis made clear from “the start” that Greece’s “Greekness” was not to be taken as a given by the West; Greece’s genealogical membership card to the European Club may be revoked if Greece does not offer a convincing enough performance of their ancient ancestry. Such consciousness of expectation among Greek intellectuals and historians, and the ever-present possibility of what is at stake in failure to fulfill those expectations, has inspired a constant need to perform – to prove to the observing West just how “Greek” modern Greece is, thereby winning the total acceptance of Western observers and forever vouchsafing Greece’s place in Europe.³⁸

The irredentist movement of the “Megali Idea”, which aimed at incorporating Constantinople and the Aegean coast of Turkey into an enlarged Greek nation, took

root in Greece in the decade after Fallmerayer’s work was formulated, and was in some ways a response and reaction to the Fallmerayer Thesis.³⁹ It also came at a time when Medieval history was undergoing full intellectual and aesthetic reevaluation in Western Europe: the 1840s and 1850s were the epoch of Victor Hugo’s *Notre Dame de Paris* and Wagner’s *Lohengrin*, Viollet-le-Duc’s revival of Gothic architecture in France and the rise of the Pre-Raphaelite artistic movement in England.⁴⁰ Accordingly, as the West rediscovered its Medieval past, so too did Greece – reimagining Byzantium from a lacuna between Ancient and Modern Greece into a bridge, and a roadmap for future Greek development.⁴¹ The messianic mission of the Greek nation, as articulated via the Megali Idea, was to achieve the geographic unity of all Hellenic civilization in order to fully realize the Classical Greek spirit.⁴² By this understanding, Hellenism as such was born under the ancient Greeks and spread to its fullest territorial extent by the Byzantine Empire; it was the role of Modern Greece to recover that lost Byzantine paradise, in order to fully realize the intellectual and cultural heights of Classical Greece.⁴³ Predicated in this reimagining of Byzantium from perversion to bulwark of Classical civilization was the denial of Byzantine multiculturalism: Byzantium must be purely Greek in order to justify Modern Greek irredentist claims, particularly vis-à-vis awakening Slavic nationalism in Serbia and Bulgaria.⁴⁴

In addition to the “ethnic cleansing” of Byzantine history, the Megali Idea also provided Greece with a counter to the criticisms of Fallmerayer and other detractors of modern Greece: it explained the continued “backwardness” of Greece to the West by claiming that Greece could not fulfill the European ideal and realize its Classical potential until all Hellenic peoples were reunited under the Greek nation.⁴⁵ This appeal to Byzantine Constantinople in order to explain Modern Athens continues into the present. As observed by Michael Herzfeld: “Greeks today explain why they still remain imperfect Europeans, by deft allusion to the historical Fall of the City of Constantine in 1453 resulting in cultural contamination analogous to the consequences for humanity at large of original sin.”⁴⁶ In this sense, then, the Megali Idea was as much an apologia and performance for the Western audience as it was an idiom of Greekness: it conformed to the Western Medievalist fashion *du jour*, and in the process of “explaining” Greece to the West attempted to assure it that Greece was still a worthy object of its admiration – a legitimate member, as it were, of the European Club.

Admittedly, much has changed since the publication of the Fallmerayer Thesis in 1830, and first explicit articulation of the Megali Idea in 1844. The Megali Idea, while still present in the popular Greek imagination (as Herzfeld's work shows us), has wielded increasingly less guiding influence in Greek politics following the Treaty of Lausanne and Greco-Turkish population exchanges of 1923.⁴⁷ Byzantine studies, meanwhile, have largely passed from the shadow of Gibbon and been revived as a legitimate field of inquiry in the West following World War II, thanks in part to the groundbreaking efforts of scholars like Steven Runciman, George Ostrogorsky, and Louis Brehier.⁴⁸ The intellectual tenor of the present is such that many historians view multiculturalism as a positive (or at least not intrinsically negative) developmental attribute, leading in turn to a radical reevaluation of the social history of Medieval Southeastern Europe under Byzantine and Ottoman hegemony.⁴⁹ Yet, as both Romilly Jenkins' lectures and the response by Greek academics demonstrate, issues of continuity between ancient and modern Greeks remain highly controversial.

This continuation of controversy, even after the socio-cultural conditions which created such controversy have been overturned, might be explained in terms of a general unwillingness on both the part of Jenkins and his critics to engage the intellectual groundwork of their respective historical sensibilities. Theoretically, Jenkins' aim in his lectures was admirable: to reevaluate the accuracy of Fallmerayer's work as a historiographical representation, in separation from the man and his personal biases.⁵⁰ However, this cannot be fully achieved without taking the initial effort to elucidate the very limitations of Fallmerayer's understanding of "history" as a field of inquiry, and of the historian's craft as an activity. Fallmerayer's historical landscape was shaped by a Gibbonian division between West and East, between Classical and Medieval, between Reason and Religion.⁵¹ Each of these geo-cultural frames that together formed the vista of Fallmerayer's historical perception is necessarily relative to his own system of cultural values, and those of his times. East is only east relative to where one locates one's self in geographic space; the same can be said for ideas of high and low cultural expression, relative to one's own awareness of self in cultural space. Thus the quality of an event can vary widely according to the causal relationship one chooses to articulate between that event and the present. To sort out what aspects of Fallmerayer's work still holds value for our current appreciation of historiography, we must first be aware of the ideological baggage implicit in Fallmerayer's ideas of East and West, of Classical, Medieval, and

Modern, and of how the value judgments he attached to them have been complicated since 1830. Accepting Fallmerayer's system of historical categorization as a given, as Jenkins does, is tantamount to endorsing Fallmerayer's relative value system, an integral part of which was the denial of modern Greece as a legitimate participant in European culture. Such complication is undoubtedly a daunting task which takes us far afield of Fallmerayer himself – yet, failure to critically engage the conceptual limitations of history as a medium dooms the historian to a stale repetition of old controversies, as Jenkins and his critics have both conclusively demonstrated.

This is not to vindicate the response of many Greek scholars to Jenkins. Peter Charanis is similarly limited in arguing the implicitly neo-Megali Idea line of unmitigated ethnic continuity between ancient and modern Greece. While Greece has been conditioned in its relationship towards identity and history by the gaze of its Western audience, Greek historiography need not occupy the role of Pavlov's famed dog, salivating national ardor every time the West rings the bell of Pan-Europeanism; to believe such it to give the West a monopoly on activity, and reduce Greece to a passive participant in the dialogue surrounding its own history and identity. And yet, this is precisely the relationship which scholars like Charanis and Vryonis not only accept, but perpetuate, by their reactionary arguments against Jenkins.⁵² Instead of questioning the validity of Fallmerayer's divisions between East and West, his value judgments concerning Byzantium, or the assumption that Slavic participation in the cultural and social life of Greece would have qualitatively diluted the tenor of that life, they instead argue that Greece has always been Greek. This line of argument tacitly acknowledges the belief – first imported (or imposed) from the West – that the validity of Greek civilization rests on its ethnic purity and continuity with an imagined Classical past, rendering Modern Greece only further beholden to Western perceptions.⁵³ Taking such a position is to joyously accept the role of salivation, in hopes that a treat comes with the ring of the bell.

The ends of historical analysis, as historians at large presently tend to appreciate them, have changed very little since Leopold von Ranke famously characterized the discipline as an effort to represent the quality of an event "*wie es eigentlich gewesen.*"⁵⁴ And yet, "actual" reality is so enormously complicated that the causes of even the simplest phenomena can be immense; to speak of *the* solitary cause or character of any event is to ignore all the particularities of lived existence,

and in the process to vastly distort one's representation of that event by limiting our appreciation of the ways in which it realistically manifested itself. This fundamental complexity of phenomena is at the root of the conceptual problems of all historical representation: for we endeavor to represent history "actually", yet in order to coherently narrate an historical event we must on some level resort to distortion. That is to say – it is necessary to select various causes and antecedents in order to isolate events from their (potentially inexhaustible) interdependent elements, and synthesize them in such a way as to throw some distinguishing quality of an historical phenomenon into relief. Thus, as historical facts are qualitatively functions of the causes to which they are attributed, the same event can be appreciated in divergent – and yet deeply interdependent – ways. Of course, this is not to say that "anything goes": we can use the robustness of intersubjective agreement among historical evidence as clues to guide our evaluations of various distortions as being more or less appropriate representations of a given event. There can be better or worse explanatory dimensions for answering a given question posed to a given set of evidence; but what explanation is best is relative to the question asked, and the evidence at hand.

As the controversy surrounding the Fallmerayer Thesis in both its past and present forms demonstrates, historians who set out with preconceived notions about the causes of events often fail to realize the most appropriate language for understanding and representing that particular event. The Fallmerayer Thesis is based on a reductionist and culturally biased system of historical understanding. Likewise, the irredentist Megali Idea that came about as a performance piece intended by Greece to give the Western gaze what it desired – responding to the intellectual trend of which the Fallmerayer Thesis was part – only further perpetuates the preexisting power dynamics between Greece and the West. The modern reworking of Fallmerayerism and the Megali Idea by scholars such as Romilly Jenkins and Peter Charanis, respectively, brings the old debate to a new generation without taking the academic community any closer to the inclusive discussion necessary for any robust understanding of past events. If we are ever to transcend ideological boundaries and move towards more adequate forms of historical representation, we must on all sides strive to sincerely engage the assumptions that go into our process of synthesizing historical narratives, and understand the limitations inherent in those assumptions. Such understanding is a necessary first step in appreciating how the limits of our

assumptions are translated into political boundaries, with consequences far beyond our own present.

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Notes

1 Arthur Meyer Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America: reflections on a multicultural society* (New York: Norton, 1998), pp. 56.

2 Sybille Bedford, *Aldous Huxley: A Biography* (New York:

Harper & Row: 1974), pp. 117.

3 Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium and Byzantinism* (Cincinnati: Louise Taft Semple Lectures, 1963), pp. 40.

4 Cyril Mango, "Romilly James Heald Jenkins: (1907-1969)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969), pp. 9-10.

5 See: Peter Charanis, "Observations on the History of Greece during the Early Middle Ages," *Balkan Studies* 11.2 (1970), pp. 28-34; Speros Vryonis, "The Byzantine Legacy in Folk Life and Tradition in the Balkans," in *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, pp. 107-149, ed. Lowell Clucas (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 109-110. Charanis' work generally stresses ethnic and linguistic continuity in the history of the Byzantine population; Vryonis, conversely, often discusses continuity in terms of cultural and social systems from Classical Antiquity to the modern day. Both, it should be noted, are mainly concerned with reinterpreting old evidence, versus drawing on new materials. For criticism of these approaches, see: S. Turlej, "The so-called Chronicle of Monemvasia: A Historical analysis," *Byzantion* 68 (1998), pp. 446-468.

6 Cyril Mango, "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1965), pp. 42-43.

7 Richard Clogg, "Politics and the Academy: Arnold Toynbee and the Koraeas Chair," *Middle Eastern Studies* 21.4 (1985), pp. 1-115.

8 N.B.: The present study (ab-)uses both reductionist totalizing terminology such as "the West", and "Greece". While – like Maria Todorova – I have my own "deep reservations" about discussing Western Europe, and to a lesser extent North America, in monolithic terms, the terms themselves are employed here out of necessity. When I speak of "Western views" I am referring to a common pattern of perception that may be observed in those territories popularly defined as "Western European" – England, France, Germany, etc. However, this is not to imply that those patterns of perception are in any way unique to this socio-cultural space, or encompass the entirety of views held by individuals who identify with that space. Likewise, while have chosen to represent a certain ancient, medieval, and modern space with the common geopolitical term "Greece", the geographic definition of this term varied widely across temporal and cultural moments; the Greece of Heraclitus is not the Greece of Heraclius, and then (as now) "Greece" was classified in different ways depending on the criteria used to define what and where Greece is (i.e. linguistic, cultural, etc.) Thus, the language employed by the author is ill equipped to represent the complex phenomena discussed in the course of this paper. Yet, this being said, the author has neither the skill nor space to do more than simply acknowledge this failing, while at the same time dealing adequately with the particular issue at hand. I must leave the task of devising more accurate idioms to future, better, scholars.

- 9 Steven Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp. 9.
- 10 Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium Under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 27-30. The importance of the "Great Schism" can only be appreciated retrospectively – it was far from the first schism between the Latin and Greek churches, and it does not seem to have qualitatively changed the tenor of interaction between Byzantium and the West. Only through the lens of the Fourth Crusade (1204), and the deepening rift between Latin and Greek churches throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, do the events of 1054 take on the hue of a decisive break.
- 11 The inhabitants of Byzantium – as the Eastern half of the Roman Empire – called themselves Romans (Romaioi), and knew their territory as the "Empire of the Romans." The French Enlightenment Polymath, Montesquieu, first coined the term "Byzantine" over two centuries after the fall of Constantinople. See: Judith Herrin, *Byzantium* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 25.
- 12 Otto and the Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas were at war during the period of Liudprand's embassy, Otto having just suffered a serious defeat at the hands of the Byzantines at Bovino in 969. Thus, the clear political agenda in Liudprand's official representation of Byzantium as weak and effeminate seems self-evident. See: Paolo Squatriti, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. Paolo Squatriti (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), pp. 31-32.
- 13 Liudprand of Cremona, "The Embassy of Liudprand" in *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. Paolo Squatriti (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), pp. 246-248. It should be noted that the term "Greek" in until the fifteenth century was synonymous with paganism; thus, to refer to something or someone as "Greek" would be to insinuate that they were uneducated, unmannered, and not Christian.
- 14 Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade* (New York: Pearson, 2003), pp. 28-29. See, in particular, Odo of Deuil's *Chronicle of the Second Crusade*. Odo of Deuil, *De profec-tione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, trans. V.G. Berry (New York: Norton 1948)
- 15 Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw (New York: Penguin, 1963), pp. 44-45, 81.
- 16 Edward Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* Volume 1 (Penguin: New York, 2005), pp. 31.
- 17 Gibbon, *History of the Decline*, pp. 31; Steven Runciman, "Gibbon and Byzantium", *Daedalus* 105.3 (1976), pp. 107.
- 18 Runciman, "Gibbon and Byzantium", pp. 105-106, 109-110.
- 19 Runciman, "Gibbon and Byzantium", pp. 105.
- 20 Runciman, "Gibbon and Byzantium", pp. 108; Paul Cartledge, "The Enlightened Historiography of Edward Gibbon, Esq: A Bicentennial Celebration", *The Maynooth Review* 3.2 (1977), pp. 88-89.
- 21 Cartledge, "Edward Gibbon", pp. 89.
- 22 Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 2nd ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 93-94.
- 23 Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 94
- 24 Gary J. Bass, *Freedom's Battle: The Origins of Humanitarian Intervention* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), pp. 51.
- 25 Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 94; Bass, *Freedom's Battle*, pp. 110.
- 26 Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 125.; Michael Herzfeld, "Hellenism and Occidentalism: the Permutations of Performance in Greek Bourgeois Identity," in *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, ed. James G. Carrier, 218-223 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 218.
- 27 Mango, "Byzantinism", pp. 38.
- 28 Mango, "Byzantinism", pp. 38-39; Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 95.
- 29 Mango, "Byzantinism", pp. 39.
- 30 Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 94.
- 31 "The Works of Fallmerayer" *The North American Review* 99.204 (1864), pp. 284-285.
- 32 Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 125.
- 33 Fallmerayer's anti-Greek and Orientalist bias likewise goes hands and hand with a palpable fear of Russia dominance of Post-Napoleonic Germany. As a Bavarian delegate to the Frankfurt Conference of 1848, he advised his fellow statesmen that "to weaken the Ottoman Empire is to subvert Germany. Destroy Constantinople, and damn up the Bosphorus... or the Cossacks will be upon you." "The Works of Fallmerayer", pp. 285.
- 34 "The Works of Fallmerayer", pp. 283; Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 125.
- 35 This is not to say that the French have not used the Gauls as an idiom of Romantic identity construction. See Napoleon III's monument to Vercingetorix as the site of Alesia ("Statue of Vercingetorix", Courtauld Institute of Art, accessed December 8, 2008, <http://www.artandarchitecture.org.uk/images/conway/b9495a55.html>). For a more modern example of this equation of Gauls to modern French-

men, see the popular French Asterix comics.

