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SADRŽAJ

CONTENTS

Uvod

- 1-10 Afrički svetovi u fokusu istraživanja
Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

Naučni članci

- 11-28 Živi eksponati afro muz/ej/ike
Ana Kotevska
29-40 Holandska književnost Kariba
Jelica Novaković-Lopušina
41-56 Osvrt na prisustvo adinkra simbola u Gani
Ana Sladojević
57-76 Razvoj kinematografije u zapadnoj Africi
Sarah Lunaček

Predavanje

- 77 Konceptacija Muzeja Kej Branli, Pariz (transkript)
Yves Le Fur

Intervju

- 95 Problem u raju
Razgovor sa karipskim umetnikom: Lennon Žno-Baptiste
Mihail Milunović

Introduction

- 1-10 African Worlds in Focus of Interpretation
Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

Articles

- 11-28 Living Exhibits of Afro Museum/*ic*
Ana Kotevska
29-40 Literature of the Dutch West Indies
Jelica Novaković-Lopušina
41-56 Reviewing the Presence of the Adinkra Symbols in Ghana
Ana Sladojević
57-76 The Advance of Cinematography in West Africa
Sarah Lunaček

Conférence

- 77 La conception du musée du quai Branly, Paris (la transcription)
Yves Le Fur

Interview

- 95 Trouble in Paradise
Interview with Caribbean artist Lennon Jno-Baptiste
Mihail Milunović

Prikazi

- 101 AuB
Miroslava Lukić Krstanović
102 Mvana Hiti: više od lutke, iz zbirke Gibera Ersona
Marija Ličina
105 Kava kava i betel
Miroslava Lukić Krstanović
106 Pogled na umetnosti naroda Kuba (DR Kongo), iz zbirke Gibera Hersona
Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović
109 Tranzit(i) i Omaž Zdravku Pečaru
Izložba i instalacija umetnika Barthelemy Togoa
Emilia Epštajn
112 Crno, crveno i belo
Instalacija umetnika Zorana Naskovskog
Nataša Njegovanović Ristić
113 Umetnost moći, moć umetnosti: bronzana skulptura zapadne Afrike
Senka Kovač
115 Senka Kovač, Marsel Griol i naučna preispitivanja na kraju XX veka
Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović
117 Nataša Njegovanović Ristić, Primarna umetnost: slike na stenama, slike na telu
Senka Kovač

Hronika

- Str xx, Panafrički festival kulture (2009)
Narcisa Knežević-Šjan
Str xx, Konferencija ECAS, AEGIS (2009)
Aleksandra Prodanović-Bojović
Str xx, Konferencija EASA (2008)
Emilia Epštajn, Marija Ličina
Str xx, Hronika Muzeja afričke umetnosti, 2004-2009

Reviews

- 101 AinB
Miroslava Lukić Krstanović
102 Mwana Hiti: More than Just a Doll, from the Guibert Hairson Collection
Marija Ličina
105 Kava kava and betel
Miroslava Lukić Krstanović
106 A view at Kuba Art (DR Congo), from the Guibert Hairson Collection
Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović
109 Transit(s) and Homage to Zdravko Pečar
Exhibition and Installation by Barthelemy Togoa,
Emilia Epštajn
112 Black, Red and White
Installation by Zoran Naskovski, artist
Nataša Njegovanović Ristić
113 The Art of Power – Power of Art: Bronze Sculpture of West Africa
Senka Kovač
114 Senka Kovač, Marcel Griaule and Scientific Reexamination at the end of the Twentieth Century
Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović
117 Nataša Njegovanović Ristić, Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies
Senka Kovač

Currents

- Str xx, Panafrican Culture Festival (2009)
Narcisa Knežević-Šjan
Str xx, Conference ECAS, AEGIS (2009)
Aleksandra Prodanović-Bojović
Str xx, The EASA Conference (2008)
Emilia Epštajn, Marija Ličina
Str xx, Timeline of the Museum of African Art, 2004-2009

Reč redakcije

Editorial

Afrika – studije umetnosti i kulture, časopis Muzeja afričke umetnosti u Beogradu, predstavlja prvu i jedinstvenu periodičnu publikaciju ne samo u Srbiji, već i na internacionalnom nivou. Časopis otvara do sada malo znanu oblast afrikanologije, afrikanistike i afričkih studija iz oblasti umetnosti i kulturoloških nauka. Koncept časopisa zasniva se na interdisciplinarnim i multidisciplinarnim pristupima i tumačenjima afričkih civilizacija, kao i njihovog prožimanja sa evropskim i drugim neevropskim društвима. Doprinos ovog časopisa jeste promovisanje kulture tolerancije i razvijanja senzibiliteta za razumevanje raznovrsnih ostvarenja. Distribucija časopisa Muzeja afričke umetnosti treba da omogуci proširivanje saradnje i umrežavanje sa kulturnimi, naučnim, umetničkim i muzejskim centrima u pravcu kulturne razmene i dijaloga ovde-sad-svuda.

Stručnjaci iz zemlje i inostranstva - antropolozi, istoričari umetnosti, muzeolozi, art eksperți, muzikolozi, arheolozi, istoričari, filolozi - uključeni su u rad ovog časopisa, kako svojim idejama, tako i kreativnim i naučnim delima. Već na samom početku pokazano je veliko interesovanje za časopis, ne samo po broju priloženih radova, već i u domenu saradnje. Podršku i saradnju posebno su pružili predstavnici afričkih država, institucije kulture i stručnjaci evropskih univerziteta.

Izdavanje časopisa Muzeja afričke umetnosti u Beogradu **Afrika – studije umetnosti i kulture**, ralizovano je i u finansirano od strane Sekretarijata za kulturu Skupštine grada Beograda, kao i uz podršku Francuskog kulturnog centra u Beogradu.

Afrika – Studies in Art and Culture, journal of the Museum of African Art in Belgrade, is the first and only periodical publication in Serbia, but also on an international level. The journal opens the generally neglected subjects of art and cultural studies in the field of Africanology, Africanist and African studies in the region. The journal is based on the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approach and interpretation of African civilisations and their mergence with European and other non-European societies. The journal contributes to promoting the culture of tolerance and cultivating a sense of understanding for different forms of creativity. The distribution of the Museum of African Art journal should enable further collaborations and networking with cultural, scientific, art and museum centres that aim towards cultural exchange and a here-now-everywhere dialogue.

International and local experts – anthropologists, art historians, experts in the field of museum studies, art experts, musicologists, archaeologists, historians, philologists – participated in the creation of this journal, through their ideas, creative and scientific work. Interest in the journal has been great since the beginning and evident not solely in the number of papers offered, but also in the openness for collaboration. Special support and cooperation were received from representatives of African countries, cultural institutions and experts from European universities.

The publication of the Museum of African Art in Belgrade journal **Afrika – Studies in Art and Culture** was realized and financed by the Department of Culture – Assembly of the City of Belgrade, and with the support of the French Cultural Centre in Belgrade.

Uvod

Svetovi Afrike u fokusu tumačenja

Planeta izgleda isuviše mala u stvaranju distanci prema udaljenim i nepoznatim prostorima, ali i sa opasnim distinkcijama prema *drugom* i *stranom* na svakom koraku, u neposrednoj blizini, u susedstvu. Nema sumnje da su svi prostori postali na dohvati ruke, zahvaljujući užurbanim komunikacijama i nestrpljivim tehnologijama, koje zgušnjavaju saznanja i proširuju vidike. Pa ipak, sve se to odigrava na očigled još uvek nepremostivih granica, predrasuda, nespokojnih svakodnevnica, konfliktnih ponora, netolerancija, dominacija, ili uzinemiravanja sloboda, koji preteći udaljavaju, a ne zbližavaju. Problem je u tome što su etnocentrizmi, egzotizmi, partikularizmi, rasizmi ostavili viševekovne tragove u brojnim civilizacijama i sa neizlečivim posledicama za razumevanja i koegzistencije sličnosti i različitosti, odnosno univerzalnosti i specifičnosti. Simplifikovano prosuđivanje *drugih* vodilo je samo ksenofobijama i hermetizacijama, koje nikako nije pogodovalo mešanjima kultura u susret otvorenim komunikacijama. Danas, dok se kroje političke mape sveta, smisljavaju blokovske strategije rukovodene određenim interesima i strukturama moći, a tržišta megalomanski prodire u svaki životni kutak, nemoguće je zažmurniti na sve dinamičnije promene i raznovrsnosti kultura, koje su ponekad toliko slične, a ponekad toliko različite. Govoriti o univerzalnostima i posebnostima kultura i umetnosti, znači i sagledavati ih u multiplikujućim izrazima kao načine života, obrasce ponašanja, stvaralačke potencijale, vrednosne kišobrane edukacija i rasutih estetizacija. Sa tih pozicija, upoznavanje i razumevanje kulturnih i umetničkih pojava/dela uvek je zanimljivo čitati kroz prizmu značenja i percepcija, saznanja i iskustava, jer se tek tada otvaraju slojevitosti životnih i stvaralačkih aspiracija, ali koje su ponekad sa ideološkim osmatračnicima opskrbljene interesnim pretenzijama i manipulacijama.

Gde je u svemu tome Afrika i kako se iščitavaju afrički svetovi? Nema sumnje da se afrička društva i kulture suočavaju sa svim izazovima i problemima koji prate savremena ambivalentna, kontradiktorna kretanja i tranzicione procese. Prolazeći kroz predkolonizatorske, kolonizatorske i postkolonizatorske epohe, u afričkim

Introduction

Interpreting African Worlds

The planet seems far too small when distances are formed between us and faraway and unknown spaces, carrying with it dangerous distinctions towards the other and the unknown on every step in our imminent surroundings, our neighbourhood. With the development of high-speed communications and impatient technologies that concentrate knowledge and broaden our horizons, all spaces have, no doubt, become closer at hand. However, all this, continues to take place in an atmosphere of insurmountable boundaries, prejudice, unsettling everyday realities, conflicting voids, intolerance, domination, and with the disruption of different forms of human rights and freedom, which instead of joining, threateningly separate. The problem lies in the fact that the many forms of ethnocentrism, exoticism, particularism and racism have left deep, centuries-old marks in numerous civilizations and with incurable consequences to the understanding and coexistence of similarities and differences, i.e. universality and particularity. The simplified judgments of *others* lead solely to xenophobia and withdrawal that were in no way agreeable with the mixing of cultures that aimed towards open communication. Today, with the construction of political world maps, the reinvention of bloc strategies lead by certain interests and structures of power, while simultaneously the markets invade every pore of life, it is impossible to turn our heads before all the dynamic changes and diversities of cultures that are sometimes similar, sometimes different. To speak of the universal and specific aspects of cultures and arts, implies observing them in multiple forms as ways of life, patterns of behaviour, creative potentials, and guardians of the values of different kinds of education and dispersed creativities. From these positions, encountering and understanding cultural and artistic occurrences/works of art are always interesting, especially when read through the prism of meaning and perception, knowledge and experience, because it is solely in this way that we unfold the complexities and the many layers that comprise life and creativity, which serve as ideological watch-towers characterised by interest-lead claims and manipulations.

Where is Africa in all this and how do we interpret



Stalna postavka Muzeja, 1977. godina.
Autor postavke: Jelena Aranđelović Lazić, etnolog
Dizajn postavke: arh. Saveta i arh. Slobodan Mašić
Snimio: V. Popović

Museum's Permanent Display, 1977
Display concept by Jelena Aranđelović Lazić, ethnologist
Display design by architects Saveta and Sloboda Mašić
Photo by V. Popović

državama odigravali su se vrlo kompleksni ideološki procesi i društvena raslojavanja, tradicionalne i kulturne transformacije, revalorizacije, umetničke inovacije i metarmofoze. Bio je to dugačak put kroz istoriju koja se i danas piše u misaonom oblikovanju odnosa prema „trećem svetu“ kao *Tiers-mondisme* ili *Third Worldism*. Savremene diskusije o globalnim i lokalnim kretanjima podrazumevaju kritički odnos prema mnogim konstrukcijama koje su proistekle iz kolonijalnih koncepcija trećeg sveta, kao što su esencijalizam, „imperialistički humanizam i univerzalizam“, ali i praćenje koncepcija i tendencija dekolonijalizma. Mbembe (*Mbembe*), jedan od vodećih afričkih teoretičara, smatra da je postkolonijalna misao dekonstruisala mentalnu infrastrukturu kolonijalizma – simboličke forme i reprezentacije kao podupirače imperialističkih projekata u stvaranju slika i fantazija o *drugima*.¹ Problematizovanje svih konstruktivnih armatura o *drugom* ulazi u domen misaonog opismenjavanja i neophodnih dijaloga.

Za početak, važno je proniknuti u *afričke svetove*, a ne u *afrički svet*. Ovde, pre svega, mislim na heterogenu strukturu pojma *svet*, koji otkriva različite nivoe značenja i tumačenja. Kako navodi Mark Ože (*Marc Augé*) svet jedinke je prožet svetom slike (Ože 2005: 163), a oba ta sveta su prisutna u svetovima umetnosti, mitova, kultova, običaja, svakodnevnica, politika u realnom životu i predstavama. To su temeljna značenja koja ukazuju na bogatstva, širinu i kompleksnost afričkih kultura i društava, ali kroz vizuru različitih tumačenja, razmišljanja, debata i viđenja pomoću kojih se može proniknuti u

African worlds? No doubt that African societies and cultures have to deal with all the challenges and problems that come with ambivalent and contradictory shifts and transitory processes. During their pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras, African societies experienced extremely complex ideological processes and social segregations, traditional and cultural transformations and revalorisations, artistic innovations and metamorphosis. It was a long journey through a history that continues to be written today through the mental reshaping of Africa and the “third world” relating to it as *Tiers-mondisme* or *Third Worldism*. Current debates on global and local dynamics imply a critical approach to the numerous constructions that have sprung from colonial conceptions of the third world, such as essentialism, „imperialistic humanism and universalism“, and also entail the observation of decolonisation conceptions and tendencies. Mbembe, one of the leading African theoreticians thinks that post-colonial thought has deconstructed the mental infrastructure of colonialism and that certain forms of symbolisms and representations are in fact support systems for imperialistic projects in the process of creating images and fantasies about *others*.¹ Questioning all the structural armatures of the *other* is part of the process of cognitive literacy and much needed dialogues.

To begin with, it is imperative to delve into the *African worlds*, not the African world. Here, I primarily mean the heterogeneous structure of the *world* concept, which reveals different levels of meaning and interpretation. As expressed by Marc Augé, the world of the individual is permeated with the world of the image (Augé, 2005:163),

suštinu ne Afrike nego *Afrika*² (Brumen i Jeffs 2001: VI). Ako je nekada dominirala monolitna slika Afrike, koja se od 19. veka i perioda uspostavljanja kolonijalne vlasti, zadovoljavala shvatanjima o tajnovitoj egzotici i nametnutom prividu udaljene bliskosti, dotele je postkolonijalni period otvorio vrata pluralizmima, gestrateškim razvrstavanjima, političkim antagonizmima i transkulturnom prometu. Zato je nemoguće govoriti o afričkim kulturama i umetnostima, a da se nemaju u vidu globalna i lokalna društvena kretanja, političke i ekonomski strategije i svi vidovi komunikacija. Afričke kulture i umetnosti korespondiraju unutar sebe i sa svetom i, kako je Klod Levi Stros (*Claude Lévi-Strauss*) naglasio „uspostavljaju koaliciju kultura“³, koju prepoznajemo u raznovrsnim sferama delovanja, od muzejskih artefakata, materijalnog i nematerijalnog nasleđa, turističkog *nomadizma*, scenskih reprezentacija i inspiracija i medijizacije. Da li prisustvujemo deteritorijalizaciji i velikoj pijaci susreta i prožimanja kultura? Stoga neophodno je da se mobilišu i artikulišu saznajni, istraživački i kreativni potencijali, da bi se afrički svetovi sagledali iz svih uglova *širom otvorenih očiju*, da bi se realno prikazali i spoznali kroz progresivne, ali i retrogradne procese. Iza nas je ostalo vreme misionarskih nazora, istraživačkog avanturizma i izučavanja drugaći-jih-kao-drugih „gledajući preko ramena“⁴. Susret sa afričkim svetovima je susret i sa sopstvenim svetovima, ličnim i kolektivnim, privatnim i oficijelnim, stvarnim i virtuelnim. Na metodološkom nivou tumačenja afričkih kultura i umetnosti još uvek postoji problem upitanosti, čije glasove slušamo kada prikazujemo rituale, svakodnevice, znanja i veštine, u čije se ime govori, kako gledamo i prispajamo afrička ostvarenja, „da li se dovoljno uspostavlja kritička diskusija sa relevantnim stručnjacima iz Afrike i izvan nje?“ (Bošković 2006: 90).⁵

Ući, živeti, izaći, posmatrati, izučavati ili jednostavno uživati u afričkim svetovima daje prednost raznovrsnim nivoima interakcija, jer se sve odvija kroz intersubjektivne izvore raznovrsnih komunikacija, kao što su na primer vizuelna umetnost, primarna umetnost, popularna kultura. Afričke umetnosti danas doživljaju ambivalentne procese u vidu procvata savremene umetnosti, ali se istovremeno istražuju i valorizuju tradicionalne umetnosti dugog trajanja (Njegovanović Ristić 2007: 7). Afričke skulpture, produkcija antropomorfnih i zoomorfnih maski⁶ kao kulturnih predmeta, vekovima su stvarali i svojom eksprezijom pobudivali interesovanje svetske javnosti. Poznato je da su Picasso, Brak, Modigliani i mnogi drugi umetnici, istraživali i otkrivali afričku primarnu umetnost, utiskujući inspiracije u svoja dela. A šta reći o muzici ili teatru koji su sa afričkih obrednih pozornica i svakodnevice, stigli do uobličavanja savremenih muzičkih

and both these worlds are present in the worlds of art, myth, cult, custom, the everyday, politics – in real life and representation. They are the profound meanings that point to the richness, vast and complex nature of African cultures and societies that can be observed through different interpretations, considerations, debates and perceptions that allow us to fathom the essence, not of Africa, but the many *Africas*² (Brumen and Jeffs 2001:VI). If there once dominated a monolithic image of Africa that since the time of colonial 19th century accepted the notions of a veiled exoticism and the imposed apparition of a distant closeness, then the postcolonial period opened its doors to pluralisms, geostrategic differentiations, political antagonisms and transcultural traffic. It is therefore impossible to speak of African cultures and arts without considering global and local social dynamics, political and economic strategies, and all forms of communication. African cultures and arts correspond with each other and the world, and as Claude Levi-Strauss emphasized: “form a coalition of culture”³, that we recognise in different spheres of action, from museum artefacts, tangible and intangible heritage, tourist *nomadism*, stage representations and inspirations, and *mediasations*. Are we witnessing the deterioration and great market of cultural encounters and mergence? Therefore, it is necessary to mobilise and articulate cognitive, investigative and creative potentials, in order to observe the many African worlds from all corners, with eyes wide open, so that we may realistically portray and understand them through both progressive and retrograde processes. The times of missionary convictions, adventures in research and the study of the different-as-others “looking over one's shoulder”⁴ have been abandoned. Encountering African worlds is encountering our own worlds, personal and collective, private and formal, real and virtual. However, the methodological approaches of interpreting African cultures and arts, pose certain problems of questioning; whose voices do we hear when we portray rituals, the everyday, knowledge and crafts; in whose name do we speak and how do we observe and appropriate African achievements; “are we communicating sufficiently with relevant experts from Africa and outside it on a critical level”? (Bošković 2006 : 90)⁵

To engage in, live, leave, observe, study or simply enjoy the many African worlds, also creates an opportunity for various interactions because everything occurs as a result of making inter-subjective choices of various forms of communication, such as the visual arts, primary art, popular culture. The arts of Africa are experiencing ambivalent processes in the form of flourishing contemporary art, while at the same time old traditional art practices are studied and valorised (Njegovanović Ristić 2007: 7). African sculptures and the

žanrova u transkulturnom prometu. Od seriozne muzike, džeza, preko rokenrola i drugih muzičkih brikolaža, afrički zvuci su se upoznavali i prepoznavali. S druge strane, savremeni afrički umetnici i tradicionalna umetnost postajali su sve više prisutni na svetskim pozornicama. Ako Oshogbo (*Oshogbo*) slikarska škola ili Joruba (*Yoruba*) muzički teatar predstavljaju oznaku nigerijske kulture, isto tako i savremeni umetnici afričkog porekla Djimo Buraimo (*Jimoh Buraimoh*), Bartelemi Togo (*Barthelemy Toguo*) ili reditelji Osman Semben (*Ousmen Semben*) i Ole Balogun (*Ole Balogun*) iskazuju svoje inspirativne i estetske forme kroz nesputano preispitivanje tradicija i savremenih tehnologija.

Svetovi Afrike: ideološka paradigma i kulturni koncept

Saznanja i shvatanja svetova Afrike akumuliraju se i projektuju kroz istorijske događaje i istorijsku svest sazdanih na odnosu *mi - drugi*. Da ponovim, iskustva i slike afričkih kultura i društava oblikovala su se pod uticajem raznih činilaca, kao što su društvena i politička uređenja, migracije, ideološki poreci, kulturna prožimanja, edukacije i svih vidova komunikacija.

Upoznavanje i neposredne veze između Afrike i Srbije imali su specifičan istorijski put i kontekst koji su proistekli iz međunarodnih okolnosti, posebno od početka 60-tih godina dvadesetog veka, kada je markiran novi geostrateški program i ideološka paradigma pokreta nesvrstanosti.⁷ Bio je to početak uspostavljanja novih interesnih sfera, liderstva i razmena među državama trećeg sveta i tadašnje Jugoslavije, koji su konsolidovali zajedničku politiku zasnovanu na socijalističkim doktrinama, antikolonijalizmu i liderstvu. Reč je o „rekolonijalizaciji“ Afrike socijalizmom⁸ u kojoj je posebnu ulogu imao i model jugoslovenskog socijalizma zanovanog na jednopartijskom sistemu i kultu vođe-predsednika države. Sa istorijske distance neophodno je ponovo preispitati ulogu i delovanje ovog pokreta. Međutim, ono što je posebno značajno, to je, da se u tom periodu prvi put na javnom i reprezentativnom nivou, ali i kroz životne i iskustvene prakse, uspostavljaju novi kontakti i odvijaju migraciona kretanja ljudi između Jugoslavije i novoformiranih afričkih država. Diplomatske službe, politički i vojni interesi, privredni projekti i kulturna saradnja uspostavili su živi recipročni promet. Političari, privredni eksperti, lekari, kulturni promotori, stipendisti i drugi boravili su, na primer, u Libiji, Alžиру, Egiptu, Maliju, Obali Slonovače, Kamerunu, Nigeriji, Gani, kao što se iz afričkih zemalja dolazilo na stručna usavršavanja u tadašnje metropole Jugoslavije, posebno, Beograd. U vreme balkanske krize Jugoslavije⁹ prolazilo se kroz kritične i

production of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic masks⁶ as cult objects, have for centuries created and through their expressive energy woken the interest of the public. It is known that Picasso, Braque, Modigliani and many other artists studied and discovered African primary art, implanting their inspirations in their own works of art. And what should be said of African music and theatre that have from the African ritual stages and everyday life, reached contemporary musical genres through trans-cultural traffic. From classical music, jazz, rock n' roll and other musical bricolages, African sounds were introduced and recognised. On the other hand, contemporary African artists and traditional art became more present on the international stage. If the Oshogbo art school or the Yoruba musical theatres are a symbol of Nigerian culture, then also contemporary artists of African heritage such as Jimoh Buraimoh and Barthelemy Toguo, or film directors *Ousmane Sembène* and *Ole Balogun*, express their inspirational and individual aesthetic forms through the unconstrained reevaluation of tradition and modern technologies.

African Worlds: an ideological paradigm and cultural concept

Our accumulated knowledge and understanding of African worlds is projected through historical events and historical consciousness that are constructed on the *we-other* relation. Once more: experiences and images of African cultures and societies have been formed under the influence of various factors such as social and political arrangements, migration, ideological denials, cultural interconnections, education and all forms of communication.

Understanding and direct links between Africa and Serbia have a specific historical path and context arising from specific international circumstances, especially from the beginning of the 1960-ies, when a new geo-strategic program and ideological paradigm of the Non-Aligned movement was born.⁷ It was the beginning of the establishment of new spheres of interest, leadership and exchange among countries of the Third World and the former Yugoslavia (SFRY), which consolidated a common policy based on socialist doctrines, anti-colonialism and leadership. It is a matter of “re-colonising” Africa by means of socialism⁸, where an important role was played by the Yugoslav model of socialism based on a single-party system and the cult of the leader-president of the state. From a historical distance, it is necessary to re-evaluate the significance and effects of this movement. What is particularly significant is that at this time, for the first time in the public and on a representative level, and also through life and experiential practices, new contacts were established and migrations

turbulentne događaje ratnih sukoba i vladajućih režima, što je u potpunosti promenilo i međunarodnu konfiguraciju, a političke i ekonomske saradnje sa trećim svetom bile su u potpunosti marginalizovane. Sa ulaskom u drugi milenijum novo pregrupisavanje političkih i ekonomskih strategija stvara ponovne političke interesne zone, posebno na bilateralnom nivou. U takvoj konstelaciji političkih i istorijskih događaja i komunikacija sa afričkim zemljama, oblikovao se svojevrsni kulturni i društveni amalgam u stvaranju geostrateških poteza i iskustava. Verovatno bi mnoga iskustva i kontakti sa Afrikom do sada ostali sačuvani samo u privatnim riznicama sećanja ili zatvorenim arhivama, da se na javnoj i reprezentativnoj sceni nije formirala institucija – fond materijalnog nasleđa, bogate zbirke predmeta iz Malija, Senegala, Gvineje, Obale Slonovače, Gane, Togoa, Nigerije, Kameruna, Benina, i drugih afričkih zemalja. Diplomata dr Zdravko Pečar i njegova surpuga Veda Pečar, tokom svoga boravka u afričkim zemljama sakupili su vrednu zbirku originalnih umetničkih predmeta i etnografskih artefakata, koju su 1974. godine poklonili Beogradu. Godine 1977. otvoren je Muzej afričke umetnosti, jedinstvena kulturna institucija u regionu. Iako je ovaj Muzej nastao kao deo političke i ideološke klime, on je tokom tri decenije uspeo da izgradi sopstveni put u oblikovanju kulturne i umetničke oaze Afrike *uživo*, kreirajući originalnu muzejsku scenu zasnovanu na uzajamnoj komunikaciji. Muzej afričke umetnosti je permanentno doprinosio širenju i negovanju kulturnih veza, ukazujući na značaj afričkih, i uopšte neevropskih kulturnih nasleđa, koje su u međunarodnim razmerama prepoznate od strane UNESCO-a¹⁰. Muzej afričke umetnosti postao je centar ambicioznih i inventivnih projekata u vidu izložbi, edukativnih radionica, predavanja, istraživanja, festivala, muzičkih i scenskih performansi, vizuelnih projekcija i mnogih drugih vidova okupljanja i druženja. Svake godine Muzej ugošćuje predavače i umetnike ne samo iz afričkih zemalja, već i one koji su svoja dela stvarali inspirisani afričkim kulturama. Brojni eminentni stručnjaci iz oblasti društvenih nauka, kulturnih studija, vizuelnih i scenskih umetnosti, kontinuirano su uključeni u rad ove institucije. Da je Muzej afričke umetnosti mnogo više od muzejskog prostora, pokazuju i sezonske svetkovine pod nazivima Afro festival i Afrički bazar. To su dani kada se eksterijer Muzeja transformiše u živopisan i šarenolik afrički ambijent, kada na stotine Beograđana, posebno mladih, provode ugodne dane u druženju i zamišljanju afričkih *svetova*. Da li smo na pragu, kako je to Andre Malro (*André Malraux*) nazvao, *koncept muzeja bez zidova*.

Muzejska i akademска delatnost, iz godine u godinu proširivala je mrežu u profesionalnim i pojedinačnim

between Yugoslavia and the newly formed African states were put in motion. Diplomatic service, political and military interests, economic projects and cultural collaboration established a dynamic, reciprocal interchange. Politicians, economic experts, doctors, cultural promoters, scholars and others stayed for periods of time in, for example, Libya, Algeria, Egypt, Mali, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Nigeria, Ghana, in the same way that people from African countries came for training to the large cities of the former Yugoslavia, in particular, Belgrade. During the Balkan crisis Yugoslavia⁹ experienced critical and turbulent events as a result of war and the ruling regime, which completely changed the international configuration; political and economic cooperation with third world countries was completely marginalized. Upon entering the second millennium, a new regrouping of political and economic strategies re-created old political interest zones, especially on a bilateral level. With such a constellation of political and historical events and communications with African countries, a specific cultural and social amalgam was formed, creating geostrategic moves and experiences. Most likely, a lot of the experiences and contacts with Africa would have been preserved only in private repositories of memory, or archives closed to the public if it weren't for the institution formed on the public and representative scene – a fund of material heritage, a rich collection of objects from Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Cameroon, Benin and other African countries. During their stay in different African countries, the diplomat Zdravko Pečar and his wife Veda Pečar created a valuable collection of original art pieces and ethnographic artefacts which they endowed to the city of Belgrade in 1974. The Museum of African Art – a unique cultural institution in the region was opened in 1977. Although the Museum was the result of a specific ideological and political climate, in the course of three decades it managed to create its own mission in shaping a cultural and artistic oasis of Africa *live*, i.e. an original museum setting based on mutual communication. The Museum of African Art continued fostering and expanded its cultural ties, emphasizing the importance of African and non-European cultural heritage that was otherwise recognized on an international level by UNESCO.¹⁰

The Museum of African Art has become a centre of inventive and ambitious projects realised through exhibitions, educational workshops, lectures, research, festivals, music and stage performances, screenings and many other forms of gathering and socializing. Every year the Museum hosts speakers and artists not only from African countries, but also those who have created works inspired by African cultures. Many prominent experts in the field of social sciences, cultural studies, visual and performing arts are continuously involved in the work of

kontaktima i sa specijalizovanim evropskim institucijama, među kojima su posebno istaknute *Musée du quai Branly* (Francuska), *National Heritage Council* (Južnoafrička Republika), *Afrika Museum* (Holandija), *British Museum* (Velika Britanija), *College of Art* (Gana) i drugi. Zahvaljujući takvoj naučnoj i kulturnoj produkciji i cirkulaciji, bilo je jasno da su kulturna i naučna delatnost (čak i kada su državna politika i ekonomija duboko zaglobili u hermetizovanoj izolaciji), preuzeli značajnu ulogu u promovisanju, reprezentovanju, interpretiranju, umrežavanju, difuziji i popularisanju afričkih *svetova*, povezujući ih sa savremenim evropskim i svetskim kretanjima i trendovima. Sve je to bilo u cilju da se razvija svest, podstakne interesovanje za *druge*, ne u mitologizaciji i stereotipizaciji, već kroz raznovrsnosti, kontraste, ukrštanja i upoređivanja – znači kroz dotaknute stvarnosti u kontaktima, edukaciji i popularisanju. Takva muzeološka politika zasniva se na kombinacijama umetničkih i istraživačkih pristupa.

Imajući u vidu takav sklop okolnosti i situacija tokom proteklih trideset godina da se afričke kulture i društva približe i predstave, grupa akademskih eksperata sa Filozofskog fakulteta Odeljenja za etnologiju i antropologiju, Odeljenja za istoriju umetnosti, Etnografskog instituta Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, konsultanti relevantnih domaćih i evropskih univerzitetskih institucija, muzejski ekspertri i Kolegijum Muzeja afričke umetnosti došli su na ideju da se započne sa pokretanjem izdavačkog projekta naučnog i kulturnog časopisa.

Svetovi Afrike: projekat/časopis

Naučno – istraživački projekat pod nazivom *Afrika – studije umetnosti i kulture, časopis Muzeja afričke umetnosti* (ASUKMAU) predstavlja prvu i jedinu periodičnu publikaciju ne samo u Srbiji, već i u regionu Jugoistočne Evrope. Za razliku od postojećih, svetski priznatih edicija i periodika dugog staža, časopis *Afrika – studije umetnosti i kulture* beleži svoj skroman početak 2009. godine. Časopis otvara stranice naučno – istraživačkog rada, koji se kreće u domenu interdisciplinarnih i multidisciplinarnih proučavanja i prezentacija. Konceptacija i tendencija izdavačkog programa Časopisa podrazumevaju širok dijapazon oblasti kao što su kulturne studije, muzeologija, antropologija, književnost, istorija umetnosti, etnomuzikologija, istorija, arheologija, vizuelne umetnosti i drugo. Časopis, takođe, ima i međunarodni karakter, jer sadrži radove inostranih eksperata sa željom da se u rad ove periodične publikacije ubuduće uključuje što više stručnjaka iz celog sveta. Časopis, iako nosi naziv „Afrika“ otvara mogućnost dijaloga sa celim svetom, posebno Evropom, težeći da rasvetli kulturna i umetnička prožimanja i specifičnosti.

this institution. That the Museum of African Art is much more than a museum space is exemplified through seasonal festivities such as the Afro Festival and African Bazaar. On these days when the exterior of the Museum transforms into a vibrant and colourful African ambience, when hundreds of visitors, especially young people, spend pleasant days in socializing and imagining African worlds. Are we to conclude then that the threshold of what André Malraux termed *the concept of the museum without walls*?

Museum and academic activities, year in and year out, expanded the network of professional and individual contacts with specialized European institutions, among which are the prominent Musée du Quai Branly (France), National Heritage Council (South Africa), Africa Museum (Netherlands) British Museum (UK), College of Art (Ghana) and others. Thanks to such a scientific and cultural production and circulation, it became clear that the cultural and scientific activities (even when state policy and economy are firmly sealed in isolation), took a significant role in promoting, representing, interpreting, networking, the diffusion and popularization of African worlds, combining them with modern European and global developments and trends. It all led to developing awareness, stimulate interest in the *other*, not via mythologizing and stereotyping, but through diversity, contrasts, mergence and comparisons – therefore, through the realized realities achieved through contacts, education and popularization. Such a museological policy is based on combining artistic and research approaches.

Given the structure of such circumstances and situations over the past thirty years, in the aim of presenting and bringing African cultures and societies closer, a group of academics – from the Faculty of Philosophy, the departments of Ethnology and Anthropology, Art History, also the Ethnographic Institute (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Art) – consultants from relevant national and European universities, particularly museum experts and the board of the Museum of African Art came to the idea of initiating a publishing project – starting a scientific and cultural journal.

African Worlds: project/journal

• The scientific/research project under the name *Afrika – Studies in Art and Culture, Journal of the Museum of African Art* (ASACJoMAA) is the first periodical publication in Serbia and the region of South-eastern Europe as well. Unlike existing internationally acclaimed editions and periodicals, the *Afrika – Studies in Art and Culture* journal sets its modest beginnings in 2009. The journal opens a page of scientific research that moves in the field of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary studies

Časopis *Afrika – studije umetnosti i kulture* je koncipiran sa višestrukim ciljevima:

- Časopis kontinuirano prati aktuelnu produkciju afričkih studija iz oblasti umetnosti i kulture radi proširivanja saznanja i uključivanja u relevantne naučno – istraživačke tokove.

- Muzejska praksa i reprezentacija daju važne smernice afrikanistike i afrikanologije, te će Časopis to redovno pratiti i predstavljati. Muzejsko sakupljanje / čuvanje / izlaganje podrazumeva dvosmerni odnos između muzeja i publike koja za muzejskim dobrima ima ne samo potrebu nego i interesovanje u interaktivnom delovanju. (Gavrilović 2007: 188).

- U Časopisu afričke umetnosti i kulture predstavljaju se kao jedan živi organizam, što znači da se stvaralaštvo posmatra kroz procese transformacija, raznovrsnosti identiteta i modifikacija pod uticajem globalnih i lokalnih društvenih procesa, savremenih scenskih i vizuelnih tehnologija, prožimanja tradicija sa savremenim kulturnim i umetničkim trendovima.

- Cilj Časopisa jeste da se prikaže način na koji su se konstruisale, oblikovale, prenosele predstave o Africi, *ovde i tamo*, kako su se te predstave i konstrukcije prezentovale kroz istoriju, u periodima socijalističkih poredaka, postsocijalizma i postkolonijalizma. Težište je na komparativnim istorijama i istorijama slučaja, koje omogućavaju da se afričke kulture i umetnosti smeste u dijahronijski kontekst neophodan za razumevanje savremenih društvenih procesa.

- Cilj Časopisa jeste da se predstave viševekovna kulturna prožimanja između Afrike, Evrope, i drugih kontinenata. Kulturna prožimanja jesu i posledica migracionih procesa, stvaranja posebnih kultura i umetnosti dijaspora.

- Cilj Časopisa jeste da se njegovim kontinuiranim publikovanjem uspostavi saradnja i proširi mreža između srodnih publikacija, institucija i pojedinaca, sa dobrom namerom da se što više cirkuliše i inventivno komunicira.

U ovoj dvojezičnoj (prema potrebi i višejezičnoj) publikaciji objavljaju se naučni radovi domaćih i inostranih stručnjaka u kojima se prezentuju rezultati naučno – istraživačkog rada, potom, prevodi značajnih tekstova, transkripti predavanja održanih u Beogradu i Srbiji i intervju sa značajnim predstavnicima afričkih kultura i umetnosti. Poseban deo ove publikacije biće namenjen tekućoj produkciji Muzeja afričke umetnosti, ali istovremeno cilj je i da se prate sve relevantne aktualnosti iz domena afrikanologije, afrikanistike i afričkih umetnosti u zemlji i regionu. U tom smislu, ovaj deo Časopisa vrlo je značajna stanica i mreža koja obuhvata prikaze, osvrte, hronike i bibliografije, a sigurno u buduće još neke zanimljivosti afričkih promenada. Ovaj

and presentations. The concept and the aim of the publishing project are to incorporate a range of research fields such as cultural studies, museology, anthropology, literature, art history, ethnomusicology, history, archaeology, visual arts, etc. The journal also has an international character, because it consists of the works of foreign experts and aims to include more experts from around the world in future periodical editions. The journal, although called "Afrika", opens the possibility of dialogue with the world, especially Europe, aiming to illuminate existing cultural and artistic interconnections and traits.

The aims of the *Afrika – Studies in Art and Culture* journal are as follows:

- to continuously monitor current scientific trends in African studies, particularly in the field of culture and art with the aim of broadening knowledge and involvement in relevant research and cultural trends;

- to regularly monitor and present museum practices and displays that provide important guidelines for African studies and Africanology. Museum collection / storage / display imply a two-way relationship between museums and the public which requires museums and is interested in interactive participation (Gavrilovic 2007: 188);

- African art and culture are presented as a living organism, and this means that creativity is observed through the process of transformation, diversity, identity and modification under the influence of global and local social processes, modern stage and visual technology, and the emergence of tradition with contemporary cultural and artistic trends;

- to reveal how ideas about Africa were constructed, shaped and transmitted both in our setting and on the continent, and how these representations and constructions were presented through history, in the period of socialism, post-socialism and post-colonialism. The focus is on comparative history and case histories that allow African culture and art to be placed in a diachronic context that is necessary for understanding contemporary social processes;

- to present the age-long cultural interconnections between Africa, Europe and other continents. Cultural interconnections are the result of migration processes, which create specific cultures and arts of the Diaspora.

- through its continuous publication, to establish collaborations and develop a network between related publications, institutions and individuals, with the good intention of circulating and furthering inventive and fruitful communication.

This bilingual (or if necessary multi-lingual) journal publishes scientific papers written by local and foreign experts, and includes the results of scientific research, translations of important texts, transcripts of lectures held in Belgrade and Serbia, and interviews with significant advocates of African culture and art. A separate part of this

broj obuhvatiće pet godina celokupne delatnosti Muzeja afričke umetnosti (2004-2009) kroz prikaze izložbi, knjiga, učešća na međunarodnim konferencijama i tribinama, festivalske produkcije i drugih događaja.

U prvom broju časopisa *Afrika – studije umetnosti i kulture* (2009), pored uvoda, predstavljena su četiri naučna rada: tekst Ane Kotevske, etnomuzikologa, tekst Jelice Novaković-Lopušine, profesorke nederlandistike na Filološkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu, tekst Sarah Lunaček, antropologa i afrikanologa sa Univerziteta u Ljubljani, i tekst Ane Sladojević, stručnjaka za vizuelne umetnosti i studije afrikanologije. Posebno je objavljen stručni tekst – transkript predavanja Iva le Fira (*Yves Le Fur*), direktora Odeljenja kulturnog nasleđa Muzeja kej Branli (Musée du quai Branly).

U tekstu Ane Kotevske razmatraju se različiti etnomuzikološki i kulturološki aspekti koji uspostavljaju odnos Afrika - muzeologija - muzika. Muzika se posmatra kao promenljiva, dinamična i transkulturna scena koja uspostavlja posebne perceptivne i receptivne interakcije u prožimanju tradicionalnih i savremenih muzičkih praksi i eksponata. To se posebno očituje kroz promene statusa tradicionalne muzike i disperzije muzičkih praksi u vidu tzv. muzike sveta (*world music*).

„Sudar kultura“ ostavlja traga i u književnosti. U tekstu Jelice Novaković- Lopušine predstavljeni su zanimljivi procesi oblikovanja književnosti Kariba. Transformacija književnosti bila je direktno povezana sa istorijskim okolnostima od perioda holandskog kolonijalizma pa do perioda kada se oblikovala u svojevrsni autentični izraz multikulturalizma oblikovan pod uticajem migracijskih procesa.

Afrička kinematografija je tema teksta Sarah Lunaček. Autorka daje zanimljiv pregled i tumačenja razvoja filmske produkcije od kolonijalnog perioda i uticaja francuske i engleske produkcije, kao i stvaranja pozicija u promovisanju dekolonizacije i afrikanizma kroz nezavisnu afričku kinematografiju. U radu je data analiza filmske produkcije u Senegalu i Nigeriji na primeru dva poznata reditelja Ousmane Sembena i Olea Baloguna.

Umetnost, kultura i nasleđe jesu matrice u iščitavanju afričkih specifičnosti i različitosti. Ana Sladojević predstavlja kulturu Ašanti, naroda iz Gane kroz pogled na umetnički izraz i simbolička značenja tradicionalnih tkanina *adinkra*. Tkani motivi i slikane dekoracije uspostavljaju simboličku analogiju između usmene kulture i umetnosti stvarajući stilsku saglasnost.

Časopis *Afrika – studije umetnosti i kulture* ima izuzetnu čast da objavi transkript predavanja Iva Le Fira. Gostovanje i predavanja ovog eminentnog eksperta, kulturnog komesara i direktora Odeljenja kulturnog nasleđa Muzeja kej Branli - jednog od najvećih svetskih

publication will be dedicated to the current production and events of the Museum of African Art, at the same time observing all of the more relevant topics in the field of African studies, African art in the country and region. In such a sense, this journal is an important stop and network that includes reviews, chronicles and bibliographies, and hopefully in the future other interesting excerpts of African promenading. This issue will encompass the last five years of the MAA's production (2004-2009) through exhibition and book reviews, participations in international conferences and platforms, its festival production and other events.

The first issue of *Afrika – Studies in Art and Culture* (2009), in addition to the introductory text, offers four scientific papers: the text by Ana Kotevska, ethnomusicologist, the text by Jelica Novakovic-Lopushina, professor of Netherlandic studies at the Faculty of Philology part of the Belgrade University, the text by Sarah Lunaček, anthropologists and Africanist from Slovenia and the text by Ana Sladojević, visual art expert and African studies. There is also the transcribed specialized text by Yves LeFur, Director of the Department of Cultural Heritage at the Museum Quai Branly,

Ana Kotevska examines the different ethnomusical and cultural aspects that determine the relationship Africa-museology-musics. Music is viewed as a variable, dynamic and trans-cultural platform that establishes specific perceptive and receptive interactions in the emergence of traditional and contemporary musical practices and exhibits. This is particularly reflected in the changes in the status of traditional music and the dispersion of musical practice through so-called World Music.

The “Culture Clash” leaves its mark in literature. Jelica Novaković Lopušina presented in her paper the interesting processes that shape Caribbean literature. The transformation of literature was directly related to the historical circumstances of the period of Dutch colonialism, and continued until it formed into an authentic expression of multiculturalism, which reveals influences from many cultures that were intersected as a result of migrations and different social processes.

African cinematography is the subject of Sarah Lunaček. The author gives an interesting overview and interpretation of the development of film production from the time of the colonial period and the influences of French and English productions, as well as the positioning that took place in promoting decolonisation and Africanism through independent African cinema. The paper deals with the analysis of film production in Senegal and Nigeria based on the example of two famous films directors, Ousmane Sembene and Ole Baloguna.

The specifics of Africa and its diversity originate from art, culture and heritage. Ana Sladojević presents the

muzeja, koja je održao u Francuskom kulturnom centru u Beogradu, posebno su značajna za upoznavanje jednog grandioznog muzejskog projekta i proširivanje saznanja o prezentovanju neevropskih kultura, kako za stručnu, tako i širu javnost. Ovaj tekst je relevantan, jer izlaže koncepciju muzejskog projekta, koji predstavlja pre kulturološki alat nego muzej, jedinstvenu u svetu kulturnu opremu, istraživački centar kulturnog izražavanja i kompleksno arhitektonsko zdanje u kome je smešteno trista hiljada eksponata.

Ideja ovog Časopisa jeste da podstakne na razmišljanja, ne samo o afričkim svetovima, nego i o promišljanju sopstvenog okruženja, što prema rečima Mbembe, uspostavlja *person-to-person dialogue* u kreiranju pogleda na druge. Ukoliko ovaj Časopis bar donekle ispunji svoju skromnu misiju u proširivanju vidika saznanja i razumevanja, onda će on biti samo jedna tačka povezivanja i dobromernosti otvorene komunikacije.

Beograd, 2009

Napomene:

¹ Intervju sa Ačileom Mbembeom (*Achille Mbembe*) objavljen u *Magasin Esprit*, decembra 2006. godine, a preveden i objavljen u časopisu *JWTC*, vol. 1, 2009. pod nazivom *Postcolonial thought explained to the French*.

² Afrike – naziv je temata naučnog časopisa *Časopis za kritiku znanosti* koji izdaje Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Ljubljani (Slovenija).

³ Iako se Klod Levi Stros zalaže za umerenu komunikaciju, podelačći i kulturne koegzistencije, on ostaje na stanovištima da se uvek održava *eksluzivna vrednost drugih* (Lévi-Strauss 1973: 418).

⁴ Džeims Kliford (James Clifford) objašnjava interakciju istraživač – istraživanu na sledeći način: etnograf čita nativnu kulturu preko domorodačkog ramena, kao što domorodac čita preko ramena etnografa (Clifford 1986: 119).

⁵ Aleksandar Bošković u esaju *L'Afrique fantôme: Mišel Leris i antropologija jednog kontinenta* iznosi koncepte i ideje „Afrike“, daje kritički stav o često jednostranom tumačenju ovog koncepta od strane antropologa i pokreće važna pitanja u proučavanju drugih.

⁶ Senka Kovač interpretira zapadnoafričke obredne maske kroz semantičku i komunikacijsku analizu predmeta kao jezika komunikacije i značenja koje otkrivaju kulturne i društvene odnose (Kovač 1996: 10).

⁷ Za prelomni događaj početka saradnje i intenzivne komunikacije sa afričkim zemljama uzima se 1961. godina kada je održana Prva konferencija lidera država nesvrstanih zemalja. Na Konferenciji učestvovalo su šezdeset dve delegacije država, oslobođačkih pokreta i partija. Učestvovalo su dvadeset osam delegacija iz Afrike, dvanaest šefova afričkih država među kojima: predsednik egipatske države Naser (Nasser), car Etiopije - Haile Selassije (Haile Selassie), predsednik Đulijus Njerere (Julius Nyerere) iz Tanzanije i drugi.

⁸ O simboličkoj poziciji figure Josipa Broza Tita i njegovih ceremonijalnih poseta afričkim državama videti (Sretenović 2004: 25-26).

⁹ Jugoslovenska politička kriza počela devedesetih godina dvadesetog veka ratom i konfliktima između jugoslovenskih republika, što je dovelo do raspada Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije i

culture of the Ashanti people from Ghana by investigating the artistic expression and symbolic meaning of traditional *adinkra* fabric. Woven motifs and painted decorations establish a symbolic connection between oral culture and art creating correspondent stylistic result.

The *Afrika – Studies in Art and Culture* journal has the exceptional honor to publish the transcript of the lecture of Yves LeFur. The visit and lecture of this eminent expert, cultural commissioner and director of the Department of Cultural Heritage at the Quai Branly Museum - one of the world's largest museums, that was held at the French Cultural Center in Belgrade, are particularly important as a form of introduction to a grand museum project and an opportunity for gaining more knowledge about the exhibiting practices of non-European cultures, both for the professional, and wider public. This text is relevant because the concept of the museum project is based on the assumption of museum as cultural tool, rather than simply museum, and is unique in the world for its technological equipment, also as a research centre of cultural expression and a complex architectural construction that houses 300,000 exhibits.

The idea of this journal is not only to stimulate thinking about the many African worlds, but also to inspire the examination of one's own world and environment. According to Mbembe, this establishes a *person-to-person dialogue* in the process of understanding others. If this journal achieves, even only partly, to fulfil its humble mission, which is to expand the horizons of knowledge and understanding, then it will be a meeting point and an expression of the benevolence of open communication.

Belgrade, 2009

Notes:

¹ Interview with Achille Mbembe published in *Magasin Esprit*, December 2006; translated and published in *JWTC*, vol. 1, 2009, under the title *Postcolonial thought explained to the French*.

² Afrike – is the title of the scientific journal *Časopis kritiko znanosti* published by the Faculty of Philosophy of the Ljubljana University (Slovenia).

³ Even though he propagates moderate communication, underlining cultural coexistences, Claude Lévi-Strauss's standpoint remains the *exclusive value of others* (Lévi-Strauss 1973: 418).

⁴ James Clifford explains the researcher-researched interaction in the following way: the ethnographer reads “native” culture over the natives shoulder, just as the native reads over the ethnographer's shoulder. (Clifford 1986: 119)

⁵ In his essay *L'Afrique fantôme: Mišel Leris i antropologija jednog kontinenta*, Aleksandar Bošković explains the concepts and ideas of “Afrike” providing a critical attitude towards the often one-sided interpretations of anthropologists and opening important issues in the study of others.

⁶ Senka Kovač interprets west-African ritual masks through a semantic and communicational analysis of objects as language and meaning that reveal cultural and social relations. (Kovač 1996:10)

⁷ The crucial event that is considered to be the beginning of

formiranja više nezavisnih država.

¹⁰ O istorijskim i političkim okolnostima osnivanja i delovanja Muzeja afričke umetnosti izlaganje pod nazivom *The concept of mutuality and diversity in the socialist and post-socialist period: The Museum of African Art* Emilije Epštajn i Marije Ličina, European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) Conference 2008, Ljubljana (Slovenia).

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Brumen B. i N. Jeffs. 2001. Uvod. U: Afrike, *Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo*. God. 29, br. 204-205-206: 5-25.

Clifford, J. 1986. On ethnographic allegory. U: J. Clifford, G. Marcus (ur.) *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, 98–140. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Gavrilović, Lj. 2007. *Kultura u izlogu: ka novoj muzeologiji*. Beograd: Etnografski institut SANU.

Kovač, S. 1996. *Maska kao znak. Tajni jezik zapadnoafričke maske*. Beograd: Filozofski fakultet.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1973. *Antropologie structurale deux*. Paris: Plon.

Njegovanović Ristić, N. 2007. *Primarna umetnost*. Beograd: Muzej Afričke umetnosti.

Ože, M. 2005. *Prilog antropologiji savremenih svetova*. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek.

Sretenović, D. 2004. *Crno telo, bele maske*. Beograd: Muzej afričke umetnosti.

collaboration and intensive communication with African countries is the 1961 first conference of the chiefs of state of the non-aligned movement. The conference gathered 62 state, freedom movement and party delegations. There were 28 delegations from Africa, 12 leaders of African states among which: the chief of the Egyptian state Nasser, the Emperor of Ethiopia Haile Selassie, Julius Nyerere from Tanzania, and others.

⁸ The position of the symbolic figure of Josip Broz Tito and his ceremonial visits to African states, in: Sretenović 2004: 25-26

⁹ At the time the Non-aligned movement was created, until the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the state held the name Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the war in the region, new states were formed: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro.

¹⁰ For the historical and political circumstances in which the MAA was founded and its activities, see *The concept of mutuality and diversity in the socialist and post-socialist period: The Museum of African Art*, by Emilia Epštajn and Marija Ličina, presented at the 2008 European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) Conference in Slovenia

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Clifford, J. 1986. On ethnographic allegory. In: J. Clifford, G. Marcus (eds.) *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, 98 – 140. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

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Ože, M. 2005. *Prilog antropologiji savremenih svetova*. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek.

Sretenović, D. 2004. *Crno telo, bele maske*. Beograd: Muzej afričke umetnosti.



ŽIVI EKSPONATI AFRO MUZ/EJ/IKE

Iako u prvi mah možda nalikuje dosetki, naziv Živi eksponati afro muz/ej/ike sažima različite relacione aspekte ogromnog tematskog trougla: Afrika/muzej/muzika. U radu ću pokušati da predstavim procese promena na tri međusobno tesno povezane velike teme, oslanjajući se više na konkretnе primere muzičkih praksi nego na brojne, često kontradiktorne teorije koje su danas u opticaju:

- Promene statusa tradicionalne muzike i muzičkih praksi u Africi;
- Muzika sveta ili eksplozije nove recepcije tradicionalnih vanevropskih muzika;
- Razvoj naučnih disciplina čiji su predmet izučavanja afričke muzike.

Foto: Afro Festival 2006. Nastup libijske izvođačke grupe. Eksterijer MAU. Foto-arhiv MAU.

LIVING EXHIBITS OF AFRO MUS/EUM/IC

Even though, at first, it may seem like a quirk, Living Exhibits Of Afro Mus/eum/ic summarizes the various relational aspects of a vast thematic triangle: Africa / museum / music. Relying primarily on specific examples of musical practices, I shall try to present processes of change using three closely linked themes of African culture as examples:

- the changing status of traditional music and musical practices in Africa;
- World Music or the explosion of new ways of interpreting non-European music;
- the development of fields of study that research African music.

Photo: Afro Festival 2006. Libyan performers; exterior MAA. MAA photo archive.

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Živi eksponati AFRO MUZ/EJ/IKE

Apstrakt: Iako u prvi mah možda nalikuje dosetki, naziv Živi eksponati afro muz/ej/ike sažima različite relacione aspekte ogromnog tematskog trougla: Afrika/muzej/muzika. U radu ću pokušati da predstavim procese promena na tri međusobno tesno povezane velike teme, oslanjajući se više na konkretnе primere muzičkih praksi nego na brojne, često kontradiktorne teorije koje su danas u opticaju:

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- Razvoj naučnih disciplina čiji su predmet izučavanja afričke muzike.

Ključne reči: afro muzike, muzika sveta, tradicionalna muzika, princip promene, akulturacija, živi spektakl, muzej

akо u prvi mah možda nalikuje dosetki, naziv Živi eksponati afro muz/ej/ike sažima različite relacione aspekte ogromnog tematskog trougla: Afrika / muzej / muzika.

Tokom trideset godina od osnivanja, Muzej afričke umetnosti (MAU) u Beogradu prešao je veoma dinamičan razvojni put zajedno sa afričkim kontinentom i procesom društvenih, kulturnih i tehnoloških promena i globalnih razvojnih procesa, koji su zahvatili afričku kulturu i našu civilizaciju uopšte. Oslanjajući se više na konkretnе primere muzičkih praksi nego na brojne, često kontradiktorne teorije koje su danas u opticaju, pokušaću da predstavim procese promena na tri međusobno usko povezane velike teme afričke kulture:

- promene statusa tradicionalne muzike i muzičkih praksi u Africi
- muzika sveta ili eksplozije nove recepcije tradicionalnih vanevropskih muzika
- razvoj naučnih disciplina čiji su predmet izučavanja afričke muzike.

Ovi, poput spojenih sudova, povezani aspekti koji jedan drugog generišu, danas vitalno kohabitiraju i obećavaju nove neslućene dimenzije. Dokazi u prilog tome su veoma dinamične, žive slike afro muzike koje su se nametnule kao globalne činjenice, ostavljajući još uvek za sobom utisak zavodljive, protivurečne, često haotične,

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Living Exhibits of AFRO MUS/EUM/IC

Abstract: Even though, at first, it may seem like a quirk, Living Exhibits of Afro Mus/eum/ic summarizes the various relational aspects of a vast thematic triangle: Africa / museum / music. Relaying primarily on specific examples of musical practices, I shall try to present processes of change using three closely linked themes of African culture as examples:

- the changing status of traditional music and musical practices in Africa;
- World Music or the explosion of new ways of interpreting non-European music;
- the development of fields of study that research African music.

Key Words: Afro music, World Music, traditional music, principles of change, acculturation, living spectacle, museum

R esembling a quirk at first, Living Exhibits Of Afro Mus/eum/ic summarizes the various relational aspects of a vast thematic triangle: Africa / museum / music.

In the thirty years since its founding, the Museum of African Art in Belgrade (MAA) has undergone very dynamic development along with the African continent and different processes of social, cultural and technological change and global development processes, which have affected African culture and our civilization in general. Relaying primarily on specific examples of musical practices, I shall try to present processes of change using three closely linked themes of African culture as examples:

- the changing status of traditional music and musical practices in Africa;
- World Music or the explosion of new ways of interpreting non-European music;
- the development of fields of study that research African music.

These aspects that generate each other like joint blood vessels vitally coexist today and have a promising future. Extremely dynamic, living pictures of Afro-music serve as proof of this, since they have placed themselves as global facts that continue to give the impression of a seductive, contradicting, often chaotic sphere of culture that is spread

kritici podložne oblasti kulture na svim kontinentima. U igri ogledala, njihov vitalitet se opire svakoj konvencionalnoj muzeološkoj postavci i nameće im interaktivni status i istorijsku perspektivu. U trenutku kada budemo mogli da govorimo o regulisanim predstavama o afro muzici, biće to, moguće je, i upozorenje za preteću opasnost po njene žive eksponate.

Putevi promena i razvoja na ličnom planu

Kao radoznali muzikolog, bila sam u prilici da, u velikim vremenskim razmacima od 1983. godine do danas, najpre upoznajem a zatim uočavam i pratim dinamične promene u afričkim muzičkim praksama. Svaki novi susret nije uticao samo na moje poglede na tradicionalnu muziku Afrike, već je modifikovao stečene evrocentrične ideje i predstave o zapadnoevropskoj muzici i njenoj istoriji i upozoravao me na ograničenja muzikologije i etnomuzikologije. Uslovno rečeno, moj „rani period“ obuhvata godine između 1983-7. kada sam kontinuirano živelu u Dakaru (Senegal), putovala po zapadnoj Africi i intenzivno se bavila muzičkim instrumentima zapadne Afrike i njihovim migracijama u istorijskoj perspektivi. Usledio je period čestih boravaka u Parizu i drugim evropskim centrima gde sam imala prilike da se suočavam sa izmenjenom recepcijom i evolucijom tradicionalnih muzika koje su spektakularno izašle iz notnih i zvučnih arhiva istraživača i etnomuzikologa. Takođe, pratila sam i proces promena u statusu tradicionalnih muzičkih instrumenata koji su se od muzejskih eksponata ili egzotičnih turističkih suvenira, postepeno preznačavali u virtuozne, lako migrirajuće muzičke subjekte čija je difuzija omogućila živu fuziju koju danas široka publika prepoznaće kao *world music / muzika sveta*. Posle šesnaest godina, januara 2003. godine vratila sam se u Senegal i obišla poznate lokalitete u nameri da delimično sagledam značaj i posledice promena, koje su se u međuvremenu dogodile na terenu i time zaključim prethodne faze svojih susreta sa afričkom muzikom. Međutim, budući da su procesi globalizacije zahvatili i tradicionalnu zapadnoafričku muziku na različitim nivoima i pokrenuli je velikom brzinom u različitim pravcima, našla sam se usred živog transkulturnog vrenja i vratila se svesna da ću ponovo, umesto planiranih sinteza i zaključaka, ukazivati na njegove konkretnе epizode i promene u teško uhvatljivim istorijskim tokovima ove velike kulture i to eklektičkim argumentima koji su mi na raspolaganju.

Promene statusa tradicionalne muzike i muzičkih praksi u Africi

Osamdesetih godina prošlog veka, subsaharsku Afriku pogodila je decenijska suša koja je, brzinom opakih bolesti, uslovila napredovanje Sahare ka plodnom

across continents and is highly susceptible to critique. In this *hall of mirrors*, their vitality resists any conventional museum display and imposes its interactive status and historical perspective. When the time comes that we are able to speak of regulated notions concerning African music, it is possible that it will at the same time be a warning of the impending danger upon its living exhibits.

Personal paths of change and development

As an inquisitive musicologist, over extended time intervals since 1983 to the present, I had the opportunity to learn about and then also to discern and track dynamic changes in African musical practices. Each encounter did not only affect my observations of African traditional music but also modified my inherent, Eurocentric ideas and notions of western European music and its history, warning me of the limits of musicology and ethnomusicology. My „early period“ encompasses the years between 1983-7 when I lived in Dakar (Senegal), travelled across West Africa and intensely engaged myself in exploring the musical instruments of West Africa and their migrations in a historical perspective. This time was followed by a period of repeated visits to Paris and other European centres where I had the opportunity to encounter changing musical receptions and the evolution of different traditional music that sprang in a spectacular manner out of the sheet music and sound archives of researchers and ethnomusicologists. Furthermore, I pursued the processes of change that the status of traditional musical instruments underwent from museum exhibits or exotic tourist souvenirs, gradually leading to their change into virtuous, easily migrating musical subjects whose diffusion created the live fusion which is widely known today as *world music*. After sixteen years, I returned to Senegal in 2003 and revisited familiar sites with the aim of understanding the importance and after-effects of change that occurred *in situ* in the meantime, and thereby come to certain conclusions concerning my encounters with African music. However, realizing that the process of globalization affected West African and traditional music on various levels and catapulted it in various directions – I found myself in the middle of a living trans-cultural fermentation and returned, aware that I will again, instead of reaching the otherwise planned synthesis and conclusions, try to bring to light specific episodes and changes in the historical development of this great culture (changes that were extremely difficult to pinpoint), and that I would do this using the eclectic arguments available to me.

The changing status of traditional music and musical practices in Africa

zemljištu, a time i masovne migracije iz ruralnih sredina ka velikim gradovima čiji je broj stanovnika u periodu 1983-7. godine praktično udvostručen. Danas, kada se o situaciji na afričkom kontinentu sve češće upotrebljava sintagma *humanitarna katastrofa*, skoro polovina populacije Obale Slonovače, Senegala, Nigera živi, u odnosu na broj stanovnika, u neproporcionalno velikim, *monstr-gradovima* kao što su Abidžan, Dakar, ili Niamey. S druge strane, afrički emigranti kontinuirano preplavljaju evropske prestonice i veće gradove, posebno u Francuskoj, Italiji, Velikoj Britaniji, a njihov broj se teško može ustanoviti i kontrolisati. Antropolozi i sociolozi kulture, koji od sredine prošlog stoljeća kontinuirano upozoravaju na procese akulturacije, transkulturnacije, interaktivne akulturacije i asimilacije kao posledice ubrzanih procesa unutrašnjih i spoljašnjih migracija (Herskovits 1941, 1962; Krieglstein 2002), iako su ih predvideli – nisu mogli da prepostavite razmere promena koje su zahvatile afričku kulturu.

U vreme mog prvog boravka u Senegal, tradicionalni i ritualni oblici muzičkih praksi su se u glavnim odlikama još uvek poklapali sa istraživanjima i snimcima iz sredine 20. veka, kao što su ona Marsela Griola (*Marcel Griaule*), koja se odnose na narod Dogon u Maliju, Hugo Zempa (*Hugo Zemp*) na narod Dan u Obali Slonovače i druge. U muzici namenjenoj zabavi, manje zavisnoj od utvrđenih kodova i pravila i prepuštenoj slobodnim uličnim svetkovinama, pored egipatskog „sound“-a popularizovanog preko elektronskih medija, sve jasnije se profilisala urbana, klupska muzika zasnovana na tradicionalnim idiomima, pojednostavljenim i strukturalno modifikovanim pod uticajem hispano-kubanskih i antilskih muzičara čija je zvezda bio tada šesnaestogodišnji Jusu N'Dur (*Youssou N'Dour*), lider grupe *Dakarska Zvezda* (*L'etoile de Dakar*, kasnije *Super etoile*), zatim popularni sastav *Braća Kunde* (*Touré Kunde*) i perkusionisti pod nazivom *Dudu N'Daj Roz i sinovi* (*Doudou N'Diaye Rose and Sons*). Ipak, rodonačelnik svih ovih muzičara koji će se razvijati sa nadolazećim talasom *muzike sveta*, bili su u to vreme Malijac Mori Kante (*Mory Kanté*) i njegov *Rail Band* iz Bamaka. Ispod tog tankog, urbanizovanog muzičkog života koji je uglavnom počivao na porodičnim manufakturama, sistem klasa je još uvek igrao dominantnu ulogu u izboru zanimanja, tako da su svi profesionalni muzičari pripadali klasi zanatlija i umetnika *niamakala*, onih koji obrađuju metal, drvo, ilovaču, reči i zvuke (u afričkim jezicima ne postoji odrednica za muziku). Profesionalni muzičari naroda Manding - *djeli* (*jùla'*, *griot* na francuskom), regrutovani su iz porodica koje su po tradiciji, poput titule, prenosili ne samo muzička već i kulturnošta i religijska znanja kako po ženskoj tako i po muškoj liniji. Graditelji tradicionalnog instrumentarijuma bili su sami muzičari ili za to specijalizovane radionice, a svaki instrument, da bi bio

During the 1980-ies, sub-Saharan Africa was devastated by a decade-long drought that, at galloping speed, encouraged the progression of the Sahara towards fertile soil, and thus also the mass migration from rural areas to large cities where the population virtually doubled between 1983-7. Today, when the term *humanitarian disaster* is used hand-in-hand with the African continent, nearly half the population (in relation to the overall number of people) of Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal and Niger live in disproportionately large, monster-cities such as Abidjan, Dakar or Niamey. On the other hand, African emigrants continually over flood European capitals and larger cities, especially in France, Italy, Great Britain, and their number is difficult to determine and control. Social anthropologists and sociologists of culture who have been warning against the effects of acculturation, transacculturations, interactive acculturation and assimilation as the aftermath of the accelerated processes of inter- and exter- migrations (Herskovits 1941, 1962; Krieglstein 2002), have not been able to predict the scale of the changes that have affected African culture.

