

2023.

1973.

1963.

# The Atlas Atlas of Itake Ithaca

60 Years of the Department  
of Theory and History  
Faculty of Dramatic Arts

60 godina Katedre za  
teoriju i istoriju  
Fakultet dramskih umetnosti





The  
Atlas  
of  
Ithaca

Atlas  
Itake

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The publication is part of the scientific-research activities of the Faculty of Dramatic Arts, financed according to the agreement with the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation of the Republic of Serbia.

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Publikacija je deo naučno-istraživačke delatnosti Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti, finansirane prema ugovoru sa Ministarstvom nauke, tehnološkog razvoja i inovacija Republike Srbije.

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of Theory and History  
Faculty of Dramatic Arts

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Belgrade, 2023.

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Fakultet dramskih umetnosti

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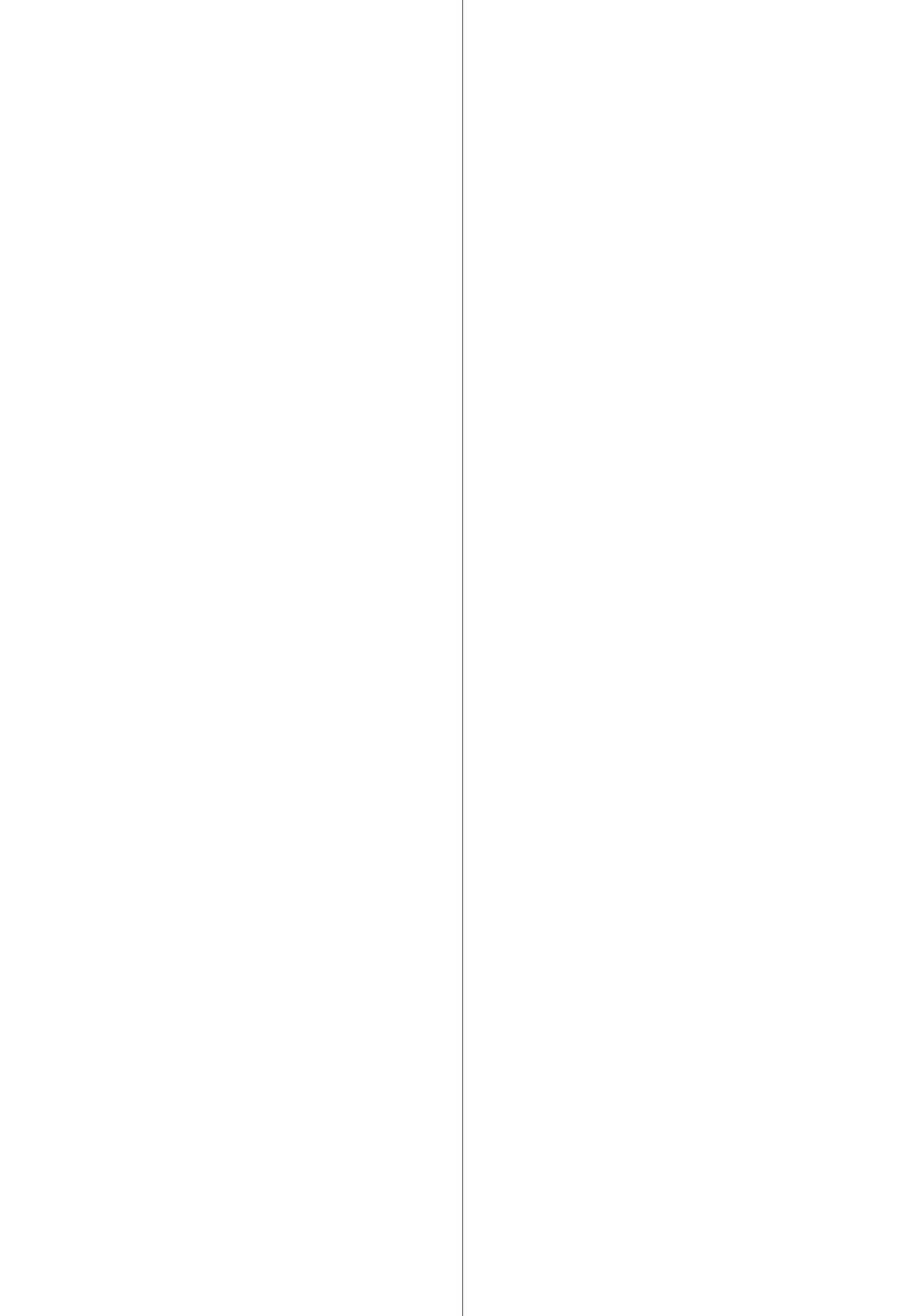
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## PREDGOVOR

*Atlas Itake* je zbornik radova Katedre za teoriju i istoriju Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti u Beogradu. Objavljen je povodom šezdesete godišnjice osnivanja Katedre, sa željom da predstavi njenu bogatu istoriju i svestranu, raznovrsnu naučno-istraživačku delatnost njenih članova, koja umnogome prevazilazi kurikulume svih nivoa studija. Kao i svaki atlas, i ovaj obuhvata različite mape puteva Itake i teritorija kojima se kreću naša istraživanja. U ovom trenutku ishodišna tačka jeste akronim, igra reči atlasa i puta Itake, kada Itaka ne ostaje na geografskim i simboličnim značenjima koja crpe iz mita, istorije i dramskih umetnosti. Itaka, naime, nije samo maleno ostrvo na periferiji Jonskog mora, niti Odisejeva postojbina, kojoj je želeo da se vrati u svojim lutanjima, nošen ili moren nostalgijom kao žudnjom za povratkom domu. Nije ni simbol nikada dosegnutih ideala, utopije, sećanja i izgubljenog raja koji nalazimo u Homerovom epu i brojnim potonjim delima koja su njime inspirisana – poeziji Kavafija i Crnjanskog, prozi Džejmisa Džojlsa i Stivena Pirsala, filmovima Meg Rajan ili *sci-fi* odisejama (Projekat Itaka). U našem akademskom svetu pojam-akronim efektno ukazuje na svestranost i obuhvatnost koncepta i rada katedre. Spoj I(storije), T(eorije), A(nalize), K(ritike) i E(dukacije) markantno određuje beskrajno i stalno rastuće polje delovanja.

(I)storija Katedre ispisana je kao atlas Itake – mapa prostorno-vremenskog puta ka idealima i idealnim naučnim istraživanjima kojima stalno stremimo i za kojima stalno tragamo. Kao u Kavafijevoj besmrtnoj pesmi, suština istraživanja uopšte (a posebice istraživanja o umetnostima koje nisu teleološki određene) jeste, kao i u životu i putovanju, u sticanju iskustava i traganju, a ne u dosezanju cilja. Upravo postojanje Katedre

udvaja rad Fakulteta postavljajući razdelnicu umetničke sinteze i komplementarne analize nastanka, čitanja i tumačenja umetničkog dela. Nastava teorije i istorije i naučna istraživanja prepoznati su kao analiza, razlaganje, dekonstrukcija procesa umetničke sinteze kojom nastaje umetničko delo – a za potrebe teorije identifikovani i kao umetnički i medijski diskurs i tekst.

Uvodni tekst prof. emeritusa Svetozara Rapajića ocrtava vremenske granice, istoriju i razvoj Katedre nastale na tradiciji teorijskog i opšteg obrazovanja: najpre pozorišnih, a znatno kasnije i filmskih i drugih medijskih stvaralaca, od glumačkih škola 19. veka, preko Pozorišne akademije i Visoke filmske škole do Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti.

Hronološki, prvi deo zbornika posvećen je studijama pozorišta i izvođenja. U njemu Nebojša Romčević rekonstruiše moguću teoriju, žanrovske odlike i teme srednje atičke komedije, kao nedovoljno istraženog perioda o kojem debata počinje još od aleksandrijskih teoretičara i traje do danas. Autor ukazuje da se bogatstvo srednje komedije opire pojednostavljenoj slici „prelaznog perioda” između stare i nove atičke komedije i traži ozbiljnu posvećenost u izučavanju brojnih fragmenata, koji su poslednjih decenija postali dostupni javnosti. Sa suprotnog vremenskog kraja, Ivan Medenica razmatra pojam postdramskog pozorišta, preciznije globalnu i lokalnu recepciju knjige teoretičara Hansa-Tisa Lemana *Postdramsko pozorište*. Poseban fokus ovog rada odnosi se na analizu sinteze brehtovskog i lemanovskog koncepta političnosti u pozorištu, prisutnu u predstavama reditelja Olivera Frlića. Ksenija Radulović istražuje BITEF (Beogradski internacionalni teatarski festival), koji nije samo pozorišna manifestacija međunarodne prepoznatljivosti, nego i naglašeni kulturni, ali i društveno-politički fenomen lokalne scene. U istorijskom kontekstu posmatrano, ovaj festival osnovan je (1967) kao instrument kulturne diplomatije zemlje u kojoj je nastao (Jugoslavija), a u tekstu se ukazuje i na specifično nasleđe Bitefa koje u savremenom dobu postaje deo silabusa predmeta Istorija svetskog pozorišta i drame na Fakultetu

dramskih umetnosti. Ognjen Obradović bavi se *cross-gender* podelom u predstavi *Gospođa ministarka* („Boško Buha”, 2014), pokazujući kako ovaj postupak može, zahvaljujući onome što autor označava kao *cross-gender* efekat, oneobičiti i destabilizovati fiksne kategorije roda, ali i druge, s njima povezane, društvene konstrukte.

Drugi deo izdanja obuhvata studije filma i ekranskih medija. U mestu susreta filma i sećanja Nevena Daković razmatra teorijsko uokviravanje filmova o Jasenovcu u studijama sećanja. Sledstveno, iščitavanje žanrovski raznolikih filmskih narativa o zloglasnom logoru odvija se kroz prizmu teorija istorijskog sećanja, kulturalne traume, korisne ili upotrebljive prošlosti, precizno reflektujući dijalektiku procesa etnicizacije i deeticizacije sećanja. Potom, Aleksandar Janković u najširim okvirima studija filma i popularne kulture identifikuje „pasivizaciju muškog narativa”: ovaj fenomen vezan je za pojavu savremene srpske melodrame obeležene (i pored prisustva muških reditelja) ženskim rukopisom i tematikom. Aleksandra Milovanović (u saradnji sa doktorantkinjama i istraživačicama-saradnicama Mašom Seničić i Ivom Leković) istražuje aktuelni fenomen TV serija, s naglaskom na dekonstrukciju rodnih stereotipa. U tekstu se na primeru kriminalističkih serija Srbije i Turske razmatra bliska veza između zastupljenosti ženskih likova u aktuelnim serijama i teorijskih koncepata žanrovske i kulturalne blizine, prelomljena kroz feminističku optiku.

Treći deo zbornika posvećen je studijama kulture. Tekst Vlatka Ilića i Divne Vuksanović problematizuje pojam i fenomene prostora u novom medijskom okruženju. Naime, u savremenom dobu, mediji bitno menjaju našu percepciju prostora, time što stvaraju jednu umetnutu, artificijelnu prostornu realnost, o kojoj je u ovom članku reč. Analitičko-kritički odnos prema toj prostornosti osnovni je predmet njihovih istraživanja, sprovedenih iz ugla filozofije medija. Irena Ristić ispituje dejstva imaginacija u kulturno-istorijskoj perspektivi, u svetlu razvojnosti koja se ostvaruje u praksi, i to ne samo na nivou materijalne proizvodnje već i društvene: spram socijalnih

relacija iz kojih izranja i koje ujedno može menjati. Oslanja se pritom na koncept radikalne imaginacije Korneliusa Kastoriadis kao i teoriju Leva Vigotskog, pokazajući kako imaginativni rad utiče na generativne procese u društvu, kao i reinstitucionalizaciju, kroz neprekidnu proizvodnju i pretres imaginarnih društvenih značenja. Konačno, Enisa Uspenski istražuje odnos reditelja Jurija Rakitina prema F. M. Dostojevskom, kao dramskom piscu. Ona posebno fokusira Rakitinovu režiju novele *Ujkin san* i neostvarenu scensku postavku romana *Idiot*.

Raznovrsnost radova i želja da se u zadatim granicama najefektnije predstavi naš rad, učiniće da čitalac, povremeno, stekne utisak sažetosti ili izvesne gustoće teksta. Ta slika je, moramo priznati i posledica koncepcije *Atlas Itake* kao rezimea dugogodišnjih istraživanja članova Katedre, kada su na tom tragu neki od tekstova nužno preglednog karaktera u odnosu na do sada objavljene rezultate istraživanja, a pojedini njihovi delovi u različitim oblicima i formatima su preuzeti iz već publikovanih radova autora. No, ponavljanja i „lakune“ skladno su korigovani i popunjeni ako ova izlaganja shvatimo prevashodno kao putokaz ka obuhvatnijim, detaljnijim i obimnijim radovima u odnosu na koje, jezikom matematike rečeno, ovi tekstovi predstavljaju samo „prvi izvod“ ili komentar, *teaser* koji neminovno (od)vodi dalje. U tom smislu, *Atlas Itake* je mesto susretanja prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti, sažetih u predstavljenim istraživanjima.

Nevena Daković  
Ksenija Radulović





Svetozar Rapajić<sup>1</sup>  
Fakultet dramskih umetnosti  
Beograd

## UMETNIČKA KREACIJA – PROMIŠLJANJE – TEORIJA

U Evropi postoje, uprošćeno rečeno, uglavnom dve vrste visokog umetničkog obrazovanja. Postoje visoke škole, akademije i konzervatoriji, koji su vokacione prirode i pripremaju studente za određene umetničke profesije. Prijem studenata u njima je krajnje selektivan, procesi školovanja se vrše u malim klasama ili čak individualno, nastava je u najvećoj meri praktična, a teoretske discipline su samo mali dodatak. Ove škole su uglavnom samostalne i nisu uključene u postojeće univerzitete. S druge strane, na univerzitetima, na fakultetima humanističkih usmerenja, postoje departmani posvećeni umetnosti, ali oni uglavnom nisu usmereni ka određenim umetničkim zanimanjima, selekcija studenata je veoma liberalna ili je uopšte nema, nastava se izvodi u velikim grupama i uglavnom je teorijske prirode, sa malo ili nimalo individualnog praktičnog rada.

Fakultet dramskih umetnosti u Beogradu, kao deo specifičnog Univerziteta umetnosti, spada u one retke škole koje uspevaju da spoje prednosti oba pedagoška formata. Kao i u slučajevima prethodnih škola, njegova primarna svrha je da školuje praktični umetnički kadar u oblasti pozorišta, filma, radija i televizije. Međutim, u taj proces umetničkog



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<sup>1</sup> svrapajic@gmail.com

obučavanja uključena je veoma jaka teorijska komponenta, komplementarna umetničkim veštinama, važna i neophodna. S druge strane, samostalni i autentični teorijski programi na master i doktorskim naučnim studijama, opet uz strogu selekciju studenata i rad u malim grupama, omogućavaju formiranje naučno-istraživačkog kadra, osposobljenog i za pedagoški rad u oblasti teorije i istorije dramskih umetnosti. Teorijski predmeti, danas su koncentrisani na Katedri za teoriju i istoriju, kao „unikatni” predmeti posvećeni istoriji i teoriji dramskih umetnosti, kao i predmeti iz šireg polja društvene humanistike i opšteg obrazovanja. Iako Katedra nema osnovne studije, osobeno koncipirane master i doktorske naučne studije situirane u polju društvene humanistike daju prepoznatljivi pečat ne samo širokoj oblasti studija dramskih umetnosti, već i Fakultetu dramskih umetnosti u celini.

Katedra za teoriju i istoriju, koja je do 2007. godine bila jedina naučna katedra na Fakultetu, nastaje na vekovnim tekovinama teorijskog obrazovanja o dramskim umetnostima, koje je u različitim oblicima postojalo dugo vremena samo na pozorišno-glumačkim školama. Ova duboko i rano uvrežena svest o neophodnosti teorijskog obrazovanja koje prati umetničke discipline, sa ciljem stvaranja modernog umetnika na zavidnom kulturnom i intelektualnom nivou, prenesena je na i potonje umetničke akademije i fakultete. Stoga priča o povesti Katedre za teoriju i istoriju seže do prvih dana obrazovanja pozorišnih glumaca.

### **Pozorišni koreni**

Od osnivanja Srpskog narodnog pozorišta u Novom Sadu 1861. godine, najstarijeg srpskog profesionalnog pozorišta čiji kontinuitet traje do danas, funkciju upravnika vršio je Jovan Đorđević, koji je bio i jedan od glavnih stvaralaca koncepta novog pozorišta, i njegov reditelj, dramaturg, lektor. Rukovodio je svim aspektima složenog pozorišnog kolektiva, od umetničkih, do tehničkih i finansijskih, ali je bio i intelektualni stub, koji je podjednako razvijao i etičku (pre svega patriotsku) i estetsku



IZVEŠTAJ KATEDRE ZA ISTORIJU I TEORIJU

Katedra za istoriju i teoriju održala je u toku 1966/67. školske godine pet sastanaka.

Na tim sastancima rešavana su tekuća pitanja nastave i predlagane su, pored ostalog, izvesne promene i dopune statuta koje bi trebalo da se sprovedu u delo kroz statutarne odluke o čemu je dekanat obaveštavan preko zapisnika sastanaka Katedre.

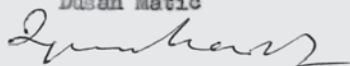
Kao najvažniji sadatak ove Katedre bilo je pitanje i organizovanje Centra za naučna istraživanja, dokumentaciju i publikacije. U vezi sa tim održani su i zajednički sastanci sa članovima novoosnovanog Centra. Pitanje Centra i njegove strukture ostaje da se reši definitivno na sastanku Katedre za istoriju i teoriju koji bi se održao uz prisustvo članova Centra u toku ove školske godine.

Na poslednjem sastanku protekle školske godine izabran je novi šef Katedre za istoriju i teoriju – profesor Dušan Matić umesto dotadašnjeg šefa profesora Djuze Radovića.

Dva člana ove Katedre, profesor Stanislav Bajić i docent Vladimir Petrić učestvovali su, na predlog ove Katedre, kao predstavnici Akademije na sastancima Kongresa istočno-evropskih pozorišta (Petrić) i Kongresa internacionalne pozorišne federacije za pozorišna istraživanja (Bajić) u Budimpešti, gde su podneli svoje referate o pozorišnim problemima u našoj zemlji.

Katedra je predložila da se njen dosadašnji naziv preobrati u Katedra za istoriju i teoriju i da nastavnik ESTETIKE I TEORIJE FILMA (docent Dušan Stejanović) postane član ove Katedre, jer priroda njegovog predmeta potpuno odgovara propekcijama na kojima se zasniva ova Katedra.

Šef Katedre za istoriju  
i teoriju,  
Dušan Matić



dimenziju. Nadasve, mudri i obrazovani Đorđević odmah je razumeo da tadašnjim srpskim glumcima, ma koliko posedovali bogomdani talenat ili prethodno praktično iskustvo (uglavnom iz putujućih trupa), nedostaje i opšte i stručno obrazovanje, neophodno da bi njihova glumačka veština sa tehničkog i intuitivnog nivoa dostigla viši umetnički domet. Zato je, u okviru pozorišta, osnovao za članove ansambla neku vrstu povremene, ali obavezne glumačke obuke, interne glumačke škole, koja je već primljenim glumcima obezbedila dodatno obrazovanje kroz opšteobrazovne i stručne umetničke discipline.

Prelaskom u tada osnovano Narodno pozorište u Beogradu (1868) nacionalno pozorište, koje je bilo državna ustanova, i čiji je pokrovitelj bio knez Mihailo – sa sobom odnosi i novi obrazovni koncept. U novim, povoljnijim uslovima, Đorđević je mogao ambicioznije da priđe ostvarivanju svojih zamisli, pa je tako već krajem 1869. godine Pozorišni odbor doneo odluku o osnivanju prve srpske glumačke škole, čija solidnost i modernost koncepta i iz današnje perspektive zaslužuju poštovanje.

Na popisu predmeta pored onih „glumačkih”, nalaze se teorijski predmeti kao što su *Teorija dramske poezije sa istorijom dramske književnosti domaće i stranske*, *Teorija pozorišne umetnosti*, *Istorija pozorišne umetnosti*, *Teorija glume i režija* (predavao Aleksa Bačvanski), *Srpska i svetska književnost sa osvrtom na dramu i pozorište* (Jovan Đorđević), *Istorija srpskoga naroda i opšta istorija* (takođe Đorđević), *Srpski jezik i književnost* (Jovan Bošković) i *Estetika*. Osnivači glumačke škole, na čelu sa Jovanom Đorđevićem i Aleksom Bačvanskim,<sup>2</sup> očigledno su shvatali da je za razvoj glumačkog, i uopšte pozorišnog umetnika neophodna i dimenzija promišljanja, dubljeg razumevanja literarne i istorijske strukture scenski tumačenih dramskih dela i likova, ali i suštinskog poimanja ukupnog fenomena scenske umetnosti. I to u tadašnjoj

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2 Angažovanjem Alekse Bačvanskog, prvog srpskog glumca sa internacionalnom karijerom, škola je dobila autoritativnog glumačkog prvaka, reditelja i „artističnog direktora” i glavnog nastavnika Glumačke škole.

polupismenoj Srbiji, još uvek pod turskim suverenitetom. Ovaj stav, koji kompletnog pozorišnog umetnika razume kao promišljajućeg stvaraoca, obeležio je i kratkotrajnu drugu glumačku školu pri Narodnom pozorištu koja je funkcionisala 1909. godine, u kojoj su pored pozorišnih prvaka predavali i prvaci tadašnje nauke dr Nikola Vulić i dr Veselin Čajkanović.

Početak dvadesetog veka, u periodu modernizacije i velikog napretka u razvoju umetničkog stvaranja u srpskom kulturnom prostoru (posebno poezije i slikarstva), pozorišna umetnost zaostajala je za drugim umetnostima. Toga je uveliko bio svestan Milan Grol, jedan od najznačajnijih ljudi u istoriji našeg pozorišta, višekratni i dugogodišnji upravnik Narodnog pozorišta, vizionar i reformator. On u svom manifestu iz 1912. godine, pored novina koje su se odnosile na repertoar, modernizaciju režije i scenskog izraza, te uvođenje opere, nije zaboravio ni tadašnji nedostatak sistematskog pozorišnog obrazovanja. Kao rešenje tog problema predvideo je osnivanje velikog konzervatorijuma za obrazovanje novih glumačkih i pevačkih snaga, što zbog ratnih okolnosti nije bilo moguće, ali se ipak, u nekom vidu, ostvarilo tek po okončanju ratova i stvaranju nove države Kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Na Grolovu inicijativu, a uz svesrdno zalaganje Branislava Nušića, kao načelnika Umetničkog odeljenja Ministarstva prosvete, i odluku ministra Svetozara Pribičevića, 1. novembra 1921. godine počela je sa radom nova Glumačko-baletska škola, koja je ovoga puta bila samostalna ustanova, ali bez oznake stepena obrazovanja. Uprkos ogromnim, pre svega kadrovskim, prostornim i finansijskim problemima, kao i uz česta gruba nipodaštavanja u javnosti, tokom svog postojanja, do 1927. godine, odigrala je veliku ulogu u profesionalizaciji novih naraštaja i modernizaciji srpskog pozorišta.

Pored umetničkih predmeta, koje su predavali autoritativni pozorišni stručnjaci (Pera Dobrinović, Jurij Rakitin, Velimir Živojinović Masuka, Milan Grol, dr Miloje Milojević, Klavdija Isačenko), značajno mesto u nastavnom planu imali su i predmeti usmereni na teorijsku oblast, kao što su bili *Srpski jezik i književnost* (Milan Bogdanović), *Istorija pozorišta*

(dr Ranko Mladenović), *Istorija drame* (dr Vinko Vitezica), *Istorija novije domaće i francuske drame* (Milan Bogdanović, zatim Momčilo Milošević), *Istorija umetnosti* (Milan Kašanin), *Čitanje sa estetskom analizom tekstova* (Sima Pandurović), kao i nastava nemačkog i ruskog jezika.

Posle šest godina neuspehli pokušaja obnavljanja glumačkog obrazovanja, najzad je 1933. godine, ovog puta ponovo u okviru Narodnog pozorišta, počela sa radom četvrta beogradska glumačka škola. Podatak o „teorijskoj” nastavi na prve dve godine značio je samo to da je nastava umetničkih, praktičnih predmeta izvođena u najvećoj meri samo predavački, eks-katedra. U stvari, teorijske discipline koje su predavale velika imena tog doba kao što su Jurij Rakitin (*Istorija pozorišta*), dr Milan Marković (*Istorija književnosti*), dr Dušan Milačić (*Književna analiza dramskog teksta*), Milorad Vanlić (*Psihologija i Estetika*) i Milica Babić Jovanović (*Istorija kostima*) bile su manje prisutne nego u ranijoj školi pa se može zaključiti da je ova škola bila pre svega u funkciji trenutnih potreba Narodnog pozorišta. Godine 1939. došlo je i do njenog tihog gašenja, koje skoro niko nije ni primetio, jer su u međuvremenu osnovane umetničke akademije koje su donele državno i sistematsko rešenje školovanja umetnika.

Davna Grolova ideja o konzervatorijumu, umetničkoj visokoj školi univerzitetskog nivoa u Beogradu, konačno se ostvarila, mada verovatno ne sasvim onako kako je to on zamislio. Ovoga puta, 31. marta 1937. godine, Ministarstvo prosvete donelo je uredbu o osnivanju srednjih i viših umetničkih škola, kojom su, između ostalog, osnovane Umetnička (likovna) akademija i Muzička akademija,<sup>3</sup> u čijem sastavu je bio Odsek za pozorišnu umetnost, a kojoj je pridružena Srednja muzička škola, u čijem sastavu je bio i Baletski odsek.<sup>4</sup> Iako je Odsek za pozorišnu umetnost

3 Akademije nisu bile u sastavu Univerziteta u Beogradu.

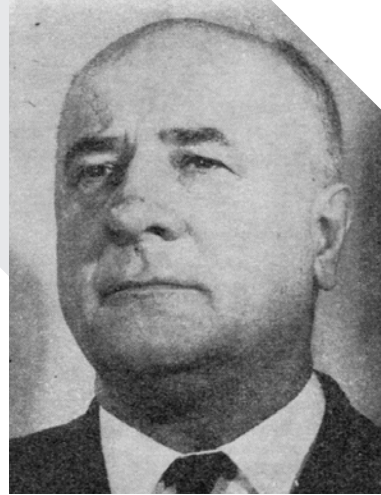
4 Ovakva arhitektura obrazovnih institucija nastala je po ugledu na postojeću evropsku praksu (Music and Drama, Musik und darstellende Kunst – muzika i predstavljačka umetnost).

osnovan sa velikim idejama, a za rektora 1939. godine postavljen je Petar Konjović, jedan od najvećih srpskih kompozitora i iskusan pozorišni poslenik, sve ambicije su samo u maloj meri mogle biti ostvarene. Konjović je, između ostalog, nameravao da Akademijin pozorišni odsek bude namenjen akademskom obrazovanju budućih reditelja, dramaturga i drugih pozorišnih stručnjaka, što je nametalo očekivanje većeg udela teorijskih predmeta. No, iz jedva dostupnih podataka može se zaključiti da je na Pozorišnom odseku, koji je imao priznati visokoškolski status, zapravo bilo manje i praktičnih i teorijskih disciplina, nego što je to bilo u ranijim neakademske školama. Povremeno se pojavljuju opšteobrazovni predmeti kao što je *Istorija umetnosti* (Đurđe Bošković), uz teorijske predmete usmerene na pozorišnu umetnost, kao što su *Kulturna istorija u vezi sa razvojem drame i opere* (dr Vinko Vitezica), *Osnovi psihologije u vezi sa pozorišnom umetnošću* (Milorad Vanlić), dok je kasnije *Istoriju pozorišta* predavao sam Konjović. Dodatno, planovi i programi su bili nesigurni i fluidni i stiče se utisak da je njihovo izvođenje najviše zavisilo od oskudnih finansijskih mogućnosti, a naročito od trenutne raspoloživosti nastavnog kadra. Neredovno izvođenje nastave i „nestajanje” nekih važnih predmeta obeležili su ne samo period okupacije, u kome je nastave jedva i bilo, nego i predratne godine.

Dok tokom okupacije, odlukom okupacionih vlasti, Univerzitet u Beogradu nije izvodio nastavu, samostalna Muzička, kao i Umetnička akademija radile su sporadično i formalno, do prolećnog savezničkog bombardovanja 1944. godine, posle čega je većina studenata Pozorišnog odseka uspela da se prebaci u partizane. Po oslobođenju, Pozorišni odsek je ukinut iako je potreba za školovanim pozorišnim umetnicima bila veća nego ikada. Stoga su, u očekivanju prave visoke pozorišne škole, osnovani Srednja glumačka škola u Novom Sadu i, kao privremeno rešenje, Dramski studio pri Narodnom pozorištu u Beogradu. I pored neodređenog ranga u sistemu obrazovanja i prelazno-privremenog statusa, Dramski studio je tokom tri godine postojanja imao čvrstu organizaciju, redovnu nastavu i



Dušan Matić, akademik



dr Pavle Vasić



Josip Kulundžić, akademik i dr Miloš Đurić, akademik

kvalifikovan nastavni kadar. Praktičnu nastavu vodili su iskusni glumački prvaci, ali je ozbiljna pažnja poklanjana i teorijskim predmetima, koje su predavali: dr Hugo Klajn, Milan Bogdanović, Božidar Kovačević, Petar Mitropan, Sreten Marić. *Teoriju glume*, koja je bila posvećena istraživanju učenja Stanislavskog, predavao je Raša Plaović. O visokom nivou Dramskog studija govori i činjenica da su mnogi njegovi polaznici imali značajno mesto u posleratnom razvoju pozorišta, filma, ali i novih medija kao što su radio i televizija.

### **Novo doba, obrazovanje, umetnost i mediji**

Novi važan korak u visokoškolskom obrazovanju u oblasti dramskih umetnosti bilo je osnivanje Visoke škole za filmsku glumu i režiju 1947. godine. Visoka filmska škola je u mnogočemu bila prva. Bio je to prvi oblik visokog obrazovanja u potpunosti posvećen dramskoj umetnosti, prva škola koja je proširila svoj fokus i na druge medije, prva škola koja je obučavala ne samo glumce, nego i reditelje i snimatelje, prva škola koja je bila saveznog karaktera i bila pod direktnom ingerencijom Komiteta za kinematografiju Vlade FNRJ, pa su u nju dolazili studenti iz cele tadašnje Jugoslavije, a čak su i prve faze prijemnih ispita održavane u tadašnjim republičkim centrima.

Za prvog direktora škole postavljen je Vjekoslav Afrić, predratni prvak hrvatskog glumišta, ratni osnivač i rukovodilac Kazališta narodnog oslobođenja pri Vrhovnom štabu NOV, i reditelj našeg prvog poratnog igranog filma *Slavica* (1947). Afrić je u pravom smislu reči bio univerzalni mentor škole, a stručne i umetničke predmete predavali su ugledni umetnici, koji su međutim skoro svi imali malo ili nimalo filmskog iskustva. I u ovoj visokoj školi poklanjana je pažnja teorijskom pristupu, pa su predmete kao što su bili *Istorija filma*, *Teorija glume*, *Jugoslovenska književnost*, *Istorija nove Jugoslavije*, *Društvene nauke*, predavali dr Miloš Đurić, Stanislav Bajić, dr Dimitrije Vučenov, dr Svetozar Radojčić i Oto Bihalji Merin.

I pored velikih ambicija, Visoka škola za filmsku glumu, posle samo tri godine (1950), pripojena je u međuvremenu osnovanoj Akademiji za pozorišnu umetnost. Neki od studenata koji nisu dovršili studije nastavili su školovanje na Akademiji; neki su primljeni u pozorišta ili su uspeli da se odmah uključe u filmsku, kasnije i televizijsku proizvodnju; a neki su dobili stipendije za usavršavanje u evropskim filmskim centrima. I pored kratkog trajanja i početničkog izvođenja nastave, kroz školu je prošlo nekoliko polaznika, kao što su bili dr Vladimir Petrić i dr Milenko Misailović, koji su prvi i sa velikim uspehom zakoračili u domen teorije.