36 Herzfeld, "Hellenism and Occidentalism", pp. 218.

37 Herzfeld, "Hellenism and Occidentalism", pp. 220.

38 Herzfeld, "Hellenism and Occidentalism", pp. 224, 229.

39 Mango, "Byzantinism", pp. 40.

40 Mango, "Byzantinism", pp. 39-40.

41 The term "Megali Idea" to describe Greek irredentism was first coined during the debate at the Constitutional Congress between King Otto of Greece and Prime Minister Ioannis Kolettis. See: Richard Clogg, "The Byzantine Legacy in the Modern Greek World: The Megali Idea", in *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, pp. 253-283, ed. Lowell Clucas (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 254-255.

42 Clogg, "The Megali Idea", pp. 256; Mango, "Byzantinism", pp. 40.

43 This is most fully and lastingly articulated in the nineteenth century *History of the Greek Nation* by Constanine Paparrigopoulos, which remains a Classic in Modern Greece up to the present. Mango, "Byzantinism", pp. 41.

44 Clogg, "Megali Idea", pp. 256.

45 Clogg, "Megali Idea", pp. 266; Mango, "Byzantinism", pp. 40.

46 Herzfeld, "Hellenism and Occidentalism", pp. 219.

47 Clogg, "Megali Idea", pp. 275.

48 Jonathan Harris, "Introduction" in *Palgrave Advances in Byzantine History*, pp. 1-7, ed. Jonathan Harris (New York: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 1-2.

49 Suriya Faruqi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (New York: Tauris, 2005), pp. 25-26.

50 Jenkins, "Byzantium and Byzantinism", pp. 1-3.

51 In Fallmerayer's view, this divide was played out in his own time, not as much between the West and the Ottomans, but the West and Russia. He compared the conflict between the German states and Russia to that between the Ancient Greek city-states and the Persian Empire. See: "The Works of Fallmerayer", pp. 286.

52 As Charanis asks: "Where are the Slavs who came...from Hellas, one may ask? There are, of course, none." Charanis, "Observations", pp. 31. The neo-irredentalism denial of Byzantine multiculturalism in Charanis' work may also be seen in his statement: "What then shall we call this [Byzantine] Empire? We may, of course, call it Roman... but we may also

call it Greek, for Greek inspirations were the dominant features of...the greatest, most active, and most enduring political organism that the world has yet seen." Peter Charanis, "How Greek was the Byzantine Empire?" *Bucknell Review* 11.3 (1963), pp. 116.

53 Herzfeld, "Hellenism and Occidentalism", pp. 222.

54 "As it actually was." Leopold von Ranke, "Preface: Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations from 1494-1514", in *The Varieties of History*, 2nd ed., edited by Fritz Stern (New York: Vintage, 1973), pp. 57.

LAUGHING AWAY A DISCOURSE:
Mitovski's *Mission: London* and Balkanism
Svetla Stoytcheva

I. Introduction

Dimitar Mitovski's film *Mission: London*, released in early 2010, was a huge success at the Bulgarian box-office. It is the film adaptation of Alek Popov's novel of the same name.

Set in and around the Bulgarian embassy in London, the film tells the story of the new ambassador Varadin's attempts to organize a spectacular performance in celebration of Bulgaria's EU accession. The performance is the brainchild of Bulgaria's First Lady, whose sole desire is to befriend Her Majesty, the Queen of England. Insuring the Queen's attendance becomes Varadin's primary obligation. Faced with such an impossible task, Varadin hires "Famous Connections," an agency presented to him as a PR firm that can procure Her Majesty's presence. However, it is soon revealed that "Famous Connections" actual services are of a different sort: they provide celebrity look-a-likes to clients looking to act out perverse sexual fantasies. Once the truth is revealed, Varadin's plans start to unravel and the end result is the spectacular failure of the scheduled performance.

In Bulgaria, the film out-sold the Hollywood film *Avatar* (the all-time highest grossing film in the United States) and was seen by almost 400,000 people within the first 3 months of its release. Its commercial success was spurred in part by its high production value and local interest in seeing a well-made Bulgarian film. The comedy offers a wide range of laughs and has a clear plot progression, both advantages at the box office.

Furthermore, in bringing its Bulgarian protagonists to London, the film spotlights commonplace narratives about Bulgaria and the Balkans that hit close to home for local audiences and draw them to the theater. I argue that, in engaging Balkanist discourse, *Mission: London* successfully complicates it by exposing central fallacies in its logic. In terms of important steps forward this success rivals even the film's commercial success.

II. Balkanism

"Balkanism," a term coined by Maria Todorova, refers to a particular type of discourse predominant in narratives about and coming from the Balkans. Very

much like the notion of "Orientalism" formulated by Edward Said, Balkanism derives from unequal power relations between "center" and "periphery" – the West and its colonial or quasi-colonial subordinates. In both cases, a system of dichotomies structures the relationship between the two. One concept is assigned to half of the dyad and its polar opposite to the other. For example, if the center represents civilization, the periphery becomes emblematic of savagery – a formulation that leaves no room for the very real ambiguity of their distribution, not to mention the nature of the concepts themselves. However, as Todorova points out, there are several important distinctions between the two concepts. Most relevant for my purpose is the notion that because they are very much a part of Europe as a geographical entity, and because they were never actually colonized by the center, the Balkans is constructed as "incomplete self" rather than as full-fledged "Other."

This notion of "incomplete self" allows the Balkans to become, as Žižek has argued, the repository for Europe's repressed. So that Europe can comfortably construe itself as the rational ego, its irrational and perverse id is displaced onto the Balkan space. Another consequence of the Balkans' "incompleteness" is the tendency of narratives coming from the Balkans to assert belonging and/or attempt to invert the valuation of the structuring dichotomy. For example the aforementioned civilization/savagery opposition would be reformulated as an opposition of sterility/virility. This effectively amounts to a region-wide neurosis. In Todorova's words, an inferiority complex "transmuted, by way of compensation, into a superiority complex." Unfortunately, this reversal also participates in a discourse that is essentially reductive and thus very harmful.

As film scholar Dina Iordanova points out, it is a well-established tradition in Bulgarian cinema to use Europe as a "frame of reference" and *Mission: London* is certainly no exception. Unfortunately, many films from the region succumb to Balkanism by reinforcing the oppositional structure that is the foundation of the discourse. What *Mission: London* does to undermine this narrative is to reveal ambiguities incompatible with this oppositional structure. In the film, the underbelly of West shows itself as part of the West in the perversions of the European characters and the neurotic inferiority driven superiority complex of the

Bulgarians putting on a show for the West is unraveled.

III. Setting the Stage

Initially, *Mission: London* isn't doing anything especially original. It engages the stereotypes of "Bulgarians in Europe" in a trite manner reminiscent of one of the country's most familiar cultural figures – Bai Ganyo. Bai Ganyo is a fictional rose-oil merchant sent to Europe by iconic Bulgarian author Aleko Konstantinov in the late nineteenth century. Once there, he proved himself boorish and uncivilized – much to the dismay of his intellectual and Western-leaning creator. The figure of Bai Ganyo over the years has been a very popular symbol for backwards Bulgarian, especially in his dealings with the center. As Jordanova points out, variations on the Bai Ganyo theme are often central in Bulgarian films and, initially, Mitovski's film is no exception.

The two characters that could easily be read as stand-ins for Bai Ganyo are Banicharov, the cook who is usually pictured in dirty undershirts, and his more sinister accomplice Chavo. The two of them are constantly looking to make a profit without doing much real work and to cheat one another. That is, in selling goods obtained from the questionable duty-free store or attempting to sell ducks stolen from one of the Royal Parks, they are looking to get something for nothing. One scene finds them in the humorously named Russian restaurant, Borsch and Sorrow, drunkenly singing Gypsy songs before sitting down to make a deal with the Russian mob. Bai Ganyo would be proud.

In addition to unscrupulous profiteering, other common stereotypes of Bulgarians as not quite Europeans are present in the film. The dirtiness of the embassy itself, which prompts a cleaning montage upon Varadin's arrival, is one example. Another example is the scene at the European Union meeting held in London at the beginning of the film. The Bulgarian president is supposed to give a speech, but the fumbling embassy staff has left it behind. A well meaning (but not very clever) embassy employee attempts to have it delivered by a Romanian delegate – who leaves it in a bathroom. The speech is eventually recovered, but the whole scene fits the stereotype of Balkan ineptitude rather well.

Were the film to continue in the solely same vein, *Mission: London* would be nothing special. It would be another trite (and reductive) comedic effort, distinguishable only for its high production value. However,

the focus of the film soon shifts from underscoring stereotypes to undermining them. As it is, the early parts of the film set the stage for the work the film does against Balkanism. With the discourse on the table, so to speak, *Mission: London* does some interesting things in combating it.

III. The Westerners

After Varadin's first few days in London, his mission to secure Her Majesty's presence begins in earnest. As the film focuses in on this central plot line, an interesting development occurs. With several exceptions, a conspicuous absence of the "civilized Westerner" is present in the film. In fact, the majority of Westerners portrayed in the film are perverse figures. They represent the underbelly of the West – the dirty laundry that is usually hidden in order to uphold the unambiguous position of the center at the "civilized" pole of the opposition. Most of these characters are somehow connected to the "Famous Connections" agency that Varadin accidentally gets involved with.

Firstly, the owners of the agency, Sibling and Munroe, are profiteers just as unscrupulous as Bai Ganyo ever was. They hire out celebrity doubles to their clients so that they can act out their (mostly) sexual fantasies. The repressed id of the West comes to light with the firm's assistance. When they realize that Varadin has misunderstood the nature of their business, they step up their game in order to drive up their profit. Their last appearance at the end of the film finds them in the back of a nice car, smoking Bulgarian cigarettes and gloating over their successes. After all, even though the performance ends disastrously, they still made off like bandits.

Judging by their wealth, Sibling and Munroe's clientele must be rather vast. Not only that, it's made up of only the crème de la crème of society, those that can afford their exorbitant fees. One of their clients, for example, is Carver – a prominent British politician and a bit of a drunk. The firm operates with the utmost consideration for its clients' privacy, because often times their fantasies would not be just especially embarrassing, but morally repugnant. Take, for example, a client who desires to dress up as a Saudi chauffeur and crash a virtual car over and over again – while a "Famous Connections" employee dressed as Princess Diana sits in the passenger's seat. Another example is the hideous old man near the end of the film that violates the terms of the contract – "Famous Connections" is not a prostitution agency, and fantasy scripts are written to be hands off – and attempts to sexually

assault the employee.

Interestingly, the “Famous Connections” employee in both of those scenarios is Kate, a young Bulgarian woman with ties to the embassy. She starts working for famous connections when she quits her job at a strip club run by a similarly perverse Londoner. Her socio-economic position keeps her in proximity to London’s underbelly, but the work is repugnant to her and she ultimately walks out on what she thinks is a huge sum of money stolen from her assaulter. The reality of the characters in the film does not fit with the stereotyping of people from the Balkans as overtly and perversely sexual, and especially not with the notion that Westerners are free from such sins. The reality is much more ambiguous than that.

IV. The Spectacle

Another thing that *Mission: London* does well is to expose the sense of inferiority present in many of the stories that people from the Balkans tell about themselves – stories that try to reverse the valuation of the oppositional concepts that structure Balkanism. The grand performance being planned is the film’s example of such an attempted shift. The Bulgarian First Lady, desperate to prove herself an equal to the English Queen, diverts huge sums of money into the planning of a huge spectacle. Ironically, the Queen isn’t actually watching and the stand-in who belongs to London’s underbelly.

On the level of the individual, Freud describes feelings of inferiority as derived from troubled relations between the ego and the superego. The super ego is the part of the self that represents social mores and values. That is, in feeling inferior, the ego is at odds with its structural position. Unsurprisingly, Freud likens inferiority complexes to guilt complexes. Under the assumed gaze of the West (in the form of Her Majesty) the embassy employees are desperately trying to legitimize their inclusion by putting on an impressive show. One scene that very well illustrates this underlying neurosis has to do with nothing more consequential than sandwiches. When, upon being served a “Bulgarian sandwiches” as an appetizer, an Englishman makes remark about the “sacred” construction that makes a sandwich a sandwich, Varadin sends Banicharov to learn how to make a proper sandwich.

The performance itself becomes as ridiculous as the ordeal over the sandwiches. Through the spectacle, the inferiority complex becomes transmuted, as Todorova mentioned, into a superiority complex. The

spectacle becomes an avenue for reversing the oppositional pairs in favor of the Bulgarians. The show, meticulously planned, consists of an interpretive dance telling the story of all of the great and ancient Bulgarian leaders. The dramatic stage lighting and the intense “primitive” music are supposed to represent the passion and virility of the Bulgarians. Similarly, a “fire designer” is hired to amplify the effect with well-timed bursts of flames.

Even the history being told by the dance narrative incorporates the two tales Balkan peoples tell Westerners (and themselves) to justify their perceived backwardness. The first part of the performance showcases the glory and power of the Balkans’ ancient empires and the second visualizes torments that the region suffered under the Ottoman – a period often blamed entirely for the region’s problems.

However, instead of performing its intended functions, *Mission: London*’s spectacle ultimately ends in disaster. The passionate performance is revealed to be a ridiculous one and the “fire design” ends up lighting the embassy on fire. An inferiority complex is, after all, a form of neurosis and even in the guise of self-aggrandizement it is ultimately self-destructive. In the case of Balkanism, an attempted reversal of oppositional pairs is still planted firmly within the structure of such strict oppositions. This form of compensation is inadequate and neurotic, and the spectacular failure of the First Lady’s spectacle in *Mission: London* reveals this to be the case.