During my first visit to Senegal, traditional forms of music and ritual practice still corresponded in their main features with the research conducted and recordings taken in the mid 20th century by Marcel Griaule of the Dogon people in Mali, or Hugo Zemp of the Dan people in Ivory Coast, etc. In entertainment music, which was less dependent on established codes and rules, and open to free street celebration, in addition to the Egyptian sound popularized through electronic media – a more clearly profiled urban, club music started to emerge, based on traditional idioms that were simplified and structurally modified under the influence of Hispano-Cuban and Antillean musicians whose star was the then sixteen year-old Youssou N'Dour, leader of the group *L'Etoile de Dakar* (later *Super Etoile*), also the popular band *Touré Kunde* (Kunde Brothers) and percussionists named *Doudou N'Diaye Rose and Sons*. However, the founding father of all these musicians that were to develop with the approaching World Music wave was Malian Mory Kanté with his *Rail Band* from Bamako. Underneath this superficially urbanized musical life that was primarily based on small family businesses, the class system still played a dominant role in the choice of profession, so that all professional musicians belonged to a class of craftsmen and artists, *niamkala* – those that work with metal, wood, clay, word and sound (there is no term for music in the African languages). Professional Manding musicians – *djeli* (*jùla'*, or *griot* in French), were recruited from families that traditionally passed down musical, cultural and religious knowledge along the female or male line. Traditional instruments were crafted by musicians, or produced in specialized workshops, and in order for the instruments to be legitimate, i.e., „to speak the language of

validan, tj. „da bi mogao da govori jezikom samog muzičara“, morao je da prođe niz utvrđenih etapa praćenih odgovarajućim obredima, u procesu transformacije od drveta do predmeta antropomorfnih vrednosti. Iako su svi pripadnici naroda Manding muslimanske veroispovesti, u javnim nastupima profesionalnih muzičara ovog naroda, islam je imao više ulogu istorijskog regulativa koji se ogledao u opevanju značajnih epizoda verskog života u prošlosti, s tim što su propagandni karakter islama i pogotovu njegovi ekstremni vidovi praktično bili isključeni (Kotevska 1993, 1997).

U poređenju sa osamdesetim godinama prošlog veka, danas se može govoriti o ozbiljnim promenama statusa zapadnoafričke muzike i muzičara, pod uticajem geopolitičkih, klimatskih, ekonomskih i kulturnih globalnih procesa koji mnogo brže nego ranije dopiru do afričkog kontinenta i traže nove odgovore. Budući da bi mapiranje ovih promena podrazumevalo timski rad i dugotrajni proces, pokušaću da njihove razmere predstavim parcijalno, preko karakterističnih epizoda na konkretnim primerima evolucije dva tradicionalna instrumenta, amblematična za muzički život Senegala i zapadne Afrike. Reč je o **balafonu** (naziv za ksilosof) i **djembe** (malom bubnju).

Naime, balafoni namenjeni profesionalnim muzičarima naroda Manding su u zemljama zapadne Afrike građeni prema pravilu starom preko tri stoljeća, kako tvrde karbonske analize, koji se čuva u selu Niagassol, u severnoj Gvineji. Osamdesetih godina prošlog veka, posvećeni seoski graditelji i čuvari standarda ovog ur-instrumenta, još uvek su određivali vrstu drveta na osnovu njegovog kvaliteta i starosti, birali vreme za seču i vreme potrebno za sušenje. Po završetku svih ovih faza, praćenih obredima, u radionici u Niagassolu, oblikovane su daščice/dirkе različitih debljina i dužina koje garantuju visinu tona i „stim“, da bi zatim ovaj paket kopija sa sertifikatom bio transportovan u sekundarne radionice svih velikih gradova zapadne Afrike u kojima žive profesionalni muzičari Mandinga. Tamo su lokalni graditelji i muzičari, po principu „uradi sam“, sklapali „klavijature“, dodavali im izdubljene osušene tikve (kalebase) različitih zapremina, koje služe kao rezonantne kutije i izradivali batiće da bi, uz još jednu seriju obreda i akustičkih proba, gotove instrumente prepuštali daljoj difuziji. U najuglednijoj radionici u četvrti Medina u Dakaru, u kojoj su se pod supervizijom istaknutog balafoniste Morijsa Sisokoa (*Mori Cissoko*) i njegovog asistenta Mustafe sklapali novi instrumenti na osnovu polu-gotovih elemenata, posle dugih pregovora, naručila sam autentični balafon iz Gvineje na koji sam do kraja mog boravka uzalud čekala. Prema mojim saznanjima, iako je tačan broj instrumenata očigledno bio zaštićen profesionalnom tajnom, moglo bi se govoriti o najviše pedesetak balafona koji su tokom jedne godine napuštali ovu radionicu u kojoj, prilikom

the musicians”, they had to go through a series of pre-established stages of the appropriate rites, in the process of transforming wood into an object with anthropomorphic values. Although all members of the Mandingo people are Muslim, in the sphere of public performances of professional musicians, Islam has had more of a historically regulatory role, which reflected in the oral transmission of significant episodes of religious life from the past, virtually excluding Islamic propaganda and especially its more extreme forms (Kotevska 1993, 1997).

Compared to the 1980-ies, today we can speak of the fundamental changes in the status of West African music and musicians under the influence of geopolitical, climatic, economic and global cultural processes which are reaching the African continent more rapidly than before, and from there seek new answers. Since the mapping of these changes would be a long-term process involving teamwork, I shall try to introduce the degree of these changes partially, through distinctive episodes, and using particular examples of the evolution of two traditional instruments, emblems of the musical life of Senegal and West Africa; these are the **balafon** (or xylophone) and **djembe** (small drum).

Namely, balafons intended for professional musicians among the Mandingo peoples, were made in the countries of West Africa, based on an ancient, over three hundred years old model (as confirmed by carbon analysis), which was safeguarded in the Niagassola village in north Guinea. In the 1980-ies, dedicated village crafters and keepers of the canons on which this *ur*-instrument is modelled, continued to judge the quality of the tree, its age, chose what time it was to be cut and decided how long it was necessary for it to dry. Following all the phases of modelling accompanied by specific rites, inside the workshop on Niagassola panels/bars of different thickness and lengths that decide the height of the tones and „tuning“ were produced, and then a package of certified copies was transported to secondary workshops in all the major cities of West Africa inhabited by professional Manding musicians. Following a DIY principle, the local crafters and musicians would assemble the „keyboards“, adding to them hollowed and dried gourds (calabashes) of different volume as resonators and mallets. This was followed by a series of acoustic rehearsals and then the instruments were ready to be sent to where there was demand for them. In one of the most prestigious workshop in the Medina quarter in Dakar – where under the supervision of prominent balafonist Mori Cissoko and his assistant Mustafa, the new instruments were assembled based on the semi-finished elements – after long negotiations, I commissioned an authentic *balafon* from Guinea which I waited for in vain until the end of my stay. According to my knowledge, although the exact number of instruments was protected by secrets of the guild, apparently up to fifty

redovnih poseta, nikada nisam zatekla više od dva do tri gotova instrumenta. Svi ostali balafoni koji su mogli da se kupe na pijacama, bili su, po rečima samih graditelja i muzičara, ukrasni predmeti, suveniri ili igračke, ali ne i muzički instrumenti.

U odnosu na ove vekovima utvrđivane procedure, protokole i sisteme zaštite jednog kulturnog i kultnog predmeta materijalne i duhovne baštine, koji se, uz podrazumevajući oprez, mogu porediti sa sistemom utvrđenim za vizantijске ikone, balafon se danas može smatrati ugroženom vrstom. Po tvrđenju mog informatora Mustafe koga sam i 2003. godine zatekla u nekadašnjoj radionici, u to vreme se iz dakarske luke dnevno otpremalo po nekoliko desetina balafona namenjenih zapadnoevropskom i američkom tržištu. S obzirom na fenomen širenja *muzike sveta*, danas bi taj broj mogao biti udvostručen. Uz to, na degradaciju tradicionalnog statusa balafona uticalo je sve češće uključivanje gitare u tradicionalne ansamble, što je nametnuto obavezu usklađivanja autohtonih instrumenata sa temperovanim sistemom. Iako se često čuje da temperovani sistem oduzima afričkoj muzici „deo života“, imala sam prilike da se uverim da na visokoj temperaturi svaki „štím“ brzo popušta, tako da se često događa da se gitara prilagođava i uklapa u još uvek živi, prepoznatljivi netemperovani afrički muzički idiom koji, između ostalog, karakteriše specifičan „napuknut“ i šumom zamućen ton. U svakom slučaju, neosporno je da velika produkcija balafona danas sve manje ima direktnih kontakata sa svojim pravim modelom iz Gvineje koji je, paradoksalno, 2005. godine, dakle u trenutku kada je sistem samoštite balafona uveliko popustio, uvršten u svetsku materijalnu kulturnu baštinu UNESCO-a.

Drugi instrument na kome se prelамaju i lako uočavaju promene tradicionalnih muzika u zapadnoj Africi, jeste djembe, mali drveni bubenj naroda Malinke u obliku pehara, prekriven zategnutom kozjom kožom pričvršćenom mrežom od kanapa koji se provlače kroz metalne prstenove. U utvrđenoj instrumentalnoj hijerarhiji zapadne Afrike koja još uvek podrazumeva niz zabrana,

djembe kao „mladi instrument“, za razliku od starijih udalaraljki podvrgnutih strogiim tabuima, imao je i osamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka slobodnu, demokratizovanu poziciju, samim tim što je bio dostupan i profanim bubenjarima koji ne pripadaju klasi *niamakala*. Takođe, pod određenim uslovima, pre svega prilikom nastupa za internacionalnu publiku, ovaj instrument mogao je biti izuzet od strogih zabrana koje ženama ne dozvoljavaju muziciranje na udalaraljkama. Dakle, pre više od dvadeset godina, djembe je imao tretman mlađeg instrumenta namenjenog zabavi u urbanim sredinama i bio je obavezno prisutan u uličnim ansamblima perkusija (*saabar*) koji su animirali proslave svih vrsta. Raznovrsnost udalaraljki i njihovo utvrđeno mesto u okviru ansambla doprinela je da pojedini etnomuzikolozi govore

balafons annually left this workshop, although, during my regular visits, I never found more than two or three completed instruments. All other *balafons* that could be purchased in markets, were, according to the crafters and musicians, decorative items, souvenirs and toys, but not musical instruments.

In comparison to these procedures that were determined over centuries, protocols and systems of protection of a cultural and cult object of material and spiritual heritage, which, albeit with caution, can be compared to the systems pertaining to Byzantine icons, the *balafon* can now be considered an endangered species. According to the assertions of my informant Mustafa whom I found in the former workshop in 2003, at that time several dozen *balafons* intended for Western Europe and the American market were uploaded at the port in Dakar. Given the speed at which the phenomenon of World Music spreads today that number could well be doubled. In addition, the degradation of the traditional status of the *balafon* was influenced by the inclusion of the guitar in traditional ensembles and this led indigenous instruments to comply with the tempered system. Besides the occurring statement that the tempered systems deprive African music of „part of its verve“ I had the opportunity to witness that in high temperatures, any attempt of „tuning“ is short-lived, which makes it possible for the guitar to adapt and fit into the still recognisable African musical idiom which, among other things, is characterized by a specific „cracked“ and muffled tone. In any case, it is indisputable that a large number of *balafons* produced today have less and less direct contact with the ancient model from Guinea which, paradoxically, in 2005, at a time when the self-preservation of the *balafon* was relenting, the instrument was incorporated into UNESCO's world cultural heritage.

The second instrument that suffers and clearly reflects the changes of traditional music in West Africa is the *djembe*, a small wooden drum of the Malinka people, shaped like a goblet, covered in stretched goat-hide, attached by entwined ropes pulled through metal rings. The *djembe* as the „younger instrument“ in the canonised hierarchy of West African instruments that to this day imposes certain prohibitions, unlike other older percussions subjected to strict taboos, held a liberal, democratic position in the eighties, solely because of the fact that it was available to profane drummers that did not belong to the *niamkalai* class. Under certain circumstances, in particular during performances organised for an international public, the strict prohibitions concerning women musicians using percussions might have been temporarily lifted. Therefore, more than twenty years ago, the *djembe* was considered a younger instrument used on festive occasions in an urban surrounding and present as part of the street percussionist ensembles (*saabar*) that

o „orkestrima bubenjeva“ u kojima je djembe obično svirao najmlađi član. U krajnje složenim i ukrštenim poliritmičkim kombinacijama ovakvih ansambala, djembe je uvek imao veoma eksponiranu, ali relativno jednostavniju ulogu podrške, budući da su njegov prodoran zvuk i prepoznatljive ritmičke obrase sledili igrači i publike. Isto tako, u eksportnim predstavama folklornih ansambala ili „nacionalnih baleta“ Gvineje i Senegala, jednu od najatraktivnijih numera u to vreme izvodile su žene svirajući djembe.

Po svoj prilici upravo su ta demokratičnost i, uslovno rečeno – nedovoljna ritualna ozbiljnost, doprinele da djembe danas u Evropi i Americi slovi kao sinonim za afričke udalaraljke i figurira kao vodeći instrument na kome se obučavaju brojni adepti širom sveta. Velika internacionalna popularnost ovog instrumenta vratila se u „postojbinu“ i podstakla njegovo širenje po zapadnoafričkom regionu. Etnomuzikolog Zaneti ustanovio je da su poslednjih godina karakteristični, pojednostavljeni ritmički idiom djembea prihvati različiti narodi i etničke grupe, kao što su Volof, Djola, Bambara, Pel, Bobo, čak i Dogon (Zanetti 1996). Usvajanje ritmičkih obrazaca istrgnutih iz kulturnog konteksta i, u isto vreme, pomeranje sopstvenih tradicionalnih ritmova u drugi plan, nužno vodi osiromašenju raznovrsnog, bogatog i moćnog fundusa lokalnih *govora bubenjeva*, a preznačavanje jednog lokalnog instrumenta, koji se gradio samo u Senegalu i Obali Slonovače na čijim teritorijama žive Malinke, u prvorazredni izvozni artikal – ne samo da je uticalo na kvalitet njegove gradnje, već je modifikovalo i njegov uobičajeni repertoar. U masovnoj proizvodnji čiji su korisnici nepoznati, poštovanje svih obreda vezanih za gradnju jednog instrumenta antropomorfih odlika više nije ni vremenski ni psihološki bilo održivo.

U novonastalim okolnostima, danas zvuči skoro neverovatno podatak da je još 1986. godine, kada je kulminirala decenijska suša, zvanični muzičar - *djeli* tadašnjeg predsednika Senegala, Abdou Diouf (*Abdou Diouf*), zabranio upotrebu bubenjeva tokom letnjeg kišnog perioda, upozoravajući da bi, budući „klasno“ vezani za kovače, odnosno za vatru, „zvuci bubenjeva mogli da naljute zaštitnike toliko potrebnih voda“. Objavljena na istaknutom mestu u senegalskom dnevnom listu *Le Soleil* (16. jun 1986.), koji izlazi na francuskom, ova proglašenja u čiju sam se doslednu primenu uverila kada je reč o Dakaru, svedoči o povratku na najstarije slojeve tradicije u vremenima krize, kao o principu koji je, pre samo dve decenije, još uvek regulisao kolektivni društveni i kulturni život Senegalaca.

Međutim, i pored snažnog dejstva fenomena akulturacije i slabljenja tradicionalnih regulativa, modernizovani individualni doprinos i podsticaj očuvanju supstrata kolektivnih, klasnih i rodnih identiteta na novim osnovama daju velike muzičke zvezde kao što su Jusu

animated celebrations of all kinds. The variety of percussions and their fixed position in the ensemble led a number of ethnomusicologists to refer to „drum orchestras“ in which the youngest player played the *djembe*. In highly complex and cross-polyrhythmic combinations of such ensembles, the *djembe* always held a rather exposed, but relatively simple backing role due to the fact that its penetrating sound and recognizable rhythmic patterns were supported by dancers and the public. Similarly, the exported performances of folklore ensembles, or the „national ballets“ of Guinea and Senegal, which were one of the most popular acts at the time, featured female *djembe* players.

It may well be that this kind of equality and relativity of ritual context it was used in, made the *djembe* a synonym for African percussions in Europe and America and gave it the role of lead instrument used in teaching new performers across the world. The great international popularity of this instrument brought it back to its „homeland“ and encouraged the spread of its use across the West African region. The ethnomusicologist Zanetti came to the conclusion that more simplified rhythmic idioms of the *djembe* have in recent years been used by different peoples and ethnic groups such as the Wolof, Dyole, Bambara, Peul, Bobo, even the Dogon (Zanetti 1996). Employing rhythmic patterns outside of their original context and, at the same time, using traditional rhythms as secondary options, unduly leads to the impoverishment of the colourful, rich and powerful musical fund of local *talking drums*, and at the same time, makes a local instrument that was once solely crafted in Senegal and Ivory Coast where the Malinke live, into a first-grade export commodity. All these circumstances have not only influenced the quality of crafting the instrument, but have also modified its standard repertoire.

Also, the anonymous consumers of mass production have made honouring all the rituals linked to crafting an instrument with anthropomorphic features unsustainable as relating to temporal and psychological factors.

It sounds almost unbelievable today that in 1986, at the time of the great drought, the *djeli* - the official musician to Abdou Diouf, the president of Senegal at the time, banned the use of drums during the summer wet season, warning that as the instruments were related to the „caste“ of blacksmiths, i.e. fire, „the sounds of the drums could enrage the guardians of the desperately needed water“. Conspicuously published in a Senegalese daily paper *Le Soleil* in the French language (16th June, 1986), this proclamation, which I myself witnessed being implemented in Dakar, reveals the return to older ways and traditions in times of crisis, as a principle that only two decades before, still regulated the collective social and cultural life of the Senegalese.

However, besides the strong influences of acculta-

N'Dur (*Youssou N'Dour*), Ali Farka Ture (*Ali Farka Touré*) ili Umu Sangare (*Oumou Sangare*) i drugi. Posle svetskih karijera koje su devedesetih godina napravili u Evropi i Americi, vraćaju se u Senegal, odnosno Mali, gde poslednjih godina deluju sa obnovljenom verom u autentične kulturne vrednosti afričkog kontinenta, ali i novim vizurama pojedinačnih etničkih identiteta. Nakon iskustava sa francuskim i engleskim jezikom i kulturom, sagledanim, pre svega, iz vizure globalne muzičke fuzije, s jedne strane, a u skladu sa obnovljenim interesovanjem za islamsku veru, s druge, ovi muzičari postaju zagonvornici očuvanja autentičnih tradicija, lokalnih jezika, običaja i muzičkih praksi naroda iz kojih su potekli i često, kroz svoje kompozicije, sa tačke gledišta sadašnjosti, prenose edukativne i moralne poruke i preporuke vezane za rad, poštovanje predaka, porodice i religije, i razotkrivanje rđavih navika i nemoralja.

Ova, u prvi mah paradoksalna, fuzija elemenata panafričke i kolektivne tradicije, s jedne strane, i ugrađenih multikulturalnih modela i individualističkih postulata zapadne civilizacije, s druge strane, može se sagledati na primeru poređenja autentičnih seoskih muzičkih praksi i jedne novije produkcije Alija Farke Turea.

Primer br. 1

Svadbena svečanost u selu Nangar u zapadnom Senegalu, gde žive Peli, nomadski narod koji je tridesetih godina počeo da napušta Gvineju i naseljava zapadni Senegal. Reč je o proslavi svadbe koja traje celu noć i koju animira ansambl od šestorice profesionalnih muzičara (pevač, dva žičana instrumenta sa po dve žice, dva sistruma načinjena od prstenova kalebase, i tri kalebase koje se koriste kao udaraljke). Tekst donosi uobičajene pohvale porodici, nekoliko izreka i poslovica o zajedničkom životu i citate iz Korana. Forma je jednostavna, nastupu soliste odgovara hor svatova.²

Ali Farka Ture, kantautor i gitarista, posle internacionalne slave koja mu je donela naziv *kralj pustinjskih bluz pevača*, vratio se početkom veka u svoje selo Niafunke u blizini Tombuktua u Maliju gde je do smrti 2006. godine bio šef mesne zajednice. U svoj poslednji album *Savana* (čiji moto glasi: „muzika ne može biti značajnija od onoga što se govori. Ali muzika mora da bude veoma dobra da bi se ono što ona govori razumelo“) uvrstio je nekoliko tradicionalnih pesama naroda Pel, koje je sam aranžirao. U pesmi o seoskoj lepotici Pendi Joro zbog koje svi dolaze na pijacu Togere, Ture peva i svira gitaru, uz pratnju harmonike i dva tradicionalna žičana instrumenta kontrabasa i djembe, dok hor svatova iz prethodnog primera zamjenjuju prateći vokali. Iako tradicionalnu muziku Pela obogaćuje elementima džez-improvizacije, Ture ostaje u prepoznatljivom zvučnom idiomu Pela.³

Muzika sveta ili eksplozije nove recepcije tradicionalnih vanevropskih muzika

World music ili *muzika sveta*, kao novi evropski pojам

tion and the weakening of traditional regulations, the modernised individual contribution and encouragement of preserving the foundation of collective class and gender identities on new grounds, has produced great musical stars such as Youssou N'Dour, Ali Farka Touré, or Oumou Sangare, etc. Following their international careers which flourished in the 1990-ies in Europe and America, they have returned to Senegal and/or Mali, where they have been creating on the basis of their renewed belief in authentic cultural values of the African continent, which is, however, based on a new approach to individual ethnic identities. After their experiences with the French and English languages and culture primarily from the aspect of a global musical fusion on the one hand, and with their renewed interest in the Muslim faith, on the other, these musicians have become proponents for the preservation of authentic tradition, local languages, customs and musical practices of their respective ethnic peoples often, through their compositions and from their point of view which is set in the present, spreading educational and moral messages and advice concerning work, respect of the ancestors, family and religion, and the abstinence from bad habits and immorality.

This apparent paradoxical fusion of Pan-African elements from the collective tradition, on the one hand, and embedded multicultural models and individual postulates of Western civilization, on the other hand, can be observed by comparing the authentic, rural musical practices and recent production of Ali Farka Touré.

Example 1

We are witnessing a celebration in the Nangar village in western Senegal, inhabited by the nomadic Peul that started leaving Guinea for this area in the 1930-ies. It is a wedding celebration that lasts into the night and is animated by a six-piece ensemble of professional musicians (a singer, two two-stringed instrument players, two sistrums made of calabash rings and three calabashes used as percussions). The performers praise the family, cite sayings and proverbs about their life together, as well as excerpts from the Koran. The form is simple, and the soloist is responded by a choir of nuptials.²

Ali Farka Touré, songwriter and guitarist, after achieving international fame that earned him the title king of desert blues singers, returned in 2000 to his village of Niafunke near Timbuktu in Mali where he was head of the local community until his death in 2006. In his last album, *Savannah* (whose motto is: "Music cannot be more important than what is spoken. But the music must be very good for what it says to be understood") he included a few traditional songs of the Peul people which he arranged. In the poem about the village beauty Pendi Yoro who makes everybody come to the market Togere, Toure sings and plays guitar accompanied by two traditional string instruments, the accordion, bass and *djembe*, while the wedding choir from the previous example are replaced by backing vocals. Whilst enriching the traditional music of the Peul with elements of jazz improvisation, Toure remains in a

„dogovoren“ 1985. godine u jednom londonskom kafeu da bi se njime obuhvatile fuzije različitih vanevropskih i evropskih muzičkih praksi i žanrova, poslednjih godina, takođe nije izuzeta iz korpusa promena koji je nametnula globalizacija (Čolović 2006).

S obzirom na hipertrofiran i ubrzani razvoj ovog fenomena, njegovi kritičari su predviđali da će se, poput komercijalnog cunamija, veoma brzo i povući. To se, međutim, nije dogodilo. Naprotiv, u momentu u kome govorimo, barem u Francuskoj, odvijaju se adaptacije *muzike sveta* na nove izazove multikulturalnih društava i na probleme koji se javljaju kao posledice ekonomске krize, tako da „žive kulture“ i „živi spektakli“ prerastaju u instrumente koje društvo i vlasti koriste za ublažavanje socijalnih tenzija. Impozantni ideo afro muzike u tim tendencijama svedoči o njenoj vitalnosti i prilagodljivosti na nove uslove.

Naime, prema podacima iz 2005. godine, u ukupnoj diskografskoj produkciji *muzike sveta* koja obuhvata 300000 primeraka diskova godišnje, afro muzike učestvuju sa više od 25%, s tim što se taj broj iz godine u godinu uvećava. Kada je reč o koncertnim produkcijama, samo u Francuskoj crni afrički „sound“ broji više od polovine koncerata *muzike sveta*, koji se prirede tokom godine (Arnaud i Lecompte 2006). U ovoj hiperprodukciji neizbežne pojave su zloupotreba etno-zvuka, kao što su, recimo, neuka spajanja ili neprimerene fuzije koje, ponekad i do groteske, deformišu autentične izvore na koje se pozivaju ili, pak, komercijalizovane pojednostavljene muzičke poruke koje računaju na nostalгију za rodnim krajem kao najranjiviju tačku emigrantskih zajednica.

S obzirom na to da su eklatantni primeri takvih pojava u ovoj grani muzičke industrije iscrpno obrađeni u knjizi Ivana Čolovića i nizu drugih radova (Szabó-Knotik 2005), a imajući u vidu ogromni problemski dijapazon na liniji tradicionalna muzika – muzika sveta, koji nadilazi granice moje teme, ovoga puta bih se osvrnula na neke trenutno manje poznate pozitivne društvene aspekte *muzike sveta*, svesna opasnosti da će se i oni možda pokazati kao nove utopije. Pre svega, imam u vidu kulturne milje afričkih emigrantskih zajednica, koje etnomuzikolog Loran Ober (*Laurent Aubert*) naziva „barjadi etničkih identiteta“ (Ober 2007: 32) i pojedinih vanevropskih zajednica, koje teško žive u evropskim megapolisima, često zatvorene u getima što otežava procese asimilacije.

Kada je 2006. godine u takozvanim „teškim predgrađima“ Pariza, kako ih eufemistički imenuju u sredstvima javnog informisanja, naseljenim uglavnom afričkom dijasporom, izbio prvi talas nezadovoljstva, posle prvih violentnih sukoba sa policijom, francuske vlasti odlučile su se da trajne odgovore na akutne probleme potraže u domenu kulture. Brojna „etnička

recognizable Peul sound idiom.³

World Music or the explosions of new ways of traditional non-European music reception

World Music as a new European concept „established“ in 1985 in a London café in order to encompass the fusions of different non-European and European musical practices and genres, has also in the past years suffered the changes inflicted by globalisation (Čolović 2006).

Due to the amplified and accelerated development of this phenomenon, its critics estimated that it would, in the form of commercial tsunami, imminently die out quickly. This, however, did not happen. On the contrary, at the time of writing this paper, at least in France, there are adaptations of *World Music* underway, which are the result of new challenges set by a multicultural society and to the consequential problems that have occurred with the economic crisis, making „living cultures“ and „live spectacles“ social and governmental instruments for relieving social tension. The impressive influence of Afro music on those tendencies stands as testimony of its vitality and adaptation.

Namely, based on facts dating 2005, in the overall record production of *World Music* amounting to 300,000 albums per annum, Afro music holds more than 25%, and that number is constantly growing. As far as concert production is concerned, in France alone the black African *sound* takes up more than half of the *World Music* concerts annually organised (Arnaud et Lecompte 2006). Abuse of ethnic sound is unavoidable in such hyper production, and results in amateurish and inappropriate fusions which sometimes create a grotesque deformation of authentic sources upon which they are based on, or, what also happens, commercially simplified musical messages which count on nostalgic reminiscences of the place of birth which is the most vulnerable point among immigrant communities.

As the most obvious examples of such phenomena in this branch of music industry have been analysed at length in the study of Ivan Čolović and a number of other papers (Szabó – Knotik 2005), and considering the wide problematic range that occurs in the relation traditional music – *World Music* that surpasses the aims of my account, I would like to concentrate on certain current, however less known positive social aspects of *World Music*, aware of the danger that they also may prove to be new utopias. First of all I shall consider the cultural milieu of the African émigré communities, which the ethnomusicologist Laurent Aubert calls „the flags of ethnic identity“ (Ober 2007: 32), and also certain non-European communities which live a very hard life in Europe's megalopolises, often enclosed in ghettos, which seriously hamper the process of assimilation.

muzička posela“ koja podstiču, organizuju i finansiraju same opštine, a realizuju pripadnici pojedinih etničkih zajednica, ubrzo su se pokazala kao efikasni regulativi u trenutnom smirivanju socijalnih tenzija. Pri tom, ekspresivna moć afričkih muzičkih idioma počela je da deluje i kao faktor privlačenja uglavnom mlade francuske publike. U 20-tom pariskom arondismanu prisustvovala sam sličnim okupljanjima namenjenim, pre svega, senegalskoj dijaspori. Među redovnim gostima bile su i različite neafričke grupacije, kao na primer članovi jedne radionice koja okuplja lica sa posebnim potrebama koji su, u kontaktu sa muzikom drugih, uspevali da ostvare komunikaciju koja je njihovu različitost pomerala u drugi plan.

Pri tom, ne treba zaboraviti da nisu sve afričke etničke zajednice u Parizu iste, niti da sve imaju isti muzički potencijal – tako da se dešavalo da između zajednica iz Senegala, Malija i Kameruna, koje dominiraju i brojčano i snagom muzičke supstance, često izbijaju etničke netrpeljivosti, separatizmi i rivalizam. U nastojanjima da te sukobe suzbije, Ministarstvo kulture Francuske je pre desetak godina pokrenulo festival AFRICOLOR koji se od tada održava svakog decembra u Sen Deniju (*Saint Denis*), jednom od najturbulentnijih pariskih predgrađa. Ovaj pariski festival, panafričkog predznaka, kome se odnedavno pridružuju slične manifestacije u evropskim prestonicama (npr. *Couleur café* u Briselu), nisu samo podijumi za najbolje muzičare sa afričkog kontinenta i mesta okupljanja afričke diaspore, već predstavljaju i mlade, nacionalno mešovite bendove koji sviraju afro muziku. Sve te atraktivne „boje Afrike“ kao i pristupačnost ovih koncerata, čine ih mestima okupljanja uglavnom mlade publike različitog porekla koji, međusobnim reakcijama na muziku na sceni i na različite tipove recepcije te muzike, uspostavljaju nove tipove komunikacije i, barem za vreme trajanja koncerta, žive jedni sa drugima a ne jedni pored drugih (Elongui 1999).

U traganju za uravnoteženim stavom koji balansira između diktata političke korektnosti i kritičnosti, zaključujem da uprkos nesumnjive komercijalizacije, ova oblast muzičke industrije koja trenutno donosi ogromne profite profesionalnim krugovima koji se njome bave, zahvaljujući svojoj vitalnosti, demokratičnosti i zavodljivosti kao i specifičnom angažmanu njenih protagonisti, predstavlja socijalni ventil za veliki broj mlađih Evropljana i Amerikanaca, pritisnutih ozbiljnim problemima koje nameće socijalna nesigurnost, manjak radnih mesta, loša komunikacija itd. Oni sve češće izlaze iz uloge pasivnih posetilaca koncerata i konzumenata diskova, i postaju aktivni učesnici, učeći u okviru različitih radionica i kurseva, lako dostupnih u materijalnom pogledu, da sviraju na afričkim instrumentima ili da igraju (u velikim gradovima Nemačke postoje i kursevi koji koriste afričke plesove u terapeutске svrhe, a u Briselu deluje akademija

In 2006 with the outbreak of the first wave of discontent and clashes with the police in the areas inhabited mostly by the African Diaspora, the so called „rough suburbs of Paris“, as they are euphemistically termed in the public media, the French government tried to seek lasting solutions to the acute problems, in the field of culture. Numerous „ethnic music gatherings“ supported, organised and financed by the local municipalities and performed by members of certain ethnic communities, shortly proved to be efficient means for the temporary calming of social tensions. Besides this, the expressive power of African music idioms started to attract a predominantly young French public. I witnessed gatherings of the Senegalese Diaspora in the 20th *arrondissement* in Paris. Among regular visitors, there were also different non-African groups, such as members of a workshop for people with special needs, who were able to communicate with music of others, setting aside their differences.

Suffice to say it should not be overlooked that not all African ethnic communities in Paris are the same, nor do they have the same musical potential; there were occurrences of ethnic intolerance, separatism and rivalries between the dominant and musically charged communities of Senegal, Mali and Cameroon. Ten years ago, in an effort to suppress these conflicts, the French Ministry of Culture launched the AFRICOLOR festival, which has since then been held every December in Saint Denis, one of the most turbulent Parisian suburbs. This Parisian festival with a pan-African undertone that was recently complemented by similar events in European capitals (eg, *Couleur Café* in Brussels), is not solely the podium for some of the best musicians from the African continent and a meeting place of the African Diaspora, but also an opportunity for young nationally mixed bands who play Afro music to perform. All these attractive „colours of Africa“ and the accessibility of these concerts, make them places of gathering mostly for young audiences of different backgrounds who, through interaction with the music performed on the scene and the different receptions of these different types of music, establish new types of communication and, at least for the duration of the concert, live with each other and not despite each other (Elongui 1999).

In the quest for a balanced attitude somewhere between the dictates of political correctness and criticism, I conclude that despite the undoubtedly commercialization, this area of the music industry, which currently brings huge profits to professional circles that deal with it, thanks to its vitality, democracy, appeal and the specific engagement of its protagonists, is a form of social vent for a large number of young Europeans and Americans pressed by serious problems imposed by social insecurity, lack of jobs, poor communication, etc... With recurring

za afro udalarjke i igru), muziciraju, improvizuju, razmenjuju energiju i, ponavljaju, da upoznaju drugog. Toj demokratizaciji žive kulture čije je efekte teško zanemariti, posebno s obzirom na drastičan pad broja korisnika takozvane visoke kulture, doprinose danas i brojne radio-stanice, specijalizovane za etno zvuk, kao i internet putem koga je difuzija afro muzike dodatno demokratizovana.

U svim ovim naporima francuske kulturne politike koji idu ka prevazilaženju socijalnih, kulturoloških, rasnih i religijskih razlika, mogu se prepoznati elementi „interaktivne akulturacije“, novijeg pojma koji podrazumeva dinamičnu akulturaciju svih grupa koje dolaze u međusobne kontakte u jednom multikulturalnom društvu, kako zajednice domaćina tako i emigrantskih zajednica.

Primer br.2

Uspon i razvoj 25 godina duge karijere Jusua N'Dura predstavlja posebno poglavje, budući da je reč o samosvojnoj ličnosti koji nije bio samo učesnik već i generator tokova promena u afričkim muzikama, s jedne strane, i u *muzici sveta*, s druge. Iako mu je, kao izuzetno talentovanom članu porodice tradicionalnih profesionalnih muzičara naroda Volof, bila namenjena karijera *djelija*, N'Dur je već kao adolescent svoj fascinantni „afrički belkanto“ – intonativno malo povišen, otvoren, prodoran i veoma uzbudljiv način pevanja Volofa, koji je, po sopstvenom priznanju nasledio od majke – uložio u profane muzičke žanrove i njihovu promociju. Već kao veoma mladi osnivač i pevač dakarske grupe *Super Etoile* sa kojom je od 1979. godine reaffirmisao tradicionalni *mbalax*, oplemenjujući ga džez i rok iskustvima, osnovao je sopstvenu diskografsku produkciju⁴, ali je internacionalni renome počeo da stiče uz pomoć Pitera Gebrijela (*Peter Gabriel*) tek krajem osamdesetih. To su i godine njegove najintenzivnije koncertne i humanitarne aktivnosti koje su mu donele titulu ambasadora dobre volje UNESCO-a. I pored kratke anglo-američke epizode, koja mu je pomogla u osvajanju zapadne tehnologije i koncertne dramaturgije, ali ga je usmerila i u pravcu prenaglašene upotrebe elektronike koja često nadjačava autentični senegambijski melodijski i ritmički idiom⁵. Jusu N'Dur nikada nije doneo odluku da odabere ulogu emigranta koja mu je više puta predlagana. Jedan od razloga tome je, verovatno, doskora malo poznat podatak o njegovoj pripadnosti islamskoj muridskoj zajednici koja je od latentnog i prikrivenog, poslednjih godina prerasla u angažovanu opredeljenje. Iako se u pesmi *Waxul* koju je 1990. godine snimio sa Jande Kodu Sene (*Yande' Codou Sene*) pominje Šeik Amadou Bamba (*Cheikh Amadou Bamba*), jedan od istorijskih vođa murida u Senegalu, tek na albumu *Egipat* iz 2006. godine⁶ povratak religiji i potreba da odbrani islam od negativnih konotacija posle 11. septembra, postaju transparentni. U ovoj sofisticiranoj, ali neujednačenoj produkciji o kojoj su mišljenja bila veoma podeljena, N'Dur, uz koru i udalarjke, amblematične instrumente zapadne Afrike kojih se ne odriče, poseže za egipatskim orkestrom žičanih instrumenata, doduše bogato ozvučenim tako da uspešno zamenjuje elektroniku, i ponovo afirmiše svoj „belkanto“ koji je prethodnih godina potisnuo u drugi plan. Za ovu novu fazu,

frequency they step out of their role of passive concert audience and CD consumers, and become active participants; through various workshops and courses that are financially affordable, they learn to play different African instruments, or to dance (in the big cities of Germany, there are courses that use African dances for therapeutic purposes; in Brussels there is an Academy for African percussion and dance), make music, improvise, exchange energy and, I repeat, get to know the other. This democratization of living culture whose effects are difficult to ignore, especially given the radical decline in the number of users of so called high culture, is contributed to today by numerous radio stations specialised in *ethnic sound* and the internet through which the diffusion of Afro music is further promoted.

In all these efforts of French cultural politics that are aimed at overcoming social, cultural, racial and religious differences, elements of „interactive acculturation“ can be identified. This is a more recent term that includes the dynamic acculturation of all groups that come in direct contact with one another in a multicultural society – both the host and emigrant communities.

Example 2

The rise and development of the 25 year long career of Youssou N'Dour is a unique episode in music, revealing a strong character that was not only a participant but also the generator of change in African music, on the one hand, and *World Music* on the other. Despite the fact that, as an extremely talented member of a Wolof family of professional musicians he was expected to become a *djeli*, as an adolescent with a fascinating „African Bel Canto“ (a slightly high-pitched, open, penetrating and very exciting way of Wolof singing, which he, by his own admission, inherited from his mother), N'Dour started promoting secular musical genres and working on their promotion. Already as a very young initiator and singer in the Dakar group *Super Etoile* with whom he, in 1979, reaffirmed the traditional *mbalax*, enhancing it with jazz and rock experiences, he established his own record label⁴, but started to receive international recognition with the help of Peter Gabriel, at the end of the eighties. These are at the same time the years of his most intense concert and humanitarian activities that brought him the title of Good Will Ambassador of UNESCO. Despite his short Anglo-American episode that helped him master western technology and his concert presentation, but also turned him to the extreme use of electronics, which often overrides the authentic Sene-Gambian melodic and rhythmic idiom⁵, Youssou N'Dour never accepted taking on the role of immigrant that he was repeatedly coaxed to. One of the reasons for this was the until recently not so well known fact that he is a Moslem of the Murid community, which over time turned from a latent and concealed, into an actively engaging calling. The 1990 song *Waxul* which he collaborated on with *Yande Codou Sene*, makes reference to *Cheikh Amadou Bamba*, one of the historic leaders of the Murids. It was with the 2006 album *Egypt*⁶ that a return to religion and a need to defend Islam from the negative

najkarakterističnija je numera pod nazivom *Amadou Bamba*, otvoreno posvećena muridskom vođi i pohvali njegove verske tolerancije. Na planu muzike, ova složena prokomponovana pesma na jeziku volof, predstavlja zanimljivu panafričku fuziju zapadnoafričkih i egipatskih muzičkih idioma i mikro-struktura, uvijenih u evopeiziranu makro-formu i tehnološki savršenu produkciju.

Kuda dalje? Da li je struktura petočasovnog *monstrum*-koncerta pod nazivom *Afrički bal*, koji je N'Dur sa nizom svojih senegalskih štićenika i učenika priredio 5. aprila 2008. godine u pariskoj sportskoj hali Bersi, najava nove eklektične ili „od svega po malo“ faze u karijeri ove mega zvezde afro muzike još jedna komercijalna epizoda? Naime, N'Dur je tokom ovog koncerta uspeo da spoji nostalгиju za sopstvenim počecima, nastupajući kao deo dakarskog kolektiva *Super Etoile*, koga danas čini šesnaest članova, uključujući i kvartet virtuoznih perkusionista, da, odeven u belo, poput individualne rok-zvezde sleti na scenu da bi, uz svoje poznate hitove, opevao i „kosmopolitsku Afriku svih boja“, idući u susret svom najvećem sponzoru – *United colors of Benetton* i da promoviše svoj nedavno osnovani fond *Birima*, specijalizovanu finansijsku ustanovu za mikro-kredite. Sudeći po ljubaznim i dobronamernim kritikama (*Le Monde*, 8. april 2008.), prave zvezde ove večeri bili su zapravo članovi dakarske grupe iz koje je N'Dur potekao.

Razvoj naučnih disciplina čiji je predmet izučavanje afričke muzike

U suočavanju sa ozbiljnim zaokretima u tradicionalnim muzičkim praksama kojima se bave, istorija, antropologija, etnologija, etnomuzikologija, muzeologija, studije kulture, iznova postavljaju pitanja koja su, činilo se, davno apsolvirana, a granice među disciplinama postaju poroznije. Doduše, značajni nosioci ovih mlađih disciplina još su sredinom prošlog veka, istovremeno osluškujući procese promene u muzičkom stvaralaštvu i muzičkoj recepciji, i sami najavili, odnosno inicirali promene kojih smo sada svedoci. Pionirski pomak i prodor u novi način razmišljanja učinio je Melvil Herskovits (*Melville Herskovits*) u knjizi *Mit crnačke prošlosti* u kojoj je argumentovano pobjio predrasude po kojima crni stanovnici Sjedinjenih Američkih Država nemaju zajedničku istoriju niti kulturno nasleđe u pravom smislu reči, pokazujući da su upravo zahvaljujući snažnoj vitalnosti i autentičnosti, oblici autohtonih afričkih kultura preživeli period ropstva da bi, izmenjeni, postali sastavni i prepoznatljiv deo današnje afroameričke kulture. Iako od početka podvrgnuti oštrim ideološki i rasno obojenim kritikama (polemika Herskovic–Frejzer), Herskovicovi stavovi su, danas, nezaobilazan izvor većine afrikanističkih studija, a njegovi spisi doživljavaju nova izdanja (njegovo delo *Mit crnačke prošlosti*, prvi put je objavljeno 1941. godine, a jedno od poslednjih izdanja je štampano 1990. godine).

Iako ih danas više niko ne osporava, istorijska i istoriografska izučavanja su, kada je reč o afričkom

connotations acquired after September 11th were made transparent. In this sophisticated yet imbalanced production which caused divided opinions, N'Dour with the *kora* and percussions – emblems of West African music, which he never separates from – uses the Egyptian string orchestra that is richly amplified and therefore a successful substitute for electronics, reaffirming his „Bel Canto“ which he had in previous years pushed into the background. *Amadou Bamba* is the most characteristic composition of this new phase and is openly dedicated to the Muridic leader and to praising his religious tolerance. Musically speaking, this complex, re-composed song in the Wolof language, is an interesting pan-African fusion of West African and Egyptian music idioms and micro structures, enveloped in an Europeanised macro-form and technologically perfect production.

Where to from here? Is the five-hour-long structure of the monster-concert under the name *African Ball* that N'Dour organised on April 5th 2008 with his Senegalese supporters and students in the Parisian hall Bersi, an proclamation of a new, eclectic or „a bit of everything“ phase in the career of this mega Afro music star, yet another commercial episode? Namely, this concert found N'Dour uniting his nostalgic feelings towards his beginnings, performing as part of the Dakar collective *Super Etoile*, now counting 16 members and a quartet of percussion virtuosos; he was dressed in white like some individualist rock star, alighting from a height onto a stage, and then performing besides his most famous songs also the „cosmopolitan Africa of all colours“, leaning towards one of his largest sponsors United Colours of Benetton and promoting his recently established fund „Birima“, specialised financial institution for micro-credits. Judging by the polite and well intended reviews (*Le Monde*, April 8, 2008.), the true stars of the night were members of the Dakar group from which N'Dour sprang.

The development of the humanities-based disciplines that research African music

In dealing with serious changes in traditional music practices that they deal with, history, anthropology, ethnology, ethnomusicology, museum studies, cultural studies, are again raising the issues that have already been answered and the boundaries between the disciplines have become more fluid. In the middle of the last century important representatives of these young disciplines, while listening to the processes of change in musical creativity and musical reception, announced, or initiated the changes which we are now witnessing. The pioneering shift and step towards a new way of thinking was achieved by Melville Herskovits in *The Myth of the Negro Past*. He brought to light the prejudices according to which black residents of the United States do not have a common history or cultural heritage in the true sense of the word, indicating that it was thanks to a strong vitality and authenticity, that forms of indigenous African culture survived the period of slavery in order to, having been changed, become an integral and recognizable part of today's Afro-American culture. Although he was from the

kontinentu, blokirana između različitih ideološki obojenih centrizama, bilo da je reč o evrocentričnom govoru u kome je akcenat stavljen na antirasistička i antikolonijalna, politički korektno intonirana polazišta, ili o afrocentričnom stavu, zasnovanom na panafričkom nacionalizmu i nezavisnosti kao idejama vodiljama. Poziv Žan-Pjera Kretijena (*Jean-Pierre Chrétien*) kolegama istoričarima da se u istraživanjima afričke istorije okrenu zajedničkoj kritičkoj interpretaciji dosadašnjih saznanja i teorija uz pomoć konkretnih rezultata do kojih su došle različite discipline, ostavljajući po strani svaki politički i ideološki obojeni „centar“ (*Chrétien* 2003), danas zvuči kao zdravorazumski, dobromeran predlog za izlaz sa ovog novog slepog koloseka afričkih studija, koji se gubi u šumu različitih glasova koji zastupaju različite stereotipe.

Studije afričke muzike, takođe su sledile već pomenuti razvoj istoriografije. Karakteristični pomak u tom smislu ostvaren je približavanjem muzikoloških i etnomuzikoloških izučavanja dve discipline, koje su se dugo razvijale na striktno podeljenim planovima. Prva se bavila umetničkom i zapisom muzikom evropskog i američkog kontinenta i njihovom istorijom, druga tradicionalnim muzičkim praksama, koje se prenose oralnim putem i koje su neodvojive od izolovanih društvenih zajednica. Istorija, time i istorija muzike bile su od početka neophodne prateće discipline muzikoloških istraživanja, dok se etnomuzikologija suviše dugo zadržavala na bezvremenim, aistoričnim zajednicama zaustavljenim u razvoju. Muzikologija je, takođe, operisala imenima autora i zasnivala je svoja istraživanja na individualnoj kreaciji, dok je etnomuzikologija „raspolažala“ ukupnim muzičkim fundusom jedne grupe ili jednog naroda čiji su muzičari anonymni. Švajcarski etnomuzikolog Loran Ober širi ovu distinkciju i na autorska prava, pa kaže da tradicionalne muzike „(...) pripadaju javnom domenu, to su muzike čiji su autori anonymni i neprijavljeni, tako da ne mogu ubirati prihode od autorskih prava“ (Ober 2007: 39).

Stereotipi i granice među disciplinama počeli su da gube smisao i da se razlabavaju početkom druge polovine 20. veka, u godinama koje se poklapaju sa sticanjem nezavisnosti najvećeg broja afričkih zemalja i postepenim ukidanjem kolonijalizma. Godine 1961. u dvotomnom Larusovom izdanju *MUZIKA – Ljudi, instrumenti, dela* (1982), izlaganje istorije muzike započinje poglavljem *Tradisionalna muzika raznih naroda*, revolucionarni pristup koji zagovara prekid sa evrocentričnom muzikologijom. Poglavlje *O muzici crne Afrike* povereno je etnologu Žilberu Ružeu (*Gilbert Rouget*) koji se, u skladu sa antikolonijalističkim govorom, zalaže za približavanje dve discipline, muzikologije i etnomuzikologije, promenu termina „primitivna umetnost“ koji obično prati afričku muziku i kulturu i, što je još značajnije, za istorijsko sagledavanje

beginning subject to harsh ideological and racially coloured criticism (the Herskovits-Fraser controversy), Herskovits's attitudes are today an essential source of most African studies, and his writings are experiencing new editions (his work *The Myth of the Negro Past* was first published in 1941, and most recently in 1990).

Even if historical and historiography studies are no longer disputed, in relation to the African continent, they are blocked between different ideological 'centrism', whether these are Eurocentric speeches with an emphasis on anti-racial and anti-colonial politically correct assumptions, or Afro-centric statements based on Pan-African nationalism and independence as principal notions. Jean-Pierre Chrétien's call to his fellow historians to research African history from the point of a common critical interpretation of previous epistemological and theoretical findings, supported by firm conclusions coming from various disciplines, leaving aside all politically and ideologically coloured „centres“ (*Chrétien* 2003), sounds today like common sense, a bona fide proposal to leave this new dead-end reached by African Studies, which is lost in a forest of different voices advocating different stereotypes.

African music studies also followed the above mentioned historical line of development. The characteristic shift in this regard was achieved with the merging of musicological and ethno-musicological studies, two disciplines that had a long history of separate development. The first dealt with art and written music of the European and North American continent and their history, the second, with traditional music practices orally transmitted and inseparable from isolated communities. History, therefore, music history was from the beginning essential to musicological studies, while ethnomusicology relied for too long a time on timeless communities without history, hindered in their development. Musicology also operated with authors and based its research on individual creation, while ethno-musicology „dealt“ with the overall music funds of a group or one people whose musicians were anonymous. The Swiss ethnomusicologist Laurent Aubert expands the distinction onto authorship and says that traditional music: „belongs to the public domain, it is the music of anonymous authors and created so that they are not in the position to claim authorship rights“ (Ober 2007: 39).

The stereotypes and borders between disciplines started to lose its validity and strength at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, at a time most African countries won their independence and with the gradual cease of colonialism. The 1961 two-partite Larousse edition *La usique – Les Hommes, Les Instruments, Les Oeuvres (Music – people, instruments, compositions)* commences its presentation of music history with the chapter *The Traditional Music of Different Peoples*, a

njenog razvoja. Američki antropolog Alen Mirijam (*Allan Merriam*), 1964. godine takođe, upozorava da je istraživačko polje muzikologije samo jedan deo ukupnog muzičkog nasleđa i najavljuje čvršće povezivanje muzikoloških i etnomuzikoloških studija (Merriam 1964). Rezultat tih nastojanja je i fizičko približavanje i čvršća saradnja katedri ove dve discipline čije zajedništvo нико više ne dovodi u pitanje. Internacionalni časopis za muziku *Novi Zvuk* koji od 1992. godine izlazi u Beogradu, kao i katedre za muzikologiju i etnomuzikologiju Fakulteta muzičke umetnosti, tretiraju i istražuju tradicionalnu i umetničku, usmeno prenošenu u notiranu muziku kao delove jednog istog, velikog i dragocenog civilizačijskog korpusa.

Etnomuzikologija je u svom razvoju sledila i napuštala različite pravce društvenih nauka: evolucionizam, difuzionizam iz jednog centra, komparativistiku, strukturalizam, studije kulture i dr. Zatečeni usred eksploracije muzike sveta, gde su tradicionalne muzike došle same pred najširu publiku i postale dostupne širokoj publici, etnomuzikolozi su, na izvestan način, naglo izgubili svoje povlašcene teritorije i prestali da budu jedini čuvare muzičkih praksi koje bi bez njih bile izgubljene.

Etnomuzikologija hitnih slučajeva o kojoj govori Loran Ober, misleći na spašavanje ugroženih zona u kojima tradicionalni oblici stvaralaštva nepovratno nestaju, postepeno prelazi u ruke afričkih istraživača. Osim razvojne ili gubljenje tradicionalnih muzičkih praksi u Africi, uslovjeni migracionim i globalnim procesima, danas sve više kompenzuju nove generacije afričkih etnologa i etnomuzikologa, školovanih na francuskim, engleskim i američkim univerzitetima, a poslednjih decenija i na univerzitetima i konzervatorijumima u Lagosu (Nigerija), Akri (Gana), Dakaru, kao i Kairu i ostalim gradovima severne Afrike. Brojni su primjeri zapisa muzičke tradicije i uspešne zaštite muzičkih dobara, izvedeni zahvaljujući naporu afričkih etnomuzikologa. Prelomni momenat u afričkim studijama kulture i muzike, koje su, izučavajući zatvorene zajednice, često zanemarivale njihov istoricitet i razvojne procese, bio je krajem sedamdesetih i početkom osamdesetih godina. Tada su pod patronatom UNESCO-a, izdata prva četiri toma *Opšte istorije Afrike* (1982-86), čiji su autori sa izuzecima uglavnom afrički istoričari. Uz to, kao što znamo, konstrukcija i samosvest o prošlosti kao kategorije karakteristične za moderna društva, čine da se iza do sada uglavnim etničkim identitetom, i u zapadnoj Africi pomaljaju pannacionalni, nacionalni i individualni identiteti koji obogaćuju nivo afričke muzičke kulture i unapređuju dijalog između tradicije i inovacije.

Znači li to da je evropska etnomuzikologija sve manje potrebna kada je reč o terenu afričke muzike? Odgovore na ovo pitanje treba tražiti u primjenjenoj etnomuzikologiji kojoj predstoji promena terena. Umesto da se vraćaju već istraženim afričkim lokalitetima, zapadnoevropski etno-

revolutionary approach that advocated a break with Eurocentric musicology. The chapter on *The Music of Black Africa* was entrusted to ethnologist Gilbert Rouget who, in accordance with anti-colonial positions, was committed to bringing the two disciplines, musicology and ethnomusicology to change their use of the term „primitive art”, which usually accompanied African music and culture and, more importantly, insisted on a historical review of its development. In 1964, American anthropologist Allan Merriam also warned that the research field of musicology was but a part of the overall musical heritage and announced the closer collaboration of musicological and ethnomusicological studies (Merriam 1964). The result of these efforts is a natural convergence and closer cooperation between the departments of the two disciplines whose unity no one brings to question anymore. The international music magazine, *Novi zvuk* (New Sound) that has been in print since 1992 in Belgrade, and the Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology of the Faculty of Music, treat and explore traditional and art, orally transmitted and written music, as part of the same great and precious civilisation corpus.

Ethnomusicology followed and abandoned the approaches of different social sciences: evolutionism, diffusions from one centre, the comparative method, structuralism, cultural studies, etc. Caught up in the whirlwind of World Music which allowed different examples of traditional music to be available to a wider public, ethnomusicologists, in a way, rapidly lost monopoly over the field of research and ceased to be the sole keepers of musical practices which would otherwise have been lost without them. *The Ethnomusicology of Emergency Cases* as mentioned by Laurent Aubert, and meaning the preservation of endangered forms of traditional music in certain zones, is slowly moving into the hands of African researchers. The impoverishment or loss of traditional musical practices in Africa, caused by migration and global processes, is compensated today by a new generation of African ethnologists and ethnomusicologists, educated in French, English and American universities, and in recent decades at universities and conservatories in Lagos (Nigerija), Accra (Ghana), Dakar, as well as Cairo and other cities in North Africa. There are numerous examples of recorded musical traditions and the successful protection of musical goods which are the result of the effort of African ethnomusicologists. The turning point in African studies of culture and music that studied closed communities, often disregarding their historical dimension and development processes, was in the late seventies, and early eighties when the first four volumes of the *General History of Africa* (1982 -86), whose authors are (with a few exceptions) mostly African historians, was released under the patronage of UNESCO. And, as we know, the construction and awareness of the

muzikolozi mogu u svojim sredinama da pokušaju da, kako kaže Ober, novim pobornicima *muzike sveta* ponude znanja, prilagođene naučne instrumente pomoću kojih će ovi, na odgovarajući način produbiti svoja autentična i naknadno stečena muzička iskustva i dovesti ih u sklad. Takođe, etnomuzikoložima ostaje da naučnim sredstvima kojima raspolažu, doprinesu da migracioni muzički talasi budu dostoјno vrednovani ili odbačeni. Jer, etnolog i etnomuzikolog i dalje za polja istraživanja imaju oblike muzičkog izražavanja i njihove društvene funkcije. Zadatak im je da istražuju njihov smisao i značenje i da ga podele sa drugima (Ober 2007: 32).

Primer br.3

U susret afričkom preuzimanju odgovornosti i brige za očuvanje sopstvenog nasleđa na savremenim, a ne na tribalnim osnovama, krenuli su tokom 2007. godine Marokanac Dris El Malumi (Driss El Maloumi), Malijac Balake Sisoko (Ballake Sissoko) i Madagaskarac Ražeri (Rajery), trojica izvrsnih virtuoza na tradicionalnim žičanim instrumentima karakterističnim za zemlje iz kojih dolaze: ud, kora i valiha. U želji da istovremeno pokažu veliko bogatstvo i raznolikost afričke muzike i mogućnost stvaranja panafričkog akustičkog zvuka bez pomoći elektronike, formirali su trio pod nazivom *3MA* koji bi, sudeći po prvom evropskom koncertu održanom 13. maja 2008. godine u koncertnoj dvorani prestižnog kulturnog centra Flagey (Flagey) u Briselu, mogao da označi prekretnicu u kratkoj istoriji afro muzike. Iako na prvi pogled derivat panafrikanizma i „metisaža“, ova ideja zapravo počiva na jednom modernijem sagledavanju afričkog kontinenta koji bi se mogao opisati kao: Afrika bez granica ali sa mnogo (muzičkih) identiteta. Ne odustajući tokom koncerta od specifične supstance i repertoara svojih instrumenata, *3MA* je uspeo da, kroz 12 različitih numera, pokaže veliko umeće kolektivnog komponovanja, muziciranja i improvizacije bez ikakvih tehnoloških pomagala. U najuspelijim trenucima koncerta, kreiran je specifičan interriorizovani kamerni afro stil plemenitog ujednačenog zvuka tri žičana instrumenta različitih sistema temperovanja, koji se lako mogao procenjivati kao umetnički događaj i doživljaj sa polazišta klasične muzičke kritike. Isto stanovište moglo se primeniti i na dramaturgiju koncerta u celini, u kojoj su momenti unutrašnje tenzije i ekstrovertnog poigravanja ritmičkim bravurama bili savršeno uravnoteženi. U komunikaciji sa publikom, uz objašnjenja pred svaku novu tačku, natopljena autoironijom, diskretnom kritikom afričke i evropske političke krize i specifičnim saučesničkim afričkim humorom, muzičari su koristili francuski jezik, iako nazivi njihovih numera potiču iz afričkih jezika (Awwal, Toufoula, Kadiatou). Menadžer i diskograf, koji je imao sluha za ovaj novi autentični afrički muzički fenomen, ipak nije Afrikanac već Belgijanac Mišel De Bok (*Michel De Bok*).⁷

Muz/ej/ika

Muzeji afričke umetnosti i muzike prešli su dug put od nekadašnjih kabinetova kurioziteta, preko umetničkih

past as categories specific to modern societies have enabled so far, besides ethnic identities, the emergence of pan-national, national and individual identities in West Africa that enrich the African musical culture and promote dialogue between tradition and innovation.

Does this mean that European ethnomusicology is less needed in dealing with African music? Answers to this question could be found in applied ethnomusicology that awaits a change in field. Instead of returning to already researched African localities, western ethnomusicologists, as stated by Aubert, can in their own surroundings try to offer knowledge to new followers of World Music, adapted scientific tools which will enable them to develop their authentic and subsequently inherited musical experiences. It is also left to ethnomusicologists to adequately assess or discard the various musical waves. For it is the ethnologist and ethnomusicologist that still analyse forms of musical expression and their social function. It is their task to examine their meaning and importance and share it with others (Ober 2007: 32).

Example 3

In 2007 three virtuosos on traditional string instruments characteristic to the countries they came from: the *ud*, *kora* and *valiha*, musicians Moroccan Driss El Maloumi, Malian Balake Sissoko and Madagascar born Rajery embarked on a voyage of claiming responsibility for their own heritage on contemporary, not tribal grounds. In their aim to present the abundance and variety of African music and the possibilities of creating a pan-African acoustic sound without the help of electronics, they created the trio *3MA*. The first performance held in the prestigious Flagey cultural centre in Brussels on May 13th 2008 could well be a turning point in the short history of Afro music. This idea, which is only at first glance a derivate of pan-Africanism and „métissage“, is actually based on a more contemporary approach to the African continent that could be described as follows: Africa without borders, but with many (music) identities. Without abandoning a certain substance and repertoire suiting their instruments during the concert, *3MA* were able to show great mastery in group composition, musicianship and improvisations without any technical aid. At certain most successful moments during the concert a specific interiorised chamber Afro style was created, featuring precious, level sounds of the three instruments that have different systems of tempering, and could therefore easily be considered to be an art event and experience from the standpoint of classical music criticism. The same conclusion could have been brought concerning the set design of the concert, with moments of inner tension and extrovert play with rhythmic bravado that were in perfectly equilibrium. In their communication with the public, by explaining every number, saturated in auto-irony, the discreet critic of the African and European political crisis and a certain conspiratorial African humour, the musicians spoke in French, regardless the fact that their compositions bore African names (Awwal, Toufoula, Kadiatou). The manager and discographer open to this new and authentic music phenomenon is, however,

postavki u kojima su afrički instrumenti predstavljeni kao egzotični, anonimni, pre svega, vizuelno zanimljivi predmeti odvojeni od muzičkih praksi i kulturnih miljeva kojima su pripadali, do interaktivnih personalizovanih postavki koje podrazumevaju oživljavanje instrumenata pratećim muzičkim i video materijalom, sa „ličnim kartama“ koje sadrže podatke o poreklu, identitetu i pedigree svakog od njih i kontekstu iz koga je on potekao. Dinamični preobražaj muzeja kroz umetničke, edukativne i pedagoške programe i pojedinačne izložbe koje valorizuju posebna poglavlja tradicionalnog i savremenog stvaralaštva, postali su „uslovi bez kojih se ne može“ svih novih muzejskih postavki, pa i onih specijalizovanih za Afriku.

Sa sveštu da broj tema koje sam načela prevazilazi zadati obim mog rada ali da, istovremeno, tek delimično sugerije vitalnost i autentičnost afričke muzike i njene ogromne kapacitete prilagođavanja i obnavljanja, osećam potrebu da umesto zaključka koji ostaje otvoren, poslednje redove posvetim Muzeju afričke umetnosti (MAU) u Beogradu bez kojeg ovo skromno promišljanje ne bi bilo obelodanjeno. MAU je uložio ogromnu energiju u realizaciju aktuelnih muzeoloških ideja i oživljavanje svih svojih eksponata, u velikoj meri i onih muzičkih, uspevajući da transformiše svoju početnu kolekciju u mesto živih susreta, izložbi, muzičkih intervencija, interaktivnih instalacija i radionica⁸, osmišljenih u skladu sa duhom vremena. Tim svojim programskim poduhvatima, postao je žarište aktivnog i živog predstavljanja i intenzivnog doživljavanja afro muzika u kontinuiranom procesu njihovog razvoja i promena i mesto koje dosledno razbija utvrđene stereotipe o afričkoj kulturi.

Napomene:

¹ Termin kojim Ibn Batuta (1304 -1368/9) u svom putopisu „U zemlju crnaca“ označava profesionalnog muzičara u službi malijskog sultana.

² Snimak je načinjen 1961. godine, a uvršten je na CD *Senegal, Musique des Peuls & des Tendas, Ocora C 560043*.

³ Ali Farka Touré, CD *Savane, World circuit production*, WCD075.

⁴ *L'Etoile de Dakar*, LP *Khaley*, Sterns African Classics Vol. 4.

⁵ Youssou N'Dur, CD *Immigrés*, Celluloid 66709.

⁶ *Idem, CD Egypte*.

⁷ CD 3MA, Contre-jour CJ029/2008.

⁸ Npr. multimedijalni projekat Zorana Naskovskog *Crno, crveno i belo* - istorijat bluza u njegovim različitim etapama muzičkog razvoja i društvenih konteksta, od bluza berača pamuka do savremene diskografije.

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not an African but a Belgian – Michel De Bock.⁷

Mus/eum/ic:

Museums of African Art and music have gone a long way from cabinets of curiosities, over art exhibitions that presented African instruments as exotic, anonymous, above all visually interesting objects separated from musical practices and cultural milieus that they belonged to – to interactive, personalized exhibits that imply animating the instrument with additional music and video material, „identity cards“ holding information about ancestry, identity and pedigree of each of them and their context from which they sprang. The dynamic transformation of the museum through art, educational and pedagogical programmes, and exhibitions that valorise special chapters in traditional and contemporary creativity, have become necessary prerequisites of museum exhibitions, therefore also those specialised in Africa.

Aware that I have opened a number of topics that exceed the given framework of my paper, but also, only partly suggest the vitality and authenticity of African music and its vast capacities of adjustment and renewal, I feel the need to, instead of writing a conclusion that would be an open one, dedicate the last sentences to the Museum of African Art in Belgrade, responsible for bringing this humble study to light. The MAA has invested a great amount of energy in the realization of current ideas of the museum studies and bringing to life its exhibition pieces, to a large extent musical instruments too, achieving to transform its initial collection into a place of living encounters, exhibitions, musical interventions, interactive installations and workshops⁸ conceived so as to match the spirit of the times. Based on such endeavours, it has become the epicentre of the active and engaging presentation and intensive Afro music experiencing in a continued process of development and change, being a place that consistently disbands fixed stereotypes about African culture.

Notes:

¹ Used by Ibn Batuta (1304-1368/9) in his travel writing *In the land of the Negro*, as a term to signify a professional musician in the service of the Malian sultan.

² The recording was made in 1961. It can be heard on *Senegal, Musique des Peuls&des Tendas, Ocora C CD (560043)*

³ Ali Farka Touré, CD *Savane, World circuit production*, WCD075

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⁵ Youssou N'Dur, CD *Immigrés*, Celluloid 66709

⁶ *Idem, CD Egypte*.

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KNJIŽEVNOST HOLANDSKIH KARIBA

LITERATURE OF THE DUTCH WEST INDIES

Zajednička holandsko-karipska prošlost počinje 1634. godine dolaskom holandske Zapadnoindijske kompanije i traje praktično sve do današnjih dana. Šarenolikosti kulturnih obrazaca doprineli su pored autohtonog indijanskog stanovništva i prvobitni španski i portugalski osvajači, zatim afrički robovi kao i imigranti iz Indije i Indokine. Buran susret a neretko i sudar kultura ostavlja traga već u prvim književnim tvorevinama nastalim na tlu novostećene holandske kolonije. U kasnijim fazama razvoja sve je više obojenih autora koji preuzimaju jezik svojih kolonizatora ali njime stvaraju potku sopstvenog doživljaja karipske multikulturalnosti. Karakteristika tog doživljaja je velika pokretljivost između različitih kulturnih i jezičkih identiteta, ali i stalna rastrzanost i potreba za autentičnošću i autohtonošću.