Uslovi za osnivanje prave visoke pozorišne škole, koja će izbeći nedostatke ranijih pokušaja pozorišnog obrazovanja, stekli su se 11. decembra 1948. godine, kada je Vlada FNRJ donela Uredbu o osnivanju Akademije za pozorišnu umetnost.<sup>5</sup> Uredbu su potpisali predsednik Vlade Josip Broz Tito i ministar Rodoljub Čolaković. U odluci o osnivanju Akademije između ostalog je pisalo da je njen zadatak „da osposobljava visokokvalifikovane kadrove glumaca, reditelja i pozorišnih stručnjaka.” (Bajić 1971: 7). Ovo imenovanje „pozorišnih stručnjaka” otvorilo je mogućnost za grananje studijskih programa, ali se moglo, sa malo invencije i dobre volje, odnositi i na stručnjake za teorijski pristup dramskim umetnostima.

Akademik Dušan Matić, dugogodišnji čelnik Akademije za pozorište, prvo kao postavljeni direktor, zatim kao izabrani rektor (dok je Akademija bila samostalna), pa izabrani dekan (kad je Akademija postala deo Umetničke akademije, današnjeg Univerziteta umetnosti), povodom obeležavanja desetogodišnjice istakao je da je *differentia specifica* nove institucije široko opšte obrazovanje koje pruža polaznicima i koje umetnicima jedino omogućuje i obezbeđuje „odgovarajuće tumačenje analitičkih i intelektualnih dramskih tekstova.” (isto: 18). A Stanislav

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5 Za razliku od ljubljanske i zagrebačke Akademije, beogradska Akademija je jedina imala savezni karakter, pa su od samog početka rada na nju dolazili studenti iz svih krajeva tadašnje Jugoslavije.



Bajić, legendarni dugogodišnji profesor *Istorije svetskog pozorišta i drame*, umno je zaključio da: „kvalitet kadrova ne zavisi samo od urođenog talenta pojedinca već i od stepena teorijskog i praktičnog poznavanja pozorišne umetnosti, kao i od kolektivnog osećanja značaja tog poznavanja.” (isto: 7).



prof. Stanislav Bajić

Godine 1957. do tada samostalne četiri akademije udružile su se u Umetničku akademiju, drugi državni univerzitet u Beogradu (pored Beogradskog univerziteta). Pozorišna akademija je godinama širila svoje nastavne programe, i u skladu sa tim je Zakonom o visokom školstvu 1962. godine preimenovana u Akademiju za pozorište, film, radio i televiziju. Indikativan je stav iz ovog Zakona koji utvrđuje da je zadatak ovih najviših naučnih i nastavnih ustanova „da organizuju i sprovedu naučno-istraživački rad, staraju se o podizanju naučnih kadrova i uvode studente u metode naučnog, odnosno umetničkog rada” (isto: 20), koji se može tumačiti kao davanje legitimiteta umetničkim akademijama da se bave i naučnim radom.

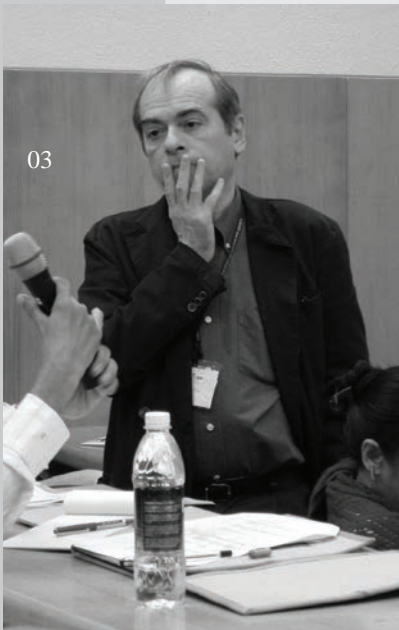
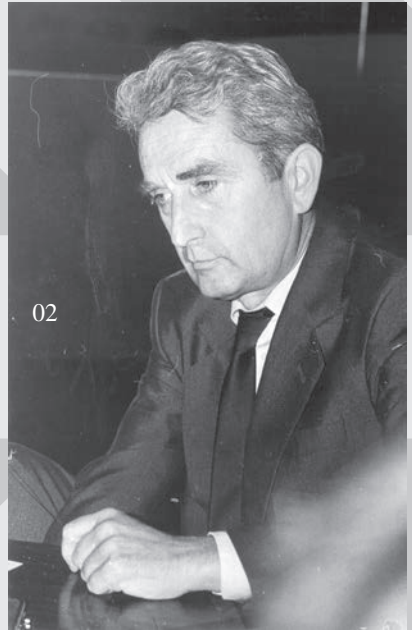
### **Od Katedre za teoriju i istoriju do Instituta za pozorište, film, radio i televiziju**

Kada je 1950. godine Visoka filmska škola pripojena Pozorišnoj akademiji, postojala je pretpostavka da će se u okviru Akademije proučavati i filmske discipline. To se nije dogodilo, sem u sporadičnim i retkim slučajevima pojedinačnih gostovanja ili seminara kao što je bilo gostovanje uglednog holivudskog filmskog umetnika i teoretičara Slavka Vorkapića, 1951–1953. godine. Sistematska nastava filma uvedena je tek 1961. godine na studijskom programu Režije, tako da je nastava prve dve godine obuhvatala i pozorište i film, a na trećoj godini su se studenti opredeljivali za pozorišni ili filmski smer. Iako su se kasnije dva smera razdvojila, uvođenje filmske nastave omogućilo je i širenje fokusa teorijske nastave i stvaranje posebnih filmskih, a kasnije i medijskih teorijskih predmeta koji su pratili svetske univerzitetske i praktične tendencije.

Novi zamah u razvitku istorijskih i teorijskih disciplina donelo je, u okviru organizacije nastavne strukture Akademije, osnivanje posebne Katedre za teoriju i istoriju, 1963. godine, čiji je prvi šef bio profesor Đuza Radović. Članovi Katedre za teoriju i istoriju bili su ugledni naučnici i teoretičari u odgovarajućim oblastima, doktori nauka i akademici, vodeći umetnički kritičari. Među njima su markantna imena, kao što su akademik dr Miloš Đurić (*Antička književnost*), Dušan Matić (*Moderna književnost*), Stanislav Bajić, dr Dragan Klaić i dr Aleksandra Jovićević (*Istorija svetskog pozorišta i drame*), Đuza Radović, dr Raško Jovanović, dr Mirjana Miočinović, i dr Petar Marjanović (*Istorija jugoslovenskog pozorišta i drame*), dr Vladimir Petrić (*Estetika filma, Istorija filma*), Vladimir Pogačić, dr Petar Volk i dr Nikola Stojanović (*Istorija filma*), dr Dušan Stojanović (*Teorija filma*), dr Dejan Medaković, dr Stanislav Živković, dr Zoran Gavrić (*Istorija umetnosti*), dr Pavle Vasić (*Istorija kostima, Istorija umetnosti*), dr Hugo Klajn, dr Živorad Vasić, dr Slavoljub Radonjić, dr Predrag Ognjenović i dr Tijana (Kosanović) Mandić (*Psihologija*), dr Milan Damnjanović, dr Sreten Petrović, dr Mirko Zurovac i dr Radoslav

Đokić (*Estetika*), dr Milan Ranković (*Sociologija umetnosti*), dr Ljiljana Bogoeva Sedlar (*Engleski jezik*) i drugi.

Program i sama lista predmeta Katedre za teoriju i istoriju menjali su se u stalnoj potrazi za najboljim modelom sadržaja i metodama nastave koji bi obezbedili delikatnu ravnotežu između teorijskog obrazovanja umetnika, samostalnog naučno-istraživačkog rada i poslediplomskih studija. Specifična okolnost bila je odnos između opšteobrazovnih predmeta, predmeta postojećih na Filološkom ili Filozofskom fakultetu i stvaranja unikatnih predmeta Akademije, odnosno Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti. Tako na primer, dok su na Univerzitetu u Beogradu postojali predmeti koji su se bavili dramskom književnošću, na Akademiji su od osnivanja uvedeni predmeti *Istorija svetske* i *Istorija jugoslovenske drame i pozorišta*, a zatim su ovi predmeti nazvani *Istorija svetskog*, odnosno *Istorija jugoslovenskog pozorišta i drame*. Ova promena je bila indikativna, jer je označavala usmeravanje fokusa, pored analize dramske literature (kao što se radilo na Filološkom fakultetu), na istorije i teorije inscenacije i izvođenja, za koje je samo FDU i danas matičan. Filmski predmeti, poput *Istorije filma* (na spisku predmeta VFŠ od 1947. godine) i *Teorije filma* (od 1965. godine, kada je prof. Stojanović preuzeo od prof. Petrića *Estetiku filma* i preimenovao je, u francuskom duhu, u *Teoriju filma*) od samog uvođenja prepoznati su kao unikatni predmeti FDU, koji se tek od nedavno sporadično pojavljuju u programima drugih fakulteta (Filološki fakultet, FPN), ali samo u segmentu široko koncipiranih studija kulture, vizuelnih umetnosti ili ideološkog rada medijskih tekstova. Najzad, događale su se i promene u ukusu, u duhu vremena, globalne burne promene u ideološkim, geopolitičkim i kulturološkim prioritetima, a naročito u transformacijama koje su vrtoglavo menjale teoriju i praksu dramskih umetnosti i širećih medija – od analognih do digitalnih. Iako nije bilo lako promišljeno ispratiti sve promene, Katedra za teoriju i istoriju uspela je da sve uspešno prebrodi stalnim inovacijama predmeta na osnovnim studijama, napornim saobražavanjem potrebama različitih umetničkih katedri i uvođenjem jedinstvenih poslediplomskih studija.



04



05



06



01 dr Dušan Stojanović  
 02 dr Petar Marjanović  
 03 dr Dragan Klaić

04 dr Petar Volk  
 05 dr Ljiljana Bogoeva Sedlar  
 06 dr Aleksandra Jovičević

Povodom 20 godina rada Akademije (1968), tadašnji šef Katedre za teoriju i istoriju Vladimir Petrić obuhvatno je razmišljao o različitim problemima i dilemama koje teorijska nastava nameće u ovako složenoj univerzitetskoj i fakultetskoj strukturi (v. Petrić 1971: 103–109). Tako on kao prvi problem navodi napore za, rekli bismo, punu legitimaciju teorijske nastave, koja je u neravnopravnom odnosu prema praktičnoj umetničkoj nastavi. To se odnosi na neretka, ako ne eksplicitna, a ono implicitna shvatanja o sporednosti teorijske nastave u stalnoj borbi za broj časova (koja posebno ograničava ogromnu materiju istorijskih predmeta) unutar prenapregnutih nastavnih planova, a u današnje vreme u borbi za broj bodova bolonjskog sistema.

Kao drugi problem, kome se nedovoljno poklanja pažnja, Petrić ističe potrebu povezivanja teorijskih predavanja sa praktičnim umetničkim radom studenata, čime bi se izgubila izvesna izolovanost, samodovoljnost i samosvrishodnost teorijskih predmeta. U istom ključu, pored proklamovanih uzajamnosti pojedinih predmeta ili poželjne korelacije predmeta unutar nastavnog plana, Petrić se hipotetički pita i „do koje mere treba razlučivati teorijske predmete od stručnih, naročito kada su u pitanju teorija i estetika neke umetnosti koja se teško može odvojiti od izučavanja same tehnike i izražajnih sredstava” medija. Savremenom terminologijom, Petrićeva razmatranja upućuju na neizbežnu interdisciplinarnost, ne samo u okvirima društvene humanistike ili nauka o dramskim umetnostima već i u širem osobenom okviru nauka o umetnostima i samih umetnosti, odnosno umetničke prakse.

Najzad, Petrić predlaže i reformu nastavnih programa opštih teorijskih predmeta, muzike, istorije umetnosti, estetike, psihologije, čak i stranih jezika, koja bi ove predmete, koji su postojali u prethodnim oblicima obrazovanja, usmerila u pravcu njihove veze sa umetničkim stvaranjem u pozorištu, filmu, radiju i televiziji. Ova Petrićeva kreativna ideja bila je na Akademiji jednoglasno podržana, ali je delimično ostvarena tek u trećem milenijumu pojavom generacije predavača (interdisciplinarno)

obrazovanih na drugim društveno-humanističkim fakultetima ili onih koji su posle osnovnih umetničkih studija stekli zvanje doktora nauka o umetnosti i potvrdili poziciju u polju teorije. Takođe, Petrić je ukazao na studentsku želju da se nastava teorijskih predmeta u većoj meri posveti i savremenim ostvarenjima, što je takođe realizovano prilagođavanjem nastavnih planova na nivou master i doktorskih studija teorije, odnosno prilagođavanjem novoosnovanim katedrama (Katedra za dizajn i snimanje zvuka i Katedra za vizuelne efekte, animaciju i gejm art).

U svom analitičkom, ali i vizionarskom pogledu na mesto, metode i funkciju teorijske nastave, Petrić je sebi dozvolio i jednu pretpostavku, koja je nekima izgledala utopistička, drugima ekscentrična, ili čak jeretička – da će, jednog dana, studenti moći da diplomiraju i na ovoj katedri, odnosno



dr Vladimir Petrić

da će Katedra osposobljavati teoretičare, istoričare, kritičare i nastavnike u oblastima pozorišta, filma, radija i televizije. I zaista, na Katedri je više puta o tome diskutovano. Čak je bio pripremljen ozbiljan i obiman elaborat u koji je bilo uloženo mnogo smislenog rada, kao osnova za uvođenje teorijske nastavne grupe na osnovnim studijama. Taj predlog nije nikada bio na Akademiji ozbiljnije razmatran, i u stvari je iz mnogo razloga u datim okolnostima bio potpuno nerealan. Ali se može reći da je Petrićeva ideja bila ostvarena na drugi način, na nivou poslediplomskih studija uvođenjem naučne magistrature o dramskim umetnostima posvećene istorijsko-teorijskom usavršavanju u oblastima teatrologije i filmologije, jasno pripadajućim Katedri za teoriju i istoriju.<sup>6</sup>

Interesantno je pomenuti da su, suprotno očekivanju pa i logici, prvi odbranjeni naučni radovi bili doktorati.<sup>7</sup> Prvi doktorati, Josipa Lešića *Pozorišni život u Sarajevu od 1878. do 1918. godine* (mentor dr Milorad Pavić), odbranjen 1972. godine, i Dušana Stojanovića *Film kao prevazilaženje jezika* (mentor dr Milan Damnjanović), odbranjen 1974. godine, suštinski su vezani za teoriju, teatrologiju i filmologiju, i proistekli su iz naučnih (pre svega istorijskih) istraživanja označivši na taj način početak naučno-istraživačkog rada na Fakultetu.

Izmenom Zakona o visokom školstvu 1973. godine, Umetnička akademija prerasla je u Univerzitet umetnosti, a akademije su postale fakulteti. Akademija za pozorište, film, radio i televiziju, posle mnogo internih diskusija, konsenzusom je dobila naziv Fakultet dramskih umetnosti (pozorište, film, radio i televizija) određujući podnaslovom u zagradi i pravce razvoja teorijske nastave i naučnih istraživanja, koji i danas pažljivo ne samo slede već i anticipiraju, doduše u imenu fakulteta nevidljivo, inovacije u umetničkoj praksi i medijima.

6 Jedinstvene magistarske studije obuhvatale su i predmete, predavače i magistarske radove koji su poticali iz svih drugih, u to vreme, umetničkih katedri (Menadžment, Produkcija, Dramaturgija, Pozorišna režija).

7 Prvi magistarski rad kandidata Dejana Miladinovića, *Razvoj operске režije u Beogradu i Novom Sadu od 1920. godine* (mentor dr Raško Jovanović), proistekao iz potrebe teorijske artikulacije stvaralačke prakse, odbranjen je 1976. godine.



Dalji razvoj je višestruko podstaknut i preseljenjem u novu zgradu na Novom Beogradu, 1974. godine. Između ostalog, kao poseban stručni organ Fakulteta formirano je Naučno veće, koje je u nadležnosti imalo magistarske studije, rad na doktorskim disertacijama i naučno-istraživački rad. Kasnije su bolonjskim reformama umesto magistarskih uvedene master studije u nadležnosti katedri pojedinačno, a prijava, rad i odbrana doktorske disertacije zamenjena je trogodišnjim naučnim i umetničkim doktorskim studijama koje se posle slušanja i polaganja ispita završavaju prijavom, izradom i odbranom doktorata. Jedinstveni naučni status Katedre za teoriju i istoriju promenjen je prelaskom Katedre za menadžment i produkciju pozorišta, radija i kulture u polje društvene humanistike 2007. godine. Nova-stara Katedra za menadžment je, na ovaj način, osnažila naučni segment rada Fakulteta, razvila ga u pravcu („spoljne”) interdisciplinarnosti u odnosu na polje ekonomskih i političkih nauka (kulturalna politika) univerziteta, donela niz hibridnih, multidisciplinarnih projekata i potvrdila postojanje dva programa naučnih doktorskih studija – Teorije i Menadžmenta. Ustanovljenim gustim vezama i zajedničkim radom, koji se stalno razvijaju, dve katedre su prepoznate kao čvrsto jezgro naučno-istraživačkog rada Fakulteta koji se grana u različitim pravcima.

Priča o Katedri za Teoriju i istoriju neodvojiva je od istorije razvoja naučno-istraživačkog rada na Fakultetu dramskih umetnosti, u kome su članovi Katedre intenzivno učestvovali, a često u segmentu matičnih istraživanja bili i glavni nosioci. Osnivanjem Instituta za pozorište, film, radio i televiziju<sup>8</sup> 1988. godine, kao istraživačke jedinice u okviru Fakulteta, oblasti studija filma i medija, pozorišta i izvođenja, i (popularne) kulture dobile su puni legitimitet u okviru sistema ministarstva nadležnog za oblast nauke. Institut je pružio podršku i okvir rada na različitim naučnim, kako nacionalnim tako i međunarodnim projektima. Godine 1997. ustanovljen je, kao periodični naučni časopis, *Zbornik radova Fakulteta*

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8 Prvi direktor Instituta bio je prof. dr Dejan Kosanović.

*dramskih umetnosti*, koji objavljuje radove domaćih i stranih autora iz oblasti teatrologije-studija izvođenja, filmologije-studija filma, teorije medija, estetike, teorije kulture, marketinga i menadžmenta umetnosti, kao i priloge iz istorije Fakulteta. Njegov duhovni pokretač i prvi urednik bio je profesor dr Petar Marjanović. Izdavačka delatnost Instituta je u stalnom razvoju vidljivom u povećanju broja objavljenih reprezentativnih naučnih monografija, zbornika i disertacija, od kojih su mnoge nagrađene prestižnim nagradama. Konačno, mnogi objavljeni naučno-istraživački radovi najpre su izloženi na nekom od brojnih naučnih skupova, konferencija i seminara koje organizuju Institut ili pojedinačne katedre Fakulteta.

### **Katedra za teoriju i istoriju danas, 60 godina posle**

Danas članovi Katedre nastavljaju prepoznatljivu tradiciju kvaliteta i modernosti vidljivu i u programima nove reakreditacije Fakulteta juna meseca 2023. godine. Predmeti na osnovnim studijama su modernizovani, a neki su i dobili i osavremenjeni naziv, dok su predavači uglavnom došli do najviših naučnih i nastavnih zvanja. Danas su članovi Katedre: redovni profesori dr Nevena Daković (*Teorija filma*), dr Divna Vuksanović (*Estetika, Teorija kulture*), dr Nebojša Romčević (*Istorija južnoslovenskog pozorišta i drame*), dr Ivan Medenica (*Istorija svetskog pozorišta i drame*), dr Irena Ristić (*Psihologija*), dr Enisa Uspenski (*Ruski jezik*); vanredni profesori dr Aleksandar Janković (*Istorija filma, Istorija srpskog i jugoslovenskog filma*), dr Vlatko Ilić (*Estetika, Teorija kulture*), dr Aleksandra Milovanović (*Teorija filma, Istorija filma, Studije televizije*), dr Ksenija Radulović (*Istorija svetskog pozorišta i drame*) i asistent Ognjen Obradović (*Istorija južnoslovenskog pozorišta i drame, Istorija svetskog pozorišta i drame*).

Programi master i doktorskih naučnih studija Teorije dramskih umetnosti, medija i kulture, postali su pravi prostor originalnosti, unikatnosti i stalnog razvoja Katedre uvođenjem novih naučnih i nastavnih oblasti. Na nivou master studija pored uvida u savremene teorijske tokove (dr Divna Vuksanović, dr Vlatko Ilić, *Savremena estetika*; dr Irena Ristić,



dr Aleksandar Janković, vanr. prof; dr Ljiljana Bogoeva Sedlar, red. prof; dr Divna Vuksanović, red. prof; dr Nevena Đaković, red. prof; dr Irena Ristić, red. prof; dr Tijana Mandić, red. prof; dr Ivan Medenica, red. prof; dr Nebojša Romčević red. prof.

*Psihologija umetnosti*), posebna pažnja ukazana je razvoju pozorišne i dramske umetnosti (dr Ivan Medenica, dr Ksenija Radulović, *Savremeno pozorište: režija klasike*; dr Nebojša Romčević, *Metode analize drame*), dok je globalni digitalni preokret jasno ispraćen sa predmetima kao što su *Metode analize audio-vizuelnog teksta, od filma do postmedija* i *Digitalni preokret: teorija i praksa novih medija* (dr Nevena Daković i dr Aleksandra Milovanović). Program doktorskih naučnih studija tokom vremena i (re) akreditacija restrukturisan je od pojedinačnih naučnih oblasti (filmologija, teatrologija) u obuhvatnije studije – *Studije filma i ekranskih medija* (dr Nevena Daković), *Studije pozorišta i izvođenja* (dr Ivan Medenica) i *Studije kulture* (dr Divna Vuksanović, dr Aleksandar Janković, dr Vlatko Ilić). Istovremeno, program je proširen u pravcu inovativnih studija medija (dr Divna Vuksanović i dr Vlatko Ilić, *Filozofija medija*), studija pojedinačnih novih medija (dr Aleksandra Milovanović, dr Nebojša Romčević, *Teorija i praksa sitkoma*), psihologije (dr Irena Ristić, *Imaginacija i društvo*), studija sećanja i traume (dr Nevena Daković, dr Ksenija Radulović, *Identitet, sećanje i trauma jugosfere*), kao i posebnih oblasti interesovanja nastavnika (dr Ksenija Radulović, *Performativni zaokret u umetnosti*; dr Enisa Uspenski, *Ruske teme pozorišta i filma*).

Posle šest decenija, Katedra za teoriju i istoriju potvrdila je da je našla čvrstu teorijski komplementarnu poziciju u obrazovnim procesima na Fakultetu, čime je i unapredila preobražaj statusa iz Akademije u Fakultet dramskih umetnosti. Iz prethodnog pregleda istorije dramskih škola u Beogradu – posebno iz stalno prisutnih istorijskih i manje teorijskih predmeta koji postoje od prvog dana - može se uvideti da je od samih početaka, od prve glumačke škole, postojala svest o tome da kompletni umetnik u svom kreativnom radu treba da bude osposobljen i za promišljanje, da bi se u novijim vremenima stiglo i do osvećenja o tokovima analize i sinteze, o otkrivanju strukture dramskog toka, o prepoznavanju puteva umetničkog i medijskog oblikovanja, o otkrivanju značenjskih dimenzija umetničkog čina, o procesima žanrovskog i

stilskog oblikovanja, o komparativnim traganjima za korespondencijom sa istorijskim i savremenim raznolikim putevima umetničkog stvaranja, o interdisciplinarnosti i sinkretizmu, o dubljem sagledavanju sopstvenog umetničkog postojanja.

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## ON MIDDLE COMEDY

The aim of this rather short paper is to offer a general insight into the basic theoretical, genre, and thematic problems related to the term Middle Comedy.

There is an entire history of the discussion about whether Middle Comedy actually exists, whether its definition is possible, and even if it is theoretically desirable. The debate has been going on from the time of the Alexandrine grammarians to the present day, though without any resolution in sight. At the core of the problem is the question: is Middle Comedy an ontological, a genre, or simply a chronological determinant? Though without a clear answer to this question, even today we can trace the echoes of the tripartite division of ancient comedy, which for many later theorists and critics was the basis for the value hierarchy of genres in the form of “low” and “high” comedy and genre amalgams (black comedy, romance, comedy of the absurd, etc.).

Every theoretical discussion on this topic begins with Aristotle; the short passage is considered the basis of the division into “old” and “new” comedy: “[...] it can be seen from the old and new comedies; for the authors of the former, foul language was fun, and for the latter, it is more about innuendo; so that they differ in no small degree in the matter of propriety.”



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(Aristotle, *Nicomahian ethic*, 2017). Therefore, Aristotle is not talking about comedy *sui generis*; for him, the criteria are αἰσχρολογία (obscenity) and ὑπονοῦα (restraint). In *Poetics*, he also classifies Epicharmus, Chionides, and Crates under “ancient” implying that Aristophanes and the writers of his generation should belong to “new”, especially since in Athens, Megaric comedy was generally considered to be simple (Aristotle, *Poetics*, 2017).

[...] [W]e have no slaves, who throw baskets of nuts to the spectators, nor any Heracles to be robbed of his dinner, nor does Euripides get loaded with contumely. (Aristophanes 1984: 13501)

Thus, at least in the circle of Peripatetics, Aristotle’s distinction between “older” and “newer” became the difference between “high” and “low” comedy. The fact that Aristotle died shortly before the first known performance of Menander, did not hinder further development of this canon.

Another text belonging to Byzantine sources from the 10th century and discovered in 1839, and which some theorists consider to be Aristotle’s (the mysterious original lost work of *Poetics* dedicated to comedy, or based on that lost original) or, at the very least, Aristotelian theory of comedy, *Tractatus coinsilianus*, says at its very end that there are three types of comedy: Old – with an abundance of laughter, New – which ignores laughter and moves towards seriousness, and Middle – which is a mixture of the first two (Cooper 1922). The *Tractatus* belongs to the Peripatetic heritage (with references to Theophrastus’ division of genres), but the terminology certainly arose after the age of Aristotle. Even the references to Theophrastus (who was thought to be Menander’s teacher) testify to a later period of creation of the *Tractatus*. Wehrli (Wehrli 1936), noted correctly that without the epochal appearance of Menander, the division of comedy would have never taken place. It was the appearance of Menander that created a framework for the discussion of the tripartite



nature of comedy. Thus, at the very end of the *Tractatus*, it is said that there are three types of comedy: the Old, with an abundance of laughter, the New, which ignores laughter and moves towards seriousness, and the Middle, which is a mixture of the first two (Cooper 1922). Of course, this definition calls into question Aristotle's authorship. What is important to emphasize is that later Peripatetics still maintained the division into "old" and "new" comedy.

Of the oldest sources that mention the Middle Comedy, the most important is certainly Athenaeus and his work *Deipnosophists* (Athenaeus 2011) and Ioulius Pollux, *Onomasticon* (Pollucis 2008), who wrote at the end of the 2nd century AD. Athenaeus uses the term Middle Comedy seven times in connection with writers of the 4th century BC, whom he often quotes, above all Sotades (*The Shut-Up Woman*) (Athenaeus 2011: 10185). Epicrates, Nikostatos, and Mnesimachus are among the writers of Middle Comedy, too. Athenaeus, however, does not specify the criteria by which these authors fall into Middle Comedy. Moreover, since food preparing and drink are at the centre of his work, it so happened that the entire Middle Comedy is associated with the culinary more closely than it really is the case.

Pollux also mentions the middle comedy, but the problem of criteria and reliability of sources remains, especially when it comes to quotes from the works of Amphis, Pherecrates, Theopompus, and Antiphanes. From this we can conclude that Pollux did not have the works in front of him, but is – most likely – referring to secondary sources. It is also possible to say that the Middle Comedy may have already taken root as a canon or tradition, carrying forward the ambiguity of the criteria (Nesselrath H.-G 1990).

Two texts by Platonius from the collection *Prolegomena de comoedia*, a group of ancient and Byzantine writings found mainly in manuscripts of Aristophanes' comedies, are of particular interest to us. These are *Περί διαφορας κωμωδιοων* (*On the Different Kinds of Comedies*) and *Περί διαφορας χαρακτηρων* (*On the Different Characteristics of Comedy*

*Writers*) (Koster 1978). In the first part, Platonius distinguishes between Old, Middle and New Comedy and introduces a criterion regarding the relationship between democracy and tyrannical oligarchy.

In his comments, Nesselrath notes that Platonius does not say what moment he is referring to when he speaks of the victory of oligarchy over democracy. It could be the year 411 or 404, but certainly not the period before 322, because democratic institutions survived in Athens until 322 (Nesselrath H.-G. 1990). As an example of intimidation, he cites the well-known, but unconfirmed anecdote in which Alcibiades punished Eupolis for the insult he inflicted on him with the piece *Μπάπτται* (*The Baptised*) and threw him from the ship in full war gear, “to get him wet”. This story has several versions (with and without the death of Eupolis, and without even naming Alcibiades).

Aristophanes of Byzantium, perhaps the most important name from the *Prolegomena*, a great admirer of Menander, recognizes the discontinuity of Attic comedy in Menander’s appearance, but also the fact that the comedy of the 4th century cannot be considered a simple continuation of the Old Comedy. Although Aristophanes does not have to be the author of this canon (it could have been one of his predecessors in the Library of Alexandria, e.g., Eratosthenes or Callimachus), nevertheless, Aristophanes is considered the grammarian who made a tripartite division, one that would become valid and, in many ways, remain so even today.

The availability of SUDA (Suda On Line: Byzantine Lexicography, 1998–) to a wide scientific public, as well as the anthology collection *Poetae comici graeci* (Kassel & Austin 1983–2001), which collected all extant fragments of ancient comedy, invigorated new interest in Middle Comedy and has led to a new methodological review. Finally, the predominant position was reached that Middle Comedy is viewed as a part of the development of comedy in general and that different genre transformations occurred simultaneously and not successively (Nesselrat 2020). Thus, finally, chronological and historical rather than literary-

aesthetic criteria are used as an extensible framework for the study of this topic. Eric Csapo believes that one can only speak of a dominant style, and not of clearly divided periods (Csapo, *From Aristophanes to Menander? Genre Transformation in Greek Comedy*, 2000). Considering the Alexandrian school and the *Prolegomena*, Keith Sidwell points out that the term Middle Comedy is used in three different ways and it is the third one which is associated with restrictions on satirical attacks and political engagement (Sidwell 2014). Matthew Wright does not see any valid reasons for the division at all, because it is an evolutionary process of drama and the same elements (whether thematic, structural, or those regarding the audience) have existed throughout the entire development of Attic comedy (Wright 2012).

The fragmentation of the remains of the dramatic material during the 4th century certainly makes it difficult to make a definitive decision on this issue. What is certain is that during the period 404–321 BC, historical and political circumstances changed dramatically and historical sources give us sufficient information to believe that, although we lack the same amount of information from the sphere of dramatic text and theatre.

We can say that the broadest period that covers what we consider Middle Comedy is limited by two disasters that befell the Athenian poleis: the defeat in the Peloponnesian War, abolition of democracy, the dissolution of the Delian League, the loss of mines at Laurion (404 B.C.); and soon after, the establishment of the eight-month tyrannical oligarchy of the Thirty which led to the death of over 1,500 Athenians (Aristotle, *The Complete Works*). After this war of the “rich” against the “poor”, a democracy was established that will have continuity until the final loss of sovereignty, at the other end of this timeline (321). Between these two points within the Greek world, tectonic changes took place that would make the classical world a political province: the adventure of the 10000, the Corinthian War, the King’s Peace, the Second Athenian Confederation, the Social War, the rise of Thebes, the flash of Epaminondas, the fall of

Sparta at Leuctra, the strengthening of Philip II, the defeat of Athens and its allies at Keronea, the Macedonian invasion of Attica and the Peloponnese, the destruction of Thebes, the abolition of democracy in Athens. The sentence in Xenophon's description of the consequences of the battle of Mantinea (363 BC), with which he ends his *Hellenica*, could be valid for this entire period: "...but after the battle, there was even greater confusion and disorder in Greece than before it" (Xenophon 2013).