V. Conclusion

At the end of the film, Varadin writes off the First Lady and her complexes as an “an annoying echo of her time” one that would eventually cease to be a nuisance – an optimistic ending. Hopefully reductive discourses like Balkanism will go the way of the First Lady’s bothersome chatter, but that can only happen if they can be successfully problematized. *Mission: London* manages to do some work in that direction by revealing ambiguity in a discourse founded on strict oppositions, on the absence of ambiguity. Mitovski’s film undermines the discourse of Balkanism in a two-fold manner. First, it exposes the underbelly of the West by portraying the clientele of “Famous Connections.” Second, it reveals the futility of self-realization for Balkanites working within the schema of the discourse through the failure of the spectacle. Instead of being helpful, neurotic mechanisms of compensation are shown to be self-destructive. The film’s success in this regard rivals even its commercial success.

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АЛИСА И АНГЛОФИЛСКО ПУТОВАЊЕ

Сима Даковић

Звуждук чајника је пробудио Алису у шест сати ујутру, и кад је она отворила очи и црни ерл греј чај и премаз веџемајте су замирисали, Алиса је схватила поново да није била код куће. Данас је био последни дан путовања по свету енглеског језика, и Алиса је бринула да каснила.

Идеја за путовање је дошла Алиси ружним сном у ноћи пре њеног последњег испита на енглеском језику. Енглески идиоми су ступали кроз сан и карактери су је задиркивали због њеног акцента. Алиса се пробудила и, као најомиљенија ученица на часу Енглески језик за стране ученике, полагала писани испит и била прва у разреду, добила само савршене резултате. Упркос америчком држављанству које је добила испитом, гласови сна су јој још јечалиха уму. Одлучила је ускоро да путује у Канаду, преко Америке, и у Енглеску, Шкотску, Ирску и Аустралију. Наћи ћу најљепши енглески акценат, рекла се она себи, и то ће постати мој акценат.

И тако је почело њено путовање. Палочинке на лету у Енглеску су биле сувише суве, али Алиса је волела да прислушкије разговоре путника, зато што њихове жалбе о полочинкама су јој изгледале врло пристожне. Пиљечи кроз прозор воза из Шкотске, сленг њених сапутника је бомбардовао са зелених брда—Алиса се обазрела не жар дијалекта који одражава географију региона. Алиса је мислила да су сви Ирци били милогласни пјесници, певајући о простим животним проблемима, критикујући друштво, економију... Док је Алиса миловала овце на Новом Зеланду, запитала се како би реаговале живошиње ха познате заповести страних гласова. Коначно, Алиса се упознала—с потомцима британских казњеника. У Аустралији, Алиса се запитала да ли можда одвојена повест, скуство, живот повремене, лоше комуникаце са звуцима, речицима, ортографијом родног краја—нису тако неподношљиве...

На другом лету у Калифорнију, Алиса је подала у сан и из сна, и уместо да усмејава говор локалног живља она је само учила и видела нове пријетиље, који су је охрабривали да им пише и ускоро се врати опет.

Нема нигде енглеског језика без акцента, мислила је, смешећи се, и она је почело да саставља у главу своју прве разгледнице и писма.

ALISA AND HER ANGLOPHILIC TRAVELS

Seyma Dawkowitz

The whistle of a tea kettle woke up Alisa at six in the morning, and as she opened her eyes and smelled Earl Grey tea and Vegemite, she realized again she was not at home. Today was the last day of her trip, and Alisa was afraid she was late.

The idea for her trip came to Alisa in a dream the night before her final English exam. English idioms marched through her dream and mocked her accent. Alisa woke up and, as the best student in the “English for Non-Native Speakers” class, took the test and was first in the class; she received a perfect score. Despite her American citizenship, which she had received, the voices still echoed in her mind. She soon decided to travel to Canada, across America, and to England, Scotland, Ireland and Australia. “I will find the perfect English accent,” she said to herself, “and that will become my accent.”

And so her trip began. The scones on the flight to England were too dry, but Alisa loved to overhear the travelers’ conversations, because their complaints about the scones seemed so polite to her. Staring out the window of the train from Scotland, the green hill slang of her companions bombarded her. Alisa thought the Irish were sweet-voiced singers, singing about the simple problems of life, criticizing companies and the economy. While she pet sheep in New Zealand, she wondered how they would respond to commands in a voice from another geographical region. Of course, in Australia, Alisa was introduced to the descendents of British prisoners, and she wondered if perhaps a separate history, art and life, with occasional poor communication with sounds, words, and orthography from one’s homeland, was not so unbearable.

On the flight to California, Alisa drifted in and out of sleep, and instead of local populations jeering at her, she only heard and saw new friends who encouraged her to write and return soon.

“There is no such thing as English without an accent,” she thought, smiling to herself, and she began to draft in her mind her first postcards and letters.

O POZORIŠTU

Maria Spaić

Neman puno iskustva sa pozorištem, ali uvek mi se sviđa dobra predstava. Jedan od mojih omiljenih sećanja je viđenje pozorišni komad 'Stomp' kad sam imala oko trinaest godina. 'Stomp' je razlicit od drugih predstava zato što nema dialog. Umjesto predstava je vrsta od igre. Glumci igraju, koristeći stvari da prave buku. Komad je vrlo uzbudljiv.

Pošto sam došla na Chicago, počela sam više da idem u kazalište. Tokom moje prve godine na universitetu, išla sam u gradu da vidim muzikl 'Wicked' sa mnogim drugim drugovima iz mog studentskog doma. Neke devojke i ja smo odlučile da idemo u grad rano da bismo provele ceo. Bio je kraj jesenjeg slobodan dan. Svugdje grad je bio ukrašen sa božićnim svjetlima! Moje prijateljice i ja smo hodale Michigan avenijom i otisli u robnu kuću Macy's da vidimo veliko božićnim drvo. Bilo je prekrasno. Išle smo u kupovni centar i kupili smo božićni darove. Kupila sam ogrlicu za moju sestru i torbicu za moju prijateljicu.

Zaustavile smo se u kafiću da kupimo kavu ili vruću cokoladu. Biti u kafiću također je bilo dobro zato što je bilo vrlo hladno vani. Nakon što smo se ponovno ugrejale, otišle smo u kazalište. Muzikl je igrao se prikazivao u Oriental kazalistu. Stigle smo i nasle naša sjedala. Muzikl je bio dug ali uživala sam u svakom trenutku. Muzika je bila neverovatna! Najbolji dio je bio kad su pevali pesmu 'Defying Gravity'. Svi glumci su bili vrlo talentovani. Na kraju večeri, osjećala sam se kao da sam imala velik dan. Bila sam vrlo srećna što sam išla u pozorište.

Mnogo kasnije (iduće školske godine), išla sam da vidim operu koja se zove 'Seviljski Berberin'. Bila je to studentska predstava ali je bila još uvek vrlo dobra. Bilo je dobre glume i puno humora. Odlučila sam da tada treba da idem na vise opera, ali nisam od tada. Šteta!

ABOUT THE THEATER

Maria Spaić

I don't have a lot of experiences with the theater, but I always enjoy a good performance. One of my favorite memories is seeing the theater performance 'Stomp' when I was around 13 years old. 'Stomp' is different from other performances because there is no dialog. Instead the performance is a type of dance. The actors dance, using objects to make noise. The play is very exciting.

After I came to Chicago, I began to go to the theater more. During my first year at the university, I went into the city to watch the musical 'Wicked' with some other friends from my dormitory. Some girls and I decided to go into the city early to spend the day. It was the end fall quarter. The whole city was lit up with Christmas lights! My friends and I walked down Michigan Avenue and went into Macy's to see the big Christmas tree. It was beautiful. We went to the mall and bought some Christmas presents. I bought a necklace for my sister and a bag for my friend.

We stopped in a coffee shop to buy coffee and hot chocolate. Being the coffee shop was also good because it was very cold outside. When we were all warmed up, we went to the theater. The musical was shown in the Oriental Theater. We arrived and found our seats. The musical was long but I enjoyed ever moment. The music was unbelievable! The best part was when they sang the song 'Defying Gravity'. All the actors were very talented. At the end of the evening, I felt like it had been a big day. I was very happy that I had gone to the theater.

Much later, during the next academic year, I went to see the opera "The Barber of Seville." It was a student production, but nevertheless it was a good one. There was a lot of good acting and a nice amount of humor. I decided that to go and see more operas, but I haven't done it yet. Pity!

ЖИВОТ ТИПИЧНОГ МЛАДОГ ЗЕМЉАКА ПОРТ ВАШИНГТОНА

Сима Даковић

Родио се си у раним 1990-им годинима, у граду обичне величине у Њу-Јорку који се зове Порт Вашингтон. Ниси имао избор у томе, где си хтео да се родиш, но Бог зна да ли ће то бити твоја карта успеха, упркос томе, што не признајеш. Упркос великој националној стопи развода, твоји родитељи ће остати заједно, и твоја дадиља ће те гурати твоја колица по парку, говорећи не са тобом него са пријатељицама. Но она, а не мајка или отац, ће знати твоју најомиљену копицу. Лоптаћеш се, наравно играће ногомет, лакрос или тенис, и свираћеш док не увидиш да не волиш да вежбаш. Твоји родитељи и наставници ће те похваљивати—коначно, због твојих безбројних природних дарова. Наравно мислиш више о вили за зубе него о Богу.

Чинило се да се изменило после тога, кад смо имали 12 или 13 година. Да ли си увидео? Разлике су почеле да се појављују. У то време четири школе су се саставиле у средњу школу и студенти из разних средина су се помешали. Изненада си сретао сваког дана некога из непознате околине. Свака област има свој углед: У Сендс Поинту живе богаташи. У Менорхавену живе досељеници. Сви други—укључијући ти—се сматрају «грађанским сталезом!» Игнорисаћеш дуго чињеницу да ће те идеје формиране када си био веома млад увек ће инспирисати и утицати на тебе.

Шта ли радиш ти сада, после школе у родном граду? Наравно, твоји «хеликоптер» родитељи су више укључени у избор тога, што желиш да радиш. Питање твоје будућности их брине, зато што заједница верује да твој успех у животу рефлектује квалитет њиховог васпитања. Шта је била сврха свих тих година љубави и успомена без «Нобелове» награде? У истину, ипак, није важно шта радиш после школе, ако родитељи могу да се поносе о твојим радом. На пример, чула сам не само један пут, «Поносимо се тако много нашим сином. Он ради сада у ратом-разореном Судану и поможе деци да пишу поезију о рату.» Браво, тапшем те, и антиципирам много досадне, претеране приче о твојој несебичној филантропији.

THE LIFE OF A TYPICAL, YOUNG PORT WASHINGTON RESIDENT

Seyma Dawkowitz

You were born in the early 1990's, in a town of average size in New York called Port Washington. You didn't have a choice as to where you wanted to be born, but God knows that will be your ticket to success, even if you don't admit it. Despite the high national divorce rate, your parents will remain together, and your maid will push your stroller around the park, speaking not with you but with her friends. But she, and not your mother or father, will know your favorite cereal. You will play a sport, probably soccer, lacrosse or tennis, and will play an instrument until you realize you don't like to practice. Your parents and teachers will praise you—of course, because of your countless natural gifts. You give more thought to the tooth fairy than to God.

It seemed everything changed after we were 12 or 13. Did you notice? The differences began to become clear. At this time four schools funneled into a middle school, and students of different situations mixed. Suddenly you encountered, every day, someone from an unfamiliar neighborhood. Every region has its own reputation: The rich people live in Sands Point, the immigrants live in Manorhaven, and all the others—including you—consider themselves “middle class!” For a long time you will ignore the fact that ideas formed when you were so young will always influence you.

What will you do now, after school in your hometown? Naturally, your helicopter parents are over-involved in your choice as to what to do for work. The question of the future matters to them because the community believes your success in life reflects the quality of their parenting. What was the point of all those years of love and memories without a Nobel Prize? Truthfully, however, it isn't important what you do after school if your parents can brag about your work. For example, I have heard more than once, “We are so proud of our son. He is now working in war-torn Sudan, helping children write poetry about the war.” Bravo, I applaud you, and I anticipate many boring, exaggerated stories about your selfless philanthropy.

TURKISH IN THE BALKANS

Andrew Boshardy

Turkish loanwords in the Balkans have a long history of differing opinions and attitudes towards their usage. All of the South Slavic languages have taken loanwords from Turkish for all parts of speech. What has been done over time, however, has differed greatly between the countries of the Balkans. Much of the official attitude towards Turkish loanwords has stemmed from language policy of that country in general. In this paper, several Turcisms will be analyzed based on the responses of three native speakers of the Balkans. The results show that, with some exceptions, Turcisms are still used in manners similar to those described by Friedman. However, before analyzing these word pairs, a brief history of Turcisms in the Balkans must be given.

Turkish loanwords are most prevalent in colloquial speech. Due to the occupation and influence of the Ottoman Empire for a long period of time, many household and regular-day items are almost exclusively Turcisms. In general, Turcisms retain their usage for real-world items. However, it has become more common to use a more Slavic or “international” replacement word for more abstract concepts. Broadly, Turcisms are not used in academic or higher register environments. However, professors will still use Turcisms in lecture and speech. Turcisms, when used in higher register instances, tend to be used to when a pejorative meaning is intended. In other instances, like in daily news publications, Turcisms may be used to evoke a sense of oldness or back-in-the-day type of sentiment. In other cases, Turcisms would be used for comic effect. In colloquial speech Turcisms in the past have retained their regular usage. In some cases, when the “language authorities” have passed judgment on the use of a Turcism, many will retain the use or even intensify it as an intentional break with the establishment. Turcisms are also used very seriously but with generally negative connotations. However, official attitudes towards higher register usage of Turcisms are more complex.

Each Balkan country has taken its own stance on Turcisms. Croatian, as it has with the rest of its language, in an attempt to carve itself out as a separate language from BCS, has encouraged the replacement of Turcisms with neologisms. For example, Friedman says that as a replacement for the word for “belt,” Croatian would use *okolopasni pantalodržac* ‘circumwaistal pantholder.’ In Serbia, Turcisms are being replaced

with Slavic words. And in Bosnian there is a trend towards using and retaining the Turcisms. In fact, Bosnian is actively bringing more Turcisms into the lexicon. Due to the perceived identity with Turkey and Islam (the predominant religion of Bosnia), Turcisms are used as a way to further adopt that Islamic identity.

In order to analyze Turcisms in the present day and recent past, several Turcisms and their Serbian equivalents were selected. Due to lack of native speakers of Serbian, a larger range of participants were used. The first is a mid-twenties male from Croatia (A). The second is a just-graduated female who was raised among those from Bosnia-Herzegovina and has a native-level understanding of Serbo-Croatian (B). The third is a undergraduate student at the University of Chicago who was raised until 7 in an area which is now considered Croatia. His parents spoke what he considered Serbian, but a different dialect than that heard in what is now present day Serbia. He travels to Serbia often and I managed to catch him just before he went there again (C). The list of words chosen will be given in full, however, some participants had no knowledge of some of the words or even whole pairs. The words selected were chosen based on their denotation. The words generally are more abstract concepts or words which could have several different usages depending on the context. They were selected, also, with the advice of Prof. Nada Petković.

