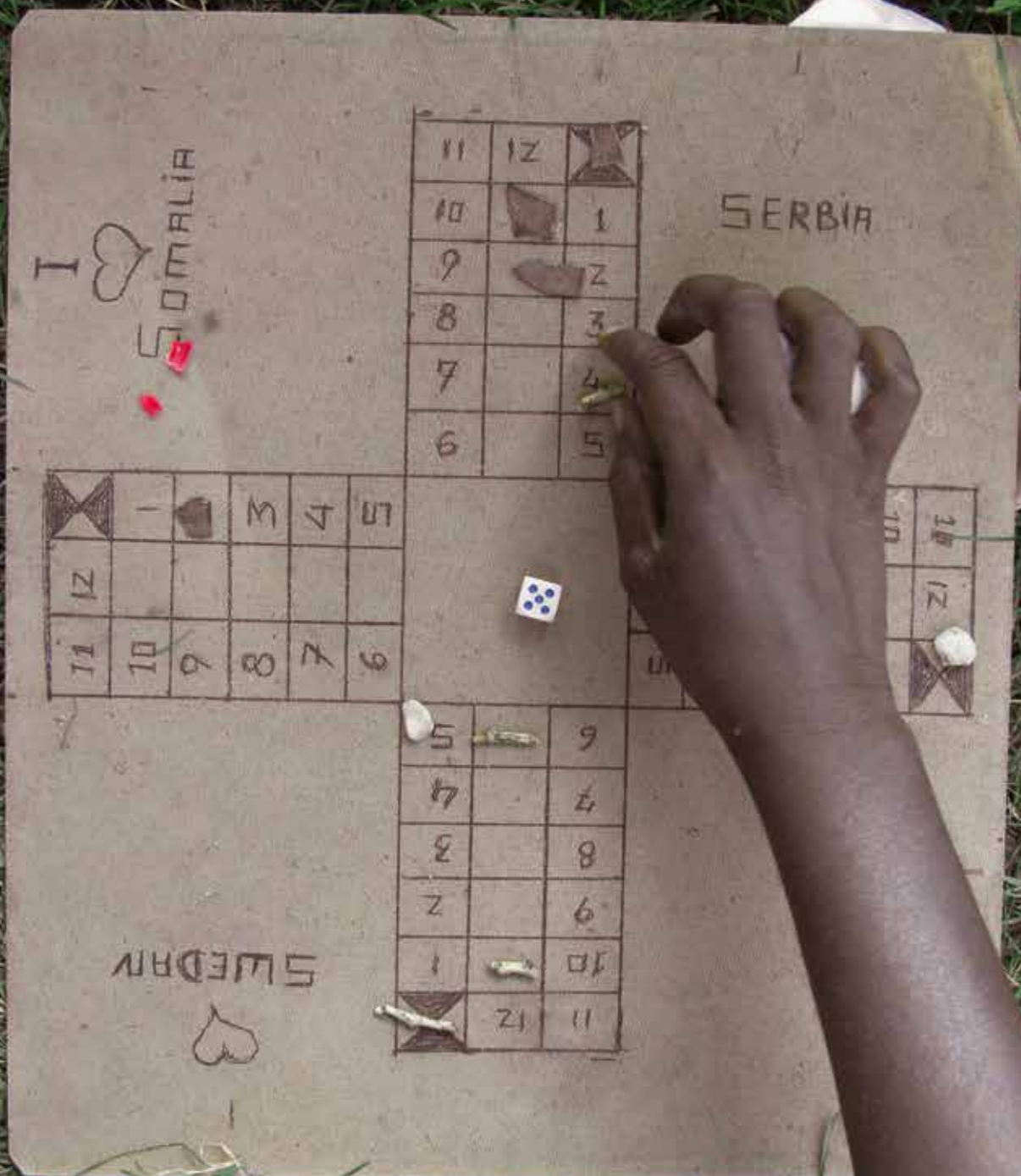




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CONTENT EDITING

Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

COPYEDITING AND PROOFREADING

Serbian: Miroslava Ružić Zečević

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Contact and editorial office:

Museum of African Art

Andre Nikolića 14, 11 000 Belgrade, Serbia

+381-11-2651-654 (tel)

+381-11-2651-269 (faks)

afrika.journal@gmail.com

www.museumofafricanart.org

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Afrika u fokusu

Časopis *Afrika – studije umetnosti i kulture* u izdanju Muzeja afričke umetnosti ostvaruje transkulturnu i interdisciplinarnu misiju proteklih šest godina. Njegova vrednost jeste prevashodno u umrežavanju ljudi – autora, uređivača i čitalaca širom sveta, koji uspostavljaju zanimljive narative o afričkim umetnostima i kulturama. Sa svakim sledećim brojem, znalački odabiranim tekstovima, proširuju se i razmenjuju saznanja i inspiracije. Stigli smo do trećeg broja koji je brižljivo pripreman uz zalaganje i upornost, uprkos uvek prisutnim finansijskim teškoćama. Za ovakvu vrstu časopisa koji stasava u kulturološki i naučni reprezent potrebni su vreme, razumevanje i podrška, da bi se shvatio njegov značaj *ovde i sad*, prema *svetu*. *Afrika* je u međuvremenu postala prepoznatljiva u akademskim, kulturnim i stručnim krugovima, što je podstaklo interesovanje i uključivanje u njegov rad. Autori tekstova u ovom broju časopisa su saradnici, istraživači, umetnici i stručnjaci sa prestižnih institucija, kao što su Američki prirodjački muzej iz Njujorka (*American Museum of Natural History – New York*), Nacionalni muzej afričke umetnosti – Institut Smitsonijan, Vašington (*National Museum of African Art – Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C.*), Kraljevski muzej za Centralnu Afriku u Tervurenu (*Royal Museum for Central Africa – Tervuren*), Kreativna umetnička škola – Vornboro koledž u Oksfordu (*Creative School of Arts – Warnborough College, Oxford*), Institut za etnologiju i antropologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu i dr.

Profil trećeg broja odgovara konceptijskom okviru časopisa sadržanom u izrazu *afrički svetovi*, što podrazumeva stvarna i imaginarna područja sličnosti, protivurečnosti, kontrasta, senzibiliteta i politike. Jer, da podsetim, afričke kulture i umetnosti uspostavljaju balans nepodudarnosti koji se ne iskazuje uvek u vidu harmoničnih i privlačnih slika, već kao nepredvidljive i kontroverzne stvarnosti ispunjene izazovima i traumama. Cilj nam je da sa svakim sledećim brojem pokrenemo nove teme i proširimo vidike o afričkim praksama, znanjima i kreativnostima. I ne samo to,

Africa in Focus

The *Africa – Studies in Art and Culture* journal, published by the Museum of African Art, has been accomplishing its transcultural and interdisciplinary mission in the past six years. Its value lies primarily in creating a world-wide network of authors, editors and readers, who establish interesting narratives about African arts and cultures. Thanks to a skillful selection of texts, knowledge and inspirations are widened and exchanged with every new issue. We have now reached our third issue, which has been carefully prepared, with dedication and persistence, despite ever present financial difficulties. For this type of journal, maturing into a representative cultural and scientific publication requires time, consideration and support in order for its significance *here and now*, in relation to the *world*, to be realized. In the meantime, *Afrika* has become recognizable in academic, cultural and professional circles, sparking the interest of new contributors and their involvement with the journal. Authors of the texts in this issue are associates, researchers, artists and experts from prestigious institutions, such as the American Museum of Natural History (New York), National Museum of African Art (Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C.), Royal Museum of Central Africa (Tervuren), Creative School of Arts (Warnborough College, Oxford, the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade and so on.

The profile of the third issue conforms to the conceptual framework of the journal, which is contained in the expression *African worlds* that implies real and imaginary areas of similarities, contradictions, contrasts, sensibilities and politics. For, I may remind readers, African cultures and arts create an incongruous balance, which is not always expressed through harmonious and attractive images, but rather as unpredictable and controversial realities filled with challenges and traumas. Our goal is to initiate new topics with every new issue and to expand views on African practices, knowledges and creativities. And not only that, but also to face the personal experiences of the authors, researchers, translators, editors, illustrators and readers, and to assemble African narratives in a

već da se suočimo sa ličnim iskustvima pisaca ovih tekstova, istraživača, prevodilaca, priređivača, ilustratora i čitalaca, slažući afričke narative po slobodnom nahodjenju. Otvaramo muzejske zbirke, produbljujemo analitičke diskurse, proširujemo shvatanja o afričkoj (post)modernosti, ukazujemo na tehnološka dostignuća, ali i na poniranja svakodnevice; oblikujemo percepcije, upoznajemo umetničke tendencije i vizije.

U ovom broju objavljeno je pet originalnih naučnih radova, dva intervjua i veći broj priloga – hronika i kritika, koji se odnose na muzejsku i naučnu produkciju o kulturi i umetnosti afričkih naroda poslednje dve godine. Džeklin Lejsi (*Jacklyn Lacey*) i Aleks de Vut (*Alex de Voogt*) učitavaju kritički diskurs sagledavanja muzejskih javnosti na primeru predstavljanja igre *mankala* u muzejskom ambijentu, kroz iskustva svih aktera na relaciji gledanja i prezentovanja, praksi izvođenja i učestvovanja, transmisija nasleđa i upoznavanja. Muzičku ceremonijalnu tradiciju, sceničnost i moć transformacije muzičkih oblika kroz raznovrsne žanrove i popularizaciju Remi Žadinon (*Rémy Jadinon*) razmatra na primeru *svete harfe za profane pesme* – izučavanja muzičke prakse zajednica u Gabonu. Ana Sladojević nas upoznaje sa savremenim metodologijama i tehnologijama digitalizacije, što demokratizuje i emancipuje muzejsko društvo. Marko Pišev analizira poliginiju kroz tradiciju i savremenost afričkih društava ukazujući na složene mehanizme bračnih uloga i odnosa, koji često potiru tumačenja postojećih „zapadno modernističkih epistema”. Elizabeta M. Bruks (*Elizabeth M. Brooks*), istraživačica – učesnica – stvaralac, ostavlja vrednu etnografiju Kibuki obreda i njegove adaptivne i vizuelne sposobnosti u sferi urbane kulture. Kako je reč o specifičnostima i tajnama Kibuki prakse, zanimljivo je primetiti kako snimanje dokumentarnog filma i iskustvo Bruksove stvara svojevrsni inkluzivni i ekskluzivni svet insajdera i autsajdera. Ova najava autorskih tekstova pokazuje da svaka re-interpretacija starih/novih tema podstiče upitanost i dileme rasvetljavanja određenih pojava.

Sva lica Afrike/a jesu deo naših svakodnevice, događaja, mišljenja, politike i istorije. Zato razgovori u hodu, debate, naracije i sećanja uspostavljaju polemičku dinamiku i upitanost *Kako vidim i tumačim*

freely chosen manner. We opening museum collections, deepening analytical discourses, broadening the views on African (post)modernity, bringing attention to technological achievements and to the submergences into everyday life; we are shaping perceptions and learning about artistic tendencies and visions.

Published in this issue are five original scientific papers, two interviews and a larger number of shorter contributions – chronicles and critiques relating to the museological and scientific production on African cultures and arts in the last two years. Jacklyn Lacey and Alex de Voogt, the example of the *mankala* game, presented in a museum setting – with the experiences of all the actors involved in observation and presentation, performance and participation practices, the learning and transmissions of heritage – is a case study used for inscribing a critical discourse into viewing museum publics. The musical ceremonial tradition, the stageability, and the power of transformation of African musical forms through various genres and popularization are investigated by Rémy Jadinon through the case-study of *the sacred harp for profane songs* – the musical practices of communities in Gabon. Ana Sladojević introduces us to contemporary digitization methodologies and technologies, which are democratizing and emancipating the museum society. Marko Pišev analyzes traditional and contemporary aspects of polygyny in African societies, indicating the complex mechanisms of marital roles and relations, which often invalidate interpretations based on existing “Western modernist epistemes”. Researcher – participant – author Elizabeth M. Brooks leaves a valuable ethnography on the Kibuki ritual, and its adaptive and visual features in the context of urban culture. Since the topic deals with very specific and secret Kibuki practices, it is interesting to notice how the documentary film shooting and Brooks’ experience create a sort of inclusive and exclusive world of insiders and outsiders. This announcement of research papers shows that every re-interpretation of old/new topics stimulates inquisitiveness and creates dilemmas relating to the elucidation of certain phenomena.

All the faces of Africa(s) are a part of our daily lives, events, opinions, politics and histories. Because of that, impromptu conversations, debates, narrations, and recollections establish a polemic dynamics and present the question: *how do I perceive and interpret the world that I exchange with others?* Having two interviews

svet koji razmenjujem sa drugima? Dva intervjua u ovom broju ne narušavaju naučni poredak, već stimulišu istraživačku i akademsku radoznalost. „Pregovaranje sećanja” naslov je intervjua Gabriela Montua sa Simonom Ndžamijem, kustosom izložbe *WIR SIND ALLE BERLINER: 1884–2014* održane u Berlinu (2014–2015), i Bonavantirom Soom Bedženom Ndikunom (*Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung*), direktorom galerije SAVVY, u kojoj je održana izložba. Povodom izložbe *Razgovori: Afrička i afroamerička umetnost u dijalogu*, Srđan Tunić je intervjuisao Kristin Malen Krimer (*Christine Mullen Kreamer*), zamenicu direktora i glavnu kustoskinju Smitsonijanovog Nacionalnog muzeja afričke umetnosti u Vašingtonu (decembra 2014).

Živi promet afričkih svetova kroz prikaze monografija, hronike o dečijim radionicama, aktuelne izložbe Muzeja afričke umetnosti i inostrane izložbe, razgovore – uspostavlja pravi aktivizam, koji odgovara vremenu u kojem se afričke umetnosti i kulture predstavljaju i menjaju. Žestoka i turbulentna ljudska mobilnost sa dramatičnim ishodima na relaciji Afrika–svet pokrenula je mnoge aktivnosti u/izvan muzejskih delatnosti, spajajući raznovrsna iskustva o migracijama i identitetima kroz program *Granica je zatvorena*. Upravo ovakav sadržaj i koncept časopisa pokazuje da se **afrički svetovi** ne završavaju iza vitrina u vidu artefakata, već da su inspirativni i ozbiljni igrači u kreiranjima stvarnosti i tumačenjima društvenih aktuelnosti. Misiju *Afrike* treba shvatiti kao investiciju za permanentna promišljanja, saznanja i stvaralaštva da bi ljudi bolje međusobno komunicirali.

Časopis *Afrika – studije umetnosti i kulture* već ima prepoznatljiv vizuelni identitet i dizajn, sa ilustracijama koje još više proširuju raznovrsne diskurse. I slike su govor saznanja. Pored štampane verzije, ovaj časopis ima i onlajn prezentaciju na veb sajtu Muzeja afričke umetnosti. Izdavanje ovog broja, kao i do sada, finansirao je Sekretarijat za kulturu Skupštine grada Beograda, a glavna produkcija pripada Muzeju afričke umetnosti.

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović,
glavni i odgovorni urednik
U Beogradu, 2015.

in this issue does not disrupt the scientific order; rather, it stimulates research and academic curiosity. “Negotiated Memory” is the title of Gabriel Montua’s double interview with Simon Njami, curator of the *Wir Sind Alle Berliner: 1884–2014* exhibition held in Berlin (2014–2015), and Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung, director of the SAVVY Gallery, where the exhibition was held. With regard to the exhibition *Conversations: African and African American Artworks in Dialogue*, Srđan Tunić interviewed Christine Mullen Kreamer, the deputy director and chief curator of the Smithsonian National Museum of African Art in Washington D.C. (December 2014).

The lively circulation of African worlds through book reviews, chronicles on children’s workshops, current exhibitions at the Museum of African Art, foreign exhibitions and talks – all of these establish genuine activism that corresponds to the time in which African arts and cultures are presented and transformed. The intense and turbulent human mobility, with dramatic outcomes between Africa and the world, has set into motion many activities inside/outside museums, bringing diverse experiences together in a program on migrations and identities called *The Border is Closed*. The very contents and concept of the journal show that **African worlds** do not end up behind glass cases as artifacts. Rather, they are inspirational and serious players involved in creating realities and interpretations of current social issues. The mission of *Afrika* is to be regarded as an investment for permanent deliberations, discoveries and creativities, so that people can communicate more effectively.

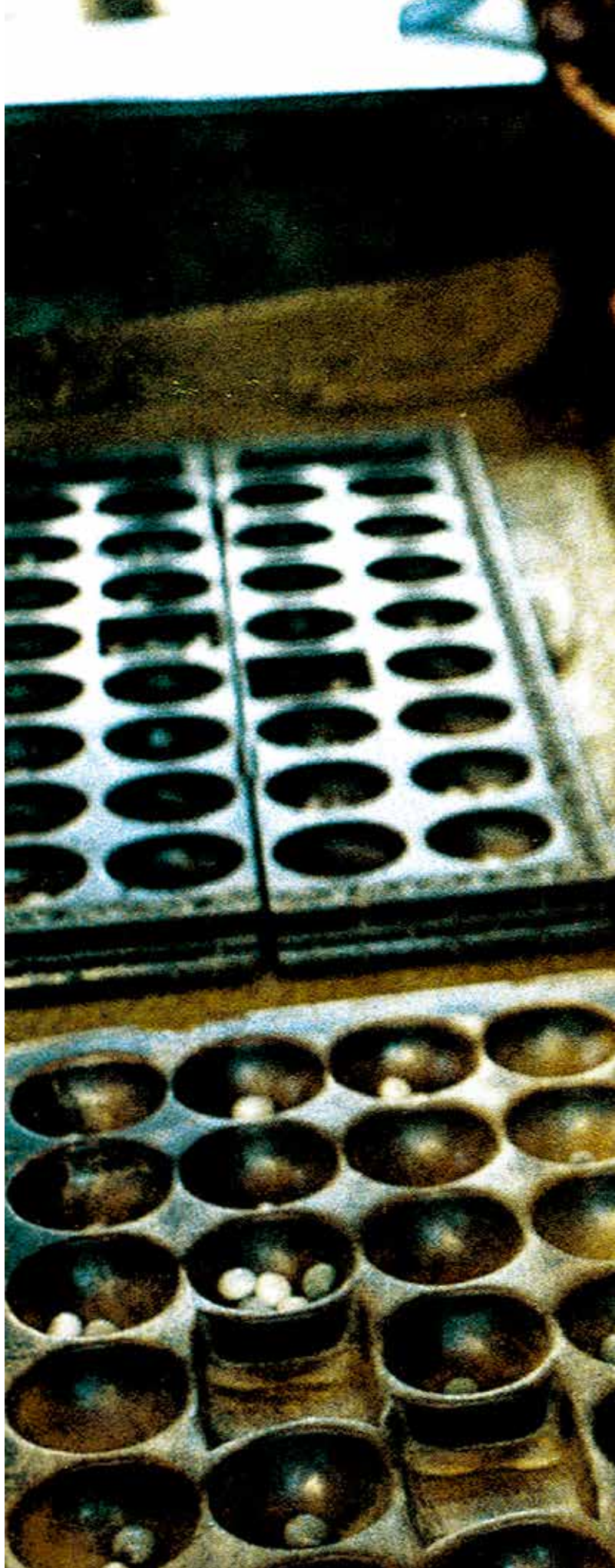
The *Afrika – Studies in Art and Culture* journal already possesses a recognizable visual identity and design, with illustrations that further widen diverse discourses. Pictures, too, are the language of learning. Beside the printed version, the journal has an online presentation on the Museum of African Art’s website. As was the case with the first two issues, the publication of the third issue was financed by the Secretariat for Culture of the City Assembly of Belgrade, while the main credit for its production belongs to the Museum of African Art.

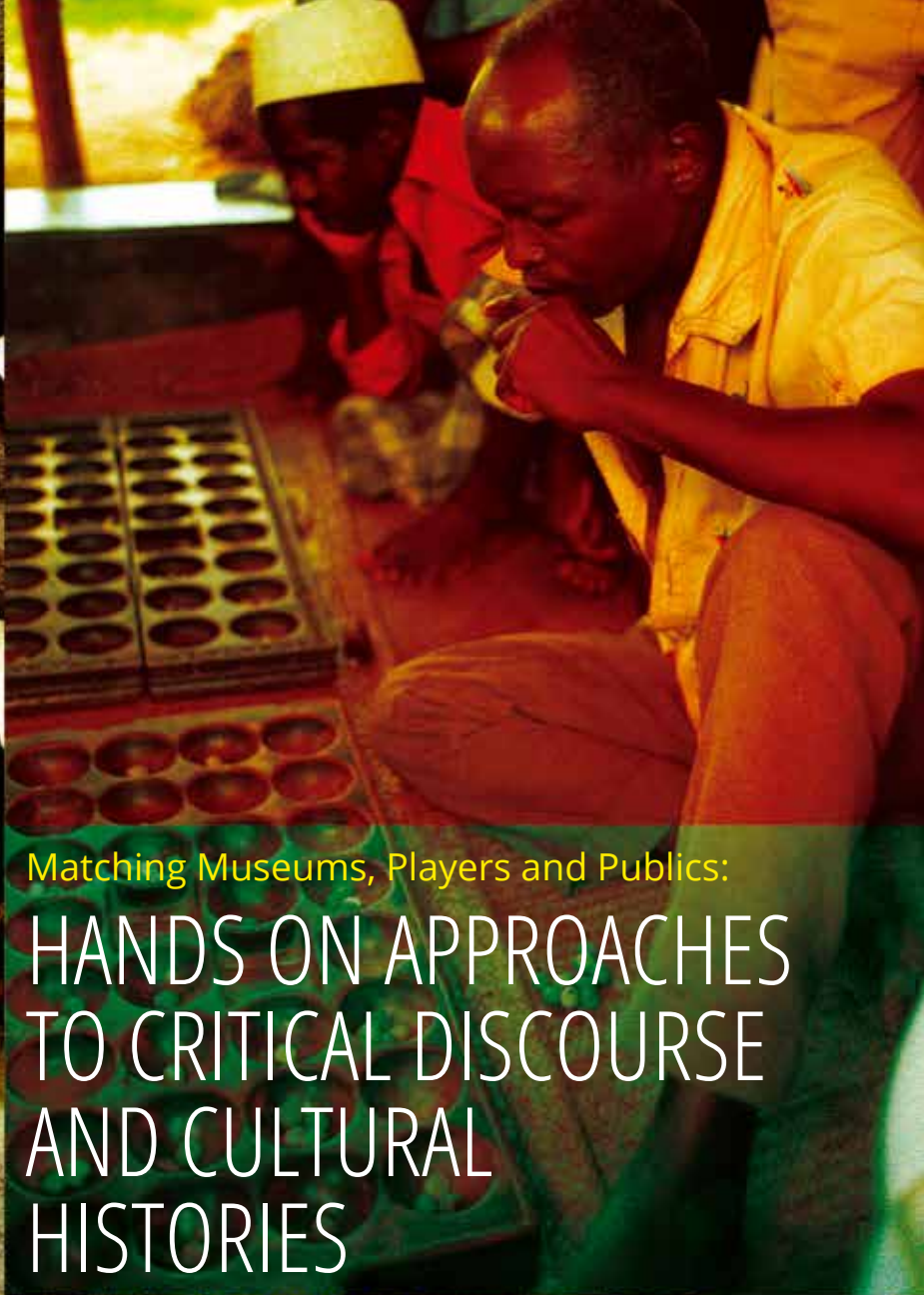
Miroslava Lukić Krstanović,
editor-in-chief
In Belgrade, 2015.

Uklapanje muzeja,
igrača i javnosti:

Direktni pristupi kritičkom diskursu i kulturnim istorijama

Iako istorija ovih igara nije u celosti poznata, table za mankalu su prikupljane još od vremena prvih etnografskih muzeja. Veličina, mesto, ukrasi i pohabanost indiciraju tip igrača kao i lični i društveni i fizički otisak koji su igrači ostavili na tabli. Ove istorije zajednica i pojedinaca upisane u table za mankalu pomogle su da se proširi kritički diskurs o afričkim istorijama, posebno onaj koji se tiče inovacija, tehnologije i uloge Afrike u globalnom kulturnom nasleđu. Skretanje pažnje na živote i „posmrtno živote“ tabli za mankalu u muzejskim zbirkama obezbeđuje kulturnim institucijama bogato ilustrovane primere afričke ekspertize, oličene u majstorskom ovladavanju igrom, kao i primere afričkog doprinosa globalnim fenomenima, kroz kulturnu transmisiju varijacija na mankalu. Istorija mankale, kako usmena, tako i pisana, ali posebno odnos između pravila, tabli i igrača, daje primere kako lični i kolektivni narativi zajednički ilustruju kulturne istorije.





Matching Museums, Players and Publics:

HANDS ON APPROACHES TO CRITICAL DISCOURSE AND CULTURAL HISTORIES

Although the history of these games is not fully known, mancala game boards have been collected since the earliest ethnographic museums materialized. Size, place, decoration, and wear all indicate the type of player, the personal or communal physical imprint of the players on the board. These community and individual histories from the boards have helped to expand critical discourses of African histories, particularly around innovation, technology and Africa's role in the global cultural heritage. Drawing attention to the lives and afterlives of mancala game boards in museum collections provides cultural institutions with richly illustrated examples of African expertise, through game mastership, and African contributions to global phenomena, through the cultural transmission of mancala variations. Mancala history, both its oral and written accounts, but particularly the relationship of rules, boards and players, offers examples of how personal and collective narratives jointly illuminate cultural histories.

Jacklyn Grace Lacey

Alex de Voogt

Američki prirodnački muzej, Njujork (SAD)

jlacey@amnh.org

adevoogt@amnh.org

Jacklyn Grace Lacey

Alex de Voogt

American Museum of Natural History, New York (USA)

jlacey@amnh.org

adevoogt@amnh.org

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DIREKTNI PRISTUPI
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Iako istorija ovih igara nije u celosti poznata, table za mankalu su prikupljane još od vremena prvih etnografskih muzeja. Veličina, mesto, ukrasi i pohabanost indiciraju tip igrača kao i lični i društveni i fizički otisak koji su igrači ostavili na tabli. Ove istorije zajednica i pojedina upisane u table za mankalu pomogle su da se proširi kritički diskurs o afričkim istorijama, posebno onaj koji se tiče inovacija, tehnologije i uloge Afrike u globalnom kulturnom nasleđu. Skretanje pažnje na živote i „posmrtno živote“ tabli za mankalu u muzejskim zbirkama obezbeđuje kulturnim institucijama bogato ilustrovane primere afričke ekspertize, oličene u majstorskom ovladavanju igrom, kao i primere afričkog doprinosa globalnim fenomenima, kroz kulturnu transmisiju varijacija na mankalu. Istorija mankale, kako usmena, tako i pisana, ali posebno odnos između pravila, tabli i igrača, daje primere kako lični i kolektivni narativi zajednički ilustruju kulturne istorije.

Ključne reči:

praksa kritičkog izlaganja, društvene igre, afrička dijaspora, angažman zajednice, društveni lubrikant*

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Although the history of these games is not fully known, mancala game boards have been collected since the earliest ethnographic museums materialized. Size, place, decoration, and wear all indicate the type of player, the personal or communal physical imprint of the players on the board. These community and individual histories from the boards have helped to expand critical discourses of African histories, particularly around innovation, technology and Africa's role in the global cultural heritage. Drawing attention to the lives and afterlives of mancala game boards in museum collections provides cultural institutions with richly illustrated examples of African expertise, through game mastership, and African contributions to global phenomena, through the cultural transmission of mancala variations. Mancala history, both its oral and written accounts, but particularly the relationship of rules, boards and players, offers examples of how personal and collective narratives jointly illuminate cultural histories.

Key words:

critical display practice, board games, expertise, African Diaspora, community engagement, social lubricant

Ovladavanje istorijom: mankala i muzeji

Veza između afričkog kontinenta i porodice društvenih igara koje se nazivaju mankala toliko je učvršćena u popularnoj imaginaciji u poslednja dva veka da se mankala često naziva „afričkom nacionalnom igrom“ (Culin 1894; Townshend 1979, 1982; Russ 1984). Ova asocijacija, iako joj nedostaju neki važni detalji koji se tiču dugotrajne i široke diseminacije igre sa kontinenta na druge delove sveta, ipak omogućava prilično bogatu ilustraciju koja može biti korisna u podučavanju i izlaganju afričkih istorija kulturne transmisije, prilagodljivosti i dinamike.

Getting a handle on history: Mancala & museums

The connection between the African continent and the mancala family of board games have been so closely drawn together in the popular imagination over the past two centuries that it has often been referred to as the “African national game” (Culin 1894; Townshend 1979, 1982; Russ 1984). This association, while lacking some of the important detail about the long and broad dissemination of the game from the continent to other regions of the world, does provide a particularly rich illustration that can be useful in teaching and displaying African histories of cultural transmis-

Varijante mankale igraju se u Africi, na Karibima, u Jugoistočnoj, Južnoj i Centralnoj Aziji, kao i u delovima Južne Amerike i ponekad u Evropi i SAD, gde su table za mankalu pomogle da živnu mnoge različite zajedničke aktivnosti i čak odigrale ulogu u zvaničnim nastavnim planovima osnovnih škola.

Mankala kao društvena igra ima višestruki i često hibridni društveni život. Mankala je bila stvar prestiža. Ljudi su igre mankale razmenjivali i sakupljali, koristili za takmičenje u igrama u klubovima a igrali su ih svi: muškarci, žene i deca. Iako istorija ovih igara nije u celosti poznata, table za mankalu prikupljane su još od vremena prvih etnografskih muzeja. Veličina, mesto, ukrasi i izgled table – njena istrošenost, pohabanost – indikatori su tipa igrača, kao i lični i društveni fizički otisak koji su igrači ostavili na tabli. Ove istorije i priče zajednica i pojedinaca upisane u table za mankalu doprinele su da se proširi kritički diskurs o afričkim istorijama, posebno onaj koji se tiče inovacija, tehnologije i uloge Afrike u globalnom kulturnom nasleđu.

Skretanje pažnje na živote i potonju sudbinu tabli za mankalu u muzejskim zbirkama obezbeđuje kulturnim institucijama bogato ilustrovane primere takoreći sposobnosti naroda Afrike, oličene u majstorskom ovladavanju igrom, kao i primere doprinosa ovog kontinenta globalnim fenomenima, kroz kulturni prenos tabli za igranje mankale, kao i varijacija na osnovna pravila igre. Istorija i priča o mankali, kako usmena, tako i pisana, a naročito odnos tih priča sa samim tablama, nudi primere toga kako lični i kolektivni narativi zajednički oslikavaju kulturne istorije. U tom smislu priče o mankali su vešto adaptirane za ciljeve predstavljanja kompleksnih istorija pluraliteta i inovacija s afričkog kontinenta. Ovo stoji u oštroj suprotnosti prema jednostranim generalizacijama koje još uvek prožimaju čak i one koje imaju dobru nameru kada govore o kulturi Afrike.

U ovom članku razmotrićemo element dodira koji je deo igranja mankale. Dodir je neki vid angažovanja u igri koji može da bude predmet istraživanja onih muzeja koji, kroz didaktički modalitet istraživanja, žele da pospeše kulture i istorijske veze između zbirke afričkih artefakata i savremenih afričkih zajednica u dijaspori. Ovakve poduhvate možemo da

sion, resilience and dynamism. Mancala variations are known to be played in Africa, the Caribbean, South-East, South and Central Asia as well as parts of South America and occasionally in Europe and the United States, where the boards have enlivened a variety of communal activities and have played a role in mainstream elementary school education curriculums.

Mancala board games have multiple and often hybridized social lives. They have acted as objects of prestige, were traded and collected, used in competitive club gameplay, played by men, women and children. Although the history of these games is not fully known, the game boards have been collected since the earliest ethnographic museums materialized. Size, place, decoration, and wear all indicate the type of player, the personal or communal physical imprint of the players on the board. These community and individual histories from the boards have helped to expand critical discourses of African histories, particularly around innovation, technology and Africa's role in global cultural heritage.

Drawing attention to the lives and afterlives of mancala boards in museum collections provides cultural institutions with richly illustrated example of African expertise, through game mastership; and African contributions to global phenomena, through the cultural transmission of mancala board and rule variations. Mancala history, both its oral and written accounts, but particularly the relationship of both to the boards themselves, offers examples of how personal and collective narratives jointly illuminate cultural histories. In this sense, mancala histories are ably adapted for the purposes of presenting complex stories of African pluralities and innovations. This stands in sharp contrast to the monolithic generalities that still populate even the most well-intentioned African cultural displays.

The tactile element involved in a game of mancala is explored in this article as a means of engagement that can be explored as a didactic modality by museums seeking to facilitate the cultural and historical connections between African artifact collections and contemporary African Diaspora communities. These undertakings might productively be characterized under the themes of cultural resilience and transmission

okarakterišemo kao prikaze tema kulturnog istraživanja, prenosa i kontinuiteta prakse. Postoji mnogo kompleksnih, osjetljivih pitanja koja se tiču identiteta, kulturnog nasleđa i pravde, a koja su u vezi sa pojedincima i društvenim zajednicama i tiču se povezivanja istorijskih zbirki sa savremenim i budućim posetiocima, koji u muzeje dolaze bilo kao istraživači bilo kao publika ali, koji žele da neguju osećaj zajedništva ili srodnosti. Opipljivost igranja mankale, zajedno sa relativno jasnim obrascem transmisije ekspresivne i materijalne kulture, mogla bi da obezbedi prijatan i dirljiv način za pristupanje i izlaženje na kraj sa ovim zamršenim i često apstraktnim konceptima istorije i identiteta. Ideja da se istorija mankale iskoristi kako bi oblikovala kompleksnije narative o geopolitičkoj istoriji Afrike je i ranije uzimana u obzir:

„Ono što se nadamo da ćemo postići je realističniji pogled na kontinentalne i interkontinentalne veze među različitim kulturnim dostignućima, pozajmljivanjima i transformacijama – ... tako da se sam afrički kontinent rastoči kao jedinica proučavanja, kako bi još jednom postao – zajedno sa svim ostalim kontinentima – kulturno i politički indiferentna kopnena masa i ništa više.”

(van Binsbergen 1995: 221, prevod Žakula)

U ovom članku istražićemo načine na koje smo se bavili istorijom, kao i načine o istraživanju čulnih dimenzija tabli za mankalu kako u igri, tako i izloženim na posteljima da bismo učinili globalne migracije mankale manje konceptualnim i opipljivijim za muzejske posetioce.

U ovome se ogleda i širi cilj. Susreti sa materijalnom kulturom u antropološkim ili istorijskim zbirkama mogu biti moćan način susretanja sa geopolitičkim kompleksnim narativom o istoriji afričke dijasfore. Ovo je posebno tačno kada je reč o potencijalu koji table za mankalu i njihova istorija uključuju publiku u praksu posmatranja artefakata kao načina svedočenja o kontinuitetu prakse koje su preživele uprkos snažnim remetilačkim silama nasilne transatlantske migracije i porobljavanja, kao i potonjih strukturalnih nepravdi i opresija. Mankala je odolela uprkos svim ovim nevoljama. Ona je intimna igra između dva igrača koji sede blizu. Praćenje igranja ove igre može

and continuity of practice. There are many complex, sensitive issues around identity, cultural heritage, and justice with respect to individuals and community groups, with respect to connecting historical collections to present and future people who come to museums as researchers or as visitors seeking to foster a sense of association or affiliation. The tangibility of mancala game play, coupled with the relatively clear pattern of expressive and material culture transmission, might provide an enjoyable and poignant means of accessing and grappling with these interwoven and often abstract concepts of history and identity. The idea of mancala history being employed to shape more complex narratives of African geopolitical history has been undertaken previously:

“What we hope to gain is a more realistic view of the continental and intercontinental connections of the varieties of cultural achievements, borrowings and transformations — ... so that the African continent itself dissolves as a unit of study, to be relegated once more — together with all other continents — to the status of a culturally and politically indifferent land mass and nothing more.”

(van Binsbergen 1995: 221)

We explore in this article ways in which we worked with mancala histories and the sensory dimensions of mancala boards in play and display to make mancala's global migration less conceptual and more tangible to museum publics.

This mirrors a broader objective. Encountering material culture in anthropology or history halls can be a potent means of encountering a geopolitically complex narrative about African Diaspora histories. This is particularly true with respect to the potential for mancala boards and their histories to engage an audience in the practice of viewing artifacts as a means of testimony to a continuity of practices that have survived despite powerfully disruptive forces of forcible transatlantic migration and enslavement and subsequent structural injustices and oppressions. Mancala has endured against all of these odds. It is game intimate in scale, almost always played between two players sitting close to each other. The durability of game play across these formidable challenges might

obezbediti značajne veze za one koji dolaze u muzeje afričke kulture tražeći veze sa delovima sopstvenog nasleđa, o kojem postoji malo ili nimalo očuvanih istorijskih dokumenata. Nadamo se da će kustoske prakse na temu mankale i tabli za mankalu koje smo probavali olakšati posetiocima uspostavljanje tih veza na intimnom, ljudskom nivou na kome je igra igrana, prenošena, pamćena i čuvana stotinama godina (sl. 1).



Sl. 1. Fotografija sa događaja koji je održan u znak Proslave meseca crnačke istorije u Dvorani afričkih naroda, februar 2014, APM.
Foto: Džeklin Lejsi, 2014.

Ill. 1. Photo of a mancala event held in association with Black History Month Celebrations in Hall of African Peoples, February 2014, AMNH.
Photo: Jacklyn Lacey, 2014.

Osećaj globalne i lokalne kulturne istorije

Na isti način na koji bismo razumeli značaj i čulne dimenzije igranja mankale, kao i njen raznorodni i živopisni društveni život, u muzejima bi trebalo da se bolje brinu o tablama koje čuvaju u njihovim fondovima koje koriste da se ispričaju priče o njihovom poreklu i ljudima, kao i o mestima kojima su pripadale i koji su im davali značenje. Na primer, table u posedu Dvorane afričkih naroda u Američkom prirodjačkom muzeju u Njujorku koriste se kako bi skrenule pažnju na ropstvo, u delu prikaza o Južnoj Americi. Ovaj eksponat je napravljen šezdesetih godina prošlog veka i raspored postavljanja tabli za mankalu – jedna do druge upućuje na vizuelni prikaz

provide meaningful linkages for those who come to African cultural halls seeking connection to parts of their own heritage for which little to no documentation has survived. We hope that the curatorial practices we have been exploring with respect to mancala games and boards can facilitate those connections on the intimate, human scales at which the game has been played, transmitted, remembered and cherished for hundreds of years (ill.1).

Sensing global and local cultural histories

By understanding both the significance of the sensory dimensions of playing mancala as well as its varied and vibrant social lives, museums might better be able to care for their boards and use them to tell the stories of the boards' origins and of the people and the places where they have belonged and been given meaning. For example the boards in the Hall of African Peoples at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) have augmented the Slavery in South America display. This case was created in the 1960s and its organization places West African and South American mancala boards alongside one another as a visual demonstration of cultural transmission and resilience. Mancala has had a particular role, historically, in the display of cultural resilience in African diasporas. Additional examples of integrating sensory engagements in mancala's inclusion in cultural institutions may foster new methods for showcasing the lives of these boards and allow for a more enriching level of engagement in museum display.

It has been previously discussed that mancala games, as well as geomantic divination, in historical study and in play, can productively provide an "anti-racist, anti-Eurocentric critique" (van Binsbergen 1995: 246) of global cultural history. The studies of the global cultural distribution of the boards themselves, as well as the rules with which the game is played are methodologically diverse, incorporating archaeological analysis and ethnographic survey. The game and its history illustrate both a continuity of practice and form across several portions of the African continent, while demonstrating the wide extent to which networks of trade, migration and even war have carried the game both to and from the continent

kulturne transmisije i istrajnosti kulturnih elemenata. Istorijski mankala je imala posebnu ulogu u predstavljanju kulturne fleksibilnosti dijaspora afričkih naroda. Dodatni primeri integracije čulnog angažovanja posetilaca u uključivanju mankale u kulturne institucije mogu potpomoći nove metode prikazivanja upotreba ovih tabli i omogućiti viši i bogatiji nivo angažmana posetilaca sa muzejskim eksponatima.

Ranije je bilo reči o tome kako mankala igre, kao i geomantička divinacija, kako u istorijskim studijama, tako i u igri, mogu omogućiti produktivnu „antirasijalističku kao i antievrocentričnu kritiku” (van Binsbergen 1995: 246, prevod Žakula) globalne kulturne istorije. Studije globalne kulturne distribucije samih tabli, kao i pravila po kojima se igra metodološki su raznorodne i uključuju arheološku analizu i etnografska istraživanja. Igra i njena istorija ilustruju kako kontinuitet prakse i forme duž različitih delova afričkog kontinenta, pride demonstrirajući i širinu mreže duž koje su odnosi trgovine, migracija i, čak, rata, kroz vreme proneli igru u okviru samog kontinenta i šire. Pitanje skale rasprostranjenosti javlja se, iako često iskosa, u muzejskim zbirkama afričke umetnosti i materijalne kulture, naročito u zapadnim institucijama. Postoji potreba za jasnim određenjem u kontekstualizaciji predmeta sa afričkog kontinenta koji je podložan homogenizaciji u zapadnoj javnoj percepciji.

Izlaganje istorije kretanja mankale preko afričkog kontinenta i sveta u muzejima zahteva šire i dinamičnije viđenje afričke društveno-političke istorije nego što je to slučaj sa izložbama na kojima se o kulturi više naroda raspravlja kao o gotovo potpuno izolovanim entitetima: „...tretiranje posebnih društvenih praksi i iskustava, posebne dinamike rasprostranjenosti varijacija među afričkim zemljama i unutar njih, kao i vremenskih perioda afričke istorije. Danas, pak, nije više neophodno raspravljati o pitanjima afričke kulturne istorije u načelnim terminima” (van Binsbergen 1995: 221, prevod Žakula). Table za mankalu u muzejskim zbirkama nude nove i obnovljene prilike za integraciju duha i konteksta kulturne promene i fleksibilnosti u same eksponate, ali kao što je slučaj sa Dvoranom afričkih naroda, eksponati i narativ izložbe mogu da ostanu nepromenjeni neko-

over time. The issue of scale is one that comes up often, albeit often obliquely, in museum collections of African art and material culture in Western institutions, in particular. There is a need for specificity in the contextualization of objects from a continent that is prone to being homogenized in Western public perception.

Displaying the history of mancala's movement across the African continent and world within museums, facilitates a wider and more dynamic lens of African sociopolitical histories than curating a hall with cultures discussed in relative or near-total isolation from one another: “attending specific social practices and experiences, the specific dynamics and the range of variation between and within, African countries and periods of African history. Today however it is no longer necessary to discuss matters of African cultural history in broadly sweeping terms” (van Binsbergen 1995: 221). Mancala boards in museum collections offer new and renewed opportunities for integrating the spirit and context of cultural change and plasticity in displays that themselves, as is the case with the Hall of African Peoples, might not change for several decades. The mancala displays, discussed in this paper, both underscore these curatorial opportunities, while illustrating a critique of African cultural museum displays that neglect sensory engagements in almost all cases in favor of conservation mandates. The ubiquity of contemporary ethnographic examples suggests that cultural institutions could put programming into practice that simultaneously highlights histories of change and endurance.

The pattern of cultural transmission of the game facilitates highlighting the special connections between West African and Afro-Caribbean communities, seen in both material and expressive culture. The paucity of Afro-Caribbean cultural representation in museum displays has been previously pointed out, as well as the social and educational consequences for African American and Afro-Caribbean communities who are denied the ability to see Diaspora heritage reflected in institutionalized historical narratives, including museum displays (Dash 1998 2005). The Caribbean contribution to the diversity of mancala rule systems and board styles is essential to understanding the game's

liko decenija. Ekspoziti na temu manjke o kojima će biti reči u ovom radu podvlače ove probleme kustosa, ali i ilustruju kritiku ekspozita u muzejima afričke kulture koji gotovo uvek zanemaruju čulne doživljaje zarad konzervatorskih obaveza. Sveprisutnost savremenih etnografskih primera sugerise da kulturne institucije mogu u svoj program uključiti prakse koje ujedno naglašavaju istoriju promena i odolevanja kulturološkim izazovima.

Obrazac kulturne transmisije igre ukazuje na posebne veze između zajednica Zapadne Afrike i afrokarijskih zajednica, što se vidi kako u materijalnoj, tako u ekspresivnoj kulturi. Na nedostatak reprezentacije afričkih zajednica sa Kariba u muzejskim predstavama i ranije se ukazivalo, kao i na društvene i obrazovne posledice koje je ovo imalo za afričke i afrokarijske zajednice kojima je osporeno pravo da vide nasleđe sopstvene dijasporu u institucionalizovanim istorijskim narativima uključujući i muzejske postavke (Dash 1998, 2005). Doprinos Kariba raznolikosti sistema pravila i oblika tabli za mankalu je centralan za razumevanje pozicije igre u okviru globalnog kulturnog nasleđa, što ga čini idealnim kandidatom za muzejske projekte kojima se želi da se preokrenu postavke i edukativni projekti kako bi počeli da prihvataju doprinose zajednice dijasporu globalnoj i lokalnoj kulturnoj istoriji (sl. 2).

U članku o afričkoj dijaspori i muzejskom obrazovanju istraživač Pol Deš (*Paul Dash*) snažno piše o svojim detinjim čulnim iskustvima u svetu koji karakteriše kao karijske i zapadnjačke, crne i bele. Govori o tome kako su ova iskustva prirodnog sveta i tehnoloških inovacija nosila hegemonističke oznake koje imaju mogućnost da oblikuju razvoj senzibiliteta deteta. Deš piše:

„Kao dete na Karibima bio sam ispunjen strahopoštovanjem prema kompleksnosti sveta u kome sam se obreo: zaslepljujuće tropske boje, ogromna raznolikost biljnih i životinjskih vrsta, moć mora. To je bio bogat okoliš za razgledanje i nova otkrića. Ali moj osećaj začuđenosti pred svetom bio je ojačan čudom tehnologije: elegantna lepota škuna punih jedara, moć kamiona koji su prevozili šećernu trsku u vreme žetve, misterija bioskopa. Svaka-ko, zapadna nauka i tehnologija bile su, za mnoge,

position within global cultural heritage, thus making it an ideal candidate for museum projects seeking to reorient their displays and educational projects to make them more inclusive of Diaspora community contributions to global and local histories (ill. 2).



Sl. 2. Tabla za igru ađebato prikupljena tokom ekspedicije u Surinam Majrona Grejndžera i Mortona Kana 1928. godine. Samaka narod. AMNH 26/234. Foto: Metju Šenli, 2015.

Ill. 2. Game board for adjebo collected on the 1928 expedition to Suriname by Myron Granger and Morton Kahn. Saamaka peoples. AMNH 26/234. Photo: Matthew Shanley, 2015.

In an article about the African Diaspora and museum education, the scholar Paul Dash writes powerfully about his childhood sensory engagements in worlds he draws as Caribbean and Western, black and white. He reflects that these experiences around the natural world and technological innovation bore he-

svedoci genijalnosti belog sveta i nemo opravdanje kolonijalnog autoriteta. Crna inventivnost nije bila vidljiva na ovaj način. Nismo imali pristup informacijama o crnim putnicima i izumiteljima, nismo imali osećaj istorije izvan Kolumba i Britanske imperije. Crna populacija je delovala pod dugom senkom bele moći, naši umovi i percepcije bili su oblikovani njenim formulacijama o tome ko smo bili i šta treba da postanemo. Bili smo naviknuti na okruženje koje nas je konstruisalo kao inferiorne.” (Dash 1998: 79)

Deš je objasnio da obrazovna iskustva kojima će karipska deca, po svoj prilici, da budu izložena mogu da osnaže šire društvene obrasce i percepcije. Zvanični obrazovni sistemi obično nemaju kritički pristup kada govore o kolonijalnim istorijama, što može da otuđi učenike iz manjinskih grupa. On pominje potentnost fenomenološkog angažmana u svetu koji ga okružuje i istovremeno demonstrira kako ova vrsta moći može biti iskorišćena na način da u isto vreme izaziva čuđenje i vrši opresiju.

Deš direktno povezuje dualizam potencijala koji ova moć ima sa praksom muzejskog izlaganja i edukacije. Ako škuna ili bioskop, čak i u nedostatku institucionalno urušenog didaktičkog narativa, mogu tako duboko upisati osećaj inferiornosti u nečiju svest, nije teško zamisliti ogromnu težinu koju muzejski eksponat prepun predmeta koji etiketiraju može nositi za one kojima je namerno predstavljen, tako da oblikuje njihove osećaje sopstva, zajednice, istorije i sveta. Kada je identifikovao moć materijalne kulture i narativne kontekstualizacije, on zaključuje da muzeji treba da imaju ključnu ulogu u kritičkim diskursima i antihegemonističkim reinterpretacijama istorije Afrike i afričke dijasfore (Dash 1998: 86).

Imaju li muzejska zbirka i njeni propratni edukativni materijali moć da stvore prisustvo na isti način na koji to čine konstrukcije ili dekonstrukcije priče o inferiornosti? Deš ukazuje na nekoliko načina na koje imperijalna struktura može biti subverzirana ili izverzirana kako bi se stvorio novi način angažovanja. Crna inventivnost je nešto na šta on posebno ukazuje kao na nešto što je bilo posebno pomućeno zapadnjačkom tehnologijom. Najveći broj aktuelnih školskih planova rada nije gotovo uopšte nudio vizu-

gemonic markers, which have the capacity to shape the development of a child’s sensibilities. He writes:

“As a child in the Caribbean I was filled with awe at the complexity of the world in which I found myself: the dazzle of tropical color, the abundant variety of plant and animal life, the power of the sea. It was a rich environment in which to explore and make discoveries. But my sense of wonder at the world was amplified by the miracle of technology: the elegant beauty of schooners in full sail, the power of cane trucks as they crisscrossed the island at harvest, the mystery of cinema. Indeed, western science and technology were, to many, testimony to genius of the white world and a mute justification for colonial authority. Black inventiveness was not evident in this way. We had no access to information on black travellers or inventors, had no sense of history outside of Columbus and the British Empire. The black population operated in the long shadow of white power, our minds and perceptions shaped by its formulations of who we were and what we should become. We were acculturated to an environment which constructed us as inferiors.”

(Dash 1998: 79)

Dash explains that the education experiences that Caribbean children are most likely to be exposed to can reinforce wider social patterns and perceptions. Mainstream educational systems are usually not critically engaged in teaching colonial histories and can be alienating for minority students. He brings up the potency of phenomenological engagement in the world around him and demonstrates simultaneously how this power can be wielded to inspire wonder or to enact oppression.

Dash connects the dualism of this power potential overtly to museum display practice and education. If the schooner or the cinema, even absent an institutionally-designed didactic narrative, can inscribe so deeply in the mind a sense of inferiority, it is not difficult to imagine the immense sway that a museum cultural display full of objects and label copy might carry for those who are intentionally presented with an encounter that shapes one’s sense of self, community, history, and the world. Having identified the power

elizacije ovakve inventivnosti. Reč je o svetu koji je definisan belim identitetom kao tačkom odlaska i postignuća prirodnog ili tehnološkog sveta koji je predstavljen kao ekstenzija ovog „nemog opravdavanja kolonijalnog autoriteta” (Dash 1998: 79).

Inverzija ovih struktura mogla bi da uključuje narativ u kome je crna inventivnost smeštena na centralno mesto, a dokazi o putovanju i inovacijama bivaju viđeni kroz prizmu aktivnosti kolonizovanih a ne kolonizatora. Mogla bi da ulije osećaj začuđenosti uranjanjem u taktilna i čulna iskustva, nasuprot apstrakciji i čvrstoj, daljinskoj kontroli sveta. Mankala, u istorijskom kontekstu i obrazovnoj praksi, može biti i zapravo najčešće biva opisivana, doživljavana i igrana na ovaj način.

Raspravljajući istovremeno o potencijalnim uticajima brige o zbirkama i edukacije, zasnovanim kako na istoriji kulturne difuzije mankale, tako i na omogućavanju igranja igre muzejskim publikama koje nisu ranije imale kulturnih kontakata sa igrom, raščlanićemo dva modaliteta mankale u teoriji i praksi koji mogu preispitati evropske i američke percepcije afričke istorije i priča koje prečesto čine osnovu čak i savremenih izložbi afričke kulture i istorije. Međutim, kada se igre koriste kao sredstva za kreiranje muzejskih projekata o Africi a koji su ukorenjeni u kritičkim diskursima, važno je uzeti u obzir i stereotipe sa kojima su se neke zajednice suočavale.

Pažljivo izbegavamo interpretaciju prema kojoj se „rasistički koncept crnaca u dijaspori kao prostodušnih glupaka koji samo traže zabavu i vole muziku... perpetuiru i nanovo uspostavlja” (Dash 1998: 84, prevod Žakula). U slučaju mankale, kritičkog diskursa i zajednica u Africi ili afričkih zajednica u dijaspori, cilj nam je da negujemo interpretacije koje ne predstavljaju domene ekspresivne i zabavne umetnosti kao nešto jedinstveno za određene kulturne grupe na način koji bi promovisao ovakve negativne stereotipe. Fokus je na globalno rasprostranjenim fenomenima igara kao društveni povezivač. Mimo toga, kompleksnost mankala igara, koje se tako jasno identifikuju sa svojim afričkim korenima, naglašena je kako bi podrila ove pežorativne asocijacije i zamenila ih pozitivnim istorijskim i ekspresivnim prikazima (sl. 3).

of material culture and narrative contextualization, he concludes that museums have a key role to play in critical discourses and anti-hegemonic reinterpretations of African and African Diaspora histories (Dash 1998: 86).

Does a museum display and its supporting educational endeavors wield that power to create presence in a way that constructs or deconstructs narratives of inferiority? If it deconstructs, how does it replace these hegemonic structures? Dash points out several ways in which an imperial structure might be subverted or inverted to create a new form of engagement. Black inventiveness is something he specifically points out as having been obfuscated by Western technology. Most mainstream educational curriculum offered little or no visualization of this inventiveness. It is a world that is defined with white identity as a point of departure and achievement of the natural or technological world is portrayed as an extension of this “mute justification [of] colonial authority” (Dash 1998: 79).

An inversion of these structures could feature a narrative where black inventiveness is situated at the forefront and the evidence of travel and innovation is seen in the actions of the colonized rather than the colonizers. It could seek to inculcate the sense of wonder of tactile sensation and sensory immersion rather than feature abstraction or tight, remote control of the world. Mancala, in historical context and in educational practice, can be and, in fact, most readily lends itself to being described, experienced and played in this way.

By discussing simultaneously the potential impacts of curating and education around both the history of cultural diffusion of mancala as well as making game play itself more widely accessible to museum publics, who have had limited cultural exposure to the game, we unpack two modalities for mancala in both theory and practice. These modalities challenge Eurocentric perspectives on African histories that are too often embedded in the backbone of even contemporary displays of African culture and art. When using games as a vehicle for creating Africanist museum projects rooted in critical discourses, however, it is important to remain mindful of the far-reaching stereotypes that some communities have endured.



Sl. 3. Tabla za igru ayo, za koju se koriste pravila slična igri vari (*warri*) sa Barbadosa. Tablu je prikupio Morton Kahn 1947. godine. AMNH 90.1/8440. Foto: Metju Šenli, 2015.

Ill. 3. Game board for ayo, which is played using rules similar to the game of warri in Barbados. Board collected by Morton Kahn in 1947. AMNH 90.1/8440. Photo: Matthew Shanley, 2015.

Dijaspora, muzeji i mankala

Kako je pedagoški cilj, ako ga muzej ima, podržan kroz izlaganje društvenih igara? Je li moguće ujedno izložiti ali i učiniti pristupačnom tablu koju su ranije koristili majstori mankale, tako što bi se javnost dovela u kontakt sa tablom koja je pohabana od stalne upotrebe? I da li je to moguće s obzirom na činjenicu da bi život eksponata bio drastično skraćen ako bi se publici omogućilo da ga dodiruje? Za koje table je smisleno razmatrati pristup publike? Postoje li table za koje – na osnovu istorijskih okolnosti, kontakta i trgovine, materijalnosti ili nekog drugog aspekta –

We remain mindful of avoiding interpretation in which “the seams of the racist construct of the Diasporic black as a fun-seeking, music-loving simpleton is ... perpetuated and reinforced” (Dash 1998: 84). In the case of mancala, critical discourse and African/African Diasporic communities, we aim to foster interpretations that do not exceptionalize the domain of expressive and recreational arts and cultures to any one cultural group in such a way that would promote these negatively-cast stereotypes. The focus is placed on the globally-distributed phenomena of games as social lubricants. Beyond that, the complexity of mancala games, which are so tightly identified with African patrimonies, is highlighted in order to subvert these pejorative associations and replace them with positive, historically-grounded visual and expressive representations (ill. 3).

Diasporas, museums and mancala

If a museum has a pedagogical objective, how is that supported with the display of board games? Can one display and also make available a board formerly used by mancala masters, bringing the public into contact with the well-worn varnish of constant use, knowing full well that the board's life will be substantially shortened by this public tactile intervention? For which boards is it responsible to consider public access? Are there boards - based on historical circumstances, contact and trade, materiality, or some other particular feature - for which public play is irresponsible from a curatorial perspective?

The answer to this is an obvious yes, but the rubric by which these decisions are made perhaps calls for a reconsideration of the different objectives that are possible to achieve through the display of mancala. How may more engaging ways of displaying mancala boards in their various contexts be achieved? For boards that are singular or rare, the politics of display and potential for destruction are different than in the case of the display of other types of games. The board may break, be graffitied or disfigured. Counters will certainly go missing. A board being played, even in a museum, cannot remain immune to the changes that human interaction will inflect and inflict upon it.

It is important to note that the ambivalence about

omogućavanje publici da ih koristi deluje neodgovorno sa stanovišta kustosa?

Odgovor na sva ova pitanja je, očito, da, ali za načine na koje se ovakve odluke donose potrebno je ponovo razmišljati o ciljevima koje je moguće postići izlaganjem manjke. Kako bi bilo moguće postići privlačnije načine izlaganja tabli za manjku u različitim kontekstima? Za table koje su jedinstvene ili retke politike izlaganja i mogućnost uništenja se razlikuju od prakse izlaganja drugih vrsta igara. Tabla se može polomiti, može biti namerno išarana ili iskrivljena. Figurice će se svakako gubiti. Tabla na kojoj se igra, čak i u muzeju, podložna je promenama prilikom interakcije sa novim igračima.

Važno je primetiti da ambivalencija koja se tiče moralnog uređivanja odnosa između muzejskih istraživača, publike, predmeta, eksponata i zajednica iz kojih su predmeti potekli nije ništa novo. Postoji mnogo jedanačina sa ovim i drugim varijablama koje su mnogi istoričari i antropolozi koji se bave muzejima uzimali kako bi definisali ono što se naizgled opire čvrstoj definiciji: cilj delanja. Hudson (*Hudson*) u tom smislu predlaže sopstveni niz retoričkih pitanja:

„Je li svrha muzeja primarno didaktička, zamišljena tako da postoji samo da bi doprela do publike i prenela joj informacije? Ili je njegova glavna svrha da menja stavove, možda u borbi za neki cilj? Je li muzej prvenstveno tu da bi prikupljao, konzervirao i izučavao predmete, i samo slučajno svoj posed izlagao publici? Da li muzej svoje izložbe posmatra kao šlag na torti, kao nužno zlo, kulisu iza koje naučnici mogu da slede sopstvene specijalističke ciljeve – kao dozvolu za postojanje?”

(Hudson 1991: 458, prevod Žakula)

Hudson (Hudson 1991: 459) sugerise da se odgovor na ova pitanja, naravno, svodi na to ko je osoba koja na njih odgovara: „Šta neko dobija od muzeja veoma zavisi od onoga što muzeju donosi.” Jedan način da se izađe na kraj sa tenzijom u postavljanju ciljeva u praksi kustosa je da se ovakvi ciljevi posmatraju kao holistički komplementarni, a ne kao da ih je potrebno razvrstavati prema prioritetu. Integrisanje taktilnog iskustva predmeta sa istorijom njihove kulturne transmisije i njegovog mesta u savremenim „borbama za

the moral ordering of relationships between the museum researchers, publics, objects, displays and communities of origin is hardly new. There are many equations with these variables (and more) that many museum historians and anthropologists have taken up in order to define that which seems to resist firm definition: Purpose of action. Hudson posits his own set of rhetorical questions to this end:

“Is a museum’s purpose primarily didactic, existing in order to reach and convey information to the audience? Or is its main purpose to change attitudes, perhaps to crusade on behalf of a cause? It is there in the first place to collect, conserve, and study objects and only incidentally to display its possessions to the public? Does it see its exhibitions as the icing on the cake, a necessary nuisance, a smokescreen behind which scholars can follow their own specialist pursuits - a license to exist?”

(Hudson 1991: 458)

Hudson (1991: 459) suggests that the answer to these questions, will, of course, come down to who the one answering the questions is as an individual: “What one gets out of a museum depends largely on what one brings to it.” One way to address the tension of agenda-setting in curatorial life is to view these objectives as holistically complementary rather than in need of prioritization. The integration of the tactical object-experience with the history of its cultural transmission and its place in contemporary “crusades on behalf of a cause” as well as in scholarly research, ably synthesizes most of the aforementioned objectives.

Tactile, didactic object-based museum engagement and demonstration has been explored as a form of interactive learning systems built upon the cognitive science theory of experiential learning (Maton-Howarth 1990). We have had more than a dozen public education events in the Hall of African Peoples’ at the American Museum of Natural History that have provided some preliminary results pertaining to people’s engagement with and curiosity toward learning mancala. Most of the boards in play during these events have been collected abroad from active players as described above (ill. 4).

ciljeve”, kao i u naučnom istraživanju vešto uklapa sve ranije navedene ciljeve.

Taktilni, didaktički muzejski angažman zasnovan na predmetima i demonstraciji istraživao je kao oblik interaktivnog sistema učenja zasnovanog na teoriji iskustvenog učenja preuzetog iz kognitivnih nauka (Maton-Howarth 1990). Imali smo sijaset javnih događaja u Dvorani afričkih naroda u Američkom prirodnjačkom muzeju koji su obezbedili neke preliminarne rezultate o angažmanu publike i radoznalosti u pogledu učenja mankala. Većina tabli koje su korišćene za igru prikupljena je na terenu od aktivnih igrača, kao što je ranije opisano (sl. 4).

Prikazali smo i igrali koristeći table prikupljene južno od Sahare i sa Kariba, skrećući tako pažnju na kulturne veze afričke dijaspor. Ovakva programska povezanost je sama po sebi u vezi sa jednim od predmeta u dvorani. Dvorana afričkih naroda, koju je otvorio nekadašnji kustos muzeja Kolin Turnbull (*Colin Turnbull*) 1968. godine, sadržala je table za mankalu i predstavljala je prvu američku izložbu afričke kulture koja je uključivala i reprezentacije afričkih dijaspora u istom prostoru. U hodniku koji je bio posvećen dijaspori postoji vitrina posvećena porobljavanju naroda Zapadne Afrike u Južnoj Americi i u njoj se nalazi tabla za mankalu iz Nigerije, smeštena pored table iz Surinama. U istoj vitrini nalaze se i češljevi i keramika, koje tri društva iz Zapadne Afrike povezuju sa narodom Djuka iz Surinama.

Uključivanje materijalne kulture Marun naroda iz Surinama u ovoj dvorani je posebno važno i bilo je predmet rasprave u literaturi o kritičkim studijama i muzejskoj edukaciji budući da su narodi Surinama afričkog porekla najčešće nedovoljno zastupljeni u eksponatima na temu afričke umetnosti i kulture (Dash 1998: 85). Materijalna kultura Surinama, uključujući i table za mankalu, predstavljena je tako da nudi opipljivi oblik svedočenja o istrajnosti kulturnog identiteta uprkos ogromnim izazovima. Oblici opresije koji su omogućavali ovakva nasilna odvajanja od nasleđa i domovine su osuđeni, dok se preživljavanje identiteta slavi. Ovo je suptilan način da se ljudima koji su u dvoranu privučeni u potrazi za sopstvenim nasleđem ponudi mesto sa koga mogu da pođu u dalje istraživanje (sl. 5).



Sl. 4. Fotografija posetilaca dok igraju vari (*warri*) u blizini Dvorane afričkih naroda tokom specijalnog večernjeg događaja Salona kulture sa temom „Igre i gastronomija”, mart 2015, APM. Foto: Denis Finin, 2015.

III. 4. Photo of attendees playing warri near the Hall of African Peoples for a special Cultural Salon evening, themed “Games and Gastronomy”, March 2015, AMNH. Photo: Denis Finnin, 2015.

We have shown and played boards of sub-Saharan African origin alongside Caribbean boards, highlighting cultural linkages of the African diaspora. This programming linkage itself is tied to one of the hall’s displays. The Hall of African Peoples, opened by former museum curator Colin Turnbull in 1968, featured mancala boards in the hall, is the first American exhibition of African culture to include representation of African diasporas in the same exhibition space. In the corridor dedicated to the Diaspora, including the transatlantic slave trade, there is a case dedicated to the enslavement of West Africans in South America that pairs a mancala board from Nigeria alongside a board from Suriname. The case also includes pottery and combs, connecting three West African societies to the Djuka peoples of Suriname.

The inclusion of material culture of the Maroon peoples of Suriname is particularly notable in this hall, as it has been discussed in the literature of critical studies and museum education that the Suriname peoples of African origin have been drastically underrepresented in African cultural and art displays (Dash



Sl. 5. *Ropstvo u Africi*, vitrina u Dvorani afričkih naroda koja prikazuje kulturološki kontinuitet između naroda Afrike i Južne Amerike. Sa leve strane je tabla naroda Joruba (AMNH 90.1/ 8440 A) a sa desne strane Samaka naroda iz Surinama (AMNH 26 / 234). Foto: Metju Šenli, 2015.

Ill. 5. *Slavery in Africa*, case in Hall of African Peoples demonstrating cultural continuity between peoples of Africa and South America. Board on the left is of Yoruba origin (AMNH 90.1/ 8440 A) and the one on the right is from the Saamaka people of Suriname (AMNH 26 / 234). Photo: Matthew Shanley, 2015.

Legenda u vitrini opisuje kako su igre iskorišćene da bi se ukazalo na dokaze o kulturnoj transmisiji u južnoameričkoj trgovini robljem i na ulogu koju su igre i drugi oblici materijalne kulture imali u očuvanju kulturnog identiteta u nepoznatim okruženjima:

„Za razliku od robova koji su izvoženi u Severnu Ameriku, oni koji su slati u Južnu Ameriku su često držani zajedno u plemenskim grupama. Kao što je politika na severu bila da se ujedinjeni ustanci preduprede razbijanjem tradicionalnih veza kroz primoravanje robova da govore engleski kao jedini zajednički jezik, tako je u Južnoj Americi održavanje plemenskih podela i aktivno podsticanje plemenskih neprijateljstava sprečavalo zajedničke ustanke. U nekim krajevima vlasnici su čak sponzorisali godišnje festivale, tokom kojih bi se od svake plemenske grupe očekivalo da pokaže svoju superiornost u odnosu na druge u aktivnostima kao što su ples ili muzika. Koliko god motivi za ovo bili upitni, posledica je da čak i danas izvesne jasno određene afričke kulture cvetaju na južnom kontinentu. Kao primer ovde prikazujemo nekoliko predmeta... bubanj od kože, keramičku činiju sa crnom glazurom, izrezbaren

1998: 85). The Suriname material culture, including the game board, is presented to offer a tangible form of testimony to the endurance of cultural identity amidst enormous challenges. The forms of oppression which catalyzed these forcible removals from heritage and homeland are condemned, but the survival of identity is commemorated. It is a subtle attempt to provide a landing point for people who are drawn to the hall in pursuit of contemplating their own heritages (ill. 5).

The case label makes the inclusion of games to demonstrate the evidence of cultural transmission in the South American slave trade and also the role of games and other forms of material culture in fostering cultural resilience and identity preservation in unfamiliar terrains:

“Unlike the slaves exported to North America, those sent to South America were often kept together in tribal groups. Just as the policy in the north was to prevent unified uprisings by destroying traditional bonds, forcing the slaves to speak English as the only common language, so in South America maintaining tribal divisions and actively fostering tribal hostilities thwarted united insurrection. In some areas, owners even sponsored annual festivals, during which each tribal group was expected to demonstrate its superiority in activities such as dance or music. However questionable the motive, the result was that even today certain, very specific African cultures still thrive on the southern continent. As an example, we show here a few objects ... a pegged drum, a bowl of fine black-glazed pottery, a carved comb, and a gambling board from the contemporary Ashanti, in Ghana, and compare them with similar items found among the Djuka of South America.”

(label copy in AMNH, paraphrased in print in subsequent publication: Turnbull 1977)

There is a subversive element to playing on boards, exhibiting age and use, in museum halls where similar boards sit mere feet away, languishing behind the glass: namely, that the histories of the boards in isolation, but, as is pointed out above, particularly in conversation with one another can more vividly be

češalj i tablu za kockanje prikupljene u savremenoj Ašanti zajednici u Gani i poredimo ih sa sličnim predmetima pronađenim kod naroda Đuka u Južnoj Americi.”

(kopija legende iz APM, parafrazirana u štampi u potonjoj publikaciji: Turnbull 1977, prevod Žakula)

Ima nečeg subverzivnog u igranju na tablama za koje se vidi da su stare i korišćene u muzejskim prostorijama u kojima slične table stoje odmah pored – zatvorene iza stakla. Istorije tabli u izolaciji, ali posebno, kao što je ukazano ranije, tabli u međusobnim odnosima mogu lakše i živopisnije biti pokazane nego ispričane. Posmatranje i prepoznavanje fizičke sličnosti među tablama koje stoje jedna pored druge stvara moćan vizuelni podsetnik o transmisiji mankale kroz razne vrste kulturnih kontakata. Moći igrati ove igre jedne pored drugih, međutim, dovodi i transmisiju i istrajnost na koje se aludira u legendi u utelovljenu sadašnjost tabli u upotrebi. Ovakvi događaji su postali popularni i često se održavaju u isto vreme kada i veći tematski muzejski događaji. Tokom proslave meseca afroameričke istorije u muzeju u februaru 2014. godine zabeležen je rekordan broj ljudi, 541, koji su igrali i posmatrali druge kako igraju mankalu, i to u periodu od dva i po sata. Igrači koji bi tek naučili pravila potom bi učili sledeću osobu koja bi sela za tablu, stvarajući ubrzani primer koji je služio da predstavi kako transmisija igre izgleda u stvarnosti.

Pravila varijacije igre vari (*warri*), koja potiče sa Barbadosa, podeljena su zainteresovanim ljudima koji su želeli da nastave da igraju kod kuće (Herskovits 1932). Rečeno im je da kod kuće mogu da naprave tablu od lako dostupnih materijala – tvrde bombone i karton za pakovanje jaja mogu da se koriste kao figurice i tabla. Komentari posetilaca ukazivali su na to da je ovaj događaj bio lepo prihvaćen i da su igrači naročito uživali učeći više o detaljima igara i njihovim istorijama. Iako se mankala prilično često uči u školama u Americi i iako su mnogi mlađi posetioci već bili upoznati sa igrom u ovom kontekstu, čini se da je mankala retko kontekstualizovana osim kao nešto „jako staro” i „afričko” i uglavnom se koristila za razvijanje prostornog rasuđivanja a ne učenje o njenim društvenim i kulturnim značenjima.

shown than told. Seeing the physical similarity of boards alongside one another does create a powerful visual reminder of the transmission of mancala games across a wide variety of cultural contacts. Being able to play these games alongside one another, however, brings both this transmission and the resiliency that is alluded to in the label copy, into an embodied present tense while the boards are in play. These events have grown in popularity and are timed with larger themed events in the museum. During an African American history month celebration at the museum in February 2014, a record 541 individuals played and, in particular, watched mancala in play during a two and a half hour window. Newly-taught players subsequently taught the next person to sit at the board, creating a rapid example for the purposes of demonstration what transmission of the game looks like in action.

Rules for the Barbadian variation of the game, *warri*, were handed out to those interested in continuing to play the game at home (Herskovits 1932). They were told that they could make a board at home with readily available materials - small hard candy and an egg carton can be used for counters and a board. Comments from attendees indicated that this was a very well-received event and that players particularly enjoyed learning more of the specifics of the games and their histories. While mancala is rather widely taught in American schools, and many of the younger attendees indicated familiarity with the game in this context, the game seems seldom more specifically contextualized beyond being ‘ancient’ and ‘African’ and the game is featured more for developing spatial reasoning faculties than its social or cultural significances.

It should also be mentioned that while the African Diaspora cases at the American Museum of Natural History are notably historical in their display of cultural connections between peoples of the African continent and the African Diaspora, mancala games have been employed as an example of cultural continuity for well over a century. Schweinfurth claims “evidence, in a degree indirect and collateral of the essential unity that underlies all African nations” (quoted in Culin 1893: 204).

Takođe bi trebalo pomenuti da se vitrinama koje predstavljaju afričku dijasporu u Američkom prirodnjačkom muzeju akcenat stavlja na istoriju kulturnih veza između naroda afričkog kontinenta i afričke dijaspore, i da su table za mankalu korišćene kao primer kulturnog kontinuiteta više od jednog veka. Švajnfurt (*Schweinfurth*) tvrdi da su one „dokazi, delimično indirektni i slučajni, o suštinskom zajedništvu koje se nalazi u osnovi svih afričkih naroda” (citirano u Culin 1893:204, prevod Žakula).

Mankala i javna (re)kreacija

Skorašnja saradnja sa departmanom za javne programe APM produbila je pokušaj da se istorija i igranje man kale učine pristupačnim muzejskoj publici. Saradnja je predstavljala pokušaj negovanja onoga što je opisano u nedavno objavljenom zborniku na temu „Muzej kao proces”: „društveni prostori između muzeja i zajednica nude nove načine izlaženja na kraj sa izazovima premošćivanja jaza između lokalnog i globalnog” (Silverman 2015: zadnje korice, prevod Žakula). Ideja stvaranja posebnog iskustva koje bi pomoglo grupi posetilaca da stupe u kontakt sa nekoliko tipova afričke ekspresivne i materijalne kulture u Dvorani afričkih naroda na način koji omogućava da se staklo vitrina „istopi” u očima publike bila je vid programa koji je bio interesantan kako za kustoski tako i za obrazovni departman, koji su bili uključeni u projekat.

Ideja „slamanja barijera” bila je koncept koji je trebalo istražiti kako u praktičnom tako i u psihosocijalnom smislu tokom planiranja događaja. U tom smislu planiran je Salon kulture kao večernji događaj, koji je orijentisan na promovisanje ideje „društvenih lubrikanata”. Dobar deo materijalne kulture koja je izložena u dvorani na ovaj ili onaj način dotiče se ove teme. U dvorani smo izložili table za mankalu, uključujući i neke iz lične kolekcije jednog od autora, kao vrstu društvenog lubrikanta, naglašavajući činjenicu da je ovo igra za koju se zna da je igrana u uslovima u kojima protivnici nisu nužno poticali iz iste porodice ili čak govorili istim jezikom. Ostali primeri ovih takozvanih društvenih lubrikanata koji su bili izloženi u dvorani uključivali su muzičke instrumente, sudove za ispijanje alkohola, kao i sudove za pripremanje hrane (sl. 6).

Mancala and public (re)creation

A recent collaboration with the AMNH Public Programming department has deepened the effort to make mancala history and play accessible to the museum-going public. The collaboration was an effort to fostering what had recently been described in an edited volume on the theme of “Museum as Process”: “social spaces between the museum and community offer new ways of addressing the challenges of bridging the local and global” (Silverman 2015: back cover). The idea of creating a special experience that would help a set of visitors come into contact with several types of African expressive and material culture in the Hall of African Peoples in a way that helps make the glass in the display cases ‘melt’ in the eyes of the audience was a form of programming that was of interest to both the curatorial and education departments involved in the project.

The idea of “breaking barriers” was a theme that was explored both practically and psychosocially in the planning of the event. To this end, a Culture Salon was planned as an evening event, oriented around the premise of “social lubricants.” Much of the material culture on display in the Hall touches upon this theme in some capacity. We featured the mancala games in the Hall as well as in the personal collection of one of the authors as a form of social lubricant, highlighting the fact that this is a game that is known to have been played in conditions where the game opponents do not necessarily come from the same family or even speak the same language. Other social lubricants from the Hall’s display included musical instruments, drinking vessels, and cookware (ill. 6).

The event was intended to be a form of multi-sensory engagement in order to facilitate the attendees connecting African and African Diaspora pasts, presents and futures across material, sensual, and experiential experiences. It was especially important to seek out local community partnership with organizations that also aims to foster connections to past and present in tangible ways. We partnered with a local Nigerian restaurant to help give the idea of “social lubricants” - the culture of food, drink and companionship - literal and figurative flavor. Tastings of several Nigerian street foods that are commonly



Sl. 6. Posuda za orah kole (*olumeya*) prikupljena u Nigeriji 1960. godine.
Umetnik: Lamidi Fakeje. AMNH 90.2/3331AB.
Fotografija: Odeljenje za antropologiju, APM.

Ill. 6. Kola nut offering bowl (*olumeya*) collected in Nigeria, 1960. Artist:
Lamidi Fakeye. AMNH 90.2/3331AB.
Photo: Division of Anthropology, AMNH.

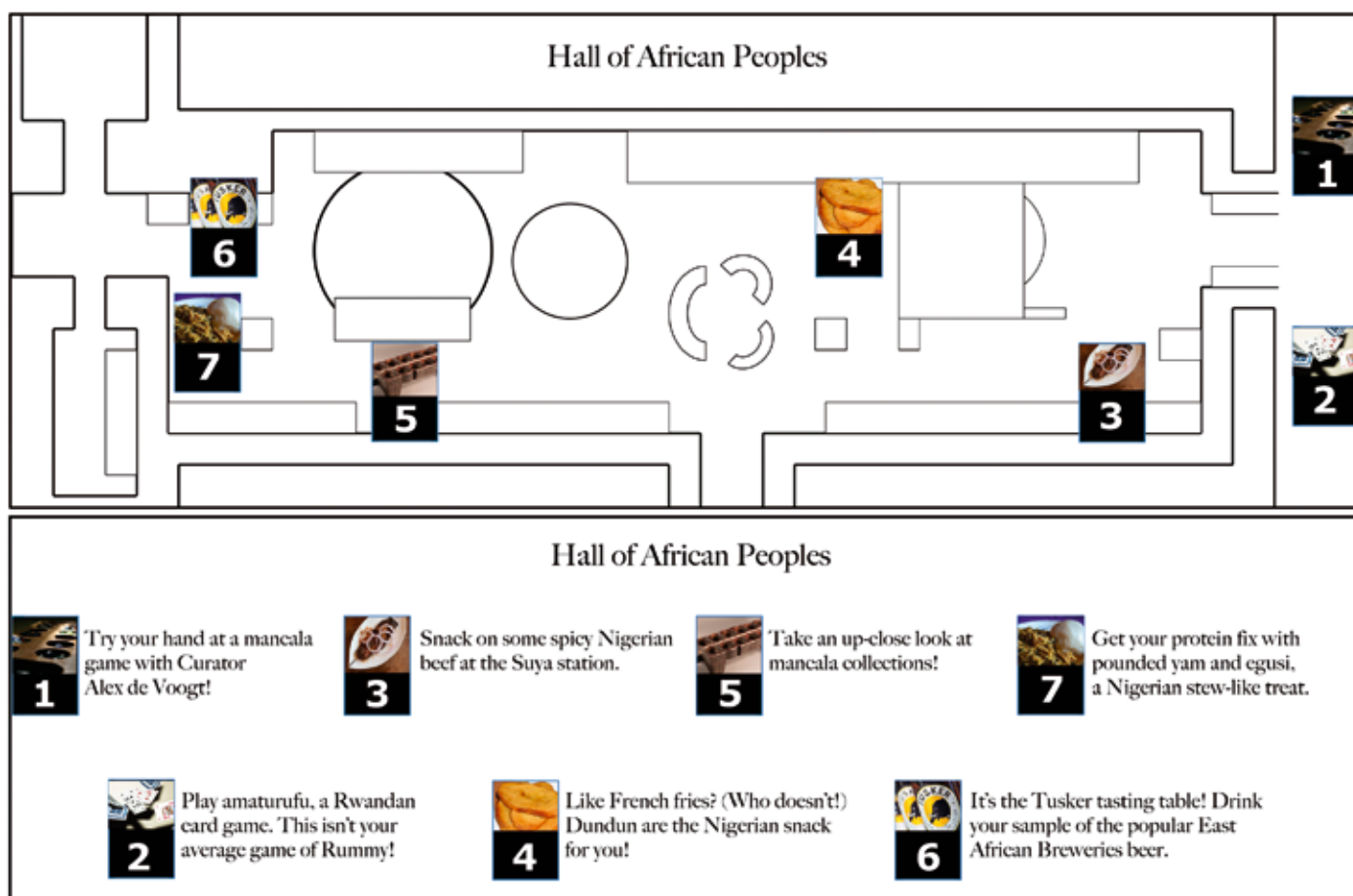
Ovaj događaj zamišljen je da bude vrsta multičulnog angažmana koji bi omogućio posetiocima da povežu afričke prošlosti sa prošlostima afričke dijaspore preko materijalnih, čulnih i iskustvenih doživljaja. Posebno je bilo važno potražiti partnere u organizacijama lokalnih zajednica koje takođe pokušavaju da neguju opipljive veze između prošlosti i sadašnjosti. Sarađivali smo sa lokalnim nigerijskim restoranom koji je pomogao da ideja „društvenih lubrikanata” – kultura hrane, pića i druženja – dobije kako figurativni tako i bukvalni ukus. Isprobavanje nekoliko ra-

shared and enjoyed, while drinking and playing games with friends and families, were arranged throughout the Hall of African Peoples. The foods included *suya*, *pandied yam*, and *egusi*; there was a special station set up for palm wine. Each of the tables featured a placard explaining how the dish is made, with a focus on how the particular food or drink is special, in the eyes of the head chef of the restaurant, to Nigerian social life. The stations were set up throughout the hall in such a way as to present the visitor with a part of the hall that focused on social life and liveliness in some capacity. The stations were also set up in such a way as to encourage visitors to circulate throughout the hall and to get a sense of all four of the major ecological zones featured in the hall (ill. 7).

Several African and Caribbean boards with histories of community play were laid out in the hall and museum staff and volunteers introduced new players to the mancala variation of *warri*, a rule set from Barbados. There were also tables set up where attendees could learn a Rwandan card game. There were video screens set up around the game play on which players or observers could watch videos of masters playing various versions of mancala games across the world. The variety of settings and of designs of the boards helps to underscore the global dispersal of the board.

The evening was started in an orientation center in the museum. Attendees were greeted with a Kenyan beer to help set the tone of conviviality. Prior to being brought to the hall to eat, drink and play games, the authors and the chef of the restaurant partner spoke for approximately thirty minutes to provide some context for the evening. The topics included the role of mastership and expertise in mancala play, an introduction to the Hall of African Peoples' history, an overview of objects related to social lubrication in the African Ethnology collection, with a focus on technology used in beer brewing, and the importance of Nigerian food in social life. The evening's objective was not to reproduce a facsimile of a cultural setting or to perform an 'authentic' cultural moment, but to look across time and space and look at types of social connection that both endure and evolve.

The evening required the participation of the attendees who assembled parts of the dishes they were



Sl. 7. Pamflet sa mapom APM Dvorane afričkih naroda sa aktivnostima i objašnjenjima. Dizajn: Emili Hejdet, APM Programi za javnost. Copyright AMNH 2015.

Ill. 7. Handout of a map of the AMNH Hall of African People with activities and explanations. Design: Emily Haidet, AMNH Public Programming. Copyright AMNH 2015.

zličitih nigerijskih „uličnih” jela, koja se obično dele i jednu dok se pije i igraju igre, prijateljima i članovima porodice bio je organizovano duž Dvorane afričkih naroda. Jela su uključivala suju, kandirani jam i egusi; postojao je i poseban štand na kome je služeno palmino vino. Na svakom stolu nalazila se legenda koja je objašnjavala kako se jelo pravi, uz dodatan fokus na to po čemu je baš to jelo ili piće, u vizuri kuvara, značajno za nigerijski društveni život. Štandovi su bili raspoređeni po dvorani na način koji je prikazivao posetiocima deo dvorane koji se fokusirao na društveni život i življenje. Štandovi su takođe bili raspoređeni tako da posetiocima navedu da cirkulišu kroz dvoranu i da steknu utisak o četiri glavne ekološke zone koje su predstavljene u dvorani (sl. 7).

served, played the games and directed their own movement around the hall. A goal of the evening was to take culture off display and to put it into the hands of the visitor in order to gain a sense of participatory appreciation that made the various elements feel less remote, more accessible and familiar. The cases of a museum hall seem to engender a much greater sense of distance than the quarter inch of glass between the object and the observer. By subverting the norms of cultural display to one of cultural play, we hoped to work toward representing what Paul Dash indicated as missing in African Diaspora education: A focus on black inventiveness and a sensory engagement in the material culture that critiques rather than supports hegemonic historical narratives.

Nekoliko afričkih i karipskih tabli sa društvenim istorijama igranja bilo je poređano duž dvorane i muzejski radnici i volonteri su novim igračima objašnjavali varijaciju *mankale* sa Barbadosa po imenu *vari* (*warri*). Postojali su i stolovi za kojima su posetioci mogli da nauče jednu kartarošku igru iz Ruande. Postavljeni su i veliki ekrani na kojima su posetioci mogli da gledaju majstore kako igraju različite varijante *mankale* širom sveta. Raznolikost okruženja i izgleda tabli pomagala je da se podvuče i naglasi globalna rasprostranjenost igre.

Veče je započelo u orijentacionom centru u okviru muzeja. Prisutni su posluženi kenijским pivom koje je pomoglo da atmosfera bude opuštena i prijateljska. Pre nego što su posetioci odvedeni u dvoranu da jedu, piju i igraju igre, obratili su im se autori događaja i glavni kuvar nigerijskog restorana, koji je bio partner manifestacije, i u govoru od oko pola sata objasnili su širi kontekst večeri. Govorili su o ulozi majstorstva i ekspertize u igranju *mankale*, o istoriji Dvorane afričkih naroda, predmetima koji su povezni sa „društvenom lubrikacijom” u zbirci afričke etnologije sa posebnim osvrtom na tehnologiju pravljenja piva i važnost hrane za nigerijski društveni život. Cilj večeri nije bio da se reprodukuje kopija nekakvog kulturnog okruženja niti da se izvede „autentičan” kulturni trenutak, već da se omogućí pogled preko prostora i vremena, kao i na tipove društvenih veza koji i istrajavaju a i menjaju se.

Veče je zahtevalo i to da posetioci učestvuju u programu. Oni su aranžirali delove jela koja su im poslužena, igrali igre i sami određivali kuda će po dvorani da se kreću. Jedan od ciljeva večeri bio je i da se kultura izvadi iz vitrine i da se stavi u ruke posetilaca kako bi se postigao osećaj razumevanja i učešća koji bi činio različite elemente manje udaljenim, pristupačnijim i poznatim. Muzejske vitrine, čini se, stvaraju mnogo veći osećaj distance između predmeta i posmatrača nego sam centimetar stakla koji ih deli. Kroz subverziju normi izlaganja kulture i prihvatanje kulturne igre umesto njih, nadali smo se da ćemo uspeti da prikazemo ono za šta je Pol Deš tvrdio da nedostaje u edukaciji afričke dijaspor: usredsređivanje na crnu inventivnost i čulni angažman sa materijalnom kulturom koji kritikuje umesto da podržava hegemonističke istorijske narative.

Culture (un)bound boards

While *mancala* boards can be potent objects for gathering information about people living in a place at a particular point in time, their primary interest for anthropologists and museum curators is not necessarily attached to their interpretation as ethnographic objects, although historically that has certainly been one of the principle *modus operandi* for board game collecting in museums. While a board is produced by a person or persons who, of course, have a cultural identity as an aspect of their being, it is unfair to presume that every salient facet of the board's material and intangible characteristics has been fashioned by and for “cultural” purposes and reasons. Cultural context is but one of the lenses through which a board should be viewed and the story of the individuals who create and play on boards should not be lost in the thick of interpretations about what game play and game boards provide in terms of culture-bound epistemological insight writ broadly.

The processes by which cultural identity has been “objectified” (Bourdieu 1977) should not necessarily uniformly inscribe every object that becomes “material culture” with the full weight of speaking for and from the culture of origin. Games (absent or inclusive of their materiality) have long been recognized as sites of valuable cognitive interaction for “unpack[ing] the bidirectional influence of self and society” (Steinkühler 2006). To view a game board as intrinsically and inextricably culture-bound, however, suggests its interpretation, when collected as an object of material culture, as primarily ethnological, but this interpretation does not sit well with how players speak of themselves and the game.

Games also have a long history in ethnological collections. In his address on *mancala* as the national game of Africa, Stewart Culin (1894) referred to several displays of *mancala* boards in museum collections, including eleven boards of various styles incorporated into an exhibition in Chicago about the state of Liberia. Toward the bottom of a long list written in a letter to a collector by American Museum of Natural History former curator Robert E. Lowie in 1910, “Games, whether played by children or adults, interest the ethnologist” (Lowie 2014). This list is cited on

Table (ne)ukroćene kulturom

Iako table za mankalu mogu biti moćni izvori za prikupljanje informacija o ljudima koji su živeli na nekom mestu u određenom vremenu, njihov primarni značaj za antropologe i kustose muzeja nije nužno povezan sa interpretacijom tabli kao etnografskih objekata, mada je, istorijski gledano, to svakako bio jedan od najvažnijih, ako ne i ključni modus operandi za prikupljanje tabli u muzejima. Iako svaku tablu proizvodi osoba ili osobe koje, naravno, imaju kulturni identitet kao aspekt svog sopstva, nije fer pretpostavljati da je svaki važan aspekt materijalnih ili nematerijalnih karakteristika table oblikovan za „kulturne” ciljeve, koji su istovremeno i razlog njihovog oblikovanja. Kulturni kontekst je samo jedna od prizmi kroz koje table treba posmatrati, a priča o ljudima koji stvaraju i igraju mankalu ne treba da se izgubi u šumi interpretacija toga šta igranje igara i table znače u terminima šire shvaćenog epistemološkog razumevanja kulture.

Proces kroz koji se kulturni identitet „objektifikuje” (Bourdieu 1977) ne treba nužno upisati u svaki predmet koji postane „materijalna kultura” sa svom težinom koju nosi govorenje iz kulture iz koje je predmet potekao. Igre (sa uključivanjem njihove materijalnosti u raspravu ili bez tog uključivanja) dugo su bivale prepoznate kao čvorišta vredne kognitivne interakcije za „raspakivanje dvosmernog uticaja sopstva i društva” (Steinkühler 2006, prevod Žakula). Posmatrati tablu za igru kao suštinski povezanu sa kulturom, pak, sugerise primarno etnološku interpretaciju kada je kao predmet materijalne kulture prikupljena, ali ovakva interpretacija ne slaže se dobro sa načinima na koje sami igrači govore o sebi i igri.

Igre, takođe, imaju dugu istoriju u etnološkim zbirkama. U predavanju o mankali kao nacionalnoj igri Afrike Stjuart Kulin (Stewart Culin, 1894) pozvao se na nekoliko prikaza tabli za mankalu u muzejskim zbirkama, uključujući i 11 raznolikih tabli u postavci o Liberiji u Čikagu. Pri kraju dugačkog spiska koji je u pismu jednom kolekcionaru 1910. godine sastavio nekadašnji kustos Američkog prirodjačkog muzeja Robert I. Loui stoji: „Igre, bilo da ih igraju deca ili odrasli, interesuju etnologa” (Lowie 2014, prevod Žakula). Ovaj spisak je citiran na internet sajtu muze-

the museum’s website as “a kind of blueprint for early ethnographic collecting”. No elaboration on the nature of that interest nor of what constitutes “collecting a game” is offered, although the paucity of supporting accession or archival material associated with the boards in the African Ethnology collection suggests that the materiality was valued more highly than the experiential realm of rules, photos, stories and written observation.

Miller speaks about objects resisting uniform categorization of their functions or behaviors, but goes on to suggest that it is “possible to argue that objects, by their nature, tend to lend themselves to certain kinds of cultural appropriation. In constructing such an argument around the intrinsic potential of artifacts, their very physicality must play a major part” (Miller 2007: 175). The process of recontextualization that objects undergo while becoming revalued as ethnographic artifacts might be usefully thought of as performing cultural appropriation upon objects to fit them into broader classificatory schemata. Finally, by describing the materiality of objects as a major part of the potential of an object to perform as artifact, the role of materiality can be recalibrated from primary to contributory.

The practice of classifying and displaying a game board as an ethnographic object or artifact strips it of its singular properties for the sake of interpretive generalization. It tends to isolate the game and its board from the experiences and histories of its play in an embodied culture inclusive of the game’s individual players and, instead, overplays the importance of its materiality and physical characteristics in an objectified culture. The phenomenology of game play and the perspectives of players past and present offer compelling, vibrant evidence that illustrates the disservice traditional ethnological categorization and collection does to the people who autograph material culture objects with their use and memory.

Representations of play and mastership

Non-collectible, place-based, transient boards have been captured in photographs and on film and are a necessary part of mancala history although with the curious effect that the transmission of these vi-

ja kao „Jedna vrsta nacrtu za ranu praksu etnografskog prikupljanja predmeta”. Nikakva elaboracija o prirodi takvog interesovanja niti o tome šta zapravo podrazumeva „prikupljanje igre” nije ponuđena, a nedovoljno propratnih informacija u arhivskoj građi u vezi sa tablama u zbirci afričke etnologije sugerise da je materijalnost vrednovana više od iskustvenog domena pravila, fotografija, priča i etnografskih beleški.

Miler govori o tome da predmeti odolevaju uniformnim kategorizacijama svojih funkcija i ponašanja, ali predlaže i da je „moguće tvrditi da predmeti, po svojoj prirodi, imaju tendenciju da postanu podobni za kulturnu apropijaciju. U konstruisanju takvog argumenta oko suštinskog potencijala artefakata njihova fizička pojavnost svakako mora imati važnu ulogu” (Miller 2007: 175, prevod Žakula). O procesu rekontekstualizacije kroz koji predmeti prolaze kada bivaju procenjeni kao etnografski artefakti može se korisno misliti kao o procesu kulturne apropijacije koji se vrši na predmetima kako bi bili uklopljeni u šire šeme klasifikacija. Na kraju krajeva, opisujući materijalnost objekata kao ključni aspekt potencijala predmeta da se ponašaju kao artefakti, uloga materijalnosti može biti iznova prilagođena i shvaćena kao dopunska, a ne primarna.

Praksa klasifikovanja i izlaganja tabli za igru kao etnografskih predmeta ili artefakata tablama oduzima njihove singularne karakteristike zarad interpretativnog uopštavanja. Ona često izoluje igru i tablu od iskustava i istorija igranja u okviru otelovljene kulture koja uključuje individue koje igraju i, umesto toga, preterano naglašava značaj njene materijalnosti i fizičke karakteristike u kulturi koja je sve više opredmećena. Fenomenologija igranja igre i pogledi igrača koji su je igrali nekada ili je igraju sada nude neoborive, živopisne dokaze koji ilustruju probleme tradicionalne etnološke kategorizacije koja zanemaruje ljude koji u materijalnu kulturu upisuju svoja sećanja i načine upotrebe.

Reprezentacije igre i majstorstva

Table koje su vezane za mesto i koje nisu prikupljene kako bi postale deo kolekcije, fotografisane su, snimane i predstavljaju nezaobilazan deo istorije mankale. Međutim, neobično je to da je teško

sual records makes the antiquity of boards and their particular rules so difficult to determine. This part of the contextual and visual history of mancala games has had a positive effect on public education efforts, as they have informed recreations in museums and outside of the playing communities, as many museums have tried. The visual archive, an inventory or an overview, systematically or historically, remains difficult to construct, however (ill. 8).



Sl. 8. Dva *warri* majstora u Spejsttaunu, Barbados.
Foto: Aleks de Vut, 1996.

Ill. 8. Two master *warri* players in Speightstown, Barbados.
Photo: Alex de Voogt, 1996.

The focus on mastership in mancala histories is notable in two ways. It introduces a form of technical excellence that is underrepresented in African histories apart from craftsmanship, musicianship and ethnomedical healing. It also rightfully elevates the perception of the complexity and dynamism of serious, recurring play of a non-Western game to that of board games associated (perhaps erroneously) with American and European gameplay lauded particularly for the skill of their complexity and difficulty of their mastership, particularly chess.

Players in clubs, competitors in tournaments, champions and masters, they are well documented for at least half a dozen different mancala games. They

odrediti, prenosom ovakvih vizuelnih zapisa, starost ovakvih tabli i pravila po kojima se na njima igralo. Ovaj aspekt kontekstualne i vizuelne istorije mankale imao je pozitivan uticaj na javne obrazovne napore, budući da je informisao rekonstrukcije u muzejima i izvan zajednica koje igraju. Vizuelnu arhivu, inventar ili pregled, sistematski ili istorijski, ipak je teško konstruisati (sl. 8).

Usredsređivanje na majstorstvo u istoriji mankale značajno je iz dva razloga. Pre svega, zato što u reprezentaciju uvodi vid tehničke veštine koji nije dovoljno zastupljen u afričkim istorijama izvan konteksta umetnosti, muzike i etnomedicine. Takođe, s pravom uzdiže percepciju kompleksnosti i dinamike ozbiljnog i dugotrajnog igranja jedne nezapadne igre na nivo igara koje se (možda pogrešno) dovode u vezu sa igranjem u Americi i Evropi. Ono stavlja mankalu u istu ravan sa kompleksnim igrama u kojima je majstorstvo cenjeno jer zahteva veliku veštinu, posebno sa igrama kao što je šah.

Igrači u klubovima, takmičari na turnirima, šampioni i majstori su dobro dokumentovani za veliki broj različitih varijanti mankale. Mogu se naći u Istočnoj i Zapadnoj Africi, na Karibima, na Bliskom istoku, u Centralnoj i Jugoistočnoj Aziji, iako u svakoj regiji obično postoje samo jedna ili dve varijante mankale koje se ovako intenzivno igraju. Muzejski zapisi na ovu temu su retki ali postoje, a sa povećavanjem broja informacija koje se tiču mankale, mogućnosti izlaganja i reprezentacije ovog aspekta igranja mankale rastu.

Reprezentacija majstorstva, termin koji se koristi da označi ekspertizu u igranju – i pobeđivanju – u igri mankale, delimično je povezana sa tablama. Tabla je centralna i odnosi se direktno na određenu varijantu igre i regiju gde je majstorstvo u toj varijanti prisutno (de Voogt 2005). Posedstvo table omogućava da se direktno poveže sa poznatim majstorima. I Britanski muzej i APM u svojim zbirkama imaju takve table. Figurice za igru su efektivne ako nisu raspoređene u početnu poziciju, najčešće sa istim brojem figurica u svakoj rupi, već ako su raspoređene strateški. Ovo drugo – što ne treba pomešati sa pozicijama u šahu koje nekad mogu nositi i imena šahovskih majstora – može ukazati na ulog u igri (sl. 9).

are found in East and West Africa, the Caribbean, the Middle East, Central as well as South East Asia, although in each region it is usually only one or two versions of mancala that feature this intensity of play. Museum records are scanty on this topic but not absent and, with the increasing volume of information concerning mancala games, the possibilities of exhibiting and representing this aspect of mancala play are growing.

The representation of mastership, a term used to describe expertise in playing-and winning-a mancala game, is partly associated with boards. The board is central and refers directly to a particular game and region where such mastership is present (de Voogt 2005). Ownership of a board creates possibilities to directly link it with known individual masters. Both the British Museum and AMNH have such personally owned boards in their collection. The playing counters are effective if they are not laid out in a starting position, usually equal numbers in each hole, but in a strategic position. The latter - although not to be confused with a chess position, some of which may actually bear the name of a chess master - may show the stakes in a game (ill. 9).

The accumulation of many counters in one hole is often a sign of a strategy in progress, configurations in which special rules apply also indicate that the presenter was intimately familiar with the game and conscious of what a game in progress should look like. It is the same subtlety that is found in Muyaka bin Haji's poem, written in Kimvita and referring to the mancala game of *ba'o* as it was played in Mombasa in the 1820s, where each couplet refers to a different stage in the game with terminology that has both poetic value and references to stratagems within the game (de Voogt 2003).

The stage on which tournaments take place can be recreated in a museum context but requires space well beyond the size of a board. Photographs and videos of master players add context that shows the board in the presence of strategic thoughts; it is not the size of the exhibit but the richness of the context that counts. Whether it is strategy developed by masters or the history of mastership itself, the presence of poetry, photography, and video or in the case of AMNH, the

Akumulacija velikog broja figurica u jednoj rupi često je znak strategije koja se odvija, a konfiguracije u kojima važe posebna pravila takođe pokazuju da je onaj ko izlaže direktno upoznat sa igrom i svestan toga kako partija treba da izgleda. Reč je o istoj vrsti suptilnosti koja se može naći u pesmi *Mujake bin Hadija (Muyaka bin Haji)*, napisanoj na kimvita dijalektu svahilija, koja se odnosi na bao varijantu *mankale* kako je igrana u Mombasi dvadesetih godina devetnaestog veka. Svaka strofa odnosi se na različiti stadijum u igri koristeći terminologiju koja pored poetske vrednosti, sadrži i reference koje upućuju na strategije u igri (de Voogt 2003).

Binu na kojoj se turniri odvijaju moguće je rekonstruisati u muzejskom kontekstu, ali ona zahteva mnogo više prostora nego sama tabla. Fotografije i video-snimci majstora daju dodatni kontekst koji table smešta u trenutak strateškog razmišljanja. Nije samo reč o veličini eksponata već i o bogatstvu i kontekstu. Bilo da se radi o strategijama koje su majstori razvijali bilo o istoriji majstorstva kao takvog, prisustvo poezije, fotografija, video-snimaka ili u slučaju APM, pasoša jednog preminulog šampiona – ovakvi dodaci materijalno uzdižu svet koji nije nužno pristupačan, ali je bar delimično dodirljiv i opažljiv.

Pozor – Čuvajmo table

Kada je reč o oblicima prikupljanja i izlaganja *mankale* u muzejskim zbirkama i dvoranama o kojima govorimo, veza između igrača, zajednica, kolekcionara, pa čak i publike može da bude i često biva zamagljena. Ekonomske implikacije statusa table izvan njenog *in situ* postojanja kao table za igru (uključujući tu i situacije u kojima je *situ* nestalno, kao što je slučaj sa prenosivim tablama) vredne su pažnje. Analiza tabli za igru zasnovana na evaluaciji njihove materijalnosti ne odriče važnost njihovoj ulozi predmeta za igru, posredovanje ili nosilaca nostalgije i/li ponosa igrača koji su ih predali kustosima muzeja. Podnaslov jednog poglavlja u nedavno objavljenom zborniku na temu muzejskih studija ukazuje na to kako je malo pažnje posvećeno pojedincima koji imaju nekakav odnos sa predmetima koji ulaze u muzejske zbirke u različitim svojstvima: „Ima li mesta za diskurs kolekcionara-donatora u muzejskom prostoru?” (Bergeron



Sl. 9. Majstori *bao* *mankala* igre tokom turnira u Zanzibaru.
Foto: Aleks de Vut, 1994.

Ill. 9. Masters of the *mancala* game *bao* during a tournament in Zanzibar.
Photo: Alex de Voogt, 1994.

passport of a deceased champion, they lift the material into a world that is not necessarily accessible, but at least partially tangible and observable.

All hands on board

For the forms of collecting and display that we are discussing with respect to *mancala* in museum collections and halls, the relationship between players, communities, and collectors and even the public can and do start to blur. The economic implications of the board's status beyond its *in situ* life as a board in play (including cases where that *situ* is transient, such as in the case of portable boards) are worthy of consideration. An analysis of a game board predicated upon

2012, prevod Žakula) Ova studija može pružiti još jednu dimenziju identitetu donatora–kolekcionara: igrač–kolekcionar–donator.

Ako dodir table koja se aktivno koristi za igru prožima tu tablu posebnim čulnim zadovoljstvima za igrače, šta je motivacija za oduzimanje table od zajednice ili života u igri – posebno ako nije reč o finansijskoj motivaciji? „Fizičko svojstvo predmeta znači da su oni sposobni da budu posedovani, čuvani i predavani od jedne osobe drugoj, ali da razlozi zbog kojih im se ove stvari dešavaju, to jest njihova poželjnost, leže u vrednosti koju im je pripisala zajednica o kojoj je reč” (Pearce 1992: 33, prevod Žakula). U domenu istorije muzejskih zbirki nije opravdano reći da je valuta razmene predmeta uglavnom bila povezana sa formalnim ekonomskim transakcijama – iako, naravno, postoji duga istorija razmene, prodaje, robne razmene i krađe između muzeja i zajednica iz kojih predmeti potiču.

U savremenom okruženju prikupljanja predmeta za muzeje ima nešto zbunjujuće u pogledu opravdavanja etičnosti prikupljanja materijalne kulture koja dolazi u formi darova kolekcionarima ili istraživačima od zajednica u ne-zapadnom svetu (Videti: Pearce 1992, 1998; Derrida 1992). Dobar deo literature na ovu temu mrko gleda na ulogu dara u prikupljanju muzejskih predmeta: „Zaista ne postoji besplatan ručak. Sveta priroda dara, od najuzvišenijeg do najskromnijeg, nije smeštena u njegovom oslobođenju od veza, već u njegovoj društveno prihvaćenoj prirodi koja ga razlikuje od čistih (ili nečistih) novčanih transakcija” (Pearce 1998: 86, prevod Žakula). U svom radu Roslyn Voker (Roslyn Walker 1990) posmatra table za mankalu kao prestižne darove u procesu razmene čak i pre nego što uđu u zapadne kolekcije.

Sinhronističko uključivanje nezapadnih koncepata darova, razmene, vrednosti i sredstava proizvodnje nedostaje ovakvom diskursu iako je često isticano u etnografskim (naročito kada je reč o Pacifiku) (videti Thomas 1991; Weiner 1992) i globalnim kontekstima (videti Appadurai 1986). Razmene darova predstavljene u muzejima favorizuju formalizovane, institucionalne razmene, kao što je potlač, koji potiče od starih naroda Severne Amerike, pre nego neformalne razmene među pojedincima (Pomanian 1994).

the evaluation of its materiality does not undervalue its role as an object of play, possession, nostalgia and/or pride to the players who have passed it into the hands of museum curators. The subtitle of a book chapter in a recent museum studies volume suggests little consideration is given to individuals who relate to objects entering museum collections in multiple capacities: “Is there room for the collector-donor discourse in the museal space?” (Bergeron 2012). This study might contribute another dimension to the donor-collector identity: player-collector-donor.

If the tactility of an active playing board imbues it with special sensory pleasures for the players, what is the motivation behind removing the board from community or playing life - particularly if that motivation is not one of financial gain? “The physical character of objects means that they are capable of being owned, stored, and handed from one person to another but the reasons why these things happen to them, that is their desirability, rests in the value that is ascribed to them by the community concerned” (Pearce 1992: 33). In the realm of museum collection history, it is not fair to say that the currency of object transactions has been largely tied to formal economic transactions - although there is, of course, a long history of exchange, sale, barter and theft between museums and ‘source communities’.

In the contemporary landscape of collecting objects for museums, there is some ambiguity in how to construct the ethics of material culture acquisition coming in the form of gifts to collections or researchers by communities of origin in the non-Western world (see Pearce 1992, 1998; Derrida 1992). Much of this literature uses a Western capitalist orientation as a point of departure and looks darkly upon the role of gift giving in museum accessions culture: “There really is no such thing as a free lunch. The sacredness of the gift, from highest to humblest, belongs not in its freedom from strings, but in its socially embedded nature which separates it from pure (or impure) money transactions” (Pearce 1998: 86). The work of Roslyn Walker (1990) examines mancala boards as prestige gifts both within African communities and between Western and African communities, presenting the complex roles of game boards in gift exchange-

Kreps (2003) doveo je u pitanje Pirsovu tvrdnju da je savremeni muzej produkt Zapadne modernosti eksplicitno u svrhu uključivanja ne-zapadnih istorija, muzeoloških modela i kolaboracija u kanon muzejske prakse. Lokalni konteksti bi trebalo da igraju važniju ulogu u upravljanju nezapadnom materijalnom kulturom u zapadnim institucijama. U slučaju mankale, ovakvo pomeranje bi moglo da se iskaže kroz više eksponata koji se fokusiraju na priče i trijumfe određenih igrača i njihovih tabli umesto na apstraktne etnološke eksponate koji govore o ulozi „igre u kulturi”.

Već pomenuti primeri tabli koje je prikupio jedan od autora ukazuju na to da može postojati razlika između materijalnosti table – materijala od kojih je načinjena, kao i, možda, rada koji je potrebno uložiti da bi se načinila u gotovu tablu za igru – i vrednosti table, koja je čini se pre povezana sa njenom korisnošću nego sa načinom proizvodnje. „U studijama materijalne kulture postoji mnogo paralelnih diskusija o distributivnoj prirodi kapaciteta za delanje i načina na koji on uključuje artefakte kao i ljude” (Miller 2005, prevod Žakula). Diskusija koja se vodi oko prikupljanja društvenih igara a koje ne uključuje finansijski aspekt možda previđa poentu u odnosu na to kako tablu poseduju i vrednuju igrači koji je koriste.

Postoji literatura na temu onih kolekcionara kojima to nije profesija, a koja se uzimaju u obzir i kritikuju predstave o diferenciranom radu i dokolici u zapadnim kapitalističkim tradicijama (Pearce 1998), ali profesionalni istraživači ili kustosi koji prikupljaju table kroz aktivno učešće u igri i angažman u okviru zajednica značajno zamagljuju ovakve granice. Igrač može da izrazi iznenađenja koja igra na tabli donosi. Napori oba igrača da kontrolišu događaje na tabli se cene. Jednom kada vas pozovu da igrate, vaš protivnik razume da ne samo da vas podučava, već mora voditi računa kako ne bi izgubio ili izgubila partiju od stranca pred svojim sunarodnicima. Tada avantura čini igrače sa obe strane table zabrinutim u vezi sa tim šta će se sledeće dogoditi. Igrači se šale i prepiru, ali najvažnije je da postoji stranac koji je zainteresovan za lokalnu igru, i u interakciji sa igračima on ili ona se kreću na tabli koju nikada ranije nisu dodirnuli. Ako neki stranac koji je takođe igrač zatraži tablu koju bi

es even before they enter any Western collection.

Absent from this discourse is synchronic inclusion of non-Western conceptions of gift, exchange, value and mode of production, despite being prominently addressed in both ethnographic (particularly in the Pacific) (Thomas 1991; Weiner 1992) and global contexts (Appadurai 1986). The gift exchanges described in relation to museum acquisitions, though, tend to favor formalized, institutionalized exchanges, such as the North American Indian potlatch, rather than an informal exchange between individuals (Pomanian 1994).