In this historical maelstrom, Athenian democracy manages to survive (mostly making forced or wrong decisions), first in an attempt to re-establish the empire, and then only to preserve the supply of grains from the area around the Black Sea. By the beginning of the 4th century, Athens had fallen to only 20,000 adult men and an unspecified number of women and children. Even in peacetime Athens had problems feeding its population, so the overriding interest of Athenian politics was the struggle for the control of the port of Chaeronea and Byzantium, in which it ultimately failed (Hornblower 2011). Athens, thus, became entangled in a kind of a paradox: the increase in population represented too big a burden for the economy, and its decline meant a decline in military power, too. Athens, but also other Greek poleis relied on foreign mercenaries (often paid in Persian money). On the other hand, despite the wars with all the surrounding poleis (especially Thebes), the phenomenon of intensified pan Hellenism and internationalism appeared, and it would be one of the important features of comedy of the period we are discussing. Another recognizable phenomenon (which comes with the development of democracy) is professionalization and the emergence of middle class, future bourgeoisie. Pan Hellenism and professionalization had a significant impact on the development of comedy and theatre in general during the 4th century BC.

The changes that took place in the society mirrored old comedy, at least in some of the main features. Although all these elements were already present in Old Comedy, it is in Middle Comedy that they came to

the fore. During this period, more than 800 new comedies were performed, about which we learn today from more than 1000 fragments and secondary sources (Arnott 2010).

Among the formal elements characteristic of Middle Comedy are:

– **a recognizable tendency towards cohesiveness in the plot**; strengthening the role of the characters at the expense of the role of the chorus;

– **the role of the choir is reduced**. Following formal and thematic changes brought about by the Middle Comedy, Geoffrey Arnott argues that the only surviving Middle Comedy plays are actually Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*. Arnott considers them the embryos of Middle Comedy: the epirameic parts (parabasis and agon) are greatly shortened; in *Plutus*, there are no more choral songs outside the parodos; the parabasis was dropped, and later even the role of the choir was reduced to two short songs and a plea to the audience for a favour (Arnott 2010). While the old comedy saves centre stage for the chorus, now instead of choral songs, only the impersonal indication *χοροὶ μέλος* appears in the texts, which probably indicates musical interludes not written specifically for the given piece. We encounter this feature more and more towards the end of the century, because the plays of Athenian writers were performed by local and travelling troupes, and choirs were chosen from local population, primarily to mark time jumps in the plot or just entertain the audience with local popular songs. In both of these comedies, however, Aristophanes maintains his standard narrative: a concrete political (or social) problem is solved in the realm of phantasy: women gain political power and create a proto-communist state, or a peasant succeeds in curing Plutus of his blindness and redistributes wealth.

– **the reduction of specifically Athenian political discourse** (Nesselrath H. 2019) does not imply restrictions that would be a consequence of censorship. That will happen only with the suppression of Athenian

democracy by Antipater, Phokion's oligarchy and later the dictatorship of Demetrius of Phaleron. Athenian writers deal with politicians, but only Timocles, who writes from the 340s until the end of the century, can be called the true heir of the Old Comedy. That the political climate in theatre has changed is also evidenced by Plato in the *Laws* (Plato 2012: 41765) demanding that writers should be forbidden to mock citizens by name. However, even when that was the case, prominent Athenians were attacked not for their political ideas, but for ephemeral flaws: in Eubulus's *Antiope*, a character comments on the sexual inclinations of Callistatos; Anaxandrides' *Protesilaos* mentions the same Callistratos for corruption. Also, politicians are attacked for their extravagance and gluttony. Politicians are never the central topic, but rather a subject of public gossiping. Demosthenes' sentence from the debate concerning the issue of the island of Halonesos, where Demosthenes says that the Macedonians cannot give it (διδοναι) but only take it back (αποδιδοναι) is paraphrased in both Antiphanes Νεοτις, fr.16 (Kassel & Austin, 1983–2001) and Alexis Στρατιοτες, fr. 212 (Kassel & Austin, 1983–2001).

– **mythological burlesque** dominates the Attic scene since the beginning of the fourth century. We should have in mind that the relationship between the Greeks and their gods was always very intimate. In the *Iliad*, there is a famous and humorous family scene between Hera and Zeus (Homer, *Ilijada*, 2004) or Demodocles' poem about the love triangle of Hephaestus, Hermes and Aphrodite from the *Odyssey* (Homer, *Odiseja*, 2004). Mythological burlesque was already introduced by Cratinus. Some of these pieces are a hybrid of comedy and satyr play employing a sophisticated form of political satire such as *Dionysaleksandros* with petty bourgeoisie Gods commenting on political reality. In his *Odyssey*, Cyclops describes with culinary enthusiasm how he is going to cook Odysseus's friends (Bakola 2010).

Aristophanes' *Plutus* (388 BC) is not strictly an Athenian play; the story of a blind God of Wealth, the problem of redistribution of goods,

of social stratification (conceived in *Ecclesiazusae*, probably 391 BC) is an acute Pan-Hellenic problem. And the last two plays by Aristophanes, *Cocalus*, and *Aiolosikon* (probably performed in 380 BC) are mythological travesties. *Cocalus* is a parody of the myth of King Camicus with whom Daedalus escapes from Minos' captivity. The same myth inspired Sophocles *Kamikoi* and it is possible that Sophocles' play was written by Aristophanes (Pellegrino 2019). *Aiolosikon* tells a story about a cook who in some sense plays the role of Aeolus (Sommerstein 2019).

Roughly speaking, three cycles were particularly popular: The *Odyssey* and the stories of Odysseus (Alexis, Amphis, Anaxandrides, Anaxilas, Eubulus); stories developed from the *Iliad*, especially the stories about Helen (Anaxandrides, Antiphanes, Eubulus, Theophilus); stories about Heracles (Anaxandrides, Antiphanes, Ehipus, Eubulus). To that we can add travesties that include legendary or real characters from history (Aesop, Archilochus, Sappho) as well as comedies that celebrate and mock the birth of certain deities (Aphrodite, Pan, Zeus, Dionysus, Muses, Athena, Dionysus); Antiphanes even wrote the entire *Theogony*. The last group that can be recognized is the continuation of parodying tragedies, especially those of Euripides (Aristophanes parodied scenes from *Helen* and *Andromeda* in his *Thesmophoriazusae*). Favourite tragedies were *The Seven Against Thebes* (Alexis, Amphis), *Helen* and *Bacchus*. Menander himself will reach for Euripides' Orestes in the comedy *Sikyans* (Arnott 2010).

A common feature of burlesque is the placement of gods or heroes into an Athenian bourgeois context, where they mingle with Athenian citizens and comment on Athenian reality, or take part in everyday life. The only known example of Roman comedy, Plautus' *Amphitryon* is considered a reworking of Attic comedy of the 4th century BC. Burlesque flourished until the 340s and the writers who were creating from the beginning of the century (Aristophanes' son Araros, Eubulus, Anaxandrides, Ehipus) dedicated up to half of their works to this type of comedy.

To all this one should add frequent attacks on philosophers, because in the 4th century BC a whole series of philosophical schools flourished. Of course, Plato is the most common target, but also the Peripatetics (Antiphanes, Cleophanes), the Pythagoreans (Alexis and Cratinus the Younger in *The Pythagorean* and *The Tarentines*, Stoics, Epicureans and Sophists in general. (Konstantakos, *Comedy in the Fourth Century*, 2014)

– **new characters typology** of the Middle Comedy is to some extent again inherited from the Old. Even in the fantastic comedies of Aristophanes, the benevolent father-problematic son pairs stand out (Philokleon and Bdelykleon from *Wasps*, Strepsades and Pheidippides in *Clouds*). In Middle Comedy, this couple is very often placed as central. However, episodic characters, some of which are absent from Old Comedy, are gaining more and more importance and are shaped into recognizable types. First of all, they are cooks, slaves, parasites, prostitutes, pimps and soldiers. In New Comedy, these types will become central drivers of the action, and we can recognize echoes of this typology through renaissance comedy up to contemporary sitcoms (Nesselrath H.-G. 1990).

Even without discussing individual writers and their works on this occasion, we can conclude that the Middle Comedy cannot be viewed separately from the continuity of the development of Attic comedy. Most of the authors belong to either the Old and Middle Comedy or the Middle and New Comedy. Only sixteen writers can be claimed explicitly to belong to Middle Comedy. Circumstances that decisively influence this period, in addition to historical and political ones, are cultural internationalization and the development of professional theatre. Authors are commissioned by various non-Athenian theatres, and comic actors become true international stars. This is evidenced by the number of plays written by the leading writers of that period: Alexis 138, Anaxandrides 41, Antiphanes 141, Eubulus, 58. The suppression of choruses also testifies about the production circumstances that influenced the playwrights (Konstantakos, *Conditions of*



*Playwriting and the Comic Dramatist's Craft in the Fourth Century*, 2014). The construction of stone theatres provided the state with higher revenues due to reduced costs for renting and installing wooden tribunes (Csapo, *The Men Who Built Theatres: Theatropolai, Theatronai and Arkhitektones*, 2007).

Middle Comedy, to conclude, represents a layered stage in the development of comedy, with features that it inherited from Old or bequeathed to New comedy. The changing taste of the audience and the professionalism and internationalization of the theatre ended the era of Athenian centrality in the history of comedy.

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## SREDNJA KOMEDIJA

### Apstrakt

Nema sumnje da se period između poslednjih Aristofanovih komedija i pojave Menandra može posmatrati kao diskontinuitet u istoriji komedije. Rad se bavi divergentnošću kriterijuma po kojima se to čini. Tako su u opticaju i političko-istorijski, ekonomski, tematski, produkcijski, strukturni, pa i odnosi na relaciji komedija-religija i komedija-politika. Heterogenost ovih kriterijuma onemogućava da se jasno odrede stilske i tematske osobine za većinu dela nastalih između 380-ih i 320-ih godina, a koja, u nedostatku boljeg naziva, imenujemo srednjom komedijom. Najstariji pokušaji da se ovaj period razume kao „odjek Aristofana i najava Menandra”, osim hronološkog, nemaju nikakav drugi značaj. Bogatstvo srednje komedije, njena tematska i stilska širina, nova tipologija karaktera, profesionalizacija pozorišta, prelazak na kamene građevine umesto demontažnih drvenih teataru, panhelenska tendencija uprkos groteskno konfuznim političkim odnosima među grčkim polisima svakako se opiru pojednostavljenoj slici „prelaznog perioda” i traže ozbiljnu posvećenost izučavanju mnogobrojnih fragmenata koji su u poslednjih tridesetak godina postali dostupni javnosti.

**Ključne reči:** demokratija, uloga hora, profesionalizam u pozorištu, parodija tragedije i mitologije

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## POSTDRAMATIC, GLOBAL DILEMMAS AND LOCAL RECEPTION TWENTY-THREE YEARS AFTER

For some time now there has been a need for the second edition of the book *Dramatic and Postdramatic Theatre Ten Years After*, i.e. the Proceedings of the conference of the same title, held in September 2009, and produced by Bitef Festival and the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade. Before I clarify what is new in my overview of the second edition of this book - there have been no changes in the book itself – I would like to refresh our memory as to the genesis, aims and matters of the conference *Dramatic and Postdramatic Theatre Ten Years After* and the first edition of the Proceedings by the same title.



The immediate reason for the Belgrade conference in 2009 was the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publishing of the book *Postdramatic Theatre* by Hans-Thies Lehmann in German (Verlag der Autoren, D-Frankfurt am Main 1999). During this ten-year period, the book was published in many languages - Polish, French, English, Farsi, Slovakian, Spanish, Japanese, Portuguese, Slovenian, Croatian, and became an important reference in theatre and performance studies. The conference wanted to explore the influence of the book on contemporary theatrical practice and theory both in global and in local contexts.

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Despite our best efforts, we did not receive all of the final versions of all conference presentations. Nevertheless, we shall now, at least, list the names of all the participants: Hans-Thies Lehmann, Patrice Pavis, Elinor Fuchs, Marco De Marinis, Lada Čale Feldman, Aleksandra Jovićević, Karen Jürs-Munby, Ana Vujanović, Marin Blažević, Annalisa Sacchi, Ana Tasić, Tomasz Kirenczuk, Roland Schimmelpfenning, Falk Richter, Tomi Janežič, Oliver Frlijić, Katarina Pejović, Bojan Đorđev, Vlatko Ilić and Ivan Medenica.

In the introduction to the first edition of *Dramatic and Postdramatic Theatre Ten Years After* I mapped a several key issues and dilemmas arising from the concept of *postdramatic* and its heritage. These concerns echoed in all of the presentations at the conference and discussions that followed them, but also in some articles published before this conference. Thus, the introduction to the first edition was a possible summary of all conference presentations and discussions.

As on part of its title implies (“Postdramatic Theatre: Global Dilemmas and Local Reception”), the introduction to the first edition of the conference proceedings was in two parts. The first and much bigger part covered the then current global relationship between postdramatic and dramatic theatre, postdramatic and performance art, possibilities of their further development, new concepts arising from the paradigm of postdramatic... The topics concerning the impact that Lehmann’s book made on various local artistic practices and theoretical thinking were less present in conference papers and, consequently, in my introduction as well.

The introduction to this second edition bears little difference to its predecessor in its first part because since then, thirteen years ago, I have not studied the *fate* of the concept of postdramatic and its theoretical and/or artistic reception in global context. The second part, however, has been significantly changed because the paradigm of the postdramatic has in the meantime initiated novel, interesting and important research in Serbian theatre and performance studies. In this part I introduce some of my own

(and new) hypothesis on this topic.

The main novelty that happened in Serbian theatre and performance studies since the first edition of these Proceedings was initiated by one particular text that was published there: *Postdramatic Theatre and Political Theatre* written by a renowned Croatian director Oliver Frlić. The author does not refute completely Lehmann's claim that within contemporary consumer and media society theatre's potential to open political issues thereby stimulating, in the tradition of Brecht, changes within the society is almost non-existent, and that today the political potential is rather to be found in the artistic forms and new working procedures within theatre itself. Or, in Lehmann's own, widely known, words: "It is not through the direct thematization of the political that theatre becomes political but through the implicit substance and critical value of its mode of representation. (Mode of representation does not only imply particular forms, but also and always a particular way of work. Little has been said on the latter in this manuscript, yet it would be worthy to design research such that it shows how the way(s) of making theatre constitute its political content.) Theatre - not as a thesis, but as practice - is an example *par excellence* how the junction of the heterogeneous symbolizes utopias of a "different life" (Lehmann 2004: 334)

Although accepting Lehmann's arguments as to why today's theatre cannot be political just by "direct thematization of the political", Oliver Frlić argues for a return to the Brechtian concept of political theatre. However, this by no means entails that Frlić rejects Lehmann's approach to the issue: "In my opinion, adequate thematization of the political does not preclude questioning of representational modes which are, in Lehmann's terms, the space in which the political takes place in theatre." (Novakov Sibinović 2020: 132). There is a consensus in Serbian theatre and performance studies – as we shall see – that Frlić is advocating for a synthesis of Brecht's and Lehmann's concepts of the political in performance arts. Moreover, it was through this duality that the work by

some of the most politically engaged directors – including Frljić himself – from former Yugoslavia was analysed in Serbian theatre studies.

But, before coming to this (new) topic I will return to my summary of key *global* issues and dilemmas, as already underlined in the introduction to the first edition *Dramatic and Postdramatic Theatre Ten Years After*.

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The phrase “ten years after”, appearing in the title of the conference, implies a summing up from an historical distance, and simultaneously raises the question of what comes “after”.

The first dilemma arising here is whether “after” is an appropriate category when the postdramatic is considered. Should we think about the postdramatic theatre in historical terms, *i.e.* is it only a name for a specific, temporally limited phenomenon in the development of contemporary theatre, which will necessarily be replaced by the new and different – by an “after”? In some of the abstracts that arrived before the conference, such an assumption was dismissed with the argument that it is too early even for the development of new trends, let alone for their conceptualization. It has also been stressed that this assumption ignores the fact that Lehmann’s book is not about the history of the theatre, but about contemporary, still actual stage practice, which is as broad and democratic as to include the whole “panorama” of the artistically most radical phenomena, functions and features of the contemporary theatre.<sup>2</sup>

In sharp opposition to the claim that it is too *early* to think about what comes after the postdramatic, is the claim that the paradigm itself comes too *late*. When postdramatic theatre was formulated in Lehmann’s book of the same title, dramatic theatre was largely a historical phenomenon that gave way to many heterogeneous performing practices on the stage. It is hard, even impossible, to encompass them all by a single paradigm, which

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2 These are the theses from Marin Blažević’s presentation; regrettably, we did not get the final version of his paper.



would, moreover, seem to be only a new stage in the linear history of theatre.<sup>3</sup> However, this does not put into question the importance of Lehmann's research. On the contrary, the postdramatic is seen here as the last big theatre paradigm, the main value of which is its heroic failure in the Nietzschean sense: unable to justify itself as a paradigm, the postdramatic is the first significant theoretical platform for understanding of theatre and the performing practices *beyond* every paradigm.

It is exactly the situating of the postdramatic in the linear history of theatre that legitimates an exploration, present also both in the conference papers and in earlier polemics on this topic, of the relation of the predramatic-dramatic-postdramatic in analogy with the totalizing Hegelian development of art forms through the stages of symbolic-classic-romantic. In one of the most heated polemics about Lehmann's book, Elinor Fuchs interprets the postdramatic as a "movement" containing literally all the major theatre authors from three or more generations: the whole second half of the 20th century (Fuchs 2008: 179). In her opinion, this leads to a generalization, which on the one hand leaves some reformers of mimetic theatre (*e.g.* Brecht) in the field of the dramatic, while on the other, it realizes the Hegelian ambition of totalizing at a time when deconstructionism has condemned such projects to failure.

Lehmann has polemicized with these theses, emphasizing that the Hegelian systematic history of "world art" has no methodological relation with his own distinction between developmental tendencies in the European theatre; that making a sharp cut between the "Hegelian totalization" and its "deconstructionist breaking down" is reductionist and, paradoxically, in harmony with Hegel's binary oppositions that are "fighting for primacy"; that the postdramatic is by no means a "movement", because Lehmann in his book insists on the heterogeneous nature of the phenomena subsumed under this concept (Lehmann 2008: 15). Lehmann accepts the objection

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3 Theses from Ana Vujanović's presentation; regrettably, we did not get the final version of her paper.

that the concept of *postdramatic* should clearly project the phenomenon in relation to which it is articulated – *i.e.* dramatic theatre – and that he failed to do this. He adds that the development of modern drama does not always coincide with its stage tradition, that the *mise-en-scene* in the Renaissance and Baroque was more open – with emphasis on song, dance and visual effects, and not on literature – than the bourgeois theatre of the 18th and 19th centuries.

On the other hand, there are quite a few works in the Proceedings in which the postdramatic is seen only as a phase in the history of theatre and the performing arts, and some new phenomena are recognized, even if only as witty neologisms like *postpostdramatic* or *neodramatic*. These new concepts have not yet been clearly articulated; however, they give us a certain idea of what the new phase would be like. It would be about the return of the text to the theatre. This statement provokes an avalanche of dilemmas and possible misunderstandings that need to be forestalled right away.

First of all, as it must be clear to anybody who has read Lehmann's book in a sober state, that for this author the postdramatic theatre does not mean *theatre without text*. As we have learnt from one presentation at the conference, such a paradoxical claim appeared in an "expert" review on the book in Australia. In Anglo-Saxon academic circles, this simplification persists in spite of the full awareness that Lehmann has never written about postdramatic theatre as theatre without text. The postdramatic theatre, as Lehmann posits it, deconstructs the classic dramatic form (with its accompanying notions of mimesis, figuration, narration, characters...) and classic notions related to the stage life of drama (e.g. director's interpretation), but it does not discard the text for the stage as such. Various non-dramatic texts or, as Gerda Poschman puts it, "no longer dramatic theatre texts" (Poschman 1997) – occupy an important place in postdramatic theatre as well; however, they do not dominate the play, but figure as one among other equal, often independent stage languages. Rather than being

subjects of *interpretation*, such texts now realize various non-traditional modes of stage existence: they can be enunciated as political pamphlets, sung as songs, spilled as a field of free associations.

Thus the main question could be: how to define these texts to which – with the vaguely articulated concepts of postpostdramatic, neodramatic or whatever we wish to call it – the present theatre allegedly returns? Could they include dramas in a traditional or somewhat modified form, or are they radically different plays based on the experience of the postdramatic? By the term “postpostdramatic”, applied in an off-hand, non-mandatory way, Pavis means texts that, although not returning to the tradition of a “well-made play”, continue to tell stories, to present elements of reality, to produce the effects of dramatic characters (Pavis 2022: 59).

It is hard to tell whether Elinor Fuchs is negating or affirming this “retro tendency”, when she suggests, using instances from contemporary American theatre, that it is possible both to break and to embrace the cosmos of dramatic fiction simultaneously. What at first sight, and in the spirit of the postdramatic, might seem to be a dismantling of the cosmos of fiction, is actually, according to Fuchs, its “complication”: the use of postdramatic procedures can launch the same kind of emotional and imaginative processes we traditionally associate with the dramatic theatre (Fuchs 2022: 66–68).

The German writer and director Falk Richter speaks about *neodramatic* plays.<sup>4</sup> These are texts that have the postdramatic structure, but offer more energy and emotion. Richter has already used the same formulation in an interview he gave to me, answering the question whether his play *Unter Eis* is postdramatic: “No, it is, I would rather say, *neodramatic*. Although postdramatic structures have been used, I believe that his play offers much more energy and emotion.” (Medenica 2009: 118). One could infer from

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4 The majority of artists participating in the Conference (Falk Richter, Roland Schimelpfenig, Tomi Janežić, Katarina Pejović and Bojan Đorđev) have not sent the final versions of their papers for publishing.

this that the postdramatic text and theatre are thus identified with a cold, ironic, intellectual and highly conceptual art. I believe that Lehmann would not agree with this interpretation.

Misunderstandings also appear in interpretations of the relationship between the postdramatic and performance art or the performing arts in general. In the above mentioned earlier polemic, Elinor Fuchs claims that in Lehmann's book the line between contemporary performance art and postdramatic theatre is blurred, that the author's thesis means that the performance art is a subgroup of the postdramatic (Fuchs 2008: 180–181). Lehmann characterizes her argument as a misinterpretation. The fact that theatre as a whole is just a part of performing practices in general (which also encompass rituals, sport, political events *etc.*) does not mean that theatre phenomena with a pronounced performing character (*i. e.* overlapping with the performance art) should not be treated in a separate framework, and according to Lehmann the postdramatic is precisely that framework (Lehmann 2008: 14–15).

Vlatko Ilić's paper was one of the few contributions discussing the issue of perception of the postdramatic paradigm in local theatre practices and theoretical discourse. Being from Belgrade, Ilić is referring to Serbian artistic and theoretical milieu.

In his opinion, one of the most important affordances is that the postdramatic legitimizes a wide array of hybrid performance practices, those that do not fit the tradition of theatre based on the dominance of dramatic text and its ideology. Although these hybrid forms managed to surface from time to time, they were not as visible as today when they are well grounded in Lehmann's theory. Apart from legitimizing nondramatic performance practices, and theoretical widening of the notion of *theatre*, the postdramatic paradigm also provides a proper and elaborate theoretical apparatus needed for research and understanding of such practices. However, in Ilić's view, the limits of the postdramatic paradigm are that it, for one, ignores the fact that cultural circumstances differ from one context

to another (hidden totalizing ambition of the postdramatic), and that its application is present more in interpreting than in devising stage practice. (Ilić 2022: 138–139)

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As highlighted in the opening remarks of this text, soon after the publishing of *Dramatic and Postdramatic Theatre Ten Years After*, Lehmann's concept of the political in theatre became a widespread topic in Serbian theatre and performance studies, the immediate cause being the above analysed Frlić's criticism of the concept, and his call to a renewal of Brecht's understanding of the political in theatre. The aforementioned Serbian researchers' consensus that Frlić is, both in theory and practice, advocating for some kind of synthesis of Brecht's and Lehmann's understanding of the political in theatre, is grounded in the three consecutive issues (entitled "New Political Theatre") of the journal *Teatron* (154/155 and 156).

In my introductory text to this research, I write about the performance *Cowardice* directed by Frlić himself at Subotica National Theatre. At the end of the performance, the stage remains empty, the actors move to left and right off wings. From there, invisible to the audience, the actors are uttering 505 Muslim names in very monotonous voices for about ten minutes. Absence of any stage action, even of visual stimuli (the audience "stares at emptiness"), with the dominance of auditory stimuli (uttering of names), can create sensory uneasiness within the audience, and prompt a decision to take responsibility by leaving the auditorium (which are examples *par excellence* of Lehmann's concept of the political in theatre). However, if it is known – and the actors do state it in advance – that the 505 names are randomly chosen real names out of several thousand names of Bosniaks killed by Serbian paramilitary in Srebrenica, then the experience grows in complexity as it becomes impossible to tell whether the (Serbian) audience is upset due to sensory stimuli, absence of stage

action and feelings of boredom, or due to moral uneasiness and inability to accept their own ethnic community's responsibility for the genocide. That, however, would fit Brechtian understanding of the political in theatre.

The claim of the entwining of the two concepts of political in Oliver Frljić's work is quite explicitly stated in the first study in Serbia of Frljić's theatre, *Oliver Frljić's Political Theatre: from Empathy to Sympathy* by Jasna Novakov Sibinović.

By no means does Frljić deny the outstanding significance of Lehmann's theoretical discussions on the development of contemporary theatre, and in that sense, Frljić only refutes Lehmann's minimization of theatre's political power but accepts fully the claim that modes of representation are important elements of the political in theatre and demonstrates this conviction in his own work by creating a certain fusion of Brecht's and Lehmann's approach to political theatre today. (Novakov Sibinović 2020: 134)

One of the best examples of that "fusion" in Frljić's work, according to Novakov Sibinović, is the "cycle about the disintegration" (the breakup of Yugoslavia), comprising three performances produced in three different countries of former Yugoslavia, Croatia (*Turbofolk*, HNK Ivana pl. Zajca, Rijeka), Slovenia (*Damn The Traitor of One's Country*, Slovensko Mladinsko Gledališče, Ljubljana) and Serbia (*Cowardice*, Subotica National Theatre). The central topic of these performances, *i.e.* different manifestations and aspects of the breakup of Yugoslavia, clearly ascertain the cycle as belonging to Brecht's concept, the one which directly opens political topics. On the other side, different, postdramatic modes of representation – the ones in which Lehmann sees the political – consist of problematizing the relationship between reality and fiction, documentary material and its artistic processing, thus addressing the audience and actors and forcing them to become aware of their responsibility for the

“theatre condition” that they co-create. Novakov Sibinović points out that Frljić does not only question modes of representation, but the role and the responsibility of the institution of theatre itself.

Theoretical debate about the postdramatic concept of political, as well as its application in the work of Andraš Urban’s oeuvre, a director from Subotica and a member of the Hungarian community in Serbia, is the subject matter of a study *Political In The Postdramatic Theatre: recent works by Andraš Urban* written by Atila Antal.<sup>5</sup> One of the theoretical contributions of this study lies in Antal’s analysis of the two main aspects of the postdramatic political, posited by Lehmann himself: “aesthetics of responsibility” and “virtual political”. The “aesthetics of responsibility” refers to *postdramatic modes of representation* (therefore, on the stage form), and “virtual political” refers to new or different *modes of working* in theatre.

The first concept is based in the fact that postdramatic theatre doesn’t create an illusion of reality. Rather, audience members and performers become aware of their bodily, spiritual and mental presence and their mutual exchange of energy as the elements which create a specific “theatre condition” and for which both must assume responsibility. “Virtual political” is not sharply distinct from “aesthetics of responsibility”, and it implies the political based on the very theatrical practice, unpredictable and *futile* labour, therefore offering an alternative, utopian model of society.

Following theoretical elaboration, Antal analyses the (postdramatic) political features in Andraš Urban’s four performances staged by his company Deža Kostolanji from Subotica. As for postdramatic modes of representation, most of which come down to awareness of presence and interaction between performers and the audience, Antal analyses how these principles are achieved in each of the four performances. In *Brecht – The Hardcore Machine* the audience becomes aware of its position

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5 Antal’s thesis that I refer to in the next two paragraphs are widespread throughout his book.

due to being exposed to actors' heightened energy and physical work. The audience is also exposed in the performance of *Urbi et Orbi*, never knowing if and when he/she might become a part of the performance. The issue of assuming responsibility is especially present in the performance of *Turbo Paradiso*, because in one scene it is only up to the audience whether the performance continues. In *The Beach* the audience is denied whatever possibility to influence stage action because actors undertake their position.

I believe that the above analysis confirms the starting hypothesis that the paradigm of "postdramatic theatre" has left a deep imprint in Serbian theatre and performance studies since 2004 when the book *Postdramatic Theatre* was published in Croatian, and in joint Serbian-Croatian edition, but also since 2011 when the first edition of this conference Proceedings collection was published.

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## POSTDRAMSKO, GLOBALNE DILEME I LOKALNE RECEPCIJE, DVADESET TRI GODINE KASNIJE

### **Apstrakt**

Ovaj tekst je rekapitulacija višegodišnjeg istraživanja i nekoliko tekstova pisanih na temu globalne i lokalne recepcije uticajne knjige teoretičara Hansa-Tisa Lemana *Postdramsko pozorište*, te istoimene paradigme koja obuhvata veliki broj raznovrsnih, hibridnih i savremenih izvođačkih praksi. Polazište istraživanja bila je konferencija *Dramsko i postdramsko pozorište deset godina posle*, koju su 2009. godine organizovali Fakultet dramskih umetnosti u Beogradu i Bitef, a koju sam ja osmislio i njome predsedavao. Poseban fokus stavljen je na analizu sinteze brehtovskog i lemanovskog koncepta političnosti u pozorištu, koju pravi reditelj Oliver Frljić.

**Ključne reči:** postdramsko, Hans-Tis Leman, Oliver Frljić, političko pozorište

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## “LET’S START WITH THEATRE”: BITEF FESTIVAL

Since the end of the last decade, the legacy of Bitef festival has been an important part of academic syllabus of theatre studies at the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade. In short, the course History of World Theatre and Drama was expanded from four to six full semesters. The two added semesters cover contemporary theatre practices and Bitef’s history. The first one focuses on studying contemporary theatre practices that Bitef has been promoting since its foundation (neo avantgarde, early postmodern practices, recontextualization of classical drama, contemporary drama, *etc.*), while the second includes a unique legacy of Bitef that refers to the promotion of non-Western and non-European traditional theatre forms (Kathakali, No theatre, Beijing opera *etc.*).



The “paradox” that the longest running programme stream of the festival – *new theatre tendencies*, based on representation of non-Western traditional forms – was a result of Yugoslav foreign policy during the Cold War era. Namely, Yugoslavia was one of the founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement and the first summit of this organization was held in Belgrade in 1961. Incorporating these traditional forms into the *new tendencies* moto of the festival was the result of Mira Trailović’s

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diplomatic and leadership skills, who, in tandem with Jovan Ćirilov, was the first curator of Bitef. “It started as a ‘serendipity’, as the Government of India decided to send a gift – the Kathakali production for the 1967 first BITEF opening” (Dragičević Šešić 2017: 14). However, “the awkward gift” marked the inauguration of a more or less continuous presentation of non-Western traditional performing practices at Bitef.