Turcism	Serbian	English
čopav	hrom	cripple
ćorav	slep	blind
čaršija	grad	city
komšija	sused	neighbor
kavga	svađa	quarrel
inat	tvrdoglavost, prkos	spite
belaj	nevolja	problem
šegrt	pomoćnik	assistant

1. čopav/čupav, hrom – cripple(d)/raggedy

Participant A had no knowledge čopav and said he exclusively uses hrom. Participant B described čopav (which she spelled čupav) as raggedy. She added that she would almost entirely use čupav over hrom and had no real knowledge of hrom. Participant C was

not familiar with this pair. When picking the list of words, my advisor was not fully able to articulate the meaning of this word. In the only case in which the participants were familiar with either word was Participant B who was raised around people from Bosnia-Herzegovina. This coincides with the general trend of Turcisms being more common in Bosnia.

2. ćorav, sl(ij)ep – a blind person

Participant A described these words as equivalent and said they could be used interchangeably. Participant B described the Turcism ćorav as more informal. She would translate it as “he cannot see” instead of “he is blind.” She added that ćorav would be used in incredulously asking someone whether they were blind, in the sense that it is known that said person is not blind, but has made a glaring mistake which only a blind person could make. Slep, or in her ijekavian dialect, slijep, is used when she is trying to legitimately describe someone as blind. She said that she would never actually call a blind person ćorav; she would call them slijep. She adds that the Turcism, in her mind, is much more informal and exclamatory. Participant C, on the whole, was in agreement with what Participant B described even directly saying that he generally uses ćorav in saying, “What are you, blind?!” He also added that slep seemed, to him, to be a nicer way of saying blind.

The participant from Croatia, A, described no difference between the words and recognized them as equal. Participant A’s lack of ability to describe a separate connotation shows that these words in his language and area have been accepted as equal. This makes sense as the words describe a very basic concept which would have been established long ago. However, it is interesting that the other two participants described different connotations for each word. They both stressed that they would never call a blind person ćorav. They never said it, but it can be inferred that using the Turcism to describe a blind person, even not to their face, is considered offensive. Their description is more in line with the trend of usage of Turcisms described earlier. The Turcism here has a colloquial tone to it. It is also mainly used in a pejorative manner. This is also in line with what was described earlier; that Turcisms in many instances have a rather negative connotation and are used in more informal settings.

3. čaršija, grad – city

Participant A described čaršija as a familiar word that

comes across as a Turcism that would never be used. He further described čaršija as having a different denotation than grad. He said that the Turcism is more equivalent to town or smaller city. Participant A also said that čaršija also “just seems to be a foreign word.” Participant C had never heard of čaršija and exclusively uses grad. Participant B had a different definition for the pair. Grad was still the accepted definition of a city. But čaršija was specifically the area or part of a “town, or downtown, where people go to promenade or socialize.” She also describes čaršija as the area of town where people are most generally found in great concentrations. She adds a historical note, saying that čaršiji were trading towns where people would gather to trade merchandise.

Again, the general description of the usage of Turcisms holds with a slight exception. The participant who grew up around Bosnian speakers was well aware of the distinction between the Turcism and BCS equivalent. She was even able to describe the historical usage behind the present day connotation. The Serbian participant (C), was not even aware of the Turcism. What is interesting is the familiarity of the Turcism in the Croatian participant. While he said that he was familiar with the word and had a basic understanding of the connotation, he would never use the word. This is rather strange that a word one would never use is still familiar. But, because it is recognized as a Turcism (and thus a “foreign word”) it is never put in use.

4. komšija, sused – neighbor

Participant A recognized both words. However, he recognized the Turcism as a Serbian word, which would thus never be used. He says he would only use sused as neighbor. Participant B described the Turcism as “more informal and inviting.” She says, “to say that someone is your komšija, it is meant in a pleasant, more warm sense.” She adds that sused is cold and is the very basic definition of neighbor. Participant C is also in agreement with Participant B. Participant C said that they are very interchangeable in usage, but he uses komšija on a more regular basis when talking about neighbors. He says that his parents use komšija more often as well. However, when they would call out to their neighbor (“Hey there, neighbor!”) they would use sused.

This pair is very similar to the previous one. The Turcism retains a more colloquial usage and has a sense of warmth. However, the Croatian said that the Turcism comes off as a Serbian word and would never be used. What is interesting is the usage of both in different

contexts with Participant C's parents. However, this can be explained when context is given. Participant C had said his parents speak Serbian (though a different dialect) but live in present day Croatia. They use the Turcism when talking in private. But, when talking to neighbors (who are Croatian), they use *sused*. Seeing as how the Croatian participant viewed the Turcism as a Serbian word, Participant C's parents would not use it in speaking to their (Croatian) neighbors.

5. kavga, svađa – quarell

This pair was only known to Participant A. He described *svađa* as the more used expression. He added that *kavga*, the Turcism, has a learned and slightly poetic overtone to it. He also said that it sounds rather archaic. This describes another usage that was mentioned earlier where Turcisms are used to evoke an old-timiness. Participant B and C's lack of knowledge of these words is likely explained by their lack of higher education in their native language. And, because this word is perceived as archaic, it is likely they would not have learned it in their circumstances.

6. inat, (tvrdoglavost), prkos – spite

Initially, the pair of *inat* (being the Turcism) and *tvrdoglavost* were given as synonyms. However, upon receiving the feedback from the participants and consulting a dictionary, they are, in fact, not exactly synonyms. *Inat* means spite, while *tvrdoglavost* means stubbornness. The true synonyms are *inat* and *uprkos*. However, even though they weren't proper synonyms, they were enough to get good responses. Participant C had never heard of *inat* and most likely used *uprkos* as the word for spite. Participant B had a rather strange definition for *inat*. She took it to mean principle. As in, one does something out of principle, *iz inata*. This is a curious difference between the accepted definition and her own (potentially) personal definition. She gives the instance where someone refuses food *iz inata*. But her definition of *tvrdoglavost* is still the standard definition of stubbornness. Participant A, when given the choice of *prkos*, added that the only thing different between *inat* and *prkos* lied in their verb forms: *inatiti se* and *prkositi*. The difference, to him being that *inatiti se* is reflexive where the other is not. The only thing he took from this is that *inatiti se* is more narcissistic. However, this is likely a great stretch.

7. belaj, nevolja – problem/ trouble

Participant A had no knowledge of *belaj* and uses

nevolja exclusively. The same can be said for Participant C. However, Participant B said that she rarely ever hears *nevolja* being used. *Belaj* is much more common and again has a more colloquial, homely connotation. To her, *belaj* is used in chastising a child. Telling a child that they have caused a *nevolja* is less "poignant" to her. This again reinforces the attitude towards Turcisms described by Friedman.

8. šegrt, pomoćnik – assistant

Participant A described the Turcism *šegrt* as a more specific version of *pomoćnik*. With the Turcism meaning more apprentice, and *pomoćnik* being more helper. However, Participant B said that she has rarely ever hear anyone use *šegrt*. She postulated that "perhaps in smaller, more traditional towns and villages [it is used]." Participant C was unfamiliar with *šegrt* and exclusively uses *pomoćnik*. Here there is a peculiar difference between the Croatian and Bosnian speakers. The Croatian is more familiar with the word and was able to give different connotations for both. However, the Bosnian speaker had not heard the Turcism before. This breaks with Friedman's analysis. But, this could also be a simple coincidence. And, seeing as the sample size is so small, is not really significant.

In general, analysis of Turcisms in relation to their BCS equivalents reveals that the trends described by Friedman still hold true. Turcisms are retained in much of colloquial speech, having a sense of informality. Some have the connotation of being archaic or "old-time-y." There is also a negative connotation in many of the Turcisms still retained in regular speech. Some peculiarities did arise in the responses for certain words. However, this could be due to the very limited set of participants polled. Further study on a larger scale is necessary before any claims that Turcisms are taking a different direction can be made.

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MOJI ŽEMLJACI

Maria Spaić

Iako sam rođena u Chicagu, moja porodica i ja smo se odseli na Aljasku kad sam imala dvanaeset godina. Aljaska se veoma razlikuje od Chicaga, ali meni se svi-dela. Proživjevši na Aljasci oko osam godina, računam da su moj dom i ljudi tamo moji zemljaci.

Aljaska je najveća država u Sjedinjenim Državama (više nego dvostruko veća od Teksasa) ali ima naj-manji broj stanovnika, sa samo sedam stotina hiljada ljudi. Mali broj stanovnika je očito zato što Aljaska ima puno, puno prostora. Većina Aljaske je ner-azvijena, sa mnogim parkovima za čuvanje divljih životinja. Živim blizu jednog od ovih parkova, koji se zove 'Hatcher's Pass'. Provodim mnogo vremena na planinama Hatcher Pass-a sa mojom porodicom i prijateljima. Ima mnogo staza i mogućnosti da se istražuje.

Obično, moji zemljaci vole da su vani. Često imaju male brvnare koje nisu postupne automobilima. Umesto, automobila, imaju A.T.V. ili snežne mašine ili čak mala aviona da se prevezu tamo. Zajedničko je da ima mnogo A.T.V. i snežnih mašina. Ljudi čak vole da drže svoje stare automobile da se voze kroz šume i po blatu. U ljeto, to je vrlo česta stvar koju rade. Ljudi također idu na pešačenje. Aljaska ima mnogo jezera i ponekad se mogu otkriti kad se ide na pešačenje. Obično su vrlo ljepa, posebno ako su na planinama.

Zimi, kao ja, većina ljudi voli da skija. Aljaska je gotovo sva u planinama, pa ima mnogo mesta za skijanje. Međutim, važno je biti oprezan zbog lavina. Dobra je ideja da sazna o lavinama prije skijanje na planinama.

Aljaska je veoma daleko od drugih država. Ali ljudi na Aljasci vole svoje postore pa im to ne smeta. Oni imaju imena za kontinentalni deo Sjedinjenih Država. Zovu ih 'Nižih četrdeset osam' ili jednostavno 'Na-polju'. Daleko na sjeveru, Aljaska je jedinstven svet.

MY COUNTRYMEN

Maria Spaić

Although I was born in Chicago, my family and I moved to Alaska when I was 12 years old. Alaska is very different from Chicago, but I like it. Having lived in Alaska for about eight years, I consider it my home and the people there my countrymen.

Alaska is the biggest state in the United States (more than twice the size of Texas) but it has the smallest population with only 700,000 people. The small population is obvious since Alaska has lots and lots of space. Most of Alaska is undeveloped with many parks for the preservation of wildlife. I live near one of these parks, which is called Hatcher's Pass. I spend much time on the mountains of Hatcher Pass with my family and friends. There are many trails and oppor-tunities to explore.

Usually, my countrymen love the outdoors. Often they have small cabins which are not accessible by car. Instead, they have A.T.V's or snowmobiles or even small airplanes to get there. It is common to have many A.T.V's and snow machines. They even love to take their old cars to drive through the forest and find mud. In the summer, that is a very common thing to do. People also go on hikes. Alaska has many lakes and sometimes one can find them when hiking. Usually they are very beautiful, especially if they are in the mountains.

In the winter, like me, most people like to ski. Alaska is almost all mountains, so there are many places to go. However, it is important to be careful because of avalanches. It is a good idea to learn about avalanches before skiing in the mountains.

Alaska is very far from the other states. But the people of Alaska like their space so this does not bother them. They have names for the continental United States. It is call the 'Lower 48' or the simply 'Outside. Far north, Alaska is its own world.

RELIGIJA I TRADICIJA

Sasha Jones

Religijski običaji su tradicije koje se prenose s jedne na drugu generaciju i ta je tradicija često način da se očuva kultura. U mojoj obitelji nema puno religijskih običaja, ali nekoliko koje imamo, održavamo svake godine. Zato što je moj otac iz Jevrejske obitelji, slavimo Hanuku osam dane svake zime.

Hanuka se isto zove “Festival svjetla” zato što Jevreji prema tradiciji svakog dana zapale dodatnu svijeću - prvi dan jednu, drugi dvije i tako svaki dan, dok ne gori svih 9 svijeća na menori. Moja obitelj ima jako lijepu i staru menoru, koja je napravljena iz zlata i bila je poklon moje bake. Paljenje svijeća je simbol sjećanja—ime “Hanuka” znači “posvetiti”—ime dolazi od jednog čupa ulja koji se nije slomio gad su Grci uništavali Sveti Hram. Taj jedan čup bio je dovoljan za samo jednu noć, ali nekim čudom ulje je trajalo punih osam noći.

Dok palimo svijeće, kažemo molitvu na hebrejskom. Nažalost, to je jedino što na hebrejskom znam pričati. Svaki dan posvećen je drugoj temi (pravdi, ljubavi, milosrđu, itd.) i nakon molitve pročitamo kratki opis o tome što ta svijeća predstavlja. Imamo mali papir iz sinagoge moga oca od prije dvadeset i pet godina.

Kad sam bila mala, moji roditelji i ja smo slavili Hanuku s ostatkom obitelji. Tada je bilo više svečanosti i slavlja. Moje tetke bi napravile latke—palačinke od krumpira pečene u vrućem ulju dok smo moji rođaci i ja igrali dreidel. Dreidel je igra s rotirajući zvrk koji ima četiri lica, svako s različitim hebrejskim slovom. Svako slovo ti kaže koliko komada čokolade možeš uzeti ili vratiti. Naj kraju, svi igrači razmotaju svoje zlatne folije i jedu čokoladu.

Volim Hanuku zato što se slavi s obitelji. Prošle godine kad sam bila na studijama u Bostonu išla sam za Hanuku s prijateljima gledati paljenje velike drvene menore u centru grada. Tamo je bilo puno obitelji, studenata i rabina. Nakon toga, probali smo napraviti latke, ali nisu bile ni blizu dobre kao one iz mog djetinjstva. Sretna sam biti blizu moje obitelji, pa svi možemo zajedno slaviti Hanuku.

RELIGION AND TRADITION

Sasha Jones

Religious customs are carried out from one generation to the next, often as a method of protecting cultures. In my family, there are not many religious traditions, but those that we do have, we carry out every year. My father’s family is Jewish, and so every winter we celebrate Hanukkah.

Hanukkah is known as “The Festival of Lights”, because every night another candle is lit—one for the first day, two on the second, and so on for everyday until all nine candles on the menorah are burning. The menorah in my home was given to my father by my grandmother, and it is very old and beautiful. The burning candles are a symbol of remembrance (the word “Hanukkah” means “to remember”) for the container of oil that remained unbroken when the Greek demolished the holy temple in Jerusalem. That one container of oil was enough to only light a flame for one night, but by some miracle the oil lasted for eight days.

When the candles are lit each night of Hanukkah, a prayer in Hebrew is spoken—unfortunately; this is the only Hebrew that I know. Every day is categorized by a different theme (justice, love, mercy) and after the prayer a small excerpt is read explaining the meaning of each day. We have it written on a small sheet of paper from my father’s Synagogue from 25 years ago.