Kreps (2003) has challenged Pearce’s assertion that the modern museum is a product of Western modernity for the explicit purpose of including non-Western histories, museological models, and collaborations into the canon of contemporary museum practice. Local contexts should be playing a larger role in the curation of non-Western material culture in Western institutions. In the case of mancala, this shift might manifest in more displays that focus on the stories and triumphs of specific players and their boards, rather than a board in an abstract ethnological display discussing the role of “play in culture”.

The examples of boards collected by one of the authors mentioned above point out that there may be a difference between the materiality of the board - the substances from which it is comprised, as well as, perhaps, the labor necessary to produce the board as a finished playing surface - and the value of the board, which seems to be tied more to its utility than to its manner of production. “Within material culture studies there are many parallel discussions about the distributive nature of agency and the way this includes artifacts as well as persons” (Miller 2005). Apprehension around board game collecting that does not involve a financial transaction might be missing the point in terms of how a board is possessed and valued by its players.

There is useful literature on hobbyist collectors that acknowledges and critiques notions of differentiated work and leisure activities in Western capitalist traditions (Pearce 1998), but a professional researcher or curator who collects a game board through active play and community engagement blurs this line sig-

mogao da ponese kući, kako bi igrao sa drugima u drugoj zemlji, ova osoba se diferencira u odnosu na sve ostale trgovce koji nude cenu za tablu.

Muzeji i čulna uplitanja

Table za mankalu i njihovi raznoliki životi ovde su istražene iz nekoliko uglova: kao prestižni predmeti i kao podtekstualni politički označitelji, kao mesta susreta, kao artefakti koji nose dokaze o kulturnoj istoriji i ličnim sećanjima, kao predmeti od estetske vrednosti i kao moderatori i podstrekivači igre. Svi ovi pravci uključuju neki oblik savremenosti, gde je tabla pripremljena za neki oblik igre, čak i ako nije verovatno da će se na njoj zaista igrati, kao što je slučaj sa tablama koje su prestižni predmeti razmene.

Kada se status table za mankalu menja iz života predmeta u njegov mirujući status? Ovo je bar delimično pitanje definisanja termina – ako držimo da je primarna definicija table kao predmeta na kome se igra i koji ima mnoge mogućnosti, onda odstranjivanje potencijalnog kapaciteta za igranje može označiti tranziciju u takozvani mirujući život predmeta. U slučaju tabli koje su prikupljene u zajednicama koje ih stvaraju za potrebe muzejskog izlaganja ili istraživanja, ovo bi moglo predstavljati posebnu vrstu mirujućeg života predmeta koji se razlikuje od onoga sa kojim bi se tabla inače suočila – „prirodna smrt” za tablu za mankalu bi tako bio „vrhunac na putu ka destrukciji” do kojeg dolazi kroz učestalu igru (de Voogt 1996: 151, prevod Žakula).

Dogodila se tranzicija u čulnoj orijentaciji muzeja. U ranim *Kunstskammer* (kabineti retкости) postavka ma postojao je naglasak na taktilnosti zajedno sa impulsom da se vizuelno preplavi, dok u modernom dobu trendovi naginju ka minimalizmu u vizuelnoj estetici kod upravljanja postavkama etnografskih predmeta (Classen and Howes 2006). Nekoliko pitanja su ključna za razmatranje zagrobnih života tabli za mankalu u antropološkim muzejskim zbirkama: Koje kriterijume je neophodno ispuniti kako bi tabla za mankalu bila smatrana etnografskim predmetom? Jesu li sve table za mankalu smatrane predmetima materijalne kulture? Da li se ova definicija odnosi i na druge društvene igre koje se igraju na tablama? Da li sve igre koje se igraju na tablama a nalaze se

nificalntly. A player is able to share the surprises of the game on the board. The effort of both players to control the events is appreciated. Once one is invited to join in a game, one's opponent understands that he or she is not just teaching, but needs to pay attention in order to not lose a game against a foreigner in front of their peers. It is then that adventure makes players on both sides of the board anxious about what is to come. There is jesting and bantering, but most of all, there is an outsider interested in a local game, in interacting with other players by playing moves on a board that he or she has never touched before. If someone from abroad who is also a player asks for a board to take home, to play with others in another land, this person is differentiated from any tradesman offering a price for a board.

Museums and sensory entanglements

The various lives of a mancala board have been explored here from a few angles, including as a prestigious object and as a subtextual political signifier, as a site of encounter, as a artifact bearing evidence of cultural history and personal memory, as an object of aesthetic value and as a facilitator of game play. These trajectories all involve some form of contemporaneity, where the board is in a ready state for some form of play, even if it will likely not experience play in this form, as in the case of the prestige object exchange.

When does a mancala board's status shift from object life to object afterlife? This is at least partly a matter of defining terms - if the board as a playing object is held as the primary definition of many possibilities, then the board's removal from a potential capacity for play might signify its transition into object afterlife. In the case of boards that are collected from creator communities for the purposes of museum display or research, this might be taken to represent a distinct type of object afterlife than the board would otherwise encounter - a "natural death" for a mancala board being the "climax toward destruction" that comes with regular play (de Voogt 1996: 151).

There was a transition in the sensory orientation of museums: first the early *kunstskammer* era, which in-

u muzejskim zbirkama nose neopozive konotacije etnografskih predmeta ili materijalne kulture? Da li etnografski predmet uvek konstituiše materijalnu kulturu i obratno?

Pitanje koje otvara jednu antropološku antologiju o etnografskom razmatranju artefakata glasi „Kako bi antropologija orijentisana ka artefaktima izgledala kada se ne bi ticala materijalne kulture?” (Henare, Holbraad and Wastell 2007, prevod Žakula) Danijel Miler nudi definiciju materijalne kulture kao „oblika bivanja-u-svetu” povezanog sa procesom socijalizacije (Miller 2007: 169, prevod Žakula). U tom slučaju, table za mankalu kao mesta igre – mesta društvenog života – prilično dobro nose titulu materijalne kulture, jer tabla za igru svakako označava mesto „bivanja u svetu” (Miller 2007: 169). Možda bi najbolji način za lociranje table za igru koja je napravljena i korišćena za igranje pre nego što je uvrštena u muzejsku zbirku bio označiti je kao „materijalno čvorište za generisanje kulturne ekspresije” ili kao „materijal korišćen u rekreacionoj kulturi”.

Kritičke studije muzeja su u poslednjih dvadeset godina otvorile diskurs „antropologije čula” koji je doveo u pitanje primerenost i etičnost eksponata zasnovanih na tekstu ili vizuelnom doživljaju kulturnih artefakata čija se namena ne može najbolje prikazati niti iskusiti vizuelno (Classen and Howes 2006). Za table za mankalu može se reći da spadaju u tako konstituisanu kategoriju kulturne materijalnosti – one su namenjene dodirivanju pre nego vizuelnom posmatranju. A kada partija traje, ima mnogo više toga da se vidi nego kada je reč o drugim igrama koje se igraju na tablama. Nije statična, naprotiv, radi se o dinamičnoj igri koja je vizuelno prijatna i za igranje i za posmatranje.

Primenjena svrha tabli u igri kao i posebne karakteristike koje se vremenom u njih upisuju kroz igranje otvaraju table za interpretaciju koja povlašćuje njihovu taktilnu fenomenologiju barem jednako koliko i vizuelnu prezentaciju. Suzan Pirs (Susan Pearce 1992: 21, prevod Žakula) tvrdi da jedan od načina na koje društveno značenje predmeta materijalne kulture može biti prepoznato i centralno za njihovo mesto u diskursu može biti promišljanje predmeta kao „namernih zapisa na fizičkom svetu, koji

corporated an emphasis upon tactility along with the impulse to visually overwhelm, whereas in the modern era the trend is to minimalism in visual aesthetics in the curation of ethnographic objects (Classen and Howes 2006). There are key questions in considering the afterlives of mancala boards in museum anthropological collections: What are the criteria necessary for a mancala board to be considered an ethnographic object? Are all mancala boards considered to be objects of material culture? Does this definition extend to other board games? Do all board games in a museum collection bear irrefutable connotations of ethnographic objects or material culture? Does an ethnographic object always constitute material culture and vice versa?

A question opening an anthropology anthology about ethnographic considerations of artifacts asked, “What would an artifact-oriented anthropology look like if it were not about material culture?” (Henare, Holbraad and Wastell 2007). Daniel Miller offers a definition of material culture as “a form of being-in-the-world” tied to a process of socialization (Miller 2007: 169) then the mancala board as a site of play - of social life - confers the title of material culture upon it particularly well, as a game board certainly denotes a site of “being in the world” (Miller 2007: 169). Perhaps the best way to locate a game board that was created and used for personal play before entering a museum collection would be as a “material site of generating cultural expression” or as a “material used in recreational culture”.

Critical museum studies over the past twenty years have opened up a discourse of the “anthropology of the senses” that has called into question the suitability and ethics of text- and visual-centric displays for objects from cultures and/or with purposes that do not hold their visual impact as the most relevant or suitable sensory engagement (Classen and Howes 2006). Mancala boards may well constitute such a category of cultural materiality - meant for tactile engagement more than visual observation. When the game is in play, however, there is more to look at than with any other board game. It is not static, but rather, it is a dynamic and visually pleasing game to play or observe.

otelovljuju društveno značenje”. Postoji reciprocitet između načina na koje predmet i društveni kontekst čine značenje opipljivim: društvene ideje ne mogu postojati bez fizičkog sadržaja, ali fizički predmeti su beznačajni bez društvenog sadržaja” (Pearce 1992: 21, prevod Žakula).

Davati ovakve preporuke za čulne kapacitete bilo kakvog izloženog predmeta – posebno etnografskog, zahteva pažnju i konsultovanje sa zajednicom, budući da su taktilno usmerene zbirke viktorijanskog doba istorijski dovodene u vezu sa nedostatkom brige za integritet fizičkih predmeta koji su imali ono što je percipirano kao „egzotične” osobine. U tradicionalnom savremenom muzejskom okruženju, akumulacija trošenja i habanja na tabli na kojoj se aktivno igra označavala bi tranziciju ka uništenju i bila indikator nemara kustosa iz perspektive upravljanja zbirkama. Za antropologa, ovakva trošnost bi mogla da ukazuje na informacije o igri i ljudima koji je igraju. Istoričar umetnosti ovakvo habanje mogao bi da vidi kao poboljšanje stvaranjem patine, ili kao katastrofalno narušavanje „prirodne” estetike predmeta.

Svaka od ovih interpretacija dozvoljava da se otvori prostor u kome višestruke prostorne i vremenske istorije mogu da se uključe u životni kontekst. Ovo su predmeti koji imaju višestruke kontekste u kojima visoke vrednosti mogu biti pripisane njihovom stvaranju kao predmeta za prijatnu igru ili prestižnu razmenu, njihovoj opipljivoj upotrebi u njihovom prikupljanju i prikazivanju. Ovi obrasci pripisivanja vrednosti i angažovanja reflektuju šire obrasce u političkim ekonomijama Afrike južno od Sahare i drugih nekadašnjih kolonijalnih entiteta. Table za mankalu bilo bi moguće posmatrati kao vrlo ilustrativan primer raskoraka između namera viktorijanskih sakupljača i uobičajenih posledica. Iako su često prikupljanja bila deo etnografskog inventara, malo je podataka o kontekstima pratilo njihovo uključivanje u zbirke. Pohabanost i trošnost tabli ukazuje na njihovu raniju upotrebu za igru ali i igrači i muzejski posmatrači uskraćeni su za iskustvo života table iz prve ruke.

Donekle ironično, ovo dualno uskraćivanje po sebi može da promeni mogućnosti samih kustosa, kao i izlagačke opcije, donoseći nove prakse koje

Their applied purpose in play, as well as the special characteristics that become imbued into a board over a period of time, in which they are used in play, open them up for an interpretation that privileges their tactile phenomenology at least as highly as it does visual presentation. Susan Pearce (1992: 21) suggests that one way in which objects of material culture might have their social meaning recognized and central to their space in discourse is by considering objects as “intentional inscriptions on the physical world, which embody social meaning.” There is reciprocity between the way the object and its social context make meaning tangible: “social ideas cannot exist without physical content, but physical objects are meaningless without social content” (Pearce 1992: 21).

Making such a recommendation for the sensory capacity of any object on display — particularly one of ethnographic origin, requires care and community consultation, as tactile-oriented collections of the Victorian era are historically associated with a lack of concern for the integrity of a physical artifact with perceived “exotic” qualities. In a traditional contemporary museum setting, the accumulation of wear and smoothing on a board that is in active play would be a mark of transition toward destruction and would be indicative of poor custodial care from a collections management perspective. To an anthropologist, this wear can suggest information about the game and the people who play it. An art historian might see this wear as either an enhancing patina or a disastrous interruption of the “natural” aesthetics.

Each interpretation allows for a space to be opened in which multiple spatial and temporal histories can be engaged in a lively context. These are objects that have plural contexts in which high values might be assigned in their creation as objects of pleasurable play or prestigious exchange, in their tangible use, and in their collection and display. These patterns of value assignation and engagement mirror broader patterns in sub-Saharan African political economies and indeed other former colonial entities. Mancala boards could be seen as a particularly poignant example of the disparity between the intentions of Victorian-era collecting and the usual consequences. While often

dozvoljavaju da prikazivanje tabli funkcioniše kao kritika postčulnih ciljeva prikupljanja. Postojala je tendencija da se duga istorija reprezentacije afričke kulture u muzejima fokusira na dramatičnije obrte tragedija ovog kontinenta, nauštrb prikazivanja životnosti i raznolikosti iskustava koji su proživljeni, ali i obratno. Stoga, fenomenološki zasnovane postavke tabli za mankalu mogu da stvore balans smeštajući lične radosti i gubitke u konverzaciju sa kolektivnim.

„Dodirujući prikupljen predmet, ruka posetio- ca susreće se sa tragovima ruku njegovih prethod- nih vlasnika i onih koji su ga stvorili. Osoba naiz- gled oseća ono što su drugi osetili i tela su naizgled povezana sa drugim telima kroz medij materijalno- sti predmeta koji su podelila” (Classen and Howes 2006: 202, prevod Žakula). Pa, ipak, ono što ćete vi osetiti biće drugačije od onoga što čest igrač oseća kada dodirne tablu prvi put. To je kao balans i težina čekića koji može dodirnuti ili podići bilo ko ali pre- ciznost njegove izrade najbolje raspoznaje zanatlija koji poseduje vokabular kojim može regulisati svoja zapažanja.

Temporalnost ove spore promene ka neizbežnom uništenju – osim možda u slučaju muzejskih inter- vencija, o kojima će biti više reči dalje u tekstu – ta- kođe deluje na dve različite ali međusobno povezane vremenske skale.

„Proces glačanja table za mankalu je kontinuiran. Ima jasan početak kada se prve partije igraju i završava se kada je tabla toliko pohaba da se u njoj otvore rupe. Sama tabla, pak, nikada nije sasvim završena. Dok god se na njoj igra, glačanje će se nastaviti. Rezultat umetničkog procesa dostiže vrhunac kada uništenje postane neizbežno.”

(de Voogt 1996: 151, prevod Žakula)

Tragovi koje ostavlja dodirivanje izloženih muzej- skih predmeta nisu nužno poboljšanje i nisu povezani sa obrascima upotrebe ili korisnosti. Naturalističke italijanske mermerne statue u svetskim zbirkama, i možda najčuvenije, „Hermafrodit” u Luvru uglačane su rukama koje su vekovima habale mermer dodiru- jući ga, u neverici da li su figura i jastuk na kome leži

collected as part of an ethnographic inventory, little contextualizing information accompanied their entry into these collections. The wear of the board hints at its former life of play, but both the player and the mu- seum viewer are deprived of experiencing the board’s life firsthand.

Somewhat ironically, this dual deprivation itself can facilitate curatorial and exhibition possibilities that allow for the display of the board to function as a critique of post-sensory acquisition objectives. If it has been a tendency within the long history of Af- rican cultural presentation in museums to focus on the heavier brushstrokes of the continent’s tragedies at the expense of sharing the vibrancy and variety of lived experiences, or vice versa, then phenomeno- logically-focused displays of mancala boards might strike a balance of putting personal joys and losses into conversation with their collective counterparts.

“By touching a collected object the hand of the vis- itor also encounters the traces of the hand of the ob- ject’s creator and former owners. One seems to feel what others have felt and bodies seem to be linked to bodies through the medium of the materiality of the object they have shared” (Classen and Howes 2006: 202). Yet what you feel will be different from what a frequent player feels when touching a board for the first time. It is like the balance and the weight of a hammer, which can be touched and lifted by anyone but its precision of manufacture is best discerned by the craftsman who has a vocabulary with which to calibrate his observations.

The temporality of this slow transmogrification toward an inevitable destruction - except perhaps in the case of museum interventions, which will be dis- cussed further below - also works on two disparate but related timescales.

“The process of smoothening a mancala board is continuous. It has a clear beginning when the first games are played and it ends when the game is worn through. The board is never finished, howev- er. As long as the board is played, the smoothening will continue. The result of the artistic process has its climax when destruction is unavoidable.”

(de Voogt 1996: 151)

živi (Haskell and Penny 1981). Istorija dodirivanja predmeta izloženih javnosti radi inspiracije ili edukacije je komplikovana, ali svrha predmeta koji su ujedno korisni i estetski zanosni zahteva dalje razmatranje.

Skorašnji pregled empirijskih psiholoških istraživanja koja su se ticala uticaja angažmana više čula proizveo je preporuke slične onima o kojima ovde raspravljamo za konstruisanje muzejskih postavki: multifokalni pristup čulnim eksponatima stvara pristupačniju, razumljiviju i postavku koja se bolje pamti (Saunderson 2012). Predmeti koji su imali upotrebnu vrednost sada su jasno odvojeni u zatvorenim vitrinama ili znakovima koji upozoravaju da je dodirivanje zabranjeno, čime se uvodi nota neprijateljstva pri susretu posetiolaca i predmeta ili izložbe. Sanderson (*Saunderson*) opisuje gubitak pažnje usled hipersamosvesnosti koju je osetio prilikom posete izložbi koja je bila načičkana ostrim „ne pipaj” upozorenjima (Saunderson 2012: 168, prevod Žakula). Ova vrsta reakcije koja je utužena posetiocima je u potpunoj suprotnosti s atmosferom koju bi kustos želeo da obezbedi kako bi posetiocu omogućio osećanje zadovoljstva, relaksacije i igre. Distanca remeti ritam igre. Čovek ne može naučiti da igra mankalu samo gledajući tablu u muzejskoj vitrini.

Materijalnosti kulturno ušančene table verovatno manjka dugovečnost neophodna da je učini dobrim edukativnim eksponatom. Ali table se mogu naručiti i koristiti za aktivno igranje i u edukativne svrhe u etnografskim ili istorijsko-umetničkim muzejima pored multimedijalnih prikaza *in situ* igranja i prestižnih tabli ili značajnih tabli sa šampionata kako bi prikazale fenomenološki zasnovanu, čulno obogaćenu i istorijski utemeljenu priču o mankali. Ta priča treba da podrazumeva njene migracije, igrače, table i njihov značaj kao predmeta koji su lepi, donose zadovoljstvo i sa sobom nose čitavu mrežu fenomenoloških uplitanja.

Različiti tipovi tabli mogu zahtevati različite načine izlaganja. Prestižne table mogu dobro prolaziti u vitrinama koje naglašavaju njihovu retkost, fine su njihove izrade i materijala i posebno njihovu ulogu predmeta koji označavaju moć i aspekt koji su u vezi sa di-

The traces left by handling a museum object on display are not necessarily an enhancement or connected to a pattern of use or utility. Naturalistic Italian marble statues in world collections, perhaps most famously “The Hermaphrodite” in The Louvre have been smoothed by centuries of hands wearing the marble by touching it, in apparently disbelief that the figure and the cushion upon which it lay were not alive (Haskell and Penny 1981). The history of touching objects displayed and curated to the public for the purposes of inspiration or education is a complicated one, but the purpose of objects that are both utilitarian and aesthetically captivating warrants further consideration.

A recent review of empirical psychological research regarding the impact of multi-sensory engagement yielded similar recommendations for museum exhibition construction than are discussed here: A multifocal approach to sensory exhibition creates a more accessible, comprehensible and memorable display (Saunderson 2012). Objects with tactile histories that have the sharp remove of vitrine encasement or signage warning off a hands-on approach introduce a degree of hostility to the encounter between museum visitor and object on exhibition. Saunderson describes a loss of focus due to hyper self-awareness occurring in one immersive exhibition with stringent “hands off” warnings posted throughout (Saunderson 2012: 168). This sort of reaction inculcated in visitors is antithetical to the atmosphere that a curator would want to elicit in order to impart upon a museum visitor the emotions of pleasure, relaxation and sportsmanship. Distance interrupts the rhythm of the game. One cannot learn to play mancala simply by looking at the board in a museum vitrine.

The materiality of a culturally-enmeshed board likely lacks the longevity necessary to make it a well-suited educational display item. But boards can be commissioned and committed to active play and educational purposes within ethnographic or art historical halls alongside multimedia displays of *in situ* game play and prestige boards or notable championship boards in order to portray a phenomenological-grounded, sensory-enriched and historically-in-

skurzivnim predstavama o vrednosti (Pearce 1992: 32–35). Table iz društvenih konteksta – koje potiču od individua ili zajednica u kojima je igranje mankale kulturna tradicija – jesu table koje odaju najveći utisak života i životnosti koji dolazi od igranja koje je sa njima povezano. Mogu biti percipirane kao efemerne ili ih igrači čuvaju kao predmete, ali njihove intimne priče i istorije ih čine poželjnim za izlaganje u etnografskim i obrazovnim okruženjima stvarajući želju da se ovakve table dalje čuvaju.

Sl. 10. Grupa ljudi u Namibiji tokom mankala igre ||hus, takođe poznata kao Owela.
Foto: Aleks de Vut, 1998.

Ill. 10. Group of people in Namibia playing the mancala game ||hus, also known as Owela.
Photo: Alex de Voogt, 1998.



flected story of mancala. The story needs to include its migrations, its players, its boards and its significance as objects of beauty, pleasure and recreation and its myriad other phenomenological entanglements.

Different board types might call for different types of display. Prestige boards may do well ensconced in vitrines, emphasizing their rarity, the fineness of their craftsmanship and materials and particularly their role as objects denoting power, aspects associated with discursive notions of value (Pearce 1992: 32–35). Boards from social contexts - from individuals in communities associated with playing the game through cultural tradition - are boards with some of the greatest sense of life and liveliness from play associated with them. They may be perceived as ephemeral but cherished objects by their players, but their intimate stories and histories make them desirable for display in ethnographic and educational settings, creating a desire to preserve these boards in perpetuity.

The conundrum is how to display a board that has been removed from the very context that marked it as significant in the first place. A single methodology of mancala museum display is clearly insufficient. Museum curators should feel encouraged to find ways of displaying the many pluralities of mancala - its multiple geographic associations, materialities, modes of play and cultural and community contexts. “Objects move from keepsake to memento to souvenir to reminder to evidence” (Lubar 1997: 16). Mancala boards on display have many ways of telling us about how they once were - or perhaps still are - objects of play (ill. 10).

We have discussed examples of mancala boards occupying and maneuvering between all of these object categories. There is nothing inherently static in the materiality of a mancala board and most boards in museum collections have journeys across space and time woven into their histories. Mancala boards are an example of “African cultural items [that] can be shown to exhibit on closer analysis, ... heuristic value toward a more comprehensive and profound assessment of Africa’s (and Europe’s) place in the cultural history of mankind” (van Binsbergen 1995: 222). Any mancala board, rendered from the finest ivory or

Zagonetka je kako izložiti tablu koja je uklonjena iz konteksta koji je nju određivao kao značajnu. Jedna metodologija izlaganja manjke u muzejima je očito nedovoljna. Kustosi muzeja trebalo bi da budu slobodni i ohrabreni kako bi našli način na koji bi izložili višestrukost manjke – njenih mnogih geografskih veza, materijalnosti, načina igranja i kulturnih i društvenih konteksta. „Objekti se kreću od uspomene do podsetnika od suvenira do dokaza” (Lubar 1997: 16, prevod Žakula). Table za manjku koje se izlažu imaju mnogo načina da nam ispričaju priču o tome kakve su nekada bile – ili možda još uvek jesu – kao predmeti za igru (sl. 10).

Ovde je bilo reči o tablama za manjku kao primerima predmeta koji zauzimaju i manevrišu između svih ovih kategorija predmeta. Ne postoji ništa inherentno statično u materijalnosti table za manjku i većina tabli u muzejskim zbirkama ima sopstvene puteve kroz prostor i vreme upletene u svoje istorije. Table za manjku su primer „afričkih kulturnih predmeta koji, detaljnijom analizom, mogu pokazati... heurističku vrednost koja može poslužiti sveobuhvatnjem i boljem promišljanju uloge Afrike (i Evrope) u kulturnoj istoriji čovečanstva” (van Binsbergen 1995: 222, prevod Žakula). Bilo koja tabla za manjku, napravljena od najfinije slonovače ili najskromnije gomilice kamilje balege (de Voogt 1997: 35), može sadržati nebrojene priče i podjednako svaka nosi ogroman potencijal za to kako se ove priče mogu evocirati kroz saradnju sa zajednicama, kustosku praksu i odgovorno, lokalno okrenuto prikazivanje. Ovo su priče koje mogu uzeti mnoge oblike i vrste značaja za muzejske posetioce koji žele da se povežu sa sopstvenim nasleđem kroz prikaze afričke kulture ali mogu i obrazovati širu publiku o kritičkim afrikaniističkim diskursima.

Prevod (englesko-srpski): Sonja Žakula

* [„društveni lubrikant” je termin koji se odnosi na sve rituale ili sredstva koja služe za olakšavanje društvene interakcije i saradnje, odnosno za smanjenje ili prevazilaženje nesuglasica i tenzija (alkohol, duvan, čaj i dr.). – Prim. red.]

a most modest scrap of camel dung (de Voogt 1997: 35), can hold untold numbers of stories and equally, each bears bountiful potential for how these stories can be evoked through community collaboration, curation and responsible, locally-inflected display. These are stories that can take on many forms of significance for both museum visitors who seek to connect to their own heritages through an African cultural display as well as more broadly edify audiences on critical Africanist discourses.

Translation (English-Serbian): Sonja Žakula

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SVETA HARFA ZA PROFANE PESME

ngombi repertoari
naroda Mitsogo
iz Ngunie

Repertoari harfe ngombi poznatiji su u afričkoj etnomuzikologiji zbog mesta koje zauzimaju u ritualnim obredima nego zbog kompozicija savremenih umetnika. Međutim, ovaj instrument je muzička podrška individualnim lirskim kompozicijama koje se mogu odrediti kao popularna muzika. Snimci ovih pesama, kao i verski repertoari u poslednjih nekoliko godina postali su predmet razmene i/ili komercijalizacije u ngunijskim Tsogo selima. U ovom članku dat je pregled različitih muzičkih praksi instrumenta: liturgijskih, paraliturgijskih i sekularnih, radi boljeg razlikovanja muzičkih i paramuzičkih osobina koje se transponuju iz jedne kategorije u drugu, kao i da bi otvorio oči u vezi sa savremenim kretanjem tih repertoara.





HARPE SACRÉE POUR CHANTS PROFANES

les répertoires du ngombi
des Mitsogo de la Ngounié

Les répertoires de harpe ngombi sont davantage connus en ethnomusicologie africaniste pour la place qu'ils occupent dans les cérémonies rituelles que pour ceux composés par leurs artistes contemporains. Pourtant, l'instrument est le support musical de compositions lyriques individuelles que l'on peut qualifier de musique populaire. Les enregistrements de ces chants, de même que les répertoires religieux, font l'objet depuis quelques années d'un échange et/ou d'une commercialisation dans les villages tsogo de la Ngounié. Cet article propose un tour d'horizon des diverses pratiques musicales de l'instrument : liturgiques, paraliturgiques et profanes afin de mieux distinguer les traits musicaux et paramusicaux qui se transposent d'une catégorie à une autre, et d'ouvrir le regard sur la circulation contemporaine de ces répertoires.

Rémy Jadinon

*Etnomuzikološke kolekcije**Istraživačko odeljenje: Kultura i društvo**Kraljevski muzej za Centralnu Afriku (Tervuren)*

remy.jadinon@africamuseum.be

Rémy Jadinon

*Ethnomusicological Collections**Culture & Society Research Unit**Royal Museum for Central Africa (Tervuren)*

remy.jadinon@africamuseum.be

SVETA HARFA ZA PROFANE PESME: *ngombi* repertoari naroda Mitsogo iz Ngunie*

Apstrakt:

Repertoari harfe *ngombi* poznatiji su u afričkoj etnomuzikologiji zbog mesta koje zauzimaju u ritualnim obredima nego zbog kompozicija savremenih umetnika. Međutim, ovaj instrument je muzička podrška individualnim lirskim kompozicijama koje se mogu odrediti kao popularna muzika. Snimci ovih pesama, kao i verski repertoari u poslednjih nekoliko godina postali su predmet razmene i/ili komercijalizacije u ngunijskim Tsogo selima. U ovom članaku dat je pregled različitih muzičkih praksi instrumenta: liturgijskih, paraliturgijskih i sekularnih, radi boljeg razlikovanja muzičkih i paramuzičkih osobina koje se transponuju iz jedne kategorije u drugu, kao i da bi otvorio oči u vezi sa savremenim kretanjem tih repertoara.

Ključne reči:

Gabon, harfa *ngombi*, Bviti, Ombudi, Majaja, tradimoderno, muzička kretanja

HARPE SACRÉE POUR CHANTS PROFANES: les répertoires du *ngombi* des Mitsogo de la Ngounié*

Résumé:

Les répertoires de harpe *ngombi* sont davantage connus en ethnomusicologie africaniste pour la place qu'ils occupent dans les cérémonies rituelles que pour ceux composés par leurs artistes contemporains. Pourtant, l'instrument est le support musical de compositions lyriques individuelles que l'on peut qualifier de musique populaire. Les enregistrements de ces chants, de même que les répertoires religieux, font l'objet depuis quelques années d'un échange et/ou d'une commercialisation dans les villages *tsogo* de la Ngounié. Cet article propose un tour d'horizon des diverses pratiques musicales de l'instrument : liturgiques, paraliturgiques et profanes afin de mieux distinguer les traits musicaux et paramusicaux qui se transposent d'une catégorie à une autre, et d'ouvrir le regard sur la circulation contemporaine de ces répertoires.

Mots-clés:

Gabon, harpe *ngombi*, Bwete, Ombudi, mayaya, tradimoderne, circulation musicale

Uvod

Mitsogo (jednina = *tsogo*) su jedna od 40 zajednica Gabona. Većina stanovništva živi u ruralnoj zoni¹ provincije Ngounie, u okolini gradova Muile, glavnog grada provincije (423 kilometra jugoistočno od Libervila), i Mimonga, glavnog grada departmana. Narod Mitsogo govori *getsogo*², severozapadni bantu jezik koji pripada jezičkoj grupi *Membe*.³ On se nalazi u klasi B30 [B31b za *getsogo* iz Mokaba] prema klasifikaciji Guthrie⁴ koju je revidirao Maho.⁵ Moglo bi se nabrojati oko 13.000 govornika.⁶

Istoriju Mitsogo naroda, koja se godinama prenosi samo usmenom tradicijom, prikupio je i prvi put

Introduction

Les Mitsogo (singulier = *Tsogo*) forment l'une des 40 communautés du Gabon. La majorité de la population vit en zone rurale¹ dans la province de la Ngounié, aux abords des villes de Mouila, la capitale de la province (à 423 kilomètres au sud-est de Libreville), et de Mimongo, la capitale de district. Les Mitsogo parlent le *getsogo*, une langue bantoue du nord-ouest du groupe linguistique *membe*.² Elle se trouve en classe B30 [B31b pour le *getsogo* de Mokaba] selon la classification de Guthrie³ revue par Maho⁴. On dénombreait environ 13 000 locuteurs⁵. L'histoire des Mitsogo, transmise à travers les années par la seule tradition

zapisao na francuskom otac Raponda-Voker 1903. godine. Objavljena je skoro 50 godina kasnije. Prema ovoj istoriji, preci Mitsogo naroda emigrirali su iz regiona na severu Gabona u okolini doline reke Ivindo tokom 13. i 14. veka da bi se naselili u šumovitim prostranstvima u centru današnje pokrajine Ngounie.



Sl.1. Zona podele Tsogo sela u Ngounie (Gabon), izvor: www.d-maps.com, modifikovao R. Žadinon.

Fig. 1. Zone de répartition des villages tsogo en Ngounié (Gabon), source: www.d-maps.com modifiée par R. Jadinon.

Kada je u pitanju definisanje zone podele Tsogo sela u Ngounie, specijalizovana⁷ literatura tu teritoriju naziva „Tsogo zemljom” (Raponda-Walker & Sillans, 1962). Treba imati na umu da se ne radi o uređenom ili homogenom regionu sa jasnim granicama. Ovaj termin je preuzet iz stare topografije koja je Tsogo sela uglavnom smeštala u oblast lučnog oblika na nekoliko kilometara severno od Mimonga, između Eteke i Masima (slika 1), to jest u šumovite planinske krajeve centra zemlje.

U nedavnom radu Gi Serža Mogombe dati su novi elementi u vezi sa geografskim prostiranjem sela: „Mitsogo takođe žive u centru Muile, ali i u kantonu Dikoka, to jest istočno od istoimenog grada. U stvari,

orale, a été recueillie et retranscrite pour la première fois en français par le père Raponda-Walker en 1903. Elle fut publiée presque 50 ans plus tard. Cette histoire indique que les ancêtres des Mitsogo auraient émigré d’une région du nord du Gabon s’étendant autour de la vallée du fleuve Ivindo au cours du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle pour venir s’établir dans les plaines forestières du centre de l’actuelle province de la Ngounié.

Quand il s’agit de délimiter la zone de répartition des villages tsogo en Ngounié, la littérature spécialisée⁶ parle de ce territoire comme du « pays tsogo » (Raponda-Walker & Sillans, 1962). Il faut garder à l’esprit qu’il ne s’agit pas d’une région lisse et homogène aux délimitations bien tranchées. Ce vocable reprend une topographie ancienne qui situait les villages tsogo principalement dans un arc de cercle à quelques kilomètres au nord de Mimongo, entre Eteke et Massima (voir figure 1), c’est-à-dire dans les régions forestières et montagneuses du centre du pays.

Le récent travail de Guy Serge Mogomba apporte des éléments nouveaux quant à la distribution géographique des villages : « les Mitsogho résident également au centre de Mouilla, mais encore dans le canton dikoka, c’est-à-dire à l’est de la ville. En effet, il est constitué de trois grands regroupements de village : Ghégoma (PK 3 km), Dikoka (PK 10 km), Mokabo (PK 18 km) et Bandi (PK 25 km) sur l’axe routier Mouila-Yéno » (Mogomba 2013). Ce sont ces villages qui ont fait l’objet de notre étude. Un corpus de première main, provenant de trois missions réalisées en 2010, 2012 & 2013, a été collecté aux villages de Mokabo et Bandi dans le canton de Dikoka, de Mimongo et Seka-Seka dans le district de Mimongo, et à Bilengui (voir figure 2).

Les cultures traditionnelles tsogo sont holistiques, c’est-à-dire que la société forme un corps social indivisible dont les institutions politiques, religieuses ou artistiques en sont les organes. Les pratiques musicales font partie intégrante des rituels qui régissent l’existence individuelle et collective des membres de la société. Il serait donc inapproprié dans ce contexte de vouloir distinguer le musical du culturel. La seule distinction opérante qui peut être faite pour séparer les différentes pratiques musicales est celle donnée

kanton se sastoji od tri velike grupe sela: Gegoma (KT⁸ 3 km), Dikoka (KT 10 km), Mokabo (KT 18 km) i Bandi (KT 25 km) na putu Muila–Ieno” (Mogomba, 2013). Ta sela bila su predmet našeg istraživanja. Podaci prikupljeni iz prve ruke iz tri misije ostvarene 2010, 2012. i 2013. godine dobijeni su u selima Mokabo i Bandi u kantonu Dikoka, Mimongo i Seka-Seka u okrugu Mimongo i u Bilengi (slika 2).

Tradicionalne Tsogo kulture su holističke, to jest čini ih nedeljivo društveno telo čiji su organi političke, verske ili umetničke institucije. Muzičke prakse su sastavni deo rituala koji upravljaju pojedinačnim i kolektivnim postojanjem članova društva. Bilo bi, dakle, neprimereno u tom kontekstu pristupiti pokušajima razlikovanja muzičkog od kulturološkog. Jedina operativna razlika kojom se mogu razdvojiti različite muzičke prakse je ona koju daje Simha Arom, a koja deli repertoare društveno uspostavljene u „institucionalizovanom” okviru od onih koji to nisu; one čije „praktikovanje zahteva učešće veće ili manje zajednice, okupljene zbog specifičnog razloga u datom kontekstu (inicijacije, žalosti, lečenja, ...) [i onih povezanih sa] praksom usko vezanom za reči kojima se izražava spontanost, individualnost i improvizacija (muzičke) teme” (Arom 1985).

Ova podela je posebno korisna u našoj studiji gde je u osnovi kontekst izvršenja taj koji određuje prirodu muzičke prakse: sveto ili profano.

Organologijski osvrt

Ngombi je lučna harfa sa osam žica, podešena na heksatonski sistem. Rezonantna kutija ima oblik zasečene kupe ili piramide, nalik na stablo. Isklesana je od mekog drveta, gesanga⁹, mosenga ili ugungu. Za ispupčenje koje je ponekad isklesano na jednom kraju, obično u obliku ljudske glave, žicama ili biljnim vlaknima je vezan vrat harfe. Unutar rezonantne kutije koriste se koža antilope, guštera ili lim koji su pričvršćeni ekserima. Žice, *nduma*, su izrađene ili od biljnih vlakana, od korena vanile ili, čak, od najlona.

Jednostavni prikaz akorda (slika 3) sastoji se od osam stepeni heksatonske lestvice, gde se prva dva tona ponavljaju do oktave. U konsonancama postoje dva seta od kojih se svaki sastoji od četiri stepena i



Sl.2. Zona skupljanja podataka, izvor: <http://ajre.unblog.fr>, modifikovao R. Jadinon.

Fig. 2. Zone de collecte du corpus, source : <http://ajre.unblog.fr>, modifiée par R. Jadinon.

par Simha Arom, qui scinde les répertoires socialement établis par un cadre « institutionnalisé » de ceux qui ne le sont pas, ceux dont « la pratique requiert la participation d’une collectivité plus ou moins grande, réunie à l’occasion d’un motif spécifique dans un contexte donné (initiation, deuil, guérison...) [de ceux associés à] une pratique intimement liée à la parole où s’expriment spontanéité, individualité et improvisation de thème » (Arom 1985).

Cette partition est particulièrement efficiente dans notre étude où c’est fondamentalement le contexte d’exécution qui détermine la nature de la pratique musicale : sacrée ou profane.

Un point d’organologie

Le *ngombi* est une harpe arquée à huit cordes, accordée sur un système hexatonique. La caisse de résonance, de forme tronconique, est taillée dans un bois tendre, le *yesanga*, le *mosenga* ou encore l’*ugungu*. Une protubérance est parfois sculptée à son extrémité, généralement en forme de tête humaine. Le manche y est noué par des ligatures végétales ou du fil de fer. La table d’harmonie est faite d’une peau d’antilope ou de varan ou de tôle, fixée à l’aide de clous. Les cordes, *nduma*, sont soit en fibres végétales, faites de racines de vanille, ou bien encore en nylon.

ekvivalenti su onome što bi u zapadnom sistemu bila dva savršena molska akorda sa intervalima od jednog tona.

Da bi svirao ngombi, muzičar drži rezonantnu kutiju uz telo, dok je vrat okrenut od njega. Trza žice jagodicama palca i kažiprsta. Svira četiri dublja tona jednom, a četiri viša drugom rukom. Ruke se ne ukrštaju. U Gabonu ngombi lučna harfa je metonimijski objekat tradicionalnih muzičkih kultura koji populacija Gabona koja praktikuje kognitivne, terapeutske ili kultove inicijacije na francuskom naziva „sveta harfa”. Ona je centralni deo kultova i daleko prevazilazi puki status muzičkog instrumenta – toliko su simbolika njenog antropomorfnog tela i funkcija njenih melodija sakralizovani (videti sliku 4).



Sl. 3. Ngombi akord, relativne note.

Fig. 3. Accord du ngombi en note relatives.

La représentation simple de l'accord (voir figure 3) est constituée de huit degrés d'une échelle hexatonique, les deux premiers se répétant à l'octave. Dans les consonances données par les musiciens, on distingue deux ensembles constitués chacun de quatre degrés entrecroisés à une corde d'intervalle. Ce qui correspondrait dans un système occidental à deux accords parfaits mineurs décalés d'un ton.

Pour jouer du *ngombi*, le musicien tient la caisse de résonance contre son corps, le manche pointé vers l'extérieur. Il pince les cordes avec le gras du pouce et l'index. Il jouera les quatre graves d'une main et les quatre aiguës de l'autre. Les mains ne se croisent pas. Au Gabon, la harpe arquée *ngombi* est un objet métonymique des cultures musicales traditionnelles : appelée « harpe sacrée » en français par les populations du Gabon qui pratiquent des cultes initiatiques, cognitifs ou thérapeutiques, elle en est la pièce centrale et dépasse de loin le simple statut d'instrument de musique tant la symbolique de son corps anthropomorphisé et la fonction de son chant sont sacralisées (voir figure 4).

Les pratiques musicales du ngombi tsogo

Les Mitsogo distinguent traditionnellement trois circonstances de jeu pour le *ngombi* :

- A. Les cérémonies rituelles masculines de Bwete;
- B. Les cérémonies rituelles féminines d'Ombudi ;
- C. La pratique de divertissement profane, le *mayaya*⁷.

La vie sociétale, religieuse et culturelle des Mitsogo s'articule autour des sociétés ésotériques qui se répartissent selon le sexe. Comme le soulignent Otto Goll-



Sl. 4. Ngombi harfa, kolekcija MRAC: MO.1964.58.107, fotografija Ž. Van de Viver, MRAC Tervuren ©.

Fig. 4. Harpe ngombi, collections MRAC : MO.1964.58.107, photo J. Van de Vyver, MRAC Tervuren ©.

Tsogo muzičke prakse, ngombi

Mitsogo narod tradicionalno razlikuje tri prilike za sviranje ngombija:

- A. muške ritualne Bviti ceremonije,
- B. ženske ritualne Ombudi ceremonije,
- C. zabavne profane prakse, Majaja.¹⁰

Društveni, verski i kulturni život Mitsogo naroda ostvaruje se u okviru ezoteričnih društava koja su podeljena prema polu. Kako ističu Oto Gollnhofer i Rodžer Silans (*Otto Gollnhofer, Roger Sillans*): „Kod Mitsogo naroda postoji desetak društava i organizacija za inicijaciju koji su podeljeni prema polu i u okviru kojih se nalaze praktično svi članovi društva. Skup znanja je sadržan u ovim inicijacijskim obrazovnim formacijama od kojih svaka odražava poseban aspekt kulture (politički, pravni itd.)” (Gollnhofer & Sillans, 1997). Nije uzaludno uporediti ove organizacije sa zapadnim univerzitetima. Inicijacijsko obrazovanje, naravno, nije obavezno, ali ostaje važan adut u individualnom putu i može biti odlučujuće prilikom bračnih razmena. Ove društvene institucije su aktivne u nekoliko oblasti, kao što su obredi prelaza, ezoterična učenja i terapijski tretmani. U ovom članku daćemo osnovne karakteristike repertoara harfe koji se sviraju u kontekstu performansa muških Bviti Disumba i ženskih Ombudi društava¹¹. U okviru sekularne prakse razlikovaćemo dve kategorije: *majaja*, za određivanje tradicionalne sekularne prakse, i *tradimodernu*, koja se odnosi na komercijalnu sekularnu praksu.

A. Bviti

Kada se govori o Bviti, treba, pre svega, znati da termin ima više značenja: odnos se kakav na inicijacijsko društvo, tako i na kult predaka i na istoimeno vrhovno božanstvo. O njemu, dakle, treba uvek razmišljati u množini. U okviru institucije postoji nekoliko ograna, prilagođenih različitim potrebama članova. Bviti je kao drvo čije bi stablo bilo Disumba, bratstvo koje širi svoje znanje o uređenom svetu. Zatim bi iz stabla polazila Ndea, borilačka grana prilično bliska grani Misoko¹² koja se bavi mističnim bolestima, proricanjem i psihosomatskim bolestima. Ako bismo morali da rezimiramo Bviti u jednoj rečenici, preuzeli

nhofer et Roger Sillans : « Il y a, chez les Mitsogho [sic.], une dizaine de sociétés et corporations initiatiques réparties selon le sexe, au sein desquelles pratiquement tous les membres sont encadrés. L'ensemble des connaissances est contenu dans ces formations initiatiques dont chacun détient un aspect particulier de la culture (politique, juridique, etc.) » (Gollnhofer & Sillans 1997). Il n'est pas vain de comparer ces corporations aux universités occidentales. La formation initiatique n'est, bien sûr, pas obligatoire, mais elle demeure un atout majeur dans le parcours individuel et peut s'avérer décisive dans les échanges matrimoniaux. Ces institutions sociales sont actives dans plusieurs domaines comme les rites de passage, les enseignements ésotériques et les traitements thérapeutiques. Dans cet article, nous donnerons les traits caractéristiques fondamentaux des répertoires de harpe joués en contexte de performance des sociétés masculines du Bwete Disumba, et celles féminines d'Ombudi⁸. Pour la pratique profane, nous distinguerons deux catégories : le *mayaya* pour désigner la pratique profane traditionnelle et le « tradimoderne » pour désigner la pratique profane commerciale.

A. Le Bwete

Quand on parle du Bwete, il faut, avant toute chose, savoir que le terme est polysémique : il fait référence tant à une société initiatique, qu'à un culte aux ancêtres et à une divinité suprême. Il faut donc toujours le penser au pluriel. Au sein de l'institution existent plusieurs branches, adaptées aux différents besoins de leurs membres. Le Bwete est comme un arbre dont le tronc serait le Disumba, une confrérie qui dispenserait sa connaissance du monde ordonné. Ensuite de sa souche partirait le Ndéa, une branche martiale qui est assez proche de celle du Missoko⁹ qui traite les maladies mystiques, la divination et les maux psychosomatiques. Si nous devons résumer le Bwete en une phrase, nous reprendrions celle de Roger Sillans : « Le Bwete est une société secrète de la connaissance du Monde et des choses qui passe par une initiation et la manducation de l'*iboga*. »

Il est aujourd'hui largement répandu dans de nombreuses communautés gabonaises, mais pas encore reconnu comme religion officielle » (Sillans, 1962).

bismo rečenicu Rodžera Silansa: „Bviti je tajno društvo znanja o svetu i stvarima, u kom se prolazi kroz inicijaciju i žvakanje iboga. Danas je veoma rasprostranjeno u brojnim gabonskim zajednicama ali još uvek nije priznato kao zvanična religija” (Sillans 1962). Integracija u to društvo proizilazi iz inicijacije. Svako ko želi da bude iniciran u Bviti, crpeće odatle poznavanje sebe i kosmosa. Ovo je individualni korak, ali mora biti podržan odobrenjem ujakâ. *Bandzi*¹³ je onaj koji želi da pristupi društvu i prolazi kroz putovanje inicijacije,¹⁴ vrstu ritualne smrti iz koje se ponovo rađa da bi pristupio znanjima o vidljivom i nevidljivom svetu. Radi toga, on jede „sveto drvo”, iboga čiji halucinogeni efekti stimulišu viziju, pojačanu zvukom harfe. Da parafriziramo etnomuzikologa Pjera Salea (*Pierre Sallée*) ngombi funkcioniše u svojstvu muzičkog posrednika, njegova „muzika pomaže inicijantima da shvate duboki smisao hermetičkih narativa” (Sallée 1985). Dakle, putem muzičke metafore ezoterična znanja koja prenose stariji postaju razumljiva neofitima. Ngombi Mitsoga i Bviti se pred inicijantima pojavljuju kao dve strane istog novčića. Uloga harfiste je važna jer je njegov instrument tumač, posrednik, pristupni put do razumevanja „inicijacijskih misterija” poput Bviti (Sallée 1985). Bviti društva nemaju vrhovnog vođu, hijerarhija postoji samo po osnovu

L’intégration à cette société procède de l’initiation. Toute personne qui désire se faire initier au Bwete, va y puiser une connaissance de soi et du cosmos. Il s’agit d’une démarche individuelle, mais qui doit être soutenue par l’approbation des oncles maternels. Le *bandzi*¹⁰, le jeune initié, doit passer par un voyage initiatique¹¹, une sorte de mort rituelle de laquelle il va renaître pour accéder aux connaissances du monde visible et invisible. Pour cela, il mange le « bois sacré », l’*iboga* dont les effets hallucinatoires stimulent la vision, galvanisée par le chant de la harpe. Pour paraphraser l’ethnomusicologue Pierre Sallée, le *ngombi* fonctionne en terme de médiation musicale, son « chant fait comprendre aux initiés le sens profond des récits hermétiques » (Sallée, 1985). C’est donc par la métaphore musicale que les savoirs ésotériques, transmis par les aînés, deviennent compréhensibles aux néophytes. Le *ngombi* des Mitsogo et le Bwete apparaissent aux yeux des initiés comme les deux faces d’une même pièce. Le rôle du harpiste est important, car son instrument est l’interprète, le médiateur, la voie d’accès à la compréhension des « mystères initiatiques » tels que le Bwete (Sallée 1985). Les sociétés de Bwete sont acéphales, la hiérarchie n’existe que par l’ancienneté au sein de la société (Bonhomme 2003). Un droit d’aînesse est concédé par la reconnaissance des savoirs liturgiques et phénoménologiques de la vision (voir figure 5).

En contexte traditionnel, les chants sont émis dans un matériel linguistique idiosyncrasique, le *mitimbo*¹². Dans la cosmogonie tsogo, chaque objet, chaque entité renvoie au minimum à trois concepts : humain, naturel et divin. Le symbolisme est par conséquent toujours multiple et son interprétation, nécessairement, dépend fondamentalement du niveau de connaissance de l’initié. Ainsi donc, la tortue symbolise la matrice de la terre, la partie supérieure de sa carapace représente le ciel et la partie inférieure la terre (Gollnhofer & Sillans 1997). Mais c’est aussi elle qui a « damé la terre » (Bonhomme 2003 : 111), elle représente la sagesse, la femme et par extension la ruse dans le langage populaire¹³.

Les sociétés initiatiques s’articulent autour du maintien fondamental du secret et de la connaissance de leurs différents niveaux des gnosés mythiques. En



Sl. 5. Ebandza, kuća kulta Bviti, selo Bandi u Ngunie (Gabon), fotografija R. Jadinon, 2012., MRAC Tervuren ©.

Fig. 5. Ebandza, maison de culte du Bwete, village de Bandi en Ngounié (Gabon), photo R. Jadinon (2012), MRAC Tervuren ©.

vremena provedenog unutar društva (Bonhomme 2003). Pravo prvenstva po godinama provedenim u društvu dodeljuje se kao priznanje liturgijskih i fenomenoloških znanja o viziji (videti sliku 5).

U tradicionalnom kontekstu, pesme se izvode na idiosinkratskom lingvističkom materijalu, *mitimbo*¹⁵. U Tsogo kosmogoniji svaki objekat, svaki entitet upućuje na najmanje tri koncepta: ljudsko, prirodno i božansko. Simbolika je uvek višestruka i stoga njeno tumačenje nužno zavisi od nivoa znanja inicijanta. Tako kornjača simbolizuje površinu zemlje, gornji deo oklopa predstavlja nebo, a donji zemlju (Gollnhofer & Sillans 1997). Ali, takođe, ona je ta koja „nabija zemlju” (Bonhomme 2003: 111). Ona predstavlja i mudrost, ženu, a samim tim i lukavstvo u narodnom jeziku.¹⁶

Inicijacijska društva fokusiraju se na ključno održavanje tajnosti i poznavanje različitih nivoa mitske gnoze. Zapravo, simbolička snaga tajnosti leži u hermeneutici¹⁷ materijalne i nematerijalne kulture koja se prenosi alegorijskim govorom. Međutim, za inicirane otkrivanje Bviti tajni je „apsolutno nemoguće, čak ni bliskim srođnicima”, kao što naglašava Rodžer Silans. Ambivalentnost i pluralizam tajne su konstanta u kulturnim i intelektualnim Tsogo proizvodima.

Ovaj koncept je ključ za osnovno razumevanje u ovoj studiji čiji je okvir sekularizacija verskog putem muzike. Posredovanje liturgijskih elemenata u popularnim sferama ovde nije odraz presušivanja verskog života. Prakse su još uvek veoma žive, ali akteri pokazuju relativno snažne kapacitete za akciju zauzimanja novih prostora stvorenih globalizacijom i pridavanjem značenja ne izdajući sopstvene ispovesti. Pobornici tradicije oblikuju svoju percepciju globalnog sveta transponujući lokalne prakse; razvijaju strategije „formiranja i tumačenja” (Olivier, 2012) na osnovu resursa kulturnog nasleđa. Ovde pokazati (ili svirati) nije isto što i otkriti!

a) Ključne faze¹⁸

Muzičke prakse vezane za Bviti¹⁹ dele se na javne seanse, dnevne, na ulicama sela, i privatne, uglavnom noćne i rezervisane samo za inicirane. U toku ovih drugih interveniše harfa u ceremonijalnom kontekstu. Ritualne Bviti faze²⁰ odigravaju se na tri mesta:

effet, la force symbolique du secret réside dans l’herméneutique¹⁴ de la culture matérielle et immatérielle qui est transmise par la parole allégorique. Néanmoins, la divulgation des arcanes du Bwete est absolument impossible pour les initiés, « même à leurs proches parents » comme le souligne Roger Sillans. Cette ambiguïté et pluralité du secret de l’ostensible est constante dans les productions culturelles et intellectuelles tsogo.

Cette notion est une clé de compréhension fondamentale dans cette étude dont la trame de fond est la sécularisation du religieux par la musique. La médiation des éléments liturgiques dans les sphères populaires n’est pas ici le reflet d’un assèchement de la vie religieuse. Les pratiques sont encore bien vivantes, mais les acteurs montrent une capacité d’action relativement forte pour occuper les nouveaux espaces engendrés par la globalisation et leur donner du sens sans trahir leurs confessions. Les tenants de la tradition modèlent leur perception du monde global en transposant leurs pratiques locales, ils développent des stratégies de « configuration et d’interprétation » (Olivier 2012) sur base de leurs ressources patrimoniales. Ici, montrer (ou jouer) n’est pas révéler !

a) Les phases¹⁵ essentielles

Les pratiques musicales rattachées au Bwete¹⁶ se divisent en séances publiques, diurnes, tenues dans les rues des villages, et séances privées, surtout nocturnes et réservées aux seuls initiés. C’est lors de ces dernières qu’intervient la harpe dans le contexte cérémoniel. Les phases rituelles¹⁷ du Bwete se déroulent dans trois lieux :

- le *nzimbe* : espace aménagé en brousse et accessible aux seuls initiés, c’est de là que sortent les masques ;
- l’*ebandza* : le lieu de culte du Bwete où se retrouvent les membres et où sont entreposés les instruments de musique ;
- la rue principale du village : lieu des séances publiques et de sortie des initiés.

Les officiants principaux sont le *povi*, le dépositaire de la parole sacrée, le *beti*, le joueur de *ngombi* et les deux joueurs de *baké* (la poutre en bois percutée avec

- *nzimbe*: uređen prostor u grmlju, dostupan samo inicijantima, odatle izlaze maske,
- *ebandza*: mesto Bviti kulta gde se sastaju članovi i gde se čuvaju muzički instrumenti, i
- glavna ulica u selu: mesto javnih seansi i izlaska inicijanata.

Glavne vođe ceremonije su *povi*, čuvar svete reči, *beti*, svirač ngombija, i dva svirača *baké* (drvene grede po kojoj se udara sa dva štapića). Proizvedeni zvuk bi trebalo da podseća na „prva komešanja života ili pucanje prvobitnog jajeta” (Sallée 1985). On daje ritmičku bazu melodiji harfe. Muzički komadi su u responsorijalnoj formi koju pokreće *beti*, a preuzimaju u horu *ñima*, nedavno inicirane osobe, i *kombve*, davno inicirani, ali i *bandzi*, kandidati za inicijaciju. Etnomuzikolog Silvi L Boman (*Sylvie Le Bomin*) jezgrovito sumira ove ritualne faze:



Sl. 6. Harfista Klasingo u tradicionalnoj odeći, Bilengi, fotografija: R. Jadinon, 2010 © MRAC.

Fig. 6. Harpiste Clasingo en tenue traditionnelle, Bilengui, Photo : R. Jadinon, 2012 © MRAC.

deux baguettes). Le son produit par le *baké* est censé rappeler les « premiers tressaillements de la vie ou la rupture de l'œuf originel » (Sallée 1985). Il donne le soubassement rythmique des chants de harpe. Les pièces musicales se présentent sous la forme de chants responsoriaux lancés par le *beti* et repris en chœur par les *ñima* – les personnes récemment initiées – et les *kombwe* – les anciens initiés –, mais aussi par les *bandzi* – les candidats à l'initiation. L'ethnomusicologue Sylvie Le Bomin résume succinctement ces phases rituelles :

« Après s'être réunis dans le *nzimbe*, les initiés arrivent en procession, revêtus des ornements rituels : pagnes de fibres de raphia et bandeaux de folioles de palmier raphia fraîchement coupées [voir Figure 6] [...] Ils marchent épaule contre épaule, en agitant toutes sortes de sonnaillles et hochets et brandissant les faisceaux de jeunes pousses de palmier raphia.

Puis ils viennent prendre place dans le temple au rythme du chœur responsorial dont les paroles sont en rapport avec les circonstances de la cérémonie organisée : initiation, deuil, célébration de saison. Après un temps indéterminé meublé par les chants accompagnés de harpe [...] le harpiste se tient accroupi au fond du temple, en tenant la harpe entre ses cuisses, la tête du manche tournée vers l'extérieur alors que la tringle sonore passe devant ses pieds. Les deux joueurs de *Baké*, disposés de part et d'autre du harpiste, l'accompagnent par une formule rythmique spécifique en frappant la tringle des deux baguettes. »

(Le Bomin 2002)

D'autres instruments de musique accompagnent les chants et danses collectifs. La corne d'appel, *yembomba*, est employée entre les différentes étapes pour convier les initiés à reprendre la cérémonie. Elle est généralement creusée dans une corne d'antilope *tsetsi*, l'embouchure se situe à l'extrémité fine de la corne, sur une surface plane. La cloche en fer¹⁸ forgé (parfois double), *kendo*, est d'utilisation récente dans le Bwete. Elle servait autrefois lors de cérémonies liées à la naissance de jumeaux.

„Nakon sastanka u nzimbe, kandidati za inicijaciju stižu u povorci, odeveni u ritualne ornamente: ogrtač od vlakana palme rafije i trake od sveže isečenog lišća rafije (slika 6) ... Hodaju rame uz rame, mašuci najrazličitijim vrstama zvončića i zvečki i snopovima mladica palme rafije. Zatim dolaze da zauzmu mesta u hramu u ritmu responsorijalnog hora čije su reči u vezi sa okolnostima organizovane ceremonije: inicijacija, žalost, slavljenje godišnjeg doba. Nakon nekog vremena obogaćenog pesmom u pratnji harfe [...] harfista čuči u dnu hrama, držeći harfu između butina, glava vrata harfe je okrenuta od njega, dok zvučni trougao prolazi ispred njegovih stopala. Dva svirača bake, raspoređenih sa obe strane harfsite, prate ga prema specifičnom ritmičkom obrascu udarajući trougao štapićima.”

(Le Bomin, 2002)

Drugi muzički instrumenti prate kolektivno pevanje i ples. Pozivni rog, *gembomba*²¹, koristi se između različitih etapa da pozove inicijante da nastave ceremoniju. Obično je uklesan u rog antilope, *tsitsi*, a otvor za usta nalazi se na užem kraju roga, na zaravnjenoj površini. Zvono od (ponekad dvostruko) kovanog gvožđa,²² *kendo*, odnedavno se koristi u Bviti. Nekada se koristilo u ceremonijama vezanim za rođenje blizanaca.

U literaturi se uglavnom nudi strogi redosled ceremonije inicijacije, pa smo se zato opredelili za šematski prikaz osnovnih etapa koji se može videti na slici 7.

b) Ngombi repertoari u Bviti

Iz perspektive formalnih struktura, ngombi pesme su polifone i imaju dva sastavna dela: zvuk koji proizvodi harfa i glas harfiste. Vokalni deo obuhvata sve ili samo određene stepene harfe. U zavisnosti od ritualne faze, muzička praksa može da se odvija između individualnog pevanja, kada pevač harfista vodi astralni put kandidata za inicijaciju, i kolektivnog, kada članovi traže trenutke kohezije tokom napredovanja ceremonije i kada se responsorijalno pridružuje hor.

Tradicionalni muzički nazivi su:

- *mwindja* = muzički komad, i
- *mindja* = skup komada (repertoar).

La littérature converge vers un séquençage très strict de la cérémonie d'initiation, voilà pourquoi nous optons pour une vision schématique d'étapes essentielles visible sur l'illustration numéro 7.

b) Les répertoires de *ngombi* dans le Bwete

Du point de vue des structures formelles, les chants au ngombi sont polyphoniques et font intervenir deux parties constitutives : le chant de la harpe et la voix du harpiste. La partie vocale reprend tous ou certains des degrés de la harpe. Au gré des différentes étapes rituelles, la pratique musicale peut évoluer entre chant individuel – le harpiste-chanteur guide le voyage astral des initiés – ou bien collectif – quand les membres cherchent des moments de cohésion au cours de l'avancement de la cérémonie. À ce moment vient alors s'ajouter un chœur en alternance responsoriale.

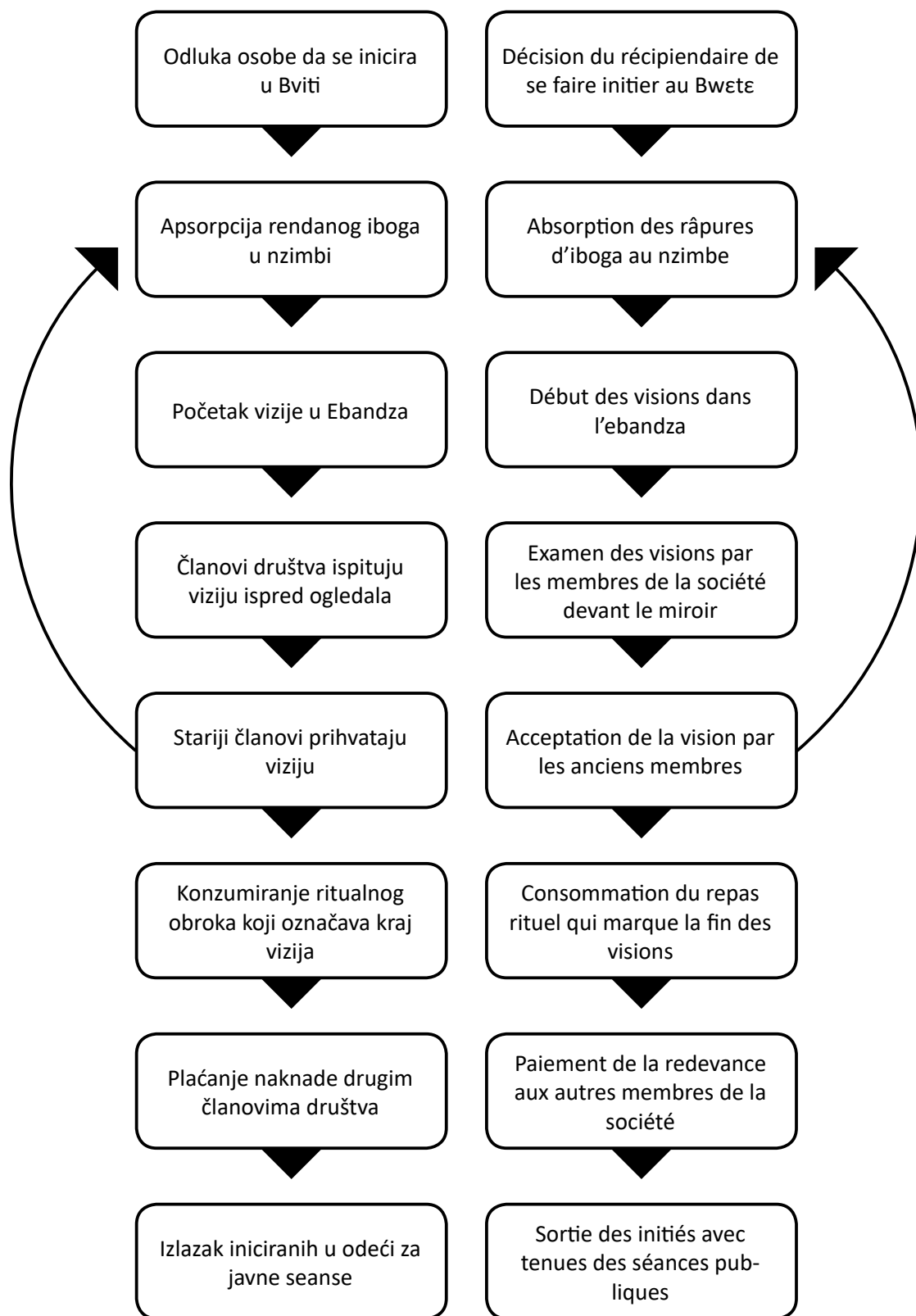
Les dénominations musicales traditionnelles sont les suivantes :

- un *mwindja* = un morceau, une pièce musicale ;
- un *mindja* = ensemble de pièces (le répertoire).

Pour la partie rituelle, nous nous intéresserons dans le cadre de cet article aux répertoires *mitombo*, parfois appelés par extension *disumba* tant ils sont représentatifs de cette branche du rituel et du contexte de jeu. Ce sont par excellence les chants liturgiques de harpe qui « annoncent le début des rites » (Sallée 1975). Ils se subdivisent en différentes formules mélodico-rythmiques distinctes dont nous donnons en figure 8 la transcription d'un enregistrement réalisé en 2013.

Pour celui-ci, la métrique n'a pas été matérialisée lors de l'enregistrement, nous avons opté pour une retranscription binaire. L'encadré bleu reprend l'ostinato strict de la figure de harpe qui identifie la pièce. Dans son jeu, le musicien réalise très peu de variations et celles-ci n'affectent pas les hauteurs : il n'y pas de commutation, mais un monnayage de valeurs qui induit une dynamique dans le jeu.

Comme on peut le constater sur la transcription de la figure 8, les progressions sont plus harmoniques que mélodiques. Cette assertion avait déjà été avancée par Pierre Sallée dans une étude similaire consacrée à la harpe *nkomi* (Sallée 1978).



Sl. 7. Šematski prikaz osnovnih etapa ceremonije inicijacije u Bviti

Fig. 7. Une représentation schématique d'étapes essentielles de la cérémonie initiatique Bwete



Sl. 8. Transkripcija komada mongeba harfiste Getseke, Bandi, 2013.

Fig. 8. Transcription de la pièce mongeba du harpiste Getseke, Bandi, 2013.

U okviru ritualnog dela, razmotrićemo u kontekstu ovog članka repertoare *mitombo*, koji se ponekad nazivaju i *disumba* – toliko su reprezentativni za ceo taj ritualni ogranak i kontekst sviranja. To je pravo liturgijsko sviranje harfe koje „najavljuje početak rituala” (Sallée 1975). Podeljeni su na različite ritmičko-melodijske formule koje su prikazane na slici 8 kao transkript snimka iz 2013. godine.

Metrika za ovaj snimak nije bila materijalizovana tokom snimanja, pa smo se odlučili za binarnu transkripciju. Uokvireni deo predstavlja ostinato strikt figuru harfe koja identifikuje komad. Tokom sviranja muzičar stvara veoma malo varijacija i one ne utiču na visinu: nema komutacije, već samo promena vrednosti kojima unosi dinamiku u sviranje.

Kao što se može videti na transkripciji na slici 8, progresije su pre harmonične, nego melodične. Ovu tvrdnju već je izneo Pjer Sale u sličnoj studiji o harfinkom (Sallée 1978).

Na slici 8 vidi se period od četiri binarne pulsacije. Međutim, u tradicionalnim pesmama kada je u pitanju ostvarivanje pulsacija, često se pojavljuje superpozicija dve metrike, binarne i ternarne, koje se spajaju na svakih 6 minimalnih operativnih vrednosti (Arom 1985), ali koje prate interval od dvanaest minimalnih operativnih vrednosti, kao što se može videti na slici 8.

B. Ombudi

Ngombi takođe zauzima centralno muzičko mesto u noćnim bdenjima tokom ceremonija Ombudi, društva zaposednutosti i izlečenja, prvenstveno ženskog²³, koje takođe vrši i inicijacije. Lokalni

La figure 8 a une période de quatre pulsations binaires. Toutefois dans les chants traditionnels quand il s’agit de matérialiser la pulsation, on voit souvent apparaître une superposition de deux métriques, une binaire et une ternaire, qui se rejoignent toutes les six valeurs opérationnelles minimales (Arom 1985), mais qui suivent une période de douze valeurs opérationnelles minimales comme on peut le voir sur la figure 8.

B. L’Ombudi

Le *ngombi* tient également une place musicale centrale dans les veillées nocturnes des cérémonies d’Ombudi, une société de possession et de guérison principalement féminine¹⁹ et qui relève également de l’initiation. L’Ombudi est couramment désigné par les acteurs locaux (et les anthropologues) comme le « Bwete des femmes », dans le sens où il participe aux mêmes expressions liturgiques que ce dernier. Il recourt à l’emploi de la même pharmacopée, la tabernanthe *iboga*, qui tient de fait une place fondamentale tant dans le diagnostic de la maladie que dans sa guérison. Cependant, s’il est effectivement possible de dresser un parallèle entre ces deux sociétés, il doit se limiter uniquement à la pratique psychiatrique²⁰. Pour intégrer une société, la personne doit montrer des signes perceptibles d’une possession par un des *migesi*, les esprits de l’Ombudi²¹. C’est la *ngangue*, la mère initiatrice de l’Ombudi, qui jugera en dernier ressort, après différentes séances thérapeutiques de *mbata*²², si l’affliction peut être soignée par l’une des deux branches de l’Ombudi, le Mabandzi ou le Mbumba. Le premier est associé à l’activité et aux

akteri (i antropolozi) često ga nazivaju „Bviti žena” jer članovi učestvuju u istim liturgijskim izrazima. Društvo pribegava upotrebi iste farmakopeje *tabernanthe iboga*, koja ima fundamentalnu ulogu i u dijagnozi i u izlječenju bolesti. Međutim, ako je zaista i moguće povući paralelu između ova dva društva, treba se ograničiti samo na psihijatrijsku praksu²⁴. Da bi postala pripadnik ovog društva, osoba mora da pokaže vidljive znake zaposednutosti jednim od Ombudi duhova²⁵, koji se nazivaju *migesi*. U krajnjem slučaju će majka inicijatorka Ombudija, *ngange*, nakon različitih terapijskih seansi *mbata-e*²⁶ presuditi da li boljku može izlečiti neka od dve grane Ombudija, Mabandzi ili Mbumba. Prva je povezana s aktivnostima i dnevnim duhovima: nose se bele tkanine. Druga je povezana sa aktivnostima i noćnim duhovima: nose se crvene i crne tkanine. Dva duha na koja se odnosi odeća su istovremeno i suprotstavljena i komplementarna (Mary 1998). Ombudi ne preuzima striktnu ulogu u širenju ezoteričnih znanja kao što može činiti Bviti. U Ombudi se ulazi ako je neko lično ili neko ko mu je blizak pogođen bolešću koju tradicionalna medicina nije mogla da izleči. Dakle, preko nevolje prouzrokovane nevidljivim svetom ulazi se u ovo društvo i stižu se i prenose znanja ove

esprits diurnes : on y porte les pagnes blancs.

Le second est associé aux activités et aux esprits nocturnes : on porte les pagnes rouges et noirs. Les deux génies auxquels se rapportent les tenues sont à la fois opposés et complémentaires (Mary 1998). L'Ombudi n'endosse pas un rôle strict de diffusion des connaissances ésotériques comme peut le faire le Bwete. On n'y rentre que si soi-même ou un proche est frappé d'un mal qui n'a pu être guéri par la médecine traditionnelle. C'est donc par une affliction du monde invisible que l'on rentre dans cette société et que les savoirs communautaires hermétiques sont acquis et seront transmis. Le lien avec le monde invisible est individuel. C'est de la relation avec son génie que l'on comprendra et expérimentera le monde visible. Les membres de la société agissent comme des agents régulateurs entre les deux mondes et non comme des responsables moraux du monde des hommes et des femmes.

a) Danses, possessions et génies

La notion de « médicament », couramment employée par les membres des sociétés initiatiques au Gabon, dépasse largement celle d'une préparation de pharmacopées aux vertus curatives. Elle regroupe tant des objets rituels que des savoirs ésotériques ou encore des danses rituelles. Dans les séances publiques des cérémonies d'Ombudi, la danse, couplée à la prise d'*iboga* et aux expressions sonores musicales et para-musicales, conduit individuellement chacun des membres de la société à un état de possession par l'un des deux *migesi*. C'est à ce moment précis que ces derniers indiqueront, à travers la vision des initiées, le médicament, *maganga*, à élaborer pour soigner la sociétaire souffrant d'une maladie psychosomatique.

Le soir, une veillée publique sera donnée à la maison de culte d'Ombudi, le *tede*²³, au cours de laquelle les membres de la société danseront toute la nuit, soit collectivement, en ronde, autour du poteau central, soit individuellement, face aux musiciens. La moitié des sociétaires absorbera une dose plus importante d'*iboga* afin de pouvoir entrer dans un état de possession par leurs génies. Cet état d'altération de la conscience se manifeste par des mouvements vécus et convulsifs du corps, « un tortillement effréné



Sl. 9. Članovi Ombudi društva u tradicionalnoj odeći, iz sela Bandia u Ngunie (Gabon), Fotografija R. Jadinon, 2012, MRAC Tervuren ©.

Fig. 9. Membres de société d'Ombudi en tenue traditionnelle, village de Bandi en Ngounié (Gabon), photo R. Jadinon (2012), MRAC Tervuren ©.

zatvorene zajednice. Veza sa nevidljivim svetom je individualna. Kroz odnos sa sopstvenim duhom razume se i doživljava vidljivi svet. Članovi društva deluju kao regulatori između dva sveta, a ne kao moralno odgovorna lica iz sveta muškaraca i žena.

a) Plesovi, zaposednutost i duhovi

Pojam „leka”, koji obično upotrebljavaju pripadnici inicijacijskih društava u Gabonu, daleko prevazilazi pripremu farmakopeje lekovitih svojstava. Po-drazumeva kako obredne predmete, tako i ezoterična znanja ili čak i ritualne plesove. Na javnim seansama *Ombudi* ceremonija, ples, zajedno sa uzimanjem *iboga* i muzičkim i paramuzičkim zvučnim izrazima, vodi svakog člana društva pojedinačno u stanje zaposednutosti jednim od dva *migesi*. Upravo u tom trenutku će duhovi putem vizija ukazati na lek, *maganga*, koji treba razviti za lečenje člana koji pati od određene psihosomatske bolesti.

U večernjim satima, u kući kulta Ombudi, *tede*,²⁷ organizuje se javno bdenje, tokom kog članovi društva igraju celu noć, bilo zajedno u krugu oko centralnog stuba, bilo pojedinačno ispred muzičara. Polovina članova će uzeti značajnije doze *iboga* da bi ih zaposeo duh. Ovo stanje izmenjene svesti manifestuje se brzim i konvulzivnim pokretima tela, „frenetično uvijanje kukova i zveckanje praporaca”, kao što je naglasio Andre Mari (Mary 1998). Ulaženje i izlaženje iz stanja transa ozbiljno kontrolišu preostali članovi kako bi se izbegao bilo kakav rizik. Seanse transa su prilično kratke i svaku od zaposednutih osoba izvode napolje sa ceremonije na neko mirno mesto da bi se povratili.

b) Ngombi repertoari u Ombudi

U Ombudi ngombi ne vodi inicijante u njihovom astralnom putovanju i nema isto simboličko ljudsko obličje²⁸ ali je ipak veoma prisutan tokom bdenja, kao i *bake* i bubnjevi sa dve kože, *mosumba*, koji pružaju ritmičku bazu²⁹ za lekovite plesove. Bilo bi pojednostavljeno reći da harfa ima samo funkciju pojačavanja zanosa u ovim noćnim seansama. Mitombo repertoar u Ombudi je obiman, ali njegove pesme nemaju istu funkciju prenošenja znanja kroz muzičke metafore. Ovde idiofoni instrumenti imaju ključnu ulogu u

des hanches et le tintement des grelots » comme le souligne André Mary (Mary 1998). L'entrée et la sortie de cet état de transe sont fortement contrôlées par les autres membres, ce dans le but d'éviter tout risque. Les séances de transe sont assez courtes et chacune des possédées est amenée dans un endroit calme en dehors de la cérémonie pour retrouver ses esprits.

b) Les répertoires de *ngombi* dans l'Ombudi

Le *ngombi* dans l'Ombudi ne guide pas les initiés dans leurs voyages astraux et ne possède pas la même symbolique anthropomorphisée²⁴, mais il est pourtant bien présent lors des veillées, au même titre que le *bake* ou certains tambours à deux peaux *mosumba* qui donnent le soubassement rythmique²⁵ des danses curatives. Il serait réducteur de dire que la harpe a pour seule vocation le ravissement de ces séances nocturnes. Le répertoire de *mitombo* d'Ombudi est large, pourtant ces chants n'ont pas la même fonction de transmission de savoirs par la métaphore musicale. Ce sont les idiophones qui jouent ici un rôle déterminant dans la phénoménologie du rituel. Lors des festivités, les danseuses arborent dans leurs tenues (voir figure 9) de nombreuses sonnailles portées à la ceinture, aux chevilles et dans les mains, tels les *tsagi* : hochets en coquilles de fruits évidés et emmanchés, les fruits étant ceux de l'arbre *soke*, mais aussi les *kandi* : clochettes de bois doubles à battant interne utilisées lors des danses et les *obembe* : sifflets en douilles de cartouches de fusil. Chacune des sociétaires retrouve dans la sonorité produite par ces instruments le moyen de rentrer en transe et par conséquent, en communication avec son génie. Il faut souligner ici une autre différence avec le *Bwete* : c'est la multiplicité des temples au sein d'un même village. Si l'on retrouve généralement un ou deux lieux de culte du *Bwete*, l'*ebandza*, dans un village *tsogo*, il n'est pas rare de voir de trois à cinq *tede* dans un même village.

La société d'Ombudi est communément plus restreinte et axée autour de la figure de la *ngangue*. Plus les connaissances que celle-ci détient sur la pharmacopée et la cosmogonie seront étendues, plus elle jouira d'une notoriété et plus elle fera appel aux musiciens pour les cérémonies²⁶.



Sl. 10. Transkripcija Mitomba u Ombudi harfiste Getskeke, Mokabo 2012.

Fig. 10. Transcription d'un Mitombo d'Ombudi du harpiste Getseke, Mokabo 2012.

fenomenologiji rituala. Tokom svečanosti plesači na odeći oko struka, na gležnjevima i na zglobovima ruku (slika 9) nose brojne klepetuše: kao što su *tsagi*: zvečka od izdubljenog voća drveta *soké*; *kandi*: zvono od dvostrukog drveta sa unutrašnjim klatnom – koristi se tokom igre; i *obembe*, pištaljke od čaura pušćanih metaka. Svaka članica u proizvedenim zvucima pronalazi način da uđe u trans, a posledično, i da počne komunikaciju sa svojim duhom. Ovde treba naglasiti još jednu razliku u odnosu na Bviti: veći broj hramova u istom selu. U jednom Tsogo selu obično se može naći jedno ili dva mesta kulta Bviti, *ebandza*, ali nije neobično videti tri do pet *tede*. Društvo Ombudi je obično ograničenije i fokusirano na figuru *ngange*. Što ona više zna o farmakopeji i kosmogoniji, uživaće veći ugled i više će muzičara pozivati za svečanosti.³⁰

Snimanje muzike mitomba društva Ombudi, izvedene tokom seansi *mbata* i zaposednutosti *mige-si-ma*, realizovano je i u kontekstu i van njega. Udaraljke nisu obeležene na transkribovanom snimku na slici 10, ali izgleda da se melodija harfe oslanja na serije od po četiri ternarna udarca.

C. Sekularne prakse

Pojmovi profan (*etema* na jeziku getsogo) i inicijant (*bandzi*) često se koriste u Gabonu da bi se napravila razlika između muzičkog i tradicionalnog praktičara. Za članove različitih društava svako ko svira ngombi ali nije prošao kroz različite stadijume inicijacijskih

Les enregistrements de *mitombo* d'Ombudi, joués lors des séances de *mbata* et de possession des *mige-si*, ont été réalisés hors et en contexte. La pulsation n'a pas été matérialisée sur l'enregistrement transcrit en figure 10, mais il semblerait que les formules de chants de la harpe s'appuient sur des cycles de quatre pulsations ternaires :

C. Les pratiques profanes

Les termes « profanes » (*etema*, en getsogo) et « initiés » (*bandzi*) sont couramment employés au Gabon pour faire une distinction entre le pratiquant musical et le pratiquant traditionnel. Pour les membres de différentes sociétés, toute personne qui s'exerce au *ngombi* mais ne serait pas passé par les différents stades des savoirs initiatiques ne fera que mimer un acte sans en comprendre le véritable sens.

Nous l'avons déjà évoqué, conscient de ce processus évolutif de l'intégration des herméneutiques et des dynamiques du secret, les actes mimant l'activité liturgique sans gloses sont intrinsèquement inconséquents. Dès lors, plus rien ne sert de cacher les secrets²⁷, car leurs réelles valeurs ne sont révélées qu'aux seuls initiés. Cette logique se transpose aux répertoires musicaux, pourquoi les interdire si leurs messages ne peuvent être compris ? Le raisonnement va encore plus loin, *pourquoi jouer autre chose que la tradition qui nous a été léguée par nos parents*²⁸ ?

Pour mieux comprendre cette idée, nous commenterons cette assertion de Pierre Sallée sur la statuaire tsogo : « dans la société traditionnelle, le talent in-

znanja samo imitira čin bez razumevanja njegovog pravog smisla.

Već smo pomenuli, svesni ovog evolutivnog procesa integracije hermeneutika i dinamika tajnosti, da su akti koji imitiraju liturgijsku delatnost bez tumačenja sami po sebi nedosledni. Stoga, ničemu ne služi da se tajne kriju,³¹ jer se njihove prave vrednosti otkrivaju samo iniciranim osobama. Ova logika se prenosi na muzičke repertoare – Zašto ih zabraniti ako njihove poruke ne mogu biti shvaćene? Rezonovanje ide još dalje, zašto svirati bilo šta drugo osim tradicionalnog koje smo nasledili od naših roditelja?³²

Da bismo bolje razumeli ovu ideju, tumačićemo tvrdnju Pjera Salea o Tsogo vajar: „u tradicionalnom društvu, pojedinačni talenat „umetnika” i sposobnost „primanja” moraju odražavati nivo znanja kojem će društveni kôd dodeliti preciznu inicijacijsku ulogu” (Gollnhoffer, Sallée & Sillans, 1975). Ova rečenica savršeno sažima ideju sekularne prakse u misli Tsogo naroda. Ako primalac, u ovom slučaju slušalac, ne raspolaže simboličkim kodovima da bi razlučio kolektivno razumevanje onoga što čuje od onoga što je time predstavljeno, smatraće se delom prvog nivoa inicijacijske stratifikacije, odnosno nivoa profanih, laika. Tradicionalno Tsogo društvo toj grupi pripisuje oblik kognitivne inkompetencije, „čak i ako laik sluša Bviti pesme, on ih ne može razumeti”.³³

Otuda proističe ovaj oblik tolerancije prema popularizaciji liturgijskih muzičkih kultura. Mnogo je nepromišljenije pokušati razumeti pesme, prevoditi reči, određivati faze, nego svirati melodijske figure i prilagođavati reči po svojoj volji. Sekularno društvo je to koje stvara profane i proizilazeće kulturne proizvode. Kada jednom izađemo iz ritualnog okvira, a posebno iz tradicionalnog, nema više zagonetnih ograničenja, a simbolička funkcija je uklonjena. Narod Mitsogo ima termin za opisivanje ovog diskursa i praksi: majaja. Jednostavna reč koja gradi i razgrađuje društvenu realnost.

1. Majaja

Ova kategorija označava muzičke prakse koje Emanuel Olivije (*Emmanuelle Olivier*) određuje kao deo „moralne ekonomije zabave” (Olivier 2012), to jest i muzičke paraliturgijske seanse prethodna dva

dividuel de “l’artiste” et la faculté de réception du “destinataire”, doivent refléter un niveau de connaissance auquel le code social assignera un rôle initiatique précis » (Gollnhoffer, Sallée & Sillans 1975). Cette phrase synthétise parfaitement l’idée de la pratique profane dans la pensée tsogo. Si le destinataire, ici l’auditeur, ne dispose pas des codes symboliques pour discerner l’entendement collectif de l’audible et de sa représentation, alors il sera considéré comme faisant partie du premier stade de la stratification initiatique, celui des profanes. La société traditionnelle tsogo attribue à ce groupe une forme d’incompétence cognitive : « même si un profane écoute les chants du Bwete, il ne peut pas les comprendre²⁹ ».

De là provient cette forme de tolérance envers la vulgarisation des cultures musicales liturgiques. Il est beaucoup plus imprudent d’essayer de comprendre les chants, d’en traduire les paroles, d’en donner les étapes que de jouer les figures mélodiques et d’en accommoder les paroles à sa guise. Ici c’est bien la société profane qui fait les profanes et les productions culturelles qui en découlent. Une fois que l’on sort du cadre rituel, plus encore du cadre traditionnel, il n’y a plus de contraintes sibyllines, la fonction symbolique en est ôtée. Les Mitsogo ont un terme pour décrire ce discours et ces pratiques : le *mayaya*. Un simple vocable qui construit et déconstruit une réalité sociale.

1. Le *mayaya*

Cette catégorie comprend les pratiques musicales qu’Emmanuelle Olivier désigne comme faisant partie d’une « économie morale du divertissement » (Olivier 2012), c’est-à-dire à la fois les séances musicales paraliturgiques des deux rituels précédents et l’ensemble des répertoires musicaux profanes joués en contexte traditionnel. Le terme peut se traduire par « le rire » ou « la blague ». Il peut s’adjectiver. Ainsi, une cérémonie de Bwete *mayaya* est une veillée organisée pour le divertissement, « sans autre but que de réjouir les esprits » (Bonhomme 2003 : 111).

Dans le cadre de cet article, les répertoires *mayaya* désignent l’ensemble des pièces originales composées et/ou interprétées par un musicien sur la harpe *ngombi*, jouées le soir, dans un cadre intimiste. C’est de cette catégorie musicale que se télescope la catégorie populaire du *tradimoderne* que nous définirons. Il



Sl. 11. Transkripcija komada pegege ge harfiste Mingongi, Muila, 2013.

Fig. 11. Transcription de la pièce peyeye ye du harpiste Minyonye, Mouila, 2013.

rituala i skup sekularnih muzičkih repertoara koji se sviraju u tradicionalnom kontekstu. Termin se može prevesti kao smeh ili šala. Može se od njega napraviti i pridev. Tako je *majaja Bviti* ceremonija bdenja za zabavu „bez drugog cilja osim udovoljavanja duhu, uživanja” (Bonhomme 2003 : 111).

U okviru ovog rada majaja repertoari označavaju originalne komade koje na ngombi harfi muzičari komponuju i/ili interpretiraju, koji se sviraju u večernjim satima u intimnoj atmosferi. Od ove muzičke kategorije odvaja se popularna kategorija *tradi-modernog* koju ćemo definisati naknadno. Suštinski, radi se o dekontekstualizovanim ritualnim muzičkim tvorevinama, a samim tim o muzičkom materijalu koji je lišen svojih simboličkih funkcija, jer se izvodi u sekularnom kontekstu, odnosno isključivo zabavnom kontekstu. Pojmovi stvaranja i kreativnosti ovde se prožimaju. Kao što smo istakli, muzičar može na svoj način da tumači liturgijske repertoare, da ih prisvoji, svira menjajući ritmičke vrednosti, dodajući originalne lirske elemente.³⁴ Kompozicija „ex nihilo” (Olivier 2012) je prilično retka. Muzičari pristupaju muzičkoj ili lirskoj individualizaciji ritualnih repertoara sa ciljem da od svoje „kompozicije” naprave komercijalni proizvod. Muzičke strukture su identične strukturama obrednih kategorija. Kao što se može videti na slici 11, transkripciji pesme harfiste Mingongi iz Muile, ponavlja se ista harmonijska i periodna progresija pesama iz Bviti, ali sa kraćim ciklusima, od 4 pulsacije.

2. Tradimoderna

Ovaj neologizam, etimološki antinoman, treba shvatiti kao dijadu koja povezuje tradiciju i savremenost, jer prema shvatanju muzičara ne dolazi do vremenske (između predačkog i sadašnjeg) niti

s’agit foncièrement de productions musicales rituelles décontextualisées, et par conséquent, d’un matériel musical dépouillé de ses fonctions symboliques puisque interprété dans un contexte profane, celui du seul divertissement. Ce sont les notions de création et de créativité qui dialoguent ici. Nous l’avons écrit, un musicien peut interpréter de manière personnelle les répertoires liturgiques, il se les approprie, jouera sur le monnayage des valeurs rythmiques, sur l’ajout d’éléments lyriques originaux³⁰. La composition « *ex nihilo* » (Olivier 2012) est en soi assez rare. C’est la dimension d’individualisation musicale ou lyrique des répertoires rituels par le musicien, dans le but de faire de sa « composition » un objet de commerce. Au niveau des structures musicales, elles sont identiques à celles des catégories rituelles. Comme on peut le voir sur la figure 11, une transcription d’un chant du harpiste Minyonye de Mouila reprend la même progression harmonique et périodique que les chants de Bwete, mais avec un cycle plus court, de 4 pulsations.

2. Le tradimoderne

Ce néologisme, étymologiquement antinomique, doit être compris comme une dyade qui associe tradition et modernité, puisque dans la conception que lui donnent les musiciens, il ne vient pas créer une opposition de type temporelle (entre l’ancien et l’actuel) ou spatiale (entre ville et village), mais parvient à les mettre sur un même pied d’égalité. *A fortiori*, cet antagonisme sémiologique interroge les notions de tradition et de modernité et démontre que l’une n’existe qu’à travers l’autre. C’est en créant une historicité et en donnant une formalité aux pratiques rituelles et profanes que l’on invente une tradition, celle-ci est sans cesse négociée par les acteurs musicaux (Ranger 1996). La tradition est par conséquent

prostorne (između grada i sela) suprotstavljenosti, već su koncepti ravnopravni. A fortiori, ovaj semiološki antagonizam, dovodi u pitanje pojmove tradicije i modernosti i pokazuje da jedan postoji samo kroz drugi. Stvaranjem istoričnosti i davanjem formalnosti ritualnim i sekularnim praksama tradicija upravo i nastaje, o njoj bez prestanka pregovaraju muzički akteri (Ranger 1996). Tradicija je stoga uvek savremena, jer se iz generacije u generaciju ažurira. Savremenost je uvek postojala u tradicionalnoj muzici, tradicionalni muzičari svih vremena bili su savremenici „modernijih” muzičara. Kako primećuje Emanuel Olivije (*Emmanuelle Olivier*), ne postoji „istovremenost” društava u smislu koji definiše Johannes Fabian (*Johannes Fabian*) (Olivier 2012).

Ali, kako preciznije opisati savremeni aspekt tradicionalnih repertoara koji muzičari danas sviraju? Naglašavajući individuaciju više nego komunitarizaciju muzičkog nasleđa, ali i interpretaciju komada više nego varijacije u muzičkoj strukturi tokom realizacije (Olivier 2012: 24). Dozvoljavajući izranjanje umetničkog identiteta pojedinaca, ne mešajući ih sa masom zajednice u kojoj bi svako delovanje bilo shvaćeno samo kao plod neke vrste neosetno stečene nepromenljive veštine. Pojedinač deluje na svoje kulturno nasleđe prisvajajući ga i menjajući ga u skladu sa svojim potrebama. Ovakvo snažno iskazivanje ličnosti upravo daje ravnotežu ideji modernosti koja bi prosto i ponekad isključivo bila prevedena kao upotreba novih tehnologija. Skorašnji dijahronski pristupi u etnomuzikologiji omogućeni arhiviranjem zvučnih izvora potvrđuju hipotezu o skoro trajnom postojanju narodnih pesama u tradicionalnom muzičkom nasleđu, koje su se nekada trivijalno zvale „zabavna muzika”. Nasuprot tome, od pojave muzičkog tržišta u centralnoj Africi, od ranih 20-ih godina 20. veka, prilično brzo se uviđa pojava pesama, ritmova i tradicionalnih melodija u popularnim kategorijama muzičke industrije. U različitim paradigmatskim pristupima u muzičkoj kulturi, modernost je ili izbegavana ili naglašavana sa fokusom na najvidljivije aspekte promena. Tradimoderno je, pre svega, komercijalna delatnost, izvor prihoda. To se, međutim, ne doživljava kao kršenje tradicije, zaštićene, kao što smo videli,

toujours contemporaine car actualisée de génération en génération. La contemporanéité a toujours existé dans les musiques traditionnelles, les musiciens traditionnels ont, de tous temps, été des contemporains des musiciens plus « modernes ». Comme le remarque Emmanuelle Olivier, Il n’y a pas de « co-temporalité des sociétés, au sens que lui donne Johannes Fabian » (Olivier 2012).

Mais comment décrire plus spécifiquement cet aspect contemporain des répertoires traditionnels qui sont interprétés par les musiciens aujourd’hui ? En insistant davantage sur l’individuation plutôt que sur la communautarisation du patrimoine musical, mais aussi sur l’interprétation des pièces plutôt que sur la variation de structures musicales dans leurs réalisations (Olivier 2012 : 24). En laissant émerger l’identité artistique des individus, sans les confondre dans une masse communautaire où chacun des actes ne serait perçu que comme le fruit d’une sorte de compétence immuable acquise implicitement. L’individu agit sur son patrimoine culturel en se l’appropriant et en le transformant au gré de ses besoins. Cette éruption de la personne vient équilibrer l’idée d’une modernité qui ne serait traduite que par le simple et parfois seul usage de technologies nouvelles. Les approches diachroniques récentes en ethnomusicologie rendues possibles par l’archivage de sources sonores confirment l’hypothèse de l’existence quasi permanente de chants populaires dans les patrimoines musicaux traditionnels, ce que l’on appelait alors trivialement la musique de divertissement. Inversement, depuis l’apparition du marché de la musique en Afrique centrale, dès le début des années 1920, on voit apparaître assez rapidement des chants, rythmes et mélodies traditionnels dans les catégories populaires de l’industrie musicale. Dans les différentes approches paradigmatiques qui sont faites des cultures musicales, la modernité a été soit évitée, soit exposée avec emphase, principalement dans ses aspects les plus visibles de changement. Le tradimoderno est avant tout une activité commerciale, une source de revenus. Il n’est pourtant pas perçu comme un manquement à la tradition, protégée, nous l’avons vu, par le principe des différents niveaux d’interprétations des gnosés de la culture matérielle et immatérielle. Jouer les répertoires religieux à un public profane ne leur révèle en

principom različitih nivoa interpretacije verskih znanja o materijalnoj i nematerijalnoj kulturi. Sviranje religijskih repertoara sekularnoj publici njima uopšte ne otkriva duboka značenja. Okolnosti izvođenja nisu institucionalizovane i snažno variraju, od intimnih okvira do koncertne dvorane, prolazeći takođe i kroz javni prevoz. Glavne predstave se odigravaju u zvaničnim institucijama glavnog grada provincije Ngunie gde ne postoje prave koncertne dvorane, već se predstave održavaju na posebno uređenim mestima u Mimongu, Mouili ili Librevilu.

Tržište tradicionalne muzike u Ngunie

Na terenu tržište funkcioniše u odsustvu strukturiranih i na nivou države ozakonjenih profesionalnih mreža. Muzički radnici su prisutni na različitim nivoima u muzičkoj industriji, ali nisu vođeni nikakvim formalnim okvirom niti bilo kojom vrstom institucionalne podrške koji bi upravljali razmenom između umetničke ponude i potražnje, to jest između izvođača i operativaca u kulturi. Direktna posledica ovog odsustva³⁵ države je mali profit na ovom tržištu. Nacionalni muzički pejzaž ostaje u velikoj meri finansiran sponzorstvima i privatnim subvencijama. Neki poslanici proizvode mlade bendove, a promocija nasleđa postaje vektor kulturnog identiteta, popularizacija umetnika je ponekad praćena politizacijom. Muzika tako postaje simbol izabranog političkog predstavnika. Ovaj kontekst je doveo do pojave lokalnih muzičkih proizvoda koji se globalno distribuiraju putem medija koji omogućavaju široku distribuciju i brz promet, uglavnom preko društvenih mreža³⁶ (Olivier 2012: 24). Danas se u selima proizvode fotografije i video-zapisi umetnika na ngombiju direktno snimljeni raspoloživim medijskim alatima: mobilnim telefonima, vrstom mobilnog računara koja danas omogućava čuvanje i deljenje medijskih informacija kao što je muzika. Može se uočiti promena polariteta između grada i sela. Sinergija nije više isključivo centrifugalna. Ruralna sredina je danas platforma difuzije muzičkih praksi. Suprotno od onoga što je primećeno u ranom 20. veku u velikim glavnim gradovima centralne Afrike, danas je ruralna sredina ta koja preuzima ulogu distributera popularne muzike. Ova popularizacija

rien leurs significations profondes. Les circonstances de jeu ne sont pas institutionnalisées et varient fort, du cadre intimiste aux salles de concerts, en passant également par les transports publics. Les grandes représentations se déroulent dans des institutions officielles de la capitale, il n'existe pas réellement de salles de concert dans la province de la Ngounié, les performances ont lieu dans des places aménagées pour les circonstances soit à Mimongo, soit à Mouila, ou à Libreville.

Le marché de la musique traditionnelle en Ngounié

Il fonctionne sur le terrain en l'absence de réseaux professionnels structurés et légiférés étatiques. Les acteurs musicaux sont bien présents aux différents niveaux de l'industrie musicale, mais sans être gérés par quelque cadre formel ou par toute sorte d'appui institutionnel qui régissent les échanges entre l'offre et la demande artistique, c'est-à-dire entre acteurs et opérateurs culturels. La conséquence directe de cette absence³¹ de l'État est le peu de profit que rencontre ce marché. Le paysage musical national reste en grande partie financé par le mécénat et par des subsides privés. Certains députés produisent de jeunes groupes et la promotion de ce patrimoine devient vectrice d'une identité culturelle, la popularisation d'artiste est parfois accompagnée par sa politisation, la musique devenant ainsi un emblème de l'élite communautaire. Ce contexte a donné lieu à l'apparition de productions musicales (auto)produites localement, mais diffusées globalement par les médias qui permettent une distribution large et un renouvellement rapide, c'est-à-dire principalement *via* les réseaux sociaux³² (Olivier 2012 : 24). Aujourd'hui, c'est dans les villages que sont produites les photos et vidéos d'artistes du *ngombi*, directement capturées par les outils médiatiques disponibles, dont le téléphone portable, sorte d'ordinateur mobile qui permet aujourd'hui le stockage et le partage d'informations médiatiques telles que la musique. Un changement de polarité est observable entre la ville et les villages. La synergie n'est plus exclusivement centrifuge. Le milieu rural est aujourd'hui une plateforme de diffusion des pratiques musicales. Contrairement à ce que l'on a pu observer aux débuts

repertoara harfe ngombi putem ovih medijskih kanala ne donosi direktno novac muzičarima, ali im omogućava da se proslave svojim autorskim kompozicijama i tako steknu poznatost i nekoga ko će ih reprezentovati (menadžera). Izvođenje (ritualno ili profano) je direktan izvor profita, medijalizacija je izlog umetničkog delovanja. Trenutnost medijske razmene stvara sve veću raspoloživu zalihu tradicionalnog muzičkog materijala, a uz to i potrebu da je harfisti neprestano obnavljaju. Ova kreativnost rađa više individualnih izraza u ngombi muzici i istovremeno više interesovanja za religijske pesme, pri čemu udaljavanje umetničkom procesu pruža profesionalnost, a približavanje garantuje autentičnost u komercijalnim kreacijama. One kruže na „kasetama“³⁷, ali su memorijske kartice mobilnih telefona osnovni resurs za razumevanje i postavljanje na mreže. Demokratizacija cena telefona smart u Gabonu, uglavnom zbog stupanja na tržište kineskih brendova koji nude proizvode koji se mogu podesiti prema ličnom ukusu, bolje su prilagođeni lokalnim potrebama i, pre svega, su jeftiniji, učinila je skoro svima dostupnu kupovinu modela poslednje generacije sa svim medijskim prednostima (Kirkley 2014: 110).

Zaključak

Kratak pregled konteksta izvođenja i struktura formalnih melodija harfe omogućava da se ažurira muzičko i ritualno posredovanje između različitih obrađenih kategorija: liturgijske pesme u Bviti ceremonijama inicijacije služe kao model za Ombudi terapeutske plesne ceremonije. Ali, i da se napomene da se specifičnosti sekularnih repertoara ne nalaze u muzičkim ili jezičkim osobinama, već u kontekstu izvođenja koji je intrinzično profan. Kao što je istakao Emanuel Olivije: „primećuje se radikalna transformacija verske muzike [...] u pravu popularnu, narodnu muziku“ (Olivier 2012).

Prevod (francusko-srpski): Katarina Dragović

Traduction (français-serbe): Katarina Dragović

du XX^e siècle dans les grandes capitales d'Afrique centrale, c'est aujourd'hui le milieu rural qui endosse le rôle de distributeur de la musique populaire. Cette popularisation des répertoires populaires de la harpe *ngombi* par ces canaux médiatiques ne rapporte pas directement d'argent aux musiciens, mais leur permet de s'illustrer avec leurs compositions originales et ainsi de gagner en notoriété et de pouvoir être amenés à se représenter. La performance (rituelle ou profane) étant une source directe de profit, la médiatisation est une vitrine de l'activité artistique. La caractéristique momentanée de l'échange médiatique vient créer un stock disponible de matériel musical traditionnel de plus en plus grand et donc un besoin de renouvellement constant de ce dernier par les harpistes. Cette créativité donne lieu à plus d'expressions individuelles dans la musique du *ngombi* et simultanément à plus d'intérêt pour les chants religieux dont la distance dans la démarche artistique est synonyme de professionnalité et sa proximité un gage d'authenticité dans les créations commerciales. Celles-ci circulent sur « cassettes³³ », mais les cartes mémoires des téléphones portables sont également une ressource fondamentale pour comprendre et dresser les réseaux. La démocratisation des prix des smartphones au Gabon, principalement due à l'entrée sur le marché des marques chinoises qui offrent des produits personnalisables mieux adaptés aux besoins locaux et surtout moins chers, a rendu accessible à presque tous l'achat d'un modèle de dernière génération avec toutes les facilités médiatiques (Kirkley 2014 : 110).

Conclusion

Un survol succinct des contextes d'exécution et des structures formelles des chants de harpe permet de mettre à jour la médiation musicale et rituelle entre les différentes catégories abordées : les chants liturgiques des cérémonies d'initiation du Bwete servent de modèles aux cérémonies de danses thérapeutiques de l'Ombudi. Mais aussi de remarquer que la spécificité des répertoires **profanes** ne réside pas dans les traits musicaux ou linguistiques, mais dans le contexte d'exécution, intrinsèquement profane. Comme le souligne Emmanuelle Oliver, « on observe une transformation radicale de la musique religieuse, [...] en une véritable musique populaire » (Olivier 2012).

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Napomene:

1 Danas je veliki deo populacije urban i živi u Libervilu, Port-Gentilu ili čak drugde u svetu.

2 Prim. prev. U originalu: yetsoḡo.

3 Pojam označava ljude i etnolingvističku grupu u klasifikaciji Žeroma T. Kwenzi-Mikala (*Jérôme T. Kwenzi-Mikala*) koja obuhvata jezike getsogo, gepinzi, gevove, kande, geviya, gehimbaka, simba (Bonhomme, 2003).

4 Guthrie, M. 1948. *The Classification of the Bantu Languages*. London: Oxford University Press.

5 Maho J F. 2007. A referential classification of the Bantu languages: keeping Guthrie's system updated.

6 Ne postoji zvaničan popis populacije u Gabonu. Ovu cifru je naveo otac Raponda-Voker 1903. godine i preuzimana je u različitim antropološkim istraživanjima. Treba je, dakle, uzeti s rezervom.

7 Prvenstveno antropološka literatura (Gollnhoffer, Sillans, ...).

8 Prim. prev. KT ili kilometarska tačka označava udaljenost u kilometrima od određene tačke. U tekstu se verovatno misli na udaljenost od početne tačke puta Muila-Ieno.

9 yesanga

10 Ovde nema mesta da se napravi razlika u žanrovima. Kako je u ritualnom kontekstu sviranje ngombija rezervisano za muškarce, isto važi i u sekularnim kontekstima.

11 Od radova koji se bave pitanjima verske antropologije u Gabonu, oslanjaćemo se na eminentna istraživanja koje su sprovedi otac Raponda Voker, Rodžer Silans, Oto Gollnhöfer i Žulien Bonom (*Raponda Walker, Roger Sillans, Otto Gollnhöfer i Julien Bonhomme*).

12 Bviti Misoko je magijsko-religiozna isceliteljska praksa koju sprovode vidoviti iscelitelji. Inicijacija se sprovodi da bi se lečile bolesti koje dolaze iz nevidljivog sveta. U ovoj situaciji ne svira se harfa već samo muzički luk, mongongo (Bonhomme 2003: 122). Mongongo je muzički luk koji se koristi u određenim okolnostima inicijacijskih društava i tokom pripovedanja. Pravi se od fleksibilnog drveta kuta dok se kao žica koristi traka od rafije. Iako ovaj instrument predstavlja majku harfe, ne svira se uz nju.

13 „Onaj koji jede” na jeziku getsogo.

14 Sa ovog puta će poneti svoje ime, svoj kombo koji će odrediti njegovo mesto u društvu i razumevanje kosmosa. Inicijacija ne nameće sledbenicima ništa osim čuvanja tajne, nikakva verska ponašanja koja treba izvoditi svakog dana. Međutim, ako želi da napreduje na jednom od puteva koji mu se nude, dugo i kodifikovano učenje će ga prevesti iz bandzija do ñima, a zatim možda i do nganga (Bonhomme 2003).

15 Tajni Bviti jezik je potpuno nerazumljiv profanima i veoma malo razumljiv tek iniciranim osobama. Tekstovi popularne muzike su takođe suštinski alegorijski. U njima nalazimo brojna pominjanja Tsogo kosmogonije i upotrebu reči u mitimbu.

Remarques:

1 Aujourd'hui, une large partie de la population est urbaine et vit à Libreville, Port-Gentil, ou bien encore dans le reste du monde.

2 Le terme signifie « les hommes » et désigne un groupe ethnolinguistique dans la classification de Jérôme T. Kwenzi-Mikala qui reprend les langues getsogo, gepinzi, gevove, kande, geviya, gehimbaka, simba (Bonhomme 2003).

3 Guthrie, M. 1948. *The Classification of the Bantu Languages*. London : Oxford University Press.

4 Maho J F. 2007. A referential classification of the Bantu languages: keeping Guthrie's system updated.

5 Il n'existe pas de chiffres officiels sur le recensement des populations au Gabon. Celui-ci a été avancé par le père Raponda Walker en 1903 et repris ensuite dans différentes études anthropologiques. Il est donc à relativiser.

6 Anthropologique principalement (Gollnhoffer, Sillans, ...).

7 Ici, il n'y a pas lieu d'établir une distinction de genre. Si la pratique du *ngombi* est réservée aux seuls hommes dans les contextes rituels, il en va de même dans les contextes profanes.

8 Concernant les travaux qui abordent les questions de l'anthropologie religieuse au Gabon, nous renverrons aux éminentes recherches menées depuis par le Père Raponda Walker, Roger Sillans Otto Gollnhöfer et Julien Bonhomme.

9 Le Bwete Missoko est une pratique magico-religieuse de guérison exercée par des voyants guérisseurs, on se fait initier cette fois pour guérir des maux venus du monde invisible. La harpe n'est pas jouée dans ce cadre, mais seulement l'arc musical *mongongo* (Bonhomme, 2003 : 122). Le *mongongo*, arc musical à résonateur buccal, est utilisé dans certaines étapes des sociétés initiatiques et pour le récit de contes. Il est façonné en bois flexible *kuta* et la corde est en lanière de raphia. Si l'instrument représente la mère de la harpe, il n'en joue pas.

10 « Celui qui mange », en yetsoḡo.

11 De ce voyage il rapportera son nom, son *kombo* qui déterminera sa place dans la société et sa compréhension du cosmos. L'initiation n'impose que le secret à ses adeptes, mais aucun comportement religieux à respecter au quotidien. Toutefois, s'il veut progresser dans l'une des voies qui s'offrent à lui, un apprentissage long et codifié le fera passer de *bandzi* à *ñima* et ensuite peut-être à *nganga* (Bonhomme 2003).

12 Langue secrète du Bwete. Elle est totalement incompréhensible aux profanes et peu intelligible pour les jeunes initiés. Les paroles de la musique populaire sont, elles aussi, fondamentalement allégoriques, on y retrouve de nombreuses références à la cosmogonie tsogo, et l'emploi de termes en *mitimbo*.

13 Cette affirmation nous a été donnée par « Maman Hélène », mère initiatrice d'Ombudi au temple Ossingani (Mokabo, PK 18 de Mouila). Le corps de la tortue est assimilé au sexe de la femme. Nous retrouvons également cette assimilation dans le chant Maniva de Marius Osseye.

14 Dans une étude similaire réalisée sur le Bwiti Fang, Maité Boulosa-Joly affirme que « la valeur du secret ne réside pas dans son contenu, mais dans le seul fait qu'il soit... secret » (communication personnelle du Dr Viviane Baëke).

16 „Mama Elen” (*Maman Hélène*) Ombudi majka inicijator iz hrama Osingani (Mokabo, KT 18 iz Muile) nam je dala ovu izjavu. Telo kornjače se poredi sa polnim organom žene. Naći ćemo ovo poređenje i u pesmi Marius Osseye, Maniva.

17 U sličnoj studiji o Fang Bviti, Maite Bulosa Žoli (*Maité Bouloussa-Joly*) kaže da „vrednost tajne ne leži u njenom sadržaju, već u samoj činjenici da je ...tajna” (lična izjava Dr Vivianne Baëke).

18 Pod „fazama” ovde podrazumevamo ritualne događaje koji hronološki prate jedan drugi i označavaju presek u individualnom ili kolektivnom vremenu. Tako inicijacija u Bviti sadrži različite faze, na primer žvakanje iboga, viziju i izlaz iz inicijacije. U okviru faza razlikujemo etape: odluka da se inicira u društvo, apsorpcija prvih količina iboga, muzičku numeru na harfi, ritualno kupanje na reci, ...