The shared history of the Netherlands and the Caribbean commenced in 1634 with the arrival of the Dutch West India Company ships, and continues to this day. The autochthonous Indian population and first Spanish and Portuguese conquerors, along with black African slaves, as well as immigrants from India and Indochina added to the array of cultural patterns. The often tumultuous encounter and cultural clash is evident in the first literary works that sprang from the newly-acquired Dutch colony. There are a number of coloured writers in the later phases that use the language of their coloniser, however, creating with it their own experience of Caribbean multiculturalism. The most distinguishable trait of that experience is a strong fluidity between different cultural and linguistic identities, as much as the constant division and need for authenticity and place of origin.



Sa izložbe Mudshots!!
savremenog karipskog umetnika Lennon Žno-Batista. MAU, 2007.
Foto-archiv MAU.

From the exhibition Mudshots!!
by Lennon Jno Baptiste, contemporary Caribbean artist, MAA, 2007.
MAA photo archive.

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Književnost HOLANDSKIH KARIBA

Apstrakt: Zajednička holandsko-karipska prošlost počinje 1634. godine dolaskom holandske Zapadnoindijske kompanije i traje praktično sve do današnjih dana. Šarenolikosti kulturnih obrazaca doprineli su pored autohtonog indijanskog stanovništva i prvobitni španski i portugalski osvajači, zatim afrički robovi kao i imigranti iz Indije i Indokine. Buran susret a nerekto i sudsar kultura ostavlja traga već u prvim književnim tvorevinama nastalim na tlu novostećene holanske kolonije. U kasnijim fazama razvoja sve je više obojenih autora koji preuzimaju jezik svojih kolonizatora ali njime stvaraju potku sopstvenog doživljaja karipske multikulturalnosti. Karakteristika tog doživljaja je velika pokretljivost između različitih kulturnih i jezičkih identiteta, ali i stalna razstrzanost i potreba za autentičnošću i autohtonošću.

Ključne reči: Antili, Surinam, kolonijalna i postkolonijalna književnost, imagologija, identitet, migracije.

Osim univerzalnih vrednosti, umetnost odražava i vreme i okolnosti u kojoj nastaje. Istorija književnosti holandskih Kariba u mnogome odražava političku istoriju ovog područja čije je glavno obeležje susretanje, sukobljavanje i mešanje kultura. Za potrebe ovog rada zanimljivo je istražiti u kojoj meri su kulture crne Afrike i drugih vanevropskih kultura utisnule svoj pečat u karipsku književnost pisani na holandskom jeziku.

Politička istorija holandskih Kariba

Zajednička istorija Holandije i Kariba započinje 1634. godine, kada su brodovi holanske Zapadnoindijske kompanije od Španaca preoteli niz ostrva u Karipskom moru. Četiri decenije kasnije, Vestminsterskim mirovnim ugovorom iz 1674. godine Holanđani su nakon višestrukog ratovanja sa Englezima razmenili Njujork za Surinam. Naredna četiri veka Surinam¹ i ostrva Kirasao, Boner, Saba, Sv. Eustahije i Sv. Marten predstavljajuće kolonijalni posed Holandije.

Prošlost holandskih Kariba odlikuje nekoliko bitnih obeležja: autohtono indijansko stanovništvo, uticaj španskih kolonizatora i susednih kolonija sa španskim i portugalskom upravom, dovoz afričkih robova i robovla

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Literature of the DUTCH WEST INDIES

Abstract: The shared history of the Netherlands and the Caribbean commenced in 1634 with the arrival of the Dutch West India Company ships, and continues to this day. The autochthonous Indian population and first Spanish and Portuguese conquerors, along with black African slaves, as well as immigrants from India and Indochina added to the array of cultural patterns. The often tumultuous encounter and cultural clash is evident in the first literary works that sprang from the newly-acquired Dutch colony. There are a number of coloured writers in the later phases that use the language of their coloniser, however, creating with it their own experience of Caribbean multiculturalism. The most distinguishable trait of that experience is a strong fluidity between different cultural and linguistic identities, as much as the constant division and need for authenticity and place of origin.

Key words: Antilles, Surinam, colonial and post-colonial literature, imagology, identity, migration

Apart from being an expression of universal values, art is a reflection of the times and circumstances in which it is created. The history of Dutch-Caribbean literature is in many ways a reaction to the political history of a region characterised by cultural encounters, collisions and mixtures. For the purposes of this paper, it was interesting to investigate the extent to which the cultures of black Africa and other non-European cultures left their traces in Caribbean literature written in Dutch.

The political history of the Dutch Caribbean

The shared history of the Netherlands and the Caribbean commenced in 1634 when the Dutch West India Company ships conquered a number of islands in the Caribbean Sea, previously held by Spain. Four decades later, after years of Anglo-Dutch conflict and with the 1674 Treaty of Westminster, the British and Dutch exchanged New York and Surinam¹. In the four centuries to come, Surinam and the islands of Curaçao, Bonaire, Saba, Sint Eustatius and Sint Maarten, fell under Dutch colonial rule.

The history of the Netherlands Antilles is shaped by certain important factors: the autochthonous Indian population, the imprint of the Spanish colonisers and

smičko upravljanje holandskih, pretežno protestantskih kolonizatora. Krajem devetnaestog veka pridružio se još jedan faktor: dotok radne snage iz Azije (pre svega Indije i Indokine).

Holandski Antili

Zvanični jezik na Holandskim Antilima dugo je bio holandski, da bi se od 2007. godine u ravnopravnoj upotrebi pored holandskog² našli i engleski jezik i papiamento. Ovaj poslednji je maternji jezik skoro 70% stanovništva³ i nastao je kreolizacijom⁴.

U osnovnim školama u upotrebi su engleski i papiamento, a u srednjim je holandski. Matura se, naime, polaze na holandskom zato što mnogi nastavljaju svoje visoko obrazovanje u Holandiji.

Najveći deo antilijanske književnosti napisan je na holandskom jeziku i na papiamentu.

Surinam

Etnički sastav pola miliona surinamskog stanovništva veoma je šarenolik: procentualno najviše je kreolaca⁵, Indusa, Marona i Javanaca. Podjednako je složena religijska i jezička situacija. Za razliku od Antiljanaca koji su najvećim delom katolici, u Surinamu manje od polovine stanovništva čine hrišćani, dok su od drugih veroispovesti najzastupljeniji hinduizam i islam.

Većina Surinamaca je višejezična: osim nekolicinom „domaćih“ jezika (holandski, sranantongo, sarnami hindustani, javanski, maronski, kineski)⁶ najčešće dobro vladaju i engleskim. Zvanični jezik je, međutim, holandski.⁷

Što se književnosti tiče, ona u oralnom obliku postoji kod svih etničkih zajednica, ali je pisana uglavnom na holandskom i na sranantongu jeziku.

Književnost Kariba

Kada se govori o holandskoj književnosti Kariba, valja imati na umu da se radi o izrazito multikulturalnom fenomenu: bilo da su u pitanju holandski došljaci koji pišu inspirisani karipskim temama, ili pak autohtonni Antilijanci i Surinamci koji pišu podstaknuti holandskim jezikom i kulturom.

Od kolonizacije do emancipacije (1642-1863)

U ranom periodu kolonizacije samo je bela elita ta koja ostavlja pisanog literarnog traga, uglavnom u vidu putopisne i epistolarnе prose, ili prigodne poezije. Autori su doseljenici: plantažeri, propovednici. Najraniji mediji u kojima su objavljivani ovi tekstovi predstavljaju časopisi i almanasi pokrenuti sa dolaskom prvih štamparija u Surinam krajem osamnaestog veka. Negde u isto vreme,

neighbouring colonies under Spanish and Portuguese rule, the shipment of African slaves and the slavery-based domination of the Dutch, predominantly protestant colonisers. Another important factor was the 19th century workforce influx from Asia, mainly India and Indochina.

The Dutch Antilles

For a long time the official language of the Netherlands Antilles was Dutch², only to be supplemented on an equal basis, in time, by the English and Papiamento languages. The latter is the mother tongue of almost 70% of the population³, which formed as the result of the creolization⁴ process.

Primary schools use English and Papiamento, and Secondary schools, Dutch. The final examination is held in Dutch as most graduates continue their education in Holland.

For the most part, Antillean literature is written in the Dutch and Papiamento languages.

Surinam

The ethnic make of half a million Surinamese is extremely colourful: the highest percentage is held by the creoles⁵, Hindus, Maroon and Javanese. The religious and language situation is just as complex. Unlike the Antilleans who are predominantly Catholic, less than half the population of Surinam is Christian, the rest being Hindu and Moslem.

Most Surinamese are multilingual: besides the few „local“ languages (Dutch, Sranan Tongo, Surinami Hindustani, Javanese, Maroonese, Chinese)⁶ they are, in most cases fluent in English. The official language, however, is Dutch.⁷

As far as literature is concerned, it is present among all ethnic groups in the oral form, but is mostly written in Dutch and Sranan Tonga.

Caribbean Literature

When discussing Dutch literature of the Caribbean it is necessary to bare in mind that it is a truly multicultural phenomenon: whether in considering Dutch settlers whose writing is inspired by Caribbean themes, or in the case of the autochthonous Antilleans and Surinamese who write motivated by the Dutch language and culture.

From Colonisation to Emancipation (1642-1863)

In the early days of colonisation, it is only the white elite that create written literary works, chiefly in the form of travel and epistolary prose, or occasional poetry. The authors are settlers: plantation holders, preachers. The earliest mode of publishing was through magazines and almanacs which began appearing with the arrival of the first printing houses in Surinam, at the end of the 18th century. At about the same time, namely in 1775, the first

naime 1775. godine otvaraju se i prva pozorišta. Na ostrvima ovakav kulturni razvoj sledi tek koju deceniju kasnije.

Iako još pod velikim uticajem holandske literarne tradicije, teme ovih prvih autora ipak sve učestalije obrađuju život na plantažama, koji je od početka bio multikultural. Odnosi među pripadnicima različitih rasa i kultura bili su odraz robovlasičkog sistema koji su zarad maksimalne dobiti nametnuli beli došljaci uprkos svom navodno duboko hrišćanskom moralu.

Taj raskorak između propagiranog morala i društvene prakse – drugim rečim, hipokrizija novopečenih kolonijalnih bogataša – bio je pogodno tle za procvat angažovane literature, bilo da se radi o poeziji, traktatima ili satirama.

Protestantski propovednik J.G. Kals (*J.G. Kals*, 1702-?) jedan je od onih Holanđana koji se neumorno zalagao za jednakost rasa i kultura⁸ čime je na sebe navukao bes i prezir veleposrednika, koji su iznudili njegovu ostavku i proterivanje iz Surinama. Da su iole ozbiljno pročitali Kalsove spise, shvatili bi, da on nije bio protiv njihovog bogatstva već protiv neracionalnosti u njegovom sticanju:

Pogledajte najpre narod u čijoj zemlji živite, Indijance, i onda zrelo razmislite, molio bih vas, kojim to pravom prisvajate njihovu dedovinu i posede. Nebitno je kako su ti narodi dospeli u ove zemlje. Tu ste ih zatekli i vidite da su ljudi kao vi, da su u svemu isti kao vi, osim što nisu dovoljno otresiti da se svi udruže i tako osnaženi vas isteraju iz svoje zemlje: jer vi im ne donosite nikakve koristi, naprotiv, već ih dugo uznemiravate i saterujete sve dublje i dublje kako biste osvojili prostora za sebe. Zar nisu oni jednako bele puti kao i vi? Pa pogledajte većinu vas koji ste tamo rođeni ili ste tu dugo živeli. Koliko god se pokrivali odećom, mnogi ste isti kao Indijanci. A što se razuma tiče, poznavao sam među vama takve koji su bili toliko nerazumni i neobrazovani da su im se čak i Indijanci, njihovi robovi, podsmevali. (...) Zar treba da čudi ako ovaj narod, kada jednom progleda, noću nagrne iz šuma i sve vas pobije u krevetima ili ležalkama, kako bi se konačno jednom rešili nepozvanih gostiju? Toga ne biste morali da se plašite da ste odmah ne samo sklopili prijateljstvo s njima već ih i preveli u vašu veru, stavili pod vaše zakone i tako od njih napravili civilizovan narod. Dosad biste se već odavno orodili sa njima i bračnim putem dobili njihovu zemlju u posed. Oni bi otvorili svoje mede za vas, obrađivali bi i sadili, a vaše kuće bi trajale večno u bezbednosti, miru, časti i poštenju.⁹

U ovom istom tekstu, naslovljenom *Glavni i osnovni greh Holanđana*, Kals se posebno osvrnuo na okrutno i nehumano postupanje prema uvezenim afričkim

theatres opened. The islands were yet to witness this cultural event a decade later.

Regardless the fact that it was under strong Dutch literary influence, the themes of these first authors, slowly but more frequently start focusing on life on the plantations. These plantations were from the very beginning, multicultural. The relationship between the different races and cultures were a reflection of slavery, which was implemented by the white settlers for the purpose of gaining maximum profit, despite their deep-rooted Christian morale.

The discrepancy between the proclaimed morale and social practice – in other words, the hypocrisy of the colonial nouveau riche – proved fertile ground for the blossoming of engaged literature: poetry, tracts or satire.

The protestant preacher J.G. Kals (1702-?) was one of those Dutchmen that tirelessly fought for the equality between races and cultures⁸, and this brought upon him the rage and contempt of the landowners who forced his retirement and banishment from Surinam. If they had found the time to actually read some of Kals' writings, they would have realised that he was not opposed to their wealth, but to the irrational ways of gaining that wealth.

First and foremost take a glance at the peoples in whose land you are dwelling, the Indians, and then take a moment to think, I implore you, with what right you appropriate their ancestral land and soil. It is irrelevant of how these peoples came to live here. This is where you have encountered them, and have come to realise that they are people, just like yourselves, that in all manner they are the same as you, except in being pertinent enough to unite and in their own might banish all of you from their land: because, you bring them no gain, on the contrary, you have been a nuisance to them and have been denigrating them for long enough now, just so as to take over what is theirs. Are they not as fair-skinned as you? Take a look at those of you who have been born there or have lived there for long enough. No matter how hard you try to cover your skin, most of you are like Indians. And as far as reason is concerned, I have known some of you who have been so unreasonable and uneducated, that even the Indians, your slaves mocked you. (...) Should it be of great surprise if these people, once their eyes open, charge out of the forests and bludgeon all of you in your beds and hammocks as you sleep, in order to rid themselves, once and for all, of unwanted guests? You would not have to fear this if you had initially not only made friendly ties with them, but also baptised them into your faith, brought them under your laws and through this had shaped a civilised people. By now you would have become brothers and through holy matrimony, gained their country and land. They would have opened their boundaries to you, they would reap and sow for you, and your homes would last for long in security, peace,

robovima za čiju bi pobunu takođe imao potpuno razumevanje:

Kao drugo, pogledajte crnce koje uz velike troškove morate da uvozite iz Gvineje, koje – kojim pravom, neka mi objasne oni koji se bave ovom trgovinom – odatle optimaju, dove dopremaju i na ljudskoj pijaci (fuj, sramote li za hrišćane!) javno nude i prodaju. Ove ljudi koristite u vašoj službi, i većina vas sa njima postupa grublje i okrutnije nego sa nerazumnim stokom, sa psima i mačkama, sa konjima, kravama i svinjama. Zar treba da čudi da ovi ljudi beže, tražeći izbavljenje iz ruku svojih dželata?¹⁰

Posebno oštroj kritici Kals je podvrgavao seksualno iskorisćavanje robinja i sluškinja kojima je bilo uskraćeno pravo na brak izvan svoje rase. Međutim, nisu pohlepa, okrutnost i razvat po Kalsu sami po sebi bili najgori gresi Holanđana, već činjenica da su takvim svojim ponašanjem zanemarili svoju osnovnu dužnost: preobraćivanje kolonizovanih naroda u hrišćanstvo.

Za priznavanje mešovitih brakova i društveno prihvatanje obojenih bio je posebno zainteresovan pesnik Hendrik Šauten (*Hendrik Schouten*, 1745-1801) s obzirom na to da je i sam bio oženjen meleskinjom. U pesmi *Žuta žena*¹¹ on opisuje kulturnu, obrazovanu ženu divnih manira, sposobnu, veštu i štedljivu domaćicu, nežnu i vernu suprugu, drugim rečima savršenu hrišćanku - koju pakosna i zla okolina šikanira iz samo jednog razloga: što je žuta umesto bela.

Posebnu zanimljivost Šautenove poezije predstavlja korišćenje kreolskog jezika radi upečatljivijeg dočaranja sveta robova, kao što to čini u pesmi *Kućna svadba*.¹²

Zahvaljujući ovakvim tekstovima, dobijamo sliku prve faze medurasnog suživota, doduše samo iz perspektive bele elite. Što se autohtonog stanovništva tiče, njihovo viđenje stvarnosti dalo bi se destilisati iz njihove usmene književnosti, ali ona nije stvarana na holandskom (Rutgers 1996: 22).

Od emancipacije do autonomije (1863-1954)

Robovlasništvo se kao sistem eksploracije veoma dugo održao u holandskim kolonijama na zapadu. Uprkos satirama prosvećenih intelektualaca, uprkos povremenim ustancima robova, diskusija o aboliciji nije preterano zaokupljala Holanđane tako da je ropstvo ukinuto znatno kasnije nego u drugim kolonijama, naime tek 1863 godine.

Novinu ovog perioda književnosti predstavlja pojavljivanje obojenih pisaca koji pišu na holandskom. Ova novina proistiće iz nastanka lokalne, obojene elite koja se školuje u holanskim školama ili pak u samoj Holandiji. To pre svega važi za Surinam, dok na ostrvima najvećim delom pišu na engleskom, španskom ili

honour and fairness.⁹

In this same work titled *The Netherlands' Head and Root Sin*, Kals reflected on the cruel and inhuman treatment of imported African slaves, holding a deep understanding for the reasons behind their possible upraise:

Secondly, take a look at the Negros you are forced to ship with great cost from Guinea, who you – and with what right, tell me those of you who take part in this commerce – kidnap, import and at the human market (how sickening, the shame of all Christians) publicly demonstrate and sell. You use these people to your service, and most of you treat them more cruelly than live-stock, cats and dogs, horses, cows and pigs. Should it be surprising that these people flee, seeking release from their executioner?¹⁰

Kals was particularly adamant about the sexual exploitation of female slaves and maids who were forbidden to marry outside their race. However, according to Kals greed, cruelty and debauchery were not the worse of Netherlands' sins; rather it was the fact that through these acts they disregarded their prime responsibility: the conversion of colonised peoples to Christianity.

The poet *Hendrik Schouten* (1745-1801) was particularly interested in the recognition of mixed-race marriages and the social acceptance of coloureds, due to the fact that his wife was of mixed-race. In his poem *The Yellow Wife*¹¹ he describes the cultured, educated woman of refined manners, able, competent and resourceful housewife, loving and loyal partner, in other words, the perfect Christian – tormented by the malevolent and evil community for one reason only: because she is yellow, and not white.

What makes Schouten's poetry even more fascinating is the use of creole language in order to create a more realistic picture of the slave's world, as he does in the poem *The Household Quarrel*¹².

It is through these writings that we gain an initial impression of the first phase of inter-racial life, even if it is from the white elite viewpoint. As far as the autochthonous population is concerned, their perception of reality could be distilled from their oral tradition, which however was not expressed in the Dutch language (Rutgers 1996: 22).

From Emancipation to Autonomy (1863-1954)

Slavery as a system of exploitation was effective in the Dutch colonies in the west for a very long time. Disregarding the satires of dedicated intellectuals, in spite of occasional slave upraises, the discussion on abolition was not particularly fervent among the Dutch which meant that slavery was abolished much later compared to the

papijamentu.

Autori svetskog formata javljaju se tek u prvoj polovini dvadesetog veka. Kola Debrot (*Cola Debrot*, 1902-1981), rođen kao sin Holanđanina i Venecuelanke na ostrvu Boner, i Surinamac indijanskog porekla Albert Helman (*Albert Helman*, 1903-1996) uveli su tri dominantne teme u holandsku književnost Kariba: specifičnost istorijskog nasleđa, međurasni odnosi i preispitivanje identiteta usled čestih migracija. Ovaj poslednji aspekt uticao je na to da se u književnoj teoriji za književnost Kariba rado koristi naziv migrantska književnost.

U svom prvcenu *Moja sestra crninja*¹³ (*Mijn zuster de negerin*, 1935) Debrot, kroz priču o bogatom nasledniku koji se zaljubljuje u crnkinju, unuku očevog domara (da bi zatim saznao kako mu je ona polusestra) ukazuje na to da su crnci i belci uprkos ili upravo zahvaljujući teškom nasleđu vezani bliskim i čvrstim rođačkim vezama:

Jednog podneva, kao i mnogih drugih tropskih podneva, upravo se u luci okretao jedan parobrod; mali čamci vukli su sajle, koje su neprestano udarale o površinu vode, kao da se nevidljive nemani igraju preskakanja konopca. Jedan momak je stajao na palubi, gledao sve to i mislio: sve je čudesno. Zapravo, već je čudesno to što se zovem Fric Rupreht. Čudesno je i to što se vraćam ovde, na ostrvo na kojem sam rođen, jer je moj otac, sledeći moju majku, sada takođe mrtav, a možda i zbog toga što mi je dosta Evrope gde se viđa premalo crnaca. Srećan sam što sam neosporno bogat. Želim da živim s crnkinjom. Zvaću je: moja sestra crninja. Mrzeo sam u Evropi ta bleda lica sa njihovom ribolikom hladnoćom, njihovim nedostatkom bratskog i sestrinskog razumevanja (Debrot 1994: 223).

Debrot je osim spisateljske imao i bogatu političku karijeru: duži niz godina bio je guverner Holandskih Antila.

Politikom se kao pripadnik obojene surinamske elite bavio i Albert Helman: u periodu 1949-1951 bio je ministar prosvete i obrazovanja. Teret prošlosti i gorka stvarnost Surinama zauzimaju značajno mesto u njegovom književnom radu. U epilogu romana *Jug-jugozapad* (*Zuid-Zuid-West*, 1926), Helman jetko zamera Holandima što su nakon bezobzirnog izrabljivanja Surinama digli ruke od svoje kolonije i prepustili je neumitnom propadanju.

Ja se ne poznajem u politiku ili ekonomiju, ali jesam ožalošćen jer sam dete zemlje koju vidim kako umire i propada u glib bez dna. I žalosti me, ne toliko izgubljena sreća ljudi koje vi ne poznajete... koliko vaša lica pravednika, o vrli Holanđani. Svakako, vi ste narod vredan poštovanja, sa mnogim lepim geslima. A

other colonies, namely as late as 1863.

The innovation of this period in literature lies in the appearance of coloured authors writing in Dutch. This occurrence sprang from the formation of a local, coloured elite, educated in Dutch schools, or even the Netherlands. This in particular, is the case with Surinam, while the elite on the islands wrote mainly in English, Spanish or Papiamento.

World acclaimed authors appeared in the first half of the 20th century. Cola Debrot (1902-1981) born the son of a Dutchman and Venezuelan from Bonaire island, and the Surinamese of Indian heritage Albert Helman (1903-1996) introduced three dominant themes into the Dutch literature of the Caribbean: the traits of their historic heritage, interracial relations and identity issues brought about by frequent migrations. This latter aspect resulted in the use of the term 'migrant literature', in the theoretical field of Caribbean literature studies.

In his first work *My Sister the Negro* (*Mijn zuster de negerin*, 1935), which conveys the story of a rich heir who falls in love with a black woman, granddaughter of his father's major-domo, (only for him to find out that she is his half-sister), Debrot implies that the blacks and the whites, despite or rather as a result of their troubled heritage, are closely tied by immediate and strong familial bonds.

One afternoon, which was not unlike the usual tropical afternoon, a steamship was reversing in the harbour; small boats were hauling cords that were incessantly splashing on the surface of the water, as if invisible monsters were playing skipping rope. A young man was standing at the deck, observing it all and thinking: it is amazing. Actually, it is incredible enough that my name is Fritz Rupreht. Is it amazing that I am returning here to the island of my birth, because my father, following my mother, is also dead, or is it because I am tired with Europe, where I see so few black faces? I am happy that I am undoubtedly rich. I want to live with a black woman. I shall call her: my sister the Negro. In Europe I despised all those pale faces with their fish-like coldness and their lack of brotherly and sisterly understanding. (Debrot, 1994:223)

Besides being a writer, Debrot had a very successful political career: for a number of years he was the governor of the Dutch Antilles.

Albert Helman also engaged in politics as member of the Surinamese coloured elite: between 1940 and 1951 he was the minister of education. The burdens of the past and bitter reality of Surinam took a very important place in his literary work. In the epilogue of his work *South, South-West* (*Zuid-Zuid-West*, 1926), Helman fervently opposes the Dutch for their ruthless exploitation of Surinam, and for giving up on their colony and leaving it to its inevitable decline.

kakva je stvarnost?

Ovo je daleka zemlja koju vidim kako se pretvara u besplodnu pustinju. I usuđujem se reći, vrli trgovci, da je to VAŠA krivica. Jer vi ste zauzeli ovu zemlju – ne želim da govorim o pravdi ili nepravdi, to samo Bog zna – zašto ona više ne uživa vašu ljubav otkako više ne možete govoriti o dividendi? Ovu zemlju znate još samo kao negativnu stavku u vašem godišnjem računu, i nevoljno se sećate masnih dana Mauricijusa i Somelsdejka¹⁴. Lukavo računate na koliko godina će vas prodaja ove zemlje oslobođiti poreza. Surinam, vaša bivša šećerna kolonija, zar ne? (...)

Pošaljite vaše komisije, ha! Neka vaš guverner u svojoj beloj palati odvraća propast svakodnevnim žurkama i malim činovničkim intrigama! Neka vas informišu zadrigli Gesleri i penzionisani najamnici. Hoće li vam i jedan reći istinu o ovoj zemlji i njenoj sirotoj deci, ako nemaju ljubavi u oku da vide? Bez ljubavi, bez ljubavi koja je vaša obaveza – jer svaki kolonijalni posed je dobrovoljno preuzimanje obaveze! – spasenje neće biti moguće. Već vekovima ste lopovi, kažu: uz blagoslov. Ali budite onda barem nežni lopovi a ne hulje. Kad biste samo znali koliko je lepa ova zemlja, koliko je duševan život tamo...

Ali, avaj, ne mogu više ništa reći, više ništa! Ni grditi... Sirota, sirota zemljo moja... (Helman 1926:117f)

Iz ovih Helmanovih redova izbija tipična karipska rastrzanost između rasnog, verskog, kulturnog i jezičkog identiteta. Time se nagoveštava i jedna od dominantnih tema savremene generacije karipskih pisaca na holandskom: odnos ljubavi i mržnje prema jeziku kojim se služe. Zapravo, prema kulturi čiji je on izraz. Jer, školujući se u Holandiji i služeći se holanskim jezikom, oni samo još oštije uviđaju i osećaju kontraste između obojene i kolonizatorske kulture, i sopstvenu rastrzanost između njih.

U svojoj istorijskoj studiji *Mučenje Eldorada* (*De foltering van Eldorado*, 1983) Helman to formuliše na sledeći način:

„Naučio si me jeziku, i to mi je od koristi kad proklinjem. Dabogda te kuga odnela što si me naučio svom jeziku.“ (1983:467)

Od autonomije do samoopredeljenja (1954-danas)

Put ka samostalnosti u većini kolonija bio je trnovit: gubitak ekonomskog interesovanja bivših kolonijalnih gospodara išao je ruku pod ruku sa osiromašenjem i dolaženjem na vlast novih tlačitelja iz sopstvenih redova. Domaća intelektualna elita se pak posle školovanja u Holandiji nerado vraćala u zemlju ili se pak vraćala s izmenjenim identitetom i osećajem sveopšte otuđenosti.

Surinamski pesnik indijskog porekla Šrinivasi

I do not relate to politics or economics, but I am saddened because I am the child of a country I see dying away and deteriorating in a bottomless pit. The many good fortunes of people you do not even know, that are lost, saddens me but not as much as the look on your just faces, o brave Dutchmen. Undoubtedly, you are a people worthy of respect, with many fine manners. But what is the reality?

This is a faraway land which I see turning into an infertile desert. And I dare to say, my respected merchants, that it is YOUR fault. Because it is you who took this land – I wish not to speak of justice or injustice, because it is only for God to know – why, since we speak of dividends no more, does it not enjoy your love any more? You know of this land solely as the troublesome point in your annual calculations, and it is with reluctance that you remember the plentiful days of Mauricius and Somelsdyke¹⁵. Cunningly you summarise how many years of tax relief you will gain through the sale of this land. Surinam, your bygone sugar colony, is it? (...)

Ha! Send your commissions. Let your governor in his white palace deny the impending demise, through ceaseless carousing and petit blue-collar intrigues. May you be informed by indolent Gesslers and retired mercenaries? Will one of them be able to tell you the truth about this country and its deprived children, without the love in their eyes necessary to recognise it? Without love, without the love that is your duty – because every colonial land is voluntary commitment! – there will be no salvation. You have been thieves for centuries, they say: with holy blessings. Nevertheless, be honest thieves, not hoodlums. If only you knew how beautiful this land is, how spiritual life here is... But, alas, I can say no more! Neither reprimand... My poor, unfortunate country... (Helman, 1926:117f)

Helman's view underlines the typical Caribbean divide that is at the core of racial, religious, cultural and lingual identity. It also implies one of the dominant themes of the modern generation of Caribbean writers in Dutch: the love/hate relationship imprinted on the language they use. In fact, towards the culture that is its offspring. By being educated in the Netherlands and through the use of the Dutch language, they merely gained a more profound understanding and feeling for the contrasts between the coloured and colonial culture, and their own torment that feeds on this ambivalence.

In his historical study *The Torture of Eldorado* (*De foltering van Eldorado*, 1983), Helman explicates these feelings in the following manner:

„You taught me language; and my profit on it is I know how to curse: the red plague rid you, for teaching me your language.“ (1983:467)

(Shrinivasi, 1926) u svojoj zbirci *Darežljiv po običaju* (*Vrijgevig als altijd*) na sličan način kao Helman izražava taj svoj ambivalentni stav:

Na holandskom vas psujemo
na holandskom govorimo
da nam je dosta holanskog
pa imali većeg dokaza
naše rastrzanosti.
(Shrinivasi 1977: 28)

Problem otuđenosti usled jezičke diglosije inspiriše i jednog pesnika sa Arube, Franka Boja (*Frank Booij*, 1947), koji se oseća osakaćenim i nemuštim u iskazivanju svojih najdubljih osećanja.

...gubavih glasnih žica
od rastrzanosti govora
osakaćenog jezika i glasnica
i svekolikog osećaja...¹⁵

Sličan odnos prema višejezičnosti imaju i surinamski pesnik Fric Vols (*Frits Wols*, 1938) i Antiljanac Frank Martinus Arion (*Frank Martinus Arion*, 1936). Ovaj prvi je u svojoj poeziji kombinovao holandski sa svojim maternjim jezikom sranan tongom. Ovaj poslednji se osim spisateljskim bavio i naučnim radom koji je bio usmeren na standardizaciju i očuvanje kreolskog jezika papiamenta¹⁶. O sukobu svoja dva jezička identiteta Martinus Arion, autor bestselera *Dvostruka igra* (*Dubbelspel*, 1973) piše sledeće: „Jezik koji sam zajmio, hlapi mi po ovoj vrućini na usnama, radije bi da se vrati svojim ljudima – a kad te jezik ostavi na cedilu onda se teško može izdržati bilo gde.“¹⁷

U potrebi za ublažavanjem rastrzanosti između jezika i kulture najdalje je otišao Surinamac Edgar Cairo (*Edgar Cairo*, 1948–2000). On je na osnovu kreolizacije standardnog holanskog usled delovanja jezičke strukture sranana stvorio sopstveni idiolekt koji je po njemu u stanju da izrazi autentični surinamski identitet. Iako njegova jezička varijanta nije našla na prihvatanje, čak je ironično prozvana kairijanski, on je ipak skrenuo pažnju na postojanje surinamske varijante holanskog.

O toj akutnoj potrebi prihvatanja i jačanja sopstvene, surinamske kulture Edgar Cairo govorи u predgovoru trećem izdanju svog romana *Kolektivna krivica iliti Famir'man-sani* (*Kollektieve schuld, of wel Famir'man-sani*, 1976)

Kao pisac borim se za jednu drugaćiju vrstu oslobođenja: za pomirenje crnog čoveka sa svojom prokletom kulturom, sa kulturom koju su nas belci

From Autonomy to Self-determination

The path to independence was tumultuous in most colonies: the loss of economic interest of ex-colonial masters went hand in hand with impoverishment and the coming-to-power of new dictators from one's own lines. The local intellectual elite, however, after gaining their education in Holland, were reluctant to return, and if they did they came back with an altered identity and overwhelming feeling of estrangement.

Shrinivasi (1926), the Surinamese poet of Indian descent, not unlike Helman expresses his ambivalence in his anthology *Generous as Always* (*Vrijgevig als altijd*):

We curse you in Dutch
we speak Dutch
that we are overwhelmed by Dutch
is there more sound proof
of our laceration.¹⁴

The problem of estrangement as a result of diglossia inspired a poet from Aruba, Frank Booij (1947) who felt crippled and tongue-tied in expressing his deepest feelings.

...the vocal cords, heavy leprous
of discord in my language
tongue and throat and all
feel the blood in the bush¹⁵

A similar relationship towards multilingualism is expressed by Surinamese poet Frits Wols (1938) and Antillean poet Frank Martinus Arion (1936). The former combined Dutch with his mother-tongue Sranan-Tonga in his poems. The latter, aside from being a writer also engaged in scientific work concentrated on the standardization and preservation of the creole language Papiamento.¹⁶ In writing about his dual lingual identity, author of bestseller *Double Play* (*Dubbelspel*, 1973) Martinus Arion writes the following: „The language which I have borrowed slithers in this heat upon my lips, but I wish it would return to its people – and when your language leaves you, it is not possible to survive anywhere.“¹⁷

Driven by the need to mitigate the existing division between language and culture, Edgar Cairo (1948–2000) went the furthest: based on the creolization of standard Dutch due to the impact of the Sranan linguistic structure, he created his own idiolect, which, according to him, achieves to express authentic Surinamese identity. Although his language variant was rejected, and was even ironically nicknamed *cairoanese*, he nevertheless drew attention to the existence of a Surinamese variant of Dutch.

In the preface to the third edition of his novel *Collective*

naučili da odbijamo i mrzimo. Jer predstavlja mnogobožačku crnačku budalaštinu. Zar nije tako?

Pa, došla su druga vremena. Osim što nas Evropljani sada posmatraju i drugačijim očima a ne samo antropološkim, mnogi od nas se na nov, pozitivan način vezuju za svoju kulturu. Dolazi i do promena, rituala. To samo po sebi nije strašno. Ali: umesto do procvata kulture došlo je do gubitka. Koji će mlađi čovek, ponosan na diskos muziku, umeti da pravi razliku između kra & jeje? Između kra, jeje i djodjo? Između kra, jeje, djodjo i konfo? Koji će mlađi čovek u čitavoj gunguli raznoraznih vračeva, poznavati sve rituale u tančine?

Kao dete svoje kulture srećan sam što ovom knjigom na svoj način mogu pružiti doprinos oslobađanju onih koji žele da pronađu deo sebe. (1976: 6f)

Pored navedenih autora svakako još treba spomenuti Antiljanice Bulija van Leuvena (*Boeli van Leeuwen*, 1922–2007) i Tipa Maruha (*Tip Marugg*, 1923–2006) kao i Surinamke Beu Vianen (*Bea Vianen*, 1935) i Astrid Rumer¹⁸ (*Astrid Roemer*, 1947). Poput svojih kolega, ni one ne mogu da zaobiđu traumatičnost kolonijalnog iskustva:

Na tu misao ga je naveo jedan političar koga je čuo kako govorи o 'uslovjavajućem odnosu' između Holandije i republike Surinam. Što se grublje kolonizator povlači to se žešće kolonizovani narod ujedinjuje. Taj čovek je na javnom času tvrdio da se kolonije mogu inspirisati na samoljublje samo ako ih kolonizator 'sistemske šutira'. Tvrđio je još i to da se takav obrazac može usaditi u svest surinamskog pojedinca i da može doći do izražaja i u privatnom životu. Po tom političaru se radilo o ponavljanju hrišćanskog morala iz doba robovanja: koga volimo njega tlačimo! Masovno napuštanje zemlje i odlazak za Holandiju je simptomatičan: onaj ko se oseća tlačenim grčevito će tragati za naklonosću svog tlačitelja! To je neumitno kretanje klatna između rane i melema: bola i užitka. Ali možda i između rušenja i građenja kao prastare dinamike preživljavanja. Holandija i Surinam vezani su krvavim srodstvom koje se iživljava kroz raznorazne deformacije u politici, kulturi, ličnom životu. (Roemer 1996: 65)

Ove dve surinamske autorke najavile su trend koji će krajem dvadesetog i početkom dvadesetprvog veka obeležiti holandsku književnost Kariba, a to je prevlast žena na književnoj sceni. Autorke poput Mareijke van Mil (*Marijke van Mil*), Marilin Simons (*Marylin Simons*), Elen Ombre (*Ellen Ombre*), Rita Rahman (*Rita Rahman*) i druge daju novog podsticaja književnosti karipskih migranata između jezika i kultura.

Guilt or Famir'man-sani (*Kollektieve schuld, of wel Famir'man-sani*, 1976) Edgar Cairo writes about the acute need for the acceptance and strengthening of his own, Surinamese culture:

As a writer I fight for a different kind of liberation: I fight for the Negro's reconciliation with his own damned culture, the culture that the white's taught us to hate and reject because it was considered idolatrous nigger nonsense. Is it not so?

Well, times have changed. Besides the fact that Europeans look at as differently now, not solely with an anthropological eye, many of us have created a new, more positive link with our culture. There is a change in the rituals as well. That in itself is not necessarily negative. However, instead of cultural growth, there have been losses. Which young, disco-loving person will be able to know the difference between kra and yeje? Between kra, yeje and dyodyo? Between kra, yeje, dyodyo and konfo? Which young man, surrounded by all sorts of medicine men, will be able to know all the rituals in detail?

As a child of my culture I am happy that with this book, in my own way, I will be able to contribute to the liberation of those who want to understand themselves better. (1976:6f)

Apart from the above mentioned authors, one should mention the Antillean *Boeli van Leeuwen* (1922–2007) and Tip Marugg (1923–2006), as well as the Surinamese women writers Bea Vianen (1935) and Astrid Roemer¹⁸ (1947). Like their colleagues, they also, cannot evade the trauma inflicted by the colonial experience:

He was prompted to this conclusion by a politician whom he heard speak about the 'conditional relationship' between the Netherlands and the Republic of Suriname. The more brazenly the colonizer retreats, the more ardently do the colonized people unite. The man claimed in a public gathering that the colonies can be inspired with self-love only if the colonizer 'systematically backlashes' them. He also claimed that such a pattern can be instilled into the consciousness of the Surinamese individual and it can also reflect on his private life. According to the politician, it was a question of the repetition of Christian morality from the era of slavery: we oppress the one's we love? The mass departure for the Netherlands is symptomatic: one who feels suppressed will toil for the affection of his oppressors! It is the inevitable swing of the pendulum between wound and balm: pain and pleasure; but, perhaps, also between demolition and construction as the age old dynamics of survival. The Netherlands and Surinam are connected by a bloody kinship, and it is relieved through the various deformations we come across in politics, culture and

Zaključak

Obojeni stanovnici Kariba ušli su u holandsku književnost ovog područja kao pasivni objekti čija je zlosrećna sADBINA roblja poslužila belim piscima kao literarna inspiracija. Prvi znaci aktivnijeg uticaja bilo je preuzimanje njihovog specifičnog kreolskog govora od strane belih autora radi upečatljivije karakterizacije likova. Prava emancipacija počinje, međutim, tek sa nastankom lokalne obojene elite koja se školuje na holandskom i tako preuzima jezik kolonizatora kao svoje političko oružje i literarno oruđe, ali i kao izvor svoje trajne kulturne rastrzanosti. Naime, sve veća integracija u ekonomski, politički i kulturni život kojim i nakon ukidanja ropstva dominira bela elita istovremeno podstiče potrebu za očuvanjem autohtonih kulturnih obrazaca donetih iz Afrike i Azije. Nakon vekova migracija, sudaranja i stapanja sa evropskim kulturama – ili možda upravo zahvaljujući takvoj istoriji – obojeni pisci Kariba uspeli su da u dvadesetom veku stvore svoj jedinstveni književni izraz na holanskem.

Napomene:

¹ Surinam je svoju nezavisnost stekao 25. novembra 1975. godine, dok Antili sada uživaju poseban status u okviru Kraljevine Holandije.

² Ispravnije bi bilo reći nizozemski s obzirom na to da se radi o standardizovanom jeziku koji se zvanično govori u Kraljevini Holandiji, u Flandriji (severna provincija Kraljevine Belgije) i u Surinamu.

³ Taj procent znatno varira od ostrva do ostrva. Ukupan broj stanovništva, inače, iznosi nepunih 200.000.

⁴ Osnovu čine španski i portugalski jezici, sa znanim uticajem engleskog i holandskog jezika.

⁵ Kod ovog naziva rukovodila sam se holanskim pravopisom koji jasno razlikuje etnonime (pišu se velikim slovom) od naziva za verske, rasne i kulturne zajednice: kreolcima (*creolen*) se, pre svega, nazivaju Surinamci kojima jedan ili više predaka ima afričko poreklo.

⁶ U upotrebi je dvadesetak jezika.

⁷ Godine 2005. Surinam je pristupio Nizozemskoj jezičkoj uniji čiji je član pored Holandije još i Flandrija (severna provincija Belgije).

⁸ On je čitav vel pre slavnog holanskog romanopisa Multatulija ukazivao na sramnu kolonijalnu praksu.

⁹ *Neerlands Hooft- en Wortelsonde*, Leeuwarden, bez godine izdanja, str. 46-49. Svi odlomci u ovom članku (sa izuzetkom teksta Kole Debreta) dati su u prevodu Jelice Novaković-Lopušina.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *De geele Vrouw*, za integralni tekst vidi Voorhoeve i Lichtveld str. 199.

¹² *Een huishoudelyke twist*, za integralni tekst vidi Voorhoeve i Lichtveld str. 193.

¹³ Ova novela je u prevodu Vladimira Novakovića objavljena u godišnjaku *Erazmo* 3/1994.

¹⁴ Prvi holandski guverner Surinama u 17. veku.

¹⁵ Za integralni tekst pesme „Mi višejezični“ (*Wij meertaligen*) vidi Vervoorn str. 21.

¹⁶ Naslov doktora koji je odbranio u Amsterdalu glasio je „Poljubac roba. Zapadnoafrički koren papijamenta.“ (*The Kiss of a Slave. Papiamentu's West-African Connections*).

¹⁷ Objavljeno u časopisu *Avenue literair* novembra 1980.

¹⁸ Odlomak iz njenog romana „Smeli život“ (*Het gewaagde leven*, 1996) objavljen je u prevodu Marije Rac u godišnjaku *Erazmo* 5/1998. Ovaj odlomak je u prevodu JNL.

personal life. (Roemer, 1996: 65)

These two Surinamese writers announced a trend that was to mark Dutch Caribbean literature of the end of the 20th and early 21st century, and it is the predominance of women on the literary scene. Authors such as Marijke van Mil, Marylin Simons, Ellen Ombre, Rita Rahman and others, give new incentive to the literature of Caribbean migrants between language and culture.

Conclusion

The coloured population of the Caribbean entered the Dutch literature of the region as passive actors whose unfortunate destiny (as slaves) was used for the literary inspiration of white writers. The first sign of a more active influence was when white writers started using the specifics of creole speech for the purposes of a more realistic portrayal of their characters. The first emancipation, however, developed with the appearance of a local coloured elite educated in the Dutch language, who employed the language of the coloniser as political weapon and literary tool, but also finding in it the source of its continued inner cultural division. Namely, the integration into economic, political and cultural life, which is dominated by the white elite, even after the abolishment of slavery, encourages at the same time, the development of autochthonous cultural patterns brought from Africa and Asia. Following centuries of migration, collisions and melting with European cultures – or is it thanks to such a history – the 20th century has created the opportunity for coloured writers of the Caribbean to create their own unique literary expression in Dutch.

Notes:

¹ Surinam gained its independence on November 25th 1975, while the Antilles currently enjoy special status as part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

² The term *Netherlandic* would be more correct as reference is being made to the standardised language officially spoken in the Kingdom of Holland, Flanders (the northern province of the Kingdom of Belgium) and in Surinam.

³ The percentage varies significantly from island to island. The overall population, however, does not exceed 200.000

⁴ The Spanish and Portuguese languages form the basis, and there is a strong English and Dutch imprint.

⁵ I based the use of this term on the Dutch language spelling rules that clearly differentiate ethnonymes (written in capital letter), from terms used for religious, racial and cultural groups: creole (*creolen*) is first and foremost used for the Surinamese that have one or more ancestors pertaining to African heritage.

⁶ Twenty languages are in use.

⁷ In 2005 Surinam joined the Dutch Language Union whose members are the Netherlands and Flanders – the northern province of Belgium.

⁸ He referred to the shameless colonial practice a century before the famous Dutch novelist Multatuli.

⁹ *Neerlands Hooft- en Wortelsonde*, Leeuwarden, without a year of publication, pp. 46-49. All excerpts in this article (with the exception of the text by Cole Debrot) are presented as translated by Jelica Novaković-Lopušina

¹⁰ *ibid.*

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Preporučeni internet sajtovi:

- <http://www.dbl.org/letterkunde/suriname/>
<http://www.dbl.org/buitengaats/land.php?id=aruba01>
<http://www.surinamistiek.nl/literatuur/index.htm>

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¹¹ *De geele Vrouw*, refer to http://www.dbl.org/tekst/voor007suri01_01/voor007suri01_01_0002.htm

¹² *Een huishoudelyke twist*, refer to http://www.dbl.org/tekst/voor007suri01_01/voor007suri01_01_0001.htm

¹³ The first Dutch governor of Surinam in the 17th century.

¹⁴ Shrinivasi, 1977:28

¹⁵ For the complete poem *We Multilinguists (Wij meertaligen)* refer to http://www.dbl.org/tekst/verv014anti01_01/verv014anti01_01_0003.htm

¹⁶ The doctoral thesis which he defended in Amsterdam bore the title *The Kiss of a Slave. Papiamentu's West-African Connections*.

¹⁷ Published in the *Avenue literair* magazine, November 1980

¹⁸ Excerpt from her novel *The Master's Bedroom (Het gewaagde leven*, 1996) was published as translated by Marija Rac in the annual *Erazmo* 5/1998. This excerpt is translated (into Serbian: translator's note) by Jelica Novaković-Lopušina .

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Osvrt na prisustvo ADINKRA SIMBOLA U GANI

Apstrakt: Ovaj tekst predstavlja osvrt na prisustvo adinkra simbola u Gani danas*. Od legende o njihovom poreklu i značaju koji su inicijalno imali za dvor Ašanti, prati se širenje njihove upotrebe na skoro sve domene savremenog života u Gani, uključujući i savremenu umetnost. Razmatra se njihova povezanost sa usmenim predanjem, korišćenje simbola u skladu sa inicijalnom funkcijom tkanine adinkra kao tkanine za ispraćaj, kao i promene koje su nastale u samom korpusu simbola, poput proširenja domena njihove upotrebe i uključivanja novih značenja.

Ključne reči: adinkra simboli, adinkra tkanina, narod Ašanti, tradicija i savremenost, Gana

Na aerodromu Kotoko u Akri, putnici koji su tek izašli iz aviona mogu da vide nekoliko upečatljivih ornamenata na fasadi aerodomske zgrade. Čak iako se nisu do tada upoznali sa njima, tokom boravka u Gani naučiće da ih prepoznaju na skoro svakom koraku: značenje simbola *adinkra* danas zalazi u sve domene života.

U Gani, kao i u većini zemalja Afrike, znanje je usmeno prenošeno generacijama. Međutim, pored oralnog predanja, postojali su i različiti sistemi znakova koji su ga evocirali: zapisi u širem smislu reči. Jedan od takvih sistema čine simboli *adinkra*, koji su prvenstveno vezani za vrstu komemorativne tkanine. Istoriski gledano, oni predstavljaju skup likovnih značenjskih elemenata koji su kao osnovna celina ustanovaljeni, prema većini izvora, početkom 19. veka (a vrlo verovatno i nešto ranije)¹ u oblasti Ašanti, koja i danas čini deo savremene države Gane. Od tog vremena do danas, njihov korpus se dopunjavao, a njihovo značenje, iako se nije menjalo na nivou samog piktograma, razvijalo se i variralo je u zavisnosti od konteksta.

Nastanak simbola povezuje se sa legendom, prema kojoj se jednog dana sa neba u krilo kralja Ašanti naroda, ašantehenea (*Asantehene*)², uz grmljavinu i munje, spustila stolica od čistog zlata koja je sadržavala sve osnovne piktograme. Zlatna stolica je nakon tog događaja postala najveća svetinja naroda Ašanti, sedište njihovog

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Reviewing the Presence of the ADINKRA SYMBOLS IN GHANA

Abstract: This text analyses the presence of the adinkra symbols in contemporary Ghana*. From legends of their origin and the significance they initially had at the Ashanti court, the paper also discusses the range of their use in almost all domains of contemporary life in Ghana, including contemporary art. The paper considers the adinkra's link to oral tradition, the use of the symbols on commemorative cloths in accordance with their primary function, and the changes that have occurred, such as the expansion of the symbols' use and their new meanings.

Key words: adinkra symbols, adinkra cloth, the Ashanti people, tradition and modernity, Ghana

Upon reaching Kotoko airport in Accra, travellers come across several distinct ornaments on the airport building. Even if they have previously been unacquainted with them, they will start recognising them on every step during their stay: the importance of the *adinkra* symbol in Ghana permeates all domains of life.

In Ghana, as is the practice in most African countries, knowledge is orally transmitted from generation to generation. However, there were different sign systems that also evoked traditional knowledge apart from the oral and these were different writings in the broadest sense of the term. One such sign system is composed of the *adinkra* symbols, which were primarily linked to a type of commemorative cloth. Historically speaking, the *adinkra* symbols are a set of graphic signs whose basic elements were, according to most sources, created at the beginning of the 19th century (and most probably somewhat earlier)¹ in the Ashanti region, which is a part of the modern state, Ghana. From that time to the present, new symbols have continually been added to the primary corpus of symbols, and their meaning, even if remaining unchanged on the level of pictogram, has developed new and varied meanings depending on the context of use.

The emergence of the symbol is linked to a legend according to which, one day, a stool of pure gold landed on the lap of the king Ashantehene, (*Asantehene*)² containing the initial set of pictograms. This event was accompanied

duha, vere i zajedništva³. Ona je bila pažljivo čuvana, sve dok se na čelu suparničkog naroda Denkira (*Denkyira*) nije pojavio kralj Adinkra, kojem je zamalo uspelo da je preotme: međutim, bio je poražen u borbi sa *ašante-heneom*.

Nakon tog događaja, u znak oprاشtanja od svog vladara, Adinkrini podanici su načinili pečatiranjem ukrašenu tkaninu, koju su nazvali imenom poraženog kralja. Pobednici Ašanti su je, pak, preuzeli, zajedno sa njenom ulogom – kao odeće za ispraćaj pokojnika, koju su od tog vremena nosili pripadnici dvora i drugi velikodostojnjci.

Tkanine, i to ne samo kod naroda grupe Akan, kojoj pripada narod Ašanti, već i kod velikog broja etničkih grupa zapadne, centralne pa i drugih oblasti Afrike, imaju veoma značajno mesto. Neretko je tkanina povezana sa jezikom (*adinkra*, Ašanti, Gana), tajnim znanjem (*bogolanfini*, Bamana, Mali), mudrošću i precima (*odeća Hogona*, Dogon, Mali), komunikacijom sa duhovima (*filafani*, Senufo, Obala Slonovače), i sl. Kod naroda Dogon u Maliju lingvistički se povezuju „izgovorena reč“ i „izatkana tkanina“ (Arandelović Lazić 1986:7). Kod većine pomenutih naroda tkanina je bila toliko cenjena da se nikad nije otuđivala. Na drugim mestima, ona je mogla biti procenjena, pa čak imati i donekle fiksnu vrednost, i stoga je služila kao platežno sredstvo (*kuba tkanina*, Kuba, DR Kongo).

Tkanina *adinkra*, predmet koji je nastao kao simbol oplakivanja, nošen je u okrilju dvora. Ašanti su se veoma pročuli zbog svog bogatstva, koje su dugovali velikim nalazištima zlata u njihovom regionu. *Kralj* je imao monopol nad zlatom, što je koristio da svoje okruženje učini ovapločenjem luksuza: mnoštvo ukrasa, fascinantne i skupe tkanine dvorjana, blještav nakit, čak i koža pripadnika kraljevske porodice premazana zlatnim prahom izazivali su divljenje.

Usled ovog konteksta namernog potenciranja raskoši, i *adinkra* biva percipirana kao predmet luksusa i bogatstva, visoko cenjeno vlasništvo. Iako je upotreba ove tkanine u početku bila ograničena na dvorjane i dvorske prilike, nije prošlo mnogo pre nego što je ona postala predmet želje i van okvira dvorske prakse. Kada se razvila trgovina sa Britancima, što je dovelo do bogaćenja slojeva koji više nisu pripadali isključivo aristokratiji, novi bogataši težili su da imitiraju obrasce koje su već poznavali. Na taj način počinje širenje upotrebe nekada ekskluzivnih predmeta, među njima i tkanine *adinkra*.

Sami piktogrami predstavljali su grafičku stilizaciju predmeta na kojem se njihov simbolizam zasniva. U kulturi Ašanti često su predmeti od kulturnog i statusnog značaja (poput stolica čiji dizajn je zavisio od položaja osobe, kompleta tegova za merenje zlatnog praha koji su

by lightning and thunder, and from that time on, the golden stool was considered to be the most sacred of all objects of the Ashanti people – the resting place of their spirit, belief and unity³. It was guarded with utmost care until the appearance of king Adinkra, leader of the rival peoples *Denkyira*, who almost managed to steal it; he was, however, beaten in combat by the victorious Ashantehene.

Following these events, as a sign of farewell from their king, Adinkra's subjects made a stamped, decorative cloth, which they named after the defeated king. In time, the victors, the Ashanti people, claimed it along with its role: a form of clothing worn by members of the court and dignitaries to bid the deceased farewell.

Cloths are extremely important not solely among the Akan groups of people, to which the Ashanti people belong, but also among a number of other ethnic groups of western, central and other regions of Africa. Very often the cloth is linked to language (the *adinkra*, Ashanti, Ghana), sacred knowledge (the *bogolanfini*, Bamana, Mali), to wisdom and the ancestors (the attire of the *Hogon*, Dogon, Mali), spirit communication (the *filafani cloth*, Senufo, Ivory Coast), etc. Among the Dogon people in Mali the “spoken word” and “woven cloth” are linguistically closely connected“ (Arandelović Lazić 1986: 7). Among most of the above mentioned peoples, the fabric itself was valued to such an extent that it was never discarded. In certain places its value was determined and fixed prices were sometimes set making it possible to, accordingly, use it as currency (the *kuba cloth*, Kuba, DR Congo).

Word travelled far of the Ashanti peoples' wealth owing to their gold deposits. The king held monopoly over the gold and he used it to create lavish surroundings: numerous decorations, fascinating and expensive attire for members of the court, shimmering jewellery – even the gold dust covered skin of the royal family stirred admiration.

Placed in such a context that emphasised splendour, the *adinkra* was also perceived as an object of luxury and wealth – a highly valued possession. Besides the fact that the cloth was initially used by the members of the court on royal occasions, it did not take long for it to become an object of desire and in demand outside the royal court setting. The advance of trade with the British brought about the emergence of a wealthy, not necessarily aristocratic fraction that was prone to imitating certain set patterns of behaviour of the upper classes. This meant that once exclusive objects and among them the *adinkra* cloth, started to be used by a wider public.

The pictograms represented the graphic stylisation of objects which formed the basis of their symbolic meaning. It is characteristic to Ashanti culture that objects

se nasleđivali u porodici, određenih insignija kralja i dvorjana poput drški mačeva, štapova kraljevih govornika, vrhova ceremonijalnih suncobrana i sl.) bili ukrašeni simbolima koji asociraju na određenu izreku, anegdotu, legendu, dok su istovremeno i sami predstavljeni simbol. Ova isprepletenost simbolizama tvorila je gusto tkanje koje se protezalo od verbalne ravni do dvodimenzionalnog grafički stilizovanog znaka. Naime, istu asocijaciju mogli su da proizvedu usmeno predanje, njegova realistična likovna predstava, izdvojen najupečatljiviji predmet iz datog predanja, kao i njegov dvodimenzionalni prikaz i iz njega grafički izveden piktogram, koji je mogao da jasno podseća na polazišni predmet, ili pak da stilizacijom bude doveden do naizgled apstraktнog oblika.

Iako prema određenim izvorima postoje veze između ikonografije *adinkra* i uticaja koji su došli sa severa, bez obzira na originalno izvorište znakova, Ašanti su ih, prihvativši ih, razvili u okviru svoje umetnosti, a značenja su duboko utemeljena upravo u usmenom predanju i istoriji naroda Akan.

Svaka tkanina se po narudžbini ručno pečatirala, što su obično činili muškarci – majstori ili njihovi šegrti. Pravljenje boje za pečatiranje, koja je bila načinjena od kore drveta *badie*, podrazumevalo je proces tokom kojeg se kora kuvala sa zgurom danima, u velikim kazanima, sve dok od početne količine tečnosti ne bi ostao samo deseti deo. Nakon pečatiranja, ponekad je bilo potrebno i godinu dana sušenja, pre nego što bi komad platna mogao biti nošen. Izbor upotrebljenih motiva i njihov raspored odražavalji su ličnost naručioca, a pre svega poruku kojom se on predstavlja u svojoj sredini.

Pojava čoveka ili žene obučenih u tkaninu sa određenim značenjem davala je osnovu za određivanje registra u kojem se komunikacija odvija. Prema simbolima, prema boji tkanine, prema ukrasima i dodacima, mogao je da se zaključi status osobe (društveni, politički, ekonomski, bračni), prilika za koju se obukla (svakodnevna, festivna, tugovanje ili slavljenje), kao i funkcija u tom kontekstu (važnost, odnosno stepen uključenosti u specifičan događaj).

Tkanina *adinkra* postaje univerzalna svečana odora koju, kao togu prebačenu preko levog ramena nose muškarci, a obmotanu oko tela i uvezanu iznad grudi nose žene. Shodno prilici, za ispraćaj će se upotrebljavati *adinkra* podloge crveno, braon, crno, a za radosne događaje i slavlja belo, žuto, zeleno, plavo, dok će boja ornamenata biti uvek sjajno crna. Pre pečatiranja, posebnom alatkom nalik afričkom češlju iscrtava se precizna mreža linija koje odvajaju polja. Na jednoj tkanini može se naći jedan ili nekoliko simbola, ali se u okviru iscrtanog polja uvek ponavlja samo jedan tip.

Među najpoznatijim *adinkra* simbolima nalaze se i

of cultural and status importance (such as stools that bore designs depending on the owner's position, sets of weights used for measuring gold inherited within the family, certain royal and court insignia such as sword handles, royal orator staffs, the tops of ceremonial umbrellas, etc.) were often decorated with symbols, which were associated to certain proverbs, anecdotes, legends, while at the same time, being symbols themselves. The emergence of different symbolic meanings created a web of thick weaving that spread from the verbal sphere, to the two-dimensional, graphically stylised sign. Namely, the same association could be generated by the spoken word, or its realistic visual expression, or perhaps the most distinct object from the corpus of traditional knowledge, as well as from its two-dimensional graphical representation and the graphic pictogram extracted from it, which could either bare a strong resemblance to its associative material object, or be an abstract version of it.

Even though according to some sources there are links between the *adinkra* iconography and influences that came from the north, and regardless of the original source of the characters, the Ashanti, by accepting them, developed them in the sphere of their own art, and the meanings are deeply rooted in the oral tradition and history of the Akan people.

Each cloth was hand-stamped by order, mostly by men who were masters of craft and by their apprentices. The colour preparation was a time consuming process and required the *badie* tree bark with added cinder to be cooked for days in massive pots, until only the tenth of the overall liquid was left. After stamping, it often took up to a year to dry the cloth before it could actually be worn. The choice of motifs and their order reflected the personality of the person that placed the order, and particularly the message he wished communicate to his surroundings.

The appearance of a man or woman dressed in a cloth that carried particular meaning formed the basic communication register. According to the symbols, colour, decorations and cloth's accessories, it was possible to discern the status of a person (social, political, economical, marital), the occasion (everyday, festive, mourning, or ceremonial), as well as the function in the framework of the context (importance, or rather the level of participatory inclusion in a specific occasion).

The *adinkra* cloth became a form of universal ceremonial attire, which was worn toga-style by men over their left shoulder, and wrapped around the waist and tied above the chest by women. Depending on the occasion, a red, brown, or black background was used for the departed, and a white, yellow, green, or blue background for a festive occasion; the colour of the ornaments was always a shiny black. Before stamping, an intricate web of lines that created separate fields, was drawn with a tool

adinkrahene – „**Kralj adinkra simbola**“, oznaka veličine, harizme i liderstva; *nsoromma* – zvezda, „dete nebesa“, podsetnik da Bog kao otac bđije nad svim ljudima; *sankofa* – „Osvrni se i pogledaj“, znak za učenje na prošlim greškama; *denkyem* – krokodil, simbol adaptabilnosti: „Krokodil živi u vodi, ali udiše vazduh, pokazujući sposobnost da se prilagodi okolnostima.“; *funtunfunefu-denkyemfunefu* – „Sijamski krokodili“, oznaka demokratije i jedinstva: „Sijamski krokodili dele jedan stomak, a svadaju se oko hrane.“ Ovaj popularni motiv je podsetnik da je svađa unutar zajednice škodljiva za sve koji se u to upuste. *Osram ne nsoromma*, „Mesec i Zvezda“, predstava je ljubavi, vernosti, harmonije u vezi između žene i muškarca; poslovica kaže: „*Kyekye pe aware!*: „Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav u braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati“. *Owoo atwede* – „merdevine smrti“, simbol je smrtnosti, i podsetnik na promenljivu prirodu postojanja u ovom svetu, kao i značaja pravičnosti kroz koju duša, prema verovanju, zaslužuje večni život nakon smrti.

Međutim, opseg znakova širio se sa upoznavanjem novih elemenata od značaja za život naroda. Tako se, između ostalog, među piktogramima pojavljuje puška, zatim abeceda u vidu kompleksnog piktograma sastavljenog iz slova; jedan od nedavno uvršćenih motiva jeste i logo proizvođača automobila Mercedes-Benz, kao oznake željenog luksuza i elegancije (Boatema 2008: 172).

Ukrasi na aerodromskoj zgradi samo su jedan primer sve češće upotrebe simbola *adinkra* u arhitekturi, odnosno u dekoraciji fasada. Postoji nekoliko primera tradicionalne likovne kulture u Africi gde se dezeni sa zidova i fasada ponavljam na tkaninama, ili obratno (pr. *Ndebele*, Južna Afrika; *Guransi*, Gana; *Hausa*, Nigerija, i sl.). Kod naroda Ašanti, dvor kralja u Kumasiu, gradu čija osnovna urbana organizacija potiče još iz 16. veka, bio je ukrašen (o čemu svedoče crteži Baudića, iz 1817. godine) ornamentima *adinkra*. U Kumasiu postoji replika ovog dvora, takozvani *Premeh Memorial*, nazvan prema kralju Prempehu I. Palata aktuelnog kralja, Otumfu Nana Osei Tutu II, čiji je jedan deo uređen kao muzej, takođe unutrašnjim dvorištem delimično evocira ovakvu gradnju, ali se *adinkra* simboli, velikih dimenzija, ne nalaze na fasadi, već na dugačkoj metalnoj ogradi koja opasuje ceo kompleks.

Danas *adinkra* simbola ima svuda: na šoljama, privescima, *mousepad*-ovima, podmetačima za tanjire, ambalažama, vizit-kartama i dr. Većina restorana na otvorenom ima baštenske tipske stolice od livene plastike, čiji su nasloni izumbani tako da pun deo predstavlja *adinkra denjame* (*gyenyame*) motiv. On nije zvanični državni simbol Gane, ali je toliko rasprostranjen da se može okarakterisati kao svojevrsni amblem koji kod

similar to the African-comb. One cloth could have one or several symbols, but the delineated field to stamp on always contained solely one type of symbol.

Among the most common *adinkra* symbols are the *adinkrahene* – “the king of adinkra symbols”, a sign of grandeur, charisma and leadership; *nsoromma* – star, “child of the heavens”, a reminder that God, like a father, watches over its people; *sankofa* – “look back and observe”, a sign that one should learn from passed mistakes; *denkyem* – crocodile, symbol of adaptation: “the crocodile lives in water, but breathes air, revealing its capability to adjust to circumstances”; *funtunfunefu-denkyemfunefu* – “Siamese crocodile”, a sign of democracy and unity: “The Siamese crocodiles share a stomach, but quarrel over food”. This popular motif is a reminder of the destructive aspects of disagreement inside the community. *Osram ne nsoromma* – “The Moon and Star”, is the image of love, fidelity, loyalty, harmony in the relationship between man and woman; as the saying goes: „*Kyekye pe aware!*“ or “The morning star cultivates deep love in its marriage. It remains in the heavens, awaiting its husband, the Moon's return”. *Owoo atwede* – “ladders of death”, is the symbol of mortality and a reminder of the changing nature of existence in this world, as well as righteousness according to which, as it is believed, the soul deserves eternal life after death.

However, the array of signs has widened with the acquirement of new elements that are of importance in the life of the people. This is what, for example, brought about the appearance of the rifle pictogram, then also the alphabet in the form of complex pictogram composed of letters; one of the newly founded motifs is the car manufacturer Mercedes-Benz logo, which stands as a sign of luxury and elegance (Boatema 2008: 172).