When I was younger, my family lived in Los Angeles, and we celebrated Hanukkah with my father’s side of the family. My aunts would make potato pancakes, called latkes, and my cousins and I would play dreidel—a game involving a spinning top that has four sides with four Hebrew letters. Each letter tells the player whether they can receive or give back small pieces of chocolate wrapped in gold foil. At the end of the game, everybody unwraps their pieces and enjoys.

I like to celebrate Hanukkah because it is a holiday centered on family. Last year, when I was away at school in Boston, I went with my friends to see the lighting of a big wooden menorah downtown. There were many people, but I was sad that I was not with my own family. After that, we tried to make latkes, but they were not even close as good to those from my childhood. Now, I am happy that I am close to my parents, so we can all celebrate Hanukkah together.

NATIONAL MEANING,
Myth and Folklore in Ismail Kadare's Novels *The Three-Arched Bridge*
Introduction excerpted from B.A. Thesis
Phoebe Heyman

Ismail Kadare, prominent Albanian novelist of the 20th century, uses two traditional ballads from the Balkan region to create national meaning in his novels, *The Three-Arched Bridge* and *Doruntine*. In both works, supernatural occurrences are critical to the story and are identified with two folktales, "The Walled-Up Wife" and "The Dead Brother" in the respective novels. With this identification, the supernatural/uncanny becomes a means to deal with the issue of a perceived threat to the nation, and the trauma of "interrupted modernity." Uncanny moments in the text give access to an otherwise unreachable national unconscious, which Kadare locates in the mythic past and evokes by using folktales as well as other important symbols.

These uncanny moments comprise folktales coming true, as well as unreliable narration and incest. In the stories, Kadare accompanies the two aforementioned folktales with events and reactions that the characters in the novels perceive as supernatural. Thus the reader understands clearly that the supernatural is crucial in bringing the folkloric into the "reality space" in which Kadare sets his novels. This paper attempts to analyze the relation between the supernatural that results from the reenactments of the events of the folk legends, and the national meanings Kadare produces in both novels by using folklore as well as other themes.

Kadare uses both discourse and story to bring the uncanny into *The Three-Arched Bridge* and *Doruntine*.¹ For example, in terms of discourse, Kadare employs the technique of unreliable narration. Because we doubt the truthfulness of what we are told, we are uncertain whether we should believe the supernatural or the realistic explanation of the events. The unreliable narration creates the possibility for the supernatural to remain a viable dimension of the world in the novels, which manifests the uncanny. Tsvetan Todorov connects the unreliable narrator with the fantastic mode: "We are not told that the narrator is lying, and the possibility that he is lying shocks us 'structurally'; but this possibility exists – since he is a character – and hesitation is thereby generated in the reader. To sum up: the represented (or 'dramatized') narrator is suitable for the fantastic" (Todorov 1975, 86). While it is on the level of story rather than of discourse, incest plays a similar role in *Doruntine*: Kadare uses the uncanniness of incest to accompany

1 "Story" defined as what goes on in the plot of the novel, and "discourse" defined as the storytelling techniques that Kadare uses, such as literary devices and evoking particular themes.

and abet the emergence of the supernatural. For example, characters in *Doruntine* suggest that incest can be a driving force for resurrection of the dead. Additionally, the way that incest transgresses acceptable social boundaries mirrors the way the supernatural transgresses the boundaries of reality. Incest and unreliable narration are both points of liminality in the novels.

The two myths featured in the novels exemplify as well as embody the symbolic intrusion of the "other" into the self. Freud's idea of the uncanny, as expressed in his 1919 essay on that subject, is a helpful framework for understanding this relationship between self and other.² According to Freud, the uncanny is "that class of the frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar" (Freud 1919, sec. I). In other words, this is the problematic intersection between something foreign and disturbing and something familiar and desired. In Freud's reading, the uncanny is something that was once very familiar, perhaps even part of the self, which has been distanced from oneself and which suddenly recurs. More specifically, "Many people experience the feeling [the uncanny] in the highest degree in relation to death and dead bodies, to the return of the dead, and to spirits and ghosts" (Freud 1919, sec. II). A simple example of this is the familiar ghost story "The Monkey's Paw." In this story a couple's son is accidentally killed, and the wife wishes on a monkey's paw that he will come back to life. That night a fearsome being that resembles their son, but smells of death and the coffin, approaches their house and bangs inhumanly on the door. At the last minute the husband realizes their error and uses the last wish of the monkey's paw to undo the resurrection. This tale demonstrates that even though we might wish the dead to come back to life, it is immensely disturbing if they do return, and even more disturbing because of the combination of familiarity (a loved one) and unfamiliarity (irreversibly changed by death). It is chiefly this definition of the uncanny—the return of something familiar and desired but also disturbing and unwanted—that I use in this paper.

In "The Walled-Up Wife," the immurement of a woman symbolizes intrusion when a human body, a foreign element, is placed into a man-made structure.

2 It is important to mention that I am not arguing that Freud's theories influenced Kadare's writing, but instead using Freudian theory as a useful framework for interpreting the structure of Kadare's novels.

This is a jarring imposition of outsidership into insidership, femininity into a masculine construct, and human life into an inorganic structure. This intrusion is made at the foundation of the self, as symbolized by the structure. Furthering this representation, in many versions of the tale, the wall takes on characteristics of the immured woman, leaking milk from its foundations because the wife was nursing a child (Karadžić 1996, 10). Meanwhile, in “The Dead Brother” the disturbing content involves the return of the dead. As in “The Monkey’s Paw,” this is a secret desire that violates normalcy and transgresses boundaries, but in Doruntine the return of the dead also represents the return of the national spirit. The two folktales, “The Walled-Up Wife” and “The Dead Brother,” each contain themes of transgression, which their inclusion in the otherwise realistic novels embodies on the level of discourse.

Kadare brings the issue of national identity into his work by treating the nation as a “self” in the novels: Albania is in many ways Kadare’s true protagonist, and the most stirring questions the novels raise are about the preservation of Albanian culture and identity. Kadare positions the nation as a “self” because the conceptual self is the ultimate self-sufficient unit, the violation of which is the greatest metaphysical transgression. Romantic nationalism holds that the nation is inviolable, with an inherited, metaphysical right to exist. Using the nation-as-self marries this idea to the structure of threats against Albanian identity that Kadare constructs in both novels. In *The Three-Arched Bridge*, the various threats are all threats to the Albanian nation or identity such as Ottoman invasion and linguistic hegemony. Doruntine’s final message is about the importance of keeping up Albanian traditions such as besa³ and local marriage. With this in mind, we can impose the dichotomy of self and other, especially in a Freudian context, onto the novels. The nation-as-self is subject to uncanny intrusion, unwanted return and imposition of the foreign into the familiar.

The intrusion of outside influences into an inside environment is a primary organizing dichotomy of both novels. When Kadare resolves the legitimacy of the supernatural and folklore-derived material in

³ The besa is a uniquely Albanian code of honor. It is associated with Albanian cultural values such as hospitality and loyalty to one’s kin, but it also refers to a general sense of honor, by which unbreakable vows are sworn. As such, it is strongly associated with Albanian identity in terms of self-respect and pride as a nation in general. In his essay “Between a Virtual World and a Real World,” Fatos Lubonja writes that “In Kadare’s work, the besa is represented as an institution superior to the state” (Lubonja 98).

the texts, this symbolizes the integration of the other into the self (nation), because Kadare uses his texts to symbolize the self as well, and the supernatural as one symbol of the other. Kadare expresses the inside/outside dichotomy most broadly with nationality: in Doruntine, the person who testifies to the validity of the folktale/uncanny events in the text is a native Albanian—the protagonist, Stres. Conversely, in *The Three-Arched Bridge* the bridge company exploits the folk tale and the suggestion of supernatural events in order to convince the villagers to accept a foreign influence.

In the novels, the idea of what it means to be Albanian revolves around a highly self-contained sense of national and local heredity. This sense is constituted by Albanian folklore and other specific cultural traditions. In both novels, Kadare’s characters value this self-containment, fearing other cultural influences will dilute or supplant Albanian culture. With this value in mind, the supernatural events in Doruntine have a positive connotation because they are given validity within the culture, in that they testify to the power of the national self. The supernatural events in *The Three-Arched Bridge* are threatening because they come from outside the Albanian culture, and represent the intrusion of a foreign element into a core element of the national self, the folk tale. Thus, Doruntine contains a positive message of reinforcing Albanian culture and identity but *The Three-Arched Bridge* ends with a negative message forecasting a threat to the Albanian nation. However, *The Three-Arched Bridge* still strengthens the sense of national self, because by dramatizing the Ottoman empire’s invasion of Albania, Kadare focuses on the nation as a victim. In short, both novels emphasize the importance of preserving national identity.

Freud’s theory of the uncanny and the revenance motif

Vránková writes about the motif of “the revenant,” a dead lover or loved one who, returning from the dead, produces liminal meaning in a text:

Central to all versions is the figure of the revenant, in the words of Aleida Assmann, “a wild and threatening form of a go-between” (Assmann 2003: 59), a mediator of the “liminal” experience, and also an embodiment of an alien, overwhelming force distorting the individual’s identity by working against his sense of self-preservation. The recognition of this force is allied with the motif of a real or symbolic death. (Vránková 2005, 1)

Vránková’s description applies perfectly to the events of Doruntine and “The Dead Brother.” Constantine

is the liminal figure, who appeals to Doruntine's suppressed desires for return of multiple kinds—a return of her brother, which is forbidden because he is dead (even if she does not yet know it), and a return to her family, which is socially inappropriate because she has entered her married life. Constantine also causes Doruntine's death when the shock of learning that he has died, and that she has been traveling with a corpse, kills Doruntine. This effectively “work[s] against her sense of self-preservation”—along with the implication that the sadness at the death of her brothers also reduces Doruntine's will to live, which her loneliness and isolation may already have sapped. Her desire to come home also correlates to a desire to escape adult sexuality—her marriage—by returning to the bosom of her family, and correlates to her desire for the return of her dead brother (further discussed in the section on incest below). Although Doruntine does not know about the battle that felled her brothers, she fears that it is true, and from Constantine's appearance she secretly suspects that he may not be a living man.

Freud's theory of the uncanny can help us think about this idea of the secretly desired, yet simultaneously feared return of something unwanted yet familiar, in this case a deceased loved one: “I will say at once that both courses lead to the same result: the uncanny is that class of the frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar” (Freud 1919, sec. I). The return or repetition of something “long familiar” that nevertheless does not belong in the current time and place is a “factor of involuntary repetition which surrounds what would otherwise be innocent enough with an uncanny atmosphere, and forces upon us the idea of something fateful and inescapable” (Freud 1919, sec. II).

According to Freud's psycho-analytic theory “among instances of frightening things there must be one class in which the frightening element can be shown to be something repressed which recurs” (Freud 1919, sec. II). In this case, the “factor of involuntary repetition” in *The Three-Arched Bridge* could be the act of immurement that takes place in the myth and in real life, and simultaneously the factor of repetition could also be represented by folklore itself. Folklore, like *besa*, is positive, and because it is neither repressed nor disturbing, it is initially hard to see how it qualifies as the uncanny. However, it is important to acknowledge that “*The Walled-Up Wife*” enters *The Three-Arched Bridge* when the bridge company puts about that the myth is “coming true.” Freud gives special emphasis to that aspect of the uncanny that occurs when beliefs once held to be imaginary now seem to be reality:

We . . . once believed that these possibilities were realities, and were convinced that they actually happened. Nowadays we no longer believe in them, we have surmounted these modes of thought; but we do not feel quite sure of our new beliefs, and the old ones still exist within us ready to seize upon any confirmation. As soon as something actually happens in our lives which seems to confirm the old, discarded beliefs we get a feeling of the uncanny. (Freud 1919, sec. III)

Thus, even if folklore and “*The Walled-Up Wife*” are by no means intrinsically disturbing, but even have positive associations, the confusion between whether or not the myth is real creates the uncanny moment. Folklore is *Heimlich* because it comes from within the culture, but its recurrence is nonetheless disturbing, or *Unheimlich*, because it is out of its time and place: folklore comes from “time immemorial” or mythic time while Kadare's novels are set firmly in real, historical time.

Writing about Freud's theory of the uncanny and its relationship to literature, Rosemary Jackson comments “Freud . . . [reads] the uncanny as the effect of projecting unconscious desires and fears into the environment and on to other people. Frightening scenes of uncanny literature are produced by hidden anxieties concealed within the subject, who then interprets the world in terms of his or her apprehensions” (Jackson 1981, 65). In keeping with this theory, the uncanny moments in both novels are produced by anxieties in the texts, which relate to Albanian national identity. The “hidden anxieties” in *The Three-Arched Bridge* are about foreign occupation of Albania. In *Doruntine*, these anxieties are about incest, and they complicate a desire to return to old customs that include within-clan marriage. In both novels, these hidden anxieties are subverted into anxieties about the supernatural. In keeping with Jackson's analysis of the uncanny in literature, Kadare's texts play the role of “the subject” (a role also filled by Albanianess or Albanian national identity), while both the supernatural and other symbols of “outsiderness” represent “the other.” The supernatural enters into the texts in the form of myth, which fits Kadare's symbolic structure because myth is so important in establishing national identity.

The supernatural as an organizing principle for other anxieties in the texts

In *The Three-Arched Bridge*, the events of “*The Walled-Up Wife*” literally enter the text when Murrash Zenebisha is immured in the bridge, prompting locals to believe that the folktale has come to life. Similarly, in *Doruntine* supernatural events are eventually perceived as folklore. This is the reader's perception, rather than the characters', because the

reader is familiar with “The Dead Brother” as a myth. Kadare implies that the events in Doruntine remain in the national memory, transmogrified into “The Dead Brother.” In fact, in *The Three-Arched Bridge*, characters discuss the events of Doruntine and state that a myth has been propagated around those events. Thus, in both Kadare’s novels, supernatural occurrences are re-categorized as folklore. Kadare uses the anxieties of the novels, which relate to national identity, to facilitate the symbolic transformation from supernatural to folklore to national meaning.

Kadare’s use of the supernatural as the mechanism to incorporate the tales creates instability in the text. To resolve this instability, Kadare must reconcile the supernatural and mythic elements of the novels with their realistic elements. In the conclusion of Doruntine, Kadare has Stres emphasize the need to reaffirm forgotten cultural values while at the same time declaring that the supernatural has come true. The fact that the supernatural occurrences in the novel constitute the plot elements of “The Dead Brother” ballad further signify, to the readers of the novel, that the supernatural events reinforce folk culture and tradition and thus produce national meanings. When the uncanny is successfully reconciled with the text, it symbolizes the reconciliation of the other within the self, according to Kadare’s structural framework of symbols.