19 Za razliku od Bviti, gde je disumba samo početak dugog procesa učenja, inicijacija Misoko, u mnogim slučajevima, odgovara seansi lečenja pacijenta i stoga može biti jedini događaj ako bandzi nema želju da postane nganga. U Bviti je potrebno više seansi da bi se shvatilo učenje koje se iniciranim otkriva u zavisnosti od njihovog učešća i razumevanja. Sva simbolika harfe i njene uloge u kosmogoniji ne odaju se tokom inicijacije, tokom koje se tek minimalno otkriva ovaj instrument. Ali, ona tu ima ključnu ulogu za dobar tok vizija (Maas 2003).

20 Za detaljniji opis koraka i njihovu simboliku u Bviti Disumba možemo samo uputiti na doktorsku tezu Ota Golnhoffera koji pažljivo i detaljno analizira svaku fazu (Golnhoffer 1974).

21 yembomba

22 Narod Mitsogo kuje ali radi samo sa uveženim gvoždem.

23 Ova razlika, međutim, nije isključujuća, često je učestvovanje muškaraca u Ombudi.

24 To jest na misoko odeljak Bvitija. Tokom snimanja seansi igranja u hramu Osingani, prikupili smo svedočenja majke inicijatorke, Mame Elen: „Ombudi počinje iz prirode, ceremonije plesa se odvijaju sa ciljem isceljenja bolesti koja na drugim mestima nije bila izlečiva, ali i radi zaštite. Inicijacija je otvorena za sve osobe, muškarce i žene. Prvi korak je faza pevanja i igranja radi testiranja pacijenta i otkrivanja duha koji se krije iza bolesti. Zatim, žvakanje svetog drveta, iboga, služi da bi se pacijent „operisao”. Radi se istovremeno i o tretmanu i o „operaciji”. Iz vizije će bolesnik izaći sa svojim lekom, kao i sa pesmom i sopstvenim imenom. Prvi inicirani je čuvar tradicije i on organizuje ceremonije. Ime svakog iniciranog odgovara njegovom duhu.” (Mokabo, KT 28 iz Muile, 28. 11. 2010, Rémy Jadinon).

25 Na čelu Ombudi panteona nalazi se Biomba, snažan duh izvor sveg zla, ali kome se okreću tražeći isceljenje ili zaštitu. Stav prema njoj oscilira između straha i obožavanja.

26 Mali tabure na koji onaj koji će biti iniciran sedne da bi bio zaposednut.

27 Ovaj termin se na francuski obično prevodi sa „hram” ili „stražarnica”.

28 U Tsogo kulturi duhovi nisu materijalno predstavljeni.

15 Par « phases », nous entendons ici les événements rituels qui se succèdent chronologiquement et qui marquent une césure dans le temps individuel ou collectif. Ainsi, l’initiation au Bwete contient différentes phases, par exemple la manducation de l’*iboga*, la vision et la sortie de l’initiation. Au sein de ces phases, on distinguera des étapes : décision du jeune initié, absorption des premières quantités d’*iboga*, chant de la harpe, bain rituel à la rivière,...

16 À la différence du Bwete Missoko où l’initiation, dans de nombreux cas, correspond à la séance de guérison du patient et par conséquent peut être un événement unique si le *bandzi* n’envisage pas de devenir *nganga*. À l’inverse, l’initiation au Bwete Disumba n’est que le début d’un long processus d’apprentissage. Il faudra multiplier les séances pour appréhender l’enseignement qui est révélé aux initiés au fur et à mesure de son implication et de sa compréhension. Tous les symbolismes de la harpe et son rôle dans la cosmogonie ne sont pas donnés lors de l’initiation, à peine découvre-t-on l’instrument. Mais elle tient là un rôle essentiel au bon déroulement des visions (Maas 2003).

17 Pour une description plus fine des étapes et de leurs symboliques du Bwete Disumba, nous ne pouvons que renvoyer au travail doctoral d’Otto Golnhoffer qui reprend minutieusement chacune des phases (Golnhoffer 1974).

18 Les *mitsogo* sont des forgerons, mais pas des fondeurs, ils ne travaillent que du fer d’importation.

19 Cette distinction n’est pourtant pas excluante, la participation d’hommes à l’Ombudi est courante.

20 C’est-à-dire à la section Missoko du Bwete. Lors de l’enregistrement des séances de danses au corps de garde Ossingani, nous avons recolté le témoignage d’une mère initiatrice, Maman Hélène : « L’Ombudi commence depuis la nature, les cérémonies de danse se font dans une perspective de guérison d’un mal incurable ailleurs, mais aussi de protection. L’initiation est ouverte à toute personne, homme ou femme. La première étape est une phase de chants et de danses pour tester le malade et découvrir le génie qui se cache derrière le mal. Ensuite, la manducation du bois sacré, Iboga, sert à “opérer” le malade, il s’agit à la fois du traitement et de l’opération, de sa vision, le malade sortira son remède, ainsi qu’un chant et un nom qui lui est propre. Le premier initié est le tenant de la tradition et il orchestre la cérémonie, le nom de chaque initié correspond à son génie. » (Mokabo, PK 28 de Mouilla, le 28 novembre 2010, Rémy Jadinon).

21 À la tête du panthéon de l’Ombudi se trouve Biomba, un esprit puissant source de tous les maux, mais vers qui on se retourne pour demander la guérison ou sa protection. L’attitude à son égard oscille entre peur et vénération.

22 Petits tabourets sur lesquels les initiées prennent place pour être posédée.

23 Le terme est généralement traduit en français par « temple » ou « corps de garde ».

24 Les génies ne sont d’ailleurs pas représentés plastiquement dans la culture tsogo.

25 Les harpistes et percussionnistes qui participent à ces séances sont toujours des hommes, invariablement.

29 Harfisti i perkusionisti koji učestvuju u seansama su uvek muškarci.

30 Za razliku od društva Bviti, angažman muzičara nije duhovni kada sviraju na ceremonijama, već su plaćeni za svoje izvedbe.

31 Međutim, trebalo bi s rezervom uzeti javnost rituala. Materijalna kultura je, na primer, samo delimično izložena profanima. Figurativni i zaštitni elementi hramova, kao i ritualni nameštaj su na vidnom mestu, ali se maske koje predstavljaju pretke i koje se koriste u tajnim noćnim udaranjima tokom Bviti ceremonija nikada ne otkrivaju i ne izlažu tokom dana svetovnoj publici, pa čak ni nedavno iniciranim.

32 Izjava harfiste Getseki iz Bandija.

33 Izjava harfiste Mons iz Mokaba.

34 Možemo videti ovaj fenomen u brojnim kulturama centralne Afrike i tradicionalnim kulturama ostalog dela sveta. Mnoge studije u afričkoj etnomuzikologiji pristupaju ovom problemu.

35 Iako se od druge polovine 80-ih godina 20. veka pojavljuju kulturne politike da bi promovisale tradicionalne kulture, uvele zakone i dale prava umetnicima.

36 Jutub, fejsbuk ili sajtovi uže specijalizovani za gabonsku kulturu i muziku.

37 Pojam „kaseta” na gabonskom francuskom označava sve nosače snimaka: K7, CD, memorijsku karticu...

26 Contrairement au Bwete, les musiciens ne sont pas tenus par un engagement spirituel à jouer dans les cérémonies et se font donc rémunérer pour leurs prestations musicales.

27 Il faut toutefois émettre une réserve sur la publicité rituelle. La culture matérielle n'est, par exemple, que partiellement exposée aux profanes. Les éléments figuratifs ou protecteurs des temples, tout comme le mobilier rituel, sont à la vue de tous, mais les masques de représentations des ancêtres en usage dans les étapes nocturnes et secrètes des cérémonies de Bwete ne sont jamais révélés et exposés de jour aux profanes, ni même aux jeunes initiés.

28 Communication personnelle du harpiste Getseki de Bandi.

29 Communication personnelles du harpiste Monss de Mokabo.

30 On peut observer ce phénomène dans de nombreuses cultures d'Afrique centrale et traditionnelles du reste du monde. De nombreux travaux d'ethnomusicologie africaniste abordent cette problématique.

31 Même si des politiques culturelles émanent depuis la seconde moitié des années 1980 en vue de valoriser les cultures traditionnelles, légitimer et donner des droits aux artistes.

32 YouTube ou Facebook ou des sites plus spécialisés dans la culture et la musique gabonaise.

33 Le terme « cassette », en français du Gabon, renvoie à tous les supports d'enregistrements : K7, CD, carte mémoire...

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MUZEJSKI METANARATIVI

KROZ PRIZMU SAMOREFLEKSIJE,
REVALORIZACIJE
I DIGITALNOG POMAKA

Nadovezujući se na prethodna istraživanja Muzeja afričke umetnosti – zbirke Vede i dr Zdravka Pečara (Sladojević 2012, 2014), koja upućuju na razumevanje samog muzeja, a naročito njegove Stalne postavke kao palimpsesta, u radu se ističe upotreba digitalizacije kao još jedne moguće tehnike koja omogućava kritički odmak potreban za samorefleksiju i revalorizaciju, ali i koja svojim osobenostima olakšava upravo istovremenost prikazivanja pomenutih slojeva samog palimpsesta. U okviru kritičke teorije muzeja prepoznaje se potreba za samorefleksijom i revalorizacijom ne samo muzejskih predmeta već i muzeja u širem smislu: ova se pitanja moraju inkorporirati u savremene metodologije reprezentacije i dokumentovanja nasleđa, kakvi su i 3D digitalni zapisi. Međutim, napominje se da je beleška ili digitalni zapis samo početak, koji ima značaj jedino ukoliko se koristi, odnosno ukoliko za korisnike predstavlja prolaz ka drugim saznanjima – poput interfejsa koji omogućava transparentnost muzeja za pristup svim drugim, inače nevidljivim, segmentima muzejskog rada, kao i njihovo neograničeno kombinovanje. Ovakav pristup omogućava nastanak polifonih muzejskih narativa, otvarajući put demokratizaciji Muzeja kroz veće učešće publike u kreiranju njegovih sadržaja.



MUSEUM METANARRATIVES

Through the Prism of Self-Reflection, Revalorisation and Digital Shift

Building on previous research of the Museum of African Art: The Veda and dr Zdravko Pečar Collection (Sladojević 2012, 2014,) directed towards an understanding of the museum and specifically its permanent display as palimpsest, the work underlines the use of digitization as another possible technique that allows critical distance required in order to undertake self-reflection and also as a means to facilitate the concurrence in displaying the aforementioned layers of the palimpsest itself. Critical theory of the museum recognises the need for the self-reflection and revalorisation not only of museum objects, but of the museum in the wider sense: these issues should be incorporated into contemporary methodologies of representation and documenting heritage that are, in fact, 3D digital recordings. However, it should be noted that annotation or digital imprint is merely a beginning, which is meaningful only if used, i.e., if it represents the gateway to other discoveries – such as interface which enables the transparency of the museum so that the user can access the otherwise invisible segments of the museum's work as well as the limitless ways they can be combined. This approach enables the emergence of polyphonic museum's narratives, opening the path towards the democratisation of the museum via greater audience participation in the creation of its content.

Ana Sladojević

Centralni institut za konzervaciju u Beogradu

ana.sladojevic@cik.org.rs

Ana Sladojević

Central Institute for Conservation in Belgrade

ana.sladojevic@cik.org.rs

MUZEJSKI METANARATIVI kroz prizmu samorefleksije, revalorizacije i digitalnog pomaka*

Apstrakt:

Nadovezujući se na prethodna istraživanja Muzeja afričke umetnosti – zbirke Vede i dr Zdravka Pečara (Sladojević 2012, 2014), koja upućuju na razumevanje samog muzeja, a naročito njegove Stalne postavke kao palimpsesta, u radu se ističe upotreba digitalizacije kao još jedne moguće tehnike koja omogućava kritički odmak potreban za samorefleksiju i revalorizaciju, ali i koja svojim osobenostima olakšava upravo istovremenost prikazivanja pomenutih slojeva samog palimpsesta. U okviru kritičke teorije muzeja prepoznaje se potreba za samorefleksijom i revalorizacijom ne samo muzejskih predmeta već i muzeja u širem smislu: ova se pitanja moraju inkorporirati u savremene metodologije reprezentacije i dokumentovanja nasleđa, kakvi su i 3D digitalni zapisi. Međutim, napominje se da je beleška ili digitalni zapis samo početak, koji ima značaj jedino ukoliko se koristi, odnosno ukoliko za korisnike predstavlja prolaz ka drugim saznanjima – poput interfejsa koji omogućava transparentnost muzeja za pristup svim drugim, inače nevidljivim, segmentima muzejskog rada, kao i njihovo neograničeno kombinovanje. Ovakav pristup omogućava nastanak polifonih muzejskih narativa, otvarajući put demokratizaciji Muzeja kroz veće učešće publike u kreiranju njegovih sadržaja.

Ključne reči:

muzej, metanarativi, samorefleksija, revalorizacija, digitalizacija

MUSEUM METANARRATIVES Through the Prism of Self-Reflection, Revalorisation and Digital Shift*

Abstract:

Building on previous research of the Museum of African Art: The Veda and dr Zdravko Pečar Collection (Sladojević 2012, 2014,) directed towards an understanding of the museum and specifically its permanent display as palimpsest, the work underlines the use of digitization as another possible technique that allows critical distance required in order to undertake self-reflection and also as a means to facilitate the concurrence in displaying the aforementioned layers of the palimpsest itself. Critical theory of the museum recognises the need for the self-reflection and revalorisation not only of museum objects, but of the museum in the wider sense: these issues should be incorporated into contemporary methodologies of representation and documenting heritage that are, in fact, 3D digital recordings. However, it should be noted that annotation or digital imprint is merely a beginning, which is meaningful only if used, i.e., if it represents the gateway to other discoveries – such as interface which enables the transparency of the museum so that the user can access the otherwise invisible segments of the museum's work as well as the limitless ways they can be combined. This approach enables the emergence of polyphonic museum's narratives, opening the path towards the democratisation of the museum via greater audience participation in the creation of its content.

Key words:

museum, metanarratives, self-reflection, revalorisation, digitalisation

Kritičkim razmatranjem muzeja u okviru savremene teorije uviđa se da među njima danas ima bitnih razlika. One se više ne očituju isključivo u polju kojim se muzej bavi, pa čak ni u veličini institucije, već pre svega u razumevanju sopstvene pozicije i spremnosti da se ona promišlja. Upitanost nad svim segmentima muzejskog rada i lociranje samog promišljanja u prostor koji je javan – bez obzira na to da li je fizički/materijalan ili digitalan¹ – vodi ka transparentnosti procesa i preduslov

Contemporary theory that critically reflects museums, recognizes that in this day and age they are substantially different. Differences are no longer reflected in the fields that are of interest to museums, nor in the size of the institution, but above all, in understanding the position that they hold and their willingness to reflect upon it. Questioning each segment of the work of a museum and placing reflection in the public domain – regardless whether it is physical/material or digital¹ – secures transparency of the

je za otvaranje šireg polja dijaloga, koje više nije ograničeno na muzejske profesionalce.

Neka od osnovnih pitanja koja su u muzejima, između ostalog, aktualna jesu pitanja valorizacije nasleđa, zatim pitanja promena koje su sa digitalnim pomakom uveliko uzele maha u najširem društvenom kontekstu – pa tako i muzejskom, kao i zahteva sa kojima su suočene institucije zaštite; sva ova pitanja su ujedno obuhvaćena muzejskom samorefleksijom, odnosno samopromišljanjem, u čijim okvirima se dalje obrazlažu. Samorefleksija je kao element muzejskog rada preuzeta iz domena savremene teorije, kao i iz umetničkih i kustoskih praksi, ali je samopromišljanje zapravo aktivnost koja je zbog prirode rada muzejima veoma svojstvena: M. Bal (1999) upravo u njima vidi idealne institucije koje u javnom prostoru promišljaju sebe same, upravo zbog upućenosti muzeja prema *izlaganju*.²

Ukoliko muzeje razumemo kao odraze sveta – slike sveta – nastale u određenim kontekstima, jasno je da ove fragmentarne slike otkrivaju podjednako mnogo informacija kroz ono šta prikazuju koliko kroz ono šta izostavljaju. Drugim rečima, svaki muzej, kao svojevrsna slika saznanja u određenom kontekstu ili kontekstima, uvek pokazuje daleko više od onoga šta načelno predstavlja, uvek sadržavajući brojne meta-muzeje i metanarative unutar dominantnog muzejskog diskursa. Ova propustljivost muzeja za brojne druge diskurse povrhu nominalnog nosećeg muzejskog narativa (npr. istorijskog, umetničko-istorijskog, etnografskog i dr.) naročito podvlači njegovu prirodu kao *medija*.

U odnosu na strukturu i metodologiju muzejskog rada, kao institucije koja je formirana oko određenih načela uspostavljenih u 19. i dalje razvijanih u 20. veku, *predmeti* su predstavljali apsolutni fokus u kolekcioniranju, beleženju, konzervaciji, reprezentaciji. Sa promenom koja je nastupila u preispitivanjima muzejskih reprezentacija uplivom kritičke teorije i postkolonijalnih studija krajem 20. i početkom 21. veka, uvođenjem polifonih narativa i upitanošću nad „istinitošću” muzejskih reprezentacija, pristupilo se promišljanju i drugih aspekata muzeja i muzejskog rada, kao i redefinisano toga šta sve može biti shvaće-

process and is imperative for opening a wider spectre for dialogue, which is no longer limited exclusively for museum professionals.

Some of the basic issues museums are facing, among others, are questions of heritage valorisation, then, the changes which widely spread with the digital shift in the widest social contexts, including the museums, as well as the demands conservation institutions need to tackle. All these issues are at the same time incorporated into the self-reflection of the museums, wherein they could further be explained. Self-reflection, as an element of museum work has been incorporated from the domain of contemporary theory, and artistic and curatorial practices, but it is actually an activity that, due to its nature, is very particular for museums: M. Bal (1999) sees in them the ideal institutions which, in the public domain, reflect upon themselves, precisely due to their *exhibiting* orientation.²

If we are to understand museums as reflections of the world – images of the world – created in certain contexts, it is clear that these fragmented images equally reveal information through what they show and what they omit to show. In other words, every museum, as sort of an image of knowledge within a certain context or contexts, always shows far more than what it essentially represents, always containing numerous meta-museums and meta-narratives within the dominant discourse of the museum. This permeability of the museum for numerous other discourses, on top of the nominal museum narrative (for instance, historical, art-historical, and ethnographic, etc.) especially underlines its nature as *medium*.

In relation to the structure and methodology of museum work – the museum being an institution fashioned on certain principles established in the 19th century and furthered later in the 20th century – *objects* were the absolute focus of collecting, noting, conservation and representation. With the change which occurred in re-evaluating museum representations by the influx of critical theory in late 20th and early 21st century postcolonial studies and by introducing polyphonic narratives and questioning the “accuracy” of the museum representations, other aspects of the museum and museology were re-evaluated and redefined in terms of what could be understood to be a museum object. Namely, through new approaches in

no kao muzejski predmet. Naime, otvorila se mogućnost da čak i već postojeći, ali do tada nevidljivi, neprepoznati elementi muzeja, kroz nove pristupe u valorizaciji nasleđa i kroz kreiranje novih narativa, dobiju mesto kakvo nikada ranije nisu imali. Takođe, dok se sam muzej nekada posmatrao kao *ram* – dakle, manje vidljiv ili nevidljiv u poređenju sa njegovim *centralnim* sadržajem: predmetima – krajem 20. veka u okviru teorije obraća se posebna pažnja na sve ono što nije ulazilo u kadar ili ga je uokviravalo: muzejsku zgradu, legende, vitrine, raspored predmeta na postavci i sve drugo što je obeležavalo načine komunikacije i prenošenja određenih sadržaja.

Pomak koji se dešava, naročito na prelazu iz 20. u 21. vek, tiče se pomeranja fokusa sa predmeta prema kontekstu. Međutim, iako je kontekst postao nezaobilazan deo razumevanja, dokumentovanja i reprezentacije, moralo se pristupiti i redefinisaju onoga što smatramo kontekstom, odnosno kontekstima. Jedna od bitnih tema sredine 20. veka bila je, na primer, tema muzejskih predmeta koji su istrgnuti iz svog *originalnog* konteksta, ali se tada još uvek nije u potpunosti razumela ideja da svaki predmet uvek ima neki kontekst ili kontekste – ne samo kontekste nastanka i izrade već i kontekste njihove nabavke, želje koja je stajala iza akvizicije, načina na koji je to učinjeno, kolekcije kojoj su pripali, načina na koji su zabeleženi, fotografisani, izlagani i dr. Prepoznavanjem navedenih konteksta – posedovanja, beleženja, izlaganja – sam predmet postaje medij, katalizator za artikulaciju i verbalizaciju diskursa, koji zatim otkriva daleko više od njegovog porekla i načina izrade.

Iako su u međuvremenu nastajali različiti tipovi muzeja, pa tako i onih muzeja koji nemaju predmetni fond, prethodno postojanje velikog broja predmeta u muzejskim zbirkama, od kojih neke postoje već nekoliko vekova, predstavlja ozbiljnu poteškoću za korenitu promenu uvreženog načina muzejskog razmišljanja i razmišljanja o muzejima. Između ostalog i zato što se veliki deo muzejske istorije odvijao upravo oko predmeta, kroz brojne opise, fotografije, izložbe, reprezentacije. Može se čak reći da je podjednako teško uvesti promenu na oba kraja muzejskog delovanja – u njegovom okrilju, gde su muzejski pro-

the valorisation of heritage and by creating new narratives the possibility opened for the already existing but, up until that point, invisible elements of the museum to receive the recognition they never had. At the same time, while the museum itself was sometimes seen as a *frame* – less visible or completely invisible compared to its *central* content: objects – in the late 20th century, theory began to pay special attention to all that was not yet part of the frame or what served as a frame – the museum building, labels, showcases, arrangements of displayed objects and everything else that signified means of communication and communicating certain contents.

The shift that occurred particularly at the turn of the (21st) century, moved the focus from objects and towards context. However, even though context became an inevitable part of understanding, documenting and representation, redefining what we considered to be context or contexts was yet to take place. For instance, one of the significant discussions in the mid-20th century was the theme of museum objects that were extracted from their *original* context, but at the time, the idea that each object always has a certain context or contexts – not only the context of origin and make, but also the contexts of their acquisition, the desire behind that acquisition, the ways in which that was done, the original collections the objects belonged to, the ways they were noted, photographed, displayed etc. By recognizing the above mentioned contexts – ownership, noting, displaying – the object itself becomes the medium, the catalyst for the articulation and verbalisation of discourse, which then reveals far more than its origin and the way it was made.

Although, in the meantime, different types of museums were founded, and among them many museums without an object inventory the already large accumulation of objects in museum collections – some of which dated back several centuries – represented a serious obstacle for the essential change of held ways of museum thinking and the thinking *about* museums. It was because, among other things, a large part of the museums' history was seen through objects, numerous descriptions, photographs, exhibitions and representations. One could even say that it was equally difficult to introduce the change on both ends of

fesionalci neretko prirodom svog posla i politikama svojih kuća i dalje tesno vezani za predmetni fond i stoga odmak od sopstvene pozicije i razbijanje postojećeg okvira predstavlja pravi poduhvat,³ ali isto tako i kod muzejske publike koja, iako spremno prihvata inovacije u muzejima, i dalje od muzeja manje-više očekuje narative vezane za predmete.

Naravno, kako će se valorizacija uspostaviti uglavnom zavisi upravo od same institucije, od toga koliko je ona spremna da razmatra načine na koje je zbirka sačinjena, ko ju je kolekcionirao, kako i kada je nastala muzejska zgrada i organizacija u njoj, na kojim osnovama se bazirala muzejska dokumentacija, koje su karakteristike bile poželjne, i u fokusu kustosa i istraživača, ko je sve učestvovao u izradi muzejskog programa, ko su bili i ko su danas finansijeri i dr. A baš kao i institucije, koje su često nefleksibilne u svojim pogledima, zato što su trasirane i omeđene već na svojim počecima, i njihova valorizacija, utemeljena u vremenima stvaranja zbirke ili institucija, može da bude podjednako rigidna i puristička.

Prema Kajli Vinkvort (Winkworth 2002, 2010), australijskoj teoretičarki muzeja, posmatrana u širem kontekstu, vrednost određenog kulturnog nasleđa definisana je kao zbir svih tipova vrednosti (npr. istorijska, estetska, društvena, duhovna, naučna, ekonomska i dr.), koje korisnici i svi drugi koji imaju udela ili interesa u funkcionisanju muzeja smatraju relevantnima uzimajući u obzir nadležnosti institucije. Vrednost se, međutim, kao što je to već pomenuto, transformiše u skladu sa kontekstom, i ona je – kao društvena kategorija – veoma promenljiva. Kako bi se ova kontekstualnost bolje izrazila, uvedena je terminološka distinkcija, koja obuhvata različite vrednosti predmeta, odnosno zbirke kroz njihov *značaj*, definisan na sledeći način:

„Značaj se odnosi na sve vrednosti i značenja koja predmeti i kolekcije imaju za ljude i za zajednice. Značaj pomaže da se oslobodi potencijal kolekcija, da se stvore prilike za zajednice da imaju pristup kolekcijama i da u njima uživaju, i da se razumeju istorije, kulture i okruženja /.../”

(Russell and Winkworth 2010:1)

museum work: within its premises, in which museum professionals were often – due to the nature of their work and the policies of their institutions – tightly bound by the inventory; therefore making it very challenging to shift from their held positions and break existing frameworks³. Yet, the same could be said about museum audiences who, even though they generally readily accept innovations, still have more or less the same expectations of the museum, which are mainly linked to objects.

Of course, it depends on the institution itself in what way it will allow the valorisation to be established; how much it is ready to take into consideration the ways in which the collection was made, who collected it, when and where the museum building and organisation were established, what the bases were upon which the museum documentation was organised, what features were desired and in the focus of the curator and researcher who participated in creating the programme of the museum, who the original investors were and who today's investors are, etc. And just like the institutions, which are often not flexible in their notions because they are outlined at their very beginning, so too is their valorisation, established at the time the collections or institutions were made, is equally rigid and purist.

According to Australian museum theory scholar Kylie Winkworth (2002, 2010), when observed in the wider context, the value of certain cultural heritage is defined as a sum of all types of values (for instance, historical, aesthetic, social, spiritual, scientific, etc.) which the users and everyone else who has a share or interest in the functioning of museums considers to be relevant, considering the jurisdiction of certain institution. However, the value, as we have already mentioned, is transformed in accordance with the context and it is – as a social category – prone to change. In order to better express this conceptuality, a terminological distinction, which introduces various values of objects or collections through their *significance*, is defined as such:

“The significance relates to all the values and meanings that objects and collections have for people and communities. The significance helps to

Iako se, dakle, i u određivanju značaja u obzir uzima ova kontekstualna promenljivost, prva i očigledna kritika ustanovljavanju značaja predmeta jeste upravo i dalje usmerenost na predmetni fond, iako shvaćena nešto šire. I sa značajem i sa vrednošću predmeta problem je zapravo isti, zato što se njihovom upotrebom dodatno utvrđuje konstruisana teritorija nadležnosti institucija zaštite, posebno muzeja. Kako valorizacija upućuje na to šta se prepoznaje kao element nasleđa, ona određuje kako se pravi razlika između onih društvenih praksi i sećanja koja se zatim vrednuju kao nasleđe i onih koje neće biti prepoznate kao takve, zato što nedostaju strukture prema kojima bismo mogli da ih percipiramo kao takve.

Kako to i Ljiljana Gavrilović primećuje o samom konceptu nasleđa, on je:

„...u potpunosti virtuelan i zasniva se na izboru nekih predmeta, ponašanja, znanja, verovanja kojima se pridaje veća vrednost u odnosu na druge, što je osnov za njihovu zaštitu. Tako se kulturna sredina segmentira i smešta u vrednosne kategorije, pa se nekim segmentima pripisuje visoka vrednost, za razliku od drugih, koji se zanemaruju.”

(Gavrilović 2007: 153)

Kakve su to, onda, promene u instituciji muzeja moguće ukoliko je ukupno polje nasleđa, kako to i Ljiljana Gavrilović napominje, zapravo kulturno konstruisano? Treba, naime, imati u vidu da muzeji u međuvremenu nisu izgubili na popularnosti, kako im je bilo predskazivano više puta, te da oni i dalje kod velikog broja posetilaca uživaju zavidan ugled u pogledu poverenja u njihove iskaze. To znači da odgovornost muzeja u kreiranju diskursa i dalje ostaje znatna. Međutim, prepoznavanjem i prihvatanjem ove odgovornosti oni prepoznaju i prihvataju i moć koju imaju kao javne institucije. Posledica prihvatanja ove odgovornosti očitovala se u radu mnogih muzeja, a posebno muzeja sa dugom istorijom ikoničnih reprezentacija. Kroz promišljanje dotadašnjeg rada redefinisali su se određeni uvreženi narativi. Prepoznavanjem *prethodnih* reprezentacija, načina selekcije, kolekcioniranja, opisivanja i drugo, mogu da se osvetle motivi iza njih, ali i da se redefinišu ne

liberate the potential of collections, to make opportunities for communities to have access to collections and to enjoy them, understanding histories, cultures and surroundings...”

(Russell and Winkworth 2010:1)

Therefore, even though *significance* takes into consideration this contextual variability, the first and most obvious criticism toward establishing the significance of an object is its continuing orientation towards object inventory, even in the broader understanding of the term. The problem with both, the significance and value of the object, is basically the same, because with their use, a construed theory of conservation institutions' jurisprudence is furthered, especially that of the museums. Since the valorisation pointed towards what was recognised as an element of heritage, it determined in what way a difference was made between those social practices and memories, which were later valued as heritage and those which would remain unrecognised as such, because of the lack of structures according to which we could perceive them as such.

Ljiljana Gavrilović also reflected on the very concept of heritage saying that it:

“...was completely virtual and based on the choice of certain objects, behaviours, knowledges and beliefs that were attributed more significant value compared to others, which was the foundation for their protection. Thus, the cultural environment was segmented and placed into value categories, and in that way certain segments were ascribed high value, unlike others, that were neglected.”

(Gavrilović 2007: 153)

So, what changes in the museum as an institution are possible, if the total field of heritage, as Gavrilović has mentioned, is in fact culturally construed? We should bear in mind that museums, meanwhile, have not lost their popularity, as was often predicted, and that they have been able to retain an enviable reputation among visitors who are willing to place their trust on their statements. Thus, the responsibility of the museum in the creation of discourse remains significant. However, with the recognition and acceptance of this responsibility, they recognized and accepted the power that they hold as public institutions. The consequence of

samo muzejske prakse proučavanja već i prakse dokumentovanja i reprezentacije, među kojima su danas sve više zastupljene digitalne forme.

Ovakvo redefinisanje dodatno uvodi dva velika pomaka značajna za muzejsku praksu.

Prvi pomak je svojevrsno *istorizovanje* samog muzeja, prepoznavanjem svih bitnih konteksta koji su bili značajni za njegov nastanak i razvoj, prepoznavanjem svih tih „muzeja u muzeju”, čije postojanje može da se otkrije diskurzivnom analizom; drugim rečima, i pre nastanka određenog muzeja postoje metodologije koje određuju elemente njegovog postojanja, a zatim se njegovim uspostavljanjem i trajanjem sva ova značenja umnožavaju upisivanjem bitnih događaja u muzejskom životu, upisivanjem ličnih izbora kustosa, uplivom menadžmenta, odlukama muzejskih odbora i finansijera i dr.

Drugi pomak je otvaranje velikog broja tema koje tom konkretnom muzeju nisu bile u vidokrugu, dok je bio fokusiran isključivo na svoj predmet, fond i ustaljene prakse funkcionisanja. Naime, ovom promenom postaje sasvim jasno da bez obzira na to čime se konkretno neki muzej usko tematski bavi, njegovi se *metadiskursi* mogu odvijati oko bilo čega drugog, počevši od pitanja društvenog uključivanja ili isključivanja, prisutnosti ili osvešćenosti određenih tema, ili potpunog odsustva nekih drugih.

Iz oba ova razloga treba prepoznati da prostor muzeja kao prostor reprezentacije uvek predstavlja skup metaprostora; dakle, prostora iza onoga što je očigledno, prostora umnoženih kako prolaskom vremena, različitim kontekstima u kojima postoje, tako i različitim, subjektivnim doživljajima tih prostora.

Stoga treba stalno naglašavati da se svaka novina – pa tako i savremene tehnike digitalizacije – u domenu već uspostavljenih sistema selekcije, kolekcioniranja, beleženja, reprezentacije, kakvi su muzeji, zapravo nadovezuje na dugačak niz prethodnih praksi. Drugim rečima, *ona i ne može da se primeni na istinski inovativan način ukoliko se u potpunosti ne razume ukupna pozadina muzeja kao institucije.*

Ne treba da čudi da muzeji, shodno prethodnom iskustvu, pristupaju savremenim tehnologijama na različite načine: iako neki od njih razumeju da digi-

accepting this responsibility was seen in the work of many museums, especially those with a long history of iconic representation, which found themselves in the position that urged them to redefine, through reflection of their own work, certain narratives that had previously been widespread. By recognising *previous* representations, former ways of selecting, collecting, description, etc., it is possible to cast light on motivations that led to them and at the same time to redefine not only museum research practices, but also practices of documenting and representation, that today prevailingly include their digital forms.

Such redefining can bring about two major shifts that are significant to the museum practice. The first one is a sort of *historicisation* of the museum itself, by recognising all the significant contexts that were significant for its establishing and development, by recognising all those “museums within a museum” whose existence could be discovered by discursive analysis; in other words, even before the museum is established, there are certain methodologies that determine the elements of its existence and then, with its establishing and duration, all of those meanings are multiplied by inscribing important events in the life of a museum, by inscribing personal choices of the curators, management influx, the decisions of the museum boards and investors, etc.

Another shift would be to open a large number of issues which were not part of a particular museum’s perspective at the time it was focused exclusively on its inventory of objects and common practices of functioning. Namely, with this shift, it becomes perfectly clear that regardless the museum’s narrow thematic field, its *meta-discourses* can develop around anything else, beginning with the issues of social inclusion or omission, the presence of certain topics or omission of others.

Because of both these reasons, it should be recognised that the museum space, as a space for representation, is always a collection of *meta-spaces*, that is, spaces behind that which is apparent, spaces multiplied by both the passage of time, the various contexts in which they existed, and the various subjective experiences of those spaces.

Therefore, it should be emphasised that each novelty – including contemporary digitalisation practic-

talni pomak sobom nosi i veliki pomak u proizvodnji saznanja – a to su oni muzeji koji aktivno promišljaju svoj rad, kao i valorizaciju – drugi samo pronalaze načine da prepakuju već postojeće, neretko nezanimljive i petrifikovane reprezentacije u novi vid vizuelizacije: upravo zato što je inercija dosadašnjeg muzejskog rada toliko snažna. U tom smislu, čak, i tehnologija sa svim svojim mogućnostima, ukoliko bude upotrebljena bez kritičkog promišljanja, može da bude samo puka repeticija i perpetuiranje prethodnih reprezentacija i tumačenja.

To bi, naravno, bila ogromna šteta, zato što digitalni pomak koji predstavlja realnost našeg doba nije uticao samo na to da se određeni materijali, dokumentacija, predmeti i drugo digitalizuju, već je promenio određene, za muzej ključne elemente, između ostalog opseg podataka, koji može ili koji treba da bude dostupan široj javnosti, i načine na koje se podacima pristupa i kako se oni između sebe povezuju (Witcomb 2007:38).

Prenošenje „slike” ili „slika sveta”, kakvom možemo doživeti muzej, u još jedan medij takođe menja kontekst zahvaljujući digitalnoj tehnologiji koja omogućava različite vrste beleženja. Možda prvi put imamo mogućnost da ujedno predstavimo – mada nikada i u potpunosti – upravo sve one metamuzeje unutar muzeja, one lazurne slojeve značenja prevučene jedne površ drugih, kao i da vizuelizujemo palimpsest, shvaćen kao „pisanje preko”.⁴ Ovakve primere pronalazimo u delovanju savremenih umetnika i kustosa, kojima **sama digitalizacija predstavlja još jedan medij kroz koji je moguće dalje postavljati pitanja, kao deo muzejskog samopromišljanja**. Neki od primera zanimljive eksploatacije digitalnih tehnologija ne duguju svoj uspeh samo digitalizaciji već temeljnom promišljanju muzeja, njegovih prethodnih diskursa, vrednosti oko kojih je oblikovan i revalorizaciji svih njegovih elemenata.

Iako digitalizacija nije nužan korak za današnje muzeje, ona predstavlja takoreći dobrodošlu neminovnost. Ona je u domenu muzejskih reprezentacija u velikoj meri usloвила i veći prelazak nadležnosti kreiranja sadržaja u ruke posetilaca i publike – što je, naravno, isprva izazvalo određenu dozu podozrenja

es – in the domain of already established systems of selection, collecting, noting, representation, such as museums – actually relies on a long list of previous practices. In other words, ***it cannot be applied in a truly innovative way, unless a total background of the museum as an institution is understood.***

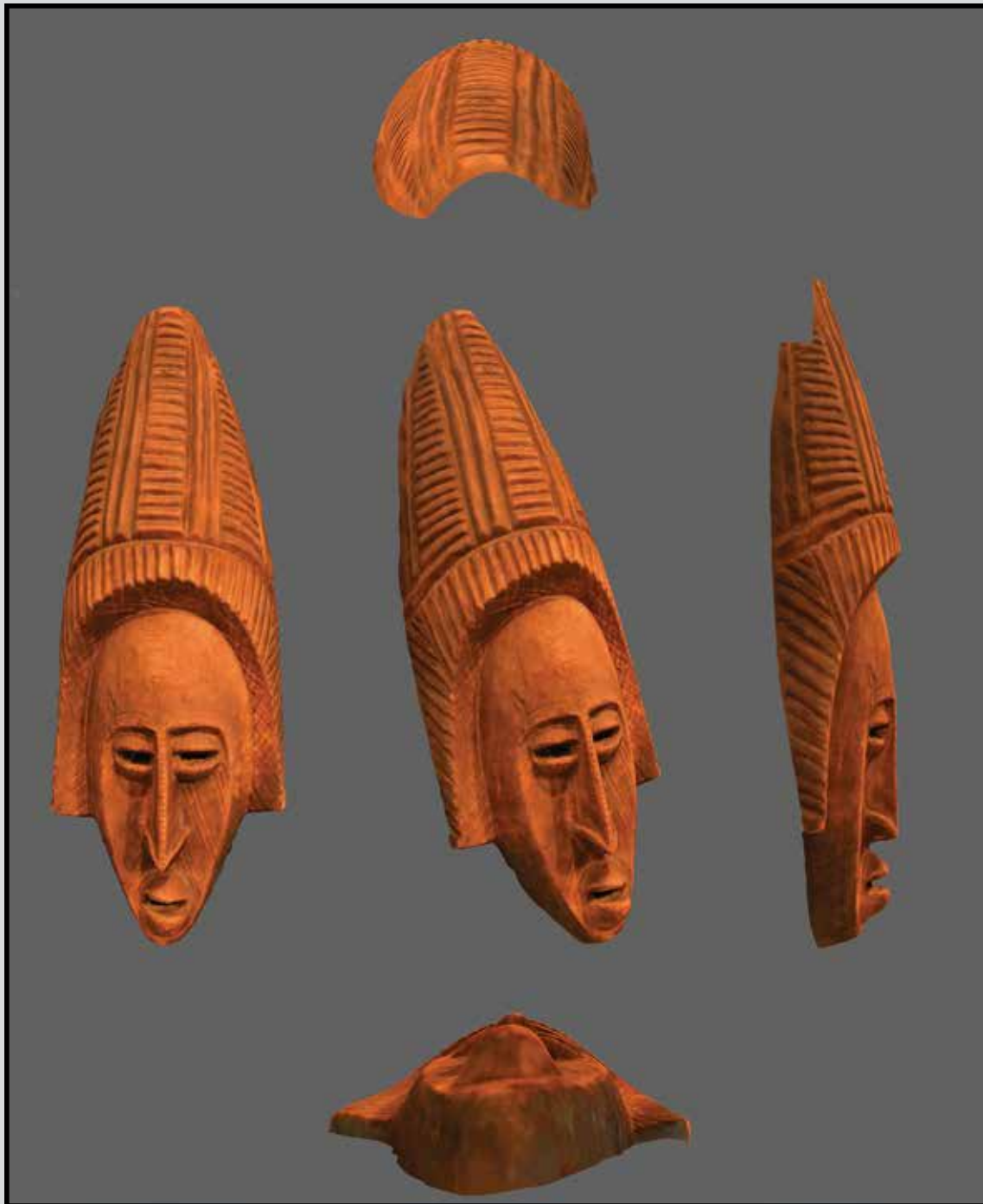
It is no surprise then, that museums, in accordance with their previous experience, approach contemporary technologies in different ways: even though some understand that the digital shift carries with it a great shift in knowledge production – this includes museums which actively reflect upon their work and valorisation – others only look for ways to repackage already existing, often uninteresting and petrified representations into new forms of visualisation (precisely because the inertia of museum work up until this point is very strong). In such a sense, even technology with all its possibilities, if it is used without a critical stance can only be a mere repetition and perpetuation of previous representations and interpretations.

Of course, that would be very damaging, since the digital shift, which is today's reality, did not only introduce the digitization of certain materials, documentation, objects, etc., but it has also changed certain key elements of the museums like, among other things, the range of data which can or should be available to the wider public, and the ways data is approached and the ways various data interconnects (Witcomb 2007:38).

Even though the transfer of an “image” or “image of a world”, from the perceived medium, such as the museum into yet another medium also changes the context, due to digital technology which enables different types of noting, perhaps for the first time we have an opportunity to, at the same time present – although, never completely – all those meta-museums within a museum, those layers of paint superimposed on top of each other, and to visualise the palimpsest, which could be understood as “writing beyond”.⁴ Such examples can be found in the works of contemporary artists and curators to whom ***digitalisation represents another medium that can be used to ask even more questions, as a part of the museum's self-reflection.*** Some examples of the interesting exploitation of digital technologies owe their success not only to digitalisation, but also to the thorough reflexion of the museum, its earlier discourses, values upon which it was

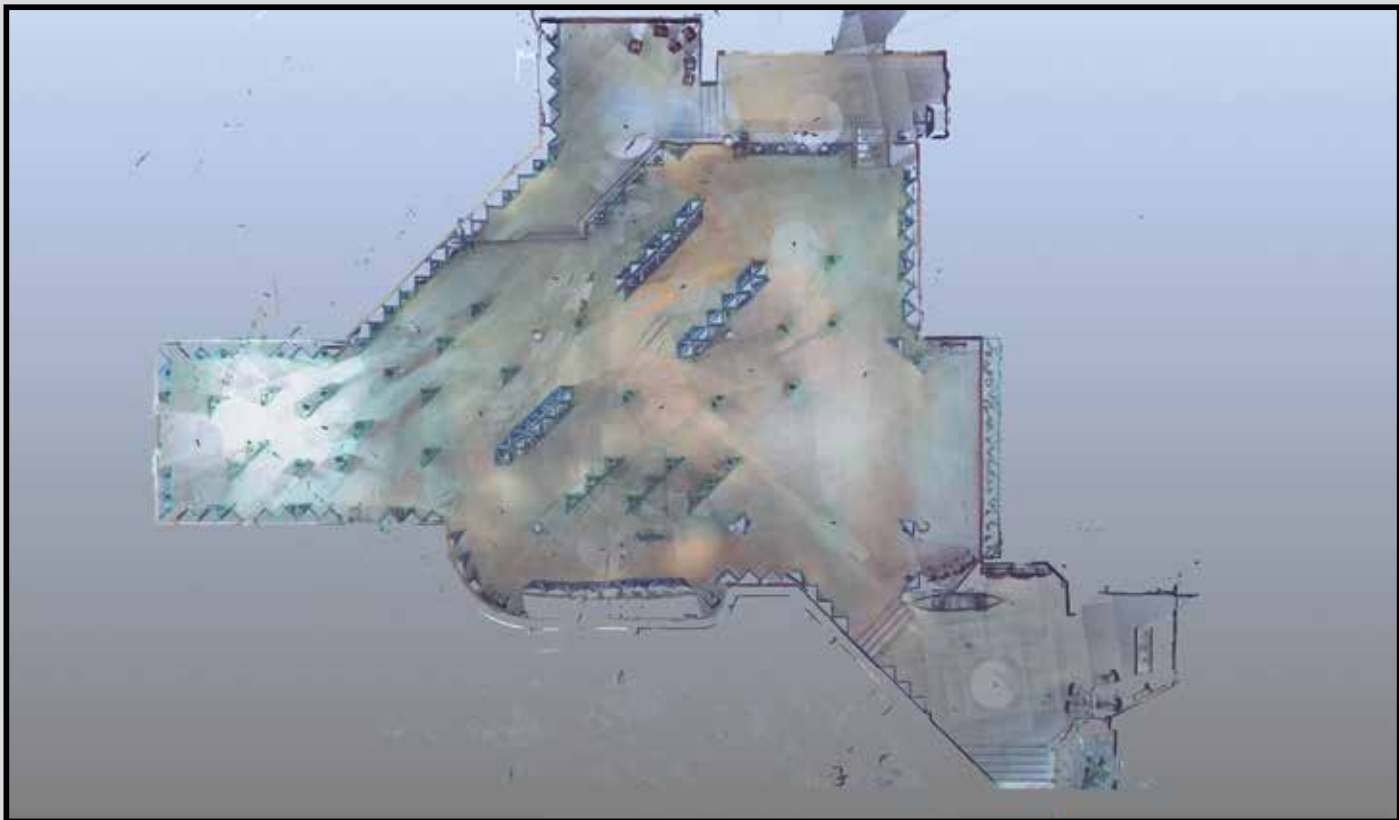
Ilustracije dobijene 3D laserskim skeniranjem,
u okviru projekta „Digitalni otisak MAU”
(Izrada: arh. Marko Aleksić, Jugoslav Pendić)

Illustrations developed by 3D laser scanning,
as a part of the “Digital imprint of the MAA” project
(Created by: arch. Marko Aleksić, Jugoslav Pendić)



Ortogonalni prikazi 3D modela maske
(Muzejski podaci o predmetu: Inv. br. 181, oblast Dabakala, Obala Slonovače)

Orthogonal presentation of a 3D mask model
(Museum artifact info: Inv. no. 181, Dabakala area, Ivory Coast)



Ortofoto prikaz 3D snimka postavke (Ortofoto je slika dobijena ortogonalnom (upravnom) projekcijom, tako da prikazani predmeti i ravni nemaju perspektivne distorzije. Primeri ortogonalnih projekcija su arhitektonski planovi i topografske karte.)

The orthophoto layout, in 3D, of the Museum floor plan (orthophoto is a photograph obtained through orthogonal projection, objects relevant to the grid do not have distortions of perspectives. Examples of orthogonal projections are architectural plans and topographic charts.)



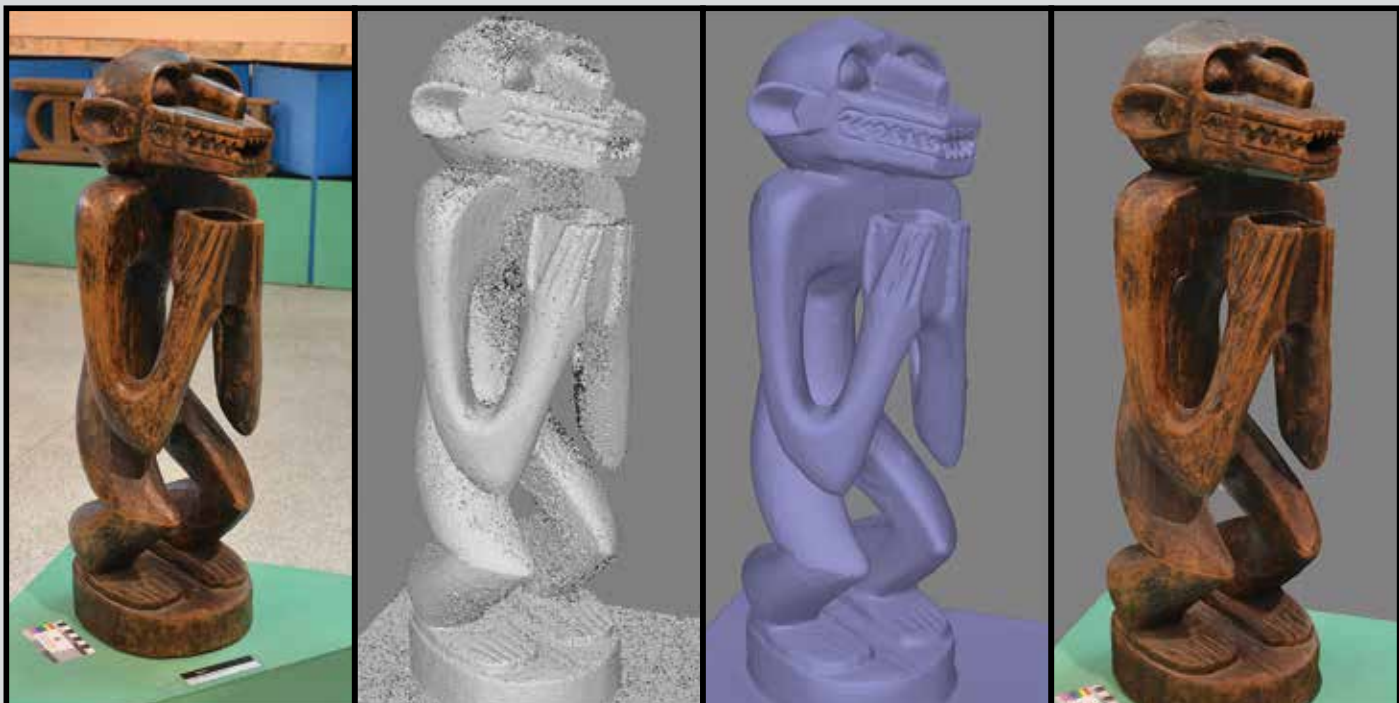
Izrada 3D modela ribarskog čamca (Muzejski podaci o predmetu: Inv. br. 2, natpis *nyimpa kor ndzidzi*, Gana). Sleva nadesno: oblak tačaka u boji, fotografija i triangularna mreža.

Process of creating a 3D fishing boat model (Museum artifact information: Inv. no. 2, inscription *nyimpa kor ndzidzi*, Ghana). From left to right: point cloud in colour, photograph and triangular mesh.



Presek kroz digitalni model izložbenog prostora muzeja, sa oznakama pozicija sa kojih je urađeno lasersko 3D skeniranje.

A section of a digital model of the Museum's exhibition space, with marked locations from where the 3D laser scanning was done.



Faze u izradi 3D modela figure majmuna (Muzejski podaci o predmetu: Inv. br. 1159, narod Baule, Obala Slonovače)
Sleva nadesno: fotografija i različiti formati digitalnog modela – oblak tačaka, triangularna mreža, teksturisani model.

Stages in the creation of a 3D model of a monkey figure (Museum artifact information: Inv. no. 1159, people of Baule, Ivory Coast).
From left to right: photograph and different formats of a digital model – point cloud, triangle mesh and textural model.

u muzejima, kao institucijama koje su oduvek imale prilično jasnu kontrolu nad svojim sadržajima i zadržavale poziciju autoriteta u svom domenu. Međutim, delegiranje dela nadležnosti u kreiranju sadržaja korisnicima zapravo postavlja osnov za nove pristupe tumačenjima, otvarajući puteve kako za istraživanje, tako i za edukaciju. Umesto da nude već gotova tumačenja, muzeji danas mogu da ponude kontekste pristupa informacijama, zadržavajući kontrolu nad samim kvalitetom ponuđenih informacija, što ne ukida, već samo modifikuje njihovu ulogu kao medijatora znanja. Digitalizacija može na različite načine da pomogne u tome.

Ovo decentriranje autoriteta muzeja zapravo je bitan deo čitavog procesa muzejske samorefleksije i revalorizacije nasleđa. Naime, posmatrati jedan muzej, kakav je Muzej afričke umetnosti – zbirku Vede i dr Zdravka Pečara isključivo kroz njegove nominalne diskurse znači prenebregnuti čitave metadiskurse koji zapravo mogu da osvetle upravo gde se danas nalaze vrednosti ove institucije koje do sada nisu bile prepoznate.

U okviru revalorizacije Muzeja afričke umetnosti danas moraju da se uzmu u obzir ne samo postulati prema kojima su zbirka i Muzej načinjeni već i svi ostali uticaji koji su oblikovali muzej onakvim kakvim ga prepoznajemo. To znači da u Muzeju moraju da se imaju u vidu konteksti nastanka i razvoja kako se – iz težnje da se uklopi u neku unapred projektovanu sliku – ne bi izopštili određeni podaci i narativi iz njegovih reprezentacija.

Promišljanje prevođenja postojećih poredaka u digitalan format zapravo može da doprinese time što će nas motivisati da razmišljamo koji su to elementi koji – ukoliko ih previdimo ili izostavimo – mogu da utiču na kompletnost informacija o Muzeju, za 10, 30 ili više godina. Drugim rečima, uvođenjem novog medija, obezbeđuje se odmak od sopstvene pozicije i pruža mogućnost drugačijeg sagledavanja postojećih elemenata i njihovih odnosa.

Formiran i otvoren za javnost u vreme kada je Pokret nesvrstanih bio veoma značajan za međunarodno pozicioniranje socijalističke Jugoslavije, Muzej afričke umetnosti je na određeni način shvatan kao upliv međunarodne politike na kulturnu

shaped and the revalorisation of all of its elements.

Even though digitalisation is not a necessary step that contemporary museums should undertake, it represents a necessity which the museum should welcome as inevitable. In the domain of museum representation, it has already offered the transfer of a large amount of jurisdiction of its contents into the hands of its visitors and the public, which initially provoked a certain dose of disdain within museums since they were institutions that always had more or less direct control over their contents and had always kept the position of authority in their respective domains. However, the assigning of a part of their jurisdiction to their users, actually represented a basis for the new approaches to interpretations, giving way to both research and education. Instead of offering ready-made interpretations, museums today are able to offer contexts to the approach to information while keeping overall control over the quality of information offered – which does not abandon, but only modifies their role as knowledge mediator. In many ways, digitalisation can be helpful to such ends.

This decentralisation of the authority museums have is actually a significant part of the entire process of museum self-reflexion and heritage revalorisation. Namely, to observe a museum, such as the Museum of African Art – the Veda and Dr Zdravko Pečar Collection, exclusively through its nominal discourses means to overlook the entire meta-discourses which could actually reveal where the values of this institution are, which remain unrecognised to this today.

The revalorisation of the Museum of African Art today, needs to take into consideration not only the postulates according to which the collection and museum were founded, but also all the other influences that made the museum as we recognise it today. That means that the museum needs to face the contexts of its origins and development and not allow certain data and narratives be left out of its representation because it desires to fit into a certain predetermined image of itself.

The reflection of transferring existing orders into a digital format could basically contribute by motivating us to keep thinking about the elements which – if we overlook them or omit them – could influence the completeness of information about the Museum

scenu Beograda pa i Jugoslavije. Pored diskursa ne-svrstavanja i antikolonijalizma, on se u svojim reprezentacijama oslanjao na modele kako etnografskog, tako i istoričarsko-umetničkog muzejskog proučavanja i predstavljanja. Trajanje Muzeja kroz vreme na u kojima su se politički i društveni okviri veoma menjali takođe pokazuje kako su se muzejski narativi menjali, koje su njegove odlike stavljane u prvi plan, a koje su smatrane nepopularnim ili nebitnim.

Fokus na predmete iz Afrike u zbirkama Muzeja bio je, međutim, konstantan od njegovog otvaranja 1977. godine. Ovakvo stručno usmerenje je dovelo do toga da se danas značaj ovog muzeja skoro isključivo sagledava kroz njegov predmetni fond, sa kojim se on u velikoj meri poistovećuje. Međutim, razgovori sa kustosima drugih muzeja sličnog usmerenja otkrili su da većina predmeta u zbirkama Muzeja afričke umetnosti ne odgovaraju onim inicijalnim kriterijumima na osnovu kojih je zbirka uopšte i koncipirana i kolekcionirana (Sladojević 2014). Ipak, to što predmeti ne odgovaraju jednoj vrsti kriterijuma, ne znači da njihovu vrednost i značaj ne možemo redefinisati kroz druge kriterijume. Ukoliko sagledamo Muzej afričke umetnosti kao ukupnost, veoma je bitno prepoznati elemente koji su, iz različitih razloga, ostali nevidljivi i uključiti ih u sliku o Muzeju, zato što upravo oni mogu da pomognu u ovom redefinisaju.

U svetlu ovih zaključaka bilo bi prilično jednostrano i dalje se odnositi prema fondu Muzeja kao prema nizu reprezentativnih kanonskih predmeta načinjenih u okviru etničkih zajednica u zemljama prevashodno Zapadne Afrike; postalo je neophodno uključiti u tekuća istraživanja upravo kulturno-istorijska dešavanja u vreme nastanka i trajanja Muzeja, kao ključnih za njegovo razumevanje kako kao ukupnosti, tako i kao učesnika u kulturnom i društvenom životu sredine u kojoj je delovao.

Ne samo odmakom od predmetnog fonda u užem smislu (pojedinačni predmeti) već i redefinisanjem toga šta se sve može posmatrati kao muzejski predmet, i sama postavka Muzeja postala je zanimljiva za istraživanje – upravo zato što pokazuje kako celina može da nosi više vrednosti od njenih pojedinačnih elemenata. Ideja da se upravo Stalna postavka Muze-

in 10, 30 or more years from now. In other words, by introducing a new medium, a shift from the acquired position is achieved and an opportunity to differently view existing elements and their relations is secured.

Founded and opened for the public at the time when the Nonaligned Movement played a significant role in the international positioning of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), the Museum of African Art was perceived, in a way, as an influx of an international politics onto the cultural scene of Belgrade and, one could claim, Yugoslavia. Apart from anti-colonial and non-alignment discourses, in its representations it relied on both the ethnographic and art-history model of museum study and representations. The Museum of African Art's duration through the times when the political and social concepts were often changed, also showed the ways in which the Museum's narratives changed, which features were highlighted and which were considered to be unpopular or inessential.

However, the focus on objects from Africa in the Museum of African Art's collections, has been persistent since the museum was opened in 1977. This type of professional orientation was the reason why the significance of this museum was exclusively viewed through its inventory of objects with which the museum pretty much identified. However, in conversation with curators of similar museums, it was revealed that the majority of objects in the Museum of African Art's collections did not correspond with the initial criteria upon which the collection was gathered and conceived (Sladojević 2014). Still, the fact that the objects were not suitable for a certain criteria, does not mean that their value and significance cannot be redefined through other criteria. If we understand the Museum of African Art as a sum total, it is very important to recognise those elements, which remain invisible, due to numerous reasons, and include them in the image of the museum, since these objects, essentially, could help this kind of redefinition.

In the light of these conclusions, it would be quite one-sided to keep referring to the Museum's inventory as an assortment of representative canonical objects, created within the ethnic communities of, predominantly, West African countries; it is necessary to include in the contemporary research, the cultural and historical occurrences at the time of the Museum's es-

ja afričke umetnosti, odnosno njena precizna 3D beleška⁵ upotrebi kao interfejs za pristup različitim drugim nevidljivim, neprepoznatim, bočnim bazama podataka koje u Muzeju postoje, a o kojima će biti reči u nastavku, nastala je sa željom da se sam Muzej prepozna kao vrednost u svojoj **ukupnosti**. Pored toga, Stalna postavka i jeste tokom 38 godina na izvestan način postala ikonični, prepoznatljivi vizuelni identitet institucije, i bez obzira na to da li će i kada će biti promenjena, ona će nastaviti da prožima sve prethodne i buduće slojeve muzejskih značenja.⁶

Jedan od najznačajnijih aspekata digitalnog beleženja jeste i način vizuelizacije koji, baš kao i tehnike izrade vizuelnih identiteta fizičkih prostora muzeja, nipošto nije neutralan. Naime, prostorni rasporedi unutar muzeja mogu da se povežu sa vizuelizacijom saznanja unutar različitih paradigmi. Ukoliko je kontinuirana narativna linija bila vizuelizacija muzeja 19. i početka 20. veka – ona linija koja je odražavala ideje evolucije, univerzalizma, unisonih istorijskih narativa, progressa i civilizacije, 20. vek – posebno sa idejom modernosti – favorizuje novu vizuelizaciju, koja može da se izrazi mapom. Ideja mape na kojoj se određene tačke povezuju u različitim pravcima odgovara teorijama sredine i druge polovine 20. veka. Pomoću 3D vizuelizacije ono što bismo nazvali mapom ili mrežom prelazi u treću dimenziju, pretvarajući se u rešetku, i zapravo odražava sve ono što se desilo sa promenom u načinima saznavanja, povezivanja podataka, naročito sa ekspanzijom interneta.

Kako Lev Manovič navodi (Manovich 2013), jedna od najbitnijih funkcija digitalnih vizuelizacija jeste *view control*. To znači da onaj ko pregleda neki sadržaj može, kako Manovič ističe, ne samo da zumira ili rotira sliku, odnosno vizuelizaciju već da zapravo opcijom *view control* može da se gradi i količina informacija kojima neko želi da pristupi. Upravo ova mogućnost slojevitosti izdvaja mapu-mrežu od rešetke: rešetka je zapravo vizuelizacija palimpsesta, ona dozvoljava istovremenost postojanja svih slojeva i zrakastu distribuciju različitih veza između elemenata.

Povezujući se sa prethodno izloženim radom u domenu samopromišljanja i revalorizacije, Stalna

establishment and duration, as a key to its understanding as a total, and also its active role as participant in the cultural and social life of the setting it was placed in.

The Museum of African Art's permanent display *was used* not only due to the shift from object inventory in the narrow sense of the term, but also by redefining everything that could be perceived as a museum object or an interesting subject to research – since it showed how a whole could carry more value than an object that was singled out. The idea to use the Museum of African Art's permanent display, that is, its precise 3D imprint⁵ as an interface to access various other invisible, unrecognised, sideward databases which the Museum of African Art has, and which will be discussed later, came with the desire that the Museum of African Art itself should be recognised as a value in its **totality**. Besides, the museum's permanent display has, during its 38 years, become in a way an iconic, recognisable visual identity of the institution, and regardless whether or when it will ever be changed, it will continue to pervade over all previous and future layers of museum meaning.⁶

One of the most significant aspects of digital recording is the way visualisation is realised, which, just as the techniques of creating the visual identities of physical spaces of the museum, is not at all neutral. Namely, the special distributions within the museum can be linked with the visualisation of knowledge within different paradigms. If the continuous narrative line was the visualisation of museums in late 19th and early 20th century – this line, which reflected the ideas of evolution, universalism, unified historical narratives, progress and civilisation, the 20th century, especially with the idea of modernity, favoured the new kind of visualisation which could be mapped. The idea of expression through mapping, where certain points are connected in various directions, corresponds to the theories of the mid to late 20th century. With the help of 3D visualisation, what was termed as the map or the network, has been transferred into the third dimension, turning itself into a grid and, actually, reflects everything that has happened up until this point with the change of ways of creating knowledge, connecting information, especially with the expansion of the Internet.

Lev Manovich said, that one of the most impor-

postavka i njena digitalna vizuelizacija odmah su definisane ne samo kao model postavke već kao *interfejs za pristup svim nevidljivim, neprepoznatim vrednostima* – arhivama, fondovima, predmetima, narativima i dr. – koji zajednički tvore kontekst za razumevanje samog Muzeja, a povezani su sa narativima postavke. Stoga, iako je inicijalna vizuelizacija bazirana na prepoznatljivom identitetu Stalne postavke, ona zapravo teži da predstavi Muzej u njegovoj ukupnosti, time na određeni način subvertirajući bazični narativ same Postavke.

Na osnovu doktorskog rada o Muzeju afričke umetnosti i posebnog programa razgovora „Konteksti i reprezentacije” (Sladojević 2012, 2014), postavljeni su okviri za prepoznavanje već pomenutih elemenata Muzeja koji su još uvek nevidljivi i/li neprepoznati, a ovi okviri, razume se, podložni su daljem transformisanju, revalorizaciji i dopunama.

Spisak nevidljivih/neprepoznatih elemenata Muzeja obuhvata daleko više toga nego što se inicijalno smatra fondom Muzeja. Oni su navedeni u nastavku, ali to ne znači da je time lista mogućih elemenata iscrpena.

Biblioteka Muzeja – U njoj se nalaze brojne knjige na osnovu kojih je, između ostalog, nastajala ekspertiza kolekcionara u domenu afričkih umetnosti, formirala se i vremenom transformisala specifična estetika muzejskih reprezentacija afričkih predmeta, uspostavljala osnova za interpretaciju afričkih umetnosti i dr. Upravo ova biblioteka pokazuje na osnovu kojih knjiga su se Pečarevi formirali kao poznavaoци (*connoisseurs*), na osnovu kojih knjiga su kolekcionirali svoju zbirku, na osnovu kojih knjiga su pisani muzejski katalozi, na osnovu kojih knjiga su formirane dosadašnje muzejske reprezentacije, kao i kako su se i da li su se one transformisale sa uplivom nove literature iz domena afričkih studija.

Bibliotečke celine, poklon-biblioteke – Muzeju su na poklon darovali delove svojih biblioteka pojedinci koji su se profesionalno bavili tematikom u vezi sa zemljama Afrike, poput teoretičarke ekonomije Jokice Hadži-Vasileve. Profesionalne biblioteke pojedinačno imaju značaj kao celine koje upućuju na dostupnu literaturu u određenom vremenu, preovlađu-

tant functions of digital visualisations is *view control* (Manovich 2013) That means that whoever sees certain contents is able to, according to Manovich, not only zoom or rotate an image, or visualisation, but with the view control option, be able to achieve gradation in the amount of information they wanted to approach. It was this layered possibility that exempted the map-network from the grid: the grid was, in fact, a visualisation of the palimpsest. It allowed the simultaneity of all the layers and the radial distribution of different links between elements.

In accordance with the previously exhibited work in the domain of self-reflection and revalorisation, the Permanent Display and its digital valorisation were immediately defined not only as display model, but as an *interface to access all the invisible, unrecognised values* – archives, inventories, objects, narratives, etc. – which together created a context to understand the Museum itself, connected with the narratives of the display itself. Therefore, even though the initial visualisation was based upon the recognisable identity of the Permanent Display, it actually wanted to represent the Museum itself in its entirety, thus, in a way, subverting the basic narrative of the Display itself.

On the basis of the doctoral thesis about the Museum of African Art and the special programme “Context and Representations” (Sladojević 2012, 2014) the framework was made for the purpose of recognising the aforementioned elements of the Museum of African Art that remained invisible and/or unrecognised. These frameworks were understandably subjected to further transformation, revalorisation and additions.

The list of invisible/unrecognisable elements of the Museum of African Art, which will be addressed later, held far more than was initially considered to be its inventory. Yet it does not mean that the list of possible elements is definite:

The Library of the Museum – the Museum’s library contains books, upon which the expertise of the collectors in African arts was based, and upon which a specific aesthetic of museum representation of African objects was formed and in time transformed, and it was also a basis for interpreting African art (etc.). It is this library that shows the starting point for the formation of the Pečar’s as *connoisseurs*. The library reveals which books were used to create the collec-

juća interesovanja, doprinose autora u lokalnom i međunarodnom miljeu.

Arhiv dr Zdravka Pečara – Kao novinar i kasnije diplomata, Zdravko Pečar je sačuvao spise, beleške i depeše koji se tiču saradnje između socijalističke Jugoslavije i zemalja Afrike. Ova dokumenta svedoče o dinamici i prirodi međunarodnih kontakata, kao i o njihovim specifičnostima u odnosu na antikolonijalizam i nesvrstanost.

Lične fotografije Veda i dr Zdravka Pečara – Bora-veći u zemljama, pre svega, zapadne Afrike, Veda Zagorac i dr Zdravko Pečar načinili su i u albumima sa signaturama sačuvali brojne fotografije koje govore o njihovoj svakodnevici u Africi. Kao beleška o vremenu, ali istovremeno beleška samog *pogleda* kroz objektiv fotoaparata kao specifični ram, zbirka ličnih fotografija predstavlja vrednu i zaokruženu celinu.

Fotografije iz Alžirskog rata za nezavisnost dr Zdravka Pečara – Dr Zdravko Pečar je kao reporter proveo izvesno vreme sa borcima u Alžirskom ratu za nezavisnost od kolonijalne francuske vlasti, tokom leta 1958. godine. Britanski afrikanista i istoričar Basil Davidson (Davidson 1999), koga je Pečar i lično znao, pohvalno govori o Pečarevom pisanju o ovom ratu, kao jednom od retkih doprinosa koji prenosi priče alžirskih boraca iz prve ruke. Na fotografijama koje je Pečar načinio nalaze se neki od najvažnijih aktera same borbe za samostalnost. Međutim, specifičnost njegovih fotografija je u tome što je zabeležio trenutke između borbi, trenutke čekanja ili odmora.⁷ Dok je u Alžiru knjiga dr Zdravka Pečara „Alžir do nezavisnosti” ponovo štampana 2009. godine, u Srbiji je, pored njegove uloge u osnivanju Muzeja afričke umetnosti, figura Zdravka Pečara relativno nepoznata.

Razglednice iz Afrike 1960–1980 – U delu dokumentacije Muzeja afričke umetnosti nalaze se i razglednice koje su Muzeju darovali pojedinci a izuzetno su zanimljive kao predmet za diskurzivnu analizu, kako u pogledu vizuelnog identiteta razglednica: izbor motiva, kadriranje, kompozicija, natpisi, tako i zbog sadržaja napisanog teksta na poledini.

Suvenirski predmeti – Kao poklone Muzeju afričke umetnosti pojedinci i ambasade darovali su određen broj predmeta koji mogu da se opišu kao suvenirski

tion, which were used for the purpose of exhibition catalogues; books that were the basis for the formation of museum representations, as well as how and whether they transformed with the addition of African studies literature.

Library units, gift-libraries – individuals, such as Jokica Hadži-Vasileva, who were professionally involved in different topics relating to African countries, have given parts of their libraries as gifts. Specialised libraries of the sort are important as wholes that reveal the literature that was available at a certain time, prevailing interests, and contributions of different authors in the local and international milieu.

The dr Zdravko Pečar Archive – as a journalist and later diplomat, Zdravko Pečar kept his writings, notes and telegrams that reflect the cooperation between socialist Yugoslavia and African countries. These documents stand testimony to the dynamics and nature of international contacts, their specific traits in comparison to anti-colonialism and non-Alignment.

Personal photographs of Veda and Zdravko Pečar – resulting from the time they spent in West Africa primarily, Veda Zagorac and Zdravko Pečar created albums containing numerous photographs with labels that tell of their everyday life in Africa. As a note on a specific time, and at the same time a note reflecting the *gaze* from the photographic lens itself as a specific frame, the collection of personal photographs is a valuable and complete unit.

Photographs from the Algerian War for Independence, dr Zdravko Pečar – as a reporter dr Zdravko Pečar spent a certain amount of time during the summer of 1958 with the fighters of the Algerian war for independence from French colonial rule. British African scholar and historian Basil Davidson (Davidson 1999) a personal acquaintance of Pečar, praises Pečar's writing about the war as one of the rare contributions that convey first-hand the stories of Algerian fighters. The photographs show some of the most important characters of the war for independence. What makes his photographs stand out, however, is that they record moments between fighting, moments of waiting and rest.⁷ Even though the book by dr Zdravko Pečar has been reprinted in Algeria in 2009, besides his role as the founder of the Museum of African Art, the role of Zdravko Pečar is relatively obscure in Serbia.

predmeti, odnosno *tourist art* ili *airport art*. Politike izlaganja Muzeja afričke umetnosti doskora nisu prepoznavale značaj ovih predmeta u kontekstu ukupnog fonda Muzeja. Među prvim teoretičarima koji su se bavili kulturološko-društvenim aspektima svojevrsne suvenirske proizvodnje, koja ima svoje specifične vrednosti, bio je Nelson Graburn (1979). Suvenirski predmeti mogu da ukažu na društvene kontekste kulturne i etničke reprezentacije, kao i tržišne promene koje su uslovile njihov nastanak, a kasnije i specifičnu hibridizaciju nastalu prilagođavanjem tržištu i tržišno zahtevanoj „autentičnosti”.

Lični predmeti Vede Zagorac i dr Zdravka Pečara i elementi muzejskog enterijera – U Muzeju postoji i određen broj ličnih predmeta inicijalnih kolekcionara muzejske zbirke Vede Zagorac i dr Zdravka Pečara. Oni danas pripadaju porodici Pečar, odnosno drugoj supruzi dr Zdravka Pečara Jasmini Pečar i njihovoj kćerki Mariji Pečar. Muzej se stara o ovim predmetima, od kojih su neki i dokumentovani kao muzejski. Međutim, među njima ima i predmeta koji nisu afrički, već, na primer, upotrebnii predmeti koji više upućuju na samog vlasnika, određene lične preference, lični ukus ili duh vremena.

Muzejska dokumentacija – Opsežna muzejska dokumentacija, koja sadrži detaljno popunjene muzejske kartone, fotografije predmeta, dosijee izložbi i drugo, danas predstavlja izuzetno vredan zapis o diskursima vremena, kulturnoj politici i načinima reprezentacije.

Beleške o radu muzeja: fototeka, hemeroteka, audioteka, videoteka – Svi ovi elementi doprinose razumevanju konteksta u kojima se muzejska produkcija odvijala, kako su određeni diskursi uticali na nju i u kojoj meri su muzejski narativi bili sinhroniji ili dijahroniji u odnosu na dominantan narativ određenog trenutka.

Katalozi izložbi – Muzej afričke umetnosti može da se pohvali veoma ekstenzivnom izdavačkom praksom, koja je implementirana od samih njegovih početaka. S obzirom na jedinstvenost tematskog usmerenja Muzeja u lokalnoj sredini, muzejska izdanja predstavljaju takoreći osnovu za bilo kakvo ozbiljnije bavljenje afričkim studijama u našoj zemlji.

Postcards from Africa 1960-1980 – part of the Museum of African Art documentation contains postcards given as gifts by individuals, which are interesting as an object of discursive analysis with regard to the postcards' visual identity (choice of motif, framing, composition, titles) and the text inscribed on their reverse side.

Souvenirs – individuals and embassies alike gave as gifts to the Museum of African Art a certain number of objects which can be described as souvenirs, i.e. *tourist art* or *airport art*. The politics of museum display did not recognise until recently the importance of these objects within the context of what comprises the overall museum content. Nelson Graburn (1979) was among the first theoreticians engaged in the cultural and social aspects of souvenir production with its specific values. Souvenirs may imply the social contexts of cultural and ethnic representation as well as market transformations that brought about their appearance, and later their specific hybridisation due to adaptation to the market and demands for “authenticity”.

Personal objects of Veda and dr Zdravko Pečar and elements of the museum's interior – there are a certain number of personal objects at the Museum belonging to the collectors of the museum collection Veda Zagorac and dr Zdravko Pečar. Today they belong to the Pečar family that is the second wife of dr Zdravko Pečar, Jasmina Pečar and their daughter Marija Pečar. The Museum is keeper of these objects, some of which have been documented as museum objects. However, among them there are objects that are not African objects; they are, for instance, objects of everyday use that are a close link to the owner him/herself, certain personal preferences and tastes, or the spirit of the times.

Museum documentation – the vast museum documentation containing elaborately filled museum information sheets, photographs of objects, exhibition files, etc. are an extremely valuable record of the discourse of the times, cultural politics and representations.

Notes on the work of the activities of the Museum: photo-, audio-, video- archives and newspaper clippings – all these elements contribute to our understanding of the context within which museum production took place, how different discourses influenced it and to what extent museum narratives were synchro-

Pozivnice, čestitke, flajeri – Za razliku od kataloga izložbi, štampane pozivnice, čestitke, flajeri i slična obaveštenja i najave imaju drugačiju vrednost, time što nose određeni vizuelni identitet i upućuju na kontekste u kojima su se određene izložbe ili manifestacije odigravale. Posebno se izdvajaju programi godišnje manifestacije Afro festival, započete sredinom 90-ih godina 20. veka, kroz koje mogu da se prate programska usmerenja, društvene okolnosti, angažovanost spoljnih saradnika i aktera u muzejskim programima i dr.

Ostala izdanja – Pored kataloga, Muzej je izdao ili je učestvovao u izdanju određenog broja knjiga i studija o afričkim temama. Ova izdanja bitna su za razumevanje Muzeja kao specifičnog centra za podršku izučavanju u domenu afričkih studija.

Planovi zgrade Muzeja – Originalna zgrada Muzeja, koju je projektovao arh. Slobodan Ilić, i maketa koje se čuva u Muzeju afričke umetnosti, nastala je na osnovu druge, manje zgrade koja je svojevremeno bila atelje Moše Pijade i neko vreme slikarke Zore Petrović. Delovi ove prve zgrade inkorporirani su u projekat nove zgrade. Originalna ideja zgrade Muzeja afričke umetnosti podrazumevala je travnati krov i polukulatne lanterne na krovu koje su unutrašnjosti muzejske postavke omogućavale prirodno osvetljenje. Podizanjem impozantne Kupole na prvom spratu Muzeja, prema nacrtu arh. Slobodana Milićevića, koja ni do danas nije u potpunosti završena, promenjen je inicijalni identitet zgrade. Iako nedovršena, Kupola je tokom prve decenije ovog veka bila mesto na kojem su postavljane umetničke instalacije, održavani koncerti i predstave. Kao veliki – i uglavnom nevidljivi i neprepoznat – potencijal Muzeja afričke umetnosti, Kupola treba da bude predstavljena digitalizacijom.

Oralna istorija – Sećanja zaposlenih, saradnika i prijatelja Muzeja i generalno muzejske publike u velikoj meri mogu da osvetle značaj Muzeja u lokalnoj sredini. Ovaj element, za razliku od svih do sada navedenih, još uvek ne postoji u vidu beleške, već samo u vidu sećanja, odnosno u onom smislu u kojem se konkretne osobe mogu smatrati kulturnim i istorijskim kapitalom, čiji doprinos tek treba da se zabeleži u vidu razgovora ili intervjua.

nised or not in relation with the dominant narrative of a given moment.

Exhibition catalogues – the Museum of African Art shows a lasting publication practice, implemented at its very beginnings. Because of the unique character of the Museum on a local level, its publications represent the basis for any sort of in depth work within the field of African studies in our country.

Invitations, cards, flyers – unlike exhibition catalogues, printed invitations, cards, flyers and similar notifications and announcements are of a different value because they carry a certain visual identity and imply contexts within which certain exhibitions and events took place. Most notably this is evident in the examples made during the 1990s and 2000s for the annual event, the Afro Festival, revealing program trends, social circumstances, engagement of visiting associates and persons taking part in museum programs, etc.

Other publications – besides the catalogues, the Museum published or was partner in the publication of a number of books and studies on African themes. These publications are important for the understanding of the Museum as specific centre for the support of research in the field of African studies.

Museum architectural plans – the original building of the Museum designed by the architect Slobodan Ilić and the model kept at the Museum of African Art, was based on another smaller building that was at a certain point the art studio of Moše Pijade and also the artist Zora Petrović, at another point in time. Parts of this first building were incorporated into the museum building project. The original idea intended there be grass and half-spherical lanterns on the roof of the Museum, providing natural lighting to the museum's interior display space. By building a grand Dome on the first floor of the Museum designed by architect Slobodan Milićević, which remains unfinished to this day, the initial identity of the building has been transformed. Although unfinished, during the 2000s the Dome was used as a space for art installations, concerts and theatre productions. As a large – mostly invisible and unrecognised Museum of African Art potential – the Dome should be represented through digitalization.

Kako bi se uspostavila okvirna metodologija digitalizacije navedenih elemenata, prvi koraci obuhvataju mapiranje građe, beleženje međusobnog odnos materijala, inicijalna snimanja, određivanje osnovne strukture budućeg povezivanja informacija i dr.

Svi oni pojašnjavaju nevidljive a zapravo veoma bitne mehanizme koji su davali oblik Muzeju afričke umetnosti, kao jedinom muzeju u regionu u vreme svog nastanka u celosti posvećenom afričkom stvaralaštvu.

Svakako, reč je o veoma kompleksnom polju, o istraživanju koje može obuhvatiti sve, od žamora vremena, sagledanog kroz štampu, radijske najave, TV, preko muzejskog izdavaštva – od kataloga do brošura i ulaznica – do skrivenih elemenata muzejskog fonda koji još uvek nisu prepoznati kao takvi.

Kroz kritički teorijski rad (Sladojević 2012, 2014) ukazano je na to koliko je bitno da se omogući muzejima da stvore različite interfejsse koji bi im pomogli da **kritički diskurs postave u javni prostor** – bilo da je reč o muzejskoj postavci, dokumentaciji, biblioteci, veb-sajtu ili nekom drugom fizičkom ili digitalnom okruženju; da se obezbedi da **rezultati** ovih kritičkih diskursa koji nastaju u javnoj sferi **ostanu javni i otvoreni za dalji razvoj**; da se omogući da neki od zaključaka budu **održivi kao kritička teorija prevedena u praksu**.

Beleškom ili digitalnim zapisom o Muzeju afričke umetnosti upravo se teži da se odgovori na ova tri glavna koraka. Postavljanjem ove vizuelizacije na internet obezbeđuje se svojevrsna transparentnost muzejskog rada i pruža mogućnost da se pogleda „iza” kolekcija i izbora na osnovu kojih su načinjene, a samim tim i odluka, odnosno politika koje su jednu instituciju oblikovale. Ovakav pristup omogućava nastanak polifonih muzejskih narativa otvarajući put demokratizaciji muzeja kroz veće učešće publike u kreiranju njegovih sadržaja.

Iako je sama digitalizacija još uvek u toku, ona se ipak može posmatrati u sklopu prethodnih koraka u pravcu samorefleksije; u tom smislu, ona je još jedan okvir za razmišljanje, ne samo o konkretnom ishodu stvaranja digitalnog otiska Muzeja već i o daleko širem polju razumevanja muzeja i njihovih uloga

Oral history – the memory of ex-workers, associates, friends of the Museum and the overall public, may greatly contribute to casting light on the importance of the Museum in the local community. This element, unlike all of the previously listed, remains unrecorded on paper. It is present in the form of memory implied by the understanding that particular people may be understood to be cultural and historical capital whose contributions are yet to be written down through conversation and interviews.

In order to implement a methodological framework for the digitalization of the elements listed above, first steps include mapping of all the work data, the relation between different data / work materials, initial recording, determining the basic structure of future information links etc.

All these elements explain those invisible, however extremely important mechanisms that shaped the Museum of African Art as the sole Museum in the region at the time of its establishment, entirely dedicated to African creative production.

Albeit, it is a matter of an extremely complicated field of research that might include almost everything: the *buzz* of certain times observed through newspapers, radio announcements, TV appearances, reaching as far as the Museum's publishing practices – from brochures and entrance tickets to hidden elements of the overall museum contents that have not been recognised as such yet.

Critical theoretical work (Sladojević 2012, 2014) points out the importance of providing museums with different interfaces that would facilitate **placing critical discourse in the public space** – whether referring to the museum display documentation, library, website, or some other physical or digital environment; it is necessary to provide the means for **results** of these critical discourses that are created in the public sphere to **remain public and open to further development**; to make it possible for certain conclusions to be **sustainable as critical theory translated into practice**.

A note or digital imprint of the Museum of African Art aims to answer these three main steps. Placing this visualisation online provides museum work with a certain amount of transparency offering a view “behind” the collections and choices made to create

danas. Stoga, i pre same digitalizacije, ovaj projekat poziva pre svega na revalorizaciju, na repozicioniranje u odnosu na muzejski sadržaj i na dovođenje u vezu vidljivih i za sada nevidljivih i neprepoznatih vrednosti.

Digitalizacija u ovom vidu ima smisao samo ukoliko će biti prolaz ka novim znanjima, ukoliko omogućujući demokratičnost sadržaja o kojima je bilo reči, ukoliko doprinese muzejskoj komunikaciji i promeni percepcije o tome šta je zapravo muzejska vrednost.

Prevod (srpsko-engleski): Ivan Epštajn

them, thus also the decisions, more precisely politics that shaped an institution. Such an approach enables the creation of polyphonic museum narratives, opening the roads to the democratization of museums by including the participation of the wider public in the process of content creation.

Even if the digitalization is still in process, it is possible to observe it as a segment of previously taken steps in the direction of self-reflection; in such a sense, it is an additional framework for considering not only the actual results of creating the digital imprint of the Museum, but also the more encompassing understanding of museums and their current roles. Therefore, before digitalization itself, this project invites the re-valorisation, re-positioning in relation to museum content and linking visible and, for now, invisible and unrecognised values.

Digitalization in such a form makes sense only if it is to lead to new knowledge, if it facilitates the democratization of contents, if it contributes to museum communication and the transformation of the perception of what museum value actually is.

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1 Bitno je napomenuti da distinkcija materijalno/digitalno nije precizna, pa čak ni tačna, zato što i digitalno ima svoju materijalnost. Međutim, u ovom slučaju, iako je možda moguće pronaći bolji izraz, fizičko ili materijalno treba da opiše ono što se na engleskom naziva *brick-and-mortar*, odnosno u slučaju dokumentacije *paper-based*.

2 Kulturalna analiza, onako kako je postavlja Mike Bal (*Mieke Bal*) – kao način razmatranja određenih kulturnih specifičnosti uz samorefleksivnost, koja stalno pogled upravljen prema predmetu istraživanja, odnosno analize vraća prema onome iz čijeg se gledišta pogled i upućuje – zapravo omogućava da se osvetle muzejske metanaracije.

Tri reči koje Bal vezuje upravo za model muzeja, a koje izводи iz glagola „izlagati”: *to expose* (engl.), jesu *exposition* (izložba, izlaganje u muzejskom ili galerijskom prostoru), *exposé* (ekspoze, verbalno

Notes:

* This article was conceived as a project under a working title “Digital Imprint of the MAA”, which is currently underway in cooperation between the Central Institute for Conservation in Belgrade and the Museum of African Art – Veda and Dr Zdravko Pečar Collection.

1 It is important to mention that the distinction between material and digital is not precise, nor even correct, because even the “digital” could be described as material. However, in this case, even though it could be possible to find a better expression, physical or material should describe what is commonly referred to as *brick-and-mortar*, or in the case of documentation *paper-based*.

2 Cultural analysis, as presented by Mieke Bal – as a way to reconsider certain cultural specificities through self-reflection which keeps returning the view pointed towards the object of research back to the point of view of the observer – actually enables to cast a light on museum meta-narratives.

Three words which Bal linked specifically to the museum model, derived from the verb to expose are: *exposition* (exhibition, displaying in a museum or a gallery), *exposé* (verbal presentation) and *exposure*

izlaganje o nečemu), i *exposure* (ekspozicija, izloženost nečemu). Svaka reprezentacija istovremeno otkriva (reprezentuje, predstavlja) i skriva (onaj deo koji predstavlja metanarativ, metamuzej), (Bal and Gonzales 1999:4).

3 Veoma zanimljiv primer odnosa muzeja i predmetnog fonda pruža Muzej istorije Jugoslavije u Beogradu, čiji je ekstenzivan fond (200.000 predmeta) pretio da u izvesnom smislu pomrači sve druge teme kojima bi se muzej inače bavio da nije već bio „okovan” svim ovim predmetima. Naime, ma koliko zanimljivi i vredni oni bili, sami predmeti su unutar muzejskog diskursa stalno pretezali na stranu jednih te istih tema, ne dozvoljavajući muzeju da uspostavi konzistentnu politiku i balans između tematskog usmerenja i predmetnog fonda. Jedan korak prema svojevrsnom oslobodenju muzeja od ove vrste opterećenja načinjen je u vidu nove, tematske podele po zbirkama, u čijem koncipiranju sam imala zadovoljstvo da učestvujem, radeći na mestu kustosa Etnografske zbirke MIJ 2011. godine. Čak iako je i ona, naravno, podložna daljoj kritici, u ovom konkretnom slučaju dovela je do relaksiranja posebne tenzije koja je postojala u samom muzeju, i do tada na vrlo vidljiv način blokirala njegov rad.

4 Tokom razgovora u okviru programa „Konteksti i reprezentacije” autorke dr Ane Sladojević, 10. 5. 2014. godine, konceptom koji je pomenula prof. dr Nevena Daković, *overwriting* – pisanje preko, možda je i najbolje opisano ono što je većina učesnika u razgovorima, upitana o budućnosti Stalne postavke Muzeja afričke umetnosti u Beogradu, imala u vidu.

5 Putem FARO laserskog skenera i upotrebom tehnike fotogrametrije (za čiju implementaciju je zadužen arh. Marko Aleksić, saradnik CIK-a).

6 Promena Stalne postavke već je jednom planirana. Nataša Njegovanović Ristić, viši kustos Muzeja afričke umetnosti, načinila je elaborat. Arhitekte Ivan Kucina i Nenad Katić dizajnirali su i predstavili kako bi nova postavka trebalo da izgleda (2003. i 2004. godine). Sredstva su bila odobrena, ali rešenje, iz razloga komplikovanja njegove implementacije zbog drugih radova na spratu Muzeja, nikada nije primenjeno.

Od onda je prošlo nešto više od deset godina i sada je izvesno da tadašnje rešenje, iz brojnih razloga, verovatno neće ni biti primenjeno. Jedan razlog svakako jesu velike promene koje su se dogodile ne samo u domenu muzejskog rada i muzejskih reprezentacija već u čitavom našem saznanom okviru, koji je rapidno i temeljno menjan, i dalje se menja, tehnologijama koje više nisu nove, ali su svakim danom sve složenije. One utiču na našu svakodnevnicu i na naše poimanje nekih od ključnih pojmova – u ovom slučaju od interesa za dalje planiranje rada Muzeja – poput prostora, reprezentacije, podataka, informacija, znanja, dostupnosti i dr. U izvesnom smislu može nam biti i drago da se ova promena u samom Muzeju nije dogodila pre nego što je prepoznata potreba da se sadašnje stanje i postavka dokumentuju, odnosno pre nego što je u izvesnom smislu izvršena njena (re)valorizacija.

7 Primedba teoretičara filma Olivijea Adušija (*Olivier Hadouchi*) tokom posete Muzeju 2013. godine.

(exposition, exposure to something). Each representation at the same time reveals (represents and presents) and conceals (a part that represents meta-narrative; meta-museum), (Bal and Gonzales 1999:4.).

3 A very interesting example of the relation between the museum and its object inventory is provided by the Museum of Yugoslav History (MIJ) in Belgrade, whose extensive inventory (200,000 objects) threatened to overshadow, to an extent, all the other topics with which the museum would be engaged, had it not been “limited” by all these objects. That is to say, however interesting and valuable these objects were, they were, within the museum’s discourse, stretched to the side of the ever repeating topics, not allowing the museum to establish a consistent policy and balance between its thematic direction and its inventory. A step towards the relief of the museum from this “burden” was made when the new thematic distribution, which was done based on the collections, in which conception I participated, while working as curator of the MIJ’s Ethnographic Collection in 2011. Even though it is, of course, subject to further criticism, in this particular case, it brought about the relaxing of a particular type of tension that existed in the museum and which, up until that point, very visibly obstructed its work.

4 During a discussion which was a part of the programme “Contexts and Representations” led by Ana Sladojević, PhD on May 10, 2014, a concept of overwriting was introduced by professor Nevena Daković, PhD, which perhaps best described what the majority of participants in the discussion had in mind when asked about the future of the Museum of African Art’s permanent display.

5 Through FARO laser scanner and via the use of the photogrammetry (Architect Marko Aleksić, an associate of the Central Institute for Conservation was in charge of implementing this technique).

6 The change of the Permanent Display has already once been planned. Museum of African Art’s Senior Curator Nataša Njegovanović Ristić wrote an elaborate. Architects Ivan Kucina and Nenad Katić designed and presented the way a new Display was supposed to look in 2003 and 2004. Funding was approved, but the project was never implemented, due to the complications caused by other works in the museum.

Ten years have passed since, and it is now certain, that for numerous reasons, it would probably not be implemented. One of those reason, most certainly, was the change that occurred, not only in the domain of the museum work and the museum representations, but in the our entire epistemological framework, which was rapidly and thoroughly changed – and still keeps changing – by technologies, which are no longer new, but with each day, much more complex. They influence our everyday lives and our understanding of the key phenomena – in this case essential for the further planning of the work of the museum – such as space, representation, data, information, knowledge, availability, etc. To certain extent, we might be relieved that this change in the Museum of African Art did not occur before the necessity to document the current situation and Display, was recognised, that is, before, to an extent, it was (re)valorised..

7 Film theorist Olivier Hadouchi made this remark during his visit to the Museum of African Art in 2013.

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POLIGINIJA I MODERNOST

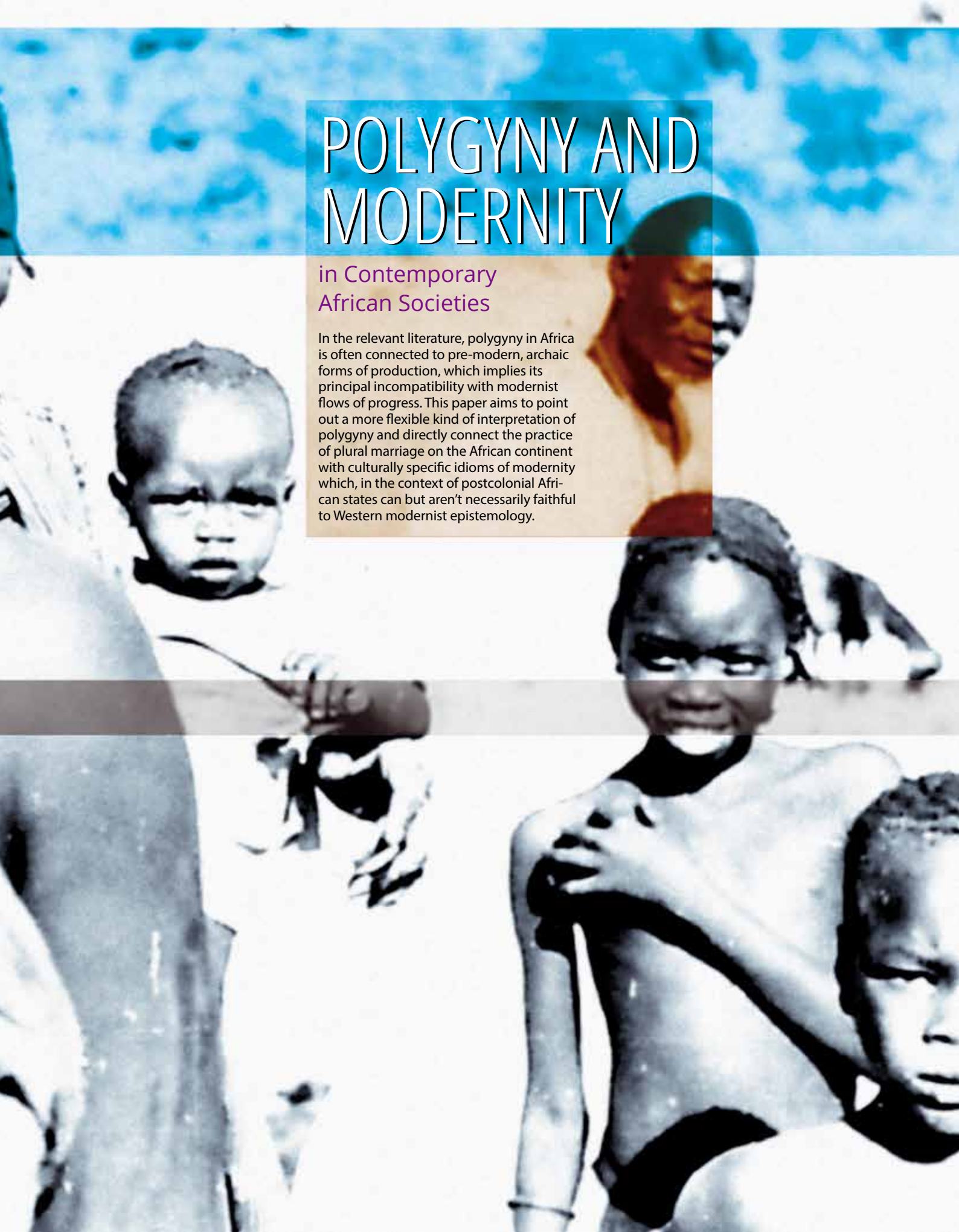
u savremenim
afričkim
društvima

U relevantnoj literaturi poliginija u Africi se često dovodi u vezu sa premodernim, arhaičnim oblicima privređivanja, što implicitno povlači njenu principijelnu nekompatibilnost sa modernističkim tokovima razvoja. Ovim radom nastoji se da se ukaže na nešto fleksibilnije mogućnosti tumačenja poliginije i direktno poveže praksa pluralnih brakova na afričkom kontinentu sa kulturno specifičnim idiomima modernosti koji u kontekstu postkolonijalnih afričkih država mogu i ne moraju biti u potpunosti verni zapadnoj modernističkoj epistemi.

POLYGyny AND MODERNITY

in Contemporary African Societies

In the relevant literature, polygyny in Africa is often connected to pre-modern, archaic forms of production, which implies its principal incompatibility with modernist flows of progress. This paper aims to point out a more flexible kind of interpretation of polygyny and directly connect the practice of plural marriage on the African continent with culturally specific idioms of modernity which, in the context of postcolonial African states can but aren't necessarily faithful to Western modernist epistemology.



Marko Pišev

*Institut za etnologiju i antropologiju
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu*

marko.pisev@f.bg.ac.rs

Marko Pišev

*Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade*

marko.pisev@f.bg.ac.rs

POLIGINIJA I MODERNOST u savremenim afričkim društvima: prilog debati

Apstrakt:

U relevantnoj literaturi poliginija u Africi se često dovodi u vezu sa pre-modernim, arhaičnim oblicima privređivanja, što implicitno povlači njenu principijelnu nekompatibilnost sa modernističkim tokovima razvoja. Ovim radom nastoji se da se ukaže na nešto fleksibilnije mogućnosti tumačenja poliginije i direktno poveže praksa pluralnih brakova na afričkom kontinentu sa kulturno specifičnim idiomima modernosti koji u kontekstu postkolonijalnih afričkih država mogu i ne moraju biti u potpunosti verni zapadnoj modernističkoj epistemi.

Ključne reči:

poliginija, modernost, porodica, Afrika, Zapad.

POLYGYNY AND MODERNITY in Contemporary African Societies: a Contribution to the Debate

Abstract:

In the relevant literature, polygyny in Africa is often connected to pre-modern, archaic forms of production, which implies its principal incompatibility with modernist flows of progress. This paper aims to point out a more flexible kind of interpretation of polygyny and directly connect the practice of plural marriage on the African continent with culturally specific idioms of modernity which, in the context of postcolonial African states can but aren't necessarily faithful to Western modernist epistemology.

Key words:

Polygyny, modernity, family, Africa, the West.

Klasične teorije modernosti u društvenohumanističkim naukama predviđale su linearne, simetrične tranzicije premodernih u moderna društva svuda u svetu, bez obzira na njihove kulturne, socijalno-političko-ekonomske, istorijske i druge posebnosti. Tipično za klasične teorije modernosti bilo je stavljanje znaka jednakosti između modernizacije i vesternizacije, pri čemu se od društava koja stupaju u fazu tranzicije iz premodernih u moderna očekivalo da izvode iste one korake i prate iste one smernice koje su preobrazile društva zapadne hemisfere u najjače socioekonomske i političke sile modernog sveta.¹ O modernosti je moguće govoriti u singularnoj i pluralnoj formi, pri čemu singularna podrazumeva emulaciju evrocentričnog sistema, dok pluralna obuhvata „alternativne” ili „vernakularne” modernosti koje u određenim aspektima odstupaju od evroameričkog industrijskog modela. Ovaj evroame-

Classical theories on modernity in the social sciences and humanities predicted linear, symmetrical transitions of pre-modern into modern societies all over the globe, regardless of the cultural, socio-political, socio-economic, historical and other particularities such societies might possess. For classic theories of modernity it was typical to equate modernization to westernization, while the societies entering into the transition process were expected to perform the same steps and follow the same guidelines which transformed the societies of the Western hemisphere into the strongest socioeconomic and political forces of the modern world.¹ It is possible to speak of modernity in the singular as well as in the plural. Using the singular form implies the emulation of the Eurocentric system, while the plural encompasses “alternative” or “vernacular” modernities which deviate from the Euro-American industrial model in certain

rički model na političkom polju odlikuje stvaranje jakih nacionalnih država, široka politička participacija građana, liberalni misaoni tokovi, industrijalizacija, ravnopravna raspodjela bogatstva; na socijalnom planu karakterišu ga društvena interiorizacija nuklearne porodice,² opismenjavanje najširih društvenih slojeva, masovna komunikacija, individualizam, rodna jednakost i druge odlike; pri čemu bi centralni klipovi motora modernosti trebalo da budu škole, fabrike i moderna sredstva komunikacije, dok bi nauka imala za cilj da potisne religiju i magiju na margine društva, racionalizujući u maksimalnoj meri procese sociokulturnog delovanja pojedinaca i grupa (Hollos i Whitehouse 2008; Ivanović 2010; Huntigton 1966, Gellner 1981*b*). „Alternativne”/„vernakularne” modernosti obično iskazuju neki stepen rezervisanosti prema evrocentričnom modelu društvenog razvoja i/ili, preciznije, prema specifičnom konceptu modernizacije kao vesternizacije, onda kada se taj koncept nekritički primenjuje na vlastito društvo. U ovom radu nastojaću da odgovorim na pitanje kakve izazove poliginija, kao društveno specifični oblik zasnivanja bračne zajednice, pruža modernizacijskim tokovima u pojedinim društvima podsaharske Afrike gde se javlja kao relativno ustaljen oblik građenja afinalnih srodničkih veza.

Srodstvo, porodica i modernost: neke opšte postavke

Opštepoznata školska formulacija, derivirana iz Međunarodne povelje ljudskih prava, koja ističe da je porodica „osnovna ćelija društva” ne govori mnogo – tačnije, gotovo ništa – o sadržaju samog pojma i njegovoj relaciji prema modernom društvu.³ S obzirom na to da bi taksativno nabranje svih definicija porodice oduzelo previše mesta u ovom radu i preusmerilo nam fokus sa centralnog istraživačkog problema – (ne?)problematičnog odnosa poliginije i modernosti – usredsredićemo se na ona određenja porodice koja smeštaju ovu bazičnu društvenu strukturu u „glavnotokovski” modernistički kontekst. Na prvom mestu je u datim okvirima značenja moguće navesti opservaciju da su izvesne institucije modernog društva – poput države, crkve, škole i fabrike – preuzele neke funkcije ili neke aspekte funkcija porodice (Sait 1940, 5). Nasuprot tome, modernizacija

aspects. The Euro-American model is politically characterized by the creation of strong nation states, a wide political participation on the part of the citizenry, liberal thinking, industrialization, equal distribution of wealth; on the social level it is characterized by social interiorization of the nuclear family,² widespread literacy, mass communication, individualism, gender equality and other important characteristics; while the major pistons of the modernity engine are supposed to be schools, factories and modern means of communication, while the role of science would be to banish magic and religion to the margins of society, thus rationalizing to the highest extent the processes of socio-cultural action taken up by individuals and groups (Hollos and Whitehouse 2008; Ivanović 2010; Huntigton 1966, Gellner 1981*b*). “Alternative”/“vernacular” modernities are usually reserved toward the Eurocentric model of social development and/or more precisely, toward a specific concept of modernization as westernization, when this concept is uncritically applied to ones’ own society. In this paper I will attempt to address the challenges issued by polygyny as a socially specific form of marriage to the modernization flows in certain societies in sub-Saharan Africa, where polygyny occurs as a relatively common form of building affinal kinship relations.

Kinship, family and modernity: Some basic propositions

The well-known definition derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that the family is “the basic unit of society” doesn’t say much – or rather, doesn’t say anything – about the contents of the term “family” and its relation to modern society.³ Seeing as the exhaustive enumeration of all definitions of family would take up too much space in this paper and shift the focus from the central research problem – the (non?) problematic relationship between polygyny and modernity – I will focus on those definitions of family which place this basic social structure in the mainstream modernist context. First off, in this given framework it is possible to state the observation that certain institutions of modern society such as the state, the church, the school and the factory have taken on some of the functions or some aspects of the functions of the family (Sait 1940, 5).

društava na Zapadu, prema shvatanjima pojedinih teoretičara, oslobodila je žene tradicionalnih uloga majke i domaćice i pružila im mogućnost samoostvarenja u određenim sferama društvenog života tradicionalno „rezervisanim” za muškarce, prevazilazeći, tako, fundamentalnu dihotomiju u vezi s rodnom (i uzrastnom) podelom rada, prema kojoj žene bivaju zauvek apsorbovane u svet domaćinstva, dok su muškarci slobodni da vode živote pune različitih prilika za samorealizaciju na svim ostalim nivoima društvenog delovanja (ibid, 6). I mladi su se, takođe, u zapadnoj modernističkoj epistemi oslobodili stega roditeljskog autoriteta: prema uvidima društvenog istoričara Edvarda Šortera (*Shorter*), industrijska revolucija nakon 1850. privukla je ogroman broj mlađih generacija seoskog stanovništva u evropske gradove, što ih je u značajnoj meri oslobodilo roditeljskog nadzora i dovelo do transformacije bazičnih struktura porodice, pri čemu je bračna zajednica postala neraskidivo povezana sa sentimentalnim, „romantičnim” konceptom, u okviru kojeg se bračne veze zasnivaju iz ljubavi, a ne iz unapred uređenih „bračnih saveza” determinisanih ekonomskim interesima roditelja (Garret 1998, 223). „Tradicionalna” zapadna porodica, tako, u društvenoj teoriji biva simbolički i formalno odeljena od moderne, slično onome kako je razvoj ovog novog oblika društvenosti u teoriji težio da raščlani društvene institucije, poput ekonomije, politike, srodstva i religije kao zasebne i međusobno razdvojene u *modernoj*, a međuzavisne i čvrsto povezane u tradicijskoj sociokulturnoj situaciji (upor. sa Ivanović 2010, 22–23). Antropološka teorija, od Henrija Mejna do Kloda Levi-Strosa i naovamo (gotovo sve do 90-ih godina prošlog veka), gajila je analognu distinkciju o „primitivnim”/„arhaičnim” društvima u okviru kojih srodničke veze služe kao fundament svekoličke ljudske društvenosti i kulture, naspram moderne monogamne nuklearne porodice na prosvetljenom Zapadu, koja je bila shvaćena kao strukturalno, socijalno, pa i emotivno odeljena od javne sfere i – poput religije – svedena „na domen ’domaćih’ aktivnosti i funkcija”, figurirajući pritom kao „samo mali i zanemarljiv deo društvenog života ’naprednih’ društava” (ibid, 22). Jednom rečju, antropolozi su, prema Zorici Ivanović, sve do relativno skoro, „premoderna” ili „arhaična”

On the other hand, the modernization of societies in the West, according to certain theoreticians, liberated women from their traditional roles as mothers and housekeepers, and afforded them the possibility of self-actualization in certain spheres of social life traditionally reserved for men, thus overcoming the fundamental dichotomy of the gender (and age) division of labor according to which women are forever absorbed into the household, while men are free to lead lives full of different opportunities for self-actualization on all other levels of social action (ibid, 6). Within the Western modernist epistemology, young people were also freed from the bounds of parental authority: according to the insights of social historian Edward Shorter, after 1850, the industrial revolution drew huge numbers of young people from rural areas to European cities, which freed them from parental scrutiny and led to the transformation of the basic structures of family, while marriage became inextricably bound with the concept of “romance”, wherein marriages are based on love and not on predetermined “marriage alliances” determined by the economic interests of the parents (Garret 1998, 223). The “traditional” western family, thus, in social theory becomes both symbolically and formally distanced from modernity. This is, in turn, similar to how modernity – this new form of sociability, in theory strived to divide social institutions such as economy, politics, kinship and religion into separate and disconnected in a *modern*, and mutually dependent and tightly knit in a traditional cultural situation (cf. Ivanović 2010, 22–23). Anthropological theory, from Henry Maine to Claude Lévi-Strauss and further (almost until the 1990’s) nurtured an analogous distinction about “primitive”/“archaic” societies in which kinship ties served as the foundation of all human sociality and culture as opposed to the modern, monogamous nuclear family native to the enlightened West, which was understood to be structurally, socially and even emotionally separate from the public sphere and – like religion – reduced to the “domain of ‘domestic’ activities and functions”, figuring as “just a small and inconsequential part of the social life of ‘advanced’ societies” (ibid, 22). In a word, according to Ivanović, anthropologists had, up until recently, viewed “pre-

društva posmatrali kroz prizmu srodničkih, a moderna, industrijska društva kroz prizmu ekonomskih odnosa, gubeći usput iz vida da sistemi srodničkih veza imaju značajnu ulogu i u savremenim zapadnim, a ne samo u „zaostalim” nezapadnim ekonomijama.

Primeru radi, raspravljajući o rodnoj podeli rada u afričkoj agrikulturi, autori Vajt, Barton i Dou testirali su hipotezu prema kojoj ženski doprinos opstanku porodice povećava stopu poliginije, u slučaju da je rad na obradi zemljišta i odgajanju useva zastupljeniji kod ženskog nego kod muškog dela populacije (White i dr. 1981, 825). Ova hipoteza je formulisana na osnovu ranijeg uvida da je ženski doprinos poljoprivrednoj proizvodnji u Africi procentualno viši nego bilo gde drugde u svetu, odakle sledi da pojedina društva na ovom kontinentu – u odnosu na sva svetska društva – pokazuju najvišu stopu učešća žena u prehranjivanju celokupnih zajednica (ibid). Iz ovakve premise može se izvesti više konsekvenci. Recimo, u slučaju da je najveći broj muškaraca periodično, na duže vreme udaljen iz zajednice zbog najamnog rada, ratova, dalekih lovačkih ili ribolovačkih ekspedicija ili izmeštenog stočarstva, očekuje se da će učešće žena u poljoprivredi porasti (ibid, 827). Nasuprot tome, prema logici ove teze, što je u jednoj zajednici društvena stratifikacija složenija, osobe nižeg statusa, poput robova, sluga, seljaka bezemljaša, najčešće obavljaju poslove na zemlji, pa participacija žena u agrikulturi opada (ibid).