Decorations on the airport building are just one example of the pervading use of the *adinkra* symbol in architecture, i.e. façade embellishment. There are several examples in the field of traditional graphic culture in Africa that replicate wall and facade designs on cloths, and vice versa (case in point, among the *Ndebele*, in South Africa, the *Guransi* in Ghana, *Hausa* in Nigeria, etc.). Among the Ashanti, the royal palace in Kumasi – the city that has a basic urbanisation structure dating the 16th century – was decorated (as confirmed by Baudich's paintings from 1817) with *adinkra* ornaments. In Kumasi there is a replica of this palace, the so-called *Premeh Memorial* named after king Prempeh I. The inner yard of the palace of the current Otumfu Nana Osei Tutu II, which has a space that serves as museum, evokes this architecture, however, the oversized *adinkra* symbol is not on the facade, rather it is to be found on the long metal

naroda Gane budi ponos na njihovu državu. *Denjame* je dobio različite interpretacije, zavisno od konteksta, a samo ime „*Gye Nyame*“ znači: „bog je jedan“.⁴

Razvoj turizma, i potrebe tržišta suvenira koje ga prati, uvode širok izbor artikala sa predstavama koje svojim grafizmom privlače kupce. Industrija suvenira učinila je da oznake koje su nekad bile kraljevski prerogativ, počnu da krase letnje košulje, svečane haljine za prilike koje više nisu određene tradicionalnom kulturom, kao i druge tekstilne komade poput stolnjaka, podmetača isl.

Simbole *adinkra* koriste u svom radu i savremenim umetnicima. Imala sam priliku da posetim odsek keramike na Univerzitetu u Kumasiu (KNUST – Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology), i da vidim radevine studenata: skoro svi su nosili neku reminiscenciju na *adinkra* sistem znakova. Jedan od prvih umetnika koji su počeli da rade u tom pravcu, bio je njihov profesor, Džejms Kvame Amoa (James Kwame Amoa). Njegovi radevi nalaze se i u Kraljevskoj palati u Kumasiu, gde su postavljeni, uz mnoge druge predmete umetnosti i bogatstva, u čast kralja. Kod Kvame Amoea, *adinkra* simboli, pošto su naslikani uz pomoć kista, dobijaju kvalitet japanskih ideograma ili kineskih karaktera: imaju slobodu poteza koja uglavnom ne postoji pri izradi pečatiranjem. Oslikani su na čupovima, posudama, i drugim vrtenim formama većih dimenzija.

Jedan drugi savremeni ganski umetnik, Kvesi Owusu-Ankomah (Kwesi Owusu-Ankomah), uvodi motive *adinkra* u svoje delo u okviru šireg preispitivanja funkcionalnosti čoveka u svetu prepunom kodova. Na slikama velikih dimenzija, skup znakova dočaran je grafički, poput crnih pečata na beloj podlozi, baš kao što izgleda bela svečana *adinkra*, a čovek je predstavljen kao naizgled jedva vidljiva promena energetskog polja u sredini u kojoj se kreće. Isti simboli koji se prostiru preko celog platna nastavljaju se i unutar kontura koje okrivaju čoveka, tek jedva primetno izmenjeni, kao da gledamo kroz drugu dioptriju. Međutim, pored znakova preuzetih iz tradicije naroda Ašanti, primećujemo i druge znake koji pripadaju sumi vizuelnog, grafičkog aparata kojim danas čovek manje ili više vlada, i uz pomoć kojeg prima i šalje vizuelne poruke.

Uprkos velikoj popularnosti novih vidova upotrebe ovih simbola, *adinkra* tkanina u svom tradicionalnom smislu nije nestala. Svake subote i četvrtka (tokom mog boravka u Gani, krajem januara/početkom februara 2007. godine) mogli su se videti ljudi obučeni u neku od raznih vrsta *adinkra* tkanina, kako idu da prisustvuju sahrani. Sahrane su važan društveni događaj u Gani, a broj ljudi koji dolaze smatra se pokazateljem pokojnikovog značaja u zajednici.

Tkanine za sahranu muškarci i dalje nose kao toge,

fence that encompasses the complex.

Today the *adinkra* symbol can be found almost everywhere: on mugs, key-chains, mouse-pads, place mats, packaging, business cards, etc. Most open-air restaurants have typical plastic garden chairs with the *adinkra gyenyame* symbol on the chair's back. It is not the official symbol of Ghana, but it is so widespread that it can be considered the country's emblem that stirs national pride among the peoples of Ghana. *Gyenyame* has many interpretations, depending on the context it appears in, and the term “*Gye Nyame*“ stands for: “Except for God”.⁴

The flowering of tourism and the impending market demand for souvenirs, has introduced an assortment of items that lure buyers. The souvenir industry has made it possible for signs that were once a royal prerogative, to appear on summer shirts, evening gowns that have no basis in traditional culture, as well as other textile products such as table cloths, place mats, etc.

Adinkra symbols also appear in the works of contemporary artist. I had the opportunity to visit the ceramics department at the University in Kumasi (KNUST – The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology) and encounter the works of students: almost all alluded in one way or the other, to the *adinkra* sign system. One of the first artists that started creating under that influence was the student's teacher professor James Kwame Amoa. His works are housed in the royal palace in Kumasi where they are placed alongside other objects of art and prosperity honouring the king. In the works of Kwame Amoa, the *adinkra* symbols are drawn with a painter's brush which relates the art pieces to Japanese ideograms, or Chinese characters: they reveal the freedom of the brushstroke which is not present when the signs are stamped on. They are painted onto pots, vessels and other large-scale ceramic forms.

Another contemporary Ghanaian artist, Kwesi Owusu-Ankomah introduces the *adinkra* motifs in his art in the context of his wider deliberation of the functioning of man in a code-saturated world. On large-scale paintings, a set of signs is graphically presented in the form of black stamps on white background which is very similar to the festive *adinkra*; the human figure is introduced as a barely visible change in the energetic field which it appears in. The same symbols that are spread across the canvas continue across the contours of the delineated figure, which is barely transformed as if there has occurred a slight change the observer's optic-lenses. However, aside from the signs originating the Ashanti tradition we recognise other signs that add to the sum of the visual, graphic apparatus, more or less governed today by man, which aid the processing and communication of visual

mada se mogu sresti obučeni i u košulje, odnosno tunike sašivene od industrijskog tekstila koji preuzima ulogu adinkre. Tradicionalne pečatirane adinkre proizvode se u okolini Kumasijsa, a mogu se videti izložene na prodaju i na drugim mestima (npr. pored puta na ulazu u Akru, prebačene preko stalka). Na pijacama mogu se naći industrijski proizvedena platna namenjena za sahrane, od kojih neka likovno podsećaju na izvorne adinkre, dok su neka već prilično udaljena od osnovnog dizajna, i predstavljaju veoma zanimljive reljefne tekstile, u kombinaciji mat i sjajne crne, ili pak crne i braon boje.

U drugom festivnom kontekstu, jednom prilikom, videla sam u selu blizu Kumasijsa skup od pedesetak ljudi koji su slavili, i svi su bili obučeni u bele adinkre – nošene kao toge, obmotane oko grudi, ili sašivene u trodelne komplete za žene (duga suknja, gornji deo koji je skrojen tako da vizuelno izdužuje figuru, i treći deo koji je veštobratno oklopljen sa „cvetom“). Rečeno mi je da se radi o slavlju povodom rođenja.

U slučaju adinkra simbola ne možemo govoriti o tradiciji i savremenosti kao striktno odvojenim ravnima. Oni i danas zadržavaju svoju izvornu namenu, ali pritom preuzimaju i brojna druga značenja. Istovremeno funkcionišu u tradicionalnom kontekstu, u kojem se značenja ne menjaju, kao ni primarna upotreba, zatim u savremenom popularnom kontekstu, u kojem motivi podležu beskrajnim modifikacijama izvedenim iz upotrebe, pa se značenja prostiru od amblemskog, preko amuletskog do dekorativnog, sve do savremene umetnosti u kojoj se promišlja njihova koegzistencija sa drugim opštim oznakama.

Uspeh simbola adinkra danas, i njihove sve veće rasprostranjenosti, može se, s jedne strane, pripisati uporištu u tradicionalnom vrednosnom sistemu, i njihovoj upotrebljivosti kao likovnog simboličkog jezika, veoma jasno definisanog na nivou piktograma. Međutim, neobična likovna snaga i privlačnost njihovog grafizma, kao i iznenađujuća savremenost dizajna, ono je što omogućava da se oni tako lako uklope u aktuelne likovne obrasce.

messages.

Regardless the popularity of employing new ways of adinkra symbolic use, the adinkra cloth has not disappeared in its traditional use. Every Saturday and Thursday (as witnessed during my stay in Ghana at the end of January, beginning of February 2007) one could encounter ordinary people dressed in one of the many kinds of adinkra cloth, on their way to a funeral. Funerals are important social occasions in Ghana and the number of people that participate are considered a sign of the deceased person's importance in the community.

Men still wear funeral attire as toga, although they also wear shirts, i.e. tunics made of industrial textile that have taken over the place of the adinkra. The traditionally stamped adinkras are made in the Kumasi area and can be seen sold in other places (for example, along the road entering Accra, placed across stands). Industrially produced fabrics for funerals can be found in markets, and some of them graphically resemble traditional adinkras, while others that have barely any resemblance to the initial design, are examples of very interesting relief textiles in a combination of mate and shiny black, or black and brown.

In another, festive context, on occasion, I witnessed in a village not far from Kumasi, a gathering of about fifty people that were celebrating, dressed in white adinkras – worn as togas, wrapped around the chest, or sown as a three-partite costume for women (long skirt, a top designed to elongate the figure, and the third part artfully wrapped around the head, creating a flower-turban. I was told that the festivity was regarding the birth of a child.

It is not possible to debate tradition and modernity as strictly separate categories in the case of the adinkra symbol. They are employed as was initially intended, but at the same time they have acquired numerous other meanings. They simultaneously function in the traditional context, with unchanged meaning and use, and in the contemporary popular context in which the symbols endure endless modifications which are the result of their new uses, their meaning spreading from that of an emblem, or amulet, to the decorative, finally reaching contemporary art where they are continually reinterpreted co-existing with other, commonly accepted signs.

The popularity of the adinkra symbol today and its widespread use can, on the one hand, be explained by their anchorage in the tradition-based system of values and their use as a symbolic, graphic language, clearly defined on the pictographic level. However, the unusual graphic power and generally attractive graphics, alongside their surprisingly contemporary design is what allows them to fit in so easily into current patterns of visual expression.

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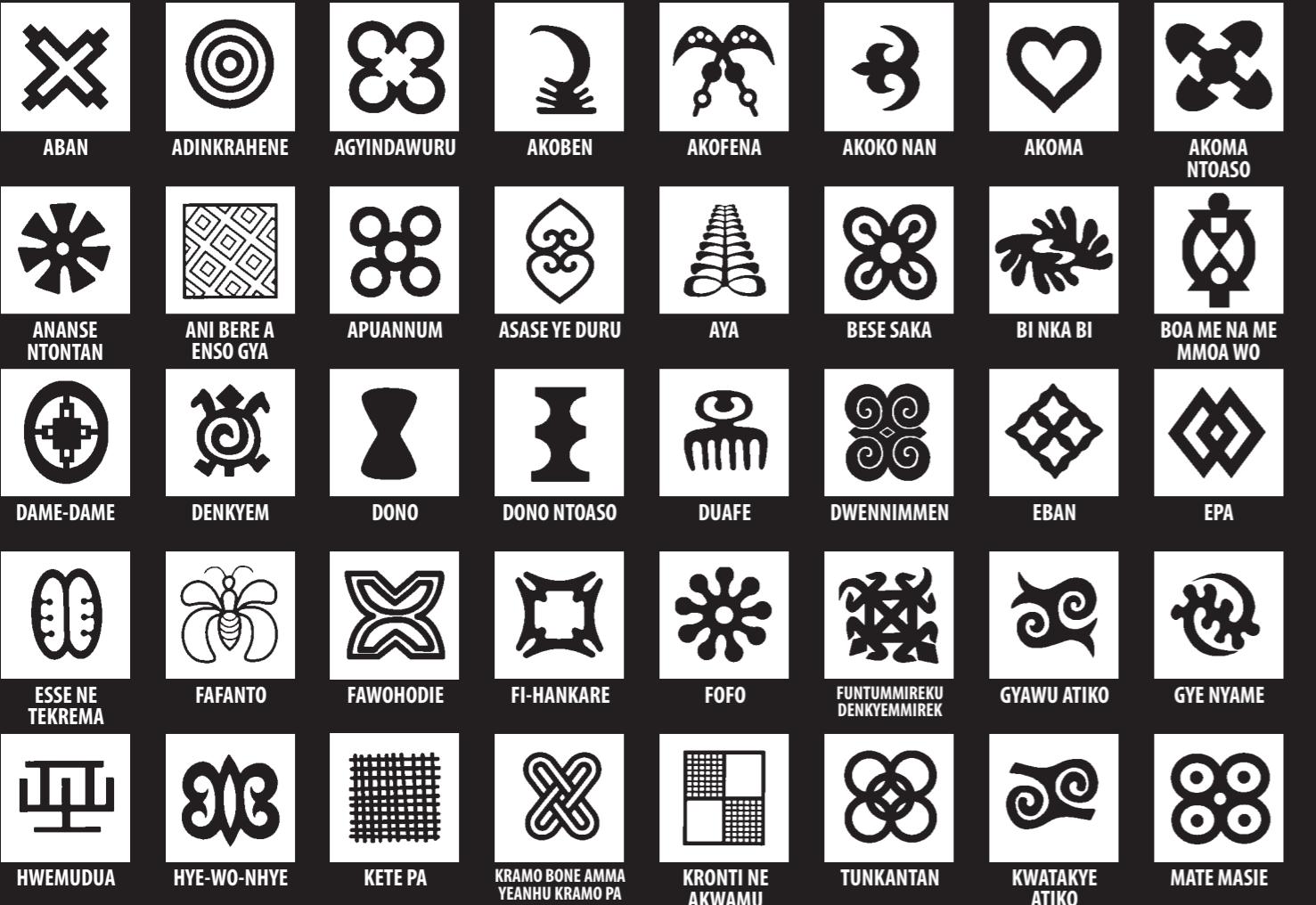
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PRILOG: ADINKRA SIMBOLI I NIJHOVA ZNAČENJA	medusobno grizu repove
BOA ME NA ME MMOA WO	BOA ME NA ME MMOA WO
<i>Pomozi mi i dozvoli da ti pomognem</i>	<i>Simbol saradnje i međuzavisnosti</i>
DAME-DAME	DAME-DAME
<i>Društvena igra</i>	<i>Simbol inteligencije i ingenioznosti</i>
ADINKRAHENE	ADINKRAHENE
<i>Kralj adinkra simbola</i>	<i>The King of the Adinkra Symbols</i>
AGYINDAWURU	AGYINDAWURU
<i>Simbol vernosti i dužnosti</i>	<i>Symbol of fidelity and duty</i>
AKOBEN	AKOBEN
<i>Ratni rog</i>	<i>War Horn</i>
<i>Simbol spremnosti na akciju</i>	<i>Symbol of readiness for action</i>
AKOFENA	AKOFENA
<i>Ratni mač</i>	<i>War Sword</i>
<i>Simbol države, autoriteta, hrabrosti i herojskog</i>	<i>Symbol of intelligence and ingenuity</i>
AKOKO NAN	AKOKO NAN
<i>Noga kokoške. Kokoška gazi po piliciima, ali ih ne ubije</i>	<i>Symbol of the state, authority, courage and bravery</i>
<i>Simbol roditeljstva i discipline</i>	<i>Symbol of parenthood and discipline</i>
AKOMA	AKOMA
<i>Srce</i>	<i>Heart</i>
<i>Simbol ljubavi, ali i strpljenja i tolerancije</i>	<i>Symbol of love, but also patience and tolerance</i>
AKOMA NTOASO	AKOMA NTOASO
<i>Povezana srca</i>	<i>Joined Harts</i>
<i>Simbol jedinstva, razumevanja i sloga</i>	<i>Symbol of unity, understanding and harmony</i>
ANANSE NTONTAN	ANANSE NTONTAN
<i>Paukova mreža</i>	<i>Spider Web</i>
<i>Simbol mudrosti, kreativnosti</i>	<i>Symbol of wisdom and creativity</i>
ANI BERE A ENSO GYA	ANI BERE A ENSO GYA
<i>Simbol samokontrole i discipline</i>	<i>Symbol of self-control and discipline</i>
APUANNUM	APUANNUM
<i>Pet pramenova kose</i>	<i>Five Strands of Hair</i>
<i>Simbol veštine ili položaja sveštenice, na čiju frizuru simbol podseća. Odanost cilju i pozivu</i>	<i>Symbol of craft or position of the priestess, whose hairstyle the symbol resembles; loyalty to cause and calling.</i>
ASASE YE DURU	ASASE YE DURU
<i>Zemlja ima težinu</i>	<i>The Teeth and the Tongue</i>
<i>Simbol providenja i božanskog značaja Majke Zemlje u održanju života</i>	<i>The teeth and the tongue may come into conflict, but they need to work together.</i>
AYA	AYA
<i>Paprat</i>	<i>Fence</i>
<i>Simbol izdržljivosti, snalažljivosti, očuvanja i nezavisnosti</i>	<i>Symbol of love and security</i>
BESE SAKA	BESE SAKA
<i>Vreća kola oraha</i>	<i>Handcuffs</i>
<i>Simbol sticanja, moći, obilja, zajedništva i jedinstva</i>	<i>Symbol of law and justice, slavery and captivity</i>
BI NKA BI	BI NKA BI
<i>Niko nikog ne treba da grize</i>	<i>Ene obre na enam: Independence carries responsibility.</i>
<i>Simbol mira i harmonije (predstavlja dve ribe koje</i>	<i>House and plot of land</i>
	<i>Symbol of brotherhood and solidarity, security.</i>
FUNTUMMIREKU-DENKYEMIREKU	FOFO
<i>Sijamski krokodili</i>	<i>Heather</i>
<i>Simbol demokratije i jedinstva: imaju jedan stomak, a tuku se</i>	<i>Symbol of endurance, resourcefulness, conservation and independence.</i>
BESE SAKA	BESE SAKA
<i>Sack of Cola Nuts</i>	<i>Symbol of affluence, power,</i>

APPENDIX: THE ADINKRA SYMBOLS AND THEIR MEANINGS

ABAN	abundance, togetherness and unity
BI NKA BI	<i>No one should bite the other</i> Symbol of peace and harmony (the image is based on two fish biting each other tails).
BOA ME NA ME MMOA WO	<i>Help me and let me help you</i> Symbol of cooperation and interdependence
ADINKRAHENE	(name of a board game)
AGYINDAWURU	Symbol of fidelity and duty
DAME-DAME	Symbol of strength and authority
AKOBEN	Symbol of intelligence and ingenuity
AKOFENA	Symbol of adaptability
AKOKO NAN	<i>Crocodile: it lives in the water, yet breathes the air</i>
AKOMA	Symbol of good will
AKOMA NTOASO	Symbol unity and harmony
DUAFFE	Symbol of beauty, femininity, cleanliness, consideration, patience, love and attention
DWENNIMMEN	<i>Ram's Horns</i> Symbol of humility and strength, wisdom and learning
EBAN	<i>Fence</i> Symbol of love and security
EPA	<i>Handcuffs</i> Symbol of law and justice, slavery and captivity
ANANSE NTONTAN	<i>The Teeth and the Tongue</i> The teeth and the tongue may come into conflict, but they need to work together.
FI-HANKARE	<i>Heather</i> Symbol of growth, friendship and independence.
FOFO	Symbol of gentleness and kindness
FAWOHODIE	Ene obre na enam: Independence carries responsibility.
APUANNUM	<i>House and plot of land</i> Symbol of brotherhood and solidarity, security.
ASASE YE DURU	<i>Heather</i> Symbol of endurance, resourcefulness, conservation and independence.
AYA	<i>Heather</i> Symbol of affluence, power,

Osvrt na prisustvo adinkra simbola u Gani



Reviewing the Presence of the Adinkra Symbols in Ghana

oko hrane

GYAWU ATIKO

Simbol hrabrosti, neustrašivosti i vrednosti

GYE NYAME

Samo Bog
Simbol svemoći Boga

HWEMUDUA

Štap za merenje
Simbol ispitivanja i kontrole kvaliteta, takođe simbol izuzetnosti

HYE-WO-NHYE

Onaj koji ne gori
Sveštenik hoda po vatri, a ne izgori stopala
Simbol izdržljivosti, čvrstine

KETE PA

Dobar krevet
Simbol dobrog braka

KRAMO BONE AMMA YEANHU

KRAMO PA

Simbol upozorenja protiv hipokrizije

KRONTI NE AKWAMU

Simbol demokratije i oslonca
KUNTUNKANTAN

Naduvana ekstravagancija
Simbol upozorenja protiv egoizma i arrogancije

KWATAKYE ATIKO

Frizura Asante ratnog zapovednika
Simbol hrabrosti i vrednosti

MATE MASIE

Ono što čujem, zadržim ili Razumem
Simbol mudrosti, znanja

ME WARE WO

Venčaću se s tobom
Simbol posvećenosti i očuvanja, od izraza Niko ne žuri da smeša beton da bi sagradio kuću braka

MFRAMADAN

Kuća otporna na vetrove
Simbol jačine i spremnosti da se suoči sa životnim izazovima

MUSUYIDEE

Onaj koji uklanja zlu kob
Simbol svetosti i duhovne snage

MMARA KRADO

Simbol pravde i autoriteta

MMERE DANE

Vremena se menjaju
Simbol promene, životne dinamike

MPATAPO

Cvor pomirenja

NEA ONNIM NO SUA A, OHU

Onaj ko ne zna, može da nauči
Simbol obrazovanja, znanja, i neprekidne potrage za njim

NEA OPE SE OBEDI HENE

Daakye no, firi ase sue som ansa:
Onaj ko želi da bude kralj, mora prvo da nauči da služi

NKONSONKONSON

Karika
Simbol bratstva, saradnje

NKURUMA KESEE

Simbol nadmoćnosti
NKYIMU

Crtež na tkanini koji odeljuje polja
Simbol veštine i preciznosti

NKYINKYIN

Krivudanje
Simbol čvrstine, inicijative, suočavanja sa teškoćama

NSAA

Nea onnim nsaa oto n'ago: Onaj ko ne ume da prepozna pravu *Nsaa* (vrsta rukom radjenog tkanja), kupiće imitaciju
Simbol autentičnosti

NSOROMA (NSOROMMA)

Dete nebesa
Simbol vere u vrhovno biće koje bdije nad svima

NSEREDA

Simbol bogatstva i sticanja

NYAME NTI

Milošu božnjom
Simbol vere u Boga

NYAME BIRIBI WO SORO

Inflated extravagance
Symbol of warning against egoism and arrogance

KWATAKYE ATIKO

Hairstyle of the Asante war commander
Symbol of courage and values

MATE MASIE

What I Hear I Keep to Myself or I understand
Symbol of wisdom and knowledge

ME WARE WO

I Shall Marry Thee
Symbol of dedication and preservation, from the saying:
Nobody rushes to mix concrete in order to build a house of marriage

MFRAMADAN

A House resistant to the winds
Symbol of strength and readiness

NEA ONNIM NO SUA A, OHU

Plant with yellow petals
Symbol of warning against jealousy and contempt

FUNTUMMIREKU-

DENKYEMMIREKU

Siamese crocodile
Symbol of democracy and unity: They have one stomach, but they fight over food.

GYAWU ATIKO

Symbol of courage, audaciousness and value

GYE NYAME

Except for God
Symbol of the supremacy of God

HWEMUDUA

Measuring Stick
Symbol of examination and quality control, also excellence

HYE-WO-NHYE

That which does not Burn
Priest that walks on fire without burning his feet
Symbol of the imperishable and endurance.

KETE PA

Good Bed
Symbol of a good marriage

KRAMO BONE AMMA YEANHU

KRAMO PA
Symbol of warning against hypocrisy

KRONTI NE AKWAMU

The drawing on the cloth that determines the drawing areas.
Symbol of mastery and precision.

NKYINKYIN

Zig-zaging
Symbol of firmness, initiative, facing difficulties

NSAA

Nea onnim nsaa oto n'ago: The one that can recognise a real *Nsaa* (a hand-woven fabric), will by an initiation
Symbol of authenticity

NSOROMA (NSOROMMA)

Child of the Heavens
Symbol of belief in the higher being that overlooks all.

NSEREDA

Symbol of wealth and acquiring

NYAME NTI

Through God's Mercy
Symbol of faith in God

NYAME BIRIBI WO SORO

God is in the heavens
Symbol of hope and finding inspiration in God

NYAMEDUA

Good's Tree i.e. the altar

to face life's challenges.

MUSUYIDEE

The one that removes ill fortune
Symbol of sanctity and spiritual strength.

MMARA KRADO

Symbol of justice and authority

MMERE DANE

Times Change
Symbol of change, life's dynamics.

MPATAPO

The Knot of Truce

NEA ONNIM NO SUA A, OHU

The one that does not know, can learn
The one that wants to be king, most first learn to serve

NKONSONKONSON

The Link
Symbol of brotherhood, cooperation

NKURUMA KESEE

Symbol of superiority

NKYIMU

The drawing on the cloth that determines the drawing areas.
Symbol of mastery and precision.

NKYINKYIN

Zig-zaging
Symbol of firmness, initiative, facing difficulties

NSAA

Nea onnim nsaa oto n'ago: The one that can recognise a real *Nsaa* (a hand-woven fabric), will by an initiation
Symbol of authenticity

NSOROMA (NSOROMMA)

Child of the Heavens
Symbol of belief in the higher being that overlooks all.

NSEREDA

Symbol of wealth and acquiring

NYAME NTI

Through God's Mercy
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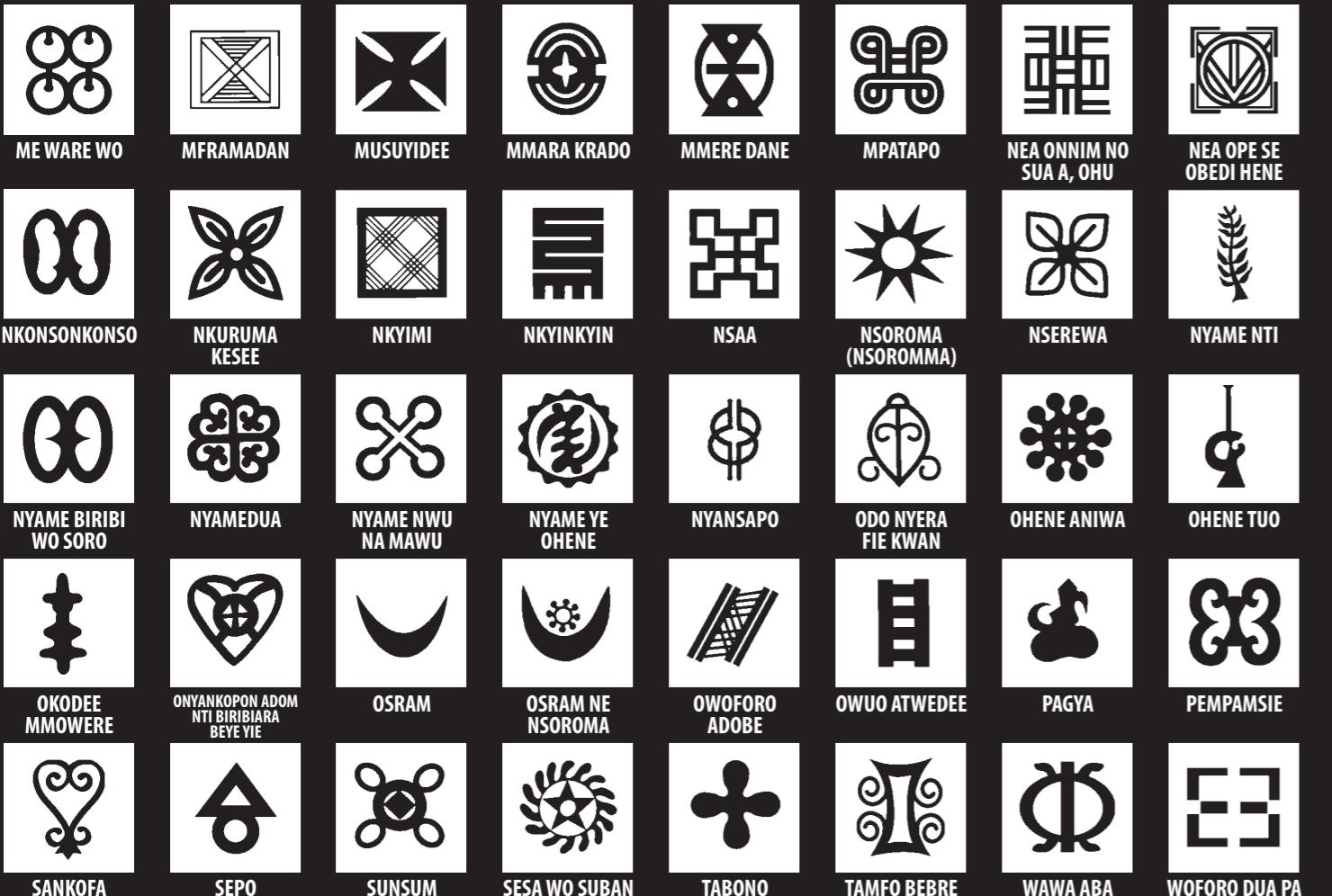
NYAME BIRIBI WO SORO

God is in the heavens
Symbol of hope and finding inspiration in God

NYAMEDUA

Good's Tree i.e. the altar

Osvrt na prisustvo adinkra simbola u Gani



Simbol snage ljubavi i vernošti OHENE ANIWA Simbol lepote i pažnje OHENE TUO Simbol veličine OKODEE MMOWERE Kandže orla Simbol snage moći, jedinstva, hrabrosti Simbol klana Ojoko	Simbol snage, upornosti i poverenja TAMFO BEBRE Neprijatelj će se krčati u sopstvenom sosu Simbol ljubomore i zavisti	Simbol snage, upornosti i poverenja NYAME NWU NA MAWU <i>God never dies, so I too never will</i> Symbol of the omni-presence of God.
Simbol wawa drveta WAWA ABA <i>Seme wawa drveta</i> Simbol čvrstine i očuvanja. Seme wawa je izuzetno čvrsto	Symbol of divine presence NYAME YE OHENE <i>God is King</i> Symbol of God's greatness	Symbol of preparedness and courageousness. It represents links and reveals the strength of unity.
Simbol čvrstine i očuvanja. Seme wawa je izuzetno čvrsto ONYANKOPON ADOM NTI BIRIBIARA BEYE YIE <i>Na yepia wo:</i> Kada se penješ na dobro drvo, neko će te podupreti Simbol podrške, saradnje i ohrabrenja	Symbol of learning from experiences NYANSAPO <i>Wisdom Knot</i> Symbol of wisdom, patience and intelligence	SANKOFA <i>Turn and look back, mistakes from the past can be corrected</i> Symbol of learning from experiences
Simbol nade, providjenja OSRAM Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of strength, love and fidelity ODO NYERA FIE KWAN <i>Love never loses its way home</i> Symbol of strength, love and fidelity	SEPO Symbol of justice SUNSUM Symbol of purity and spirituality
Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of beauty and attention OHENE ANIWA Symbol of strength, determination and trust	SEPA Symbol of justice SUNSUM Symbol of purity and spirituality
Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of strength and contempt TAMFO BEBRE <i>The Enemy will stew in his own juice</i> Symbol of jealousy and contempt	TABONO Symbol of strength, determination and trust
Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of jealousy and contempt WAWA ABA <i>Wawa Tree Seed</i> Symbol of hardness and preservation. The wawa seed is extremely hard.	WAWA ABA <i>Wawa Tree Seed</i> Symbol of hardness and preservation. The wawa seed is extremely hard.
Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of hope and providence ONYANKOPON ADOM NTI BIRIBIARA BEYE YIE <i>Through God's Grace, all shall be well</i> Symbol of hope and providence	WOFORO DUA PA A <i>Na yepia wo:</i> When you climb a good tree, somebody will assist you
Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	OSRAM Symbol of patience and understanding
Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	OSRAM NE NSOROMA <i>Moon and Star</i> Symbol of affection, fidelity and femininity, love, harmony.
Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	OWOFORO-ADOE <i>The Snake Climbing a Raffia Tree:</i> Because of its thorns it is dangerous climb up the raffia tree; the snake's persistence is a sign of persistence
Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	OWUO ATWEDEE <i>The Ladder of Death</i> Symbol of mortality or the finality of human destiny. A reminder that one should live a just life.
Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	PAGYA Symbol of defence and courage
Simbol strpljenja i razumevanja OSRAM NE NSOROMA Mesec i Zvezda <i>Kyekye pe aware:</i> Severnjača gaji duboku ljubav prema braku. Uvek je na nebu čekajući da se njen muž Mesec vrati. Simbol naklonosti, vernošti, i ženstvenosti, ljubavi, harmonije	Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	PEMPAMSIE

Reviewing the Presence of the Adinkra Symbols in Ghana

Symbol of divine presence NYAME NWU NA MAWU <i>God never dies, so I too never will</i>	Symbol of preparedness and courageousness. It represents links and reveals the strength of unity.
Symbol of the omni-presence of God.	SANKOFA <i>Turn and look back, mistakes from the past can be corrected</i>
Symbol of learning from experiences	SEPO Symbol of justice
Symbol of wisdom, patience and intelligence	SUNSUM Symbol of purity and spirituality
Symbol of strength, love and fidelity	ODO NYERA FIE KWAN <i>Love never loses its way home</i>
Symbol of strength, determination and trust	TABONO Symbol of strength, determination and trust
Symbol of jealousy and contempt	TAMFO BEBRE <i>The Enemy will stew in his own juice</i>
Symbol of hardness and preservation. The wawa seed is extremely hard.	WAWA ABA <i>Wawa Tree Seed</i>
Symbol of hardness and preservation. The wawa seed is extremely hard.	WOFORO DUA PA A <i>Na yepia wo:</i> When you climb a good tree, somebody will assist you
Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	OSRAM Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.
Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	OSRAM NE NSOROMA <i>Moon and Star</i>
Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	OWOFORO-ADOE <i>The Snake Climbing a Raffia Tree:</i> Because of its thorns it is dangerous climb up the raffia tree; the snake's persistence is a sign of persistence
Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	OWUO ATWEDEE <i>The Ladder of Death</i>
Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	PAGYA Symbol of defence and courage
Symbol of assistance, collaboration and support.	PEMPAMSIE

Napomene:

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¹ Adinkra tkaninu iz Gane Baudič (*Bowdich*) je doneo i donirao Britanskom muzeju 1817. godine (Mack, J. and J. Picton 1979), što potvrđuje prisustvo tkanina adinkra početkom 19. veka, ali takođe može da sugerise i da su tkanine, ili barem simboli sa tkanina, nešto ranijeg porekla.

² Ispriva holandska kolonija, nekadašnja Zlatna obala, kako je nazvan deo Afrike okrenut ka Gvinejskom zalivu, postala je deo Britanske Imperije početkom 19. veka. Britanci su uspeli da u Gani implementiraju mnogo od svoje društvene infrastrukture, međutim, institucija kralja Ašanti je ostala na snazi. Dan-danas postoji ašantehene, i on se smatra važnim kulturnim, a u izvesnoj meri i političkim činiocem, s obzirom na to da mnogi zvaničnici prilikom posete Gani dolaze i u Kumasi da se pozdrave sa njim.

³ Stolica ima posebno značenje u narodu Ašanti. U tradiciji se ona vezuje uz jednog vlasnika, i nakon njegove smrti postavlja na grob ili sveto mesto, *Kuću stolica*, gde se čuva uz druge stolice uvaženih ljudi. Nova stolica, pak, obeležava dolazak novog člana porodice (npr. udajom), ili rođenje deteta. Izrađuje se prema porudžbini za naročite prigode.

⁴ studentservices.odu.edu/mss/aacc.htm Iz „Aforizama Akan“: *Abode santann yi firi tete; obi nte ase a onim ne ahyease, na obi ntena ase nkosi ne awie, GYE NYAME*. U bukvalnom prevodu: „Ova široka panorama kreacije datira od pamтиве; ne živi više niko ko je video njene početke, i niko neće živeti toliko dugo da vidi njen kraj, OSIM BOGA.“ *Ovaj simbol* odražava verovanje naroda Akan u Stvoritelja, vrhovno biće, koje nazivaju različitim imenima, npr. *Oboadee, Nyame, Onyankpon Twereampon*.

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Notes:

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¹ Bowdich brought and donated a Ghanaian *adinkra* cloth to the British Museum in 1817 Mack, J. and J. Picton 1979), confirming the *adinkra* cloth's use from the beginning of the 19th century, at the same time suggesting that the cloths, or at least the symbols, were of an even earlier date.

² At first a Dutch colony, the former Gold Coast, which was the name of the part of Africa facing the Gulf of Guinea, became part of the British Empire in the 19th century. The British succeeded in implementing much of their social infrastructure in Ghana, however, the institution of the king of the Ashanti remained in force. To this day there is an Ashantehene and he is considered an important cultural, and to some extent even political factor, since many officials upon visiting Ghana, travel to Kumasi to greet him.

³ The stool has special meaning among the Ashanti people. Traditionally, it is associated with one owner, and after his death it is placed on the grave, or sacred place - the House Stool, where it is kept with the other stools of distinguished people. A newly made stool, however, marks the arrival of a new family member (for instance, through marriage), or the birth of a child. It can also be ordered for special occasions.

⁴ studentservices.odu.edu/mss/aacc.htm From *Aforizama Akan: Abode santann yi firi tete; obi nte ase a onim ne ahyease, na obi ntena ase nkosi ne awie, GYE NYAME*; the literal translation: "This creative panorama dates time immemorial; no one who has seen its beginnings is still living and no person shall ever live long enough to see its ending, EXCEPT FOR GOD." This symbol reflects the Akan peoples' belief in the Creator, or higher deity, which they have different names for, such as *Oboadee, Nyame, Onyankpon Twereampon*.

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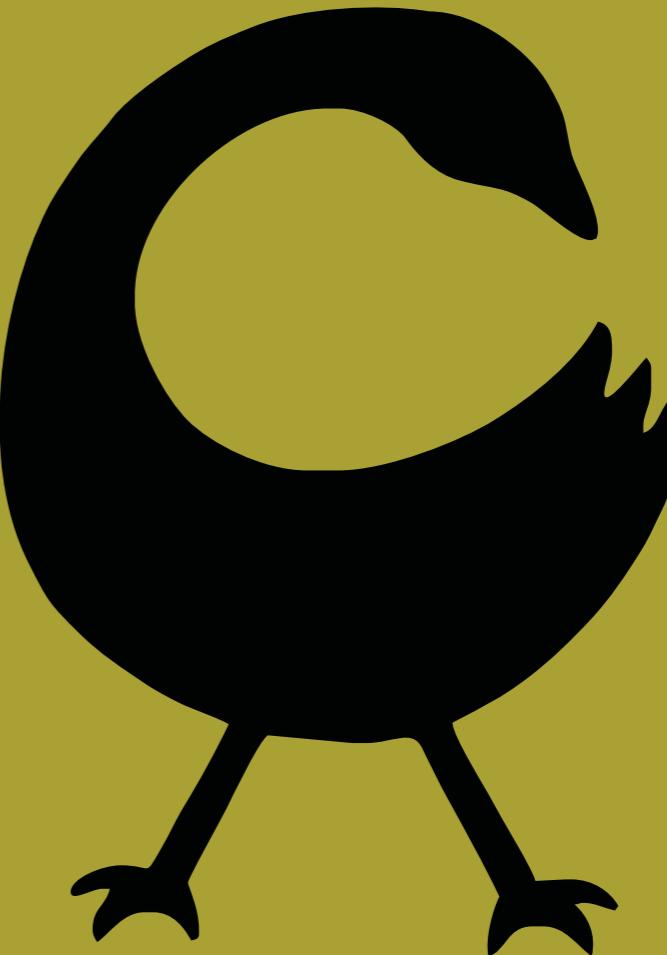
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SANKOFA

Okreni se i pogledaj, greške iz prošlosti mogu se ispraviti

Turn and look back, mistakes from the past can be corrected.



RAZVOJ KINEMATOGRAFIJA U ZAPADNOJ AFRICI

U radu sam želela da predstavim fenomen afričkog filma na osnovu dve prilično različite kinematografije, senegalske i nigerijske, i to kroz opus njihova dva najvažnija režisera, Ousmana Sembena i Ole Baloguna. Na razvoj produksijskih uslova u obe države uticale su francuska i engleska kolonijalna i postkolonijalna politika prema filmovima. Pored toga, na forme i sadržaje filmova uticali su širi društveni, kulturni i politički konteksti što se odražavalo i u stavovima pojedinih sineasta prema filmu.

THE ADVANCE OF CINEMATOGRAPHY IN WEST AFRICA

With the purpose of presenting the African film phenomenon this paper focuses on two very different cinematographies, Senegalese and Nigerian; they are approached, respectively, through the opus of two of the most important African filmmakers – Ousmane Sembene and Ola Balogun. English and French colonial and postcolonial film policies affected the development of both productions. Besides this, wider social, cultural and political contexts made an impact on the form and content of the films, which was reflected in the opinions of certain filmmakers.

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Razvoj kinematografija u ZAPADNOJ AFRICI^{*1}

Apstrakt: U radu sam želela da predstavim fenomen afričkog filma na osnovu dve prilično različite kinematografije, senegalske i nigerijske, i to kroz opus njihova dva najvažnija režisera, Ousmana Sembena i Ole Baloguna. Na razvoj proizvodnjičkih uslova u obe države uticale su francuska i engleska kolonijalna i postkolonijalna politika prema filmovima. Pored toga, na forme i sadržaje filmova uticali su širi društveni, kulturni i politički konteksti što se odražavalo i u stavorima pojedinih sineast prema filmu.

Ključne reči: Afrika, kinematografija, postkolonijalizam, dekolonizacija.

U ovom radu razmatra se razvoj kinematografije u zapadnoj Africi. U analizi se prvo predstavlja razvoj produkcije filmova u zapadnoj Africi pod uticajem kolonijalne i postkolonijalne politike Francuske i Velike Britanije. Potom, sledi komparacija produkcije filmova u Senegal i Nigeriji, na konkretnim primerima značajnih filmskih stvaralaca Ousmana Sembena (*Ousmane Sembene*) i Ole Baloguna (*Ole Balogun*). Cilj analize jeste da problematizujem i protumačim kako su različite proizvodničke strukture uticale na društveno - kritičke i artističke karakteristike filmova.

Kinematografska produkcija u kolonijalnom periodu i nakon sticanja nezavisnosti

U vreme kolonijalizma engleska i francuska politika prema filmu bila je izrazito različita.² Dok je Francuska Lavalovim dekretom onemogućila Afrikancima da snimaju filmove, dotele je Engleska osnovala *Colonial Film Unit* (CFU) koja je producirala filmove u saradnji sa lokalnim stanovništvom. Namena Lavalovog dekreta, izglasano 1934. godine od strane francuske vlade, bila je sprečavanje pojave antikolonijalnih ideja u filmovima snimljenim u Africi, čak i u slučaju kada su francuski filmski stvaraoci snimali antikolonijalne filmove.³ Engleski reditelji su, suprotno tome, već 1937. godine počeli da zajedno sa Afrikancima snimaju filmove u okviru *Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment*, koji je

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The Advance of Cinematography in WEST AFRICA^{*1}

Abstract: With the purpose of presenting the African film phenomenon this paper focuses on two very different cinematographies, Senegalese and Nigerian; they are approached, respectively, through the opus of two of the most important African filmmakers – Ousmane Sembene and Ola Balogun. English and French colonial and postcolonial film policies affected the development of both productions. Besides this, wider social, cultural and political contexts made an impact on the form and content of the films, which was reflected in the opinions of certain filmmakers.

Keywords: Africa, cinematography, postcolonialism, decolonisation

This paper reflects on the development of cinematography in West Africa. The analysis is firstly based on presenting the progress of film production in West Africa under French and British colonial and postcolonial politics; secondly, there follows a comparative examination of the film production in Senegal and Nigeria using the work of Ousmane Sembene and Ola Balogun as examples. The aim of the analysis is to question and interpret how different structures of production affected the social/critical and artistic features of the films.

Cinematography production during the colonial period and subsequent independence

During colonial rule, English and French film policies were exceedingly different.² Whereas, on the one hand, the French Laval's Decree prohibited Africans from making films, so, on the other, England founded the *Colonial Film Unit* (CFU) which produced films in collaboration with the local peoples. The function of Laval's Decree, voted in favour of by the French government in 1934, was to stifle any form of anti-colonial thinking in films made in Africa even in those cases when French filmmakers were making anti-colonial films.³ In contrast, English film directors, as early as 1937, started to make films together with Africans as part of the *Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment* lead by Major Nottcut in Tanzania. The motives were, however, more than clear: the English wanted control over

vodio major Notkat (*Nottcut*) u Tanzaniji. Motivi su, doduše, bili jasni: Englezi su želeli da imaju nadzor i uticaj na to što gleda domaće stanovništvo, a cilj im je bio da pokažu „svetle strane britanske civilizacije“. Radilo se o „obrazovnim filmovima“ kao što su *Tax, Progress, Post Office Savings Bank, Coffie under Banana Shade, Infant Malaria* itd., na osnovu kojih je trebalo da Afrikanci shvate blagodeti kolonijalizma i da mu se prilagode. Među njima bilo je i filmova koji su se zalagali za očuvanje izabranih segmenata tradicije, na primer *The Hare and the Leopard* (Diawara 1992: 2; Mgbejume 1989: 9). Ti filmovi bili su paternalistički i rasistički, jer su pretpostavljali da Afrikanci mogu da razumeju samo najjednostavnije forme filmske naracije. S druge strane, treba priznati da je to bio prvi, a zadugo, i jedini projekat u kome se cela produkcija odvijala na terenu (sa 16-mm opremom), u saradnji sa Afrikancima i na lokalnim jezicima. Filmovi su se, potom, prikazivali pomoću projektoru na kamionima. Godine 1939. osnovana je *Colonial Film Unit*, sa podružnicama u različitim engleskim područjima Afrike. U Nigeriji je 1952. godine propagandna sekcija CFU započela *Nigerian Rural Film Experiment*. Deo obrazovnih filmova dobijen je iz Evrope, a deo snimljen u Nigeriji. Tokom prikazivanja ovih filmova posredovao je interpretator, a projekat su pratili sociolozi i antropolozi, kako bi proučili reakciju publike (Mgbejume 1989: 11-14). Već 1949. godine Grison (*Grierson*) je, u izveštaju za UNESCO-a, zapisao da nastupa vreme za samostalno snimanje afričkih filmova. Zato je Grison u Akri osnovao filmsku školu (Diawara 1992: 3). Iako se Francuzi nisu dosetili ničeg sličnog, omogućavali su pojedinim Afrikancima da se obrazuju i studiraju u Parizu.⁴ Sa sticanjem nezavisnosti afričkih država, Engleska je prepustila bivšim kolonijama da same finansiraju svoje filmove. Za to se Engleska spremila već 1955. godine, kada je CFU preimenovana u *Overseas Film and Television Centre*, pokušavajući da očuva ekonomsku zavisnost.

Francuska je imala drugačiju strategiju. Za saradnju prilikom snimanja filmova počela je da se zanima tek nakon što su kolonije stekle nezavisnost u namjeri da sačuva veze (čitaj: nadzor) sa nekadašnjim kolonijama, te je 1961. godine ustanovila Ministarstvo za saradnju - *Ministère de la Coopération* (Andrade-Watkins 1996: 113). Francuska je bila spremna da podrži afričku filmsku produkciju i zbog toga je počela da potencira ulogu filma u obrazovanju i razvoju. Na području filma Francusku je, pre svega, zanimala saradnja na polju snimanja vesti (Diawara 1992: 25). U Francuskoj je ustanovljen *Consortium Audiovisuel International* (CAI), koji je u narednim godinama podupirao snimanje vesti i dokumentarnih filmova. Međutim, Senegal, kao samostalna država, želio je da ima sopstveni informativni

and to influence what the local populations were watching and their aim was to enlighten and reveal the “positive sides of British civilization”. These were “educational films” such as *Tax, Progress, Post Office Savings Bank, Coffie Under Banana Shade, Infant Malaria*, etc. which were supposed to teach Africans the benefits of colonialism and ways of adjusting to it. Among them were also films dedicated to the preservation of certain traditional practices, for instance *The Hare and the Leopard* (Diawara 1992:2; Mgbejume 1989:9). These films were paternalistic and racist for they supposed that Africans were only capable of understanding the simplest narrative forms. On the other hand, it is necessary to acknowledge that it was the first, and for a long time even the only project conducted almost entirely in the field (using 16 mm equipment) with the assistance of Africans and in the local languages. Films were then screened via a projector placed on trucks. In 1939 the *Colonial Film Unit* was established with branch offices in different parts of British Africa. In Nigeria, in 1952, the propaganda sector of the CFU commenced the *Nigerian Rural Film Experiment*. A segment of the educational films was acquired from Europe, and others were filmed in Nigeria. The interpreter was moderator in these films, and the project was supervised by sociologists and anthropologists in order to analyse the publics' reaction (Mgbejume 1989:11-14). Already by 1949, Garison wrote in an UNESCO report, that the time of independent African filmmaking was at hand. This is why Garison founded a film school in Accra (Diawara 1992:3). Although the French never perpetrated anything similar, they did provide certain Africans with an education in Paris.⁴ With the independence of African states, England was had been preparing for this since 1955 when the CFU was renamed the *Overseas Film and Television Centre* in order to retain its economic independence.

France employed a different strategy. It started to advocate film cooperations only after the independence of the colonies, with the aim of retaining its ties (meaning: supervise) with the ex-colonies, and therefore in 1961 founded the Ministry for Cooperation – *Ministère de la Coopération* (Andrade-Watkins 1996:113). France was ready to support African film production and consequently started to emphasize the role of film in education and development. In the field of filmmaking, France was primarily interested in cooperations regarding the news (Diawara 1992:52). The *Consortium Audiovisuel International* (CAI) was established in France and supported the filming of news and documentary films in the following years. However, Senegal, as an independent state, demanded its own news program for the purpose of screening the news *Actualités Sénégalaises* in movie

program, radi prikazivanja vesti *Actualités Sénégalaises* u bioskopima. Kompromis je postignut potpisivanjem ugovora senegalskih vlasti sa CAI. Konzorcijum je obezbedio snimatelja, reporteru i realizovao montažu u Parizu. Po formi i sadržaju informativni program obuhvatao je, pored senegalskih i druge afričke i svetske vesti (Vieyra 1983: 20), koje su radene po uputstvima senegalskog Ministarstva za informisanje (Diawara 1992: 56).

Godine 1963. u Francuskoj je u okviru Ministarstva za saradnju ustanovljen *Bureau du cinéma* (Diawara 1992: 25), čija je namena bila da se pojedinim afričkim režiserima omogući realizacija igranih filmova. U tu svrhu, *Bureau* je pored finansijskih sredstava imao na raspolaganju centar za montažu sa honorarno zaposlenim montažerima i montažerkama (Andrade-Watkins 1996: 114, 119). Za rukovodioca *Bureau-a* bio je imenovan Žan-Rene Debri (*Jean-René Débrix*). On je podržavao film kao medij, za koji je smatrao da je imao najveći potencijal za vraćanje kulturnog identiteta Afrikanaca (Diawara 1992: 25). Debri je od afričkog filma imao prilično romantičarsko - orijentalistička očekivanja. Razočaran „dekadencijom“ evropskog filma smatrao je da afrički režiseri mogu da vrate filmu njegovu prvobitnu magičnu moć (Diawara 1992: 26). *Bureau* je filmskim stvaraocima pomagao na dva načina: ili da u obliku pomoći u materijalu i prilikom montaže učestvuje već tokom snimanja, ili pak, da otkupi gotov film u zamenu za nekomercijalna distribucijska prava. *Bureau* se najradije odlučivao za saradnju u kasnoj fazi nastajanja filma, jer su na taj način bila izbegnuta moguća iznenadenja (Andrade-Watkins 1996). Među filmovima, koje je podržao *Bureau* u periodu od 1963. do 1969. godine, nalazimo odlične filmove režisera: Mustafe Alasana i Umara Gande iz Nigera, Timitea Basoria (*Timité Bassori*) i Dezirea Ekarea (*Désiré Ecaré*) iz Obale Slonovače, Ababakara Samba (*Ababakar Samb*) i Momara Tiama (*Momar Thiam*) iz Senegala i drugih (Diawara 1992: 26-27; Andrade-Watkins 1996: 118). Iako su po tematici filmovi vrlo različiti, zajednička im je izrazita doza eksperimentalnosti u izražavanju afričkih iskustava. Prvi režiser koji je dobio sredstva, bio je Semben za film *Borom Sarret*, 1963. godine (Diawara 1992: 24-25). Odluke za finansiranje filma zavisile su, pre svega, od Debria, koji je u načelu prihvatao svaki predlog za film, ukoliko je bio tehnički izvodljiv u okviru mogućnosti *Bureau-a* (Andrade-Watkins 1996: 116).

U izveštaju o politici Ministarstva za saradnju od 1961. do 1977. godine Kler Andrad-Watkins (*Claire Andrade-Watkins*) se pita zašto se Francuska uopšte odlučila za podršku afričkom filmu? Ona zaključuje da Francuska nije mogla da se odrekne kontrole u nekadašnjim kolonijama i da je na taj način nastavljala asimilacijsku

theatres. A compromise was reached through contract-signing between the Senegalese government and CAI. The consortium provided a cameraman, reporter and film editing in Paris. In form and content, the news program covered, besides Senegalese, also news from other parts of Africa and world news (Vieyra 1983:20), under the auspices of the Senegalese Ministry of Information (Diawara 1992:56).

In 1963 the Bureau du Cinéma was established within the Ministry for Cooperation (Diawara 1992:25) and its purpose was to enable African film directors to make feature films. For this reason the Bureau besides financial aid provided a centre for film editing with honorary employees of both sexes (Andrade-Watkins 1996:114, 119). In charge of the Bureau was Jean-René Débrix. He supported the film as medium considering it to be the best tool for reclaiming African identity (Diawara 1992:25). Débrix had rather romantic/orientalist expectations for African film. Disillusioned by the “decadence” of European film, he thought that African filmmakers would recover the “magical power” of film (Diawara 1992:26). The Bureau supported filmmakers in two ways: either to help in material or in the process of film editing while the film was being made, or by buy a completed film in exchange for non-commercial distribution rights. The Bureau was most inclined to form collaborations in the final stages of filmmaking because they were less likely to be surprised (Andrade-Watkins 1996). Among films supported by the Bureau during the period 1963-1969, we find excellent achievements of: Moustapha Alassane and Oumaru Ganda from Nigeria, Timité Bassori and Désiré Ecaré from Ivory Coast and Ababakar Samb and Momar Thiam from Senegal (Diawara 1992:26-27). Even though the themes of the films are very different, they all feature the same dose of experimentalism in expressing African experiences. The first director, awarded benefits was Sembene for his film *Borom Sarret*, 1963 (Diawara 1992:24-25). The final decision on providing financial aid lay on Débrix who nominally accepted all film proposals as long as they were technically feasible and within the Bureau's means (Andrade-Watkins 1996:116).

In his report of the Ministry of Cooperation's policies from 1961 to 1977, Claire Andrade-Watkins ponders on the question why France decided to support African film in the first place. She concludes that France was unable to give up the control it held over the former colonies and that in such a way it continued its assimilation politics under the guise of supporting cultural expression (Andrade-Watkins 1996:126). The action of the Bureau had unintended consequences and was insufficient; for instance, the funds for the film were paid at the end of filming and were not enough to cover the whole costs. Therefore, only those able to provide enough at the

politiku pod izgovorom podrške kulturnom izražavanju (Andrade-Watkins 1996: 126).⁵ Aktivnost *Bureau-a* imala je neželjenih posledica i nedostataka, na primer, finansijska sredstva bila su isplaćivana tek na kraju i nisu bila dovoljna za celokupnu realizaciju filma. Stoga, filmove su mogli da rade samo oni koji su uspeli da sakupi početna sredstva. U Francuskoj filmovi su se distribuirali samo preko obrazovnih institucija, što nije bilo finansijski rentabilno. Istovremeno, distribucija takvih filmova u Africi bila je suzbijana, od strane monopola francuskih komercijalnih distributera (Andrade-Watkins 1996: 116, 119-122). Vremenom, usled pritiska afričkih vlada, budući da su finansirani i filmovi koji su imali kritički odnos prema njima, *Bureau* je 1979. godine prekinuo sa radom. Za vreme Miteranove vlade došlo je do reorganizacije pomoći. Planirano je da se umesto podrške pojedinim stvaraocima težište prebací na mogućnost formiranja sopstvenih, afričkih produksijskih potencijala. Zbog toga je ustanovljena *Organisation Commune Africaine et Mauretanien* (OCAM), koja je okupila frankofone države. Ta organizacija zalagala se za dovoljno široku distribuciju, koja je mogla da pokrije troškove filmova. Filmski stvaraoci morali su da dobiju odobrenje od svoje vlade, pre nego što bi dobili pravo na pomoći za snimanje. U to vreme osnovana je i preko OCAM-a filmska škola *Institut Africain d'Education Cinématographique* (INAFC) located in Ouagadougou. The French Ministry of Cooperation started a wider promotion of African films that started being broadcast on French television and in cinemas (Diawara 1992:29-30).

Kako je već rečeno, distribucijski monopolji bili su jedna od ključnih prepreka ka osamostaljivanju afričkog filma kojima su vladala francuska društva. Njima je pripadala skoro polovina dvorana u frankofonoj Africi. Druga društva bila su u domenu indijskih i libanskih preduzetnika, koji su iz Pariza nabavljali američke, evropske i indijske filmove (Diawara 1992: 105-106). Budući da su afrički bioskopi bili zauzeti projekcijama stranih filmova, koje su velike inostrane distribucijske kompanije bagatelno kupovale, afrički režiseri nisu mogli da prikazuju svoje filmove na domaćem terenu u komercijalnoj distribuciji. Zbog uticaja stranog monopolija imali su velikih teškoća da sakupe sredstva za realizaciju filmova. To je bio jedan od suštinskih razloga da se formira organizacija afričkih filmskih radnika *Fédération Panafricaine des Cinéastes* (FEPACI), koja je bila inicirana na festivalu afričkih kultura u Alžиру 1969. godine. Njihov zahtev bio je da se distribucija bar delimično nacionalizuje i da se novac od poreza na prikazivanje filmova upotrebi za razvoj produksijskih potencijala, obrazovanje filmskih tehničara, obnovu dvorana, izgradnju arhiva i organizaciju festivala. Da bi

beginning of filming actually had the opportunity to make films. Films were distributed in France exclusively through educational institutions and this was not financially rentable. At the same time, the distribution of these films was stifled in Africa by the monopolies of French commercial distributors (Andrade-Watkins 1996:116, 119-122).⁵ In time, due to pressures coming from African governments due to the fact that films critical of the African governments were also funded, the Bureau stopped working in 1979. During the presidency of François Mitterrand funding was reorganised. From supporting individual initiatives, the plan was to move towards creating circumstances that would enable the creation of local, African production potentials. This is the reason behind the *Organisation Commune Africaine et Mauretanien* (OCAM) that gathered Francophone countries. The organisation insisted on a wider distribution range that would enable film funding. Filmmakers were obliged to receive permission from their governments before being able to receive financial help for filming. At the same time, OCAM established the *Institut Africain d'Education Cinématographique* (INAFC) located in Ouagadougou. The French Ministry of Cooperation started a wider promotion of African films that started being broadcast on French television and in cinemas (Diawara 1992:29-30).

As already stated, distribution monopolies were one of the key obstacles in the process of African film gaining independence from the French. They owned almost half the cinemas in Francophone Africa. Other associations were under the control of Indian and Libyan entrepreneurs who acquired American, European and Indian films from Paris (Diawara 1992:105-106). Seeing African cinema halls were busy screening foreign films that were bought for a mere bagatelle, African film directors were not able to show their films at home in commercial distribution. Because of the influence of foreign monopoly they had great difficulty in providing the means for the realization of their films. This was one of the crucial reasons for forming the organisation of African film workers – *Fédération Panafricaine des Cinéastes* (FEPACI) that was initiated at the Pan-African Cultural Festival held in Algiers in 1969. They demanded the partial nationalisation of film distribution and for the money collected through the taxation of film broadcasting to be used for the development of production potentials, the education of film technicians, for it to be invested in renovating existing theatres, building an archive and organising film festivals. In order to organise film screenings, FEPACI demanded quotas that were to regulate the relation between African and foreign film screenings. The pan-African organisation that gathered organisations of filmmakers from particular countries, was supposed to make the pressure inflicted on

omogućili prikazivanje afričkih filmova, FEPACI je zahtevao kvote, po kojima se uređuje odnos prikazivanja afričkih i stranih filmova. Panafrička organizacija, koja je okupljala organizacije filmskih stvaralaca iz pojedinih država, trebalo je da poveća efikasnost pritiska na pojedine afričke vlade. Tokom prvih godina postojanja organizacije FEPACI važnu ulogu imalo je ideološko opredeljenje za dekolonizaciju na svim nivoima. Udržanje je naglašavalo da afrički film mora da bude društveno kritički, da prikazuje afričke realnosti i pronađe stilove koji se razlikuju od dominantnih načina filmske prezentacije. Nakon deset godina FEPACI je doživeo kritiku mlađe generacije, koja se pod vodstvom senegalskog režisera Čeika Ngaidi Baa (*Cheikh Ngaidi Baa*) udružila u *Le Colectif l'oeil vert*. Oni su zaključili da je produkcija još uvek previše zavisna od Evrope i počeli da traže načine međusobne saradnje unutar Afrike. U manifestu Niamejskog kongresa iz 1982. godine sve više se naglašava ekonomski nezavisnost afričkog filma, što se smatralo prvim uslovom za kulturnu nezavisnost (Diawara 1992: 35-51). Tokom procesa nacionalizacije, filmske distribucije u zemljama kao što su Gvineja, Burkina Faso i Mali, postizale su određene kompromise, zbog daljeg prisustva francuskih distribucijskih kompanija. U tom periodu pojavili su se i drugi veliki strani distributeri koji su ugrozili monopol francuskih kompanija i time omogućili veći manevarski prostor nacionalnim afričkim distributerima. Tako je bilo moguće da je SIDEC, polupravno senegalsko distribucijsko društvo, postalo međunarodni distributer za nekoliko afričkih država, te stvorilo dovoljno kapitala da održava i gradi svoje bioskope, ali i da subvencionira nacionalnu filmsku produkciju (Diawara 1992: 70, 109-115). Većina filmskih stvaralaca je početkom osamdesetih godina nastavila sa individualnim rešenjima za finansiranje svakog filma ponaosob. Sineasti su dobijali sredstva prijavljivanjem na strane konkurse namenjene Afrikancima, kao i traženjem koproducenata, među kojima su se sve češće pojavljivale i evropske televizije.

Razvojni put kinematografije u bivšim britanskim kolonijama bio je drugačiji. U Nigeriji⁶ se, nakon odlaska Britanaca, deo filmskih producijskih struktura razvijao kao nastavak kolonijalnih organizacija. Posle neuspjeha pokušaja formiranja dodatnih državnih centara, filmska produkcija bila je prepustena samim sineastama. Distribucija je nakon *Indigenisation Act* iz 1972. godine formalno prešla u nigerijsko vlasništvo, a u stvarnosti je nadzor, više ili manje, ostao u rukama libanskih, indijskih i američkih distributera.

Najpoletnija državna filmska institucija bila je *Federal Film Unit* (FFU), koja je već 1947. godine smenila *Colonial Film Unit* (CFU). Nigerijska FFU je pre sticanja nezavisnosti, radila na obrazovanju tehničkog osoblja i

certain African governments more efficient. In the first years of FEPACI activity, the ideological stance for decolonization on all levels carried an important role. The Federation insisted that African film had to be socially critical, aware of African realities and should discover new styles that were different to the prevailing modes of film presentation. After ten years of work the FEPACI received strong criticism from the younger generation of filmmakers who, led by film director Cheikha Ngaidi Baha, joined the *Le Colectif l'oeil vert*. They concluded that production was still far too dependant on Europe and started seeking ways of mutual cooperation inside Africa. The 1982 Niamese congress manifesto, emphasizes the economic independence of African film – a feature considered to be the first prerequisite for cultural independence (Diawara 1992:35-51). During the period of nationalisation, film distributions in countries such as Guinea, Burkina Faso and Mali reached certain compromises due to the continuing presence of French distribution companies. That period witnessed also other large foreign distributors who broke the monopoly of French companies therefore achieving more manoeuvring space for national African distributors. This is what made it possible for SIDEC, the half-private Senegalese distributor's association to become an international distributor for several African countries and to make enough capital to sustain and build its film theatres, however, also to subsidized national film production (Diawara 1992:70, 109-115). At the beginning of the '80s most filmmakers continued their individual approaches in solving the problems of realising each film. Filmmakers received funds by applying to foreign competitions intended for Africans, and by searching for co-producers among which European televisions were the most frequent.

The development of cinematography in the ex-British colonies was different. After the British left, Nigeria⁶ developed part of the film production structures as an extension of colonial organisations. After unsuccessful attempts at forming additional state centres, film production was left to the filmmakers themselves. Following the 1972 *Indigenisation Act* distribution was formally directed by Nigeria, however in reality the supervision remained, more or less, in the hands of Libyan, Indian and American distributors.

The most energetic state-owned film institution was *Federal Film Unit* (FFU), which already by 1847 took the place of the *Colonial Film Unit* (CFU). Before gaining independence, the Nigerian FFU worked on educating technicians, filming documentary films and important local events. After independence the FFU went under the Nigerian Ministry of Information. The structure and size

snimanju dokumentarnih filmova, kao i značajnih lokalnih događaja. Nakon sticanja nezavisnosti, FFU je prešla pod okrilje Ministarstva za informisanje Nigerije. Struktura i dimenzije FFU veoma su narasle, te je razdeljena na različite sektore – od scenarijskog i montažnog do projekcijskog i sektora za održavanje. Dok Mgbedžum (*Mgbejume*) naglašava značaj prisustva filmova FFU za jedinstvo Nigerije, Fransuaz Balogun (*Françoise Balogun*) kritikuje nepotpunu distribuciju i lošu saradnju sa televizijom (Balogun 1984: 20, 27; Mgbejume, 1989: 48). Ipak, treba priznati da je FFU proizvela veliki broj dokumentarnih, informativnih i obrazovnih filmova i da je nastupila kao producent jedinog igranog filma *Shehu Omar* Adama Halilua (*Adamu Halilu*) na jeziku *hausa* (Balogun 1984: 21-22). Laboratorije FFU bile su prve u zapadnoj Africi, a materijal je uvezen iz Velike Britanije (Mgbejume 1989: 51-52). Pored državne filmske institucije i prva privatna producijska društva, posvetila su se informativnim i propagandnim filmovima⁷ (Balogun 1984: 40-41).