Kadare accomplishes this reconciliation not only with character dialogue such as Stres’s speech. He also uses other themes in both novels to symbolically represent the intrusion that the supernatural constitutes. For example, in *The Three-Arched Bridge*, conflicts related to Ottoman territorial encroachment and occupation represent the broadest themes of intrusion in the text. Territorial occupation is complemented by smaller cultural conflicts, such as those regarding language and economic structure. These conflicts are flanked by the presence of the mysterious, foreign bridge company and its suspicious actions. With these cultural conflicts mirroring the larger threat of Ottoman conquest, Kadare implies that the most injurious element of Turkish invasion is the harm it promises to Albanian national culture and identity, foregrounding the threat to the nation-as-self:

I almost cried out: How can you become part of Asia, you, my lovely Arberia? . . . I saw whole plains awash with blood, and mountain ranges burned to ash. I saw Ottoman hordes flattening the world and creating in its place the land of Islam. I saw the fires and the ash and the scorched remains of men and their chronicles. And our music, and dances, and

costume, and our majestic language, harried by that terrible “-luk,” like a reptile’s tail, seeking refuge in the mountains among the lightning and the beasts, which will turn it savage. And below the mountains, I saw the plains left without speech. And above all I saw the long night coming in hours, for centuries. . . . (The Three-Arched Bridge 183)

Immediately after this tortured rhapsody, Gjon inadvertently wanders to the bridge and gazes upon immured Zenebisha. The trauma of the immurement, through the lens of the supernatural, presages the trauma of the Ottoman occupation, the ultimate threat to Albania and intrusion upon the nation-as-self.

The folk ballad “The Walled-Up Wife” contains symbols of intrusion as well as, because it is a foundational myth as discussed above, symbols of national meaning that convey the importance of preserving the nation’s legacy. Because of this, when Kadare uses “The Walled-Up Wife” as a plot element, this brings other symbols of intrusion in the text together with the question of a threat to national identity. The supernatural in *The Three-Arched Bridge* manifests itself as the theory that “The Walled-Up Wife” has come true, and Gjon eventually disproves this explanation of events to the reader, negating the supernatural in the text. Kadare thus demonstrates that the supernatural, which is threatening, has not successfully integrated into the novel (self). Because the folktale provides an organizing rubric for the novel’s other conflicts, this organizes the other intrusions in the novel and demonstrates that the threat to Albanian culture and nation remains.

In Doruntine, the central thematic conflict is the erosion of traditional Albanian beliefs and customs, simply due to the passage of time and generations. As in *The Three-Arched Bridge*, supernatural events both exemplify this threat and suggest a way to reconcile the issue. In the book, “The Dead Brother” does not arise as a folk myth within the context of the novel. Rather, as the events of the folktale occur diegetically it is accurate to say that Kadare’s novel is either a retelling of, or based on, “The Dead Brother.” Kadare uses the supernatural and the mythic as manifestations of the national unconscious, which certain characters perceive to be in jeopardy. Consequently, when supernatural events are revealed to be true, this symbolically empowers the national unconscious as myth gains legitimacy in the text.



BALKAN TRICKSTER HEROES

Will Carosella

Folk heroes can come in many forms; they can be brave defenders of the meek, they can be elusive social bandits, or they can be strong keepers of the peace. However, one form of the folk hero is particularly symbolic when it arises: the form of the trickster. The folk trickster, it must be recognized, is a distinct entity from that of the intensely scrutinized mythological trickster that is commonly found within the beliefs of the North American and African cultures. The mythological trickster is a more primitive construction, one that is much less self aware in its purpose and identity than in comparison with the folk trickster. The mythic trickster is amorphous in its corporeal body and gender, and straddles the line between the realms of nature and culture. The folk trickster, on the other hand, is a much more defined figure. He is a man within a culture, within a family, within a social structure. He lives as others must live, and must struggle with the same realities of life as those who tell his stories. His power does not come from mystical properties, but from his own internal wit and cleverness. The tales of Nasreddin Hoca from Turkey, Sly Peter from Bulgaria, and Ero from Yugoslavia all center around this very sort of trickster. Within their respective folk tales, these heroes embody the lower class of society; the oppressed and common from each of their cultures. It is because of their quick wit and intelligence that these tricksters become heroic figures, symbols of defiance and perseverance that those whom they represent may rally behind and look to for strength or guidance.

For Nasreddin, criticisms of religion are the strongest manifestations of his symbolic resistance against the Ottoman's central government. The Ottoman empire, it must be remembered, was an empire of conquest, and had incorporated many different tribes and belief systems into its society throughout its expansion. The Sunni branch of Islam was the religion of the state, and had become highly politicized through this association. This created an oppressive environment, as the Sunni were highly Orthodox, believing in a very strict interpretation of the holy texts. Thus not only were the smaller tribes and communities that the Turks had overtaken forced to accept Islam as their religion, but they were also forced into an extremely restrictive interpretation of it. The state "prohibited or highly discouraged the indigenous cultural and religious practices," enforcing a strict rule over the smaller, poorer communities that were the outliers of the

Ottoman empire. Within such an oppressive social environment, the Hoca's stories became a useful tool for expressing the discontent of these poorer peoples, and his jokes "display a tension between Orthodox Islam...and the folk religion of the people, peasants, and nomads."

In one such tale, the Hoca is enjoying some chickpeas when a group of children run up to him, asking for him to share with them. The Hoca replies by asking the children "Should I give you some the way God does or the way human beings do?" When the children reply asking for God's way, the Hoca then unevenly divides the chickpeas amongst them, leaving some children with many and others with none at all. When the children complain that it is not fair, the Hoca "[turns] his face to the sky and [cries], 'You see—believe me, I did not influence them. Even children do not like your justice.'" In tales such as these, the Hoca's wit skirts the boundaries of blasphemy, but remains "within the accepted limits of Muslim *shathiya*, which are comical writings on serious religious topics." In this particular case the Hoca has used his wit to place religion into a position of ridicule, where mere children have pointed out the flaws in the system of belief. The Hoca's proclamation to God acts as a biting commentary towards the concept of divine justice and the thoughtless acceptance of God's ultimate authority, which is translated as a criticism against the Orthodox government's use of religion as an oppressive instrument. By utilizing the concept of *shathiya*, the peasant class and oppressed tribes are able to voice their opposition to the government, while at the same time maintaining their own personal safety against potential retaliation thanks to the indirect manner of expression. Nasreddin's humorous wit is absolutely essential to his continued existence as a folk trickster, for only through a comical criticism could his protest and resistance propagate underneath such a strict regime. However, the subversion of the trickster did not go unnoticed by the Ottoman government forever, and during the late 19th century, "all narration of Nasreddin stories was banned." Censorship of this sort was ultimately ineffective, and only serves to underscore the power of Nasreddin as a symbol of defiance. The trickster hero would live on, as "Hoca stories critical of, even offensive to, religion survived in oral tradition, especially among marginal communities." Nasreddin Hoca had become embedded within the consciousness of the oppressed, and would not be so easily removed.

Oppression by the Ottomans was felt in the Balkans as well, since the Turks had begun expanding into the territory towards the end of the fourteenth century. The process of Ottoman expansion into the region was slow, and relied on the gradual weakening of Balkan provinces. This was accomplished first through adopting Balkan provinces as vassal states and then incrementally increasing taxation in conjunction with conducting periodic raids within the territories. The effects of these policies hit the peasants hardest, as they provided much of the income for the taxes and suffered directly from the resultant destruction caused by Turkish raids. Once the vassal state had been sufficiently weakened, the Ottomans then completed their conquest with full on annexation, which entailed “the removal of the native dynasty and the incorporation of the state under Ottoman administration.” Ottoman administration meant Muslim authority, as once a firm control had been established, “Islam became a requirement...for membership in the Ottoman army or administration.” This forced any Christians that still held positions within the political system to either convert or be deposed. As a result, Christians were left entirely powerless within their own countries, being ruled over by a domineering foreign entity and religion. However, with the foreign administration came the foreign culture, which included the trickster Nasreddin. The Hoca’s criticisms of Ottoman dominance resonated with the Christians of the Balkans, and offered them a voice through which they could express their discontent. In fact, the peasants of the Balkans took to Nasreddin’s stories so strongly that they emulated him with the creation of their own trickster heroes, who appeared sometime around the 16th and 17th centuries. These heroes were known as Sly Peter and Ero; men who, like Nasreddin, acted as metaphors for defiance through their wit and intelligence, mentally out maneuvering malicious authority figures.

Defiance, however, is not the only function of the trickster hero. The story of “Ero and the Tsar” is particularly useful to demonstrate another important function: being a symbol of perseverance. In the tale, Ero brings a selection of fruit to the Tsar, as he does every year. Initially planning on bringing quinces, his wife convinces to him to take figs instead, as their children would eat the quinces in winter. Once he has brought the figs to the Sultan, the Sultan then throws the fruits at Ero’s head as a form of entertainment. Ero, however, simply sits and accepts this, proclaiming “Thank God!” each time a fruit hits him. When the Sultan asks Ero why he is giving thanks, Ero replies “Eh, my

worthy Tsar!...Had I brought a basketful of quinces, as I intended, they are so hard that you would have killed me by now.” The parallels between the folktale and reality are clear. Ero embodies the peasants, having to bring some sort of tribute to the authority figure that is the Tsar, much like the taxation suffered by the poor in the Balkans. The Tsar then uses Ero’s tribute to abuse him, a metaphor for how the Ottomans would collect taxes but use the profits to keep the peasants oppressed. However, Ero’s clever nature has allowed him to remain optimistic, and he sees the good in what could have been a much worse situation. Such is the trickster’s function; he must show others how to make the most out of what life has given them, and continue to look at the positive side of situations. In this context, Ero has become a symbol of perseverance; a reminder that no matter how terrible things are for the poor and oppressed, they can soldier on through the worst of it. Ero is clearly in a negative situation, but he uses his wit to turn it around, and creates a positive, even beneficial situation out of it. This is the sort of mind set that the trickster hero is meant to instill within the population; always look for the best, don’t lose spirit, be thankful it isn’t worse. Nasreddin Hoca, the “supreme optimist,” performed this function as well. In one tale he reminds his congregation to “give thanks to Allah...who in his wisdom has not provided the camel with wings. If he had, the roofs of our houses would all come crashing down upon us.” While simultaneously mocking the compulsive requirement of the orthodox Sunni Muslims to thank God for everything, the Hoca reminds the poor and oppressed to appreciate life in general, even if it means creating a fantastical situation that is more upsetting than reality.

This trickster hero’s function as a symbol of perseverance underscores the importance of his relatable character and construction. An association between the oppressed and the trickster must be possible, otherwise the hero can not embody them. The association of the common and oppressed with the folk trickster is established partly through the trickster’s personal identity. Nasreddin Hoca, the oldest form of the three Balkan tricksters, can be used as a very specific example of this. Nasreddin’s identity is that of a village imam, “a role that combined the functions of a judge, a teacher, and a preacher.” These responsibilities elevated the imam’s status within the village, such that he would be sought out as a source of authority or wisdom, and would be particularly respected within the community. As a member of the clergy, though, the imam was not actually on an official payroll. Instead he would receive some level of compensation through

payment in kind; either food, labor, or a valuable good such as charcoal. Typically, though, what payment the imam did receive would not be enough to cover all of his general living requirements, so it would not be uncommon for the imam to be found working in the fields or peddling goods within the market in order to make his living. So although he was a figure of authority, the “villagers did not consider him an outsider, a designation usually reserved for government officials.” A village imam, then, is an extremely suitable form for a folk trickster to inhabit. Within this context the trickster’s intelligence and wisdom are unquestionable qualities of his being, as part of an imam’s responsibility is to be that of a teacher and judge. Further, the trickster remains a relatable figure, as the imam is still included as a member of the lower classes, and remains purposefully separate from the oppressive government. The dual identity of authority figure and peasant gave Nasreddin all the more power, and could perhaps be pointed to as an element of his enduring presence.

However, while the personal identity of the trickster within the story can be a significant element of his power, it is not necessarily the primary source. Further context that stretches beyond the trickster’s individual makeup is absolutely necessary to form a powerful folk hero. Both Ero and Sly Peter, the folk tricksters from the Balkans proper, are ambiguous in their personal identities. Unlike Nasreddin Hoca, they are not designated particular social roles, but are known simply as poor peasants. Their significance arises out of their actions within a specific social context, even without the added qualities of inherent wisdom and authority that Nasreddin was graced with. As an imam Nasreddin has the bonus of reverence on his side, yet what really matters is that Nasreddin, Ero, and Sly Peter are emblematic of the resistance against a larger social institution’s authority. In Nasreddin’s case, he resists the oppression of the orthodox Sunni government. For Ero and Sly Peter, they resist the oppressive rule of the Ottoman Empire. All three of the tricksters are placed within the same social struggles that the commoners of their cultures had to contend with, and their resistance is expressed through subtle wit and humor.

Humor, in particular, is an especially important for empowering the trickster hero, as humor begets laughter. Laughter, when utilized correctly, can be an extremely effective weapon. Sly Peter, the Yugoslavian trickster hero, wields humor and laughter expertly, as can be seen in the tale of “Sly Peter at the Fair.” Within this story, Peter attends a fair, wherein he discovers a

row of hot-food shops. The smells entice Peter, who wishes he could enter one the eateries, but is held back by the fact that he has no money at all. Ever resourceful, Peter pulls a piece of dry bread from his bag, and hangs it over one of the steaming pots, collecting the delicious vapors. Once it had been moistened sufficiently, Peter commenced eating the bread, and began to leave the shop. The cook, however, stops Peter, and demands he pay for the meal. Peter denies any debt to the man, and their argument draws a crowd towards them. When it is discovered that Peter has no money to pay with, the cook demands that he be punished with ten strokes. Peter initially agrees to the punishment, but when the cook comes back with a stick to beat him with, Peter announces to the crowd, “Listen, folks! Without touching his dishes but only holding my bread in the steam he accuses me and wants money. Now, let him, without touching me, hit my shadow with ten strokes.” The crowd then laughs and cheers Sly Peter, leaving the cook humiliated and shamed. Here the power of laughter is demonstrated full force. Not only has Peter avoided punishment, but he has also placed himself into the position of power, humiliating the cook who had just before been the dominant figure. Laughter’s power to humiliate, to make ridiculous, to shame that which it is directed at is crippling to anything that is in a position of authority. If something can be laughed at, it loses its formidable presence and becomes weak. This is what the trickster heroes do to the authorities against whom they resist. The tricksters’ humor and wit bring the powerful down and weakens the oppressive social institutions within the minds of the oppressed poor. Collective ridicule, as seen in the story of “Sly Peter and the Fair”, can protect those who are in a weaker position of power. The continuous retelling of all the trickster tales is tantamount to just such a thing; the oppressed and poor were collectively ridiculing their oppressors each time they told a story of Nasreddin, Ero, or Sly Peter. When humor and laughter are employed in such a manner, it is no wonder that the Ottoman administration attempted to censor the telling of Nasreddin stories. It was not just that the stories were a form of resistance; they were an actual threat to the administration’s power.