Kako vidimo, hipoteza u dotičnom ključu glasi da su afrički muškarci većinom ti koji kontrolišu pristup zemlji, dok su žene većinom te koje svojim radom na zemlji doprinose umnožavanju letine; prema tome, što je više žena uduženih u braku s jednim zemljoposедnikom, to je više radne snage u njegovim poljima, pa konačno i više prihoda u domaćinstvu koje svi dele. Poliginija, tako, ima svoju racionalnu logiku: višak obradive zemlje stvara potrebu za većim brojem supruga koje, opet, doprinose umnožavanju početnog muževljevog bogatstva – a pošto je muž obavezan da ravnopravno podmiruje potrebe svojih supruga, na materijalnom dobitku su, neminovno, sve strane uključene u poligini aranžman. Prema uvidima američkog mikroekonomiste Frederika Prajora, „u slučaju da muškarac ima višak zemlje, jasno je da

modern” or “archaic” societies through the prism of kinship relations, and modern, industrialized societies through the prism of economic relations, losing sight of the fact that kinship relations play an important role in contemporary Western and not just “backward” non-Western economies.

For example, when discussing the gender division of labor in African agriculture, authors White, Burton and Dow tested the hypothesis that women’s contribution to the survival of the family increases the instances of polygyny, in cases where tiling the land and raising the crops is more prevalent among the female than the male part of the population (White et al. 1981, 825). This hypothesis was formulated based on earlier insights which noted that women’s contribution to agricultural production in Africa is higher in percentage than anywhere else in the world, which indicates that certain societies on this continent – as compared to all other societies in the world – display the highest rate of participation of women in feeding whole communities (ibid). From this premise a number of conclusions can be drawn. For example, in case that most men are periodically absent from the community for long stretches of time, because of paid labor, wars, hunting or fishing expeditions or cattle rearing, it is to be expected that the participation of women in agriculture will grow (ibid, 827). On the other hand, according to this logic, if the social stratification of the society is more complex, persons of lower status such as slaves, servants and landless peasants are most often those who work the land, and the participation of women in agriculture drops (ibid).

As we can see, the hypothesis thus is that African men are the ones who control access to the land in the majority of cases, while women are mostly the ones who contribute to the success of the crops through labor; thus, the more women joined in marriage with one landowner, the bigger the labor force in his fields, and ultimately, the more income in the household they all share. So polygyny makes rational sense: the surplus of arable land creates the need for a greater number of wives who, in turn, contribute to the increase of their husband’s initial wealth – and considering that the husband is obligated to tend equally to the needs of all of his wives, all sides in the polygynous arrange-

njegov put ka bogatstvu [u poliginom društvu] leži u akumulaciji žena koje će obrađivati taj višak zemljišta; dok je u [monogamnom] društvu postići akumulaciju bogatstva na ovaj način nemoguće, već je to moguće izvesti samo putem izdavanja viška obradive zemlje u zemljišni zakup, ili njenom prodajom” (Pryor 1977, 118).

Zanimljivo je da se i fenomen poliandrije u antropologiji, i društvenim naukama uopšte, obrazlaže na sličan način (Berreman 1965; Levine i Silk 1997). Doduše, postoji jedna bitna razlika: teoretičari najčešće promatraju poliandriju kao odraz težnje muških ratara da se u uslovima niskih agrikulturnih prinosa posed veže za porodicu, to jest da se ionako oskudna obradiva površina ne rascepa među braćom (što je donekle slično ekonomskoj logici jugoslovenske zadruge – v. Kulišić 1955; Pantelić 1964; Stojaković 1985; Kaser 1994; Pavković 1996); dok se, kad je reč o poliginiji, uglavnom govori o bogatim zemljoradnicima, višku zemljišta i maksimizaciji prinosa umnožavanjem ženske radne snage u okviru jedne porodice. Prema jednom autoru, većina muškaraca koji žive od zemljoradnje u Africi smatra da su velike porodice, sa mnogo žena i dece praktično rešenje za što efektniju eksploataciju zemljišta uz što manja ulaganja (Falen 2008, 63). I drugi antropolozi takođe ističu upravo ovaj vid rezonovanja kada govore o afričkoj poliginiji (White i dr. 1981, White and Dow 1988, Gage-Brandon 1992).

U oba slučaja, dakle, tip objašnjenja je isti: bilo da stešnjen, siromašan posed stvara potrebu za udruživanjem braće u bračnoj vezi sa jednom ženom i minimumom potomaka (poliandrija), bilo da bogat, krupan posed stvara potrebu za što većim brojem supruge i dece okupljene – i udružene – u jednom domaćinstvu, pod sveobuhvatnim zagrljajem jednog – muškog – starešine kuće (poliginija), u oba slučaja je reč o homeostazičnoj adaptaciji na preindustrijske, premoderne oblike privređivanja. Da li se, onda, pluralnim brakovima gubi svaki smisao u modernističkoj epistemi? Kad bi, recimo, bilo izvesno da ključ za razumevanje sveskolikog praktikovanja poliginije leži u nekakvoj, za „poligine zajednice” tipičnoj, distribuciji rodnih uloga pri eksploataciji



Azim Azimzade, „Stara i nova nevesta”, 1935. godina, preuzeto sa adrese https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_old_wife_and_the_new_one.jpg, softver u javnom vlasništvu.

Azim Azimzade “Old and new bride”, 1935, from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_old_wife_and_the_new_one.jpg, public domain software

ment stand to profit. According to the insights of the American microeconomist Frederic Pryor, “if a man has extra land, in the [polygynous] society his path to wealth lies clearly in the accumulation of wives who will work this extra land; in the [monogamous] society accumulation of wealth cannot occur in this way but through the renting of this land to tenant farmers or the selling of the land to others” (Pryor 1977, 118).

It is interesting to note that the phenomenon of polyandry has been explained similarly in anthropology and the social sciences in general (Berreman 1965; Levine and Silk 1997). However, there is one fundamental difference: theoreticians tend to view polyandry as a reflection of the aspiration of male agriculturalists to tie the land to the family in conditions of low agricultural yields, or rather to counteract the tendency to divide the already sparse arable land among brothers (which is somewhat similar to the economic logic of the Yugoslavian cooperative family – see Kulišić 1955; Pantelić 1964; Stojaković 1985; Kaser 1994; Pavković 1996); while, when polygyny is concerned, it is mostly about wealthy agriculturalists, the surplus of land and the maximizing of yields through bringing in more female labor within one family. According to one author, the majority of men who support themselves through agriculture in Africa believe that big families, with many wives

obrađivog zemljišta, odgovor bi verovatno bio tačan. Ali, time naše objašnjenje postaje redundantno: ono niti obuhvata slučajeve poliginije gde žene nemaju bitnog učešća u poljoprivredi ili im verozakonska tumačenja ne dopuštaju da se poljoprivredom bave (kao u nekim muslimanskim sedelačkim, agrarnim društvima); niti mogu tumačiti praktikovanje poliginije među urbanitima. Zato je potrebno uzeti u obzir neke fleksibilnije teorijske modele.

Poliginija i modernost u podsaharskoj Africi: predmeti polemike

Poliginija se javlja kao normativan bračni sistem u mnogim delovima podsaharske Afrike, bez obzira na etničku i versku pripadnost osoba uključenih u poligamne odnose (Bove i Valeggia 2008; Smith-Greenway i Trinitapoli 2014). U takozvanom poliginom pojasu, koji se prostire od Senegala do Tanzanije, gotovo trećina žena živi u poligamnim zajednicama (Jacoby 1995); međutim, sklapanje braka sa dve i više supruga daleko je češće u ruralnim nego u urbanim područjima (ibid, 943; Smith-Greenway i Trinitapoli 2014, 342), što ipak ne znači da je u gradskim sredinama na afričkom kontinentu poliginija bila – i ostala – nepoznat fenomen. Već smo videli kako je izvestan broj teoretičara nastojao da praksu poliginije u Africi objasni ne toliko pozivajući se na tradicijski način mišljenja u okvirima lokalnih zajednica, koliko na tradicionalne metode maksimizacije kapitala, putem efektivne eksploatacije obrađivog zemljišta. No, i afrička nomadska društva takođe mogu imati visoku stopu poliginije. Kako se ovo objašnjava? Autorka Stefani Besvik (*Beswick*) obrazlaže odnos između poligamnog nomadskog tipa društvene zajednice i poliginog bračnog sistema na primerima naroda Nuer i Dinka, ističući da:

„...potencijalni suprug plaća miraz u stoci, najčešće preko sistema licitacije koji kontroliše potencijalni svekar. Onaj koji pruži najvišu ponudu najčešće dobija ženu, a miraz biva ugovoren u serijama otplate kroz duži period vremena. U sistemu leviratskog braka, ako čovek umre pre nego što isplati čitav miraz, jedan od njegove braće ženi se udovicom i nastavlja da isplaćuje preostali dug njenoj

and children are a practical solution for the effective exploitation of land with minimal investment (Falen 2008, 63). Other anthropologists also emphasize this kind of reasoning when they speak about African polygyny (White et al. 1981, White and Dow 1988, Gage-Brandon 1992). In both cases, then, the type of explanation is the same: either a small, poor property creates the need for the joining of brothers in marriage with one woman and minimal offspring (polyandry), or a rich, large property creates the need for a great number of wives and children gathered – and united – in one household, in the hands of one – male – head of the house (polygyny). In both cases it is a homeostatic adaptation to preindustrial, premodern forms of production. Does that mean that plural marriages lose all sense in a modernist epistemic framework? If, for example, it were certain that the key to understanding all practices of polygyny lied in some sort of distribution of gender roles in the process of land exploitation typical for “polygynous communities”, the answer would probably be correct. But then our explanation becomes redundant: it doesn’t encompass cases of polygyny wherein women have no meaningful role in agriculture or religious law prohibits them from practicing agriculture (as is the case in some Muslim sedentary agrarian societies); nor can it explain the practice of polygyny among urban populations. Because of this it is necessary to take into account some more flexible theoretical models.

Polygyny and modernity in sub-Saharan Africa: Polemical issues

Polygyny occurs as the normative marriage system in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, regardless of the ethnic and religious affiliation of persons included in the polygamous marriages (Bove and Valeggia 2008; Smith-Greenway and Trinitapoli 2014). In the so called “polygynous belt” which stretches from Senegal to Tanzania, almost a third of the women live in polygamous families (Jacoby 1995); however, marrying two or more wives is a lot more common in rural than in urban areas (ibid, 943; Smith-Greenway and Trinitapoli 2014, 342), still, this doesn’t mean that polygyny in urban areas of Africa was – or is – an unknown phenomenon. Above, it was shown how a

porodici. Dakle, ženine prokreativne sposobnosti nikada nisu ‘protraćene’, i ona nikada ne ostaje bez muža koji brine o njoj i njenoj deci. (...) Ova praksa nastavlja da biva prisutna naročito među Dinkama i Nuerima, prevashodno zato što je veliki broj žena u porodici važan za socioekonomski životni stil Dinka. Do nedavno, (...) važila je poslovice da ‘mnogo žena donosi mnogo ćerki koje će se udati za [čiji će brakovi zauzvrat obezbediti] veliki broj stoke.’ Ipak ovi sistemi srodstva ne predstavljaju puku razmenu žena; putem njih, takođe se razmenjuju [...] genealoški statusi, imena i preci loze, prava i ljudi. Oni povezuju muškarce, žene i decu u konkretne mreže socijalnih odnosa.”

(Beswick 2001, 38)

I Vajt, Barton i Dou uviđaju da u nomadskim društvima u Africi žene „stvaraju ljudstvo (decu) kroz koju bivaju formirane kooperativne radne grupe i bračni savezi” (1981, 830). Slično argumentu skopčanom sa seledelačkim, agrarnim kulturama u Africi, i polignija kod afričkih nomada – pored toga što transformiše (žensko) potomstvo u materijalnu dobit – u antropološkoj literaturi poprima ulogu katalizatora društvenog statusa (muškaraca), pri čemu androcentrično „na srodstvu zasnovano društvo” (Ivanović 2013) prati pravilo da muški akteri, kroz pospešenje materijalnih prihoda, povezuju vlastite mreže srodstva sa moćnijim lozama kroz brakove i na taj način dodatno učvršćuju svoje društvene pozicije.

No, ovaj homeostazičan ugao gledanja na poligamne zajednice u manjoj ili većoj meri zanemaruje uloge žena u perpetuaciji prakse sklapanja poligininih brakova ili njihovom postepenom izobičavanju širom kontinenta.⁴ Prema 24. članu Konvencije za ukidanje svih oblika diskriminacije prema ženama (CEDAW), poliginija izlaže devojke i žene visokom riziku infekcije virusom HIV-a i drugih polno prenosivih bolesti (Obonye 2012, 145); uopšte, poliginija se u naučnoj štampi povezuje sa širenjem HIV-a u oblastima gde se praktikuje kao normativni oblik braka (Brahmbhatt i dr. 2002; Hoel i Shaikh 2013), ali se dovodi u vezu i sa visokom stopom smrtnosti dece, kao i sa opsežnijom pojavom oboljenja žena od psihičkih poremećaja u anksiozno-depresivnom spektru bolesti (Fenske 2011, 1; Al-Krenawi 2013; Bove i Valeggia

number of theoreticians tried to explain the practice of polygyny in Africa not by referring to the traditional way of thinking in local communities, but using the traditional theories of maximization of capital through the effective exploitation of arable land. However, African nomadic societies can also have large numbers of polygynous marriages. How does one explain that? Author Stephanie Beswick explains the relationship between the mostly nomadic type of community and the polygynous marital system using the examples of the Nuer and Dinka peoples stating that:

“...the potential husband must pay brideprice in cattle, most often through a bidding system controlled by the potential father in law. The man who offers the highest price is the one who gets the woman in most cases, and the brideprice is agreed as a series of payments over time. In the levirate system, if a man dies before he has paid the full brideprice, one of his brothers marries the widow and continues with the payments to her family. So, women’s procreative abilities are never “wasted”, and she is never left without a husband who would take care of her children. This practice still continues among the Nuer and the Dinka mostly because a large number of women in the family is important for the socioeconomic lifestyle of the Dinka. Until recently, there was a proverb which stated that ‘many wives bring many daughters who will marry (and whose marriages will bring) a lot of cattle.’ Still, these systems of kinship do not represent a mere exchange of women; they are also the exchange of genealogical statuses, name and ancestors of lineages, rights and people. They connect men, women and children into concrete networks of social relations.”

(cf. Beswick 2001, 38)

White, Burton and Dow also realize that in nomadic African societies women “produce the personnel (children) through which cooperative work groups and marriage alliances are maintained” (1981, 830). Similar to the argument used in treating polygyny in sedentary, agrarian African cultures, polygyny among African nomads – aside from transforming (female) offspring into material gain – takes on the role of cat-

2009). Uzevši sve navedene faktore u obzir, bilo bi više nego nategnuto zaključiti da su poligini brakovi vrste odnosa u koje žene generalno ulaze olako, bez obzira na eventualnu materijalnu korist koje bi one i njihova deca mogli da imaju od života u takvoj zajednici. Stoga su teorijske pozicije koje polaze od promatranja rodne podele rada i ženske produktivnosti u osnovi nedovoljno refleksivne, ne isključivo radi toga što putem „objašnjenja” poliginije implicitno potcrtavaju jaz između modernih i premodernih odnosa i institucija (oslanjajući se na evolucionističke pretpostavke o srodstvu kao generatoru društvenih veza solidarnosti u sistemima nezapadnih društava), već zato što im elegancija argumenta najčešće ne dozvoljava da uzmu u obzir emocionalne i psihološke faktore nestabilnosti pluralnih brakova.

No, upravo ovi činioци nam mogu poslužiti da u korist tematske oblasti o kojoj je u ovom radu reč, kreiramo neposrednu sponu između poliginije, tradicije i modernosti. Simbolički, u pojedinim afričkim kulturama, modernost se, kako ćemo videti, očitava i kroz zahteve žena za sigurnošću i stabilnošću braka u „modernoj” monogamiji, dok se „tradicija” povezuje sa androcentričnim tumačenjem poliginije kao nezaobilaznim kulturnim markerom afričke posebnosti. U ovoj vrednosnoj hijerarhiji pojmova, monogamija je predstavljena kao tuđinska, „meka” i feminina, dok je poliginija pozicionirana kao maskulini odraz autentične afričke tradicije.⁵

U narednim segmentima rada predstaviću osnovne karakteristike poliginijih zajednica u Africi, apstrahovane iz skupa etnografskih podataka, kako bih dodatno iznijansirao percepciju odnosa poliginije i modernosti i kroz diskusiju o mestu poliginije u modernom društvu ukazao na neke važne aspekte ovog problema.

Opšte karakteristike poliginijih brakova

Prema istraživačima Vajtu, Bartonu i Dou (*White, Burton and Dow*), od 43 različita afrička društva, samo kod Amara i Tuarega može se pronaći isključivo monogaman bračni sistem. Od preostalih zajednica koje su ovi autori uvrstili u svoju analizu, u 15 je zastupljena ograničena poliginija (pod ovim terminom podrazumeva se koeficijent manji od 20% svih bra-

alyst of (male) social status in anthropological literature, while androcentric “kinship based society” (Ivanović 2003) follows the rule that male actors, through improving their material income, connect their own kinship networks to more powerful lineages through marriage, and thus cement their social standing.

However, this homeostatic way of looking at polygynous communities neglects the role of women in the perpetuation of the practice of polygyny and its slow decline all over the continent.⁴ According to article 24 of The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), polygyny exposes women and girls to a high risk of HIV infection and other sexually transmitted diseases (Obonye 2012, 145); in general, scholarly articles on polygyny connect it to the spread of HIV in areas where it is the normative form of marriage (Brahmbhatt et al. 2002; Hoel and Shaikh 2013), as well as a high infant mortality rate and an increase in women’s mental health issues on the anxiety-depression spectrum (Fenske 2011, 1; Al-Krenawi 2013; Bove and Valeggia 2009). Taking all of this into account, it can be said that polygynous marriages are relations into which women surely do not enter lightly, regardless of the prospective material gain they and their children might have from living in such an arrangement. Thus, theoretical stances which start off by viewing the gender division of labor and women’s productivity are not reflexive enough, and not only because they use their “explanations” of polygyny to implicitly underline the gulf between modern and pre-modern relationships and institutions (by building on evolutionist assumptions of kinship as the generator of social bonds of solidarity in non-Western societal systems), but also by the fact that the elegance of their argument most often doesn’t allow taking into account the emotional and psychological factors of instability in plural marriages.

These very factors can serve to connect polygyny, tradition and modernity within this paper. Symbolically, in certain African cultures, as we shall see, modernity is read through women’s demands for security and stability within a “modern” monogamy, while “tradition” is linked to an androcentric interpretation of polygyny as a key cultural marker of African dis-

kova), dok 26 praktikuje intenzivnu poliginiju (više od 20% svih brakova – 1981, 840). Daglas Fejlen (Falen 2008, 54) ističe da percepcija Afrikanaca kao populacije fundamentalno opredeljene za višeženstvo nalazi svoj odjek u pisanjima zapadnih učenjaka i misionara, kao i među delom afričkih pisaca, mada ovu praksu, posmatrano iz demografskog ugla, sprovodi manjina afričke muške populacije. Autor ipak priznaje da poligini brakovi ne pokazuju nikakve jasne znakove opadanja u Africi (Falen 2008, 56; ali pogl. Fenske 2011). U Nigeriji, primera radi, gde je 1885. godine 30% oženjenih muškaraca imalo više od jedne supruge, nedavne cifre pokazuju porast u procentima uprkos brojnim preobraćenjima stanovništva u hrišćanstvo. Takođe, poliginija je česta u Senegalu i Sijera Leone, dok se u Beninu pokazuje blag pad sa 31% u 1992. godini na 27% u 2002. (ibid). Svi ovi koeficijenti zadovoljavaju donji kriterijum intenzivne poliginije koji su naveli Vajt, Barton i Dou. Pored toga, prema Fejlenu, čak i pojedina urbana područja u Africi pokazuju visok nivo pluralnih brakova, što sugeriše da ovakvi brakovi nisu u vezi samo sa ruralnim i tradicionalnim naseobinama na kontinentu, kako to smatraju pojedini istraživači⁶ (ibid).

U opštim crtama, poligini brakovi u Africi dele izvesne karakteristike.

- *Idealno, seksualni pristup zajedničkom mužu ravnopravan je za sve supružnice uključene u poligini brak.* U okviru ovog modela seksualna ravnopravnost supružnica počiva na pravilu da svaka žena, bez obzira na starosno doba, provodi jednu noć u muževljevoj postelji, ustupajući naredne večeri mesto drugoj supruzi, i tako u krug (Barkow 1972, 322). Etnografi su u brojnim afričkim društvima zabeležili seksualnu i emocionalnu ambivalentnost žena koje dele svoje muževe sa ostalim suprugama. Prema jednom svedočenju:

Svaka prva žena osetiće duboko ukorenjeni gnev u jednoj tački svog poligamnog braka. Njen suprug je svakako jedna od meta ovog gneva (...) [Žena] se pita „Kako je mogao da uradi to ako me voli? On mora da zna kako se ja osećam u vezi s time. On brine samo za sebe, a ne za moja osećanja.” Koji

tinctiveness. Within this hierarchy of value, monogamy is presented as alien, “soft” and feminine, while polygyny is positioned as a masculine reflection of authentic African tradition.⁵

Further in the paper I will present the basic characteristics of polygynous communities in Africa abstracted from ethnographic data, with the aim of pointing out certain important aspects of the issue by discussing the perception of the relationship between polygyny and modernity and the place of polygyny in modern society.

General characteristics of polygynous marriages

According to White, Burton and Dow, out of 43 African societies, only among the Amari and Tuareg peoples can one find monogamy as the only marriage system. Out of the rest which were considered in the authors' analysis, in 15 there is limited polygyny (this means that polygynous marriages constitute less than 20% of all marriages), while 26 practice intensive polygyny (more than 20% of all marriages – 1981, 840). Douglas Falen (2008, 54) states that the perception of Africans as a fundamentally polygynous population is reflected in the writings of western scholars and missionaries, as well as among a number of African writers even though, statistically speaking, polygyny is practiced by the minority of the African male population. The author does however acknowledge that polygynous marriages show no clear signs of decline in Africa (Falen 2008, 56; but see also: Fenske 2011). For example in Nigeria where in 1885 30% of married men had more than one wife, recent numbers show a rise in the practice even though a lot of the population converted to Christianity. Polygyny is also frequent in Senegal and Sierra Leone, while in Benin there has been a slight decline in the practice – from 31% in 1992 to 27% in 2002 (ibid.). All these coefficients satisfy the criteria for intensive polygyny proposed by White, Burton and Dow. Aside from this, according to Falen, even certain urban areas in Africa display high levels of plural marriages, which suggests that these marriages aren't only connected to the rural and traditional settlements on the continent as is thought by certain researchers⁶ (ibid).

god da je razlog zbog kojeg muž uzima drugu ženu (...) bez obzira na to koliko fina ta žena bi mogla biti, bez obzira na to koliko se pravično suprug ponaša (...), žena ne želi da deli svog muža sa drugom ženom.⁷

Intuitivna pretpostavka da pravilo muževljeve cirkulacije od postelje do bračne postelje može naići na konflikt u slučaju kada bilo koja od supružnica poželi da monopolizuje muževljevu pažnju ili pravo prvenstva u seksualnom kontaktu (upor. sa Jankowiak i dr. 2005, 85) potvrđuje se prethodnim pasusom. Ovo je, sasvim moguće, jedna od najčešćih prepreka za uspešno funkcionisanje pluralnih brakova.

- *Poligini brakovi vrlo često mogu značiti ekonomsku sigurnost za ženu i njenu decu, budući da su muškarci opredeljeni za ovaj tip braka najčešće zadovoljavajuće materijalno situirani* (upor. sa Falen 2008, 61). Pojedini etnolozi izneli su pretpostavku da nivo materijalne zavisnosti supruge od muža determiniše nivo njene spremnosti da se nadmeće sa suprugom-suparnicom za materijalne resurse i reproduktivne planove. Odatle se može izvesti uzročno-posledični silogizam koji tvrdi da veća materijalna zavisnost žene od muža znači češće i intenzivnije konflikte sa suprugom-suparnicom (Jankowiak i dr. 2005, 82). U domaćinstvima gde se sve supružnice nalaze u neprestanom i neposrednom kontaktu, muškarac se najčešće nalazi u obavezi da egalitarno tretira svaku ženu: poklon jednoj supruzi mora značiti poklon za sve supruge, i svaki od tih poklona mora biti podjednako vredan. Isto se događa i sa drugim materijalnim vrednostima. Sve žene moraju dobijati podjednak deo materijalnih dobara od muža; u poligamnom braku ne sme se opaziti da je muškarac više naklonjen jednoj supruzi u odnosu na ostale (Barkow 1972, 322).

Iako, međutim, materijalni resursi mogu biti podjednako raspodeljeni među svim supružnicama, sa muškarčevom privrženosti to najčešće nije slučaj. Prema rezultatima analize velikog uzorka etnografskih tekstova o poliginim brakovima u Africi koju je uradio američki tim naučnika, najčešća i najbitnija preokupacija žene u poliginom braku jeste upravo njeno nastojanje da pospeši svoj seksualni pristup mužu i intenzivira emocionalnu intimnost bračne

In general, polygynous marriages in Africa share certain traits.

-*Ideally, sexual access to the husband is equal for all the wives in a polygynous marriage.* The ideal-type model of wives' equality in terms of sex is based on the rule that all of the wives, regardless of age, spend one night in the husband's bed, surrendering her place to the second wife on the next night and so forth (Barkow 1972, 322). Ethnographers have noted sexual and emotional ambivalence of women who share their husband with other wives in many African societies. According to one testimony,

Every first wife feels a deep-seated anger at one point in her polygamous marriage. Her husband is certainly one of the targets of this anger (...) [The wife] wonders "How could he do this if he loves me? He has to know how I feel about it. He cares only about himself and not about my feelings." Whatever the reason the husband has for taking another wife (...) no matter how nice the other wife is, no matter how justly the husband behaves (...), a woman does not want to share her husband with another woman.⁷

The intuitive assumption that the rule of the husband's circulation from one marital bed to another can run into trouble if any of the wives wishes to monopolize the husband's attention or the right of priority in sexual intercourse (cf. Jankowiak et al. 2005, 85) is confirmed by the passage above. This is possibly one of the most frequent obstacles for the successful functioning of plural marriages.

- *Polygynous marriages often mean economic stability for a woman and her children, because men in these marriages are most often wealthy* (cf. Falen 2008, 61). Certain ethnologists have posited that the level of economic dependence of the wife determines her readiness to compete with rival-wives for material resources and reproductive plans. This in turn can lead to a logical syllogism which would claim that a higher dependence of the wife on the husband means more often and more intense conflict among wives (Jankowiak et al. 2005, 82). In households where all wives are in close and continual contact, the hus-

veze (Jankowiak i dr, 88). Tvrdnja ovih naučnika svo-
di se, dakle, na to da su emocionalni, pre nego eko-
nomski, faktori primarni uzroci konflikta u poliginom
braku. Prema njihovim rečima:

„Naši podaci nagoveštavaju da većina mladih žena
reaguje na dolazak nove supruge sa osećanjem stra-
ha, ljutnje, tuge i gubitka. Ovaj sentiment izražen
je kroz varijetet kulturno prihvatljivog i prepoznat-
ljivog ponašanja; u ovo, recimo, spadaju optu-
žbe za veštičarenje, iskazivanja brige za dobrobit
dece, optužbe za favorizaciju, zahtevi za veći pris-
tup mužu, žalbe za seksualno ignorisanje, izlivi
fizičkih ili verbalnih napada, pretnja razvodom bra-
ka, ili stvarno preuzimanja koraka za razvod. Osim
u slučaju sororalnih poligininih brakova (...) i kod
nekolicine istočnoafričkih nomadskih kultura (...)
sumnjamo da su bliski, kooperativni odnosi među
suprugama retko kada norma.”

(ibid. 90)

U savremenoj psihijatriji posvećenoj disfunkciona-
lnim odnosima u pluralnim brakovima, osmišljen je,
u vezi s poliginijom, sugestivan medicinski termin:
naime, „simptom prve supruge” (Al-Krenawi 2013).
Psihijatrijski nalazi u vezi s ovim simptomom po-
tvrđuju da prva supruga (dakle, ona koja je hronolo-
ški najduže u braku sa poligamistom), u odnosu na
drugu/treću/petu... ženu ima izrazit manjak samopou-
zdanja, upadljiviju anksioznost, kao i veću sklonost
ka paranoidnim ideacijama i psihoticizmu (ibid).

- *Najstarija supruga može da ispolji neki vid au-
toriteta nad ostalim suprugama u poligamnoj vezi*
(Meekers 1995, 315), što bi moglo da se tumači kao
kulturno specifična prevencija ovih duševnih smetnji.
U Africi su, naime, zabeleženi slučajevi u kojima prva
supruga učestvuje u muževljevom izboru mlađe žene
(upor. sa Gage-Brandon 1992); što, drugim rečima,
znači da u poliginoj praksi postoje slučajevi kada su-
pruga odbija da njen muž sam izabere novu supružni-
cu. Ovakav, uslovno rečeno, utilitaristički pristup
poliginiji prvoj ženi, s jedne strane, omogućava da do
maksimuma pospeši ekonomsku dobit domaćinstva,
a, sa druge, da za svog supruga odabere onu ženu koja
joj se najviše dopada (npr. sestru – sororalna poligini-

band is obligated to treat all of the women equally:
a present for one wife has to mean presents for all
wives, and all the presents must be of equal value.
The same thing happens with other valuables. All the
wives must get an equal share of the husband's ma-
terial wealth. In a polygynous marriage it must not
be noticeable if the husband cares for one wife more
than the other(s) (Barkow 1972, 322).

Even though material resources can be equally
distributed among the wives, the husband's affection
mostly isn't. According to the results of an analysis of
a large number of ethnographic texts on polygynous
marriage in Africa conducted by an American team
of scientists, the most frequent and most important
preoccupation of a woman in a polygynous marriage
is her endeavor to improve her sexual access to the
husband and intensify the emotional intimacy of the
marriage. (Jankowiak et al. 88). The claims of the
researchers are that emotional rather than economic
factors are the primary causes of conflict in polygy-
nous marriages. According to them,

“ Our data suggest that the majority of young wom-
en react to the arrival of a new co-wife with feel-
ings of fear, anger, sadness, and loss. This senti-
ment is expressed through a variety of culturally
acknowledged and measurable behaviors; for ex-
ample, witchcraft accusations, statements of con-
cern for the welfare of children, accusations of fa-
voritism, demands of greater access to the husband,
complaints of being sexually ignored, outbreaks
of physical or verbal abuse, and expressing an in-
tention to divorce or actually doing so. Except for
sororal polygynous marriages (...) we suspect that
close, co-operative co-wife relationships are sel-
dom the norm.”

(ibid. 90)

In contemporary psychiatry there is a suggestive
medical term used to describe dysfunctional rela-
tions in plural marriages: the “first wife syndrome”
(Al-Krenawi 2013). Psychiatric research on the syn-
drome confirms that the first wife (the one who has
been married to the polygamist for the longest time),
compared to the second/third/fifth... has a distinct
lack of self-respect, more visible anxiety as well as

ja) i time svede unutarporodične konflikte na minimalnu meru. S tim uvezi, neki etnolozi izneli su pretpostavke da u matrilinearnim društvima postoji veća verovatnoća da žene iskažu opsežniji entuzijazam za stupanje u poligini brak budući da mogu da se oslone na svoje ženske srodnice (Jankowiak i dr. 2005, 83). Ova tvrdnja, međutim, nije podržana analizom Vajta, Bartona i Doua prema kojoj patri- ili virilokalan tip stanovanja efektivno olakšava zasnivanje poligine porodice (White i dr. 1981, 840).

Iako su ove dve hipoteze potpuno oprečne, moguće je pretpostaviti da postoji izvesna veza između matrilinearnosti (i matrilokalnosti) i sororalne poliginije, uzevši u obzir eventualni uticaj najstarije žene na odabir nove supruge za muža, kao i eventualno ograničenu moć i autoritet muškarca u matrilinearnom i matrilokalnom društvu. Koliko je autoru ovog teksta poznato, istraživanje sa ciljem testiranja dotične ili slične hipoteze nije izvršeno, iako se sororalni poligini bračni sistemi u celini smatraju stabilnijim od nesororalnih⁸ (Jankowiak i dr. 2005, 95).

Nasuprot tome, rezultati analiza većeg broja etnografskih istraživanja utvrdili su da starije žene procentualno više prihvataju stupanje u poligini bračni odnos i sa manje otpora: starenje, kako izgleda, ublažuje kompetitivni odnos žene prema novoj, mlađoj supruzi (ibid, 87). U izvesnom broju kultura žene utvrđuju verbalni ugovor ili neku vrstu socijalnog osiguranja organizovanu oko fiktivne srodničke terminologije (recimo, tip formalizovanog odnosa između majke i ćerke). Ovaj verbalni ugovor, sa jedne strane, obavezuje stariju ženu da mlađoj omogućiti frekventniji seksualni pristup zajedničkom mužu, dok, s druge strane, mlađu obavezuje da se stara o starijoj kada ova izgubi snagu (ibid, 92). Takođe, u etnografskoj literaturi postoje podaci koji sugerišu da intenzitet prohteva supruge za intimnom vezom sa mužem može opasti sa njenim sazrevanjem i starenjem, pošto ona proširi svoje društvene i emocionalne veze, naročito one sa svojom odraslom decom (ibid, 94).

- *Emocionalni angažman muškaraca u poliginim brakovima slabiji je od emocionalnog angažmana žena.* Ova odlika poligamnog braka je, implicit-

a more pronounced tendency toward paranoid ideas and psychoticism (ibid). However, maybe as a culturally specific prevention of this type of mental disturbance, it happens that,

- *The oldest wife can exert a kind of authority over other wives in the polygynous relationship* (Meekers 1995, 315). In Africa there are cases in which the first wife takes part in the husband's choice of the second wife (cf. Gage-Brandon 1992); which means that in polygyny there are cases in which the wife refuses to allow the husband to make the choice by himself; this "utilitarian" approach to polygyny enables the first wife to maximize the financial gain of the household on the one hand, and on the other to pick the woman she likes best for her husband, for example one of her sisters (sororal polygyny), and thus minimize conflict inside the family. Keeping this in mind, some ethnologists have stated that in matrilineal societies there is a better chance of women being enthusiastic about polygynous marriage as they can depend on the help of their kinswomen (Jankowiak et al. 2005, 83). This claim is not supported by the research of White, Burton and Dow which supposes that patri- or virilocal living effectively eases the founding of a polygynous family (White et al. 1981, 840).

Even though these hypotheses are mutually exclusive, it is possible to assume that there is a connection between matrilineal systems (and matrilocality) and sororal polygyny, especially taking into account the possible influence of the first wife on the choice of the new one, as well as the limited power of the man in matrilineal and matrilocal societies. As far as the author of this paper is informed there hasn't been any research done on this or similar hypotheses, even though sororal polygynous marriage systems are considered more stable than non-sororal⁸ (Jankowiak et al. 2005, 95).

On the other hand the results of a number of ethnographic studies found that in terms of percentages older women are more likely to accept polygynous marriage: aging, as it seems, mitigates the competitive relationship between older and new, younger wives (ibid, 87). In certain cultures, women establish a verbal contract or a kind of social insurance organized



FILM 50 1375 Pečar-Zagorac, 1955. godina. Porodica u Sudanu. Muzej afričke umetnosti, Beograd, 1985. godine.

FILM 50 1375 Pečar-Zagorac, 1955. Family in Sudan. Museum of African Art, Belgrade, 1985.



FILM 56 1563 Pečar-Zagorac, 1956. godina. Scene iz Libije - na preseku tradicije i modernosti. Muzej afričke umetnosti, Beograd, 1985. godine.

FILM 56 1563 Pečar-Zagorac, 1956. Scenes from Libya – at the intersection between tradition and modernity. Museum of African Art, Belgrade, 1985.

no, više puta istaknuta u etnografskom istraživanju Kagurua u Tanzaniji (Meekers 1995). Kod Kaguru muškaraca višeženstvo se doživljava kao instrument za jačanje ličnog statusa muškarca, jer se u praktikanju poliginije ogleda muškarčeva nezavisnost (ibid, 320). Poglavica jednog naselja ne ponaša se u skladu sa očekivanjima koja dolikuju ovako visokoj društvenoj poziciji ukoliko živi u monogamnom braku, pošto „poglavica mora imati makar dve žene” (ibid). U tom duhu, monogamija za muškog člana zajednice znači kulturno nepreferirano „ukopavanje” u bračni odnos sa „samo” jednom suprugom, koja ne samo što je kadra da ugrozi njegovu autonomiju već je i u prilici da se razvede od njega i tako istakne vlastitu nezavisnost *ispred* njegove.

No, događa se i da muškarac potpuno zanemari stariju ženu u korist nove, mlađe supruge (Gage-Brandon 1992, 286). Ovo zanemarivanje ne mora biti samo na nivou polnog kontakta: muž može potpuno prestati da obraća pažnju na stariju suprugu kad je reč o materijalnoj i svakoj drugoj vrsti pomoći, pa čak može i prestati da obavlja svoje očinske dužnosti prema deci (Meekers 1995, 322). Prema tome, u jednom broju slučajeva, intimne emocionalne veze koje su postojale

around a fictional kinship terminology (for example, a kind of formalized relationship between mothers and daughters). This verbal contract on the one hand obliges the older woman to enable the younger woman more frequent sexual access to the husband, while it obliges the younger woman to take care of the older woman when her strength gives out (ibid, 92). Also, in ethnographic literature there is data that suggests that the intensity of the wife's demand for an intimate relationship with her husband drops as she ages, because she widens her social circle and builds other emotional bonds like the ones she shares with her adult children (ibid, 94).

- *The emotional engagement of men in polygynous marriage is weaker than the emotional engagement of women.* This trait of polygamous marriage is, implicitly, underlined in the ethnographic study of the Kaguru of Tanzania (Meekers 1995). Among Kaguru men, polygyny is viewed as an instrument for strengthening the personal status of the man, because it is in the practice of polygyny that a man's independence is reflected (ibid, 320). The chief of a settlement is not fulfilling the standards of such a high

le između supružnika – u slučaju da ih je uopšte bilo – doživljavaju potpuni krah nakon što u domaćinstvo stupi mlada nevesta (ibid, 321). Istovremeno, muški deo populacije probleme i trvenja u domaćinstvu najvećim delom pripisuje ženskoj ljubomori (Meekers 1995, 321–322). Uopšte, izgleda da ne bi bilo netačno reći da je ovaj bračni sistem nestabilan prevashodno zbog seksualnih i emocionalnih faktora, umesto zbog ekonomskih uslovljenosti. Istraživanja odnosa u pluralnim brakovima ovog tipa otkrivaju da su ovakve veze emocionalno nezadovoljavajuće za većinu participantkinja, uprkos tome što pojedini istraživači ističu materijalnu i emocionalnu ispunjenost žena u poliginim zajednicama (Jankowiak i dr. 2005, 81).

- *Stopa poliginih brakova raste u društvima u kojima žene ostvaruju visok doprinos opstanku zajednice* (White, Burton 1988, 872). U sedelačkim zemljoradničkim društvima poliginija može značiti podelu napornog zemljoradničkog rada između žena, mada u zajednicama koje su primile islam, ženska populacija po pravilu ostvaruje slabiji doprinos u zemljoradnji zbog obaveze sekluzije, koja polno aktivne žene uslovljava da provode najveći deo vremena u očevoj/muževljevoj kući (Clough 2009). Visok doprinos opstanku zajednice žene ostvaruju prevashodno u ruralnim sredinama, gde se mogu baviti širokim spektrom poslova, od pripreme zemljišta, preko setve, odgajanja letine, do žetve i sekundarne obrade useva (White i dr. 1981, 825). Nasuprot tome, poslovi koje žene po pravilu ne obavljaju najčešće se odnose na univerzalna ograničenja u vezi sa trudnoćom i dojenjem, a podrazumevaju dobavljanje sirovih materijala, dugo odsustvo od kuće, ili poslove koji se smatraju naročito opasnim za žene i odojčad (ibid). Hipoteza da je poliginija u uzročno-posledičnoj vezi sa ženskim radom na zemlji u pojedinim slučajevima služi i kao objašnjenje za činjenicu da u urbanim sredinama postoji procentualno manji broj poliginih brakova⁹ (Gage-Brandon 1992, 285). No, što se samog odnosa supružnika tiče, etnografski izvori sugerišu da je konflikt u domaćinstvu akutan bez obzira na udeo ženskog dela populacije opstanku zajednice (Jankowiak i dr. 2005, 87).

Prema predviđanjima Vajta, Bartona i Doua, hipo-

social position if he is monogamous, as a “chieftain must have at least two wives” (ibid). in this sense, monogamy for a male member of the community means a culturally non-preferable “getting stuck” in a marriage with “only” one wife, who is not only capable of threatening his autonomy, but is capable of divorcing him and thus putting her own independence ahead of his.

However, it also happens that a man will completely neglect an older wife in favor of a younger one (Gage-Brandon 1992, 286). This neglect might not be confined to the level of sexual intercourse: the husband can completely stop paying attention to an older wife when it comes to material and other forms of aid, and can even stop performing his duties as a father to their children (Meekers 1995, 322). According to this, intimate emotional connections between spouses – if there were any – get totally destroyed once a young bride joins the household (ibid, 321). At the same time, the males of the population blame all problems and friction on female jealousy (Meekers 1995, 321–322). In general, it seems as though this type of marriage is unstable because of sexual and emotional factors, and not economic ones. Research on relationships in plural marriages of this kind reveals that these relationships are emotionally unsatisfying for the majority of the female participants, even as some scholars point out the material and emotional fulfillment of women in polygynous communities (Jankowiak et al. 2005, 81).

- *The number of polygynous marriages is rising in societies in which women contribute highly to the subsistence of the community* (White, Burton 1988, 872). In sedentary agrarian societies polygyny can mean sharing hard agrarian work amongst women, but in communities that converted to Islam women contribute less as a rule because of the obligatory seclusion which obliges sexually mature women to spend most of their time in their father’s/husband’s house (Clough 2009). A high contribution to the subsistence of the community women mostly achieve in rural communities where they can engage in a number of activities such as preparing the land, sowing, tending the crops, harvesting and secondary process-

tetičko matrilokalno društvo u kojem bi isključivo muški deo populacije bio zadužen za obavljanje svih poslova u vezi sa zemljoradnjom, bilo bi preovlađujuće monogamno, dok bi u patrilokalnom društvu u kojem žene obavljaju sve agrikulturne poslove bila zastupljena intenzivna poliginija (ibid, 841). Ovo je, pre svega, u vezi sa već predloženim pragmatičnim rezonom afričkog zemljoradnika prema kojem velike porodice, sa mnogo žena i dece predstavljaju praktično rešenje za što jeftiniju, efikasniju i ekstenzivniju eksploataciju zemljišta (Falen 2005, 63). Vidimo da su autori koji predviđaju višu stopu poliginijih brakova u matrilinearnim društvima potpuno suprotstavljene autorima koji predviđaju istu pojavu, ali za patrilinearna i patrilokalna društva, dok za matrilinearna društva smatraju da prevashodno teže monogamnom tipu braka. Ovo je još jedan činilac koji otežava teorijsko objašnjenje poliginije preko ekonomskih implikacija rodne podele rada.

- *Poliginija se često vezuje za prostorno odvajanje svake žene u zasebna mesta stanovanja.* Često se događa da žene ne žive u istom domaćinstvu, već su prostorno razdvojene u zasebne kolibe, a ponekad i u različita naselja (White i Burton 1988, 871). U pojedinim društvima suprug je dužan da izgradi po jednu kolibu za svaku ženu (Barkow 1972, 321). Pored toga, može se dogoditi da muž potajno stupi u drugi brak, tako da žena i ne zna za postojanje potencijalne supruge-suparnice (Falen 2005, 64). Na prvi pogled, logično je pretpostaviti da je ova strategija povoljnija za stabilnost poliginog bračnog sistema. Bez detaljnijeg razmatranja, čini se da za ljubomoru i rivalizam među suprugama postoje veći izgledi kada među njima nema prostorne razdvojenosti, to jest kada sve supruge žive „pod istim krovom.” Etnografski izvori, međutim, govore suprotno: Prostorna razdvojenost suprugama najčešće ne umanjuje međusobno neprijateljstvo supružnica-suparnica (Jankowiak i dr. 2005, 93). Istina je da razdaljina mesta stanovanja može uticati na to da među dvema – ili više – suprugama ne dolazi do direktnog kontakta, međutim neprijateljstvo ostaje u imaginarnom delu svesti žena. Iako one nisu kadre da stupe u neposrednu svađu, supružnice mogu biti neprestano opterećene

ing of crops (White et al. 1981, 825). On the other hand, the labor that isn't done by women is mostly connected to pregnancy and nursing, and entail the acquisition of raw materials, long absence from home, or labor which is considered especially dangerous for women and infants (ibid). The hypothesis that polygyny is in a cause and effect relation with women's agrarian labor can sometimes serve as an explanation for the fact that in urban areas there is a smaller percentage of polygynous marriages⁹ (Gage-Brandon 1992, 285). But, when it comes to the relationship between wives, ethnographic sources state that household conflict is acute regardless of the participation of women in the subsistence of the community (Jankowiak et al. 2005, 87).

According to the hypothesis put forth by White, Burton and Dow a matrilocal society in which only men would be responsible for doing all agricultural work would be mostly monogamous, while in a patrilocal society in which women do all the agrarian work intensive polygyny would be present (ibid, 841). This is due to the aforementioned pragmatic reasoning of African agriculturalists according to which large families with a lot of wives and children represent a practical solution for a cheap, efficient and extensive exploitation of land (Falen 2005, 63). We can see that the authors who predict a higher rate of polygynous marriages in matrilineal societies stand opposed to authors who predict the same thing only for patrilineal and patrilocal societies, while they believe that matrilineal societies mostly tend towards a monogamous type of marriage. This is another factor which that encumbers a theoretical explanation of polygyny through the economic implications of a gender based division of labor.

- *Polygyny often entails the spatial separation of each of the wives into separate living quarters.* It often occurs that women don't live in the same household, but are spatially separated into separate huts and sometimes even separate settlements (White and Burton 1988, 871). In certain societies the husband is obligated to build a hut for each of his wives (Barkow 1972, 321). Furthermore the husband can se-

nedoumicama u vezi s time koja je od njih dobila neravnopravni deo materijalnih i seksualnih resursa. Prema tome, razdaljina ne čini ništa u korist ublaživanja neprijateljstva među supružnicama, i čak može to neprijateljstvo da pojača (ibid).

- U pojedinim društvima metafore za rivalizam i ljubomoru oslanjaju se na terminologije poliginijinih bračnih odnosa. Kod naroda u Etiopiji za supružnicu u poliginom braku koristi se termin *niyeka* (moj partner u ljubomori), dok se kod Hausa naroda za žene venčane za poliginistu upotrebljava termin *kishiya*, koji označava ljubomoru. Postoji još sličnih primera (Meekers 1995, 316). Narodni aforizmi ili izreke takođe mogu poslužiti kao slikovite karikature poliginijinih bračnih odnosa. Maštovitost koja prati izreke poput „dva pseta uvek grizu”, „kvočke koje ključaju nikada se ne slažu” ili „mešavina [Bangwa] žena je nalik šaci punoj otrovnih zmija” dovoljno su sugestivne same po sebi. One, prosto rečeno, nagoveštavaju da supružnicama nedostaje ljubaznost i uviđajnost, i istovremeno snažno sugerišu na konfliktu, pa čak i nasilnu prirodu njihovog suživota (Jankowiak i dr. 2005, 86).

Iz svega što smo do sada naveli, možemo konstatovati da poligine bračne sisteme, prema raspoloživim izvorima, odlikuje nestabilnost i sklonost neprestanom unutarporodičnom trvenju, kao i da odnosi među supružnicama mogu varirati od stanja akutnog konflikta i neprekidnog neprijateljstva, preko pragmatične saradnje prožete epizodama intenzivne antipatije (ređe), do potpuno harmoničnih odnosa (najređe).

Diskusija

Nakon što smo naveli najčešće odlike poligamnog braka u Africi, izdvojićemo one koje smatramo najznačajnijim u smislu odstupanja od zapadnog tipa monogamnog braka, navodno intrinzično povezanog sa modernizacijom. Prva i najznačajnija razlika je, svakako, pokretanje rivalskog odnosa između dvaju ili više žena. Ovi odnosi se mogu dodatno zaoštriti u procesu odgajanja dece – budući da je u poliginom braku svaka žena zadužena da se brine o vlastitoj deci. Nijedan od primera afričkih poliginijinih društava (osim, eventualno, u slučajevima sororalne poliginije) ne izdvaja se po tome što supružnice koje žive u istom

cretly marry again leaving the first wife unaware of the existence of the potential wife-competitor (Falen 2005, 64). At first glance, it is logical to assume that this strategy is better for the stability of the polygynous marital system. Without too much thought, it seems that jealousy and rivalry between wives are more likely to occur when they inhabit the same space daily, when all wives “live under one roof”. Ethnographic sources however state the opposite: spatial separation of wives mostly doesn’t diminish their rivalry (Jankowiak et al. 2005, 93). The truth is that the distance between living quarters can sometimes guarantee that there will be no contact between the two – or more – wives, but the hostility is still there in their minds. Even if they can’t outright fight, the wives can be constantly laden with doubts about which one of them had gotten the least material or sexual resources. Thus, distance does nothing to assuage the rivalry among wives and can even serve to strengthen it (ibid).

- *In certain societies metaphors for rivalry and jealousy rely on terms in polygynous marital relations.* Among certain peoples in Ethiopia the term for a wife in a polygynous marriage is *niyeka* (my partner in jealousy), while among the Hausa the term for woman married to a polygynist is *kishiya*, which means jealousy. There are more similar examples (Meekers 1995, 316). Folk aphorisms and sayings can serve as caricatures of polygyny. The imagination that infuses sayings such as “two dogs always bite”, “pecking hens never get along” or “mixing [Bangwa] women is like a hand full of snakes” are suggestive enough. They suggest that wives lack courtesy and consideration, and at the same time denote a conflicting even violent nature of their coexistence (Jankowiak et al. 2005, 86).

From all that has been stated we can ascertain that polygynous marriages are, according to the sources at hand, unstable and tend to lead to intra-family conflict, as well as that relations between wives can vary from a state of acute conflict and lasting hostility, through pragmatic cooperation with episodes of antipathy (which is rarer), to completely harmonious relations (which is the rarest).

domaćinstvu zajednički čuvaju svu decu, ne praveći naročite razlike između njih, niti je bilo gde izričito spomenuto da deca različitih majki ostvaruju trajan pozitivan međusoban kontakt, unutar domaćinstva, ili van njega, kao što je najčešće slučaj kod potomaka istih roditelja (braće i sestara).

Muslimanski poligini brakovi ženama mogu stvoriti dodatnu poteškoću – sekulizaciju koja supružnice zatvara u prostor muževljeve kuće i lišava ih prilika za samostalno privređivanje. U ovom slučaju supruge (sa svojom decom) u potpunosti ostaje materijalno oslonjena na muža – a muž je sasvim olako može zapostaviti na više planova od emocionalnog i seksualnog. No, ima i drugačijih perspektiva. Prelazak ruralnog Hausa stanovništva u islam je, prema Klougu (Clough 2009), u velikoj meri preuredio ekonomske odnose domaćinstva – budući da se žene povlače u kuću i ostvaruju slabije učešće u agrarnim delatnostima – dok kulturna vrednost poliginije ne samo da je postala kompaktnija već je i postala značajnija. Kloug u centralnom pasusu svog članka pruža kako mušku, tako i žensku perspektivu o ovom pitanju:

„Nakon konverzije u islam, povlačenje žena sa većine radnih aktivnosti na zemlji zapravo je povišilo vrednost poliginije među muškarcima. Jer ono je naznačilo sposobnost muškarca da privuče više od jedne žene. U očima žene stupanje u poligni brak često je prvi put ojačalo njihovu ekonomsku sigurnost i društveni prestiž, budući da je sposobnost muškarca da ima više od jedne žene zavisila od njegovih prihoda. Štaviše, to je značilo da su žene delile dužnosti u domaćinstvu sa ostalim suprugama. Delimična izolacija u kući nije sprečavala supruge da posećuju svoje prijateljice u drugim domaćinstvima ili zaseocima.”

(ibid, 605)

Posredno s tim u vezi, autori Kanazava i Stil (Kanazawa i Still 1999) uveli su u društvene nauke takozvanu *teoriju ženskog izbora*, koja predviđa da su u poliginim bračnim odnosima žene te koje odlučuju o odabiru bračnog partnera, te da su želje muškaraca s tim u vezi od drugorazrednog značaja. Prema njihovom mišljenju, žena će odabrati poligini brak kada među muškarcima vlada velika nejednakost u resur-

Discussion

After I have stated the most frequent traits of polygamous marriage in Africa, I will point out those which I consider to be the most meaningful when it comes to deviation from the western type of monogamous marriage, which is supposed to be intrinsically linked to modernization. The first and most important difference is the rivalry between two or more women. These relations can be further escalated through the process of raising a child seeing as in polygamous marriage every wife is obligated to look after her own children. Not one of the examples of African polygynous societies (except maybe in cases of sororal polygyny) represented has the wives who live in the same household caring for all the children together and not making a difference between them, nor is it anywhere mentioned that the children of different mothers establish lasting interpersonal contacts within the household or outside of it as is often the case with offspring of the same parents (brothers and sisters).

Muslim polygynous marriages may have an added difficulty for the women involved: the seclusion that locks the wives into the husband's house and robs them of the opportunity to engage in their own enterprise. In this case the wife (with her children) remains completely materially dependent on the husband – and the husband can easily neglect her in many ways besides emotionally and sexually. But there are other perspectives in the matter. The adoption of Islam by the rural Hausa population has, according to Clough (2009), greatly changed the economic relations inside the household – as women retreat into the house and don't participate in agrarian labor – while the cultural value of polygyny became even more meaningful. In a central passage in his paper, the author gives both the male and the female perspective on the matter:

“After conversion to Islam, the withdrawal of women from most forms of farm labour actually enhanced the value of polygyny among men. For it signified a man's ability to attract more than one wife. In women's eyes, entry into a polygynous marriage for the first time often increased their economic security and social prestige, since a man's capacity to have more than one wife depended

sima, po principu, bolje biti druga/treća/peta... žena bogatog muža, nego živeti u monogamnom braku sa muškarcem bez sredstava. Pored toga što generalno podrazumeva izrazitu proračunatost i konformizam poligino ženskog dela humane populacije, ova teorija nailazi na poteškoće i kada je eventualna situiranost i zaštita žene (odnosno njenog potomstva) ugrožena inherentno antagonističkim odnosom – antagonističkim u većoj ili manjoj meri – sa preostalim supružnicama u poliginoj situaciji. Uz to, posmatrati motivaciju muškarca na brak sa više žena kao marginalnu – tj. kao da muž takav brak, u stvari, ne želi – pomalo je apsurdno: mogli bismo, onda, pretpostaviti da se u poliginim odnosima povređuju i prava muškaraca, a ne isključivo žena!¹⁰

Budući da neke žene evidentno prihvataju poligini aranžman ili čak svesno ulaze u njega i budući da je želja muškaraca za velikim brojem seksualnih partnera/ki jako rasprostranjena, te da uistinu može nositi retku titulu kulturne univerzalije (Symons 1979; Betzig 1992a, 1992b), čini se da je legitimno postaviti izvrnuto teorijsko pitanje – Ne otkud poliginija i kako to da se ovaj tip braka do današnjih dana zadržao u znatnoj meri među afričkim stanovništvom, već odakle *monogamija*, kako i zašto su monogamni brakovi uopšte uhvatili korena među poligamistima na afričkom tlu i, štaviše, mestimično, u poslednjim decenijama, počeli da potiskuju poligine zajednice?

„Zagonetka” monogamije je, svakako, podjednako kompleksna kao i „zagonetka” poliginije ili, kad smo već kod toga, poliandrije. Nastojeći da je odgonetnu, neki društveni teoretičari (Gould i dr. 2008) pošli su od opservacije da je poliginija „doslovno nepostojeća u modernim industrijalizovanim društvima”, te da se bitna distinkcija moderne nacionalne države ogleda upravo u pravnom i administrativnom nametanju *monogamije* kao jedinog legitimnog modela braka (Alexander i dr. 1979). Nadovezujući se na ovu tvrdnju i proširujući je, psiholog Majkl Prajs (*Price*)¹¹ ustanovio je da su monogamna društva daleko „uspešnija” od poliginih, a razlog za to je pronašao u „činjenici” da među monogamistima vlada ideologija reproduktivnog egalitarizma koja ukida monopol nad ženama i potpomaže demokratičnost (upor. sa Sanderson 2001). Ovde ponovo opažamo jak evolucionistički

on his income. Moreover, it meant that they were sharing domestic duties with co-wives. Partial seclusion did not prevent wives from visiting their women friends in other households or hamlets.”

(ibid, 605)

Indirectly connected to this, authors Kanazawa and Still (1999) introduced the *theory of women's choice*, which predicts that in polygynous marriages women are the ones who decide on the choice of partner, and that the men's wishes on the matter are secondary. In the authors' opinion, a woman will choose polygynous marriage only when there is a dramatic inequality in resources among men and it is better to be the second/third/fifth... wife of a rich husband than to live monogamously with a man who has no resources. Aside from the fact that it entails a calculated and conformist stance on the part of the female population of polygynous cultures, this theory runs into difficulties in cases where the wealth and protection afforded to the wife (or rather her offspring) is endangered by the – more or less – antagonistic relationship with the other wives in the polygynous situation. And looking at the motivation men have for entering into polygynous marriages as marginal – as if the husband doesn't really want that kind of marriage – is a little absurd: we could just as well assume that in polygynous relationships men's rights are violated as well!¹⁰

Seeing as some women definitely accept the polygynous arrangement and enter into it consciously, and seeing as the men's desire for a large number of sexual partners – whether male or female – is widespread and can carry the rare title of being culturally universal (Symons 1979; Betzig 1992a, 1992b), it seems legitimate to ask an inverse theoretical question – not where did polygyny come from and how it persevered until present day, but where did *monogamy* come from, how and why monogamous marriages ever took root among polygamists in Africa and even sporadically over the last few decades began suppressing polygyny?

“The riddle” of monogamy is ostensibly as complex as the “riddle” of polygyny or, while we're at it – polyandry. Trying to solve it, certain social theorists (Gould et al. 2008) started with the observation

podtekst u promišljanju o višeženstvu: monogamija se poistovećuje sa modernošću, egalitarnošću, napretkom i demokratizacijom društva, dok je poliginija nazadna, premoderna, društveno disfunkcionalna i utemeljena na maskularnom despotizmu.

Sve i da proizlazi neposredno iz androcentrične koncepcije društvenih odnosa i hijerarhija moći, poliginija ne mora biti nužno premoderna. U članku Daglese Fejlana o poliginiji i hrišćanskom braku ovaj antropolog ističe da je očito da i među učiteljima i biznismenima u Beninu takođe ima muškaraca sa više supruge (Falen 2008, 63), što navodi na zaključak da povećanje broja žena sa kojima muškarac stupa u aktivne seksualne odnose vodi ka pospešenju njegovog društvenog statusa u okviru modernističke paradigme (ibid, 58). Ipak, treba istaći da ovaj autor navodi i druge razloge zbog kojih se urbani muškarci odlučuju za formalan odnos sa više žena. Jedan od njih je sticanje izvesne vrste emotivne prednosti; naime – muškarac se na ovaj način oslobađa „kandži” monogamne veze, dobijajući slobodu da se kreće u širem krugu supružnica, a pritom ne oslanjajući se do kraja ni na jednu od njih (ibid, 63). Izgleda da ova strategija ima izvesne veze sa negativnim doživljajem monogamnog bračnog odnosa, bar iz perspektive izvesnog broja muškaraca sa kojima je Fejlen bio u prilici da govori. Ovaj negativan odnos muškaraca prema monogamiji opet bi se, možda, mogao dovesti u vezu sa statusom muškarca u široj zajednici i, istovremeno, sa strahom od „gubitka muškosti” (prema jednoj izreci naroda Fon, „decu muškarca nije rodila samo jedna žena” – ibid.), ali i sa strahom od emotivnog nezadovoljstva, imajući u vidu to da supruga koja je svesna da njen muž „zavisi isključivo od nje”, može postati preterano „zahtevna i tvrdoglava” (ibid).

Većina muškaraca koje je Fejlen intervjuisao, uključujući i izvesan broj onih koji su živeli u pluralnom braku, u prvi mah je tvrdila da su suprotstavljeni poliginiji, objašnjavajući svoj stav rečima da poliginija izaziva previše prepirki i troškova. Ipak, u toku daljeg ispitivanja, informanti bi počeli da ispoljavaju podeljena osećanja. Fejlen navodi kako mu je jedan sagovornik – poliginista objasnio da je „višeženstvo nepoželjno, ali da ‘afrički muškarac mora imati bar dve žene.’“ Drugi informant, ovog puta neoženjeni

that polygyny is virtually nonexistent in contemporary industrialized societies and that the important distinction of the modern nation state is the legal and administrative imposition of *monogamy* as the only legitimate model of marriage (Alexander et al. 1979). Building on this claim and expanding it, the psychologist Michael Price¹¹ determined that monogamous societies are more “successful” than polygynous, and the reason for this he found in the “fact” that among monogamists the ideology of reproductive egalitarianism reigns supreme, and it cancels out the monopoly over women and helps democracy along (cf. Sanderson 2001). Here we again see a strong evolutionary subtext in thinking about polygyny: monogamy is equated with modernity, egalitarianism, progress and the democratization of society, while polygyny is backward, pre-modern, socially dysfunctional and based on masculine despotism.

Even if it did come from the androcentric concept of social relations and hierarchies of power, polygyny needn't necessarily be pre-modern. In his article on polygyny and Christian marriage, the anthropologist Douglas Falen emphasizes that it is obvious that in Benin there are men with multiple wives among teachers and businessmen (Falen 2008, 63), which leads to the conclusion that the increase in the number of women a man has sex with leads to the rise in his social status within the modernist paradigm (ibid, 58). However it should be noted that this author gives other reasons urban men have for entering into a formal relationship with more than one woman. One of those is the acquisition of a certain kind of emotional advantage; namely – the man is thus freed from the “claws” of a monogamous relationship, gaining freedom to move among the wider circle of wives, and not depending completely on any single one of them (ibid, 63). It seems as though this strategy has certain connections to a negative experience of the marriage bond, at least from the point of view of some of the men Falen interviewed. This negative attitude toward monogamy could again, perhaps be connected to the status of the man in the wider community and simultaneously, with the fear of “loosing masculinity” (according to a Fon saying “a man’s children are not born by only one woman” – ibid.), but even with the fear

mladić, saopštio mu je u sličnom maniru da „poliginija predstavlja deo afričkog ‘nasledstva’, nasuprot ‘modernoj’ monogamiji” (ibid). Dalje, komentarišući novi Zakon o porodici koji je ustanovila vlada Benina (dotični zakon tvrdi da je monogamija jedini oblik civilnog braka priznat od države), jedan od Fejlenovih informanata okarakterisao ga je kao nametanje belackih pravnih principa koji imaju za cilj da na afrički kontinent uvedu tuđinski i nepoznat koncept ravnopravnosti polova. Prema mišljenju Fejlana, „ovaj čovek je, u suštini, zastupao stav da zakoni ne moraju obavezno izražavati mišljenje javnosti, čime je oslikao kulturno relativističku poziciju da zapadna feministička ženska prava ne moraju biti univerzalna” (ibid). U tom duhu, kako sam već ranije nagovestio, treba još jednom istaći da afričke žene danas traže „modernost” kroz monogaman brak, vernost supružnika i čvrste emocionalne veze, dok muškarci brane poligamni bračni sistem pozivajući se na „tradiciju” (ibid).

Na ovom mestu postaje upadljiv pragmatičan odnos modernosti i tradicije, gde je tradicija bezmalo stavljena u službu modernosti, radi očuvanja lokalnih procedura statusne elevacije i lične autonomije muškaraca, koji vlastite seksualne apetite i težnje za nezavisnošću pravdaju svojim afričkim poreklom i identitetom. „Modernost” i „tradicija”, tako, bivaju obuhvaćeni jedinstvenim značenjskim okvirom koji fenomen poliginije svrstava u korpus inherentnih prerogativa muškaraca – „modernih” ili „tradicionalnih”, svedeno – rođenih na afričkom tlu. Ovo je važna poenta zato što, makar iz muške perspektive, ne predviđa nikakav bitniji konflikt između višezhenstva i modernosti, štaviše: otvara mogućnost različitih adaptacija modernističke paradigme na lokalne kulturne kontekste.

No, postoje i ubedljive teorijske postavke koje sugerišu da takvih konflikata ipak ima. Dotične teorije na prvom mestu teže da reše „zagonetku” *monogamije*, te izvore snaženja monogamnog braka u modernoj epistemi vide u narastajućoj važnosti humanog kapitala.¹²

Poenta teorijskih modela čiji je centralni parametar humani kapital je sledeća: uopšteno gledano, materijalni prihodi imaju dva izvora, prihod od rada i pri-

hod emocionalne nezadovoljstva, a žena koja je svesna da njen muž „zavisi samo od nje”, može postati i „zahtevna i tvrdoglava” (ibid.).

Većina muškaraca intervjuih od strane Falena, uključujući i one koji su živeli u pluralnim brakovima, na početku su tvrdili da su protiv poliginije, objašnjavajući svoj stav tako da poliginija izaziva previše svađa i troškova. Međutim, tokom daljih razgovora, ispitanici su počeli da izražavaju mešovite osećanja. Falen kaže da je jedan poliginiozan ispitanik rekao da „poliginija nije dobrodošla, ali da je za Afričana neophodno imati najmanje dve žene”. Drugi ispitanik, neženjak, rekao je na sličan način da „poliginija predstavlja Afričku ‘nasledstvenu’”, nasuprot „modernoj monogamiji” (ibid). Dalje, komentarišući novi Zakon o porodici koji je ustanovila vlada Benina (dotični zakon tvrdi da je monogamija jedini oblik civilnog braka priznat od države), jedan od Fejlenovih informanata okarakterisao ga je kao nametanje belackih pravnih principa koji imaju za cilj da na afrički kontinent uvedu tuđinski i nepoznat koncept ravnopravnosti polova. Prema mišljenju Fejlana, „ovaj čovek je, u suštini, zastupao stav da zakoni ne moraju obavezno izražavati mišljenje javnosti, čime je oslikao kulturno relativističku poziciju da zapadna feministička ženska prava ne moraju biti univerzalna” (ibid). U tom duhu, kako sam već ranije nagovestio, treba još jednom istaći da afričke žene danas traže „modernost” kroz monogaman brak, vernost supružnika i čvrste emocionalne veze, dok muškarci brane poligamni bračni sistem pozivajući se na „tradiciju” (ibid).

Na ovom mestu postaje upadljiv pragmatičan odnos modernosti i tradicije, gde je tradicija bezmalo stavljena u službu modernosti, radi očuvanja lokalnih procedura statusne elevacije i lične autonomije muškaraca, koji vlastite seksualne apetite i težnje za nezavisnošću pravdaju svojim afričkim poreklom i identitetom. „Modernost” i „tradicija”, tako, bivaju obuhvaćeni jedinstvenim značenjskim okvirom koji fenomen poliginije svrstava u korpus inherentnih prerogativa muškaraca – „modernih” ili „tradicionalnih”, svedeno – rođenih na afričkom tlu. Ovo je važna poenta zato što, makar iz muške perspektive, ne predviđa nikakav bitniji konflikt između višezhenstva i modernosti, štaviše: otvara mogućnost različitih adaptacija modernističke paradigme na lokalne kulturne kontekste.

Here the pragmatic relationship between modernity and tradition becomes obvious, wherein tradition is put to the use of modernity, in order to save local procedures of status elevation and personal autonomy of men, who justify their sexual appetites and aspirations for independents using their African origins and identity. “Modernity” and “tradition” thus become encompassed in one meaning framework which places polygyny into the corpus of inherent male prerogatives – “modern” or “traditional”, it doesn’t matter – born on African soil. This is an important point because, at least from the male perspective, it doesn’t entail any sort of serious conflict between modernity

hod od nerada. Prihod od rada podrazumeva mesečnu zaradu na radnom mestu, a prihod od nerada podrazumeva kapital od zemljišnog zakupa, fizičkog kapitala (npr. vlasništvo nad sredstvima za proizvodnju) i novac od korupcije. Model koji je predložila grupa ekonomista na čelu sa Erikom Guldom predviđa da stopa monogamnih brakova raste kada na bračnom tržištu nejednakosti na nivou humanog kapitala bivaju znatnije od dispariteta u prihodu od nerada (Gould i dr. 2008, 334). Drugim rečima, pojedinci koji zgrću veliki kapital od sopstvenog nerada, odnosno od tuđeg rada i/ili korupcije, skloniji su kreiranju poligininih porodica, za razliku od pojedinaca čiji materijalni prihodi zavise od stope njihove uključenosti u sferu humanog kapitala.

Naoko, ova teorija kao da špekuliše sa vrlo proizvoljnom analogijom po sličnosti (gde slično proizvodi slično na liniji finansijska – moralna „iskvarenost”). Međutim, njen puni smisao izvire na površinu tek kada uzmemo u obzir da ubiranje plodova humanog kapitala zavisi prevashodno od individualne kompetentnosti društvenih aktera, bilo da su ti akteri muškarci bilo da su žene. Ovo je, dakle, jedan od retkih teorijskih modela poliginije (odnosno monogamije) koji drži i muške i ženske aktere za podjednako važne u kontekstu objašnjenja. Budući da dolazi iz ekonomske nauke, model je minimalno osetljiv na kulturne kontekste čije prakse teži da objedini u jedinstven eksplanatorni okvir. Tim pre bi ga trebalo predočiti na sažet i našoj disciplini razumljiv način.

Konkretno, hipoteza Erika Gulda i njegovih saradnika nalaže da u heterarhiji humanog kapitala kvalifikovani muškarci vrednuju kvalifikovane žene između ostalog i zato što su one kadre da odgaje kvalifikovanu decu, što dovodi do „porasta vrednosti kvalifikovanih žena na bračnom tržištu do tačke gde kvalifikovani muškarci daju prednost jednoj kvalifikovanoj, umesto većem broju nekvalifikovanih žena” (ibid). Naravno, postavlja se pitanje: Zašto kvalifikovani muškarac naprosto ne bi oženio više kvalifikovanih supružnica i tako ostao veran poliginom imperativu duboko usađenom u njegov „afrički identitet” i njegovu maskulinu „prirodu”? Moderna društva, naime, ne garantuju svojim „kvalifikovanim” akterima materijalnu sigurnost samo na osnovu njihovih kvalifikacija, te

and polygyny. On the contrary: it opens up the possibility of different adaptations of the modernist paradigm to local cultural contexts.

But, there are theoretical ideas which suggest that such conflicts do exist. These theories usually try to solve the *monogamy* “riddle”, so they find sources of the advent of monogamous marriage in modernist epistemology in the rising importance of human capital.¹²

The point of theoretical models centered on human capital is as follows: generally speaking, material income has two sources, income from laboring and income from not laboring. Income from laboring entails a monthly income from a place of employment, while income from not laboring entails capital acquired through land leasing, physical capital (such as ownership of means of production) and money from corruption. The model which was suggested by a group of economists lead by Eric Gould predicts that the number of monogamous marriages increases when inequalities at the level of human capital become more prominent than the disparity in income from not laboring (Gould et al. 2008, 334). In other words, individuals who acquire wealth through not laboring, or rather through others’ labor and corruption are more prone to forming polygynous families, unlike individuals whose material income depends on their own involvement in the sphere of human capital.

At first glance, this theory seems to speculate based on a very arbitrary analogy of similarity (where similar breeds similar as in the case of financial corruption leading to moral “corruption”). However, its full meaning is only evident when we consider that reaping the fruits of human capital depends first and foremost on the individual competence of social actors, whether these actors are men or women. This is then one of the theoretical models of polygyny (or monogamy), which holds both men and women as equally important actors in the context of explanation. Seeing as it comes from economy, the model is not very sensitive to cultural contexts and practices which it is attempting to bind into a unified explanatory framework. This is why it should be presented to our discipline in a concise and understandable manner.

Specifically, the hypothesis put forth by Eric Gould



FILM 211 38 Pečar-Zagorac, 1960. godina. Prizori sa gradskih ulica u Nairobiju, Kenija. Muzej afričke umetnosti, Beograd, 1985.godine.

FILM 211 38 Pečar-Zagorac, 1960. Scenes from the streets of Nairobi, Kenya. Museum of African Art, Belgrade, 1985.



FILM 214 39 Pečar-Zagorac, 1960. godina. Tanzanija, jezero Viktorija, sororalna poliginija. Muzej afričke umetnosti, Beograd, 1985.godine.

FILM 214 39 Pečar-Zagorac, 1960. Tanzania, lake Victoria, sororal polygyny. Museum of African Art, Belgrade, 1985.

stoga i u teoriji i praksi moderno društvo može imati veliki broj stručnjaka na ovom ili onom polju u sferi humanog kapitala sa komparativno niskim finansijskim primanjima. Prema tome, razborito je pretpostaviti da kvalifikovana žena sa malim primanjima opet može odabrati da postane druga/treća/peta... supružnica kvalifikovanog muškarca koji se, figurativno rečeno, nalazi na najvišoj tački lanca ishrane u datom društvu. Međutim, teorijski model Guldivog tima osporava tu mogućnost. Ključni uvidi u suočavanju s ovim problemom jesu sledeći: a) u društvima gde je stopa humanog kapitala u porastu, raste i potreba za odgajanjem kvalifikovane dece sposobne da se adaptiraju na novu takmičarsku utakmicu kojom diktiraju novoformljeni socioekonomski uslovi; b) ekonomska nejednakost među muškarcima sve znatnije zavisi od nejednakosti proizašlih iz razlika u humanom kapitalu; c) za odgajanje kvalifikovane dece na nivou porodice najisplativije je da „juniori” imaju kvalifikovane „seniore” – dakle i oca i majku – s obzirom na to da su 1) kvalifikovani roditelji efikasniji (od nekvalifikovanih) u odgajanju kvalifikovane dece, te da su 2) žene još uvek pretežno primarni staratelji nad decom u modernim društvima; i da d) raste potražnja za kvalifikovanim ženama, jer su

and his associates posits that within a heterarchy of human capital qualified men value qualified women among other things because they are capable of raising qualified children, which leads to “an increase in the value of qualified women on the marriage market to the point where men will rather choose one qualified wife than a number of unqualified ones” (Ibid). Of course, the question then becomes why wouldn’t a qualified man simply marry a number of qualified women and thus stay faithful to the polygynous imperative deeply embedded in his “African identity” and his masculine “nature”? Modern societies, it turns out, do not guarantee their “qualified” actors material safety just by virtue of their qualifications, so both in theory and in practice modern society can have a large number of experts in various fields in the sphere of human capital with comparatively low income. Thus, it is prudent to assume that a qualified woman with low income can still choose to become the second/third/fifth... wife of a qualified man who is, figuratively, at the top of the food chain in a given society. However, the theoretical model put forth by Gould’s team denies that possibility. Key insights in facing this issue are as follows: a) in societies where human capital is on the increase, there is an increasing need

one komplementarni partneri u procesu odgajanja kvalifikovanih potomaka. Kao rezultat toga, e) bogati muškarci odabiraju da venčaju jednu visokoobrazovanu i socioekonomski situiranu ženu, umesto više nekvalifikovanih, jer im je važan kvalitet, a ne kvantitet potomaka (ibid, 333–342).

Bez obzira na upadljivu apstraktnost modela i njegovu dubioznu primenljivost u konkretnim kulturnim kontekstima, on je važan najmanje zato što teži da obuhvati sve vodeće faktore koji povezuju poliginiju i modernost u zajedničku koherentnu sliku. Srž argumenta o inkompatibilnosti poliginije i modernosti je u mišljenju koje neki antropolozi dele sa nekim ekonomistima, a koje ističe da je u Evropi, i uopšte na Zapadu, „monogamija i demokratičnost” zamenila „poliginiju i despotizam” u stadijumu zenita industrijske revolucije (Betzig 1995; Citci 2014), kada su ekonomska moć i društvena autonomija žena postali nepobitna socijalna realnost. Ekonomska nezavisnost žena i bračne odluke idu ruku pod ruku tako što je nivo humanog kapitala žene uz njen socioekonomski položaj obrnuto proporcionalan stopi upražnjavanja poliginije u datom društvu (Citci 2014, 379). Štaviše, neke komparativne analize poliginije u Africi (Kaufmann i Meekers 1998) utvrdile su da do razlika i promena u bračnim obrascima dolazi sa elevacijom statusa žena u domenu naslednog prava i njihovim frekventnim učešćem u trgovini i politici. Istraživanja među Jorubama u Nigeriji ukazala su, recimo, na to da je ne samo obrazovanje žene već i nivo edukacije njenih roditelja od krucijalne važnosti za tip predstojećeg braka, odnosno da „što je žena obrazovanija, i što su joj obrazovaniji roditelji, biva manje verovatno da će se udati za poliginistu” (Citci 2014, 379). Na zapadnoj obali kontinenta, u Senegalu, profeministički mislioci i umetnici polagali su od prvih godina sticanja nezavisnosti velike nade u školovanje žena, posmatrajući obrazovanje kao pogonski motor bračne jednakosti (Engelking 2008, 326). Za ove autore žene su te koje drže afrička društva na okupu, premda su im osporene privilegije kojima tradicionalno raspolazu muškarci; pa, ipak, budućnost čitavih zajednica, bile one etničke, nacionalne ili verske nalazi se, prema ovim stanovištima, upravo u rukama žena (ibid, 325), odnosno u njihovom pristupu modernim institucijama obrazovnog sistema.

for raising children capable of adapting to the new competition dictated by newly formed socio-economic circumstances; b) economic inequality among men is more and more dependent on inequalities resulting from human capital; c) for raising qualified children at the family level it is most economically viable for the “juniors” to have qualified “seniors” – parents – seeing as 1) qualified parents are more efficient (than unqualified parents) at raising qualified kids; and 2) women are still by and large the primary caregivers in modern societies; and that d) there is an increase in demand for qualified women, because they are complementary partners in the process of raising qualified offspring. As a result, e) rich men choose to marry one highly educated and socio-economically well off woman rather than many unqualified ones because they value the quality and not the quantity of their offspring (ibid, 333-342).

Regardless of how abstract the model is and its dubious applicability in actual cultural contexts, it is important because it strives to encompass all leading factors which link polygyny and modernity into one coherent image. The core of the argument about incompatibility of polygyny and modernity is in the opinion shared by some anthropologists and economists – that in Europe and the West “monogamy and democracy” replaced “polygyny and despotism” at the height of the Industrial revolution (Betzig 1995; Citci 2014), when economic power and the social autonomy of women became social reality. The economic independence of women and their marital choices go hand in hand because the level of human capital possessed by a woman along with her socio-economic position is inversely proportional to the number of polygynous marriages in a given society (Citci 2014, 379). Furthermore, some comparative analyses of polygyny in Africa (Kaufmann and Meekers 1998) determined that differences and changes in marital patterns occur with the elevation of women’s status in inheritance law and their frequent involvement in politics and trade. Research among the Yoruba in Nigeria shows that, for example, not only a woman’s education, but the level of her parents’ education are of crucial importance for the kind of marriage in existence, or rather that “the more educated the woman,

Zaključak

Dileme o poliginiji, monogamiji, ženskim pravima, obrazovanju i modernizaciji iznova postavljaju žene u samo središte diskusija o daljim tokovima razvoja afričkih društava, pri čemu je u pojedinim afričkim zemljama dolazilo – i još uvek dolazi – do burnih reakcija socijalnih aktera i grupa na nekritičke emulacije zapadnog modela, odnosno na „slepo praćenje” zapadnih uzora u postkolonijalnim okolnostima antagonističkih državotvornih politika u Africi (često i u okvirima iste nacionalne države). Istorija širenja evropskih imperija, evropskog porobljavanja „crnog kontinenta”, teške eksploatacije afričkih resursa i ljudstva, kao i kolonijalnog iscertavanja državnih granica – od kojih mnoge, uz veće ili manje žrtve, opstaju i danas – ostavili su duboke tragove u političkoj svesti Afrikanaca, što se delom očitava i kroz savremeno protivljenje zapadnim obrazovnim kurikulumima u pojedinim delovima kontinenta.¹³ U ovim, reakcionističkim sferama značenja zapadno obrazovanje se shvata samo kao produžetak beličke kolonijalne uprave koja prati istu onu logiku porobljavanja i dominacije karakterističnu za način razmišljanja belih „gospodara” u ne tako dalekoj prošlosti afričkog kontinenta (upor. sa Peters 2014; Elden 2014). Borba za kontrolisanje pravaca razvoja u nekim oblastima Afrike prevodi se, tako, između ostalog, i u borbu za kontrolu nad ženama, tačnije, u autoritativne težnje jednog broja muškaraca za dominacijom nad „umovima” i „telima” žena, a sve zarad očuvanja kulturne autentičnosti u okolnostima više ili manje intenzivnih sociokulturnih promena, praćenih političkim trvenjima i oružanim sukobima. Androcentrične vizure onoga kako bi društvo „trebalo da izgleda” mogu, tako, sezati – i najčešće sežu – u akutno polje ženske (i muške) polnosti kojom je tematika regulacije moralnih standarda duboko prožeta i odakle crpi svoje norme. Pitanje obrazovanja i rodne ravnopravnosti u pristupu obrazovnim ustanovama u isti mah je i strukturalno i moralno pitanje – strukturalno u smislu organizacije, pristupačnosti i zakonskih normi – što ulazi u okvire modernističke paradigme – i moralno u smislu kvaliteta, sadržaja i krajnje *svrhe* obrazovnog sistema, što potpada pod domen kulturnih regulativa. Kada je obrazovanje stavljeno u službu emancipaci-

and the more educated her parents the less it becomes likely that she will marry a polygynist” (Citci 2014, 379). On the west coast of the continent, in Senegal, pro-feminist thinkers and artists have had high hopes for the education of women since the very first years of independence, viewing education as a driving force of marital equality (Engelking 2008, 326). For these authors women are those who keep African societies together, even if they have traditionally been denied the privileges held by men; yet still, the futures of whole communities – be they ethnic, national or religious – are, according to these viewpoints, *in the hands of women* (ibid, 325), or rather, their access to modern educational institutions.

Conclusion

Dilemmas about polygyny, monogamy, women’s rights and modernization continually position women at the heart of discussions about the future development of African societies. In some African countries, there were – and still are - unfavorable reactions to uncritical emulations of the western model, the “blind following” of western models in the postcolonial circumstances of antagonistic state politics in Africa (which also often occur within the same country). The history of the spread of European empires, the European enslavement of the “black continent”, the severe exploitation of African resources and people, as well as the colonial drawing of state lines – many of which are still relevant today – left deep traces in the political consciousness of African people, which is partly evident in the contemporary opposition to western educational curriculums in certain parts of the continent.¹³ In these reactionary spheres of meaning, western education is understood as an extension of white colonial rule which follows the same logic of enslavement and domination characteristic of the way of thinking of white “masters” in the not so distant past of the African continent (cf. Peters 2014; Elden 2014). The struggle to control the direction of development in certain parts of Africa is thus translated into a struggle to control women, or more precisely, authoritative tendencies of a number of men and their wish to dominate the minds and bodies of women, all that in order to preserve cultural authenticity in

je najširih socijalnih slojeva u okvirima neke kulture, možemo tvrditi da ono ima istinski razvojan karakter; a kada je njegova konačna svrha reafirmacija tradicionalnih društvenih uloga i „starih”, „proverenih” hijerarhija, možemo reći da ono ima konzervativan karakter. Emancipacija žena kroz obrazovanje svako da predstavlja pretnju za tradicijske rodne uloge i hijerarhije moći; i upravo iz tog razloga, ono je nužan parametar modernizacije društva. Nasuprot tome, alternativne modernosti počivaju na težnjama ka indigenizaciji globalnih tokova: one brikoliraju modernost prema vlastitim kulturnovrednosnim tekovinama (Thomassen 2012). No, kada vladajuće dogme i ideologije jednom delu populacije, na osnovu ovih ili onih kriterijuma, osporavaju pravo na proaktivnu participaciju u građenju i razvijanju institucija modernog društva, imamo osnova da konstatujemo da takva društva odlikuje svojevrsan konflikt s modernošću, ili sa izvesnim aspektima modernosti, pri čemu u oba slučaja pojam *alternativno* gubi smisao. Dakle, izuzmemo li ruralne oblasti, ionako slabo ili nimalo uključene u moderne tokove – na kontinentu koji je na ovaj ili onaj način bio, i ostao, podvrgavan modernističkim projektima – afrička poliginija ne može se okarakterisati kao element alternativne modernosti, osim u strogo antropološkom smislu, koji operiše analitičkim konceptom *retradicionalizacije* kao specifičnog dijalektičkog procesa neodvojivog od modernizacije.

Treba, ipak, istaći da su pojedine države u Africi zakonom zabranile poliginiju, te da u postkolonijalnoj Africi ima više devojčica upisanih u škole nego u drugim delovima sveta gde se žene tradicionalno nisu školovale (npr. u zapadnim i južnim delovima Azije – Schultz 1999; Mehta i Gopalakrishnan 2007; Steel i Kabashima 2008). Iako je opšti nivo obrazovanja na afričkom kontinentu i dalje nizak, rezultati pojedinih istraživanja pokazali su da se po sticanju nezavisnosti u brojnim nacionalnim programima širom Afrike investiranje u edukaciju žena nalazilo visoko na listi prioriteta (Fenske 2011, 12). Uporedo s ovim, strategije nametanja monogamije „odozgo nadole”, silom državnog zakona, pokazale su se jalove u zemljama gde se poliginija tradicionalno praktikuje u znatnoj meri: primera radi, na Obali Slonovače, gde

circumstances of more or less intensive socio-cultural change, followed by political unrest and armed conflict. Androcentric visions of what society should look like can, and often do reach as far as women's (and men's) sexuality which permeate the regulation of moral standards and help define their norms. The question of education and gender equality in access to schools is at the same time a structural and a moral issue – structural in the sense of organization, accessibility and legislature – which is in the realm of the modernist paradigm – and moral in terms of quality, content and the final *purpose* of the educational system, that falls under the domain of cultural regulations. When education is put to the use of emancipating the wider social classes within a culture, we can make the claim that it is truly progressive; when its final purpose is the reaffirmation of traditional social roles and “old”, “vetted” hierarchies, we can say that it is conservative in character. The emancipation of women through education represents a threat to the traditional gender roles and power hierarchies; it is precisely because of this that it is a parameter of the modernization of a society. On the other hand, alternative modernities are based on tendencies toward the indigenization of global flows: they bricolage modernity in accordance with their own cultural values (Thomassen 2012). However, when ruling dogmas and ideologies in one part of the population deny people the right to participate in building institutions of modern society, we have the basis to conclude that such societies are characterized by a conflict with modernity, or certain aspects of modernity, while in both cases the concept of *alternative* loses meaning. Thus, if we omit rural areas, which are minimally or not at all included in modern flows – on a continent that was always, and is still subjected to modernist projects – African polygyny cannot be characterized as an element of alternative modernity, except in strictly anthropological terms, where anthropology uses the analytical concept of *retraditionalization* as a specific dialectic process inseparable from modernization.

It should still be highlighted that certain African countries have outlawed polygyny, and that in post-colonial Africa there are more girls enrolled in school than there are in other parts of the world where wom-

je višeženstvo zakonom zabranjeno od 1964. godine, 46% udatih žena – od čega gotovo 36% hrišćanki i 65% muslimanki – danas živi u poligamnim zajednicama (Gould, Moav i Simon 2012, 405). Ispostavlja se da je primena strategije, uslovno rečeno, „odozdo navise”, obučavanjem nekvalifikovanog stanovništva i njihovim efikasnim uključivanjem u institucije moderne države, daleko pouzdaniji put ka obesmišljenju poliginije kao prakse, zato što: a) edukovani muškarci teže da se venčaju edukovanim ženama; b) edukovane žene teže da budu jedine supruge edukovanih muškaraca (za razliku od needukovanih žena koje pre teže da budu *jedna od* supruga needukovanog, ali bogatog, muškarca, nego jedina supruga muškarca bez sredstava); i c) ulaganje u kvalitetno obrazovanje potomstva zahteva novac, pa dvocifren broj dece u domaćinstvu prestaje da bude imperativ i stvar ličnog prestiža starešine kuće.

Ipak, treba biti oprezan sa ovako uopštenim konstatacijama. Silogizam po kojem nivo obrazovanja pojedinaca nužno vodi masovnoj interiorizaciji određenih kulturnih obrazaca – poput usvajanja specifičnog vida društvene regulacije seksualnosti – ima prizvuk evrocentričnih projekcija koje mogu ostati gluve za mnoge buntovne glasove. U Fejlenovom istraživanju, primera radi, opaža se autorovo nastojanje da pruži skicu kako ženske, tako i muške tačke gledišta na poliginiju, što predstavlja redak istraživački pristup ovoj problematici s aspekta drugačijeg od ženskog – i vodi nekim drugačijim uvidima. Fejlenovi muški informanti razotkrili su složenu i ambivalentnu iznijansiranost svojih stavova o pluralnim brakovima, ukazujući u pojedinim slučajevima i na uticaje afričke tradicije i identiteta i postavljajući ih nasuprot evropskim vrednostima i „novom načinu mišljenja” u Africi (Falen 2008, 62).

U ranije objavljenom članku (Pišev 2013) opisao sam kako se univerzalnost zapadnog feminističkog modela takođe dovodi u pitanje kada je reč o muslimanskom feminizmu i borbi za reformu verozakona u islamu, što se u izvesnoj meri podudara sa problematikom obesmišljavanja poliginije u Africi. Naime, antagonistički odnos savremenog islamskog sveta sa Zapadom omogućio je androcentričnim glasovima u islamu da bespogovorno odbace feminističke re-

en traditionally weren't educated (for example in western and southern parts of Asia – Schultz 1999; Mehta and Gopalakrishnan 2007; Steel and Kabashima 2008). Even though the general level of education on the African continent is still low, the results of some research show that after independence, investment in women's education became a top priority in many national development programs (Fenske 2011, 12). Parallel with this, strategies of imposing monogamy “downward” through law, turned out to be ineffective in countries in which polygyny is traditionally practiced to a large extent: for example in the Ivory Coast where polygyny was outlawed in 1964, 46% of married women – 36% Christian and 65% Muslim – live in polygamous families today (Gould, Moav and Simon 2012, 405). It turns out that the “from the ground up” strategy, through training unqualified people and their effective inclusion in the institutions of a modern state, is a more reliable road to rendering polygyny meaningless as a practice because a) educated men want to marry educated women; b) educated women tend to want to be the only wives of educated men (unlike uneducated women who are more likely to strive to become *one of the wives* of an uneducated but wealthy man, than the only wife of a poor man); and c) investing in the quality education of offspring demands money, so a two-digit number of children in the house stops being a priority and an issue of personal prestige for the pater familias.

Still caution should be exercised with such general conclusions. The syllogism which states that the level of individual education leads to the internalization of certain cultural patterns – such as adopting a specific kind of social regulation of sexuality – sounds like a Eurocentric projection which remains deaf to many defiant voices. In Falen's research for example, the author made an attempt to provide both the male and the female perspective on polygyny, which is rare in this kind of scholarship which tends to favor the female perspective – which lead to some new insights. Falen's male informants unraveled a complex ambivalence of their attitudes on plural marriages, in some cases pointing out the influences of African tradition and identity and positioning them in opposition to European values and “a new way of thinking” in Africa (Falen 2008, 62).

interpretacije skripturalnih izvora vere – ma koliko one bile upućene i argumentovane – kao „uvezene” koncepte i novotarije koje kvare izvornu čistotu islama. Paralelno s ovim, konzervativne struje u Africi – bez obzira na njihovo konfesionalno zaleđe – prema poliginiji kao „barjaku” afričkog identiteta i kulturne posebnosti mogu gajiti naročitu ideološku naklonost, sagledavajući u isti mah forsiranje monogamnog tipa braka kao samo još jedan oblik belaike dominacije i nametanja tuđinskih uticaja s konačnim ciljem kulturne emaskulacije afričkog stanovništva. U celini posmatrano, relevantne literature na ovu temu je malo, te se u istraživanjima afričke poliginije u zapadnim društvenohumanističkim naukama uglavnom gube iz vida konfliktni aspekti kultura koje sebe doživljavaju na dati način ugroženim, a koji se najčešće prelamaju upravo preko leđa žena. S tim na umu buduća istraživanja bi trebalo usmeriti u pravcu muških stavova prema monogamiji, te kulturnih politika i, kako zvaničnih, tako i nezvaničnih, esencijalističkih „narativa o sebi”, kao i prema što opsežnijim kontekstualizacijama poliginije u sferi aktuelnih stavova pojedinaca prema kolonijalnoj prošlosti i globalno-kapitalističkoj sadašnjosti.

Prevod (srpsko-engleski): Sonja Žakula

In an earlier article (Pišev 2013), I have described how the universality of the western feminist model is called into question in cases when Muslim feminism and the struggle to reform religious law is at hand, which coincides with the issues of dismantling polygyny in Africa. Namely, the antagonistic relationship of the Islamic world with the West enabled androcentric voices within Islam to shut down feminist reinterpretations of scripture – however informed and well-argued they are – as “imported” and new-fangled concepts which pollute the purity of Islam. Simultaneously, conservative fractions in Africa – regardless of their confessional background – can nurture a specific ideological sympathy for polygyny as a pillar of African identity and cultural distinctiveness, while viewing the forcing of monogamous marriage as another form of white dominance and imposition of foreign influences with the final goal of cultural emasculation of African people. On the whole, relevant literature on the issue is lacking, and research into African polygyny in western social sciences and humanities mostly loses sight of the violent aspects of cultures which see themselves as endangered, and which usually break over women’s backs. With this in mind, future research should be directed at male attitudes on monogamy, and cultural policies both official and unofficial, essentialist “self-narratives”, as well as toward more encompassing contextualizations of polygyny in the sphere of contemporary individual attitudes toward a colonial past and a global-capitalist present.

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Napomene:

1 Za sažetu diskusiju o „glavnim” i alternativnim perspektivama modernosti vidi Gellner 1981a; Anderson 1998; Kramer 1997; Kovačević 2001, 11–20; Pišev 2013a, 97–103; Noah 2000; Englund i Leach 2000; Hefner 1998; Schmidt 2006; Welz 2000; Thomassen 2010.

2 Pri čemu mislim na izmeštanje srodnih odnosa iz javne sfere gde je održavanje veza sa srođnicima prestalo da bude stvar od društvenog značaja (v. Ivanović 2010, 22).

3 O antropološkim proučavanjima različitih oblika modernih porodica unutar i izvan okvira zapadne hemisfere, vidi Jankowiak 2008; Al-Thakeb 1985; Freed i Freed 1969; Riches 2010.

Notes:

1 For a brief discussion on “major” and alternative perspectives on modernity see Gellner 1981a; Anderson 1998; Kramer 1997; Kovačević 2001, 11–20; Pišev 2013a, 97–103; Noah 2000; Englund i Leach 2000; Hefner 1998; Schmidt 2006; Welz 2000; Thomassen 2010.

2 I refer to the displacement of kinship relations from the public sphere in which keeping up with relatives ceased to be socially important (v. Ivanović 2010, 22).

3 On anthropological studies of different kinds of contemporary families both within and without the confines of the Western hemisphere, see Jankowiak 2008; Al-Thakeb 1985; Freed i Freed 1969; Riches 2010.

4 Prema jednom krupnom demografskom uzorku koji obuhvata zapadnu i centralnu Afriku, stope poligininih brakova, nakon povlačenja evropskih kolonija, opadale su za po 5% svakih deset godina (Fenske 2011, 15–16).

5 Događa se, recimo, da ženama koje iskažu otvoreno neslaganje prema poliginiji bivaju suprotstavljene tvrdnje da višeženstvo predstavlja prirodno pravo muškaraca rođenih na afričkom kontinentu (Roberts 1983, 181).

6 U Akri, prestonici Gane, poliginija dostiže stopu od 39 %, u poređenju sa 26 % u čitavoj naciji. Urbana poliginija takođe je zastupljena u Nigeru i Dakaru. (ibid.)

7 www.polyganyfirstwife.com

8 Ovaj empirijski uvid ima svoju paralelu u poliandrijskom tipu braka, kojim gotovo po pravilu – bez obzira *gde* se praktikuje – preovlađuje fraternalna poliandrija (brak braće sa jednom ženom).

9 Kada se govori o odnosu urbane sredine i stope poligamnih bračnih zajednica, takođe se mora uzeti u obzir faktor skupljeg života u gradskom centru, koji muškarcu otežava obavezu da izdržava više žena istovremeno (ibid). Ovo naročito važi za islamske urbane centre, pošto je muslimankama strogo zabranjeno da bez dozvole izlaze iz muževljevog doma, te stoga najviše vremena provode kod kuće i najčešće u potpunosti zavise od materijalne podrške muža. Verovatno, ovaj uvid se nalazi u pozadini pojedinih izveštaja etnografa gde se iz perspektive supružnica poliginija smatra prestižnim oblikom braka; drugim rečima, mali broj muškaraca je u prilici da ostvari finansijsku sigurnost velikog broja urbanih žena (upor. sa Clough 2009, 605).

10 O ženskim pravima i poliginiji, pogl. Jonas 2012; Wyrod 2008.

11 <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/darwin-eternity/201109/why-we-think-monogamy-is-normal>

12 Pod pojmom *humani kapital* misli se na akumulaciju znanja, veština, vrednosti, društvenih i ličnih atributa i drugih resursa kojima raspolaže društvo, a koji se razvijaju ulaganjem države u javni obrazovni sistem, kulturu, socijalne programe, programe zapošljavanja i sve one ustanove i institucije koje doprinose ekonomski snažnijem i socijalno zdravijem društvu (Hannah 1987).

13 Vodeći akutuelni predstavnik ove struje mišljenja u Africi je svakako nigerijski Boko Haram. Na jeziku Hausa naziv ove militantne islamske grupe znači „Zapadno obrazovanje je haram (greh/nedozvoljeno)”, a prema stanovištima njenog nekadašnjeg lidera i vodećeg ideologa Muhameda Jusufa, ono je uz to i destruktivno: „Mi ne tvrdimo da je znanje po sebi loše, već da je neverovanje u okvirima tog znanja veće od njegove koristi (...) U procesu edukacije postaješ *mušrik* [idolopoklonik]. To je naš jedini strah (...) Ako je beli čovek sa sobom doneo [zapadno obrazovanje], znači li to da se ono nužno poistovećuje sa civilizacijom? Tačno, naše [obrazovanje] je tradicionalno (...) ali vaše je *širkalizacija* [*širk* – greh idolatrije ili svesnog odstupanja od načela striktnog monoteizma, *tavhida*] (Mohammed 2014, 18).

4 According to a large demographic sample spanning Western and Central Africa, the number of polygynous marriages dropped by 5% every 10 years after the retreat of European colonies (Fenske 2011, 15-16).

5 It occurs for example that women who openly oppose polygyny are confronted by the argument that polygyny represents the natural right of men born on the African continent (Roberts 1983, 181).

6 In Accra, the capital of Ghana, polygyny accounts for 39% of marriages, as opposed to 26% accross the nation. Urban polygyny is also present in Niger and Dakar. (ibid.)

7 www.polyganyfirstwife.com

8 This empirical insight has its parallel in the polyandric type of marriage which, as a rule and regardless of where it's practiced, is overwhelmingly fraternal (the marriage of one woman to two or more brothers).

9 When discussing the relationship between urban environments and the percentage of polygynous marriages one must take into account the higher expenses of living in an urban center, which make it harder for a man to support numerous wives (ibid). This is especially relevant for Islamic cities, as Muslim women are strictly forbidden from going out of the husband's house without permission, and thus spend most of their time at home and are completely dependent on their husband's income. It is probable that this insight is the basis for certain ethnographic reports which state that polygyny is considered a prestigious form of marriage by the wives; in other words, only a small number of men can maintain financial stability for a large number of urban wives (cf. Clough 2009, 605).

10 O women's rights and polygyny see Jonas 2012; Wyrod 2008.

11 <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/darwin-eternity/201109/why-we-think-monogamy-is-normal>

12 I use the term *human capital* to denote the accumulation of knowledge, skills, values and social and personal attributes and other resources which society has access to, and which are developed by the state's investment into the public education system, culture, social programs, employment programs, and all institutions which contribute to an economically tougher and socially healthier society (Hannah 1987).

13 The leading representative of this way of thinking in Africa is certainly Nigerian Boko Haram. In the Hausa language, the name means “western education is haram (prohibited/a sin)”, and according to the group's former leader and key ideologue Mohammed Yusuf, it is also destructive: “We do not claim that knowledge itself is bad, but that the lack of belief within that knowledge is greater than its benefit (...) In the process of education you become *mushrik* [idolator]. It is our only fear (...) If the white man brought with him [western education], is it necessarily the same thing as civilization? True, our [education] is traditional (...) but yours is *shirkalization* [*shirk* – the sin of idolatry or conscious straying from the ideals of strict monotheism, *tavhida*] (Mohammed 2014, 18).

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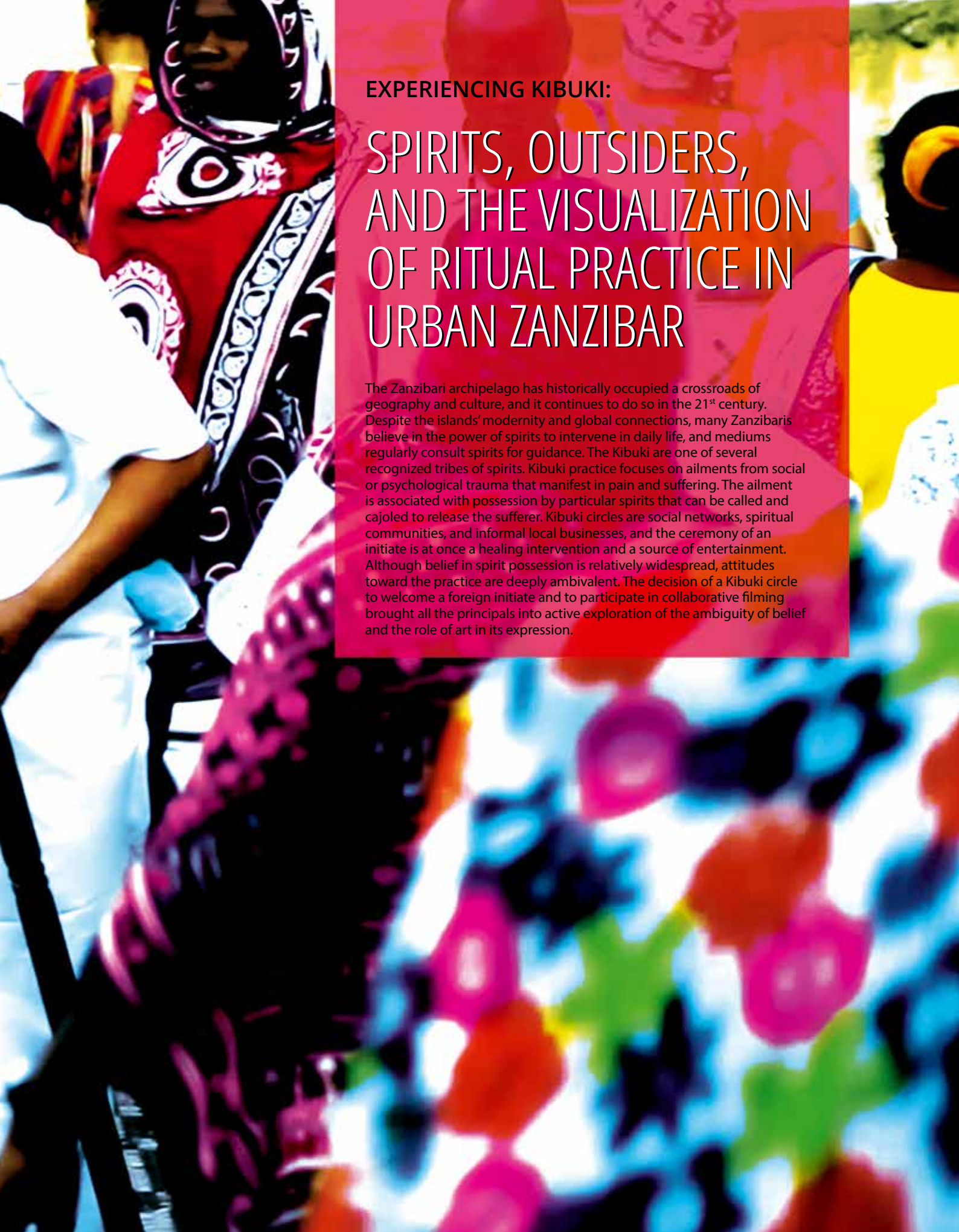
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DOŽIVETI KIBUKI:

Duhovi, tuđinci i vizuelizacija ritualnih postupaka u urbanom Zanzibaru

Zanzibarski arhipelag istorijski zauzima raskršće geografije i kulture, što čini i danas u 21. veku. Uprkos modernosti ostrva i globalnim komunikacijama, mnogi Zanzibarci veruju u moći duhova da se umešaju u svakodnevni život, a medijumi redovno konsultuju duhove radi uputstava. Kibuki su jedno od nekoliko priznatih plemena duhova. Kibuki obred je usredsređen na tegobe usled društvenih i psiholoških trauma koje se manifestuju bolom i patnjom. Bolest je povezana sa opsednutošću naročitim duhovima, koji se mogu prizvati i laskanjem im iskamčiti oslobođanje paćenika. Kibuki kružoci su društvene mreže, duhovne zajednice i nezvanične lokalne radnje, a ceremonija za jednog inicijanta je ujedno isceljujuća intervencija i izvor zabave. Mada je verovanje u zaposednutost duhovima relativno rašireno, stajališta o samim postupcima su duboko ambivalentna. Odluka jednog kibuki kružoka da dobrodošlicom dočeka stranog pridošlicu i da učestvuje u saradničkom snimanju filma sve glavare je navela na aktivno ispitivanje ambigviteta verovanja i uloge umetnosti u njenom ispoljavanju.





EXPERIENCING KIBUKI:

SPIRITS, OUTSIDERS, AND THE VISUALIZATION OF RITUAL PRACTICE IN URBAN ZANZIBAR

The Zanzibari archipelago has historically occupied a crossroads of geography and culture, and it continues to do so in the 21st century. Despite the islands' modernity and global connections, many Zanzibaris believe in the power of spirits to intervene in daily life, and mediums regularly consult spirits for guidance. The Kibuki are one of several recognized tribes of spirits. Kibuki practice focuses on ailments from social or psychological trauma that manifest in pain and suffering. The ailment is associated with possession by particular spirits that can be called and cajoled to release the sufferer. Kibuki circles are social networks, spiritual communities, and informal local businesses, and the ceremony of an initiate is at once a healing intervention and a source of entertainment. Although belief in spirit possession is relatively widespread, attitudes toward the practice are deeply ambivalent. The decision of a Kibuki circle to welcome a foreign initiate and to participate in collaborative filming brought all the principals into active exploration of the ambiguity of belief and the role of art in its expression.

Elizabeth M. Brooks

lizzy.brooks@gmail.com

Elizabeth M. Brooks

lizzy.brooks@gmail.com

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Apstrakt:

Zanzibarski arhipelag istorijski zauzima raskršće geografije i kulture, što čini i danas u 21. veku. Uprkos modernosti ostrva i globalnim komunikacijama, mnogi Zanzibarci veruju u moći duhova da se umešaju u svakodnevni život, a medijumi redovno konsultuju duhove radi uputstava. Kibuki su jedno od nekoliko priznatih plemena duhova. Kibuki obred je usredsređen na tegobe usled društvenih i psiholoških trauma koje se manifestuju bolom i patnjom. Bolest je povezana sa opsednutošću naročitim duhovima, koji se mogu prizvati i laskanjem im iskamčiti oslobađanje paćenika. Kibuki kružoci su društvene mreže, duhovne zajednice i nezvanične lokalne radnje, a ceremonija za jednog inicijanta je ujedno isceljujuća intervencija i izvor zabave. Mada je verovanje u zaposednutost duhovima relativno rašireno, stajališta o samim postupcima su duboko ambivalentna. Odluka jednog kibuki kružoka da dobrodošlicom dočeka stranog pridošlicu i da učestvuje u saradničkom snimanju filma sve glavare je navela na aktivno ispitivanje ambigviteta verovanja i uloge umetnosti u njemu ispoljavanju.

Ključne reči:

Zanzibar, zaposednutost duhom, film, verovanje, isceljenje

EXPERIENCING KIBUKI: Spirits, Outsiders, and the Visualization of Ritual Practice in Urban Zanzibar *

Abstract:

The Zanzibari archipelago has historically occupied a crossroads of geography and culture, and it continues to do so in the 21st century. Despite the islands' modernity and global connections, many Zanzibaris believe in the power of spirits to intervene in daily life, and mediums regularly consult spirits for guidance. The Kibuki are one of several recognized tribes of spirits. Kibuki practice focuses on ailments from social or psychological trauma that manifest in pain and suffering. The ailment is associated with possession by particular spirits that can be called and cajoled to release the sufferer. Kibuki circles are social networks, spiritual communities, and informal local businesses, and the ceremony of an initiate is at once a healing intervention and a source of entertainment. Although belief in spirit possession is relatively widespread, attitudes toward the practice are deeply ambivalent. The decision of a Kibuki circle to welcome a foreign initiate and to participate in collaborative filming brought all the principals into active exploration of the ambiguity of belief and the role of art in its expression.

Key words:

Zanzibar, spirit possession, film, belief, healing

Moderan i multikulturalan svet duhova

Kariaku, oblast Mičenzani, Zanzibar, 2008: Tokom popodnevnog obavljanja sitnih poslova Fatma, moja pomoćnica za izučavanje jezika, predložila je da posetimo priredbu koja se odigrava nedaleko odatle, jedno kibuki okupljanje duhova u privatnom dvorištu iza policijske stanice. Fatmina, sedamnaestogodišnja ćerka Salma, nedavno je dobila dijagnozu da je domaćin šeitanija, obitavajućeg duha usled kojeg boluje. Danas će prisustvovati ngomi, plesnom ritualu kojim se priziva duh u glavu poklonika, ali će ona posmatrati sa strane. Žena mora biti potpuno inicirana pre nego što može stajati tu. Fatma i ja prolazimo ispod skrpane zavese i ulazimo u dupke puno dvorište. Teško je naći mesto u polukrugu gledalaca. Primorani smo da se pomerimo napred,

A modern and multicultural spirit world

Kariakoo, Michenzani District, Zanzibar, 2008: During afternoon errands, Fatma, my host for a language study, suggests that we visit a show that is happening nearby, a Kibuki spirit gathering in a private courtyard behind the police station. Fatma's seventeen-year-old daughter, Salma, has recently been diagnosed as the host of a sheitani, an inhabiting spirit that makes her ill. She will attend today's ngoma, the dancing ritual that calls the spirit into an adherent's head, but she will watch from the sidelines. A woman must be fully initiated before she can stand. Fatma and I pass through a makeshift curtain and enter a crowded courtyard. It is difficult to find a seat in the semi-circle of spectators. We are forced to the front, squeezing cross-legged

sklupčani prekrštenih nogu na crvenim tkanim prostirkama koje čine binu, a ova je okrugla i optočena na udaljenoj strani drvenim stolicama sa visokim naslonima. Petnaest izvođača bavi se na sceni. Neki su opruženi, a neobjašnjivo je zašto sede jedan na drugom iako ima praznih stolica sa leve i desne strane. Većina stoji i nadmeće se divljim kinetičkim gestovima koji ih teraju da se kreću napred-nazad po plesnom podijumu. Plešu ritmički, zabacujući ramena. Jedna vitla kopljem. Druga je stara i iznurena. Ona se stropošta u drvenu stolicu, a neko joj prinosi čašu i bocu rakije. Neko mune plesača a onda padne na prostirku. Pokreti su im prenatraglašeni i teatarski, ali nisu koreografisani. Povremeno se stušte na nas u publici, kako bi zgrabili neku primamljivu dranguliju: ogrlicu ili mobilni telefon. Mi podvrisakujemo i kikoćemo se, uzmičemo pred duhom, jer žena na plesnom podijumu nije pri sebi. Njena glava služi kao sedište za šeitanija, kibuki duh koji se uspe u ljudskog domaćina.