Prikazivanje filmova u Nigeriji bilo je prvo zakonski regulisano cenurom za filmove, čiji su sadržaji obuhvatili seksualne prizore, kriminal, verske i rasne sporne teme. Krajem sedamdesetih godina, Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova postaje svesno ideološkog, političkog i društvenog uticaja mas medija na javnost (Balogun 1984: 15). Zato je juna 1979. godine ustanovljen komitet u kome su zajedno radili publicisti, predstavnici banaka i filmski stvaraoci, sa ciljem da se revidira zakon o filmu. Komitet je predložio projekat o uređivanju filmske distribucije pomoću kvota na uvoz filma, da bi podstakao finansiranje nigerijske filmske produkcije (Balogun 1984: 14-18). Iste godine dekretom bilo je osnovano Nigerijsko filmsko društvo *Nigerian Film Corporation* (NFC), koje je počelo da funkcioniše 1981. godine. NFC je na prvo mesto stavilo produkciju, iako nije imalo zagarantovanu finansijsku podlogu. Zapleti su nastali već oko planova za izgradnju velikog producijskog centra u gradu Džošu, za koji nisu dobijena potrebna sredstva (Balogun 1984: 22-24).

Distribucija filmova formalno je prešla u nadležnost nigerijskih kompanija, međutim i dalje je ostala kontrolisana od strane inostranih distributera. Posledica toga bila je da su se još uvek prikazivali američki, indijski, hongkongški i evropski filmovi. Kao i u drugim zemljama zapadne Afrike, i u Nigeriji su afrički filmovi imali velikih problema u realizaciji i distribuciji (Mgbejume 1989: 49; Balogun 1984: 24-26, 36-39). Realizacija filmova zavisi je od sopstvene snalažljivosti domaćih filmskih stvaralaca. Moglo bi se reći da je svaki filmski stvaralac imao svoje producijsko društvo, odnosno svaki je morao da položi svoja lična sredstva i dobije pozajmicu od banke. Državna podrška bila je jedino moguća u vidu tehničkih

of the FFU grew a great deal and this lead to its division into different sectors – from scriptwriting and editing, to the screening and maintenance sector. While *Mgbejume* emphasizes the importance of FFU films for Nigerian unity, *François Balogun* criticises the incomplete distribution and bad relations with television (Balogun 1984:20,27; Mgbejume, 1989:48). However, suffice to say, the FFU produced a great number of documentary, informational and educational films, and appeared as producer of the only feature film *Shehu Omar* by Adamua Halilua in the *Hausa* language (Balogun 1984:21-22). FFU laboratories were the first in West Africa to have materials imported from Great Britain (Mgbejume, 1989:51-52). Besides the state-owned film institution, the first private production associations also turned to informative and propaganda films⁷ (Balogun 1984:40-41).

Film screenings in Nigeria were first regulated by law through censorship of films with sexual, criminal, religious and racially controversial content. By the end of the 1970s the Ministry of Interior Affairs became aware of the ideological, political and social impact of mass media on the public (Balogun 1984:15), which is why in June 1979 a committee was established with publicists, bank officials and filmmakers working together to re-evaluate the law on film. The Committee suggested a project of bringing order into film distribution through quotas on the import of films for the sake of encouraging the financing of Nigerian film production (Balogun 1984:14-18). In the same year, the Nigerian film association *Nigerian Film Cooperation* (NFC) that started working in 1981 was founded. The NFC prioritised production even if it did not guarantee financial support. Issues started occurring over plans to build a big production centre in Jos for which sufficient funds were not met (Balogun 1984:22-24).

Film distribution officially went under the supervision of Nigerian companies, but it continued to be controlled by foreign distributors, which resulted in American, Indian, Hong Kong and European film screenings. As in other countries of West Africa, African films had great problems in realisation and distribution in Nigeria too (Mgbejume, 1989:49; Balogun 1984:24-26, 36-39). Film realisation was completely dependent on the resourcefulness of local filmmakers. Almost every film director had his own production association, meaning that each of them had to invest in their own films and work with a bank loan. State support was only possible in the form of technical services. This is what made the film director more of an entrepreneur, and less of a 'maker'. The film association of Nigerian filmmakers which was supposed to speak for the betterment of working conditions unfortunately existed merely on paper. (Balogun 1984:41-44).

usluga. Tako je režiser više bio u ulozi preduzetnika, a manje stvaraoca. Filmsko udruženje nigerijskih filmskih stvaralaca, koje bi se zauzimalo za poboljšanje uslova rada, na žalost postojalo je samo na papiru (Balogun 1984: 41-44).

Karakteristike filmova u Senegalu i Nigeriji na primeru sineasta Sembena i Baloguna

Većina afričkih sineasta obrazovala se u inostranstvu, pre svega, u Francuskoj, a manji broj i u drugim zemljama, kao na primer Malijski režiser Cise (*Cissé*), u Moskvi. Nekolicina budućih filmskih režisera obučavala se u filmskoj školi u Akri, osnovanoj pred kraj kolonijalističkog perioda. *Institute Africain d'Education Cinématographique* (INAFC) sa sedištem u Ouagadougu, osnovan je tek 1976. godine. Namena ovog Instituta bila je obrazovanje filmskih kritičara i tehničara, ali u njemu su stasavali i pripadnici druge generacije afričkih režisera, kao na primer Idrisa Uedraogo (*Idrissa Ouedraogo*). Neki režiseri, posebno u početku, bili su samouki.

Interesovanje Osmana Sembena (*Ousmane Sembene*) za film, proisteklo je iz njegovog životnog iskustva i motiva za prosvećivanjem stanovništva. Slično svom savremeniku Medu Hondou⁸, (*Med Hondo*) rođenom u Mauritaniji, Semben je morao da se prihvati svakog mogućeg posla pre nego što se usredstvilo na film i došao do mogućnosti da se obrazuje. Već tokom svoje mladosti voleo je da ide u bioskope i na predstave *griot*⁹. Kao mladić osnovao je sa prijateljima i pozorišnu trupu u Senegalu. Nakon drugog svetskog rata učestvovao je u štrajku na železničkoj pruzi Dakar-Niger, što je kasnije upotrebio kao osnovu za roman *Božje mrvice* (*Les bouts de bois de Dieu*, 1960). As a ship stowaway he journeys to France in 1948, in search of work. In Marseilles Sembene as a dock-worker, took part in the strike against the French presence in Indochina. At this time he started thinking about ways to express his convictions and feelings. He wrote poetry and prose at the time, and was an activist in the African student's movement.¹⁰ Aware that there was limited access to books in Africa, he turned towards film as the adequate instrument of approaching the public. Sembene attended the film school in Moscow for a year (1962) where he was taught Russian surrealism by Mark Donskoj and Sergei Gerasimov (Pfaff 1987:237-239).

Godine 1955. Sembenov rođak Vieyra (*Vieyra*) snimio je prvi senegalski film *Afrique sur Seine*, koji istovremeno važi i za prvi afrički film. Pošto je protiv Vieyrinog pokušaja da snimi svoj film u Senegalu upotrebljen Lavalov dekret, odlučio je da dokumentarni film snimi zajedno sa prijateljima, okupljenim u *Le Groupe Africain du Cinéma* u Parizu, gde je studirao na

The characteristics of films in Senegal and Nigeria based on the work of Sembene and Balogun

Most African cinematographers were educated abroad, mainly in France however in other countries as well like Malian director *Cissé* in Moskow. Several cinematographers specialised at the film school in Accra that was founded close to the end of the colonial period. The *Institute Africain d'Education Cinématographique* (INAFC) in Ouagadougu was established as late as 1976. The purpose of this Institute was the education of film critics and technicians however, certain members of the second generation of African film directors matured here, such as *Idrissa Ouedraogo*. Some film directors, particularly at the beginning, were self-taught.

Ousmane Sembene's interest in filmmaking can be found in his life experiences and in his aim to enlighten the masses. Like his contemporary *Med Hondo*⁸ born in Mauritania, Sembene had to accept almost any sort of work before fully dedicating himself to film and being able to acquire an adequate education. In his youth he loved going to the cinema and *griot*⁹ shows. It was as a young man that he founded, together with his friends, a theatre troupe in Senegal. After the II WW he participated in the Dakar-Niger railway strike, which was to form the basis of his novel God's Bits of Wood (*Les bouts de bois de Dieu*, 1960). As a ship stowaway he journeys to France in 1948, in search of work. In Marseilles Sembene as a dock-worker, took part in the strike against the French presence in Indochina. At this time he started thinking about ways to express his convictions and feelings. He wrote poetry and prose at the time, and was an activist in the African student's movement.¹⁰ Aware that there was limited access to books in Africa, he turned towards film as the adequate instrument of approaching the public. Sembene attended the film school in Moscow for a year (1962) where he was taught Russian surrealism by Mark Donskoj and Sergei Gerasimov (Pfaff 1988: 237-239).

In the year 1955 Sembene's cousin Vieyra filmed the first Senegalese motion picture *Afrique sur Seine* that is also considered the first African film. As Vieyra's film stumbled upon the Laval Decree, he decided to make the documentary film with friends from the *Le Groupe Africain du Cinéma* in Paris where he was a student at the *Institute des Hautes Etudes Cinématographique* (IDHEC) (Diawara 1992:23). The topic of *Afrique sur Seine* was the immigration and alliance of Africans in Paris (Ukadike 1994:69) a theme that recurred in African films. Generally speaking, upon independence, i.e. at the beginning of the 1960s documentary films were being made by what was to be the first generation of African filmmakers¹¹ and they were supported by the Senegalese Ministry of Information with the cooperation of CAI (Ukadike 1994:69). Upon his

Institute des Hautes Etudes Cinématographique (IDHEC) (Diawara 1992: 23). Tema filma *Afrique sur Seine* je imigracija i alienacija Afrikanaca u Parizu (Ukadike 1994: 69), koja je i kasnije bila često prisutna u afričkim filmovima. Uopšteno govoreći, odmah po sticanju nezavisnosti, tj. početkom šezdesetih godina, nastajali su, pre svega, dokumentarni filmovi kroz koje je počela da se oblikuje prva generacija afričkih filmskih stvaralaca.¹¹ U Senegalu podržavalo ih je Ministarstvo za informisanje u saradnji sa CAI (Ukadike 1994: 69). I Semben je po povratku u Afriku prvo snimio kratak dokumentarac *L'Empire Songhai* po narudžbini malijiske vlade (Pfaff, 1988: 239). Sembenov sledeći film *Borom Sarret* (1963) bio je jedan od prvih afričkih filmova, koga je podržao novoosnovani *Bureau du cinéma* francuskog Ministarstva za saradnju (Diawara 1992: 24).¹² Taj film bavi se tematikom razlika u savremnom senegalskom društvu prikazanim kroz lik vozača i smatra se za prvi igrani afrički film snimljen u Africi. Semben je već sa filmom *Borom Sarret* osnovao produkcijsku kuću *Domireew*, koja je zatim producirala gotovo sve njegove filmove uz pomoć drugih koproducenata (Pfaff 1988: 239). Iz Sovjetskog Saveza doneo je kameru 35mm *Bell and Howell*, a kasnije je nabavio kvalitetniju kameru od *Service de Cinéma*. Iako se u filmu *Borom Sarret*, kao i u narednom *Le noir de...*, ističu monolozi glavnih junaka koji otvaraju dimenzije intimnosti i subjektivnosti, ostvarenih kroz poetski efekat, ipak naracije filmova su na francuskom jeziku. Semben se na početku karijere odlučio za francuski jezik, da bi film bio dostupan široj publici (Vieyra 1983: 61), dok neki kritičari misle da su, u stvari, bili u pitanju zahtevi francuskih finansijera (Ukadike 1994: 87). Film *Le noir de...*, zbog tematike o postkolonijalnom iskorišćavanju, nije mogao da uđe u komercijalnu distribuciju u Francuskoj. Oba filma, kao i većina Sembenovih filmova nagrađeni su na međunarodnim festivalima. Za realizaciju igranog filma *Mandabi* (1968), Semben je dobio finansije preko francuskog državnog konkursa i francuskog koproducenta, a film je imao dve verzije – na francuskom i na *wolof* jeziku, koji je najrasprostranjeniji jezik u Senegalu. Pored sociorealističkih afričkih problematika, Semben u trećem celovečernjem filmu *Emitai* (1971), obrađuje tematiku kolonijalne eksploracije. Semben je snimio film pomoću naturščika u Kazamanki, senegalskoj pokrajini na granici sa Gvinejom Bisau, odakle i stiže epska priča o otporu žena prema kolonijalistima (Hennebelle 1978: 112, 119). Tada je Semben već prešao na upotrebu lokalnih jezika, pa je ovaj film snimljen na jeziku regiona Diola (Vieyra 1983: 78). Zbog izrazito antikolonijalnog sadržaja i poruke o emancipaciji žena, distribucija filma *Emitai* bila je otežana u zapadnoj Africi, u Francuskoj bio je prikazan tek nakon šest godina, dok je u Moskvi dobio nagradu i pojavljivao se na festivalima

return to Africa, Sembene filmed *L'Empire Songhai*, a short documentary by order of the Malian government (Pfaff 1987:239). Sembene's next film *Borom Sarret* (1963) was one of the first African films supported by the recently founded *Bureau du cinema* of the French Ministry for Cooperation (Diawara 1992:24).¹² The film deals with the segregations in contemporary Senegalese society through the character of a driver and is considered to be the first African feature film filmed in Africa. With the film *Borom Serret* Sembene had founded his own production company – *Domireew* that with the help of co-producers supported almost all his films (Pfaff 1987:239). He had brought with him from the Soviet Union a 35mm *Bell and Howell* camera, and only later acquired a better camera from the *Service de Cinéma*. Although *Borom Sarret* and his following film *Le noir de...* are dominated by his lead characters monologues, which open a dimension of intimacy and subjectivity achieved through the poetic effect, the narration is, however, in the French language. At the beginning of his career, Sambene chose to use French so that the films were available to the largest possible public (Vieyra 1983:61), while some concluded that he did so to meet his French financier's requirements (Ukadike 1994:69). Due to its subject that deals with post-colonial exploitation the film *Le noir de...* did not reach commercial distribution in France. Both films, as is the case with almost all Sambene's films, were awarded at international film festivals. For the realisation of the feature film *Mandabi* (1968), Sembene was financed through a French state competition and a French co-producer. Therefore, the film has two versions – in French and the Wolof language which is the most widely spoken language in Senegal. Besides dealing with social-realistic African issues, Sembene in his third all-night film *Emitai* (1971) deliberates on colonial exploitation. Sembene made the film with amateur actors in Casamanca, the Senegalese province bordering Guinea Bissau, the place where the epic story of women's resistance against the colonials comes from (Hennebelle 1978:112, 119). Sembene had already turned to using the vernaculars by now, so this film was made in the language of the Diola region (Vieyra 1983:78). Because of its extreme anti-colonial content and message in favour of the emancipation of women, it was very difficult to distribute *Emitai* in West Africa and it was only shown in France six years later, whereas it received an award in Moscow and was screened on festivals (Pfaff 1987:241). The film *Xala* (1974) was one of the six films financially supported by the Senegalese National film committee. *Xala* means “temporary impotence” which is used in the film as symbol of the inefficiency of the postcolonial elite that hides its helplessness behind splendour. The film *Xala* was censored in Senegal, commercially distributed in Paris and

(Pfaff 1988: 241). Film *Xala* (1974) bio je jedan od šest filmova kojima je sredstva obezbedio senegalski nacionalni filmski komitet. *Xala* znači „privremena impotencija“, što je u tom filmu simbol za neefikasnost postkolonijalne afričke elite koja svoju nemoć skriva iza raskoši. Film *Xala*, cenzurisan u Senegal, bio je komercijalno distribuiran u Parizu i SAD, i gostovao je na još više festivala nego prethodni filmovi. Semben je, pored filmskog stvaralaštva, nastavio da piše povezujući ta dva vida umetničkog izražavanja. Tako su *Xala*, *Mandabi*, *La noire de...* i *Niaye* adaptacije njegovih književnih dela, kratkih priča i romana (Pfaff 1984). Sa filmom *Ceddo* (1976) Sembene problematizuje predkolonijalnu prošlost da bi pokazao kako je i islamizacija zapadne Afrike bila oblik kolonizacije.

Osamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka jedna od tendencija filmova bila je osvrtanje na prošlost, što je zadovoljavalo potrebu za autentičnim izražavanjem kao i zahteve umetničkih festivala. Kako Diawara (*Diawara*) primećuje u tom razdoblju afrički filmovi nastavljuju sa socio-realističkim¹³ temama i problemima kolonijalne konfrontacije. Tu temu otvorio je Semben već 1971. godine u filmu *Emitai*, a ponovo joj se posvetio krajem osamdesetih godina u filmu *Camp de Thiaroye* (1988), koji je senegalsko-tunisko-alžirska koprodukcija. Film osvetljava tragičan događaj iz drugog svetskog rata, masakra u francuskom vojnem logoru Thiaroye, gde su se pobunili afrički vojnici.¹⁴ Devedesetih godina dvadesetog veka, Semben se u filmu *Guelwaar* (1988) bavi koegzistencijom religija i kritikom razvojne pomoći. U ovom filmu Semben, kroz konflikt religioznih zajednica, opet razmatra različite socijalne slojeve u savremenom senegalskom društvu.

Ukadike smatra da produkcije Sembena, kao i mauritanskog režisera Meda Hondou, predstavljaju zalaganja za dekolonizaciju, panafrikanizam i marksizam, koji proizilaze iz dela afričkih političkih mislilaca kao što su Fanon, Cabral i Nkrumah (*Fanon, Cabral i Nkrumah*). Iako ostali senegalski i zapadnoafrički režiseri nisu bili podjednako radikalni, Semben je imao veliki uticaj na njih (Ukadike 1994: 90-105). Uglavnom, zapadnoafrički sineasti bavili su se sličnim temama kao i Semben, to jest, paradoksima društva, kritikom nove elite, predstavljanjem zaboravljenih ili prečutanih aspekata kolonizacije, sukobima između tradicije i modernosti, kao i između života u gradu i na selu. Da bi se realizovala dekolonizacija, morala je da se dekolonizuje i filmska forma, što znači da je svaka imitacija preovlađujućih filmskih narativnih praksi, naročito holivudske komercijalne formule, bila odbijana. Forma se mogla oslobođiti na dva načina i to, traženjem inspiracije u afričkim tradicijama, ili pak, u pronalaženju sasvim novih narativnih i stilskih oblika. Traženje inspiracije u tradiciji bilo je bliže

the USA and took part in more film festivals than the previous films. Sembene, besides filmmaking, continued to write and merge these two forms of creative expression. Therefore *Xala*, *Mandabi*, *Le noire de...* and *Niaye* are adaptations of his literary works, short stories and novels (Pfaff 1984). With his film *Ceddo* (1976) Sembene tackles the pre-colonial past to prove that the Islamization of West Africa was also a form of colonisation.

One of the tendencies of 1980s films was reviewing the past, which sufficed the need for authentic expression and the demands of art festivals. As Diawara remarked, the films of the period continue to deal with social-realistic¹³ themes and the problems of colonial confrontation. The subject was opened by Sambene as early as 1971 with the film *Emitai* and he turned to it again at the end of the '80s in his film *Camp de Thiaroye* (1988), a Senegalese-Tunisian-Algerian co-production. The film reflects on a tragic event that occurred in the II WW, the massacre in a French military camp Thiaroye where Africans soldiers rebelled.¹⁴ In the 1990s Sambene deals with the coexistence of religion and the critique of development aid in his film *Guelwaar* (1988). In this film, Sembene reconsiders the different social strata in contemporary Senegalese society through the conflict of religious groups.

Ukadike is of the opinion that Sembene and Mauritanian film director Med Hondou are examples that advocate decolonisation, pan-Africanism and Marxism, which is evident in the works of African political thinkers such as *Fanon*, *Cabral* and *Nkrumah*. Although other Senegalese and West African film directors were not equally as radical, Sembene had great authority over them (Ukadike 1994:90-105). For the most part, West African cinematographers dealt with similar themes as Sambene, i.e. society's paradoxes, critique of the new elite, the presentation of forgotten or omitted aspects of colonisation, the clashes between tradition and modernity, and between life in the city and the village. In order to complete de-colonisation it was necessary to decolonise film itself, which means that the repetition of prevailing film narratives, especially the Hollywood commercialised formula, was rejected. Film could be liberated in two ways: by searching for inspiration in African traditions, or on the other hand, in finding new narratives and styles. Inspiration found in tradition was closer to Cabral's (Cabral 1980) ideas and inspiration in revolutionary change closer to Fanon's philosophy (Fanon, 1963). For Med Hondou it was essential that the style of the film is supported by its content, which coincides with the more general requirements of third world cinematography (Ukadike 1994:102).¹⁵ Sembene attempted to get closer to his viewer through his style as well. If *Xala* was closer to a fable for its typical characters and message, in *Ceddo* the African tradition of oratorship finds its place. The impact

Kabralovim (Cabral 1980) idejama, a inspiracije u revolucionarnim promenama Fanonovoj filozofiji (Fanon,1963). Za Meda Honda od suštinske važnosti bilo je to da filmski stil podržava sadržinu, što se poklapa i sa širim zahtevima kinematografije trećeg sveta (Ukadike 1994: 102).¹⁵ Semben je pokušao da bude dostupan gledaocu i putem svog stila. Ako je film *Xala* sličan basni po tipičnim likovima i pouci, u filmu *Ceddo* afrička tradicija govorništva nalazi svoj prostor. Uticaj usmene tradicije iskazivao se kroz ritam filmske priče (Gabriel 1994: 41-43; Pfaff 1984: 32). Fransoaz Faf (*Françoise Pfaff*) poredi Sembenov rad sa ulogom *griota*, ali ne u smislu pevanja o vladarima, već u pripovedanju priča koje oslikavaju stanje društva (Pfaff 1984: 29-43). Iako je u Sembenovim filmovima moguće naći elemente usmene tradicije, mora se naglasiti da je on sam bio izrazito protiv stavova *négritude*, koji su obuhvatili pevanja o pretkolonijalnim tradicijama (Hennebelle 1978: 119). U Senegal, ali i u zapadnoj Africi, filmovi su bili stilski raznoliki, inovativni i eksperimentalni, posebno kod Djibrila Diop Mambety.¹⁶

Vieyra u studiji o senegalskoj kinematografiji izdvaja prvi period procvata filma u frankofonoj Africi od 1966. do 1977. godine (Vieyra 1983: 68). To se nekako poklapa sa zlatnim dobom *Bureau-a*, koga Andrad-Watkins postavlja u period između 1969. i 1977. godine (Andrade-Watkins 1996: 117). Ipak, nisu svi autori u to vreme pravili filmove isključivo zahvaljujući *Bureau-u*, budući da su im bili potrebni i drugi izvori finansiranja, mada je činjenica da je *Bureau* doprineo većoj produkciji filmova u frankofonoj Africi. Kasnije su mlađi senegalski sineasti udruženi u *Le Collectif l'Oeil Vert*, počeli da upozoravaju na nužnost finansijske samostalnosti i komercijalizacije afričkih filmova. Početkom devedesetih godina, ovo senegalsko udruženje smatralo je da su afrička tržišta previše mala i da je važno da se afrički režiseri bave više popularnim i univerzalnim temama, radi uključivanja na svetsko tržište (Pfaff 1990: 28).

S druge strane, alžirski filmski kritičar Bugedir (*Boughedir*) smatra da su velika svetska tržišta prezasićena i da je perspektiva afričkih filmova u kombinaciji afričke distribucije i učestvovanje na specijalizovanim internacionalnim festivalima, kako bi zainteresovali, pre svega, evropske koproducente. On se, stoga, zauzima za autorski film koji bi odgovarao Afrikancima i evropskoj specijalizovanoj publici posebnih festivalskih i televizijskih programa. Bugedir u tome vidi čak i mogućnost za razvoj kvalitetnog afričkog filma (Boughedir 1987: 52-55). Kako smatra Ukadike, afrički film je uspeo da postigne raznovrsnost, koristeći zapadne tehničke pronalaske u ostvarivanju sopstvenog filmskog jezika, koji, prema njegovom mišljenju, proizilazi iz bogatstva usmene tradicije (Ukadike 1994: 305,310).

of oral tradition was expressed through the rhythm of the film's story (Gabriel 1990:41,43; Pfaff 1984: 32). Françoise Pfaff compares Sembenes work with the role of the *griot*, however not in the form of singing praise to the ruler but telling stories that reveal the state society is in (Pfaff 1984:29-43). Although it is possible to find elements of oral tradition in Sembenes films it is necessary to emphasize that he personally was ardently against the judgments of *négritude* that included songs about pre-colonial traditions (Hennebelle 1978: 119). In Senegal and West Africa films varied in style, they were innovative and experimental, especially in the work of Djibril Diop Mambéty.¹⁶

In his study of Senegalese cinematography Vieyra makes a distinction between the first period of the rise of film in Francophone Africa from 1966 to 1977 (Vieyra 1983:68). This coincides with the 'golden age' of the *Bureau* which occurred according to Andrade-Watkins during 1969-1977 (Andrade-Watkins 1996:117). However, not all cinematographers at the time, filmed exclusively with the help of the *Bureau* because they also needed other sources of funding, though the fact remains that the *Bureau* really did contribute to the film production in Francophone Africa. It was only later that young Senegalese cinematographers gathered around the *Le Collectif l'Oeil Vert* started to warn about the importance of financial independence and the commercialisation of African films. At the start of the '90s, this Senegalese association considered the African film market to small and thought it necessary for African filmmakers to concentrate on more popular and universal themes for the sake of positioning in the world market (Pfaff 1990:28). On the other hand, Algerian film critic *Boughedir* thinks that the large world markets are oversaturated and that the future of African films lies in the combination of African distribution and taking part in international festivals, which will in effect lure European co-producers. He, therefore, advocates the film *d'auteur*, which would match both the African and European specialised festival and television programme public (Boughedir 1987:53-55). According to Ukadike African film has reached diversity using western technical inventions for the purpose of creating its unique film language that, according to him, springs from the richness of oral tradition (Ukadike 1994:305,310).

If we turn now to the circumstances in ex-British colonies – Nigeria, that is, the most famous cinematographer Balogun, we shall see that his life's path was different to Sembene's. While Sembene was the son of a fisherman, Balogun was the son of a lawyer, making it easier for him to acquire an education. In 1963 he entered the film school in Paris, the *Institute des Hautes Etudes Cinématographique* (IDHEC). This institution fostered a

Ako sad obratimo pažnju na prilike u nekadašnjim kolonijama Velike Britanije – na Nigeriju, odnosno, na najpoznatijeg sineastu Baloguna, videćemo da je njegov životni put bio drugačiji od Sembenovog. Dok je Semben bio sin ribara, Balogun je bio sin advokata, te su njegove mogućnosti za obrazovanje bile veće. Od 1963. godine upisuje se u filmsku školu u Parizu *Institute des Hautes Etudes Cinématographique* (IDHEC). U toj instituciji obrazovalo se dosta budućih režisera iz francuske zapadne Afrike, a Balogun je bio jedini iz njenog anglofonog dela.¹⁷ Balogun se specijalizovao za režiju, u Francuskoj se oženio sa Franoaz koja zatim postaje i njegova poslovna saradnica. Studije je nastavio u Nantersu, gde je 1970. godine doktorirao iz oblasti dokumentarnog filma. U međuvremenu, 1967. godine, vratio se u Nigeriju gde je neko vreme radio kao pisac scenarija za *Federal Film Unit*, a zatim je, zbog poznavanja francuskog jezika, pozvan na dužnost nigerijskog predstavnika za štampu u Parizu. Tada je postao i zagovornik jedinstva Nigerije, što se vidi u njegovom prvom dokumentarcu *One Nigeria* iz 1969. godine (Pfaff 1988: 21-22). Sedamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka, kada je Balogun završavao školovanje i počinjao sa snimanjem dokumentarnih filmova, u Nigeriji počinju prvi ozbiljniji pokušaji snimanja igranog filma. Prvi nigerijski film, *Son of Africa* (1970), kome niko ne priznaje prvenstvo usled velikog učešća Libanaca, producirao je Segun Olusola. Za prvi nigerijski film smatra se *Kongi's Harvest*, sfinansiran od Amerikanaca, ali je po sadržaju bio nigerijski, jer je rađen po drami Volea Soinka (*Wole Soyinka*) (Balogun 1984: 49; Ukadike 1994: 144-145). U to vreme, dakle 1971. godine, Balogun se vraća u Nigeriju i postaje istraživač na području kinematografije na Univerzitetu u Ifeu. Dve godine kasnije postaje zadužen za uspostavljanje vizuelnog odeljenja Narodnog muzeja. Na tom radnom mestu počeo je da snima etnografske dokumentarce o socijalno-religijskim tradicijama, prevashodno na području Joruba, odakle je i sam poticao, a i živeo. Film *Thundergod* (1972) posvećen je odavanju počasti Šangu, bogu groma kod Joruba. Film *Owuama, A New Year Festival* (1973)旨在 bringing the viewer closer to the psychological states that occur in animistic religious practices, aided by special visual effects. These ethnographic films differ from most European documentaries in that their commentary is reduced to its minimum, or sometimes completely absent, which allows the viewer a more direct experience of the mystical state depicted on the screen (Pfaff 1987:24).¹⁸ After the film *One Nigeria* a number of documentaries that worked around the subject of the political and economic themes of his country followed – *Eastern Nigeria Revisited* (1973) and *Nigersteel* (1975) (Pfaff, 1987:24).

Balogun filmed his first feature film *Alpha* (1972) in Paris. This is a seriously experimental, possibly even hermeneutical work¹⁹, making the film more personal and less socio-critical. *Alpha* focuses on the loss of roots and the artist's search for values. (Pfaff 1987:24,95-101). Balogun's second film *Amadi* (1975) revolves around the return of African immigrants to Africa. It is filmed in the local Ibo language, which was the reason it woke the interest of a large audience. (Ukadike 1994:147. In 1974

number of future film directors from French West Africa, and Balogun was the only one coming from its Anglophone area.¹⁷ Balogun specialised to become a film director, married Françoise in France, who became his film partner as well. He continued his studies in Nantes where in 1970 he completed his doctorate in the field of documentary film. In the meantime, in 1967, he returned to Nigeria where he worked for a while as a scriptwriter for the *Federal Film Unit* and then, due to his knowledge of French, was summoned to work as the Nigerian press correspondent in Paris. It was at this time that he started advocating the union of Nigeria, evident in his first documentary film *One Nigeria*, 1969 (Pfaff 1987:21-22). During the 1970s upon completing his studies and at a time he started filming his documentaries, the first serious attempts of feature film started to occur in Nigeria. The first Nigerian film *Son of Africa* (1970) that no one considers to be the first due to the strong Libyan element was produced by Segun Olusola. *Kongi's Harvest* is accepted as the first Nigerian film, and was co-financed by the Americans, even though Nigerian in content because it was based on the drama of Wole Soyinka (Balogun 1984:49, Ukadike 1994:144-145). At the time, more precisely in 1971, Balogun returns to Nigeria and starts researching in the field of cinematography at the University in Ife. Two years later he takes charge of the National Museum's visual department. There he started filming ethnographic documentaries about the social and religious traditions, in particular the regions inhabited by the Yoruba where he himself came from and lived. The film *Thundergod* (1972) was in honour of Shango, the lightning god of the Yoruba. *Owuama, A New Year Festival* (1973) aims at bringing the viewer closer to the psychological states that occur in animistic religious practices, aided by special visual effects. These ethnographic films differ from most European documentaries in that their commentary is reduced to its minimum, or sometimes completely absent, which allows the viewer a more direct experience of the mystical state depicted on the screen (Pfaff 1987:24).¹⁸ After the film *One Nigeria* a number of documentaries that worked around the subject of the political and economic themes of his country followed – *Eastern Nigeria Revisited* (1973) and *Nigersteel* (1975) (Pfaff, 1987:24).

Balogun je prvi igrani film *Alpha* (1972) snimio u Parizu. Radi se o izrazito eksperimentalnom, a možda i hermeneutičnom delu¹⁹, zbog čega je film više ličan, a

manje društveno kritički. Film *Alpha* se usredstavlja na osećanje gubitka korenova kao i na umetnikovo traganje za vrednostima (Pfaff 1988: 24, 95-101). Balogunov drugi igrani film, *Amadi* (1975) bavi se tematikom vraćanja emigranata u Afriku. Film je snimljen na domaćem jeziku *ibo*, što je bio razlog da privuče dosta publike (Ukadike 1994: 147). U Nigeriji je Balogun 1974. godine osnovao sopstveno producijsko društvo *Afrocult Foundation* koje je imalo tehničku opremu za snimanje i montažu. Za produkciju filmova trebale su pozajmice od banke, zbog toga je bio bitan komercijalni uspeh filmova (Balogun 1984: 41-44). Balogun je sledećim filmom *Ajani-Ogun* (1976) želeo još više da se približi publici, a istovremeno je htio da film osloni na već postojeće umetničke prakse. U saradnji sa Durom Ladipom (*Duro Ladipo*)²⁰, liderom jedne od najpoznatijih trupa jorupske pozorište, stvorio je prvi subsaharski muzikal, koji je doživeo ogroman uspeh kod publike. Balogun je tako otkrio formulu uspeha kod publike, te je svoje naredne filmove – *Ilja Ominira* (1977), *Aiye* (1980), *Orun Mooru* (1982) snimio na osnovu popularnih predstava jorupske pozorište. Iako je kod filma *Ajani Ogun* saradnja sineasta i pozorišne zvezde dobro funkcionala, u snimanjima ostalih filmova pojavljivali su se veliki konflikti između Baloguna i lidera pozorišnih trupa, odnosno glavnih glumaca, zbog različitih interesa (Balogun 1984: 63, 67; Ukadike 1994: 150). Na osnovu uspeha filma *Ajani Ogun*, indijsko-nigerijsko producijsko društvo ponudilo je Balogunu koprodukciju za njegov sledeći film *Musik-man* (1976), kao što je i iz Brazila dobio ponudu za produkciju filma. U Brazilu je snimio *A Deusa Negra* (1978), fantazmatsku melodramu, o traganju za poreklom nekadašnjih brazilskih robova. Zahvaljujući sakupljenom novcu od jorupskih popularnih filmova, Balogun je realizovao koproducijske filmove sa nigerijskim i afričkim tematikama od opšteg značaja. Takav je bio i film *Cry Freedom* (1981), snimljen u Gani, po romanu kenijskog pisca Meje Mwangi (Meja Mwangi), koji predstavlja afričku perspektivu oslobođilačkih pokreta. Film su afrički intelektualci dobro primili, iako su mu evropski kritičari zamerili manjak stilske inventivnosti (Pfaff 1988: 21-28; Ukadike 1994: 88). Ukadike primećuje da se publika oduševljavala ili jorupskim filmovima, čiji im je sadržaj bio kulturno blizak (a to se odnosi samo na jorupsku publiku), ili akcionim filmovima napravljenim u stilu komercijalnih klišea – kung fu, karate, vesterni (Ukadike 1994: 153). Na primer, Edi Ugboma (*Eddi Ugbomah*) kombinovao je akcioni žanr i tematike urbanih nigerijskih problema, koristeći „pidgin“ engleski jezik, da bi postigao popularnost kod nigerijske publike (Ukadike 1994: 159-166; Balogun 1984: 75-82).

Opšta privredna recesija (zbog *Structural Adjustment Programme*) osamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka

Balogun founded in Nigeria his own production association the *Afrocult Foundation* which possessed its own instruments for filming and film editing. The production of films entailed bank loans, which was what made the financial success of the films so important (Balogun 1984:41-44). In his next film *Ajani-Ogun* (1976), Balogun wanted to win the interest of an even larger audience and at the same time to rely on existing artistic practices. In cooperation with *Duro Ladipo*²⁰, leader of one of the most prominent Yoruba theatres, he created the first sub-Saharan musical that was very successful among its viewers. Through this Balogun discovered the secret that lies behind a successful film, thus leading him to base his consequent films – *Ilja Ominira* (1977), *Aiye* (1980) and *Orun Mooru* (1982) on popular Yoruban theatre plays. Although *Ajani Ogun* was filmed in an amicable atmosphere between film director and the theatre star, coming films brought deep conflict between Balogun and the leaders of theatre troupes, namely the leading actors, due to differences in interest (Balogun 1984:63, 67; Ukadike 1994:150). Based on the success of *Ajani Ogun* the Indian/Nigerian production association offered Balogun co-production of his next film *Musik-man* (1976); the same goes for Brazil that also offered film production. In Brazil he filmed *A Deusa Negra* (1978) the phantasmal-melodrama of the search for the origin of former Brazilian slaves. Thanks to the money he earned through popular Yoruban films, Balogun made co-produced films that dealt with Nigerian and African topics of general importance. Such was the film *Cry Freedom* (1981) filmed in Ghana and based on the novel by Kenyan writer Meye Mwangi, which offers the African perspective of liberation movements. The film was well received, although European critics complained about the lack of inventiveness (Pfaff 1988:21-28; Ukadike 1984:88). Ukadike observed that the audiences revered either Yoruban films whose content was culturally close to them (and this is only in reference to Yourba audiences), or action films that followed a commercial cliché – kung fu, karate, westerns (Ukadike 1994:153). For instance, *Eddi Ugbomah* combined the action genre and urban Nigerian issues using “pidgin” English in order to achieve popularity among Nigerian viewers (Ukadike 1994:159-166; Balogun 1984:75-82).

The overall economic recession (brought about by the *Structural Adjustment Programme*) that occurred in the '80s stunted further film production in Nigeria, which was taken over by cheap video technology. Balogun turned to filming advertisements. Yoruba filmmaking went completely into the hands of the leaders of theatre troupes that included them into their economy. These troupes already had their audiences and it turned out that it was more cost-effective to video-tape the plays than organise

onemogućila je u Nigeriji dalju filmsku produkciju, koju je nadomestila jeftinija video tehnologija. Balogun se tada okrenuo snimanju reklama. Oblast jorupskog filma u potpunosti je prešla u ruke lidera pozorišnih trupa, koji su ga uključili u svoju ekonomiju. Te trupe su već imale svoju publiku i pokazalo se, da im se više isplate prikazivanja predstava video snimcima, nego predstave uživo (Haynes i Okome 1997: 24-25). Kao i kod filma i kod video prezentacija bili su važni komercijalni uspeh i popularnost, a ne umetnički aspekti video medija²¹ (Balogun 1984: 82-87). U sadržaju jorupskog pozorišta prepliću se savremene urbane teme sa sadržajima iz tradicionalne mitologije, dok *igbo* i *pidgin* video filmovi više favorizuju holivudske žanrove. Video produkcija u Nigeriji, dakle, odražava etničke i klasne podele, kao i ekonomsko snalaženje, pa zbog toga možemo da je posmatramo kao specifičan fenomen koji zahteva posebnu analizu.

Zaključak

Iz prethodne analize vidi se da su u zapadnoj Africi bile prisutne dve različite politike filmske produkcije. Što se tiče politike nekadašnjih kolonijalnih sila posle dobijanja nazavisnosti, Francuska je pokušala da pomoći novih sredstava nastavi kulturnu prevlast, a Velika Britanija je filmsku produkciju više ili manje prepustila „biznisu“. U nekadašnjim francuskim kolonijama došlo je do zanimljivog paradoksa. Podrškom bivšeg kolonizatora omogućen je procvat izrazito društveno-kritičkih i eksperimentalnih filmova. Takva društvena kritika bila je usmerena upravo na ponašanje kolonijalizatora ili na neokolonijalne odnose održavanih uz pomoć lokalnih elita. Uprkos svim manama pomoći francuskih institucija, treba priznati, da bi bez njih u nekadašnjim kolonijama produkcija filmova bila manja i odvijala se sporije. S druge strane, upravo su francuska distribucijska društva svojim monopolima sprečavala da se razvijaju samostalni producijski potencijali u zapadnoj Africi. Na kraju, pokazalo se da čak ni pomoći afričkih država nije uvek bila idealna, zbog kontrole nad sadržajima. Sve to je uticalo da su se sineasti u zapadnoj Africi na različite načine zalagali za veću producijsku samostalnost filmova.

U Nigeriji, institucije za produkciju filmova, koje su ostale posle kolonijalnog perioda bavile su se dokumentarnim filmovima. Zaigrane filmove nije bila na raspolaganju pomoći od strane nekadašnjih engleskih kolonizatora, kao ni državna podrška. Tako je produkcija nigerijskih igranih filmova obojena preduzetničkim duhom. Da bi filmovi privukli što više publike bili su usmereni u pravcu zabave na osnovu klišeiranih filmskih formi, ali i popularnog jorupskog teatra. To nije značilo da se socijalne i političke teme nisu pojavljivale, ali su bile u pozadini. Prednost takvog sistema je samodovoljnost nigerijske filmske i video produkcije, koja je naravno

live performances (Haynes and Okome 1997:24-25). As was the case with films, the commercial success of video presentations was more important than the artistic aspects of the video medium²¹ (Balogun 1984:82-87). Contemporary Yoruba theatre combines current urban themes with traditional mythological content, while Igbo and pidgin video-films favour Hollywood genres. The video production in Nigeria, therefore, sustains ethnic and class division, and economic resilience that enable us to observe it as a specific phenomenon that requires separate analysis.

Conclusion

The analysis reveals that there were two different policies of film production in West Africa. As far as the policies of former colonial powers after independence are concerned, France tried to continue its cultural domination using new tools, while Britain more or less left most of the film production to “business”. An interesting paradox occurred in the French colonies. With the support of the ex-colonizers, markedly socio-critical and experimental films flourished. Such social criticism was directed towards the colonizer or the neo-colonial relationships sustained with the help of the local elite. Regardless the inadequacies of the aid received from French institutions, it is necessary to point out that without it the film production in its ex-colonies would have been less productive and much slower. On the other hand, it was the French distributing companies that thwarted the development of independent productions in West Africa through their monopolies. Finally, it became evident that the support coming from African states was not always ideal, due to control over the content. All this lead to cinematographer's in West Africa working in different ways towards greater film production independence.

In Nigeria the film production institutions that remained following the colonial period, engaged in documentary films. Feature films could not count on the support of the former English colonisers, or the state. Thus, there is a strong entrepreneurial element in the production of Nigerian feature films. In order to attract the widest possible public, films were directed at entertainment based on clichéed film forms and popular Yoruba theatre. This did not mean that social and political subjects were not tackled but that they remained in the background. The advantage of such a system is the sufficiency of Nigerian film and video productions that were of in a way limited in content and style. However, Nigerian cinematography holds the essence of the local social and cultural milieu and is capable of taking the place of the entertainment industry's foreign projects.

Finally I shall compare Sembene's and Balogun's

sadržinski i stilski ograničena. Ipak, nigerijska kinematografija i video produkcija obojene su lokalnim društvenim i kulturnim miljeom, što može delimično da nadomesti strane projekte industrije zabave.

Na kraju će uporediti kakav su odnos prema filmu imali Semben i Balogun, kao predstavnici kinematografija Senegala i Nigerije, koje su markirane različitim uslovima razvoja filmske produkcije. Semben je jedna od najupečatljivijih i najpopularnijih ličnosti afričkog filma uopšte. On je od početka film video kao sredstvo koje može da omogući stanovništvu da postane svesno društveno-političke situacije u kojoj živi, i da se odluči za promenu. Semben naglašava: „Znam da je uvek potrebna borba da bi se uslovi u kojima živimo poboljšali. Znam i da ljudi neće gledati moje filmove da bi se oraspoložili, već da bi nešto naučili. Mislim da moji filmovi omogućavaju prikazivanje problema, a time podstiču i debate. To je ono što može da izade iz umetničkog rada. Svoje filmove stvaram kao predstave univerzuma koji možemo da promenimo.“ (Hennebelle 1978: 124). Upravo zbog takvih poruka, Semben je želeo da njegove filmove vidi što više ljudi.²² Pa ipak, on je izrazito protiv komercijalizacije afričkih filmova na osnovu stereotipnih formi inostrane kinematografije, zato što je njihov cilj generalno bežanje od svakodnevnih problema, umesto suočavanja sa njima (Hennebelle 1978: 124). Semben, takođe, nije želeo da idealizuje afričku prošlost: „Ne želim da idealizujem Afriku pre dolaska belaca: pogrešno bi bilo slikati idiličan portret. Danas kada kontradikcije nisu više između kolonizatora i kolonizovanih, već između lokalne buržoazije i naroda, možemo prvi da kažemo tu istinu“ (Hennebelle 1978: 119). Ako se, pak, okrenemo ka afričkim misliocima dekolonizacije, Sembenov rad se može uporediti sa Fanonovim usmerenjem koji spas iz kolonijalizma vidi u borbi masa. Međutim, Balogunov stav se više okreće revitalizaciji tradicije (bliže je *négritude*) ili konceptu promena po Kabralu, kako objašnjava Balogun: „Afrički filmski stvaralac upravlja važnim komunikacijskim sredstvom, onim koje može da doprinese promenama Afrike. Međutim, u tom pogledu, kod nas se o filmu razmišlja kao o sredstvu za poučavanje: političko i didaktičko. Ne razmišlja se dovoljno često o tome da pravu borbu u Africi predstavlja ponovno otkrivanje vrednosti, načina mišljenja, pristupanja problemima, koji se oslanjaju na iznova otkriveno poverenje u nas same, našu civilizaciju i naše tradicije. Ne u vraćanju u prošlost, već u kontinuitetu“ (Ruelle 1978: 23).

Semben se u udruženju afričkih filmskih radnika zauzima za osamostaljivanje distribucije i za formiranje državnih filmskih fondova u okviru udruženja afričkih filmskih radnika. Balogun je već od početka na igrani film gledao iz komercijalnog ugla.²³ „S druge strane, film je

approach to film, as they are the representatives of cinematography in Senegal and Nigeria, which are marked by different circumstances that dictate the development of film production. Sembene is one of the most imposing and most popular figures in African film. From the beginning, he saw film as a means that would allow the local public to become aware of its socio-political situation and therefore, decide to change: “I am aware that it is necessary to fight constantly in order to make our living conditions better. I am also aware that people will not watch my films in order to cheer up, but rather to learn something. I think that my films allow problems to come to light and to instigate debate. This is what may result from a work of art. I create my films as images of the universe that we can change.” (Hennebelle 1978:124). It is because of such messages that Sembene wanted his films to be seen by as large an audience as possible.²² Yet he is highly against the commercialisation of African films based on the stereotypical forms of international cinematography because they generally aim to turn away from everyday problems, instead of confronting them (Hennebelle 1978:124). Sembene also did not want to idealise the African past: “I do not want to idealise Africa before the arrival of the white man: it would be wrong to draw an idyllic picture. Today, when contradictions no longer lie between the coloniser and colonised, but the local bourgeoisie and the people, we can be the first to speak the truth.” (Hennebelle 1978:119). If we, on the other hand, decide to turn to African decolonisation thinkers, Sembene's work can be compared to Fanon's belief that sees savour from colonisation in the plight of the masses. However, Balogun's stance turns more to the revitalisation of tradition (it is closer to *negritude*) or the concept of change according to Cabral: “The African filmmaker manipulates with an important communication tool, one that can contribute to changing Africa. Then again, from such a perspective, we may observe film as a means of research: political and didactic. The idea that rediscovering values, ways of thinking, dealing with problems founded on a rediscovered trust in oneself, our civilisation and our traditions as the true African plight, are not considered often enough. The idea lies not in regression into the past, but rather in continuity.” (Ruelle 1978:23)

As part of the African filmmakers association Sembene advocated independent distribution and the establishment of state film funds inside the framework of the association of African filmmakers. Balogun saw feature film from the very beginning from its commercial aspect:²³ “On the other hand, film is an industry: it needs and audience in order to sustain itself... Governments often do not understand the cultural significance of film and are not prepared to help filmmakers. It is necessary for us to form

industrija: za njegovo održavanje potrebni su gledaoci... Vlade često ne razumeju kulturnu ulogu filma i nisu spremne da pomognu filmskim stvaraocima. Moramo formirati ekonomsku bazu koja bi omogućila da film samog sebe izdržava. Dakle, moramo da pronađemo popularne forme.“ (Ruelle 1978: 23). Balogun je našao vrlo uspešan filmski oblik na osnovu jorupskog teatra, što je jedinstvena pojava u spektru afričkih filmova. Jorupski film zasniva se na lokalnoj popularnoj kulturi, vrlo je omiljen kod lokalnih gledalaca, što mu je omogućavalo finansijsku samostalnost. Balogun, međutim, nije želeo da se ograniči samo na jednu formulu i tražio je druge mogućnosti za izražavanje umetničkih i društveno-kritičkih ambicija, što nije naišlo na odobravanje javnosti.

Vidimo, da su na slog i formu filmova u zapadnoj Africi uticali, kako produksijski uslovi tako i stavovi sineasta prema filmskom mediju, što pokazuju i primeri Sembena i Baloguna. Na jednoj strani, u nekadašnjim francuskim kolonijama, filmovi su bili finansirani uz pomoć različitih podrški, ali su bili društveno kritički. Cilj mnogih sineasta bio je, da se kroz filmove bore protiv nejednakosti i klasnih podela. Na drugoj strani, u nekadašnjim britanskim kolonijama – Nigeriji, filmovi jesu odražavali društvene razlike i oslanjali su se na tradiciju, ali je sineastima na prvom mestu bila popularnost, da bi tako postigli finansijsku samostalnost. U prvom slučaju moglo bi se reći da je dekolonizacija više realizovana u sadržaju filmova, a u drugom, da se filmska produkcija osamostala unutar afričke države, istovremeno prilagođavajući se i zakonima tržišta. U oba slučaja, afrički identiteti se manifestuju kroz filmove, koji odslikavaju afričke društvene, kulturne i političke realnosti. U zapadnoj Africi sineasti su stvorili filmove širokog dijapazona, na šta su pored produksijskih uslova uticali i širi društveni i kulturni konteksti, te ideološki stavovi sineasta. Dakle, kroz analizu kinematografija vidimo kako afrička društva i kulture prolaze kroz dinamičke i raznovrsne procese.

Napomene:

¹ Zahvaljujem se Marti Stojić za prevod sa slovenačkog na srpski jezik, kao i dr Miroslavi Lukić Krstanović na pomoći u pripremi teksta na srpskom jeziku.

¹ U ovom tekstu analizira se društveno-istorijski kontekst produkcija kinematografije zapadne Afrike. U radu Lunaček, S. 2001. *Vpliv (post)kolonialne politike na razvoj filmov v Senegalu in Nigeriji na primeru Sembeneja in Bologuna*, Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo, Let. 29, št. 204-205-206, pp. 276-304, data je detaljna analiza opusa značajnih reditelja senegalskog i nigerijskog filma, Sembena i Baloguna.

² Naravno, Englez, Francuzi ali i Amerikanci su „Afriku“ izdašno upotrebljavali kao scenu za igrane filmove. Ti filmovi svakako nisu imali puno toga zajedničkog s afričkom realnošću, već su oslikavali interes i ideologije producenata. Slično je bilo i sa dokumentarnim filmovima, koji su većinom bili korišćeni kao propaganda za opravdavanje kolonizacije. Amerikanci su uglavnom snimali filmove o

an economic basis which would make film sustainable. Therefore, we should search for popular forms.” (Ruelle 1978:23). Balogun discovered a very successful film form based on Yoruba theatre, which is a singular occurrence in the spectre of African films. Yoruban film is based on local popular culture, is very well-liked among the local viewers – a fact that guarantees its financial independence. Balogun, however, was not content in settling with only one film formula and searched for other means of expressing artistic and socio-critical ambitions and this was not accepted well by the public.

We see that the style and form of films in West Africa were affected by both the conditions of production and cinematographers' attitudes regarding film as medium, as confirmed by the examples of Sembene and Balogun. On the one hand, films made in ex-French colonies were financed from different sources, but were critical of society. The aim of many cinematographers was to use the films to fight against inequalities and class division. On the other hand, in the former British colonies – Nigeria, films were a reflection of social differences and depended on tradition, however, cinematographers held popularity that gained them financial independence, as the central value. It may be concluded that in the first case, decolonisation was achieved in the films' content and that, in the second case, it was film production that was in fact decolonised. In both cases, African identities manifested through films which are a reflection of African social, cultural and political realities. In West Africa cinematographers created a wide spectre of films affected by the rules of production and also wider social and cultural contexts, as well as ideological attitudes of the cinematographers. Therefore, by analysing the numerous existing cinematographies we are able to observe how African societies and cultures go through dynamic and diverse processes.

Notes:

¹ I would like to thank Marta Stojić for the Slovenian-to-Serbian translation, and Miroslava Lukić Krstanović (PhD) for her help in the preparation of the text in Serbian.

¹ This article analyses social and historical context of West Africa's cinema production. The paper: Lunaček, S. 2001. *Vpliv (post)kolonialne politike na razvoj filmov v Senegalu in Nigeriji na primeru Sembeneja in Bologuna*, Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo, Let. 29, št. 204-205-206, pp. 276-304, provides more detailed analysis of the works of significant Senegalese and Nigerian directors, Sembena and Balogun.

² The English, French, and of course the Americans, generously used “Africa” as the setting for their films. Rather than describe African reality, the films reflected the interests and ideologies of the producers. The same could also be said for documentary films that were for the most, used as propaganda for the justification of colonisation. Americans mostly made films about animals reproducing thus an image of Africa as the “wild” continent (for more see Cameron 1994).

životinjama reproducujući, tako, sliku Afrike kao „divljeg“ kontinenta (više o tome vidi Cameron 1994).

³ Dva francuska krišom snimljena filma bila su zabranjena: *Afrique 50* (1950) prikazuje francusko gušenje oslobođilačkog pokreta u Obali Slonovače, a *Les statues muerent aussi* (1955) krađu predmeta za evropske muzeje (Diawara 1992: 21-23).

⁴ Neke autore, kao što su Umarua Ganda, Safi Faye, Mustafu Alasana (*Oumarou Ganda, Safi Faye, Moustapha Alassane*) motivisao je Žan Ruš (*Jean Rouch*), koji se bavio etnografskim filmom, iako je među afričkim intelektualcima i sineastima imao prilično kontroverzan status. Ruš optužuju da pristupa svojim filmovima uzvišeno i naučno, dok su mu ideje upravo suprotne (vidi Eaton, 1979; Loizos 1994; Stoller 1992; Ukadike 1994).

⁵ Naravno, nije se radilo samo o zlobnim namerama velesile. Ipak, postojale su i dobre namere angažovanih pojedinaca, koji su pokušavali da doprinesu razvoju afričkog filma i time isprave krivicu – kako je primetio Žorž Sadoul (*George Sadoul*) – da je šezdeset godina nakon nastanka filma veliki deo čovečanstva uskraćen za svoje filmove (Diawara 1992: 24).

⁶ U Gani je nakon osamostaljenja ostala filmska škola. Nkrumah je sagradio veličanstvene studije, čiji su kapaciteti bili malo korišćeni, a režiseri igralnih filmova, kao što su Kvau Ansah (Kwau Ansah) i King Ampau (King Ampaw), prepušteni sopstvenoj snalažljivosti. Ansah je želeo da sačuva potpunu slobodu kreativnosti, ne uplićući se u strane koprodukcije, te mu je zato trebalo više od decenije da snimi dva filma, koje su i kritičari i publika prihvatali sa oduševljenjem (Ukadike 1994: 27-141; Diawara 1992: 5-7, 118).

⁷ Na primer *Clappeny Nigeria Limited*, osnovan 1965. godine, producirao je samo dva igrana celovečernja filma, dok su ostali bili dokumentarni filmovi (Balogun 1984: 41).

⁸ Hondo se obrazovao za šefu kuhinje u Maroku. U Francuskoj je radio kao berač voća i lučki radnik pre nego što je dobio posao u kuhinji. Na svojoj koži osjetio je diskriminatorski odnos prema imigrantima. Imao je želju za obrazovanjem, te je studirao pozorišnu umetnost i osnovao sopstvenu pozorišnu trupu. Filmu se približio prvo kao statista, a korišćenje kamere naučio je bez formalnog obrazovanja, kroz praksu, kao asistent režije (Pfaff, 1988: 157-160).

⁹ Grioti su u zapadnoj Africi posebna društvena kategorija čija je vokacija usmeno pesništvo i besedništvo obično vezana za vladajuće porodice.

¹⁰ Iskustva afričkog radnika u Francuskoj opisao je u romanu *Crni lučki radnik* (*Le docker noir*, 1956). U narednih pet godina objavio je još dva romana i zbirku kratkih priča.

¹¹ Viejra se fokusirao najviše na snimanje dokumentarnih i informativnih filmova, kao na primer *Une nation est née* (1961). U to vreme počeli su da snimaju Senegalac Bles Sengor (*Blaise Senghor*), Kamerunac Žan Pol Ngasa (*Jean Paul N'Gassa*) i Nigerac Mustafa Alasan (Ukadike 1994: 69).

¹² Alasanov film *Aoure*, iz 1962. Bureau je otkupio i promovisao kad je već bio završen (Pfaff 1987: 2). Iako je i *Aoure* delimično bio i igrani film, *Borom Sarret* je ipak nekako počeo da važi za prvi igrani film podsaharske Afrike.

¹³ Diawara naglašava da je film *La vie est belle* (1987) Mveza Ngangura (*Mweze Ngangura*) i Lamia Benuata (*Lamy Benoît*) u stvari muzička komedija sa socijalnim prizvukom, sa zvezdom Papom Vembom (*Papa Wemba*) u glavnoj ulozi, koja je doprinela uspehu filma. Tendencija bavljenja socijalnom problematikom kroz zabavne forme prisutna je i u nekim drugim filmovima, ali ima dosta i filmova sa problemskom tematikom (Diawara 1992: 141-152).

¹⁴ Na sličan način se i Med Hondo bavi prošlošću u filmu *Sarraounia* (1986), gde prikazuje okrutnost francuskog osvajanja Afrike.

¹⁵ Kinematografija trećeg sveta je koncept revolucionarnog pristupa filmu, koga su krajem šezdesetih godina artikulisali južnoamerički filmski stvaraoci (pogledaj Pines i Willemen, 1994).

³ Two French films, filmed in secret were forbidden: *Afrique 50* (1950) describes the French ending of the liberation movement in Ivory Coast; *Les statues muerent aussi* (1955) is about the European theft of artefacts for museums (Diawara 1992: 21-23).

⁴ Certain authors were inspired (Oumarou Ganda, Safi Faye, Moustapha Alassane) by Jean Rouch who made ethnographic film, besides holding a controversial status among african intellectuals and cinematographers. Rouch is seen as a filmmaker who approached his films in a philosophicall and scientific way, while his ideas remain the complete oposite (in: Eaton, 1979; Loizos 1994; Stoller 1992; Ukadike 1994).

⁵ This was not solely a question of the evil intentions of the superpower, but also the efforst of the engaged individuals that tried to contribute to the development of African film and correct the wrongdoings, as George Sadoul has observed, that sixty years after the birth of film a great proportion og humanity has been denied its films (Diawara 1992: 24).

⁶ The film school remained after the independence of Ghana. Nkrumah built the most amazing studios that were never used to their full capacity, and feature film directors such as Kwaw Ansah and King Ampaw left to their own devices. Ansah wanted to retain complete control over his creativity, not meddling with foreign coproductions and therefore needing more than a decade to make two films, received by an exhilarated critic and audience (Ukadike 1994: 27-141; Diawara 1992: 5-7, 118).

⁷ For instance, *Clappeny Nigeria Limited*, founded in 1965, produced only two feature all-night films, while other were documentary films (Balogun 1984: 41).

⁸ Hondou was specialised to be a kitchen-chef in Morocco. In France he worked as a fruit picker and dock-worker before getting employment in a kitchen. He felt the discrimination towards immigrants on his own skin. He wished to gain an education so he studied theatre art and established his own theatre troupe. He first approached film as a film extra, and learnt to use a camera without formal education, through experience as assistant director (Pfaff 1987: 157-160).

⁹ Griots are a special category of people in West Africa, whose vocation is oratory and rhetoric most often linked to the family in power.

¹⁰ He described his experiences as African worker in France in his novel *The Black Docker* (*Le docker noir*, 1956). In the next five years he published two more novels and a collection of short stories.

¹¹ Vieyra focused on filming documentary and informational films such as *Une nation est née* (1961). The Senegalese Blaise Senghor, Cameroonian Jean Paul N'Gassa and Nigerian Mustapha Alassane all started filming at this time (Ukadike 1994: 69).

¹² The rights for Alassan's film *Aoure* from 1962 were bought by the Bureau and also promoted by it upon completion (Pfaff 1987: 2). Although *Aoure* was in part a feature film, *Borom Sarret* was somehow taken to be the first, however short feature film from sub-Saharan Africa.

¹³ Diawara emphasizes that the film *La vie est belle* (1987) by Mweze Ngangure and Lamy Benoît is in fact a musical comedy with a social note, lead by the actor Papa Wembo in the leading role, which contributed to the success of the film. The tendency of dealing with social problems through comic forms is discernable in other films as well, although there are a number of films that deal with specific issues (Diawara 1992: 141-152).

¹⁴ Med Hondo tackles the past in a similar way in his film *Sarraounia* (1986) where he depicts the cruelty of the French conquest of Africa.

¹⁵ Third world cinematography is a revolutionary concept of approaching film, articulated at the end of the '60s by south-American filmmakers (in: Pines and Willemen, 1990).

¹⁶ By the end of the '60s Mambéty made two short films, *Contras-City* and *Badou Boy*, and continued to work on his breakthrough in 1973 with his feature film *Touki Bouki*.

¹⁶ Mambeti je već krajem šezdesetih godina napravio dva kratka filma, *Contras-city* i *Badou boy* i 1973. godine nastavio svoj proboj igranim filmom *Touki Bouki*.

¹⁷ Ganski režiser Kvau Ansah obrazovao se u SAD.

¹⁸ Zanimljivo je da je neposredno doživljavanje rituala preko medija filmske kamere bilo ono za što se zalagao Žan Ruš, slavni francuski etnografski filmski stvaralač. Međutim, baš on je zajedno sa drugim etnografskim filmskim stvaraocima najčešća meta oštrelj napada afričkih kritičara i režisera. Da li je tome razlog, što on nije uspevao da se oslobođi pokroviteljskog odnosa karakterističnog za kolonijaliste, ili su kritičari bili zaslepljeni ubeđenjem da o sebi mogu da govore samo „domaći“ (iako su se rodili u Americi)?

¹⁹ Na ovom mestu treba da upozorim čitaoca da sam do sada imala mogućnost da pogledam samo jedan Balogunov film, i to *Ajani Ogun*. Zato sam morala da se oslanjam na druge izvore prilikom opisa ostalih filmova i mišljenja o njima. Više sreće imala sam sa Sembenovim filmovima, jer sam uspela da pogledam većinu.

²⁰ Duro Ladipo wrote the text and music, Balogun wrote the screenplay and directed the film.

²¹ Ade Folayan, Čif Hubert Ogunde i Mozes Olaiya Adejumo (*Ade Folayan, Chief Hubert Ogunde i Mozes Olaiya Adejumo*), koji su prvi film snimili zajedno s Balogunom, nastavili su sa produkcijom videa na osnovu njihovih pozorišnih predstava u kojima su igrali glavne uloge.

²² Iz razgovora sa različitim afričkim filmskim stvaraocima mogu da zaključim da su njegovi filmovi u frankofonoj Africi dobro posećeni, onda kada ih je moguće pogledati.

²³ S tim u vezi je još jedna razlika između njih: dok je Balogun sve vreme upotrebljavao zvezde ili poznata imena, Sembene je po pravilu radio sa naturšćicima.

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¹⁷ Ghanaian filmmaker Kwaw Ansah was educated in the U.S.A.

¹⁸ It is interesting that Jean Rouch (the famous French ethnographic filmmaker) advocated the direct experience of ritual through the film camera as medium. However, it is precisely him who is most often criticized by African critics and film directors. Does the reason lie in the fact that he was not able to get rid of the patronising approach of the colonial, or were critics blinded by the idea that it was only 'local' filmmakers that had the right to talk about themselves (even if they were born in America)?

¹⁹ I would like to warn readers at this point that I have had the opportunity to watch only one of Bologun's films – *Ajani Ogun*. I was prompted therefore to rely on other sources in describing the other films and opinions around them. I had more luck with Sembene's films as I was able to watch almost all.

²⁰ Duro Ladipo wrote the text and music, Balogun wrote the screenplay and directed the film.

²¹ Ade Folayan, Chief Hubert Ogunde and Moses Olaiya Adejumo who filmed their first films with Balogun, continued with video production based on their theatre plays in which they played the leading roles.

²² After talking to a number of African filmmakers I can conclude that his films have a high viewership in Francophone Africa, at the times that it is made possible to see them.

²³ There is another divergence between the two: Balogun insisted on working with established film stars, while Sambene worked with self-taught (amateur) actors.

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Predavanje:

"Konceptacija Muzeja kej Branli, Pariz"

Francuski kulturni centar u Beogradu
2. mart 2009.

Ovaj tekst nastao je na osnovu transkripta^{*} predavanja koje je održao direktor Odeljenja kulturnog nasleđa i zbirki pariskog Muzeja kej Branli, Iv le Fir, povodom zajedničke izložbe ovog muzeja i Muzeja afričke umetnosti u Beogradu, realizovane u Francuskom kulturnom centru (2-14. mart 2009).

Prezentacija:

Dobar dan i dobrodošli. Veoma smo počastovani što je danas sa nama Iv le Fir, (Yves Le Fur) direktor Odeljenja kulturnog nasleđa i zbirki Muzeja kej Branli (*Musée du quai Branly*), u saradnji sa Muzejom afričke umetnosti (MAU) u Beogradu sa kojim intenzivno sarađujemo dugi niz godina. Zajedničko gostoprivrstvo ukazano je povodom dana posvećenog afričkoj umetnosti pošto je večeras otvaranje izložbe¹ Muzeja kej Branli u saradnji sa Muzejom afričke umetnosti u Beogradu.

Iv le Fir će vam se danas obratiti kao specijalista za muzeje. Drugo predavanje počeće večeras u 18 časova pre otvaranja izložbe. Iv le Fir rećiće nam ponešto o Muzeju kej Branli. Ovo predavanje namenjeno je profesionalcima i ima za cilj uspostavljanje pravog dijaloga i prave razmene iskustava.