Furthermore, relying on the theses by Erika Fischer-Lichte, Ivan Medenica points out the challenges of contemporary theoretical and methodological thinking about the history of theatre – how to avoid both the universalising approach and cultural appropriation (Medenica 2019: 36). Having in mind “the assumption that in contemporary history fragmentary, subjective aspect should not be concealed” Medenica concludes that “our position is based on local tradition”, *i.e.* on the history of Bitef (*ibid.*). It means that “traditional and highly codified non-western theatre forms are studied from the perspective of their Bitef performances”. Considering that Bitef also presented various forms of intercultural theatre, this approach is not only dual but it discards “colonial ambitions”: it refers to “both their original forms and the ones incorporated in the western ‘intercultural theatre’, such as those of P. Brook, A. Mnouchkine, E. Barba” (*ibid.*).

In the next part of the paper, we present the political, diplomatic and cultural aspect of Bitef history.

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Bitef festival was founded in 1967 in Belgrade, the capital of former Yugoslavia (1945–1991), and also the capital of Serbia, one of the former Yugoslav republics. The 1960s were the decade of first deeper liberal impulses in the one-party society of the time, although it can be argued that the very first steps towards opening up to the world started during the 1950s. It was as early as in 1952 that *Ekonomaska politika* [Economic Policy] magazine appeared, in which the possibility of a Yugoslav “middle path” (neither the East nor the West) and of implementation

of a Western, but not based on statism, model of economic policy was discussed (Lakićević 2014). Political scientist Ivan Vejvoda also sees the 1950s as the *formative period* of Yugoslav society. It was the decade when ties with the Soviet Union were re-established, and preparations for the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement were well underway (2008). Yugoslavia’s role in the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement and its special position during the Cold War were of great importance not just in terms of how it conducted its international policy, but also its cultural one. In addition, despite its economic poverty and undeveloped society during the first decades following the Second World War, the country had a highly developed public diplomacy, which may be considered the nucleus of cultural diplomacy as well.

Some historians argue that we might speak of an accelerated acceptance of modern European paradigms in Serbia from the early XIX century (modern laws and a liberal constitution in the XIX century can be cited as examples). The implementation of said cultural matrices became particularly steadfast after World War II. The formula of the rule of Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslav President in the socialist era, can be described as “authoritarian modernisation” (Kuljić 2012).

The 1960s were an important period for several reasons, but in our context primarily due to events in the sphere of culture. Within a few years, almost all important cultural platforms geared towards international context were established (the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Bitef festival, the Bemus festival, Fest, October Salon *etc.*).

Very soon after the end of World War II, numerous theatres and other cultural institutions were founded in Serbia/Yugoslavia. One of the key events in the sphere of modern art was the foundation of Atelje 212 Theatre (1956), whose repertoire focused on works of foreign and domestic avantgarde playwrights and was the first theatre in socialist Europe to perform *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Becket. The theatre manager between 1961 and 1983 was Mira Trailović, who went on to become the

person who contributed the most to the foundation of an international theatre festival in Belgrade (Bitef).

The idea about an international theatre festival was first voiced in 1964. The undertaking of launching an international festival of new theatre tendencies in a small socialist country opening up to the world was possible because there was, as Vejvoda remarks, an important difference between Yugoslav political leadership and those of other socialist regimes. Yugoslav communists, led by J. B. Tito, understood that it was possible to create a *non-political* sphere of the society, without in any way jeopardising the monopoly of the party and the state. (“There was not a hint of pluralism *in the political sense* there” /Vejvoda/ – emphasis by K.R.). Several other favourable circumstances on the social, as well as the cultural and art scene, also contributed to the foundation of Bitef. The period of so-called socialist realism in Yugoslavia after the war was brief, and by the time of Bitef’s foundation the long and fierce debate between traditionalists and modernists on the art scene had already ended – the modernists having scored a victory in the public sphere. Vejvoda reminds us that the pre-war tradition of avantgarde had also been strong in Serbia, not the least because some modernist authors from the period between the two World Wars went on to become part of the political establishment in the socialist society. Some even held high-ranking political positions after the war. The most famous of these were Koča Popović (surrealist, and a legendary Minister of Foreign Affairs), poets Dušan Matić and Marko Ristić, painter and journalist Moša Pijade, writer Oskar Davičo... Owing to this, there were people within the communist establishment who were sensitive to the spirit of the times. Furthermore, Vejvoda argues that the country’s location must be taken into the account: it was near Western European centres of cultural and university life, and the elites had been educated in the West even before the war, so it was only natural that a certain cultural and political substrate from the West was not felt to be alien to the Serbian society. Furthermore, Vejvoda also mentions the role

of Russian immigrants between the wars, who actively participated in the cultural life of the country. Besides, compulsory reading lists in public schools were diverse – Russian and Western authors were present in equal numbers: a “minor” culture has this paradoxical advantage over great ones –it is not so self-absorbed (Vejvoda 2008). In general, Yugoslav society accepted influences from the Western (and more particularly American) culture at different levels, which is symbolically testified to by the title of a book on socialist Yugoslavia – *Coca Cola Socialism* (written by historian Radina Vučetić).

With the liberalisation of the socialist society, the state began financing cultural exchange with foreign countries.

Skilfully balancing between the East and the West, the state provided generous funding to cultural exchange between Yugoslavia and other countries. Grants for residences, trips, tours, as well as tours or foreign authors’ visits to Yugoslavia, notable inflow of theatre literature, new plays and journals – all of that contributed to establishing stronger links between Yugoslav and international theatre production. At that time, special contracts were signed with a significant number of countries from both the Eastern and Western Europe. (Suša 2017: 157)

On the other side, it is important to consider that Bitef festival was founded in special circumstances globally. The 1960s were the decade that brought a liberal spirit into the public sphere, and initiated radical changes in art (e.g. post-war theatre avantgarde), interest in non-European forms of culture, and, last but not least, counter-culture. Finally, the first Bitef was held at the time when the spirit of the coming 1968 student rebellion could be felt. Apart from these mentioned circumstances, there were other very important and numerous special “internal” aspects of the social and political life of former Yugoslavia. Both written and oral histories of theatre stress the role Mira Trailović played in this process: Although of middle-class background (*i.e.* bourgeoisie), as a broadly educated, modern,

and left-oriented person in the most general sense, she was among the intellectuals and artists who were deemed acceptable by the communist establishment. Jovan Ćirilov declared her negotiation skills to be “almost Byzantine”, and she utilized these to find “a formula that would work” (2001: 15). Her “programme manifest” is memorable, and she used it in negotiations to argue for the necessity of founding the Bitef festival: it would be wrong, she said, for the capital of the country opening wide to the world and having an important role in the Non-Aligned Movement, not to have an international festival; “so let’s start with theatre!” (*ibid.*). The negotiations on founding such a festival lasted several years, and a number of cultural workers who held high (or relatively high) positions in the administrative system were also involved. They also shared a left-wing orientation in terms of having an open and, in principle, cosmopolitan outlook, good education, and sensitivity to the spirit of the times. We must mention the role played by the legendary Belgrade Mayor Branko Pešić (during whose term Belgrade started turning into a modern European capital), and particularly, his close associate Milan Vukos.

However, by the time Bitef was founded, Yugoslavia had already started activities that exemplify the strategy of cultural diplomacy as the country’s strategy in representing itself to the world. Milena Dragičević Šešić writes that the key events in this sphere were the exhibition of sacral Yugoslav art organised by Miroslav Krleža in Paris in the 1950s, the launch of the Modern Music Biennial in Zagreb in 1961, and lastly the foundation of Bitef in 1967. In addition to these, it is worth mentioning the establishment of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade in 1965, which was the first museum in the region completely designed according to the latest principles in museum operation. During the 1950s, a group of visual artists who followed the latest trends advocated publicly for the opening of a gallery. The Modern Gallery was originally founded in 1959, and in 1965 when it moved into a new building it grew into a museum. After opening, the Museum of Contemporary Art, as a Yugoslav (and not



just Serbian) and international centre of visual arts at the core of its concept, it immediately became one of the most important cultural institutions in the region.

Three years later the Bitef festival was founded by the decree of the City of Belgrade as a standing event of special importance for the city. The first Bitef in 1967 was supported by a huge advertising campaign, and tickets were sold out within three days. The programme of Bitef was conceptually similar to Yugoslav foreign policy “on a small scale”, like a diplomatic framework projected onto the plane of culture. And just as Yugoslav foreign policy during the Cold War was based on not belonging to either of the two dominant political blocs and having an active role in the Non-Aligned Movement, where countries of the Third World played the most important role, the concept of the Bitef festival was from the very start based on a similarly wide platform. In fact, the programme duality of Bitef – the relations between the East and the West – should be understood in two ways: as the western civilisation in opposition to the eastern (the Orient), and the Western Europe as opposed to the Eastern. Aleksandra Jovićević points out that in the latter case these were “two distinctly different European cultures” separated by the Berlin wall until 1989 (Jovićević 2001: 39). Yugoslav foreign policy had, in fact, in launching Bitef and significantly before the fall of the Berlin wall, anticipated the idea of a united Europe.

Primarily we need to note that from its very beginning Bitef entailed a step beyond a Europe-centric framework. The selection was based on the broadest world/international context – along with traditional forms from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in whose theatre European directors were showing a marked and renewed interest at the time. Bitef was also a place where Europe met with theatre traditions from other continents. The first Bitef opened in precisely this spirit: with the play *Ramayana* by an Indian Kathakali theatre, which signalled the multicultural dimension of the festival. (However, Aleksandra Jovićević holds that the multicultural

of this festival has not been seriously investigated, that this aspect of the festival has been marginalised, and that this tendency has not met great interest from either the theatre audiences or the theatrical circles (*ibid.*). Among other plays performed at the first Bitef were *The Constant Prince* directed by Jerzy Grotowski (Teatr Laboratorium), *Antigona* directed by Judith Malina (and Julian Beck) performed by the Living Theatre, and performances by theatres from Paris, Glasgow, Budapest, Prague, Geneva, *etc.*

From its inception, Bitef was surrounded by intellectual “machinery” – talks with artists were organised, and catalogues printed in which authors wrote about their ideas, and each season the festival had a different overall theme, as the aesthetic synthesis of its selection. But the intellectual spirit of the festival spread much further than its selections and the debates held about the performances. Ivan Vejvoda proposes that Bitef was much more than just a series of avantgarde theatre performances. The festival was actually a medium through which debates on important social issues were conducted, issues such as political freedom, authoritarian rule, *etc.* Given that social and political debates could not be held in the public sphere in a direct manner, they were transferred to the medium of the theatre. And actually the “crafty” festival slogan of *new theatrical tendencies* served as a kind of mimicry. Conversely to the strictly *artistic* motto for the outside, important political debates went on the inside. Vejvoda is of the opinion that this gave the people the encouragement to believe that the boundaries of freedom could after all be moved, regardless of the ideological monopoly of the one (and only) party.

It seems to me that this wider context, perhaps an (un)intended consequence of the whole idea, and thus it was so successful and attractive to the people who came from beyond the so-called “iron curtain”, and also for the Westerners who had the opportunity to meet some great creative people that they otherwise couldn’t. [...] And we see openness, an exemplary eagerness, and it seems that the country is stable and open and offering diverse opportunities. (Vejvoda 2008)

Two years after Bitef, Bemus (Belgrade Music Festival) was founded in Belgrade, and the first Fest (International Film Festival) was held in January 1971. With a series of similar events, from today’s perspective, it is no wonder that this period is held to have been the “age of Pericles” of Serbian and former Yugoslav culture.

As an important theatrical and social/intellectual platform Bitef managed to survive many turbulent political moments in the country. From the era of “authoritarian modernization”, it managed to turn from a “cultural project as an instrument of foreign policy” into an important tradition in the region of former Yugoslavia, and a real phenomenon of Serbian culture.

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## **BITEF: „DA POČNEMO OD POZORIŠTA“**

### **Apstrakt**

Osnivanje Bitefa (Beogradski internacionalni teatarski festival) 1967. godine, jedan je od ključnih događaja u kulturnoj politici socijalističke Jugoslavije, države koja se – uprkos brojnim protivrečnostima – smatra najznačajnijim modernističkim projektom u regionu. Više od toga, početak rada Bitefa predstavlja i poseban događaj u okviru specifično vođene jugoslovenske kulturne politike prema inostranstvu. U tekstu se istražuje socio-kulturološki i politički kontekst u kojem se kulturna politika koristi kao *soft power* oblik prezentacije male zemlje ka inostranom okruženju (*instrument of diplomacy*). Razmatrajući kulturu u funkciji spoljne politike, osnivanje avangardnog međunarodnog festivala istovremeno posmatramo kao narativni okvir za razumevanje širih društvenih okolnosti u vreme socijalističke Jugoslavije i Srbije kao jedne od njenih republika. U tekstu ukazujemo i na nasleđe Bitefa kao deo programa predmeta Istorija svetskog pozorišta i drame na Fakultetu dramskih umetnosti u Beogradu.

**Ključne reči:** Bitef, Jugoslavija, Srbija, pozorište, međunarodni festival

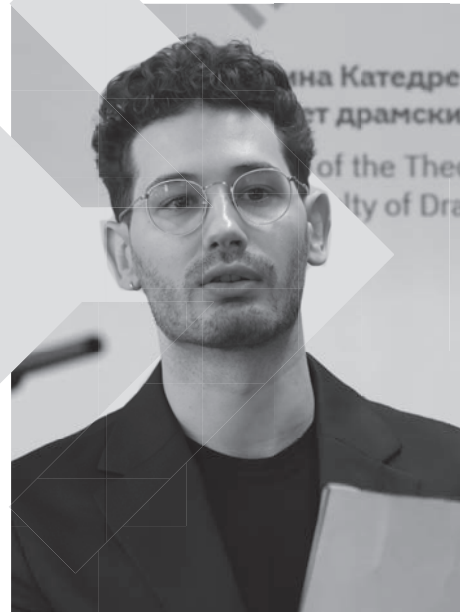


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**NEVOLJE S MINISTARKOM I NJENIM  
RODOM: *CROSS-GENDER* EFEKAT U PREDSTAVI  
*GOSPOĐA MINISTARKA* (POZORIŠTE  
„BOŠKO BUHA”, 2013)<sup>2</sup>**

***Cross-gender* podela: upotreba i značenje  
termina**

*Cross-gender* podela u novinskim tekstovima najčešće se označava opisno,<sup>3</sup> dok se pozorišni kritičari po pravilu opredeljuju za termin *travestija* (prema ital. *travestire* – preobući). Ovaj pojam odnosi se, u najširem smislu, na neusklađenost između forme i sadržine. *Rečnik književnih termina* definiše travestiju kao „oblik parodiranja koji se bavi književnim delima, i može se pojaviti u raznim žanrovima. Glavni efekat je, kao i u *parodiji*, u raskoraku između sadržine i forme, pri čemu se komički efekti postižu unošenjem neodgovarajućih, šaljivih ili nepristojnih, reči u ozbiljnu sadržinu travestiranog dela” (Živković i dr. 1986: 829). Kada glumac, muškarac, tumači žensku ulogu može se govoriti o raskoraku između sadržine (uloge) i forme (glumčevog tela), tako da travestija nipošto nije pogrešan, ali može biti nedovoljno precizan



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2 Tekst je nastao kao skraćena verzija obimnijeg rada o *cross-gender* podeli (Obradović 2020). Istraživanje ove teme započeto je na naučnim doktorskim studijama na FDU na predmetu *Uvod u studije pozorišta i izvođenja* pod mentorstvom red. prof. dr Ivana Medenice.

3 Na primer: „Muška ‘Ministarka’ i ženski ‘Maratonci’” (Trebješanin 2013), „Živka ministarka, u muškoj podeli” (*Novosti* 2013) i sl.

termin, jer obuhvata i one slučajeve koji se ne odnose na rodnu inverziju. Pored toga, travestija istovremeno označava rediteljski postupak rodne inverzije (*cross-gender* podelu) i *preoblačenje* koje je upisano u tekstu (*cross-dressing*).

S druge strane, neki srodni termini, u obliku i/ili značenju, kao što su *transvestizam* i *dreg*, bili bi pogrešni u kontekstu pozorišta, iako se često sreću.<sup>4</sup> Transvestizam se koristi da označi presvlačenje u privatne seksualne i rodne svrhe, i opterećen je negativnim, medicinskim konotacijama, dok se *dreg* prevashodno odnosi na presvlačenje zarad izvođenja, kao i na izvođačku formu koja to presvlačenje podrazumeva. Još jedan termin sličnog značenja je pomenuti *cross-dressing* (*preoblačenje*), koji ima pozitivnije konotacije od sinonimnog termina *transvestizam*, s obzirom na to da je prihvaćen od članova zajednice koji se identifikuju kao *cross-dresser*-i. Za naše potrebe, važno je da termin *cross-gender* odvojimo od termina *cross-dressing*. Prvi se odnosi na zamenu roda, a drugi na zamenu odeće, tj. na preoblačenje. Kada Dragan Mićanović tumači ulogu Porcije u predstavi *Mletački trgovac* (JDP, 2004), govorimo o *cross-gender* podeli, jer muškarac glumi ženu. Kada se ta ista junakinja u Šekspirovom tekstu i u navedenoj predstavi preruši u muškarca, ostajući na planu uloge i dalje žena, onda je reč o *cross-dressingu* ili preoblačenju.

Prednost termina *cross-gender* podela u odnosu na druge navedene je i njegovo jasno upućivanje na rod, tj. na rodnu inverziju, kao i na kontekst izvođačkih umetnosti. Istovremeno, ova sintagma samom svojom formulacijom uspostavlja vezu sa *gender* studijama, koje su jedna od teorijskih platformi našeg rada. Slažemo se i sa Elizabet Klett (Elizabeth Klett), koja ističe da prefiks *cross* – upućuje na „fluidno kretanje u spektru rodnih identiteta, dozvoljavajući karakteristikama muškog i ženskog da budu u igri simultano” (Klett 2009: 4), kao i da „implicira transgresiju i prelaženje granica” (isto.). Kako bismo zadržali sve ove značenjske nijanse,

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4 Na engleskom govornom području još je veći broj termina kojima se označavaju *cross-gender* predstave i uloge (androgine, aseksualne, *genderbending*, buč, kvir, itd).



a i s obzirom na to da nismo uspjeli da dođemo do stilski prihvatljivog rešenja, odlučili smo se da prvi deo termina *cross-gender* zadržimo u originalu, na engleskom, a da drugi – *casting* – prevedemo kao *podela*.

U zavisnosti od vrste *cross-gender* podele, možemo da ustanovimo dva osnovna tipa. U prvom slučaju, u pitanju je muškarac u ulozi žene, navedeni postupak možemo odrediti skraćenicom *MTF* (*male to female*), dok u suprotnom – *FTM* (*female to male*) govorimo o postupku u kom glumice tumače muške likove. Navedeno razlikovanje načinili smo po analogiji sa Simon Čes (Simone Chess), koja je skraćenicama *MTF* i *FTM* označila dve vrste preoblačenja u renesansnoj književnosti, preuzevši ih iz njihove uobičajene upotrebe iz trans-zajednice (Chess 2016: 24). U pozorišnom kontekstu, važno je imati na umu da li je *cross-gender* podela sprovedena na nivou čitavog ansambla ili samo pojedinačnih likova, pa tako možemo govoriti o *potpunoj* i *selektivnoj cross-gender podeli*.

### Oneobičavanje roda u pozorištu

Ako su sedamdesete i osamdesete ustanovile da rod (*gender*) postoji, kasne osamdesete su ukazivale da pol (*sex*) ne postoji (Moor 1999: 153; prema Ivanović i Šarčević 2002: 16). Drugoj grupi teoretičarki i teoretičara pripada radikalno konstruktivističko stanovište Džudit Batler (Judith Butler), koja smatra da je i „pol uvek već rod” (Batler 2016: 58). Ona postavlja hipotezu o performativnosti roda, po kojoj „ono što smatramo unutrašnjom suštinom roda u stvari proizvodi održivi skup činova, nastalih rodno određenom stilizacijom tela” (Batler 2016: 16), pitajući se „da li je unutrašnjost neka lažna metafora?” (isto). Džudit Batler ne negira materijalno postojanje tela već ističe da i polu prilazimo uvek posredstvom *diskursa*.<sup>5</sup> Dakle, ispod nanosa kulture koji kreiraju rod ne skriva se čisti,

5 Šuvaković definiše diskurs na sledeći način: „Diskurs je semiotička radnja koja smješta značenje u vremensko- prostornu situaciju gdje netko za nekoga proizvodi značenje. U strukturalizmu i poststrukturalizmu diskurs je jedan od osnovnih pojmova kojim se označava povezivanje mišljenja, govornog i pisanog jezika u smislen i značenjski kontekst teksta. Drugim riječima, diskurs je govor konteksta iz kojeg se govori, piše

netaknuti biološki pol, jer ni on, po autorkinom stanovištu, ne postoji izvan kulture i jezika.

Na tragu postmodernističkog opiranja esencijalističkom mišljenju, nalazi se termin kvir, kao kišobran-termin za sve one identitete koji odstupaju od heteronormativnosti. Treba imati na umu da teorijska i politička efikasnost ovog termina počivaju na njegovoj fluidnosti i nemogućnosti čvrste artikulacije. Iako se može koristiti da označi istopolnu seksualnu želju, termin kvir ne treba izjednačavati sa homoseksualnošću jer on predstavlja „posledicu konstruktivističke problematizacije bilo kog univerzalnog termina, što vrlo često produkuje teškoće i konfuziju kada treba odrediti šta on uistinu jeste i na šta se konkretno odnosi” (Todorović 2011: 249). Ovo svojstvo kvira poslužiće nam da definišemo scenski identitet koji nastaje u susretu tela glumca ili glumice sa telom lika, koji je suprotnog pola.

Za razumevanje *cross-gender* podele i njenog delovanja važne su teze teoretičarke Erike Fišer-Lihte (Erika Fischer-Lichte) koja ističe da je telo glumca uvek ujedno semiotičko i fizičko (pojavno) telo (Fischer-Lichte 2014: 26). Prvo je telo lika zaduženo za generisanje značenja, a drugo je privatno, fizičko telo glumca ili glumice. Važno je naglasiti da ova dva tela uvek postoje simultano na sceni, pa semiotičko telo nikada ne može da poništi fizičko. Kad gledamo Gorana Jevtića kao Ministarku, istovremeno smo svesni da on predstavlja ženu (semiotičko telo), ali i da se ispod kostima krije muško fizičko telo. Dvostrukosti glumčevog tela odgovara i dvostrukost samog izvođenja, u kom razlikujemo dva opazajna nivoa: nivo reprezentacije (izvedba se posmatra kao sistem znakova) i nivo prisustva, gde je fokus na čulnom delovanju izvedbe (isto, 54–55). Tehnika *cross-castinga*, koji ne mora biti isključivo rodni, pojačava nesvodivost, tenziju između dva nivoa tela izvođača, kao i dva nivoa izvedbe. U slučaju *cross-gender* podele, usled tenzije između semiotičkog i fizičkog tela,

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ili komunicira.” (Šuvaković 2005: 145).

dolazi do destabilizovanja, tj. *oneobičavanja* čvrstih kategorija roda.

Dve najvažnije teorije oneobičavanja nastale su u prvim decenijama XX veka i vezuju se za rad ruskih formalista i Bertolta Brehta (Bertolt Brecht). Šklovski suprotstavlja automatizaciji ili habituaciji pojam oneobičavanja ili očuđenja (остранение), čiji je zadatak da, koristeći umetničke tehnike, poznato učini neobičnim, kao prvi put viđenim. S druge strane, Brehtova koncepcija, s jasnim ideološkim namerama, zasniva se na poznatom efektu začudnosti (*Verfremdungseffekt*), koji publici treba da omogući da uoči skrivene društvene mehanizme (Jestrović 2006: 4). Na istom tragu je i Fišer-Lihte kada govori o sposobnosti izvedbe da svakodnevne pojave učini neobičnim (*enchantment*) (Fischer Lichte 2008: 6–7).

Kako ističe Silvija Jestrović, tehnike oneobičavanja često se postižu podmlađivanjem ustajalih umetničkih šablona, koji u novom kontekstu bivaju iznova otkriveni (Jestrović 2006: 6). To je slučaj i sa tehnikom koja je predmet našeg rada. Ako je *cross-gender* podela tokom istorije pozorišta funkcionisala prevashodno kao konvencija, u savremenom kontekstu ona može poslužiti kao oruđe oneobičavanja. Štriter (Jurij Striedter) smatra da se oneobičavanje najradikalnije razvilo u pozorištu upravo zbog dvostrukosti koja mu je inherentna. U pitanju je igra neprestanog kreiranja i razbijanja iluzije – „kontrast između glumca i uloge, scenske realnosti i iluzije” (Striedter 1989: 25–26, prema Jestrović 2006: 27). Zapravo, reč je o istoj onoj dvostrukosti o kojoj govori Fišer-Lihte, koja suočava dva opažajna nivoa i naglašava dvostrukost izvođačevog tela.

Čineći formu vidljivom ili, kako bi to formalisti rekli – *teškom*, tehnika *cross-gender* podele oneobičava rod glumca, ukazujući na mehanizme njegovog konstruisanja. Na tome počivaju mogućnosti njene kreativne upotrebe u pozorištu, kao i njen subverzivni potencijal. Međutim, *cross-gender* podela ne oneobičava samo rod glumca već i druge okoštale društvene norme. Uzrok za to treba tražiti u tome što je pitanje o polnoj razlici, zapravo, pitanje o samom mišljenju. Svest zapadnoevropskog

čoveka počiva na binarnim opozicijama i na ideji isključenja (Blagojević, Lončarević 2011: 206). Zbog toga, *cross-gender* podela, poigravajući se s rodnom binarnošću, u stvari se poigrava sa ustaljenim tokovima mišljenja. Upravo to je bio cilj Brehtovog *fau efekta* – razmrdavanje uspavane gledaočeve percepcije. Kako ističe Silvija Jestrović, Brehtova tehnika oneobičavanja, u odnosu na neke druge modele, razlikuje se po tome što ima epistemološki karakter i ideološke pretenzije (Jestrović 2006: 24). To su glavni razlozi zbog kojih smo odlučili da *cross-gender* podelu odredimo kao brehtovsku tehniku: ona ima kapacitet da deluje na automatizovane šablone mišljenja, kao i politički potencijal da se suprotstavi načelima heteropatrijarhata.

### ***Gospođa ministarka* kao primer MTF cross-gender podele**

U predstavi *Gospođa ministarka* sprovedena je potpuna MTF *cross-gender* podela, tako da sve ženske likove igraju muškarci, uključujući i naslovnu junakinju Živku, koju tumači Goran Jevtić. Ujedno, predstava poseže za FTM *cross-gender* podelom samo u slučaju Ministarkinog sina Rake, kog igra glumica Katarina Marković.

Rediteljka Tatjana Mandić Rigonat smestila je radnju Nušićevog teksta u kontekst 20-ih i 30-ih godina prošlog veka, kada je komedija napisana i praižvedena. Na samom kraju predstave, načinjen je vremenski skok, pa Ministarka oblači savremeni kostim i hvata se u, kako to sam Jevtić naglasi – demokratsko kolo. Ovakvom postavkom rediteljka želi da naglasi kontinuitet srodnih političkih matrica kroz decenije naše istorije, stalno vraćanje jednog te istog, u kom političari samo menjaju kostim, ali se suština ne menja. U skladu s tim, *cross-gender* podela služi kao znak i metafora kontinuiranog političkog prerusavanja. Zbog toga, na početku predstave Jevtić, muškarac, oblači žensku odeću da bi na kraju predstave opet promenio ruho i postao ministar.

Tumačenje koje smo ovde skicirali – kontinuitet iste politike u izmenjenom ruhu – proizilazi iz semiotičke analize predstave kao sistema

znakova. Međutim, usled delovanja fenomena koji smo označili kao *cross-gender* efekat, predstava generiše i dodatna značenja, koja nastaju u nesvodivom sukobu dva opazajna nivoa i dva aspekta glumčevog tela – semiotičkog, koje čini telo-znak (Živka ministarka) i fizičkog muškog tela glumca Gorana Jevtića.

Kako bismo označili rodni identitet koji nastaje u susretu muškog tela i ženske uloge? Gde se povlači granica? Smatramo da jasne granice nema i da je jedan od efekata *cross-gender* podele stvaranje novog kvir izvođačkog identiteta. Tako, govoreći o Ministarki na sceni Pozorišta „Boško Buha”, gledalac nema utisak da se radi ni o muškarcu ni o ženi, jer njegova pažnja neprestano oscilira između dva nivoa reprezentacije. S obzirom na to da termin kvir podrazumeva sve identitete koji odstupaju od heteronormativnih kategorija, možemo da se posvetimo i onom što nam se čini nedorečenim i prećutanim, ali i onom što nam izgleda kao da je u stalnom procesu izgradnje i razgradnje.

S obzirom na to da postupak *cross-gender* podele ogoljuje rodne konstrukte, on u predstavi čini vidljivim i druge *naturalizovane*, sedimentirane nanose patrijarhalno ustrojenog društva. Recimo, u želji da se oslobodi nepoželjnog zeta koji ne odgovara njenom novostečenom statusu, Živka pokušava da udesi da ga uhvate u prevari. Smišljajući kako to da izvede, ona nekoliko puta izgovori kako su muški – muški i da svi oni varaju žene. U razgovoru sa Darom, ona joj kaže „to muško, mora da vara, to je tako od boga” (*Gospođa ministarka* 2013, 41.7–41.11). Međutim, kako ovu repliku izgovara muškarac koji je obučen u žensku odeću, dolazi do izvesnog *očuđenja* rodni normi koje su učitanе u Živkin stav. Reč je o sposobnosti izvedbe da ono što je svakodnevno učini sumnjivim (*enchantment*), kako to formuliše Fišer-Lihte (Fischer Lichte 2008, 6–7), Brehtovom *fau efektu* ili, kako smo to ovde definisali – o *cross-gender* efektu.

Čedino ponašanje potvrdiće Živkinu tezu o *muškima*: on flertuje sa služavkom Ankom, njih dvoje se i poljube, a konačnu realizaciju Ankinog

plana sprečice to što Čeda na vreme shvata da mu smeštaju. Poljubac dva fiktivna lika, koji se dešava na nivou reprezentacije, ističe Čedinu nevernost, ali ujedno, na nivou pojavnosti, ne može se prenebregnuti da su se na sceni poljubila dva muškarca – čin koji se direktno konfrontira nušićevskom patrijarhalnom miljeu. Dakle, *cross-gender* efekat i sukob dva opazajna nivoa generisao je nova značenja, koja ne moraju nužno imati svoje označavajuće u svetu fikcije, već se oslobađaju u sudaru semiotičkog i pojavnog. Na ovom mestu publika može postaviti sebi pitanje o položaju osoba *drugačijih* seksualnih identiteta od onih koje je društvo dozvoljavalo, iako na nivou reprezentacije nema znakova koji bi upućivali na to.

Isti je slučaj i sa načinom na koji su predstavljeni ženski likovi. Naime, glavni predmet podsmeha u Živkinoj familiji su dve žene: jedna koja se razvela (Soja) i druga koja nije položila maturu jer je zatrudnela (Hristina). Na kraju krajeva, i način na koji je oblikovan Živkin lik nije bez mizogininih nanosa: ona je pokondirena, beskrupulozna, glupa i neuka žena, čija će bahatost i nepromišljenost njenog muža koštati karijere. *Cross-gender* podela izmešta ove osobine koje se smatraju tipično ženskim izvan rodnihih okvira, navodeći gledaoca da razmišlja o vezi roda i onih karakteristika koje mu se uobičajeno pripisuju.

Navedeni primeri pokazuju nam kako postupak *cross-gender* podele, utičući na denaturalizovanje rodnihih normi, čini vidljivijim i druge patrijarhalne konstrukte, koji se po načelima patrijarhalnog sveta ukazuju, kao da su „od boga”, da iskoristimo Živkine reči. Kada o tim normama progovori muškarac u ženskoj odeći, što je u direktnoj suprotnosti sa jasno razgraničenim svetom u kome su muški – muški, a ženski – ženski, neminovno dolazi do njihovog preispitivanja.