Nekoliko godina posle mog prvobitnog susreta, vratila sam se u Tanzaniju 2011. godine na poziv Mardžan kibukija da bismo snimili zajednički umetnički film o postupku zaposedanja kibuki duha u urbanom Zanzibaru. Kibuki su jedan od mnogih plemena duhova koji zajedno egzistiraju sa ljudima, stanovnicima zanzibarskog arhipelaga, na ostrvima Ungudža i Pemba, na obalama Tanzanije. Upliv nevidljivog sveta prožima svakodnevni život na ostrvima i ljudi medijumi redovno konsultuju *madžinije* i *mašeitanije* radi strateških, socijalnih i medicinskih uputa.

Ljudi koji govore svahili koriste reči *džini*, *šeitani* i *pepo* (mnogina *madžini*, *mašeitani* i *mapepo*) naizmenično, mada ima neznatnih razlika u konotacijama. *Pepo* je generičan izraz za nevidljiva stvorenja, u vezi je sa rečju *upepo*, vetar. *Džini* se odnosi na islamske *džin*, koji su stvoreni iz vatre na izvoru vremena, a *šeitani* sobom nosi pagansku ili hrišćansku konotaciju đavola ili demona. Zanzibarci u izvesnoj meri veruju u krepkost i rasprostranjeno prisustvo nevidljivog sveta, u domen koji je izvan naših čula a koji deluje na opipljive realitete savremenog ljudskog društva.

Svet svahili duhova je dobro proučen, pa sam u vreme mog dolaska ja bila jedna od nekolicine *vazungusa*, belih zapadnjaka koji su istraživali *mašeitanije* na ostrvima. Urbani Zanzibar istorijski zauzima raskršnicu komunikacije i trgovine s afričkim kopnom, obalom gde govore svahili, s indijskim i arapskim poluostrvima i evropskim kolonijalnim naseobinama. U 21. veku kosmopolitska priroda Stountau-

on the red woven mats that form the stage, which is round, and lined on the far side with high-backed wooden chairs. Fifteen performers work the stage. Some rest, inexplicably sitting on top of one another despite empty chairs to the left and right. Most stand and spar in wild, kinetic gestures that move them back and forth across the dance floor. They dance rhythmically, throwing their shoulders. One brandishes a spear. Another is old and weary. She slumps in her wooden chair, and someone brings her a glass and a bottle of brandy. Another shoves a dancer and then falls to the mat. Their movements are exaggerated and theatrical, but not choreographed. At intervals, they swoop down upon us, the audience, to seize an exciting bauble: a necklace or a cell phone. We shriek and giggle, shrink back from the spirit, because the woman on the dance floor is not herself. Her head is serving as a chair for the sheitani, the Kibuki spirit who climbs a human host.

In 2011, several years after my initial encounter, I returned to Tanzania at the invitation of the Marjan Kibuki, to make a collaborative art film about the practice of Kibuki spirit possession in urban Zanzibar. The Kibuki are one of many tribes of spirits who coexist with the human inhabitants of the Zanzibar archipelago, the islands of Unguja and Pemba, on the Tanzanian coast. The influence of the invisible world permeates daily life on the islands and human mediums regularly consult *majini* and *masheitani* for strategic, social and medical guidance.

Swahili speakers use the words *jini*, *sheitani* and *pepo* (plural *majini*, *masheitani* and *mapepo*) interchangeably, though there are slight differences in connotation. *Pepo* is a generic term for invisible creatures, related to the word *upepo*, the wind. *Jini* refers to the Islamic *jinn* who were created from fire at the beginning of time, and *sheitani* carries a pagan or Christian connotation of devils or demons. Zanzibaris believe to varying degrees in the vibrant and pervasive presence of the invisible world, a realm beyond our senses that acts upon the tangible realities of contemporary human society.

The Swahili spirit world is well studied, and at the time of my arrival I was one of several *wazungus*, white westerners, investigating *masheitani* on the islands. Urban Zanzibar has historically occupied a crossroads of communication and trade between the African mainland, the Swahili coast, the Indian and Arabian peninsulas, and European colonial settlements. In the 21st century, the cosmopolitan nature of

na, ostrvskog lučkog grada, proširila se i obuhvatila je evropski turizam, kineske investicije, društvene i privredne intervencije raznorodnih nevladinih organizacija (NVO), kao i stalan protok bogatstva, mode i islamske pobožnosti iz Dubajia i Zaliva. „Pametni telefoni” su popularni u gradskim oblastima a postoji i dinamična internet kultura mema, videa i viralnih linkova u svahili jeziku.

Porast raširenosti kibuki postupaka u savremenom, multikulturalnom i umreženom okruženju demonstrira sposobnost za adaptaciju i inkorporaciju spoljašnjih uticaja, uključujući povremeno prisustvo inostranih istraživača i proučavalaca svahili kulture koji zalutaju u domen duhova. Tokom petnaest meseci koje sam provela u Zanzibaru 2011. i 2012. godine predvodnici i članovi Mardžan kibukija protumačili su i prilagodili svoj sistem kako bi me uputili u njegove postupke, a dopustili su mi i unošenje video-kamere. Odluka da uključe jednog stranca kao poklonika i da blagonaklono gledaju na snimanje samog procesa dovela je do pitanja koja su bila nova za tu praksu: o motivima svih upletenih, usaglašenosti sa osnovnim sistemom verovanja, tehničkoj izvodljivosti i, najzad, o sposobnosti kibukija da zadrži svoje značenje i preko kulturnih granica.

Pozadina i istorijat

U uvodu dela *Zaposednutost duhovima, modernost i moć u Africi* Hajke Berend (*Heike Behrend*) i Ute Luig (*Ute Luig*) nazivaju postupak zaposedanja duhom „u isto vreme manje-više lečenjem, umetnošću, zabavom, socijalnom kritikom, profesijom, modom i etnografijom” (Behrand i Luig 1999). U svom istraživanju *zara* u ruralnom severnom Sudanu Dženis Bodi (*Janice Boddy*) identifikovala je simbolički sistem koji se zasniva na shvatanju tela kao propusne membrane (Boddy 1994). Crta između sopstva i drugog različito je povučena nego u zapadnoj kulturi i može se lako preći. Linda Džajlz (*Linda Giles*) proširila je ovo opažanje na priobalni pojas svahilija, gde se za mnoge fizičke i mentalne poremećaje veruje da vode poreklo izvan tela. Paraziti i bube (*vidudu*), virusi, sitna ogovaranja i čarke sa voljenima (*fitina*), loša sreća, duševni bol – smatra se da su to spoljašnji fenomeni koje osoba može da 'zakači' putem istih nevidljivih mehanizama prenosa (Giles 1995).

Stonetown, the island's port city, has expanded to incorporate European tourism, Chinese investment, social and economic interventions by various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and a steady stream of wealth, fashion and Islamic piety from Dubai and the gulf. Smart phones are popular in urban areas and there is a vibrant Internet culture of memes, videos and viral links in the Swahili language.

The growth of the Kibuki practice in a contemporary, multicultural and connected environment demonstrates an ability to adapt and incorporate outside influences, including, at times, the presence of foreign researchers and students of the Swahili culture who wander into the spirits' domain. During the fifteen months that I spent in Zanzibar in 2011 and 2012, the leaders and members of the Marjan Kibuki interpreted and adjusted their system to accept me into the practice, and to make allowances for my video camera. The decision to include an outsider as an adherent, and to welcome filming of the process raised questions that were new to the practice - about the motives of all involved, the consistency with the underlying belief system, the technical feasibility, and ultimately the ability of the Kibuki to hold onto its meaning across cultural boundaries.

Background and history

In their introduction to *Spirit Possession, Modernity & Power in Africa*, Heike Behrend and Ute Luig call the practice of spirit possession “at the same time more or less than healing, art, entertainment, social critique, profession, fashion, and ethnography” (Behrand and Luig 1999). In her research on *zar* in rural Northern Sudan, Janice Boddy identifies possession as a symbolic system that relies on an understanding of the body as a permeable membrane (Boddy 1994). The line between self and other is drawn differently than in Western culture and can easily be crossed. Linda Giles extends the observation to the Swahili coast, where many physical and mental disruptions are believed to originate outside the body. Parasites and bugs (*vidudu*), viruses, petty gossip and quarrels with lovers (*fitina*), bad luck, and spirit ailments all are understood as outside phenomena that a person can “catch” through the same invisible mechanisms of transmission (Giles 1995).



Kibuki duh Ndamaro vrišti u telu mlade žene, 2011.

The Kibuki spirit Ndamaro screaming in the body of a young woman, 2011.

Zaposedanje znači mnogo stvari ujedno, ali najfundamentalnije se odnosi na zdravlje, celovitost i isceljenje ljudskog tela. U svahiliju reč za biti dobro, *mzima*, doslovno znači ceo, a celovitost obuhvata mentalnu, duhovnu i društvenu dobrobit, kao i fizičko zdravlje. Za nekog ko pati od duhovnih jada, zaposedanje je istovremeno i dijagnoza i lek. Ako neko ne može da se sasvim sabere, prijatelji i rodbina će vrtnuti glavama i šaputati *ana sheitani*, Ona ima duha, ili *ana kidudu kichwani*, Postoji neki insekt u njenom mozgu. Kako bi se iscelila, osoba koju muči insekt mora mu dopustiti da je zaposedne, da ispuni njeno telo i sprovede svoju volju, čime iscrpljuje uzrok oboljenja i otvara prostor za povratak zdravlja.

Medicinske konsultacije i tretman postoje u Zanzibaru u tri izdvojene kategorije: biomedicina, što uključuje zapadnjački stil postupanja u vezi sa mentalnim zdravljem (*dawa za hospitali*), herbalna medicina (*dawa za miti shamba*) i svahili medicina (*dawa za kiswahili*), ritualizovano lečenje u islamskoj ili paganskoj tradiciji. Da bi došao do ispravne dijagnoze,

Possession is many things at once but it relates most fundamentally to health, the wholeness and healing of the human body. In Swahili, the word to be well, *mzima*, literally translates as whole, and wholeness includes mental, spiritual and social wellness, along with physical health. For someone suffering from spirit sickness, possession is both the diagnosis and the cure. If someone can't quite get it together, friends and relatives will shake their heads and whisper *ana sheitani*, she has a spirit or *ana kidudu kichwani*, there is an insect in her brain. To heal, the afflicted person must allow the insect to possess her, to fill her body and enact its will, thereby exhausting the cause of sickness and opening space for return of health.

Medical consultation and treatment exist in Zanzibar in three distinct categories: biomedicine, including Western style mental health treatment (*dawa za hospitali*), herbal medicine (*dawa za miti shamba*) and Swahili medicine (*dawa za kiswahili*), ritualized healing in the Islamic or pagan tradition. In order to achieve a proper diagnosis, a patient will often seek

pacijent će često potražiti drugo i treće mišljenje, kao i terapiju u mnogostrukim celiteljskim predanjima. Malariju treba lečiti u bolnici a duh bolesti zahteva da se poseti odgovarajući celitelj. Jedna legenda koju sam čula više puta opisuje mladu ženu koja je ostala paralizovana od pojasa nadole. Porodica ju je odvela na kliniku, ali lekar nije našao da joj bilo šta fali. Posle nekoliko nedelja neuspešnog tretmana odveli su je u dom jednog *fundija*, obučenog stručnjaka za svahili medicinu, koji je ubrzo dijagnostikovao oboljenje duha pa ju je, koristeći spoj kuranskih stihova, ritualnih napitaka i ponavljanih bdenja, potpuno izlečio.

Duhovi tegoba su svakakvi, ali su često rezultat socijalnih ili psiholoških trauma, a manifestuju se fizičkim bolom i društvenim ili ekonomskim jamima. Znalo se da jedan prijatelj po imenu Ali, koji je muku mučio da opstane u poslu, pati od nekoliko nelečenih duševnih tegoba. Govorkalo se da je impotentan. Kadidži, neudatoj u 30. godini, postavljena je dijagnoza da ima kibuki duha. Ona je potvrdila da ju je zaposedajući duh sprečio da nađe muža, ali je odbila da zatraži lečenje jer, kao stroga muslimanka, nije mogla da prihvati ispijanje rakije i poročnost kibuki postupaka. Šamim, farmakolog, pričala mi je o nevoljama njene starije sestre koja se fizički razbolela posle udaje. Šamimina sestra je redovno išla u lokalnu kliniku, ali doktori nisu uspevali da dijagnostikuju uzrok njenog bola. Najzad, posle napada tokom kojeg je porazbijala posuđe u kući a onda kolabirala, posetila je *fundija*. Konvulzije i napadi su redovna pojava kod onih koji pate od duševnog oboljenja, a opšte je prihvaćeno da je *šeitani* a ne čovek odgovoran za štetu nanetu osobi i njenom imanju.

U ranim antropološkim istraživanjima, naročito u radu I. M. Luisa (Lewis 1966, 1969, 1971), sagledavano je zaposedanje kao sredstvo putem kojeg marginalizovani članovi društva stiču oruđe – na primer, zaposedajući duh pruža nekoj ženi u lošem braku izgovor da dela, a istovremeno služi kao njen natprirodni zastupnik. U Zanzibaru, međutim, članovi kibuki kružoka nisu marginalizovani; predanje privlači učesnike širom klasnog spektra, od veoma bogatih do sasvim siromašnih, mada većina ljudi spada negde u sredinu. Štaviše, simplicitičko i funkcionalističko posmatranje kibukija kao nečeg što sankcioniše inače nedozvoljeno ponašanje gubi iz vida zaposedanje kao

second and third opinions and treatment in multiple healing traditions. Malaria should be treated in the hospital and spirit sickness requires a visit to the appropriate healer. A legend that I heard several times describes a young woman who became paralyzed from the waist down. Her family took her to the clinic, but the doctor could not find anything wrong with her. After several weeks of unsuccessful treatment, they brought her to the home of a *fundu*, a skilled expert in Swahili medicine, who quickly diagnosed a spirit ailment and, using a combination of Koranic verses, ritual tonics and repeated vigils, cured her completely.

Spirit ailments are varied, but they often result from social or psychological trauma and manifest in physical pain and social or economic suffering. A friend named Ali who had trouble maintaining his business was known to suffer from several untreated spirit ailments. It was rumored that he was impotent. Kadija, unmarried at age thirty, had been diagnosed with a Kibuki spirit. She acknowledged that her possessing spirit prevented her from finding a husband but refused to seek treatment because as a strict Muslim, she could not accept the brandy drinking and debauchery of the Kibuki practice. Shamim, a pharmacist, told me about the plight of her older sister, who became physically ill after getting married. Shamim's sister visited the local clinic regularly but the doctors failed to diagnose the cause of her pain. Finally, after a fit in which she broke all the dishes in the house and then collapsed, she visited a *fundu*. Fits or attacks are common among those suffering from spirit sicknesses, and it is broadly accepted that the *sheitani* and not the human is responsible for damage to person and property.

Early anthropological research, notably the work of I. M. Lewis (1966, 1969, 1971), saw possession as a means by which marginalized members of a society gain agency—for example, the possessing spirit gives a woman in a bad marriage an excuse to act out, and simultaneously serves as her supernatural advocate. In Zanzibar, however, members of Kibuki circles are not marginalized; the practice attracts participants across the class spectrum, from the very rich to the very poor though most people fall somewhere in the middle. Moreover a simplistic and functionalist view

simbolički sistem i jezik kojim se opisuje i kontroliše bol. Savremene studije zaposedanja stavljaju naglasak na ideju da otelovljenje duhova nije samo društvena alatka već istinski doživljaj (Lambek 1981). Zaposedanje doprinosi razumevanju sebe u odnosu na *drugo*, a posebno na strano telo koje uzrokuje nevolje. Prihvatanjem ili barem suočavanjem sa onim što sopstvo nije, onaj koji pati od duhovne boljke celi i osnažuje sopstvo.

Prvi put sam se susrela sa kibukijem uz pomoć Salme, sedamnaestogodišnje ćerke porodice mojih domaćina, koji žive u oblasti Mičenzani Kariakua, a to je kraj gde obitavaju ljudi sa niskim ili osrednjim zaradama, poznat po zluradom ogovaranju i visokoj stopi zaposedanja duhom. Salma je prelepa i kao tinejdžerka je imala mnogo udvarača, ali su svi znali da njeno srce pripada dečaku iz detinjstva Naseru. Naser je poticao iz srednje stojeće porodice sa vezama u Omanu, ali je bio još mlad i nespreman da se skradi. Kada je stigla bračna ponuda iz Londona za Salmu, porodica ju je terala da je prihvati. U dobi od 16 godina venčali su je putem posrednika; jedan rođak je predstavljao mladoženju, a ona je otputovala u Dar es Salam kako bi se pripremila za let do Velike Britanije. Dok je čekala vizu, saznala je da je njen novi muž prevarant, poznati plejboj i pijanica, da ne poseduje legalan status u Britaniji ni za sebe a kamoli za suprugu. Brak je u tišini poništen, a Salma se vratila u Zanzibar posramljena. Boravila je u svojoj sobi, naravno joj se razgoropadila, pa je posle nekoliko meseci pokušala samoubistvo.

Salmina porodica je upućena u sistem mentalnog zdravlja u Zanzibaru. Njena tetka Habiba pati od bipolarnog poremećaja i redovno ide kod psihijatra da joj prepíše pilule. Usled pokušaja samoubistva, Salma je posetila i bolnicu za mentalno obolele i jednog kibuki *fundija*. Posle pomne procene, njena porodica je zaključila da nju muče nekoliko moćnih *mašeitanija* i da bi lečenje trebalo da uključi i punu inicijaciju u kibuki. Zaposedanje je nasledno, Salma je imala nekoliko rođaka koji su već bili članovi Mardžan kibuki kružoka. Počela je da posećuje ritualni ples *ngoma*, dok se njena porodica trudila da prikupi sredstva za njeno lečenje. Između 2008. i 2011. godine posmatrala sam Salmin napredak u lečenju, od zaposednutog posmatrača do uspravnog i osnaženog člana kibuki prakse.

of Kibuki as sanctioning otherwise proscribed behavior fails to see possession as a symbolic system and a language for describing and managing pain. Contemporary studies of possession emphasize the idea that the embodiment of spirits is not just a social tool, but a genuine experience (Lambek 1981). Possession facilitates understanding of the self's relation to an *other*, and specifically a foreign body that causes distress. By embracing or at least confronting what the self is not, a sufferer of spirit sickness heals and strengthens the self.

I first encountered the Kibuki through Salma, the seventeen-year-old daughter of my host family who live in the Michenzani district of Kariakoo, a low to moderate-income neighborhood known for vicious gossip and high rates of spirit possession. Salma is very beautiful and as a teenager had many admirers, but everyone knew that her heart belonged to her childhood boyfriend Nasser. Nasser came from a middle class family with connections to Oman, but he was young and not ready to settle. When a marriage offer for Salma arrived from London, her family pressured her to accept. At age sixteen, she was married by proxy - a male relative stood in for the groom - and she traveled to Dar es Salaam to prepare for her flight to the UK. While awaiting her visa, she learned that her new husband was a fraud, a known playboy and a drunk, without legal status in the UK for himself, much less a wife. The marriage was quietly annulled and Salma returned to Zanzibar in shame. She stayed in her room, her temper flared and after several months she attempted suicide.

Salma's family is well acquainted with the mental health system in Zanzibar. Her aunt Habiba suffers from bipolar disorder and regularly visits a psychiatrist who prescribes pills. Following her suicide attempt, Salma visited both the mental hospital and a Kibuki *fundi*. After a thorough assessment, her family decided that she was troubled by several powerful *masheitani* and that her healing process should include full initiation into the Kibuki. Possession is hereditary and Salma had several cousins who were already members of the Marjan Kibuki circle. She began attending the ritual *ngoma* dances, while her family worked to raise funds for her treatments. Between 2008 and 2011, I watched Salma progress in

Prema lokalnom usmenom predanju, kibuki ritual i sistem verovanja došli su u Zanzibar sa Komorskih ostrva, a pre toga sa Madagaskara (Larsen 2008). Kibuki duhovi su sablasti izumrle malagaške kraljevske loze, koji su bili prognani na ostrvo Majoti, a nisu bili sposobni da se vrate na mesto počivanja svojih predaka. U staroj religiji posmrtni obredi uključivali su razrađene *ngome*, gozbe sa alkoholom, muzikom i plesom. Rakiju su sipali preko tela preminulih pre nego što ih polože u zemlju. Godinu dana posle uko-pa vadili su tela iz zemlje i slavlje se ponavljalo. Tokom jednog takvog pira neki muškarac, učesnik slavlja, dobio je početni napad, tresao se i vikao kao da je zaposednut. Legenda navodi da su se duhovi prognanih krunisanih glava iskotrljali iz grobova i popeli u glavu čoveka s tegobama. Tako je fenomen kibukija započeo. Od tada nadalje kibuki duhovi su zahtevali da im živi iskazuju čast kontinuiranim pogrebnim ritualima, odnosno žurkama i gozbama sa obiljem rakije, muzike i plesa prilikom svakog novog zaposedanja. Tradicionalna *ngoma* mora upotpuniti svaku inicijaciju novog člana u kibuki kult. Vremenom, duhovi su postali kao ljudi, sporeći se jedan s drugim u sitnim čarkama oko vlasti sve dok se, tvrde, nisu ukrcali na čamac i otputovali u Zanzibar.

Smatra se da je Bi Ašura (*Bi Ashura*) bila prvi kibuki *fundi* u gradu Zanzibaru, a vodila je posao malog obima iz svog doma. Većina ljudi tvrdi da je počela tokom 40-ih godina 20. veka. Praksa je, stoga, fenomen sredine 20. veka, mada ima drugih kultova duhova i predanja u Zanzibaru koji su davnijeg porekla. Postepeno se kibuki raširio od komorskih zajednica do urbane populacije uopšte. Baj Ašura je preminula 2010. godine, ali je njen kibuki kružok nastavio da buja, strogo se držeći starih tradicija. Muzika im je akustična, sa harmonikom uživo, s vokalima i perkusionim čegrtaljka umesto disk-džokeja i sistema javnog razglasa. Ceremonija je tajnovita i prati je minimalno električno osvetljenje. Bila sam jednom pozvana da prisustvujem *ngomi* u kibuki kružoku Baj Ašure, ali nam je, po dolasku, rečeno da članovi publike nisu dobrodošli unutar samog rituala. Posedali smo napolju na cementnu *barazu*[†] i slušali muziku kroz prozore. Ljudi domaćini ušli su u plesnu arenu jedan po jedan, svi u belom, ubacujući se u tempo uz

her treatment from an afflicted spectator to a standing and empowered member of the Kibuki practice.

According to local oral history, the Kibuki ritual and belief system came to Zanzibar from the Comoros Islands, and before that from Madagascar (Larsen 2008). The Kibuki spirits are the ghosts of dead Malagasy royalty, who were exiled on the island of Mayotte and unable to return to their ancestral burial grounds. In the old religion, burial rites included an elaborate *ngoma*, a feast with alcohol, music and dancing. Brandy was poured over the bodies of the dead before they were put into the ground. One year after burial, the bodies were removed from the earth and the celebration was repeated. During one such feast, a man in the celebration began to have a fit, shaking and yelling as if he were possessed. Legend dictates that the spirits of the displaced royalty rolled out of their graves and climbed into the head of the troubled man. Thus, the phenomenon of Kibuki began. From that point onward, the Kibuki spirits demanded that the living honor them with ongoing funeral rites, namely a brandy-fueled party with feasting, music and dancing on the occasion of every new possession. A traditional *ngoma* must consummate each initiation of a new member into the Kibuki cult. Over time, the spirits became like humans, quarreling with one another in petty power struggles until, arguing, they climbed into a boat and traveled to Zanzibar.

Bi Ashura is considered to have been the first Kibuki *fundi* in Zanzibar town and she operated a small practice out of her home. Most people say she began in the 1940s. The practice is thus a mid-twentieth century phenomenon, although other spirit cults and traditions in Zanzibar are of more ancient origin. Gradually the Kibuki spread from the Comorian community to the urban population at large. Bi Ashura passed away in 2010, but her Kibuki ring continues to thrive, keeping strictly to the old traditions. Their music is acoustic, with live accordion, vocals and percussive rattles instead of a disc jockey and a public address system. The ceremony has minimal electric light and it is secret. I was once invited to attend a *ngoma* at Bi Ashura's Kibuki ring, but on arrival, we were told that audience members were not welcome inside the ritual. We sat outside, on the cement *baraza*[†] and listened to the music through the windows. The human

stalan naglašen udar čegrtaljki dok je melanholična harmonika cvilela u vreloj noći.

Kibuki obredi uglavnom nemaju politički sadržaj i za njih političke vlasti nisu zainteresovane, mada se povremeno javljaju tenzije. Jedan takav sukob odigrao se odmah posle revolucije iz 1964. godine. Zvaničnici iz zanzibarske vladajuće Čama Ča Mapinduzi (*Chama Cha Mapinduzi*) (Revolucija) partije nameravali su da poseku jedan šumarak u okolini Mtendenija, kao deo programa izgradnje novog stambenog naselja u okrugu N'gambo na obodu starog grada Araba. Kibuki iscelitelji bili su aktivni u tom susedstvu i šumarak im je koristio u ritualima, posebno jedno veoma staro drvo za koje su verovali da je sveto. Pokušali su da spreče izgradnju, ali su nadvladani. Legenda kaže da je dan pre nego što je drvo trebalo da bude posečeno ono palo samo od sebe, sa netaknutim čitavim korenom. Kibuki duhovi i iscelitelji i dalje smatraju mesto gde je to drvo raslo osvećenim. Tokom ceremonije inicijacije ili pri drugim važnim duhovnim događajima običaj je da se ode na hodočašće do tog mesta (sada je to zemljana staza između dve zgrade) da bi prosuli rakiju i ružinu vodicu na zemlju. Jednom prilikom obesna grupa duhova provezla se kroz naselje u zadnjem delu kamioneta pevajući i mašući kopljima, zabavljajući lokalne žitelje koji su ih posmatrali.

U poslednjih nekoliko godina kibuki je opet došao u sukob sa političkom elitom Zanzibara. Islamski *Uamšo* pokret (Buđenje) dobio je podršku organizovanjem masovnih mitinga počevši 2011. u okolini Sâtenija, u predgrađu Stountauna. Pokret poziva na pročišćenje islamskih obreda na ostrvima, inspirisan rastućim uticajem vahabizma. Visoke stope nezaposlenosti učinile su *Uamšo* primamljivim sve većoj populaciji otuđene omladine koja vidi loš kvalitet obrazovanja, sumorne izglede za nalaženje posla, kao i sve širi problem sa heroinom u urbanom Zanzibaru, kao dokaz ekonomske eksploatacije i korupcije, koju zanzibarska vlada potpomaže, a uvezene su sa kopna ili sa Zapada (Johnston 2010; Turner 2009). *Uamšo* je upriličila silovite proteste na okretnici Mičenzani i na pijачnom trgu u Daradžani. Radikalizovani ogranaci *Uamša* spaljuju barove u vlasništvu kontinenta-laca, napadaju strane turistkinje i lokalne prodavnice žestokih pića bacajući kiselinu. Vlada Zanzibara jav-

hosts entered the dancing arena one by one, all in white, stepping in tempo with the steady down beat of the rattle while the melancholic accordion wailed in the hot night.

The Kibuki rites generally have little political content and are not of interest to the political authorities, although tensions arise upon occasion. One such conflict occurred just after the 1964 revolution. Officials of Zanzibar's ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi party (Party of the Revolution) were intent upon cutting down a grove of trees in the Mtendeni neighborhood as part of their program to build new housing in the N'gambo district on the outskirts of the old Arab town. Kibuki healers were active in the neighborhood and used the grove in their rituals, particularly one very old tree, which they believed was sacred. They attempted to block construction, but were overruled. Legend has it that the day before the tree was to be cut, it fell of its own accord with its root system intact. Kibuki spirits and healers continue to view the site of the tree as sacred. During initiation ceremonies or other important spirit events, it is customary to make a pilgrimage to the site (now a dirt alleyway between two houses) to pour brandy and rosewater into the ground. On one occasion, a rowdy group of spirits rode through the neighborhood in the back of a pickup truck, chanting and waving spears, as local residents watched in amusement.

In recent years, the Kibuki has again come into conflict with Zanzibar's political elite. The Islamist *Uamsho* movement (The Awakening) gained traction through large-scale rallies beginning 2011 in the Saateni neighborhood, on the outskirts of Stonetown. The movement calls for a purification of Islamic practice on the islands, inspired by the growing influence of Wahabism. High rates of unemployment have made *Uamsho* attractive to a growing population of disaffected young men who see the poor quality of education, dismal job prospects, and a growing heroine problem in urban Zanzibar as evidence of economic exploitation and corruption, enabled by the Zanzibari government and imported from the mainland and the west (Johnston 2010; Turner 2009). *Uamsho* has staged violent protests at the Michenzani roundabout, and in the marketplace at Darajani. Radicalized *Uamsho* affiliates have burned bars owned by

no je osudila te napade, ali se priklonila pome­re­noj kulturnoj klimi ka suzbijanju gej kulture, noćnog života i kibukija. Tokom moje posete 2014. Muna mi je rekla da su aktivnosti kibukija počele da se obavlja­ju kriomice, a upozorila me je da ne stavljam nikakav materijal na internet. Rekla je da su cene alkohola porasle i da ih brine odmazda vladinih zvaničnika i osvetnika, ali su zahtevi za lečenje i prisustvovanje *ngomi*, uprkos ovim pretnjama, u porastu.

Kibuki i modernost

Daleko od toga da odumire, kibuki obred je sve traženiji, a suparnički kružoci konkurišu jedan drugom u poslu u okolini grada Zanzibara. Mardžan kibuki, kružok koji me je primio priredivši mi dobrodošlicu, posve je nov. Njihov glavni suparnik je popularni Randandani kružok, koji je poznat po bogatstvu njegovih članova i krupnom *fundiju* koji ga vodi. Mardžan je počeo da preuzima posao od Randandanija snižavajući cene tretmana. Muna mi je rekla da je u početku lečila svakog kome je bilo potrebno, bez obzira da li su mogli da plate ili ne. Ona bi inicirala učenika, siromašnu ženu, svakoga. Munin muž Salum potiče iz porodice čuvenih *waganga*, magijskih iscelitelja u seoskoj tradiciji. Kada je Muna patila od duševnih tegoba kao mlada nevesta, nije bila u stanju da iznese trudnoću. Salumova porodica posumnjala je na *buki*[‡] i odvela Munu kod Ka Saleha, jednog od nekolicine *fundija* muškaraca u kibuki nizu. Ka Saleh je lečio Munu zbog jednog *šeitanija*, a potom zbog još nekoliko njih, sve dok i sama nije postala obučena kao *fundi*. Muna i Salum sad imaju četvoro zdrave dece. Ka Saleh je kasnije svoj posao premestio u Oman gde leči članove zajednice Zanzibaraca apatrida.

Neki članovi kibukija žale se zbog opadanja autentičnosti i integriteta u modernim obredima, i to na *fundije* zato što postavljaju lažne dijagnoze da bi uvećali posao, a žene se pretvaraju da pate od *mašeitanija* kako bi prisustvovala zabavi i napile se raki­je. Optužbe za blefiranje su mnogobrojne. Može se razotkriti hohštapleraj ako se u učesnika uspne *šeitani* koji je već u samom krugu. Jedan duh može se oteloviti samo u jednoj osobi u istom trenutku, a ljude već ismevaju što obavljaju Dadiladži iako je Dadi­ladži već u telu nekog drugog učesnika. Rasprostra-

mainlanders, and have attacked female tourists and local liquor store owners with acid. The Zanzibari government publicly denounced the attacks, but embraced the shifting cultural climate with a crackdown on gay culture, nightlife and the Kibuki. When I visited in 2014, Muna told me that Kibuki activities had become more clandestine and warned me against posting any materials online. She said that alcohol prices had risen, and that they were worried about retribution from government officials and vigilantes, but in spite of these threats, requests for treatment and attendance at the *ngoma* were on the rise.

The Kibuki and modernity

Far from dying out, Kibuki practice is in growing demand and rival rings compete for business around Zanzibar Town. The Marjan Kibuki, the circle that welcomed me, is quite new. Their chief rival is the popular Randandani ring, which is well known for the wealth of its members and the girth of the *fundi* who runs it. Marjan began to take business from Randandani by lowering the price for treatment. Muna told me that in the beginning she treated anyone in need, regardless of their ability to pay the fees. She would initiate a student, a poor woman, anyone. Muna's husband Salum comes from a family of renowned *waganga*, magical healers in a rural tradition. When Muna suffered from spirit sickness as a young bride, she was unable to carry a pregnancy to term. Salum's family suspected a *buki*[‡] and delivered Muna to Ka Saleh, one of the few male *fundis* in the Kibuki lineage. Ka Saleh treated Muna for one *sheitani*, and subsequently for several more until she became a *fundi* in her own right. Muna and Salum now have four healthy children. Ka Saleh has since moved his business to Oman, where he treats members of the Zanzibari expatriate community.

Some members of the Kibuki bemoan a decline in authenticity and integrity in the modern practice, complaining that *fundis* fake diagnosis to attract more business, and women pretend to be suffering from *masheitani* in order to attend the party and get drunk on brandy. Accusations of faking abound. One can detect fakery if a participant is climbed by a *sheitani* already present in the ring. A spirit can only embody one person at one time, and people are readily mocked



Ceremonijalne potrepštine i zvučna oprema postavljeni za pripremu kibuki *ngome*, 2011.

Ceremonial supplies and sound equipment set up in preparation for a Kibuki *ngoma*, 2011.



Noćni ritual *kupika asali*, radi pripreme posebnog mednog napitka za kibuki duhove, 2011.

The nighttime ritual *kupika asali*, to prepare a special honey tonic for the Kibuki spirits, 2011.

njenost obreda kibuki u gradu Zanzibaru predstavlja i logistički problem, jer nije teško zamisliti da se dve *ngome* odvijaju istog dana. Niko ne zna pouzdano šta se dešava ako se Dadiladži izvodi simultano kod Randandanija i Mardžana.

Aktivno saučestvovanje kibukija u modernosti u isto vreme snaži praksu i ugrožava njen sistem verovanja. Rituali se hitro preobražavaju kako bi napravili prostor za promene tehnologije i kulture. Najveći broj kibuki kružoka priklonio se glasnoj muzici, zamenivši tradicionalnu grupu harmonikaša disk-džokejem, koji miksuje ritualne pesme sa savremenom muzikom sa Komora. Moderna *ngoma* izvodi se pod šatorom i osvetljena je električnim reflektorima, a publika i plesači nose odeću po poslednjoj modi. Farmerke su popularne jer štite kolena učesnika od ogrebotina koje mogu zadobiti tokom plesnih kibuki pokreta. Ova sposobnost adaptacije povećava relevantnost rituala i bez sumnje objašnjava porast populacije kibuki inicijanata, ali ona isto tako obred može dovesti u opasnost od apsurdna. Kada sam jednom prenoćila u Muninom domu, posmatrala sam ritualni obred spravljanja ceremonijalnog *asali*-ja, medenog napitka koji ushićuje duhove. Inicijanti u Mardžan kibuki su se smenjivali dok su mešali tečnost u loncu nad vatrom, pevali su tradicionalne kibuki pesme, koje su se setili. Plesni prsten bio je označen za sledeći dan postavljanjem metalnih kočeva na ključne tačke po njegovom obodu. Kada je medna mešavina bila pri-

for performing Dadilayi spirit if Dadilayi is already in the body of another participant. The proliferation of Kibuki practice in Zanzibar town poses a logistical problem, since it is conceivable that two Kibuki *ngoma* would take place on the same day. Nobody is sure what happens if Dadilayi performs simultaneously at Randandani and Marjan.

Kibuki's active engagement with modernity both strengthens the practice and threatens its belief systems. The rituals readily reinvent themselves to make room for changes in technology and culture. Most Kibuki rings have embraced amplified music, replacing the traditional accordion band with a disc jockey who mixes the ritual songs with contemporary Comorian music. The modern *ngoma* is tented and lit with electric floodlights, and audience members and dancers wear the latest in modern fashion. Jeans are popular because they protect participants' knees from the abrasive nature of the Kibuki dance moves. This ability to adapt increases the ritual's relevance and undoubtedly accounts for the growing population of Kibuki initiates, but it also puts the practice at risk of absurdity. During an overnight stay at Muna's home, I observed the ritual practice of making ceremonial *asali*, a honey tonic that delights the spirits. Initiates of the Marjan Kibuki took turns stirring the pot over an open fire and singing what they could remember of the traditional Kibuki songs. The dancing ring had been delineated for the following day, with tall metal

premljena, iscelitelji su je nakapali malo duž perimetra prstena. Grupa ljudi, neiniciranih, postavljala je zvučni sistem i svetla. Jedan od njih se dovezao motorom preko prstena i, tako vozeći, prošao je između vatre i metalnog koca koji je označavao severnu ivicu prstena. Predanje nalaže da svetovnjak koji slučajno uđe unutar svétog prostora mora preći kružnicu unatrag oko koca koji je najbliži onom oskrnavljenom. Učesnici su insistirali da čovek hodajući proveze motorcikal unatraske oko koca, što se izrodilo u akrobatski fijasko i on je najzad odustao.

Kibuki i „drugost”

Zanzibar je multikulturalno društvo Arapa, Indusa, Komoraca i Svahilija, pa kao i ljudska populacija tako su i duhovi definisali svoje etničke identitete i plemenske istočnike. Ruhani duhovi su Arapi muslimani, a komunikacija sa njima iziskuje strogo pridržavanje muslimanskim kulturalnim običajima. Alkoholna pića su zabranjena u njihovom prisustvu. Oni se naslađuju ružinom vodicom i urmama, a bakanje se sprovodi koranskim stihovima i ritualima. Rubamba su afrički vračevi-duhovi sa severnog ostrva Pembe. Oni govore nerazumljivim jezicima i crnim platnom skrivaju tela svojih domaćina. Magija im je moćna i opasna, često im se obraćaju za savet o vlasti ili politici. Kibuki su hedonistički hrišćani sa Komorskih ostrva. Oni ispoljavaju francusko-malagaške odlike kulture svojom jakom sklonošću prema rakiji, šljaštećim bojama i muzici harmonika. Kibuki ne mogu da tolerišu islamsku tradiciju i duhovi grubo uklanjaju pokrivala za glavu svake zabradene žene u njihovom društvu. Duhovi se često ponašaju kao karikature, prosti i trenutno prepoznatljivi stereotipi mnogih grupa koje su živele na obalama gde se govori svahili.

Kjersti Larsen je opširno pisala o zaposedanju u Zanzibaru kao mimetičkim postupcima putem kojih se odnosi između drugog i samog sebe dovode u našu svest. U Zanzibaru se drugost izražava rodom, etnicitetom i bićem-stanjem, tj. duhom ili ljudskošću (Larsen 2008). Izvođenje drugosti kroz otelovljenje duha dopušta priznavanje drugoga i ojačava sopstveni socijalni identitet. Kada se u Salmu uspne Dadiladži, divlji mlađani kibuki duh, ona jurca unaokolo kao buntovno derište. Postupak otelovljenja i pred-

stakes placed at the cardinal points on its edges. Once the honey mixture was ready, the healers dribbled a small amount along the perimeter of the ring. A group of men, non-initiates, were setting up the sound system and the lights. One of them brought his motorcycle across the ring and in doing so, passed between the fire and the metal stake, marking the northern edge of the ring. Tradition dictates that laymen who accidentally enter the sacred space must walk a backward circle around the stake closest to the offending breech. The members insisted that the man walk his motorcycle backward around the stake in an acrobatic fiasco that he eventually abandoned.

The Kibuki and “Otherness”

Zanzibar is a multicultural Arab, Indian, Comorian and Swahili society, and like the human population, the spirits have defined ethnic identities and tribal origins. The Ruhani spirits are Arab Muslims, and communion with them requires strict adherence to Muslim cultural practices. Alcohol is prohibited in their presence. They enjoy rosewater and dates, and their magic is conducted through Koranic verse and ritual. The Rubamba are African witch-spirits from the northern island of Pemba. They speak in tongues and hide their hosts' bodies under black fabric. Their magic is powerful and dangerous and they are often called upon to advise in matters of power and politics. The Kibuki are hedonistic Christians from the Comoros Islands. They exhibit French-Malagasy cultural characteristics through their love of brandy, bright colors and accordion music. The Kibuki cannot tolerate Islamic tradition and the spirits will rudely remove the head coverings of any veiled women in their company. The spirits often behave like caricatures, simple and instantly recognizable stereotypes of the many groups that have lived on the Swahili coast.

Kjersti Larsen has written extensively about Zanzibari possession as a mimetic practice through which relations of the other and the self are brought to our awareness. In Zanzibar, otherness is expressed through gender, ethnicity and being-state, e.g. spirit or human (Larsen 2008). Performing otherness through the embodiment of a spirit allows acknowledgement of the other and reinforces one's own social identity. When Salma is climbed by the Dadilayi, a wild and



Učesnici puše cigarete na obodu kibuki *ngoma*, 2011.

Participants smoke cigarettes on the edge of a Kibuki *ngoma*, 2011.

stava kibuki duha su razigrani i prenaglašeni; neki duh u poznijim godinama može se dramski stropoštatiti u stolicu i balaviti. Salma nikad ne bi ispoljila takav nedostatak kontrole, a njena se suzdržana socijalna persona potkrepljuje izvođenjem svoje suprotnosti.

U praksi prizivanja duha u ljudsko telo prihvata se da ova nevidljiva stvorenja egzistiraju i da su oni nezavisni saučesnici u zanzibarskom društvu, a ne projekcije želja domaćina ili drugih sopstava. Ženski arapski Ruhani može preuzeti telo nekog crnog afričkog muškarca. Kada se ona uspne u glavu domaćina, on će se pokriti velom, govoriti ženskim glasom i ispoljavati manirizme koje povezujemo sa ženstvenošću i arapstvom u zanzibarskom kulturalnom okruženju. Takođe, ona će deliti savete. Porodica, prijatelji i klijenti često prisustvuju zaposedanju kako bi opštili sa duhom. Kao i mnogi *fundiji*, Muna povremeno unosi moćnog duha Dansua u svoju glavu kako bi lečila pacijente. Dansua je kibuki starac i iscelitelj. Njegova je pojava ono što je navelo Munu da postane vodeći iscelitelj svojim sopstvenim trudom. Kada ljudi stupe u dijalog sa otelovljenim duhovima, pospešuju

youthful Kibuki spirit, she runs around like a rebellious child. The embodiment and performance of a Kibuki spirit is playful and exaggerated; an elderly spirit may slump dramatically in a chair and drool. Salma would never show such a lack of control, and her own restrained social persona is reinforced by the performance of its opposite.

The practice of calling a spirit into the human body takes as a given that these invisible creatures exist and that they are independent actors in Zanzibari society, not merely projections of a host's desires or other selves. A female Arab Ruhani may wear the body of a black African man. When she climbs to her host's head, he will veil, speak in a female voice and perform the mannerisms associated with femaleness and Arab-ness in a Zanzibari cultural framework. She will also dispense advice. Family, friends and clients often attend a possession to engage with the spirit. Like many *fundi*, Muna sometimes brings the powerful spirit Dansua to her head to treat patients. Dansua is a Kibuki elder and a healer. He is the presence that pushed Muna to become a leading healer in her

posredništvo tih stvorenja kao društvenih bića i unapređuju njihovu sposobnost da kritikuju, bave se i delaju na fizički svet.

U grupi zanzibarskih plemena duhova, kibuki su najveći hedonisti. Oni piju i puše i ispoljavaju sirovu seksualnost, što je u potpunoj suprotnosti sa smernim i rodnim konvencijama srednjeg sloja društva na ostrvima. Zanzibar je 99% muslimanski i dok većina lokalnih imama uvažava značaj ispravnog tretmana za oboljenje duha, kibuki sagledavaju u najboljem slučaju kao nužno zlo, a u najgorem kao greh koji se maskira u medicinsku uslugu. Naročitu muku moralnim uzdanicama zajednice zadaje odnos kibukija prema homoseksualnosti.

Postoji mala ali dinamična zajednica gej muškaraca, koji se javno izjašnjavaju o svojim naklonostima, u gradu Zanzibaru, a njeni članovi uzimaju aktivnog učešća u kibukiju, kao i deo publike i inicijanti. Munin drugi pomoćnik Ahmed prožet je ženstvenošću svojim ophođenjem i oblačenjem. On se obučava da postane iscelitelj kibukija, a radi i kao terenski (*outreach*) koordinator pri jednoj NVO koja se bavi podizanjem svesti o AIDS-u. Ahmed je izuzetak: retki su ovakvi gej muškarci u Zanzibaru a imaju formalno zaposlenje. Homoseksualnost je zakonom zabranjena širom Tanzanije i kažnjiva je zatvorskom kaznom, ali su u Zanzibaru istopolne veze prećutno prihvaćene u nekim socijalnim krugovima. Poznavala sam nekolčinu gej muškaraca koji su se odselili u inostranstvo sa dugogodišnjim partnerima i neke druge koji su učestvovali na ženskoj strani pri venčanjima rodno izdvojenih. Mnogo je manje gej žena, koje se javno izjašnjavaju o svojim naklonostima, nego muškaraca u Zanzibaru, moguće zato što 'unutarnja' priroda rodne ženske kulture dopušta ovim odnosima da ostanu skriveni. Većini kvir populacije, koja ne pokazuje otvoreno svoju seksualnu orijentaciju, kibuki obezbeđuje bezbedan prostor za javno pokazivanje istopolne naklonosti i jednu polaznu tačku za seksualne susrete. U živahnoj *ngomi* otelovljeni duhovi plešu jedan s drugim, a po prilici i s osobama iz publike. Kibuki panteon obuhvata duhove i muškaraca i žena, muževa i supruga. Čest je slučaj da se par *šeitanija* uspne svaki u svoga domaćina u isto vreme i da plešu kao muž i žena, pipajući se, trljajući i ispoljavajući rodno obeležene seksualne želje. Muškarac može

own right. When humans engage in dialog with the embodied spirits, they reinforce the creatures' agency as social beings and further their ability to critique, engage and act upon the physical world.

Among Zanzibar's spirit tribes, the Kibuki are the most hedonistic. They drink and smoke and display a raw sexuality in total opposition to the demure and gendered conventions of mainstream society on the islands. Zanzibar is 99% Muslim and while most local imams acknowledge the importance of properly treating spirit sickness, they see the Kibuki as at best regrettably necessary and at worst sin masquerading as medical service. Particularly troubling to the moral anchors of the community is the Kibuki's relationship with homosexuality.

A small but vibrant community of openly gay men exists in Zanzibar Town and its members participate actively in the Kibuki, both as audience members and as initiates. Muna's second assistant, Ahmed is proudly feminine in his demeanor and dress. He is training to become a healer in the Kibuki, and he also works as an outreach coordinator with an AIDS awareness NGO. Ahmed is exceptional: few openly gay men in Zanzibar have formal employment. Homosexuality is illegal throughout Tanzania and punishable by jail time, but in Zanzibar same sex relationships are tacitly accepted within certain social circles. I knew several gay men who moved abroad with their long-term partners and others who participated in the female side of gender-segregated weddings. There are many fewer openly gay women than men in Zanzibar, possibly because the "inside" nature of a gendered female culture allows these relationships to remain secret. For the majority of the queer population, who are not open about their sexual orientation, the Kibuki provides a safe space for public same sex affection and a starting point for a sexual encounter. In a lively *ngoma*, embodied spirits will dance with one another and occasionally with members of the audience. The Kibuki pantheon includes the spirits of men and women, husbands and wives. It is common for a *šeitani* couple to climb their respective hosts at the same time and to dance as husband and wife, touching, grinding, and displaying gendered sexual desire. A man may perform the role of a woman and a woman that of a man. Inhabitation by a non cis-gendered spirit does

Publika kibuki *ngome*, 2011.The audience of a Kibuki *ngoma*, 2011.

izvoditi ulogu žene a žena muškarca. Naseljavanje duha suprotnog pola ne znači da je osoba gej, a za izvođenje tokom *ngome* ne smatra se da ispoljava seksualni identitet ljudi posvećenika. Kibuki pruža bezbedan prostor za ispoljavanje homoseksualnosti, a za to vreme zadržava distinkciju između dela otelovljenih duhova i seksualne orijentacije domaćina. Ipak, javno prisustvo homoseksualnosti u kibukiju izvor je nelagodnosti u širem društvu, ne samo među imamima. Prijatelji i komšije su me stalno upozoravali da će me lezbejke u kibukiju zvesti, ali ja nikad nisam doživela neželjene pristupe. Duhovi flertuju i pipaju se međusobno, ali se ne prepuštaju potpunoj seksualnoj intimnosti. Do takvog opštenja dolazi među ljudima, pod okriljem noći, u žbunju i šumovitom prostoru izvan osvetljenog prstena.

Kibuki je izvanredan spektakl i pravi rudnik kasne noćne zabave. U Zanzibaru je živ noćni život, a neke od istih onih žena koje su prisustvovala Taarab muzičkoj predstavi u ozloglašenom Kva Radžu (Radžuo-vo mesto) ili u Kokos klubu doneće gomilu *mirungija*, to je tanzanijska verzija *čāta*[§], pa će se smestiti u

not mean that a person is gay, and the spirit's performance during the *ngoma* is not considered to display the sexual identity of the human adherents. The Kibuki provides a safe space for the performance of homosexuality, while maintaining distinction between the actions of the embodied spirits and the sexual orientations of their human hosts. Nonetheless the public presence of homosexuality in the Kibuki is a source of discomfort in the wider society, and not just among the imams. Friends and neighbors warned me repeatedly against seduction by lesbians in the Kibuki, but I never experienced unwanted advances. The spirits flirt and touch one another, but they do not engage in full sexual intimacy. Those interactions occur among humans, under the cover of night, in the bushes and wooded spaces outside the lighted ring.

The Kibuki is an extraordinary spectacle and a great source of late night entertainment. Zanzibar has a lively nightlife and some of the same women who attend Taarab music shows at the notorious Kwa Raju (Raju's place) or Coconut Club will bring a bunch of *mirungi*, a Tanzanian version of *chaat*[§], and settle into

publici neke kibuki *ngome*. Plesni prsten je obasjan električnim svetlom, disk-džokej pušta komorsku kibuki muziku kroz gigantski razglasni sistem. Iz udobnih sedišta od pletene prostirke ljudi u publici tračare o modi („Vidi Mohamedovu snaju u onim pripijenim helankama”) i posmatraju ugledne susede kako gube prisebnost usled zaposedanja. Duhovi aktivno angažuju publiku: neki mlad duh će možda posuti ružinu vodicu po glavi lepe devojke i pitaće je, *maeva?*, u kibukiju je to „Da li prija?” Kibuki jezik potiče iz komorskog dijalekta, mada je u praksi sveden na nekoliko ponavljanih reči. Alkohol se naziva *barisa*, a neki iz publike mogu ljubazno zamoliti duhove da uzmu po piće rakije sa ceremonijalnog stola. Ako duh primeti da je publici popustila pažnja ili da joj nedostaje pristojno poštovanje za izvođenje, on može zavatliti kopljem tik uz lica u prvom redu i „riknuti” *fangua!*, što znači „tapšite”. Ljudi u publici se trgnu i osveste, jer su duhovi nepredvidivi, njima ne vladaju društveni običaji, pa su gledaoci primetno obazrivi.

Metodi i etika

Kao umetnika, privuklo me je zaposedanje kao okvir za razumevanje raspoloženja i depresije. Svidela mi se ideja da bi neko spoljašnje biće, a ne loše funkcionisanje sopstva, moglo biti odgovorno za periode anksioznosti i paralize koje sam osećala u raznim trenucima u svom sopstvenom životu. Posle mog prvog susreta sa kibukijem, počela sam da redovno posećujem Mardžan kibuki kuću, tokom juna i jula 2008. godine. Članovi grupe su se šalili smatrajući da sam „bolesna od nekog duha”, inače zašto bih bila toliko zainteresovana. A nije li tačno da mi se bliži trideseta, a još sam neudata? Propust da se sklopi brak, još opštije da se nađe svoja uloga u životu, siguran je znak zaposedanja. Jednog popodneva, između priprema i večernjeg plesa, Muna, vodeći iscelitelj, ponudila je da na meni odradi tretman. Sela sam na klupicu a grupa mladih žena koje su pomagale oko priprema za *ngomu* posedala je oko mene ukrug. Zapalile su jak, mirišljav tamjan i počele da lupaju šakama i zapevaju. Muna me je uhvatila za vrh glave i pokretala moje telo ukrug. Jedna žena je vrtela čegrtaljku iza mene. Zavrtelo mi se u glavi i počela sam da drhtim. Ritmičko tapšanje se nastavilo a ja sam se divlje tresla; ruke i noge su se pokretale bez moje

the audience of a Kibuki *ngoma*. The dancing ring is lit with electric light, and a disc jockey plays the Comorian Kibuki music through a giant public address system. From a comfortable seat on a woven mat, members of the audience gossip about fashion (“Look at Mohammed’s sister-in-law in her skin-tight leggings”) and watch respectable neighbors lose their composure through possession. The spirits actively engage with the audience: a young spirit may pour rosewater on the head of a pretty human girl and ask her “*maeva?*”, Kibuki for “is that nice?” The Kibuki language derives from a Comorian dialect, but in practice it is limited to a few repeated words. Alcohol is called *barisa*, and audience members may politely ask the spirits to share a drink of brandy from the ceremonial table. If a spirit decides that the audience has become unfocused or lacks proper respect for the performance, he may wave his spear in the face of the front row and growl “*fangua!*” which means “clap”. The audience members snap to attention, because the spirits are unpredictable, ungoverned by social mores, and spectators are sensibly wary.

Methods and ethics

As an artist, I was attracted to possession as a framework for understanding mood and depression. I liked the idea that an external being, not a malfunction of the self, might be responsible for the periods of anxiety and paralysis that I have felt at various moments in my own life. Following my first encounter with the Kibuki, I began to visit the Marjan Kibuki house regularly, during June and July of 2008. Members of the group teased that I must be sick with a spirit, otherwise why would I be so interested? And wasn’t it true that I was nearing thirty and still unmarried? Failure to marry, and more generally to find one’s role in life is a sure sign of possession. One afternoon, between the preparation and the evening dance, Muna, the lead healer, offered to do a treatment on me. I sat on a stool and a group of young women who had been helping with the preparations for the *ngoma* sat around me in a circle. They lit strong, smoky incense and began to clap and chant. Muna took hold of the top of my head and moved my body in a circle. One of the women played a rattle behind me. I became dizzy and began to tremble. The clapping continued and I shook vio-

kontrole. Imala sam osećaj da posmatram sa strane. Iz dubine duše i tamo daleko videla sam sobu i žene kako tapšu, dok su se moje ruke preda mnom kretale u ritmu. Posmatrala sam sa tračkom melanholije, kao u nekom snu ili sećanju. Izgubila sam svest i kolabirala, odjednom, u ruke žene iza mene. Neko mi je pljusnuo vodu po licu a ja sam osetila neverovatnu euforiju i navalu krvi u venama.

Žene kibukija su bile ushićene mojom sposobnošću da menjam stanja, *kubadilika*, mada su mi iskazivale najdublje sažaljenje, jer je moje ponašanje pokazivalo znake da sam ja svakako bila zaposednuta. Muna je diagnostikovala mog pohodećeg duha kao Dusua, mladića ratnika. Dusu se već bio udomio kod nekoliko žena Mardžan kibukija, tako da je njegovo ponašanje bilo dobro znano. On je strašna pijandura, čak više nego ostali duhovi, a poznat je po tučama sa sebi ravnima u krugu. On nosi koplje i sparinguje sa bratom blizancem Disuom. Pored toga što je ugostilo Dusua, moje telo je takođe sadržalo i njegovu ženu Safi Bei. Kibuki duhovi uvek nastanjuju domaćina u parovima, mada u zavisnosti od temperamenta domaćina, može dominirati muški ili ženski duh. Moja inostranost nije bila prepreka da se otelovi *buki*, baš kao što ni moja ženskost nije bila prepreka za otelovljenje duha mladog muškarca. Muna me je razuveravala da je duh iz kibuki plemena presrećan kad nastani telo belog *mzungu*. Zaposedajuće duhove često privlači njihova *drugost*.

Fleksibilnost kibuki prakse omogućava olako tumačenje, ali svaka obnovljena verzija rizikuje da otuđi stare vernike. Muna i Mardžan kibuki uračunali su rizik kada su me pozvali, jednu belu američku umetnicu, da budem inicirani član njihovog kružoka. Ja sam, s druge strane, bila mušterija visokog profila i svakako ću privući pažnju a time i doprineti poslu njihove sve uspešnije prakse. A opet, uključivanje stranca može dovesti u pitanje relevantnost svête i istorijske loze. Može li komorski *šeitani* zaista da se uspne u glavu jednog *mzungija*? Lokalne glasine su kolale optužujući me da sam folirala, da sam izvodila kao da sam kibuki duh kako bi taj obred eksploatisala radi lične dobiti. Smatrala sam da su te optužbe validne i raspravila sam o njima sa Munom, njenim mužem Salumom i Zainabom, prvom pomoćnicom iscelitelja. Nisam sumnjala u svoju fizičku sposobnost da

lently - my arms and legs moved without my control. I had the feeling of detached watching. From deep inside and far away, I saw the room and the clapping women, my arms moving rhythmically in front of me. I watched with a distant melancholy, as if in a dream or a memory. I lost consciousness and I collapsed, suddenly, into the arms of the woman behind me. Someone splashed water on my face and I felt an incredible euphoria and a rush of blood through my veins.

The women of the Kibuki were thrilled with my ability to state-change, *kubadilika*, though they gave me their deepest sympathies because my behavior signaled that I was surely afflicted. Muna diagnosed my inhabiting spirit as the Dusu, a young male warrior. Several women in the Marjan Kibuki already hosted the Dusu, so his behavior was well known. He is a terrible drunk, more so even than the other spirits and he is known for fighting with his peers in the ring. He carries a spear and he spars with his twin brother, the Disu. In addition to hosting the Dusu, my body also contained his wife, Safi Bei. The Kibuki spirits always inhabit their hosts in pairs, though depending on the temperament of the host, the male or female spirit may dominate. My foreignness was not an obstacle in embodying a *buki* any more than my femaleness was an obstacle to embodying the spirit of a young man. Muna assured me that a spirit from the Kibuki tribe would be more than happy to inhabit the body of a white *mzungu*. Possessing spirits are often attracted to their *other*.

The flexibility of the Kibuki practice allows it to be readily interpreted, but each new iteration risks alienating the old believers. Muna and the Marjan Kibuki took a calculated risk when they invited me, a white American artist, to become an initiated member of their ring. On the one hand, I was a high profile customer and certain to bring attention and subsequent business to their growing practice. On the other hand, the inclusion of a foreigner might question the relevance of the sacred and historic lineage. Could a Comorian *sheitani* really climb the head of a *mzungu*? Local gossip accused me of faking, of acting out a Kibuki spirit in order to exploit the practice for my personal gain. I considered these accusations valid and I discussed them with Muna, her husband Salum, and

upadnem u trans, niti u svoje ambicije koje nisu bile komercijalne, već lične i umetničke, ali mi je falilo kulturno poreklo da bih se u punoj meri uključila u obred, a nisam želela da potkopavam lokalni običaj. Stvaranje poetskog dela, čemu sam težila, time se neumitno lociralo u politički kontekst kolonijalne i neokolonijalne istorije (Clifford i Marcus, 1986). Mardžan iscelitelji su me ohrabivali na inicijaciju i da to obavim sa njima, ne u kružoku Randandani, gde će me, upozorili su me, iskoristiti i prekomerno mi naplatiti. Salum je insistirao da kibuki duhovi ne biraju svoje domaćine na osnovu rase i da je česta pojava da ljude zaposednu *mašeitani* raznih etniciteta. Uveravali su me da ću shvatiti potreban kulturni kontekst ako pratim svojeg zaposedajućeg duha, a da je najvažniji uslov da ja punim srcem verujem u postojanje duhova i učinak tretmana. Sledi taj proces jednim srcem, *mojo modža*, Muna mi je rekla, i bićeš nagrađena.

Prisustvo digitalne video-kamere i dalje je komplikovalo moj odnos sa Mardžan kibukijem i njihovim *mašeitanijima*. Muna i Salum su mi napisali pozivno pismo, koje sam ja priložila aplikaciji za grant, potcrtavši njihovu želju da mi pomognu u istraživanju i snimanju rituala. Pismo je imalo ulogu i u procesu dobijanja autorizacije za snimanje od lokalnog Ministarstva kulture, sporta i turizma. Iscelitelji unutar kibuki kružoka bili su takođe u potpunosti upoznati sa procesom snimanja filma, ali duhovi nisu. Kibuki duhovi ne dopuštaju kamere u svom prisustvu. Zabranom delom služi da zaštiti privatnost njihovih domaćina a delom zato što kreiranje slike razara ustanovljenu ravnotežu između sopstva i *drugog* koja čini da kibuki deluje. Ogledala su isto tako prognana iz kibuki rituala, jer ona probijaju trans. Pri nekim izvođenjima ljude u publici zamole da uklone naočare, jer su i one reflektivne. Ritualni obuke za kibuki inicijaciju odvijaju se tokom perioda od sedam dana, a za to vreme je inicijantima zabranjeno da vide svoj odraz. Da bi se duh u potpunosti prizvao u glavu iniciranog, on ili ona mora otpustiti osećaj sopstva kako ga telo reprezentuje. Stoga je vizuelna slika materijalnog sopstva uz prisustvo duha fundamentalno antiteza praksi kibukija.

Muna i Zainab su se saglasile da je kamera meni važna jer će mi pomoći da objasnim zaposedanje i

Zainab, the first assistant healer. I did not doubt my physical ability to enter the trance nor my ambitions, which were not commercial but personal and artistic, but I lacked the cultural background to engage fully with the practice, and did not want to undercut local custom. The poetic work that I sought to create thus necessarily located itself in the political context of colonial and neo-colonial history (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). The Marjan healers encouraged me to undertake the initiation and to do so with them, not at the Randandani ring, where they warned I would be exploited and overcharged. Salum insisted that the Kibuki spirits did not choose their hosts based on race, and that it was common for people to become possessed by *masheitani* of different ethnicities. They assured me that if I followed my possessing spirit, I would understand the necessary cultural context and that the most important condition was that I believe wholeheartedly in the existence of the spirits and the validity of the treatment. Pursue this process with one heart, *moyo moja*, Muna told me, and you will be rewarded.

The presence of a digital video camera further complicated my relationship with the Marjan Kibuki and their *masheitani*. Muna and Salum had written a letter of invitation, which I included in my grant application, outlining their desire to help me in the research and filming of rituals. The letter was part of a process to obtain authorization for filming from the local Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. The healers within the Kibuki circle were also fully on board with the process of making a film, but the spirits were not. The Kibuki spirits forbid cameras in their presence. The prohibition is partly to protect the privacy of their hosts and partly because the creation of an image destroys the negotiated balance of self and *other* that makes the Kibuki work. Mirrors are also banned in Kibuki rituals, because they pierce the trance. In some performances, members of the audience are asked to remove any eyeglasses, since these, too, are reflective. The training rituals for the Kibuki initiation take place over a period of seven days, during which time initiates are banned from seeing their own image. In order to call the spirit fully into the initiate's head, he or she must let go of the sense of self as represented by the body. Thus the visual

obolevanje duha mojoj porodici i zajednici kod kuće. Bilo im je takođe stalo da prošire domet kibuki isceliteljske palete i eventualno privuku još više mušterija stranaca. Nisu, međutim, želeli da se filmski snimak prikazuje u Zanzibaru, pošto je kibuki tajna praksa. Metri trake koji prikazuju intiman ritual inicijacije mogli bi da izlože iscelitelje i inicirane poruzi, a moguće i zlonamernim činima iz konkurentskih kružoka. Domaćini otelovljenih duhova u plesnom ritualu *ngome* rizikovali bi da postanu poznati kibuki članovi i time ugrozili svoj položaj u konvencionalnijim društvenim i profesionalnim krugovima. Mada se praktikuje naširoko, kibuki nije potpuno prihvaćen, a neki ga stigmatizuju kao devijantan oblik dominirajućih islamskih kulturnih normi na ostrvu. Inicijanti nisu radi da otkrivaju učešće svojim šefovima ili svekrvama i taštama iz straha od osude i socijalnih reperkusija.

Saglasili smo se da ću ja snimiti film, ali ću odlučivati o njegovom emitovanju, a naglasak ću staviti na male projekcije gde mogu da kontrolišem broj prisutnih i da razgovaram lično sa potencijalnim obolelima od duhovnih patnji. Takođe smo se dogovorili da će biti snimana moja sopstvena inicijacija, a ne drugih članova zajednice, pa će tako primarni identitet koji je eksponiran biti moj sopstveni. Moj etnografski projekat će stoga biti refleksivno ispitivanje identiteta 'saznavaoča', s pogledom i prema unutra i prema spolja kako bi se istražio subjektivan doživljaj zaposedanja, baš kao i kontekst i ritualni postupci (Davies, 2002). Odluka da se fokusiramo na moju inicijaciju bila je kolektivna, doneta sa ciljem da se zaštiti privatnost drugih pristalica. Podrivanjem tradicionalnog odnosa subjekt-autor u dokumentarnom filmu, težila sam da se pozabavim feminističkim razmatranjem autorstva i autoriteta u etnogeografiji (Behar i Gordon 1992). Svedjedno, uvođenje kamere izazvalo je više kontroverze nego prihvatanje jednog autsajdera unutar kibuki kružoka.

Kako sam ja nameravala da učestvujem u ritualu, trebao mi je pomoćnik da mi pomaže oko opreme i da snima kad ja to ne mogu. Angažovala sam prijatelja od poverenja da mi pomogne kao snimatelj na obuci i kao majstor opšte prakse. Kasai je doseljenik iz Dar es Salama a prvobitno iz unutrašnjosti Tanzanije, iz siromašne ruralne zajednice koja je još više

image of the material self in concert with the spirit presence is fundamentally antithetical to the practice of Kibuki.

Muna and Zainab agreed that my camera was important because it would help me to explain possession and spirit sickness to my family and my community at home. They were also interested in expanding the reach of the Kibuki healing platform and potentially in recruiting more foreign customers. They did not want the footage to be shown in Zanzibar, however, because the Kibuki is a secretive practice. Footage of the intimate initiation rituals could expose healers and initiates to ridicule and perhaps to malevolent magic from competing rings. The hosts of embodied spirits in the *ngoma* dancing rituals would risk becoming known Kibuki members and thereby jeopardize their status in more staid social and professional circles. Even though it is widely practiced, the Kibuki is not fully accepted and is stigmatized by some as deviant from the dominant Islamic cultural norms on the island. Initiates may be reluctant to reveal participation to their bosses or mothers-in-law for fear of judgment and social repercussions.

We agreed that I would make a film but manage its release and emphasize small screenings where I could control attendance and talk in person with potential sufferers of spirit sickness. We also agreed that the filming of initiation would be of my own, rather than of other members of the community, and thus the primary identity exposed would be my own. My ethnographic project would therefore be a reflexive inquiry into the identity of the "knower," looking both inward and outward to explore the subjective possession experience as well as its context and ritual practice (Davies 2002). The decision to focus on my initiation was a collective one taken with the aim to protect the privacy of other adherents. In subverting the traditional subject-author relationship in documentary film, I sought to address feminist concerns of authorship and authority in ethnography (Behar and Gordon 1992). Nonetheless, the introduction of the camera was more controversial than the inclusion of an outsider within the Kibuki circle.

Because I intended to participate in the rituals, I needed an assistant to help with the equipment, and to record when I could not. I recruited a trusted friend



Autorka sa Kasaijem, prijateljem i pomoćnikom istraživačem, 2011.

The author with Kasai, her friend and research assistant, 2011.

osiromašila uplivom izbeglica iz prošlih sukoba u Burundiju. Otišao je u grad kad mu je bilo 13 godina uz neki nejasan dogovor sa starijim rođakom, ali je zapravo živio od svoje snalažljivosti na ulicama Dar es Salama sve dok nije došao u Zanzibar. Poznavala sam ga svih deset godina tokom kojih sam povremeno dolazila u Zanzibar, a uvek sam cenila njegovu energiju, humor i velikodušnost. Njegov status insajdera ali i autsajdera – Zanzibarci su podozrivi prema onima s kopna – činio ga je idealnim majstorom i kulturnim tumačem. Podučila sam ga osnovnom radu s kamerom i on je snimao kibuki rituale, često kroz prozor, dok sam ja uzimala učešće u krugu. Postali smo bliski prijatelji i on mi je pomogao da održim entuzijazam i veru u projekat u trenucima kad bi me teškoće ophrvale.

Poslovanje kibukija

Kada sam se prvi put susrela s kibukijem, pristupila sam mu sa obzirima koje mnogi zapadnjaci iz poštovanja pridaju verovanjima drugih, s kurtoazijom prema njihovim istorijskim korenima, ili s poštovanjem za očiglednu važnost u lokalnim običajima. Kako sam se bliže upoznavała sa poslovnom stranom rituala, moje divljenje se iznijansiralo pošto sam spoznala neke praktične realitete. Ceremonija kibuki inicijacije, *ngoma ya kupungwa*, enormno je skupa po lokalnim standardima. Bilo je uobičajeno 2011. godine da roba i usluge koje *mašeitani* iziskuje koštaju negde između 500 i 900 dolara – na jednom ostrvu

to help as cinematographer-in-training and general fixer. Kasai was a transplant from Dar es Salaam and originally from the interior of Tanzania, from a poor rural community made poorer by an influx of refugees from past conflict in Burundi. He left for the city at age thirteen under an unclear arrangement with an older relative, but he basically lived by his wits on the streets of Dar es Salaam until he came to Zanzibar. I had known him for the ten years that I had come intermittently to Zanzibar, and always appreciated his energy, wit, and generosity. His status as an insider and also an outsider – Zanzibaris are wary of mainlanders – made him an ideal fixer and cultural translator. I taught him basic camerawork and he filmed the Kibuki rituals, often through a window, while I participated in the ring. We became close friends and he helped sustain my enthusiasm for and faith in the project when at times the difficulties seemed overwhelming.

The business of Kibuki

When I first encountered the Kibuki, I approached it with the regard that many westerners accord foreign mystical practice, whether out of respect for the beliefs of others, deference to its historic origins, or veneration for its apparent importance in local custom. As I grew more closely acquainted with the business side of the ritual, my admiration became nuanced by recognition of some practical realities. The Kibuki initiation ceremony, *ngoma ya kupungwa*, is extraordinarily expensive by local standards. In 2011, it was common for goods and services required by the *mašeitani* to cost somewhere in the range of 500 to 900 US dollars—on an island where per capita income in 2013 was around 850 US dollars and many adherents lived below that level, especially in annual cash expenditure. In preparation for the *ngoma*, the *fundi* issues a list of items required by the inhabiting *sheitani*. These include costumes, perfumes, herbal medicines, wooden shoes, a stool, a set of woven mats, a set of dishes, silver coins, fresh flowers, custom jewelry, glassware, coconuts and various intoxicating substances. To prepare the venue for the *ngoma*, it is necessary to rent a tent, hire a disc jockey and public address system, and to pay labor, electricity and permitting costs. A feast is required for

gde je prihod *per capita* 2013. bio oko 850 dolara, a mnoge su pristalice živele sa mnogo manje para, pogotovo po godišnjoj potrošnji. Pripremajući se za *ngoma*, *fundi* izdaje listu stavki koje nastanjujući duh traži. To uključuje kostime, parfeme, lekovite trave, drvene cipele, klupicu, komplet pletenih prostirki, komplet posuda, srebrne novčiće, sveže cveće, nakit po narudžbini, staklariju, kokosove orahe i raznorazne supstance intoksikante. Da bi se pripremilo mesto održavanja *ngome*, neophodno je iznajmiti šator, najmiti disk-džokeja i razglas, i platiti za rad, elektriку i troškove dobijanje dozvola. Gozba je obavezna za prisutne goste, približno od 20 do 40 ljudi, u zavisnosti od popularnosti kružoka. Ja sam odabrala jednodnevnu *ngomu*, ali sam prisustvovala *ngomama* koje su trajale po tri dana. Dodatni troškovi su honorar za *fundija*, skromnih 100 dolara, koji se dele između tri iscelitelja (čaćavanje se podstiče) i onih povezanih sa troškom delova rituala koji se izvode unutra. Novi inicijant mora okusiti svaku vrstu mesa i ribe na zanzibarskom jelovniku; neke će zaposedajući *šeitani* odbaciti. Poznavala sam nekoliko ljudi kojima je bilo zabranjeno da jedu piletinu a ja sam se zagrcnula dok sam gutala parče govedine. Čolo, moj prijatelj, rekao mi je da ne brinem oko toga – njemu je rečeno da ne jede hobotnicu, ali on to ipak radi. Jedini problem je što mu se od toga koža ospe.

Moj položaj kao *mzungu*, predmet interesa i jedan resurs, prožima moje interakcije u Zanzibaru i oblikuje moj odnos sa kibukijem (Rabinow, 1978). Mardžan kibuki ima veze sa lokalnim preduzetnicima i ugovore sa mnogim uslužnim delatnostima koje su neophodne da bi se upriličila jedna ceremonija inicijacije. Oni su mi preporučili posrednike koji će dizajnirati nakit, one koji će obezbediti šator i muziku, a organizovali su i pribavljanje dozvole u lokalnoj policijskoj stanici. I Salum i Zainaba imaju posao preko dana kao policijski službenici, a Salum mi je pomogao da kupim žestoko piće po sniženoj ceni iz jedne vojne prodavnice. Vrhovnicima Mardžan kibukija bilo je stalo da ih ne smatraju varalicama pa su me terali da proverim cene kod konkurencije. Uglavnom sam bila zadovoljna paketom usluga koje su nudili Muna i Salum, mada smo se sporečkali kad su me pritiskali da voćni sok za moju gozbu kupim u pomoćnoj radnji koju oni vode iz svog stražnjeg dvorišta.



Članovi Mardžan kibukija pripremaju lekovite travke sa krečom i betel orahom i tucaju *sandarusi* u fini prah za tamjan, 2011.

Members of the Marjan Kibuki prepare medicinal herbs with limestone and betel nut, and pound the *sandarusi* into a fine powder for incense, 2011.

the attendant guests, approximately twenty to forty people, depending on the popularity of the ring. I opted for a one-day *ngoma*, but I have attended *ngomas* that lasted for three days. Additional costs include the *fundi* fees, a modest 100 US dollars split among three healers (tipping is encouraged) and costs associated with the inside portions of the ritual. The new initiate must taste every variety of meat and fish in the Zanzibari diet; some of these will be rejected by the possessing *šeitani*. I knew several people who were forbidden to eat chicken and I gagged while swallowing a piece of beef. My friend Cholo told me not to worry about it - he was told not to eat octopus, but he does so anyway. The only problem is that it causes his skin to break out.

My status as *mzungu*, an object of interest and a resource, permeated my interactions in Zanzibar and informed my relationship with the Kibuki (Rabinow 1978). The Marjan Kibuki has connections to local businesses and contracts many of the services required in putting together an initiation ceremony. They recommended vendors to design my jewelry, to provide the tent and the music, and they organized a permit through the local police station. Both Salum and Zainab have day jobs as police officers, and Salum helped me buy discounted liquor from an army supply store. The Marjan Kibuki leaders were eager not to be seen as swindlers and encouraged me to check prices with their competitors. I was gener-



Potrepštine za malo kibuki lečenje, *rungu*, 2011.

Supplies for a small Kibuki treatment, *rungu*, 2011.

Cenjkanje je uobičajeno u Zanzibaru, ali sam ja imala muke da pomirim stalno natezanje oko honorara sa duhovnim okvirom isceliteljskog rituala. Ugodno mi je bilo da posmatram kibuki postupke, ali sam isto tako znala da sam, kao pravi autsajder, izložena manipulaciji. Bila sam upetljana u konkurentsku borbu između Mardžan kibukija i Randandanija, gde se za *fundi* govorilo da ima više iskustva. Idući napred-nazad između dva kružoka, ušla sam u svet ogovaranja, ili *fitna*, koji prodire u sve pore ženske kulture u Zanzibaru, a kibuki posebno. Prihvatljivo je da kibuki inicijant pleše u konkurentskom kružoku, ali bi njen prvi prioritet trebalo da bude *fundi* koji ju je lečio. Grupa učesnika koja se kreće od kružoka do kružoka može biti šćarska i okrutna. Kao neko ko je prisustvovao raznim *ngomama*, redovno su me propitivali šta drugi *fundi* oblači, da li je bilo dovoljno mesa na *pilau* i da li je piće bilo *Hennessey*, ili neka manje poznata marka. Inicirani u Randandani rekli su mi da je Muna nemarna i neiskusna (*ovy*o), a Muna mi je kazala da *fundi* kod Randandanija lomi kokosove orahe tokom rituala ne bi li me pomeo i zamutio mi misli. Poverila sam se nepovezanoj trećoj strani, mojoj prijateljici Kadidži, koja je domaćin jednom kibuki duhu ali odbija da preda svoje telo javnom ritualu. Imala je sažaljenja za moj nerešiv položaj, što je ona smatrala tipičnim za nekog ko nema člana porodice da preuzme ulogu zastupnika, *kumsimamia*. U nedostatku ograničenja, čarolija bledi prepuštena ljudima koji je praktikuju.

ally satisfied with the package that Muna and Salum offered, though we argued when they pressured me to buy fruit juice for my feast from a side business that they run out of their backyard.

Price haggling is common in Zanzibar, but I had trouble reconciling the constant negotiation of fees with the spiritual framework of the healing ritual. I felt comfortable observing the Kibuki practice, but also knew that as a genuine outsider I was vulnerable to manipulation. I became enmeshed in a competitive struggle between the Marjan Kibuki and Randandani, where the *fundi* was said to have more experience. Moving back and forth between the two rings, I entered into the world of gossip, or *fitna*, that pervades women's culture in Zanzibar and the Kibuki particularly. It is acceptable for a Kibuki initiate to dance at a competing ring, but her first priority should be for the *fundi* who treated her. The group of participants that moves from ring to ring can be petty and vicious. As someone who attended various *ngoma*, I was regularly asked what the other *fundi* was wearing, if there was enough meat in the *pilau* and if the liquor was Hennessey, or a lesser-known brand. The initiates at Randandani told me that Muna was careless and inexperienced (*ovy*o) and Muna told me that the *fundi* at Randandani was breaking coconuts in a ritual designed to confuse me and to cloud my thoughts. I confided in an unaffiliated third party, my friend Kadija, who hosts a Kibuki spirit but refuses to surrender her body to the public ritual. She sympathized with my predicament, which she saw as typical for someone without a family member to act as an advocate, *kumsimamia*. Without restraint, the magic wears thin at the hands of its human practitioners.

"A thief in the house": A firsthand account of Kibuki initiation

During the rituals I attended, I was regularly inhabited by *masheitani* and experienced the same dizziness and disembodiment that I felt during my first session. In spite of my ability to enter the altered state, I was reluctant to believe in the spirits and to surrender my body to the mind-altering medicine. I discussed my doubts with the Marjan Kibuki and Salum responded,

"Suppose there is a thief in your house. Every day something small goes missing, something that only

„Lopov u kući”: prikaz kibuki inicijacije iz prve ruke

Tokom rituala kojima sam prisustvovala redovno su me nastanjivali *mašeitani* i doživljavala sam istu onu opijenost i bestelesnost koje sam osetila na prvoj seansi. Uprkos mojoj sposobnosti da uđem u izmenjeno stanje, nisam bila rada da verujem u duhove i da svoje telo predam lekarijama koje menjaju um. Razmotrila sam svoje sumnje sa Mardžan kibukijem i Salum je odgovorio:

„Pretpostavi da ti je lopov ušao u kuću. Svakog dana nešto sitno nestane, nešto što samo ti primećuješ, par minduša ili novac preostao posle odlaska na pijacu. Kažeš ukućanima da vas neko potkrada, ali ti niko ne veruje. Ti si samo to negde zaturila, kažu ti. Ali, sačekaj dan kad lopov bude ukrao nešto tvoje sestre. Odjednom, ona zna da postoji lopov.”

Verovanje, Salum je tvrdio, javlja se iz iskustva i lične potrebe. Samo onaj koji je bolestan i pati može da sagleda logiku kibukija. U odsustvu bola, ti postupci su opčinjavajući ali neprozirni (Rosal, 1993).

Posle boravka u Zanzibaru tokom šest meseci Kasai i ja smo osetili da nam treba veća pokretljivost kako bismo uskladili složen raspored snimanja. Kupila sam mali rabljen motorcikl i oboje smo brižljivo učili da ga vozimo. Kad je bio sa mnom i tokom dana, Kasai se stalno starao za bezbednost, kako moju tako i svoju, pa smo nosili kacige i sporo vozili.

Kasno jedne večeri mobilni telefon mi je zazvonio i čula sam užasne vesti da je Kasai imao nesreću sa motorom i da je u bolnici zbog teške povrede mozga. Sledeću nedelju provela sam u bolnici s njim i za njega, pošto pacijentima u Zanzibaru treba neki član porodice da iskamči negu od nevoljnog sistema, da plati za rentgenske snimke, lekove i pribor, a i da obavlja veliki deo praktične nege. Na kraju, nismo uspeli da ga spasemo. Proveo je nedelju dana bez prave dijagnoze i uz slabo lečenje, plutajući između kome i svesti, a onda je preminuo.

Bila sam očajna, obamrla. Napustila sam zajednicu i boravila duže vreme sa nekim prijateljima na kopnu u Moshiju. U nemogućnosti da se saberem i nastavim, pomišljala sam da se vratim kući. Jedan prijatelj mi je rekao da susedi nešto šuščaju. Naše snimanje kibuki rituala, govorili su, uzrok je nesreći. Kasaijeva ruka

you would notice, a pair of earrings or the money left over from your trip to the market. You tell your family that someone is stealing, but no one believes you. You’ve just misplaced those things, they tell you. But wait until the day when the thief steals from your sister. Suddenly, she knows there is a thief.”

Belief, Salum argued, grows out of experience and personal necessity. Only someone who is sick and suffering can see the logic of the Kibuki. In the absence of pain, the practice is fascinating but opaque (Rosal, 1993).

After I had lived in Zanzibar for six months, Kasai and I felt a need for more mobility to ease the complicated scheduling of the filming. I bought a small used motorbike, and we both cautiously learned to drive it. When with me and during the day, Kasai was always solicitous of safety, both mine and his, and we wore helmets and drove slowly.

Late one evening my cell phone rang and I heard the horrible news that Kasai had had an accident on the bike, and was in the hospital with a severe brain injury. I spent the next week in the hospital with him and for him, since patients in Zanzibar need family members to negotiate care from a grudging system, pay for all x-rays, medicines, and supplies, and do a lot of the hands-on patient care. In the end we were unable to save him. He spent the week poorly diagnosed and poorly treated, drifting in and out of a coma, and then he died.

I was devastated, numb. I moved out of the community and spent an extended stay with some friends living on the mainland in Moshi. Unable to imagine how I could carry on, I thought about going home. A friend told me that the neighbors were gossiping. Our filming of Kibuki rituals had caused the accident, they said. Kasai’s hand was on the camera and the spirits struck him down. I was too exhausted to think or know what to believe. Muna came to see me and told me that the gossip was nonsense. This was a tragic accident, she said, not an act of magic. She encouraged me to return to the healing community.

It was July. The Marjan Kibuki danced their *koga mwaka*, the all-night *ngoma* that closes the Kibuki season for the lunar month of Ramadan. Muna and Salum encouraged me to participate and helped me to



Jedan kibuki duh stupa u interakciju sa publikom za vreme *ngome*, 2011.

A Kibuki spirit interacts with the audience during a *ngoma*, 2011.

je bila na kameri i duhovi su se obušili na njega. Bila sam suviše izmoždjena da bih mislila ili znala u šta da verujem. Muna je došla da me poseti i rekla mi da je ogovaranje besmislica. To je bio tragičan slučaj, kazala je, ne delo magije. Nagovarala me je da se vratim u zajednicu iscelitelja.

Bio je mesec juli. Mardžan kibuki su plesali svoj *koga mwaka*, celonoćnu *ngomu* kojom se zatvara sezona kibukija za lunarni mesec Ramadana. Muna i Salum su me podsticali da učestvujem i pomogli mi da snimim ritual. Pili smo kašu sa dodatkom orašića, a duhovi su divljali još više nego kad sam ih gledala tokom popodnevni plesova. Jedna žena je povraćala kad je bila zaposednuta.

Ostala sam u Zanzibaru i ispoštovala Ramadan. Udaljila sam se od prvobitne porodice domaćina, oni su bili među opanjkivačima. Post sam prekidala sa Munom i Salumom, i sa porodicom moje prijateljice Kadidže, koja je takođe bila bliska sa Kasaijem. Naučila sam o muslimanskom običaju žaljenja za mrtvima, što je četrdesetodnevni ciklus. Kadidža i ja smo podelile slatkiše deci u lokalnoj medresi, kao milosrdnu ponudu u čast Kasaija. Razmenile smo svoje snove i posetili stručnjaka koji nam ih je rastumačio.

film the ritual. We drank porridge laced with nutmeg, and the spirits were wilder than I had seen them in the afternoon dances. One woman vomited when she was climbed.

I stayed in Zanzibar and observed Ramadan. I distanced myself from my original host family, who were among the gossipers. I broke the fast with Muna and Salum, and with the family of my friend Kadija, who had also been close with Kasai. I learned the Muslim practice of mourning the dead, a forty-day cycle. Kadija and I dispensed candy to the children in the local madrasa, as a charitable offering in honor of Kasai. We shared our dreams and visited a specialist who interpreted them. He told us that we were holding onto the dead, which was a sin. We bought five pounds of dates and wrapped them individually in newspaper as gifts for the children in the community.

During Ramadan, I covered my head and separated myself from the community of expats who live on the island. I felt that I had been broken by the accident and I was healing, but not quite as the same person. I am not religious and I felt no desire to convert to Islam, but rhythms and rituals of the Muslim day were soothing. Their repetition gave me comfort and sta-

Rekao nam je da se držimo mrtvih, a to je greh. Kupile smo preko dve kile urmi i svaku zavili u novine kao darove deci u zajednici.

Tokom Ramadana pokrivala sam glavu i odvojila se od zajednice apatrida koji žive na ostrvu. Imala sam osećaj slomljenosti zbog nesreće i isceljivala sam se, ali ne sasvim kao ista osoba. Ja nisam religiozna i nisam osetila poriv da se preobratim u islam, ali su ritmovi i rituali tokom muslimanskog dana bili blagotvorni. Njihovo ponavljanje davalo mi je utehu i postojanost. Nastavila sam da snimam po gradu i našla sam zajednicu u Mičenzaniju koja je bila saosećajna i voljna da mi pomogne onako kako ranije nisu hteli. Osećala sam svoju stranost, ali sam se takođe osetila odstranjenom iz moje sopstvene kulture. Imala sam poteškoća da stupim u vezu sa prijateljima i porodicom kod kuće, bila sam manje u kontaktu sa njima. Osećala sam se izgubljenom i počela sam da sagledavam kibuki medicinu kao putanju nazad do sebe.

Kada se Ramadan završio u avgustu, počela sam pripreme za moju ceremoniju inicijacije. Kadidža se ponudila da posreduje u mom interesu tokom pregovora sa Mardžan kibukijem i da se bavi koordinacijom isporuke raznovrsne robe do kuće kibukija dok sam ja zaposednuta ili nisam u prilici da to radim. Ceremonija inicijacije traje nedelju dana. Provela sam tri dana na lečenju kod Mune i Saluma u kući; oni imaju prostoriju posebno namenjenu za pružanje smeštaj kibuki inicijantima u kojoj obavljaju ceremonije u zatvorenom prostoru. Posle podne trećeg dana ugoštila sam *ngomu* u dvorištu sedišta Mardžan kibukija. Tokom preostala četiri dana bilo mi je dopušteno da se vratim u svoju sobu sa specifičnim instrukcijama o tome šta da jedem, kako da se kupam i šta da odevam. Nije mi bilo dozvoljeno da obavljam bilo kakav posao tokom inicijacije, a članovi Mardžan kibukija pomogli su mi da snimim događaj kamerom.

Moj ritual je započeo u mraku, u ranim jutarnjim satima. Smrskala sam dva kokosova oraha na raskrsnici kako bih izbegla zle duhove koji bi mogli ući u moje telo dok sam otvorena pod dejstvom

bility. I continued to film around town and I found the community in Michenzani sympathetic and willing to help me in a way that they had not been before. I felt my foreignness but I also felt estranged from my own culture. I had trouble connecting with friends and family at home, and I shared less in my communication with them. I felt lost, and I began to see the Kibuki medicine as a pathway back to my self.

When Ramadan ended in August, I began preparations for my own initiation ceremony. Kadija offered to represent my interest in negotiations with the Marjan Kibuki and to coordinate the delivery of various goods to the Kibuki house while I was possessed or indisposed. The initiation ceremony lasts one week. I spent three days in treatment at Muna and Salum's home; they have a dedicated room where they house Kibuki initiates and conduct inside ceremonies. On the afternoon of the third day, I hosted a *ngoma* in the courtyard at the Marjan Kibuki headquarters. For the remaining four days, I was allowed to return to my own room with specific instructions about what to eat, how to bathe and what to wear. I was not allowed to do any work during my initiation, and members of the Marjan Kibuki helped me document the event with my camera.

My ritual began in the dark. In the early hours of the morning, I smashed two coconuts at a crossroads to ward off evil spirits that might enter my body while I was opened by the Kibuki medicine and then I followed Muna and Ahmed to an isolated beach, where I bathed in the ocean at dawn. Because I had become a person of interest to local gossips, Muna suggested

Ritualna kupka inicijanta, *kukoga dawa*,
u domu kibuki fundija, 2011.

Ritual bathing of the initiate, *kukoga dawa*,
at the home of the Kibuki fundi, 2011



kibuki rituala, a onda sam pratila Munu i Ahmeda do izolovane plaže gde sam se u zoru okupala u okeanu. Pošto sam postala interesantna osoba za lokalna ogovaranja, Muna je predložila da se podvrgnem i drugom predostrožnom tretmanu tokom kojeg sam bila svezana koranskim stihovima, *nimesome-wa*, kako bi se sprečilo urokljivo oko i svaki drugi baksuz koji bi zlonamerni mogli da mi smeste. Ka Saleh, Munin lični *fundi*, bio je u gradu i obavljao je taj ritual za mene.

Pošto mi je osobnost bila potpuno zapečaćena, skinula sam dnevnu odeću i preobukla se u komplet *kangi*, šarene saronge koje svahili žene nose kao kućnu odeću. Stopala sam ugurala u par izdubljenih drvenih sandala koje sam naručila za ovu priliku, pa sam krenula prateći Zainabu do otvorenog dvorišta radi rituala pranja. Tokom sedam dana inicijacije moja gola stopala neće dodirnuti zemlju a ja neću govoriti niti ostvariti kontakt očima ni sa kim ko je izvan isceliteljske prakse. Iscelitelji su mi bili pratoci pri svakom pokretu, uključujući i odlazak u toalet. Gde god da sam išla, nosila sam koplje koje pripada mom zaposedajućem duhu Dusuu, ali i ceremonijalno posuđe koje je bilo njegov oltar. Svaki put kada bih prošla kroz dovratka, uputstvo je bilo da se okrenem nazad i izgovorim *kwestumpko*, reč koja označava poštovanje i poklonstvo na kibuki jeziku. Sobu sam napuštala jedino radi pranja, što sam činila sedam puta tokom ta tri dana provedenih u kibuki kući.

Glava mi je bila pokrivena *kangom* dok sam pratila Zainabu kroz kuću i pozadi, gde je bila postavljena jedna hoklica do kofe sa lišćem i travama. Sedam takvih kofa bilo je pripremljeno u mojoj sobi, po jedna za svaki od sedam rituala kupanja koje sam trebala da prođem tokom inicijacije. Kibuki koristi koktel od devet različitih vrsta trava za rituale pranja i rastvor koji isparava, što privlači *šeitanija* u ljudsko telo. Zainaba me je sproveda sedam puta oko drvenog sedala. Ošamućenost je značajna komponenta rituala, baš kao i dezorijentacija. Nije mi bilo dopušteno da gledam okolo. Ceremonijalna čegrtaljka bila je postavljena na moje sedište, Muna ju je uklonila a ja sam je protresla pre nego što sam zasela. Muna, Zainab i Ahmed su mi očistili stopala i šake tamjanom sandarac ili *sandarusi* u kojem kibuki duhovi uživaju. Tokom inicijacije naučila sam da koristim *sandarusi*

that I undergo a second precautionary treatment in which I was bound by Koranic verses, *nimesome-wa*, to prevent the evil eye and any other hexes that ill-wishers might place on me. Ka Saleh, Muna's own *fundi*, was in town and he performed this ritual for me.

With my person fully sealed, I removed my street clothes and changed into a set of *kangas*, colorful cotton *sarongs* that Swahili women wear like house-dresses. I placed my feet into a pair of carved wooden sandals that I had ordered for the occasion, and I followed Zainab to the outdoor courtyard for the bathing ritual. During the seven days of my initiation, my bare feet would not touch the ground and I would not speak or make eye contact with anyone outside of the healing practice. The healers escorted me in each of my movements, including when I went to the toilet. Everywhere I went, I brought the spear that belonged to my possessing spirit, the Dusu, and the ceremonial dishes that were his altar. Each time I passed through a doorway, I was instructed to turn backwards and say *kwestumpko*, a word that signifies respect and reverence in the Kibuki language. The only time I left my room was to bathe, which I did seven times during the three days that I spent at the Kibuki house.

I kept my head covered by a *kanga* while I followed Zainab through the house and to the back, where a stool was placed next to a bucket of leaves and herbs. Seven of these buckets were prepared in my room, one for each of the seven bathing rituals that I would undergo during the initiation. The Kibuki uses a combination of nine distinct plant species in the bathing ritual and steam infusion that draws the *šeitani* into a human body. Zainab led me seven times around the wooden stool. Dizziness is an important component of the ritual, as is disorientation. I was not allowed to look at my surroundings. The ceremonial rattle had been placed on my seat, and Muna removed it and shook it before I sat down. Muna, Zainab, and Ahmed purified my feet and hands with the sandarac or *sandarusi* incense that the Kibuki spirits enjoy. During the initiation, I learned to use the *sandarusi* and the rattle as sensual triggers to catalyze my transition into the altered state.

When I was seated comfortably on the stool, Muna, Zainab, and Ahmed poured cold of herbed water over

i čegrtaljku kao senzualne okidače koji su katalizatori moje tranzicije u izmenjeno stanje.

Kada sam se udobno smestila na stolici, Muna, Zainab i Ahmed sipali su hladnu vodu od trave na moju glavu. Ovo je tvoja kupka za danas, rekli su mi smejući se, i poslali me da se dobro isperem. Ne zaboravi pazuhe, a prst koristi kao četkicu za zube. Muna mi je kazala da posebnu pažnju obratim i operem vaginalni deo, *papa*, pa kad me posete muški duhovi naći će me čistu kao anđeo. Opšta su pojava seksualni snovi tokom kibuki inicijacije, kada duhovi dođu u posetu svom domaćinu tokom noći. Kibuki uvažava seksualnost i telesnost na način koji bi bio sramotan u običnom životu. Nema sramote u doživljaju seksualnih snova za vreme inicijacije, mada se s tim u vezi ljudi kikoću i čikaju unutar zidova kibuki kuće.

Kad sam bila sasvim okupana, preobukla sam se u suvi komplet *kangi*, ponovo su me namirisali tamjanom, pa sam ušla u ceremonijalnu prostoriju sledeći iscelitelja. Preobukla sam se iz *kangi* u par širokih belih pantalona i u tuniku. Preko ramena sam nosila nisku drvenih i plastičnih perli, kao ešarpu, i oko članaka i zglobova. Zainab mi je pokrila lice, ruke i stopala *talmalindijem*, belom glinenom supstancom. Opet me je oprala *sandarusijem*, pa sam ponovo hodala duž sedam prstenova pre nego što sam sela na svoju drvenu stolicu u centru sobe. Popila sam šolju čaja od trave za koji mi je Muna rekla da je diuretik. Kad sam to obavila, Zainaba me je pokrila belim čaršafom i započeli smo ceremoniju imenovanja za Dusua, mog zaposedajućeg *šeitanija*. Ahmed je prineo veliku glinenu tepsiju punu travke koje su isparavale i postavio je kod mojih nogu. Zainab je sela nasuprot meni, na zemlju, pa je provukla glavu ispod belog čaršafa. Bile smo licem u lice između tepsije sa travama.

Zainab mi je rekla da stavim lice nad isparavajuće travke i da udišem duboko dok ne počnem da se tresem. Kada se duh uspeo u moju glavu, Zainab mi je otvorila usta i ubacila nekoliko srebrnih novčića koji su bili potopljeni u vodu i *talmalindi* u ceremonijalnim posudama. Rekla mi je da govorim, da ispustim glas divljački sve dok se ne nađu reči koje *šeitani* traži. Usred mog grlenog pomamnog glasanja, Zainaba se odlučno obratila Dusuu, upućujući ga da kaže svoje ime, zatim ime svog oca i dede: *zao zao*



Inicijantkinja se nagnje nad loncem iz kojeg isparavaju travke kako bi prizvala duha u glavu, 2011.

The initiate leans over a steaming pot of herbed water to call the spirit to her head, 2011.

my head. This is your bath today, they told me, laughing, and instructed me to wash well. Don't forget your armpits, and use your finger as a toothbrush. Muna told me to take special care to wash my vaginal area, *papa*, so that when I was visited by the male spirits, they would find me as clean as an angel. It is common to have sex dreams during the Kibuki initiation, when the spirits come to visit their host in the night. The Kibuki acknowledges sexuality and physicality in a way that would be shameful in regular life. There is no shame in having sex dreams during the initiation, though people giggle and tease about it within the walls of the Kibuki house.

Once I was fully bathed, I changed into a dry set of *kangas*, was perfumed again in incense, and followed my healers into the ceremonial room. I changed from my *kangas* into a pair of loose white pants and a tunic. I wore a set of wooden and plastic beads over my shoulder, like a sash, and around my ankles and wrists. Zainab covered my face, arms and feet in *talmalindi*, a white clay substance. She purified me again with *sandarusi*, and I walked again in seven circles before sitting on my wooden stool in the center of the room. I drank a cup of herbal tea that Muna told me was a diuretic. When I was finished, Zainab covered me in a white sheet and we began the naming ceremony for the Dusu, my possessing *šeitani*. Ahmed brought a large clay pot filled with steaming herbs and set it down at my feet. Zainab sat opposite me,



Kibuki *fundi* nosi posudu punu novčića i ceremonijalne vode, što služi kao oltar duha (*sehani*), i posudicu za paljenje tamjana, *sandarusi*, 2011.

The Kibuki *fundi* carries a dish filled with coins and ceremonial water, which serves as the spirit's altar (*sehani*), and a burner for the incense, *sandarusi*, 2011.

zao Dusu anakaa Damandiswarivu dadi Fatabuk. Ponavljala sam ovu frazu u transu i pod vođstvom Zainabe sve dok je nisam upamtila.

Kad je Zainaba bila zadovoljna, rekla je Dusuu da ode i pozvala je njegovu ženu Safi Bei. Opet sam primila novčiće u usta i dala se u potragu za rečima: *zao zao zao Safi Bei anakaa Mwanamulakarivu dadi Damsunarivu.* Ahmed je rukovao mojom kamerom da bi snimio rituale, ponekad je ostavljao da radi na tronošću u uglu prostorije a ponekad je nosio po kući. Uhvatio je ton ceremonije isceljenja, kombinaciju razigranog svetogrđa i privrženosti tradiciji, ono što sam ja viđala sve vreme baveći se kibukijem. Tretmani su posao za iscelitelje i, mada slede tradicionalne običaje, oni se takođe šale i razmenjuju doskočice, proveravaju mobilne telefone i žale se na dugo radno vreme. Ove interakcije ubačene su u konačan film, zajedno sa obraćanjima iscelitelja direktno u kameru, što je priznanje za čin snimanja i, u širem smislu, filmskoj publici (Loizos, 1993). Ovaj metod čini transparentnim odnose i okolnosti koje prate film (Ruby, 1980, 153–179) i probija oklop poštovanja koje neki u publici mogu pripisati opservacijama spiritualne prakse. Kibuki je ujedno i duhovan i praktičan. Čarolija kibukija potiče iz rituala tokom kojeg, pomoću repeticije, osoba koja pati uči da otelovi svoj *šeitani*. Iscelitelji se nalaze tu da daju dijagnozu i da primene ritual, ali je njihova uloga pre facilitatora nego šama-

on the ground, and brought her head under the white sheet. We faced each other across the pot of herbs.

Zainab told me to put my face over the steaming herbs and to breathe deeply until I began to shake. When the spirit climbed to my head, Zainab opened my mouth and inserted several silver coins that had been soaked in water and *talmalindi* in the ceremonial dishes. She told me to speak, to let my voice escape wild until it found the words that the *šeitani* sought. Amid my guttural utterances, Zainab spoke firmly with the Dusu, instructing him to say his name, followed by his father's name and his grandfather's name: *zao zao zao Dusu anakaa Damandiswarivu dadi Fatabuk.* I repeated this phrase while entranced and under Zainab's guidance until I had it memorized.

When Zainab was satisfied, she told the Dusu to leave, and called his wife, Safi Bei. Again, I took coins in my mouth, and searched for the words: *zao zao zao Safi Bei anakaa Mwanamulakarivu dadi Damsunarivu.* Ahmed used my camera to film the rituals, sometimes leaving it running on a tripod in the corner of the room and sometimes carrying it through the house. He captured the tone of the healing ceremony, the combination of playful irreverence and adherence to tradition that I saw throughout my interaction with the Kibuki. The treatments are work for the healers and though they follow the traditional customs, they also joke and banter, check their cell phones and complain about the long hours. These interactions are included in the final film, along with the healers' references to the camera, an acknowledgment of the act of filming and, by extension, of the film's audience (Loizos 1993). This method makes transparent the relationships and circumstances involved in filming (Ruby 1980: 153-179), and it also pierces the reverence that audience members may bring to the observation of a spiritual practice. The Kibuki is both spiritual and practical. The magic of the Kibuki comes from the ritual, wherein through repetition, a suffering person learns to embody her *šeitani*. The healers are present to diagnose and to administer the ritual, but their role is more like that of a facilitator than a shaman. Unless one of the spirits has climbed to her head, Muna is a human and she performs human tasks in the service of supernatural beings.

Muna, Zainab, Ahmed and I repeated the bathing

na. Ako se neki duh nije uspeo u njenu glavu, Muna, kao ljudsko biće, obavlja i ljudske zadatke u službi natprirodnih bića.

Muna, Zainab, Ahmed i ja smo ponavljali kupanje i govorne rituale sedam puta tokom tri dana koje sam provela u kibuki kući. Rituali su se zbivali u razno doba dana i noći, a između rituala su me ostavljali samu u ceremonijalnoj prostoriji da spavam ili dremam ili sanjam. Nosila sam beli kostim i odmarala se na podignutom krevetu od drveta i kanapa. Po tradiciji svahili kulture, ovakvi kreveti služe za polaganje leševa radi postupaka pranja i pokopa, ali i kao ležaljke za plažu u turističkim odmaralištima na ostrvu. Od rituala sam bila omamljena, dok sam se odmarala na krevetu, um mi je lutao do čudesnih mesta. Bi Dodo (*Bi Dodo*), kibuki staramajka, rekla mi je da nema logike u zaposedanju; ništa ne može da objasni zašto neko uhvati duha a drugi ne. Kazala mi je da možda imam laku glavu, *nyepesi*, pa je Dusua privukla moja propustljivost. Obećala mi je da će on paziti na mene, ako mu udovoljim, a ja sam se dvoumila da li je to tačno. Pitala sam se da li ću dobiti ono što mi pripada, *kufanikiwa*, obećanje celovitosti i pripadništva, što prvenstveno dovodi klijente u kibuki. Poziv na pripadanje, na preobraženje putem transformacionog rituala je bio moćan i primamljiv. Odbacila sam granice i pomerila se od autsajdera do insajdera, dopuštajući mogućnost da ostanem tamo, zauvek strana svom ranijem sopstvu (Kraft, Alsoft, Kristiane, 2002).

Ujutru trećeg dana članovi Mardžan kibukija počeli su da pristižu u kuću. Šator je razapet i postavljene su šarene prostirke preko podijuma za igru. Počela je muzika. Boravila sam unutra tokom prepodnevne *ngome* i za vreme gozbe u vreme ručka, posluženje od *pilaua* i svežeg voća koje sam, uz pomoć Kadidže, naručila od lokalnog snabdevača. Za vreme mog tretmana bilo mi je dopušteno da jedem samo prost beli pirinač bez dodatih začina ili soli. Kasno popodne, članovi Mardžan kibukija su se preobukli u svoje uniforme, bele haljine za žene i bele pantalone i košulje za muškarce, sa debelim crvenim i žutim suknom na pruge obavijenim oko ramena. I ja sam imala belu uniformu – haljinu i crveno sukno koje sam obavila oko glave. Još mi nije bilo dozvoljeno da ikom gledam u oči.

and speaking rituals seven times during the three days that I spent at the Kibuki house. The rituals occurred at varying hours of day and night and between rituals I was left alone in the ceremonial chamber to sleep or half sleep or to dream. I wore my white costume and rested on a raised bed made of wood and rope. In traditional Swahili culture, these beds hold corpses for cleaning and funeral proceedings, but they are also used as beach beds at the tourist resorts on the island. The rituals left me dazed and while I rested on the bed, my mind roamed to strange places. Bi Dodo, a Kibuki elder, told me that there is no logic to possession; nothing can explain why one person catches a spirit and another does not. She told me that I may have a light head, *nyepesi*, and the Dusu was attracted to my permeability. She promised that he would look after me, if I pleased him, and I wondered if that was true. I wondered if I would get what was mine, *kufanikiwa*, the promise of wholeness and belonging that sends clients to the Kibuki in the first place. The invitation to belong, to transform through a transformational ritual was powerful and alluring. I let go of the border and moved from outsider to insider, allowing the possibility that I would remain there, forever a stranger to my former self (Kraft, Alsoft and Kristiane 2002).

On the morning of the third day, members of the Marjan Kibuki began to arrive at the house. The tent was strung up and colored mats were laid over the dance floor. The music started. I stayed inside during the morning *ngoma*, and the lunchtime feast, a spread of *pilau* and fresh fruit that Kadija helped me order from a local caterer. During my treatment, I was allowed to eat only plain white rice with no added flavors or salt. In the late afternoon, the members of the Marjan Kibuki changed into their uniforms, white dresses for women and white pants and shirts for men, with thick red and yellow striped cloth draped over their shoulders. I also had a white uniform dress and a red cloth that I draped over my head. I was still not allowed to make eye contact.

I followed the Marjan Kibuki members and we entered the ring in a column, clapping and playing rattles. We kneeled before the table that holds the material supplies for the ritual and Muna said prayer in the Kibuki language to ask the spirits to help us in the

Išla sam prateći članove Mardžan kibukija, ušli smo u krug u koloni, tapšući i vrteći čegrtaljke. Kleknuli smo pred stolom na kojem su bile materijalne potreštine za ritual a Muna je izgovorila molitvu na kibuki jeziku da bi zamolila duhove da nam pomognu u poslu isceljenja. Kad je završila, svi članovi grupe su izgovorili *kwestumpko* kako bi iskazali poštovanje i solidarnost sa porukom. Okupila se bila velika masa ljudi da posmatra inicijaciju *mzunguja*, ali nije bilo onoliko gledalaca koliko smo očekivali. U jednom trenutku Muna, zabrinuta da ćemo biti prebukirani, predložila je da napravimo listu gostiju i da poštom pošaljemo zvanične pozivnice, ali su Zainab i Salum odbacili tu ideju jer je bila bez presedana.

Muna i Zainab su me uputili da ignorišem one koji blenu i da se fokusiram na prizivanje Dusua u glavu i na to da mu od svog tela načinim domaćina. Imali su ulog u mom izvođenju, pošto su me oni obučavali i garantovali za mene. Bilo im je potrebno da dokažu da se ne pretvaram. Petnaest učesnika članova Mardžan kibukija takođe je žarko želelo da me vidi kako plešem kao Dusu. Oni su priveli u svoje glave sopstvene duhove i plesali su tik uz mene, terajući *šeitanija* prema meni. Kao i zevanje, zaposedanje je zarazno i moguće je da budete zahvaćeni posredovanjem. Jedan od duhova je povukao crvenu tkaninu koja mi je pokrivala celu glavu od čega se formirao mali šator u koji je pušten dim tamjana *sandarusi*. Počela sam da se tresem, kao i u ranijim ritualima, i odjednom sam se uspravila i počela da brundam dubokim glasom Dusua. Uzviknula sam svoje ime kako sam bila podučena da učinim tokom ceremonije unutra: *zao zao za Dusu anakaa Damandisuvarivu dadi Fatabuk*. Moj prijatelj Čolo, koji je bio u krugu ali nije bio nastanjen nekim *šeitanijem*, uzeo me je za ruku i poveo oko kruga da sretnem kibuki duhove. Naveo me je da kleknem, da zagrlim ili se žustro rukujem, što zavisi od odnosa Dusua sa svakim duhom. On klekne pred starijima, rukuje se sa sebi ravnima, a zagrlji ženske duhove u kibuki panteonu. Nedostajalo mi je znanja da načinim prikladne pokrete, ali mi je Dusu ispunio telo, *amejaa*, a delao je u skladu sa svojim karakterom na opšte zadovoljstvo svih prisutnih. Tokom rituala bilo je trenutaka kada bih postala svesne sebe i svog tela u krugu. Mogla sam da osetim silinu Dusua u grudima kao nalet vode, što me je nagonilo

task of healing. When she was finished, all members of the group said *kwestumpko* to show respect and solidarity with the message. A large crowd was gathered to watch the *mzungu's* initiation, but it was not as many spectators as we had expected. At one point Muna, concerned about overcrowding, had suggested that we make a guest list and mail formal invitations but Zainab and Salum rejected the idea because it had no precedent.