The trickster hero is an indispensable element within any oppressed culture. The symbol of defiance and perseverance that it provides is a rallying point around which the poor and downtrodden can gather, drawing strength not just from the hero, but from each other as well. Humor and laughter, the only weapons that could not be taken from them, are what they have to fight an unending battle against their oppressors.

Each retelling of a trickster's tale is a battle cry, with which their hero strikes out once more against an undying enemy, slowly chipping away at the seemingly endless reserves of power that the authoritative figures possess. What matters is not their progress, but the hope that the heroes instill within them, helping them live through another day.

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THE URBAN WARTIME ZOO
A Review of Tea Obreht's *The Tiger's Wife*
Kaitlyn Tucker

Zoos are universally associated with childhood, with that particular mixture of confusion and amazement that arises when children see exotic animals roaming in their home city, unquestionably out of place. For once, a child's rudimentary grasp on reality, tenuous at best, is reassured in fantasy. They will soon learn that magicians, fairies and monsters do not really exist. Yet in this one arena, society humors their imaginations: it allows them to see the animals that they read about in picture books with their own eyes. Zoos thus carry enormous metaphysical potential; they depict the possibility of the real world colliding with the unreal, of a tangible breach of 'natural order.' But they are also, theoretically, the highest expression of urban civilization. In zoos, the entire animal kingdom occupies nearly the same physical space. Animals with antagonistic natural instincts can live peaceably side-by-side. Urban space is governed by the principle of intimate diversity, and nowhere is this better exemplified than at the zoo.

It is, then, a special brand of betrayal that accompanies the image of the war-torn zoo. There, against the background of its former hubris, the breakdown of human civility is particularly poignant. Perhaps this is why the metaphor of the wartime zoo has become such a productive trope in Post-Yugoslav art. Emir Kusturica's 1995 film *Underground* begins with an iconic scene of the Nazi bombing of the Belgrade Zoo, a historical moment which also grounds Tea Obreht's recent novel, *The Tiger's Wife*. While Kusturica uses the image briefly, as an overture for his film, Obreht dwells in it. Zoo animals walk on many pages of her novel, appearing in many of the time-scapes that the novel spans, always lingering in shadow of the initial image of the destroyed wartime zoo.

Most dramatically, Obreht sketches zoo animals consumed with the act of self-annihilation. Following the bombing, the wolves eat their own cubs, the tiger his own legs. The international literary reception of the novel has proudly identified this device: It's a metaphor for Yugoslavia, eating itself, eating its own children. And on some level, of course it is. But that's not the point.

In fact, the novel is seemingly designed to preclude easy political interpretation. With the central narrative set in the aftermath of the Yugoslav Wars, there are many references to 'sides,' although they are always

prefixed by collective possessive pronouns instead of proper nouns: ours, yours, theirs. The main character, Natalia, is perpetually on her way to and from "the City," which is never identified by name. And yet, for those familiar with Balkan culture and recent history, there are hints.

It is tempting to trace these hints, to map the narrative onto a political reality and arrive at certain grounding facts. Reviews of the novel have been unanimous in revealing these implicit dimensions: "The City" is Belgrade; Natalia's grandmother is Muslim; the 'orphanage by the sea' is Croatian; etc. Yet such treatment betrays the ethos of the novel, which for all its narrative coruscation and magical realist proclivity, is one of subtlety.

Early in the novel, Natalia's grandfather returns in the middle of the night, and insists that she follow him out into the street. There, an elephant is walking through the empty City, led by a zookeeper, presumably to the zoo. It is an arresting image, and Natalia begins to imagine how she will tell her friends about this enigma when her grandfather says: "You must understand, this is one of those moments...one of those moments you keep to yourself."

Readers of *The Tiger's Wife* would do well to heed this advice. In this daring first novel, Obreht hands us pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, and it is our job to admire the contours of every piece, the grace of every image, while resisting the semantic urge to compile a holistic narrative, to align it with history, to solve the puzzle. What is left unsaid is not an obscured map of modern Balkan politics, but a sketch of the human condition's fundamental terra incognita, and it is something to keep to yourself.

MOJE DJETINJSTVO
Jacqueline McAllister

Prije nego što sam se rodila, moji roditelji su kupili seosku kuću, u malom gradu koji se zove Savery, Wyoming. Ova kuća je bila vrlo trošna: krov je pao, bilo je mnogo kukaca unutar kuće, nije bilo stepenica između katova, voda nije bila čista u kuhinji, ... Moji roditelji su popravili seosku kuću i u njoj sam provela moje rano djetinjstvo. Sjećam se da sam voljela voziti traktor s tatom. Moja majka mi je rekla da jedna kravarica me je poučila igrati skrivalice. Moj tata mi je rekao da sam jahala svoj prvog konja s kravarom kada sam imala samo dve godine. Sjećam se da sam se bojala krave. Ne bih dopustila majci da me slika s njima. Međutim, imam sliku mene s otečenim okom od paukovog uboda. Tako smo otkrili da sam alergična na pauka. Uglavnom, sjećam se dugih šetnji s mojim roditeljima u planinama s našim prijateljima, kravarima i kravaricama. Tada sam bila najsretnija jer bismo vidjeli mnoge životinje i jeli puno "smores."

MY CHILDHOOD
Jacqueline McAllister

Before I was born, my parents bought a country house, in a small village called Savery, Wyoming. This house was really dilapidated; the roof had fallen in, there were many bugs in the house, there weren't stairs connecting the floors, the kitchen didn't have clean water. My parents renovated the country house and I spent my childhood in it. I remember that I loved riding the tractor with my Dad. My mother told me that a cow-girl taught me to play hide-and-see. My Dad said that I rode my first horse with cowboy when I was only two years old. I remember that I was afraid of the cow. I wouldn't allow my mother to take a picture of me with them. However, I have a picture of me with a swollen eye from a spider bite. That is how we found out that I have an allergy to spiders. Mainly, I remember long walks with my parents in the mountains with our friends, cowboys and cowgirls. Then I was the happiest because we would see many animals and eat many smores.



LOUGHREA
Leslie Kerr Petrovich

Loughrea je mali grad na zapadnoj obali Irske. Moj muž se rodio i odrastao u Loughreu, kao i njegov otac i deda. Ovo je drevni grad, i utvrđeni grad, i još uvek ima nekih tvrđava sa malom rijekom. Loughrea je lep, uvek u cvijetu i zelenilu. Kao mnogi mali evropski gradovi, ima kamene sokake i tržnice sa cvijećem i povrćem. Vrijeme je oblačno većim delom godine, i kiša često pljušti, čak i leti! Nažalost, nema mnogo razonoda ili trgovina u Loughreu, i mnogo mladih ljudi se sele iz ovog mesta u veće gradove u Irskoj. Ja volim ovaj grad i ne mogu da dočekam vratiti se na leto.

LOUGHREA
Leslie Kerr Petrovich

Loughrea is a small city on the western shores of Ireland. My husband was born in Loughrea, like his father and grandfather. This is an ancient city, a fortified city, and it still has some remaining wall, with it's small moat. Loughrea is beautiful, always blooming and greening. Like many European towns, it has small stone streets and markets with flowers and produce. The weather is cloudy for most of the year, and and rain always falls, even in the summer! Unfortunately, there is no entertainment or commerce in Loughrea, and many young people move away from there to bigger cities in Ireland. I love this small town and I can't wait to return in the summer.



SMETLARSKI LOV

Amra Bašić

Svake godine University of Chicago organizuje takozvani 'smetlarski lov' za studente koledža. Svaki studentski dom se broji kao jedna ekipa. Međutim, ponekad se dva doma za studente spoje u jednu ekipu ako pojedinačno nema dovoljno studenata koji hoće učestvovati u jednom domu. Bez obzira na ovo, Scav je događaj koji obuhvaća cijeli univerzitet. Scav počinje prvog četvrtka u maju svake godine tačno u ponoć. Svi timovi se sastaju u Ida Noyes zgradi u 11:00 sati uveče u srijedu da čuju sva pravila smetlarskog lova. Kad se pravila pročitaju svaki tim se natječe da "nađe spisak". Spisak je lista sa otprilike tri stotine predmeta, a svaki predmet ima poseban broj bodova. Što su predmeti teži za pronaći, to oni vrijede više bodova. Spisak se daje svakom timu samo jednom kad tim završi "mali-smetlarski lov". Svaki tim treba da nađe žlatnu karticu u oko 2000 uskršnjih jaja sakrivenih u dvorištu koledža. Kad se ta kartica nađe, svaki tim se vraća u svoj studentski dorm gdje se svaki predmet sa liste čita na glas. Kad se to završi takmičenje počinje. Svaki tim počinje odmah sa traženjem predmeta koji su na listi.

Ove godine ja sam bila zadužena za organizovanje ceste putovanja. Smetlarski lov takođe ima i ceste putovanja, gdje 4 igrača iz svakog tima idu i slikaju predmete koji su na spisku. Međutim, ovi predmeti nisu tačno otkriveni svakom timu. Predmeti su opisani u tragovima iz kojih vođa puta mora da otriže zagonetku. Kad je to gotovo, vođa puta mora da nađe gdje se predmeti nalaze, i kako doći od jednog mjesta do drugog, kao i da otkrije kud je najbolje ići. Konačno, ovi predmeti moraju biti u nekavom redu za tragače. Moji prijatelji Zahed, Beka, i ja smo proveli sedam sati nakon što je pročitana spisak, planirajući rutu za tragače. Kad je to bilo gotovo, i kad su tragači bili na putu, mi smo svi morali pomoći kompletirati predmete na spisku da pomognemo svojim prijateljima iz doma.

Scav je vrlo lijep događaj koji univerzitet organizuje. To je dobar način da se pokaže da University of Chicago nije samo mesto za učenje već i mesto gde se studenti mogu lepo zabaviti zajedno. Ja sam se dobro zabavila i ne mogu dočekati da ponovo dođe vrijeme za Scav.

SCAVENGER HUNT

Amra Bašić

Every year the University of Chicago provides a scavenger hunt for the student body. Each dorm house is considered a team. However, sometimes two dorm houses will join together because not enough people in the individual dorm houses want to participate. Despite this, Scav is an event that encompasses the entire university. Technically, Scav starts the first Thursday of every May exactly at midnight. Each team assembles at Ida Noyes at 11 p.m. on Wednesday in order to hear the rules of the scavenger hunt. Once the rules have been read, each team races to the quad to find "the list". The list is a list of about three hundred items, in which each item is given a specific amount of points. The harder the item is to achieve, the greater amount of points the team receives. "The list" can only be given to each team once the team completes a mini-scavenger hunt. Each team has to find a golden ticket in some 2,000 Easter eggs hidden on the quads. Once this ticket is found, each team heads back to their dorm house, where at which each item on the list is read out loud. Once this has been done, the race to the finish line begins. Each team immediately starts assembling or finding items that are on the list.

This year I was in charge of road trip coordination. The Scavenger Hunt also involves a road trip, where a set of four players from each team go and take pictures with items specified on the list. However, these items are not just told to each team. The items are given in clues in which each road trip coordinator has to figure out. Once this is done, the road trip coordinators have to figure out where each item is, how to get from one place to another, and the best route possible to take. Finally, these items have to be put in some kind of order for the road trippers. My friends Zahed, Beka, and I spent a total of seven hours after the list was released, deciphering the clues and plotting a route. Once that had been finished, and the road trippers were on their way, we all had to help complete items on the list. I completed various things on the list with the help of my fellow housemates.

Scav is a wonderful thing the University of Chicago offers. It is a good way to show students that the University of Chicago is not just about academics, but also about coming together and having fun. I had a lot of fun and can't wait to do it again!

PUTOVANJE U NIGERIJU

Jacqueline McAllister

Čikago je stari, američki grad nebodera i betona, i puno karaktera. U zimskim mjesecima, sneg pada gust i vjetar urla. U proljetnim i ljetnim mjesecima, sunce sija briljantno, i šareno cvijeće cvijeta po cijelom gradu. Ako pogledate gore na zgrade, boja se doslovno proljeva sa ekscentričnih balkona, gotovo u inat dugim zimskim mjesecima.

Za manje od 24 sata, može se putovati iz ovog grada kontrasta toplog i hladnog do Abuje, u Nigeriji. Abuja je grad gdje toplota traje cijele godine. Tijekom ljeta, može biti toplo i do 120 stupnjeva. Tijekom kišne sezone, 70 stupnjeva predstavlja blagi predah od suhe, teške vrućine ljeta. Abuja je također mlad grad koji se nalazi u središtu Nigerije, geografski, religijski, i etnički. Tu su i križanja mnogih različitih ljudi: kršćana, muslimana, Fulana, Joruba, Igbo, i bezbroj drugih. Obris grad otkrivaju džamije, crkve, i nove zgrade.

Noću, lijepo odjeveni Nigerijci se pojavljuju da proslave hladnije noći. Oko Abuje, restorani se pojavljuju gotovo spontano. Nigerijci i stranci se sakupe popiti "Star" pivo i jesti ribe na žaru rukama. Ovi svježi delikatesi iz Zaljeva Gvineja su mirisni. Čovek dolazi da žudi za bogato začinjnim ribama nakon dugog, vrućeg dana.

Ljudi u Nigeriji izgledaju živopisno. Oblače se lijepo u košulje i haljine s šarama. Oni se uvijek smiješe. Koriste svaku priliku za kupanje u bazenima koji se protežu gradom. Zabavni su.

Abuja je grad topline.

A TRIP TO NIGERIA

Jacqueline McAllister

Chicago is an old American city of skyscrapers and concrete, and with lots of character. In winter months, the snow falls thick and the wind howls. In the spring and summer months, the sun shines brilliantly, colorful flowers blossom throughout the city. If you look up at the buildings, color literally spills out from eccentric balconies, almost in defiance of the long winter months.

In less than 24 hours, one can travel from this city of hot and cold contrasts to Abuja, Nigeria. Abuja is a city where heat dwells year-round. During summer, it can be as warm as 120 degrees. During the rainy season, 70 degrees represents a mild reprieve from the dry, heavy heat of the summer. Abuja is also young city that is located in the center of Nigeria geographically, religiously, and ethnically. It is a crossroads for many different people: Christians, Muslims, Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo, and countless others. The skyline reveals mosques, churches, and new buildings.

At night, beautifully-clad Nigerians emerge to celebrate the cooler nights. Around Abuja, restaurants emerge almost spontaneously. Nigerians and foreigners congregate to drink Star beer and eat grilled fish with their hands. These fresh delicacies from the Gulf of Guinea are spicy. One comes to crave the rich spiciness of fish after the long, hot days.

People in Nigeria are vibrant. They dress in beautifully cut and patterned shirts and dresses. They smile and laugh whole-heartedly. They take every opportunity to swim in the pools that dot the city. They are fun.

Abuja is a city of warmth.

CONTRIBUTORS

AMRA BAŠIĆ is a second year student in College at the University of Chicago pursuing a psychology degree. She was born in Velka Kladusa, Bosnia and moved to Chicago when she was five years old.