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**THE TROUBLE WITH MRS. MINISTER AND HER  
GENDER: CROSS-GENDER EFFECT IN *MRS. MINISTER*  
("BOŠKO BUHA" THEATRE, 2013)**

**Abstract**

This paper examines the use of cross-gender casting in theatre in order to articulate more precisely the choice of this directorial approach. The main thesis is that cross-gender casting may function as a Brechtian estrangement strategy destabilizing fixed categories of gender, defined as the cross-gender effect. The analysis of the performance of *Mrs. Minister* ("Boško Buha" Theatre, 2013) will serve as an example of how, by means of the cross-gender effect, new meanings are created, which do not have to be in line with the author's intentions.

**Keywords:** cross-gender casting, gender, queer, estrangement, *Mrs. Minister*



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## IN SEARCH OF MEMORY: JASENOVAC IN CINEMA (1946–2023)

### Memory Framing of the Past

The 2020 film, considered as the first Serbian (and implicitly Yugoslav) feature fiction film about the notorious concentration camp, *Dara of Jasenovac* (*Dara iz Jasenovca*, Predrag Antonijević, 2020) comes as the culmination of the endless debates about the controversial historical site, *lieux de mémoire*, *lieux de trauma*, place of primarily but not exclusively Serbian victimhood and genocide. Much of these historical polemics originating from the time before the film was released, seem to have an adverse effect, making it difficult to see the film without the accretions it had already accumulated. Accordingly, its turbulent and heated reception emphasises the present day symbolic role of Jasenovac arguing it to be the constant of Serbian memoryscape throughout decades; the epicentre of national victimhood narrative; the highlight of state’s memory politics; its nature and role identified through an array of approaches of memory theories. Thus, the cinematic narratives of Jasenovac as sites of alternative and conflicting memory work as “usable history” (Sindbaek 2013) – metonymically standing for the overall destruction and suffering of Serbs in Croatia over the decades (in the NDH – Independent State of



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Croatia); the wars of the disintegration of Yugoslavia). Films about death camps give the voice to witnesses and testimonies of the painful past and national trauma are employed in the contemporary political setting and (ab) used for surprisingly contradictory political aims. Thus, they confirm to be the paradigm of (national) “usable past” that “has to be found” in order “to educate – more precisely, to indoctrinate – the nation, the young and the old”. It fortifies “national consciousness, and therefore the nationalist political leadership” (Bauer 2020) and furthermore it sends a tendentious (ethnic) political message to the region.

The fact that Jews were the second largest ethnic victims of the notorious camp gives the alibi to Jasenovac narratives to adopt Holocaust rhetoric in a way that strengthens reciprocally Serbian government’s preferential thesis about the shared martyrdom and sacrificial destiny of the two nations. The constantly retold (hi)story is recognised to be a cultural trauma – event so “horrendous [...] that (it) leaves indelible signs” upon the nation, shaping its memories and changing its “future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways” (Alexander 2002). The pronounced parallel with the Holocaust attempts to make the world see Serbian identity as the identity of victims and traumatized subject of wars thus shattering dominant view of Serbs as aggressors, perpetrators or the most guilty party in the conflicts of the Yugoslav break-up. Consequently, the cinematic Jasenovac emerges as national master narrative – narrative of victimhood and sacrifice adopted by one nation or one ethnicity. From the other perspective it stands as the basis of European or cosmopolitan memory (Levy, Sznajder 2002) facilitating Serbian way to EU integration and confirming the Balkan state to be part of European cultural space and shared past (Zombory 2017).

Thus, the Holocaust, as a universal moral reference of growing visibility and historical presence, helps the regionally symptomatic broader play of ethnicization and de-ethnicization of memory. The former, understood as the regression of memory into rigid national borders, grew

out of the anguish and destruction of one nation (Serbian or Croatian) during the 1990s conflicts in former Yugoslavia when all sides in the conflict wished “to be a Jew” and thus have the privileged place of absolute, irreproachable victim (Živković 2000). Memories of the Shoah – barely recognised in communism due to after the “politics of levelling” (Byford 2013) and after the construction of Yugoslav identity as de-ethnicized, supranational one – are mostly regionally instrumentalised for boosting ethnic hatred and intolerance. Heavily ethnicized, again, they are used for explaining new ethnic conflicts to the ignorant world audience while along the way changing the roles allotted to the warring parties. The other tendency, identified as the turn towards cosmopolitan, and thus de-ethnicised, memory – that makes a scholar look into the construction of larger than national identities such as supra-national or cross-national – develops into multidirectional memory. After Rothberg, it examines the contemporary nature of the Holocaust discourse and finds that its memory “is not afraid to traverse sacrosanct borders of ethnicity and era” (Rothberg 2009). Holocaust discourse (in Serbian cinema being no exception) makes us go beyond the traumatic events of the past. Simultaneously, we seek the way towards “ethical accountability” (Yosef 2023) of the present – how to deal with the things we have perpetrated; how to find the right attitude and be concerned with the migrants, exiles, *i.e.* suffering of a diverse Other.

### **Cinematic heritage**

For a long time, the Holocaust was largely marginalized both in Yugoslav society and cinema, lingering on as an unsettled, dissonant past wrapped up in shameful silence. The “honesty of remembrance” and the growing awareness of historicity gradually made the Holocaust, and, thus, Jasenovac (hi)stories the subject matter of various films that dealt courageously with the “questions of victims, concentration camps, massacres, and genocide” (Sindbaek 221).<sup>2</sup>

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2 For more about Holocaust films in ex-Yugoslav and nowadays Serbian cinema see Dakovic, 2020.

In the feature film production,<sup>3</sup> the death camp is just about mentioned in the film *Look for Vanda Kos* (*Potraži Vandu Kos*, 1957, Žika Mitrović). While searching for the truth about her brother's death, Olga (Olga Spiridonović) finds out that he was denounced as communist and sent to Jasenovac. *The Ninth Circle* (*Deveti krug*, France Štiglic, 1961) – the first Holocaust film in SFRY, shortlisted for the Oscar – tells a tragic love story of a Jewish girl, Ruth (Dušica Žegarac), and a Croatian student, Ivo (Boris Dvornik), in war time Zagreb. The film ends with the failed rescue of the girl taken to the concentration camp that, although unnamed, clearly refers to Jasenovac. Eduard Galić's 1967 film *Black Birds* (*Crne ptice*), tells the story of the unsuccessful escape of mainly political inmates-communists and partisans. Expectedly, the Ustashas are hardly qualified as Croats, but the atrocities committed by the officer (Fabijan Sovagović) made after Miroslav Filipović/fra Majstorović are shown with surprising historical accuracy.

During the post Yugoslav times, the concentration camp past is rewritten in diverse genres, stylistic registers, narrative structures; in different wordings and from opposed memory, ideological and political perspectives. The films, sustained by escalating nationalisms and raging wars, helped historical revisionism emphasise broader genocide rather than a specific Holocaust perspective. The first film in the new millennium, *Remake* (Dino Mustafić, 2003), makes Jasenovac the theme of Tarik's (Ermin Bravo) screenplay that he is writing during the 1990s siege of Sarajevo. The very title of the film indicates the palimpsestic nature of Yugoslav history as the one of eternal repetition, a "remake" of the (interethnic) ur-conflict.

*The Diary of Diana B.* (*Dnevnik Diane Budisavljević*, Dana Budisavljević, 2019) innovatively and thoughtfully narrates the trauma as the biopic of the forgotten heroine Diana Budisavljević (Alma Prica)

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3 For documentary films about Jasenovac see Milovanović, 2015.

– an Austrian woman married to a Croatian physician of Serbian origin, and who organized help-and-rescue operation of Serbian children from the death camp. The director goes for the format of the post-traumatic film (Hirsch 2004) characterised by fragmentary non-linear narration and hybridisation of diverse film footage – archive shots, documentary interviews with the saved children, reconstructive fiction. Everything is accompanied, much in Bressonian manner, by Diana's voice off reading the parts of her diary – discovered and published only in 2008 – written in distanced and minimalistic manner. The docu-drama is, unexpectedly, devoid of spectacular scenes of violence, overemphasised dramatic moments, while the black and white photography is, expectedly, consistent with the archival storytelling. As the early film of the dissonant memory (in Croatia) it does not divide the roles of villains and victims along the national lines and opens the way for the complementary story of Serbian victims where Diana (Sanja Moravčić) appears in the episodic *deus ex machina* role.

### ***Dara of Jasenovac***

*Dara of Jasenovac* is a state supported project of national importance, voted as the national candidate for the Oscar after a series of scandals for “bending the rules” in the procedure. Thus, for the national audience, it is the way of reviving the memory of the genocide of Serbs committed in Croatia that via the wars of the 1990s continues to resonate nowadays. The top-down story reinstates Jasenovac as the core identity myth (the first being the one of Kosovo), fashioning victimhood narrative and cultural trauma as national destiny through populist discourse. For the international audience, it aims to promote the story of Serbian national suffering, of eternal victims and never or hardly ever the perpetrators.

Foremost, the thematization of Jasenovac as the place of two genocides – of Jews (the Holocaust) and of Serbian ethnicity in Croatia – naturalises the author's (Predrag Antonijević), and the executive

producer's (Michael Berenbaum, one of the top names in the Holocaust Studies) decision to follow the genre formula of Hollywoodized Holocaust melodrama (Wiesel 1978; Rosenfeld 1995; Insdorf 2003; Baron 2005); to reach for the overtly trivialised "success story" of proven international popularity and efficiency. Therefore, the simple replacement of the names and toponyms of a classical, grim concentration camp (hi)story<sup>4</sup> by "localised" elements would turn a stereotypical narrative into the one about any other concentration camp in the occupied Europe.

The story of the canonical melodrama heroes, primarily Serbian women and children as innocent victims, is told through the eyes of a ten years old girl Dara (Biljana Cekić). During the ethnic cleansing of the terrain, together with her mother (Anja Stanić), brothers Jovo (Marko Pipić) and barely two years old Buda (played by triplets Luka, Jakov and Simon Šaranović) and other people from their peaceful village in Potkozarje, she is taken to the camp. Although Dara suffers the heavy trauma and loses her dearest ones, she succeeds in fulfilling the solemn vow given to her mother. In the end, she and Buda manage to leave the camp with a group of Diana's children.

The melodrama re-genrefication makes the story of genocide amount to national victimhood narrative – touching on collective mythology – as well as to a strong argument in regional political persuasion (Pavlaković 2019; Subotić 2019). It also offers strong empathy that works from emotional to ideological level by providing the unconditional assimilation of the national(ist) victimhood narrative.

### **The symbolic power of being a victim**

According to Girard (1982, 2003), in paganism, the sacrificial mechanism<sup>5</sup> has a distinct social function of creating the sacred – that is

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4 Episodes like deportees being hurled to the overcrowded transports, starvation, torture, diseases, separation of the families, fixed in place and chronologically bound

5 Holocaust as the paradigm of genocide grants the equation of Jews and Serbs, their

cyclical, and indeed, rhythmical – while in Christian context, it is used to create the notion of the holy that only truly happened once, the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The way the distinction appears in Serbian past begins with the national *mythomoteur* of Kosovo and ends in the genocide committed in Jasenovac. The nodal point of *mythomoteur* – saturated with the ideals of martyrdom, sacrifice, victimization, injustice and suffering – is the story of Kosovo surfacing from the collective Serbian past and culture, ever since it fell from heavenly realm of its medieval glory into the slavery imposed by the Ottoman Empire. The famous legend quoted in Rebecca West’s travelogue *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (1941), tells about the prophet Elijah who turns into a grey falcon flying from heavenly Jerusalem to Kosovo on the eve before the 1389 battle. Arriving at Kosovo, the bird asks emperor Lazar to choose between earthly and heavenly kingdom. Serb’s leader chooses the heavenly one, thus invoking eternal, spiritual salvation through sacrifice, victimhood and glorious moral victory in the face of worldly, physical defeat. The singularity of Serbian sacrifice in Kosovo makes it holy and unique. However, repetition of the sacrificial mechanism, as the massive slaughters of Serbs happen again and again, situates it in the realm of the sacred and cyclical. The dualism of the *mythomoteur* invites the notion of an abysmal fate, indeed, destiny of the Serbs to act as ‘žrtva’ – both the victim of the genocide and a sacrifice in the sacrificial offering.

The melodrama formula exploits the concept of an absolute and innocent victim obliged to act through sacrifice to literally save the beloved ones, and to metaphorically save the world, restore order and poetic, religious and worldly justice. Dara of Jasenovac embodies both the absolute victim of national melodrama and the perfect sacrifice of

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identities (of victims and martyrs), histories and myths. For more about Hebrew sacrificial myth whose rituals are perversely “symbolically” performed in the camp (see Petrović, 2018). Moreover it speaks about similarities between two cinemas that both after Holocaust model reveal how national memory has to return to „trauma and the losses that have been repressed and have not been mourned” (Yousef 2023).

the national myth<sup>6</sup> within the neatly polarised world of heroes/villains or victims/perpetrators that in the final ethnic qualification become Serbs / Croats.

The Holocaust melodrama of victimhood asserts moral and political privilege for the whole nation at all times. As a cultural trauma it helps the construction of a noble, heavenly identity that is strictly national or ethnic. As historical memory it supports the national government proclaimed chronocide understood as the condition whereby in a given society (national and social) imagination denies the trauma that afflicted it (Brintlinger, McLean 2022), as well as the pain of the victims that suffered it. However, these traumas in various ethnicized and de-ethnicized disguises – reflecting and adapted to larger (geo)political and cultural alternations – come back to haunt the society living in imposed oblivion and denial.

The (hi)story of Jasenovac as victimhood/sacrificial narrative expose the full vulnerability of the genre as “a component of nationalist ideology” (Bauer 2020). As Holocaust and genocide it reemerges “in relation to postwar events that seem at first to have little to do with it” (Rothberg 2009: 6–7) and is easily accommodated in the 1990s war and post-war landscape. Veering “into current events”, it articulates “a conception of the present – now time shot through with splinters of different times” (Benjamin 2003).

Made with the splinters of the Holocaust, the new (national) narratives appear with innovative myriad of different roles assigned to the nation. The emancipatory effect of, in its essence, de-ethnicised and cosmopolitan memory – “public memory of the Holocaust“ – is visible in the films confronting courageously the troubled past such as *The Load* (*Teret*, Ognjen Glavonić, 2018), *Quo Vadis Aida?* (Jasmila Žbanić, 2020) or quite ambiguously in *Darkling* (*Mrak*, Dušan Milić, 2022). In other

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6 The Serbian inmates in Jasenovac appear both as victims of the genocide and as the individual sacrificing their lives (mother sacrifice themselves for children, Jew from Sarajevo (Bojan Zirović) sacrifices to save the life of the Father (Zlatan Vidović), the nurse Blankica (Jelena Grujičić Moore) dies for saving Dara and Budo.



words, the films about the Holocaust and Jasenovac help us comprehend the atrocities of other wars and similar events; come to terms and explore critically the position of our nation as the perpetrator, but also as bystanders and witnesses, as well as the Other as a victim and martyr.

They prepare the “ethical shift” realised in the above mentioned films that addresses the issues concerning “empathy, justice and ethical responsibility that enable an alternative mode of engaging with the Other” (Yosef 2023: 9). The Other has to be acknowledged in a variety of complying roles that complete both the multi-perspective image of the present and the national self-image that concerns trauma and victimization. It is the one with splinters of the past that make us see the spectres of ethnic conflicts that return to haunt the nation<sup>7</sup> that would like to forget, thus creating historical memory and winning over the ever threatening politically defined chronocide.

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## U POTRAZI ZA SEĆANJEM: JASENOVAC NA FILMU (1946–2023)

### **Apstrakt**

Ovaj rad, koji se nalazi na mestu gustog prožimanja moje dve istraživačke oblasti, studija filma i ekranskih medija i studija sećanja, ima trostruki cilj: (1) da sumira istoriju filmova o Jasenovcu u nekadašnjoj SFRJ i današnjoj Srbiji; (2) da prepozna filmove kao reprezentaciju različitih vrsta sećanja – istorijskog, multidirekcionog, kosmopolitskog, traumatskog; i (3) da mapira načine na koje filmovi odražavaju promenljivu poziciju Jasenovca u filmskom sećanju i nacionalnom kontekstu – od one potčinjene i redukovane u SFRJ do one naglašene u prvom planu u vremenu raspada zemlje i nastanka postjugoslovnjeskih nacionalnih država. U savremenoj Srbiji, filmovi o Jasenovcu, ali i o Holokaustu i zbivanjima koja su slična Holokaustu podređeni su tekućoj političkoj agendi, otkrivajući dijalektiku etnicizacije i de-etnicizacije sećanja; stvaranja nacije; preispisivanja istorije sa žrtvenim narativom u svom centru; i naglašavanja naše/nacionalne prošlosti kao panevropske i kosmopolitske.

**Ključne reči:** film, sećanje, Jasenovac, Holokaust, žrtveni narativ

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## PASIVIZACIJA MUŠKOG NARATIVA (ŽENSKI RUKOPIS U SAVREMENOJ SRPSKOJ MELODRAMU 2013–2023)

Kraj druge i početak treće decenije 21. veka donosi zanimljive zaokrete i preokrete u srpskom filmu, koji iz nihilističke i mizantropske faze koja je na globalnom nivou označavala poroznost društva i autodestrukciju mladih, dolazi do specifičnog smiraja i ulaženja u neočekivana mikrokosmička istraživanja duševnih, emotivnih i rodnih stranputica odrastanja i zrelog doba. Kako je u Srbiji celokupna generacija X koja je rasla po većim gradovima kasnila punu dekadu u odnosu na vršnjake u svetu, kako zbog ekonomske krize i sankcija, tako i zbog recidiva građanskog rata (1991–1995), tako su i filmovi koji su snimani u tom periodu oslikavali beznade kroz prizmu makabrične romantike koja je danas itekako zastarela i prevaziđena. Nove generacije reditelja donosile su sopstveno sagledavanje lokalnog i globalnog *Weltschmerz*a, baveći se ili pošastima devedesetih ili potpuno novom hibridnom generacijom lišenom empatije i naglo sazrelom na potpuno drugačijem sistemu vrednosti, bez kontinuiteta. Nagli povratak religiji i pravoslavlju od početka devedesetih, usled posrtaja i globalnog uništavanja stubova društva (porodica, institucija, obrazovanje, socijalna kontrola) vrlo brzo je evoluiralo u heroinski košmar, a zatim i kokainski



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adrenalinski *melting pot*, koji je nadomeštao vidljive ostatke zaostavštine predašnjeg društva. Prelaskom u novi vek i u vrlo brzom, skoro instant razočarenju naciona, filmovi su vrlo brzo postajali odraz sumnje, bezverja u konačnom perfidnom uništavanju preostalih ideala. Tek početkom druge decenije, poslednja generacija reditelja koji su se rodili u vreme ili čak posle 9. marta 1991, a fakultete upisivali u prividu blagostanja tadićevske Srbije, nešto kasnije dobija mogućnost da uobličí jednu potpunu drugačiju stvarnost. Na trenutke oniričku, na trenutke dubioznu, ali nikada konkretnu i samo(za)dovoljnu. Ako se i pojavio neki film ili nekoliko njih koji su sentimentalno prizivali vremena velikih sportskih uspeha koji su vremena pokazivali sa više ideala i sunca nego što je to ikada bilo, dolaze filmovi ličnih preispitivanja, u kojima je čovek otuđen od sebe samog, a ne toliko od društva. Ova hipertrofirana antonionijevska vivisekcija u stvari samo distorzira večite filmske dileme od kada je ove umetnosti - dileme heroja otpadnika u društvu koje je odavno zaboravilo kako Boga tako i neke stare sheme vremena monarhije i vremena komunizma. Oba pripadaju varijabilnim nostalgijama, koje će zauvek ostati izobličene kao pozni Goya (Goya).

Sećanje obično ne zamišljamo kao prostor mogućnosti progresivnih politika. Češće, sećanje se osuđuje, posebno kada se javlja u vidu nostalgije, zbog solipsističke prirode i tendencije da uvuče ljude u prošlost umesto u sadašnjost. (Grainge 2003: 144)

Ključni „ženski” film u ovom veku, *Neposlušni* (2014) Mine Đukić ima veoma inherentnu kapricioznost glavnog lika. Oneobičeno vođansko tkanje ovog filma nije udarac u glavu i međunožje posrnule nacionalne kulture kakav su zadali *Srpski film* (Srđan Spasojević, 2010) ili *Klip* (Maja Miloš, 2012). Ovde imamo bresonovsko precizan i antonionijevski lenj film u kojem slutnja i žudnja nadomešćuju narativ stvarajući autentični film atmosfere koji kao mala i krhka nacionalna istorija filma nismo imali još od ranog Puriše Đorđevića. Suštinski,

*Neposlušni* je začudan film o nepatvorenosti i nepromenljivosti kriptične ljubavi (koja seže od ranog detinjstva) dvoje vršnjaka među šarenim bačkim šorovima, nepreglednim zlatnim žitnim poljima i aluvijalnim rečnim tokovima. Iako u srednjim dvadesetim, Leni (Hana Selimović) i Lazar (Mladen Sovilj) su po svojoj nezreloj emotivnoj inteligenciji i dalje preadolescenti jedan pred drugim, negirajući sve recidive odraslog života. Njihov jezik je instinktivan i pun benigne infantilne destrukcije kojom svako malo negiraju sebe, nesvesno tražeći neki viši (seksualni i emocionalni) smisao u svojoj ljubavi, u kojoj se na jedan fontrirovski način sukobljavaju dogmatska i dominantna ženska iracionalnost sa muškom potrebom za spoznajom i napretkom. Leni i Lazar su snaga prirode, alegorijski objašnjeni kroz mali lokalni tornado ili kišne pljuskove koji ih definišu na emotivnom nivou, ili kroz još začudnije songove šezdesetih Minje Subote, koji se često pojavljuje kao brehtijanski narator *a-parte*. U tom zamešateljstvu paganskog negiranja odrastanja, jedina poslušna stvar koju će njih dvoje uraditi je konačni čin vođenja ljubavi, njegov odlazak (usled emotivne kastracije) ili beg i njeno prihvatanje uloge surogat majke, što ostavlja jedan od najveličanstvenijih nedorečenih krajeva u novijoj istoriji srpskog filma. Vremenski neodređen i rustikalan,<sup>2</sup> ovo je *roud* film o fizičkom prostranstvu i prostranstvu duše u kome prelazak iz tačke „A” u tačku „B”, tj. neželjenu i teskobnu zrelost spoznaje baš ženski lik, Leni, i to baš na koncu velikog srolomnog putovanja.

Suprotstavljajući (a)tipičan ženski rukopis i žensko pismo u determinisanosti glavnog ženskog lika da preuzme svu odgovornost za svoje (ne)delanje<sup>3</sup> muškoj (ne)odlučnosti da se utopi u stihiju i muškom pismu ne preterano hemingvejske provenijencije, ulazimo u začudnu tendenciju kojom će se baviti pre svega debitanti Pavle Vučković sa filmom *Panama* (2015) i Nikola Ljuca sa filmom *Vlačnost* (2016). Donekle napuštajući dominantni mizantropski narativ u kome društvo otuđuje pojedinca pa on

<sup>2</sup> Jedini artefakti epohe su mobilni telefoni i poster *The Smiths*.

<sup>3</sup> Kao i u filmu *Klip*.

poseže za (samo)destrukcijom, nova tendencija bavi se otuđenjem koje diktira *urban ennui* i bavi se pojedincem koji prvi put nema ni eksplicitne ni implicitne veze sa minulim istorijskim turbulencijama u regionu. Takođe, nijedan od ovih filmova nema uobičajene stilske figure koje neretko određuju nijanse nacionalne kinematografije – ironiju, cinizam, štaviše ne bi moglo da se kaže da su duhoviti uopšte. Takođe, nemaju nostalgičan diskurs niti se vezuju ni za jedan važan istorijski događaj, čak ni za epohu.

Stoga je kolektivno pamćenje nostalgično filmsko sećanje, odnosno generacijski zahvat demitologizirajućeg preispitivanja koje nužno rezultira remitologizacijom. Brisanje postjugoslovenskog povratka nacionalnim identitetima u korist restauracije identiteta Jugoslovena je naglašavanje nemogućnosti opstanka projekta identiteta građana SFRJ, koji ostaje samo na mestima sećanja filma. (Daković 2015: 107)

*Panama i Vlažnost* mogli bi da funkcionišu i da su snimljeni u periodu između 1988. i 1991. godine. Kako je i sam Antonioni (Michelangelo Antonioni) snimajući svoju trilogiju otuđenja *Avantura* (*L'Avanture*, 1960) – *Noć* (*La Notte*, 1961) – *Pomračenje* (*L'Eclisse*, 1962), intuitivno žrtvovao narativ zarad atmosfere i time začeo pitanje urbane dosade i otuđenja, tako se u jednom krajnje bizarnom delu epohe za srpski film snimaju filmovi u kojima dominiraju prostranstva, kako fizička tako i duhovna. Sve denotacije koje je i Antonioni rasvetlio u svojim filmovima kao što su nemogućnost muško-ženskih odnosa jer žena ne ume da voli, ili kada Monika Viti (Monica Vitti) konstatuje u *Pomračenju*, „Svaki put kad započnem komunikaciju s nekim, ljubav nestane”, pojavljuju se i u filmovima *Panama i Vlažnost*. Kao što i Lidia (Žana Moro, Jeana Moreau) u *Noći* satima neobjašnjivo luta ulicama Rima tražeći pitanja, a ne odgovore tako je i Mina (Tamara Krcunović) u *Vlažnosti* u stvari transcendentni Mekgafin (McGuffin), koja svojim nestankom otvara sijaset pitanja, ali svojim povratkom ne odgovora ni na jedno. Iracionalnost kao Mine



u *Vlačnosti* tako i Maje (Jovana Stojiljković) u *Panami* ne pripadaju istoj iracionalnosti koju ima Leni u *Neposlušnima*. Naime, sve tri traže bekstvo od fenomena *urban ennui*, ali samo Leni uspeva da (delimično) sazri ili makar da dâ privid sazrevanja. Maja će pobeći, ali njena motivacija sve vreme ostaje enigmatična ili je uopšte i nema, dok će Mina svojim tajanstvenim kratkim sabatikalom ili „izgubljenim vikendom” za trenutak izaći iz kolotečine.<sup>4</sup>

Koliko je balkanizam pitanje prostora, toliko je, u logici modernosti, i pitanje vremena. Ideja da je Jugoslavija daleka, primitivna i plemenska sadrži u sebi pretpostavku da je predmoderna i istorijski manje napredna od Zapada. I dok se Zapad sagledava kao zagovornik napretka i protoka istorijskog vremena, Balkan se posmatra kao bezvremenski, koji funkcioniše na cikličan i suštinski nepromenljiv način. (Galt 2006: 148)

*Panama* pored toga što predstavlja jedan od retkih savremenih filmova koji nemaju nikakav odnos prema nacionalnoj istoriji, takođe enkodira vrlo aktuelni aspekt svakodnevice, a to je erozija privatnosti uz neizbežni nedostatak istinske empatije. Glavni lik, Jovan (apsolvent arhitekture, imućan, hedonista), u klubu sreće intrigantnu Maju, s kojom započinje ambivalentnu vezu, koja često klizi iz neobavezne u vrlo obaveznu. Jovanova osnovna motivacija je sumnja koju stiče isključivo kroz komunikaciju preko socijalnih mreža i SMS-a. Sumnja kao i obično prelazi u ljubomoru, a onda i u patologiju, a sve to Vučković kao reditelj potencira kroz to da njihov čitav odnos postoji u virtualnom svetu. Seks Jovana i

4 *Šta je s tobom, Nina* (Gordana Boškov, 1984) spada u retke jugoslovenske filmove ženskog pisma i ženskog rediteljskog angažmana koji se kroz odraz epohe (početak osamdesetih) bavi stranputicama ženskog identiteta i iracionalnosti. Ovaj diskurs skoro je nepoznat tradicionalističkom društvu u samoiluziji slobodnog društva i polne ravnopravnosti. Štaviše, žensku psihu je bilo lakše objasniti iracionalnim hormonalnim disbalansima u filmovima Miše Radivojevića *Dečko koji obećava* (1981), *Živeti ko sav normalan svet* (1982) i *Una* (1984) nego postaviti pitanje istinskog identiteta. Očigledna slučajnost je što se svi ženski likovi u pomenutim filmovima zovu Nina, Mina, Maja, Leni. Fonetski i tonalno – sveobjašnjavajuće.

Maje je hladan, sveden i površan. Njena pasivnost i njegova neodlučnost, a i obostrana antipatičnost vrlo često prizivaju jedan od najenigmatičnijih i najnedorečenijih filmova u poslednjih petnaestak godina, *Đavolja varoš* (2009) Vladimira Paskaljevića. U tom zamešateljstvu se stvara jedan od sindroma srpskog modernog filma – svi trpe radnju. Mobilni uređaji su svakako modernu otuđenost podigli na globalni nivo u kojem faza postaje stanje. Vučkovićeve generacije (rođeni sredinom osamdesetih) i njegovi glumci (rođeni početkom devedesetih) komuniciraju uglavnom na razinama tehnofobičnog sveta, i tzv. antonionijevskom otuđenju ne oduzimaju osećaj već zalog, usud i rutinu. Istinski sukob, Jovanova (ne) opravdana ljubomora je stvorena kroz fragmente velike slike, a njemu nije stalo da je sagleda, već da odmah osudi. Naglost i nestrpljivost kao mane modernog doba su proistekle iz recidiva devedesetih, ali se uglavnom odnose na novu generaciju koja ima drugačiju percepciju vremena u odnosu na njihove roditelje. Ova duo drama nekakog dramskog sukoba se odlično uklapa u ceo koncept *urban ennui* kako po elegantnoj i izvanrednoj režiji i fotografiji, insistiranju na detaljima kao protoku vremena i umornim i razvučenim kadrovima. Majino bekstvo u imaginarnu Panamu ne donosi srceparajuću (ne)dorečenost *Trećeg čoveka* (*Third Man*, Carol Reed, 1949) već od nedorečenosti stvara čitavo stanje koje dominira tokom čitavog filma. Bilo kakvo delanje glavnog lika načinilo bi nepotrebnu grešku u celokupnom konceptu.

Kreiran tako da prikaže način na koji društvene mreže neutrališu iskrene veze a favorizuju površna, pornografska uzbuđenja, film postiže vajb jezovitog trilera, ali mu nedostaje scenarističkog razumevanja da bi likovi postali autentični, izvan uobičajenih šema. (Džej Vajsberg, *Variety* prema Bajić, Janković, Velisavljević 2018: 352)

Sličan kraj se događa i u filmu *Vlačnost* Nikole Ljuce. Svako objašnjenje od oba ženska lika u oba filma narušilo bi koncept ženskog

pisma tako brutalno određeno nekim paradigmatičnim primerima u poslednja četvrt veka. Od *Klavira (Piano, Jane Campion, 1991)* pa do trilogije Larsa Von Trira (Lars Von Trier) *Antihrist (Antichrist, 2009)*, *Melanholija (Melancholia, 2011)* i *Nimfomanka (Nymphomaniac, 2013)* u kojima ženski likovi uvek delaju po principu intuitivnosti, neobjašnjivosti, samodestrukcije i paganske povezanosti sa prirodom koju je imala prva žena po apokrifnim spisima Starog zaveta – Lilit. Glavni lik Petar, nestanak supruge ne vidi kao panični presedan već kao stanje stvari koje ga stavlja u letargično stanje prihvatanja. Gledalac u Petrovom ponašanju ne primećuje ni jedan razlog zašto bi ga supruga Mina neobjašnjivo napustila bez upozorenja i poruke, međutim njegovo ponašanje zbunjuje kako njega samog tako i okolinu. Reditelj Ljuca se ovim filmom najviše približio Antonionijevim principima otuđenja, dodajući ovlašnu milenijumsku dekadenciju koja je uglavnom primetna pred sam kraj filma tokom konačnog izlaska u kojima je očekivan neki Petrov sofomorni ispad, međutim dekadentni štik koji nosi noćni klub sa autentičnom lokalnom folk muzikom pitoresknog naziva *Pakao* i cameo uloga koju je Ljuca namenio sebi, donosi očekivanu samospoznaju ili smiraj, ali ne i katarzu. *Vlažnost* takođe opisuje beogradsku visoku klasu skupih automobila i prostranih stanova u centru grada. Život uspešnih i ambicioznih ljudi čija intima nije tabu već je *de-rigueur* dekadentna, gde zadovoljstvo postoji samo zbog njega samog, a jedino Mina ima hrabrosti da pobegne iz beznađa paušalnog seksa sa ljubavnikom i oniričke dosade bračnog života. Očigledno zato nema ni potrebe za racionalnim ili makar poetičnim krajem.