Muna and Zainab had coached me to ignore the gawkers and to focus on calling the Dusu into my head and making my body into his chair. They had a stake in my performance because they had trained me and vouched for me. They needed to prove that I was not faking. The fifteen participating members of the Marjan Kibuki were also eager to see me dance as the Dusu. They brought their own spirits to their heads and danced next to me, drawing the *šeitani* toward me. Like yawning, possession is contagious and it is possible to become affected by proximity. One of the spirits pulled my red cloth covering fully over my head and brought burning *sandarusi* incense into the tent that it formed. I began to shake, as I had in earlier rituals and suddenly I stood up and growled in the Dusu's low voice. I called out my name as I had been trained to do during the inside ceremony: *zao zao za Dusu anakaa Damandisuvarivu dadi Fatabuk*. My friend Cholo, who was in the ring but not inhabited by a *šeitani*, took my arm and led me around the circle to meet the Kibuki spirits. He prompted me to kneel, to hug or to give a vigorous handshake depending on the Dusu's relationship with each spirit. He kneels to his elders, shakes hands with his peers, and hugs the female spirits in the Kibuki pantheon. I lacked the knowledge to make the appropriate moves, but the Dusu filled my body, *amejaa*, and performed his character to the satisfaction of everyone present. During the ritual, there were moments when I became conscious of my self and my body in the ring. I could feel the force of the Dusu in my chest like rushing water, propelling me to dance or roar or grab another initiate in the circle. I was surprised to feel myself moving, but I never tried to stop, and afterward I wondered if I could have. I found that if I rolled my eyes back into my head, I immediately moved deeper into the trance and lost all sense of self-consciousness. The *ngoma*

da plešem ili urlam ili da zgrabim nekog drugog inicijanta iz prstena. Iznenadila sam se kad sam osetila svoje kretnje, ali uopšte nisam pokušala da prekinem, a posle sam se pitala da li sam to mogla. Uvidela sam da ako zakolutam očima unazad, istog trena tonem dublje u trans i gubim svaki oset sopstva – svesti. *Ngoma* je trajala do duboko u noć, ali su mene uklonili iz prstena i poslali da se odmorim u sobi pre zalaska sunca. Bila sam iscrpljena; nisam držala duha u svom telu toliko dugi period vremena i imala sam osećaj kao da sam bila na nekoj celonoćnoj zabavi. Spavala sam dok su muzika i ples napolju nastavili.

Sledećeg jutra su se članovi okupili u prostranoj unutrašnjoj sobi na Mardžan gospodarstvu. Gozba je bila postavljena, a pre jela su mi zatražili da okusim svako posluženje. Tu je bilo dagnji, ribljeg mesa, spanaća, ajkule, lignje, hobotnice, govedine, kozjeg mesa, piletine i jaja. Uz svaki zalogaj su me članovi posmatrali da vide da li ću se zagrcnuti i ispljunuti hranu, što bi značilo da je Dusu odbacio tu posebnu hranu i ja je više ne bih jela. Zagrcnula sam se na govedini, ali sam, posle nekoliko meseci, ponovo počela da je jedem i nisam trpela neželjene posledice. Snimala sam ovaj ritual ali me je, posle jela, Muna zamolila da isključim kameru. Instrukcije koje ću potom dobiti bile su tajne, njih ne treba snimati.

Uz pomoć grupe prošla sam kroz niz akcija koje su vodile mom povratku u normalan život. Obavljala sam kretnje kao da čistim kuću, brišem, čistim kupatilo i perem suđe. Dok sam to radila, Ahmed me je pratio i udarao štapom. Rekao je Dusuu da mi omogućiti da budem dobra žena i da dovršim kućne poslove bez ometanja, bez zaposedanja ili omamljivanja. Vratili smo se nazad u grupu i sela sam nasuprot Husene, koja je nasula dva velika pića rakije i pripalila cigaretu. Pili smo i pušili, a ona je uputila Dusua da ostane van moje glave dok sam opijena. Te supstance nisu poziv da se on popne u mene. Onda sam legla na leđa a Husena me opkoračila. Počela je da meša kukovima i nagnula se tik uz moje lice. Rekla je Dusuu da se ne penje u mene dok imam seks i da se ne meša u moje odnose s mužem. Moj je utisak da je ovaj ritual bio ublažen, mogao bi da bude prilagođen da uključi i stvarni seksualni kontakt. Da li je bio ublažen zbog mene kao strankinje ili je ublažen u svojoj modernoj primeni, nisam sigurna. Čak i dok sam uzimala

lasted late into the night, but I was removed from the ring and sent to rest in my room before sunset. I was exhausted; I had not held the spirit in my body for such an extended period of time and I had the feeling that I had been to an all-night party. I slept while the music and dancing continued outside.

The following morning, the members gathered in a large inner room at the Marjan compound. A feast was laid out and before we ate, I was asked to taste each of the dishes. They included mussels, snapper, spinach, shark, squid, octopus, beef, goat, chicken, and egg. With each bite, the members watched to see if I would choke and spit out the food, signifying that the Dusu had rejected that particular food and I would not eat it again. I choked on the beef, but after a few months I began eating beef again and I suffered no side effects. I filmed this ritual but after eating, Muna asked me to turn off the camera. The instructions that I would receive next were secret, and they should not be filmed.

With the help of the group, I went through a series of actions to guide my return to normal life. I acted out the motions of cleaning the house, sweeping, cleaning the bathroom and washing the dishes. While I did so, Ahmed followed me and spanked me with a stick. He told the Dusu to allow me to be a good woman, and to complete my household chores without disrupting me, climbing to my head or making me dizzy. We returned to the group and I sat down opposite Husena, who poured two large drinks of brandy and lit a cigarette. We drank and smoked and she instructed the Dusu to stay out of my head while I was intoxicated. These substances were not an invitation to climb me. Then, I lay down on my back and Husena straddled me. She began to grind her hips and she leaned close to my face. She told the Dusu not to climb me while I was having sex, and not to get in the way of my relationship with my husband. My sense is that this ritual was diluted, and that it could be adjusted to include a real sexual encounter. Whether it was diluted for me as a foreigner or if it is diluted in its modern application, I am not sure. Even as I participated, I remained an outsider to the Kibuki members, *wenyeji*, who chose what they would present and reveal (Rabinow 1978).

That evening, I went home and I stayed inside for

učešća, ja sam i dalje bila autsajder za kibuki članove, *wenyeji*, koji su odabirali šta će predstaviti i otkriti (Rabinow, 1978).

Te večeri sam otišla kući i boravila unutra tokom četiri dana. Kadidža mi je donosila prost pirinač i kašu i cvetove jasmína da namirišem postelju. Nisam se gledala u ogledalu, niti sam gledala snimak moje *ngome*. Želela sam da obavim lečenje kako treba i da postanem celovita, da se okanim tugovanja koje me je ophrvalo i da povratim svoje mesto u svetu.

Kibuki obezbeđuje delotvorno rešenje, niz koraka da se izbegne žaljenje, bol ili neka loša situacija. To je način da se ponovo izgradite, društveno, duhovno i u svom umu. Kad druge metode isceljenja ili zaboravljanja omanu, verovanje i ritual, niz instrukcija nabijenih značenjem mogu prevesti paćenika iz jednog stanja u drugo. Patnja je mrlja, grudva gorkog, otvrdlog sumpora u dnu srca koja plavi telo naletima otrova i bola. Pomoću rituala, nalazimo smisao u njegovim ciklusima i zamenjujemo ćudljiv ritam patnje sa jednim postojanim. Preplavimo telo nečim blagonaklonjenijim i pouzdanijim i postepeno se probijemo nazad u svet.

Zaključak

Neprestano sam tokom istraživanja iznova pitala ljude: „Šta znači imati duha?” Odgovor je obično bio: „Ne znači ništa; samo jeste.” Posle moje *ngome*, postala sam kao mnogi Zanzibarci koji u isto vreme i veruju i ne veruju u kibuki duhove. Postepeno sam prihvatila da verovanje u ovom kontekstu nije neki apsolut, već kao plima i oseka. Kibuki postoji u stalnom utanačavanju sa konfliktnim sistemima verovanja i sa skepticizmom (Khan 2012). Verovanje u kibuki znači prihvatanje koje obuhvata sumnju i predavanje različitim stepenima u raznim trenucima, u kontekstu, a ponekad u skladu sa ličnim potrebama.

Pred kraj mog istraživanja prikazala sam snimak na poluprivatnoj projekciji, domaćin je bila ambasada SAD u Dar es Salaamu. Za vreme dela za pitanja i odgovore jedna Zanzibarka iz publike postala je usplahirena i ustala je sa sedišta da bi se obratila gledaocima, pretežno su to bili studenti sa kopna Tanzanije. Rekla je, na engleskom: „Duhovi su živi u Zanzibaru, ali mi to ne možemo prihvatiti jer takođe verujemo u nauku. Ja imam univerzitetsku diplomu i

four days. Kadija brought me plain rice and porridge, and jasmine flowers to perfume my bed. I did not look in the mirror, nor did I look at the footage of my *ngoma*. I wanted to complete the treatment properly and to become whole, to let go of the grief that weighed on me and to regain my place in the world.

The Kibuki provides a working solution, a series of steps to escape sadness, pain or a bad situation. It is a way to remake oneself, socially, spiritually and in one's own mind. When other methods of healing or forgetting have failed, belief and ritual, a series of instructions imbued with meaning may carry a sufferer from one condition to another. Grief is a stain, a lump of bitter, hardened sulfur in the base of the heart that floods the body with bursts of poison and pain. With ritual, we make sense of its cycles and replace the erratic rhythm of grief with a steady one. We flood the body with something kinder and more reliable, and gradually work back into the world.

Conclusion

Throughout my research, I repeatedly asked people, “What does it mean to have a spirit?” The answer was usually, “It means nothing; it just is.” After my *ngoma*, I became like many Zanzibaris who both believe and don't believe in the Kibuki spirits. I came to accept that belief in this context is not an absolute, but rather an ebb and flow. The Kibuki exists in constant negotiation with conflicting belief systems and with skepticism (Khan 2012). Belief in Kibuki means acceptance that encompasses doubt and surrender to different degrees in different moments, in context, and sometimes according to personal need.

Near the end of my research, I presented my footage in a semi-public screening, hosted by the US Embassy in Dar es Salaam. During the question and answer session, a Zanzibari woman in the audience became agitated and rose from her seat to address the viewers, who were primarily university students from the Tanzanian mainland. She said, in English, “Spirits are alive in Zanzibar, but we cannot accept that because we also believe in science. I have a graduate degree and I am a professional, but I have seen the *masheitani* with my own eyes and I know them to be true.” Her comments provoked a murmur of agreement throughout the lecture hall.

profesionalac sam, ali sam videla *mašeitani*-je svojim očima i znam da oni postoje.” Njen komentar izazvao je mrmljanje odobravanja širom sale.

Ja verujem u kibuki duhove jer sam iskusiła izmenjeno stanje i znam da se nisam pretvarala. Kibuki tretman mi je pomogao da steknem ili povratim otpornost uz snažniji oset sopstva. Ja isto tako ne verujem jer, sudeći po mojim drugim sistemima verovanja, to je besmislica. Postoje naučna objašnjenja za sposobnost menjanja stanja koja se ne uzdaju u panteon komorskih duhova. Ovo prihvatanje ambigviteta bilo mi je neugodno kada sam počinjala istraživanje. Sada vidim da je to neophodan pomak koji čovek mora da načini kako bi sagledao kibuki u celosti, mora prihvatiti da on sadrži kontradikcije i da se neprestano menja. Iz različitih uglova, može obuhvatiti mnoge istine odjednom.

Lečenje jedne *mzungu* ispostavilo se kao dobar poslovan potez za Munu, Saluma i Mardžan kibuki kružok, mada sam sigurna da je to bio jedan od mnogih dobrih poteza. Prevejani su oni trgovci. U godinama posle moje *ngome*, oni su inicirali nove članove i proširili prostor za tretman. Dozidali su još prostorija uz kuću kako bi smestili prostran unutrašnji prsten za klijente koji zahtevaju privatnu ceremoniju, a iskopali su bunar pozadi na imanju kako bi izbegli troškove vezane za stalnu nestašicu vode. Kada sam ih poslednji put posetila, Muna i Salum su bili *wazima*; zdravi i srećni. Deca im dobro prolaze u školi.

I ja sam se dobro snašla. Pet meseci posle moje kibuki *ngome* počela sam da se viđam sa čovekom koji je postao moj muž. Poznavali smo se dugo vremena i delili mogo toga zajedničkog, ali se nismo zaljubili sve do kraja mog boravka u Zanzibaru. Obavestila sam Munu o mojoj sreći, a ona je zatražila da pošaljem novac kako bi kupili bocu rakije za Dusua. On se redovno pojavljuje u Mardžan kibukiju i ceniće priznanje.

Sudbina mog filma bila je dosta neujednačena. Mučila sam se da uskladim snimak sa narativom, onim koji bi izrazio sve nijanse kibukija i složenost naših odnosa, kako unutrašnjih tako i izvan kružoka. Težila sam da opišem susret između autsajdera režisera i rituala. Film koji sam snimila više govori o meni nego o *mašeitaniju*. On ne prenosi onu višeznačnu snagu i moć kibuki obreda u njihovom okruženju. Možda

I believe in the Kibuki spirits because I have experienced the altered state and know that I was not pretending. The Kibuki treatment helped me gain or regain resilience with a stronger sense of self. I also disbelieve because, according to my other belief systems, it is nonsense. There are scientific explanations for the ability to state-change that do not rely on a pantheon of Comorian ghosts. This acceptance of ambiguity was uncomfortable for me when I began my research. I now see it is a necessary shift that one must make in order to see the Kibuki as a whole, to acknowledge that it holds contradictions and that it is constantly changing. From different angles, it can hold many truths at once.

Treating a *mzungu* turned out to be a good business decision for Muna, Salum and the Marjan Kibuki ring, though I am sure that it was one of many good decisions. They are shrewd business owners. In the years since my *ngoma*, they have initiated new members and expanded their treatment space. They built an extension on the house to accommodate a large indoor ring for clients who request a private ceremony, and they dug a well on the back of their property to avoid costs associated with ongoing water shortages. When I last visited, Muna and Salum were *wazima*; healthy and happy. Their children are doing well in school.

I have also done well. Five months after my Kibuki *ngoma*, I began dating the man who became my husband. We had known each other for a long time, and shared much in common, but did not fall in love until the end of my stay in Zanzibar. I reported my good fortune to Muna and she asked that I send money to buy a bottle of brandy for the Dusu. He appears regularly at the Marjan Kibuki and he will appreciate the acknowledgment.

The fortune of my film has been more mixed. I struggled to organize my footage into a narrative that would express the nuance of the Kibuki and the complexity of our relationships, both inside and outside the ring. I sought to describe the meeting between the outsider/filmmaker and the ritual. The film that I made tells more about me than it tells about the *masheitani*. It does not convey the ambiguous strength and power of the Kibuki rites in their own setting. Perhaps this is because it is a first film by an inexperienced filmmaker-

je razlog taj što je to prvi film neiskusnog filmskog stvaraoca i zato što su veći deo snimanja obavljali ljudi koji pre toga nikad nisu držali kameru u ruci. A moguće je da je izostala saradnja kibuki duhova koji su, ogorčeni zbog naše nametljivosti, iscedili energiju iz snimka. U montažnoj sobi prisetila sam se upozorenja koje sam čula na početku istraživanja: gledati kibuki neposredno znači potrti ga. Čim vidiš svoju sliku u ogledalu, *šeitani* te je napustio i sve što možeš da vidiš je tvoje klovnovsko lice, umazano i raščupano, koje traga, nada se, a ljudsko je.

Prevod (englesko-srpski): Branislav Mišković

er and because much of the filming was done by people who had never held a camera before. Or perhaps, it lacked the cooperation of the Kibuki spirits, who, angered by our imposition, drained their energy from the footage. In the editing room, I recalled a warning that I heard early in my research: to look at the Kibuki directly is to flatten it. By the time you see your image in the mirror, the *šeitani* has left you and all you can see is your own clownish face, smeared and disheveled, searching, hoping and human.

Translation (English-Serbian): Branislav Mišković

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† [*baraza* (poreklo: Kiswahili) – mesto javnog okupljanja u Istočnoj Africi. – Prim. red.]

‡ [*buki* (poreklo: Svahili) predstavlja koren imenice kibuki (jednina) ili vibuki (množina) a oba se odnose na pleme zaposedajućih duhova koji, prema verovanju stanovnika grada Zanzibara, potiču sa Komorskih ostrva ili Madagaskara. *Buki* je sleng i odnosi se konkretno na same duhove, dok je značenje reči kibuki prošireno, pa obuhvata ne samo duhove (*bukije*) nego i ritual, praksu i genealogiju duhova. - Prim. red.]

§ [*čât* (*chaat* ili *khat*) je cvetna biljka koja potiče sa Roga Afrike. Njeni listovi se žvaću zbog stimulativnog dejstva čiji je efekat sličan sintetičkim drogama-amfetaminima. – Prim. red.]

Notes:

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† [*baraza* (origin: Kiswahili) is a public meeting place in East Africa – editor's note]

‡ [*buki* (origin: Swahili) is a root noun of Kibuki (singular) or Vibuki (plural), they all refer to the tribe of possessing spirits who are common to Zanzibar Town and understood by locals to originate in the Comoros Islands or in Madagascar. *Buki* is slang that refers specifically to the spirits themselves, while Kibuki has an expanded meaning that encompasses not only the beings (the *bukis*) but also the ritual, the practice and the genealogy of the spirits. – editor's note]

§ [*chaat* or *khat* is a flowering plant native to the horn of Africa. Its leaves are chewed as an amphetamine-like stimulate. – editor's note]

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Bonaventir So Bedžen Ndikun (levo) i Simon Ndžami (desno)
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Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung (left) and Simon Njami (right)
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PREGOVARANJE SEĆANJA

Intervju sa Simonom Ndžamijem, kustosom izložbe *WIR SIND ALLE BERLINER: 1884–2014* održane u Berlinu (2014–2015), i Bonavantirom Soom Bedženom Ndikunom, direktorom centra *SAVVY Contemporary*, u kojem je održana izložba

Autor intervjuja: Gabriel Montua

U centru za savremenu umetnost *SAVVY Contemporary* u Berlinu, od 15. novembra 2014. do 28. februara 2015, održana je izložba *WIR SIND ALLE BERLINER: 1884–2014 (WSAB)* u nastavku teksta¹. Izložbom i pratećim programom u vidu predavanja i dvodnevne panel-konferencije obeleženo je 130 godina od konferencije o podeli Konga održane u Berlinu (15. novembra 1884 – 26. februara 1885). Ova višemesečna konferencija završena je postizanjem konačnog dogovora oko podele teritorija Centralne Afrike nakon čega je usledilo legalno i operativno uspostavljanje kolonijalne vlasti na čitavom kontinentu u godinama koje su usledile. Među četrnaest država potpisnica bile su vodeće evropske zemlje, Rusija, Otomansko Carstvo i Sjedi-

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NEGOTIATED MEMORY

Interview with Simon Njami, curator of the exhibition *WIR SIND ALLE BERLINER: 1884-2014* (in Berlin, 2014 - 2015) and Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung, director of *SAVVY Contemporary Berlin*, the centre where the exhibition was held

Interview by: Gabriel Montua

From November 15th 2014 to February 28th 2015, the *SAVVY Contemporary Berlin* hosted the exhibition *WIR SIND ALLE BERLINER: 1884-2014 (WSAB)*.¹ The exhibition was accompanied by lectures and a two-day panel symposium, and intended to commemorate the 130th anniversary of the Berlin Congo Conference (November 15th 1884 – February 26th 1885). At the end of this long Conference, an agreement resolved major disputes over the repartition of territories in central Africa, and thus laid the legal and operational foundations for the colonisation of the entire continent by European countries in the coming years. The fourteen signatory nations included major European powers, the Russian and the Ottoman Empires, as well as the United States of America. No African representatives were invited to take part in the negotiations.

SAVVY Contemporary Berlin © Lara Merrington



njene Američke Države. Nijedan predstavnik afričkog kontinenta nije pozvan da učestvuje u pregovorima.

Namera izložbe je da se ukaže na ovaj gotovo zaboravljeni istorijski događaj koji bi trebalo da zauzima značajno mesto u kolektivnoj memoriji zemalja potpisnica dogovora, s obzirom na značaj i dugoročne posledice koje je prouzrokovao.

Simon Ndžami (*Simon Njami*), kustos izložbe *WSAB*, je kritičar i urednik, pisac biografija ključnih intelektualaca afričkog porekla 20. veka, kao što su Džejms Boldvin (*James Baldwin*), američki pisac i socijalni kritičar, i Leopold Sedar Sengor (*Léopold Sédar Senghor*), pesnik i prvi predsednik nezavisnog Senegala. Njegova kustoska praksa započinje 80-ih godina 20. veka. Bio je umetnički direktor bijenala na različitim kontinentima. Njegova najzapaženija kustoska izložba savremene afričke umetnosti pod nazivom *Africa Remix*, održana u muzejima širom Evrope, u Tokiju i Johannesburgu od 2004. do 2007. godine, privukla je pažnju hiljada posetilaca.

Bonavantir So Bedžen Ndikun (*Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung*) je osnivač i umetnički direktor kulturnog centra *SAVVY Contemporary* u Berlinu. Osnovan 2009. i smešten u nekadašnjoj elektrani iz 1920, centar je duboko inkorporiran u kulturnu raznovrsnost samog kvarta Nojkeln (*Neukölln*), u stalnom dijalogu sa gradom i međunarodnom publikom kroz mnogobrojne saradnje i programme, izložbe, umetničke rezidencije, konferencije i zabave. Otvorenost, entuzijazam njegovih brojnih saradnika, kreativnost u radu sa ograničenim finansijskim sredstvima obezbedili su mu specifično mesto među berlinskim izložbenim prostorima i komercijalnim galerijama.

GM: *WSAB* je vaš zajednički projekat. Da li ste i ranije sarađivali? Kako je doslo do ove saradnje? Da li su se vaši pristupi razlikovali ili su, pak, bili slični, kako je sve to izgledalo?

BSBN: Ovo je prvi put da smo zajedno radili na izložbi ali smo sarađivali i ranije na konferencijama, simpozijumima, panel-diskusijama. Simon je oduvek

One of the exhibition's objectives was to draw attention to a historic event that today appears to hold a relatively small place in the collective memory of the countries that signed the General Act of this Conference, especially when compared to the lasting and intensive transformations it affected.

Simon Njami, curator of the *WSAB* exhibition, is also a prolific writer and editor, famous for his biographies on key figures of 20th century intellectual life of black communities, such as the American writer and social critic, James Baldwin, and Léopold Sédar Senghor, poet and first President of independent Sénégal. His curatorial work began in the 1980s; since then he has also been the artistic director of biennales on different continents. He was the chief curator of *Africa Remix*, probably his most noted exhibition, which was a presentation of contemporary African creativity that left an impression on hundreds of thousands of visitors at museums in Europe, Tokyo and Johannesburg between 2004 and 2007.

Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung is the founder and artistic director of the *SAVVY Contemporary* Berlin, a non-profit, volunteer-run cultural centre that has been offering space for exhibition, symposiums and parties, as well as artists' residencies since 2009. Housed in a 1920s former power plant, it combines its grassroots origins, well preserved in the social variety of the Neukölln district, with a steady outreach to the wider city and to the international public through a series of collaborations. The openness of the place, the enthusiasm of its many collaborators and the creativity to operate with very limited financial support are shaping *SAVVY's* distinctive profile amongst Berlin's numerous exhibition spaces and commercial galleries.

GM: *WSAB* is your shared project. Did the two of you cooperate before? And how was it on a practical level? Did you do exactly the same things, did you have slightly different approaches; how did it work?

BSBN: This is the first time we have worked on an exhibition together, but we have done a couple of things before: talks, panels, and symposia. Simon

podržavao *SAVVY* i pisao za *SAVVY Journal*. Znao, Simon je poznat i veoma zauzet, tako da smo mi uglavnom odrađivali praktični deo posla, predosećajući šta bi on tačno hteo. U ovoj konstelaciji on je bio mozak, a mi ruke.

GM: Kako ste došli na ideju da organizujete ovu izložbu?

SN: Najpre, smatram da Berlinska konferencija ne zauzima mesto koje bi trebalo. Izazov je bilo organizovati nešto u samom Berlinu, Bonavantir mi je predložio da sarađujemo, vreme je bilo prikladno, godišnjica konferencije.

BSBN: Želeli smo da organizujemo nešto u vezi sa nemačkom istorijom u saradnji sa Simonom. Pre otprilike godinu dana pozvali smo ga i on nam je predložio ovaj projekat. Znao je da smo u *SAVVY*-u pokrenuli projekat pod nazivom *Kolonijalni susedi*, koji predstavlja kolekciju predmeta koji datiraju ili su u vezi sa vremenom Nemačke kolonijalne vladavine, a koje su nam poklonila privatna lica, često naši susedi (sl. 1). Tako je uspostavljena veza sa Berlinskom konferencijom.

has always been very supportive of *SAVVY* and has written for the *SAVVY Journal*. You know, he is a big (important) guy. He hasn't got a lot of time, so we did most of the practicalities, on the site, sensing what he wants to do. In this constellation, he was more the brain and we the hands.

GM: How did the idea for this exhibition develop?

SN: First of all, I thought that the Berlin Congo Conference did not have all the attention it deserves. It was fun to do it in Berlin, especially when Bonaventure asked me to do something with *SAVVY*; the time was right. It was a kind of an anniversary.

BSBN: We really wanted to do something with Germany's history and with Simon. So about one year ago we invited him and he came up with a proposal. He knew that we had a project called *Colonial Neighbours* at the *SAVVY*, which is a collection of objects, dating from or related to the time of German colonial rule, given to us by private persons, often neighbours (ill. 1). With this background, a link to the Berlin Congo Conference was evident to us.

Sl.1. Arhiva Kolonijalni susedi u *SAVVY Contemporary*-u © Chiara Cartuccia

Ill 1. Colonial Neighbours Archive at *SAVVY Contemporary* © Chiara Cartuccia



SN: Ideja je bila da se Berlinska konferencija ne predstavi kao završen istorijski događaj, već kao nešto što još uvek traje. Posledice Berlinske konferencije su još uvek vidljive, čak je i Berlinski zid jedna od njih. Još uvek ne shvatamo važnost ove prve podele Afrike. Organizovati izložbu u Berlinu sa ovim nazivom je značilo na neki način reći da smo svi mi žrtve ali i odgovorni.

BSBN: Preuzimanjem Kenedijevе rečenice „Ich bin ein Berliner”, izložba je postavljena u širi istorijski kontekst. Konferencija je odredila budućnost dva kontinenta. Dva kontinenta! Znamo sve o tome, istorija nas je naučila, Evropa se obogatila ne samo resursima iz Afrike već i doseljavanjem stanovništva iz bivših kolonija. Danas u kvartu Neukölln žive zajedno ljudi koji su došli iz 162 zemlje. Mi smo odlučili da sve ove ljude uključimo u priču povezujući Berlinsku konferenciju sa današnjicom.

SN: Metaforično *Wir sind alle Berliner* je poziv svima nama na razmišljanje o onome šta smo uradili, kao i o tome šta danas radimo.

GM: Na neki način kolektivno osvešćivanje.

SN: Apsolutno, otvorena diskusija o današnjoj situaciji. Ne možete promišljati prošlost ako ne razmišljate o sadašnjosti. Jedini način da se osmisli budućnosti je dekonstruisanjem narativa zasnovanim na raznim predrasudama. Kao kustos ne podnosim sigurna mesta, ni sopstvena ni drugih. Oduvek sam voleo da budem intelektualno izazvan, u intelektualnoj konfrontaciji. Zanimaju me ideje, koncepti, činilo mi se da je izložba odlična mogućnost i dobra platforma za to.

SN: The idea was to address the Berlin Congo Conference not as a by-gone historical moment, but as a moment we are still living in. The aftermath of the Berlin Congo Conference is still present. Even the Berlin Wall is part of what happened. We still do not understand the importance of this first partition of Africa. So to have the exhibition in Berlin with this kind of title was to say that we are all victims and, at the same time, we are all guilty.

BSBN: We have taken Kennedy’s “Ich bin ein Berliner,” and set it into a bigger historical context. The conference laid the foundation that determined the future of two continents. Two continents! We know about that, history has told us, Europe prospered not only from resources taken from Africa, but also got enriched by the arrival of people coming from the former colonies to settle in Europe. For example, today there are people from 162 countries living in the Neukölln district of Berlin. So we inserted all those people into the narrative, thus relating the Berlin Congo Conference to a present day reality.

SN: The metaphorical element of the *Wir sind alle Berliner* exhibition was really to invite all of us to think about what we have done and what we are doing now.

GM: Basically a collective consciousness.

SN: Absolutely, and an open discussion about the current situation. You cannot address history without addressing the present. And the only way to reinvent the future is by deconstructing histories that so many stories have biased. As a curator, I hate comfort zones, whether for myself or for others. I always like to be intellectually confrontational. What interests me a lot are tropes and concepts, so I thought that making such an exhibition was a nice opportunity and good platform to further explore these ideas.

GM: Kako ste birali umetnike?

BSBN: Tražili smo umetnike koji razumeju nemački kontekst i koji su u stanju da smeste ovaj nemački kontekst u širi, globalni narativ. Nasuprot tome, želeli smo da predstavimo umetnike koji ne dolaze sa Zapada kako bismo pokrenuli kritički dijalog, jer to je ono što *SAVVY* pokušava – da pokrene dijalog između Zapada i ne-Zapada, kao mesto sasreta i razgovora.

SN: Većina umetnika je iz Berlina, ali neki su iz Pariza ili drugih mesta, nisu svi Nemci. Mi smo svi iz Berlina, ali smo takođe nigde. Postoji način da se bude 'nigde'. Pre svega smo želeli da prikazemo još jedan portret Berlina kroz one koji ovde žive i koji se razlikuje od standardne slike Berlina kao hipster-skog grada lakog života, urbane vreće. Svaki umetnik je predstavio drugačiju priču. Mislim da su gradovi zanimljivi kada su zaista kosmopolitski, u kojima koegzistiraju različite nacionalnosti, u kojima se različita iskustva dopunjavaju. Želeo sam da izložba bude konfrontirajuća. Naravno, nijedan umetnik nije bio prisutan u vreme Berlinske konferencije, ali sam želeo da okupim umetnike koji su istorijski na strani kolonizatora i one koji su na strani kolonizovanih kako bih sagledao njihovo promišljanje posledice.

GM: Kada pominjemo posledice Berlinske konferencije: Da li ste upoznati sa drugim komemoracijama ovog događaja, bilo da su one političke, bilo umetničke, službene bilo privatne?

SN: Mislio sam da će ih biti mnogo. Obično kada radim nešto, ne pratim da li je već nešto drugo urađeno kako to ne bi ometalo moje razmišljanje. Ali u svakom slučaju da je bilo značajnih događaja vezanih za komemoraciju, sigurno bih znao za njih.

GM: How did you select the artists?

BSBN: We needed to find people who understood the German context, and who were able to place this German context in a bigger, global narrative. The second thing was that we wanted to have a lot of non-Western people in order to create a critical dialogue. Because this is what *SAVVY* is about - creating the threshold between the West and the non-West. It is a place to meet and discuss.

SN: Most artists are from Berlin. Some are from Paris or other places; however, they did not all have to be German. We are all Berliners, but we are all 'nobodies'. There is a way to deal with 'nobodies'. First of all we wanted to give another portrait of Berlin by those who are living here and through these present social groups that differ from the standard image of Berlin as a place for easy living of white hipster crowds. Each of these artists is representing a different story. I think that capitals are interesting when they are really cosmopolitan cities, where you have different kind of nationalities; different kind of histories meeting each other. I wanted this to be confrontational, again. Of course none of the artists were present in Berlin at the time of the Berlin Congo Conference, so I wanted to have people who are historically on the side of the colonisers and people who are on the side of the colonised. Just to see how each and every one of them would look at the aftermath.

GM: Talking about the aftermath of the Berlin Congo Conference: are you aware of any other commemoration of that event, be it political or artistic, official or private?

SN: I would imagine there are many. But when I am doing something, I do not look so much at what is being done around me, because it might kill my thinking. But the very point is that if something important or major would have happened, I would have known.

BSBN: 2014. godina bila je prepuna komemoracija: 100 godina od početka Prvog svetskog rata, 70 godina Iskravanja u Normandiju koje je dovelo do okončanja Drugog svetskog rata, 25 godina od pada Berlinskog zida, ali ova Konferencija je u potpunosti ignorisana. Barem sa zvanične tačke gledišta, političari je nisu pomenuli, samo se nekoliko kulturnih projekata, kao što su pozorišne predstave pozabavilo ovom temom. Na samom početku, u novembru, štampa nije pisala o konferenciji. Tek su nedavno novinari počeli da pišu. Zahvaljujući izložbi *WSAB*, pojavilo se nekoliko novinskih kritika o konferenciji. Ovo je privukalo više posetilaca. Prošlog vikenda, u subotu i nedelju, 80 ljudi je pratilo vođenje kroz izložbu iako je bilo hladno, nema grejanja. 80 ljudi!

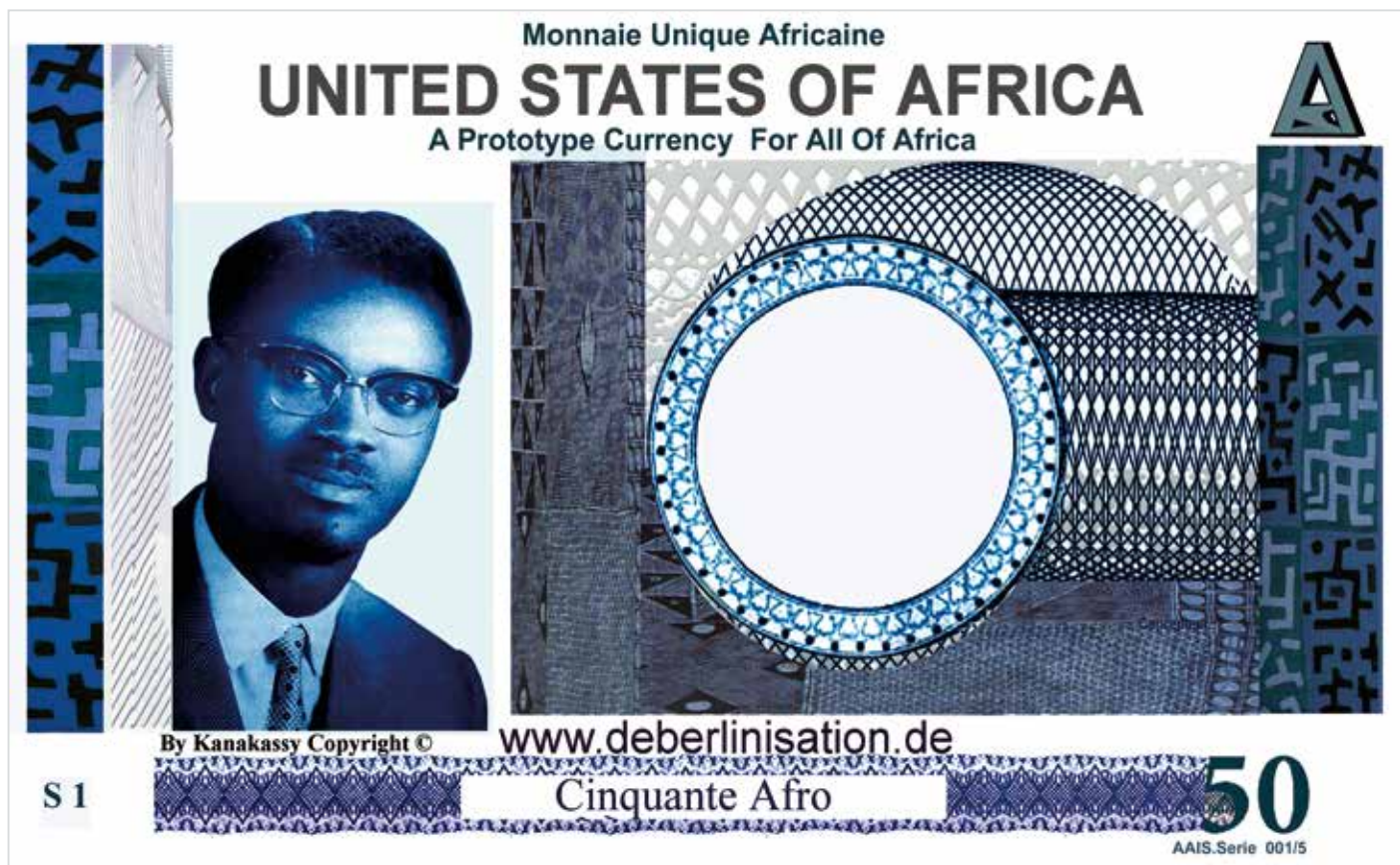
GM: Da li bi se radovi koje ste izabrali mogli podeliti u određene grupe ili kategorije? Na primer, da li se neki bave više kolonijalnom memorijom, dok drugi više promišljaju sadašnju situaciju koja proističe iz kolonijalizma?

BSBN: Mogli bismo ih kategorizovati. Teško bi bilo pomenuti svaki izloženi rad i staviti ga u preciznu kategoriju, ali ja ću pokušati da napravim određeni pregled. Započecu sa radovima koji tretiraju ekonomski aspekt kao Mansur Sis (*Mansour Ciss*) i njegov projekat *Laboratoire Deberlinisation*. Ova razigrana instalacija sačinjena od dokumenata je, u stvari, projekat koji traje više od deset godina i koji se eksplicitno bavi posledicama Berlinske konferencije i promišlja načine da se „deberlinizira” afrički kontinent preokretanjem realnosti direktno nasleđene od kolonijalizma. Mansur stavlja ekonomiju i finansijska pitanja u prvi plan, kao i poteškoće za afričke zemlje da stvore jaku ekonomiju zbog teritorijalne podele rezultata kolonijalizma i uticaja zapadnih zemlja na makroekonomskom planu. Predstavljajući dizajn za novčanicu afro (sl. 2), po uzoru na evro, on govori o ustanovljenju zajedničke valute i velikog unutrašnjeg tržišta na afričkom kontinentu. Jasno mu je da samo

BSBN: Everything was celebrated in 2014: 100 years of the start of the First World War, 70 years of the D-Day Landing in Normandy that brought the Second World War to an end, 25 years of the fall of the Berlin Wall, but the Berlin Congo Conference, to say it as bluntly as possible, was ignored, at least from an official point of view. There were no events that included politicians, only a few other cultural projects dealt with it, such as theatres. At the beginning, in November, the Berlin Congo Conference was ignored even by the press. Only recently newspapers started writing about it. To come to think of it, it is because of the exhibition *WSAB* at SAVVY. Journalists had to deal with the historical Berlin Congo Conference in their reviews. This attracted more visitors. You’ve got to see it! Last weekend, on Saturday and Sunday, we had eighty people come in – only for the guided tour. I mean, it is cold in here, there is no heating. Eighty people!

GM: The artworks you selected, could you put them in certain groups or categories? For example, are there some that deal more with colonial memory, whereas others engage more with the present situation that derives from colonialism?

BSBN: One could certainly break them down. It is difficult to mention every shown work or put a precise category on each, but I will try to give you an overview. I would start with some pieces that deal with the economical aspect. There I would mention somebody like Mansour Ciss with his *Laboratoire Déberlinisation*. This playful installation of documents he created is a project that he has been working on for more than ten years. It explicitly refers to the lasting aftermath of the Berlin Congo Conference and visualises ways to “de-Berlinize” the African continent by undoing realities directly inherited from colonialism. Mansour puts the economy - the financial issues - in the forefront, and the difficulties for African countries to create a strong economy because of the territorial partition resulting from colonialism and the influence Western countries still have on a macro-economical level. When he presents designs for the bank notes of the AFRO (ill. 2), modelled on the EURO, he talks



Sl. 2. Mansour Sis, *Laboratoire Déberlinisation*, 2001–2014, kombinovana tehnika, detalj predložene papirne novčanice od 50 afroa © Mansour Ciss

Ill. 2. Mansour Ciss, *Laboratoire Déberlinisation*, 2001–2014, Mixed Media, detail of a proposed 50 Afro bank note © Mansour Ciss

udruživanjem i stvaranjem jake ekonomske snage može da se krene napred. S tim u vezi, svima je jasno da današnja Afrika nije Evropa, može se razmišljati o tome zašto danas postoji evro, ali ne i afro. Istovremeno, jasno je da u procesu kolonizacije nije se radilo o civilizaciji, već kako da se opljačka što je više moguće.

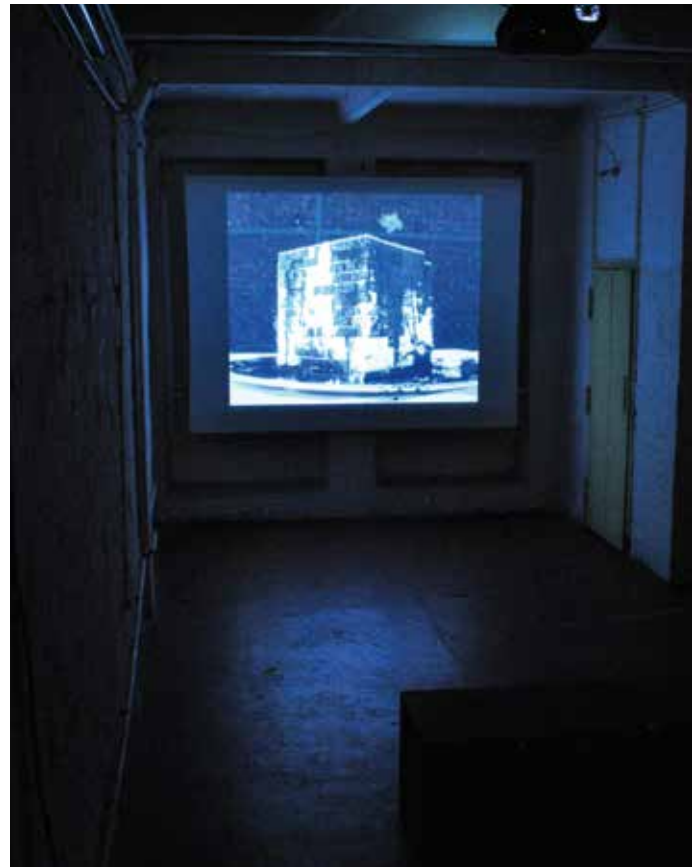
Video Kadera Atije (*Kader Attia*) *Oil and Sugar* #2 (sl. 3) kroz poetski pristup obrađuje ovu temu: bele šećerne kocke tope se pod pritiskom nafte koja se sliva na njih, simbolično dve pokretačke snage pretkolonijalnog i kolonijalnog procesa. Sa jedne strane, šećer kao jedan od motiva zbog kojeg su ljudi išli u Afriku u potrazi za ljudskom radnom snagom na planazama šećerne trske Novog kontinenta. Sa druge strane, nafta, jasno nam je šta se danas dešava.

about a joint currency and a larger inner market on the African continent. He makes it clear that it is only through this coming together, and creating a strong economic force, that you can stand up. On the other hand, everyone will easily see that nowadays Africa is not Europe and hopefully they will think about why there can be a EURO, but not an AFRO. And at the same time he makes it clear that the whole colonisation process was not about civilisation, it was about how to rip off Africa, as much as possible.

This is also what Kader Attia's video *Oil and Sugar* #2 (ill. 3) is about. It is a very poetical piece. You see this big stack of white sugar cubes that crumbles under the weight of oil being poured onto it, which basically insinuates the two driving forces behind pre-colonial and colonial processes. Sugar being one of the elements that made people go to Africa, pick up human beings and bring them as slaves to the New

Sl. 3. Kader Attia, *Oil and Sugar #2*, 2007, video © Chiara Cartuccia

Ill. 3. Kader Attia, *Oil and Sugar #2*, 2007, video © Chiara Cartuccia



Drugim setom eksponata prikazane su kolonijalna istorija i njena memorija. Video Filipa Sezara (*Filipa Césara*) *The Embassy* (sl. 4) prikazuje Armanda Lonu (*Armando Lona*) koji radi u Nacionalnom arhivu Gvineje Bisao, komentarišući fotografski album sa ručno napisanim legendama na portugalskom koji datira iz vremena kada je Gvineja Bisao bila portugalska kolonija 40-ih i 50-ih godina 20. veka. Reč je o direktnom sučeljavanju kolonijalne prošlosti i post-kolonijalne realnosti. Postoji više nivoa interpretacije, kojima se preispituje sam način „proizvodnje” memorije: privatni foto-album koji postaje svedočanstvo kolonijalnog iskustva i sam Nacionalni arhiv koji je koncipiran kao prostor kolektivnog sećanja za sve one koji žive u toj zemlji.

Iako s eksplicitnim osvrtom na Berlinsku konferenciju, želeli smo da izložba ne bude isključivo o kolonijalizaciji Afrike, već da uključi globalnije perspektive. Ovakav pristup je predstavljao izazov za neke pose-

World to work on the plantations - sugar cane plantations. And the other one is oil; we all know what is happening today.

A second set of exhibits addresses colonial history itself and the memories related to it. There you would have: Filipa César's video *The Embassy* (ill. 4). It shows the journalist Armando Lona, who works at the National Archives of Guinea-Bissau, commenting on a photo album, with hand written legends that a Portuguese compiled in Guinea-Bissau while it was still a Portuguese colony in the 1940s and 1950s. It is about the direct confrontation of the colonial past and the post-colonial present-day reality. And then there are even more layers to it because it questions the modes of memory production: here you have a photo album, that is supposed to capture a colonial experience for future reference in a private setting. It is stored in the National Archive which is designed as the storage room of a collective memory, intended for



Sl. 4. Filipa Sezar, *The Embassy*, 2011, video © Filipa César

Ill. 4. Filipa César, *The Embassy*, 2011, video © Filipa César

tioce pokrenuvši diskusiju o tome zašto smo uključili radove Sača Hoyta (*Satch Hoyt*) i Sirila Lahauera (*Cyrill Lachauer*) koji se bave japanskom kolonijalizacijom Azije ili, pak, zapadnom kolonijalizacijom Amerike. Želeli smo da izađemo iz evroafričkih okvira kako bismo jasno pokazali da je kolonijalizam postojao širom sveta.

GM: Među radovima u kojima se autori bave kolonijalnom istorijom, čini mi se da je instalacija Bili Bidoke (*Bili Bidjocka*) *Dis-ambiguation (Do Not Take It, Do Not Eat It, This Is Not My Body...)* (sl. 5) veoma interesantna. Sastoji se od 13 ploča postavljenih kao „Poslednja večera”. Nismo pomenuili versku dimenziju kolonijalizma. Da li biste rekli da je to, između ostalog, kritika verskih argumenata koji su opravdavali i podsticali kolonijalizam? Evropski hrišćani su često govorili: „Ti divljaci, moramo ih

everyone living in the country.

Even with its explicit reference to the Berlin Congo Conference, we did not want this exhibition to be only about colonialism in Africa, but to open this issue to an even more global perspective. This was a challenge for some visitors and there were a lot of discussions on why we included works by Satch Hoyt and Cyrill Lachauer who address Japanese colonialism in Asia or the Western colonisation of the Americas. We wanted to move beyond the Euro-African axis to make it clear that colonialism existed all over the world.

GM: Among the works addressing colonial history, I find Bili Bidjocka's installation *Dis-ambiguation (Do Not Take It, Do Not Eat It, This Is Not My Body...)* (ill. 5) very interesting. It consists of thirteen plates arranged like the “Last Supper”. We have not talked yet about the religious dimension of colonialism. Would you say that this is, among other things, a critique of the religious arguments legitimizing and driving colonialism? The European Christians always said: “These savages, we have got to bring them civ-



Sl. 5. Bili Bidjocka, *Dis-ambiguation (Do Not Take It, Do Not Eat It, This Is Not My Body...)*, 2012, instalacija sa 13 štampanih keramičkih ploča © Chiara Cartuccia

Ill. 5. Bili Bidjocka, *Dis-ambiguation (Do Not Take It, Do Not Eat It, This Is Not My Body...)*, 2012, installation with 13 printed ceramic plates © Chiara Cartuccia

civilizovati, moramo preuzeti kontrolu nad njihovim zemljama kako bismo ih preobratali u hrišćanstvo, pogledajte samo njihove paganske rituale u kojima ovi kanibali jedu jedni druge.” Nasuprot tome, najvažniji hrišćanski ritual sastoji se u ispijanju i primanju krvi i tela Hristovog.

BSBN: Vrlo dobro ste to zapazili. Rad takođe aludira na odsecanje delova tela, svi znamo za kralja Leopolda koji je odsecao ruke ljudima koji nisu želeli da rade na njegovoj koloniji u Kongu. Postoji toliko različitih perspektiva sagledavanja. Samim naslovom *This is Not My Body* autor pokušava da se distancira, kao savremenik iz čitave složenosti, to je značajna kritika crnačkog tela, njegove upotrebe, njegove objektivizacije, što je veoma vidljivo u marketinškoj i muzičkoj industriji. Postoji toliko različitih načina sagledavanja.

GM: Dakle, na ovoj izložbi kombinovani su različiti slojevi istorije, od kolonijalnih vremena do savremenih situacija.

ilisation, we have got to take control of their lands in order to convert them to Christianity, just look at their pagan rituals in which these cannibals eat each other up.” But then the fundamental Christian ritual is to drink Jesus Christ’s blood and to eat his flesh.

BSBN: Very good, very well seen. He also alludes to the chopping off of body parts; we all remember King Leopold cutting off the hands of people who did not want to work in his colony in Congo. But you can look at it also in so many different perspectives. With the title *This is Not My Body* he is also trying to distance himself, as a contemporary, from the whole complexity of colonialism. He is expressing a huge critique of the black body, of its usage and its objectification, which you see prominently in the advertisements and music industry. There are just so many perspectives.

GM: So this is a work that really combines the different layers of history, from the colonial times to the present situation.

BSBN: Da. I to nas uvodi u treću kategoriju radova na izložbi koja preispituje današnju realnost društava koja su nekada bila kolonijalne sile. *Meinstein* Nadije Kabi-Linke (*Nadia Kaabi-Linke*) je dokumentacija umetničkog projekta koji je započeo pre nekoliko meseci u javnom prostoru, postavljanjem kamenih kvadratnih ploča u kaldrmu, nedaleko od *SAVVY* centra. Radi se o nevidljivom mapiranju, kamene ploče su generisane algoritmom koji odražava društvenu raznolikost savremenog Njokelna. Ili projekat *Paradise* Tabisa Sekgala (*Thabiso Sekgal*), serija fotografija snimljenih u Nemačkoj i u zemljama iz kojih mnogi emigriraju kako bi se naselili u Nemačku dovedeći u pitanje pojam Zapada kao navodne obećane zemlje za migrante.

SN: U ovu kategoriju uključeni su i radovi o neonacizmu.

BSBN: Tačno. Video Henrike Nauman (*Henrike Naumann*) *Triangular Stories* (sl. 6) je fikcija o mladim pripadnicima najistaknutije desničarske terorističke grupe NSU, nacionalsocijalističkog podzemlja.

Njihova suđenja, koja su još uvek u toku, pokrenula su ogromnu debatu, tajni policijski agenati bili su infiltrirani u ove dobro organizovane strukture ali ih nisu zaustavili niti su obavestili novinare o njihovim aktivnostima. Dakle, kada su pripadnici NSU-a u pucnjavama ili bombaškim napadima ubijali emigrante, mediji su o tome izveštavali kao o sukobima emigrantskih kriminalnih organizacija, svaljujući krivicu na strance kao uzročnike problema u Nemačkoj dodatno otežavajući situaciju porodica koje su izgubile svoje najmilije ali i izvore prihoda, pošto su NSU posebno ciljali i uništavali male porodične firme. Bile su potrebne godine dok istina nije izašla na videlo otkrivajući ideologiju ovih napada, njihov nasilni rasistički karakter. Kada pogledate PEGIDU² i opštu ksenofobiju u Nemačkoj kroz antiislamske demonstracije, sasvim je jasna naša teza da je za razumevanje onoga što se dešava danas potrebno razumeti šta se desilo te 1884. godine. Kao posledica kolonijalizma i uspostavljanja hijerarhije moći između „nas”

BSBN: Yes. And this brings me to a third category of works in the exhibition that brings the perspective back into the present-day reality of society that used to be a colonial power. Nadia Kaabi-Linke's *Meinstein* is the result of an art project that she installed a few months ago in the public space by putting a pattern of cobble stones into the pavement of a square just a few meters away from *SAVVY*. This is about an invisible mapping. The pattern of stones was generated by an algorithm processing data reflecting the social diversity of contemporary Neukölln. Or you have Thabiso Sekgala with *Paradise*, a series of photographs taken both in Germany and countries from which many people have left to settle in Germany, questioning the notion of the West as a supposed paradise for migrants.

SN: In this same category of present-day reality you have the work dealing with neo-Nazism.

BSBN: Exactly. Henrike Naumann made a fictional video *Triangular Stories* (ill. 6) about what she imagined was the youth of the three most prominent members of a right wing terrorist group called NSU, the National-Socialist Underground.

Their trials are still on-going and have unleashed huge discussions, due to a very well organised structure, that was infiltrated by undercover police agents; however this did not stop them or bring their activity to the press. So when the NSU killed migrants in shootings or bombing attacks, the media were assuming that these were in-wars between criminal migrant organisations, almost blaming the foreigners for bringing trouble into Germany and thus putting extra hardship on the families who lost their beloved ones and their source of income, as the NSU especially targeted and destroyed small businesses. It took years until the truth came out that the ideology behind these attacks was plain violent racism. And the thesis which we suggest, which is really not that senseless, is that you cannot understand what happened or what happens today, for example when you look at PEGIDA,² channelling the general xenophobia in Germany into anti-Islam demonstrations they organize across

Sl. 6. Henrike Nauman, *Triangular Stories*, 2012, video © Henrike Naumann

Ill. 6. Henrike Naumann, *Triangular Stories*, 2012, video © Henrike Naumann



i „njih”, oblikovan je diskurzivni skup ideja koji se održao do danas. Uprkos promenama, slika stranca, kao nekoga ko nije autohtoni stanovnik Nemačke, još uvek je puna rasističkih predrasuda, kako u medijima, tako i u državnim institucijama, u glavama mnogih. Ponavljam se kada kažem da je ovo nešto što smo želeli da pokažemo sa *WSAB* izložbom: posledice kolonijalizma nisu samo vidljive u društvima koja su kolonizovana već i u društvima koja su kolonijalizovala.

GM: Zaista ste prešli dosta dug put. Ali da li postoje radovi koji se direktno bave istorijskom konferencijom koja je održana 1884–85 u Berlinu?

SN: Ako bih napravio nešto u direktnoj vezi sa Konferencijom, bila bi to čista fikcija. Govoreći ovo, mislim da fikcija može biti čak verodostojnija. Konfe-

the country, if you do not understand what happened in 1884. Because of colonialism and the power hierarchy it installed between the “us” and “them”, a discursive set of ideas could take shape and this lasts until today. Despite changes, since the end of colonialism, this image of the foreigner, of the one not indigenous to the German soil, is still full of racist prejudices, in the media as well as in the state institutions or in the minds of many people. I repeat myself when I say that this is something we wanted to show with *WSAB*: The effects colonisation had, not only on the societies that were colonised, but also on the societies that did the colonisation.

GM: You really went quite a long way. But are there any works dealing directly with the historical Berlin Congo Conference that took place in 1884–85 in Berlin?

SN: If I were doing something directly related to the Berlin Congo Conference it would have been pure fiction. Saying this, I think that fiction can be more

rencija je bila polazište moje imaginacije. Dosta se bavim tografijom. Ono što mislim da je presudno kod fotografije je tačka gledišta: Ti si tamo, mi smo ovde. Ali šta god da se dešava iza mojih leđa, ja ne mogu da vidim. Šta god da se dešava iza tvojih leđa, ti ne možeš da vidiš – ali ja mogu da vidim. Dakle, svi smo bili prisutni ali nemamo isti stav. U mom govoru o diskurzivnom programu *WSAB* govorio sam čak o tački vremena (*point of time*). Zato što je tačka gledišta uslovljena vremenom, memorijom emigranta, neemigrant ne može imati identično gledište kao emigrant. Smatram da je kustos u isto vreme kompozitor i dirigent. Želeo sam da stvorim neku vrstu simfonije, ali disonantne simfonije koja će uspostaviti novu vrstu muzike, savremenu muziku.

GM: Muzičari orkestra koje ste selektovali su istovremeno afričkog i neafričkog porekla. Kada razgovaramo o ovome, šta mislite o značaju etikete „afrička umetnosti” sa kulturne, političke, komercijalne tačke gledišta? Simon, Vi ste bili kustos izložbe *Africa Remix*. Šta po Vama predstavlja „afrička umetnosti”?

SN: Mislim da je to uobičajeno sredstvo. A pošto ste to spomenuli, ono što je važno za *Africa Remix* nije Afrika, već Remix. Uvek su me zasmijavali oni koji govore o autentičnosti, o realnosti i tako dalje. Šta god se misli o Africi, kakva god da je ona bila veoma davno, to više ne postoji. Ne predstavlja mi problem upotreba tog termin jer on ne znači mnogo.

BSBN: Kada se govori o etiketama: one su namenjene za prodaju u okviru kapitalističke ekonomije, ali takođe služe za promovisanje, u okviru ekonomije informacija; mejnstrim časopisi, čak i oni kritički orijentisani, ne pišu o umetnosti sa kontinenta niti dijaspore. Nemačke novine pisale su jedan jedini put o afričkoj umetnosti tokom Svetskog prvenstva u Južnoafričkoj Republici i kada je Angola osvojila

trustworthy. The Berlin Congo Conference would be the starting point for my imagination. I am dealing a lot with photography. What I believe is crucial about photography is the point of view: You are there; we are here. Whatever is happening behind my back, I cannot see. Whatever is happening behind your back, you cannot see – but I can. So we are all present and still we do not have the same point of view. In my keynote in the discursive programme of *WSAB* I even talked about the point of time, because the point of view is informed by time which is informed by the memories of a migrant. You as a non-migrant cannot read the same thing the same way I read it. And I always consider curating as being both a composer and a conductor. So I was interested in creating a music that would make some kind of a symphony, but a dissonant symphony that would bring up a new kind of music, contemporary music.

GM: The musicians you selected for the orchestra where both from Africa or African backgrounds and non-African backgrounds. As we talk about this mix of the artists' backgrounds, what do you think about the importance of the label “African art”, culturally, politically, commercially, whatever? Simon, you did the exhibition *Africa Remix*. What is this label - “African Art”?

SN: I think it's been the usual tool. And since you mention it, what is important in *Africa Remix* is not Africa, it's the Remix. I always laugh at people who talk about authenticity, reality and so forth. Whatever people thought about Africa, whatever Africa was a very, very long time ago, does not exist anymore. I have no problem using that term because it does not mean much.

BSBN: Talking about labels: they are meant for selling, which is an issue of capitalist economics, but they are also meant for promoting, which is an issue of the economics of information, because the mainstream journals, even the critical ones, do not write about art from the Continent and its diaspora. The only time German papers wrote something about art from the Continent was during the World Cup in South Africa,

Zlatnog lava za najbolji paviljon na Bijenalu umetnosti u Veneciji 2013. godine. Postoji potreba da se stvori platforma koja bi se fokusirala na teorijska pitanja. Hajde da pričamo o teorijama. Teorije postoje od pamtiveka na afričkom kontinentu i tumačene su u mnogim medijima. Važno je prevesti ih u pisanu formu i širiti, što su već neki uradili, posebno Okwi Enwezor (*Okwui Enwezor*) i *NKA Journal of Contemporary African Art* ili Simon Ndžami sa *Revue Noire*. Treba nastaviti u ovom pravcu.

SN: Jedan od načina korišćenja etikete „afričke umetnosti” je njena ponovna rekontekstualizacija. Trenutno se u SCAD Muzeju u Savani, Džordžiji, održava izložba *Divine Comedy*.³ Pogled afričkih umetnika na Dantea, bez obzira na samu definiciju. Mislim da etiketiranje može da posluži kao zamka. Sećam se čoveka koji mi je rekao u vreme *Afrika Remiksa* u Parizu: „Zar to nije apsolutno afrički šou?” Da li ovaj čovek uopšte ima predstavu o afričkoj umetnosti? On nema pojma o afričkoj umetnosti.

GM: Otvoreni status definicije afričke umetnosti nije oduvek bio slučaj, pogotovo ne u međuratnim godinama 20. veka. Kada pogledate Harlem renesansu⁴ sa *The New Negro*, imate ilustracije Arona Dagleasa (*Aaron Douglas*). U Francuskoj, pokret Negritid (*Négritude*)⁵ sa Luisom Tomasom Ahileom (*Louis Thomas Achille*), koji je pisao o jedinstvenosti afričkog umetničkog izražavanja.⁶ Dakle, oni su smatrali da je njihova umetnost drugačija, u formalnom smislu, od ostale umetnosti, jer je afrička umetnosti.

SN: Ne mora da znači. Ja ne mislim da je umetnost bila drugačija. Njena ontologija je bila drugačija. Oni su tada mislili da umetnost mora da bude korisna i da treba da ima jasnu političku poruku. Ako pogledate „New Negroes”, koji dolaze nakon *The Soul of Black Folks* od Du Bojza (*Du Bois*), Harlemsku renesansu, svi ovi pokreti su imali cilj da se dokaže da je osoba afričkog porekla, crnačke puti ljudsko biće kao i svi ostali. Raseljeni u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, gde postoji segregacija, nasleđe ropstva,

and when Angola won the Golden Lion for the best pavilion in Venice in 2013. I feel the necessity to create a platform to focus on theoretical matter. Let’s talk about theories. In the African continent theories have already existed since time immemorial and have been interpreted in so many other mediums. Now it is only about putting them into writing and disseminating them, which people have already done and have been doing for quite a while now, notably Okwui Enwezor with *NKA Journal of Contemporary African Art* or Simon Njami here with the *Revue Noire*, and many others before them. We just have to keep this going.

SN: The way to use the label “African art” is to re-contextualize it, to reload it. And the show that we have right now at the SCAD Museum in Savannah, Georgia, is the *Divine Comedy*.³ Dante revisited by African artists, whatever the definition of that is. I mean, this label is very useful because you can trap people. I remember somebody telling me at *Africa Remix* in Paris: “Isn’t that absolutely an African show?” Does this guy have any idea of African art? He has no idea of African art.

GM: This open status of a definition of African art has not always been the case, especially not in the interwar years of the 20th century. The Harlem Renaissance⁴ was championing *The New Negro* with its illustrations by Aaron Douglas. In France, you had the Négritude movement⁵ with Louis Thomas Achille who wrote about the uniqueness of African artistic expression.⁶ So it seems that those people shared the idea that their art is different, in a formalist way, from the rest of the art, because it is African art.

SN: Not necessarily. I do not think their art was different. The ontology of it was different. People back in the days thought that art had to be useful and should have a clear political message. If you look at the “New Negroes” that came after *The Soul of Black Folks* by Du Bois, the Harlem Renaissance, all these movements have an aim to prove that the black person or the African person was a human just like any other. Then, when you are displaced to the United States, you have segregation, you are coming out of

za šta se zalažete? Za sopstevnu memoriju, za svoj afrikanizam, ali naravno sećanje je fantazija. To je isto kao i oni koji koriste „Mother Africa” kao zajedničku referenca, iako više nisu Afrikanci. Pogledajte samo naslove njihovih umetničkih radova, „Crna Brća”, „Lanci ovoga i onoga”, sve je to direktna reakcija na sistem sa kojim se sučeljavaju. Umetnost je bila način konstruisanja memorije više na senzitivnom nego na objektivnom nivou. Umetnost je shvaćena kao sredstvo i oružje. I danas je umetnost sredstvo i oružje, ali bitka u kojoj umetnici učestvuju nije više ista.

BSBN: Postoji sjajan intervju Mantije Diavare (*Manthia Diawara*) i Eduara Glisana (*Édouard Glissant*).⁷ Parafraziraću. Mantija ga je pitao: Šta mislite o negritid pokretu? Eduar Glisan je odgovorio: Znate, danas, to ne bi imalo smisla, ali je u rasističkim vremenima bilo izuzetno važno da se ljudi okupe i dokažu svoju razliku: to su naše vrednosti, to su naše umetničke forme, to su naši jezici i mi moramo da uradimo to na ovaj način. Udruživali bismo se kako bismo postali snažniji. Danas, ovakvi stavovi su izraženi na mnogo suptilniji način, svesni različitosti svake geografske zajednice, za razliku od ideja pokreta Négritude u kojem se mislilo da su svi ljudi crnačke puti širom sveta identični i da se suočavaju sa istim problemima. Glisan kaže, u istom intervjuu, da ne postoje relacije bez razlika. Odnosi su napravljeni od mnogo malih razlika. Ako eliminišete razlike, gubite odnose. Važno je biti svestan toga.

GM: Zbog toga je verovatno važno uspostaviti zajedničku memoriju.

SN: Pre bih rekao da se radi o „memoriji u pregovoru”, jer je sećenje uvek lično i ne može se deliti. Postoji ono što nazivamo „istorija”, u okviru nje istorijske studije.

GM: Kada govorimo o istorijskim studijama, odnosno narativima, vratimo se izloženim radovima. Na koji način gledate na razlike u recepciji? Mis-

slavery, what do you claim? You claim a memory, you claim your Africanity, but of course this memory is a fantasy. It is the same thing as when people were using “Mother Africa” as a common reference, because they were not African anymore. Just look at the titles of their art works: *Black Brothers* and *The Chain of This and That*, it was directly coming from a reaction to the system they were facing. Art was a way of rebuilding a memory and this is more sensitive than objective. Art was a tool and a weapon. Nowadays, art is still a tool and a weapon, but the war that artists have to fight is not exactly the same anymore.

BSBN: There is this brilliant interview between Manthia Diawara and Édouard Glissant.⁷ I’m paraphrasing. Manthia asked Édouard: so what do you think about the Négritude movement? And Édouard said: You know, today, it might not necessarily make sense, but it was good for people in these highly racialized times to come together and prove a difference - these are our values, these are our art forms, these are our languages, and we do have to do it this way. So it was about becoming a force to reckon with. Today, these positions are expressed in a more nuanced ways, more conscious of the diversities of each geographic community, as opposed to the idea latent in Négritude thinking that black people are the same all over the world and thus face exactly the same problems. We should not make mistakes about that. And Glissant, in this same interview, says there is no relation without differences. Relations are made out of many small differences. But eliminate the differences and you do not have relations. It is important to be aware of that.

GM: This is probably why it is important to have a shared memory.

SN: I would rather say this is a “negotiated memory”, because memory is always personal and cannot be shared. You have a thing called “history”, and within that history, you have studies.

GM: Talking about historical studies, or rather essays, let’s look again at the exhibits. What about the different receptions? I think about Sammy Baloji’s



Sl.7. Sami Balodži, *Mémoire*, 2006, fotografija, srednji panel triptiha
© Chiara Cartuccia

Ill. 7. Sammy Baloji, *Mémoire*, 2006, photo print, middle panel from a triptych
© Chiara Cartuccia

lim konkretno na triptih Samija Balodžija (*Sammy Baloji*) *Mémoire* (sl. 7), koji problematizuje različitost u osećanjima ljudi koji su živeli u Zairu ili Kongu. Na centralnom panelu prikazan je, u pozadini, ruinirani industrijski predeo iz doba belgijske uprave Kongom, fabrike u kojima su obrađivani resursi iz Konga koji su se isporučivali i prodavali u Belgiji i Evropi, dok su lokalni radnici, koji su prikazani na drugom panela u njihovim kolonijalnim radnim uniformama, dobijali smešno male plate. Ispred ovih ruševina primećujemo, u kolažu, Mobutu kako stoji pored jednog belca u poslovnom odelu gledajući prema ruiniranim fabrikama.

SN: Agenti.

GM: U vreme kolonijalizma stvari su bile veoma jasan: belci kolonizatori iskorišćavali su crnce koji tamo žive. Posle sticanja nezavisnosti, nekadašnji kolonizatori zadržali su ekonomsku moć, koju zastupa predstavljeni belac u poslovnom odelu...

tryptich, *Mémoire* (ill. 7), which seems to address so many different layers of feelings from people living in Zaire or Congo. Especially in the central picture where you have this ruined industrial landscape in the background from the times of the Belgian Congo. Factories where resources from the Congo were processed to be shipped and sold in Belgium and Europe, while the local workers, who are shown in their colonial work uniforms on another of the three panels, got ridiculously small wages. In front of these remnants and glancing at them, there is Mobutu collaged in, standing next to some white guy in a suit.

SN: Agents.

GM: During the colonial days, things were very clear: you had the white colonisers exploiting the black people living there. After independence, the former colonisers still had the economic power, represented by the white guy in a suit...

SN: ...koji još uvek vladaju.

GM: ...koji još uvek vladaju, ali eksploataciju vrše...

SN: Zaposlili su neke. Oni i dalje vladaju u potpunosti.

GM: Kako eksploatisani gledaju na njihove zemljake crne puti zaposlene sa Zapada, koji ne dele prihode od eksploatacije sa eksploatisanim?

SN: Ja ne mislim da je ovo stvar kulture. Pogledajte šta se desilo sa onima koji su pokušali da zaista promene stanje u svojim zemljama posle okončanja kolonizacije. Tomas Sankara (*Thomas Sankara*) u Burkini Faso ili, pošto govorite o Kongu, bivšem Zairu, šta se desilo Patrisu Lumumbi (*Patrice Lumumba*). Obojica su ubijeni. Postoje snage koje programiraju politički pejzaž Afrike. Kao Veliki Brat, kao anonimni kapital koji vlada celim svetom, te snage pažljivo biraju svoje zaposlene.

BSBN: Smatram da je sve ovo vrlo jasno. Postoji kolonijalizam. Postoji neka vrsta neokolonijalizma; Kwame Nkrumah (*Kwame Nkrumah*) je prilično lepo pisao o njemu⁸, govoreći da je još opasniji od kolonijalizma. Težište se pomera od rase ka klasi. Nepotizam se odigrava na različitim nivoima. Mobutu je bio strašan despot. Došao je na vlast nasilno i svgnut je nasilno. To se mora osuditi, ali mislim da intelektualno razumemo šta se dešava. Zar ne? Istorijski je vrlo jasno šta se desilo.

SN: Apsolutno. Dolazim iz Kameruna, tamo je bio rat o kojem niko ne govori, borci za slobodu su se borili protiv Francuza i poraženi su, Francuzi su mogli da postave koga god su hteli. Čovek koji vlada današnjim Kamerunom, Pol Bija (*Paul Biya*), bio je premijer prethodnog vladara koga su postavili Francuzi, Ahmadua Ahidžoa (*Ahmadou Ahidjo*). U suštini, postojala su samo dva predsednika u Kamerunu: ovaj drugi je bio premijer prvog. Pogledajte Obalu Slonovače. Kada je došlo do građanskih ratova 2002. i 2011. godine, Francuska se pojavila da uspostavi

SN: ...who is still ruling.

GM: ...who is still ruling, but the exploitation is done by...

SN: They have some employees. They are still ruling the whole thing.

GM: How is it for the people exploited by fellow black countrymen who are Western employees and who do not share the revenue of the exploitation with the exploited?

SN: I do not think this is a matter of culture. Look at what happened to those who tried to really change the game in their countries after the end of colonisation. Thomas Sankara in Burkina Faso. Look, since you're talking about the former Zaire and the new Congo, what happened to Patrice Lumumba. Both were assassinated. There are forces that program the political landscape of Africa. Like a Big Brother, like the anonymous capital that is ruling the whole world, and these forces are carefully selecting their employees.

BSBN: What I see is a very clear thing. There is colonialism. Then there is a kind of neo-colonialism; Kwame Nkrumah wrote quite beautifully about it⁸; saying that it is even more dangerous than colonialism. It goes from race to class. And favouritism goes lots of different ways. Mobutu was a terrible despot. He came by the gun and he died by the gun. We have to condemn this, but I think we do understand intellectually what is happening, right? Historically it is very clear what happened.

SN: Absolutely. I come from Cameroun. There has been a war in Cameroun that nobody talks about. Freedom fighters who fought the French army were defeated, so the French could place whomever they wanted to in rule. And the guy who is ruling Cameroun right now, Paul Biya, was a prime minister of the other guy who was put in by the French, Ahmadou Ahidjo. Essentially there have been only two presidents in Cameroun; the second has been the prime minister of the first. Look at Ivory Coast. When there were civil wars in 2002 and 2011, the French came

red. Pogledajte Mali ili Centralnoafričku Republiku i njihove poslednje građanske sukobe. Francuska i dalje ima svoje trupe na terenu. Tokom ovog veka vlada Roberta Mugabea (*Robert Mugabe*) u Zimbabveu započela je reparticiju zemljišta i eksproprijaciju privatnog vlasništva, u kojoj su mnogi uočili nepotizam i korupciju, ali Velika Britanija je odmah proglasila sankcije kako bi zaštitila imovinu belih farmara koji još uvek poseduju ogroman deo zemlje iz kolonijalnih vremena. Isto je i sa naftnim kompanijama kao što su *Shell*, *BP* i *Total* koje odlučuju ko će upravljati proizvodnjom ulja. Potrebni su pravi ljudi kako bi pokrenuli promene. Ali, problem je što živimo u globalizovanom svetu rukovođenom kapitalističkim principima i veoma je malo ovih ljudi. Potrebni su hrabri ljudi, mislim da je verovatnije naći ih u umetnosti nego u politici, ljudi koji se ne plaše da napuste svoje sigurne zone i suprotstave se svemu onome čemu se treba suprotstaviti.

BSBN: Rečiću sada nešto radikalno: tek kada Zapad dignu ruke od Konga, možemo da govorimo o svemu ovome. Kada ste već pomenuli Mobutu, u trenutku kada ga je Loran Kabila (*Laurent Kabila*) svrgnuo sa vlasti, nova vlast još nije bila uspostavljena. Američka državna sekretarka Medlin Olbrajt (*Madeleine Albright*) doletela je u Kongo kako bi potpisala ugovore o resursima. Ko još potpisuje ugovore sa pobunjenicima!? Koliko god ljudi želeli da Kabila preuzme vlast i da Mobutu ode, kako je moguće da jedna zemlja pošalje svoje diplomate da potpišu ugovore sa pobunjenicima pre nego što su oni uopšte postavljeni na vlasti? I to se nastavlja do danas. Tek kada Zapad dignu ruke od Konga, možemo da razgovaramo. Sve do tada ljudi će biti manipulisani, a ljudskim bićem je veoma lako manipulirati. Postoji lepa pesma *The Monkey*, Mutabaruke (*Mutabaruka*), pesnika i muzičara iz Jamajke, u kojoj on priča o Darvinovoj teoriji po kojoj čovek vodi poreklo od majmuna, dajući kao primere stvari koje majmuni ne bi nikada uradili jedni drugima za razliku od ljudi. Dakle, ne vređajmo majmune! Mi ljudi smo užasna bića, treba da budemo svesni toga.

to put everything in order. Look at Mali or the Central African Republic and its recent civil wars. The French came and still have their troops on the ground. In the 2000s, the government of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe was going for a repartition of land and expropriation of private property, in which many saw nepotism and corruption, but Britain immediately put up sanctions and pressure to protect the property of white farmers who still held enormous portions of land from the colonial times. It is the same with oil companies like Shell, BP or Total, that are deciding who is ruling oil producing countries. It takes some real people to change all these things. But the problem is that we are living in a globalized world with capitalist concerns, and the margins of all those people are very, very small. It would take some really courageous men, and I think we are more likely to find them in art than in politics, people who would come out of their comfort zone and confront whatever has to be confronted.

BSBN: I am going to say something radical: as soon as the West takes its hands off Congo, then we can start talking about all that. Talking about Mobutu, because you mentioned him, when he was kicked out of power by Laurent Kabila, they had not even taken over the country, the US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright flew over to Congo to sign contracts for resources. Signing contracts with the rebels!? As much as people wanted Kabila to get into power and Mobutu to leave, how can a country send diplomats to sign contracts with rebels before they even got into power? And it continues even today. As soon as the West takes its hands off Congo we can start talking. Because until then people are manipulated, and the human being is the least of all beings, it can be so easily manipulated by whatever. There is a beautiful poem, *The Monkey*, by Mutabaruka, the Jamaican poet and musician, where he talks about Darwin's theory according to which humans are descended from monkeys, and Mutabaruka gives examples in his poem of things that monkeys would not do to each other but that humans constantly do. So don't insult the monkeys! We humans are horrible beings, we should be aware of that.

GM: Želeo bih da čujem vaše misljenje o muzejima afričke umetnosti. U prvim decenijama kolonijalizma slika života u Africi predstavljena je zapadnoj publici kroz kolonijalne izložbe, zabave na sajmovima, ljudske zoološke vrtove, banalno ilustrovane avanturističke knjige ili druge senzacionističke događaje komercijalnog karaktera koji su donosili profit organizatorima. Muzeji su, nasuprot tome, među prvim institucijama kulture pokušali sa više ozbiljnosti da predstavljaju umetničku i duhovnu delatnost tog kontinenta evropskoj publici – očigledno sa vrlo različitim rezultatima.

U svom video-radu *Into the Interior (The last day of a permanent exhibition)* beogradska umetnica Katarina Zdjelar dokumentuje demontiranje stalne postavke u Kraljevskom muzeju za centralnu Afriku u Tervurenu, Belgiji, koji će biti kompletno renoviran i redizajniran. Pre zatvaranja, krajem 2013, postavka je bila više-manje identična onoj iz vremena otvaranja 1898. godine. Pri poseti ovom muzeju, šta je interesantnije: Doživeti direktno iskustvo kako je Zapad predstavljao Afriku kreirajući propagandu sliku na vrhuncu kolonijalizma ili, pak, sve potpuno izbrisati, kako se to upravo radi?

BSBN: To je veoma kompleksno pitanje. Oba pristupa su moguća. Može se sačuvati kao antikviteta kako bi bio gledan. Međutim, isto je kao i sa jezikom i upotrebom reči. Neko će reći da je važno sačuvati knjige u kojima se koristi reč „crnja” kako bi se pokazalo da su one bili uobičajene u upotrebi u to vreme. One su svedočanstvo svog vremena, kao što je i ovaj muzej svedočanstvo svog vremena. Ali ima mnogo drugih stvari koje se dešavaju tamo. Omalovažavanje drugih ljudi, vređanje, nepoštovanje i rasizam. Dakle, treba izvagati: Čuva se nešto kao antikviteta, svedočanstvo prošlog vremena, dok se nastavlja sa omalovažavanjem ljudi? To je pravo pitanje na koje vam ne mogu dati odgovor.

GM: I would also like to hear you talk about museums of African art. In the first decades of colonialism, the image of life in Africa was presented to Westerners through colonial exhibitions, entertainment troupes at fairs, human zoos, cheap illustrated adventure books or other sensationalist and distorting entertainment produced for the commercial benefit of the organisers. Museums, on the other hand, have been one of the first cultural institutions trying to present with more seriousness the artistic and spiritual activity of that continent to European audiences – obviously with very mixed results.

In her video *Into the Interior (The last day of a permanent exhibition)*, Belgrade-born artist Katarina Zdjelar documents the de-installation of the permanent exhibition at the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren, Belgium, that will undergo a complete renovation and redesign. Until it was closed at the end of 2013, it was more or less the same display since they opened in 1898. Visiting such a place, what is more interesting? Seeing a firsthand experience of how the West was presenting Africa and by that giving a propagandistic image of what they were doing at the height of colonialism? Or is it better to completely redo it like they're doing now?

BSBN: Well, it is a very complex question. Both sides could work. You could keep it as an antique to be looked at. On the other hand, it is the same discourse with language, when you are using words. You could argue by saying let us keep these books using the word “Nigger” to show that they were common use at a time. They are a testimony of their time, just as this museum is a testimony of its time. But there are a lot of other things going on in there, too. There is a lot of denigrating of other people, a lot of insulting other people, there is a lot of disrespect and racism. So it is about weighing: do you keep something for antique purposes just to be able to see how it was at that time while continuing to denigrate people? That is the question. I cannot answer it.

GM: A ako biste bili primorani?

BSBN: Zapalimo prokletu stvar.

SN: Mislim da muzej treba da ostane muzej. Hoću reći, može se proširiti, da postane i sam izložbeni ek-sponat, pozivati umetnike, postavka ne menja ništa. U Parizu smo imali Muzej kolonija, pa zatim Etnografski muzej i na kraju su sve zbirke prenete u Muzej kej Branli (*Quai Branly*). Ne primećujem nikakvu promenu, čak iako se spoljasnjost promenila, priča je i dalje ista. Naš pogled ne menja postavku, postavka ne utiče na promenu naše svesti, ne menja same predmeta, možete da držite Vaš diktafon ovde ili tamo, to ne bi promenilo mnogo ono što Vam govorim. Važno je zapitati se: Ko zapravo menja postavku? Ljudi koji rade u muzeju, koji su vezani za svoju kolekciju? Kako mogu da kažem da želim da izađem iz moje sigurne zone samo zato što pravim novu postavku? Uvek ću ostati u sigurnoj zoni dokle god ne budem postavio pitanje prisustva samih predmeta, pod kojim okolnostima su došli i iz kojih razloga, i dalje želim da ih izlažem.

GM: Još u jedanom radu autor se bavi pitanjem afričkih eksponata u kolekciji evropskog muzeja, video-rad Tea Ešetua (*Theo Eshetu*) *The Moving Museum (Act 1)* (sl. 8).

BSBN: Da, on se bavi istorijskim kontekstom zbirke Etnografskog muzeja u Berlinu ukazujući na neravnotežu moći, na način na koji su eksponati prikupljeni u vreme kolonizacije, tj. da se nije radilo o fer trgovini između dva ravnopravna partnera, već često o običnoj pljački. Kao metafora, rad se može iščitati u daleko širim okvirima od prikupljanja etnografskih predmeta u muzeju. Korepondira sa mnoštvom pitanja koja želimo da pokrenemo sa *WSAB*: na konferenciji 1884. iscertane su nove granice na afričkoj karti, svako je za sebe uzeo mali deo kontinenta. Teov rad, nedavno snimljen, pokazuje demontiranje i seckanje na komade

GM: But if you were forced to?

BSBN: Burn down the fucking thing.

SN: I think that the museum should have stayed a museum. I mean, you could have built a bigger box around it, where the museum would have been an exhibition piece, where artists could have been invited to work with it because the display does not change anything. We have what we called the Museum of the Colonies which was somewhere in Paris, the other place was the Ethnographic Museum; they changed the whole thing by moving both collections into the musée du quai Branly. I do not see the change. Even if they redesigned the display it is still the same story. Our look does not change the display, the display does not change our minds. It does not change the object itself or the outs. You could hold your recording device here or there, it would not change much of what I am saying. And it is important to ask: who is changing the display? People who work for the museum; who feel attached to its collection. I mean, how can I say I want to get out of my comfort zone just by doing a new design? I will always be in my comfort zone as long as I do not address the general presence of the objects, under what circumstances they came and for what reason I still want to display them.

GM: There is another work that relates to objects from Africa in the collection of a European museum, Theo Eshetu's video *The Moving Museum (Act 1)* (ill. 8).

BSBN: Yes, he is dealing with the historical context of the collections of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin addressing the fact that these objects came to Berlin in colonial times, which is important because of the imbalance of power, meaning that the way they were acquired in the colonies was not a fair trade between two equal partners but often just plain robbery. As a metaphor, you can read into things going far beyond the collection of ethnological objects in a museum. It relates very well to the multiplicity of subjects we want to address with *WSAB*: in 1884 the Conference delegations drew up new borders on the African map,

Sl. 8. Teo Ešetu, *The Moving Museum*
(Act 1), 2014, video © Chiara Cartuccia

Ill. 8. Theo Eshetu, *The Moving Museum*
(Act 1), 2014, video © Chiara Cartuccia



muzejskog banera „AFRIKA”, vraćajući se savremenom trenutku kroz poređenja političke situacije u Africi o kojoj smo upravo razgovarali, podeljenom kontinentu po pravilima globalnih ekonomskih igrača.

GM: Demontiranje muzejskog banera može se dovesti u vezi sa pripremama za premeštanje samog muzeja. Šta mislite o premeštanju zbirke Etnografskog muzeja i Muzeja azijske umetnosti u „Humbolt Forum”, verovatno najveći svetski ultraevropski muzejski projekat decenije? Zvanično objašnjenje je da se te zbirke premeštaju sa periferije Berlina, iz opštine Dalem (*Dahlem*), gde im je vidljivost ograničena, u

every one taking a small piece of the continent as his possession. Theo’s piece was recorded recently and shows the dismantling and cutting into pieces the museum banner reading “AFRIKA”, bringing it back to the contemporary as a simile of the political situation in Africa we have just discussed, with the continent still being partitioned by global economical players.

GM: The dismantling of the museum’s banner can be related to the preparations of this museum to move houses. What do you think about the collections of the Ethnological Museum and the Asian Art Museum being brought to what will be called the “Humboldt Forum” in what is probably the world’s biggest extra-European art museum project of this decade? The official explanation is to bring those collections from

sam centar grada gde će hiljade posetilaca moći da ih vidi. Muzej je nazvan po Aleksandru fon Humboltu (*Alexander von Humboldt*), koji je tokom svojih ekspedicija početkom 19. veka doneo mnoge predmete iz udaljenih delova sveta i znanja o njima. Ceo muzej će biti smešten u veliki dekor, egzaktnu repliku istorijske Palate dinastije Hoencolerna (*Hohenzollern*), čija je izgradnja u punom jeku?

BSBN: To je veoma kompleksno pitanje. Moja kritika je vrlo jasna: potpuno sam svestan činjenice da će do ovoga doći, svidelo se to nama ili ne. Pitanje je sada: Šta da radimo? Razmislimo o mogućim dijalozima? Moramo razmišljati o pozicioniranju, a pre svega o upotrebi naziva Humbolt. Ko je bio Humbolt? Šta je radio? Ova pitanja neće zaustaviti projekat, ali mogu da ukažu na namere, na ideologiju koja stoji iza ovog projekta. Hajde da pratimo Humbolta i sagledamo koju je ulogu igrao u kolonijalnim procesima, naučne ekspedicije su bile značajne za kasnije vojne ekspedicije na mnogo načina, ne samo tačnim mapiranjem i znanjima o tome gde se resursi mogu naći, u kom delu sveta, već i naučnim argumenatima koji su korišćeni kako bi obezbedili legitimitet potrebi Zapada da preuzme kontrolu nad stranim zemljama. Moramo da razgovaramo o ovim stvarima. Tada će se pogled ljudi na „Humbolt Forum” promeniti. Onda nećemo stajati ispred „Humbolt Forum” na barikadama sa rečima „Ne Humbolt Forumu”. Govorim o komunikaciji, o posredovanju u ovim kritičnim pitanjima. Hajde da pričamo o tim eksponatima, odakle su oni došli? Kako su došli do nas? Zašto ih ne vratimo? Herman Parcinger (*Hermann Parzinger*), predsednik Fondacije Pruske kulturne baštine, koja rukovodi kolekcijama afričke i azijske umetnosti i Humbolt-Forumom, posetio nas je u SAVVY-u pre nekoliko dana. Razgovarali smo o tome i on je tom prilikom rekao kako voli da poseti Madrid i vidi u Pradu slike nemačkih umetnika Direra (*Dürer*) ili Kranaha (*Cranach*). To je banalizacija cele stvari. Jedno je posetiti Prado, a drugo posetiti Etnografski muzej i eksponate iz Kameruna za koje veoma dobro znate da ih niko nije kupio. To je banalizacija i izbe-

Berlin's periphery - Dahlem, where the museums attracted only a limited public- into the very centre of the city and proudly present them to thousands of tourists. The Humboldt Forum takes his name from Alexander von Humboldt's expeditions in the early 19th century from which he brought back many objects and much knowledge of remote parts of the world. It will be housed in the grand décor of an exact replica of the historical Palace of the Hohenzollern dynasty that is being built at full speed right now.

BSBN: It is another very complex thing. My critique is very clear: I am fully aware of the fact that this thing is going to take place, whether we like it or not. Now the question is: what do we do? What are the dialogues that can take place? We have to think of the positioning, and first of all about using the label of Humboldt. Who is Humboldt? What did he do? These questions will not stop the project going ahead, but it can lay bare the intentions, lay bare the ideology behind the project. Let us trace Humboldt and see what role he played in the colonial processes, if scientific expeditions informed later military expeditions in a lot of ways, not only by providing exact mapping and knowledge about what resources could be found in what part of the world, but also by giving scientific arguments that others could easily use to prove that it was necessary for the West to take control of foreign lands. We have to talk about these things. Then people will go into the Humboldt Forum with different eyes. Then we do not have to stand in front of the Humboldt Forum on barricades and say “No to Humboldt Forum”. I am talking about communicating, about mediating those critical things. Let us talk about these objects, where do they come from? How were they taken, how were they brought to you? Why don't you give them back? When Hermann Parzinger, the president of the Prussian Heritage Foundation owning the African and Asian art collections, responsible for running the Humboldt-Forum, was here at SAVVY a few days ago we talked about these things. In response he came up with arguments how he also likes to fly to Madrid to see some German paintings in the Prado, Dürer or Cranach, because they are there. But it is a banalization of the whole thing. It is different

gavanje realnih problema. Ali kako ćemo se suočiti sa pomenutim banalizacijama bez ekstremizma? Kako da pregovaramo o ovim pitanjima?

SN: Trebalo bi pogledati šta se desilo u Parizu sa Muzejom keja Branlija. Obnavljanje dvoraca je zanimljivo!

GM: Sa krunama i pruskim orlovima na vrhovima prozora?

SN: Jer tada praviš kopiju kopije, dvostruki *mise en abyme*. Ponekad ljudi imaju velike ideje koje bi bilo bolje odmah odbaciti. Zato što ne možeš da osećaš da ti je žao, ne možeš da razmišljaš o samom sebi izvan samog sebe. To je ono o čemu je Sartr pisao u *Biću i ništavilu*. Osuđen si biti unutar samog sebe, jer jedini način da misliš van sebe je da ne budeš svoj, što je nemoguće. Dakle, šta god oni mislili to je uvek povratak na isto. Zbog toga je dvorac interesantan, sama promena prostora nema nikakav uticaj na prisutvo samih eksponata, neće stimulisati kritičko razmišljanje o njihovom statusu u okviru kompleksnih odnosa moći.

GM: Sve je, dakle, stvar izbora, poput onog šta će se obeležavati u novembru 2014. godine, pad Berlinskog zida 9. novembra 1989. godine, sa velikim proslavama i događajima koji su izmamali milione ljudi na ulice. Ali i sistematsko nasilje nad Jevrejima, koje se takođe dogodilo 9. novembra 1938. godine, ili početak Berlinske konferencije 15. novembra 1884, čini se nisu deo kolektivne memorije. Čuju se glasine o tome da će za direktora Humbolt foruma biti nominovan Nil Mekgregor (*Neil MacGregor*) iz Britanskog muzeja. Ima li to smisla?

to go to the Prado to see Dürer than to go to an Ethnological Museum and see an object from Cameroun of which you know fully well that it was not bought. It is a banalization and a digression away from some of the real problems. But how do we lay bare these banalizations without being extremists? How do we mediate these things?

SN: I think they should look at what happened in Paris with the Quai Branly. Rebuilding a castle is interesting!

GM: With crowns and Prussian eagles on top of every window?

SN: Because then you are creating the fake of the fake, the double *mise en abyme*. I mean, some times people come up with great ideas that they should drop immediately. Because you cannot think you are sorry, you cannot think yourself out of yourself. That is what Sartre was addressing in *L'Être et le Néant*. You're condemned to be inside of you, because the only manner you could think out of yourself would be if you were not yourself, which is impossible. So whatever they think is a perpetual return to the same. That is why the castle is interesting, it makes it all the more obvious that the changing of objects from one house to another will have no impact on the presence of the objects in Berlin, will not stimulate a critical reflection on their status within a complex net of power relations.

GM: It is all a matter of choices, like the one made for the commemorations in November 2014, where the officially designated reference was that of the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9th 1989, with huge celebratory events organized on that night that drew millions of people to the streets. But last year, the systematic violence against Jews, which also took place on November 9th 1938, or the beginning of the Berlin Congo Conference on November 15th 1884, seemed not to have been on the collective mind. There is a rumour about another choice, to appoint Neil MacGregor of the British Museum as superintendant of the Humboldt Forum. Does this make sense?

SN: Ima smisla. Zato što on zna tačno kako evropski muzeji funkcionišu. On tačno zna kako kolonijalni resursi funkcionišu, to je radio u Britanskom muzeju. Tužno je da se ništa neće promeniti. Ali niko ni ne želi da se išta promeni.

GM: Zar ne bi bilo zanimljivije da to bude neko drugi, na primer Okvi Enwezor?

SN: Bilo bi zanimljivo da to mesto pripadne nekome poput Krisa Derkona (*Chris Dercon*)⁹. Najbolje bi bilo da se pronađe način da se sve vrati.

GM: Ekspoziti?

SN: Da, i da se finansijski pomogne muzejima u Africi.

GM: Šta se dešava sa razmenama između Zapada i Afrike?

SN: Kojim razmenama?

GM: Kulturnim razmenama koje finansiraju zapadne institucije.

SN: Ne postoji kulturna razmena. Ponavljam, kultura je oružje. Sve evropske vlade imaju ciljne zemlje u Africi i ciljne politike. Dozvolite mi da Vam kažem sledeće: sreo sam osobu koja radi za Gete Institut (*Goethe-Institut*), u Dakaru smo imali diskusiju između sponzora i jedne afričke organizacija koju su želeli da finansiraju. Neposredno pre toga, sponzori su se žalili kako Afrikanci nikad ne popunjavaju na odgovarajući način obrasce, a Afrikanci kako sponzori uvek traže mnogo i daju jako malo novca. A onda su svi zajedno seli i hvalili kulturne razmene. Ma dajte molim Vas, nemojte mi reći da ste tu radi umetnosti ili kulture. A ova osoba iz Getea mi je odgovorila: „U redu Simone, odgovoriću ti vrlo diplomatski, Nemačka mora da bude u Africi. Francuska i Engleska su ovde, imaju svoje teritorije; i mi moramo da budemo ovde. Dakle, mi investiramo. A kultura je dobar para-

SN: It makes sense, because he knows exactly how European museums work. He knows exactly how the colonial resources work. He has been doing this at the British Museum. It is just sad that nothing is going to change. But nobody wants to change it anyway.

GM: Wouldn't it be more interesting to give it to somebody else, for example to Okwui Enwezor?

SN: It would be more interesting to give it to somebody like Chris Dercon.⁹ The best would be to find a way to send it back.

GM: The objects?

SN: Yes, and to finance museums in Africa.

GM: What about the exchange between the West and Africa?

SN: Which exchange?

GM: Cultural exchange which gets financed by Western institutions.

SN: There is no cultural exchange. Again, culture is another weapon. All European governments have target countries in Africa and a target policy. Let me tell you something: there is a person working for the Goethe Institute, and there was a discussion in Dakar between the sponsors and an African organisation which these people wanted to finance. Beforehand, the sponsors were complaining that the Africans never fill in the proper forms, and the Africans in turn were saying the sponsors always ask for so much and give so little money. And here they were all together, it is going fine and they are praising the cultural exchanges. Then I said: "Give me a break, do not tell me you are going there for the sake of art or culture." And this person from the Goethe said: "Okay Simon, I'm going to say it very diplomatically, but Germany needs to be in Africa. France and England were there,

van za dobijanje drugih stvari.” To je ono što mislim o kulturnim razmenama. Uopšte ne postoje razmene. U ovom trenutku kultura je instrument zapadnih sila u Africi.

GM: Kako se približavamo kraju, vratio bih se na jedan rad i jednu osobu o kojoj smo već govorili. U svom predlogu za uspostavljanje afričkog unutrašnjeg tržište, *Laboratoire Déberlinisation*, Mansur Sis je dizajnirao novčanice za afro valutu. Na jednoj od njih je Patris Lumumba (sl. 2). Da li ste upoznati da je bilo koja evropska prestonica imenovala jednu od ulica Lumumbi u čast?

BSBN: Lumumbina ulica ... Sigurno ne u Zapadnoj Evropi.

SN: Svakako ne u Belgiji, ali ću proveriti. Nema mnogo evropskih gradova sa afričkim nazivima ulica. Najbliži Africi je Martin Luter King (*Martin Luther King*). Siguran sam da će biti gomila Mandela, ali svakako ne Lumumba.

GM: Znam bar jedan.

BSBN: U Beogradu?

GM: U Beogradu!

BSBN: Vau! To je fantastično!

GM: Pominjem ovo jer će intervju biti objavljen u časopisu *Afrika*, Muzeja afričke umetnosti u Beogradu, koji je nastao u vreme Titove nesvrstane politike.

SN: Apsolutno, Bandung konferencija, 1955. godine.

GM: Jedna osoba iz Srbije mi je rekla da je posle ubistva Lumumbe 1961. godine prvi put učestvovala u demonstracijama koje su spontano organizovali srednjoškolci nakon što su saznali o ubistvu na radiju. I to nije bilo u Beogradu, već u malom gradu Čačku, svi su izlašli na ulice, ona se sa drugarima iz gimnazije priključila protestu.

they have their territory; we need to be there, too. So we are investing. And culture is a good cover for getting other things.” This is what I think of cultural exchange. There is no exchange at all. At the moment, culture is instrumentalized by the Western powers in Africa.

GM: As we are approaching the end, let me just come back to one work and one person we already talked about. In his proposal for an African inner market, *Laboratoire Déberlinisation*, Mansour Ciss designed some bank notes for the AFRO currency. One of them featured Patrice Lumumba (fig. 2). Are you aware of any European capitals naming a street in honour of Lumumba?

BSBN: Lumumba Street... Not in Western Europe.

SN: Certainly not in Belgium, but I shall check. There are not many European cities with African street names. The closest to Africa is Martin Luther King. I am sure there will be a bunch of Mandelas, but certainly not Lumumba.

GM: I know at least one.

BSBN: In Belgrade?

GM: In Belgrade!

BSBN: Wow! That’s fantastic!

GM: I am mentioning this because this interview is for *Afrika*, the journal of the Museum of African Art in Belgrade, which was born out of Tito’s non-aligned policy.

SN: Absolutely, the Bandung conference, 1955.

GM: Someone from Serbia was telling me that the assassination of Lumumba in 1961 was the first time she took part in a spontaneous demonstration, organized by High School students after they heard about the assassination on the radio. And that was not even in Belgrade, it was in a small city called Čačak and everyone went out on the streets, she went with her classmates to join the march.

BSBN: Vau. Naježio sam se! Fantastična priča!

SN: Ja ću doći, zapišite ovo, doćiću u Beograd i ponuditi im konferenciju.

GM: Sjajno! Muzej bi Vam bio veoma zahvalan. Ovo je *question de circonstance* kojim završavamo naš razgovor. Najlepše Vam hvala!

SN: Recite im da mogu da me pozovu i da sam više nego zainteresovan. Važno je da rasprava bude na što više mesta. Sve je povezano. Da li se raspravlja u Brazilu ili u Berlinu, teme su svuda iste. One imaju drugačiji zvuk, ali u suštini sva kolonijalna pitanja funkcionišu na isti način. Svi smo mi žrtve novog kolonijalizma, anonimnog kapitala i Velikog Brata, ranije sam pomenuo 1984. To je mesto gde smo se uputili. Svaki slobodan um treba da se bori protiv Velikog Brata.

Prevod (englesko-srpski): Svetlana Jevtović Montua

Napomene:

1 Intervju je vođen 17. februara 2015. Želeo bih da se zahvalim Ani Jeger (*Anna Jäger*) iz *SAVVY Contemporary* za pomoć u spremanju i uređivanju intervjua.

2 [PEGIDA – Evropske patriote protiv islamizacije zapadnog sveta. – Prim. red.]

3 *The Divine Comedy. Heaven, Purgatory and Hell Revisited by Contemporary African Artists*, u MMK Frankfurt (21. mart - 27. juli 2014), u SCAD (Savannah College of Art and Design) muzeju u Savani, Džordžija (16. oktobar 2014 – 25. januar 2015), i Nacionalni muzej afričke umetnosti, Institut Smitsonian, Vašington (8. april- 1. novembar 2015), kustos Simon Ndami.

4 Harlemska renesansa se odnosi na vreme njujorškog kvarta Harlema sa jakom crnačkom populacijom 20-ih godina 20. veka, u kojem se prvi put od ukidanja ropstva počelo razmišljati o samoorganizovanju u okviru samostalnih, atraktivnih crnačkih zajednica. Njen noćni život ubrzo je postao popularan privlačeći belce iz susedstva, iz drugih delova Njujorka u harlemske koncertne dvorane, ali u većini mesta za zabavu segregacija je i dalje postojala, što je značilo da su crnci mogli ući samo kao scenski muzičari, a ne kao publika. Generalno, umetnička klima Harlemske renesanse je zabeležena u onome što se može smatrati političkim manifestom ove generacije, kroz fiktivne priče i eseje o književnosti, umetnosti i društvenim prilikama koje je objavio Alejn Lok (*Alain Locke*) 1925. godine, *The New Negro*.

BSBN: Wow. That gives me goose bumps! Fantastic story!

SN: I shall come, write this down, you can take it here, I shall come to Belgrade and offer them a conference.

GM: Great! The museum would very much appreciate it. This was a *question de circonstance* to finish this interview. Thank you very much to both of you!

SN: Tell them that they can invite me and I shall more than consider it. Again, the debate must be everywhere. Everything is connected. Whether I am debating in Brazil or in Berlin, the themes are all the same. They have a different sound, but basically all those colonial issues function the same way. We are all victims of the new coloniser, the anonymous capital and the Big Brother, when I was talking earlier I mentioned 1984. That is where we are going. Every free mind should fight the Big Brother.

Translation (English-Serbian): Svetlana Jevtović Montua

Notes:

1 The interview was conducted on 17 February 2015. I wish to thank Anna Jäger from SAVVY Contemporary for helping me with the organisation and the editing of this interview.

2 [PEGIDA - Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident. – editor's note]

3 *The Divine Comedy. Heaven, Purgatory and Hell Revisited by Contemporary African Artists* at the Museum für moderne Kunst (MMK) Frankfurt (March 21 - July 27, 2014); The Savannah College of Art and Design (SCAD), Museum Savannah, Georgia (Oct. 16, 2014 - Jan. 25, 2015); and National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. (Apr. 8 – Nov. 1, 2015), curated by Simon Njami.

4 The Harlem Renaissance refers to a period linked to New York's Harlem district with its dominant black population in the 1920s, in which for the first time since the abolition of slavery people felt they could lead an attractive, self-determined life organised by and for members of the black community. Its nightlife soon became popular with white neighbours from other parts of New York who joined Harlem residents in the many concert halls, which was unique as most entertainment venues were still segregated, meaning that black persons could only enter as stage musicians, not as audience. The general artistic climate of the Harlem Renaissance is recorded in what can be considered also the political manifesto of this generation, a collection of fictional pieces and essays on literature, the arts and the present social conditions published by Alain Locke in 1925, *The New Negro*.

5 Pokret negritid bio je književni, pesnički, filozofski i politički pokret koji je proizašao iz života crnačke zajednice francuskih Kariba i afričkih kolonija, na sastanku u Parizu 1930. godine. Slično Harlemsoj renesansi, oni su se ponosno borili da predstave sopstveni kulturni izraz za razliku od dominantne bele kulture, što je za pokret negritida takode predstavljalo odgovor i kritiku kolonijalizma. Njegovi najpoznatiji pisci i pesnici bili su Eme Sezer (*Aimé Césaire*) sa Martinika i Leopold Sedar Sengor iz Senegala.

6 Achille, L. T, 1931. "L'art et les Noirs – The Negroes and Art", U: *La Revue du Monde Noir – The Review of the Black World*, br. 1, str. 53–56 i br. 2, str. 28–31.

7 Razgovor sa Eduarom Glisanom na brodu Kraljica Meri II u avgustu 2009. https://www.liv.ac.uk/media/livacuk/csis-2/blackatlantic/research/Diawara_text_defined.pdf

8 Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism. The Last Stage of Imperialism*, London 1965.

9 Nemački ministar kulture je 8. aprila zvanično imenovao Nila Makgregora da predsedava Osnivačkom sednicom odbora za Humboldt forum. Krisa Derkona je imenovao gradonačelnik Berlina 23. aprila na mesto direktora Berlinskog narodnog pozorišta (Volksbühne teatro), jedne od retkih institucija koja je obeležila posebnim programom Dan sećanja na Berlinsku konferenciju 28. februara.

5 The Négritude movement refers to a literary, poetical but also philosophical and political movement stemming from the life of black communities originating from French Caribbean and African colonies, meeting in Paris in the 1930s. Similarly to the Harlem Renaissance, they proudly fought to present their cultural expression as distinct to the predominant white culture, which for the Négritude movement was also a response to and a critique of colonialism. Its most renowned exponents are the writers and poets Aimé Césaire from Martinique and Léopold Sédar Senghor from Sénégal.

6 Louis Thomas Achille, "L'art et les Noirs – The Negroes and Art", in: *La Revue du Monde Noir – The Review of the Black World*, Nr. 1 (1931), p. 53-56 and Nr. 2 (1931), p. 28-31.

7 Conversation with Édouard Glissant aboard the Queen Mary II in August 2009. https://www.liv.ac.uk/media/livacuk/csis-2/blackatlantic/research/Diawara_text_defined.pdf

8 Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism. The Last Stage of Imperialism*, London 1965.

9 Neil MacGregor has been officially appointed by the German Minister of Culture on April 8th to chair the Founding Committee of the Humboldt Forum. Chris Dercon has been appointed by the mayor of Berlin on April 23rd as an Intendant of the Volksbühne theatre, one of the rare institutions which have programmed a special day to commemorate the Berlin Congo Conference on February 28th.



Srđan Tunić i Kristina Malen Krimer. Foto: Srđan Tunić

Srđan Tunić and Christine Mullen Kreamer. Photo: Srđan Tunić

UDK: 7(=42/=45):069.9(73)"2014"
[COBISS.SR-ID 221113612]

Razgovori: Afrička i afroamerička umetnost u dijalogu

Razgovor sa Kristinom Malen Krimer (*Christine Mullen Kreamer*) zamenicom direktora i glavnom kustoskinjom Smitsonijan Nacionalnog muzeja afričke umetnosti u Vašingtonu (decembar 2014)

Autor intervjuja: Srđan Tunić

Jedna od svetski najistaknutijih privatnih kolekcija afroameričke umetnosti je trenutno dostupna prvi put javnosti u Smitsonijanovom Nacionalnom muzeju afričke umetnosti. *Razgovori: Afrička i afroamerička umetnost u dijalogu*¹ okupljaju umetnička dela iz dve zbirke svetske klase: Smitsonijanovog Nacionalnog muzeja afričke umetnosti i kolekcije Kamile O. (*Camille O.*) i Vilijama H. Kozbija Juniora (*William H. Cosby Jr.*). Izložba će biti otvorena do početka 2016. i čini glavni deo aktivnosti 50-godišnjice Muzeja, koji slavi jedinstvenu istoriju i doprinos daljem značajnom dijalogu između Afrike i afričke dijaspor.

UDC: 7(=42/=45):069.9(73)"2014"
[COBISS.SR-ID 221113612]

Conversations: African and African American Artworks in Dialogue

A talk with Christine Mullen Kreamer, deputy director and chief curator of Smithsonian's National Museum of African Art in Washington, DC (December 2014)

Interview by: Srđan Tunić

One of the world's preeminent private collections of African American art is currently open for its first public viewing at the Smithsonian's National Museum of African Art (NMAA). *Conversations: African and African American Artworks in Dialogue*¹ brings together artworks from two world-class collections: the Smithsonian National Museum of African Art and Camille O. and William H. Cosby Jr. The exhibition remains on view through early 2016, and is a major part of the museum's 50th anniversary, celebrating its unique history and contributions toward furthering meaningful dialogue between Africa and the African diaspora.

Zgrada Smitsonijanovog Nacionalnog muzeja afričke umetnosti u Vašingtonu. Foto: Srđan Tunić

The Smithsonian National Museum of African Art in Washington. Photo: Srđan Tunić



Razgovori predstavljaju odabrana dela iz Kozbi (Cosby) zbirke, uključujući radove umetnika Romera Birdena, Elizabete Katlet, Bjuforda Dilejnia, Luis Mejlu Džons, Džejkoba Lorensa, Kita Morisona, Fejt Ringold, Ogaste Sevidž, Henrija Osave Tanera i Alme Tomas.* Sa izuzetkom jednog umetničkog dela, Kozbi kolekcija nikada nije bila pozajmljena ili predstavljena javno i samo je retko i odabrano bila objavljivana. Ova i druga dela afroameričke umetnosti postavljena su u okviru tematskog dijaloga sa tradicionalnim afričkim umetničkim delima, uključujući Kongo žensku figuru sa detetom iz Demokratske Republike Kongo, posudu sa poklopcem iz Nigerije od umetnika naroda Joruba, Olovea od Isea (*Olowe of Ise*), kao i Nuna leptir-masku iz Burkinse Faso, sa modernim i savremenim umetničkim delima afričkih umetnika, poput Fode Kamara (*Fodé Camara*) iz Senegala, Godfrida Donkora (*Godfried Donkor*) iz Gane i Vilijama Kentridža (*William Kentridge*) iz Južnoafričke Republike. Izložba i prateća publikacija organizovani su tako da mogu da se istraže umreženost ideja o istoriji, kreativnosti, moći, identitet i umetničke veštine, na načine koji bi imali odjeka sa ljudima iz celoga sveta.

ST: Za početak, želeo bih da se fokusiramo na aktuelnu izložbu *Razgovori: Afrička i afroamerička umetnost u dijalogu*. Kako je izložba bila pokrenuta?

KMK: Kao što si video, otvorili smo je 9. novembra 2014. godine. Započeta je dve godine ranije, u novembru 2012, na jednom sastanku odbora Muzeja. Diskusija je naravno bila usmerena na naše strategije prikupljanja sredstava kao deo sveopšte kampanje da se obezbede sredstva za ceo Smitsonianov institut. Svaki muzej koji je deo Instituta ima svoj deo u raspodeli sredstava koji treba da obezbedi. Naš sastanak je bio usmeren da uvežemo te planove našom predstojećom 50-godišnjicom u 2014. godini. Tim jubilejom prepoznavali smo naše početke kada smo 1964. osnovani kao privatni muzej na Kapitolu hila (*Capitol Hill*), iako smo postali deo Smitsonijana tek 1979. godine. Članica upravnog odbora Kamila Kozbi, koja je bila na telefonskoj vezi, puna razumeva-

Conversations presents selected pieces from the Cosby collection, including works by Romare Bearden, Elizabeth Catlett, Beauford Delaney, Lois Mailou Jones, Jacob Lawrence, Keith Morrison, Faith Ringgold, Augusta Savage, Henry Ossawa Tanner, and Alma Thomas. With the exception of one work of art, the Cosby collection has never been loaned or seen publicly and only rarely and selectively published. These and other works of African American art are placed in thematic dialogue with African traditional works of art, including a Kongo female figure with child, from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a lidded bowl from Nigeria by the Yoruba master artist Olowe of Ise, and a Nuna butterfly mask from Burkina Faso, and with modern and contemporary works of art by African artists, including Fodé Camara from Senegal, Godfried Donkor from Ghana, and William Kentridge from South Africa. The exhibition and its accompanying publication are organized to explore intersecting ideas about history, creativity, power, identity, and artistry in ways that resonate with people the world over.