Početak

Dobar dan, za početak, želeo bih da se zahvalim Paskal Delpeš i Sofi Barde, iz Francuskog kulturnog centra, na ukazanom gostoprivrstvu, ali i Narcisi Šijan, Ani Sladojević i Mariji Ličini, iz Muzeja afričke umetnosti, koje su me lepo dočekale i čija inicijativa me je dirnula. Imao sam zadovoljstvo da Anu upoznam u Parizu: njena motivisanost i dinamičnost podstakli su me da vam predstavim ovaj veliki projekat, kulturološki alat – pre nego muzej – ovu nadasve izuzetnu i jedinstvenu u svetu, „kulturnu opremu“ koju čini Muzej kej Branli. Ukratko ću vam predstaviti različite faze ovog projekta, insistirajući na postupku prilikom premeštanja i rekondicioniranja praktično trista hiljada eksponata i, najzad, zahvaljujući internet stranici muzeja, ukazujući na sve mogućnosti koje nudi sedište ove kulturne institucije, koja je, istovremeno istraživački centar i centar kulturnog izražavanja gde se organizuju brojne konferencije, predstave, itd.

Projekat Muzeja kej Branli nastao je spajanjem

Conférence :

"La conception du musée du quai Branly, Paris"

Centre culturel français de Belgrade
2 mars 2009

Ce texte est réalisé à partir de la transcription^{*} de la conférence tenue par le Directeur du département du patrimoine et collections au musée du quai Branly à Paris, Yves Le Fur, à l'occasion d'une exposition commune mise en place par le musée du quai Branly et le musée de l'Art africain de Belgrade, qui a eu lieu au Centre Culturel Français de Belgrade (du 2 au 14 mars 2009).

Présentation:

Bonjour et bienvenu. Nous sommes très heureux d'accueillir aujourd'hui avec nous Yves Le Fur, Directeur du département du patrimoine et des collections au musée du quai Branly, en partenariat avec le Musée des arts africains de Belgrade avec qui nous collaborons très intensivement depuis de nombreuses années. C'est un accueil commun qui s'inscrit dans une journée consacrée aux arts africains puisque ce soir nous inaugurons une exposition¹ du musée du quai Branly en partenariat avec le Musée des arts africains de Belgrade.

Yves le Fur s'adresse à vous aujourd'hui en tant que spécialiste des musées. Il y aura une seconde conférence ce soir à 18h avant le vernissage de l'exposition. Yves le Fur va présenter un certain nombre de repères sur le musée du quai Branly. Notre objectif pour cette conférence entre professionnels est qu'il y est un vrai dialogue, un véritable échange.

Début:

Bonjour, pour commencer, je voudrais remercier Pascale Delpech et Sophie Bardet, du Centre culturel français, de m'accueillir, mais aussi Narcisa Šijan, Ana Sladojević et Marija Ličina, du Musée des arts africains, qui m'ont offert un accueil très chaleureux et dont l'action me porte à cœur. J'ai eu le plaisir de rencontrer Ana à Paris: sa motivation et son dynamisme m'ont encouragé à vous présenter ce vaste projet, cet outil culturel – plutôt que ce musée – cet équipement culturel tout à fait exceptionnel et unique au monde qu'est le musée du quai Branly. Je vais vous présenter rapidement les différentes phases de ce projet, en insistant sur la manière dont nous avons procédé pour déplacer et reconstruire pratiquement 300 000 objets et, enfin, je vous présenterai, grâce au site internet du musée,

Nacionalnog muzeja i Muzeja umetnosti Afrike i Okeanije – muzeja u kojem su sačuvane zbirke potele iz Kolonijalnog muzeja (oko četrdeset hiljada eksponata), i koje su bile locirane u Port Dore u Parizu; zatim čuvenog Muzeja čoveka koji je osnovao Žorž-Anri Rivijer 1937. godine i koji je nasledio zbirke muzeja Trokadero; kao i druge stare zbirke poput Zbirke Narodne biblioteke Francuske, Luvra – u kome se nalaze egzotični eksponati sa početka 19. veka – ili kolekcije Pomorskog muzeja, itd. Ove zbirke ostale su bez naslednika krajem 20. veka i duplirale su se – Nacionalni muzej umetnosti Afrike i Okeanije kupovao je eksponate istog tipa koje je već posedovao Muzej čoveka.

Krajem 1990-tih godina, predsednik Žak Širak upoznao je izuzetnog čoveka, Žaka Keršaša, eksperta i ujedno estetu, kolezionara, trgovca i specijalistu za umetnost Afrike i Okeanije, kome polazi za rukom da ubedi Širaka u to, da vanevropskoj umetnosti nije ukazano zasluženo mesto u Francuskoj i da je za žaljenje to što su ova istorijska, kulturna, etnografska i antropološka svedočenja zanemarena. Predsednik Širak, koji je ljubitelj vanevropske umetnosti, bitno će doprineti prvoj etapi: postavljanje selekcije od stotinak remek dela u jednom od paviljona (Pavillon des Sessions) u prostorijama Luvra (2000). Ove sale, koje je renovirao arhitekta specijalizovan za muzeje, Žan-Mišel Vilmot, omogućile su jedno pročišćeno predstavljanje remek dela prema konцепцији Žaka Keršaša. Kako je prisustvo ovih umetnina u Luvru već bilo zahtevano početkom 20. veka, između ostalih, i od strane pesnika Gijoma Apolinera, stvorila se polemika među etnologima koji su zastupali mišljenje da Žak Keršaš nije naučnik, već trgovac, i da njegovo mesto nije u muzeju. Smatra se da su u muzeju Luvr ovi eksponati izgubili svoje mesto i da ih nema dovoljno u izložbenim salama.

Primetićemo dalje da će ova, nazovimo je ambasadom, Muzej kej Branli u Luvru, u potpunosti odigrati svoju ulogu vrednovatelja predstavljenih zemalja – i to najviše zemalja Afrike, Okeanije i Amerike. Ove zemlje i njihovi predstavnici biće sasvim zadovoljni što se eksponati, koji predstavljaju njihove kulture, nalaze u trenutno najvećem muzeju na svetu: po površini i posećenosti koja iznosi 9 miliona posetilaca godišnje.

Godine 1995. najavljeno je otvaranje budućeg muzeja kultura Afrike, Okeanije i zemalja američkih kontinenata. Shodno tome, otvoren je Internacionalni konkurs za arhitekte za izgradnju muzeja na jednoj od poslednjih slobodnih nacionalnih parcela u Parizu, između kvarta Invalida (*Les Invalides*) i Ajfelove kule. Parcera je veoma dugačka. Nekoliko kandidata, među kojima su i Renzo Piano, Fransis Soler i Kristijan Portzampac, predložilo je različita arhitektonska rešenja za vrt od više hektara. Na konkursu je pobedio Žan Nuvel sa čijim smo se radom upoznali u Parizu, Barseloni, kao i Lucernu (reč je o zgradi

les différentes possibilités qui sont mises en œuvre au sein de cet équipement culturel, qui est, à la fois, un centre de recherche et un centre d'expression culturelle organisant de nombreuses conférences, de nombreux spectacles, etc.

Le projet du musée du quai Branly naît de la fusion du musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, musée qui conservait les collections (40 000 objets) issues du Musée colonial et était situé Porte Dorée à Paris, et du célèbre musée de l'Homme fondé par Georges-Henri Rivière en 1937 et qui héritait des collections du musée du Trocadéro et d'autres collections anciennes telles que celles de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, celles du musée du Louvre – où se trouvaient des objets exotiques dès le début du XIXème siècle – ou encore celles du musée de Marine, etc. Ces collections étaient en déshérence à la fin du XXème siècle et se doublonnaient – le musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie achetait des objets du même type que ceux déjà possédés par le musée de l'Homme.

A la fin des années 90, le Président Jacques Chirac rencontre un personnage exceptionnel, Jacques Kerchache. A la fois expert, esthète, collectionneur, marchand, et spécialiste des arts africain et océanien, il parvient à le convaincre que les arts des cultures extra-européennes ne sont pas représentés à leur juste valeur en France et qu'il est regrettable que ces témoignages historiques, culturels, ethnographiques et anthropologiques soient abandonnés. Le Président Chirac, qui a le goût des arts non-occidentaux, sera à l'origine d'une première étape, très importante: l'installation en 2000 d'une sélection d'une centaine de chef d'œuvres au Pavillon des Sessions dans l'enceinte du musée du Louvre. Ces salles, rénovées par l'architecte muséographe Jean-Michel Wilmotte, permettaient une présentation très aérée des chefs-d'œuvre proposés par Jacques Kerchache. Alors que la présence de ces arts au Louvre avait déjà été souhaitée au début du XXème siècle par le poète Guillaume Apollinaire, entre autres, une polémique naît chez les ethnologues qui disent que Jacques Kerchache n'est pas un scientifique, mais un marchand, dont la place n'est pas au musée. Au musée du Louvre, on se plaint de perdre de la place et de la présence de ces objets dans les salles d'exposition.

On s'apercevra ensuite que cette ambassade, en quelque sorte, du musée du quai Branly au Louvre va pleinement jouer son rôle, notamment un rôle de valorisation vis-à-vis des pays présentés – et principalement ceux d'Afrique, d'Océanie et d'Amérique. Ces pays et leurs représentants vont être tout à fait satisfaits de découvrir des objets présentant leurs cultures dans le plus grand musée du monde – actuellement, en surface et en fréquentation, soit près de 9 millions de visiteurs par an.

En 1995, la création du futur Musée des cultures d'Afrique, d'Océanie et des Amériques est annoncée. Par conséquent, un concours international d'architectes est lancé pour la construction d'un musée sur une des

Kongresa). Žan Nuvel jedan je od retkih koji je predvideo više prostora za vrt, za koji će nacrt uraditi umetnik Žil Klemen. Građevina se prostire u dužini od približno trista metara, a tri administrativne građevine organizovane su u vidu češlja: radionice za restauraciju i za pripremu izložbi u prvoj građevini u Univerzitetskoj ulici (*Rue de l'Université*); kancelarije, ulaz u medijatku i izložbene sale u građevini u sredini; i poslednja, čija je fasada prekrivena puzavicama, realizovanu od strane umetnika-botaničara Patrika Blana.

Akcija prenosa zbirki

Cilj je bio da se zbirke Muzeja čoveka i Nacionalnog muzeja umetnosti Afrike i Okeanije spoje. Ove kolekcije su prvo bile predstavljene kartografski kako bi se stekla precizna slika o onome što je realno postojalo. Naime, u Muzeju čoveka bilo je teško proceniti broj eksponata koje je trebalo preneti u Muzej kej Branli (između 200 000 i 600 000). Inventar nije napravljen. Slično se desilo, iako u manjoj razmeri u Nacionalnom muzeju umetnosti Afrike i Okeanije. Prva etapa sastojala se u kartografskom predstavljanju velikih skupina. Potom je trebalo preneti zbirke pa je Muzej kej Branli angažovao Žan-Pola Odoza koji je sproveo kompletну selidbu Nacionalne biblioteke Francuske služeći se industrijskim materijalom za kondicioniranje i skladištenje, koji je inače bio usvojen u supermarketima i hipermarketima.

Zbirke su prebačene u industrijsku građevinu blizu periferije 13. arondismana. Očišćene su od prašine i obavljen je izuzetno bitan posao numerizacije kartona i svih dokumenata raspoloživih arhiva. To je bio zatečak fototeke koja obuhvata oko 700 000 fotografskih dokumenata. Muzej kej Branli raspolaže i bazom podataka, TMS (*The Museum System*), koja sadrži informacije o svim kartonima i eksponatima iz zbirki. Ova elektronska baza podataka zamenila je arhive smeštene u impozantne komade nameštaja od drveta, koji su izašli iz upotrebe. Elektronski kartoni eksponata sadrže iste informacije koje su se nalazile na papirnim kartonima (broj inventara, naziv, zemlju, poreklo kolekcije, fotografije eksponata, itd). Od tada, svi eksponati koji uđu u sastav kolekcije sistematski podležu fotografisanju, a pojedini se fotografisu u tri dimenzije.

Kada su prebačeni, eksponati su dezinfikovani tretmanom anoksije odnosno smanjenjem dotoka kiseonika. Potom bi bili rekondicionirani i skladišteni, u iščekivanju otvaranja muzeja i završetka arhitektonске realizacije, na parkingu Nacionalne biblioteke Francuske na slobodnim spratovima. Potom su prebačeni u rezervne prostorije muzeja, ali o tome će govoriti malo kasnije.

Projekat muzeologije²

Bilo je potrebno odrediti način na koji će se zbirka preneti

dernières parcelles nationales disponibles dans Paris, entre l'Hôtel des Invalides et la Tour Eiffel. La parcelle est très allongée. La contrainte portant sur l'aménagement d'un jardin de plusieurs hectares fut résolue de différentes manières par les candidats, dont Renzo Piano, Francis Soler et Christian Portzampac. Le concours fut remporté par Jean Nouvel dont on connaît les réalisations, à Paris, à Barcelone, ou bien à Lucerne (le Centre des Congrès). Jean Nouvel va être l'un des rares à donner le plus d'espace au jardin, qui sera dessiné par un artiste jardinier, Gilles Clément. Le bâtiment s'étire tout en longueur – environ 300 mètres – et les trois bâtiments administratifs s'organisent en forme de peigne: ateliers de restauration et de préparation des expositions, dans le premier bâtiment sur la rue de l'Université, bureaux, accès à la médiathèque et aux expositions dans celui du milieu et, dans le dernier, dont la façade sera recouverte par un mur végétal de l'artiste-botaniste Patrick Blanc.

Le chantier des collections

L'objectif était de réunir les collections du musée de l'Homme et du musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie. Ces collections ont d'abord été cartographiées afin d'avoir une vision précise de ce qui existait réellement. En effet, au musée de l'Homme, il était difficile d'estimer le nombre d'objets à transférer au musée du quai Branly (entre 200 000 et 600 000). L'inventaire n'avait pas été réalisé. Il en était de même, mais dans une moindre mesure, au musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie. La première étape a été cette cartographie déterminant les grands ensembles. Ensuite, ces collections ont été déménagées et le musée du quai Branly a fait appel à Jean-Paul Oddoz, qui avait fait tout le chantier de déménagement de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France et utilisait du matériel industriel de conditionnement, de stockage et de transport habituellement adoptées dans les supermarchés et les grandes surfaces.

Les collections ont été transférées dans un bâtiment industriel près du périphérique dans le 13ème arrondissement. On les a déposées et un travail très important de numérisation des fiches et de tous les documents d'archives disponibles. Ce fut le début de la photothèque qui représente environ 700 000 documents photographiques. Le musée du quai Branly dispose d'une base de données, TMS (*The Museum System*), renfermant les informations de tous les documents et objets de ses collections. Cette base de données informatique a remplacé les archives, désuètes, dans un mobilier imposant en bois. Les fiches des objets portent les mêmes informations que les fiches papier (numéro d'inventaire, dénomination, pays, origine de la collection, photographie de l'objet etc.). Depuis, tous les objets entrant dans les collections sont systématiquement photographiés et, pour certains d'entre eux, des photographies en trois

na referencijalni plato. O referencijalnom platou govorimo pre nego o stalnoj postavci, jer nam je posebno stalo da menjamo i činimo dinamičnom ovu prezentaciju, s jedne strane iz razloga konzervacije (zbog materijala koji su osjetljivi na svetlost: pera, tkanine, itd.) i sa druge strane kako bismo obnavljali prezentaciju, posebno zbog novih akvizicija budući da su nam politika akvizicija i budžet predviđen za njih prilično značajni.

Odlučili smo se za geografsko predstavljanje velikih oblasti: Okeanije, Azije, Afrike i podregionala u sklopu svake oblasti (na primer za Okeaniju: Melanezija, Polinezija, Papua Nova Gvineja, itd.). U ovim zonama, nailazimo na tematske prikaze: na primer, da bi se ilustrovala Salomonova ostrva, prezentovana je koherentna zbirka eksponata koji se odnose na pogrebne obrede, ili interesantni komadi, na primer, koji se dovode u vezu sa lovom na ljudske glave i njihova veza sa pecanjem tune, kao i novac i ukraši.

Kako bi se moglo ovladati ovako raznolikim temama i eksponatima, predstavljanje eksponata povereno je posebnom timu za organizaciju programa. Tim je bio posrednik između naučnog tela (etnologa, konzervatora, istoričara, itd.) i arhitekata. I tako su nastale skupine. Na primer, prva skupina je crvena – Okeanija, druga Melanezija, i zatim je objašnjeno kako smo želeli da imamo vezu između dve skupine, dok su posebni eksponati predstavljeni u sivoj boji, zato što su u vezi sa pogrebnim obredima. To su osjetljivi eksponati, na primer, ljudski ostaci, sveti predmeti sa kojima treba postupati na poseban način. Istovremeno, zajedno sa drugom skupinom u Okeaniji, predstavili smo poprečnu skupinu u kojoj su predstavljene maske i koja je u vezi sa izvesnim brojem maski iz drugih regiona.

Potom su ove skupine bile tretirane u odnosu na prostor koji su arhitekte obezbedile, i u odnosu na vrstu vitrina, ukošenih, uspravnih, jednostavnih, duplih, sa dnom, bez dna itd. Videli smo šta je referencijalni plato muzeja sa velikim geografskim skupinama: Okeanija je crvena, Azija narandžasta, Afrika je žuta, i Amerika plava. Idejaje bila da se napravi neki univerzalni presek umetnosti i kultura koji bi na adekvatan način predstavio zbirke muzeja. To ne znači da je presek detaljan i da predstavlja sve kulture sveta, već da ih predstavlja kroz francuske zbirke, onakve kakve su istorijski nastale.

Jedna od karakteristika ove muzeologije leži u tome što je reč i o „open space“, potpuno otvorenom prostoru. Nema sala. To nije sled sala kao u većini muzeja, već prolaz kroz kulture i tipove eksponata. Prelazak iz jedne zone u drugu progresivno je osmišljen. Naš posao, kao naučnih radnika, sastojao se u tome da materijalizujemo ono što se u tom trenutku nazivalo „zonama kontakata“, tampon zonama ili zonama prolaska. Postoje zone koje nikada nisu tretirane striktno, na primer, Indija koja se nalazi između Azije i Okeanije, Indonezija, Filipini, itd.

dimensions ont été réalisées.

Une fois transférés, ces objets étaient désinfectés par un système d'anoxie ou privation d'oxygène. Ils étaient reconditionnés et stockés, en attendant l'ouverture du musée et la fin de la réalisation architecturale, dans les parkings de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France sur les niveaux disponibles. Ils ont été transférés de nouveau dans les réserves du musée, mais il en sera question, un peu plus tard.

Le projet de la muséographie:

Il a fallu déterminer la manière dont serait installée la collection sur le plateau de référence. Nous parlons de plateau de référence plutôt que de collection permanente parce que nous avons particulièrement à cœur de faire bouger et de rendre dynamique cette présentation, à la fois pour des raisons de conservation (pour les matériaux sensibles à la lumière: les plumes, les textiles, etc.) et pour renouveler la présentation, notamment par rapport aux acquisitions parce que nous avons une politique et un budget d'acquisition assez important.

Nous avons choisi de faire une présentation géographique avec de grands ensembles: Océanie, Asie, Afrique, Amérique et puis un sous-ensemble à l'intérieur de chaque ensemble (par exemple pour l'Océanie: la Mélanésie, la Polynésie, la Papouasie Nouvelle Guinée, etc.). Dans ces zones, on trouve des thématiques comme, par exemple, pour illustrer les îles Salomon, un ensemble cohérent d'objets relatifs aux rituels funéraires, ou bien des pièces intéressantes, par exemple, sur la chasse aux têtes et sa relation avec la pêche à la bonite, des monnaies aussi et des ornements.

Pour gérer cette masse de thèmes et cette masse d'objets, une société de programme s'est vu confiée la tâche de la présentation des objets. Elle était un intermédiaire entre le corps scientifique (ethnographies, conservateurs, historiographies, etc.) et les architectes. Elle a conçu un schéma qui pouvait être compris par les architectes. Et ces ensembles ont été créés. Par exemple, il y a un premier ensemble en rouge, l'Océanie, un deuxième la Mélanésie et puis ensuite, on a expliqué que l'on voulait avoir des relations entre cet ensemble et cet ensemble, que tous ces ensembles pouvaient être mis en relation plutôt de ce côté-là, que ici, par exemple, en gris, on allait avoir des objets particuliers parce que ce sont des objets relatifs aux rituels funéraires. Ce sont des objets sensibles, par exemple, des restes humains, des objets sacrés qui doivent être traités d'une manière spécifique. Et puis, en même temps, en commun avec un autre ensemble en Océanie, on avait disposé un ensemble transversal qui présentait des masques et était relié à un certain nombre de masques d'autres régions.

Ensuite, ces ensembles ont été traités par rapport à l'espace offert par l'architecte, et à une sorte de boîte qui

Nikada se ne zna gde treba smestiti Madagaskar između Afrike i Azije. Publike je bila pomalo zbrunjena ovim arhitektonskim rešenjem i bilo joj je potrebno da bude ispravno vođena: zato su natpisi urađeni detaljnije. Trenutno se ozbiljno radi na medijaciji. Publike je zaista zbrunjena, ali i privučena ovim novim pristupom.

Dve druge karakteristike Muzeja kej Branly: centralni tok kretanja kroz muzejsku postavku, koji nazivamo „rekom“ (*La Rivière*) i koji se prostire duž celog muzeja, usmerava se koridorima presvučenim kožom. Druga karakteristika je zastakljeni cilindar koji predstavlja providni depo. U njemu se nalaze muzički instrumenti, i on se prostire do visine od 4 sprata muzeja.

Radili smo na osnovu maketa, i na osnovu virtuelnih slika. Žan Nuvel je predložio vrste vitrina u kojima bi izgledalo kao da eksponati lebde u vazduhu. Nakon toga, usledilo je ređanje eksponata po privremenim konstrukcijama prema tipovima vitrina koje nam je arhitekta predložio i ređali smo ih zahvaljujući jednom veoma jednostavnom programu koji nam je omogućavao da približimo, razdvojimo, pomerimo dva, tri ili mnogo više predmeta. Za svaku geografsku zonu bio je odgovoran po jedan kustos, kako ne bi došlo do kakofonije i svako je mogao da radi, na taj način, sa arhitektom i muzejskim stručnjacima kako bi se našlo najbolje moguće mesto za eksponate. Oni su se postavljali nekada simetrično, nekad izolovano. Svaki izabrani eksponat je, uz pomoć specijalista za montiranje i postavljanje, smešten na postolje u pseudo postavku, na privremene konstrukcije kako bi se montaža kasnije stvarno mogla sprovesti. Mi smo to izveli u radionici i radili smo na svakoj montaži i postolju, uzdignuću, vodeći računa o potencijalnom oštećenju eksponata, odstojanju od dna. Ove značajne pripreme omogućile su brzu postavku. Muzej je otvoren u junu, a sa radom na vitrinama smo počeli u aprilu. Za tri meseca, postavili smo više od tri hiljade eksponata na 4000 m².

Tako nam je omogućeno da se „igramo“ sa monumentalnošću jer je prostor otvoren, sa visokim plafonom (ima oko sedam metara visine) i da postavimo zaista monumentalne eksponate. Na postavci Okeanije mogli smo da se „igramo“ sa stubovima, zato što se arhitektonска rešenja Žana Nuvela svode na strukturu sa metalnim gredama, a tu metalnu strukturu nose stubovi koji su fiksirani za pod. Između stubova postavljene su gvozdene grede u vidu trougla i Žan Nuvel je želeo da budu proizvoljno postavljene i da vode iz građevine ka vrtu, a da građevina bude postavljena na temeljima od šipova. Iako je ovakva struktura ograničavala ispunjavanje muzeoloških zahteva, ideja je bila igranje sa ovom velikom strukturom, koju vidite ovde, i koja se danas smatra jednom od najvećih muzejskih poduhvata. Ja sam uredio ovu ogromnu vitrinu koja formalno ima više od šest metara ispred ovog oker stuba. Igrao sam se sa vertikalama

consistait à avoir un certain type de vitrines, des vitrines penchées, debout, simples, doubles, à fonds, sans fonds etc. Voilà à quoi ressemble le plateau de référence du musée avec ses grands ensembles géographiques: en rouge l'Océanie, l'Asie en orange, l'Afrique en jaune, et l'Amérique. L'idée était de faire un parcours universel à travers les arts et les cultures qui soit représentatif des collections du musée. On ne veut pas dire que ce parcours est exhaustif et représente exactement toutes les cultures du monde, mais il les représente à travers les collections françaises, telles qu'elles ont été historiquement constituées.

Une des caractéristiques de cette muséographie qu'il s'agit d'un „open space“, un espace totalement ouvert. Il n'y a pas de salles. Ce n'est pas une succession de salles comme dans la plupart des musées, mais un passage à travers les cultures et les types d'objets. Les glissements sont progressifs d'une zone à une autre. Notre travail, en tant que scientifiques, a été de pouvoir matérialiser ce qu'on appelait à ce moment-là des « polygones de contact », des zones tampons ou des zones de passage. Vous avez des zones qui ne sont jamais correctement traitées, par exemple l'Inde qui se trouve entre l'Asie et l'Océanie, l'Indonésie, les Philippines, etc. On ne sait jamais où mettre le Madagascar entre l'Afrique et l'Asie. Le public a été un peu dérouté par ce parti pris architectural et il a besoin d'être guidé correctement: la signalétique a ainsi été renforcée. Il y a actuellement un travail important de médiation. Le public est, en effet, dérouté mais aussi attiré par ce nouveau genre de parcours.

Deux autres caractéristiques du musée du quai Branly: la grande circulation centrale recouverte de cuir, qu'on appelle „la rivière“, et qui traverse le musée en longueur et le cylindre vitré qui est une réserve visible des instruments de musique et traverse le bâtiment en hauteur sur 4 niveaux.

On a travaillé à partir de maquettes, et à partir d'images virtuelles. Jean Nouvel proposait des types de vitrines dans lesquelles les objets semblaient flotter dans l'espace. Par la suite, les ensembles avec les différents types d'objets ont été mis à l'échelle dans les plans et les types de vitrines que nous donnait l'architecte et on les a disposés grâce à un logiciel très simple qui consistait à rapprocher, espacer, agencer deux, trois objets ou beaucoup plus. Chaque zone géographique était sous la responsabilité d'un seul conservateur, pour ne pas créer de cacophonie et chacun a pu travailler, comme ceci, avec l'architecte et les gens de la muséographie pour pouvoir disposer au mieux les objets. Les types de dispositions sont quelquefois très symétriques, et quelquefois isolés. Chaque objet choisi a été disposé avec des monteurs et des socleurs dans une pseudo disposition à l'échelle pour pouvoir vraiment faire notre montage. Nous l'avons réalisé dans un atelier et on a travaillé chaque montage, chaque soclage, les hauteurs, les manières de présenter les objets sans les abîmer, la

koje je trebalo da se uklope u scenografiju. Namera mi je bila da bude u skladu sa onim što je arhitekta želeo. I čak, iako je ideja bila nova i drugačija, trebalo je umeti iskoristiti je, poslužiti se njom.

Iznad platoa, nalaze se tri nivoa (međusprata) u kojima su privremene postavke (na koje ćemo se vratiti). Tu je već pomenuta velika centralna sala sa koridorima koji podsećaju na zemljani zid: radi se zapravo o površini prekrivenoj kožom, koja je na neki način bila oštećena, kao da je bila tetovirana, obeležena. Obeležja predstavljaju različite načine na koje su ljudi predstavljali geografski, zemaljski i duhovni prostor. To je ujedno i interesantan način da se navode slabovide osobe. Toliko o muzeologiji.

Zgrada je od keja odvojena velikim staklenim zidom koji nam služi i kao podrška prilikom komunikacije na izložbama i ostalim muzejskim dešavanjima. Vrt je, trenutno, mnogo lepsi. Očigledno postaje sve lepsi svake godine. Načinjen je od veoma visokog drveća, brojnih retkih biljaka i trave. Na terasi Muzeja nalazi se restoran Les Ombres (Senke) kao refleksija metalnih struktura Ajfelove kule, koju možemo da vidimo kada tamo večeramo. U administrativnoj građevini, koja gleda na Univerzitetsku ulicu (*Rue de l'Université*), Žan Nuvel je želeo da, gledano spolja, možemo da vidimo plafone, kao i hodnike, čije oslikavanje je povereno australijskim umetnicima, Aboridžinima. Umetnici su svaki sprat oslikali na različit način, kao i biblioteku koja je smeštena u prizemlju.

Muzej, u centralnoj zgradbi, sastoji se iz tri značajna izložbena prostora, veliki prostor u prizemlju čini 2000 m² i u njemu su izložbe, među kojima je prva bila *D'un Regard l'Autre* (*Pogled na Drugog*) – od renesanse do današnjih dana, različiti načini gledanja na umetnost Afrike, Okeanije i Amerike. Ima i savremenih umetničkih instalacija i izložbena politika je veoma dinamična, sa takozvanim izložbama-dosjeima u trajanju od tri meseca, koje su izložene na dva nivoa, a svaki zauzima 800 m². Prva izložba bila je posvećena radu jednog stručnjaka etnologa iz jugoistočne Azije, Žorža Kondominasa, pod nazivom *Nous avons mangé la forêt* (*Pojeli smo šumu*). Organizovana je povodom njegove donacije fotografija, terenskih beleški i predmeta koje je čitavog života prikupljaо, Muzeju keј Branli. Organizovana je još jedna izložba posvećena maskama iz Malija, *Civara* (*Divara*). Sve ovo, dakle, može biti smatrano jednim kompletnim životnim stvaralaštвom, ili fokusiranošću na jedan tip eksponata iz zbirke. Na drugom nivou, organizuju se duže izložbe (u trajanju od 18 meseci) sa gostujućim autorima. Najčešće se radi o univerzitetskim profesorima (antropolozi, etnolozi, istoričari) koji se bave multidisciplinarnim i kros-kulturnim temama. Na primer, prvu izložbu tog tipa organizovao je antropolog i sineasta, Stefan Breton, *Qu'est-ce qu'un corps?* (*Šta je to telo?*) i

distance à partir du fond. Cet important travail de préparation a permis une installation très rapide. Le musée a été ouvert en juin et l'on a commencé les vitrines en avril. En 3 mois, on a installé près de 3000 objets sur 4000 m².

On a pu jouer aussi sur la monumentalité parce que c'est un espace ouvert, sans plafond bas (il est à environ 7 mètres de haut) et installer des objets assez monumentaux. Dans la scénographie de l'Océanie, nous avons joué avec les poteaux parce que l'architecture de Jean Nouvel est plutôt une structure avec des poutres métalliques et la structure métallique est portée par des poteaux qui sont fixés dans le sol. Entre ces poteaux, il y a une triangulation de poutres en fer et Jean Nouvel voulait que l'implantation de ces poteaux soit aléatoire passant du bâtiment au jardin, le bâtiment étant sur pilotis. Cette implantation a été un peu contraignante au niveau de la muséographie. L'idée était de jouer avec, par exemple, cette très grande structure que vous voyez ici et qui est maintenant un des chefs-d'œuvre du musée. J'ai disposé cette énorme vitrine qui fait presque 6 mètres de haut exprès devant ce poteau ocre. J'ai joué avec les verticales qui allaient s'harmoniser avec la scénographie. L'idée était d'harmoniser avec ce que voulait faire l'architecte. Et même si la proposition était nouvelle et différente il fallait pouvoir en user, l'utiliser.

Au-dessus du plateau, il y a trois mezzanines dans lesquelles on présente des expositions temporaires (on y reviendra). Voilà la grande circulation centrale avec comme un mur en terre, mais c'est un mobilier recouvert de cuir et ce cuir a été scarifié en quelque sorte, comme tatoué, mis en relief. Les reliefs présentent différentes manières qu'ont les hommes de se représenter l'espace géographique, terrestre et spirituel. C'est aussi une manière intéressante de guider et d'accompagner dans leur visite les personnes malvoyantes. Voilà pour la muséographie.

Le bâtiment est isolé des quais par un très grand mur en verre qui nous sert aussi de support de communication pour les expositions et tous les évènements du musée. Le jardin est, à l'heure actuelle, beaucoup plus fourni. Il devient plus beau d'année en année, évidemment. Ce jardin est fait avec des arbres déjà assez hauts, de nombreuses plantes rares et de graminées. La terrasse du musée abrite le restaurant, *Les Ombres*, en écho avec les structures métalliques de la Tour Eiffel qu'on peut voir quand on y dîne le soir. Dans le bâtiment administratif donnant sur la rue de l'Université, Jean Nouvel a voulu que, de l'extérieur, on puisse voir les plafonds, ainsi que les couloirs, confiés à des artistes aborigènes d'Australie qui les ont entièrement peints à chaque étage de manière différente, ainsi que la librairie située au rez-de-chaussée.

Le musée, dans le bâtiment central, comprend trois espaces importants d'exposition, un grand espace au rez-de-chaussée qui mesure 2000 m² et qui accueille des expositions, dont la première a été *D'un Regard l'Autre* – depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à aujourd'hui, différentes

imao je posebnog predstavnika za svaku geografsku zonu. Druga koja je u toku, nazvana je *Planète métisse* (*Planeta meleza*) i istražuje pitanje mešanja rasa od doba renesanse, predmeta koji su bili u kontaktu sa tom pojmom, pitanje susreta, itd.

Muzej nudi i brojne manifestacije u auditorijumu od 400 mesta – predstave, projekcije filmova, ceremonije i prezentacije. To je ujedno i popularni univerzitet koji nudi razgovore, diskusije i tribine, na kojima učestvuju ličnosti iz medija (Edvi Plenel, na primer, novinar i bivši urednik lista *Le Monde*), političari (Abdu Diuf, na primer) i druge ličnosti koje su se zatekle u Parizu i koje nam ukazuju čast da dođu i pričaju o svom životu, karijeri, itd. Po otvaranju Muzeja, počeli smo sa realizacijom ciklusa predavanja i razgovora o svetskoj istoriji na temu kolonizacije. Preciznije rečeno, to je svetska istorija svih kolonizacija: francuske, portugalske, ali i manje poznatih kao što su japanska, holandska. Za ciklus *Les grandes controverses sur l'universalité* (*Velike kontroverze o univerzalnosti*) pozvani su mnogi stručnjaci koji su se bavili pitanjem istorija i taj ciklus je zamišljen da traje tri godine. Ciklus *Des grands témoins* (*Svedočenja*) sastoji se iz razgovora i dirljivih svedočenja o tome kako su umetnici govorili o svom telu, plesači i plesačice (Matild Monije), reditelji (Patris Šero, čija je prezentacija sopstvenog rada, istovremeno pozorišnog i filmskog, kao i sopstvenih koncepcija, izuzetna), itd. Ima i raznih prezentacija, svega što se odnosi na rad sa decom, publikacija za koje se nadam da će uskoro stići ovde, u Beograd. Prosledićemo vam publikacije Muzeja koje su veoma brojne i raznolike. *Gradhiva*, je npr. antropološka umetnička revija Muzeja čoveka. Tu su i publikacije u vidu kataloga sa izložbi o kojima sam vam govorio. Ima i kataloga, publikacija u vidu foto-albuma muzejskih zbirki, izdanja o samoj građevini, izdanja o izložbama, kataloga o akvizicijama.

Pogledajmo sada sajt. Dozvoliće sebi da pomalo pretražujemo po njemu zato što će vam to omogućiti da realno sagledate jedan aspekt Muzeja. Rubrike omogućavaju da se direktno prebacimo na ono što se dešava u Muzeju, kako doći u Muzej, o programu, o stalnim postavkama, pretraživanje, različiti sajtovi podrške, naučna dokumentacija, itd. Pokazaću vam, dakle, različite tipove aktivnosti koje su moguće u Muzeju.

Trenutno su u toku dve izložbe na dva međusprata: jedna od njih je *Mangareva*, koja predstavlja jedinstvenu na svetu, skupinu od desetak poslednjih sačuvanih statua koje su nam ostale sa ostrva Mangareva u Pacifiku, pošto su ostatak uništili i spalili misionari tokom pokrštavanja. U Evropu su poslali nekoliko statua kao dokaz, one se trenutno nalaze u Vatikanu. Jedna od njih našla se u Muzeju nacionalnih antikviteta, jedna u Njujorku, jedna u Britanskom muzeju. Sakupili smo sve te statue, verovatno prvi i poslednji put.

Predstavljamo i izložbu o svemu što je u vezi sa

maniјes de regarder les arts d'Afrique, d'Océanie et d'Amérique. Il y a aussi des installations d'art contemporain et une politique d'expositions très dynamique, qu'on appelle les expositions-dossiers de trois mois présentées sur les deux mezzanines de 800 m² chacune. La première exposition a été consacrée au travail d'un ethnologue spécialiste de l'Asie du sud-est, Georges Condominas, *Nous avons mangé la forêt*. Elle a été organisée à l'occasion de la donation que l'ethnologue a faite – photos, carnets de terrain, objets accumulés durant toute sa vie. Une autre exposition a été consacrée aux masques du Mali, *Civara*. Donc, cela peut être, soit l'œuvre entière d'une vie, soit un focus sur un type d'objet de la collection. Sur l'autre mezzanine, des expositions plus longues – 18 mois – sont présentées par quelqu'un d'extérieur au musée, par un universitaire la plupart du temps (anthropologue, ethnologue, historien) sur une thématique pluridisciplinaire et transversale. Par exemple, la première a été faite par un anthropologue-cinéaste, Stéphane Breton, *Qu'est-ce qu'un corps?* avait un commissaire particulier pour chaque zone géographique. La deuxième qui a lieu à l'heure actuelle s'appelle *Planète métisse* et explore depuis la Renaissance la question du métissage, les objets en contact, la question des rencontres, etc.

Le musée offre aussi un ensemble important de manifestations dans l'auditorium de 400 places – spectacles, cinéma, cérémonies ou représentations. C'est aussi une université populaire avec les conférences de grands témoins, de personnalités des médias (par exemple Edwy Plenel, journaliste et ancien directeur du journal *Le Monde*), personnalités politiques (par exemple Abdou Diuf) ou d'autres personnalités de passage à Paris et qui nous font le plaisir de venir parler de leur vie, de leur parcours, etc. Nous avons commencé à l'ouverture du musée un cycle de conférences sur l'histoire mondiale de la colonisation. C'est, plus exactement, une histoire mondiale de toutes les colonisations: française, portugaise, mais aussi d'autres moins connues comme la colonisation japonaise, hollandaise. Le cycle *Les grandes controverses sur l'universalité* fait appel à de nombreux spécialistes sur la question de l'esclavage et court sur trois ans. Le cycle des *grands témoins* consiste en des entretiens et des témoignages très émouvants sur la manière qu'ont les artistes de parler de leur corps, des danseurs ou des danseuses (Mathilde Monnier), metteurs en scène (Patrice Chéreau dont la présentation absolument remarquable de son travail à la fois de théâtre et de cinéma et de ses propres conceptions) etc. Il y a aussi toutes sortes de représentations, tout ce qui se réfère au travail avec les enfants, les publications que j'espère que vous pourrez aussi rapidement avoir ici à Belgrade. Nous vous ferons parvenir des publications du musée qui sont très nombreuses et très diverses. *Gradhiva*, la revue d'anthropologie des arts du Musée de l'Homme. Ce sont aussi des publications telles que les catalogues d'exposi-

fetišima, magijom, amuletima, afričkim maskama koje su prekrivene raznim ritualnim smesama, pod nazivom *Recettes des Dieux* (*Recepti Bogova*). U pripremi je i izložba *Le Siècle du Jazz* (*Vek džeza*), koju je osmislio naš stručnjak za savremenu i modernu umetnost, Danijel Sutif. Bavi se istraživanjem svih vrsta džeza u crtežu, skulpturi, preko omota za diskove, dokumenata, brojnih video zapisa, itd.

Pored ovog programa, nudimo i program vezan za posebne aktivnosti sa nazivom „before“, koje proizilaze iz jezika noćnih ljudi koji idu na „after“. Pre nego što krenu na žurke, nudimo im veoma interesantne aktivnosti kroz igru.

Neposredno uz sam ulaz u muzej, *Salon de lecture Jacques Kerchache* (*Čitalački salon Žak Keršaš*) je vrsta biblioteke gde se besplatno mogu konsultovati najznačajnija izdanja u vezi sa umetnošću Afrike, Amerike, ali i publikacije sa aktuelnim temama, časopisi i sl. U ovom prostoru, dešavaju se brojne aktivnosti i susreti: debate, potpisivanja knjiga, okrugli stolovi, a u vezi sa izozbama, ciklusi razgovora. Ovo je dinamični deo muzeja.

Muzej kej Branli pod pokroviteljstvom je dva ministarstva, Ministarstva kulture i komunikacija i Ministarstva visokog obrazovanja i istraživačkog rada. Istoriski gledano, Muzej čoveka zavisio je od Ministarstva nacionalnog obrazovanja i istraživačkog rada, a Muzej umetnosti Afrike i Okeanije od Ministarstva kulture i komunikacija. Na taj način, predstavljeni su kroz dva velika odeljenja Muzeja: Odeljenje za obrazovanje i istraživački rad koje ima direktora i izvestan broj naučnih radnika i ovo koje ja vodim, Odeljenje kulturnog nasleđa i zbirki, u kojem nailazimo na kustose iz različitih geografskih zona – Azije, Afrike, Okeanije, Amerike, Severne Afrike i Bliskog istoka, i tri jedinice kulturnog nasleđa – Muzika, koju vodi etnomuzikolog, Tkanine, Fotografije (700 000 komada) i, najzad, Istorija. U sedištu Odeljenja kulturnog nasleđa i zbirki, nalazi se i medijateka (nasleđeni fondovi iz biblioteke Muzeja čoveka i Nacionalnog muzeja umetnosti Afrike i Okeanije i fondovi sa zvučnim zapisima i filmovima koje su sakupili istraživači i etnolози); u njoj se nalazi veoma lepa čitalačka sala od 200 mesta koja dominira Muzejom. Budući da medijateka ima dužnost da iscrpno informiše o svemu što je u vezi sa etnografijom i etnologijom na francuskom jeziku i na nacionalnoj teritoriji, reč je o posebnoj distribuciji, koja spada među centre za akviziciju i difuziju naučnih i tehničkih informacija **CADIST** (*Centres d'Acquisition et de Diffusion de l'Information Scientifique et Technique*).

Na primer, Nacionalna biblioteka Francuske pripada mreži **CADIST** centara, to jest, ima dužnost deponovanja obaveznog primerka, obavezu da poseduje sva izdanja koja su se pojavila na francuskoj teritoriji, a mi imamo iste te obaveze u domenu

tions dont je vous ai parlées. Il y a aussi des albums, des imagiers, des ouvrages sur le bâtiment lui-même, des ouvrages d'exposition, un album sur les acquisitions.

Voyons maintenant le site. Je me permets de naviguer un peu sur le site parce qu'il va vous donner en tant réel un aspect du musée. Les rubriques permettent d'aller directement sur ce qui se passe au musée, la manière de venir au musée, la programmation, les collections permanentes, lancer la recherche, les différents sites de soutien, la documentation scientifique, etc. Je vais donc, vous montrer différents types d'animations qui peuvent se faire au musée.

Il y a, à l'heure actuelle, deux expositions sur la mezzanine, à savoir une sur *Mangareva*, qui est la réunion tout à fait unique au monde de la dizaine de statues qu'il reste de l'île de Mangareva dans le Pacifique, le reste ayant été détruit et brûlé par les missionnaires lors de la christianisation. Ils ont envoyé en Europe pour témoigner quelques-unes des statues qui sont, à l'heure actuelle au Vatican. En voici une au Musée des Antiquités nationales², une à New York, une au British Museum. Nous avons réuni ces statues pour la première et probablement la dernière fois.

Nous présentons une exposition sur tout ce qui est fétiche, magie, paquets, masques recouverts de toutes sortes de mixtures en Afrique; elle s'appelle *Recette des Dieux*. Prochainement, va ouvrir l'exposition *Le Siècle du Jazz* qui est faite par un commissaire spécialiste de l'art moderne et contemporain, Daniel Soutif, et explore toutes les représentations du Jazz dans les dessins, sculptures, pochettes de disques, documents, de nombreuses vidéos, etc.

A côté de la programmation, on a aussi ce qui est du domaine des animations un peu particulières, les „before“, provenant du langage des gens de la nuit et qui font un „after“. Avant que les gens partent à leurs soirées, on a des animations de façon à ce que les gens puissent préparer d'une manière assez ludique leur visite.

Près de l'accueil du musée, le *Salon de lecture Jacques Kerchache* est comme une bibliothèque où on peut avoir en accès libre, les principaux ouvrages concernant l'art d'Afrique, d'Amérique, mais aussi tout ce qui est actualité, revue. Il y a énormément d'animations et de rendez-vous dans cet espace: à la fois des débats, des signatures d'ouvrages, des tables rondes et puis, en relation avec les expositions, des cycles de débats. C'est un lieu très dynamique dans le musée.

Le musée du quai Branly a deux tutelles ministérielles, le Ministère de la culture et de la communication et le Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la recherche. Historiquement, le musée de l'Homme dépendait au Ministère de l'éducation nationale et de la recherche et le musée d'art d'Afrique et d'Océanie du Ministère de la culture et de la communication. Ainsi, ils sont représentés par deux grands départements du musée: le département

antropologie.

Odeljenje za obrazovanje i istraživanje je gostoljubivo mesto na kome se organizuju kursevi, u partnerstvu sa univerzitetima i školama, koji su, u principu, na nivou mastera i doktorata. Muzej svake godine nudi stipendije za doktorske i osnovne studije. Svake godine, komisija dodeljuje nagradu za doktorsku tezu. Pored ostalog, departman istraživanja ugošćuje naučna udruženja što je nasleđe iz Muzeja čoveka, kao što su udruženja afrikanista,

Dijalog kultura: Izložba *Les Traces/ Call and Response*. Francuski kulturni centar, Beograd, 2009. Foto-arkiv MAU.

Dialogue between cultures: exhibition *Les Traces/ Call and Response*. The French Cultural Centre, Belgrade, 2009. MAA photo archive.



de l'enseignement et de la recherche, qui a un directeur avec un certain nombre de chercheurs et celui que je dirige, le département du patrimoine et des collections où l'on trouve l'ensemble des conservateurs des différentes zones géographiques – Asie, Afrique, Océanie, Amérique, Afrique du Nord-Proche-Orient – et trois unités patrimoniales – Musique dirigée une ethnomusicologue, Textiles, Photographie (700 000 items) et, enfin, Histoire. Au sein du département du patrimoine et des collections, se trouve également la médiathèque (fonds hérité des bibliothèques du musée de l'Homme et du musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie et fonds d'enregistrements sonores et des films recueillis par des chercheurs et des ethnologues); elle offre une très belle salle de lecture de 200 places qui domine le musée. Sachant aussi que la médiathèque a devoir d'exhaustivité sur tout ce qui paraît dans le domaine de l'ethnographie et de l'ethnologie en français sur le territoire national, c'est une disposition un peu particulière qu'on appelle CADIST (Centres d'Acquisition et de Diffusion de l'Information Scientifique et Technique). Par exemple, la Bibliothèque Nationale de France est CADIST, c'est-à-dire avec l'obligation du dépôt légal, l'obligation d'avoir tous les ouvrages parus sur le territoire français, donc nous bénéficiions des mêmes obligations dans le domaine de l'anthropologie.

Le département de l'enseignement de la recherche est un lieu d'accueil qui organise les cours en partenariat avec les universités et d'écoles qui sont, en principe, au niveau des masters et des doctorats. Le musée offre tous les ans des bourses post-doctorales et des bourses d'études. Chaque année, un prix de thèse est accordé par un jury. Par ailleurs, le département de la recherche abrite des sociétés savantes héritées du Musée de l'Homme, telles que la Société des africanistes, des océanistes, des américanistes etc.. C'est un département qui est très dynamique, notamment dans l'organisation de colloques, de grandes conférences comme, par exemple, l'année dernière, à la suite d'un problème politique de restitution concernant une ville en France qui voulait restituer des têtes Maories, il a été organisé un colloque international sur la question des restes humains. Que faire, comment les présenter, faut-il les rendre? Certains étaient partisans de la restitution, des habitants du Vanuatu, d'Afrique, d'Amérique et des experts, des biologistes, des médecins ayant réfléchi à des lois de bioéthique et des historiographes, des anthropologues, tout ce monde-là est venu pour discuter de problèmes qui parcourent les instances internationales et donc on ne veut jamais trop parler, „mettre sur la table“. On a toujours bénéfice à aborder ces questions et je crois que cela a été très positif pour beaucoup. Les actes de ce colloque sont sur le site Internet et vous pouvez les télécharger avec toutes les interventions.

Nous avons le projet, l'année prochaine d'organiser un grand colloque sur la question de l'archéologie. Vous savez

okeanista, amerikanista, itd. To je veoma dinamično deljenje, gde se najčešće organizuju seminari, velike konferencije kao što je bio slučaj prošle godine, usled političkog problema restitucije u vezi sa jednim gradom u Francuskoj koji je želeo da vrati *maorske glave*, organizovano je predavanje na temu ljudskih ostataka. Šta činiti, kako ih predstaviti, da li ih treba vratiti? Jedni koji su se zalagali za restituciju, stanovnici Vanuatua, Afrike i Amerike i eksperti, biolozi, lekari koji su razmišljali o zakonima bioetike i istoriografii, antropolozi, svi ovi ljudi došli su da diskutuju o problemu internacionalnih instanci o kojima se retko govorii „otvorenih karata“. Uvek nam ide u prilog diskutovanje o problemima, i smatram da je to bilo izuzetno pozitivno iskustvo za mnoge. Dokumenti u vezi sa tim predavanjem nalaze se na internet stranici i možete ih skinuti zajedno sa svim intervencijama.

Sledeće godine imamo u planu da organizujemo veliki seminar na temu arheologije. Znate da je u toku intervencija od strane ambasada prilikom koje se brani prodaja u Parizu, najviše kolumbijskog domena, i tu zabranu sprovode odgovorna lica koja manje više imaju pravo na to, u ime očuvanja arheoloških dobara i protiv arheološke pljačke, naročito kada je reč o centralnoj Americi i Africi. Ova tema otvara brojna pitanja naročito u vezi sa našim odnosom, kao muzeja, prema tome šta smemo da kupimo a šta ne, kada treba da reagujemo i da li to ide u prilog pljački i paralelnim radnjama i kakav stav zauzeti prema eksponatima koji se nalaze na crvenoj listi ICOM-a. To su pitanja kojima se obrazovanje i istraživanje trenutno bavi.

Ovde, u „Naučnoj dokumentaciji“, predstaviću vam ukratko katalog eksponata, jer možete i sami da mu pristupite, kao i kompletnoj bazi podataka. Postoji više nivoa (na primer Gabon, ovde imamo 2500 rezultata u vezi sa Gabonom i možemo da suzimo pretragu time što ćemo izabrati neki drugi kriterijum pretrage, na primer, masku). Eksponati sa dokumentacijom zavedeni su pod inventarskim brojem, etnonimom, mestom porekla, opisom, materijalom, upotrebom, težinom, itd. Isto je i sa zbirkama fotografija čija je numerizacija u toku.

Baza podataka omogućava nam stalnu lokalizaciju eksponata pošto smo izabrali, u rezervnim salama, da slažemo eksponate prema velikim geografskim zonama, a ne prema stilu ili uobičajenoj klasifikaciji koja se sprovodi u etnografskim muzejima gde su svi eksponati „izmešani“. Usavršili smo sistem uz pomoć kojeg lokalizujemo eksponate na osnovu bar koda, koji nam omogućava da u svakom trenutku znamo gde se eksponat nalazi, da li je na restauraciji, njegovu tačnu lokalizaciju. To nas vodi našem sledećem projektu na čijoj realizaciji upravo radimo i koji smo nazvali „akcija rezervi“. Akcija u vezi sa zbirkama sastoji se u uklanjanju prašine, fotografisanju, obeležavanju brojem, unošenju u bazu podataka kako bi se našla na internetu i u vraćanju eksponata u muzej.

qu'à l'heure actuelle, par le biais des ambassades, il y a des sortes de saisies sur les ventes passées à Paris, notamment dans le domaine colombien, par des responsables qui ont plus au moins le droit de le faire, au nom de la préservation des biens archéologiques et du pillage, notamment au niveau archéologique de l'Amérique centrale et de l'Afrique. Cela pose un certain nombre de questions et notamment sur notre attitude en tant que musée, ce que l'on doit acheter, ne pas acheter, ce que l'on doit signaler, est-ce que ça profite ou non au pillage et aux circuits parallèles et comment se positionner vis-à-vis des objets inscrits sur liste rouge par l'ICOM. Ce sont des questions d'actualité traitées par l'enseignement et la recherche.

Ici, dans „Documentation scientifique“, le catalogue des objets que je vais rapidement vous présenter puisque depuis chez vous, vous pouvez y accéder ainsi qu'à toute la base de données. Il y a plusieurs niveaux (par exemple: Gabon, on a ici 2500 résultats pour Gabon et on peut affiner la recherche en sélectionnant un autre critère de recherche, par exemple masque). Les objets avec la fiche sont dénommés avec les numéros d'inventaire, l'ethnonyme, l'endroit d'où ça vient, la description, le matériau, l'usage, le poids, etc. C'est la même chose pour l'iconothèque dont la numérisation est en cours.

La base de données permet d'avoir en permanence la localisation des objets puisque nous avons choisi dans les réserves de ranger les objets par grandes zones géographiques et non par style ou par classification habituelle dans les musées d'ethnographie où tous les objets sont „mélangés“. On a mis au point un système qui les a localisés par un code barre et qui permet de savoir à tout moment où se trouve l'objet en question, s'il est en restauration, sa localisation précise. Cela nous mène à notre prochain projet que nous sommes en train de réaliser et qu'on appelle „le chantier des réserves“. Le chantier des collections a consisté à dépoussiérer, photographier, numériser, mettre sur la base de données pour qu'elle soit versée sur Internet et à ramener les objets au musée. A l'heure actuelle, les objets sont enlevés de leur emballage et rangés. C'est un énorme travail: 3000 objets à tracer, ranger, vérifier et c'est une sorte de double vérification parce qu'on l'a vérifié en sortant puis maintenant en rentrant. Cela va nous permettre de mettre en place ce qu'on appelle, une muséothèque – vous avez accès aux objets par Internet si vous en avez besoin pour des questions de recherche et si vous avez justifié le besoin de venir voir l'objet en réserve; vous faites une demande comme pour les réserves de la bibliothèque, à l'avance, vous prenez rendez-vous et on vous amènera l'objet de la réserve. On vous amène l'objet ou la série d'objets que vous avez commandé et vous pouvez faire votre recherche pendant une journée ou deux en fonction de l'accord passé.

Pour conclure, je vous ai présenté toute une chaîne, tout un processus qui nous mène des réserves en très mauvais état dans les précédents musées, invisibles, inaccessibles,

Eksponati su trenutno izvađeni iz ambalaža i složeni. To je ogroman posao: potrebno je bilo ući u trag 3000 eksponata, složiti ih, proveriti - radi se o duploj proveri, jer se proverava prilikom izlaska ali i prilikom ponovnog ulaska. To će nam omogućiti da realizujemo muzeoteku – da imate pristup ovim eksponatima putem interneta, ukoliko se javi potreba prilikom istraživačkog rada ili ako imate drugi opravdan razlog da pogledate eksponat iz depoa; dovoljno je napisati zahtev, kao u biblioteci, unapred, zakažete termin i mi vam donesemo eksponat iz depoa. Donosimo eksponat ili seriju eksponata koju ste tražili i možete se baviti istraživanjem tokom celog dana ili tokom dva dana, u zavisnosti od dogovora.

Kao zaključak, predstavio sam vam čitav lanac, čitav proces, koji je od rezervi u jako lošem stanju u prethodnim muzejima, nevidljivim, nedostupnim i prašnjavim, sa zastarem dokumentacijom, doveo do današnjeg Muzeja kej Branli. Želimo da svi imaju pristup francuskim etnografskim zbirkama. Pristup je moguć virtualno, putem interneta i fizički, putem muzeoteke. Pristup je slobodan, informacije se razmenjuju sa internacionalnim naučnim telom, ali i sa kulturama Okeanije, Afrike, raznih zemalja, sa ljudima koji mogu da posete Muzej i opet pronađu eksponate iz svojih zemalja. To često predstavlja i ponovo otkrivanje, ili samo otkrivanje. Eto prave filozofije Muzeja čija je deviza „dialog između kultura“, i na osnovi tog projekta gradimo i uspostavljamo dialog koji želimo da imamo sa naučnim telom i kulturama iz kojih potiču eksponati Muzej čuva..

Toliko o Muzeju.

PITANJA / ODGOVORI

Kakva je bila reakcija domaće javnosti na osnivanje ovog Muzeja?

Kao i kod svake nove institucije, i ovde je bilo polemika, ljudi koji nisu žeeli ni da čuju o ovome i srećom, postojao je projekat na predsedničkom nivou. Znate da je svaki predsednik u Francuskoj osnovao svoj muzej. Žorž Pompidu je osnovao Nacionalni centar umetnosti i kulture Žorž Pompidu, Valeri Žiskar D'Esten Muzej Orsej, Fransoa Miteran Nacionalnu biblioteku Francuske, Žak Širak Muzej kej Branli.

(...)

Da li postoji zbirka savremene umetnosti?

Dakle, što se savremene umetnosti tiče, ima više aspekata, recimo da postoji nasleđe savremene umetnosti koji je došao sa zbirkama iz Muzeja čoveka i iz Nacionalnog muzeja umetnosti Afrike i Okeanije i pogotovu iz ovog poslednje pomenutog, koji je počeo da pravi zbirku umetnosti Aborigina iz Australije, savremene, naravno.

empoussierées avec une documentation désuète au musée du quai Branly aujourd'hui. Nous voulons que tout le monde puisse avoir accès aux collections ethnographiques françaises. L'accès est possible virtuellement par internet et physiquement par la muséothèque. Les implications de transparence, de partage d'informations avec le corps scientifique international, mais aussi de partage avec les cultures d'origines océanienne, africaine, etc., qui vont pouvoir à leur tour revisiter et retrouver leurs objets. C'est bien souvent une redécouverte, ou bien une découverte tout court. Voilà la véritable philosophie du musée dont la devise est le „dialogue des cultures“, c'est sur la base de ce projet que l'on bâtit et que l'on érige le dialogue que l'on veut avoir avec le corps scientifique et les cultures d'origine, d'où qu'elles viennent.

Voilà pour un aperçu du musée.

QUESTIONS / REPONSES

Quelle était la réaction de l'opinion publique locale concernant l'implantation du musée du quai Branly?

Il y a eu comme pour toute entreprise nouvelle des polémiques, des gens qui n'ont pas voulu en entendre parler, on a eu la chance qu'il soit un projet présidentiel. Vous savez que chaque président en France a pratiquement fait son musée. Georges Pompidou a fait le Centre national d'art et de culture Georges-Pompidou, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing le musée d'Orsay, François Mitterrand la Bibliothèque nationale de France François-Mitterrand, Jacques Chirac le musée du quai Branly.
(...)

Y a-t-il des collections d'art contemporain?

Alors, pour l'art contemporain, il y a plusieurs aspects, disons qu'il y a un héritage d'art contemporain qui venu avec les collections du Musée de l'Homme et du Musée des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie et particulièrement pour ce dernier qui avait commencé à faire une collection d'art aborigène australien, contemporaine bien sur. J'ai été auparavant au Musée d'art d'Afrique et d'Océanie et on a largement insisté, encouragé, acheté. Je suis allé sur place en Australie, dans des galeries. On a acheté de la peinture et on a continué d'en acheter en comité d'acquisition. Nous avons une relative prudence par rapport à ce qui se passe dans le champ de l'art contemporain. Il y a eu en France des expositions comme *Magiciens de la terre* et *Africa remix* au Centre Georges Pompidou, sur l'art contemporain africain. Mais nous sommes concernés par l'ensemble des continents, que ce soit l'art indien, de Nouvelle-Zélande, américain, donc pas seulement africain. On a voulu avoir une autre politique. Nous n'avons pas voulu trop vite constituer une collection d'art contemporain juste pour

Prethodno sam radio u Nacionalnom muzeju umetnosti Afrike i Okeanije i mnogo smo insistirali, ohrabivali i kupovali. Bio sam i na licu mesta, u Australiji, u galerijama. Kupovali smo slike i nastavili da ih nabavljamo putem akvizicionih komisija. Pomalo smo obazrivi kada je reč o savremenoj umetnosti. U Francuskoj je bilo izložbi poput *Magiciens de la terre* (*Čarobnjaci zemlje*) i *Africa remix* (*Afrika remiks*) u Centru Žorž Pompidu, na temu savremene umetnosti Afrike. Ali mi smo zainteresovani za skup kontinenata, može biti reči o indijskoj umetnosti, umetnosti sa Novog Zelanda, američkoj...; dakle ne samo za afričku. Zalagali smo se za nešto drugačiju politiku. Nismo isuviše brzo želeli da sastavimo zbirku savremene umetnosti samo da bi se reklo da imamo i takvu. Nastavljamo da kupujemo umetnost australijskih Aborigina. Iako smo se dosta bavili i savremenom fotografijom. Na tom planu otisli smo čak i dalje od proste kupovine savremene fotografije.

Osnovali smo i bijenale pod nazivom *Photoquai / Fotokej* (imate plakat ovde), koji se sastoji u izlaganju reprodukcija istaknutih savremenih fotografa, na keju Sene na svake dve godine (pošto se Muzej nalazi na keju Sene). To nisu priznati fotografi, nisu zvezde. To su najčešće mladi fotografi na koje nailazimo svuda u svetu, u Mongoliji, na Novom Zelandu, u Australiji, u Kolumbiji, Ekvadoru, na Aljasci, itd. Bijenale je organizovano na sledeći način. Glavni organizator određuje osnovne umetničke smernice bijenala. Pomaže mu naučna komisija koju čini po jedan specijalista za fotografiju sa svakog kontinenta. To može biti Japanac kao predstavnik Azije, Avganistanac kao predstavnik Srednjeg Istoka. Ja sam se, na primer, bavio Okeanijom. Potom, svako izabere specijaliste iz različitih zemalja koji su dužni da sakupe fotografije i dela. Prvi bijenale održan je 2007. godine, a upravo smo završili pripreme za septembar 2009. godine. Svaki od „lokalnih“ organizatora predloži desetak fotografija i onda ih svi pregledamo, bude i na hiljade slika. Imamo selekciju za Južnu Afriku, Afriku, Centralnu Ameriku, Severnu Ameriku, Japan, Indiju, Kinu, Rusiju, itd... (prezentaciju za vrste fotografija). Evo, recimo, fotografije i selekcije njegovog dela, jednog dela fotografija jer je to serija o senkama. Zadržali smo, na primer, ovu od Fransoa Ondoloa iz Senegala iz veoma lepe serije o adolescentima na plaži. Dakle, kada jednom izaberemo seriju, sačuvamo, ukoliko ima smisla, reprodukcije izuzetno velikih formata ili ih napravimo da budu velikog formata, od nekoliko kvadratnih metara, koje potom reproducujemo i na ciradama koje se nalaze na otvorenom, tako da im je pristup besplatan.

Svi ljudi koji prošetaju kejom vide slike. Izložba traje dva meseca. Imamo partnerstva sa drugim institucijama, kao što su kulturni centri, ambasade, Evropska kuća fotografije, drugi muzeji u Parizu. Na taj način, kreiramo mrežu oko ovog pitanja istaknutih fotografa. Dešavalo se i

dire qu'on en avait une. Nous continuons à acheter de l'art aborigène australien. Nous avons cependant porté notre effort sur un autre champ, celui de la photographie contemporaine. Dans ce domaine, nous sommes même allés plus loin que le fait simplement d'acheter de la photographie contemporaine.

Nous avons créé une biennale qui s'appelle *Photoquai* (vous avez l'affiche ici), qui consiste, tous les deux ans à exposer sur les quais de la Seine, puisque le musée est sur le quai de la Seine, des reproductions de photographies de photographes contemporains émergents. Ce ne sont pas des photographes reconnus, ce ne sont pas des stars. Ce sont de jeunes photographes la plupart du temps, qu'on va trouver un peu partout dans le monde, en Mongolie, en Nouvelle-Zélande, en Australie, en Colombie, en Equateur, en Alaska, etc. On a organisé cette biennale de la manière suivante. Un commissaire général organise et lance les principales directions artistiques de cette biennale. Il est assisté par un comité de scientifiques avec un spécialiste de la photographie pour chaque continent. Cela peut être un Japonais pour l'Asie, un Afghan pour le Moyen-Orient. Je me suis, par exemple, occupé de l'Océanie. Chacun choisit à son tour dans différents pays des spécialistes qui ont pour travail de collecter des photographies et des œuvres. La première biennale a eu lieu en 2007 et nous finissons la préparation de celle de septembre 2009. Ces commissaires „locaux“ proposent une dizaine de photographes chacun et on les examine tous, on voit des milliers d'images. On a des sélections pour l'Afrique du sud, l'Afrique, l'Amérique centrale, l'Amérique du nord, le Japon, l'Inde, la Chine, la Russie etc.. (présentation du type de photos) Voici, par exemple, un photographe et une sélection de son œuvre, d'une partie de son œuvre parce que c'est une série faite sur les ombres. On a retenu par exemple celle-ci de François Ondolo du Sénégal, qui est une très belle série sur les jeunes adolescents à la plage. Donc, une fois qu'on a choisi cette série, on en conserve, si elle fait vraiment sens, des reproductions de petits formats ou bien on peut faire des reproductions de très grands formats, de plusieurs mètres carrés qu'on pourra reproduire sur des bâches qui sont installées sur une architecture ouverte et dont l'accès est gratuit.

Tous les gens qui passent sur le quai voient les images. Cela dure deux mois. Nous avons des partenariats avec d'autres institutions comme des centres culturels, des ambassades, la Maison européenne de la photographie, d'autres musées dans Paris. On tisse comme ceci un réseau autour de cette question de photographes émergents. Quelquefois, ces photos que vous voyez ici sont faites par des gens qui sont des amateurs mais ça peut être un photographe qui a un atelier de photographe pour faire des photographies de mariage ou d'identité et qui va avoir une pratique artistique personnelle.

Cela nous sert aussi comme une sorte de vivier, de

to da su fotografije koje vidite ovde radili ljudi amateri, ali i fotografi koji, uz privatnu umetničku praksu, drže fotografski studio za slikanje venčanja ili za dokumenta.