U nekom *de profundis* ključu, nekoliko filmova koji su se pojavili koju godinu kasnije i koji treba da predstavljaju dalje distorziranje melodrame, kao da nesvesno insistiraju na varijabili pasivnosti muškarca, ali i alijenaciji žene, što je već inherentno iz Fon Trirove *Melanholije*. *Moj jutarnji smeh* (Marko Đorđević, 2019), *Asimetrija* (Maša Nešković, 2019), *Kelti* (Milica Tomović), *Usekovanje* (Siniša Cvetić, 2022) jesu filmovi

koji atmosferu grade u enterijeru gde je fokus na oštećene protagoniste očigledan. Za razliku od prethodnih filmova, potonjih četiri su očigledno ekonomski uslovljeni, ali to ih ne sprečava da dopru do još većih kovitlaca psihe u tumačenju epohe. Đorđevićev film u mikro smislu jeste flagrantna katarza fenomena kasnog odrastanja, tj. destruktivne patrijarhalne potrebe da se zaštiti naslednik od pošasti spoljnog sveta. Naravno, pod vođstvom majke, tako da epizoda kod vidovnjaka na začudan, ali kristalno jasan način objasni suštinski problem. Pasivan muškarac (jedinac) stvoren je u teškim vremenima (nije ratnik, kriminalac, muž ili otac) u intuitivnoj psihozi porodične zajednice – zaštiti po svaku cenu. Psihosomatska invalidnost je drugačija vrsta otuđenja od *Vlačnosti*, *Paname* ili *Neposlušnih*.

Zato se prožimaju gubitnička komika sa očiglednom tragedijom posrnuća porodice i socijalnog okruženja. Poslovična gubitnička komika, međutim, jedino je što ovaj film, a i glavni junak imaju da se ne bi urušili pod pritiskom, ovoga puta, ne baš otrežnjujuće istine. Sličan *modus operandi* ima i glavni (pasivni) lik u filmu *Usekovanje* Siniše Cvetića. Kako *Moj jutarnji smeh* ima provansalski šarm, *Usekovanje* je odziv betona i njegovih uslovnosti. Ironična uslovnost je što se očekivana katarza događa u jednom danu i tokom verskog praznika, tj. slave. Ironična uslovnost srpske slave je sabornost i opijanje (preterivanje u jelu i piću). Sabornost znači i okupljanje (šire) porodice, koje uvek ima sudbinsko pitoreskne međusobne odnose. Kao i u svim pomenutim filmovima, nijedan protagonista se neće truditi da stigne iz tačke A u tačku B, oplemeni sebe i nas, što je suština modernističkog narativnog obrasca, makar onome na kome počiva Holivud. Glavni junak (tinejdžer) uvek se miri sa svojom pasivnošću, trudeći se da je napravi što značajnijom i vidljivijom sa što više štete i pogubnih recidiva. Niko više ne očekuje svetlost, nadu i Boga u savremenom srpskom filmu. Svaki lik na ovoj slavi je žrtva sopstvene odluke o neminovnom padu, koji je jedina opcija kako u betonu predgrađa tako i u širem strogom centru urbane celine, gotovo uvek Beograda. Uvek je humor kapriciozni pokušaj zabašurivanja ozbiljnih problema, a onaj

najneviniji će prvi istupiti jer su njegovi gresi najuočljiviji i prirodno i najmanji ili najmanje toksični. *Usekovanje* je još jedan u nizu filmova koji obezvređuje posrnuli koncept porodice u regionu poslednje tri decenije, i možda iskra samospoznaje samo bljesne na samom kraju, ali će se izgubiti u većitoj betonskoj otuđenosti. Ipak, tinejdžer koji je glavni lik je uspešni Mekgafin. Glavni lik je majka i supruga koja jedina gura radnju, insistiranjem na razvodu.

Maša Nešković i Milica Tomović sa svojim filmovima *Asimetrija* i *Kelti* donose više ženski rukopis nego žensko pismo, međutim u filmovima se bave različitim epohama, gde ova ranija kao da služi kao kamen temeljac za sve ostale. Ono što je posebno zanimljivo je to što je rediteljka *Kelta* savremenica devojčice koja slavi rođendan ozloglašene 1993, što znači da je ona sama preuzela odgovornost za tumačenje ove ozloglašene epohe. Sabornost pod izgovorom dečijeg rođendana na dalekoj periferiji predgrađa, dovešće do antiklimaksa poslednjeg kadra kao perverzne i distorzirane verzije filma *Velika jeza* (*Big Chill*, Lawrence Kazdan, 1983). Nesređeni i porozni odnosi među rođacima i prijateljima će očekivano doneti još porozniji *status quo* uz nekoliko tenzija. Paralelni dečiji svet donosi odomaćenu vršnjačku zlobu i zavist koja u stvari imitira roditeljski *modus operandi*, ne nudeći nikakav optimizam. Poseban eksces u ovom filmu je divergentni seksualni patos. Pre svega dva postojeća gej odnosa koja su svojom flagrantnošću potpuni eksces miljeu prve polovine devedesetih. A onda i poznapavlovićevski polni odnos na sred ulice u sred noći od strane komšija kojima je prekopotrebna fizička uteha. Ovo je verovatno i konsekvantna katarza i jedini smisaoni čin delanja, a ne trpljenja radnje. Zato je možda i adekvatnije da se umesto kriptičnog naslova *Kelti*, ovaj film zove baš *Velika jeza*. Iako je katarza verovatno očekivana od dislociranog mlađeg brata koji je imao bar dve veličanstvene scene da povede film u suštinsku destrukciju i ideološki pakao u kome je ogrezla cela nacija tih godina. Na koncu, *Asimetrija* je semikriptična priča o suštini ciklusa ljubavi umor—strast—nevinost. Enkodiran na drugačiji

način od *Kelta*, *Asimetrija* je možda i najpozitivniji film od svih nabrojanih jer ljubav kao stanje, iako neostvarivo, dolazi kao deo ciklusa sazrevanja i egzistencije. Kroz inicijalnu tugu nudi i nadu, da će, samo možda, sve biti u redu, iako sva ta ljubav postoji isključivo kao impuls distance. Rediteljski, *Asimetrija* je otvoren film ka pejzažima, sličan *Neposlušnima*, kada prostor tumači delanje glavnih likova, dok ih enterijer ponekad sputava, a ponekad daje istinsku (seksualnu) slobodu. Štaviše, neke od najlepših, najromantičnijih ljubavnih scena fizičke ljubavi, u ovom veku, snimile su baš rediteljke, Mina Đukić i Maša Nešković.

U poslednja četvrt veka, istinski srećan kraj u domaćem filmu je zamenio završetak socijalne relevantnosti, koji umesto da donese utehu, donosi ambivalentan osećaj pravde za glavne likove ili ironične tragedije. Kada je večita i nedorečena borba za nacionalno pitanje i identitet postala deplasirana, prevaziđena i utopljena u besmislenom osećaju za pravdu srpske kinematografije devedesetih, novi vek nije doneo odgovore na nedoumice i globalna pitanja, već je produbio „zečju” rupu ka sofomornom patosu i posrnuću. Ako posle nihilizma i mizantropije mora da se pojavi tračak svetlosti, onda trenutno stanje u srpskom filmu (2013–2023) infantilnom autodestrukcijom spaja već odavno razbijenu paramparčad ponosa, ideala i ljubavi ovaploćenu u začudnom ženskom pismu.

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## PASSIVATING THE MALE NARRATIVE

### **Abstract**

In the post-Fukuyama world of “new history” in the macro sense, and in the micro sense of political, national and social “failures of classes”, an interesting wave of Serbian melodrama was born, stemming from a misanthropic and nihilistic discourse. Films such as *Panama* (Pavle Vučković, 2015), *Vlažnost* (*Humidity*, Nikola Ljuca, 2016), *Asimetrija* (*Asimmetry*, Maša Nešković, 2019) i *Usekovanje* (*The Beheading*, Siniša Cetić, 2023), bring an interesting transition of focalization into the unexplored breadths of women’s narratives. Apart from bringing about the deconstruction of tradition, this period creates an interesting emotional vacuum and an ideological emblem of the new age.

**Key words:** handwriting, woman, tradition, transition





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## TV SERIES, FEMALE DETECTIVES AND CULTURAL PROXIMITY: SERBIA AND TURKEY

From the unfolding position of screen media transformation – at the moment of television streaming (re)evolution and Hollywood mainstream crisis – growing theoretical research is showing that television series have overpowered all other media formats in terms of production, reception and cultural influence. In the domain of (trans)national development “television scripted-series production in Europe underwent a succession of major changes, prompting what we term here a European television fiction renaissance” (Barra/Saglioni 2021: 1). Overall, the television industry has been completely reshaped by the premium-model programs and alternate forms of transmedia storytelling and transnationalised TV series markets, incentivised by global distribution platforms. This new chapter in serialised drama development also coincides with women-centric narratives and stories from the margins (challenges of gender norms, focus on strong women characters and transformation in how female agency is perceived).

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The gradual emergence of pan-European high-end fiction or so-called “quality European TV” (*ibid.*: 3), consolidated national TV practices, while opening the space for the genre diversification as well as deconstruction of gender stereotypes in local TV series productions. Following this trend, we focus on the case of female detectives solving *big crimes on small screens* in three distinct perspectives. First, by following localisation of crime genre in the context of Serbian and Turkish television series; second, by analysing progressive change in their gender representation; and third, by understanding cultural proximity of local norms compared to the dynamics of global crime genre conventions and their gender representation trends. The suggested critical shift regarding women’s (police) work reflects further on “the institution of the police as a site of empowerment for women” (Sharpe 2020: 211), while

[...] many feminists argue that policing is incompatible with women’s agency. [...] For a series to feminize these institutions, by showing how women can seek professional and personal fulfilment as police, serves to humanize and justify them. (Sharpe 2020: 223)

For a long time, academic research of TV series, and television in general, have been relegated to a minor position with assumptions of conventionality (repetitive genre formulas and redundant narrative structures). At the turn of the millennium and appealing media campaigns such as *It’s Not TV*, *It’s HBO* and *Netflix*, *TV Just Got Better*, many scholars underlined *peak TV* strategies of innovative storytelling, gilded success of digital distribution and golden age of serialised drama co-opting cultural influence of cinema (Mittell 2015; Milovanović 2019). Often, focus has been (re)directed to new debates such as – “culturally specific experience of gender has a great impact on the representation of women on television” (Kesirli Unur 2020: 132). This dilemma has often been intersected with academic concepts of audience reception and cultural proximity, defined by Miriam Berg through similarities in history, ethnicity, religion,

language, and geography (Berg 2023). This theoretical facet has been used in Turkish series studies to investigate “culturally specific experience of female detectives” (Kesirli Unur 2020: 131) and, furthermore, it can be appropriated as a paradigm of similar cultural and gender shifts in Serbian and other Balkan serial narrative productions.

By illuminating these ongoing processes (in theory and practice), we located the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade as one of regional centres for TV series research. Members of the History and Theory Department, through their published work, rooted the studies of TV series in national and regional context. New academic courses – introduced on BA, MA and PhD levels and dedicated exclusively to the research of (trans)national TV series – have inspired great interest among students<sup>4</sup>. Respectively, with the aim to establish a two-year regional master’s program – *New Media Series: Creative Writing and Production* - the Department coordinated signing of the *Cooperation Agreement* (2019–2023) between the Faculty of Dramatic Arts (Serbia), the Academy of Performing Arts (Bosnia and Herzegovina), and the Academy of Dramatic Art (Croatia)<sup>5</sup>. Regarding the objectives of this paper, we joined our research activities with Kadir Has University in Istanbul on the project *Television Series: A Comparative Study from Geopolitics to Geocriticism – Serbia and Turkey* (2021–2023).<sup>6</sup>

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4 The Department organised several international scientific conferences were (*Balkan Cinema on the Crossroads: From Nitrate to Digital* (2017), *Transmedia Storytelling and Digital Mapping* (2020), *The Making of: Digital Past and Present* (2021) and *Soft Power of Balkan Screens* (2022)), where their findings were presented together with more than 50 scholars from different countries (USA, France, Serbia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia, Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina etc.).

5 Ambition of the program is to develop a guide for the next generation of creators of drama series (authors, showrunners, screenwriters, executive producers, etc.). By networking regional resources, exchanging new insights and knowledge, its outcome will have a significant impact on regional production of television series.

6 Intertwined with the global domains of soft power and cultural proximity, this Serbian-Turkish bilateral project tied together rapid growth and the ongoing changes in media industries of two countries (genre patterns traditions and new trends, innovative stories, sophisticated visual styles) with their reception within and across (trans) national borders (Daković, Milovanović & Leković 2022).

As one of its segments, we highlighted the effects and challenges of crime TV series in Serbia and Turkey. To this end we paired national thriller dramas *Besa* (*Besa*, 2018, Tony Jordan, Igor Stoimenov) / *The Choice* (*Babil*, 2020, Uluç Bayraktar) and *Awake* (*Kljun*, 2021, Jelena Gavrilović and Uroš Tomić) / *Persona* (*Şahsiyet*, 2018, Onur Saylak) – with, a specific focus on (re)shaping the contemporary media image of female detectives fighting the criminal (under)world in the Balkans.

### **Women Represented: Across New Balkan Television Screens**

In contemporary European production of TV series, crime genre occupies a significant place, both in production and audience reception. Its (locally) nuanced stories about crime, law and order, universally detect European “social problems and cultural change” (Toft Hansen et al. 2018: 1). While Western and Northern European productions have a long crime genre tradition, in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans, at least by studying the last decade, this has been a new field for innovative concepts. It started when HBO turned toward local productions and opened the question of cultural proximity (audience familiarity with appropriation of crime genre specificities and gender identification). However, the so-called “‘HBO-ification’ of genres” (Varga 2021: 289) was not routinely successful (as one would expect), because

the belief that original domestic series will be the “culturally most proximate” is not always true. [...] HBO’s Eastern European activities should not be understood within a one-directional and asymmetrical core-periphery model (adapting Western concepts and workflow to Eastern Europe), but as a dynamic, interconnected and multi-directorial process [...] while introducing a new content development and production system in the transformative media system and creative industry of Eastern Europe after the political changes. (Varga 2021: 277)

In Serbia, (hyper)production of high-quality TV series and their genre dynamics are evident, especially regarding the variety of crime stories (from action thriller to political drama). The success of the crime genre in national cinema and TV

[...] established new practices and traditions, while raising the dilemmas about media images and system values that they represent in the domain of soft power. [...] These crime series reflect the weakness of our society, but also the issues of post-socialist turmoil (in politics, economy, and culture), collective transition (of state and social institutions), and the crisis of personal values (family, morals, and ethics). (Milovanović/Šibalić 2022: 55)

The heritage of female detectives struggling to solve crimes, while maintaining equality with their male partners in the work place in Western media sphere is well known (from *Charlie's Angels* (1976–1981), *Cagney and Lacey* (1981–1988) and *The X-Files* (1993–2018) to the thousands of episodes of *Law & Order* and *CSI* originals and spinoffs, etc.). Feminist scholars and film/TV critics point out that in classical Hollywood (roughly between the 1920s and the 1960s) women played helpless victims or the untrustworthy *femme fatales* in the hardboiled detective dramas. On television, contrary to the perception that this is inherently a “masculine” genre, “women have played a key role in crime drama right from the start” (Turnbull 2014: 153). Contemporary media universe of crime, genre and gender has turned over the conventional patriarchal and masculine values with the female gaze (on and behind the screen), evident in the growing number of female series creators as well as leading female detectives in unfolding televisual investigations.

Cultural proximity and popularity of police series in Serbian TV production offered potential for establishing new cultural and genre norms regarding the representation of women. The limits of historical background of minor roles of female police detectives are being overcome by ambitious

detective Sonja Kljun (Ivana Vuković) in *Awaking*, Interpol investigator Divna Dukić (Hana Selimović) in *Besa*, policewoman Milanka (Ivanu Dudić) in *Legacy* (*Ubice mog oca*, 2016, Predrag Antonijević), Milka Bjelić (Janom Bjelica) in *Underneath* (*Močvara*, 2020, Milena Marković, Oleg Novković), Krle (Marta Bjelica) in *Civil Servant* (*Državni službenik*, 2019, Predrag Antonijević) and many others.

Comparably, police procedurals appear to be a popular genre among new wave Turkish TV series *Kant* (*The Evidence*, 2010–2013, Biray Dalkıran), *Cinayet* (*The Killing*, 2014, Serdar Akar), *The Choice* and *Persona*. These TV series “carry a great potential to overcome the conventional limits regarding the representation of women in the Turkish television” (Kesirli Unur 2020: 141), because “female detectives in these series are portrayed as empowered figures who try to make it in a dominantly masculine work environment in an inspiring way” (*ibid.*: 127).

### ***Besa and The Choice***

In the case of TV series *Besa* and *The Choice* the characters of female detectives circulate from the periphery into the centre of “masculine” narratives, with the shared topic of fatherhood (Daković, Milovanović and Leković 2022). Assertion of patriarchal system in these two series, starts with matching taglines: for *Besa* it proclaims that *Family is everything*, while in *The Choice* values and power can be read as *Money isn't everything...it's the only thing*. Conflicts of two fathers – Uroš Perić (Radivoje Bukvić) and Irfan Saygun (Halit Ergenç) – with Balkan mafia, puts them under legal scrutiny and subsequent cooperation with female police officers.

In the opening scene of *Besa* (*i.e.* pledge of honour or blood vengeance), in a car accident Uroš (an ordinary family men) kills the daughter of the biggest Balkan drug lord Dardan Beriša (Arben Bajraktaraj). By the twist of fate their two families become intertwined with investigation of Interpol detectives Petrit Koci (Miloš Timotijević) and Divna Dukić (Hana

Selimović). Over the course of two seasons, in a secondary narrative arc Divna grows from a diligent and loyal partner into an independent and sharp minded inspector (investigating organized crime, drug trafficking on the “Balkan Route”, as well as internal corruption of the police system, that in this series leads all the way to European political officials).

The story of *Besa* – placed in complex ethnic and cultural everyday life of the Balkans – through aspect of cultural proximity gives local nuance to the genre (brutal force, assault, revenge, violence against women, *etc.*). Specific analysis of gender representation of womanhood in this series, shows that almost all female characters suffer in the background of stories about family and fatherhood. After being raped Una (Milica Gojković) marries a criminal, her mother Marija (Lana Barić) dies during the witness protection program, Teuta (Gresa Palaska) lives in an arranged marriage brokered by her brother and husband in order to forge a criminal alliance, her daughter Besijana (Elizabeta Brodić) dies in a car accident, Petrit’s pregnant wife dies in a car explosion, *etc.* Divna is distressed by her personal trauma, she is divorced and suffers domestic violence from her ex-husband, a high city official who uses his position in order to get the custody over their daughter. We can see the gap between her professional and private life, as powerful as she may be in her professional life she is powerless in facing her emotional and family problems. As a woman, Divna is troubled and abused, but as a female detective she shows power and resistance to the injustice and masculine dominance.

In Turkish series *The Choice*, when economics professor İrfan is fired from the university and in order to secure his son’s brain surgery, he is forced to borrow money from a shady (mafia connected) businessmen Süleyman (Mesut Akusta). In his office, İrfan meets undercover policewoman Ayşe Karaali/Nihal (Aslı Enver), who works as the secretary and reports to the chief of police about the company’s (il)legal business. On several occasions she helps İrfan and the series ends with Nihal, İrfan and his son standing at the edge of the lake together. *The Choice* tackles the topics of family,

fatherhood, honour, mafia, revenge and a police procedural.

The policewoman appears in the first episode as an undercover agent, trying to find an employment in the company owned by Suleyman, who is a loan shark and married to Kudret (Veda Yurtsever), daughter of a mafia boss. In front of his office, she meets Irfan who gives her advice for the job interview, as she appears to be inexperienced. Later, the mystery around her arises, when she knocks down and kills Suleyman's son, revealing that she is more than just a simple literature student working as a secretary. In a peripheral storyline, *The Choice* uncovers contradicting aspects of professional and private life of a female officer, as she lives with her sister and abusive alcoholic father. Same as Divna, Nihal finds the strength to resist greed and money of the criminal world at work and her abuser at home.

### ***Awake and Persona***

Serbian thriller series *Awake* and Turkish crime drama *Persona* put into question various gender issues and genre norms, re-negotiated within the wider social context and culture proximity. *Persona* is celebrated worldwide following the success after being streamed on Netflix and receiving the International Emmy Award for the Best Performance by an Actor (2019), while *Awake* is the first Balkan series screened and awarded at the Cannes International Series Festival (*Canneseries* 2021). In addition, both series experiment with narrative structures and storytelling techniques by using flashbacks, unreliable narration and nonlinear storytelling (Hoffman 2016). *Persona* and *Awake* challenge traditional expectations, both in terms of genre conventions and their female protagonists' empowerment.

As a crime genre twist, *Persona* centres on Ağâh Beyoğlu (Haluk Bilginer), an old man with Alzheimer's disease who becomes (unconventional) serial killer (in a cat costume), and Nevra Elmas (Cansu Dere), a rookie detective who has just become the first female



investigator in the Istanbul homicide force. The series explores themes of women's agency, violence and trauma in connection to collective remembering and forgetting (Purcell 2021). Agâh's and Nevra's stories intersect in the past in a small fictional town of Kambura, where many years ago Agâh judicially prosecuted an incident of a 14-year-old girl, Nevra's best friend, killing herself after being raped. The accused men went free and Nevra repressed this memory. In present-time, Nevra is forced to dig deep into her personal history in order to uncover the identity of the killer and solve the mystery of serial victims, turning up all over Istanbul with a written message *Nevra, remember!*. With the violence of Agâh's each new victim, she uncovers new pieces of information. On the subject of gender and genre, the series is essentially exploring themes of female remembering and identity.

In the toxic and masculine surroundings of a police station, colleagues discuss maliciously so Nevra can overhear: *What are we going to do with this woman?* Her female identity and work environment are also questioned by her mother, who is

[...] hard on her daughter because she believes the only way for a woman to be an agent in a patriarchal society is to mimic hegemonically masculine forms of agency. (Sharpe 2020: 215)

In the season's finale, with guns pointed crosswise (as one of the crime genre tropes), the two of them have a conversation about the differences between law and justice. This is where one of the most important issues of gender representation and agency is raised in the series. Outside the law, Agâh positions himself as a saviour of women, while for law officer Nevra skilful detective work is very much connected with her experience of patriarchal violence. In that regard, this Turkish series

[...] falls within what [Christine] Gledhill calls the "feminist orbit;" that is, though *Persona* is not feminist in design, it offers powerful

reflections of women's agency and the violence of patriarchy. (Sharpe 2020: 224)

In Serbian series *Awake* young and ambitious detective Sonja Kljun (Ivana Vuković) is ordered to relocate from Belgrade's central office to a small town of Subotica, at the border between Serbia and Hungary, to investigate an alleged suicide. Her arrival will reveal secrets related to a local mysterious organisation, but also related to her own past. When focusing on female remembering and crime genre norms, both *Awake* and *Persona* “use genre to envision a political project predicated on women's ability—or refusal—to harness memory and affective labor” (Sharpe 2020: 209).

In double indexing Sonja's last name Kljun (translated as beak, nose or peak) in feminist readings, because of its shape, can be seen as phallic symbol, while in criminal slang it relates to male cops and agents. What's more, the main antagonist in *Awake* is also a woman, Petra Lakić (Nataša Tapušковиć). This (un)intentional gender inversion creates a space for deconstruction of gender and genre stereotypes in local context. Director Jelena Gavrilović points out:

In addition to the mix of so many genres, in the regional context we are also a refreshing series because of the female hero. It's funny, but then again, it's not funny for us because it is something new. Another factor is that the series both indirectly and directly deals with issues related to women. Everyone is striving to see women no longer as passive participants or having a small role in the world of men, but as part of the action. (Lisinac 2021)

The series opens with a violent sequence that turns out to be Sonja's dream in which her daughter warns her of criminal dangers ahead. The directors of the series Uroš Tomić and Jelena Gavrilović described this TV series as a “a family drama and a police thriller, but with ‘supernatural’ elements, where dreams are an organic part of the story” (*NI Belgrade*

*News*, 2021). Visually striking dreams are a valuable part of the series' narrative, giving to the crime genre a rather fresh and unexpected undertone, while in *Persona* dreams also play a crucial part. Nevra's dreams of bulls are a transparent (visual) sign that she is keeping away some violent, tragic and traumatic events thus repressing them into the unconscious as a form of a defence mechanism. For the audience these lucid dream sequences, narratively loosened and visually stylised, open a path into the minds of these female protagonists, (dis)connecting roots of their psychological traumas, current emotional distress and fear of future failures.

Atmosphere of scrutiny and apathy of a small town, resembling docufiction, is particularly plausible and relatable for the viewers. In Balkan cultural proximity between Turkey and Serbia, a high level of the misogyny and sexism in *Persona* is mirrored in the police offices in which Sonja Kljun works, where male co-workers are insistent in telling Sonja how to do her job. In this brutal surroundings Mića Tot (Stefan Vukić), the junior inspector assigned to assist Sonja, fails to help her, due to his inferiority complex.

Located in the multi-ethnic setting of the city of Subotica, characters of the series *Awake* find themselves on the border – literally, culturally, ethnically and linguistically – in between the Balkans and Central Europe, whereas “the series evokes the reality of regional specificities that have so far rarely been represented in the sphere of popular culture in this area” (Grujić 2022). *Persona* in cultural proximity also revolves around the dichotomy between a large city and a small town, putting into perspective the alienation of Istanbul versus the secrecy, xenophobia and fears in the small town of Kambura.

In her essay on cultural proximity Miriam Berg also underlines that “gender is an important part of people's multi-layered complex cultural identities” (Berg 2017). A rather similar female position in a patriarchal society, and more precisely, institutional masculine surrounding, is what in essence connects series *Persona* and *Awake*; the crime genre indeed

represents a fruitful field of research, as it displays a wide array of changing gender roles – both in society and fiction. What is also distinctive for both these TV shows, and what can be perceived as the foundation of their domestic/international success, could be the fact that they both hold a certain cultural specificity.

### **Conclusion**

Contemporary crime TV dramas in Serbia and Turkey with female protagonists have often taken an innovative approach to bending traditional genre conventions. In the case of all series depicted in this research – *Besa*, *The Choice*, *Persona* and *Awake* – female protagonists appear as policewomen with almost masculine strength, troubled from the inside, but fighting injustice with all their strength. They challenge stereotypes, subvert expectations, and explore complex themes, achieving this through complex main characters that are multi-dimensional, assertive but brittle and flawed, with inner conflicts and moral dilemmas, with a range of both personal and professional motivations. All of these characteristics make protagonists more relatable and human.

Contemporary crime dramas with female leads often depict the emotional and psychological aspects of crime solving. As it is the case with all four series, the protagonists' emotional journeys are central to the solving of the crimes, whereas gender inequality, violence against women and systemic injustice are organically interwoven in the story. Looking up to fertile European TV series production, the case of *Besa* and *Awake* are unfortunately almost solitary examples of this practice in the Balkans, but their quality underlines firmly the obvious motivation and the layered creative approach striving to put female characters and feminist issues into the spotlight. The creators of these TV shows recognized intelligently that it is most important to do so when it comes to genres that are loved by both the audiences and the market, which is why it is safe to state that this is just the beginning of a productive and rewarding female-oriented Balkans TV series wave.

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## TV SERIJE, DETEKTIVKE I KULTURALNA BLISKOST: SRBIJA I TURSKA

### Apstrakt

Preovlađujuća teorijska istraživanja pokazuju da su TV serije nadjačale sve druge medijske formate u kompleksnosti i kvalitetu proizvodnje, te u društvenom uticaju, pre svega vidljivom u domenu savremenih kulturalnih inputa. Promene u (trans)nacionalnom razvoju TV serija značajno se preklapaju sa preoblikovanjem rodni normi i fokusom na snažne ženske likove, te je očekivano što i nacionalne televizijske prakse, kroz sve prisutniju žanrovsku diverzifikaciju, otvaraju prostor i za dekonstrukciju rodni stereotipa. U ovom tekstu se, na primeru predloženog preokreta u TV produkcijama Srbije i Turske, razmatra bliska veza između zastupljenosti ženskih likova u aktuelnim serijama i teorijskih koncepata žanrovske i kulturalne bliskosti, prelomljena kroz feminističku optiku. Kriminalistički narativi čije su glavne junakinje žene (policajke, detektivke, tužiteljke i sl.) u američkoj i zapadnoevropskoj produkciji neosporno imaju dugu tradiciju, dok su na regionalnim malim ekranima trend postali zapleti u kojima protagonistkinje sprovode zakon i red u balkanskom svetu kriminala. Stoga komparativna analiza srpskih i turskih serijskih naslova (*Besa*, 2018 i *Vavilon / Babil*, 2020; *Kljun*, 2021 i *Ličnost / Şahsiyet*, 2018), izvedena na tri nivoa – prvo, razmatranjem i raslojavanjem lokalizacije kriminalističkog žanra u oba navedena sociogeografska konteksta, drugo, istraživanjem njihove progresivne promene po pitanju rodne zastupljenosti, treće, razumevanjem kulturalne bliskosti, jedinstvenih lokalni normi u poređenju sa dinamikom globalni konvencija na sudaru rodne ravnopravnosti i kriminalističkog žanra.

**Ključne reči:** kriminalističke serije, rod, kulturalna bliskost, Srbija, Turska





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## MAŠTA NA VLASTI

U naslovu ovog poglavlja<sup>2</sup> vrecka se parola studentskih demonstracija iz 1968. godine, koja je tog „pariskog maja“ osvanula na zidovima Sorbone, dok se bunt širio ulicama Meksika, Japana, Brazila, potom i Beograda. Studenti ustaju protiv sve očitijih privilegija i socijalne nepravde, a posebno protiv birokratskog autoriteta koji se zloupotrebljava zarad gušenja slobode, kreativnosti i društvenosti. To je i poziv za ponovno promišljanje socijalnih relacija, značenja institucija, čitavog ustrojstva, a javlja se kao poklič promene, kao izraz bunta i revolucionarnih težnji, te možda otkriva i suštinu onoga što nazivamo *levicom* (Grejber 2016). Ipak, parola „pariskog maja“ ne može se shvatiti bukvalno, te ostaje pitanje: Šta tačno poručuje poklič onih koji su verovali da „sav svet iz temelja se menja“?<sup>3</sup> Kakva je uloga mašte u sferi društvene proizvodnje?



Imaginacija je ta koja čoveka odvaja od životinja, kaže Marks (1867/1978), naša sposobnost da zamislimo, i da to što smo zamislili napravimo, predstavlja osnovu materijalne proizvodnje. Svet se nije slučajno desio, nije prosto zadat i propisan sa razina vanljudskih instanci, niti poredak nastaje kao ishod viših sila, već kao produkt zajedničkog

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2 Ovaj tekst nastao je izborom fragmenata iz obimnijeg poglavlja objavljenog u knjizi *Mala vrata. O zajedničkom i putevima radikalne imaginacije* (Ristić, 2021).