ST: To begin, I would like to focus on the current exhibition *Conversations: African and African American Artworks in Dialogue*. How was the exhibition initiated?

CMK: Well, as you know the exhibition opened on November 9th 2014. It was initiated some two years before, in November 2012, at an advisory board meeting of our museum. The discussion naturally concentrated on our museum's fundraising strategies as part of the Smithsonian-wide national campaign to raise funds for the entire Smithsonian institution. Each museum has an allotment of funds to raise. Our discussion centered on ways to link our fundraising goals with our forthcoming 50th anniversary in 2014. The anniversary recognizes our beginnings in 1964 as a private museum on Capitol Hill, though we wouldn't become part of the Smithsonian until 1979. Board member Camille Cosby, who was participating by phone, mentioned in a very understated way that she



Izložba *Razgovori: Afrička i afroamerička umetnost u dijalogu*, Smitsonijanov Nacionalni muzej afričke umetnosti.

Foto: Srđan Tunić

Conversations: African and African American Artworks in Dialogue exhibition, The Smithsonian National Museum of African Art.

Photo: Srđan Tunić

nja spomenula je da su ona i Bil razgovarali o tome da pozajme njihovu zbirku afroameričke umetnosti našem muzeju, za potencijalnu izložbu ili šta god mi odlučili da uradimo s njom. Na primer, za izložbu koja bi uspostavila veze između Afrike i afričke dijaspore.

Ovo je savršeno odgovaralo našem jubileju, zato što je Muzej na samom početku rada, koji je pokrenuo Voren M. Robins (*Warren M. Robbins*), penzionisani diplomata, prikupljao afričku, ali i afroameričku umetnost. To se sve dešavalo u vreme pokreta za građanska prava u SAD i ljudi su bili zabrinuti zbog rasnih odnosa. Pogotovo u prestonici, Robins je osećao da time što postoji i afrička i afroamerička umetnost – u dijalogu između sebe i sa posetiocima Muzeja – postoji i dobar način da se podstakne kros-kulturalna komunikacija. Kada smo postali deo Smitsonijanovog instituta, 1979, suzili smo fokus na ono što je bila naša snaga, a to su umetnosti Afrike. Naravno, tokom godina održali smo veze i sa dijasporom, kroz tematske izlo-

and Bill had been talking about loaning their collection of African American art to the museum for a possible exhibition, making their collection available for whatever we decided to do with it. For example, an exhibition to forge connections between Africa and the African diaspora.

This perfectly fit with our 50th anniversary, because when we began 50 years ago as a private museum on Capitol Hill, initiated by a retired foreign service officer, Warren M. Robbins, he started by collecting African art, but also African American art. It was during the civil rights movement in the USA, so people were concerned about race relations. Certainly in the nation's capital, Robbins felt that having both African and African American art – in dialogue with each other, in dialogue with the visitors who come to the museum – would be a good way to foster cross-cultural communication. In 1979, when we became part of the Smithsonian Institution, we narrowed our focus to our



Izložba *Razgovori: Afrička i afroamerička umetnost u dijalogu*, Smitsonianov Nacionalni muzej afričke umetnosti.
Foto: Srđan Tunić

Conversations: African and African American Artworks in Dialogue exhibition, The Smithsonian National Museum of African Art.
Photo: Srđan Tunić

žbe koje su okupljale zajedno i afričku i umetnost iz dijaspore. Kada smo dobili ponudu (od Kamil), ja nisam ni znala da Kozbi zbirka nikada nije bila izlagana ranije, ali je dr Džoneta Beč Kol (*Johnnetta Betsch Cole*), naša direktorka, znala za to. Kako su sve naše izložbe planirane makar tri godine unapred, trebalo je da ubrzamo ceo proces da bismo uspeli da pripremimo otvaranje izložbe krajem 2014. i time je spojimo sa našom 50-godišnjicom. To je bila prilika da pogledamo unazad, kroz našu istoriju, dok istovremeno razmotrimo i ulogu našeg muzeja u narednih pola veka. To je trenutak za nas da kažemo da iako je naša misija fokusirana na Afriku kroz izložbe i programe, težili smo da je povežemo i sa dijasporom. Izložbama i obrazovnim programima uvek smo težili da se uključimo u taj razgovor, taj dijalog.

strength, which is the art of Africa. Over the years, of course, we maintained our connections to the diaspora through thematic exhibitions that brought African and diasporan artworks together. When the offer was made, I didn't realize that the Cosby collection had never been exhibited before, but our director, Dr. Johnnetta Betsch Cole, knew this. Since all our exhibits are planned at least 3 years in advance, we needed to fast-track this a little to meet a late 2014 opening date, thus connecting it to our anniversary. It would be a great way for us to look back into our history while looking forward to the role the museum will play in the next half-century. It was the time for us to say that even though our mission focuses on Africa through exhibitions and programs we've always looked to bring together Africa and it's diaspora. Through exhibitions and educational programs, we've always striven to engage in that conversation, that dialogue.

ST: Da li možete da mi kažete nešto više o tome kako Muzej bira da izloži nemuzejske kolekcije?

KMK: Kada se polazi od eksponata, počinje se određivanjem da li ima dovoljno predmeta iz muzejske zbirke i da li i kako pozajmice iz drugih muzeja i privatnih kolekcija mogu da doprinesu tom projektu. I ako je odgovor na ta pitanja da, ako će projekat unaprediti uključivanje važnih, istaknutih dela u izložbu, onda se nalaziš u poziciji da možeš da privučeš i publiku koja možda, bez te inicijative, ne bi ni došla u naš muzej. Što se tiče *Razgovora*, pozajmljivanje radova iz Kozbijeve zbirke je odlična prilika da posetioци vide dela afroameričke umetnosti koja nikada ranije nisu bila izložena javno.

Takođe, naravno da postoji i izazov kada se izlažu i dela iz privatne zbirke – etička razmatranja koja muzej mora da ima u vidu kada ima privatnu kolekciju u fokusu. Treba da se sagledaju prednosti i nedostaci, da bude jasno da pozajmljeni radovi idu u korist muzeju, a ne privatnim kolekcionarima. U slučaju Kozbi kolekcije, od početka je bilo jasno da će kustoski tim imati potpun autoritet u razvijanju sadržaja ove izložbe. Kozbijeви se nisu mešali u naš rad – pored nas dve iz muzeja (kustoskinje zbirke Brine Frejer (*Bryna Freyer*) i mene), tu su Dejvid C. Driskel (*David C. Driskell*), umetnik i akademik, i Adrien L. Čajlds (*Adrienne L. Childs*) nezavisni akademik, oboje specijalisti afroameričke umetnosti – verovali su da znamo svoj posao i da ćemo ga uraditi dobro. Između ostalog, to su tematska organizacije izložbe *Razgovori*, odabir predmeta, pristup za inskripcije, ideja za publikaciju, intervjui koje smo imali sa Kozbijevim i Dejvidom Driskelom, čime je rukovodio kustoski tim. I kada su Bil i Kamila prvi put videli izložbu i knjigu na otvaranju, bili su zapanjeni, zaista prijatno iznenađeni, zato što do tog trenutka nisu znali kako ćemo izvesti ovaj projekat.

Često se upuštamo u pregovore sa privatnim kolekcionarima, bilo da su članovi upravnog odbora bilo da nisu, jer oni imaju veoma određena lična opredeljenja na umu, čak i kada sakupljaju veoma široko. Kozbijeви su prikupljali afroameričku umetnost sa

ST: Can you tell me more about how a museum selects a non-museum collection for its exhibition?

CMK: When you create exhibits in the museum, you begin by determining if you have enough objects from the museum's collection and if and how loans from other museum and private collections benefits the project. And if the answer to that question is yes, if the project is improved by including important, prominent pieces into an exhibition, then you might be able to attract other audiences who wouldn't typically come to this museum. For the *Conversations* exhibition, borrowing works from the Cosby collection was an excellent opportunity for visitors to see works of African American art that were never placed on view before.

Now, there is a challenge of course when you're bringing a focus on a private collection – ethical considerations that a museum needs to consider when giving prominence to a private collection, and so you need to weigh the pros and cons, to make sure that the reasons for borrowing works from private collections benefit the museum, not the private collector. Now, in borrowing works from the Cosby collection, it was very clear from the start that a curatorial team would have complete authority to develop the content of this show. The Cosbys were pretty much hands-off, they trusted their curators – the two of us from the museum (I and collections curator Bryna Freyer) with David C. Driskell, artist, scholar, and Adrienne L. Childs, independent scholar, both specialists in African American art – trusting that we know how to do our job and to do it well. The thematic organization of *Conversations*, the selection of objects, the approach we took for the exhibition label copy, the idea that informed the book, the interviews we had with the Cosbys and with David Driskell, were all directed by the curatorial team. And when Bill and Camille Cosby first saw the exhibition and the book at the opening, they were just stunned, they were very favorably impressed, because until that moment they had no real idea how we would pull this project off.



Izložba *Razgovori: Afrička i afroamerička umetnost u dijalogu*, Smitsonianov Nacionalni muzej afričke umetnosti.
Foto: Srđan Tunić

Conversations: African and African American Artworks in Dialogue exhibition, The Smithsonian National Museum of African Art.
Photo: Srđan Tunić

širokom perspektivom, od 1799. do ranih 80-ih godina 20. veka, dajući prednost tematici koja je većinski okrepljujuća i pozitivna, bez puno razdražujućeg sadržaja. Svojestveno činjenici da su u pitanju njihova zbirka i novac, privatni kolekcionari odabiraju na koji će način formirati zbirku. Muzejski pristup je tu sasvim drugačiji. Muzeji često pristupaju nabavkama sa širinom, pribavljajući radove koji odražavaju važna pitanja njihovog polja, što je u našem slučaju afrička umetnost, i uzimaju u obzir razmatranje kako da budu jaki u tim ključnim poljima. U slučaju afričke umetnosti, to znači da budemo sigurni da nemamo privilegije, na primer, prema određenim regionima u Africi, vremenskim periodima kada su predmeti nastali i sl. Važno je reći da prihvatamo i tradicionalnu i savremenu umetnost koje imamo u zbirci – zajedno sa odabranim primerima popularne umetnosti – kao umetnička dela koja čine strategiju prikupljanja našeg muzeja. Želimo da budemo sigurni da posetioci razumeju opseg i raznolikost afričkih umetnosti – bilo da je to tradicionalna, moderna ili savremena – i tako

We often engage in discussions with private collectors, whether they are on the museum's advisory board or not, because private collectors have a very specific personal preference in mind, even when they collect broadly. The Cosbys broadly collected African American art, ranging in date from 1799 to the early 1980s, and they had a preference for acquiring works with subject matter that is largely uplifting and positive, not a lot of edgy work, this was their collecting preference. Private collectors, by virtue of the fact that it's their collection and their money, they pick and choose how they're forming a collection. A museum's approach is quite different. Museums often approach acquisitions more broadly, acquiring works that reflect important aspects of the field, in our case of African art, and take into consideration how to build strengths in key areas of that field. In the case of African art, that means making sure we're not privileging, for example, a certain region in Africa over another, or a certain historical time-frame when objects were produced. Importantly, for our museum,

stvaramo načine za promišljanje opsega muzejske kolekcije i prikupljanja i u dubinu. To čini centar i akademske misije i odnos prema publici, prevashodno da se bude kritičan/na, ali sa tom širinom koju često privatni kolekcionari nemaju.

ST: Postoji ukrštanje privatne i muzejske zbirke, savremene i tradicionalne umetnosti, afričke i afroameričke umetnosti, kustosa iz muzeja i van nje-ga. Kako ste već spomenuli, i kako je navedeno na sajtu muzeja, to je „vizuelni i intelektualni dijalog”. Navedeni spojevi su veoma bitni za kustoski koncept i to je sledeće pitanje koje bih želeo da malo više objasnite.

KMK: Da, gde započeti... Kako sam spomenula, kroz našu istoriju, bavili smo se tradicionalnom i savremenom umetnošću Afrike i njene dijaspore, kroz izložbe i prateće programe, prvo kada smo bili privatni muzej, kao i otkad smo postali deo Smitsonijana, zato što shvatamo i stvaramo izložbe koje su namenjene, opremljene za našu opštu publiku i za tzv. Stejkholder** publiku. Stejkholder publika dolazi u muzej iz različitih razloga: oni mogu biti posetioci iz Afrike, afrički imigranti koji žive u blizini ili negde drugde u SAD, ljudi koji su radili i živeli u Africi kao diplomate, članovi USAID ili volonteri Mirovnog korpusa (*Peace Corps*) koji su služili u Africi. Ove grupe dolaze u naš muzej sa svojom zainteresovanošću i razumevanjem Afrike. Zatim, tu su afroamerikanci i članovi afričke dijaspore koji žele da nauče nešto više o svojoj istoriji i nasleđu koji imaju veze sa Afrikom. Ali, kako sam spomenula, treba da budemo svesni i naše opšte publike. I tako, kroz našu istoriju, stvaramo izložbe u kojima naglašavamo kako je Afrika povezana sa ostalim delom sveta i pokušavamo da stvorimo ove globalne veze, naglašavajući kako umet-

we also embrace traditional and modern and contemporary art for the collection – along with selected examples of popular art – as artworks that we consider as part of the collecting strategy of this museum. We want to make sure visitors understand the range and diversity of Africa’s arts – traditional, modern and contemporary – and so there are many ways where the museum needs to think about forming a collection and also collecting in depth. That’s both the scholarly and the audience-centered mission of the museum, namely to think critically but also more broadly than private collectors sometimes do.

ST: There’s a juxtaposition of a private collection and a museum collection, contemporary and traditional art, African and Afro American, curators who are from and are separate from the institution. As you said, and as it’s written on the website, it’s a “visual and intellectual dialogue”. These kinds of intersections are important for the curatorial statement, and that’s the next thing I would like to ask you to explain a bit more.

CMK: Yes, where to start... As I mentioned, through our history, we’ve brought traditional and contemporary, African and diasporan arts, together in our exhibitions and in our programs, first, when we were the private museum on Capitol Hill, and then as Smithsonian’s museum because we understand and we create exhibitions geared to both our general audiences and what we might call our “stakeholder audiences”. These stakeholder audiences are keen to come to this museum for various reasons: they may be African visitors, African immigrants living nearby or elsewhere in the U.S., people who worked in Africa like those at the Department of State or USAID, or Peace Corps volunteers who served in Africa. These groups come to our museum with an interest and understanding in Africa. Then, there are African Americans and people of the African diaspora who want to learn more about their history and heritage as it is connected to the African continent. But, as I mentioned, we must be mindful of our general audiences. And you begin to create exhibits that emphasize how Africa is connected to the rest of the world, and you

nost i Afrike i dijasfore može da bude u značajnom dijalogu. Na primer, 90-ih godina 20. veka priredili smo izložbu nazvanu *Zadivljenost i moć* o figurama moći iz Konga, koje su bile u dijalogu sa radovima savremene afroameričke umetnice Rene Staut (*Renee Stout*), koja koristi Afriku i afričku umetnost kao inspiraciju. Još jedan primer je izložba koju smo imali i čija je tema bio Mami Wata (*Mami Wata*), vodeni duh koji se može pronaći u delovima zapadne i centralne Afrike, kao i u afričkoj dijaspori. Afrika se ne nalazi na jednom prostoru ili u jednom vremenu. Afrikanci su se oduvek kretali i mešali sa ljudima iz ostalog dela sveta, a uticaji Afrike mogu da se vide u kultura i regionima cele Zemljine kugle.

Da se vratim izložbi *Razgovori*. Jedna od briga koju smo imali na početku je, u ovom zajedničkom okupljanju afričke i afroameričke umetnosti u tematski razgovor, da će neki posetioči steći pogrešnu poruku. Želeli smo da se osiguramo da posetioči neće misliti da Afroamerikanci, svojstveno svojom istorijskom vezom sa afričkim kontinentom u prošlosti, prirodno ukazuju na afričku umetnost i nasleđe svojim radom. Ovo nije slučaj sa većinom radova na izložbi *Razgovori*, iako radovi poput dela Dejvida Driskela čine izuzetak time što on svesno pravi te konekcije, dok drugi afroamerički umetnici možda uopšte nisu imali Afriku na umu, iako idejno ili kroz pristup njihovim radovima vidi se da su oni povezani sa temama koje su takođe istraživane i u okviru afričke umetnosti na izložbi. Ali kustosi, kao ljudi koji rade na ukrštanju predmeta i ideja, i „pakuju” ih na određene načine, pružaju posetiocima na razmatranje određenu tačku gledišta, možda hrabreći ih da misle o stvarima na neki drugačiji način i da pogledaju umetnička dela (čak i ona koja znaju iz nekog drugog konteksta) novim očima i sa novim idejama. I tada kada odlučimo da izložimo zajedno i afričku tzv. tradicionalnu i savremenu umetnost, ideja je da ove dve vrste umetnosti nisu odvojene, već da čine umetnički kontinuitet i da mogu biti izložene u tematski razgovor, iako su kao umetničke forme bile stvorene sa drugačijim svrhama i za drugačiju publiku. Dok se jedan afrički savremeni umetnik možda ne bi složio da njegova dela budu predstavljena na izložbi koja izlaže i

try to make these global connections, emphasizing how African and African diaspora's artworks can engage in a meaningful dialogue. For example, in the 1990s, we created an exhibit called *Astonishment and Power* that featured Kongo power figures in dialogue with works by a contemporary African American artist Renee Stout, who draws from Africa and African art as sources of inspiration. Another example is an exhibition we hosted that focused on Mami Wata, a water spirit that's found in parts of western and central Africa, and also in parts of the African diaspora. Africa is not located in one particular place or time, Africans have always moved out and engaged with wider world, and Africa's influences can be seen in cultures and regions around the globe.

Let's turn to the *Conversations* exhibition. One of the concerns we had early on with the exhibit was that in bringing African American and African art together in these thematic conversations, we worried that visitors come and take away an incorrect message. We wanted to make sure that visitors would not think that African Americans, by virtue of their historical connection with the continent in the past, would naturally fall into referencing African art and heritage in their artwork. That isn't the case in most of the work you can see in the *Conversations* exhibition, although work by David C. Driskell is somewhat of an exception, because he's making those connections consciously, whereas other African American artists maybe didn't have Africa in mind at all, even though the ideas or approach to their work links to themes that are also explored in the African art we placed on view. But curators, being the kinds of people who work with the intersection of objects and ideas, and "package" them in certain ways, offer a point of view for visitors to consider, perhaps encouraging visitors to think of things in different ways, and to look at works of art (maybe even some that they have known from another context) with new eyes, with new ideas in mind. And then when we turn to bringing together Africa's so-called traditional and contemporary arts, the idea is that these two types of art are not separated, but are part of an artistic continuum and, thus, can be placed into thematic conversations even when these art forms

tradicionalne umetnosti, mnogi umetnici upućuju na istoriju, nasleđe, pitanja kojima se, kao što sam spomenula, bave i savremena i tradicionalna umetnost, kroz drugačija tržišta i sa različitim razlozima.

ST: U nekim slučajevima se čini kontroverznim uključivati savremenu i tradicionalnu umetnost u muzejske kolekcije ili izložbe. Zasad, ne bih išao daleko problematizujući šta umetnika ili delo čini afričkim, što prevazilazi fokus ovog intervjua, već bih postavio pitanje: Koliko je važno jednom muzeju da izlaže i savremenu kulturu?

KMK: Mislim da je veoma važno, posebno za muzej koji je usmeren na ljude, umetnosti i kulture Afrike. Mnogi ljudi koji nam dolaze – ovde, u Vašington i u Smitsonijan – jesu turisti koji žele da vide ceo kompleks Smitsonijanovog instituta. I oni često ulaze na naša muzejska vrata sa predstavom o tome šta je Afrika. I ponekad – nažalost – to je pogled na Afriku zaustavljen u vremenu, podržan od tzv. primitivnih (svi znamo koliko je ovaj izraz netačan i uvredljiv) ili negativnih impresija o Africi, koje su često promovisane kroz popularne medije – glad, rat, zaostalost, ebola, siromaštvo i egzotika. I tako, kada shvatiš da posetioци dolaze i sa tim pretpostavkama, shvataš i da ne možeš tek tako da promeniš njihova mišljenja. Ali ono što možeš da uradiš je da im daš izazov.

Da se vratim na tvoje pitanje o mešanju savremenog i tradicionalnog. Drago mi je da si to spomenuo, izložba i publikacija iz 2007. *Upisani znaci: Pisanje i grafički sistemi u afričkoj umetnosti*, čiji sam bila autor, bila je prva u muzejskoj seriji nečega što sam nazvala „izložbe vođene idejom”, naglašavajući afrički doprinos istoriji znanja i svetskoj civilizaciji. U ovom slučaju, *Upisani znaci* su bili razvijeni da pruže izazov pogrešnim percepcijama posetilaca prema kojima je Afrika bila i ostala kontinent unesrećen nepismenošću i bez pisma. Ovaj projekat je uključio raznolika umetnička dela – od antičkog Egipta, preko tzv. tradicionalnih (18, 19. i 20. vek) i savremenih

are created with different purposes and audiences in mind. While some African contemporary artists may not agree to be in shows that include traditional arts, many of the artists reference history, heritage, issues that, as I've said, both contemporary and traditional arts are addressing, though for different markets and reasons.

ST: Sometimes it seems controversial to include both traditional and contemporary art in a museum collection or exhibition. For now, I wouldn't go so much into what makes an artwork or an artist African, which goes beyond the focus of this interview, but I would like to ask you to consider how important it is for a museum to show contemporary culture?

KMK: I think it is very important, particularly for a museum focused on the peoples, arts, and cultures of Africa. So many people come into a museum – here in Washington, DC and at the Smithsonian – as tourists coming to see the Smithsonian complex. They often will come through the doors of our museum with an idea about what they think Africa is. And it's sometimes – unfortunately – a view of Africa that's stuck in time, reinforcing so-called “primitive” (we all know this term is inaccurate and offensive) or negative impressions about Africa that have often been promoted in the popular media – famine, war, backwardness, Ebola, poverty, and/or the exotic. And so, when you realize that visitors are coming with those perceptions, you also realize that you can't change people's opinions just like that. What you can try is to challenge their opinions.

To get back to your question about mixing contemporary and traditional, and I'm glad that you've pointed it out, my 2007 exhibition and publication *Inscribing Meaning: Writing and Graphic Systems in African Art* was the first of my series here at this museum what I call “idea-driven exhibits” that emphasize Africa's contributions to the history of knowledge and world civilization. In this case, *Inscribing Meaning* was developed to challenge visitors' misperceptions that Africa was and remains a continent, plagued with illiteracy and without writing. The project included

umetnosti Afrike. Predmeti su prikazivali kako je afrička umetnost obuhvatala pisma, bilo ona izmišljena, preuzimana, pozajmljena, bilo ona koja su afrički umetnici iskoristili, kroz vreme da se stvore jedinstveni radovi koji mogu da komuniciraju na snažan način. Kao umetnički muzej, naš primarni fokus su umetnička dela, kao početna tačka ka razumevanju i priznanju nečeg višeg. To je estetski susret za koji ohrabrujemo ljude da ga iskuse kroz određeni fokus na predmete i da ih onda zainteresujemo da prihvate nove informacije koje možda nisu znali ranije.

Moja sledeća izložba i publikacija *Afrički kosmos: Zvezdane umetnosti* u 2012. godini nastavljala je seriju usmerenu na afričke doprinose istoriji znanja. Ovaj projekat je preispitivao popularnu javnu percepciju Afrikanaca kao kulturnih, ali ne i naučnih subjekata. Kako sam i sama amaterski posmatrač zvezda, pomislila sam „Kakve su ovo veze sa nebesima i kako možemo da krenemo od Egipta i same istorije astronomije, sve do današnjice u razmatranju dugog i bogatog umetničkog i intelektualnog zanimanja Afrike za nebesa?” Ono čemu se nadaš u stvaranju takve izložbe podstaknute i vođene određenom idejom je da ljudi kasnije mogu da kažu „Nisam znao da Afrika ima pisma”, „Nisam znala da Južna Afrika poseduje bogatu istoriju astrofizičkog proučavanja i da ima najraniju opservatoriju južno od Sahare”. To su ti mali „aha” momenti, kako ih zovemo, koji možda mogu da ohrabre dalji proces učenja, da promene mišljenje posetilaca kroz davanje izazova onome što već znaju – ili misle da znaju – o Africi. Takođe je važno da posetioci razumeju da se Afrika stalno menja, ali jedan od nedostataka naše kolekcije, ako mogu tako da kažem, je da nemamo mnogo primera – jako malo, zapravo – tzv. savremene tradicionalne umetnosti. Postoje savremene tzv. tradicionalne maskarade koje se izvide, na primer u Burkini Faso, Nigeriji, kao i drugim mestima, kojima se ukazuje na tekuća, savremena pitanja. U našem muzeju trebalo bi da se više bavimo dokumentovanjem, prikupljanjem i pričanjem i tih priča, koje čine deo procesa promena celog kontinenta.

artworks as diverse as ancient Egyptian arts to the so-called traditional arts (18th, 19th, and 20th century), and contemporary African art. The objects illustrated how African artworks included writing systems invented, appropriated, borrowed, utilized by African artists over time to create unique works of art that communicate in powerful ways. As an art museum, our focus is on artworks first, as the jumping off point to an understanding and appreciation of something more. So it's an aesthetic encounter that we're first encouraging people to experience through a focus on the objects, and then to get them interested in learning new things that they may not know.

My 2012 exhibition and publication *African Cosmos: Stellar Arts* was the next one in the series focused on African contributions to the history of knowledge. The project challenged popular public perceptions of African as cultural, but not scientific, beings. Being a star-watcher myself, just an amateur, I thought “Well, what are these connections with the heavens and how can we again go all the way back to Egypt and the history of astronomy and up to the present in considering Africa's long and rich artistic and intellectual engagement with the heavens?” What you actually hope for in creating such idea-driven exhibitions is that people leave the exhibition and say “I didn't know that Africa had writing systems”, “I didn't know that South Africa has a long history of astrophysical observation and has the earliest observatory south of the Sahara”. These are little “aha” moments that maybe encourage ongoing learning, change visitors' perspectives through challenging them about what they know – or think they know – about Africa. And it's also important for visitors to understand that Africa is continually changing, but one of the drawbacks of our collection, if I may say, is that we don't have a lot of examples – very few, if any – of the so-called contemporary traditional art. There are contemporary so-called traditional masquerades that are being made and danced today, for example in Burkina Faso, Nigeria, elsewhere, that address current, contemporary issues. Our museum should be documenting and collecting and telling those stories, too, as part of Africa's ongoing change.



Edo umetnik, stil dvora Beninskog kraljevstva, Nigerija, Komemorativna kraljevska bista, 18. vek, legura bakra, gvožđe, 33 x 23.5 x 23.2 cm, Smitsonijanov institut, Nacionalni muzej afričke umetnosti, poklon Džozefa H. Hiršhorna 1979, 85-19-16. Foto: Frenko Huri

Edo artist, Benin kingdom court style, Nigeria, Commemorative head of a king, 18th century, Copper alloy, iron, 33 x 23.5 x 23.2 cm, National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn to the Smithsonian Institution in 1979, 85-19-16
Photo: Franko Khoury

Nuna umetnik, Burkina Faso, Maska, Sredina 20. veka, drvo, pigment, metal, 60.5 x 173 x 17 cm, Smitsonijanov institut, Nacionalni muzej afričke umetnosti, poklon Volt Dizni kompanije, 2005-6-47. Foto: Frenko Huri

Nuna artist, Burkina Faso, Mask, Mid-20th century, Wood, pigment, metal, 60.5 x 173 x 17 cm, National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, gift of Walt Disney World Co., a subsidiary of The Walt Disney Company, 2005-6-47. Photo: Franko Khoury



Nešto što zaista želimo da naglasimo izložbama i programima je da se povežemo sa iskustvima posetilaca. Na primer, ti dolaziš iz Srbije, imamo i posetioce iz Japana i Kine, Indije, SAD, raznih područja Afrike, stanovnike iz Vašingtona, afričkih imigranata sa svojim decom, svi oni dolaze u naš muzej i, ako uradimo svoj posao kako valja, mogu da nauče kako afrička umetnost komunicira, da shvate ideje i vrednosti koje čine afričku umetnost – tradicionalnu i savremenu, kao i kako ove ideje i vrednosti imaju odjeka na njihov život. Razlog našeg rada je u tome što ako ne napravimo tu povezanost, rizikujemo da će oni otići i više nikada neće pomisliti na Afriku ili afričku umetnost kao o nečemu što je bitno u njihovim životima. Zato uvek pokušavamo da se povežemo sa iskustvima posetitala i mislim da je to izuzetno važno.

ST: Želeo bih da nastavimo da pričamo o publici. Vezano sa tim, Vi ste bili jedna od urednica zbornika *Muzeji i zajednice: Politika javne kulture* (sa Ivanom Karpom (*Ivan Karp*) i Stivenom D. Lavinom (*Stiven D. Lavine*)). Da li možete da mi kažete, kao kustoskinja, nešto više o strategijama povezivanja sa publikom koje primenjujete u Muzeju. Spominjali ste nekoliko izraza, poput *stakeholder* publika, iskustvo posetilaca, proces učenja u toku. I, koliko se sećam, na otvaranju izložbe *Razgovori* obratili ste se publici rečima „Dobro došli kući”.

KMK: Da, „Dobro došli kući” je nešto što govorimo na otvaranjima naših izložbi i drugim događajima kao način da naglasimo da je Afrika, kao mesto rođenja čovečanstva, i mesto rođenja svih nas i da svi treba da osećamo tu vezu sa Afrikom. Tako da je to lak način da poželimo dobrodošlicu svima u našu muzejsku porodicu, s nadom da na taj način ljudi mogu da prihvate da su sve te priče, izloženi predmeti i programi koji se dešavaju povezane i sa njima. Na kraju krajeva, nadamo se da ćemo ih podstaći i pobuditi u njima zanimanje.

Naša publika je mnogostruka. Kao jedan od Smithsonianovih muzeja i turistička destinacija, imamo lokalnu, nacionalnu i međunarodnu publiku. I kao što sam ranije spomenula, imamo i tzv. *stakeholder*

One of the things that we really want to do more with exhibitions and programs is to connect to visitors' experiences. So, you're coming from Serbia, we have visitors coming from Japan and China, or India, or USA, some places in Africa, people from Washington DC, African immigrants with their children, they all come here, and if we do our job well, then they begin to learn how African art communicates and the ideas and values that form African art – traditional and contemporary, and how these ideas and values resonate with their own lives and experiences. Because, if you don't make that connection, then we run the risk that these visitors would leave the museum and would never think about Africa and African art as relevant to their lives. And that's extremely important, in my opinion.

ST: I would like to continue talking about the audience. Regarding this, you were also one of the editors of *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Can you tell me as a curator about your strategies for audience outreach? Also, you mentioned several key words like “*stakeholder audiences*”, “*visitor experience*”, “*ongoing learning*”. And at the exhibition opening, while addressing the public, you said “*Welcome home*”, which stayed on my mind; I would like to hear more about it.

KMK: Well, “*Welcome home*” is really something we say at our exhibition openings and other events as a way to emphasize that Africa, as a birthplace of humankind, is the birthplace of all of us, and thus we all should feel a connection to Africa. So, it's an easy way to welcome everyone into our museum family, and hopefully by being welcoming, we get people involved in realizing that these stories that we tell, the objects that we place on view, the programs that we put on, all should connect with them in some way. Ultimately, we hope to engage them and reference their interest as well.

Our audiences are multiple. We are a Smithsonian museum and a tourist destination, so we have local, national and international audiences. And as I've

publiku i opštu publiku kojima se obraćamo. Tako gradimo izložbe imajući u vidu posebnu publiku. Imamo određene izložbe koje su opremljene za decu i usmerene ka njima i porodicama sa decom. Brina Frejer, kustoskinja kolekcije, bira predmete iz naše kolekcije i stvara ovakve izložbe koje su prijemljive, pristupačne za porodice, ali i opštoj publici (poput izložbi *Veliki i mali* i *Životinje pune umetnosti*). Takođe, imamo izložbe koje su usmerene ka kolekcionarima i poznavacima (koji brzo nestaju u našem polju u ovo vreme), ka specijalistima koji su poznavaci afričke umetnosti. Volt Dizni Tišman kolekcija afričke umetnosti je dobar primer izložbe koja se obraća toj publici. Otvorili smo je kao malu izložbu 2007, zatim kao veliku i danas smo posvetili celu galeriju za prikazivanje ove zbirke. Ovakve izložbe koje su fokusirane na predmete, usmerene ka estetskom doživljaju, nemaju veliku priču iza sebe, za razliku od izložbi iza kojih stoje određene ideje koje sam spomenula ranije, a koje su takođe veoma bitne u našem polju. Pravimo i izložbe koje su isključivo savremene. Ne kažemo da svaki put kada imamo savremenu izložbu ona mora da bude mešana sa tradicionalnom umetnošću, međutim shvatamo da postoje određene izložbe kojima je potreban ekskluzivan fokus na savremenu umetnost. Nekada je to vezano za Afriku, nekada za dijasporu. Ponekad pravimo izložbe, poput umetnika u dijalogu, koje dovode dva umetnika u kreativni dijalog, naprimer: Antonio Ole (*António Ole*) i Eme Mpane (*Aimé Mpane*), ili Sandile Zulu i Enrike Oliviera (*Henrique Oliveira*).

Razumevanje posetilaca je izuzetno važno. Kada sam radila u Smitsonijanom prirodjačkom muzeju – moja izložba *Afrički glasovi* je tamo još uvek postavljena – testirali smo publiku da bismo razumeli kako razmišljamo o posetiocima i pristupima izložbi. Ponekad pravimo i upitnike za naše posetioce u Nacionalnom muzeju afričke umetnosti. Na primer, povodom izložbe *Afrički kosmos* brinula sam da li će posetioći razumeti veze između meseca koje sam napravila i predmeta Luba i drugih, zato što jednostavno mesec nije očigledan – posmatrajući sve to iz perspektive sa strane – u tim predmetima. Zato je bilo neophodno da prevedem vizuelne kodove koje

mentioned before, we have the so-called stakeholder audiences and general audiences we serve. So we create exhibitions with different audiences in mind. We have certain exhibitions that are geared to children and family groups. Bryna Freyer, our collections curator, draws from our own collections and creates these kinds of exhibits that are accessible, family-friendly, and that appeal to our general audiences (these include exhibitions such as *Big and Small* and *Artful Animals*). Now, we have other exhibits that are geared to collectors and connoisseurs, a skill that is fast becoming lost in our field these days, specialist who are connoisseurs in the field of African art. The Walt Disney Tishman African Art Collection is a good example of an exhibition that appeals to collectors and connoisseurs. We opened a small exhibition of the collection in 2007, than a larger one, and we have devoted a gallery since then to works from the Disney-Tishman collection. These and other shows have that focus on the object, the aesthetic encounter, and not a big storyline, unlike in the idea-driven exhibits I mentioned before, which are also important for the field. We also do exhibitions that are strictly contemporary. We're not saying that every time we put a contemporary art show, it needs to be mixed (with traditional art), but we do understand that there are certain exhibits that need an exclusive focus on the contemporary. Sometimes the focus is on African contemporary; sometimes we take a diasporan perspective. Sometimes we create exhibitions, like our artists in dialogue exhibits, that bring two artists into creative dialogue with each other (António Ole and Aimé Mpane, Sandile Zulu and Henrique Oliveira).

Understanding your visitors is important. I used to work in the Smithsonian's Natural History Museum – the *African Voices* exhibition is still on view there – and we did some testing that informed how we think about the visitors and the exhibition approaches we adopted for that project. We also sometimes conduct visitor surveys here at this museum. For example, I was very worried that in the *African Cosmos* exhibition that people wouldn't understand the connections to the Moon that I was exploring through objects made by Luba and other artists, because the Moon

su umetnici upotreбили u stvaranju tih predmeta i razumevanju konteksta kako su ti isti predmeti bili upotrebljavani, kao i kako su idejno bili vezani za mesec. Kustos pokušava da prevede ove ideje u priče koje angažuju oči i um posetilaca. Pokušavaš da se obratiš raznolikoj publici, da radiš sa nekim drugačijim pogledom na stvari, drugačijim tempom, pristupom bojama i inskripcijama, kao i dužinom tekstova, da napraviš mešavinu i informišeš posetioce, ali da ih ne zatrpaš podacima. Izložba je jedinstven alat za učenje. Mnogi kompromisi se prave na putu stvaranja jedne izložbe, jer ne možeš jednostavno samo da okačiš knjigu na zid, publika nije dostupna celog semestra kao kada predaješ na fakultetu, ne možeš da se osloniš na ironiju koja će biti svima jasna, ne možeš da uradiš mnoge stvari koje inače možeš na školskom času, i da istovremeno ljudi imaju 20 ili 30 minuta da obidu ceo muzej. Tako da zaista trebaš da znaš kako da ciljaš na mnogostruke interese različitih posetilaca – koji dolaze nekada samo jednom, nekada kao stalni posetioci. Sve se ovo mora imati u vidu zajedno sa izazovima razmatranja koliko predmeta možeš da imaš u galeriji, da bude dovoljno mesta za sve, za pisanje inskripcija i tako dalje.

Pored ovih izložbi, koje su usmerene za specifične posetioce, imamo i višestruk pristup ostalim programima. Na primer, jedan edukator je posvećen programima i angažmanu sa osnovnim i srednjim školama (K12); zatim, specijalista za povezivanje sa publikom, čiji je fokus opšta publika, ali posebno i afrički imigranti koji ranije nisu toliko dolazili u ovaj muzej, ali sada dolaze u većem broju; edukator koji je posvećen programima izvođačkih umetnosti; kao i načelnik odeljenja koji vodi programe za odrasle, akademske i instruktorske programe (docenti). Takođe, pokušavamo da ohrabrimo učitelje da uključe Afriku u svoje časove, od predškolskog do kraja osnovne škole, kao i univerzitetske profesore.

is really not apparent when you just look – with an outsider's perspective – at the objects. Therefore, I needed to translate the visual codes that artists employed in creating the objects and in understanding the contexts in how the objects were used and how these were connected to ideas about the moon. A curator tries to translate these ideas into stories that engage visitors' eyes and minds. You're trying to engage different audiences, work with a different look, a different tempo, a different approach to color and label copy, even a different length to label copy, and so just trying to mix it up a bit and give information, but not to overload the visitor. An exhibition is a very unique teaching tool. Many compromises are made on the way to creating an exhibition because you cannot put a book on a wall, you don't have your audience for an entire semester like you do when teaching at university, you can't rely on irony being easily understood, you can't do the kinds of things that you can do in classroom teaching, to get through the museum visitors who may pass through the exhibition in 20 or 30 minutes or so. So you have to really know how to create exhibits that target the multiple interests of the multiple visitors who come through the museum, sometimes only once, sometimes as repeat visitors. All of this comes into play, coupled with the challenges of figuring out how many objects you can have in the gallery, making sure there's enough room, drafting label copies, all of those things.

In addition to exhibitions geared to diverse audiences, we also have multiple approaches to programming. For example, here at the National Museum of African Art, we have an educator charged with developing K through 12 programming and outreach; an audience outreach specialist, whose focus is broadly audiences, but in particularly African immigrant audiences who weren't coming to this museum in great numbers and now they're coming more; an educator who's devoted to creating performing arts programming; and a department head who is also the head of adult and scholarly programs and also our docent program. And we're also trying to encourage teachers to incorporate Africa into their school teaching, from kindergarten to the 12th grade, and then university teaching as well.

STRANA 202

Eldzier Kortor, rođen 1916, SAD, *Mrtva priroda: Suvenir br. IV*, 1982, ulje na platnu, 144.8 x 83.8 cm. Kolekcija Kamile O. i Vilijama H. Kozbija Juniора. Foto: Frenk Stjuart, uz dopuštenje umetnika

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Eldzier Cortor, born 1916, United States, *Still Life: Souvenir No. IV*, 1982, Oil on canvas, 144.8 x 83.8 cm, the Collection of Camille O. and William H. Cosby Jr. Photo: Frank Stewart, permission with courtesy of the artist

STRANA 203

Henri Osava Taner, 1859–1937, SAD, *Zahvalni siromašni*, 1894, ulje na platnu 90.3 x 112.5 cm, Kolekcija Kamile O. i Vilijama H. Kozbija Juniора. Foto: Frenk Stjuart

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Henry Ossawa Tanner, 1859–1937, United States, *The Thankful Poor*, 1894, Oil on canvas 90.3 x 112.5 cm The Collection of Camille O. and William H. Cosby Jr. Photo: Frank Stewart



ST: Razgovarajući o izložbama koje imaju i akademski fokus i koje su pristupačne široj publici, prisetio sam se primera Suzan Vogel (*Susan Vogel*), čini mi se da je u pitanju izložba *Umetnost/Eksponat* opisana u knjizi *Exhibiting cultures*. Ona navodi problematiku šta jedan predmet čini autentičnim, tradicionalnim ili fabrički proizvedenim za strano, turističko tržište. Predmeti na toj izložbi bili su izloženi jedni do drugih, naglašavajući ovu sumnju, dok su posetioци pokušavali da odrede koji je autentičan, a koji nije. Ovo je bila zanimljiva strategija da se podstakne i jedno akademsko pitanje.

KMK: Ta izložba (*Umetnost/Eksponat*) jeste zanimljiv primer. Nešto što, čini mi se, do sada nismo uradili je da oživimo izložbene predmete sa glasovima i perspektivama pojedinaca koji mogu da nam pomognu u razumevanju ovih predmeta – njihove prošlosti i sadašnjih značenja. Postoje izložbe afričke umetnosti iz sveta koje uspešno primenjuju ovu strategiju, gde se oslanjaju na govornika koji daje ličnu perspektivu, zašto je taj i taj predmet značajan u određenoj kulturi

ST: Talking about how to create exhibitions that have both a scholarly focus and an appeal to a general audience, I remember an example by Susan Vogel, I think it was for the exhibition *Art/Artifact* described in *Exhibiting Culture*, who talked about the problem of what makes an object authentic or inauthentic, traditional or fabricated for an outside, tourist market. Objects in this exhibition were positioned one next to each-other, posing this question, and the visitors were trying to identify which one was which, which was authentic, which wasn't. This was a strategy that engaged scholars as well as the general public.

KMK: That one (*Art/Artifact*) is an interesting example. One of the things that I don't think we've done well here at this museum yet is to enliven the objects that we place on view with the voices and perspectives of individuals who might help us understand these objects in their past and current cultural connections. There are exhibitions of African art around the world that successfully employ this strategy, one that relies on a spokesperson to provide a perspec-



danas. Na već spomenutoj izložbi *Afrički glasovi* u Nacionalnom prirodničkom muzeju postoji primer ove ideje gde su učenici srednje škole upitani da govore o Nyau inicijacijskoj masci objašnjavajući šta oni vide u njoj u okviru svog savremenog konteksta. Neki od njih su pričali o moći predaka, na primer Afrička galerija Horniman (Hornimann) muzeja u Velikoj Britaniji uključuje dosta komentara različitih govornika, poput umetnika, radnika u kulturi, akademika, kustosa, koji mogu da pričaju o tim objektima i pruže posetiocima ličnu i upućenu perspektivu. Posetioci vole ovakve stvari zato što mogu da prepoznaju stvarne ljude iza ovih uvida, a ne samo kustoski glas na izložbi koji govori šta „treba” da se zna. Značajno je čuti šta je starijoj osobi ili deci relevantno u jednom predmetu koji je stotinama godina star. Takve izložbene strategije ohrabruju posetioce da učestvuju u ovom deljenju znanja, učenja i pravljenja izbora, detaljnog posmatranja, što je nešto što muzeji pokušavaju da podstaknu, zajedno sa višestrukim perspektivama, glasovima koji nas podsećaju da ne postoji samo jedna interpretacija predmeta, već više njih – uključujući tu

tive on why that object is meaningful in a particular culture today. Over at the *African Voices* exhibition at the National Museum of Natural History, there is a good example of this in the display devoted to the Nyau initiation mask where upper-level high school students were asked to talk about that type of mask, explaining what was meaningful to them about it in their current contexts. The students talked about the power of ancestors, for example. The Africa gallery at the Hornimann Museum in Great Britain includes lots of commentary by spokespeople, such as artists, culture-bearers, scholars, curators, who can speak about objects and give visitors a more informed and personal perspective. Visitors like that sort of thing because they can see real people offering these insights, and it’s not just the curatorial voice telling you what you “should” know. It’s meaningful to hear that an older or a younger person still finds relevance in an object that might be hundreds of years old. Such exhibition strategies encourage visitors to participate in this sharing of knowledge, learning about or making choices, looking closely, which is what art museums

i posetioce – koje pridodaju razumevanju i uživanju u predmetu, tako izbegavajući oslanjanja samo na kustoski glas. Tek onda ovi predmeti postaju značajni za današnje ljude i njihove živote; to je pravac gde bih želela da vidim naš muzej u budućnosti.

ST: Vratimo se na izložbu *Razgovori*. Postoji nekoliko sekcija izložbe koje su podeljene prema temama: Duhovnosti; Ljudsko prisustvo; Moć i politika; Sećanje, porodica i domaćinstvo; Priroda kao metafora i Muzika i urbana kultura. Ljudi veruju da se kustosi, tradicionalno, bave predmetima i da stvaraju most između tih predmeta i priče koja se nalazi iza njih. Kažite mi nešto više o ovom procesu. Kako ste izgradili priču ove izložbe?

KMK: Da, zaista gradimo mostove u ovom poslu. Uzimajući predmet, pokušavamo da otkrijemo višestruke načine da mu pridemo. Za ovu izložbu, kao tim od četiri kustosa, na samom početku smo prepoznali značajne radove iz obe zbirke – muzejske (afrička umetnost) i Kozbi (afroamerička). Važno je uokviriti izložbu na istorijski način, da postoje vremenske odrednice. U Kozbi kolekciji datumi započinju sa 1799, s najranijim radom Džoše Džonstona (*Joshua Johnston*), sve do ranih 80-ih godina 20. veka sa radom Žan-Mišela Baskijata (*Jean-Michel Basquiat*). Što se tiče naše kolekcije, uključeni su radovi tradicionalne afričke umetnosti stari nekoliko stotina godina, do radova savremenih umetnika 20. i ranog 21. veka, želeći da osiguramo istorijsku dubinu svake kolekcije. Sa izložbama težimo da osiguramo da imamo raznolikost u pogledu regiona, umetnika, predstava, muških i ženskih umetnika, tražeći balans, dok kao kustosi imamo fokus, tačku gledanja koju zastupamo. U trenutku kada ustanoviš koji su to sve vredni radovi koji će činiti izložbu, ostali deo posla je poput mešanja karata, počinješ da uviđaš kako se predmeti grupišu zajedno, kao da je nešto organsko u pitanju, predmeti teže da budu jedan sa drugim. Pred-

are trying to encourage, along with the multiple perspectives, multiple voices that remind us that there is not just one interpretation of an object, but that multiple perspectives – including that of the visitor – can add to one's understanding and enjoyment of the object, thus avoiding a reliance on the curatorial voice. Because then these objects become relevant to real people, real lives; that's where I'd like to see our museum going.

ST: To get back to the *Conversations* exhibition itself, I've seen that there are several sections developed with their own themes: Spiritualities; A Human Presence; Power and Politics; Memory, Family, and the Domestic Sphere; Nature as Metaphor; and Music and Urban Culture. Traditionally people believe that curators deal with objects and that they are the bridge between an object and the story behind it. Tell me more about the process, how have you built the overall story?

CMK: Yes, we do build bridges in the work we do. We are trying to take an object and begin to reveal multiple ways to access that object. For the exhibition *Conversations*, we were a team of four curators, first and foremost we started by identifying the great works of art from each of the collections – from our museum's collection of African art, and from the Cosby collection of African American art. It is important to frame the exhibition/collection historically, to make sure there are a range of dates. In the Cosby collection of African American art, the dates range from 1799 as the earliest in a work by Joshua Johnston, up to early 1980s with work by Jean-Michel Basquiat. With the African art, we included works of traditional African art dating hundreds of years old to works by contemporary artists dating to the late 20th and early 21st centuries, this strategy ensuring that we showed the historical depth of each collection. In creating exhibitions, we strive to make sure we have diversity in terms of regions, artists, representations, male and female artists, seeking balance as curators while maintaining a focus, a point of view to convey. Once you identify those great works of art that form part of an exhibition, then it's almost like shuffling a deck

Malik Sidibe, rođen 1935, Mali, *Božićno veče - Veseli klub*, 1963, štampano 2008 (gelatin silver print) slika: 42.5 x 43 cm, stranica: 61 x 50 cm, Smitsonianov institut, Nacionalni muzej afričke umetnosti, muzejska nabavka, 2009-12-3. Foto: Frenko Huri

Malick Sidibé, born 1935, Mali, *Nuit de Noël (Happy-Club)*, 1963, printed 2008, Gelatin silver print, Image: 42.5 x 43 cm, Sheet: 61 x 50 cm, National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, museum purchase, 2009-12-3. Photo: Franko Khoury



Nuit de Noël (Happy-Club) 1963

Malick Sidibé

2008

meti u prvoj prostoriji izložbe *Razgovori*, gde se nalazi uvod, ili drugoj, u kojoj su Duhovnosti, mogu lako da budu smešteni i u sekciju koja je posvećena Ljudskom prisustvu. Dok drugi mogu da pripadaju i delu posvećenom Moći i politici... Radeći sa odabranim predmetima, počinješ da primećuješ teme i ideje koje povezuju predmete, a oni te navode da suziš ili proširiš tu temu. U Duhovnostima namerno smo ovaj koncept stavili u množinu, zato što smo želeli da ljudi razumeju da ne postoji jedan pristup u razumevanju sfere duhovnosti.

U celom ovom procesu dizajneri te sve vreme prate. Potrebne su im lista predmeta, sekcije, uputstva i dr. Tako paralelno činiš i ove izbore i radiš to jer imaš krajnji rok. Dizajneri te teraju da budeš neumoljiv, da braniš svoj izbor i u trenutku kada predmeti uđu u trodimenzionalni prostor, kustosi rade pomno zajedno sa dizajnerima koji stvaraju prostor koji čini deo ideja, tema i raspoloženja, koje izložba želi da istraži. Moj profesor, pokojni Roj Siber (*Roy Sieber*), govorio je: „Počni i završi sa predmetom”, želeći da kaže

of cards, you start to see how the objects are grouped together, it's almost like an organic thing, object want to move together. In the first room of *Conversations*, which is the introduction, or the second theme which focuses on Spiritualities, objects from these areas of the exhibit could also easily fit into the section devoted to A Human Presence. Some of these same objects could also have fit easily into the section devoted to Power and Politics... By working from those objects you identify for an exhibition, you begin to see themes and ideas that link one object to another, leading you to narrow the theme or to expand it. In Spiritualities, we deliberately made the concept plural because we wanted people to understand that there is no one approach in the notion of the spiritual.

In this process, designers are pushing you the whole time. They need the object list, sections, directions, etc. So you're making these choices continually and you're doing it because you have to – you're on a deadline. The designers are forcing you to be rigorous, to defend your choices, and when you begin

da kao istoričar umetnosti počinješ svoje istraživanje sa predmetom. Mora da ima nešto u sebi to što te je privuklo i što bi ti pomoglo da ispričaš priču. I kada obaviš celo istraživanje oko predmeta, vratiš se samom predmetu kao početnoj i završnoj tački jednog istorijskog pitanja.

ST: Znam da smo ovo spomenuli i ranije, zanima me da li možete da mi kažete ukratko nešto više o misiji Nacionalnog muzeja afričke umetnosti. Na sajtu sam video Vaš petogodišnji strateški plan, postavljen za preuzimanje na vrlo transparentan način. Na početku piše da je misija „inspirisati razgovore o lepoti, moći i raznolikosti afričkih umetnosti i kulture iz celoga sveta”. Takođe, ličan momenat koji me jako zanima: postoje muzeji sa kolonijalnom prošlošću i Smitsonijan nije jedan od takvih muzeja, za razliku od nekih drugih muzeja iz Evrope. Da li možda vidite ulogu muzeja kao sredstva da se razgovara o kolonijalizmu, neokolonijalizmu, borbi protiv predrasuda i rasizma?

KMK: Čini mi se da se ne bavimo tim muzeološkim pitanjima na tako direktan način kroz naše izložbe, u smislu da nismo ekskolonijalna institucija, ali razumemo da ljudi donose sa sobom deo te istorije kada ulaze na vrata našeg muzeja. Ostali muzeji poput Kraljevskog muzeja centralne Afrike u Tervurenu, u Belgiji, bavio se tim pitanjima kroz određene izložbe. Međutim, često uočavamo, ovde u Smitsonijanu da je publika mahom turistička i da često nisu zainteresovani za debate koje su nama, kao profesionalcima, značajne. I dosta je izazovno misliti da izložbe mogu da pokrenu ta pitanja, a da ne odvrte opštu publiku. Pričali smo o ovome povodom izložbe *Afrički glasovi*, čak smo napravili modele poput kiosk-kućica, svaki sa svojom problematikom, da vidimo da li bi posetioци bili zainteresovani da istraže neke teme kojima se mi bavimo u svom polju. Međutim, rezul-

to put them into a three-dimensional space, curators work closely with designers who create a space that works with the ideas, the themes, and the moods that the exhibition seeks to explore. My professor, the late Roy Sieber, said “Begin and end with the object”, meaning that for an art historian, you begin your enquiry with the object; it must have something to grab you that helps you tell a story. And then you do all your other research around it, and come back to the object as the beginning and ending point of art historical enquiry.

ST: We have touched on this before, can you give me a brief overview of The National Museum of African Art’s mission and work. I’ve seen your 5 year downloadable strategic plan on the official website standing very transparent. At the beginning it says that the museum’s mission is “to inspire conversations about the beauty, power and diversity of African arts and culture worldwide”. Can you tell me about the museum’s key concepts relating to this plan? Another thing I’m personally interested in: There are museums with a colonial past and while the Smithsonian is not a museum like that, unlike some European museums, do you maybe see the museum’s role as a way to talk about colonialism, neocolonialism, to fight prejudice and racism?

KMK: I don’t think we tackle those kind of museological issues in a very direct way through our exhibitions, in terms of the fact that we’re not an ex-colonial institution, but we understand that people bring some of that history with them when they come through the doors of our museum. Other museums, like the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren, Belgium has tackled some of that in certain kinds of exhibitions. But we have found often, here at the Smithsonian, because audiences here are primarily tourists, that they are not necessarily engaged in the debates that occupy us as scholars. And it’s a little bit challenging to think about exhibitions that can address those kinds of concerns and not turn the general visitor off. We discussed this challenge in creating the African Voices exhibition at the National Museum of Natural History, and we even prototyped some issues-oriented

tati su nam otkrili da oni žele da dođu, da im se kaže šta su ti objekti, koje su značenje imali i kako su se koristili. Očekuju informacije i podatke, a kada smo testirali ovaj pristup, otkrili smo da je nekim posetio-cima čak smetalo ako su osetili da mi od njih očeku-jemo nešto što, zapravo, nije deo njihovog iskustva i znanja. Toliko turista prolazi kroz ceo Smitsonianov kompleks muzeja; svake godine prođe mnogo turista koji ne žele da posvete veliki deo svog vremena da pogledaju svaku izložbu, kao ni da se udube u ideje koje stoje iza njih, što bi možda činili neki drugi po-setioci, u drugim institucijama.

Kako stoji na našoj veb-stranici, prioritet nam je da budemo jedan od vodećih centara za umetnost Afrike. Mislim da je nestvarno da bilo koje mesto može da bude jedini vodeći centar, ali kad ljudi pomisle na Afriku, nadam se da pomisle i na naš muzej. Sa našim ekskluzivnim fokusom na umetnosti Afrike imamo dubinu iskustva, ekspertizu koju mnogi muzeji nema-ju, shodno činjenici da često imaju veoma široke kolekcionarske interese. Na primer, naši konzervato-ri se samo bave afričkom umetnošću. Koliko drugih muzeja i konzervatora ima taj nivo ekspertize gde *zaista* poznaju materijale iz Afrike? Imamo kustose i konzervatore koji razgovaraju o tome da li je površi-na predmeta prava ili neprikladna, da li je u pitanju evropska ili afrička prašina, bili biste iznenađeni ka-kvim pitanjima se bavimo kada posmatramo jedno umetničko delo. Uz to, pokušavamo da dobijemo i kulturni kontekst predmeta, da razumemo njegovu istoriju od trenutka kada je napustio Afriku do mesta u muzeju, ali i njegovu istoriju pre nego što je napu-stio Afriku. Ovo je često istorija gde nam nedostaju određeni podaci, imajući u vidu da je afrička umet-nost prikupljana tokom vremena.

U vezi sa našim muzejom, mislim da je estetski doživljaj koji naglašavamo, shodno tome da smo usmereni na to da razgovaramo o umetnosti i estet-skim sistemima, taj da bez davanja kvalifikacija posetioci koji ulaze na naša vrata – iako, to možda i ne očekuju – neće biti inspirisani da prepoznaju da postoji izvrsna umetnost u Africi, i tako će možda promeniti pređašnji sud. To se dešava kada se ljudima

kiosks to see if visitors to that museum would be in-terested in exploring some of the ideas that engage us in the field. But the results revealed that they want to come in, to be told what the objects were, what they meant, and how they were used. They expected infor-mation and facts, and when we did tested the idea, we found that the visitors got annoyed when they felt we were expecting them to know something that was not really part of their experience base, their knowledge base. Possibly because so many tourists pass through Smithsonian museums each year, visitors may not want to devote as much time to exhibitions, and the ideas that inform them, as might visitors at other in-stitutions.

We have priorities, as you saw online, to be a leading center of the arts of Africa. I think it's unrealistic to think that any one place could be THE leading center, but when people think Africa, I hope that they think of our museum. With an exclusive focus on the arts of Africa, we have a depth of experience, expertise that most institutions simply don't have by the virtue of the fact that they have broader collecting interests. For example, our conservators – that's all they work on, African art; how many other museums and con-servators have that level of expertise where they *re-ally* know African materials? Here we have curators and conservators speaking together about whether the surface of an object is right or inappropriate, is this European dirt or African dirt, you'd be surprised at the kinds of questions we have when we look at an African work of art. But we're trying to get to the cultural context of the object before us, to understand its history from the time it left Africa to its place in the museum, but also its history before it left Africa. This is often a history that is lacking in specific infor-mation, by virtue of the way that African art has been collected over time.

For our museum, I think that the aesthetic approach that we take, by virtue of the fact that we are focus-ing on and talking about art and aesthetic systems, without qualifying it, that visitors walking through our doors – even if they were not expecting to – will be inspired to recognize that there is exceptional art

omogućiti da posmatraju predmete pažljivo – to je ono što (umetnički) muzeji rade. Kada kustos počinje sa dekodiranjem tog sveta, zato što taj svet nije 100% očigledan svima, posetioci počinju da uviđaju afričku umetnost u nekom novom svetlu. Osećamo da je to naša misija – da naglasimo značaj afričke umetnosti i estetike, kroz sjajne izložbe, publikacije, programe i povezivanje sa publikom, kojima izgrađujemo posetu i produžavamo naš opseg rada u svetu.

Nešto što mi se čini da možemo da naglasimo malo više u narednim godinama je da izgradimo snažnije veze sa afričkim kontinentom. Više uključivanja publike, više interaktivnosti, takođe strateški pristup u građenju kolekcija tzv. savremeno-tradicionalne umetnosti, da bi naši posetioci razumeli da su afričke tradicije žive i zdrave, stalno se menjajući sa vremenom, kao i stvarajući značajne i sofisticirane predmete i estetske izraze koji zaslužuju našu pažnju.

Prevod (englesko-srpski): Srđan Tunić

Sve fotografije su dobijene uz saglasnost za objavljivanje i štampu od glavne kustoskinje Muzeja Kristine Malen Krimer (kreamerc@si.edu) i muzejskog PR-a Edward Burke (BurkeE@si.edu).

Napomene:

1 O izložbi *Razgovori* sa sajta muzeja: <http://conversations.africa.si.edu/>

* Romare Bearden, Elizabeth Catlett, Beauford Delaney, Loïs Mailou Jones, Jacob Lawrence, Keith Morrison, Faith Ringgold, Augusta Savage, Henry Ossawa Tanner, Alma Thomas

** [U muzejskom kontekstu stejkholderi čine posebnu vrstu publike koja ima interes da ulaže u muzej(e). Predstavljaju jednu od ciljnih grupa posetilaca u strategiji promocije muzeja - Prim. red.]

from Africa, thus possibly challenging their preconceptions. When you get people to look at objects and to look carefully – that's what an art museum does. Once the curator begins to decode that world, because it's not necessarily one-hundred percent apparent to those who are not in the know, then visitors start to see African art in a new light. We just feel like that is our mission – to emphasize African art and aesthetics and to do it through great exhibitions, publications, programs, and outreach that really builds our visitorship and extends our reach worldwide.

One of the things I'd like to foster more in the coming years would be stronger connections with the African continent. More audience engagement, more interactivity, also thinking very strategically about building collections of so-called contemporary-traditional, to make sure that visitors understand that African traditions are alive and well, changing over time, and still creating great and sophisticated objects and aesthetic expressions that deserve our attention.

Translation (English-Serbian): Srđan Tunić

All photographs obtained from the Museum's Chief Curator Christine Mullen Kreamer (kreamerc@si.edu) and Museum PR Edward Burke (burkee@si.edu), who granted permission for their publication.

Notes:

1 Information about the exhibition *Conversation* taken from the museums website: <http://conversations.africa.si.edu/>

Izložba**KOTOKO KONJANICI,
ČUVARI DUŠE**

iz zbirke Pjerluidija Peronija

Kustos izložbe i autor kataloga:
Marija Ličina

Muzej afričke umetnosti, 26. decembar 2013 – 1. novembar 2014.

Exhibition**KOTOKO EQUESTRIANS,
GUARDIANS OF THE SOUL**

from the Pierluigi Peroni Collection

Exhibition curator and catalogue author:
Marija Ličina

Museum of African Art, 26 December 2013 – 1 November 2014

Naučna i stručna javnost u Srbiji imala je priliku da, od 26. decembra 2013. godine do 1. novembra 2014. godine, u Muzeju afričke umetnosti vidi izuzetnu izložbu *Kotoko konjanici, čuvari duše*. Autorka ove izložbe je antropolog Marija Ličina.¹

Na izložbi je predstavljeno više od tri stotine minijaturnih statueta konjanika *puču gvinadi*, većinom živih od bronz, iz kolekcije italijanskog kolekcionara Pjerluidija Peronija. Kolekcionar je, u pokušaju da na terenu i u literaturi istraži predmete iz svoje bogate kolekcije, kontaktirao Muzej afričke umetnosti u Beogradu i njegove stručnjake, a pre svih Mariju Ličinu koja je imala zapažena istraživanja o zapadnoafričkoj bronzi i tegovima za merenje zlata. Pred naučnu javnost i širu publiku stigla je vredna zbirka zahvaljujući podršci Skupštine grada Beograda i Italijanskog centra za kulturu u Beogradu.

Početkom maja 2014. godine održala sam čas mojim studentima u Muzeju afričke umetnosti i tada nas je Marija Ličina vodila kroz izložbu, naglasivši da je želela da prikaže kako etnografski kontekst ovih predmeta, tako i njihovu stilsku raznovrsnost. Značajki je prenela svojim mlađim kolegama noetičko polje ovih figura, koje pripadaju kulturi naroda Kotoko koji naseljava predele Kameruna, Čada i Nigerije, da su nošeni najčešće kao privesci i da su imali funkciju amuleta koji oslobađaju čoveka od zasednutosti duhovima.

Marija Ličina je objasnila da pristup predmetima primenjen u izložbenom rešenju korespondira sa izlaganjem teksta u katalogu.² Najveći deo kolekcije čine pojedinačne statuete konjanika, bez drugih vrsta

From 26th December 2013 to 1st November 2014 the scientific and academic public in Serbia had the opportunity to see an exceptional exhibition at the Museum of African Art: *Kotoko Equestrians – Guardians of the Soul*. The author of the exhibition was Marija Ličina, anthropologist¹.

More than three hundred miniature horsemen statuettes, mainly cast in bronze – the *putchu guinadi*, from the private Italian collection of Pierluigi Peroni, were displayed. In an attempt to investigate the objects from his rich collection, both in the field and through literature, the collector contacted experts from the Museum of African Art, first of all Marija Ličina, who had conducted noteworthy research on West African bronze sculptures and gold weights. His valuable collection was presented to the scholarly and wider public thanks to the support of the City Assembly of Belgrade and the Italian Cultural Centre in Belgrade.

In the beginning of May 2014 I gave a lecture to my students at the Museum of African Art. After that, Marija Ličina led us through her exhibition, during which she emphasized her intent to display both the ethnographic context of the objects and their stylistic diversity. She expertly related to her younger colleagues the noetic character of these figures, which belong to the culture of the Kotoko people who inhabit areas of Cameroon, Chad and Nigeria. She mentioned that the figures were most frequently worn as pendants, serving as amulets whose function was to free a person from spirit possession.

Marija Ličina explained that the exhibition layout corresponded to the presentation of the texts in the



Statuete konjanika *puču gvinadi*, Zbirka Pjerluidija Peronija.
Foto: Vladimir Popović

The *putchu guinadji* horsemen statuettes, Collection of Pierluigi Peroni.
Photo by Vladimir Popović

dodataka i amuleta, a postavljen je naspram tamne pozadine u središnjem delu galerije, „sa ciljem da se izdvoje i istaknu skulptoralne odlike i estetika”. *Puču gvinadi* statuete odlikuju se velikom stilskom raznovrsnošću, od figura koje se približavaju realističkom izrazu do slobodnih stilizacija i gotovo apstraktnih formi.

Za njihov prikaz Marija Ličina je osmislila vizuelno rešenje koje je u vidu vajanih podloga od gipsa kreirala Milica Josimov, akademski vajar. Marija Ličina ističe da su „tamne površine podloga sa dubokim tonovima zelene i plave oblikovane, patinirane i ‚dodeljene’ različitim stilovima *puču gvinadi* figura, u zavisnosti od osnovnih odlika figura – njihovog naglašenog volumena ili linearnosti, tekstura i nijansi metala, kao i rešenja same kompozicije konja i jahača – ponekad pokornih, a ponekad odvažnih, u stavu ili nagoveštaju pokreta i snage”.

Marija Ličina je posetiocima ponudila još tri vizuelna izvora na izložbi: 1) prikazane su u velikom formatu **fotografije autora Vladimira Popovića**, koje nose specifičan ambijent primenjen u samom izložbenom prostoru, sa nagoveštajem kretanja Kotoko konjanika kroz nepoznate predele i reljefe; 2) na dva panoa postavljeni su **rendgenski snimci „tajanstvenih konjanika”** – onih statueti konjanika koje su u potpunosti prekrivene kožnim omotačima, a time i nevidljive direktnom pogledu; 3) na kraju, prikazane su na **tri ekrana kratke video-forme, koje je režirao Aleksandar Maričić**. Prvi je filmski kolaž

catalogue publication². The major part of the collection, consisting of individual equestrian statuettes, bare of other kinds of accessories or amulets, was exhibited in the central part of the gallery, set against a dark background “with the aim of singling out and highlighting their sculptural features and aesthetics”. The *putchu guinadji* statuettes are characterized by a large stylistic variety, ranging from figures approaching a realistic expression to free stylizations and almost abstract forms. Marija Ličina created the visual design for their display – on horizontal gypsum boards, which were made by academically trained sculptor Milica Josimov. Marija Ličina pointed out that the “dark surfaces of the boards, in deep green and blue tones were shaped, patinated and ‘assigned’ to different styles of the *putchu guinadji* figures, depending on the essential features of the figures – their pronounced volume or linearity, texture and hues of the metal, as well as the composition of the horse and rider – who sometimes appear docile, and at times bold, in a pose suggesting motion and strength”.

Marija Ličina offered three additional visual sources to the visitors of the exhibition: 1) large-format **photographs of the exhibits made by Vladimir Popović**, which recreate the specific ambiance of the exhibition space, alluding to the movement of the Kotoko equestrians through unknown landscapes and terrains; 2) two panels with **X-rays of “mysterious horse riders”** – horsemen statuettes completely covered in leather, therefore invisible when viewed

sačinjen od scena festivala Sao-Kotoko snimljenih pre nekoliko godina i dostupnih na internetu, sa ciljem da se omogući uvid u savremeni trenutak naroda i kulture Kotoko kojima se najčešće pripisuju figure *puču gvinadi*. Drugi video-materijal uključuje isečke etnografskih filmskih zapisa Žana Ruša snimljenih na prostoru Nigerije pre više decenija, snimke sa festivala Durbar u gradu Kano, kao i panoramski prikaz regiona jezera Čad i kadrove koji ukazuju na dramatično isušivanje jezera i nepregledne prostore kojima se dalje prema severu kreću karavani. Treći video predstavlja svojevrsno „oduhovljenje/oživljavanje/animaciju” predmeta, kroz pokret i mimiku glumca Nenada Maričića koji, kako autorka ističe, „sugeriše nemir duše, ali i spokoj koji bar za tren može ponuditi amulet sa svojom moći zaštite, dok nosi ogrlicu sa *puču gvinadi* priveskom na dlanu. Čovek sa amuletom *puču gvinadi* snimljen je na brisanom, pustom prostoru, dok se u njegovoj pozadini nazire panorama grada, Beograda”.

A iz našeg Beograda i iz Muzeja afričke umetnosti ovom zapaženim izložbom Marija Ličina je po-

directly; 3) finally, **three screens with short videos, which were directed by Aleksandar Maričić**. The first one is a film collage made of scenes from the Sao-Kotoko festival, recorded a couple of years earlier and made accessible on the internet; it offers insight into contemporary moments of the people and the culture of Kotoko, to whom the *putchu guinadji* figures are most frequently attributed. The second video includes clips from ethnographic film recordings made many decades ago in Nigeria by Jean Rouch, video shots from the Durbar festival in the city of Kano, a panoramic view of the Chad lake region, frames indicating the dramatic desiccation of the lake, as well as the immeasurable expanses through which caravans ride further, toward the north. The third video is a sort of “ensoulment/enlivening/animation” of the objects, through the movement and mime of actor Nenad Maričić, which, as the author stresses, “suggest the restlessness of the soul, but also the tranquility that the amulet can bring for at least a moment with its power of protection, while he carries a chain with the *putchu guinadji* amulet in his palm. The man with

Stilska raznovrsnost statuete konjanika *puču gvinadi*,
Zbirka Pjerluidija Peronija.
Foto: Vladimir Popović

Stylistic diversity of the *putchu guinadji* horsemen statuettes,
Collection of Pierluigi Peroni.
Photo: Vladimir Popović



slala široj i naučnoj javnosti više predloga za dalja istraživanja. Verujem da je kolekcionar ovih predmeta i zaljubljenik u Afriku gospodin Pjerluidi Peroni zadovoljan. Ispunio je jedan od svojih kolekcionar-skih ciljeva, a kroz naporan rad Marije Ličine dobio odgovore na mnoga pitanja. Neka, podseća Marija Ličina, predstavljaju otvoreno polje istraživanja, gde postoje malobrojni i neusaglašeni podaci. Materijal i izraz, kao i diskontinuitet u obradi metala kod naroda Kotoko otvoreni su za dalja proučavanja.

I ova izložba realizovana je zahvaljujući Narcisi Knežević Šijan koja je, kao višegodišnja direktorka Muzeja afričke umetnosti u Beogradu, ostavila trag u ambicioznim i vrednim programima Muzeja. Kao nastavnik, ponosna sam na Mariju Ličinu i njen istraživački rad u realizaciji ove značajne izložbe.

Senka Kovač

Napomene:

1 **Marija Ličina (1976)** diplomirala je na Odeljenju za etnologiju i antropologiju na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu 2006. godine, a 2013. stekla je master u oblasti Teorije kulture i studije roda na Fakultetu političkih nauka u Beogradu. U Muzeju afričke umetnosti zaposlena je od 2007. godine. Autorka je dve studijske izložbe minijature bronzane plastike i kataloga izložbi: 2010/11 - *Tegovi za merenje zlatnog praha naroda Akan*; 2013/14 - *Kotoko konjanici, čuvari duše - iz zbirke Pjerluidija Peronija* (tekst kataloga sa Draganom Miškovićem). Bila je i asistent na pripremi izložbe i kataloga *Tradicionalni murali Afrike* (autorka Nataša Njegovanović Ristić, Muzej afričke umetnosti 2014/2015). Marija Ličina osmišljava i vodi muzejske programe edukacije i animacije i likovne radionice za studente, srednjoškolski i dečji uzrast. Bavila se istraživanjem strukture i razvoja programa u delatnosti Muzeja afričke umetnosti od njegovog osnivanja do danas, kao i njihove recepcije od publike i šire javnosti.

2 Autori teksta kataloga su Marija Ličina i Dragan Mišković. Opširnije u mom prikazu: Marija Ličina, Dragan Mišković, *Kotoko konjanici, čuvari duše iz zbirke Pjerluidija Peronija*, Beograd: Muzej afričke umetnosti, 2014, *Etnoantropološki problemi*, br. 9(4). 2014, p. 149 (1169–1170).

the *putchu guinadji* amulet is shot in an open, empty space, against a panorama of the city – of Belgrade, which is discernible in the background.”

From our Belgrade and from the Museum of African art, Marija Ličina has offered the wider and academic audience several suggestions for further research. I believe that mister Pierluigi Peroni, the owner of the objects and an African art aficionado, is satisfied. He fulfilled one of his collecting goals, and, owing to the arduous work of Marija Ličina, received answers to many questions. Some of them, reminds Marija Ličina, represent a field that is open for investigation, where the existing data is scarce and conflicting. The material and the artistic expression, as well as the discontinuity in metal-working among the Kotoko await further study.

This was another exhibition that was accomplished thanks to Narcisa Knežević Šijan, the longstanding director of the Museum of African Art, who left her mark on the ambitious and praiseworthy Museum programs. As a teacher, I am proud of Marija Ličina and the research that went into the preparation of this important exhibition.

Senka Kovač

Notes:

1 **Marija Ličina (1976)** graduated from the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, in 2006. In 2013 she received her MA in Theory of Culture and Gender Studies from the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade. She has worked at the Museum of African Art since 2007. She is the author of two museum exhibitions dedicated to miniature bronze sculpture and two exhibition catalogues: 2010/2011 – *Gold Weights of the Akan People*; 2013/2014 – *Kotoko Equestrians, Guardians of the Soul – from the Pierluigi Peroni Collection* (catalogue co-authored with Dragan Mišković). She was the assistant curator of the *Traditional African Murals* exhibition and the catalogue (authored by Nataša Njegovanović Ristić, Museum of African Art 2014/2015). Marija Ličina conceives and conducts educational museum programs and art workshops for university, high school and primary school levels. She has researched the structure and development of program activities at the Museum of African Art, from the Museum's inception to the present, as well as the reception of the programs by the public and wider audience.

2 Marija Ličina and Dragan Mišković are the authors of the catalogue texts. See more in my review: Marija Ličina, Dragan Mišković, *Kotoko Equestrians, Guardians of the Soul, from the Pierluigi Peroni Collection*, Belgrade: Museum of African Art, 2014, *Etnoantropološki problemi*, no. 9(4). 2014, p.149 (1169-1170).

Izložba**REFLEKSIJE NA ODJEKE***Odjeci... iz zvučnog arhiva Kraljevskog muzeja za Centralnu Afriku***Kustosi izložbe:***Emilia Epštajn, Rémy Jadinon***Muzej afričke umetnosti, 13. novembar – 20. decembar 2014.****Exhibition****REFLECTIONS ON ECHOS***Echos...from the Royal Museum for Central Africa Sound Archives***Exhibition curators:***Emilia Epštajn, Rémy Jadinon***Museum of African Art, 13 November – 20 December 2014**

Izložba *Odjeci... iz zvučnog arhiva Kraljevskog muzeja za Centralnu Afriku* postavljena je u Muzeju afričke umetnosti (MAU) u Beogradu novembra 2014. godine i rezultat je saradnje MAU sa belgijskim Kraljevskim muzejom za Centralnu Afriku (KMCA) u Tervurenu, nadomak Brisela. Za obe strane uključene u projekat (KMCA/Belgija i MAU/Srbija) kreiranje izložbe izvan okvira matične institucije bilo je posebno značajno s obzirom na činjenicu da je decembra 2013. godine KMCA zatvoren usled velikog poduhvata renoviranja i ozbiljne reinterpretacije svoje stalne postavke.¹

Kao muzej, institut i veliki istraživački centar, KMCA je razvio poseban program *Pop-up Museum* kojim institucija garantuje svoje prisustvo na lokalnoj i internacionalnoj sceni u ovom prelaznom periodu, a izložba u MAU je jedina izložba koju je KMCA ostvario u regionu jugoistočne Evrope.² Format i koncept izložbe u velikoj meri određeni su finansijskim i organizacionim ograničenjima ovog projekta,³ ali je iskustvo rada na projektu pokazalo da „rad sa onim što imaš“ može na više načina da se u teorijskom smislu pokaže korisnim; pokazalo je da zapravo neka pitanja koje izložba treba da preispita, ako koja su problemski postavljena, ne treba da zavise, ali ona i ne zavise od tehničko-tehnološkog ulaganja.

Ideja za ostvarivanjem saradnje nastala je nakon posete KMCA⁴ i razgovora sa kustosom etnomuzikološke zbirke KMCA – Remijem Žadinonom⁵ (decembar 2013. godine). KMCA poseduje preko 8.500 tradicionalnih muzičkih instrumenata iz Centralne Afrike, međutim, ono što predstavlja posebnu vrednost KMCA je to da pored materijalne kulture, on poseduje više od 37.000 zvučnih snimaka, što ga čini

The *Echos...from the Royal Museum for Central Africa Sound Archives* exhibition was mounted at the Museum of African Art (MAA) in Belgrade in November 2014. It was the result of a collaboration between the MAA and the Belgian Royal Museum for Central Africa (RMCA), which is located in Tervuren, within reach of Brussels. For both parties involved in the project (RMCA/Belgium and MAA/Serbia) developing an exhibition outside the home institution carried special significance, due to the fact that the RMCA was closed down in December 2013 for a large renovation project that included a major reinterpretation of its permanent display.¹

As a museum, institute and large research centre, the RMCA developed a special *Pop-up Museum* program to ensure the presence of the institution on the local and international scene in this transitional period, and the exhibition at the MAA was the only one that was organized by the RMCA in the region of Southeastern Europe.² The format and concept of the exhibition were in large part determined by the project's financial and organizational limitations³, but the experience of working on the project showed that “working with what you have” can, in a theoretical sense, prove useful in several ways; it showed that if the exhibition is aimed at problem solving, some issues that are supposed to be reassessed by it, should not, and do not depend on technical and technological investments.

The idea for collaboration arose after a visit to the RMCA⁴ and a conversation with the curator of the RMCA's ethnomusicology collection, Rémy Jadinon⁵ (December 2013). The RMCA owns over 8,500 traditional musical instruments from Central Africa; how-



Prostor izložbe *Odjeci...*, 2014.
Foto-dokumentacija MAU

The *Echoes...* exhibition space, 2014.
MAA photo documentation

jednim od najvećih zvučnih arhiva u Evropi. Uviđajući poteškoće koje mogu da osujete saradnju, koja bi za okosnicu imala gostovanje predmeta iz zbirki, na licu mesta smo se preusmerili na ideju da izložimo arhivski materijal. Izazov je zapravo rešen posebnim pristupom koji je insistirao na *dovoljnosti samih zvučnih zapisa kao primarnih oblika muzealije*. Zvučni zapisi su sami po sebi ekskluzivitet u muzejskom svetu: oni su u ravnopravnoj meri čuvana blaga i čuvana znanja u meri u kojoj su to i predmeti materijalne kulture sa kojima se prvenstveno susrećemo u muzejskom prostoru. Njihovim iznošenjem i izlaganjem uvideli smo mogućnost da se približimo preporučivanoj i, u nekim slučajevima, već primenivanoj praksi u domenu muzeologije, koja insistira upravo na činjenju „dostupnim” zbirki i arhiva muzeja najširoj javnosti. Dostupnost arhiva jednaka je otvaranju mogućnosti za preispitivanjem ponuđenih znanja koje institucije i oni koji u njima rade, usled privilegovane pozicije (iste te dostupnosti), imaju.

Od više hiljada zvučnih zapisa kustos Remi Žadinon je izabrao je devet, koji dolaze iz Ruande,

ever, what gives the museum a distinct quality is that, apart from material culture, it holds more than 37,000 sound recordings, which makes it one of the largest sound archives in Europe. Realizing the difficulties that can thwart a collaboration based on the display of artifacts from museum collections, we made a decision on the spot to adjust our concept and exhibit archival materials instead. The challenge was actually answered by using a particular approach that insisted on the *sufficiency of the sound recordings themselves as the primary form of musealia*. Sound recordings, as such, are exclusive in the museum world: they are in equal measure safeguarded treasures and safeguarded knowledge, to the same extent as objects of material culture, which are the predominant exhibits to be encountered in the museum space. By exhibiting the sound recordings, we have recognized the possibility of getting closer to the recommended and, in some cases, applied museological practice that insists precisely on making the museum collections and archives “accessible” to the widest audience. The accessibility of archives means introducing new pos-

Burundija, Gabona i DR Kongo i koji ilustruju pet muzičkih instrumenata: bubanj *ingoma*, citru *inanga*, rôgove *amakondera*, harfu *ngombi* i vođeni bubanj *neike*. Ovi zvučni zapisi do sada nisu bili izlagani kao „jedinica” (muzealija) za sebe, niti u Belgiji, niti u Srbiji. Najstariji zvučni zapis izlagan u Beogradu je iz 1973, a najnoviji je iz 2013. godine. Žadinon je napravio izbor zvučnih zapisa koji treba da ilustruju ***širok spektar tradicionalnog muzičkog života u Centralnoj Africi primerima kraljevskih, popularnih i pesama koje prate rad. Primerici pokazuju različite instrumente poput bubnjeva, harfi i pljeskanja rukama, kao reprezentativne oblike muzičke i društvene dinamike savremene Afrike.***⁶

Odjeci... iz zvučnog arhiva Kraljevskog muzeja za Centralnu Afriku je u suštini minimalistička izložba⁷. Na zidu kod samog ulaza u prostor male sale izložene su kopije muzejskih kartona koji prate zvučne zapise i arhivski fotografski materijal koji prati svaki zvučni zapis. Uglavnom su to bile fotografije koje ilustruju sam zvučni zapis: instrument i onoga koji rukuje njime. Po ulazu u salu ***zvučni zapisi su izloženi*** na devet ekrana sa slušalicama. Paralelno sa zvukom bilo je moguće pratiti ***zvučni otisak*** vizuelnim putem u formi spektograma koji se prikazivao na ekranima. Ekрани su bili tu da fokusiraju pažnju posetioca/slušaoce na sam zvučni zapis, ali je uvođenje spektograma u izložbu, na neki način, predstavljalo poigravanje sa jednim oruđem stručnjaka (etnomuzikologa) i mogućnošću brisanja oštne linije između stručnjaka i posetilaca kada su upravo arhivski materijali u pitanju.

U prvobitnoj razradi koncepta sa Žadinonom postojala je ideja da se kreira „izložba zvuka” koja bi uključivala: zvučne zapise, dokumentarne fotografije, predmete/muzičke instrumente i podatke iz muzejskih kartona. Svi oni bi trebalo da ponude „opis” realnosti, „situacionu deskripciju” u kojoj je zvučni zapis snimljen, odnosno sakupljen, prisvojen i sačuvan. I dalje: „U okviru programa ‚Ostanite u toku! (*Stay Tuned!*)’ od publike se očekuje da ode korak dalje u doživljavanju i interakciji sa predmetom materijalne kulture (muzičkim instrumentom) u muzejskom okruženju. Organizovane muzejske posete i radionice bi bile u vezi sa temom preobražavanja posetioca u „kolekcio-

sibilities for reexamining the knowledge offered by institutions and those working in them, who possess it because of their privileged position (of having that same accessibility).

Among several thousand sound recordings, curator Rémy Jadinon created a selection of nine, which originate in Ruanda, Burundi, Gabon and DR Congo, to illustrate five musical instruments: the *ingoma* drum, *inanga* citra, *amakondera* horns, *ngombi* harp and the *neike* water drum. These sound recordings had not been exhibited as a “unit” (museumia) previously, either in Belgium or Serbia. The oldest of the recordings that were exhibited in Belgrade dates from 1973, and the newest is from 2013. Jadinon made a selection of sound recordings, which were supposed to illustrate ***the wide spectrum of traditional musical life in Central Africa, through examples of royal, popular and work songs. The exemplars showcase different instruments, such as drums, harps and hand clapping, as representative of the musical and social dynamics of contemporary Africa.***⁶

Echos....from the Royal Museum for Central Africa Sound Archives is essentially a minimalist exhibition⁷. Copies of museum accession records, as well as archive photos corresponding to the exhibited sound recordings were mounted on the wall at the entrance to the gallery space. The photographs predominantly illustrated the sound recording itself: the instrument and the person handling it. Inside the gallery ***the sound recordings were showcased*** using nine screens with headphones. Alongside the sound itself, the ***sound print*** could be visually observed in the form of a spectrogram that appeared on the screens. The screens were there to direct the attention of the visitor/listener to the sound recording; however, introducing the spectrogram to the exhibition in a certain way meant playing with the tools of the (ethnomusicologist’s) trade and the possibility of blurring the lines between experts and visitors, with regards to archival materials.

In the initial phase of the development of the concept with Jadinon, the idea was to create “a sound exhibition” which would include: sound recordings, documentary photographs, objects / musical instruments and data from the museum records. All of them were supposed to offer a “description” of reality, a

nara', od koga se očekuje da izvede estetsku/opisnu/vrednosnu procenu snimka. Time se rekreira proces/procedura, koju obavlja istraživač pri sakupljanju podataka na terenu; asocijacije i poređenja posetilaca sa prvobitnim evropskim kolekcionarima, koji su na terenu boravili pre stotinu godina, jesu cilj ovog edukativnog/interaktivnog procesa."

Ne vraćajući se ponovo na razloge odsustva samog predmeta (muzičkog instrumenta) na izložbi, ovo prvo viđenje nam govori dosta o jednom veoma prisutnom teorijskom pojmu i didaktičkoj metodi u okvirima muzeološke prakse, a to je *iskustvo*. Rekreiranje iskustva zauzima važno mesto kada su reprezentacije u pitanju. Interpretacije muzejskih predmeta u većini slučajeva teže tome da „rekreiraju” određeno iskustvo koje istraživač i/ili kustos imaju, a koje posetilac nema. Dugačka je istorija kritike ove ideje „rekreiranja” konteksta posebno u slučaju reprezentacije vanevropskih kultura na Zapadu, ali to nije tema na kojoj se zadržavamo u ovom trenutku. Jedno obuhvatnije pitanje, ili problem, ovde dolazi do izražaja, a to je da je rekreiranje (tuđeg) iskustva nemoguće i da poprima izrazito negativne konotacije i upisivanja na linijama moći kada se to čini u ime drugih i u okvirima komunikacije na osi privilegovani / „drugi”. Vođeni idejom da je zapravo nemoguće petrifikovati, zamrznuti, kondenzovati i apstrahovati, zatim i izložiti „iskustvo”, izložbom *Odjeci...* insistiralo se **na samom zvučnom zapisu**, njegovom doživljaju u trenutku (u mestu, u prostoru MAU) i potpunom individualnom, neponovljivom iskustvu samog posetioca.

Pored iskustva, od samog početka izložbe promišljalo se na koji način će se komunicirati sa **publikom**. Na drugom nivou razmatralo se u kojoj meri možemo i kako reagujemo kao publika na „nama strane” zvučne zapise – zvučne podatke o kojima znamo jako malo, a vrlo često i ništa. Ovom izložbom se prvi put u Muzeju afričke umetnosti pristupilo pojmu **drugog** kroz zvučni zapis, a ne kao tradicionalno nasleđe materijalne kulture. Specifičnosti ove nematerijalne muzealije omogućile su mnogo neposrednije iskustvo i težilo se raskrinkavanju mere u kojoj smo vođeni različitim sociološkim, psihološkim i šire gledano ličnim istorijama (predubedenjima) u procesu

“situational description” in which the sound recording was taken, i.e., collected, acquired and kept. And further: “Within the framework of the ‘Stay Tuned! Program’, the audience is expected to take a step forward with regard to experiencing and interacting with an object of material culture (musical instrument) in a museum setting. Organised museum visits and workshops would work around the theme of transforming the visitor into a ‘collector’ who is expected to conduct an aesthetic/descriptive/evaluative assessment of the recoding. This recreates the process/procedure employed by the researcher who collects data during his fieldwork; associations and comparisons between the visitor and original European collector who was in the field a hundred years ago are the aim of this educational/interactive process.”

Without revisiting the reasons for the absence of the artifact itself (the musical instrument) at the exhibition, this first view is rather telling of a theoretical notion and didactical method, which is very present in the framework of museological practice, and that is *experience*. Recreating experience occupies an important place, when it comes to representations. In the majority of cases, interpretations of museum objects tend to “recreate” a specific experience that the researcher and/or curator possess, which the visitor does not. The history of critiquing the idea of context “re-creation” is a long one, especially in the case of the representation of non-European cultures in the West, but that is not the subject we are dwelling on at the moment. A more comprehensive issue or problem that is brought to the fore here is that recreating (another’s) experience on behalf of others and within the communication framework of privileged / “others” is impossible and takes on pronouncedly negative connotations, which are inscribed into the axis of power. Guided by the idea that it is basically impossible to petrify, freeze, condense and abstract, and then exhibit “experience”, the *Echos...* exhibition insisted **on the sound recording itself**, on the impression it created momentarily (in a place, in the MAA space), and the totally individual, unrepeatable visitor experience.

Beside experience, from the very beginning, the exhibition reflected on the manner in which it would communicate with the **audience**. On another level,



Kreativna radionica održana u okviru izložbe *Odjeci...*, 2014.
Foto-dokumentacija MAU

Creative workshop held during the exhibition *Echoes...*, 2014.
MAA photo documentation

interpretacije materijalne kulture s afričkog kontinenta; kao i načina na koji prostor u kojem izlažemo utiče na naše iskustvo kao muzejskog posetioca, a pod prostorom se misli ne samo na zgradu i njen istorijat i genealogiju već i na Grad, Državu, Region u širem, globalnom kontekstu.

Jedan od lajtmotiva izložbe koji je trebalo da prizove publiku jeste edukativni program javnog vođenja pod nazivom: *kako slušati izložbu*. Ova kralatica trebalo je, na neki način, da predstavi teorijski problem – kako ući u muzej koji ne izlaže prvenstveno predmet i „informaciju”, već nudi „iskustvo” (ponovimo, ne rekreaciju tuđeg iskustva, već kreiranje ličnog iskustva *in situ*, u muzeju).

Edukativni aspekt same izložbe bio je ostvaren na dva načina. Svakom posetiocu data su svojevrsna „Uputstva za upotrebu (izložbe)” i uputstva za „aktivno slušanje”. Poput kataloga, u pitanju je samo pomoćni i dopunski materijal o čijoj upotrebi odlučuje sam posetilac. Ova uputstva odštampana na običnom papiru trebalo je da pospeše koncentraciju, da kreiraju prostor za slobodne asocijacije u liniji čujem/mislim-vidim/osećam, ali i da omoguće analizu različitih sadržaja zvučnog zapisa (melodija, ritam, harmonija; u koraku dalje i prepoznavanje poliritmije, antifonije i polifonije).

we considered to what extent we are able and how we react as the audience to sound recordings “unfamiliar to us” – sound data that we know very little or, often, nothing about. With this exhibition, the notion of the *Other* was, for the first time, approached at the Museum of African Art through a sound record and not through the traditional heritage of material culture. The specific nature of this intangible musealia facilitated a much more immediate experience, and there was a tendency to unravel the extent to which we are guided by various sociological, psychological, as well as personal histories in a broader sense (preconceived notions) in the process of interpreting material culture from the African continent, and to reveal the way that the exhibiting space affects our experience as a museum visitor, and what is meant by space is not only the building and its history and genealogy, but also the City, State, Region in a wider, global context.

One of the leitmotifs of the exhibition, which was supposed to entice the audience was the educational guided tours program named: *how to listen to an exhibition*. This slogan was, in a way, supposed to put forward a theoretical problem – how to enter a museum that does not primarily exhibit the object and “information”, but rather offers “experience” (again, not the re-creation of someone else’s experience, but a personal experience created *in situ*, in the museum).

The educational aspect of the exhibition was accomplished in two ways. Every visitor received a sort of an “(Exhibition) instruction manual” and instruction for “active listening”. This was just additional, supplementary material, a sort of a catalogue, the use of which was decided by the visitor himself/herself. The instructions, printed out on a regular piece of paper, were supposed to improve concentration, to make room for free associations along the lines of hear/think-see/sense, and to facilitate the analysis of the various contents of the sound recording (melody, rhythm, harmony; at a further stage, to recognize polyrhythm, antiphony and polyphony).

Within the frame of a specially designed educational program that accompanied the exhibition, which was partly based on the principles of art-therapy, the audience’s attitude to the “exhibited” sound recording was re-examined. The participants were asked to visualize the sound they heard, to define how they re-



Prostor izložbe *Odjeci...*, 2014.
Foto-dokumentacija MAU

The *Echoes...* exhibition space, 2014.
MAA photo documentation

U okviru posebno osmišljenog edukativnog programa kao pratećeg programa izložbi, a koji se delom zasnivao na principima art-terapije, bio je preispitan odnos publike prema „izloženim” zvučnim zapisima. Od učesnika se tražilo da vizuelizuju zvuk koji čuju, da definišu odnos koji imaju prema njemu i da to izraze crtežom i bojama.⁸ Pored vizuelnog izraza, prateći edukativni programi su uključivali i interakciju svih uključenih u cilju stimulacije razmišljanja o tome kako bi taj zvuk izgledao da je predmet, koje bi „teksture” bio, koje boje ili oblika. Nakon ove vrste animacije, učesnicima su se iznosile etnografske činjenice o predmetima i samim muzičkim instrumentima. U didaktičkom smislu, možda čak i na nivou shvatanja izložbe kao proizvoda koji se konzumira, cilj edukativnog programa bio je da razvije kod publike moć aktivnog slušanja, kao i osećaj za razlike koje postoje između zvuka, muzike, muzičkog instrumenta i, konačno, funkcije zvuka, odnosno uloge muzike u komunikaciji.

Svesni u teoriji osporenog fenomena „univerzalizacije” iskustva drugog, izložbom se na neki način upravo insistiralo na univerzalizaciji, *ali* zapravo, na univerzalnom karakteru zvuka/muzike kao komunikacionog medija koji omogućava razliku,

lated to it and to express that through drawing and colours.⁸ Beside the visual expression, the complementary educational programs included the interaction of all those partaking in the workshop, with the aim of stimulating their thought process with respect to how that sound would look like if it were an object, what kind of “texture” it would have, in what colour or shape it would be. After this sort of animation, participants were presented with ethnographic facts regarding the objects and the musical instruments in question. In a didactical sense, maybe even on the level of the exhibition understood as a product to be consumed, the goal of the educational program was to develop the audience’s power of active listening, as well as a sense of discernment among the sound, music, musical instrument and finally – the function of the sound, i.e. the role of music in communication.

Aware of the theoretically disproved phenomenon of the “universalisation” of the experience of others, we actually insisted on the exhibit’s universalisation, or rather, on the universal character of sound/music as a communication medium, which allows for difference, i.e. for a particularistic and unique “experience”, and which, in a certain “pre-cognitive” moment, performs the role of the potentiality

odnosno partikularističko i jedinstveno „iskustvo”, koji u određenom trenutku „pre znanja” ima ulogu potencijalnosti slobodnog saznavanja. Takođe, jedan od ciljeva rada sa publikom bilo je i isticanje uloge različitih stimulansa i receptora, bilo fizičkih, bilo psiholoških, u procesu saznavanja, kao i načina na koje su naša znanja „kreirana” čak i u situaciji kada se pred nas iznose etnografske činjenice – kao jednom za svagda date.

Poseban segment, takođe deo izložbene postavke, predstavljao je centralno postavljen (radni) sto sa „kustoskim sveskama”. Ova „nedovršena” tačka u prostoru imala je funkciju da podseti posetioce na ulogu i autorstvo kustosa uključenih u kreiranju izložbe, procese razmišljanja u pripremnoj fazi. Izložbe se iznose kao gotova znanja i gotove poruke, ali se vrlo često zaboravlja na to šta je prethodilo: intelektualno i stručno angažovanje, refleksija na temu, promišljanja mogućih ishoda (željenih i neželjenih), ali i upisivanje različitih narativa.

Na izložbi su veoma svesno (i nadamo se save-sno) predstavljeni zvučni zapisi iz područja Ruande, Ugande, Gabona i DR Kongo kao nešto *drugo* i nešto *nepoznato*, jer je to ono što jesu i što posebno dolazi do izražaja u specifičnom odnosu naše sredine sa afričkim kontinentom⁹. Polazeći od ekskluziviteta arhivskog materijala, izložba se poigrava sa pojmom muzealije kao *kuriozitet*; međutim, izbegavajući klasične klopke diktirane paradigmom institucije muzeja i muzeologije kao kreatora znanja čija se naj-diskutabilnija strana ispoljava u formi *egzotizacija drugog*. Drugost, autentičnost muzealije, iskustvo istraživača u izvesnoj meri su ostavljeni po strani (u prostorima u kojima oni postoje – na terenu, iz perspektive subjekta koji saznaje), a od posetioca se tražilo da on ili ona budu ti koji će, kroz posetu i lični angažman u susretu sa zvučnim zapisima, kreirati sopstveno iskustvo, sopstveno znanje. (A nadamo se da su oni hrabriji i temeljniji posetioci uspeli da pre-poznaju meru odgovornosti koju kreiranje znanja u drugome nosi sa sobom.)

of free understanding. Furthermore, among the goals of working with the public was to emphasize the role of various stimuli and receptors, whether physical or psychological, in the cognitive process, as well as the ways in which our knowledge is “created”, even in the situation when we are presented with ethnographic facts – as immutable and undeniable.

A separate segment that was also a part of the display was a desk with the “curator’s notes”. This “unfinished” point in space served to remind visitors of the role and authorship of the curators involved in the creation of the exhibition, the thinking processes involved in the preparatory phase. Exhibitions are presented as ready knowledge and ready-made messages; however, what is often forgotten is that which preceded them: the intellectual and professional engagement, reflections on the topic, deliberations about possible outcomes (desired and undesired), as well as the inscriptions of different narratives.

The exhibition very consciously (and conscientiously, we hope) showcased the sound recordings from the area of Ruanda, Uganda, Gabon and DR Congo, as something *else*, something *unknown*, since that is what they are and what is especially evident in the specific relationship between our own environment and the African continent⁹. Using the exclusivity of the archival material as a starting point, the exhibition toys with the concept of musealia as a *curio*, avoiding however the classical traps dictated by the paradigm of the museum institution and museology – as creators of knowledge, whose most debatable aspect is manifested in the *exoticisation of the Other*. To an extent, the Otherness, the musealia’s authenticity, the experience of the researcher were put aside (in spaces in which they exist – in the research field, from the perspective of the person who gathers knowledge), the visitors being those who were required to create their own experience, their own knowledge, by visiting and engaging with the sound recordings personally. (And we hope that the braver and more thorough museum-goers managed to recognize the measure of responsibility that creating knowledge in others entails.)

Napomene:

1 „Kraljevski muzej za Centralnu Afriku (KMCA) zatvoren je 1. decembra 2013. godine na tri godine zbog renoviranja. Kada se muzej bude ponovo otvorio sredinom 2017. godine, njegov izgled biće drastično izmenjen. Renovirani muzej biće dinamičan, savremeni muzej sa fokusom na društvo. To će biti mesto za prisećanje na kolonijalnu prošlost i stvoriti dinamičnu platformu, koja će omogućiti susrete i dijalog između posetilaca iz različitih generacija i kultura. (...) Stalna postavka je postala **krajnje zastarela**, u oštroj kontrastu sa povremenim izložbama koje su težile da se koncentrišu na naučna istraživanja i aktuelnost zbirke. Sve u svemu, bilo je krajnje vreme za drastično renoviranje i modernizaciju.”

http://www.africamuseum.be/museum/renovation/renovate/index_html

2 „Protokol o saradnji” na izložbi *Odjeci...* potpisan je između KMCA i MAU 2014. godine. Planira se potpisivanje i drugog protokola o saradnji koji će omogućiti gostovanje MAU i zvučnog arhiva KMCA u drugim prostorima u zemlji i regionu kroz poseban program *Putujuća izložba – Odjeci...*

3 Projekat je ostvaren na međusobnoj podršci i saradnji KMCA i MAU (koji finansira Sekretarijat za kulturu Grada Beograda, uz pomoć Francuskog instituta, ali bez ikakvih većih sponzorstava).

4 Poseta je ostvarena u okviru stručne posete Belgiji koju su obavile bivša direktorka MAU Narcisa Knežević Šijan i kustoskinja Emilija Epštajn, a koju je finansirao Sekretarijat za kulturu – Grad Beograd.

5 Rođen 1983. godine, Remi Žadinon (*Rémy Jadinon*) stekao je diplomu Mastera iz antropologije na Slobodnom univerzitetu u Briselu. Zaposlen je kao asistent istraživača u Službi za kulturu i društvo u KMCA od 2009. godine, gde se bavi dokumentovanjem etnomuzikoloških kolekcija. Remi je posebno zainteresovan za procese društvene i muzičke transformacije u okviru promene tradicionalnog muzičkog u popularni repertoar.

6 Iz prepiske sa R. Jadinonom (oktobar 2015).

7 O izložbi se govori kao o nepromenljivoj celini, o nečemu što kao jedinica postoji nakon što se izložba izmešta iz prostora reprezentacije – izložbene sale.

8 Ove radionice su se održavale u već ustanovljenom dvočasovnom terminu za radionice, nedeljom 11–13 časova, i omogućavale su zajednički rad roditelja/pratioca sa svojom decom, kao i samostalan rad tinejdžera i starijih posetilaca. Interesantno je da je specifičnost samog materijala – „zvučnog zapisa”, otvorila mogućnost za istovremeni rad veoma široke starosne (naravno, podrazumevano i socijalne) grupe: od najmlađih, do najstarijih, upravo jer se insistiralo na vizuelizaciji zvuka, koju je svaka osoba bila u stanju da za sebe sprovede. Deca, naviknuta na različite didaktičke tehnike i metode, lako su se uključivala u dinamiku radionice (slušanje-crtanje/slikanje), ali je bilo od posebnog značaja kada su odrasli bili u mogućnosti da prevaziđu „strah od nepoznatog”, „strah od neznanja” i „strah od informacije” (tako čestih, a nedovoljno razrešenih problema u radu sa publikom), da su i sami našli izraz i vizuelni oblik za ono što čuju i osećaju dok slušaju.

9 Koja nakon posleratnog (Drugi svetski rat) Jugoslovenskog perioda i perioda osnivanja i delovanja Pokreta nesvrstanih (počekom 60. godina 20. veka) nema zvaničnu ideološku pozadinu u svojim ekonomskim, kulturološkim i drugim političkim odnosima s afričkim državama.

Notes:

1 “On 1 December 2013 the Royal Museum for Central Africa (RMCA) closed its doors for a three year renovation period. When the museum reopens in mid-2017, it will have drastically changed in appearance. The renovated museum will be a dynamic, contemporary museum with a focus on society. It will be a place to remember the shared colonial past and will create a dynamic platform to facilitate encounters and dialogue between visitors from different generations and cultures. (...) The permanent exhibition had also become **extremely dated**, in sharp contrast with the temporary exhibitions which tended to concentrate on scientific research and the topicality of the collections. All in all it was high time for a drastic renovation and modernisation.”

http://www.africamuseum.be/museum/renovation/renovate/index_html

2 The “Collaboration protocol” for the *Echos...* exhibition was signed between the RMCA and the MAA in 2014. Another protocol to ensure a visiting exhibition of the MAA and the RMCA’s sound archive at other locations in the country and region, within a special program titled *Touring exhibition – Echos...*, is planned on being signed.

3 The project was carried out through the mutual support and collaboration of the RMCA and the MAA (financed by the Secretariat for Culture of the City of Belgrade, with the help of the French Institute, although without any major sponsorships.)

4 The visit took place as part of a professional visit to Belgium by former MAA director Narcisa Knežević Šijan and curator Emilia Epštajn, which was financed by the Secretariat for Culture – the City of Belgrade.

5 Born in 1983, Rémy Jadinon received his Master degree in Anthropology at the Université Libre de Bruxelles. He has worked as a research assistant at the Service Culture & Society RMCA since 2009 where he documents the ethnomusicological collections. Rémy is particularly interested in the processes of social and musical transformation involved in the shift from a traditional musical repertoire to a popular one.

6 From the correspondence with R. Jadinon (October 2015)

7 The exhibition is discussed as an unalterable whole, something that exists as a unit after the exhibition is dislocated from the representation space – the exhibition hall.

8 The workshops were held according to an already established weekly schedule – on Sundays from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., which made it possible for the parents/companions to work together with their children, while teenagers and older visitors were free to work independently. It is interesting to note that the specific nature of the material – the “sound recording”, opened up possibilities for working with a very broad age range (and by default a broad social range) simultaneously: from the youngest to the oldest visitors, precisely because what was insisted on was the visualization of sound, which every person was able to perform on their own. For children, who are used to various didactic techniques and methods, it was easy to get involved in the workshop’s dynamic (listening—drawing/painting), but it was especially meaningful when adults managed to overcome their “fear of the unknown”, “fear of ignorance” and “fear of information” (so frequent, but insufficiently resolved problems in working with the public), so as to express and find a visual shape for what they heard and felt while listening.

9 Which, after the postwar (WW II) Yugoslav period, and the period of the Non-Aligned Movement’s foundation and activity (at the beginning of the 1960s), lacks an official ideological framework in its economic, cultural and other political relations with African countries.

Izložba

Tradicionalni murali Afrike

Kustos izložbe i autor kataloga:

Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

Muzej afričke umetnosti, 30. decembar 2014 – 30. avgust 2015.

Exhibition

Traditional African Murals

Exhibition curator and catalogue author:

Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

Museum of African Art, 30 December 2014 – 30 August 2015

V eć duže vreme viši kustos Nataša Njegovanović Ristić bavi se istraživanjem plošnih medija u Africi. Njena istrajna tematska istraživanja preistorijskog slikarstva, *body arta*, umetnosti tekstila i reklamnih frizerskih i berberskih tabli zaokružena su njenom autorskom izložbom otvorenom decembra 2014. godine *Tradicionalni afrički murali*. Izložba je tokom 2014–2015. godine izazvala veliko interesovanje posetilaca, provocirala brojne razgovore, predavanja, debate i susrete. Prostor izložbe Muzeja afričke umetnosti postao je vrsta laboratorije u kojoj se govorilo o tehnikama, stilu, istoriji i estetici afričkog slikarstva, i ateljea u kome se slikalo na temu murala kroz ciklus radionica „Razigrani zidovi”.

Zidovi boje isušene zemlje, usmereno osvetljenje, likovna muralna ekspozicija, po zamisli autorke, u kombinaciji slika većeg formata, reljefnih odливaka i friza slikanih motiva, čitljivo i upečatljivo još jednom preispituje afričku izražajnost. Kao posledica, fascinacija likovnošću muralnih slika ne prestaje i Muzej afričke umetnosti ovom izložbom nastavlja popularizaciju afričke umetnosti i predstavlja ideju autorke izložbe da se afrička umetnost poima na višeslojan način i u tome uspeva. Upravo ovih dana, decembra 2015. godine izložba gostuje u Narodnoj skupštini Srbije.

U uvodnom delu, na podijumu i samom ulazu u izložbenu salu, prikazane su žene Ndebele u tradicionalnim nošnjama, pozirajući ponosno ispred svojih kuća – samim prisustvom dočaravajući način života i osoben ponos što žive u tako lepom ambijentu, za koji je trebalo puno truda i umeća slikarkama ovih impozantnih oslikanih zidova, kao i celih kompleksa.

Dokumentarnost izložbe autorka je ostvarila zahvaljujući velikom naporu i inicijativnosti kustosa Marije Ličine. Tako je došlo do povezivanja sa

F or a long period of time, Nataša Njegovanović Ristić, a senior curator, has done research on two-dimensional art in Africa. As a result of her persistent thematic research into prehistoric painting, body art, textile arts and hairdresser and barbershop advertising boards, she authored the exhibition *Traditional African Murals*, which was opened in December 2014. During 2014 and 2015, the exhibition attracted a lot of visitors and provoked many discussions, lectures, debates and meetings. The exhibition space of the Museum of African Art was turned into a laboratory where people discussed techniques, style, history and aesthetics of African painting, and an atelier where people made paintings inspired by murals, in a series of workshops named “Playful Walls”.

Walls painted in the colours of dried soil, directed lights, the visual display of the murals -as conceived by the author- in a combination of larger format pictures, relief casts and motifs painted in a frieze, legibly and impressively reexamine African expressiveness once again. As a result, the fascination with the visuality of the mural pictures has not ended. By this exhibition the Museum of African Art continues with the popularisation of African art and successfully presents the author’s idea that the comprehension of African art is multilayered. These days, in December 2015, the exhibition is being hosted at the National Assembly of Serbia.

In the introductory segment of the display, on the platform at the entrance to the exhibition hall, Ndebele women were presented wearing their traditional costumes and posing proudly in front of their houses. Their presence *per se* portrays their way of life and a distinct pride in living in so nice an environment. In order to create it, much effort and skill was required

mnogim centrima u Africi: Direkcija za kulturno nasleđe Burkine Faso ustupila je dokumentarne fotografije murala naroda Gurunsi, zatim profesori Nsuka univerziteta u Nigeriji i Umetničko udruženje Nigerije ustupili su fotografije murala naroda Igbo, sa nadaleko čuvenim, visoko simboličnim *Uli* motivima i oslikanim *Nsibidi* znakovima, koji imaju značenje pisma. Beogradska izložba uključila je i veoma značajne terenske fotografije naroda Basoto u Južnoj Africi fotografkinje Karine Bejer. U samu ekspoziciju autorka je uključila dve beogradske umetnice, koje su posebno za potrebe izložbe i kataloga uradile veliki broj verističkih fotografija, replika i rekonstrukcija.