Ove izložbe nam služe i kao polazne tačke za dve osnovne stvari, za akvizicije i umetničke studijske boravke. Tako smo došli do fotografa Samija Bažolića, koji je napravio seriju fotografija o rudnicima i radionicama za preradu dijamanta u Kongu. Dobio je umetnički boravak. To je naš drugi pristup savremenoj umetnosti. Želimo da učestvujemo u njenom stvaranju. Kada smo te sreće da upoznamo savremenog umetnika, želimo da ga ispratimo u njegovom stvaralaštvu, njegovoj kreaciji, posebno putem studijskih boravaka. Imamo ih troje ili četvoro godišnje, biraju ih komisije koje su zadužene za fotografiju. Ovi boravci nisu uvek u Parizu u Muzeju kej Branli. Ove godine imamo tri umetnika od kojih su dvojica bila na prethodnom *Fotokeju*: Sami Bažolić uradio je čitav opus na temu rupa u stvaralaštvu i na temu francuskih luka u kojima je bilo trgovine robljem i koje su se posebno time okoristile – Nant, Bordo itd; drugi umetnik, kineskog porekla, koji se zove Vu Ki, uradio je reportažu o hrišćanskim zajednicama u Kini i o njihovim ritualima. Njegova umetnička rezidencija bila je u Kini. Imali smo i jednu umetnicu meksičkog porekla, Lurd Grobe, radi se o umetnicu koja ima bogato stvaralaštvu iza sebe, ali uopšte nije poznata u Francuskoj. Ova meksička umetnica realizovala je video rad i instalaciju o Beringovom moreuzu i prolazu između dve kulture. Toliko o učestvovanju u radu. Na kraju umetničkog boravka, Muzeju ostaju umetnički radovi. Serija koja je bila urađena tokom ove rezidencije pripada nacionalnim zbirkama, a mi nastavljamo, na mnogo klasičniji način da nabavljamo fotografije. Nedavno smo, na primer, dobili fotografije Samuela Fosoa, da obogatimo fondove.

Evo i drugog primera, tokom svetskog prvenstva u ragbiju 2007. godine, krov, koji je ujedno i terasa muzeja, pretvorili smo u teren za ragbi sa stubovima i to je poslužilo svim svetskim televizijskim i radio stanicama stanicama, i drugima, da urade reportaže kao da se nalaze na terenu za ragbi, ali sa Ajfelovom kulom u pozadini što je savršeno ukazivalo na to da se nalaze u Parizu. Godinu dana ranije (2006), ragbi ekipa Ol Bleks (*All Blacks*) sa Novog Zelanda poklonila je Muzeju kej Branli ogromnu fotografiju od 4 metra dužine i 3 metra visine sa ogromnim ramom, koja je bila teška 50 kilograma. Na njoj je predstavljen tim Ol Bleksa u toku ceremonije Haka, koja se obavlja pre svakog meča. Kada nas je posetio Greg Semu, likovni umetnik sa Samoa koji živi na Novom Zelandu, takođe smo mu ponudili rezidenciju u Muzeju i rad na projektu. Pokazao sam mu fotografiju Ol Bleksa u rezervnoj sali i rekao mi je: „Ja ču nešto da uradim sa ovim. Prihvatali su ceremoniju Haka, koja je maorska ceremonija, a ragbi je uvezan, tako da se smatra kolonijalističkom igrom“. Počeo je da pravi fotografije sa

réservoir pour deux choses principales, pour des acquisitions et pour les résidences d'artistes. On a acquis des photos de Sammy Baloji qui a fait cette série sur des mines et des carrières de diamants au Congo. Il a été choisi pour une résidence. C'est un autre aspect de notre approche de l'art contemporain. Nous voulons participer à la création. Si on a la chance de faire la rencontre avec un artiste contemporain, on va l'accompagner dans sa démarche, sa création notamment par le biais de la résidence. Nous en avons trois ou quatre par an, choisis par un comité, dans le domaine de la photographie. Ce sont des résidences qui ne sont pas obligatoirement à Paris au musée du quai Branly. Cette année on a trois résidences d'artistes dont deux étaient au précédent *Photoquai*: Sammy Baloji a fait tout un travail sur l'esclavage et sur les ports en France où il y a eu de la traite négrière et qui ont profité de la traite négrière - Nantes, Bordeaux, etc ; un autre artiste chinois, Wu Qi, a fait un reportage sur les communautés chrétiennes en Chine et sur leurs rites. Il a fait sa résidence en Chine. Une autre artiste mexicaine, Lourdes Grobet, il s'agit de quelqu'un qui a toute une œuvre derrière elle mais qui n'est pas du tout connue en France. C'est une artiste mexicaine qui a fait un travail de vidéo, de photographie sur le détroit de Béring et le passage entre les cultures. Voilà pour le travail d'accompagnement des créations. A la fin de la résidence, les créations nous restent. La série qui a été faite lors de cette résidence entre dans les collections nationales et on continue aussi à acquérir, de manière beaucoup plus classique des photographies. On a acquis Samuel Fosso très récemment, par exemple et pour enrichir le fonds.

Pour vous donner un autre exemple, lors de la coupe du monde de rugby à Paris en 2007, nous avons transformé le toit, la terrasse du musée en terrain de rugby avec des poteaux et ça a servi à toutes les télévisions du monde, au radios etc. pour faire leurs reportages comme sur un terrain de rugby mais en ayant la Tour Eiffel derrière eux qui montrait qu'ils étaient bien à Paris. Un an plus tôt, en 2006, l'équipe de rugby des *All Blacks* de Nouvelle-Zélande a donné au Musée du quai Branly une énorme photo de 4 m de long et 3 mètres de haut qui pesait 50 kilos avec un cadre énorme au-dessus. C'est une photo de l'équipe des *All Blacks* en train de faire la cérémonie du Haka, qu'ils font à chaque début de match. Et lors de la visite de Greg Semu, un artiste plasticien originaire de Samoa et vivant en Nouvelle-Zélande, on lui a proposé de faire une résidence au musée et de faire un projet. Je lui ai montré la photo des All Blacks en réserves et il me dit: „Moi, je vais faire quelque chose à partir de ça. Ils ont pris le Haka qui est une cérémonie Maorie mais le rugby est quelque chose d'importé donc c'est un jeu colonialiste“. Il a commencé à créer une photographie avec une thématique qu'il a commencé à réaliser en Nouvelle-Zélande, qui représentait au XIXème une escarmouche, une bataille, une bagarre entre des soldats anglais et des maories

tematikom koju je realizovao na Novom Zelandu, što bi u 19. veku izazvalo konflikt, bitku ili tuču između engleskih i maorskih vojnika pošto su se borbe između njih vodile tokom skoro čitavog veka. Organizovao je scenografiju, pronašao kostime, statiste i napravio veliku fotografiju, koju je snimio u Parizu, od 4x3 metra. Te dve fotografije postavili smo jednu preko puta druge kao diptih, ali i ne u potpunosti tako, već sam postavio fotografiju u vis, da visi ovako. U trenutku kada je trebalo da se okači njegova fotografija, ona je pala, oštetila se, i od novca od osiguranja, dali smo da se napravi druga. Umetnik je odlučio da se ipak posluži starom fotografijom, počeo je da radi, da je slika. Sve to zajedno sada predstavlja instalaciju koja je tražena na pozajmicu i lično eu, u julu, ići da nadgledam njen prenos na Tajvan, u Muzej moderne i savremene umetnosti. Doprineli smo preokretu ovog događaja i sada je to delo koje ne samo da će služiti promociji umetnika, već će biti i reprodukovano i živeće svoj život.

Izuzetno držim do toga da ima života, dinamizma u domenu savremene umetnosti, a ne samo kupovanja i prikazivanja onoga što je u modi. Ali i vi, u Muzeju afričke umetnosti, čini mi se da ste veoma pažljivi kada je reč o savremenoj umetnosti.

Da li je moguće pristupiti celokupnoj mujejskoj zbirici putem interneta?

Mogućnost da se celokupna zbirka prikaže na internetu nažalost je retka, usled nedostatka sredstava. Iskoristili smo preseljenje zbirki kako bismo sproveli ove dve stvari, i to kompletan tretman zbirke, jer u početku, ideja nije bila ta, postojala je samo želja da se zbirke prenesu iz starijeg muzeja u novi muzej i nije nam bilo ni na kraj pameti da postupak prenosa podrazumeva i čišćenje eksponata, njihovo fotografisanje, unošenje u bazu podataka, itd.

A jedno ide sa drugim, većina muzeja počinje proces numerizacije ili projekte numerizacije, ali to čini selektivno. Idite na internet, iako postoje skoro svi „mujejski kartoni“ u brojnim muzejima, nikada nema kompletnih zbirki. Ovde imate izuzetne eksponate, slonovske zamke, itd. Iskoristili smo tu činjenicu što je poželjno da zbirke budu restituiseane, da možemo da imamo pristup njima. Čak i u Luvru, kao i u većini muzeja, ima samo jedan deo zbirki na internetu. U Francuskoj smo među prvima počeli sa unošenjem podataka o Đokondi od svih muzeja u Francuskoj.

(...)

Koje su mogućnosti za stipendije za studente na master i doktorskim studijama u Muzeju kej Branli?

Idite na internet, videćete da i na engleskom jeziku postoji čitava procedura u vezi sa zahtevom za stipendije

puisqu'il y a eu des batailles très fortes pendant pratiquement tout un siècle. Il a organisé sa mise en scène, fait venir des costumes, des figurants et il a fait une grande photographie qu'il a fait tirer à Paris, de 4 mètres par 3. On a installé les deux photographies face à face comme un diptyque mais pas comme ça, j'ai installé la photo en hauteur, suspendue comme ceci. Au moment d'installer sa photographie à lui, elle est tombée, elle s'est abîmée et avec l'argent de l'assurance, on en a fait refaire une. L'artiste a décidé de se servir quand même de l'ancienne photographie, il a commencé à la retravailler, à la peindre. Cet ensemble est maintenant une installation demandée en prêt et je vais aller les convoyer au mois de juillet au musée d'art moderne et contemporain de Taiwan. On a fait rebondir cet évènement et maintenant, c'est une œuvre qui va non seulement servir à faire connaître l'artiste mais qui va aussi être reproduite et vivre sa vie.

Je tiens beaucoup à ce qu'il y ait une vitalité, un dynamisme dans le domaine de l'art contemporain et pas seulement d'acheter et montrer de l'art contemporain parce que c'est à la mode. Mais vous aussi, je crois, au Musée d'art africain, vous êtes très attentifs à l'art contemporain.

Est-il possible d'accéder à la collection entière par internet?

La possibilité de mettre toute une collection sur Internet est malheureusement assez rare, par manque de moyens. Nous avons profité du déménagement des collections pour ajouter ces deux choses, à savoir, tout le traitement de la collection parce qu'au départ, dans la décision, il n'y avait pas cette idée-là, il y avait simplement le fait de transférer les collections d'un ancien musée à un nouveau musée et il n'y avait pas l'idée d'avoir une démarche qui consiste à nettoyer les objets, les photographier, tous les mettre sur une base de données, etc.

Et l'un dans l'autre, la plupart des musées commence une numérisation ou ont des projets de numérisation mais ils le font sur des sélections. Allez sur Internet, vous avez presque partout des „fiches muséum“ dans de nombreux musées, vous n'avez jamais la totalité de la collection. Ici, vous avez des objets incroyables, des pièges à éléphants, etc. Nous en avons profité et il est tout à fait souhaitable que les collections soient restituées, qu'on puisse y avoir accès. Même le Louvre, comme la plupart des musées, n'a qu'une partie de la collection sur internet. En France, on a commencé avec la base *Joconde* pour tous les musées de France.

(...)

Quelles sont les possibilités d'obtention d'une bourse pour le master et pour les études doctorales au Musée du quai Branly?

Allez sur Internet, et vous verrez, cela existe aussi en

osnovnih i doktorskih studija koje omogućavaju vođenje tokom istraživačkog dela pisanja doktorske ili master teze i postdoktorske studije. Postoji i mogućnost stažiranja, može se videti, ali veoma smo limitirani što se tiče prostora. U Odeljenju kulturnog nasleđa i zbirki, apsolutni prioritet imaju kolege, na primer, konzervatori iz zemalja odakle su eksponati, na primer, Afrike, Okeanije, Amerike, dakle, njima prvenstveno ukazujemo gostoprivrstvo.

Koliko dugo je trajala akcija prebacivanja zbirki?

Kompletan proces je trajao tri godine nakon zatvaranja Muzeja umetnosti Afrike i Okeanije 2003. godine. Muzej kej Branli otvoren je 2006. godine, tako da je sve to podrazumevalo lanac operacija. Bilo je potrebito aktivirati petnaestak operacija od momenta preuzimanja eksponata iz vitrine ili rezervnog dela, njegovo pakovanje, stavljanje u kutiju, prenos kutije, tretman anoksije (stavljanje u atmosferu bez kiseonika). Za tu proceduru, potrebno je od petnaest dana do dva meseca po eksponatu i tri godine za sve zajedno.

Koliko je ljudi učestvovalo u tome?

Imamo malu vojsku (oko 150 ljudi) i ukoliko je neko od vas zainteresovan, može da pogleda i film, u njemu su pomenute sve ove brojke. Što se akcije tiče (otpakivanje, ponovno smeštanje u rezervni deo i provera), bilo je potrebno aktivirati četrdesetak osoba na period od dve i po godine i budžet od sedam miliona evra. Ovaj budžet bio je utrošen na plaćanje zasebnog preduzeća koje je angažovalo specijaliste iz svakog domena: konzervatore, restauratore, prenosioce, osobe koje su bile zadužene za postavljanje eksponata, itd. Sa njima smo dogovorili sumu, predložili su predračun, prihvatali smo. Nadgledamo sve što se dešava iako se dešava van naše institucije zato što ne bismo da zapošljavamo ljude koji učestvuju u jednoj konkretnoj akciji. Muzej često angažuje brojna zasebna preduzeća. To nije osoblje Muzeja, plaćamo pružanje usluga – obezbeđenje, održavanje čistoće – to su ugovori koje sastavljamo radi obavljanja posebnih usluga. Službenici Muzeja kej Branli su: osoblje Odeljenja za kulturno nasleđe i zbirke (kustosi), osoblje Odeljenja za naučno-istraživački rad (naučni radnici), glavne izvršne direkcije, kao što je direkcija za kulturni razvoj (bavi se izložbama, publikacijama, multimedijom, internet stranicom, filmovima, itd.), direkcija za informisanje, administrativna i kadrovska direkcija, direkcija za publiku. Na internet stranici, predstavljen je i deo Upravnog odbora Muzeja.

Ko je zadužen za dizajn postavke, odnosno za izbor predmeta i njihovo raspoređivanje po izložbenim vitrinama?

anglais tout le système pour obtenir des bourses d'études, des bourses doctorales qui permettent d'avoir un accompagnement de recherche pendant qu'on fait son doctorat ou son master et bourses post-doctorales. Il y a aussi des stages, il suffit de regarder, mais nous sommes très limités par la place. Au Département du patrimoine et des collections, la priorité absolue est aux collègues, à nos équivalents, par exemple aux conservateurs des pays d'origine, par exemple les pays d'Afrique, d'Océanie, d'Amérique donc, on les accueille en priorité.

Combien de temps le chantier des collections a-t-il duré?

Tout le processus de transfert a duré trois ans après la fermeture du musée des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie en 2003. Le musée du quai Branly a ouvert en 2006 donc c'est une chaîne d'opérations. Il y a une quinzaine d'opérations depuis le moment où l'on prend un objet dans la vitrine ou dans la réserve, où on l'empaquette, où on le met dans une boîte, où on transfère cette dernière, où on met l'objet en anoxie. Cela prend 15 jours à 2 mois par objet et trois ans pour l'ensemble.

Combien de personnes ont participé à ce travail?

On a une petite armée de gens (environ 150 personnes) et si cela intéresse certains d'entre vous, on peut regarder le film, il va y avoir tous ces chiffres. Pour le chantier (défaire, réinstaller en réserve et vérifier tous les objets), on doit avoir une quarantaine de personnes sur 2 ans et demi et un budget de 7 millions d'euros qui a été utilisé pour payer une société extérieure qui a recruté des spécialistes dans chaque domaine: des conservateurs, des restaurateurs, des manipulateurs, des installateurs etc. On a défini la prestation avec eux, ils ont proposé un devis qu'on a accepté. On supervise tout ce qui se passe mais tout est externalisé parce qu'on ne veut pas avoir à employer ces gens qui ont été là sur un chantier spécifique. Nous recourront à de nombreuses sociétés extérieures au musée du quai Branly. Ce n'est pas le personnel du musée, ce sont des prestations qu'on paye – la sécurité, la propriété – ce sont des contrats multiservices pour des prestations précises. Les agents du musée du quai Branly comprennent: le personnel du département du patrimoine et des collections (des conservateurs), celui du département de la recherche (des chercheurs), les directions opérationnelles principales, telles que la direction du développement culturel (production des expositions, des publications, du multimédia, du site Internet, des films, etc.), la direction de la communication, la direction de l'administration et des ressources humaines, la direction des publics. Sur le site Internet, il y a une partie organigramme du musée.

Sadržaj vitrina zaduženje je naučnih radnika, a ne arhitekata. Arhitekta nam daje, kao što sam već rekao, vrstu kutije sa alatom. Nikada nije bilo reči o tome da arhitekta vidi sadržaj vitrina. Kada dolazi do promene, iz konzervatorskih razloga, tkanine ili eksponata sa perjem, ne pitamo ga za mišljenje. Ali naprotiv, ako promenimo sadržaj kutije, ili ako bismo morali da se pozabavimo ozbiljnim radovima, on daje svoje mišljenje što je i normalno, uvezvi u obzir to da je tu reč o umetničkom delu. On ima, kako bismo rekli, pravo nastavljanja, kao i svi umetnici. Već sprovodimo radove. Blizu tri miliona ljudi je do sada posetilo Muzej i dosta toga se pohabalo, dakle, moraćemo da preradimo vitrine ili druge zone. To je normalno, uslov za uspeh.

Na koji način je rešeno osvetljenje u izložbenim salama?

Postoji nešto što uopšte nije za pohvalu, to je osvetljenje, jer smo od samog početka izabrali loš materijal. Kada su radovi počeli, žeeli smo da uštedimo na materijalu i izabrali smo neadekvatan materijal. Ideja Žana Nuvela bila je da nema plafona. Prostorije su osvetljene sa visine od 7 metara. Svetlosni projektori su programirani (postoji kompjuterski program za njih) i to ne funkcioniše baš najbolje. Biće potrebno da promenimo osvetljenje, ali to je mukotrpni posao, treba se neprekidno vraćati na to, ali tvrdoglav sam, neću odustati. Pored svega, imamo pozitivnih rezultata. Ima prostorija koje nisu dobro osvetljene. Preuzeo sam tu ulogu na sebe pre šest meseci, ranije nisam imao uticaja na sve ove aspekte. Sada, treba preuređiti neke vitrine, popraviti osvetljenje, neke prezentacije takođe, posebno Afričku koja je dosta kritikovana.

Reč je o novoj ponudi, drugačijoj i interesantnoj, posetiocima ovde treba da se osećaju dobro a kritika je sledeća: „komplikovano je, ne znamo gde se nalazimo, izgubljeni smo“, iako se radi o samo 4000 m², što ne predstavlja mnogo za jedan muzej, najmanji muzej ima površinu od 10 000 – 20 000 m². Naš je još manji. Žan Nuvel je želeo da put kroz Muzej vodi kao kroz vrt. Njegova antiteza je Metropolitan muzej u Njujorku sa grčkim hramom, stubovima, velikim impresivnim stepeništem kojim se penjemo prema hramu umetnosti. On je želeo potpuno suprotno, mesto gde može da se provlači, kao kroz džunglu, i da odrednica bude jedno mesto, gde bi se jedna stvar otkrila pa bi se nastavilo dalje, pa se otkrije još nešto, i mislim da u tom pravcu treba da se krećemo. Ponekad postoje mračne kutije u koje uđemo i ima mesta samo za dvoje, kao u gnezdu. I to je muzej. Smatram da je zaista neverovatno konstruisati muzej sa skrivenim mestima i čoškovima, pećinama, bojama, i to je u suprotnosti sa muzejima savremene umetnosti tipa „white cube“ – sa blještavo belim kockama na koje se

Qui est chargé du design de la collection, c'est-à-dire du choix des objets et de leurs disposition dans les vitrines?

Le contenu des vitrines appartient aux scientifiques et non à l'architecte, l'architecte livre, comme j'ai dit, une sorte de boîte à outils. Il n'a jamais été question que l'architecte voie le contenu scientifique des vitrines. Quand on change, pour des raisons de conservation, un tissu ou un objet avec des plumes, on ne lui demande pas son avis. Mais par contre, si on change le contenu d'une boîte, ou bien si on devait faire des travaux importants, il a son mot à dire et c'est normal parce que c'est une œuvre d'art. Il. a ce qu'on appelle, un droit de suite, comme tous les artistes. On fait déjà des travaux. Près de 3 millions de personnes ont déjà visité le musée et il y a déjà des choses usées, donc on refait les vitrines ou d'autres zones. C'est normal, c'est la rançon du succès.

Comment avez-vous réglé le problème de l'éclairage dans les salles d'exposition?

Il y a une chose qui n'est pas satisfaisante du tout, c'est l'éclairage parce que c'est un mauvais choix de matériel au départ. Quand le chantier était en place, on a voulu faire des économies de matériel et on a choisi un matériel qui n'est pas adapté. L'idée de Jean Nouvel était de ne pas avoir de plafond. Les pièces sont éclairées de 7 mètres de haut. Les spots sont programmés (il y a un logiciel à l'intérieur) et ça ne fonctionne pas très bien. Il va falloir qu'on change cela mais c'est un travail pénible, il faut sans arrêt revenir dessus, mais je suis tête, je ne lâcherai pas. On commence tout de même à avoir des résultats. Il y a des pièces qui ne sont pas bien éclairées. J'ai pris cette fonction il y a six mois et je n'avais pas la possibilité d'intervenir sur tous ces aspects. Maintenant, il faut refaire certaines vitrines, des éclairages, certaines présentations aussi, notamment en Afrique, assez critiquées.

C'est une proposition nouvelle, différente et intéressante, il faut que le public s'y sente bien parce que la critique a souvent été „c'est compliqué, on ne sait pas où on est, on est perdus“ alors que ce n'est que 4000 m², ce n'est rien du tout pour un musée, le moins musée qui se construit à 10 000 – 20 000 m². Le nôtre est tout petit. Jean Nouvel voulait qu'on se fraye un chemin dans le musée comme on le ferait dans un jardin. L'antithèse pour lui, c'est le Metropolitan Museum de New York avec le temple grec, les colonnes, le grand escalier impressionnant par lequel on monte vers le temple des arts. Il voulait absolument le contraire, quelque chose où l'on se faufile, comme on se faufile dans la jungle, et on arrive à un endroit, on découvre quelque chose et après on va ailleurs, on découvre encore quelque chose et je crois qu'il faut travailler dans ce sens-là. Il y a parfois une boîte sombre, dans laquelle on entre et on n'a la place que deux, comme

postavljaju slike i skulpture.

Ja sam član Naučnog saveta za novi Luvr muzej koji Žan Nuvel gradi u Abu Dabiju (Ujedinjeni Arapski Emirati). Ovaj Muzej biće izuzetno lep. Muzej Žana Nuvela ulazi u more i more ulazi u Muzej: vrućina, so, vlaga, u suprotnosti su sa pravilima preventivne konzervacije. Iznad peska nadvija se ogromna šupljikava kupola sa islamskim motivima, kroz koju prodire svetlost, stvarajući refleksiju tih oblika u enterijeru. Moguće je da će vidljivost eksponata biti otežana nedostatkom svetla, ali sve zavisi od dela koja će tamo biti izložena. Postojeće „klasične“ sale gde će biti izloženi eksponati iz perioda renesanse. Žan Nuvel daje predlog, kao arhitekta i kao umetnik, i mislim da treba umeti biti zahvalan na njegovoj ponudi.

Hvala. Ako nema drugih pitanja, možemo razgovor da privredemo kraj.

KRAJ.

Napomene:

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¹ Izložba pod nazivom *Tragovi/Traces : Call and Response*, na kojoj su predstavljeni plakati Muzeja kej Branli, kao i materijal iz zbirke i arhiva MAU: muzički instrumenti i dokumentarni filmski snimci iz 1970-tih godina, iz Afrike. (prim. red.)

² U originalnoj francuskoj verziji autor koristi izraz muzeografija. Međutim, smatramo da je ovde, kao i u nastavku teksta, značenje preciznije određeno terminom muzeologija. (prim. red.)

³ Od 2005. godine preimenovan u Muzej nacionalne arheologije, koji se nalazi u blizini Pariza. (prim. red.)

⁴ Na internet sajtu Muzeja kej Branli (prim. red.)

⁵ Akcija sređivanja i obrade predmeta u muzejskim depoima (prim. red.).

dans un nid. C'est ça aussi un musée. Je trouve que c'est assez extraordinaire de faire un musée avec des recoins, des cachettes, des anfractuosités, des couleurs aussi et c'est le contraire du musée d'arts contemporain „white cube“ - avec des cubes tout blancs où l'on met des tableaux et des sculptures.

Je fais partie du conseil d'orientation scientifique du musée du Louvre que Jean Nouvel construit à Abou Dabi (Emirats Arabes Unis). Il sera d'une beauté extraordinaire. Le musée de Jean Nouvel entre dans la mer et la mer entre dans le musée: la chaleur, le sel, l'humidité sont à l'encontre des règles de conservation préventive. L'ensemble de sable a été recouvert par un énorme dôme troué de motifs islamiques au travers desquels la lumière passe et reflète ces formes à l'intérieur. Il se peut que le manque de points de lumière rende la lecture des œuvres plus difficile. Mais tout dépend des œuvres qui y seront installées. Il y aura des salles „classiques“ où seront exposées des objets de la Renaissance. Jean Nouvel fait une proposition d'architecte, d'artiste et je crois qu'il faut être humble et s'adapter à ce qu'il offre.

Merci. S'il n'y pas d'autres questions nous pouvons conclure.

FIN

Notes:

* Nous voudrions adresser l'expression de notre reconnaissance au Centre culturel français de Belgrade qui a fourni le soutien financier nécessaire pour la traduction du français au serbe du texte de la conférence ainsi qu'à Mlle Nina Trifunovic pour le travail effectué sur la bande sonore et pour la préparation du matériel.

¹ Note du rédacteur / L'exposition intitulée *Tragovi/Traces: Call and Response*, où les affiches du musée du quai Branly ont été présentées, ainsi que le matériel des collections et des archives du musée de l'Art Africain : des instruments de musiques et des documentaires des années 70, provenant d'Afrique.

² devenu musée d'Archéologie nationale en 2005 et situé dans les environs de Paris, note du rédacteur – NDR

³ sur le site internet du Musée du quai Branly, NDR



Postavka izložbe *Mudshots!!*, savremenog karipskog umetnika Lennon Žno-Batista, MAU 2007. Snimio: M. Todorović.



Work in progress, exhibition *Mudshots!!* by Lennon Jno Baptiste, contemporary Caribbean artist, MAU 2007. Photo by M. Todorović.



UDK 75.071.1:929 Жно-Батист Л.(047.53)

PROBLEM U RAJU

Razgovor sa karipskim umetnikom:
Lennon Žno-Batist

Mračni periodi diktatura obeležili su dvadeseti vek koji je skončao u plamenu balkanskog konflikta. Imaginarijumi koji se razvijaju i funkcionišu unutar sistema političkog marketinga, koji stvaraju izmaglicu političkog kiča i iznova pozlaćuju hramove kulta ličnosti, definitivno su deo globalnog nasleđa. Vizeulna agresija opresivnih režima ne poznaje ni moralna ni geografska ograničenja.

S toga su kontrastnije i živopisnije diktature u egzotičnom okviru „zemaljskih raje“, kakvi su Okeanija ili Karibi. Karipska niska ostrva poznaje duga stoljeća španske konkiste, zatim robovlasničke kolonizacije, ratova za prevlast nad njenim bogatstvima... Danas

TROUBLE IN PARADISE

Interview with Caribbean artist
Lennon Jno-Baptiste

The dark period of dictatorship marked the 20th century, which came to a close in the flames of the Balkan conflict. Many imaginaries that are developed and function inside the system of political marketing – that create a mist of political kitsch and rekindle the fires that burn in the temples in honour of the personality cult – are definitely a part of global heritage. The visual aggression of oppressive regimes does not know either moral or geographical boundaries.

This is why dictatorships in exotic surroundings – “Heavens of Earth” – such as Oceania and the Caribbean appear to be even more contrasting and colourful. The chain of Caribbean islands is not unused to the centuries of

Karibi predstavljaju neku vrstu diktatorske „lepeze“ koja se boji od crvenih, komunističkih, poslednjih ideoloških rajeva do „crnih“ apsolutističkih, gde se vlast prenosi preko beskrupuloznih političkih dinastija, i koju na momente presecaju vedriji i isprani tonovi turističkih „Meka“.

Današnji svet funkcioniše po principima i pravilima marketinga i advertajzinga. Svaki konflikt prate stotine hiljada sati medijske baraze, „good news is no news“ pravilo je *sine qua non*. Ta mašina se hrani pravim i virtuelnim žrtvama na ekranima čiji brojevi defiluju ispod brižljivo vizuelno upakovanih dnevnih užasa...

Defilei diktatorskih profila, plakati u favelama, jarke boje fasada ribarskih mesta na karipskim ostrvima, dominantna erotičnost crnog tela, labyrin džungle, svet u *diluviumu*, čije krhke tekovine nosi bujica pobesne poplave, i ljudske upornosti i plemenitosti da opstane i odupre se apokalipsi, sve su to vizije umetnika Žno Lenona.

Sa umetnikom sam razgovarao jednog sunčanog dana u njegovom pariskom ateljeu nadomak Il-Sen Luia :

MM: Možeš li mi reći nešto o tvojim ranim danima na Karibima? Šta je tada uticalo na tebe?

JNO: Moji roditelji su se prvo preselili u Kanadu, a potom u SAD, Njujork Siti, kada sam bio zaista dete od dve ili tri godine. Odrastao sam u velikoj porodici gde su muzika i muzičke umetnosti i kultura uopšte, kao i religija i duhovnost bile vrlo bitne. Moj ujak je bio stvarno i potpuno u džezu i klasičnoj muzici, koju je često zvijačao radeći oko kuće. Mocarta i Luja Armstronga. Sećam se da je bio tenor u crkvenom horu. Američki *Soul* i *Jazz* su zaista uticali dosta na *Reggae* i *Calypso* muziku sa Kariba, koja se mogla čuti u našem komšiluku. Kakogod, mislim da je želja da razumem odsutnost svojih roditelja uticala na moje interesovanje prema drugim kulturama. Razlozi njihove odsutnosti su uvek bili ekonomskog tipa – „da bi se živilo bolje“. Šta je to moglo da znači klinču od sedam ili osam godina? Mislim da nam tada nije ništa nedostajalo.

MM: Šta te je navelo da se nastaniš u NYC? Šta ti je ova promena donela?

JNO: Došao sam u NYC (New York City) željan ostvarenja američkog sna...šala mala! Namera mojih roditelja je bila da se privatno školujem na Karibima i da im se tek kasnije pridružim, početkom mojih viših studija. NYC je poznat

Spanish conquista, slavery, colonization, wars over the control of resources... The Caribbean islands are today considered to be a sort of dictator's “palette” coloured in red as a communistic, definitive ideological heaven, or coloured in absolutist “black” – denoting power that is passed down by generations of unscrupulous political dynasties, occasionally illuminated with the brighter and faded tones of tourist Meccas.

Today's world functions on the principles and rules of marketing and advertising. Each conflict is followed by hundreds of hours of media barrage; the *sine qua non* is: *good news is no news*. This machine feeds on real and virtual victims on the screen whose numbers run beneath carefully presented daily horrors...

Chains of dictator profiles, posters in the favelas, the brightly painted facades of Caribbean island fishing towns, the dominant erotic tone of the black body, the jungle labyrinth, the world in diluvium, whose fragile flow is carried by the torrent of raging floods, and human perseverance and nobility to survive and fight the apocalypse – these are all visions of the artist Jno-Baptiste.

I talked to the artist one sunny day in his Parisian atelier not far from *Île Saint-Louis*:

MM: Could you tell me something about your early days in the Caribbean? What influenced you then?

JNO: My parents first moved to Canada and then to the U.S. (New York City), when I was actually a child of two or three years. I grew up in a large family where music and art and music culture in general, as well as religion and spirituality were very important. My uncle was completely into jazz and classical music that he whistled as he worked around the house [Mozart and Louis Armstrong.] I remember that he sang tenor in the church choir. American Soul and Jazz really influenced a lot of Reggae and Calypso music from the Caribbean that could be heard in our neighbourhood. However, I think the desire to understand the absence of my parents influenced my interest in other cultures. The reasons for their absence were always of an economic nature [“in order to provide a better life.”] What could that mean to a seven or eight year-old kid? I think we lacked nothing back then.

MM: What prompted you to settle in NYC? What did this change bring you?

JNO: I came to NYC [New York City] eager to reach the

po lošim javnim školama, a privatne definitivno nisu bile u okvirima njihovih budžeta.

Trebalo je da operišem oko, i takva operacija bila je jedino izvodjiva u SAD. Već dve koje sam imao na Karibima su bile neuspešne. Posle te sudbonosne operacije, pridružio sam se svojim roditeljima. Bilo je to vrlo uzbudljivo iskustvo. Moj prvi zimski vetr nikad neću zaboraviti! Bilo mi je sve toliko strano, i hladnoća je za mene tada bila gotovo nepodnošljiva.

Takođe, bilo je fascinantno videti mesta koja sam do tada video samo na TV-u, i jesti hranu koju samo vidiš na televiziji! I neboderi, *wow!* Video sam *New York, New York USA*. Bilo je stvarno neverovatno sve to.

MM: Aškolski dani?

JNO: Sećam se da su klinci u toj školi u koju sam išao u Bruklinu, imali totalno drugačiji odnos prema „akademskom“ nego klinci sa Kariba. Na Dominiki mi smo želeli da istražujemo, da saznajemo nove stvari; u Bruklinu sve se vrtelo oko bežanja sa časova i kako se ko oblačio. To je bila srednja škola... Univerzitet je već bio druga priča. Studirao sam advertajzing i to je dodalo jedan potpuno drugačiji način gledanja na umetnost. Mogućnost pristupa svim muzejima, popularnoj umetnosti, *hot spotovima* kao što su to Soho ili Grinič, Pop art galerijama..., sve to je pomoglo mojim idejama oko umetnosti i marketinga.

MM: Kako ti je izgledao taj sudar sa njujorškom kulturom i njenim umetnicima?

JNO: Kao umetniku taj sudar bio je vrlo bitan, zato što mi je dao priliku da sagledam širi okvir mogućnosti, umetnički gledano i drugačije takođe. Otkrivanje muzeja, pop umetnosti i energije Njujorka bilo je vrlo stimulativno.

MM: Primećujem da je socijalna komponenta vrlo bitan segment u tvojim radovima. Koji su razlozi tvoje bliskosti sa ovakvim pitanjima?

JNO: Jedan od razloga, zbog kojih je započelo moje interesovanje u tim stvarima bila je upitanost nad istorijom mog imena... *John-Baptist. Jean-Baptiste* na francuskom, u engleskom prevodu: *John-Baptiste*, a zatim skraćeno na *Jno-Baptiste*. Zatim tako otkriješ svet politike, ekonomije, afričkog ropstva, ratove, itd. Ukratko, Dominika, ostrvo na kom sam rođen, jednom je u istoriji pripadalo Francuzima, i nalazi se između današnjih francuskih poseda,

American dream... a little joke! The intention of my parents was for me to get a private education in the Caribbean and to join them later, at the beginning of my higher education [NYC is known for poor public schools and the private ones were definitely outside their range]. I was supposed to have an eye operation and such an operation was only possible in the US - two previous ones that I had in the Caribbean were unsuccessful. After that life-changing operation, I joined my parents. It was a very exciting experience. I shall never forget that first winter wind! Everything was so strange to me, and I found the cold almost unbearable.

It was also fascinating to see places that I had only seen on TV, and to eat food that you only see on TV! And the skyscrapers... *wow!* I saw New York, New York USA. It was all really unbelievable.

MM: And your school days?

JNO: I remember that the kids from my school in Brooklyn, had a totally different attitude towards the "academic" than kids from the Caribbean. In Dominica, we wanted to explore, to learn new things, in Brooklyn, everything revolved around skipping classes and how one dressed. It was high school... University was a different story. I studied advertising and this added a completely different way of looking at art. The presence of all the museums, popular art, hot spots such as Soho or Greenwich, Pop Art galleries... all this helped develop my ideas on art and marketing.

MM: How did you react to this clash with New York culture and its artists?

JNO: As an artist I found it very important because it gave me the opportunity to gain a broader perspective of the possibilities, in an artistic way and otherwise as well. Discovering museums, pop art and the energy of New York was very stimulating.

MM: I notice that the social component has a very important part in your work. What are the reasons for your familiarity with these issues?

JNO: One of the reasons that stirred my interest in these matters was pondering on the history of my name... *John-Baptiste* [Jean-Baptiste in French, in the English translation: John-Baptiste, and then the shorter version Jno-Baptiste]. And so you discover the world of politics,

Gvadalupea i Martinika. Francuzi su ga izgubili u jednom od ratova i predali Englezima. Taj prelaz je ostavio fantastičnu mešavinu u kulturnom pejsažu ostrva. Posebno u hrani i različitim nazivima mesta. Uvek me je fasciniralo kako nekolicina pojedinaca može da utiče na mnoštvo.

MM: Rekao si mi da si dosta naučio od advertajzinga – u vizuelnom smislu ili...?

JNO: Advertajzing me je naučio kako da gledam na slike i kako da nalazim iste, koje mogu da upotrebim kako bih naveo ljude da kupe ideju određenog proizvoda. Najjednostavnija slika treba da ispriča priču...

MM: Kako objašnjavaš nostalгију за svojim kulturnim bekraundom, čak kada si toliko daleko od njega kao sada?

JNO: Kulturno nasleđe i fizičko okruženje su vrlo različiti po svojim prirodama. Za mene je kulturno nasleđe definitivno vezano za evropsku, američku i afričku kulturu, tako da je to nešto što je uvek bilo prisutno. To je, takođe, i tvoj unutrašnji sadržaj. Odrastanje, podjednako u karipskoj i američkoj kulturi, obogatilo je moju viziju sveta u kom živim. Zbog toga što je karipska kultura toliko izmešana svojom istorijom migracija, skoro gde god da odem, mogu da povratim kontakt sa mojim kulturnim nasleđem. Martinik i Gvadalupe u Francuskoj, kari iz Indije i afrički doboši, sve to me podseća na osnovne elemente moje kulture...

MM: Kakvo mesto zauzimaju erotika i žene u tvojim radovima?

JNO: Shvatio sam da je afričko telo imalo, i još uvek ima, jak uticaj na američku i evropsku kulturu. Od afričkog ropstva do današnjeg dana: ljudski zoološki vrt, sport, advertajzing, muzika, itd. Koristim erotiku i motiv žene da bi posvetlio ovu realnost. Mislim da je to način na koji prikazujem povezanost kultura.

MM: Da li se može reći da je na tebe uticao politički advertajzing Kariba i trećeg sveta?

JNO: Da, više estetski nego politički; jake vibrirajuće boje, plošnost i tako te stvari. Takođe, stripovi, Holivud i njegovi filmovi, Dizni, crtači i nekoliko majstora

economy, African slavery, wars, etc. In short, Dominica, the island where I was born, once in its history belonged to the French, and it lies between French Guadeloupe and Martinique. The French lost it in one of the wars and gave it to the English. The transition left a fantastic mix in the cultural landscape of the island; particularly in the food and different names of places. I'm always fascinated how a handful of individuals can affect the many.

MM: You told me that you learnt a lot from advertising – in a visual sense...?

JNO: Advertising taught me how to look at images and also how to find them in order to use them so that I could entice people to buy the idea of a certain object. The simplest of images has to tell the story...

MM: How do you explain the nostalgia for your cultural background, even when you are as far from it as you are now?

JNO: Cultural heritage and natural environment are very different in their nature. For me cultural heritage is definitely related to European, American and African culture, so it is something that has always been present. This is also your internal content. Growing up in both Caribbean and American culture enriched my vision of the world I live in. Because Caribbean culture is so mixed with its history of migration, almost anywhere I go, I am in contact with my cultural heritage. Guadalupe and Martinique in France, curry from India and African drums – it all reminds me of the basic elements of my culture...

MM: How do you approach women and erotica in your work?

JNO: I have come to the understanding that the African body had and still does have a strong impact on American and European culture. From African slavery to the present: the *human zoo*, sport, advertising, music, etc. I use eroticism and the female motif to shed some light on this reality. I think that I aim to express the connectedness between cultures in this way.

MM: Would you say that you were influenced by political advertising of the Caribbean and the third world?

JNO: Yes, however, more in an aesthetic than political

slikarstva su stvarno uticali na mene.

MM: Koga od njih bi pomenuo kao one koji su najviše uticali na tebe?

JNO: Moram da kažem da sam zaista bio impresioniran Roj Lihtenštajnom, Džasperom Džounsom, ranim Vorholom. A onda sam otkrio Baskijata, koji je na najdirektniji način uticao na njujoršku omladinu (*Hip-Hop*) i drugi umetnici, kao što su Tvombli ili Eslvort Keli, kao one koji su stvarno imali petlje.

MM: Kakvo je značenje boksera na tvojim crtežima?

JNO: Bokser je inspirisan velikim bokserom Muhamedom Alijem, ali, takođe, i samim sportom. Boks je metafora borbe. Slika jačine crnog tela koja se nalazi u glavama mnogih ljudi. Ova slika snage je danas poljuljana epidemijom SIDE. Povezana je sa afro-američkom kulturom, kroz ceo svet, od bluza, rokenrola do hiphopa.

MM: Pejsaž kao scena je u tvojim radovima vrlo često jako kontrastiran – ili je rajske ili apokaliptičan, kako objašnjavaš ovo?

JNO: Postoji stalna borba sa prirodom i ja pokušavam da to prikažem u svojim radovima. Unutar te borbe svedoci smo apokalptičnih pojava kao što su poplave ili uragani, ratovi koji se vode radi zgrtanja novih prirodnih bogatstava, uništavanje šuma... Pokušavam da tu realnost kontrastiram sa idiličnim vizijama prirode, možda baš zato što mislim da je priroda bogatstvo s kojim treba živeti i razumeti ga, a ne uništavati ga.

MM: Kako vidiš svoju umetnost u neposrednoj budućnosti?

JNO: Želeo bih da mogu da realizujem neke više trodimenzionalne radove, bazirane na osnovama mojih crteža i platana. Takođe, planiram i nove video radove i animacije.

Mihael Milunović

way: the powerful, vibrant colours, the two-dimensionality, and so on. Also, comic books, Hollywood, its films, Disney, cartoons and a few classic masters of painting have influenced me.

MM: Which ones, would you say made the greatest impact?

JNO: I must admit I was truly inspired by Roy Lichtenstein, Jasper Jones and the early Warhol. Then I discovered Basquiat who influenced New York's youth in the most direct way (hip-hop) and other artists such as Twombly and *Ellsworth Kelly as the ones that truly had guts*.

MM: What is the meaning of boxers in your drawings?

JNO: The boxer was inspired by the great boxer Mohammad Ali and with boxing as a sport. Boxing is a metaphor for fighting. It is the image of a strong black body which pervades in the minds of many people. This image of strength is compromised today with the AIDS epidemic. It is linked to Afro-American culture across the world, from the Blues, Rock n' Roll, to hip-hop.

MM: Landscape as a scene in your work is often contrasted – it is either heavenly, or apocalyptic; how do you explain this?

JNO: There is a constant struggle with nature and I try to show this in my work. Within this struggle we witness apocalyptic phenomena such as floods or hurricanes, wars that lead to accumulation of new natural resources, destruction of forests... I try to contrast the idyllic visions of nature, maybe because I think that nature is a form of wealth to live with and understand, not destroy.

MM: How do you see your art in the near future?

JNO: I am aiming to realize certain three-dimensional art based on my drawings and canvas paintings. I am also planning to create new video work and animations.

Mihael Milunović



Mesto dijaloga: Mihael Milunović, urednik programa Obojeni Svet, Karol Wagemans, istoričar umetnosti, i umetnik Lennon Jno-Baptist. Foto-arkiv MAU.
A Place of Dialogue: Mihael Milunović, the Coloured World program director, Carol Wagemans, art historian and artist Lennon Jno-Baptiste. MAA photo archive.

Izložba**A in B***Autori:* mr Ana Sladojević, Nebojša Babić

Muzej afričke umetnosti, jun – septembar 2009.

Muzej afričke umetnosti više od tri decenije pokazuje inspirativno, inventivno, otvoreno i stručno delovanje u svojoj muzejskoj misiji i viziji. Ovaj prostor uvek nadahnjuje zanimljivim idejama, kreativnostima, saznanjima i pre svega, dobrom vibracijama u slobodnom krstarenju svetom. To potvrđuje i *A in B*, projekat – izložba – knjiga koji su osmisili, kreirali i realizovali Ana Sladojević, umetnica i afikanolog, Nebojša Babić, renomirani fotograf u saradnji sa rediteljem Aleksandrom Maričićem. Glavni akteri ovog dela su, u stvari, prijatelji Muzeja koji su povezani sa Afrikom svojim poreklom, saznanjima, životnim iskuštvom, tamo-ovde-nekad-sada. Tamara, Birađej, Hamadahamane, Hani, Tarik, Arafan, Ema, Alfaris, Mihajlo, Ivon, Alberto, Aizak pristali su da se predstave u slici i reči koje su Ana, Nebojša i Aleksandar pretočili u jedno istraživačko i umetničko delo. Kroz narativnu formu i vizuelno portretisanje otvaraju se mnoga polja saznanja iz istorije i privatnog života.

Vratimo se na kratko u prošlost. Negde u osviti šezdesetih godina prošlog veka markiran je geostrateški poredak prepoznat u paradigmi nevrstanosti, novom političkom elitizmu koji su podstakli ekonomski, kulturni i politički promet između afričkih zemalja i bivše Jugoslavije. I kako već biva – velike politike silaze u male svakodnevice, a glavni protagonisti postaju studenti, eksperti, diplomati i mnogi drugi koji uspostavljaju međukontinentalni most. Putovanja, radna iskustva, kontakti, prijateljstva, emocije, empatije za neke ostaju uspomene, ali i novi životni počeci. Od Timbuktua, Tisafa, Alžira, Kora, Gaoa i drugih afričkih gradova stizalo se u Beograd koji postaje grad u kome se ostaje dugo, nadugo, zadugo; u kome odrastaju deca druge generacije živeći svojim uhodanim svakodnevnicama. A njih je malo. Izložba *A in B* predstavlja portrete ljudi u čije identitete je utkano i isprepletano afričko podneblje. Izložba je namenjena njihovim retrospektivama kako vide sebe u svom životnom okruženju sa obrisima porekla. To jesu portreti koji su prevazišli granice, predrasude i stereotipe. I zato njihove reči *ispisane okom* postaju deo galerijske i pripovedačke oaze tolerancije u razumevanju različitosti. Fotografije izabranih likova iščitavaju se kroz analogije života i umetnosti koje su dovoljno vizuelno recite. Uz svaku fotografiju zumirani su segmenti svakodnevica,

Exhibition**A in B**

by Ana Sladojević MA, Nebojša Babić

Museum of African Art, June – September 2009

The mission and vision of the Museum of African Art has, in the course of three decades, produced inspiring, inventive, open and specialised action. This space continually encourages interesting ideas, creativity, new understandings and, above all, good vibrations in our unrestricted world cruise. This is demonstrated through the *A in B* project-exhibition-book conceptualised, created and realised by Ana Sladojević, artist and Africanist, Nebojša Babić, renowned photographer, in collaboration with film director Aleksandar Maričić. The lead roles in this work of art are in fact friends of the Museum of African Art who are connected to Africa through their birth, memories, life experiences, there-here-before-now. Tamara, Biradyeye, Hamadahamane, Hani, Tarik, Arafan, Emma, Alfaris, Mihajlo, Ivon, Alberto and Isac introduce themselves in picture and word, which Ana, Nebojša and Aleksandar transformed into a creative quest and work of art. The narrative form and visual portrayal open many doors in the understanding of history and individual lives.

Let us for a moment go back. Sometime, at the dawn of the 1960s the geo-strategic order recognised in the non-aligned movement paradigm was marked and confirmed in the new political elitism that encouraged economic, cultural and political operations between African countries and the former Yugoslavia. As is the usual course, in time great politics transformed into small everyday life and students, experts, diplomats and many other individuals that built the intercultural bridge, become its protagonists. Travels, work experiences, contacts, friendships, emotions, empathies became memories for some and beginnings of new ways of life for others. From Timbuktu, Tisafa, Algiers, Kora, Gao and other African cities, they arrived in Belgrade – the city that became a place to stay, a long time, permanently; a place where children grew into the second generation of a previously paved, everyday existence. And, there are only a few of them now. The *A in B* exhibition displays the portraits of people whose identities are entwined and intertwined with Africa. The exhibition is dedicated to their retrospective – how they perceive themselves in their life surroundings that hold traces of their heritage. These are portraits that have overcome borders, prejudice and stereotypes. This is why their stories *written with their eyes* become part of the gallery and storyteller oasis of

vremenski isečci koji oblikuju kratke forme priča iz života, epizode sećanja dovoljno scenično da stvore sliku ličnosti. Autori ovog dela su koncipirali poetički model iskazan kroz crno-belu fotografiju bez jasne topografske pozadine i ambijentalnog okruženja, stavljajući tako u prvi plan izražajnost i gestualnost. Istovremeno, kratke pripovedačke forme izdvajaju segmente, epizode iz života, stavove i sećanja koji u jednom blic scenariju stvaraju narativnu sliku. Sve to zajedno dobija i svoj vizuelni produžetak u *making of* video zapisu. Afrikanci u Beogradu jeste početni lajt motiv, ali poruka autora je više od toga kosmopolitiski prizvuk kulturne širine i umetničkog sklada oslobođen je identitetske sputanosti.

*Miroslava Lukić Krstanović***Izložba****Mwana hiti: više od lutke, iz zbirke Gibera Ersona***Autorka:* Emilia Epštajn

Muzej afričke umetnosti, decembar 2008 – jun 2009.

Tema izložbe *Mwana hiti: više od lutke, iz zbirke Gibera Ersona* (Muzej afričke umetnosti, decembar 2008. – jun 2009.) je malo poznati umetnički izraz naroda Zaramo i Kvere iz istočne Tanzanije, odnosno specifičan pristup njihovih rezbara u izvođenju oblika ljudske glave i tela na predmetima u drvetu. Privučen jednostavnosću i lepotom oblika, kako i sam kaže u uvodnom delu kataloga koji prati izložbu, kolecionar afričke umetnosti Giber Erson počeo je da sakuplja predmete sa motivom *mwana hiti* tokom svog boravka u Africi 70-tih godina prošlog veka. Na izložbi je prikazano 78 predmeta koji čine stilski zaokruženu celinu, i koji su po prvi put stručno obrađeni i predstavljeni javnosti.

Izložba je koncipirana tako da prati stilski obrazac na različitim vrstama predmeta i transformacije u izvođenju, dok se u tekstu kataloga otkrivaju značenja i simbolike koje motiv *mwana hiti* sadrži. Stilski izraz – *mwana hiti* zajednička je odlika izloženih predmeta sasvim različitih prema njihovoj upotreboj funkciji, kao što su inicijacijska figura, štap za hodanje, stolica – presto, teralica za muve, nadgrobni stub, kopljje, kutija za prah, ukrasi za kosu – češljevi i ukosnice, i kašike. Emilia Epštajn, autorka izložbe i kataloga, namenila je centralni deo postavke inicijacijskim figurama *mwana hiti*, tako da njihov vizuelni identitet služi kao ključ za posmatranje likovnog jezika zajedničkog svim eksponatima. S obzirom na male dimenzije ovih stubolikih figura, koje su visine od 8 do 18 cm, njihovo skulptorsko rešenje dodatno

tolerance in understanding diversity. The photographs of selected characters can be read through analogies find in life and art that are sufficiently visually eloquent. Each photograph is zoomed by a segment from everyday life, time clips that shape the short stories, memory episodes that are scenic enough to provide an image of the personality. The authors of this project created a poetic model expressed in black and white photographs lacking a particular topographic setting and surrounding, thus bringing to the fore front expressivity and gesticulation. Simultaneously, the short narratives extract segments, life episodes, opinions and memories, which in a one flash scenario create a narrative image. The composition gains its visual extension in the *making-of* video documentation. *Africans in Belgrade* is the starting *lite motif* however the authors' message is more far-reaching – a cosmopolitan impression of cultural openness and creative harmony freed of any restraint in the expression of identity.

*Miroslava Lukić Krstanović***Exhibition****Mwana Hiti: More than Just a Doll, from the Guibert Hairson Collection***by Emilia Epštajn*

Museum of African Art, December 2008 – June 2009

The *Mwana Hiti: More than Just a Doll (from the Guibert Hairson Collection)* (MAA, December 2008 – June 2009) exhibition focuses on a theme that has generally received less attention – the artistic expression of the Zaramo and Kwere of Eastern Tanzania, i.e. the specific approach their carvers employ in shaping the human head and body of objects in wood. Drawn by the simplicity and beauty of their form, as he himself claims in the introductory lines, the connoisseur Guibert Hairson started collecting objects bearing the *mwana hiti* motif during one of his stays in Africa, in the 1970ies. The exhibition displayed 78 stylistically homogeneous objects that were scientifically evaluated and presented to the public for the first time.

The concept of the exhibition was based on following one stylistic pattern on various types of objects, the transformations in the design, and was complemented by the catalogue that revealed the meanings and symbolisms that accompany the *mwana hiti*. The *mwana hiti* design was the common feature of functionally varied exhibited pieces: initiation figures, a staff, throne-stool, fly-whisk, memorial post, spear, powder box, also hair decorations such as combs and hairpins, and spoons. Emilia Epštajn,



Mvana hiti figura. Zaramo, Tanzanija. Drvo. Visina 9,3 cm / d. 3,5 cm. Sa izložbe **Mvana hiti: više od lutke**, MAU, 2008. Snimio: V. Popović.

Mwana hiti figure. Zaramo, Tanzania. Wood. H 9,3 cm / d 3,5 cm. From the exhibition **Mwana Hiti: More than Just a Doll**, MAA, 2008. Photo by: V. Popović.

je istaknuto postavljanjem studijskih fotografija predmeta u velikom formatu (do dva metra visine).

Inicijacijska figura *mwana hiti* prepoznaje se po frizuri u vidu jedne ili dve krestolike forme sa polukružnim bočnim ispupčenjima, i cilindričnom telu koje se blago sužava, a zatim širi u predelu koji bi mogao da se odnosi na bokove. Dominantna karakteristika cele figure jeste sama glava, odnosno frizura, a najčešće su na površini tela izvedena i ispupčenja koja predstavljaju pupak i grudi. *Mwana hiti* motiv, koji se ispoljava kao stilizovana ljudska figura ili samo oblik glave sa karakterističnom frizurom, javlja se, takođe, i u vidu detalja na ostalim vrstama predmeta, na primer na naslonu stolice – prestola, ili na štapu koji je odličje statusno povlašćenih članova zajednice.

Polazeći od umetničke forme koja realno oslikava frizuru karakterističnu za decu naroda Zaramo i Kvere, u potrazi za samim izvorom nadahnuća afričkog umetnika, autorka izložbe tumači na ovim predmetima likovne elemente u funkciji asocijacije na plodnost, kao i akcenat koji se stavlja na srodnice odnose koji se utemeljuju rađanjem i novim članovima. Dalja analiza odnosi se na kontekst upotrebe ovih predmeta. Tokom obreda inicijacija, devojčice su u periodu izolacije od društvene zajednice postupale sa figurama *mwana hiti* na način koji podseća na dečju igru sa lutkama. Figurama su posvećivale posebnu pažnju, kupale ih i premazivale uljima, ukrašavale ogrlicama od metala i perli. Ove stilizovane drvene figure – lutke, javljaju se kao simbolična predstava oba pola, a figuricama su davana imena stvarnih ili mitskih predaka i čuvane su na posebnim postoljima u kolibama udaljenim od naselja.

The *mwana hiti* initiation figure is distinct for its single or double crest-like coiffure with lateral protrusions and a cylindrical body that slightly narrows down to what is presumed to be the torso of the figure. The dominant feature of the figure is the head, or coiffure, and the area of the body sometimes has small protrusions that portray the navel and breasts. The *mwana hiti* motif that appears in the form of stylised human figure, or solely the shape of the head with characteristic hairstyle, can also be found on other objects, for instance on the throne-stool, or the staff used by dignitaries.

Starting from the form that realistically portrays a characteristic Zaramo and Kwere child's coiffure, and in search of the source of the African artists' inspiration, the author of the exhibition interprets the decorative elements on these objects in the context of their fertility function, as well as the emphasis placed on lineage that is confirmed through birth and new members. Further analysis relates to the context the objects were used in. Throughout the initiation ceremony, during the stage when they were separated from the community, girls would handle the dolls in a way reminiscent of a child's play with dolls. The figures were taken care of, bathed, rubbed in oils and dressed in metal and beaded necklaces. These stylised wooden figures – dolls, occur as the symbolic expression of both sexes, and were often named after real or mythic ancestors, and placed for safekeeping in special huts.

Aside from appearing in the form of figure in female initiation rites, the *mwana hiti* can be found as detail on a number of objects used in ritual and other ceremonious gatherings of social importance, when they are manipulated with by people of different status groups, elders, healers and leaders, in order for them to underline their authority. The text in the catalogue mentions the example of Zaramo leaders once holding staffs with two *mwana hiti* figures at the top, just as the more recent history of the political life in Tanzania records that presidents also carried staffs in order to symbolically express the act of leadership, or to show the direction in which they were to lead the people. Among objects of prestige that defined the position and authority of Zaramo leaders, were also the special high-backed throne-stools. According to an old Zaramo saying: *kiti chamkungo ni ufalme* – the one who has the stool is king, or the stool is "kingdom". The complexity of the research and representation of African art are made clear through the semantic analysis of the *mwana hiti* term. The *mwana hiti*

may be the *child of wood* (as in the material that it is made of), *child from the tree* (the sacred *mkole* tree that holds an important place in the symbolic language of the female initiation process), and also child of the initiation stool, i.e. child of the throne-stool, child of the clan leader, or child of the clan. Referring to Igor Kopytoff's conclusions about the importance of the ancestral belief system that is deeply rooted in African tradition, the author explains that the leader of the clan is the mediator in conveying cannons of older generations, and that his power and authority are based only in part on him as a person, and more on him as the mediator of the will of the ancestors. Therefore, the *mwana hiti* is child of the ancestors, and all initiated members of the community are children of all their ancestors. The catalogue concludes that the role of this motif as the most important sign in the world of rites and beliefs of the Zaramo and Kwere is sublimated in the fertility and ancestor systems of beliefs, and the respect of the elders (and literally older members) of the society as basis for social structuring.

Česalj. Zaramo, Tanzanija. Drvo. Dužina cm 20 cm / širina 6 cm. Sa izložbe **Mvana hiti: više od lutke**, MAU, 2008. Snimio: V. Popović.
Comb. Zaramo, Tanzania. Wood. H 20 cm / L 6 cm. From the exhibition **Mwana Hiti: More than Just a Doll**, MAA, 2008. Photo by: V. Popović.



odličan primer izbalansiranog prikaza komplementarnog odnosa materijalne i duhovne sfere kulture.

Marija Ličina

Napomene:

¹ Za buduća istraživanja ove teme značajni su podaci u tekstu kataloga kojima se sumiraju rezultati nekoliko autora, pre svega Marka Feliksa, Niangija Butuluksi i Elizabet L. Kamerun, koji su se prethodno bavili analizom formalnih odlika predmeta sa motivom *mwana hiti* i tumačenjem njihove uloge u životu i ritualu.

Izložba

Kava kava i betel

Autorka: Viktorija Šimon Vuletić

Muzej afričke umetnosti, maj – oktobar 2008.

Zahvaljujući dugogodišnjoj međumuzejskoj saradnji i zajedničkim programima Muzeja afričke umetnosti i Gradskog muzeja u Subotici uspešno se prezentuju kulturna dobra, muzejske i istraživačke delatnosti. Izložba pod nazivom *Kava kava i betel (Obred pijenja kava kave i žvakanja betela u svetu predmeta iz Vanevropske zbirke Gradskog muzeja Subotice)* predstavlja autorsko delo antropologa, kustosa Gradskog muzeja u Subotici, Viktorije Šimon Vuletić. Vanevropska zbirka Gradskog muzeja u Subotici decenijama je čuvana u muzejskom depou i obuhvata etnografske artefakte koje su na svojim putovanjima pasionirano sakupljali plemić Oskar Vojnić, kao i mnogo godina kasnije, poznati esperantista Tibor Sekelj.

Izložba *Kava kava i betel* predstavlja zbirku predmeta koje je sakupio Oskar Vojnić početkom XX veka. Koncepcija ovog muzejskog i istraživačkog projekta obuhvata rasvetljavanje običaja, njihove društvene uloge i simboličkih značenja, na primeru konzumiranja kava kave u Okeaniji i betela u jugoistočnoj Aziji. Međutim, posebno je zanimljiv put koji su ovi predmeti prešli od daleke Azije do Subotice. Putnik Oskar Vojnić, pred kraj XIX veka u svom avanturističkom krstarenju svetom stigao je i do Polinezije. O svojim utiscima i susretima sa dalekim kulturama i ljudima Oskar Vojnić ostavio je putopisne beleške, ali, pre svega, i bogatu zbirku predmeta i fotografiju. Osim oružja (bodeža, budzovana i drugih predmeta) i pokušta (asure od pandanusa, bojene prostirke od kore drveta Broussonetia papyrifera tzv. tape), posebno se izdvaja šolja od kokosovog oraha koju je Oskar Vojnić dobio na dar, kada je svečano uz obred pijenja kava kava (*awa, yaqona*) proglašen za „poglavar“. Običaj žvakanja betela opisan je u putopisnoj knjizi Oskara Vojnića *Na istočno-indijskim ostrvima* (Indonezija), a na izložbi je prezentovano devet

The study of the *mwana hiti* conducted by curator Emilia Epstajn was accomplished using methods of stylistic classification and through the interpretation of available written data¹ referring to the context of their use, their symbolic connotations and importance in the traditional cultures and Zaramo and Kwere peoples. The formal analysis of the objects bearing the *mwana hiti* motif was a starting point in the study of their use through a reconstruction of their practices and beliefs. The text of the *Mwana Hiti: More than Just a Doll (from the Guibert Hairson Collection)* is an excellent example of a balanced portrayal of the complementary relation between the material and spiritual sphere of culture.

Marija Ličina

Notes:

¹ The results of a few authors summed up in the catalogue are of importance for further research on the subject; M. Felix, N. Batulukisi and E.L. Cameron have analyzed the formal features of objects carrying the *mwana hiti* motif and have interpreted their role in life and ritual.

Exhibition

Kava Kava and Betel

by Viktorija Šimon Vuletić

Museum of African Art, May – October 2008

The collaboration between the Museum of African Art and the City Museum in Subotica has over the years been a fruitful endeavour that has resulted in the successful presentation of cultural goods and has instigated museum and research work. The *Kava-Kava Drinking and Betel Consuming Custom in the Light of the Non-European Collection of the City Museum in Subotica* is an originally conceptualised exhibition by Viktorija Šimon Vuletić, curator at the City Museum in Subotica. The non-European collection at the City Museum in Subotica was safely kept for decades in the museum depot and consists of ethnographic artefacts passionately collected during their travel, by the noble Oskar Vojnić and, many years later, the famous Esperantist Tibor Sekelj.

The *Kava-Kava and Betel* exhibition is based on a compilation of objects collected by Oskar Vojnić at the beginning of the 20th century. The conception of the museological and research project aims to reveal the customs, their social role and symbolic meaning using the example of the use of kava-kava in Oceania and betel in south-east Asia. However, the story of the objects' travel from faraway Asia to Subotica is also of particular interest. During his adventurous cruising across the globe Oskar Vojnić reached Polynesia. Travel impressions and

predmeta koji su korišćeni za pripremanje, čuvanje i služenje betela. Iako su od njegovih putovanja ostali vredni zapisi i foto dokumentacija, danas su muzejski dostupni vredni predmeti – artefakti kao svojevrsne priče i predanja. Ova tematsko etnografska izložba predstavlja život i običaje ne samo u njihovom autentičnom obliku, već ukazuje na njihovu transmitorsku vitalnost. Šta je sa tim predmetima htelo putnik, kako su nastajale muzejske zbirke i šta one poručuju; da li se ovi predmeti i danas koriste, kakav je njihov društveni i kulturni značaj?

Izložba je značajan poduhvat jer je Viktorija Šimon Vuletić uspela da pomoću zbirke rekonstruiše jednu daleku priču i da je vremenski i prostorno približi, a to je dovoljan razlog da nam zamišljeni i stvarni svetovi uvek budu pristupačni. Vanevropske zbirke i evropsko nasleđe, tako pronalaze zajednički jezik u kulturno – istorijskom kontekstu prožimanja i transmitovanja.

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

Izložba

Pogled na umetnost naroda Kuba (DR Kongo)

Autorka: Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

Muzej afričke umetnosti, oktobar 2006 – mart 2007

Saradnja sa privatnim kolezionarima omogućuje muzejima da putem izložbi predstave vredan materijal, inače teško dostupan publici. Plod takve saradnje je izložba umetnosti naroda Kuba (DR Congo), koja je organizovana u Muzeju afričke umetnosti krajem 2006. godine. Giber Erson (Guibert Hairson), belgijski kolezionar, izuzetan je poznavalac Kuba umetnosti, čijim se sakupljanjem bavi već više decenija. Kuba tkanine iz njegove kolekcije bile su do sada izlagane u velikim evropskim muzejima, među kojima je i Muzej Daper u Parizu. Postavkom u Muzeju afričke umetnosti, domaćoj publici ukazala se prilika da se susrette sa, u svetu cenjenom, umetnošću naroda Kuba, i predmetima izuzetnog umetničkog kvaliteta. Prikazane su 44 tkanine sa karakterističnim geometrijskim motivima, koji se preslikavaju na gotovo sve predmete iz tradicionalnog umetničkog inventara ovih zajednica. Istovetnu ornamenciju imaju statue kraljeva, lule, kutije za kulturnu namenu, češljevi i ceremonijalni noževi, koji su takođe prikazani na izložbi. U dokumentarnom delu izložbe predstavljena su originalna štampana izdanja putopisa jednog od najpoznatijih istraživača Konga iz prve decenije 20. veka, Mađara Emila Tordeja (Emil Torday), koji je Evropi otkrio domete Kuba umetnosti, kao i reprodukcije slika koje je na

encounters with distant cultures and people produced travel writings and, above all, a treasury of objects and photographs. Besides weapons (daggers, maces, etc.), household objects (pandanus cloths, dyed broussonetia papyrifera bark mats – so called *tapas*), there is also a specially interesting coconut cup, which Oskar Vojnić received as a gift when he ceremonially drank kava-kava (*awa, yaqona*) and was given the “chief” title. The custom of chewing betel is described in Oskar Vojnić's travelogue *On the East-Indian Islands* (Indonesia) and nine objects related to the practice of betel preparation, preservation and serving are exhibited. Even though his travels bore valuable writings and photo-documentation, the present valuable museum objects – artefacts, are stories and oral traditions in themselves. This topical ethnographic exhibition portrays life and customs not solely in their authentic forms, but also their transmitting quality and vitality. What did the traveller intend to do with these objects? How were museum collections created and what do they convey? Are these object still used and what is their social and cultural importance?