ANDREW BOSHardy is a rising third year at the University of Chicago. He is majoring in Slavic Languages and Linguistics, concentrating on Russian and Serbian. He will be spending 6 months in St. Petersburg studying at Smolny College and plans to travel abroad to Serbia.

WILLIAM CAROSELLA is a rising fourth year at the University of Chicago. He is majoring in anthropology, and hopes to concentrate on archaeology for his bachelor's thesis. He became interested in archaeology through combining his fascinations with history, culture, and manual labor. This summer he is attending the Caherconnell Field School in Galway, Ireland, where he will assist in the excavation of an Iron Age stone fort. His interests include music, foreign languages, and art—he plays several instruments and speaks multiple languages. He is from Los Altos California, and hopes to return to Northern California for his graduate studies. His dream is to someday work in a national museum and have two loving dogs of his very own.

SEYMA DACHOWITZ was born and raised in New York, will enter her third year as a journalism student at Northwestern University this fall. She aspires to write about science in Eastern Europe while eschewing technology. In her free time she enjoys studying aerial arts performance, spending time with her grandparents, and listening to Nordic rock music.

NICOLAS GROSSO was born in San Rafael, Argentina, and spend his childhood in the south of Argentina, then in Venezuela and in Peru. In 2007 he won a scholarship to an United World College (an international school) near Trieste in Italy, where he studied with other 200 students from around the world. Amongst them were many students from the Balkans, coming from all the countries of the ex-Yugoslavia, with whom he became friends. He became really interested in the region, and had the opportunity to travel to Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia to visit them. Apart from the immense cultural diversity and interesting history, one of the aspects that most interested him was the language, which he found hard to get around without; therefore, when he decided to study it when he saw that Northwestern offered it, and hopefully some day return and experience the Balkans at their full. Now he is a freshman at Northwestern hoping to major in Chemical Engineering.

SASHA JONES is a rising junior at Northwestern University, where she is studying Anthropology and Global Health. She grew up in Chicago with a vague knowledge of the B/C/S language has traveled to Croatia to visit family many times. Sasha hopes to pursue a career in medicine and public health, and enjoys reading, cooking, eating, playing with dogs, and being outside.

ANI KARLIĆIĆ is a graduating senior at Northwestern University majoring in Italian Language and Literature. She is a native of Belgrade and has lived in Chicago since the age of four.

IGOR KARLIĆIĆ is a junior mechanical engineering major at Northwestern University with an additional Slavic concentration. He is a Belgrade native and has lived in Chicago since the age of five.

TAE YEON KIM Tae Yeon Kim is a third year undergraduate at the University of Chicago. She took Balkan Folklore, taught by Angelina Ilieva, in Winter 2011. She is majoring in the Biological Sciences but also has diverse interests in literature, social sciences, and music.

JACQUELINE MCALLISTER is a PhD student in Political Science at Northwestern University. She has taken two years of BCS at the University of Chicago, and at the end of the summer, she will begin her research in Zagreb, Croatia.

ALEC MITROVICH was born and grew up in Northern California. After years of mirth, he began to move around. Washington D.C., Rome, Massachusetts—his travels and studies helped shaped his beliefs about morality. These days, he loves to remember Tito and the days of wondrous Yugoslavija.

PAIGE PAULSEN is a first year in the college. A native of Seattle, Washington, her interests include archaeology, Balkan, and Near-Eastern languages and civilizations. She plans to conduct research on Mesolithic cultures in Lepenski Vir, Serbia.

MARKO PAVIŠIĆ was born in Podgorica, Montenegro, and moved to the United States when he was very young. He currently studies Political Science and History at Northwestern University. He enjoys boxing, rock music, and good old fashioned “domaca hrana.”

LESLIE KERR PETROVICH is a first year BCS student. She graduated from college in 2009 and now works as a full-time nanny in Hyde Park. She is part-Croatian on her father’s side, but grew up with no knowledge of the language or culture, nor any contact with her family in Croatia. She hopes to become fluent in BCS and to one day create a cooperative, diversified organic farm for women workers, modeled on Israeli kibbutzim and the radical feminist movement.

MARY POTKONJAK is a senior in the College at the University of Chicago, majoring in Biology. Mary is of Serbian descent, born in Wisconsin, and an enthusiast of Serbian Folk Dance. She plans to pursue a career in medicine.

PHOEBE POTT-HEYMAN graduated from the University of Chicago’s Slavic Languages and Literatures Department in 2011, having studied Balkan language, literature, film and culture in addition to Russian language and literature. She wrote her B.A. thesis on folklore, the supernatural and national meaning in novels by Ismail Kadare. Phoebe first became interested in BCS after traveling to Croatia in 2006. She now lives in Austin, Texas.

JAKE RANSOHOFF is a fourth-year undergraduate student in the History and Medieval Studies departments at the University of Chicago. His academic research focuses on the use of archaeological evidence to complicate narratives of power and state-formation in the history of the Medieval Balkans; to this end, he has served on excavations in Bulgaria, Turkey, and the Republic of Macedonia. Jake is currently assistant director of the multinational Pyrges Archaeological Project in Strumica, Macedonia, where he is helping to lead excavations of Byzantine-era fortifications throughout the Strumica river valley.

MEG SWANEY is a fourth-year undergraduate student in the College majoring in Anthropology and minoring in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations with a specialization in Ancient Egypt. After graduating from the university, she plans to pursue a Master’s Degree in Museum Studies at New York University.

MARIJA SPAIĆ is currently a sophomore working towards an engineering degree at Northwestern University. Although she lives in Alaska with her family today, she was born in Chicago. Marija’s interest in BCS comes from family of those origins. Marija’s father was born and grew up in Hercegovina and the Spaić family consistently makes efforts to visit family and friends from the area. After spending so much time in the Yugoslav area and not being able to communicate effectively, Marija opted to take a BCS course at Northwestern. Now a year later, she’s thoroughly enjoying the language as well as the class’s fun and open atmosphere and she looks forward to taking the language further next year!

SVETA STOYTCHEVA was born in Sofia, Bulgaria and raised in the suburbs of Washington, D.C. She is a rising fourth-year in the College, majoring in Slavic Languages and Literatures.

KAITLYN TUCKER graduated from the College at the University of Chicago this past June, and is looking forward to beginning the PhD program in Slavic Languages and Literature this Fall. She first became interested in the Balkans after backpacking through the region in 2010, and has since been persuaded by Croatian beaches, Bijelo Dugme, and Nada's cuisine.

STUDY

BOSNIAN / CROATIAN / SERBIAN

BCSN 10100 Elementary Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian

The course is designed for both undergraduate and graduate students with a wide range of interests. The major course objective is to build a solid foundation in the basic grammatical patterns of written and spoken BCS, while simultaneously introducing both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. Students will become proficient in the basics of oral comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing, with an emphasis on mastering the grammar. Given the region's recent history and linguistic controversies that have surrounded the Wars of Succession, the course will include a sociolinguistic component, an essential part of understanding the similarities and differences between the languages. The course is complemented by cultural and historical media from the Balkans, guest speakers, cultural events, and dinner parties. No knowledge of Slavic languages or background in linguistics is required.

BCSN 20100 Intermediate Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian

The course is designed for both undergraduate and graduate students with a wide range of interests. It combines a linguistic and literary approach to the study of the language(s) through a series of literary readings, in both Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, by modern Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian writers. The first quarter is devoted to an overview of grammar, with emphasis on nominal and adjectival morphology and syntax. The second quarter reviews and amplifies the verbal system through continued readings, grammar drills, compositions, and conversational practice. In the third quarter, students further develop active mastery of the language by concentrating on word formation, syntax, essay writing and style. The course is complemented with cultural and historical media from the Balkans, guest speakers, cultural events, and dinner parties. The course prerequisite is one year of formal study of the target language(s) or equivalent.

BCSN 30100 Advanced Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian

The advanced course is designed to lead a diverse group of students – including heritage speakers – through a variety of topics and subjects to impart nuanced communication, comprehension, and writing proficiencies. While the first two years of BCS focus on language structure and grammar, supplemented with short readings, the third year seeks to improve students' overall competency in the target language(s), as well as improving their cultural awareness. The texts we will use are complete short stories, research papers, and printed interviews from a wide variety of disciplines (contemporary literature; political science; economics; linguistics; history; art history; literary criticism; anthropology; music; cinema and media studies), geared toward the interests of the current cohort of students. The course is complemented by cultural and historical media from the Balkans, guest speakers, cultural events, and dinner parties.



For more information contact Nada Petkovic, petkovic@uchicago.edu, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Foster Hall #415, 1130 East 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637, telephone 773.702.0035.

UPCOMING SOUTH SLAVIC LITERATURE AND CULTURE COURSES

The Other within the Self: Identity in Balkan Literature and Film

This two-course sequence will examine discursive practices in a number of literary and cinematic works from the South East corner of Europe through which identities in the region become defined by two distinct others: the “barbaric” Ottoman and the “civilized” Western European.

Part One: Returning the Gaze – The Balkans and Western Europe

This course will investigate the complex relationship between South East European self-representations and the imagined Western “gaze” for whose benefit the nations stage their quest for identity and their aspirations for recognition. We will focus on the problems of Orientalism, Balkanism and nesting orientalisms, as well as on self-mythologization and self-exoticization. We will also think about differing models of masculinity, and of the figure of the gypsy as a metaphor for the national self in relation to the West. The course will conclude by considering the role that the imperative to belong to Western Europe played in the Yugoslavian wars of the 1990s.

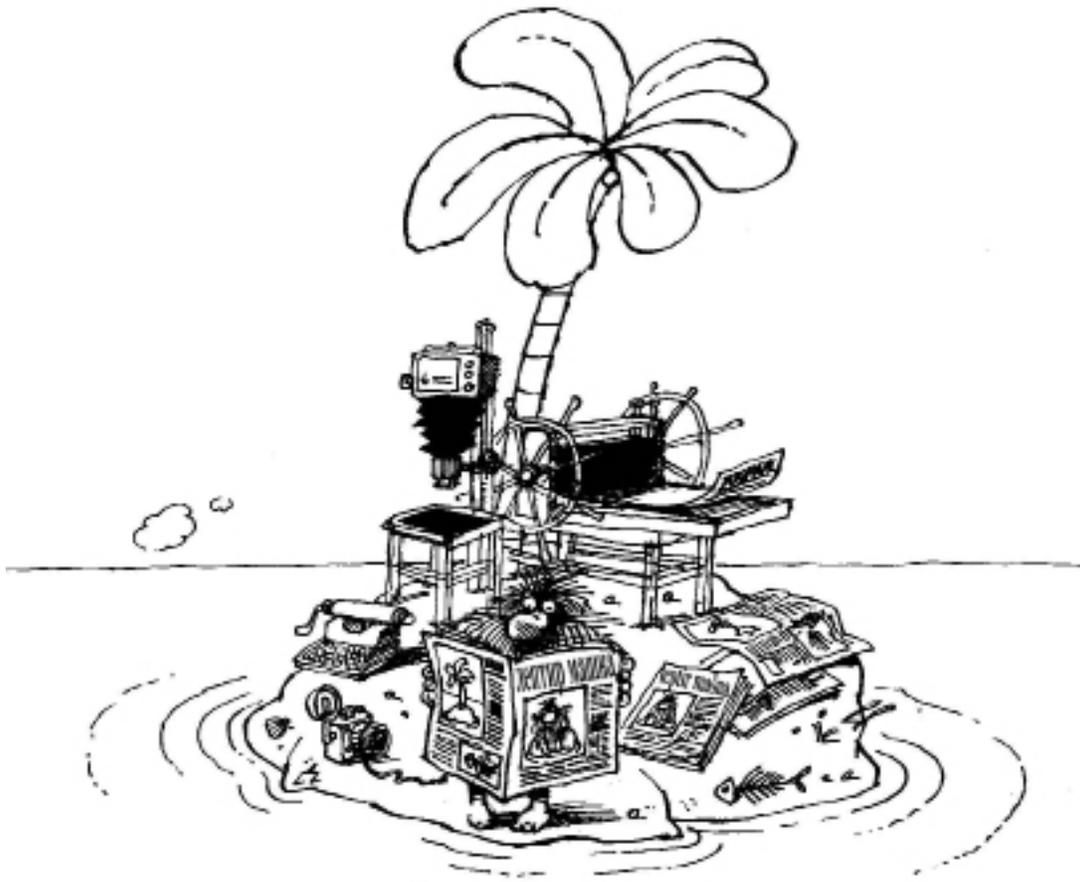
Part Two: The burden of History: the Nation and Its Lost Paradise

How and why do national identities provoke the deep emotional attachments that they do? In this course we try to understand these emotional attachments by examining the narrative of loss and redemption through which most nations in the Balkans retell their Ottoman past. We begin by considering the mythic temporality of the Romantic national narrative while focusing on specific national literary texts where the national past is retold through the formula of original wholeness, foreign invasion, Passion, and Salvation. We then proceed to unpack the structural role of the different elements of that narrative. With the help of Žižek’s theory of the subject as constituted by trauma, we think about the national fixation on the trauma of loss, and the role of trauma in the formation of national consciousness. Specific theme inquiries involve the figure of the Janissary as self and other, brotherhood and fratricide, and the writing of the national trauma on the individual physical body. Special attention is given to the general aesthetic of victimhood, the casting of the victimized national self as the object of the “other’s perverse desire.” With the help of Freud, Žižek and Kant we consider the transformation of national victimhood into the sublimity of the national self. The main primary texts include Petar Njegoš’ Mountain Wreath (Serbia and Montenegro), Ismail Kadare’s The Castle (Albania), Anton Donchev’s Time of Parting (Bulgaria).

The Brighter Side of the Balkans: Humor and Satire in Balkan Literature

Laughter is universal but its causes are culturally determined. A joke in one culture can be a shaggy dog story in another. The figure of the trickster occurs in many places and times and under many guises. Stereotypes can be revelatory about those who deploy them. At the same time, humor can be both an outlet and a danger. There is a special word in Russian for those sentenced to prison for telling political jokes. This course focuses on Balkan humor, which, like the Balkans itself, is located in a space where “Western Europe”, “Eastern Europe” “Central Europe” “The Mediterranean”, “The Levant”, and the “Near/Middle East” intersect in various ways (linguistically and culturally), compete for dominance or resist domination, and ultimately create a unique--albeit fuzzily bounded--subject of study. In this course, we examine the poetics of laughter in the Balkans. In order to do so, we introduce humor as both cultural and transnational. We unpack the multiple layers of cultural meaning in the logic of “Balkan humor.” We also examine the functions and mechanisms of laughter, both in terms of cultural specificity and general practice and theories of humor. Thus, the study of Balkan humor will help us elucidate the “Balkan” and the “World,” and will provide insight not only into cultural mores and social relations, but into the very notion of “funny.” Our own laughter in class will be the best measure of our success – both cultural and intellectual.

For more information, contact Angelina Ilieva, ilievaa@uchicago.edu, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Foster Hall 406, 1130 East 59th St, Chicago, IL 60637, 773-702-8033





UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO DEPARTMENT OF
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