Snažne kolorističke replike murala i muralskih motiva upotpunila je slikarka Gordana Njegovanović Penfound, dajući savremenu reinterpretaciju zidnih slika. Naime, ona je pedantno, sa velikim strpljenjem, uradila dvadeset replika murala u kompjuterskoj animaciji. U predstavljanju Gurunsi umetnosti vajarka Milica Josimov dala je svoj autentični doprinos. Pred publikom je bila uzbudljiva rekonstrukcija reljefnih kompozicija sastavljenih od asocijativnih simbola i totemskih životinja rađenih na osnovu drevnih prototipova i uobičajene, opšte prihvaćene slikarske matrice.

Snimci arhitekture dočaravaju drevnu praksu izgradnje kod sedelačkih naroda koji su, za razliku od nomadskih, podizali trajna naselja i stvarali umetnost. Fotografije na izložbi upoznaju nas sa odlikama seoske arhitekture: jednostavne forme građevina, koje zadovoljavaju potrebe svakog porodičnog domaćinstva su najčešće kružni kompleksi opasani spoljašnjim zidom. Na kućama od cigli ili sušene zemlje umetnice svojim slikarskim postupkom preobražavaju zidove u specifično i uzbudljivo slikarsko platno. S jedne strane, jednostavnost samih naseobina, a nasuprot tome, neočekivana, neobična i često fascinantna likovna rešenja.

Prividno, ta rešenja odaju utisak puke dekorativnosti, ali nije tako: ornamenti i ukrasi na zidovima kuća koji pokrivaju i poslednji centimetar površina, osim estetske dimenzije, poseduju bogate simbolične sadržaje, koji promovišu najznačajnije društvene vrednosti zajednice.

Tradicionalni murali Afrike Nataše Njegovanović Ristić potvrđuju bogatstvo afričkih umetničkih

from the painters of these imposing wall paintings and entire complexes.

The author gained the documentary value of the exhibition owing to the great effort and initiative of curator, Marija Ličina. She helped to get into contact with many centres in Africa: the Directorate of Cultural Heritage of Burkina Faso provided documentary photographs of murals of the Gurunsi people, professors at the Nsuka University in Nigeria and the Artistic Association of Nigeria provided and gave permission for photographs of murals of the Igbo people with the world-famous, highly symbolic *Uli* motifs and painted *Nsibidi* signs that can be considered a writing system. The Belgrade exhibition comprised some very important field photographs of the Basotho people in South Africa, taken by photographer Carina Bayer. The author involved two Belgrade artists in the formation of the exposition, who made a large number of veristic photographs, replicas and reconstructions, specially for the exhibition and catalogue needs.

Painter Gordana Njegovanović Penfound complemented the strong colouristic replicas of murals and mural motifs by providing a modern reinterpretation of the wall paintings. Namely, she made twenty replicas of murals in computer animation, precisely and with great patience.

Milica Josimov, a sculptor, gave an authentic contribution to the presentation of the art of the Gurunsi. The audience was presented with the exciting reconstruction of relief compositions made of associative symbols and totemic animals, the creation of which was based on ancient prototypes and the application of the usual, commonly accepted painting design.

The architectural images depict the ancient construction practices of the sedentary peoples, who, unlike the nomadic groups, built long-life settlements and produced art. The exhibition photographs make us familiar with the characteristics of rural architecture: the simple forms of the building structures, which satisfy the needs of every family household, usually represent round complexes surrounded by an outer wall. Applying their painting techniques, the artists transform the walls of the houses, which are made of bricks or dried soil, into a specific and exciting painting canvas. The simplicity of the very



Otvaranje gostujuće izložbe MAU *Tradicionalni murali Afrike*,
Narodna skupština Republike Srbije, 2015.
Foto-dokumentacija MAU

Opening event of the MAA's visiting exhibition *Traditional African Murals*,
National Parliament of the Republic of Serbia, 2015.
MAA photo documentation

tradicija, koje autorka tumači na mnogobrojnim primerima, kao što to potvrđuju i njene prethodne knjige *Primarna umetnost: slike na stenama, slike na telu, Filafani, slike na tkaninama, Južno od Sahare, Frizerske i berberske table Afrike*, u kojima se, pre svega, bavi fenomenom likovnog. Estetski uobličen deo naselja, enterijera, ograda, zidova zapravo je moćan govor i komunikacija istorije, sume znanja zajednice, identiteta i tradicionalnih vrednosti. Viši kustos Nataša Njegovanović Ristić godinama je izučavala plošne medije u afričkoj umetnosti, preistorijsko slikarstvo, *body art* – umetnost telesnog ukrašavanja i murale. Kroz najnoviju studiju *Tradicionalni murali Afrike*, posebno se fokusirajući na četiri etničke grupe, autorka je analizirala istoriju murala, odnos između kolorističke pojavnosti i simbolizma njihovih značenja. Sistemi grafičkih znakova i motiva sreću se i u ruralnim i u urbanim središtima Afrike – u rasponu od geometrizma dekorativnih ukrasa do asocijativnih motiva, čineći da prostor u kome se živi, radi i moli postane i moćno mesto poruka i komunikacija. Murali tako transformišu arhitektonski prostor u sasvim specifičan prostor, čiji zidovi sadrže i prenose određene poruke. Svaki objekat, svaki pred-

settlements is opposed to the unexpected, unusual and often fascinating visual solutions. Apparently, they give the impression of mere decorativeness: but actually, the ornaments and decorations on the house walls, which cover every last centimetre of the wall surface, apart from an aesthetic dimension, possess a rich symbolic content promoting the most significant social values of the community.

Traditional African Murals by Nataša Njegovanović Ristić represents the proof of the wealth of African artistic traditions. She interprets them in many examples, including her previous books – *Primal Art – Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies, Filafani Cloth Paintings, South of the Sahara, Hairdresser and Barbershop Signs of Africa*, which primarily deal with the phenomenon of the visual. An aesthetically featured part of a settlement, interior, fence or wall actually represents a powerful language that communicates the history, the sum of the community's knowledge, its identity and traditional values.

Senior curator Nataša Njegovanović Ristić has researched two-dimensional African art, prehistoric painting, body art – the art of body decorating, and murals for years. In her latest study *Traditional African Murals*, particularly focusing on four ethnic groups, the author has analysed the history of murals, the relation between manifestations of colourism and the symbolism of their meanings. Systems of graphic signs and motifs are found both in rural and urban centres of Africa – from the geometrism of decorations to associative motifs, turning the space for living, working and praying into a powerful place of messaging and communication. This way, murals alter the architectonic space into a specific area whose walls contain and transmit certain messages. Every facility, every object of African art, incorporates the universal human feeling, the internal and unique experience. About the creativity of Africans, the poet Leopold Sedar Senghor said, "For Africans, every object is a symbol of the invisible reality, representing the sign of truth... Every shape, surface and line, colour and shade, smell, sound and twinkle is the bearer of meaning."

In the African tradition, colouring and decorating gain the meaning of a script and message over time, while the creative and artistic achievement goes be-

met afričke umetnosti sadrži ono univerzalno ljudsko osećanje, unutrašnje, neponovljivo iskustvo. „Za Afrikanca svaki predmet je simbol jedne nevidljive realnosti, koja čini istinski znak... Svaki oblik, svaka površina i linija, svaka boja i senka, svaki miris, svaki zvuk i treptaj – sve ima značenje.” Tako je govorio o kreativnosti afričkog čoveka pesnik Leopold Sedar Sengor.

Bojenje i ukrašavanje dobija vremenom u afričkoj tradiciji značaj pisma i poruke, a kreativno i umetničko nadilaze veštinu i puku dekorativnost. Dizajn i likovnost odraz su čovekovih uverenja, porodičnih vrednosti, pola i identiteta, religijskih verovanja i praksi. Murali su izraz vitalnosti određene zajednice, ali i estetskih koncepcija i umetničkog talenta izvođača – slikarki, čemu autorka studije posvećuje posebno poglavlje.

U uvodnom delu Nataša Njegovanović Ristić analizira i neke od najranijih primera sačuvanih do danas: Dogoni su ukrašavali zaklone u stenama, koji su korišćeni u obredima inicijacija – motivima crvenog, crnog i belog pigmenta. Poneki motivi asociraju na maske i rituale maskiranja, drugi na floru i faunu dogonskih sela, neki su, pak, više enigmatični i verovatno čine grafički sistem znakova, koji su služili da prenesu znanja mladim inicijantima.

Neiscrpan varijetet motiva i simbola uče nas u ovoj knjizi koliko je važno zabeležiti nasleđe prošlosti, a istovremeno koliko muzejski posao ima smisla u sistematizacijama koje autorka nudi. Savremena shvatanja, uz najnovija istraživanja afričkih tradicionalnih kultura i najnovija arheološka otkrića, obavezuju eksperte (stručnjake, kustose) da se bogato nasleđe Afrike izučava, prezentuje i publikuje u izvornom obliku. Upravo to autorka i prikazuje – razlike, kao i posebnosti afričkih civilizacija (Ndebele, Igbo, Gurunsi, Basoto), tumačeći likovni i semantički muralski izraz kroz različite istorijske epohe određenih geografskih prostora.

U obimnom materijalu Nataša Njegovanović Ristić daje stilsku analizu unutar ovog velikog varijeteta: jednako analizira jednostavne, uravnotežene muralne slike jarkih i čistih osnovnih boja (narod Ndebele u Južnoj Africi), geometrijske i floralno stilizovane (narod Gurunsi u Gani i Burkini Faso i narod Basoto u Lesotou), kao i one visoko simbolične i asocija-

yond skill and mere decorativeness. Design and art reflect human beliefs, family values, gender and identity, religious beliefs and practices. The author of the study dedicates a separate chapter to the description of murals as the expression of the community's vitality and of the aesthetic concepts and artistic talent of the artist – the painter.

In the introductory part, Nataša Njegovanović Ristić analyses some of the earliest examples preserved so far: the Dogon people decorated shelters in rocks, which were used in initiation rituals, with motifs in red, black and white pigment. Some of the motifs are associated with masks and masking rituals, some with the flora and fauna of Dogon villages, while some are more enigmatic and probably represent a graphic system of signs used to transfer knowledge to young initiates.

In this book, the inexhaustible variety of motifs and symbols teach us about the importance of recording the heritage and, at the same time, the meaningfulness of museum work for the systematizations the author offers. Contemporary interpretations, including the latest research into African traditional cultures and most recent archaeological discoveries, oblige the experts (professionals, curators) to explore the rich heritage of Africa and present and publish it in its original form. The author presents exactly what is stated above – differences, as well as peculiarities of African civilizations (Ndebele, Igbo, Gurunsi, Basotho), interpreting the visual and semantic mural expression in different historical eras and particular geographical spaces.

In her extensive material, the author Nataša Njegovanović Ristić provides the analysis of style of this great variety: she equally analyses simple, balanced mural pictures in bright and clear primary colours (the Ndebele people in South Africa), the geometrically and florally stylised ones (the Gurunsi people in Ghana and Burkina Faso and the Basotho people in Lesotho), and those that are highly symbolical and associative (the Igbo people in Nigeria). Mural painters often apply the process of transforming everyday objects – e.g. a fishing net, an earthenware cooking pot, a calabash - bottle gourd, or weaving – into a complex, elaborate motif with universal meaning. The women painters paint with natural plant pigments and

tivne (narod Igbo u Nigeriji). Slikarke murala često primenjuju postupak transformacije predmeta iz svakodnevnog života – na primer, ribarsku mrežu, zemljani lonac za kuvanje, tikvu – kalabaš ili tkanje – u kompleksni elaborirani motiv univerzalnog značenja. Slikarke rade prirodnim biljnim pigmentom i zemljanim oksidom tako da u kišnoj sezoni murali nestaju pa se moraju obnavljati redovno svake godine.

Murali, uopšteno govoreći, u odnosu na izradu skulptura, maski, utilitarnih predmeta ili skarifikovanih telesnih oznaka, imaju jednu posebnost. Usled klimatskih uslova, murali su svake godine, posle kišnog perioda, obnavljani ili nanovo slikani. I upravo zbog efemernosti zidnih slika muralistkinje uredno pripremaju pigmente i slikarski pribor za novo slikanje. Efemernost murala nije uticala na likovni program, umetnički stil ili tematiku. Naprotiv, žene – muralistkinje su uporno, vekovima održavale ovu formu umetničke izražajnosti, putem koje su kroz estetsku i semantičku prizmu prenosile najznačajnije vrednosti zajednice. Murali, stalno nanovo oslikavani, ponavljaju kanon čitljiv ljudima Afrike, a konstante kao što su vrlina, moral, ponos, identitet, duhovnost i nama, udaljenim posmatračima, šalju poruku da se u našem užurbanom vremenu na trenutak zaustavimo i zapitamo gde je granica između drevnosti i modernosti...

Knjiga *Tradicionalni afrički murali* sa sadržajem: „Plošni mediji Afrike i tradicija slikanja murala”; „Žene slikarke murala”; „Rasprostranjenost murala u Africi južno od Sahare”; „Slikanje murala kod naroda Igbo”; „Gurunsi, Ndebele i Basoto; „Tradicionalni afrički murali danas”, svedoči o specifičnostima slikarske umetnosti kontinenta, sadržavajući istovremeno elemente tradicionalnog kanona i duh modernosti, od kojih polaze savremeni afrički umetnici.

Tokom 20. veka sprovedena su najveća istraživanja, proučavanja i vrednovanja afričke skulpture kao najdominantijeg umetničkog izraza kontinenta. Ova izložba podseća nas, pak, da su Afrikanci svoje likovne predstave značajno realizovali i u domenu plošnih medija. Izložba i publikacija *Tradicionalni murali Afrike* argumentovano nas vodi kroz istorijske izvore, preistorijske zapise i arhaične prototipove slikarskih praksi na afričkom kontinentu.

earth oxides; hence the murals disappear in the rainy season and have to be renewed every year.

Generally speaking, when compared to the making of sculptures, masks, utilitarian objects or scarification marks, murals are specific. Every year after the rainy season, murals are renewed and repainted because of climate conditions. Due to the ephemerality of wall pictures, the mural painters duly prepare pigments and the painting equipment for new pictures. The ephemerality of murals made no influence on the art schemes, artistic styles or themes. On the contrary, over the centuries, women - mural painters maintained this form of artistic expression in a way which aesthetically and semantically transmitted the most significant values of the community. The repainted murals repeat the canon legible to the people of Africa. Constants as virtue, moral, pride, identity and spirituality send us - remote observers the message to stop for a moment in our busy time to wonder where the border between the ancient and the modern is...

The book *Traditional African Murals* and its content: “Surface Media of Africa and the Tradition of Mural Painting”; “Female Mural Painters”; “Distribution of Murals in Sub-Saharan Africa”; “Mural Painting among the Igbo”; “Gurunsi, Ndebele and Basotho Peoples”; “Traditional African Murals Today”, show the peculiarities of the art of painting on the continent, at the same time including elements of the traditional canon and a spirit of modernity, to which contemporary African artists refer to in their work.

During the 20th century, the greatest researches, investigations and evaluations of African sculpture as the most dominant artistic expression of the continent were carried out. This exhibition, however, reminds us that African visual concepts were to a significant degree materialized in the domain of two-dimensional art. In a well-argued way, the *Traditional African Murals* exhibition and publication lead us through historical sources, prehistoric records and archaic prototypes of painting practices on the African continent.

Izložba

GRANICA JE ZATVORENA

Kustosi izložbe:

Ivana Vojt, Emilia Epštajn

Muzej afričke umetnosti, 11. septembar – 7. decembar 2015.

Exhibition

THE BORDER IS CLOSED

Exhibition curators:

Ivana Vojt, Emilia Epštajn

Museum of African Art, 11 September - 7 December 2015

Izložba *Granica je zatvorena*, kustoskog tima MAU koji čine istoričarka umetnosti Ivana Vojt i antropološkinja Emilia Epštajn, plod je saradnje Muzeja sa nevladinom organizacijom „Grupa 484”, umetničkim kolektivom ŠKART i samostalnim umetnicima Snežanom Skoko, Ivanom Bogićević Leko i Lukom Kneževićem Strikom.

Kao specijalizovana, u ovom delu Evrope jedinstvena ustanova, čiji je zadatak da čuva i afirmiše kulturu i artefakte afričkih naroda i proučava kreativni preplet te kulture sa stvaralaštvom koje nastaje u Srbiji, Muzej afričke umetnosti smatrao se dužnim da ukaže na obrise ove „globalne kulture migracija” i pokrene dublje, analitičke razgovore o kulturnim konotacijama ovog vida susreta ljudi, naroda, vera, jezika, običaja, kulture sećanja.

Istovremeno, cilj ovog projekta bio je da se podupre izvesna senzibilizacija ne samo muzejske publike već i javnosti uopšte, prema migrantima, izbeglicama, tražiocima azila i drugim nevoljnicima iz Afrike i sa Bliskog istoka koji sa sobom donose i svoju kulturu, istovremeno preuzimajući i nešto od kultura naroda i država kroz koje prolaze.

Dela predstavljena na ovoj multimedijalnoj i interaktivnoj izložbi rezultat su višegodišnje saradnje „Grupe 484”, umetničkog kolektiva ŠKART i grupe samostalnih umetnika (Snežana Skoko, Ivana Bogićević Leko i Luka Knežević Strika) sa tražiocima azila u Srbiji. Izložbu čine sledeći segmenti: „Migrantske mape” – ilustrovane mape kretanja pojedinih migranata, „Ženska strana migracija” – pisane i vezene poruke na tekstu, interaktivna aplikacija „Virtuelne ograde”, zatim autentični audio-zapisi/svedočenja azilanata, kao i jedinstvena društvena igra koju su osmislili korisnici Centra za smeštaj tražilaca azila u Bogovađi, pod nazivom „Granica je zatvorena”.

The exhibition *The Border is Closed* by MAA curatorial team, consisting of Ivana Vojt, an art historian and Emilia Epštajn, an anthropologist, is the result of collaborative work of the Museum and the NGO “Group 484”, the ŠKART art collective and independent artists, Snežana Skoko, Ivana Bogićević Leko and Luka Knežević Strika.

Being a specialized and unique institution in this part of Europe, with the aim to preserve and affirm the culture and artifacts of the peoples of Africa, and explore the creative interaction of culture with art produced in Serbia, the Museum of the African Art considered itself obliged to indicate the outlines of the current “global culture of migrations” and initiate more detailed, analytical discussions on the cultural connotations of this kind of encounters between people and nations, religions, languages, customs, culture of recording memory.

At the same time, the aim of this project was to induce a certain sensibility not only in the museum audience, but the public in general, toward migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and other people in distress from Africa and Middle East who carry with them their culture, taking over bits of cultures of the people and countries they travel through.

The art works presented at this multimedia and interactive exhibition are the result of a long-term collaboration between “Group 484”, ŠKART art collective, a group of independent artists (Snežana Skoko, Ivana Bogićević Leko and Luka Knežević Strika) and asylum seekers in Serbia. The exhibition consists of the following segments: “Migrant maps” – the illustrated maps with routes of their migrations, “The female side of migrations” – written and embroidered messages on textile, an interactive application titled “Virtual fences”, authentic audio recordings/testi-



Prostor izložbe.
Foto: Vladimir Popović

Exhibition space.
Photo: Vladimir Popović

Sa obe strane ulaza u samu prostoriju u kojoj je izložba postavljena nalaze se dva panela velikih dimenzija prekrivena novinskim člancima koji su na temu migrantske krize izlazili u srpskim, hrvatskim, makedonskim i slovenačkim medijima. Tako je prostor izložbe podeljen na spoljni (zidovi ispred ulaza) i unutrašnji (sam prostor galerije), čime se simbolično pravi razlika između slike migrantske krize u javnosti koja se kreira putem medija i one lične, istinite, ljudske priče koja se doživljava samo prilikom direktnog susreta sa migrantima.

U unutrašnjem prostoru galerije petnaest „migrantskih mapa” ilustruje lične priče tražilaca azila. Mape su nastajale tokom razgovora članova kolektiva ŠKART sa migrantima u izbegličkim centrima i sadrže detaljne opise njihovih ličnih putovanja – od toga šta ih je nagnalo da napuste zemlju, kako su prelazili granice i sa kakvim su se sve problemima sretali tokom neizvesnog puta, do toga gde žele da stignu i čemu se tamo nadaju. Kombinacijom dokumentarnog tekstualnog predloška i autentičnih autorovih ilustracija „migrantske mape” daju jasnu sliku kretanja ljudi koji su mukotrpno prelazili više stotina kilometara na putu ka boljem životu. Pored mapa, izloženo je i sedamnaest radova na tekstilu pod nazivom „Ženska strana migracija” koje je grupa dece i žena u azilantskim centrima izradila tokom radionica koje su osmislile i vodile Nena Skoko i Ivana Bogićević Leko. Migrantkinje su ispisivale svoje

monies of asylum seekers, including a unique board game, named “The Border is Closed”, conceived by the users of the Centre for the Accommodation of Asylum Seekers in Bogovađa.

On both sides of the entrance into the exhibition hall, there are two large panels covered in newspaper articles about the migrant crisis, published by the Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian and Slovenian media. This way, the exhibition space is divided into the outer (the walls preceding the entrance) and the inner (the gallery space) part, symbolically highlighting the difference between the public media-created picture of the migrant crisis and the intimate, truthful, humane story experienced only in direct contact with migrants.

In the inner space of the gallery, there are fifteen “migrant maps” illustrating personal stories of asylum seekers. The maps were created during the conversations between the members of the ŠKART collective and migrants in refugee centers, and they contain detailed descriptions of their personal journeys – from the reasons that forced them to leave their countries, how they crossed borders and what troubles they faced on their uncertain journeys, to what their final destinations and hopes for the future were. Combining a documentary text template with authentic illustrations of the author, the “migrant maps” offer a clear picture of the grueling hundreds of kilometers these people passed on their way to a better life. Addition-

misli o ljubavi, porodici ili domovini, a potom ih vezle na jastučnicama kao simbolima snova, odmora, ušuškanosti i sigurnosti doma.

Deo izložbe činila su tri tableta na kojima je emitovano devet audio-zapisa (razgovora) sa tražiocima azila u Srbiji, dok su na platnu projektovane fotografije snimljene tokom raznih akcija izvedenih u azilantskim centrima iz dokumentacije „Grupe 484”.

Luka Knežević Strika kreirao je interaktivnu kompjutersku aplikaciju „Virtuelne ograde” koja posetioca/igrača stavlja u poziciju migranta koji nakon gubitka mobilnog telefona ne može da pristupi svom Fejsbuk nalogu i imejlu. Pored kompjuterske igrice, interaktivni deo izložbe čini i jedinstvena društvena igra „Granica je zatvorena”, nastala u jednom od centara, a koju su posetici mogli da odigraju na izložbi. Kolektiv ŠKART je u Centru za tražioce azila u Bogovađi naišao na grupu migranata koji igraju ovu neobičnu društvenu igru, nalik na nama poznatu „Ne ljuti se čoveče”, ali sa jednom bitnom izmenom u pravilima: uvedena je mogućnost da jedan igrač zatvori granicu drugom, tj. da mu blokira prolaz do cilja. Važan segment izložbe činile su nalepnice lepljene na zidove izlagačkog prostora na kojima su štampane izreke i poslovice iz različitih zemalja iz kojih dolaze migranti, a koje je Ivana Bogićević Leko prikupila u razgovoru sa azilantima. Izreke otkrivaju specifične kulturološke odlike naroda u kojem su se ustalile

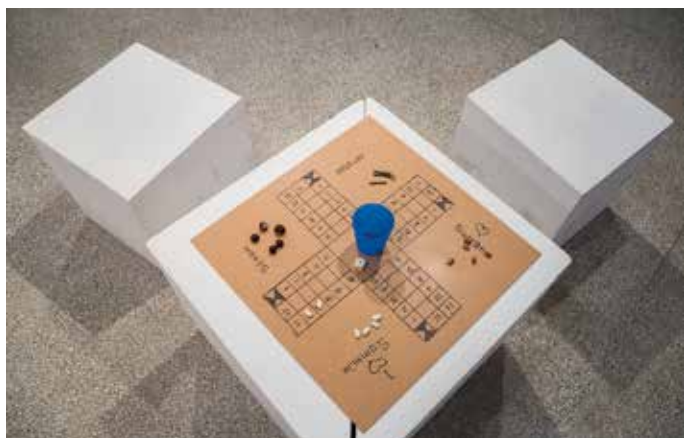
ally, seventeen textile creations named “The Female Side of Migrations”, made by a group of children and women in asylum centers were shown. The activities were conceived and realized by Nena Skoko and Ivana Bogićević Leko. The female migrants wrote out their thoughts about love, family or homeland, and then embroidered them on pillows as symbols of dreams, rest, being tucked in and safe at home.

A part of the exhibition comprised the presentation of nine audio-recorded conversations with asylum seekers in Serbia on three tablets and screen projections of photographs taken during various actions conducted in the asylum centers and documented by “Group 484”.

Luka Knežević Strika created an interactive computer application named “Virtual Fences”, which puts the user in the position of a migrant who, after losing his mobile phone, cannot access his Facebook and e-mail account. In addition to the computer game, the interactive part of the exhibition includes a unique game – “The Border is Closed”, created in one of the centers, which the visitors had a chance to play at the exhibition. At the center for asylum seekers, the ŠKART collective came across a group of migrants playing this extraordinary board game resembling our “Don’t Get Angry, Man”, with a significant change in the rules: a player can close his border to the other player, i.e. block his passage to the finish. A significant part of the exhibition was made of sayings and proverbs, collected by Ivana Bogićević from the asylum seekers coming from different countries, written on stickers that covered the walls of the exhibition space. The sayings reveal specific cultural features of the peoples who most commonly use them (Iraqi saying “Man is not a man without a moustache”), and they also illustrate many characteristics that apparently distant cultures have in common (Arabic equivalent to our proverb “Who digs a trap for others, ends up in it himself” is “Who digs a trap for a friend, ends up in it himself”). Also, the stickers contained touching statements of the migrants conveying what they actually hoped and strived for (“I want an ordinary and normal life”). The visitors were free to take away stickers with proverbs and migrants’ wishes, replicas of migrant maps printed out on A4-format paper

„Granica je zatvorena”. Društvena igra nastala u Centru za tražioce azila u Bogovađi u jesen 2014. godine.
Foto: Vladimir Popović

“The Border is Closed”. Board game created at the Centre for the Accommodation of Asylum Seekers in Bogovađa in fall 2014.
Photo: Vladimir Popović



(iračka izreka „Muško je muško samo sa brkovima”), ali pokazuju da i među naoko udaljenim kulturama postoje brojni zajednički elementi („Ako kopaš rupe za prijatelja, sam ćeš u nju upasti” arapski je ekvivalent naše poslovice „Ko drugome jamu kopa, sam u nju upada”). Među ovim nalepnicama nalazile su se i dirljive izjave migranata koje govore o tome čemu se oni zapravo nadaju i čemu teže („Želim da mi je život običan i normalan”). Posetioci su imali mogućnost da nalepnice sa poslovicama i željama ponesu sa sobom, kao i replike migranskih mapa na papiru A4 formata i bedževe na kojima su napisane sledeće izjave: „Želim normalan život”, „Budućnost za decu” i „Tamo gde je sloboda”. Ponuda posetiocima da sa sobom ponesu nalepnice, replike mapa i bedževe sa izložbe pružala je mogućnost da izložba (ili makar jedan njen segment) bude vidljivija, a njena tema diskutovana i izvan zidova Muzeja.

Tokom trajanja izložbe u Muzeju su priređivani redovni prateći programi za decu i odrasle. Tako je svake nedelje organizovan paralelan program za decu i njihove roditelje: dok su deca na radionici, roditelji imaju prilike da prisustvuju stručnom vođenju kroz izložbu. Kreirane su dve različite radionice: tokom oktobra deca su nedeljom učila pravila igre „Granica je zatvorena” i pravila svoju tablu i pione, a u novembru su, po uzoru na južnoafričke lutke, pravila jednu lutkicu za sebe, a drugu za „nepoznatog prijatelja” – dečaka ili devojčicu iz nekog od centara za prihvatanje migranata u Srbiji. Sve lutkice koje su deca u Muzeju afričke umetnosti napravila i ostavila na dar podeljene su deci u Prihvatnom centru za migrante u Preševu.

Kao deo pratećeg programa, „Grupa 484” je u Muzeju afričke umetnosti organizovala seminar „Mi i oni drugi” u okviru kojeg se nastavnici srednjih škola obučavaju za rad sa đacima na temu migracija i alteriteta, a čiji sastavni deo je poseta izložbi *Granica je zatvorena*. Srednjoškolci su imali zadatak da naprave kratak video-rad na temu migracija, a najbolji radovi su prikazani u Muzeju afričke umetnosti.

Svake subote priređivan je „Razgovor sa umetnikom” gde su umetnici koji su izlagali radove na izložbi govorili o svom iskustvu u radu u azilantskim centrima. Na tribini „Muzej nije samo zgrada – za jedan aktivistički muzej”, koju je osmislila i

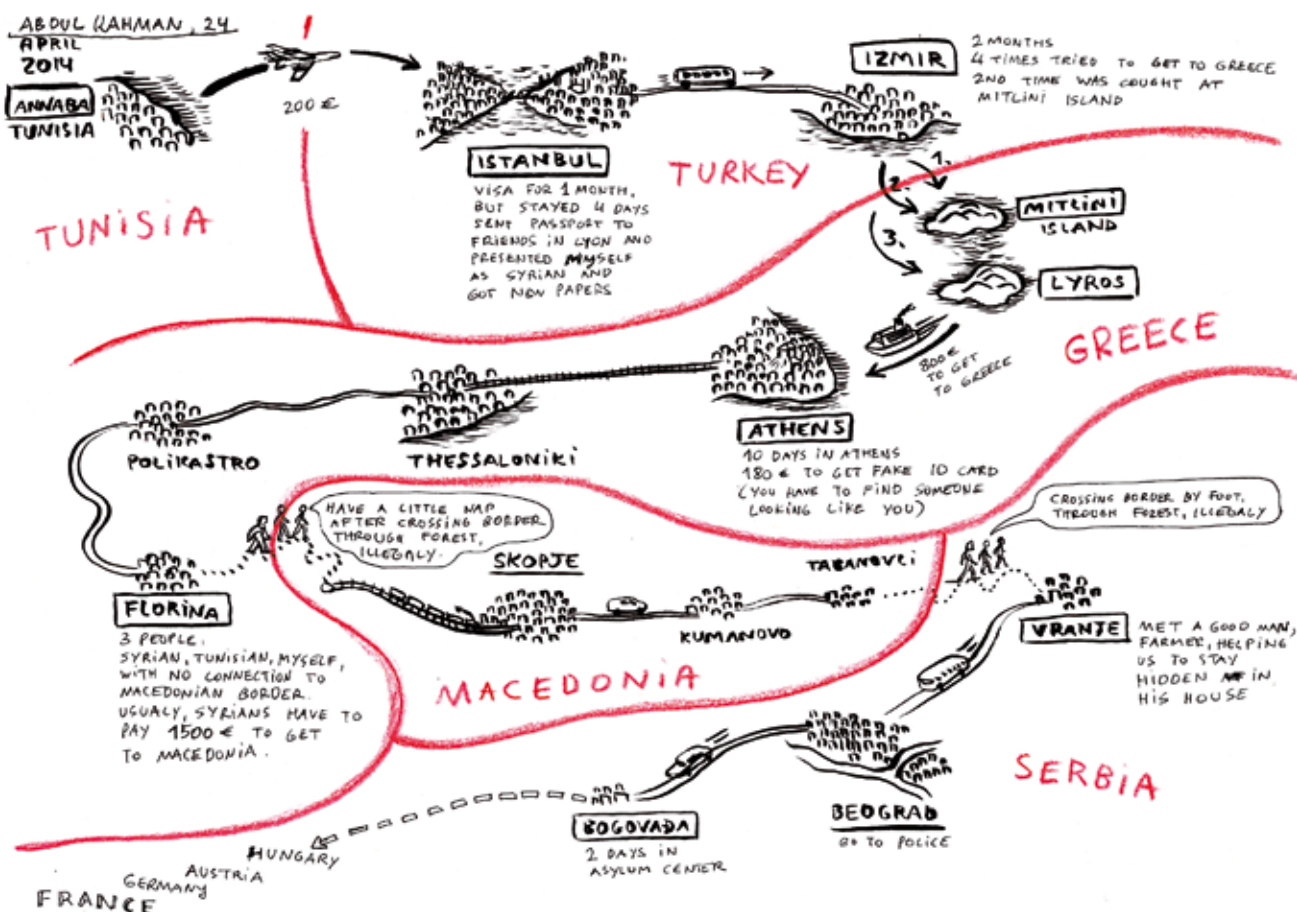
and badges with the following statements: “I want a normal life”, “Future for my children” and “Where freedom is” with them. Offering visitors to take the stickers, map replicas and badges with them provided an opportunity for the exhibition to be perceived, and its theme to be discussed outside the walls of the Museum.

During the exhibition, regular accompanying programs for children and adults were organized. Every Sunday there were parallel programs for children and their parents: during the workshops for children, their parents had a chance to go on a guided tour through the exhibition. Two different workshops were realized: in October, on Sundays, the children were taught the rules of the game “The Border is Closed” and they made their boards and pawns, and in November, imitating the South-African practice, the children created little dolls – one for themselves and the other “for an unknown friend” – a boy or a girl from one of the accommodation centers for migrants in Serbia. All the dolls made as presents by the children at the Museum of the African Art were distributed to those at the Migrants accommodation center in Preševo.

As a part of the program, “Group 484” organized a seminar titled “We and the Others” at the MAA, where high school teachers were trained to teach their students about migrations and being different. The main part of the seminar was the visit to the exhibition *The Border is Closed*. High school students were given a task to make a short video on the topic of migrations, the best of which were presented at the Museum of African Art.

On Saturdays, a “Conversation with the artist” was organized, where the artists who had their works displayed at the exhibition shared what they had experienced at asylum centers. Art historian Irina Subotić, Ph.D., Ana Panić, senior curator, art theoretician Ana Sladojević, Ph.D. and Đorđe Balmazović, a member of ŠKART collective shared their opinions about the role of museums in current social affairs at a panel titled “A Museum is more than a building – in favour of an activist museum”, conceived and moderated by Emilija Epštajn, curator.

With the aim of additionally indicating similar artistic projects dealing with the refugee crisis, a discus-



„Migrantske mape”. Izvor: NN migrant.
Foto: ŠKART/Robert Kozma (Grupa 484)

"Migrant maps". Source: NN migrant.
Foto: ŠKART/Robert Kozma (Group 484)

moderirala kustoskinja Emilia Epštajn, svoje mišljenje o ulozi muzeja u aktuelnim društvenim zbivanjima podelili su dr Irina Subotić, istoričarka umetnosti, Ana Panić, viša kustoskinja, dr Ana Sladojević, teoretičarka umetnosti, i Đorđe Balmazović, član kolektiva ŠKART.

U cilju dodatnog ukazivanja na slične umetničke poduhvate koji se bave izbegličkom krizom, u prostoru izložbe *Granica je zatvorena* održan je razgovor o knjizi eseja i zapisa „Na kraju napisano” slovenačkog pisca Aleša Štegera, koji je moderirala kustoskinja Ivana Vojt. O prvoj knjizi u evropskoj književnosti koja se bavi migracijama govorili su dr Zoran Ćirjaković, novinar i predavač na Fakultetu za medije i komunikacije u Beogradu, Mića Vujičić, pisac, i Gojko Božović, pisac i direktor izdavačke kuće „Arhipelag” koja je objavila pomenuto delo.

sion about a book of essays and records “Written at the end”, written by Slovenian writer Aleš Šteger and arranged by Ivana Vojt, curator, was also organized in the exhibition space. Zoran Ćirjaković, Ph.D., a journalist and lecturer at the Faculty for Media and Communications in Belgrade, Mića Vujičić, writer, and Gojko Božović, writer and director of the “Arhipelag”, publishing house discussed the first book on migrations in the European literature, published by the mentioned publishing house.

The curators had the opportunity to participate in other programs dealing with migrations, organized in Belgrade. Emilija Epštajn was invited to present the exhibition concept and the reasons for its realization in a museum setting, at an international panel “Art and Migrations”, organized during the “Trans Europe” festival at the Youth Center (*Dom omladine*) of

Kustoskinje su imale priliku da učestvuju i u drugim programima koji su na temu migracija organizovani u Beogradu. Tako je Emilia Epštajn pozvana da na međunarodnoj tribini „Umetnost i migracije” (*Art and Migration*), održanoj u Domu omladine Beograda u okviru festivala „Trans Europa”, predstavi koncept izložbe i razloge za njeno ostvarenje u muzejskim okvirima. Drugi poziv usledio je sa Odeljenja za istoriju umetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu, gde je Ivana Vojt, kao gost dr Nikole Krstovića u okviru predmeta Muzeologija, studentima predstavila rad na izložbi *Granica je zatvorena* kao muzejskom projektu koji direktno korespondira sa aktuelnim društvenim zbivanjima. Izložba *Granica je zatvorena* privukla je veliku pažnju medija, domaće i inostrane javnosti, zvaničnika, stranih predstavništava i gostiju Beograda. Nakon zatvaranja ove izložbe u Muzeju afričke umetnosti, tokom 2016. godine usledila su gostovanja širom Srbije. Izložba je gostovala u Muzeju Jadra u Loznici, Galeriji Narodnog muzeja u Vranju, Savremenoj galeriji u Subotici i Kulturnom centru „Laza Kostić” u Somboru. „Migrantske mape” kolektiva ŠKART bile su izložene u Galeriji Nova/Showroom u Zagrebu u okviru izložbe *ukart kvart* i u Domu omladine Beograda kao prateći program 44. FEST-a koji je i svojim nazivom („Briše granice”), kao i izborom filmova koji su premijerno prikazani, nastojao da ukaže na aktuelnost, razmere i dramatičnost migrantske krize.

Izložbu *Granica je zatvorena* prati istoimeni katalog koji sabira tekstove grupe autora na temu globalnog fenomena migracija: direktorke MAU Marije Aleksić, kustoskinja MAU Ivane Vojt i Emilije Epštajn, koordinatora programa „Grupe 484” Roberta Kozme i Zagorka Aksentijević, kao i umetnika Đorđa Balmazovića (umetnički kolektiv ŠKART), Ivane Bogičević Leko i Snežane Skoko. Katalog izložbe priređen je na srpskom i engleskom jeziku, i može se preuzeti na sajtu Muzeja afričke umetnosti, u PDF formatu.

Muzej afričke umetnosti je izložbom *Granica je zatvorena* pokazao da muzejske ustanove ne moraju biti samo mesta koja čuvaju i analiziraju produkte prošlosti, već mogu i moraju da se uključe u aktivna preispitivanja aktuelnih društvenih zbivanja.

Marija Aleksić

Belgrade. Then, at the invitation from the Department of the History of Art of the Faculty of Philosophy, as a guest of Nikola Krstović, Ph.D., Ivana Vojt presented the exhibition *The Border is Closed* and how it directly corresponded with current social affairs to the students of the Museology course. The exhibition *The Border is Closed* attracted great attention of the national and international media, officials, foreign representative offices and guests visiting Belgrade. After the exhibition closing in Belgrade, during 2016, tours across Serbia followed. It was shown at the Museum of Jadar in Loznica, the National Museum Gallery in Vranje, the Modern Gallery in Subotica and Cultural Center “Laza Kostić” in Sombor. “Migrant maps” by the ŠKART collective were displayed at the Gallery Nova/Showroom, in Zagreb, as a part of the exhibition “Škart Kvart” and at The Youth Center of Belgrade, as the program accompanying the 44th FEST (Film festival), named “Removing Borders”, which both with its name and the choice of film premieres tended to point out the actual reality of the migrant crisis, its scope and gravity.

The *The Border is Closed* exhibition is accompanied by the eponymous catalogue which is a collection of texts on the global phenomenon of migrations, written by a group of authors: Marija Aleksić, the director of the Museum of African Arts, curators Ivana Vojt and Emilija Epštajn, Robert Kozma and Zagorka Aksentijević, “Group 484” program coordinators and artists - Đorđe Balmazović (ŠKART art collective), Ivana Bogičević Leko and Snežana Skoko. There are two catalogue editions – in Serbian and English, which can be downloaded on the Museum of African Art’s site, in PDF format.

By the exhibition *The Border is Closed*, The Museum of African Art proved that museums do not only need to be institutions that preserve and analyze products of the past, but can and have to be involved in active reexaminations of current social affairs.

Marija Aleksić

Izložba**Preispitivanje imigracije kroz savremenu umetničku kolekciju Muzeja istorije imigracije u Parizu**

Savremeni globalizovani svet u kome živimo karakterišu sve intenzivnija komunikacija, umrežavanje, kulturna hibridizacija, pluralizam relacije, ali i masovne migracije, porast međuetničke i međureligijske netrpeljivosti i netolerancije. S jedne strane, svedoci smo pojava neretko nasilnih pokreta koji teže afirmaciji i odbrani jednoobraznih identiteta, dok sa druge, mnogi savremenici sa ponosom naglašavaju svoju višetruku pripadnost afirmišući fluidnost, promenljivost i otvorenost sopstvenih identiteta.

Paralelno sa ovim društvenim i kulturnim dinamikama, sve je veći broj izložbi i kulturnih projekata koji se bave dekonstrukcijom, rekonstrukcijom i preispitivanjem diskursa politika identiteta i njegovih relacija spram drugosti, nudeći nove osvrtne na manjinske kulture, imigraciju, preispitujući odnose ličnih i kolektivnih memorije spram dominantnih društvenih narativa.

Čini se očiglednim da svakom istorijskom periodu odgovara određeni tip muzeja čije metode istraživanja evoluiraju u ritmu društveno-političkih promena. Sa pravom se možemo zapitati kakvi bi trebalo da budu današnji muzeji kako bi na adekvatan način odgovorili na izazove naših neizvesnih svakodnevnica?

Iako je muzej od svojih početaka pratio istorijske procese učestvujući u stvaranju nacionalnih identiteta, sa jasno definisanim ciljem da budućim generacijama prenese istorijsko nasleđe, služi izgradnji i obrazovanju zajednice, postavlja se pitanje njigove uloge danas, u trenutku kada i sam pojam nasleđa više ne teži izgradnji jedinstvenog kulturološkog modela, već naprotiv pospešivanju kulturnog pluralizma u okvirima lokalnih i nacionalnih zajednica.

Pariski muzej posvećen istoriji imigracije *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration*, otvoren je 2007. godine

Exhibition**Les enjeux de l'immigration à travers la collection de l'art contemporain du Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration à Paris**

Le monde contemporain est souvent décrit comme étant de plus en plus interconnecté et pluri-culturel où la mondialisation, les déplacements, les migrations de masse mettent en question des identités sociales autrefois bien définies. D'un côté, on assiste à l'émergence des mouvements communautaires en quête d'affirmation de l'identité, et de l'autre côté, on remarque que les nombreux individus contemporains revendiquent les attachements multiples.

En parallèle à ce dynamisme social et culturel, on observe un accroissement important de nombre d'expositions et de projets culturels qui se donnent l'objectif de reconstruire et déconstruire le discours autour de l'identité et de l'altérité, de donner une nouvelle place à la lecture des cultures minoritaires, de questionner notre mémoire collective. Il nous paraît évident qu'à chacune des étapes de l'histoire de la société correspond une forme de musée dont nécessairement les modes d'expression sont évolutives. Quelle évolution subissent les musées d'aujourd'hui afin de s'inscrire dans l'actualité et dans la vie ? Quel type de musée faut-il réinventer afin de répondre au mieux aux problématiques actuelles posées par nos sociétés?

Alors que le musée s'est dès l'origine présenté comme un repère identitaire pour la nation, dont l'enjeu principale c'était de transmettre aux générations futures le patrimoine national afin de servir à l'éducation et à l'éducation de tous, on peut s'interroger sur son rôle et son évolution à l'heure actuelle où la notion de patrimoine, elle-même n'est plus sollicitée pour construire l'unité de la nation, mais pour garantir la reconnaissance de la pluralité des cultures à l'échelle de la communauté locale et nationale.

Le musée parisien consacré à l'histoire de l'im-



Izložba *Repères*, Nacionalni muzej istorije imigracije, Pariz.
Foto: ©EPPPD-Farida Brechemier, ljubaznošću Muzeja istorije imigracije u Parizu

Vue de l'exposition *Repères*, Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration, Paris.
Photo: ©EPPPD-Farida Brechemier, avec l'aimable autorisation du Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration, Paris

u *Palais Doré*, znamenitom arhitektonskom zdanju sagrađenom u artdeko stilu 1931. godine za potrebe Kolonijalne izložbe koja je trebalo da promoviše imidž imperijalne Francuske na vrhuncu svoje moći.

Nakon kolonijalne izložbe, palata je promenila funkciju prateći velike istorijske promene: Muzej kolonija do 1935. godine, pretvoren je u Muzej francuskih prekomorskih departmana do kasnih 50-ih, da bi 1961. godine postao Muzej afričke i okeanske umetnosti koji postaje Nacionalni muzej umetnosti Afrike i Okeanije 90-ih godina 20. veka. Sa izgradnjom Muzeja *Quai Branly*, posvećenog umetnosti i civilizacijama Afrike, Azije, Okeanije i Amerike – muzej je zatvoren 2003. godine. Iz tog perioda jedino su Tropski akvarijum i svečane prostorije u prizemlju otvorene za javnost. Godine 2007. otvoren je na ovom mestu Nacionalni muzej istorije imigracije, sa ciljem da prikaže francuskoj i međunarodnoj publici dvovekovnu istoriju imigracije u Francuskoj. U osnovi bez sopstevne kolekcije, ovaj muzej je od

migration, *Musée National de l'histoire de l'immigration*, a ouvert ses portes en 2007 dans Le Palais de la Porte Dorée, célèbre monument architectural, construit dans le style de l'art déco en 1931, à l'occasion de l'Exposition coloniale, qui fut censé de promouvoir l'image impériale de France à l'apogée de ses pouvoirs. Après l'Exposition coloniale, le palais a changé de fonctions au gré des évolutions de l'histoire : musée permanent des Colonies jusqu'en 1935, puis musée de la France d'Outre-mer jusqu'à la fin des années 1950, il accueille en 1961 le musée des Arts africains et océaniques qui deviendra le musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie en 1990. Avec la création du musée du quai Branly – Arts et civilisations d'Afrique, d'Asie, d'Océanie et des Amériques – le dernier musée fut fermé en 2003, seul l'Aquarium tropical et les salles historiques du rez-de-chaussée restent ouverts au public. En 2007, le Musée national d'histoire de l'immigration a investi le lieu, afin de présenter à un public français et

svog osnivanja sakupio više od 3.000 artefakata mahom dokumentarnog, istorijskog i etnografskog karaktera uz više od 400 radova savremenih umetnika.

Stalna postavka muzeja pod nazivom *Repères* predstavlja kroz interdisciplinarni pristup putem svedočanstava, arhivske građe, dokumenata, fotografija i umetničkih radova dva veka istorije imigracije u Francuskoj.

Preispitujući iskustva imigracije, radovi savremenih umetnika, kroz medij fotografije, videa, instalacije, direktno komuniciraju sa muzejskim eksponatima istorijskog i etnografskog karaktera ukrštajući različita gledišta, antropološka, politička i estetska, vezana za pitanja granica, teritorija, egzila, identiteta, migracije, multikulturalnosti. Iako prilikom izbora radova poreklo samih umetnika ili lično iskustvo egzila nije bilo jedan od uslova, većina ih je na indirektan ili direktan način povezana. Najčešće su njihove lične istorije, sećanja i iskustva prethodila samim radovima, inicirajući i nudeći nove interpretacije ovih kompleksnih pitanja. Teme migracije, odnosno nomadizma postaju na neki način metafora samog umetnika koji stvara višeznačno, polifono, sa jedne strane, veoma lično ali i univerzalno delo kroz koje se dinamično sukobljavaju lična iskustva sa društveno uspostavljenim reprezentacijskim narativima, sa druge strane, dovodeći u pitanje ustaljene stereotipne predstave i predrasude koje se najčešće povezuju sa imigracijom i migrantima.

Među radovima brojnih umetnika zastupljenih u kolekciji savremene umetnosti Muzeja istorije imigracije pomenula bih ovom prilikom samo nekoliko imena – Kader Atija, Malik Nedžmi, Zineb Sedira, Gazel, Tajsir Batnidži, Roman Ćeslevič, Mona Hattum, Ćen Džen, Mohamed Buruisa, Bušra Halili, Matje Perno, sa posebnim osvrtom na radove umetnika Togo. Rođen u Kamerunu 1967. godine, Togo živi između Pariza, Njujorka i Banduna (Kamerun). Školu lepih umetnosti završio je najpre u Abidžanu na Obali Slonovače, da bi nakon osnovnih studija nastavio usavršavanje u Grenoblu, a zatim na Umetničkoj akademiji u Diseldorfu. Nomadski način života uslovio je i njegov rad u kojem često pokreće pitanja o statusu i poziciji stranca, migranta, egzila.

international l'histoire de l'immigration en France. A l'origine, sans collection muséale, le musée a rassemblé depuis sa création plus de 3000 objets principalement documents d'archive de caractère historique et ethnographique accompagné de plus de 400 œuvres d'artistes contemporains.

L'exposition permanente *Repères* présente, dans une approche transdisciplinaire, à travers de témoignages, documents d'archives, photographies et œuvres d'art, deux siècles d'histoire de l'immigration en France.

En interrogeant l'expérience de l'immigration, les œuvres d'artistes contemporains, en passant par la photographie, la vidéo, ou l'installation, reprennent un dialogue frontal avec les objets exposés au regard croisé de différentes disciplines : histoire, ethnologie, anthropologie, politique et esthétique. Les notions de frontières, de territoire, d'exil, d'identité, d'immigration, de multiculturalisme se trouvent évoquer. Bien que l'origine étrangère ne constitue pas un critère de choix, il est indéniable que les auteurs des productions acquises jusqu'à présent sont en majorité issus de l'immigration. Le point de départ est souvent une histoire personnelle, des souvenirs et des expériences qui précèdent la recherche artistique tout en enrichissant, initiant et offrant des nouvelles interprétations et perspectives. Le thème de migration, de nomadisme devient ainsi une métaphore de l'artiste qui se dévoile à partir d'une œuvre polymorphe, d'une part très personnelle mais aussi universelle.

En superposant les expériences personnelles aux récits et représentations socialement établis, les artistes mettent en cause les conceptions stéréotypées et les présupposés trop souvent associés à l'image de l'immigration et les immigrants.

Parmi les œuvres de nombreux artistes représentés dans la collection de l'art contemporain du Musée d'histoire de l'immigration, je ne citerai que quelques noms tels Kader Attia, Malik Nejmi, Zineb Sedira, Ghazel, Taysir Batniji, Roman Cieslewicz, Mona Hattoum, Chen Zhen, Mohamed Bourouissa, Bouchra Khalili, Mathieu Pernot, avec un accent particulier sur les œuvres de l'artiste Barthélémy Toguo. Né au Cameroun en 1967, Barthélémy Toguo vit et travaille partagé entre Paris, New York et Bandung (Camer-

Instalacija *Road to exile* preuzima formu drvene barke pretrpane šarenim svežnjevima sačinjenim od tradicionalnih afričkih tkanina nestabilno se održavajući na podlozi od praznih flaša. Nestabilnosti i fragilnost malene barke koja jedva uspeva da održi ravnotežu pod teretom i količinom svežnjeva na uzburkanom moru od praznih flaša ukazuje na svu opasnost izabranog puta.

Uzimajući kao polazište savremenu realnost afričkog kontinenta sa kojeg veliki broj mladih ljudi pokušava da ode u potrazi za srećnijim životom, umetnik preispituje pojmove izbeglištva, nesigurnost i neizvesnost putovanja, prelaska iz jednog u drugi svet, riskantne savremene odiseje natopljene nadom, strahom, velikim očekivanjima i još većim razočarenjima.

Putovanje i sam ulazak u novi izmaštani svet, mesto željene sigurnosti postaje sumorno iskustvo izraženo u instalaciji *Uspinjanje naniže* (*Climbing down*), pomenutog umetnika, koju čine šest kreveta na sprat, na zapravo šest spratova o koje su zakačene drvene merdevine i četrsto plastičnih šarenih kesa kakve obično vidamo na granicama, prelaznim putevima ili pak bivljacima. Sam naziv rada *Uspinjanje naniže* upućuje na prekarijat, fragilnu migrantsku poziciju, evocirajući atmosferu izbegličkih ili migrantskih prihvatilišta. Skućenost, zatvorenost, klaustrofobičnost ovih prostora u kojima se ukrštaju, sa jedne, intimni lični svet migranta simbolizovan kroz svežnjeve, šarene korpe, izraze ličnih svedočanstava prethodnih životnih iskustava, a sa druge strane, politički javni aspekt ovih grupnih prihvatilišta. Iako ne znamo šta nas čeka, dobro znamo šta ostavljamo iza sebe, reći će umetnik stvarajući kroz svoje radove estetsko formalne izraze ove neizvesne potrage za boljim i sigurnijim svetom.

Svetlana Jevtović Montua

oun). Diplômé de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts d'Abidjan, il poursuit sa formation aux Beaux-Arts de Grenoble, puis à la Kunst Akademie de Düsseldorf. Le mode de vie nomade a influencé son travail en soulevant les interrogations sur le statut et la position de l'étranger, le migrant, l'exil, l'identité.

L'installation *Road to exile* reprend la forme d'un bateau en bois entassés des faisceaux colorés composés de tissus traditionnels africains qui se maintiennent de façon instable sur la surface des bouteilles vides. L'instabilité et la fragilité de petit bateau en bois encombré de sacs et de faisceaux qui arrive à peine à maintenir l'équilibre sur la mer orageuse de bouteilles vides, nous indiquent le danger de l'itinéraire choisi.

Prenant comme point de départ la réalité contemporaine du continent africain marqué par un grand nombre de jeunes gens qui partent à la recherche d'une vie plus heureuse, l'artiste interroge la notion de l'exil, ce voyage incertain, ce passage dangereux d'un monde à l'autre, l'odyssée moderne plein de risques, imbibé d'espoir, de peur, de grandes attentes et d'encore plus grandes déceptions.

L'expérience sombre de voyage amène vers la porte d'entrée dans le nouveau monde fantasmé, le lieu de sécurité souhaité qui trouve sa forme visuelle dans l'installation *Climbing down*, composée de six lits superposés sur six étages, quatre échelles et quarante sacs en plastique qu'on peut voire souvent à proximité des frontières, des passages transitoires, des marchés aux puces. Le titre de l'œuvre *Climbing down* – littéralement "escalader vers le bas" – se réfère à la position de migrant, fragile et précaire, évoquant l'ambiance des foyers des réfugiés ou des migrants. Les espaces clos et claustrophobes sont les endroits où se croise le monde intime et personnel du migrant symbolisé par ces faisceaux, ces sacs colorés, contenant les témoignages personnels d'expériences de vie antérieure avec l'aspect politique de ces lieux d'accueil. Bien que nous ne savons pas ce qui nous attend, nous savons très bien ce que nous laissons derrière nous, dit l'artiste à travers de ses œuvres, des expressions formelles et esthétiques d'une quête incertaine d'un monde meilleur.

Svetlana Jevtović Montua

Izložba**O muzejima i umetnosti:
RAZGLEDNICA IZ GRADA ZLATA****Muzejske i galerijske izložbe u Johannesburgu (JAR),
januar-februar 2015.****Exhibition****On Museums and Art:
POSTCARD FROM THE CITY OF GOLD****Museum and gallery exhibitions in Johannesburg (SAR),
January-February 2015**

Početkom 2015. godine prvi put u istoriji Muzeja afričke umetnosti (MAU) organizovana je istraživačka poseta Južnoafričkoj Republici. Putovanje je bilo omogućeno zahvaljujući finansijskoj podršci Skupštine Grada Beograda – Osnivača Muzeja.

Odlasku u Južnu Afriku prethodila je prepiska sa Istraživačkim institutom za slikarstvo na stenama (*Rock Art Research Institute – RARI*), pri Univerzitetu Witwatersrand (skraćeno: Vits) u Johannesburgu, i Muzejom porekla (*Origins Centre*), koji je u nadležnosti instituta. RARI je vodeći naučni centar za istraživanje afričke praistorijske umetnosti na stenama i može se pohvaliti vrednom kolekcijom crteža i skica pećinskih slika, koju su napravili istraživači arheolozi, antropolozi i umetnici. Ujedno je zaslužan za formiranje najveće online baze digitalnih fotografija pećinskog slikarstva Južne Afrike u svetu (*South African Rock Art Digital Archive – SARADA*).

Povezivanje sa ovim naučnim centrom bilo je od posebnog značaja za MAU, u kojem su do sada održane dve izložbe na temu preistorijskog slikarstva Afrike: *Preistorijsko slikarstvo Sahare* i *Primarna umetnost: slike na stenama, slike na telu*, kao i likovne radionice sa studentima slikarstva. Imajući u vidu da su obe izložbe bile posvećene umetnosti saharskih predela, kao i to da su imale sjajnu recepciju publike, proširivanje opsega istraživanja ka manje znanom slikarstvu na stenama naroda San (Bušmana) u Južnoafričkoj Republici zahtevalo je našu pažnju. Razgledanje praistorijske umetnosti na postavci u muzeju *Origins Centre* kako bi se stekao uvid u izlagačku koncepciju, odnosno u kustoski pristup i tumačenja ove specifične teme, bilo je dodatna motivacija za odlazak.

Institut RARI zadužen je za dokumentovanje, zaštitu i proučavanje slikarstva na stenama u Južnoa-

At the beginning of 2015, for the first time in the history of the Museum of African Art (MAA), a research visit was made to the South African Republic. The trip was made possible thanks to the financial support of the City Assembly of Belgrade – the Museum's founder.

An e-mail correspondence with the Rock Art Research Institute (RARI), at Witwatersrand University, in Johannesburg, and the museum under its jurisdiction – the Origins Centre, preceded the journey to South Africa. The RARI is a leading scientific centre for pre-historic rock art research, boasting a valuable collection of drawings and sketches of rock art made by researchers, archaeologists, anthropologists and artists. At the same time it takes credit for setting up the largest online database of digital documentary rock art photographs from South Africa in the world (SARADA).

Connecting with this scientific centre was of special importance to the MAA, which had hosted two exhibitions on the topic of prehistoric African painting: *Prehistoric Paintings of the Sahara* and *Primal Art: Painting on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies*, as well as art workshops with art students. Bearing in mind that both exhibitions were dedicated to the art of the Sahara region and that they met with a brilliant public reception, broadening the research scope toward the lesser-known rock art of the San people (Bushmen) in South Africa claimed our attention. Viewing the prehistoric art at the Origins Centre in order to gain insight into the exhibiting concept, that is, the curatorial approach and interpretation of this specific theme, provided an additional incentive for the journey to Africa.

The RARI institute is charged with the documentation, preservation and research of rock art in SAR,

fričkoj Republici, rukovodeći projektima i u okolnim zemljama regiona (Zimbabve, Svazilend, Lesoto, Bocvana, Mozambik itd.). Mnogi lokaliteti u zemlji, koji se uglavnom nalaze na području planinskog masiva Drakensberg, udaljeni i po više stotina kilometara od Johannesburga, izloženi su oštećenjima i uništavanju, prouzorokovanim prirodnim propadanjem usled klimatskih uslova, ali najviše ljudskom aktivnošću – krčenjem terena, izgradnjom saobraćajnica i brana, eksploatacijom rudnih bogatstava u blizini, turizma itd. Iz ovih razloga, više od 260 panela preneto je sa lokaliteta u Institut u prvoj polovini 20. veka radi očuvanja¹, ali samo nekoliko fragmenata se može videti u Muzeju. Na postavci su takođe prezentovani paleoantropološki i arheološki nalazi, koji ukazuju na starost ove umetnosti, kao i mapa najvažnijih lokaliteta slikarstva na stenama u Južnoj Africi. Osvetljeni su način života, odevanje, mitovi i rituali – duhovni svet naroda San, kao i drugih etničkih grupa koje su stvarale pećinsku umetnost. U pojedinim delovima izložbenog prostora zidovi su prekriveni reljefnim rekonstrukcijama sa kopijama pećinskih slika u prirodnoj veličini, koji dočaravaju autentični izgled lokaliteta. U interpretaciji značenja slika na stenama, koja obuhvata različite aspekte, centralno mesto zauzima eland (*taurotragus oryx*), vrsta velike antilope, koja je, prema verovanju narodu San, ne samo izvor hrane već i natprirodne energije – činjenica koja je naučnicima pomogla u razumevanju i „dešifrovanju” funkcije i sadržaja slika na stenama. Masivna betonska skulptura ove veličanstvene životinje, delo umetnika Klajva van den Berga (*Clive van den Berg*), postavljena je pre desetak godina na gradskom trgu, pred ulazom u četvrt Bramfontein – na mestu „odakle je [ova antilopa] odavno iščezla”, kako bi se odala počast značaju elanda u kulturnom i „geografskom” sećanju Južne Afrike².

U Institutu mi je data prilika da razgledam arhivu kopija i crteža preistorijskih slika i gravira, koje se prave *in situ* u svrhu dokumentovanja, pregledanja i proučavanja umetničkih dela. Savremene metode dokumentovanja, koje se primenjuju u ovom centru, podrazumevaju da se slike i gravire prvo precrtavaju na providnu foliju (koja se naslanja direktno na površinu stene), potom se taj crtež prenosi na papir za crtanje.



Skulptura elanda na ulazu u četvrt Bramfontein, Klajv van den Berg.
Foto: Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

Eland sculpture at the entrance to Braamfontein district, Clive van den Berg.
Photo: Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

managing projects in the surrounding countries in the region (Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique etc.). Many of the sites, which are mainly located in the Drakensberg mountain range area, several hundred kilometres away from Johannesburg, are exposed to damage and destruction due to natural decay caused by climatic conditions, but mostly as a result of human activity – field clearing, road and dam constructions, exploitation of mineral resources in the vicinity, tourists etc. For these reasons, more than 260 panels have been relocated to the Institute for the sake of their preservation¹, but only a few fragments are on view at the Museum. The museum display includes palaeoanthropological and archaeological findings that indicate how old this art is, as well as a map of the most important rock art sites in South Africa. Also highlighted are the way of life, dress, myths and rituals – the spiritual world of the San people and other ethnic groups who created cave art. Relief reconstructions of the wall surfaces with life-size copies of the cave paintings in certain parts of the exhibition space recreate the sites' authentic appearance. In the interpretation of the meaning of rock art paintings, which encompasses diverse aspects, the eland (*taurotragus oryx*), a sort of a large antelope, occupies a central position. According to San beliefs, the eland is a source of not only food, but supernatural energy, as well – a fact that helped sci-



Uveličana fotografija Mirijam Makebe, sa izložbe *Uspón i pad aparthejda*, Muzej Afrika, 2014-2015.

Foto: Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

Enlarged photograph of Miriam Makeba, from the exhibition *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, Museum Africa, 2014-2015.

Photo: Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

„Kodiranje” boja na kopijama postiže se tačkastim senčenjem. Dobijene crno-bele kreacije, koje liče na crteže u tehnici tuša, mnogo su preglednije od samih pećinskih crteža i gravira, na kojima su kontrasti između boje figura (ili ureza u slučaju gravira) i pozadine minimalni, a umetnički rad teško da se i može razaznati.

Boravak u Johanesburgu uključivao je i posete drugim istaknutim gradskim muzejima, radi sticanja kompletnije slike o načinima prezentovanja i interpretaciji domaćeg kulturnog i umetničkog nasleđa. Među posećenim institucijama je Muzej Afrika – kompleksni istorijski muzej, koji oslikava kulturnu istoriju grada. U njegovom sklopu nalaze se još Muzej fotografije Bensusan i Geološki muzej. Zgrada muzeja nalazi se u Njutaunu (*Newtown*), starom trgovačkom predgrađu Johanesburga, na mestu nekadašnje

entists to understand and “decipher” the function and contents of the rock art paintings. One decade ago, a massive concrete sculpture of this magnificent animal, made by artist Clive van den Berg, was placed in a city square, at the entrance to the Braamfontein district – in a space from which this animal has “long since disappeared”, in order to honour the eland’s importance in the cultural and “geographical” memory of South Africa².

At the Institute, I was given the opportunity to browse through the archive of “tracings” and drawings of the prehistoric paintings and engravings. They are made *in situ*, for the purpose of documenting, viewing and studying the artworks. The contemporary methods of documenting that are applied in this centre require that the paintings and engravings first be traced onto transparent foil paper (which is placed directly on the rock surface), and then copied onto drawing paper. The colour “coding” in the copies is achieved by stippling. The resulting black and white creations, which resemble ink drawings, are much more perspicuous images than the real site paintings and engravings, in which the contrast between the colour of the figures (or the incised lines in case of engravings) and the background is minimal, therefore the artworks are hardly discernible.

My stay in Johannesburg included visits to other prominent city museums, so as to get a fuller picture about the ways that the national cultural and artistic heritage is presented and interpreted. Among the institutions I visited was Museum Africa – a comprehensive historical museum that portrays the cultural history of the city. The museum also houses the Bensusan Museum of Photography and the Geology Museum. The museum building is located in Newtown, an old commercial suburb of Johannesburg, in the place of the former green market. The Museum has a very complex display, spread out on several levels, dedicated to social, political, geological and economic aspects of the town’s life, from *sangoma* folk healing and ethnic jewellery of South African communities, a post coach reflecting the city’s urbanization, to an exhibit on money and mining. This last segment is particularly important for portraying the town’s history. Namely, Johannesburg was “born” at the end of

zelene pijace. Muzej ima veoma složenu postavku razmeštenu na nekoliko nivoa, posvećenu društvenim, političkim, geološkim i ekonomskim aspektima života grada, od *sangoma* narodnog isceliteljstva i etničkog nakita zajednica Južne Afrike, poštanske kočije kao odraza urbanizacije grada, do izložbe novca i rudarstva. Ovaj poslednji segment posebno je važan za predstavljanje istorije grada. Naime, Johannesburg se „rodio” krajem 19. veka kao rudarsko naselje u vreme zlatne groznice, koja je privukla mnoge evropske doseljenike. Iskopavanja zlata uticala su na promenu ekonomske strukture, ali i na etnički sastav stanovništva tog područja.

Jedan deo muzejske postavke posvećen je Nelsonu Mandeli i Mahatmi Gandiju, dvojici harizmatičnih političkih figura, čiji je aktivizam obeležio istoriju Johannesburga. Malo je poznato, recimo, da je Gandhi politiku nenasilne borbe za ljudska prava započeo kao mladi advokat u Johannesburgu, pre više od jednog veka. Na temu političke istorije ove južnoafričke metropole, Muzej Afrika bio je i domaćin putujuće izložbe fotografija *Uspon i pad apartheida: fotografija i birokratija svakodnevnog života*, eminentnog nigerijskog kustosa Okvija Enwezora (*Okwui Enwezor*) i južnoafričkog istoričara umetnosti Rorija Bestera (*Rory Bester*). Nakon brojnih kulturnih prestonica sveta, izložba je stigla na svoju konačnu destinaciju u grad, koji u izvesnom smislu čini predmet izložbe, za proslavu dvadesetogodišnjice demokratije u Južnoafričkoj Republici. Kroz dokumentarne fotografije više od sedamdeset južnoafričkih autora mapirane su stvarne razmere ozloglašenog režima, odnosno njegov upliv na život Južnoafrikanaca, viđen očima istorijskih svedoka. Impresiju impozantnosti izložbe upotpunjuje trospratna fotografija svetski proslavljene umetnice Mirijam Makebe – simbola afričke emancipacije, postavljene u centralnom prostoru muzeja.

Južnoafrikanci se veoma ponose političkim nasleđem Nelsona Mandele u borbi protiv aparthejda, što je očigledno i u činjenici da u Johannesburgu postoje još dva muzeja tog tipa. To su Muzej aparthejda u centru Johannesburga i Mandelina kuća-muzej u čuvenom predgrađu Soweto (*Soweto*), naselju koje je i samo postalo simbolom rasne segregacije, ali i otpora socijalnoj nepravdi.

the 19th century as a mining settlement, during a gold rush that attracted many European settlers. The gold mining activities influenced the economic structure, as well as the ethnic distribution in that area.

One section of the display is dedicated to Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi, two charismatic political figures, whose activism marked the history of Johannesburg. It is not widely known, for example, that Gandhi first used non-violence as a political strategy in his fight for human rights while working as a young attorney in Johannesburg, more than a century ago. On the subject of the political history of this South African metropolis, the Museum Africa hosted a traveling photography exhibition *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: Photography and Bureaucracy of Everyday Life*, by eminent Nigerian curator Okwui Enwezor and South African art historian Rory Bester. After numerous cultural capitals of the world, the exhibition reached its final destination – the city which, in a manner of speaking, is the subject of the exhibition, for the twentieth anniversary celebration of South Africa's democracy. Documentary photographs by more than seventy South African authors mapped the real-life scope of the notorious regime: its impact on the life of South Africans, seen through the eyes of historical witnesses. My impression of the exhibition's grandness was complemented by the three-storied photograph of world-famed artist Miriam Makeba – a symbol of African emancipation, placed in the central museum space.

South Africans are very proud of the political legacy of Nelson Mandela in the battle against apartheid, which is obvious in the fact that there are two more museums of that type in Johannesburg. Those are the Apartheid Museum in the centre of Johannesburg and the Mandela House (museum) in the famed Soweto Township, a settlement that became a symbol of racial segregation and resistance to social injustice.

In the town's cultural "mosaic" contemporary South African artists show great potential, their work becoming internationally visible thanks to the Johannesburg Art Fair, although a more significant development of the national art market is yet to occur. The "breakthrough" of South African art into the international art scene can largely be credited to world-famed



Silhouette, *Tapiserije*, V. Kentridž i M. Stivens, Umetnički muzej Vits, 2015.
Foto: Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

Silhouettes, *Tapestries*, W. Kentridge and M. Stephens, Wits Art Museum, 2015.
Photo: Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

U kulturnom „mozaiku” grada naslućuje se veliki potencijal savremenih južnoafričkih stvaralaca, čiji radovi postaju i internacionalno vidljivi zahvaljujući Umetničkom sajmu u Johannesburgu, premda značajniji razvoj domaćeg umetničkog tržišta tek predstoji. Za „prodor” južnoafričke umetnosti na internacionalnu umetničku scenu umnogome je zaslužan umetnik svetskog glasa, Vilijam Kentridž (*William Kentridge*), čije su dve izložbe istovremeno bile prikazivane za vreme mog boravka: izložba tapiserija u novoosnovanom Umetničkom muzeju Vits (*Wits Art Museum*) i video-instalacija u Umetničkoj galeriji Johannesburga. U instalaciji *Odbijanje vremena* (*The Refusal of Time*), kroz relativnost ljudskog shvatanja pojma vremena, Kentridž, kao i u drugim radovima, na posredan način dotiče teme imperijalizma i afričke kolonijalne prošlosti, čiji teret nose i ljudske siluete na njegovim tapiserijama. Ove tamne, neme figure neodređenog identiteta prikazane su u hodu, dok prelaze ogromne geografske prostore, asocirajući na ljudsku mobilnost kao oznaku našeg doba, ali i na opštu neodređenost, neizvesnost ljudske situacije.

Prilikom obilaska muzeja u Johannesburgu omogućen mi je pristup kolekcijama savremene i tradicionalne umetnosti, smeštenim u muzejskim depoima Muzeja Afrika i Johannesburgske umetničke galerije. Ove posete bile su mi dragocene sa muzeološkog stanovišta; međutim, za kustosa koji se bavi afričkom

artist William Kentridge, whose two exhibitions were concurrently on view at the time of my stay – an exhibition of tapestries at the newly founded Wits Art Museum and a video installation at the Johannesburg Art Gallery. In his installation called *The Refusal of Time* Kentridge addresses the relativity of the human understanding of the notion of time, touching indirectly upon the themes of imperialism and the African colonial past, the burden of which is also carried by human silhouettes in his tapestries. These dark, silent figures of undetermined identity are shown walking, traversing large geographical spaces, implying both the human mobility as a mark of our times and the general ambiguity and uncertainty of the human situation.

During my tour of the Joburg museums I was granted access to the stored museum collections of contemporary and traditional art at the Museum Africa and the Johannesburg Art Gallery. These tours were valuable from a museological standpoint; however, for a curator dealing with African art, every journey to Africa is an exceptional experience that offers a chance of observing artistic phenomena and processes as part of the fabric of daily life of the African peoples. Museum professionals experience their first encounter with the artistic practice of a remote community or an individual artist primarily through the museum object. Because of this inevitably object-centered approach,

umetnošću svaki boravak u Africi je vanredno iskustvo, koje nudi priliku da se umetničke pojave i procesi uoče kao deo živog tkanja svakodnevnice afričkih naroda. Prvi susret muzejskih stručnjaka sa umetničkom praksom jedne udaljene zajednice, kao i sa delima poznatih umetnika ostvaruje se prvenstveno preko muzejskog predmeta. Zbog ovog neizbežno „predmetocentričnog” pristupa, „ljudska dimenzija” umetnika nije u prvi mah jasno vidljiva: ona se manifestuje u svakodnevnom preplitanju njegovih stvaralačkih poriva sa religijskim idejama i kulturnom filozofijom zajednice, s aktuelnom političkom i materijalnom stvarnošću i, konačno, sa umetnikovim mestom u toj stvarnosti.

Pored dela savremenih, mahom akademskih umetnika, koji svoju umetnost komuniciraju prvenstveno u muzejskom ili galerijskom prostoru, u Južnoj Africi cveta savremena produkcija narodne umetnosti, koja je dostupna van muzejskog okruženja³. Na gradskim tržnicama ili načičkani pored puteva, mogu se zapaziti brojni štandovi sa zanatskim predmetima, kao spontane „postavke na otvorenom”. Oni svedoče o naporima Južnoafrikanaca da obezbede lokalnim zajednicama stabilan izvor prihoda i istovremeno sačuvaju od zaborava tradicionalne oblike umetnosti.

Narod Zulu ponosi se izradom tradicionalnih okruglih pletenih posuda sa poklopcima, napravljenih od vlata ilala palme i ukrašenih elegantnim geometrijskim motivima zemljanih tonova. Zulu korpari demonstriraju svoju zanatsku veštinu izradom velikih korpi za čuvanje tečnosti, kao što su posude za vodu (*isichumo*) i pivo (*ukhamba*), koje su toliko gusto upletene da ne propuštaju tečnost⁴. Uvođenjem novih neuobičajenih materijala (koje diktira savremeno doba) u tradicionalne veštine, nastaju novi umetnički oblici. Takav je primer *skubi* korpi, koje preobražavaju korparski zanat upotrebom raznobojnih telefonskih žica kao materijala za pletenje, umesto slame i trske.

Među primerima savremenog umetničkog zanatstva popularne i su ljupke lutke naroda Ndebele, Pedi i Zulu. Ovi i drugi slični primeri „suvenirske” umetnosti, kao što su dečje igračke – modeli helikoptera ili automobila, napravljeni od reciklirane limene ambalaže, neporecivo ukazuju na kreativnost i prilagodljivost afričkih umetničkih izraza.⁵

the artist’s “human dimension” is not clearly visible at first glance: it is manifested in the daily interweaving of his creative impulses with the community’s religious ideas and cultural philosophy, with the current political and material reality, and ultimately, the artist’s place in this reality.

Beside academically trained artists, who communicate their art mainly in museum and gallery spaces, the contemporary production of folk art flourishing in South Africa is accessible outside the museum setting³. A multitude of craft stands can be spotted in city market centres or in clusters on the roadsides as spontaneous “open-air displays”. They attest to the efforts of South Africans to provide the local communities with a stable income source and, at the same time, to preserve traditional art forms.

The Zulu take pride in the workmanship of the round and oval woven lidded baskets, made from the fronds of the ilala palm and decorated with elegant geometric motifs in earth tones. The Zulu basket-weavers demonstrate their skill by making large baskets that are used for storing liquids, such as the water baskets (*isichumo*) and beer baskets (*ukhamba*), which are densely woven so as to hold liquids without leaking⁴. With the introduction of new, unusual materials into traditional crafts (which is dictated by the modern age) new art forms are created. Such is the example of the *scoobie* baskets that are transforming the old basket-weaving craft by the use of multi-coloured telephone wires as weaving material, instead of straw and reeds.

Among the popular examples of contemporary artisanry are the charming dolls of the Ndebele, Pedi and Zulu peoples. These and other similar examples of “souvenir” art, such as children’s toys – models of helicopters or cars made from recycled tin containers, undeniably indicate the creativity and adaptability of African art expressions⁵.

Thanks to their artistic achievements, certain folk artists-artisans manage to rise from anonymity, blurring the boundaries between “high” and folk art, bringing international recognition and acclaim to traditional art expressions. In that regard, we can mention the celebrated folk artist, Esther Mahlangu, whose work was exhibited internationally. By enter-

Pojedini narodni umetnici-zanatlije uspevaju svojim likovnim postignućima da se izdignu iz anonimnosti, zamagljujući granice između „visoke” i narodne umetnosti, donoseći tradicionalnim umetničkim izrazima prepoznavanje i potvrdu u međunarodnim okvirima. Možemo u tom smislu pomenuti proslavljenu narodnu slikarku Ester Malangu (*Esther Mahlangu*), čiji su radovi internacionalno izlagani. Ulaskom u muzejski prostor njena dela dobijaju oznaku „visoke” umetnosti.

Vraćajući pažnju na materijalni predmet, kustoska poseta Južnoj Africi i gradu zlata zaokružena je nabavkom nekoliko primera tradicionalnih pletenih Zulu posuda i lutki od perlica i tekstila – kao artefakta umetničkog, dokumentarnog i edukativnog značaja – za beogradski Muzej, gde će dobiti još jedan sloj značenja i nove mogućnosti tumačenja.

Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

Zahvalna sam Stivenu Saku, Dejvidu Pirsu i Lari Malen iz RARI-ja i Muzeja porekla, kao i Vanji Vučinić iz Muzeja Afrika i Filipi van Straten iz Johannesburgske umetničke galerije, koji su mi omogućili uvid u zbirke i arhive.

Napomene:

1 Savremeni pristup Instituta je da se ne podržava ekstrakcija dela iz njihovog prirodnog okruženja, već se insistira na podizanju svesti o neophodnosti zaštite samih lokaliteta. Ova ideja je takođe prisutna i na samoj muzejskoj postavci, gde je snažno istaknut značaj pećinske umetnosti kao dela kulturnog nasleđa i istorijskog identiteta nacije.

2 Kroz uspostavljanje veze sa geografskom/biološkom prošlošću, pomoću ove životinje – koja je ujedno i ključni simbol pećinskih slika naroda San – jača se identifikacija sa ovom umetnošću, odnosno nastojanje Muzeja porekla i Instituta RARI da se lokaliteti zaštite podržava se i „van muzejskih zidova”.

3 Tradicionalnim umetničkim formama nije potrebna muzejska prezentacija ili valorizacija da bi ostvarile svoju „kulturnu svrhu”.

4 Pored nesumnjivog korparskog umeća koje njihova izrada iziskuje, Zulu narod poseduje i adekvatno znanje o najpodesnijoj vrsti biljnih vlakana za izradu korpica za držanje tečnosti, kao što su listovi ilala palme koji nabubre kada se natope tečnošću, čime se postiže zatvaranje i najsitnijih pora i rupica na posudi.

5 Iako manje upućenim posmatračima na prvi pogled mogu delovati kao turistički suveniri od nasumično izabranih materijala, njihovo umetničko poreklo je u tradicionalnom stvaralaštvu različitih etničkih zajednica te zemlje. Premda je njihova ritualna upotreba stvar prošlosti, kulturno značenje i simbolika lutki naroda Ndebele, Soto, Zulu, Svazi, Ntswana i Venda imaju svoje uporište u običajima i praksi ovih naroda, i povezane su sa ritualima udvaranja ili biranja supružnika.

ing the museum space, her artworks have earned the label of “high” art.

Returning our attention to the material object, the curatorial visit to South Africa and the city of gold was rounded off by the acquisition of a few examples of traditional woven Zulu containers and dolls made of beads and cloth – as artifacts of artistic, documentary and educational value – for the Museum of African Art, where they will gain yet another layer of meaning and new possibilities for interpretation.

Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

I am grateful to Steven Sack, David Pearce and Lara Mallen from the RARI and Origins Centre, and to Vanya Vucinic from the Museum Africa and Philippa van Straaten from the Johannesburg Art Gallery for granting me access to their collections and archives.

Notes:

1 According to the Institute’s contemporary conservation approach, the extraction of artworks from their natural surroundings is not supported. What is insisted upon, instead, is raising awareness about the necessity of preserving the rock art sites themselves. This idea is also present in the museum display where the importance of rock art as part of the cultural heritage and the nation’s historical identity is strongly featured.

2 By establishing a connection with the geographical/biological past, through this animal – which is also a key symbol of San rock paintings – the identification with this art is strengthened, and the endeavour of the Origins Centre and the RARI Institute to protect the rock art sites is supported “outside the museum walls”.

3 Traditional art forms do not need museological presentations or valorisations to achieve their “cultural purpose”.

4 Aside from the undoubted weaving skills that their making requires, the Zulu possess adequate knowledge on the types of natural fibres that are most suitable for making baskets to hold liquids, such as the ilala palm, whose fronds swell when soaked in liquid, tightly closing even the tiniest pores and holes on the container.

5 Although to less-informed observers they may appear as tourist souvenirs made from randomly chosen materials, their artistic origin is in the traditional art of the country’s various ethnic groups. Though their ritual use is a matter of the past, the cultural meaning and symbolism of dolls of the Ndebele, Sotho, Zulu, Swazi, Ntswana and Venda are based on these peoples’ customs and practice: they are linked to courtship rituals or the selection of marriage partners.

Interaktivni muzej: Edukativni i kreativni dečiji program u Muzeju afričke umetnosti

Muzej afričke umetnosti predstavlja značajan edukativni i kreativni centar u okviru kojeg se realizuju raznovrsni interaktivni programi o afričkoj kulturi i umetnosti. Do sada, kroz programe edukacije i animacije prošao je veliki broj mladih – dece predškolskog i školskog uzrasta i studenata. Zahvaljujući permanentnom angažmanu i didaktičkom radu kustosa Muzeja (rukovodilac Marija Ličina), Muzej je stalno otvoren za pojedinačne i grupne posete sa uvek podsticajnim aktivnostima, zanimljivim i korisnim programima. Nedeljni i mesečni termini okupljaju i do pedesetoro mladih posetilaca. U saradnji sa predškolskim i školskim ustanovama (uključene su internacionalne škole Nemačke, Francuske i Amerike), zatim centrima za decu sa posebnim potrebama, fakultetima, muzejske aktivnosti podrazumevaju da se *afrički svetovi* približe mladima, podstičući tako bolje razumevanje i shvatanje drugih kultura. Muzejska interaktivnost zasniva se na dobro osmišljenoj edukativnoj organizaciji kroz vođenje posetilaca i upoznavanja stalne izložbene postavke i tekućih tematskih izložbi. Te vizuelne i auditivne percepcije za mnoge mlade posetioce jesu prvi koraci upoznavanja afričkog kontinenta, čiji se utisci dalje nadograđuju kroz inspiracije i kreativne radionice. Obilazeći izložbe, slušajući i gledajući artefakte ili video-projekcije, deca – posetioци stvaraju sopstvene narative i slike u glavama, zamišljene prizore, koje potom prenose u kreativnu zonu. Kroz stvaralački elan slikanja, bojenja, crtanja, oblikovanja, njihova iskustva su pretočena u „mala umetnička dela”. Takvu Afriku nose sa sobom i sa takvom Afrikom se prikazuju. Poslednje dve godine bilo je nekoliko vrlo zapaženih kreativnih radionica inspirisanih izložba-

The Interactive Museum: Educational and Creative Programs for Children at the Museum of African Art in Belgrade

The Museum of African Art is a relevant educational and creative centre in which various interactive programs on African cultures and arts are carried out. So far, a large number of young people – preschoolers, school children and students, has participated in educational and animation programs. Thanks to the permanent engagement and didactical efforts of museum curators (led by Marija Ličina), the Museum is always open for individual and group visits with ever stimulating activities, interesting and useful programs. The weekly and monthly programs attract up to fifty young visitors. In collaboration with pre-school institutions and schools (including international schools such as the German, French and American school), centres for children with special needs, university departments – the museum activities mean familiarizing the youth with *African worlds*, thus promoting better understanding and appreciation of other cultures. The museum's interactivity is based on a well-organized educational structure of guided tours that introduce visitors to the permanent display and the changing thematic exhibitions. For many young visitors, the visual and auditory perceptions created on these occasions are the first steps in learning about the African continent, the impressions being further built upon through inspiration and creative workshops. Browsing through the displays, looking at artifacts or watching and listening to video screenings, children visiting the museum create their own narratives and mental images, imagined sights, which they then transfer into the creative zone. Through various creative efforts of painting, coloring, drawing, modeling, their experiences are transfused into “small works of art”. This is the Africa they carry with them and

ma *Tradicionalni murali Afrike*, oslikanim zidovima afričkih kuća naroda iz Nigerije, Gane, Burkin Faso i Južne Afrike, *Odjeci...iz zvučnog arhiva Kraljevskog muzeja za Centralnu Afriku*, zvučnim zapisima afričkih instrumenata, i *Kotoko konjanici* – minijaturnim skulpturama konjanika od bronce u vidu privezaka – amuleta u Centralnoj Africi. Simbolički i estetski motivi potkrepljeni ambijentom u kome se odvijaju radionice (ponekad i u bašti Muzeja) zaista angažuju mlada čula i daju im spontana nadahnuća. Kao inspiracija za umetničke radove jedan od najpopularnijih muzejskih predmeta jeste *skulptura ptice naroda Senufo*. Jedan od veoma popularnih programa koji se odvijao u poslednje dve godine inspirisan je izložbom *Mankala, misaona igra*. Program „Mankalomanija” obuhvatao je igranje mankala, dečije radionice, turnire sa gostovanjima u mnogim gradovima Srbije.

Pored ovih tekućih muzejskih aktivnosti, edukacija i animacija dece odvija se i u okviru manifestacija *Dani evropske baštine*, *Noć muzeja* i *Afro festival*. Svake godine u junu mesecu Muzej organizuje Afro festival, kao svojevrsno živo nasleđe izvan (muzejskih) zidova. Veliki kontinent se na ograničenom muzejskom prostoru oživljava kroz muziku, raznovrsne degustacije hrane, bazar i prodajne tezge, kroz susrete ljudi i uživanja. U toku nekoliko dana organizuju se i dečije radionice. Evo ukratko programa koji je realizovan na Afro festivalu 2015. godine. Radionica „Oblici u glini... krokodil na zidu?!” inspirisana je likovnim motivima životinja koji ukrašavaju zidove tradicionalnih afričkih kuća – gušterima, kravama i zmijama. Deca prave male životinje u vidu glinenih figura u plitkom reljefu. „Mini-modeli za afričke murale” jesu napravljene kuće od reciklaža, koje se potom boje ili ukrašavaju tehnikom kolaža. „Obucimo afričku kućicu” sastoji se iz oslikavanja ogromne tkanine u gurunsi stilu, kojom se prekriva jedna od afro-kućica postavljenih u bašti Muzeja. Ništa manje zanimljiva je radionica „Lakrdijaš Anansi i njegove avanture” – kroz afričke priče deca upoznaju svet pauka Anansija učeći o društvenim vrednostima, kao što su pravednost, solidarnost, snalažljivost, hrabrost i marljivost. Narativi se prenose na papir u vidu crteža ili prepričavaju dalje. U okviru Afro festivala održana je i izložba dečijih radova nastalih tokom godine, na kojoj je učestvovalo više od 700 dece



Pobednički crtež Milene Đorić, dečiji likovni konkurs „Afričke kuće od boja i slika”, 2015. Foto-dokumentacija MAU

Milena Đorić's drawing that won the children's art contest, "African Houses Made of Colours and Paintings", 2015. MAA photo documentation

present themselves with. In the last two years there have been quite a few remarkable creative workshops inspired by exhibitions such as: *Traditional African Murals*, featuring painted façades of African houses from Nigeria, Ghana, Burkina Faso and South Africa; the exhibition *Echos...from the Sound Archives of the Royal Museum of Central Africa*, with sound recordings of African instruments, and *Kotoko Equestrians* – with miniature bronze sculptures of equestrians in the shape of pendants – amulets from Central Africa. The symbolic and aesthetic motifs, underscored by the atmosphere of the environment in which the workshops are held (at times in the Museum garden), provide genuine sensory engagement and spontaneous inspiration. One of the most popular museum objects that serves as an inspiration for artworks is *the bird sculpture of the Senufo people*. A very popular program that took place in the last two years was inspired by the exhibition *Mankala – a Game of Thought*. The “Mankalomania” program consisted of the mankala board game playing, children's workshops, tournaments and visits to many towns and cities in Serbia.

Aside from these regular museum activities, education and animation for children also take place within programs such as *European Heritage Days*, *Night of Museums* and the *Afro Festival*. Every year in the month of June, the Museum organizes the Afro Festival, as a kind of a living heritage that is presented outside the (museum) walls. The great continent is



Dečija radionica „Obucimo afričku kućicu”,
Afro festival, 2015.
Foto-dokumentacija MAU

Workshop for children “Let’s Dress an African House”,
Afro Festival, 2015.
MAA photo documentation

uzrasta od 6 do 14 godina. Ali tu se ne završavaju umetničke misije Muzeja, jer je ideja o prikazivanju dečijeg stvaralaštva dobila epilog u vidu nadmetanja i nagrađivanja najboljih dečijih ostvarenja. Likovni konkursi pod nazivima „Afrika u srcu Beograda” (2014) i „Afričke kuće od boja i slika” (2015) najbolje pokazuju ne samo interesovanje dece za afričku umetnost i kulturu već i želju za afirmacijom kroz umetničke izraze. Kako se navodi u konkursnom pozivu, „cilj je da se deci približi umetnost i kultura afričkog kontinenta, da se podstakne vizuelna percepcija, likovno istraživanje i izražavanje, stvarajući i negujući najmlađu muzejsku publiku i nove generacije ljubitelja Afrike”. Zar to nije skroman doprinos i velika misija onih koji gledaju Afriku svojim očima?

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

brought to life in the limited museum space through music, food, the bazaar, sale exhibitions and through encounters of people and pleasure. During these couple of days children’s workshops are also organized. Here is a brief overview of the Afro festival 2015 program. The workshop named “Shapes in Clay...a Crocodile on the Wall?!” was inspired by the animal motifs that decorate the walls of traditional African houses – lizards, cows and snakes. Children made clay figures of small animals in low relief. “Mini Model Houses for African Murals” were made of recycled materials, which were then colored or decorated in collage technique. “Let’s Dress an African House” consisted of painting a large piece of cloth in Gurunsi style, which was then used to cover a model African house found in the Museum garden. No less interesting was the workshop called the “Anansi the Trickster and His Adventures” – through African storytelling children learned about the world of Anansi, the spider, and social values such as justice, solidarity, resourcefulness, courage and diligence. Narratives were transmitted onto paper in the form of drawings, or were further retold. An exhibition of artworks that had been made throughout the year by more than 700 children of 6 to 14 years of age was organized at the Afro Festival. But that was not the end of the Museum’s artistic mission, because the idea of presenting children’s creativity had an epilogue in the form of a competition and presentation of awards for the best children’s achievements. Art competitions called “Africa in the Heart of Belgrade” (2014) and “African Houses Made of Colours and Paintings” (2015) best demonstrate not only the children’s interest in African art and culture, but the desire for affirmation through artistic expressions, as well. As is stated in the call for entries, “The goal is to familiarize the children with the art and culture of the African continent, to stimulate visual perception, artistic research and expression, creating and fostering the youngest museum audience and new generations of admirers of Africa.” Is that not a humble contribution and grand mission of those who view Africa in their own way?

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

Digitalizacija foto-arhiva Muzeja afričke umetnosti

Muzej afričke umetnosti poseduje fotografski, audio i filmski materijal, koji iznosi nekoliko hiljada jedinica. Ova građa neprocenljive vrednosti do sada je bila nedostupna kako potencijalnim istraživačima i stručnjacima zainteresovanim za različita pitanja i fenomene iz oblasti afričkog, jugoslovenskog i kulturnog nasleđa Srbije (kao i njihovih međusobnih odnosa i veza), tako i široj muzejskoj publici i korisnicima. Upravo je zato važan projekat digitalizacije fotografske, audio i filmske građe, kojim će se, pre svega, učiniti značajan korak u daljem unapređenju rada muzeja. Bogatu građu koja treba da postane „vidljiva” čine negativ, pozitiv, fotografije, albumi, magnetofonski zapisi i filmske trake – svedočanstva jednog vremena, deo privatne arhive braćnog para Pečar, osnivača muzeja. Posledica dugogodišnjeg boravka na afričkom kontinentu Vede i Zdravka Pečara, tokom pedesetih, šezdesetih i polovine sedamdesetih godina 20. veka u svojstvu dopisnika i diplomata, jeste upravo stvaranje ovako značajnog fonda vizuelne i audio građe. Tek projektom digitalizacije arhiva postaje dostupna za istraživanje, kritičko promišljanje, prezentaciju i, uopšte, izučavanje kako kulturnog nasleđa afričkih zajednica, tako i istorijskog i kulturnog konteksta jugoslovenske, odnosno srpske baštine i njihove veze sa umetnošću i kulturom afričkog kontinenta.

Proces digitalizacije započet je krajem 2015. godine sa namerom da se nastavi sve dok celokupna građa ne bude obrađena na taj način da postane dostupna zainteresovanim korisnicima. U tom smislu projekat nudi dugoročno rešenje, jer sama digitalizacija podrazumeva konačnu obradu dragocenih arhivskih materijala, njegovu sistematizaciju i predstavljanje široj javnosti, čime će oni postati sastavni deo ne samo ovdašnjeg, već i celokupnog, svetskog kulturnog nasleđa. Ona ujedno podrazumeva siste-

The Digitization of the Museum of African Art Photo Archive

The Museum of African Art holds several thousands of photographic, audio and film records. Until now, this invaluable material has been inaccessible to potential researchers and experts interested in various issues and phenomena of the African, Yugoslav and the cultural heritage of Serbia (and their mutual relations and ties), as well as the wider museum public and users. Precisely in that fact lies the importance of the project of the digitization of the photographic, audio and film material, which is, above all, an important step in improving the work of the Museum. The rich material that is supposed to become “visible” comprises negatives, positives, photographs, albums, magnetic tape recordings and film tapes – testaments to an era, a part of the private archive of the Pečar couple – the founders of the Museum. Working as correspondents and diplomats, Veda and Dr Zdravko Pečar stayed on the African continent for an extended period of time, during the 1960s and the mid-1970s, during which a significant body of visual and audio material was amassed. Only now, with the digitization project, will the archive be made available for research, critical reflections, presentation, and the general study of the cultural heritage of African communities and the historical and cultural context of the Yugoslav and Serbian legacies, as well as their relation to the art and culture of the African continent.

The digitization began at the end of 2015 and is to be continued until the entire material has been dealt with, so as to become accessible to potential users. In that sense, the project offers a long-term solution, since digitization *per se* entails the final processing of valuable archival materials, their systemization and presentation to the general audience, by which they are to become an integral part of not only the local, but the world’s cultural heritage, as well. At the same



Veda Zagorac u Africi.
Foto-arhiv MAU

Veda Zagorac in Africa.
MAA photo documentation



Dr Zdravko Pečar u Africi.
Foto-arhiv MAU

Dr Zdravko Pečar in Africa.
MAA photo documentation

matski i analitički pristup muzejskom materijalu, koji do sada nije bio stručno obrađen, dok faze registrovanja, grupisanja i popisivanja predstavljaju osnovu za sve one procese koji se odnose na dalju „upotrebu” ovog značajnog dela muzejskog kulturnog nasleđa. Projekat će takođe pružiti mogućnosti za dalje konstantno i uvek novo proširivanje, gde bi posredstvom novih istraživanja i pojave novih sadržaja sam proces predstavljao kontinuirani niz u otkrivanju, beleženju, čuvanju i prenošenju ovih novih saznanja publici i stručnoj javnosti.

Muzej afričke umetnosti u 2017. godini obeležava i značajan datum – četrdeset godina od osnivanja i rada. Proces digitalizacije muzejske fotografske, video i audio građe svakako će doprineti obeležavanju ovog značajnog jubileja i posebno istaći značaj koji ova ustanova ima na globalnoj kulturnoj mapi.

Milica Naumov

time, digitization implies a systematic and analytical approach to the museum material that has not been professionally processed previously, while the stages of identifying, inventorying and arranging form the basis for all the processes that concern the further “use” of this important part of the Museum’s cultural heritage. In addition, the project will offer possibilities for constant further expansion of the process, whereby, with new research and new contents, it would turn into a continuous sequence of discovering, recording, storing and communicating these new findings to the general public and professional audience.

In 2017 the Museum of African Art will celebrate an important date – its fortieth anniversary. The digitization process of the museum’s photo, video and audio material will surely contribute to the marking of this important milestone and, especially, highlight the importance of the institution on the global cultural map.

Milica Naumov



Beleška o autorima

Džeklin Grejs Lejsi je kustoski saradnik za afričku i pacifičku etnologiju u Odeljenju za antropologiju u Američkom prirodnjačkom muzeju u Njujorku. U APM bavi se analizom muzejskih diskursa u domenu afričke kulture i tehnologije. U novijem radu bavila se istraživanjem dodirnih oblasti epidemiologije zaraznih bolesti, medicinske antropologije i humanističkih studija u domenu zaštite životne sredine. Nedavne prezentacije na ove teme održala je u Američkom etnološkom društvu, Američkom udruženju antropologa, Sidnejskom ekološkom institutu, na Lids Univerzitetu (*Postkolonijalne katastrofe*), a konferenciju *Kustosiranje budućnosti: muzej, zajednice i klimatske promene* organizovala je u AMPI. Ona je aktivan muzejski edukator i mentor u Programu mentorstva naučnih istraživanja, kao i pisac nastavnih sadržaja i edukator u okviru Lang i ASP edukativnih inicijativa u AMPI. Protekle godine sarađivala je sa kolegama u Njujorku i na Samoi na projektu „Promišljanje doma: klimatske promene u Njujorku i na Samoi“, za koji su im američki Stejt Department (Državni Sekretarijat) i Američka alijansa muzeja dodelili stipendiju *Museum Connect Grant*. Stekla je iskustvo u virologiji i medicinskoj antropologiji radeći na javnom zdravstvenom obrazovanju u Tanzaniji, HIV/AIDS testiranju i istraživanju u Komitetu za afričke poslove u Harlemu.
(email: jlacey@amnh.org)

Dr Aleks de Vut je kustos pomoćnik za afričku etnologiju, u Odeljenju za antropologiju u Američkom prirodnjačkom muzeju u Njujorku. On je inicijator godišnje konferencije Studija društvenih igara, koje postoje od 1995. godine, i jedan je od urednika *Časopisa za studije društvenih igara*, koji trenutno objavljuje Univerzitet u Lisabonu. Autor je i priređivač nekoliko izdanja o istoriji i psihologiji društvenih igara, kao i kataloga zbirki Britanskog muzeja i knjige *A Question of Excellence: A century of African Masters* [Pitanje izvrsnosti: jedan vek afričkih majstora] (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005), u kojoj se istražuje praksa stručnjaka društvenih igara na afričkom kontinentu u dvadesetom veku. Sada završava koautorsko izdanje o društvenim igrama u drevnom Egiptu, koje će objaviti *Bloomsbury Academic Press*. Njegova istraživačka interesovanja obuhvataju arheologiju, antropologiju, psihologiju, istoriju i lingvistiku, ali su usredsređena na tradicije koje su se širile preko granica Istočne Afrike, Bliskog istoka i oblasti u zapadnom delu Indijskog okeana.
(email: adevoogt@amnh.org)

Remi Žadinon diplomirao je antropologiju na Slobodnom univerzitetu u Briselu. Radi kao pomoćnik istraživanja u Službi za kulturu i društvo Kraljevskog muzeja za Centralnu Afriku, od 2009. godine, gde se bavi dokumentovanjem etnomuzikoloških zbirki Centralne Afrike. Istovremeno vodi doktorsko istraživanje na temu sekularizacije religijskog domena kroz muziku. U svojoj studiji bavi se popularizacijom repertoara *ngombi* harfe u Tsogo selima u provinciji Nguni u Gabonu. Posebnu pažnju u istraživanju poklanja upotrebi brojnih tehnologija u komercijalizaciji i promenama zabeležene tradicionalne muzike.
(email: remy.jadinon@africamuseum.be)

Note about the authors

Jacklyn Grace Lacey is Curatorial Associate of African and Pacific Ethnology in the Division of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Her work at AMNH analyzes museum discourses on African culture and technology. Her recent work is exploring the intersections of infectious disease epidemiology, medical anthropology and the environmental humanities. Recent presentations on these themes include the American Ethnological Society, the American Anthropological Association, the Sydney Environmental Institute, Leeds University (*Post-Colonial Disasters*) and *Curating the Future: Museum, Communities and Climate Change*, a conference she co-convened at AMNH. An active museum educator, she is a mentor in the AMNH Science Research Mentorship Program (SRMP), as well as a curriculum writer and educator in the Lang and ASP educational initiatives at AMNH. This past year she worked with colleagues in New York and Samoa on the project “Rethinking Home: Climate Change in New York and Samoa”, for which they received a US State Department and American Alliance of Museums *Museum Connect Grant*. She has a background in virology and medical anthropology, previously working in public health education in Tanzania, HIV/AIDS testing and research at African Services Committee in Harlem.
(email: jlacey@amnh.org)

Alex de Voogt (PhD), is an Assistant Curator of African Ethnology, Division of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. He has been the initiator of the annual Board Game Studies conferences that have been in existence since 1995 and he is co-editor of the *Journal of Board Game Studies*, currently published by Lisbon University. He is the author and editor of several volumes on the history and psychology of board games, including a catalogue of the British Museum collections and a book entitled *A Question of Excellence: a Century of African Masters* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005), which explores the practices of twentieth century experts of board games on the African continent. At present he is finishing a co-authored volume on board games found in ancient Egypt to be published by Bloomsbury Academic Press. His research interests span archaeology, anthropology, psychology, history and linguistics, but concentrate on traditions that crossed the borders of East Africa, the Middle East and the western Indian Ocean.
(email: adevoogt@amnh.org)

Rémy Jadinon diplômé en anthropologie à l'Université libre de Bruxelles, il travaille comme assistant de recherche au Service Culture & Société du MRAC depuis 2009 où il documente les collections ethnomusicologiques d'Afrique centrale. Parallèlement, il mène des recherches doctorales sur la sécularisation du religieux par la musique. Son étude porte sur la popularisation des répertoires de harpe ngombi dans les villages tsogo de la province de la Ngounié au Gabon. Il porte une attention particulière à l'emploi des technologies numériques dans la commercialisation et l'échange des musiques traditionnelles enregistrées.
(email: remy.jadinon@africamuseum.be)

Dr Ana Sladojević doktorirala je 2012. godine u Grupi za Teoriju umetnosti i medija, u okviru programa Interdisciplinarnih studija Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu, sa radom na temu *Muzej kao slika sveta, prostor reprezentacije identiteta i ideologije*, kod prof. dr Nevene Daković. Magistrirala je i diplomirala na Fakultetu primenjenih umetnosti i dizajna Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu, odsek keramika, kod prof. Velimira Vukićevića. Od 2002. godine radi kao kustos, prvo u Muzeju afričke umetnosti, zatim u Muzeju istorije Jugoslavije u Beogradu. Od 2012. godine angažovana je kao istraživač u okviru međunarodnog projekta *Non-Aligned Modernities* Muzeja savremene umetnosti u Beogradu. Više muzejsko zvanje stekla je 2013. godine, habilitacionim radom na temu *Deponovanje čilima, tepiha i tapiserija iz fonda Muzeja istorije Jugoslavije*, koji je napisala na osnovu prakse sprovedene u Ateljeu za konzervaciju tekstila u Centralnom institutu za konzervaciju, sa posebnim fokusom na preventivnu konzervaciju. Autorka je programa „Konteksti i reprezentacije“, koji je pokrenula u Muzeju afričke umetnosti 2014. godine. Posebno se interesuje za teme reprezentacija u kulturi, kao i konzervacije shvaćene kroz procese valorizacije i prepoznavanja nasleđa u širem smislu. Saradnik je u Centralnom institutu za konzervaciju u Beogradu. (email: anasladojevic@gmail.com)

Dr Marko Pišev je član Instituta za etnologiju i antropologiju na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu i radi kao saradnik Novog Balkanološkog instituta. Aktivan je u nastavi na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu, gde predaje više predmeta u okviru osnovnih, master i doktorskih akademskih studija. Autor je brojnih naučnih članaka, kao i samostalne monografije *Politička etnografija i srpska intelektualna elita u vreme stvaranja Jugoslavije 1914–1919: Slučaj Jovana Cvijića*. Njegove oblasti interesovanja su antropologija islama, istorija i teorija etnologije-antropologije, multikulturalizam, alternativne modernosti. (email: marko.pisev@f.bg.ac.rs)

Elizabeta Bruks je fotografkinja i umetnica pokretnih slika, živi u San Francisku. Radeći u Istočnoj Africi i Sjedinjenim Državama, spaja lične i političke narative in traganju za suptilnim granicama individualne ličnosti, kojom se natapaju kulturni identitet, grad, zemlja i tehnologija. U svom etnografskom filmu *Kibuki: duhovi na Zanzibaru* proučava prakse isceljenja transom kroz kros-kulturnu prizmu. U ovom delu, snimanom preko petnaest meseci, istražuju se telo kao deo kulture, kao i destrukcija i transformacija ličnosti-sopstva u periodu žaljenja. Njen rad je prikazivan u galerijama i na festivalima, kao što su Liga pacifičke umetnosti, Festival umetnosti u Venisu, *Artists Television Access*, Festival underground filma u Mineapolisu, *Southern Exposure*, Štajrišer Herbst festival, Etnografilm i DC Foto-nedelja. Dobitnica je Fulbrajtove stipendije za Tanzaniju, a njenu dvojezičnu dečiju knjigu *Mama je zaposlena* objavila je izdavačka kuća *Mkuki na Nyota Press* iz Dar es Salama. Diplomom osnovnih studija istorije stekla je na univerzitetu Stanford. Master afričkih studija završila je u Školi za orijentalne i afričke studije Univerzitetskog koledža u Londonu, a master iz oblasti fotografskih i elektronskih medija na Umetničkom koledžu Merilend instituta. (email: lizzy.brooks@gmail.com)

Ana Sladojević (PhD), completed her doctoral studies in 2012 in the Group for Theory of Art and Media, within the Interdisciplinary Studies program at the Belgrade University of Art, with her thesis *Museum as an Image of the World – the site of identity and ideology representation*, in the class of professor Nevena Daković (PhD). She holds an MA and BA degree in Ceramics from the Faculty of Applied Arts and Design, Belgrade University of Art, (in the class of Professor Velimir Vukićević). Since 2002 she has worked as curator, first at the Museum of African Art, and later at the Museum of Yugoslav History in Belgrade. As of 2012 she has been engaged by the Museum of Contemporary Art as a researcher on an international project *Non-Aligned Modernities*. In 2013 she earned her senior curatorial degree based on her study *Storing Kilims, Carpets and Tapestries in the Yugoslav History Museum Collections*, which puts special focus on preventive conservation, and is a result of her internship at the Textile conservation studio of the Central Institute for Conservation. She is the author of the “Contexts and Representations” program, which she initiated at the Museum of African Art in 2014. She is particularly interested in cultural representations, as well as conservation understood as the process of evaluation and heritage identification in a broader sense. She is an associate of the Central Institute of Conservation in Belgrade. (email: anasladojevic@gmail.com)

Marko Pišev (PhD), is a member of the Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology, at the Faculty of Philosophy, and an associate of the New Balkanology Institute. He is an active lecturer at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, where he teaches several courses within the undergraduate, master and doctoral study programs. He is the author of numerous scientific articles, as well as a monograph *Political Ethnography and the Serbian Intellectual Elite at the Time of Yugoslavia's Inception 1914-1919: The Case of Jovan Cvijić*. His areas of interest include the anthropology of Islam, the history and theory of ethnology-anthropology, multiculturalism, alternative modernities. (email: marko.pisev@f.bg.ac.rs)

Elizabeth Brooks is a photographer and moving image artist based in San Francisco. Working in East Africa and the United States, she merges personal and political narratives to trace the nuanced boundaries of the self, as it bleeds into cultural identity, the city and the land, and technology. Her ethnographic film, *Kibuki: Spirits in Zanzibar*, examines trance-based healing practices through a cross-cultural lens. Filmed over fifteen months, the piece explores the body in culture, and the destruction and transformation of self in a period of grieving. Her work has been exhibited at galleries and festivals including The Pacific Art League, Venice Arts, Artists Television Access, Minneapolis Underground Film Festival, Southern Exposure, Steirischer Herbst Festival, Etnografilm, and DC Foto Week. She was the recipient of a Fulbright Grant to Tanzania and her bilingual children's book *Mama Has a Job* is published by *Mkuki na Nyota Press*, Dar es Salaam. Brooks earned her BA in History from Stanford University. She holds an MA in African Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies, UCL and an MFA in Photographic and Electronic Media from the Maryland Institute College of Art. (email: lizzy.brooks@gmail.com)

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FOTOGRAFIJE NA NASLOVNIM STRANAMA NAUČNIH ČLANAKA
PHOTOGRAPHS ON THE COVER PAGES OF THE SCIENTIFIC ARTICLES

Uklapanje muzeja, igrača i javnosti: direktni pristupi kritičkom diskursu i kulturnim istorijama
Matching Museums, Players and Publics: Hands on Approaches to Critical Discourse and Cultural Histories

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Majstori *bao* mankala igre tokom turnira u Zanzibaru.
Masters of the mancala game *bao* during a tournament in Zanzibar.
(Foto/Photo: Alex de Voogt, 1994)

Sveta harfa za profane pesme: ngombi repertoari naroda Mitsogo iz Ngunie
Harpe sacrée pour chants profanes : les répertoires du ngombi des Mitsogo de la Ngounié

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Harfista Getseke iz sela Bandia u Ngunie (Gabon).
Harpiste Getseke, village de Bandi en Ngounié (Gabon).
(Foto/photo: Rémy Jadinon 2012, MRAC Tervuren. ©)

Muzejski metanarativi kroz prizmu samorefleksije, revalorizacije i digitalnog pomaka
Museum Metanarratives Through the Prism of Self-Reflection, Revalorisation and Digital Shift

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Ortofoto prikaz 3D snimka postavke
The orthophoto layout, in 3D, of the Museum floor plan
(Izrada/ Created by: arh. Marko Aleksić, Jugoslav Pendić)

Poliginija i modernost u savremenim afričkim društvima: prilog debati
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Porodica u Sudanu.
Family in Sudan.
(Foto/photo: Foto-arhiva Pečar, kolekcija MAU/The Pečar photo archive, MAA collection 1955)

Doživeti kibuki: Duhovi, tuđinci i vizuelizacija ritualnih postupaka u urbanom Zanzibaru
Experiencing Kibuki: Spirits, Outsiders, and the Visualization of Ritual Practice in Urban Zanzibar

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Žena domaćin muškom šeitaniju tokom kibuki ngome.
A woman hosting a male *sheitani* during a Kibuki *ngoma*.
(Foto/photo: Elizabeth M. Brooks 2011)

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