3 Sedmi stih prve strofe *Internacionale*. Pesmu je napisao Ežen Potje 1870. godine.

delovanja – sve stvoreno nastaje jer imamo sposobnost da to zamislimo i onda zajedno proizvedemo. Stoga je i sam imaginativni rad vid produkcije, naime, već čini i određuje proces proizvodnje. Ujedno, ono što stvaramo i upravo zato što imamo sposobnost da stvaramo, možemo i menjati. Svaki novi ishod, pokreće pitanja, te se proizvodnja značenja može donekle prikrivati, ali ne i zaustaviti. Promiču tokovi društveno imaginarnog iz svih slojeva, iz svih segmenata društva, bez obzira na privide konačne institucionalizacije. Heteronomija je samo fikcija ili pak indukovani doživljaj koji inhibira. Upitno je kako smo onda stigli do pat pozicije poznog kapitalizma, zaglavljani u rečima, kao i u blatu (samo) eksploatacije čije se dubine više osećaju no naziru.

Izvesna protivurečnost krije se u Marksovoj teoriji imaginacije. Mada postulira da je ona uslov građenja struktura u realnosti, te čini osnovu materijalne proizvodnje, Marks od toga odustaje kada piše o društvenoj proizvodnji. Zapravo, u kontekstu proizvodnih odnosa i nužnih promena, kao izuzetan oblik socijalne kreativnosti, on pominje isključivo revoluciju, kojom se prerogativi imaginacije ujedno ukidaju. Naprečac se Marksov stav menja: revolucionar se ne može ponašati kao tkač ili arhitekta koji pravi plan za građenje pravednog društva. Takav pristup je i pogrešan jer su zamke utopijskog socijalizma očite, a projekcije idealne zajednice prosto jalove. Ostaje Marks nepokolebljiv dok pokazuje duboki prezir prema nastojanjima iz ideološkog komšiluka, insistirajući na ideji da je revolucija imanentna praksa proleterijata čiji se ishodi ne daju ni zamisliti. Mogu li? Ne, čini se. Danas možda manje no ikad pre. Snažna je privezanost za realitet kod savremenika koji su usmereni na radikalne promene i bez ostatka zastupaju marksistički projekat. Ta je privezanost temelj brojnih predubedenja, a delom utiče na suzbijanje imaginarnih društvenih tokova, pa i dalje proizvodnje značenja. Teškoće se javljaju već pri apstrahovanju alternative, u pokušaju odvajanja od realnih okvira i sagledavanja ciljeva, ili bar opsega potencijalnosti. Među savremenicima koji zastupaju ideje leveice, imaginacija je anatemisana. Nimalo slučajno, nažalost, razlozi su višestruki.

## Na pogrešnoj strani

Marks precizno primećuje da se pretpostavke imaginativnog rada koje određuju proces materijalne proizvodnje ne mogu direktno primeniti na kreiranje socijalnih relacija, ali ne ulazi u dublju analizu uzroka, niti razmatra različite dimenzije imaginacije. A upravo se na planu socijalne dinamike pitanje imaginacije znatno usložnjava te zahteva detaljniju diskusiju. Naime, u društvima zasnovanim na strukturnoj nejednakosti, dominantna klasa privlači polje imaginativnog rada u procesu materijalne proizvodnje, dok se „bazi” delegira tehničko izvođenje tuđih ideja, mahom stvorenih za dalje oblike eksploatacije, te radnici ostaju sasvim otuđeni od onoga što proizvode, kao i od samog rada. Pod pretnjom gladovanja, oni su ti koji ne mogu da biraju (položaj, školu, profesiju, način života) te su osuđeni na manuelni rad ili monotone, algoritamske zadatke kako bi projekti povlašćenih ugledali svetlo dana. Ujedno, na potčinjene pada sav teret interpretativnog rada pri razumevanju postojećeg ustrojstva, jer odnosi dominacije kao po pravilu dovode do jednostranih struktura imaginacije: žrtve sistemskog nasilja sklonije su da razmišljaju, čak i brinu o svojim zlostavljačima nego obrnuto, pa tako potlačeni znaju daleko više o svojim tlačiteljima, sluge o gospodarima, radnici o gazdama, što pojedini teoretičari objašnjavaju mehanizmom imaginativne identifikacije, ističući da je, pored nasilja, to najmoćnija sila koja takve odnose održava (Grejber 2016). Imaginativna identifikacija je poseban oblik saznanja „rezervisan” za ljude na „dnu”, koji pored teških i sumornih poslova, preuzimaju na sebe sagledavanje socijalne dinamike u koju su uvučeni, ali i perspektive svojih izrabljivača koji ostaju pri „vrhu” – netaknuti, obesvešćeni i bez obaveze da se suoče sa onim što se dešava.<sup>4</sup>

Tek tu počinju prave peripetije koje zahtevaju dodatno objašnjenje.

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4 Imaginativna identifikacija može se prepoznati u estetskom doživljaju, kao i u poetičkom postupku izvođačkih i dramskih umetnika, posebno kada se u kreativnoj produkciji oslanjaju na psihotehniku Stanislavskog, Lija Strazberga i Mihaila Čehova. Ipak, u ovom poglavlju mehanizam se razmatra isključivo u odnosu na dinamiku socijalnih relacija.

Ako je većini ljudi svojstven izvestan stepen interpersonalne reaktivnosti, a posebno empatijska brižnost i sposobnost čoveka da zauzme tuđe stanovište, zbog čega bi strukture imaginacije nužno bile jednostrane? Mogu li se osnaživanjem empatijskih kapaciteta među pripadnicima dominantne klase stvoriti uslovi za povratnu imaginativnu spregu, a sledstveno i društvenu promenu? Delimično se na tome već godinama radi, posebno delovanjem kulturne i akademske elite koja iskustveno prepoznaje podređeni status unutar klasne dominacije, ali su pojedini mehanizmi vrlo snažni te su promene još uvek kratkog daha i krajnje ograničenog opsega. To je zbog toga što imaginativna identifikacija nije samo mehanizam interpretativnog rada, kako ističe Grejber (2016), već najpre odbrane ličnosti od pozicije nemoći iz koje svaka identifikacija mahom i potiče. Poistovećivanje sa dominantnom pozicijom smanjuje doživljaj inferiornosti i ugroženosti i omogućuje prelazak iz pasivnog u aktivno stanje, stoga se i javlja često u odnosima nejednakosti (slabiji-jači, dete-roditelj, student-profesor, žrtva-zlostavljač, potlačeni-tlačitelj). Sledstveno, sama identifikacija koja se pojavljuje kao automatski i nesvesni odgovor na visok stepen anksioznosti koji položaj izaziva, ne samo da ima vrlo jasno poreklo već je uvek i precizno usmerena „nagore“, dok obrnuto nije slučaj. Koliko god da se može činiti čovečnije, daleko je teže prepoznavanje pozicije slabosti; ono se opire adaptivnim mehanizmima, te se javlja ređe i sa više teškoća, eventualno kao trag traumatskog iskustva ili ishod individualne osetljivosti.

Povrh svega, treba imati na umu da empatijska briga nije obavezni pratilac ljudskog susreta sa patnjom, jer se u „tuđu kožu“ može ući na dva načina. Na primer, kada je jedna osoba uznemirena usled snažnog stresa i pod pritiskom različitih okolnosti, druga osoba koja je blizu i prati šta se dešava može preuzeti perspektivu prve, može zamisliti kako joj je u tom trenutku, kako opaža situaciju i kako se u njoj oseća [engl. *imagine-other*]. Ona, međutim, takođe može zamisliti kako bi se i sama osećala u datoj situaciji, kako bi je opažala i doživljavala da je na mestu prve

[engl. *imagine-self*], što možda liči, ali nije potpuno ista vrsta iskustva. Istraživanja pokazuju da oba načina opažanja prilikom preuzimanja perspektive drugih produkujaju emocionalne odgovore, ali samo prvi način rezultuje čistom empatijskom brigom i čini osnovu altruističke motivacije, dok je drugi način više usmeren na misli o sebi, te se u ishod može umešati egoistična motivacija (Batson 2009). Da bi se empatijska brižnost zaista pojavila, da bi čovek zaista osetio, zamislio ili nešto zaključio o tuđem iskustvu, mora aktivno da misli o mentalnom stanju druge osobe i da prevaziđe vlastitu perspektivu, donekle i da stavi na stranu vlastite potrebe. Empirijska evidencija pokazuje da ljudi današnjice, van vrlo bliskih afektivnih veza, lako omanu prilikom aktiviranja procesa koji bi im omogućili da preuzmu perspektive drugih, i da zaista „uđu u tuđu kožu”. Inicijalna egocentrična procena obično služi kao polazište, a svi kasniji pokušaji da se ona podesi ili koriguje nisu dovoljno snažni da se promena perspektive ili pak pomak ka drugom zaista izvede (Epley & Caruso 2009). Stoga nije ni opravdano očekivati da se empatijska briga ili procesi imaginativne identifikacije spontano javljaju kod superiorne pozicije unutar odnosa nejednakosti. Kod ljudi koji uživaju izvesne privilegije, očite su drugačije odbrane koje omogućuju izvestan stepen političkog „slepila” u vidu različitih oblika samoobmane. Tako će privilegovani ljudi radije tražiti izgovore da privilegije zadrže, negirati sopstvenu odgovornost, poricati ili relativizovati i same odnose eksploatacije koje nesmetano obavljaju, poslušno ih braneći i pravdajući fabrikovanim mitovima o slobodi i ličnoj odgovornosti, sledstveno i preduzimljivosti u kontekstu tržišnih zakona. Možda je to jedan od razloga što bi svet koji živimo Breht nazvao „obeščovečeno čovečanstvo”, a svakako se može posmatrati kao uslov održavanja eksploatacije – poretka u kome imaginacija odigrava značajnu i (za sada!) vrlo mračnu ulogu.

Jednostrane strukture imaginacije nisu samo zahtevne, jer se interpretativni rad unutar odnosa nejednakosti svaljuje na ljude koji su već podvrgnuti brutalnoj eksploataciji te obavljaju najveći deo fizičkog rada

u društvu – one su i opasne. Kada su strukture ojačane identifikacijom, odnosno odbranom od pozicije krajnje nemoći zasnovane na ljudima svojstvenom empatijskom potencijalu, one dovode do višeg stepena afektivnog povezivanja sa tlačiteljima.<sup>5</sup> Time su potlačeni, oni koji održavaju svet/život/društvo, emotivno učenjeni, sledstveno i pacifikovani, te nastavljaju da robuju sa mnogo razumevanja za potrebe svojih gospodara, što dovodi do opravdavanja poretka i direktno subvertuje revolucionarne težnje na individualnom i kolektivnom nivou. Ovo kontrarevolucionarno dejstvo ojačano je otuđenjem na planu materijalne proizvodnje u funkciji imaginativnog rada koji je uzurpiran i pripojen servisima krupnog kapitala, dok je sam pojam imaginacije, kao i kreativnosti, asimilovan neoliberalnim diskursom.<sup>6</sup> Dakako, nije reč samo o demagoškim manevrima, već najpre o svođenju stvaralačkih moći čoveka na oruđe superindustrializacije, te je logično što se imaginacija danas posmatra kao adut poretka, kao sila koja ojačava neoliberalne bedeme spolja (razvojem tehnologije, sledstveno vojne i niza drugih industrija), kao i iznutra (dobrovoljnim očuvanjem socijalnih relacija). Dakle, u sistemske konstelaciji kakva danas dominira, imaginacija otkriva gotovo dijabolične prerogative. Ne samo da omogućuje već i čuva strukturnu nejednakost, ojačavajući pritom arsenal prinude.

U tako skućenom opsegu delovanja, lako je upasti u zamku krajnje simplifikacije, na osnovu koje se svaka društvena projekcija odbacuje i(li) kao nerealna, i(li) kao izraz reformističkih ambicija, te u službi jačanja neoliberalnog ustrojstva. Zapravo, u kontekstu ovdašnjih prilika i ljudi okupljenih oko ideja levice, kao da je alternativni modus društvene reprodukcije moguće konceptualizovati samo uz osvrt na jugoslovenske

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5 Sindromi ovog tipa kao što je na primer „stokholmski” poznati su i očiti, te se već uveliko upliću u medijske narative, mahom na nivou senzacionalističkih tumačenja interpersonalnih odnosa. Zapravo, pri tumačenju mehanizma identifikacije, daleko su složenije socijalne implikacije koje se olako zanemaruju.

6 Posebno mesto u kontekstu koji obavezuje na isplative posledice, zauzeo je koncept „primenjene imaginacije”, lansiran još sredinom 20. veka (Osborn 1957), kada su počele da se razvijaju tehnike brejnstorminga i drugi „čarobni štapići” za podršku tržišnoj ofanzivi.

tekovine, nekritički i repetitivno, uz nužnu romantizaciju koja obeležava sve nostalgicne osvrtne na detinjstvo, ma gde i ma kakvo ono bilo. Uočavanje grešaka i zloupotreba, ili pak preispitivanje tog sistema sećanja obojenog snažnim sentimentom, nije moguće, te u rascepu između starih učenja o nedostižnim utopijama i očekivanja tehnološkog diktata ružičastih distopija, izranja negacija negacije utopije kao novi vid društvenog ideala koji Zigmunt Bauman [Zygmunt Bauman] naziva retrotopija, a opisuje je kroz: „vizije locirane u izgubljenoj / ukradenoj / napuštenoj, ali nemrtvoj prošlosti, spram onih koje su vezane za još nerođenu, te i nepostojeću budućnost” (Bauman 2017: 8).

U isto vreme i donekle paradoksalno, kritička teorija postaje oslonac promišljanja vremena i poretka, neizostavna u demaskiranju strukturnog nasilja, a barem delimično i suzbijanju štetnih posledica neoliberalne ekonomije. No dominacija kritičkog naspram kreativnog, pa i samo negovanje ove retko preživele a sasvim naopake binarnosti, uz izvesnu zakovanost za sadašnje pozicije i zagledanost u svetliju prošlost – reaktivnog je pre no aktivnog karaktera. Ne samo da je daleko od svakog pokušaja konstituisanja alternative, već delimično sakriva inhibiciju, jer je i sama specifičan vid autocenzure. Pod snažnim pritiskom postmodernog skepticizma, kritička pozicija gotovo da poprima nihilistički predznak i ostaje zakovana u sadašnjosti, iz koje se može videti, razumeti, objasniti gotovo sve, ali ne i promeniti, kreiranjem alternative. Parola *L'imagination au pouvoir* postaje ornament na artefaktima pop-kulture, komodifikovana te dostojno doterana cirkonima, dok je se savremena levica odriče. Dominira shvatanje imaginarnog kao nužno reakcionarnog – mašta postaje relikv kontrarevolucije. Tim cinizmom spram imaginacije, koji se olako i sasvim pogrešno pripisuje materijalizmu, levica se čak približava stereotipijama desnog političkog spektra, što zahteva poseban oprez. Ako bi se pak vratila toj ruci koja na zidovima Sorbone ispisuje poklič promena, razmatranje njihovih mogućnosti, kao i samog koncepta, vodi ka pretresu zanemarenih, danas skrajnutih, a zapravo fundamentalnih dimenzija imaginacije (više u Ristić 2021).

### **Imaginacija i društvo**

Stvaralačka imaginacija i principi realiteta na kojima počiva (Vigotski 1931), mogu se razumeti u svetlu razvojnosti koja se ostvaruje u praksi, i to ne samo na nivou materijalne proizvodnje već i društvene: spram socijalnih relacija iz kojih izranja i koje ujedno može menjati. Ako se posmatra u kulturno-istorijskoj perspektivi, i kao potpuno razvijena simbolička funkcija, ona leži u osnovi procesa koji određuju društvene promene, te je analogna radikalnoj imaginaciji o kojoj je pisao Kastoriadis [Cornelius Castoriadis], kada je razmatrao put autonomije, od individualne do kolektivne. Samostvaranje društva odvija se bez prekida, kao proces stalnih potresa, pretresa i proizvodnje imaginarnih značenja, kako kaže, a svoje poreklo ima u ljudskoj ličnosti, slobodnoj i svesnoj, mada u stalnom rascepu između moći stvaranja „ni iz čega” i isto tako snažnog otpora ili pak manjka moći da se praznina sagleda – između nepojamne koliko i nezaustavljive kreativne sile s jedne strane, i heteronomnih privida koji nastaju kako bi se zataškalo dejstvo Haosa, sa druge. Sam čovek, sa mrežom institucija koje stvara, delo je radikalne imaginacije koja je stožer svih društvenih kretanja i čini društvo otvorenim, bez „poslednje instance” na kojoj se utemeljuju trajna i večita značenja. Pravljenje društva i uvek novo njegovo prepravljavanje ne dešavaju se zato što je čovek „proizvod rada”, kako potcrtava Kastoriadis u kritici Marksovog učenja, već zato što je „biće imaginacije i imaginarnog – gde je imaginacija individualna, a imaginarno kolektivno i socijalno – i kao biće imaginacije i imaginarnog sam čovek je sila oblikovanja [*vis formandi*]” (Kastoriadis 2009b: 73). U ovom zaletu da se imaginacija razume kao proces samostvaranja, čoveka koliko i zajednice, borba za individualnu i kolektivnu autonomiju teče neumitno, a ostvaruje se radikalnim, revolucionarnim tokovima zavisnim isključivo od etičkih pretpostavki kao temeljnih odrednica humaniteta.

U atomiziranim društvima poznog kapitalizma, borba za kolektivnu autonomiju očitava se u različitim vidovima praktikovanja zajedničkog, koji su sistemski opstruirani jer se direktno sučeljavaju sa dominantnom



ideološkom matricom koja omogućuje eksploataciju. Prakse su, kao i odjeci, još uvek slabi, manjinski, potiču iz rasparčanih mikroklika koje neretko padaju kao žrtve ekskluzije i okorele retorike, te se svaka akcija, pa i samo javno delovanje čine otežani. Lako ih je marginalizovati, koliko god glasovi bili jasni i elokventni, još lakše učutkati ekonomskim ucenama tržišne svakodnevice. Stoga se ispitivanje uslova transpozicije čini neodložno, goruće, gotovo kao pitanje opstanka, i to ne zbog potencijalnih rezultata, ili ishoda produkcije koji verifikuju manje vidljive prakse, već zbog samih procesa. Transpozicija po sebi već pretpostavlja pravljenje kolektiva, rekreiranje zajednice, pristajanje na proizvodnju društvenosti, ma koliko tegobno bilo, kao i preuzimanje odgovornosti za taj proces. Nužno je intencionalan, usmeren, koliko i uslovljen brojnim ograničenjima, očitim iz ozbiljnih prepreka sa kojima se sudaraju savremenici, posebno unutar umetničkih kolektiva koji teže autonomiji. I ne samo njih, naravno.

Izvesno je da svaka združena akcija usmerena na preispitivanje značenja institucija, kao i dominantnih narativa koji kontrolišu tokove društveno imaginarnog, otkriva delovanje radikalne imaginacije, kako je to tumačio Kastoriadis. Jedan korak dalje od preispitivanja postojećih značenja, svakako je i proizvodnja alternative – kreiranje drugačijih modusa društvene reprodukcije. Stoga je imaginacija koja se ispoljava praktikovanjem zajedničkog, kao i različitim intervencijama u polju društvene proizvodnje, po sebi radikalna, delom zbog korenite promene kojoj se teži, a najpre zbog безусловne dinamike koju nameće. Nema zaključanih značenja, nema konačnog i idealnog društva, jer ni društvo ne staje, srazmerno silama promene. Druga parola pariskog maja dobro odražava ovu naizgled paradoksalnu, a zapravo revolucionarnu prirodu imaginacije: „Budimo realni – zahtevajmo nemoguće”. Nije dakle reč o zamišljanju nedostižnog i Marksov prezir utopijskog socijalizma je posve opravdan – reč je o zahtevu prakse. Imaginacija koja ima političku snagu prepoznaje se u praksi, preko prakse, i samo zarad prakse. Zato Marks i piše o revoluciji kao vrhuncu socijalne kreativnosti koja oponira svakoj

daljoj projekciji, a ujedno i kao krajnjoj tački imaginativnog rada u polju društvene proizvodnje. Sporno je, ipak, samu revoluciju posmatrati van tokova društveno imaginarnog, kao konačni i temeljni preokret oročenog trajanja, kojim se okončava i potreba za imaginativnim radom. Promene u polju društvene proizvodnje zahtevaju nešto više od toga, pokazuju brojni autori, studije i istorijski porazi 20. veka. Za početak, zahtevaju mobilisanje imaginacije i sagledavanje tokova društveno imaginarnog u svetlu procesualnosti koja temelji proizvodnju značenja, bez pokušaja da se ti tokovi zaustave, a ishodi konzerviraju kao gotovi produkti prevrata. Zahtevaju takvi pomaci i više vremena, dakako, ali to ne znači da su skromnijeg dometa ili pak da se svode na reformističke tendencije poznog kapitalizma. Dok god se kreiraju intencionalne i korenite promene relacija, kao i modusa društvene reprodukcije, a ne „opravke”, prikriivanje ili doterivanje sistema opresije, reč je o revolucionarnim praksama – njihova radikalnost ne definiše se vremenskim okvirom već kvalitetom samih promena. A upravo procesualnost, očita u dinamici društveno imaginarnog, jemči otvorenost zajednice spram menjanja, i to u onoj meri u kojoj imaginacija nije svedena na reaktivne mentalne simulacije, već predstavlja pogon prakse: ispoljavanje određenih relacija, njihovo isprobavanje i testiranje u realnosti, njihovo izrastanje i istovremeno izvođenje, na putu ka novim vidovima kolektiviteta.

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*L'IMAGINATION AU POUVOIR*

**Abstract**

Imagination and the principles of reality on which it rests can be understood in the light of potentiality that is realised in practice, not only on the level of material production, but also on the social level: in relations from which it emerges and which it can change. If viewed from a cultural-historical perspective, and as a fully developed symbolic function, it lies at the basis of the processes that determine social changes, therefore being analogous to radical imagination, and enabling continuous production of social imaginary.

**Key words:** radical imagination, social imaginary, one-sided structures of imagination, change, collective autonomy

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## PROSTOR – MEDIJI – UMETNOST – ZABAVA: JEDAN POGLED NA SAVREMENOST

Iako na prvi pogled deluje nesavremeno, implicitno polazište za naše tumačenje, koje se tiče povezanosti prostora shvaćenog u tradicionalnom smislu reči i tehnološkim sredstvima generisane prostornosti novijeg doba, nalazimo u paragrafima Kantove (Immanuel Kant) transcendentalne estetike koji se odnose na čisti opažaj prostora i njegovu empirijsku realnost, odnosno pojavnost (Kant 1976: 53–58). Kako je poznato, prema Kantovom shvatanju, čist neopažljivi prostor, kao subjektivno svojstvo uma po kome se zbiva celokupno opažanje (prevedeno na čulo vremena, kao, mnogo kasnije kod Virilioa /Paul Virilio<sup>3</sup>, na primer), jeste jedan i jedinstven;<sup>4</sup> štaviše –



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3 „Za razliku od fizike, u politici su opažanja činjenice” – ovako počinje poglavlje „Morfološka najezda” u knjizi *Kritični prostor* Pola Virilioa. U nastavku sledi autorova „dijagnoza” vremena, gde se tvrdi da je došlo do bitnih izmena u kontekstu tradicionalnog shvatanja pojavnosti, te da se „poredak” pojavnosti, što važi kako za prostor tako i za vreme, transformisao u nešto drugo, pa smo tako postali „svedoci sa-proizvodnje čulne stvarnosti” (Virilio 1997: 20, 21).

4 Naime, prema Kantovom shvatanju, kako je poznato, sva empirijska raznovrsnost opažanja prostora referira samo na jedan jedinstveni, *a priori* i čist prostor „te kad se govori o mnogim prostorima, onda se pod tim podrazumevaju samo delovi jednog i istog jedinog prostora.” (Kant 1976: 54).

taj prostor je i beskonačan,<sup>5</sup> što je karakteristika koja se često pripisuje internetu i novim medijima, ali i celokupnoj virtualnoj realnosti. To, istovremeno, znači da se sva naša opažanja prostora, u empirijskom smislu reči, slivaju u jedan jedinstveni (estetski) doživljaj tog fenomena. Pa ipak, i dalje, po našem mišljenju, ostaje otvoreno pitanje – da li tehnika i tehnologija, ne menjajući estetski doživljaj prostora, donose nešto novo i različito u pogledu kvaliteta tehnički posredovanog opažanja.

Ako je pojava prostornosti mišljena kao kontinuitet, pitanje je samo na koji način i kojim se sredstvima ovaj prostor konstruiše, tumači, odnosno estetički artikuliše. Naravno, tu može biti reči o prepoznavanju prostornosti na osnovu čistih i *apriornih* formi opažanja na koje upućuje svaka pojedinačna, prostorom obuhvaćena pojava, bilo da se misli na tzv. fizički ili „realni” prostor, ili pak na polje delovanja umetnosti, medija, imaginacije i tehnološki generisanog posredovanja. Pojednostavljeno rečeno, isprva umetnost, a sada i medijskim sredstvima artikulisana prostornost, omogućavaju izvesno proširenje polja čulnosti, što i dalje potpada pod gotovo istu interpretacijsku paradigmu, kao u Kantovom slučaju.

Potrebno je, dakle, krenuti od tumačenja pojedinih aspekata tog prostora, kako bismo osvetlili određene pojavne specifičnosti u svetu medija, zabave i umetnosti, i to iz interdisciplinarnog ugla posmatranja, analize i problematizovanja koji primenjujemo u području promišljanja filozofije medija. Ono na šta ovde želimo da ukažemo jeste to da nam savremena tehnologija, primenjena prvenstveno u domenu delovanja umetnosti i medija, omogućava dva potencijalna smera kretanja prilikom proširenja „standardno” shvaćenog prostora, u opažajnom i u receptivnom smislu reči. Prethodno, pozivajući se na kantovske ideje o prostoru kao jednom i, pri tom, beskonačnom opažaju, trebalo bi konstatovati da sama tehnika nije u prilici da proizvodi nekakav „novi” prostor, već ona

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5 „Prostor se predstavlja kao jedna *data* beskonačna veličina.” (Kant 1976: 55)

samo omogućava njegovu čulnu (empirijsku) ekstenziju i eventualnu hibridizaciju. Prvi modalitet prostornog opažanja jeste prividno proširenje ka „spolja” (tradicionalno pojmljeni prostor preskače „rampu” i prelazi u pozorišnu iluziju ili u filmski, pa tako i VR narativ), dok je drugi usmeren ka „proširenju” koje je sažeto u koncepciji podudaranja „realnog” i imaginativnog, tj. medijski kreiranog prostora, čime artificijelnost prodire u tradicionalno mišljeni prostor, čineći mešovitu empirijsku tvorevinu, tj. ono perceptivno polje u kome se preklapaju „realni” i tehnički generisani prostor (AR). U pasażima koji slede, nastojaćemo da koliko-toliko razjasnimo ove tehničko-prostorne inovacije, karakteristične za vreme u kome živimo.

Kao što je poznato, postojanje tehnološkim sredstvima generisanog „prostora” dovelo je u nedoumicu istraživače koji se bave ovom tematikom, jer se s pravom može postaviti pitanje da li je ovaj prostor zaista prostor, ili je, pak, nešto sasvim drugo – recimo, njegova simulacija ili virtuelizacija, a možda i „proširenje”; te, da li je, u odnosu na prethodna shvatanja, reč o kontinuiranoj „pojavi” ili o nečemu novom i različitom, dakle, o fenomenu koji je vrlo specifičan; ili se, moguće, danas „prostori” mešaju i po želji kombinuju, stvarajući tako jednu „hibridnu stvarnost” u kojoj se i perceptivno i refleksivno posreduju, prelivajući se jedni u druge.

Posmatrano iz konteksta prosuđivanja tzv. medijske kulture, izgleda da je tehnologija danas, svojim agresivnim delovanjem, premostila jâz koji je nekada postojao između tzv. fizičkog, pa i geografskog prostora, s jedne, i „prostora” definisanog različitim simboličkim formama – kao što su jezik i/ili umetnosti, s druge strane. O „prevladavanju” prostora u ranijem značenju, i njegovom potiskivanju, pa čak i „ukidanju” – a u smislu nagoveštaja „kraja geografije” – koje se izvodi posredstvom medijskih aktivnosti, opsežno je pisao Virilio (Virilio 1997). S tim u vezi, može se najpre postaviti pitanje – da li medijski prostor, tj. njegova pojava odgovara opštem pojmu prostora (ma kako ga definisali), ili je ovaj prostor samo uslovno određen kao prostor, odnosno kao neka specifična

pojavnost, koju po nereflektovanoj navici nazivamo ‘prostorom’, uz odgovarajuću terminološku dopunu, što ga preciznije određuje u zavisnosti od tehnologije koja ga strukturise. Kako smo već ranije naveli, na tragu Kanta, svakako je ovde reč o prostoru, i to o tehnološkim sredstvima generisanom prostoru, koji i jeste i nije prostor u nekadašnjem značenju pojma, te ga neki nazivaju virtuelnim (VR), simuliranim, kiber (*cyber*) ili proširenim prostorom (AR), i dalje se služeći starim vokabularom, koji aktuelno treba da zahvati i nove vidove pojavnosti.

Odnos između percipiranja/recipiranja i razumevanja/poimanja prostora – sagledano u kontekstu postojanja sve propusnije granice i diskretnih elemenata razlikovanja između fizičkog i medijskog prostora – može se najbolje ilustrovati primerom nastalim upravo u oblasti njihovog uzajamnog delovanja, ili još konkretnije – u domenu kinematografije, i to na samim njenim počecima. Recipijentima filma kao medija je, naime, bilo potrebno izvesno vreme da se edukuju i naviknu na kinematografsku iluziju, te odgovarajući doživljaj, odnosno estetsko iskustvo prostora koji se evocirao tehničkim putem.

Složenost preispitivanja pokrenute problematike danas je utoliko veća što imamo posla ne samo sa različitim shvatanjima prostora u okvirima mnogobrojnih naučnih disciplina (fizika, geometrija, geografija, teorija medija, itd.) pa i filozofije; ovde se, međutim, uglavnom fokusiramo na medijski „prostor”, ili, uže gledano, na specifičnosti tehnološkim sredstvima produkovanih prostora, a koji pomeraju „granice”, kako opažanja, tako i razumevanja ovog fenomena, vodeći ga od fizičkog (nauka) i metafizičkog tumačenja, ka viđenju prostora u domenu filma, video-igara, i tzv. novih medija.

Po našem mišljenju, kako se granice prostora „pomeraju”, u rasponu od fizičkog do kiber-prostora, na primer, tako se menja i shvatanje o njemu. Ono što je, međutim, upadljivo, jeste to da simbolički prostor polako preuzima primat nad fizičkim, upravo onako kako tehnologija osvaja prirodu. U tim „novim” prostorima ili poljima obitavanja i kretanja



zatičemo i čoveka – njegovu egzistenciju, percepciju, razumevanje, kao i doživljaj ovih promena.

Relacije koje se uspostavljaju između čoveka, s jedne, i sveta tehnologije, s druge strane, sve su složenije. Ubrzani tehnološki razvoj i razgranata primena u različitim domenima ljudske aktivnosti odavno su doveli do promene paradigme u okviru koje se o tehnologiji mislilo samo kao o *alatu* kojim se čovek služi shodno svojoj slobodnoj volji. Fenomeni poput *proširene realnosti*,<sup>6</sup> ili aktuelne teme, kakva je, na primer, najava kolonijalizacije Marsa, otkrivaju ambivalentnu prirodu našeg odnosa prema ovoj paradigmi, istovremeno zahtevajući drukčije pristupe u tumačenju, koji bi doveli do razumevanja načina na koji se, usled intenzivnog tehnološkog razvitka, transformiše i društveni život.

Drugim rečima, nakon tzv. jezičkog obrta, usledio je i medijski preokret, i to u smislu postavljanja nove filozofske/teorijske paradigme za interpretiranje „prostora”, sveta i čoveka u njemu. Savremeni čovek, naime, zatiče sebe u svetu medija, u *postmodernom hiperprostoru* (Džejmson /Fredric Jameson/) koji uspeva „da prevaziđe moći ljudskog tela da se locira, opazajno organizuje neposredno okruženje i kognitivno mapira mesto u spoljnom svetu koji se može mapirati” (Džejmson 2015: 31), zbog čega je neophodno iznova ispitati modele našeg *opštenja*, sa sobom, s drugima kao i s ambijentom u koji bivamo uronjeni.

U pogledu implicitnog tematizovanja prostora u našem dobu, bitno mesto svojim postupcima – kako u kontekstu produkcije, tako i kritike i recepcije, zauzima savremena umetnost, a s njom u vezi – i zabava. Kroz

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6 „Proširena realnost“ (*augmented reality*, skraćeno: *AR*) jeste ona stvarnost koja predstavlja integrisanje digitalnih informacija sa korisničkim realnim (fizičkim) okruženjem, posmatrano u tzv. realnom vremenu. Za razliku od virtuelne realnosti (VR) koja je potpuno artificijelna, „proširena realnost“ koristi elemente realnog okruženja za kreiranje prostora koji je delom stvaran fizički prostor, a delom kompjuterski generisani prostor. Interesantno je da je, teorijski gledano, virtuelni prostor daleko češće korišćen u filozofskoj literaturi, pa i u studijama medija, bilo kao paradigma, metafora ili činjenica, a u odnosu na tzv. „proširenu realnost” i njeno manifestovanje prostornih koordinata.

istoriju Zapadne civilizacije zaokreti u mišljenju umetnosti, kao i različite prakse njene materijalizacije, neretko su bivali uslovljeni upotrebom odgovarajućih medija, kao i aktuelnim tehnološkim dostignućima. Štaviše, Boris Grojs (Groys) smatra da je teorijsko bavljenje medijima, kako je izrekao u jednom razgovoru plasiranom na platformi YouTube 2014. godine, u stvari, *uvek već* bavljenje umetnošću (Zielenski, Groys 2014).

Jedan od primera razvoja umetnosti na način koji prevazilazi postojeće interpretativne postupke njenog razumevanja, kao i sagledavanja relacija koje se uspostavljaju izvan domena umetničkog stvaralaštva, a koje se ipak u njemu manifestuju, predstavlja i pojava *VR filma*. U poređenju sa drugim umetničkim disciplinama, priroda filma je, od njegovog nastanka, velikim delom tehnološka, te se o njemu i govori kao o „estetskoj tehnologiji” ili o „tehnološkoj estetici” (Milosavljević Ault 2015); zbog čega su, i pored periodičnih suprotstavljanja filmskih teoretičara, kritičara i drugih eksperata za oblast kinematografije, upravo tehnološke inovacije bile te koje su bitno odredile kretanja i razvoj ove umetnosti.

Sledeći ove tendencije nastaje i VR film, koji podrazumeva jednu sveobuhvatnu prostornu simulaciju u koju gledalac, nužno pojedinačno, prodire, i to tako što je za tu priliku opremljen specijalno izrađenim naočarima i slušalicama, tj. noseći *VR kacigu*. Preciznije rečeno, posredstvom statične kamere čiji snimak pokriva ugao od 360 stepeni, VR film omogućava gledaocu da se okreće i posmatra materijal iz svih rakursa, pa i po vertikalnim osama, i to gledano iz pozicije jednog od aktera ili kamere, čime biva smešten u sam „prostor filma”. Pri tom, oni koji trenutno ispituju mogućnosti i domete primene VR tehnologije u domenu filmskog stvaralaštva, za koju bismo mogli da kažemo da je tek u povelju, suočavaju se sa dvostrukim izazovom. S jedne strane, s obzirom na to da navedene tehnologije, kao i odgovarajuća oprema, svoj razvitak duguju prvenstveno industriji kompjuterskih igara, teško je da se VR film razgraniči u odnosu na ostale visoko-tehnološki profilisane hibridne vrste, te da se uspostavi

kao poseban filmski žanr. Jer, uporedo s njegovom konceptualizacijom i pokušajima teoretizovanja, na tržištu se pojavljuje, primera radi, i tzv. imerzivno (uranjajuće) novinarstvo (*immersive journalism*), čiji je, verovatno, najpoznatiji slučaj rad Noni de la Penje (de la Peña) – „Glad u Los Anđelesu” („Hunger in Los Angeles”) iz 2012. godine, u kojem se kao virtuelno, uz propratni autentični audio zapis, rekonstruiše iskustvo čekanja u redu za hranu ispred jedne od narodnih kuhinja, kako bi se skrenula pažnja na problem gladi u ovom američkom gradu.<sup>7</sup>

I dok se samim postupkom imenovanja pojedinih radova kao filmskih ostvarenja implicira da su u pitanju *naročito kreirani estetski predmeti*, čime se tek nagoveštavaju obrisi VR filma kao različitog u odnosu na kompjuterske igre ili imerzivno novinarstvo, drugi set problema predstavlja nepodesnost apliciranja dosadašnjih filmskih poetika u novi tehnološki kontekst, odnosno njihovo prilagođavanje ovom inovativnom formatu. Naime, iako se od druge polovine prošlog veka uveliko eksperimentiše sa modelima organizovanja filmskog materijala, jednu od prekretnica koja nastaje upotrebom VR tehnologije čini odustajanje od narativne strukture filma, pošto ona, prema rečima zagovornika VR kinematografije, deluje *nametnuto, iscenirano i veštački*.<sup>8</sup> Shodno tome, umesto pitanja o ideologiji narativnog toka kao takvog u filmskoj umetnosti, VR film donosi novinu koja znači upravo suprotno, da opstanak naracije, u praktičnom smislu reči, postaje gotovo neodrživ.

Zanimljivo je, pri tom, da u nastojanju da odbrane novoimenovani status svojih VR ostvarenja, i premoste jâz koji nužno nastaje u odnosu na *klasičan film* (u smislu pojma, jezika, forme, odnosno strukture i

7 Vid. „Immersive Journalism: Hunger in Los Angeles” (2013) <http://www.pyedog-productions.com/immersive-journalism-using-virtual-reality-to-create-first-person-experiences-of-news-nonfiction-and-documentary/> [pristupljeno: 10.07.2019].

8 Vid. „VR Cinema is here – and audiences are in the drivers’ seat” (2017) *Independent*, <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/films/features/vr-cinema-is-here-and-audiences-are-in-the-drivers-seat-a7505236.html>, [pristupljeno: 10.07.2017]; kao i: „VR Goes to the Movies” (2015) *Wired* <https://www.wired.com/2015/01/vr-goes-to-the-movies/> [pristupljeno: 10.07.2017].

efekata na koje cilja), njihovi tvorci i zagovornici kao novo svojstvo VR filma u prvi plan ističu njegov potencijal za izazivanje empatije. U skladu sa praksom Noni de la Penje, a pozivajući se na vlastito ostvarenje „Oblaci nad Sidrom” („Clouds over Sidra”) iz 2015. godine, u kojem se gledaoci zatiču usred jednog izbegličkog kampa u Jordanu uz dvanaestogodišnju devojčicu iz Sirije po imenu Sidra, reditelj Kris Milk (Milk 2015) zagovara tezu da VR tehnologije možemo razumeti i kao svojevrsne empatičke mašine (*empathy machines*).

Mogli bismo u sličnom duhu da zaključimo, iako ovo stanovište svakako nije neproblematično, da je ono što VR film izdvaja u odnosu na druge produkte kreativnih industrija, odnosno industrija zabave, jedna drukčija perceptivna situacija (u odnosu na klasičan film), čiji je cilj posve drugi efekat (empatija), a namesto puke „optičke potrošnje”, kao što je to slučaj, na primer, s kompjuterskim igrama; i dalje, da je takvo iskustvo omogućeno upravo transgresiranjem aktuelne *medijske kulture slike* u korist *prostornosti*, pošto je estetski doživljaj artificalne sferičnosti VR filma upravo ono što ga bitno razlikuje od njegovih disciplinarnih preteča.

Za preteču ovakvih razvojnih tendencija mogao bi se uzeti i Gi Debor (Guy Debord), i to prevashodno kao filmski stvaralac; njegova situacionistička praksa bi za naša istraživanja mogla da bude referentni oslonac i vrlo korisna „destinacija”. Naime, to što je Debor zagovarao unutar *Situacionističke internacionale* bilo je odustajanje od klasičnih formi umetnosti, pri čemu se zalagao i za *zamenu zatvorenog prostora (umetnosti) otvorenom okolinom urbanog ambijenta*, tvrdeći da se „potencijal iskustva grada razvija kao motor produkcije želja i (kao) mogućnost neposrednog ’situacionog’ protivljenja objektivno postavljenim ’situacijama’ kapitalističkog područjavanja.” (Raunig 2006: 134) Njegove karakteristične akcije razbijanja konvencionalnog shvatanja geografije i urbanog prostora Pariza, trebalo je da dovedu u pitanje društvenu podelu rada i, u vezi s tim, na poseban način strukturisanu „psihogeografiju”. Ali, dok su situacionisti *konstruisanje*

*situacije* dovodili u vezu sa slučajnošću, otvorenošću, slobodnom igrom, te aktivnim oblikovanjem okoline, recipijenti VR filma su, posmatrano u tradicionalnom smislu, i dalje *pasivni* konzumenti ove realnosti.

Imajući na umu kritički orijentisanu praksu Debora i drugih situacionista, pojava, kao i doživljaj VR filma mogli bi se pre dovesti u vezu s nečim drugim, tj. sa *finansijskim kapitalom i špekulisanjem zemljištem*. Baveći se kompleksnim uzajamnim uslovljenostima kulture i poznog kapitalizma, a oslanjajući se, pri tom, na radove Arigija (Arrighi), Mandela (Mandel), Harvija (Harvey) i drugih, Džejmson nam skreće pažnju na jedan od tekućih problema koji se u marksističkoj tradiciji označava kao „zemljišna renta“ (Džejmson 2015). Ne ulazeći u temeljniji prikaz Džejmsonovih teza, na ovom mestu osvrnućemo se na problem prirode zemljišne vrednosti, koja je, kako Harvi pretpostavlja, za Marksa *strukturalno neophodna fikcija*. Harvi svoja zapažanja iznosi na sledeći način: „zemljište se tretira kao čista finansijska imovina koja se kupuje i prodaje u skladu sa rentom koju donosi. Kao i svi takvi oblici finansijskog kapitala, ono čime se trguje jesu prava na buduće prihode, što znači polaganje prava na buduće profite od korišćenja zemljišta ili, direktnije, pravo na budući rad.“ (Harvi u Džejmson 2015: 162)

Polazeći od jedne uslovno shvaćene paralele, povučene između vrednosti zemljišta i virtuelne realnosti, moguće je pretpostaviti da prostor VR filma predstavlja svojevrsnu novoustanovljenu teritoriju tržišne eksploatacije sličnog tipa. Eksploatacija medijski generisanog prostora se, kako se vidi, iz dana u dan povećava i usložnjava. Generisanjem virtuelnog kosmosa, savremeni čovek zadobio je novi, potencijalno beskonačni „prostor“ kao resurs za izrabljivanje.

No, ne samo da je danas, produžetkom ljudske čulnosti omogućeno ovo „proširenje“ realnog u virtuelni komunikacioni prostor, našim „uranjanjem“ u isti, nego je, u međuvremenu, taj prostor prišao k nama, penetrirajući u postojeći fizički prostor, i čineći, zajedno s njim, jednu specifičnu hibridnu realnost – tzv. proširenu realnost (AR). Ova „proširena

realnost” isprva je primenjivana namenski, u avio-industriji, da bi tek u poslednje vreme postala široko eksploatisana od strane produkcije video-igara i industrije zabave. Njen najpoznatiji brend, lansiran od strane proizvođača Nintendo, jeste video-igra *Pokemon go!*<sup>9</sup> Kako je poznato, ova igra doslovno je osvojila planetu, a zahvaljujući njoj, fenomen „proširene realnosti” postao je konkurentan „virtuelnoj realnosti”, na globalnom tržištu video-igara. Osim zabavne funkcije, pomenuta video-igra imala je zadatak da korisnike izvede u eksterijer i „upozna” ih s realnim prostorima grada ili prirodnih ambijenata.

Međutim, za razliku od VR filma, video-igre, realizovane u domenu proširene realnosti, uglavnom nemaju pretenziju na artistske domete, već su prvenstveno namenjene komercijalnoj eksploataciji. Ali, pošto u oba slučaja imamo posla s medijima u kojima se umetnost i/ili zabava događaju, Grojs bi ih, zasigurno, poistovetio, tretirajući ih, po definiciji, kao umetnost. Svakako, ukoliko bismo umetnost doslovno shvatili kao *tehne*, dali bismo Grojsu za pravo. Uz to, čini nam se da bi naš zaključak, povodom konstituisanja jedne nove estetike prostora – a s obzirom na medijsku realnost – išao u drugom interpretativnom smeru.

Nesumnjivo je da naše doba favorizuje razvoj tehnologije i medija. U savremenom estetskom iskustvu sve češće zatičemo nekakav umetnuti „prostor” koji ranije nije postojao, niti je, kao takav, bio zamisliv. Ovaj prostorni „višak” generisan je veštačkim putem, kao ekstenzija naše čulnosti, i najčešće se koristi u medijske, umetničke i zabavne svrhe; postoji bilo kao svojevrsni paralelni univerzum (VR), ili kao onaj prostor

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9 „Naime, ova aplikacija za ‘pametne’ telefone koristi tehniku GPS-a (mapiranje), te kamere instalirane na mobilnim telefonima ili tabletima, pomoću kojih se na različitim stvarnim lokacijama (priroda, gradovi, i dr.) traga za tzv. ‘Pokemonima’, virtuelnim likovima koji podsećaju na junake iz japanskih stripova i crtanih filmova za decu (i odrasle). Svet Pokemona, tj. njihovo stanište zavisi od opcije uključenosti ili isključenosti (trenutne) iz igre. Ukoliko je video-igra u toku, Pokemoni se pojavljuju u ‘realnom’ svetu, na lokacijama koje se registruju na ekranima telefona ili tableta, dok se istovremeno, i figura igrača locira u taj isti prostor, u potrazi za Pokemonima.” (Vuksanović 2019: 28)

koji se delimično podudara s našim realnim prostorom, time što mu pridodaje attribute digitalnih data – „proširena realnost” (AR). U oba slučaja, prostor o kome je reč tretira se kao novi fenomen, s jedne strane, ili kao pojava slična prethodnoj, po analogiji sa tradicionalnim shvatanjem prostora na koji referira, s druge strane. Nezavisno od rasprava o tome da li ovaj prostor jeste ili nije (ili i jeste i nije, kako se to obično kaže), i u kakvim je relacijama s našom moći opažanja, primetno je da njega isprva definiše tehnika (a s njom i umetnost), te da se on određuje kao „tehnička inovacija” ili „atrakcija”, da bi se u narednoj fazi geneze, ovaj specifični prostor u sve većoj meri „proširivao” u svrhu upotrebe njegovih kreativnih i zabavnih mogućnosti, čime on biva ne samo masovno „kolonijalizovan” nego i eksploatisan od strane industrije zabave. Ova industrija mu, u isto vreme, zahvaljujući svojoj apsolutnoj komercijalizaciji, pridodaje novi impuls za ekspanziju. Očevidno je, naime, da kreativne industrije, fuzijom medijskog, umetničkog i prostora za zabavu u jedan jedinstveni fenomen, dovode sebe u fokus zbivanja u kontekstu rasta i razvoja savremenog kapitalizma. Jer, ovaj prostor je i adekvatan medij za oplodnju kapitala – što mu, ujedno, omogućuje kako eksperimentisanje sa sve novijim oblicima pojavnosti, tako i lukrativne razvojne i finansijske perspektive.

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## **SPACE – MEDIA – ART – ENTERTAINMENT: A VIEW ON CONTEMPORANEITY**

### **Abstract**

This paper examines, from the perspective of philosophy of media, our comprehension of space in the context of media culture and entertainment industry. The notion of space, while being based on Kant's assumptions of unity and infinity of pure spatiality, will be discussed primarily regarding the phenomena of virtual space (VR) and augmented reality (AR), and, consequently, their technological genesis and applications. After the period in which they were treated as "technological attractions", their further development has been dictated by profit, due to which spatiality is becoming one of the main resources of commercial exploitation.

**Key words:** space, media, aesthetics, art, philosophy of media



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## DOSTOEVSKY AND YURI RAKITIN

During the last year (1910) of his involvement with the Moscow Art Theatre, Yuri Rakitin had the opportunity to follow directly the creation of the play *The Brothers Karamazov*. Although Moscow audience, and later audiences of numerous European and American cities (including Belgrade) greeted *The Brothers Karamazov* directed by Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko with enthusiasm, Yuri Rakitin was not among the “enthusiasts”. Eager for new theatrical forms, experiments and pure theatricality, he wrote from Moscow to Petersburg, to Vsevolod Meyerhold, about how the Moscow Art Theatre suffocates him with “psychology” and “karamazovism” (Galanina 2007: 63).



Meyerhold, himself, did not support Nemirovich-Danchenko’s direction, considering that the play “simply represents a staging of the novel’s plot, or rather, only some of its chapters” and that “such a reworking of a novel into a drama is nothing but sacrilege, and not only towards Dostoevsky”, but also to the idea of true mystery” (Meyerhold 1968: 207–208).

The following year, Rakitin moves, or rather, returns to St. Petersburg and begins directing at the Imperial Theatre, but also on other small, alternative theatre stages. In St. Petersburg, in 1911, he witnessed a new

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triumph of *The Brothers Karamazov*, and a lively philosophical discussion caused by director Nemirovich-Danchenko's public lecture. D. V. Filozofov, himself a participant in the dispute, collected most of the presentations and published them in a book entitled "Discussions on the tasks of the theatre". The book also contained articles by leading philosophers, creators of the system of noble studies, Vyacheslav Ivanov and Dmitry Mereshkovsky.

A forerunner of Bakhtin's teachings, Vyacheslav Ivanov expressed himself positively about the play, which was in line with his understanding that Dostoevsky is a great tragician, the author of a "novel" in which the entire development is leaning towards "a tragic catastrophe." (Ivanov 1987: 411). In Nemirovich-Danchenko's performance, Ivanov accepted the very fact of a "new approach" to Dostoevsky in theatre, which did not conflict with "his own conception" (Ivanov 1987: 409).

Dmitriy Mereshkovsky received the play differently, although his reading of Dostoevsky in terms of its closeness to Greek tragedy does not differ much from Ivanov's:

Events follow one after another, faster and faster, more and more irresistible, chasing one another, crowding, as if they were heaping up – in fact, in a strict and orderly way, in submission to the main single goal, they are concentrated in the greatest possible number in possibly less time. If Dostoevsky has rivals, if not in modern, but perhaps in ancient literature – the creator of Oresteia and the creator of Oedipus – in this art of gradual tension, accumulation, intensification and terrifying concentration of tragic action. (Mereshkovsky 2000: 145)

Nevertheless, Mereshkovsky did not consider Dostoevsky suitable for the stage, especially the stage of contemporary theatre (Makaryan 2018). In the discussion after the lecture, Nemirovich-Danchenko took an extremely contradictory position:

In Chekhov's plays the spectator is separated from the stage by only one ramp, that is, by a purely conventional feature that has no internal significance. In the Art Theatre, Chekhov is embodied without derogation [...] Dostoevsky, on the other hand, inevitably comes out impoverished, flattened, because he has not one ramp, as Mereshkovsky put it, but a number of them. Like a system of mirrors, the reflections of which go to infinity. Smerdyakov is "reflected" in the hanger-on-devil, the devil in Ivan, Ivan in the Grand Inquisitor, etc., and everything rests on the final question of the justification of evil, of the existence of God. (Mereshkovsky 1911: 2)

Yuri Rakitin followed closely and participated in the theatrical life of North Palmyra. When packing his immigrant suitcase, he also packed his memories of this life and unpacked them in his new homeland, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. For Rakitin, as for many emigrants of the first wave after the October Revolution, Dostoevsky will be a spiritual paradigm of the lost homeland. However, Rakitin will not have many opportunities to dramatize and direct it. His first and only "Dostoevsky" was *Uncle's Dream*, adapted for the National Theatre on May 5th, 1930. It was *Uncle's Dream* in the dramatization of the German writer Karl Gustav Vollmöller, first performed in Leipzig in 1906 and directed by Max Reinhardt.

It is not unusual that Rakitin, being a supporter of theatricality, became interested in this work by Dostoyevsky, which in its form is a "dramatized novel". In fact, according to the original idea of the writer, *Uncle's Dream* was meant to be a theatre play, but that idea was not realized, although the work has preserved some characteristics of theatricality, which is indicated not only by dialogues and didascalies, but also by the "theatrically expressive" composition (Mochulsky 1995: 302). According to Moises Altman, in those years (1850–1860), Dostoevsky was interested in vaudeville, and he wanted to write a "comedy", which, in fact, *Uncle's Dream* turned into, which then "quickly turned into a novella" (Altman 1975: 123).

Later, Dostoevsky himself did not care much for this work of his, and did not bother to “restore” it to a dramatic form when asked to do so. Yet, *Uncle’s Dream* was one of the first to appear on stage in the 1890s, and it had its most significant and lasting theatrical adaptation in the Moscow Dramatic Theatre where it premiered in 1929, just a year before Belgrade.

Rakitin was attracted to *Uncle’s Dream* for its tragi-comedy and carnivalesque features, which fits into the theatrical genres of grotesque and “tragic buffoonery” in which he tried his hand even on Petersburg’s experimental and small stages. Nevertheless, the criticism, as is most often the case with Rakitin, was divided. Some, like the author of *Politika Živojin Vukadinović*, saw an exaggeration in the grotesque “at the expense of the director who has a penchant for the grotesque” (Vukadinović 1931). On the other hand, Ranko Mladenović in *Srpski književni glasnik* gives a high rating to Rakitin’s direction. According to him perceiving the play *Uncle’s Dream* as a “grotesque nightmare” followed up on Reinhart’s directorial solutions, which “saved the strange characters of Dostoevsky, who were “painfully comic and tragic to the point of contradiction with the ultimate grotesque”. By turning reality into fiction (a dream), Rakitin managed to achieve gradually “scenic gradation”, which is “very difficult to accomplish when turning Dostoevsky’s prose into a drama”. However, “if the whole thing had not been grotesquely staged by the director, the austerity of the acting’s simplicity would have dissipated quickly, the audience would have felt the monotony between the text and the ramp” (Mladenović 1930: 239).

The entire Serbian cultural public marked the fiftieth anniversary of the great writer’s death with a series of events, starting with numerous articles and studies in newspapers and magazines, lectures, exhibitions and musical evenings, theatre performances and film screenings. As for the latter, we should single out German film *The Murderer Dimitri Karamazov* (*Der Mörder Dimitri Karamasoff*, 1931) directed by a Russian emigrant Fyodor Ocep. The film was shown in Belgrade cinemas in February 1931.

The play *Crime and Punishment* by the Prague Troupe of the Moscow Art Theatre should be highlighted in particular. It was performed on the eve of Dostoevsky's jubilee (1929–1930) and in addition to famous actors Polikarp Pavlov and Vera Grech, the title role was played by the film star, Gregori Chmara, who a few years earlier (1924) played the same role in the famous silent film, *Raskolnikov*, directed by Robert Vine, the creator of German film expressionism. In addition to *Crime and Punishment*, local audience had the opportunity to watch other productions of the Moscow Art Theatre based on the works of Dostoyevsky, such as *Thomas* (based on the novella *The Village of Stepanchikovo*) and *The Brothers Karamazov*. However, artists marked Dostoevsky's anniversary on February 15, 1931, at the National Theatre with scenes from the novel *The Idiot* specially prepared for that occasion.

This was not the first time that this novel by Dostoyevsky, which had already conquered the theatres of European capitals of Berlin, Rome, Paris, and London, was performed on the domestic stage. It was adapted for the domestic theatre audience by the famous Russian translator, writer and critic Miodrag Pešić. His dramatization of *The Idiot* was staged by the Serbian National Theatre and premiered on stage in Osijek on February 7, 1929. It was staged again in Novi Sad in 1932. Pešić's dramatization of *The Idiot* was also performed on the stage of the National Theatre in the direction by Tito Strozzi, 1937.

On the occasion of Dostoevsky's jubilee, Rakitin participated in the joint celebrations of the Russian emigre associations, the Music Society and the Union of Russian Writers, who held an evening with an appropriate programme on the very day of the writer's death, on February 9, 1931. For this occasion, Rakitin prepared a scene from the novel *Evil Souls*, *At Captain Lebyadkin's*, and *In the Village of Mokroe* from *The Brothers Karamazov*.

However, a greater challenge but also an unfulfilled desire for Rakitin will be the novel *The Idiot*. Whether at the suggestion of the directorate

of the National Theatre or on his own initiative, he seriously intended and prepared to direct this work in 1931. He understood it as a “huge task” that he had to do “as well as possible” and “as worthy as possible”. In this he saw the fulfilment of his debt to his homeland and his father, who “loved Dostoyevsky so much” and read it “over and over again” believing “in Russia, in God, in the correctness of Dostoevsky’s Idea”. That idea was a guiding principle for Rakitin, the idea of presenting purification through suffering, a sacrifice for the sake of Russia, for the sake of Christ. And he called upon the Lord, and his father, who is there in the house with God, to help him in his work (Rakitin 2018: 69).

He wrote about those intentions and attempts in his *Diaries*, from January to April 1931. Based on the diary entries and other records, it is not easy to say what prevented him from bringing the project to fruition, but most likely it was a combination of several circumstances. First of all, he did not like the dramatization of the novel (apparently, the one by Pešić). He considered it untalented, “huge”, “difficult”, “clumsy”, insufficiently meticulous, insufficiently dramatic. He was bothered by inadequately mixed scenes, while essential and most significant things were left out. The piece proceeded in such a way that it confused and tired him, he did not know what to throw out and what to keep (Rakitin 2018: 67).

At the same time, he himself read the novel closely. He admired it, writing down the words: “Genius!”, “Enchanting!”. However, he admits that Dostoevsky “kills him with his genius, destroys, and suffocates him.” He realizes that there is no greater “playwright” than Dostoevsky, that there is no master of the stage like him. But he feels great fear about how he will cope with the text, how he will overcome the incredible dynamism of the plot; he is afraid of the abyss of psychology. All his thoughts are about Dostoevsky, and he is falling into his own “mental restlessness”. He wonders how he will transfer to the stage that constant mental fever that torments Dostoevsky’s heroes, how he will infect the viewer with that fever. With horror, he thinks about the whole play, how it will all turn out.



He is aware that he has a huge, responsible job in front of him, but there are no real solutions, and he wanders around the whole play, sometimes shortening, sometimes changing the *mise-en-scene*, who will and in which scene do what, yet in the end he doesn't find anything valid (Rakitin 2018: 77).

Lastly, he had difficulties in working with actors. At the very beginning, he conditions the Theatre Management (Radivoj Karadžić) that he will work on the play only if Raša Plaović and Desa Dugalić took part. In addition to them, it is known that Boža Nikolić and Dobrica Milutinović were hired, too. He expresses dissatisfaction that Milovanović, who played Ivolgin in Osijek, is busy and will not be able to accept the role of that character, which Rakitin was particularly fond of. He complained about the actors' frequent absences. On one occasion he could not direct without Raša Plaović, on another occasion Boža Nikolić was ill, while Dobrica Milutinović was often absent because he was sick or drunk. He complained that the actors were not interested in either the work or the writer and came to rehearsals rarely. Sometimes it happened that no one came. And when he managed to assemble an ensemble, he felt the actors' hostility and hatred towards *The Idiot*. He saw the rehearsals as torture, morally and physically, but he also admitted that the actors give up the game because they realize that the play will not succeed.

We learn from *Diaries* that in February he managed to pass the reading test, and that in March he started the director's test. But he was still in doubt whether "to continue working or not", because "*The Idiot* must be worked on very seriously", Dostoyevsky is "too serious, he is neither an American nor a French farce". Either "the preparations will be valid, or there won't be any", "one should not waste time unnecessarily" (Rakitin 2018: 92).

Finally, after the rehearsal on March 25, he was satisfied for the first time. Despite this, there are no records that rehearsals continued. The last thing he wrote about *The Idiot* were his thoughts about Prince Myshkin:

Myshkin, what kind of type is this according to the external actor's image? Good-natured bastard. Perhaps this is only the first weak point, approximately before his story about the death penalty (3rd picture). After that, this is already something, this is already a person focused on the idea. On what idea? On the idea of infinite kindness. But how to betray it on stage? It's very abstract. Only eyes coming from the infinite love in the heart. How to get this kindness? By no means characteristic (foolishness, naivety, even ostentatious stupidity), but depth. "I know something for sure" (but again, not by cunning and cunning). Then straightforwardness. This straightforwardness must then gain momentum. He, Myshkin, must convince, or rather, wants to convince. In him, this feeling in the middle of the play can even turn into fluttering, to contrast the late reaction (the last two scenes and the finale with Rogozhin). (Rakitin 2018: 103)

In conclusion, we can say that Rakitin's search for Dostoevsky reflects the status of a Russian immigrant artist: poorly adapted to his new circumstances, longing for the forever lost homeland, unbridgeable language and cultural barriers, and most importantly the lost sense of searching for the Russian idea.

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## DOSTOJEVSKI I JURIJ RAKITIN

### **Apstrakt**

U ovom radu analiziramo odnos režisera Jurija Rakitina prema delima F. M. Dostojevskog. Govorimo o Rakitinovom „susretu” s Dostojevskim tokom rada u MHAT-u i kasnije u Sankt Peterburgu. Drugi deo rada bavi se Rakitinovom postavkom novele Dostojevskog *Ujkin san* i neostvarenom inscenacijom romana *Idiot*.

**Ključne reči:** Jurij Rakitin, Dostojevski, Moskovski umetnički teatar, *Ujkin san*, *Idiot*





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60 godina Katedre za teoriju i istoriju  
Fakultet dramskih umetnosti  
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UREDнице / EDITORS  
dr Nevena Daković  
dr Ksenija Radulović

IZDAVAČ / PUBLISHER  
Fakultet dramskih umetnosti, Institut  
za pozorište, film, radio i televiziju,  
Bulevar umetnosti 20, Beograd /  
Faculty of Dramatic Arts, Institute for  
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Bulevar umetnosti 20, Belgrade

ZA IZDAVAČA / FOR PUBLISHER  
prof. Miloš Pavlović

LEKTURA I KOREKTURA / PROOFREADING  
Biljana Mitrović  
Maja Marsenić  
Aleksandra Protulipac

DIZAJN / DESIGN  
Elda Stanković

PRIPREMA I ŠTAMPA / PREPRESS AND PRINT  
Šprint, Beograd

TIRAŽ / CIRCULATION  
200

Beograd / Belgrade  
2023.

ISBN 978-86-82402-05-3

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији  
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

378.6:792.02(497.11)''1963/2023''(082)

The ATLAS of Ithaca : 60 Years of the Department of Theory and History, Faculty of Dramatic Arts / editors Nevena Daković, Ksenija Radulović = Atlas Itake : 60 godina Katedre za teoriju i istoriju, Fakultet dramskih umetnosti / urednice Nevena Daković, Ksenija Radulović. - Belgrade : Faculty of Dramatic Arts, Institute for Theatre, Film, Radio and Television = Beograd : Fakultet dramskih umetnosti, 2023 (Beograd : Šprint). - 159 str. : ilustr. ; 24 cm

Radovi na srp i engl. jeziku. - Tiraž 200. - Str. 1-4: Predgovor / Nevena Daković, Ksenija Radulović. - Beleške o učesnicima: str. 159. - Napomene i bibliografske reference uz tekst. - Bibliografija uz svaki rad.

ISBN 978-86-82402-05-3

а) Факултет драмских уметности (Београд). Катедра за теорију и историју -- 1963-2023 -- Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 130732297



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