The exhibition is a truly important venture because Viktorija Šimon Vuletić managed to reconstruct a distant story and bring it closer in space and time, which is enough for us in our quest of making imagined and real worlds closer at hand. In such a way, non-European collections and European heritage find a common language in the cultural and historic process of mergence and transmittal.

Miroslava Lukić Krstanović

Exhibition

A view at Kuba Art (DR Congo)

by Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

Museum of African Art, October 2006 – March 2007

Collaborations with private collectors are an opportunity for museums to organise exhibitions and present valuable materials otherwise inaccessible to visitors. The result of such a collaboration is the exhibition on the art of the Kuba people (DR Congo) displayed at the Museum of African Art at the close of 2006. Guibert Hairson is a Belgian collector and exceptional expert on Kuba art which he has fervently been collecting for the past few decades. Kuba fabrics from his collection have been exhibited in important European museums, among which is the Musée Dapper in Paris. The exhibition at the Museum of African Art was an opportunity for local visitors to experience the world renowned art of the Kuba people and objects of

terenu napravio njegov saradnik, Norman Hardi (*Norman Hardy*).

Emil Tordej je jedan od prvih Evropljana koji je doprineo afirmaciji umetnosti naroda Kuba (ili Bušongo, u značenju „ljudi munje“). Obavljujući etnografska istraživanja za Britanski muzej, proveo je deset godina među zajednicama u basenu reke Kongo. Rezultat njegovog boravka je obimna etnografska građa (zapisi, fotografije i crteži) i preko 3000 sakupljenih predmeta, koji su ušli u sastav afričke zbirke Britanskog muzeja. Njegovi predmeti slični su se u još nekoliko svetski značajnih muzeja: nekadašnji Muzej čoveka u Parizu, Pitt Rivers muzej u Oksfordu, Muzej kulturne istorije u Los Andelesu, kao i Muzej etnografije u Budimpešti. Tordej je prvi skrenuo pažnju na razvijenost društava u sливу Konga, i na sofisticiranost njihovog kulturnog i umetničkog stvaralaštva. Kustos Britanskog muzeja, Džon Mek (*John Mack*), je pišeći o ovom istraživaču, povodom izložbe posvećene Tordejevom etnografskom radu (1990), istakao njegov prijateljski odnos prema kongoanskim zajednicama, što je svakako doprinelo kvalitetu prikupljenog materijala, ali je naglasio i Tordejevo iskreno poštovanje prema razvijenosti ovih društava, njihovom interesovanju za istoriju i prefinjenoj umetničkoj tradiciji (Adams 1992: 190, Schildkrout 1992: 61). Tordejev etnografski materijal i danas predstavlja relevantan izvor za proučavanje centralne Afrike.

Umetnost naroda Kuba, a posebno Kuba tkanine, naišle su na veliko interesovanje, kako u svetskim naučnim krugovima, među istraživačima, tako i u komercijalnom smislu, među ljubiteljima afričke umetnosti. Bile su izvor inspiracije za umetnike kao što su Pol Kle i Anri Matis.

Tkanine Kuba, koje su zbog svoje teksture od milja nazvane velur tkanine ili *Kasai velvets*, zapravo su načinjene od rafije. Vekovima su tkane u pravougaonom obliku razmere najčešće 50x60 cm. Na njima je zastupljen umeren spektar boja, pretežno zemljanih tonova, a motivi se odlikuju apstrakcijom, ritmičkim geometrijom i improvizacijama u likovnoj kompoziciji. Osnovni geometrijski motivi koji se ponavljaju su linije, trouglovi, pravougaonici, rombovi i dr. Smirena i promišljena estetika Kuba tkanina ostavlja utisak elegancije i dostojanstvenosti, što naglašava njihov ceremonijalni karakter – njihova upotreba se vezuje za važne životne momente pojedinca (rođenje i smrt), a asocira i na vlast kraljeva. Ritualni društveni značaj tkanina ilustruje činjenica da je svaki novi kralj početak vladavine obeležavao kreiranjem novog tkanog motiva, čime je pružao dokaz svoje maštovitosti. Motiv je dobijao naziv po njemu, i služio kao amblematska oznaka njegove vlasti.

Ogroman varijetet geometrijskih motiva u dizajnu velur tkanina, koje je prvi temeljno popisao Tordej, a koji se sreću na raznim predmetima praktičnog ili kulturnog karaktera (drvenoj skulpturi, građevinama, keramici,

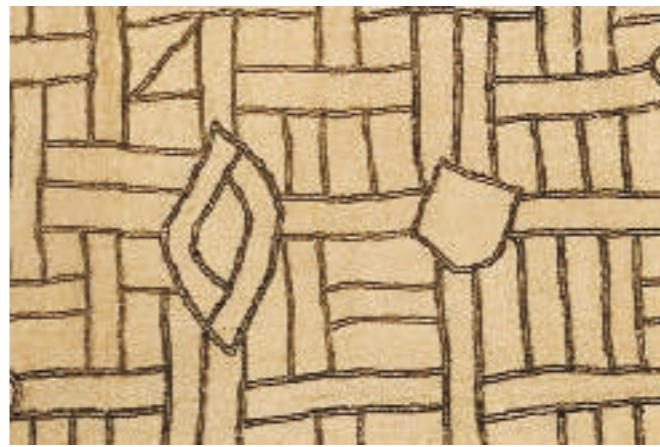
extraordinary artistic value. Forty-four cloths with characteristic geometric motifs that are copied on almost all other objects from the traditional art inventory of these communities were on display. The same ornamentation is evident on statues of the king, pipes, containers for cult use, combs and ceremonial daggers – objects also exhibited. The documentary part of the exhibition presented original printed travelogue publications by one of the first half of the 20th century's most eminent researchers of the Congo, the Hungarian Emil Torday who introduced Europe to the achievements of Cuba art; this part of the exhibition also offered reproductions of images made by his associate Norman Hardy.

Emil Torday is one of the first Europeans to contribute to the affirmation of the art of the Kuba (or Bushong, meaning “lightning people”). He spent ten years among the Congo River Basin communities conducting research for the British Museum. His stay resulted in an array of wide-ranging ethnographic material (written data, photographs and drawings) and over 3000 collected artefacts that became part of the British Museum's African art collection. Objects collected by him also found their way to other museums: the Museum of Man in Paris, Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, the Museum of Cultural History in Los Angeles and the Museum of Ethnography in Budapest. Torday was the first to point out to the high level of development of the Congo Basin peoples and to the sophisticated character of their cultural and artistic expression. Curator of the British Museum, John Mack, writing on this researcher on the occasion of the exhibition dedicated to Torday's ethnographic work (1990), emphasized Torday's friendly approach to the Congolese communities which inevitably affected the quality of collected material; however, Mack also stressed Today's sincere regard of the development of these societies, their interest for history and refined artistic tradition (Adams 1992:190, Schildkrout 1992:61).

Todays ethnographic material remains an important source in researching Central Africa.

Thanks to explorers such as Torday, and European artists from the first few decades of the 20th century, such as Paul Klee and Henri Matisse who were both inspired by Kuba cloths, this artistic tradition quickly turned into one of the most highly regarded art expressions from Africa. Kuba art, particularly the cloths garnered great interest both in international scientific circles, among researchers, and commercially, among African art connoisseurs.

Kuba cloths, which have been named velvet cloths or Kasai velvet, are in fact made from raffia. For centuries they have been woven in the shape of the rectangle usually 50x60 cm in dimension. They appear in a moderate colour spectrum, generally in earthen colours, while the patterns reminisce abstraction, rhythmic geometrise and improvisation of visual composition. The most repeated geometric motif is the line, triangle, rectangle, rhombus,



Tkanina u tehniči veza. Narod Kuba. Sa izložbe *Pogled na umetnost Kuba (DR Kongo)*, MAU 2006. Snimio: V. Popović.

Woven cloth. The Kuba people. From the exhibition *A Look at the Art of the Kuba People (DR Congo)*, MAA, 2006. Photo by V. Popović.

korparstvu) kao i na telima ljudi u vidu skarifikacije, svedoči o razvijenosti ovog umetničkog izraza, a po mišljenju izvesnih naučnika odražava uređene odnose i stabilan društveni sistem. Rađene su mnoge studije o dizajnu Kuba tkanina i geometrijske analize motiva. Utvrđeno je da se na mnogim tkaninama motivi ponavljaju u nepravilnom ritmu, rasprostiru površinski u neočekivanim pravcima, i uvode novi motivi u nepredviđenim momentima. Sami umetnici insistiraju na ovoj nepravilnosti, čime u prvi plan ističu autentičnost i originalnost predmeta, odnosno izvedbu. Kroz svoj rad umetnik prikazuje kreativnost, svežinu i slobodu u apstraktном mišljenju. Ove odlike Kuba umetnosti ukazuju na razvijenost filozofskog i logičkog, ako ne i matematičkog mišljenja, što protivreči ranije postavljanim hipotezama o nerazvijenosti saznajnog procesa i umetnosti afričkih zajednica. Po nekim naučnicima u inventaru motiva Kuba tkanina naziru se i prapočeci prvog pisma.

Pored velur tkanina, koje imaju ceremonijalnu namenu, na izložbi su prikazane druge vrste tkanina koje su služile za izradu odevnih predmeta: tkanine sa našivenim aplikacijama (*nčak* i *mpel*) i tkanine urađene tehnikom pačvorka. Izložbu, održanu u Muzeju afričke umetnosti pratio je dvojezični, srpsko-francuski katalog, obogaćen fotografijama Kuba predmeta iz kolekcije Erson. Katalog je priredila Valeri Erson.

Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

Literatura:

- Adams, M. 1992. Book Review: Emil Torday and the Art of the Congo 1900-1909 by John Mack. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*. Vol. 25, no.1: 189-190.
Schildkrout, E. 1992. Revisiting Emil Torday's Congo. "Images of Africa" at the British Museum. *African Arts* Vol. 25, no.1: 60-69+99-100.

etc. The tranquillity and premeditated aesthetics of Kuba cloths create the impression of elegance and dignity, which is in line with their ceremonial character – their use is linked to important moments in the life of the individual (birth and death), and also associates to the might of the king. The ritual and social significance of the cloth is illustrated by the fact that each new king marked the beginning of his rule by creating a new woven pattern, this also being evidence of his inventiveness. The pattern was named after the king himself and was used as emblem of his rule.

The variety of geometric motifs that appear on the design of these velvet cloths, which were initially meticulously listed by Torday, and which can be recognized on different objects for practical or cult use (sculpture in wood, building structures, ceramics, basketry) and on people's bodies in the form of scarification – stand testimony to the virtuosity of this artistic expression, and according to some scholars, reflect the order and stability of the social system.

There are many studies on the design of Kuba cloths and the geometric analysis of their patterns. It has been found that the patterns occur in irregular rhythms on many examples, that they are placed across the canvas in unexpected directions and that new motifs are often unanticipated. The artists insist on this irregularity emphasizing in the first place the authenticity and originality of the piece, i.e. the execution of it. The artist shows off his creativity in his work, the boldness and autonomy of abstract thought. These aspects of Kuba art point towards a developed philosophical and logical mind, if not even mathematical thought, which is in opposition to previous hypothesis about the underdeveloped character of the cognitive process and art of African communities. According to certain scientists the inventory of Kuba patterns are a sign of proto-writing systems.

Besides the velvet cloths for ceremonial use, the exhibition also showcased other types of cloths that were used for clothing: cloths with sewn applications (*ntchak* and *mpel*) and woven fabrics in patchwork technique. The exhibition held at the Museum of African Art was complemented with bilingual (Serbian/French) catalogue enriched with photographs of Kuba objects from the Hairson collection. The catalogue was prepared by Valerie Hairson.

Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

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Instalacija *Omaž Zdravku Pečaru*

Izložba *Tranzit(i)*

Autor: Barthelemy Togo

Muzej afričke umetnosti, jun – avgust 2006.

Prostrana kupola Muzeja je sa dolaskom kamerunskog umetnika Bartelemija Toga, poprimila obrise velikog broda. Bele razapete prozirne tkanine nalik jedrima, ganski čamac i kolona zgušnuto poređanih muzejskih eksponata: ne samo skulptura predaka i obrednih antropomorfnih i zoomorfnih figura, već i korpe, posude, tikve, bubenjevi, balafoni, oružje, jastuci sa likovima postkolonijalnih zapadnoafričkih predsednika i više od dvadeset životinjskih lobanja – trofeja Zdravka Pečara, „velikog lovca“ i osnivača muzejske zbirke – postavljeni na rukama-sklopljenu kartonsku pistu, jedins

Omaž Zdravku Pečaru, instalacija kamerunskog umetnika Bartelemija Toga, MAU, 2006. Snimio: V. Popović



Installation *Homage to Zdravko Pečar*

Exhibition *Transit(s)*

by Barthelemy Toguo

Museum of African Art, June – August 2006

The spacious dome of the Museum of African Art in Belgrade transformed into an enormous ship with the arrival of Cameroonian artist Barthelemy Toguo. Translucent white cloths reminiscing ship sails, a Ghanaian fishing boat and a row of arranged museum exhibits: ancestor figures, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculptures, baskets, vessels, calabashes, drums, weapons, contemporary memorabilia such as cushions fashioned from industrial fabric that portray postcolonial west-African presidents and more than 20 animal skulls – hunting trophies of Zdravko Pečar, the „great hunter“ and

Homage to Zdravko Pečar, installation by Barthelemy Toguo, artist from Cameroon, MAA, 2006. Photo by V. Popović

tveni su u nameri da zaplove ka Dunavu i dalje.

Potpuno oslobođen pristupa predmetima koji su u svojim „pasošima“ (ili muzejskim identifikacionim kartonima) disecirani na poreklo, mesto nastanka, materijal, način upotrebe – Bartelemi Togo pravi nemoguće sklopove, nenadane spojeve u kojima ti isti muzejski eksponati – reprezentanti afričkog kontinenta – nikada nisu izlagani. Kako se zapravo oseća čovek s afričkog kontinenta koji ulazi u Muzej afričke umetnosti u Beogradu? Instalacija *Omaž Zdravku Pečaru* ne prkosи umetnikovom pogledu na svet jer on smatra da se ubraja u onu grupu ljudi koji veruju da nije glavni problem ko će prezentovati, odnosno gde će se izlagati predmeti iz afričke kulturne, umetničke i verske tradicije; da li, kao što je to danas u većini slučajeva, u londonskim, pariskim, berlinskim i drugim muzejima i galerijama u svetu ili u rastućem broju muzeja na samom afričkom kontinentu. Važno je da ih ljudi vide – dožive i otkriju, jer oni pripadaju, prema rečima umetnika – svetu, ne pojedincu, ne jednoj instituciji, ne jednom kontinentu. Jednostavno je uspeo da problematizuje sve muzejske klišee i da predmete svede na ono što jesu: dakle, predmete koji se iznova mogu prostorno grupisati, kombinovati i

Museum benefactor – were placed on a cardboard runway ready to take off, or sale away towards the Danube and further.

Liberated from the approach to objects that dissects them in their „passports“ (or museum identification slips) into place of origin, material, function – Barthelemy Toguo creates amazing arrangements and makes unexpected links, gathering these museum exhibits – envoys of the African continent – in sets that they have never previously been arranged in. How does a person from the African continent actually feel upon entering the Museum of African Art in Belgrade? The *Homage to Zdravko Pečar* installation does not defy the artist's regard of reality because he considers himself to be one of those people who believe that who, or where objects of African cultural, artistic and religious tradition will be presented does not pose much of a problem; whether this be in a London, Parisian, Berlin or other museum and gallery across the world, or the growing number of museums on the African continent – what is important is that people see these objects, experience and discover them, because they, as the artist claims, belong to the world, not an individual, a single institution, or a single continent. Simply put, he

Exhibition *Transit(s)* by Barthelemy Toguo, contemporary artist from Cameroon, MAA, 2006. MAA photo archive



razdvajati, samim tim i iščitavati na različite načine. Prema umetniku, slobodne interpretacije dozvoljavaju posmatraču donošenje ličnog suda koji proizlazi iz mogućnosti da i sam reinstalira umetnikovu postavku. Posmatrač, kao i umetnik u ovom slučaju, svu pažnju usmerava na same predmete, njihove oblike i umetničke poetike, ne upuštajući se u istraživanje njihovog porekla, istorije i konkretnе namene, kao ni njihove etničke obeleženosti. Otuda, u ovako koncipiranoj instalaciji, ne iznenađuje igra s identitetima, koja je, u svom završnom segmentu, realizovana u vidu piramide sastavljene od raznobojnih afričkih tkanina na čijem vrhu se nalaze tradicionalni srpski grnčarski čupovi.

Međutim, poslednja reč je umetnikova: posmatračeve slobodne interpretacije prevazilaze jedino umetnikov finalni čin „davanja“ sadržaja umetničkom delu, koji on smatra da razrešava njegovo lično iskustvo.

Igranje i razbijanje identiteta nisu odlika samo ove instalacije, naprotiv, oni su osnova promišljanja i rada Bartelemita Togoa. Njegov „foto-performansni“ serijal *Tranzit(i)* predstavlja višegodišnje angažovanje umetnika koji kroz performanse preispituje postojeće predrasude i stereotipe koji određuju i pozicioniraju čoveka unutar društva. Isti vid diskriminacije može da zadesi čoveka sa „pogrešnim pasošem“, đubretara zatečenom na „pogrešnom mestu“, čoveka „pogrešne boje kože“. Izbor od 14 fotografija izloženih u Muzeju afričke umetnosti izraz su određenih nerazrešenih problema identiteta, ali se na njima istovremeno mogu videti i predmeti korišćeni u određenim Togovim performansima: na primer, drveni koferi koje ni najuporniji pogranični policajac ne može da otvori, ili sam Bartelemy Togo obučen u uniformu pariskih đubretara neposredno pre ulaska (ili posle?) u prvu klasu prestižnog voza Talis.

Ovi nerazrešeni problemi ostaju, jer naša sloboda da biramo naše granice i kvalitete, profesije i načine života, ne štede nas kategorizacije i diskriminacije.

U ciklusu od šest fotografija koje čine njegov rad *Une autre vie*, ili *Neki drugi život*, umetnik se nazire i ponovo nestaje u stablima drveća, njegove ruke su grane, a glava se multiplicira u nizovima debla spremnih za seću. Prema Bartelemitu Togou i drveće, poput otiska ljudskih prstiju, ima svoj jedinstveni otisak i sebi svojstven identitet. Umetnikovo emotivno zauzimanje protiv beskrupulozne seće šuma u rodnom Kamerunu, dostiže vrhunac u njegovom kameleonskom stapanju sa posećenim stablima. Prema njemu, iskorenjivanje drveća jednako je iskorenjivanju čoveka, gubitku njegovog suštinskog identiteta – onog identiteta koji mu pripada rođenjem i prirodno pristaje... identitet koji on pokušava da promeni tokom života, ali koji ostaje deo njega uprkos „izboru“. Umetnikovo simboličko stapanje sa korenima, svojom prošlošću i okruženjem, jesu njegov sopstveni izbor samo u onoj meri u kojoj se posmatraju u svetu u kojem su izbori

managed to challenge museum clichés and reduce the subjects to what they really are: objects that can be regrouped, combined and separated, therefore *read* in different ways. According to the artist, free interpretations allow the observer to reach his own understanding which is the result of being able to reinstall the artists setting. The observer, as is the case with the artist, focuses all his attention on to the objects themselves, their shapes and poetics, not delving into their origin, history and actual use, or ethnic provenance. This is why, in such a conceptualized installation, identity play comes as no surprise and reaches its materialised expression in the form of an African printed textile-pyramid atop which are placed traditional Serbian pots.

However, the artist has the final say: the observer's free interpretations are overcome only by the artists' final act in imbuing the artwork with that content which he finds resolves his own personal experience.

Identity play and reconstruction are not apparent only in this installation; they are the basis of Toguo's contemplation and work. The „foto-performative“ series *Transit(s)* is the output of an arduous artist's engagement in performance through which he scrutinizes existing prejudice and stereotypes that define and position man in society. The same type of discrimination can befall a man with the “wrong passport”, a garbage collector found in the „wrong place“, or a person with the „wrong skin colour“. The selection of 14 photographs displayed at the Museum of African Art are an expression of certain unresolved identity problems, but the photographs also, more directly, portray certain objects that were used in Toguo's performances: wooden suitcases which not even the most fervent border-control cannot open, or Barthelemy Toguo himself dressed in the Parisian garbage collector's uniform upon (or just after) boarding the first class of the prestigious Thalys train.

These unresolved issues remain, for our freedom to choose our boundaries and opinions, professions and lifestyles, do not spare us from being categorized and discriminated. Identity becomes almost an outdated topic.

Completing the visual composition: from the way one is perceived (installation), to the choices one makes or attempts to play with (performance/exhibition), the artist almost seems to find his peace in a series of 6 photographs from the: *Une autre vie* or *An Other Life* series. Here the artist appears and disappears in tree barks, his arms blend into branches, and his head multiplies in rows of tree trunks prepared to be cut down. According to Barthelemy Toguo trees, like fingerprints, have their own unique trace and own identity. The artists emotional p(b)lead(ing) for the ruthless deforestation of his birthplace Cameroon, reaches a pivotal point in his chameleonic merging with the cut-down trees. According to him, the uprooting of trees is equal to a person's loss of roots, the loss of his essential identity – identity that is imposed by birth, and

ambivalentni, ponekad iluzorni, a uvek otvoreni slobodnoj interpretaciji iz perspektive posmatrača.

Emilia Epštajn

Instalacija

Crno, crveno i belo

Autor: Zoran Naskovski

Muzej afričke umetnosti, 23. jun 2006. – 03. jul 2006.

Multimedijalni projekat Zorana Naskovskog *Crno, crveno i belo*, ostvaren je na tonskim zapisima bluza i njegovim izvornim interpretacijama američkih crnaca, berača pamuka i zatvorenika, preko njegove transformacije koja se kreće preko bugi-vugija, rokenrola, do repa. Predmetni inventar ovog projekta, kutija od pleksiglasa sa granom pamuka, crvena fotelja, gramofon, ploče i CD, fotografija klupskog ambijenta sa interpoliranim likovima pevača formiraju genezu bluza. Ona se

Sa multimedijalne instalacije *Crno, crveno i belo*, autora Zorana Naskovskog, MAU, 2006.

fits naturally... the identity that he only attempts to change through his life but that remains a part of him regardless of his “choice”. The artists symbolic dissolution into his roots, his past, his background, are his own choice only to the extent in which we observe them in a world where choices are ambivalent, sometimes deceptive and always open to the free interpretation in the eye of the beholder.

Emilia Epštajn

Installation

Black, Red and White

by Zoran Naskovski

Museum of African Art, June 23 – July 3, 2006.

The multimedia project of Zoran Naskovski *Black, Red and White* is based on blues sound recordings and original interpretations by Black Americans, cotton pickers and convicts, following its transformation from

From the multimedia installation *Black, Red and White*, by Zoran Naskovski, MAU, 2006



ovde može pratiti preko prvih zapisa Delta bluza, do sadašnje visoko tehnološke industrije zvuka.

Konsekventnom procedurom promišljanja ove teme, Zoran Naskovski uvodi posmatrača u kompleksnu problematiku socio-ekonomskih odnosa američkog društva dvadesetog veka.

Suptilno odabranim elementima, i vizuelnim i zvučnim, koji se mogu iščitavati preko boje (crno, crveno i belo), starog i novog (gramofon, ploče i CD), ambijentalnog (kućnog i klupskog), predmetnog i tonskog (mobilijar i zvuk), dokumentarnog (fotografija bluz kluba na jugu Amerike), umetnik pozicionira afričkog crnca u novoj, za njega nametnutoj sredini. Postavljujući sebe kao analitičara ove i ovakve problematike, umetnik, i sam konzument raspoloživih artefakata, insistira na rekonstrukciji postojećih disonantnih kodova. Oni se uočavaju, s jedne strane, u siromaštu, bedi i muci berača pamuka, zatvorenika, porobljenih crnih doseljenika i s druge strane, u visoko industrijalizovanoj sredini, konzumentu njihovog rada i njihove autohtone kulture. I upravo, na tom autentičnom izrazu, samo na primeru njihove muzike, prvobitnog zvuka – bluza, umetnik prati transformacije te autohtone kulture koja se, poput stabljike pamuka, račva u sve pore savremene muzike.

Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić

Izložba

Umetnost moći – moć umetnosti: bronzana skulptura zapadne Afrike

Autorka: Narcisa Knežević Šijan

Muzej afričke umetnosti, decembar 2004 – jun 2005.

Narcisa Knežević-Šijan, autorka kataloga i izložbe *Umetnost moći – moć umetnosti: bronzana skulptura zapadne Afrike*, analizirala je umetnost zajednica jednog dela zapadnoafričkog kulturnog prostora i to onih koji su stvarali umetnička dela koja pripadaju „dvorskoj“ umetnosti.

Ova umetnost imala je svoje korene u obožavanju vladara i kultu vođe – jednom obliku religije. Sakralizacija vlasti vođa manifestovala se u nekoliko oblika koji su povezani između sebe. U Ifeu i Beninu bila je naglašena uloga vođe kao objekta i kao subjekta kulta. Vladar je bio fetiš i glavni predmet obožavanja, a posebno moćan vladar koji je, po verovanju, mogao da održi ravnotežu između prirodnih pojava.

Kult umrlih vođa bio je takođe razvijen. Umrlim vođama ukazivane su počasti i prinošene su im

boogie-woogie, rock and roll, down to rap music. Objects used for this project are a plexiglass box containing a branch of cotton, a red sofa, gramophone, vinyl records and compact discs, a photograph depicting a club *ambiance* featuring portraits of singers. These elements aim to represent the genesis of the blues which can be traced from the first sound recordings of Delta blues, to the modern high-tech sound industry.

The procedure of dealing with the subject, reflected in the artist's work, introduces the spectator with complex problems of social and economic relations of twentieth century American society.

Zoran Naskovski employs subtle visual and sound elements in this installation. By the use of color (black, red and white), old and new (gramophone, vinyl records and compact discs), environment (home and club), object and tone (setting and sound), document (a photograph of a blues club in the south of the USA), he explores the position of the Black American in an environment imposed on him.

From the standpoint of an analyst of this kind of issue, the artist, himself being a consumer of available artifacts, insists on the reconstruction of existing dissonant codes. On the one hand there is poverty, misery and hardship of life of cotton pickers, convicts, enslaved black immigrants, juxtaposed by a highly industrialized environment and consumers of their work and their native culture. It is exactly through the authentic musical expression – the blues, that the artist traces the transformation of this native culture, that spreads like a stem of the cotton plant to all pores of modern music.

Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić

Exhibition

The Art of Power – Power of Art: Bronze Sculpture of West Africa

by Narcisa Knežević Šijan

Museum of African Art, December 2004 – June 2005

Narcisa Knežević-Šijan, author of *The Art of Power – Power of Art: Bronze Sculpture of West Africa* exhibition and catalogue, has analyzed the art of the communities that inhabited a portion of the west African cultural region and that created works of art that were part of the “courtly” art production.

The roots of this art lay in ruler worship and the cult of the leader – a form of religion. The sacred qualities of the ruler's power manifested in a number of interconnected



Petao. Benin, Nigerija. Bronza. Visina 50 cm. Inv. br. 429. Zbirka Muzeja afričke umetnosti.

Rooster. Benin, Nigerija. Bronze. Height 50 cm. Inv. no. 429. From the Museum of African Art collection.

mnogobrojne žrtve. U kultovima lik realnog umrlog vođe ne transformiše se u vrhovnog i plemenskog boga, ali su se u panteonu na osnovu kulta umrlih vođa pojavile figure sekundarnih božanstava – *dii minores*.

Autorka polazi od otkrića u Ifeu koja su, kako ona naglašava, pokazala da umetnost zapadne Afrike ima dugu prošlost i da narodi Afrike nisu poznavali isključivo ekspresivnost i apstrakciju u skulptorskem izražavanju, već su poznavali visok stepen realističkog prikazivanja. Bronzane figure koje su pripadale umetnosti dvora koncentrisane su oko vladara i oko oltara predaka. Izdvajaju se bronzane komemorativne glave, figure životinja, zvona, štapovi i drugi predmeti koji su imali funkciju da podsete na vezu predaka i potomaka.

Narcisa Knežević-Šijan uočava da je produkcija umetničkih predmeta u bronzi prolazila kroz različite periode koji mogu da svedoče o moći, većem ili manjem uticaju vladara. Ukazala je i na značaj bronzanih predmeta koji nisu direktno upućivali na kralja i dvorjane, ali su bili simbolično povezani sa kraljevom vlašću, i kao takvi podanicima poznati i prepoznatljivi.

Poseban deo posvećen je bronzi 20. veka – novim delima, koja razvijaju umetničko osećanje i kreativna dostignuća tradicionalne umetnosti.

Želim da istaknem da je Narcisa Knežević-Šijan napravila i dobar izbor predmeta od bronce iz zbirke Muzeja afričke umetnosti koji na najbolji način mogu da ilustruju umetnost moći i moć umetnosti.

Senka Kovač

forms. In Ife and Benin, the role of the ruler as object and subject of cult was extremely important. The ruler was a fetish and central figure of worship; according to belief, the most powerful ruler could retain a balance between the natural phenomena.

The cult of deceased leaders was also highly developed. Deceased leaders were venerated and many offerings were sacrificed to them. In cults, the character of the actual deceased leader does not transform into the chief and tribal deity, however, figures of secondary deities – *dii minores*, based on the image of the deceased cult leader appeared in the pantheon.

The author starts with the excavations in Ife that, as she emphasizes, prove that the art of West Africa has a long history and that the peoples of Africa were not only inclined towards expressivity and abstraction in their sculptural production, but that they were accustomed to a high degree of realism. The bronze figures that were an element of courtly art centred on the ruler and ancestor altar. Special attention is given to bronze commemorative heads, animal figures, bells, staffs and other objects used as reminders of the connection between ancestors and descendants.

Narcisa Knežević-Šijan has observed that the production of bronze artworks evolved through different periods and stands as testimony of the power, stronger or weaker influence of the ruler. She has pointed to the importance of bronze objects that were not directly related to the king and courtiers, but were symbolically connected to the power of the king, and as such, were not known to the subjects.

A separate chapter is dedicated to twentieth century bronze art pieces – more recent works of art that cultivate the artistic sensibility and creative achievements of traditional art.

I would like to stress that Narcisa Knežević-Šijan has made a good selection of bronze objects from the Museum of African Art collection that provide a good illustration of the art of power and power of art.

Senka Kovač

Book

Marcel Griaule and Scientific Reexamination at the end of the Twentieth Century

by Senka Kovač

Museum of African Art, Belgrade, 2007

Knjiga

Marsel Griol i naučna preispitivanja na kraju dvadesetog veka

Avtorka: Senka Kovač

Muzej afričke umetnosti, Beograd, 2007

Francuski antropolog, Marsel Griol (*Marcel Griaule*), bavio se etnografskim istraživanjem zapadne Afrike u prvoj polovini prošlog veka (1931-1956). Postao je poznat po proučavanju religije i mitologije naroda Dogon u zapadnoj Africi. Na osnovu svojih istraživanja, Griol je uspeo da konstruiše celovit religijski i mitološki sistem Dogona, pružajući dokaze o postojanju originalne i zaokružene afričke filozofije, kakva dotada nije bila poznata nigde u Africi. Rezultate je opisao u etnografskim jama *Bog vode: razgovori sa Ogotemelijem* (1948) i *Bleda lisica* (objavljena posthumno, 1965.), koje su, sem u akademskim krugovima, naišle na veliko interesovanje šire publike – pre svega intelektualnog sloja. Međutim, verodostojnost njegovih otkrića o dogonskoj religiji i kosmogenijskim mitovima, osporio je nekoliko decenija kasnije Holandanin Valter van Bek (*Walter van Beek*) koji je obavljao istraživanja u istoj zajednici, sa ciljem da evaluira Griolov rad.

Slučaj Van Bek – Griol predstavlja jedan od najpoznatijih primera u kojem su *ponovljena istraživanja* pokazala nepodudaranje sa ranijim proučavanjima. Ovakvi slučajevi stavili su terenski metod u žigu preispitivanja antropologije. Već sredinom 20. veka problematizovana je pouzdanost i proverljivost terenskog metoda, kao i sam značaj ponovljenih studija, što je dovelo do neophodnosti promišljanja o metodologiji discipline. Razvoj postkolonijalnih studija posebno je uticao na preispitivanje kontekstualnih okvira generisanja etnografskog znanja.

Monografija autora dr Senke Kovač^{*} pod nazivom *Marsel Griol i naučna preispitivanja na kraju dvadesetog veka*, u izdanju Muzeja afričke umetnosti (2007), bavi se preispitivanjem Griolovog rada u svetlu Van Bekovih otkrića o Dogonima, ali i teorijskih tumačenja o etnografskim istraživanjima. Polazište za ovu knjigu čini Van Bekova terenska evaluacija Griola (1991) i naučna polemika koja se nakon toga razvila među antropolozima. Na osnovu svojih terenskih nalaza, Van Bek je konstatovao da se prvi, 'dokumentarni' period Griolovog rada, koji se odnosi na proučavanje dogonskih maski, poklapa sa stanjem koje on zatiče na terenu. Njegove zamerke usmerene su na drugu fazu Griolovog rada koja je posvećena proučavanju religije i mitova Dogona. U ovoj knjizi predstavljeni su, u pet osnovnih

During the first half of the last century (1931-1956) the French anthropologist Marcel Griaule engaged in the ethnographic exploration of West Africa. He gained acclaim for his study of religion and mythology of the Dogon people, an ethnic community in West Africa. Based on his research, Griaule was able to construct a comprehensive religious and mythological system of the Dogon, thus providing evidence of an original and complete African philosophy, unlike any other in Africa. He published his results in the ethnographic studies *Conversations with Ogotemelli: An Introduction to Dogon Religious Ideas* (1948) and *The Pale Fox* (published posthumously in 1965) that, apart from the academic circle, provoked great interest among general readers, intellectuals in particular. However, the validity of his findings relating to Dogon religion and cosmology, was brought to question several decades later by the Dutch scholar Walter van Beek, who conducted research in the same community with the purpose of evaluating Griaule's work.

The Van Beek – Griaule case is one of the most famous examples of *repeat study*, in which a discrepancy with previously conducted research occurred. Such cases have placed fieldwork in the centre of anthropological reassessment. By the mid 20th century the issue of reliability and verifiability of ethnographic fieldwork was opened to debate, as was the importance of repeated studies, revealing the necessity for methodological reconsiderations within the discipline. The development of post-colonial studies, in particular, lead to a thorough reexamination of contextual frameworks within which ethnographic knowledge is generated.

The monograph *Marcel Griaule and Scientific Reexamination at the end of the Twentieth Century* authored by Senka Kovač^{*}, and published by the Museum of African Art (2007), analyzes Griaule's work in the light of van Beek's discoveries on the Dogon and in view of theoretical interpretations regarding ethnographic research. The starting point for this study is van Beek's field evaluation of Griaule (1991) and the scientific debate that thereof set aflame among anthropologists. According to his own field data, van Beek concluded that the first, "documentary" period of Griaule's work, regarding the study of Dogon masks, matched the evidence he encountered in the field. The objections he made addressed the second period of Griaule's research which was dedicated to the study of religion and myths of the Dogon. Van Beek's conclusions about the Dogon religion, disputing Griaule's findings on the beliefs and cosmological symbolism of the Dogon, are presented in this book. In his critique of Griaule's work, van Beek diagnosed the basic methodological weaknesses that lead to the creation of "griolised" data on the Dogon: Griaule's superior attitude toward informants (a strong-willed colonial figure

tačaka, Van Bekovi zaključci o dogonskoj religiji, do kojih je došao na terenu, koji osporavaju Griolove nalaze o verovanjima i kosmogenijskoj simbolici Dogona. Van Bek je u kritici Griolovog rada dijagnozirao osnovne metodološke slabosti koje su dovele do nastanka 'grioliziranih' podataka o Dogonima: Griolov nadmoćni odnos prema informantima (kolonijalni istraživač jake volje koji istraživanje posmatra kao vojnu operaciju u kojoj treba savladati protivnika i dokučiti tajna znanja), i nedovoljna pouzdanost informanata koji pripadaju kulturi sa izraženom crtom ljubavnosti, odnosno žele da udovolje očekivanjima belog istraživača.

Kovač u fokus proučavanja stavlja metodologiju terenskog rada. Vodeći se Van Bekovom evaluacijom, ona nastoji da izvrši rekonstrukciju Griolovih terenskih 'grešaka', iznoseći njegovu metodologiju rada (kako je predstavljena u Griolovom priručniku za istraživanja), kao i Griolovu pisano građu o arhitekturi Dogona^{*} na osnovu koje je francuski naučnik došao do saznanja o mitskim i religijskim predstavama. Jedno od poglavljaja autorka posvećuje razmatranju problema pouzdanosti informanata i laži kazivača u teorijskim okvirima, pozivajući se na interpretacije koje naglašavaju sociološku i kulturološku dimenziju istraživanja. Ova tumačenja posmatraju antropološko istraživanje kao društveni odnos između informanta i istraživača, u kojem svaka strana ima zasebna i često neusklađena očekivanja od susreta sa Drugim.

Autorka razmatra i Van Bekov rad, tražeći „teorijski i metodološki napredak“ (s. 64) u ponovljenim istraživanjima Dogona. Ona analizira Van Bekov terenski metod, u namerni da sagleda metodološki pristup i naučnu težinu ponovljene studije. Iznosi zaključak da provera Griolovih rezultata nije mogla da se sproveđe u potpunosti s obzirom na: realna ograničenja (smrt Ogotemelija, glavnog Griolovog kazivača, koji je francuskog naučnika „inicirao“ u dogonska religijska znanja), nedostatak sveobuhvatnog opisa terenskog metoda ('udžbeničkog algoritma' za ponovljena istraživanja) koji su primenjivali Van Bek i članovi njegovog interdisciplinarnog tima, kao i nesistematičnost Van Beka u proveri ključnih informanata, iako je on „imao priliku da sagleda metodološki značaj laži kazivača“ (s. 64).

Procenjujući Van Bekov doprinos u proučavanju Dogona, Kovač želi da „ukaže na značaj ponovljenih istraživanja Dogona, akademskih rasprava koje su tim povodom vođene, i da izvuče neke metodološke pouke značajne za buduća istraživanja Dogona“ (s. 10). Ističe da je i pre Van Beka bilo kritičara koji su dovodili u pitanje validnost Griolovih rezultata, ali da je tek ponovljeno istraživanje među Dogonima omogućilo naučno zasnovanu ocenu njegovog rada. Prema autorki, Van Bekova studija pokrenula je „novi polemički talas“ (s. 111) omogućivši detaljniji uvid u etnografiju Dogona i

who perceives research as a military operation in which the aim is to conquer his opponent and grasp secret knowledge) and the debatable reliability of informants who -belonging to a culture with a marked inclination for politeness- are compelled to meet the expectations of the white researcher.

The investigation conducted by Kovač focuses on fieldwork methodology. Following van Beek's evaluation, she attempts to analyze Griaule's field "mistakes" by presenting his methodology (with citations from Griaule's research manual) along with Griaule's written records on Dogon architecture^{*} based on which the French scientist acquired knowledge of the Dogon religious and mythic notions. The author dedicates one of her chapters to reviewing the problem of informants' reliability and false statements in a theoretical framework, drawing on theories that accentuate the sociological and cultural dimensions of research. These theories interpret anthropological research as a social relationship between the informant and the researcher in which each has separate and often opposing expectations of the encounter with the Other.

The author further deliberates on van Beek's work, seeking "theoretical and methodological advances" (p.64) in the repeated research of the Dogon. She analyses van Beek's field method in order to comprehend the methodological approach and scientific value of the repeated study. She concludes that Griaule's results are in fact impossible to reevaluate due to: genuine limitations (the death of Ogotemelli, Griaule's primary informant who initiated the French scientist into Dogon religious knowledge), the absence of a detailed description of the field method (the "textbook algorithm" for repeated studies) presumably applied by van Beek and the members of his inter-disciplinary team, as well as a lack of systematic verification by van Beek of his key informants, even though he "had the opportunity to investigate the methodological importance of the informants' lies" (p. 64).

By assessing van Beek's contributions to the study of the Dogon, Kovač seeks to "put an emphasis on the importance of the repeated study among the Dogon, the resulting academic debates, and to draw certain methodological conclusions of importance for further research of the Dogon." (p.10) The author points out that there had been critics before van Beek who questioned the validity of Griaule's results, however, it was not until the repeated research among the Dogon that a scientific assessment of his work was possible. According to the author, van Beek's study started a "new polemic debate" (p.111) that lead to a more detailed insight into Dogon ethnography by the comparison of data collected from the two studies.

Summing up van Beek's contribution, Kovač conclu-

upoređivanje podataka između dve studije.

Sumirajući Van Bekov doprinos, Kovač zaključuje da, ipak, nije moguće porediti Van Bekove i Griolove nalaze, jer za ozbiljniju komparativnu studiju nedostaje podrobna Van Bekova deskripcija religije Dogona. Na kraju autorka postavlja pitanje šta, nakon kritike Griola, raditi sa njegovim materijalom? Kakva je njegova vrednost? Ona ističe Van Bekovo zapažanje da „knjige *Bog vode i Bledi lisac* treba proučavati ne kao etnografiju Dogona već kao etno-fikciju nastalu zajedničkom kreativnošću antropologa i informanata“ (s. 112).

Pored toga što se bavi prevrednovanjem Griolovog rada i razmatranjem značaja i metoda ponovljenih studija, monografija Senke Kovač nudi detaljne podatke o istraživanjima Van Beka i Griola, uključujući Griolovu metodologiju rada i njegove etnografske spise o arhitekturi i simbolici prostora kod Dogona. Imajući u vidu informativnost teksta, ali i didaktičku notu kojom autorka ukazuje na zamke i greške terenskog rada i traži metodološke pouke za budući etnografski rad, zaključujemo da je ova knjiga namenjena najpre studentima antropologije, istraživačima, afrikanistima i čitaocima zainteresovanim za Griolovo delo.

Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

Napomene:

* Autorka je afrikanista, vanredni profesor Odeljenja za etnologiju i antropologiju na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu.

* Griol naziva ovaj materijalni domen kulture – staništa i sakralne objekte – ‘relativno stabilnim činjenicama’.

Knjiga

*Primarna umetnost: Slike na stenama, Slike na telu**

Autorka: Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

Muzej afričke umetnosti, Beograd, 2007

Knjiga, *Primarna umetnosti: Slike na stenama, Slike na telu* (*Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies*) autorke Nataše Njegovanović Ristić, višeg kustosa Muzeja afričke umetnosti u Beogradu publikovana je u godini u kojoj je ovaj jedinstveni Muzej slavio trideset godina uspešnog rada.

Dvojezično izdanje knjige sadrži dve celine: slike na stenama i slike na telu. Autorka je naglasila da su otkrića starih autohtonih afričkih kultura omogućila preispitivanje ranijih stavova koji se odnose na pojmove "crnačkog" ili "primitivnog" stvaralaštva nastalog "odjednom",

des that it is, nevertheless, impossible to create a comparative study based on van Beek's and Griaule's findings, for a detailed description of the Dogon religion is lacking on van Beek's part. Finally, the author poses the question: after the evaluation of Griaule, what is one to do with his material? What is its value? She highlights van Beek's observation that “*Conversations with Ogotemelli and Pale Fox* should be studied not as ethnographies, but rather as ethnofiction – as a result of the combined creativity of the anthropologist and informant” (p.112).

Apart from reevaluating Griaule's work and examining the importance and method of repeat studies, the monograph of Senka Kovač offers detailed information on van Beek's and Griaule's research, including Griaule's fieldwork methodology and his ethnographic writings on architecture and the symbolic value of space among the Dogon. Keeping in mind the informative aspects of the text and also its didactic note by which the author indicates the inadequacies and mistakes of fieldwork and searches for methodological lessons to be learnt for future ethnographic work – we may conclude that this book is primarily intended for students of anthropology, researchers and Africanists, but also suited for readers interested in Griaule's work.

Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

Notes:

* the author is an Africanist, associate professor in the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology at the Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade

* Griaule terms this material aspect of culture – houses and sacred structures – “relatively stable facts”.

Book

*Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies**

by Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

Museum of African Art, Belgrade, 2007

Publication of *Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies* by Nataša Njegovanović Ristić, senior curator of Belgrade's Museum of African Art, and art historian, coincided with Museum's 30 year anniversary.

This bilingual edition is made up of two sections: paintings on rocks and paintings on bodies. Author emphasised that the discoveries of ancient autochthonic African cultures made way for questioning the old interpretations that referred to African culture as to something that simply happened, having no deeper



Izložba *Primarna umetnost: slike na stenama, slike na telu*, autor Nataša Njegovanović Ristić. Sala za tematske izložbe, MAU, 2007.
Snimio M. Milunović.

Exhibition *Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies*, by Nataša Njegovanović Ristić. Museum's Temporary Display, MAU, 2007.
Photo: M. Milunović.

bez dubljih integrativnih korena. Osvrnuvši se na noviju literaturu, Nataša Njegovanović Ristić je istakla da se u tekstovima vrši pomeranje percepcije od afričkog predmeta kao etnografskog artefakta ka predmetu kao umetničkom delu, od pojma primitivna umetnost ka pojmu primarna umetnost. Posebna pažnja posvećena je redefinisanju afričke tradicionalne umetnosti u odnosu na svetsku umetnost uopšte.

Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić je naglasila da se i pored revidiranih stavova, na današnjim prezentacijama afričke umetnosti u svetu uočavaju tri modela izlagačkih koncepcija. Afrički predmet se tretira u rasponu od etnografskog artefakta do umetničkog predmeta. Središnje rešenje sadrži ove polarizovane stavove. Prvi, najstariji, isključivo favorizuje etnografsku stranu predmeta, zaboravljajući na njegove formalne strane. Posetiocu se putem obilja didaktičkih odrednica (informacije o tehničkim, sociološkim, religijskim kontekstima) sugerije značaj njegovih funkcionalnih svojstava unutar društva iz koga je potekao. Druga izlagačka koncepcija daje afrički predmet bez ikakvih propratnih informacija. Predstavlju ga kao svako drugo delo savremene umetnosti, gde posmatrač formira sud isključivo na bazi "perceptivno-emocionalnog ovladavanja njegovim formalnim svojstvima".

Autorka ističe da "središnji koncept 'koncept dvojnosti'" pokušava da svojom ekspozicijom objedini konceptualne i formalne strane i da na taj način uključi posmatrača i u saznajno i u vizuelno svojstvo predmeta".

Nataša Njegovanović Ristić navodi primere izlagačkih koncepcija u Britanskom muzeju i Luvru. U novootvorenom krilu Britanskog muzeja iz 2003. godine, postavka afričke umetnosti bazirana je na konceptu "dvojnosti", a u Luvru se od 2000. godine afrički predmet u svom krajnjem ishodištu tretira isključivo s estetskog stanovišta.

integrative roots. Using recent researches as examples Njegovanović Ristić pointed out that a shift has been made in the perception of African art – a shift in the understanding of the term: it is no longer understood as primitive, but as primal. The author stressed redefining of traditional African art in regard to the world art in general. Nataša Njegovanović Ristić emphasizes that despite the revised views on today's presentations of African art in the world, three new concepts of exhibition have emerged. Items from Africa are treated in the range from ethnographic artefacts to art objects. Central solutions are made out from polarised positions - First, the oldest, and the exclusively favoured side of ethnographic objects, disregarding its formal side. Visitors are suggested, through the abundance of didactic entries (information on technical, sociological, religious contexts) about the importance of its functional properties within the society from which it originated. Another exhibition concept describes an African item as the subject without any accompanying information. It is represented as any other piece of contemporary art, and the observer forms an opinion based exclusively on the "perceptive and emotional mastering of its formal features."

The author points out that the "central concept, the concept of duality, tends to unite conceptual and formal sides of an item, thus involving the observer into both the cognitive and visual features of an item."

The author points out that the "central concept, the concept of duality, tends to unite conceptual and formal sides of an item, thus involving the observer into both the cognitive and visual features of an item."

Nataša Njegovanović Ristić gives examples of the concepts of the exhibit as presented in British Museum and the Louvre. Recently opened wing of the British Museum (2003) based the setting of the African art on the

U fokusu rada Nataše Njegovanović-Ristić je umetnost takozvanih "plošnih medija" Afrike. Afrikanci su težili da prekorače granice svoje individualnosti. Težili su da crtežom i bojom iskažu svoja osećanja i svoje vizije. Od davnina realizovali su ih na različitim podlogama: stenama i ljudskom telu.

Autorka je u prvom delu knjige pratila istorijat istraživanja saharskog slikrstva, potom saharski neolit, slikarske tehnike. U poslednjoj celini dala je periodizaciju slikrstva i stilove graviranja i slikanja. Sagledano je stvaralaštvo Sahare koje svedoči o velikom preistorijskom tranzitu i promenama koje su pratile burnu saharsku prošlost tokom šest hiljada godina.

U drugom delu knjige *Slike na telu* autorka ukazuje da je nezavisno od estetike ukrasa, nakita ili odeće koje je čovek nosio, samo telo tretirano kao umetnički oblik - telo kao skulptura ili telo kao slika u koju su unete neiscrpna mašta i kreativnost. Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić je u knjizi dala klasifikaciju postupaka u realizaciji telesne umetnosti koji su tipični za određene delove kontinenta: privremene (slike ostvarene bojom) čije je trajanje ograničeno i trajne (sakrifikacija ili urezivanje i tetovaža) koje obeležavaju telo za ceo život. Nataša Njegovanović Ristić je pratila materijal, strukturu i funkciju postupaka na telu. Ukazala je na važnu funkciju ukrašavanja tela kojom se označava individualni status unutar društva i deo je ritualne prakse obreda prelaza.

U knjizi su ilustrativni primeri ukrašavanja na telu koje su se u određenim kulturama prenosile i ponavljale. Iskorak iz te kanonizirane umetnosti ostvaren je kod naroda Nuba u Sudanu, gde su i motivi i stilovi slobodno upražnjavani. Telo je tretirano kao platno na kome su se svakodnevno menjali najrazličitiji likovni motivi. Autorka citira Džemsa Farisa da je "osnovna funkcija ovih slika i crteža (...) da istakne i potencira lepotu tela". Za Nube, ljudsko telo je vrhunski i jedini umetnički oblik, a kao takvo ono je jedini rezvizit u određivanju društvenog statusa.

Knjiga, *Primarna umetnosti: Slike na stenama, Slike na telu* (*Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies*) istoričara umetnosti Nataše Njegovanović Ristić, značajan je prilog koji doprinosi boljem poznavanju umetnosti u Africi. Knjiga je opremljena katalogom prateće izložbe i relevantnim ilustracijama. Nedostaje precizna infomracija o izvoru ilustracija što bi u nekom drugom izdanju ove vredne knjige svakako trebalo dopuniti.

*Prikaz knjige Primarna umetnost: slike na stenama, slike na telu prvi put je objavljen u časopisu Etnoantropološki problemi, sveska 1, 2008, ur. Dragana Antonijević

concept of "duality," while in the Louvre the subject of African item is treated solely from the aesthetic standpoint.

The focal point of Njegovanović Ristić's work is the art of the so-called individual African media. Africans wanted to go beyond limits of their individuality. Through colour and drawings, they wanted to express their feelings and describe their visions. Since ancient times, they have realised them on two different surfaces – paintings on rocks and paintings on bodies.

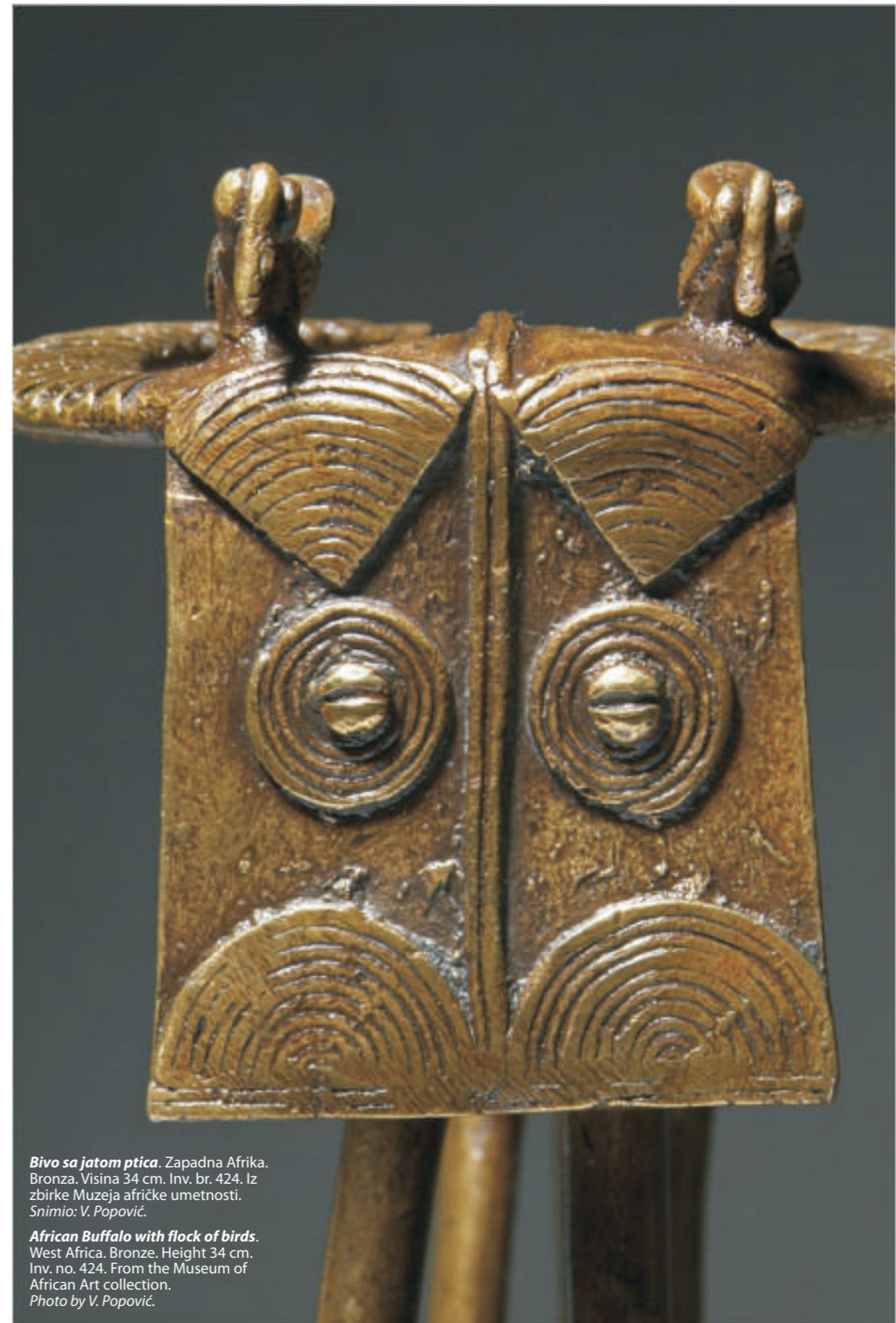
In the second part of the book the author explores the body as an artistic object – body as sculpture or body as painting showing great imagination and creativity. Nataša Njegovanović Ristić provides us with classification of expressions in the realisation of the body art that are typical for certain parts of the continent. She points out that there are temporary paintings, and permanent paintings – done through the processes of scarification and tattooing). Njegovanović Ristić followed the material, structure and function of artistic expressions on bodies. She stressed the importance of body art in signifying individual status within a community which was a part of the ritual practice.

In the second part of the book the author explores the body as an artistic object – body as sculpture or body as painting showing great imagination and creativity. Nataša Njegovanović Ristić provides us with classification of expressions in the realisation of the body art that are typical for certain parts of the continent. She points out that there are temporary paintings, and permanent paintings – done through the processes of scarification and tattooing). Njegovanović Ristić follows the material, structure and function of artistic expressions on bodies. She stresses the importance of body art in signifying individual status within a community which was a part of the ritual practice.

The author provided readers with illustrative examples of body decoration which were transferred and repeated in certain cultures, except with Nuba people from Sudan, where the motifs and styles were liberally applied. Body was treated as canvas with various artistic motifs. The author quotes James Farris who stated that the basic function of those paintings was to highlight and improve the beauty of a body. For Nuba people, human body represents the most important art form, and as such it is the only property used in determining of social status.

Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies is significant contribution to the better understanding of African art. The book comes with an exhibition catalogue and relevant illustrations. The one thing missing is the specific information about the illustration sources, which should be complemented in some other edition of this valuable book.

*Book review Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies first published in the journal Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology, volume 1, 2008, ed. Dragana Antonijević.



Bivo sa jatom ptica. Zapadna Afrika.
Bronza. Visina 34 cm. Inv. br. 424. Iz
zbirke Muzeja afričke umetnosti.
Snimio: V. Popović.

African Buffalo with flock of birds.
West Africa. Bronze. Height 34 cm.
Inv. no. 424. From the Museum of
African Art collection.
Photo by V. Popović.

Drugi Panafrički festival kulture

Alžir, jul 2009

Remek dela Afrike – usmeno i duhovno nasleđe čovečanstva

Rituali i mitovi Afrike mogli su se ponovo videti zahvaljujući impozantnoj izložbi tradicionalnih rituala na Panafričkom festivalu kulture u gradu Alžиру, festivalu koji je imao osam hiljada učesnika iz pedesetri afričke države, osam umetničkih izložbi i ogroman broj izvođača – tradicionalnih i savremenih umetnika: muzičara, igrača, pesnika, dizajnera... Sve ovo sa ciljem da se različiti vidovi izražajnosti prikažu u nijihovoj savremenosti a u nepreglednom nizu.

Izložba *Remek dela Afrike – usmeno i duhovno nasleđe čovečanstva* bila je centralni događaj, a koncipirao je Mohamed Đehiš, direktor Nacionalnog muzeja za modernu i savremenu umetnost Alžira. Prikazujući na postavci predmete kultova i rituala: maske, statue, muzičke instrumente, nošnje, ali i paralelno u istom prostoru: filmove, zapise tradicionalnog nasleđa, podrazumevajući pre svega duhovno nasleđe – igru, napeve, muzička izvođenja i to u onoj, izvornoj formi, u kojoj u Africi to nasleđe postoji već vekovima. Od Nigerije do Mozambika, prolazimo Togo, Egipat, Madagaskar, Alžir, Mali, rituale i proslave impresivne u svojoj različitosti, ali sa jednom crtom koja ih sve određuje: sve su fascinante. Obišli smo ovalne vitrine velikih dimenzija: svaki detalj, svaki instrument, svaki pokret igrača, svaka boja maske ili kostima pobuduje pažnju. Što je značajnija funkcija pojedinog objekta, to su očigledniji i njeni estetski kvaliteti; lepotu i funkciju su blisko povezani, podržavajući jedan drugog i utičući na rađanje i nastajanje. Lepota, originalnost, emocija i magija afričkih umetničkih radova duguju umnogome svojoj društvenoj upotrebi, u kome ritual i magija imaju nezaobilaznu funkciju – jer u Africi ne postoji umetnost radi umetnosti. Predmeti, izrađeni od materijala iz prirode: drvo, koža, kora drveta, školjke, rogovi životinja, svi podložni zubu vremena – morali su za svaku priliku biti načinjeni na potpuno istovetan način. I nošnje, i maske, i skulpture, imale su i imaju vrednost prototipa starog više stotina godina, u kome su se okušavali preci današnjih stanovnika. A u svakom regionu Afrike predmeti su nastajali zahvaljujući anonimnom tvorcu.

Izložba drevnih umetnosti Afrike ima za cilj da nas pozove da otkrijemo i poštuјemo remek-dela koja su potpuno realizovala svoju formu. Izložba je ostvarila kontekst u kojima dela nastaju – kulturnu, svakodnevnu i svetu vrednost onih objekata koji su bili prenosoci

The Second Pan-African Culture Festival Algiers, July 2009

African Masterpieces of Intangible Heritage of Humanity

The extravagant exhibition of traditional rituals at the Pan-African festival in Algiers was an opportunity to observe again the rituals and myths of Africa. The Festival was host to 8000 artist from 53 African states, 8 art exhibitions and a number of traditional and contemporary art performers: musicians, dancers, poets, designers... all in the aim of presenting the current expressions of different artistic achievements in an endless succession.

The central event: *African Masterpieces of Intangible Heritage of Humanity* exposé was conceptualized by Mohammed Djehiche, director of the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Algiers. Cult and ritual objects: masks, sculptures, musical instruments and costumes were displayed in the same exhibiting space and simultaneously with films projections, oral heritage recordings – in the first place intangible heritage such as dance, songs, music performances – in their authentic form, as they have existed in Africa for centuries. From Nigeria, Mozambique, we travelled through Togo, Egypt, Madagascar, Algeria and Mali – impressive rituals and celebrations in all their variety but with one connecting quality: they were all fascinating. We observed large oval exhibiting cases; every detail, every instrument, every movement of the performer, every colour on each mask or costume, roused our attention. The more important the function of the individual object, the more obvious its aesthetic qualities; beauty and function are interconnected, miming one another and affecting birth and creation. The beauty, originality, emotion and magic of African art owes a great deal to the social expected function it holds in ritual and magic, for in Africa there is no 'l'art pour l'art' (or art for art's sake). Objects were made from materials found in nature: wood, hide, bark, shells and animal horns – all subject to the decay of time – have for each occasion, always been made in the same way. Costumes, masks and sculptures were valued as ancient prototypes, previously manipulated by the ancestors of the now living. And in every region of Africa, objects were made thanks to the anonymous creator.

The exhibition dedicated to the ancient arts of Africa lured us to discover and bow down to the masterpieces that have reached their final formal expression. The exhibition achieved to recreate the context in which the objects were made – culture, the habitual and sacred value of those

ukupnog istorijskog znanja.

Kulturno nasleđe ovde ne podrazumeva samo materijalnu kulturu, nepokretno spomeničko nasleđe i predmete koji su sa pažnjom čuvani kroz vekove, već, takođe obuhvata i živu izražajnost, žive tradicije brojnih zajednica, plemena i naroda Afrike, koji su nasleđe primali od svojih predaka. Kao takvo, celovito, pruža svakom od onih koji ga čuvaju osećanje identiteta i kontinuiteta, sa namerom da ga očuva i motiviše na jedan neprekidan proces re-kreiranja, ponovnog stvaranja. Tradicionalno zanatstvo, na primer, prenosi se sa generacije na generaciju, indirektno promovišući poštovanje za kulturni diverzitet i ljudsku kreativnost.

Tradicionalno zanatstvo izražava se u mnogim formama: dekorativne umetnosti, odeća i nakit da zaštite i ukrase telo, maske i skulpture kao ritualni predmeti, predmeti korišćeni kao spremišta, zaklon ili predmet pokućstva, muzički instrumenti, igračke namenjene da zabave ili obrazuju. Mnogi od ovih predmeta su efemerni i traju samo koliko i određena proslava u zajednici ili porodični ritual za koji je predmet i načinjen. Individualno i kolektivno duhovno nasleđe, u kojima je vekovima akumulirano sveukupno znanje, nastalo je na epovima i kosmogonijskim mitovima, verovanjima i pogledima na svet. Po koncepciji izložbe na Panafričkom festivalu u Alžиру, pored prikaza tradicionalne muzike i igre, maske i predmeti maskiranja bili su jedini nepokretni muzejski svedoci.

Ovom izložbom donekle je preokrenuta muzejska praksa da je remek-delo okosnica izložbe, a video zapis ono što ga tumači, objašnjava upotrebu određenog predmeta. Ovde se duhovno i materijalno prikazuju sinhronizovano: duhovno nasleđe čini pretpostavku da će i materijalizacija duhovnog, ideja o pretku, ili verovanje u lokalna božanstva, u budućnosti zauvek imati i svoj materijalni, likovni izraz i iskaz.

Evo i primera, tri zapažena segmenta sa izložbe.

Kulturni prostor Soso-Bala

Sveti instrument balafon, poznat kao Soso-Bala, bio je percipiран као simbol slobode i kohezije Mandingo zajednice, која се rasprostire на територији где је у давној прошlosti постојало краљевство Mali. Prvobitno, instrument je posedovao и на њему свирао краљ Sumarao Kante који је потicao од династије Soso још од 13. века.

Sveti balafon је тип ksilofona, dugačak метар и по, сачинjen од 20 паžljivo izdeljaniх даščica različite dužine ispod којих је постављено више rezonatora, tikava kalabasa različitih otvora. Prema предању и писаним изворима, balafon је izrađivao u prošlosti ili sam kralj ili bi ga за njega izrađivao đini (čarobnjak). Originalni stari primerak Soso-Bala instrumenta čuva се на posebnom ovalном oltaru sa drugim svetim i drevnim predmetima u selu

objects that are transmitters of historical knowledge.

Cultural heritage in this context does not entail solely material culture, immobile heritage and objects that have been carefully taken care of over the centuries; it also refers to living expressivity, the living traditions of numerous communities, tribes and peoples of Africa who inherited their ancestors' legacy. Achieving completeness in such a way, it offers every one of its guardians a sense of identity and continuity with the intention of taking care of and motivating towards an endless process of re-production, repeated creation. Traditional craftsmanship, for instance, is passed down from generation to generation, indirectly promoting the respect of cultural diversity and human creativity.

Traditional craftsmanship is expressed in many forms: the decorative arts, clothing and jewellery to protect and adorn the body, masks and sculptures as ritual objects, objects used as storage space, shelter or household utensil, musical instruments, toys used to entertain and educate. Many of these are ephemeral and last as long as the community celebration or family ritual which they were made for. It is the individual and collective spiritual (intangible) heritage that has accumulated over the centuries, the overall knowledge created on the basis of epic tales and cosmological myths, beliefs and interpretations of the world. The concept of the exhibition at the Pan-African Festival in Algiers dictated that apart from presentations of traditional music and dance, masks and masking equipment were the only immobile museum witnesses.

This exhibition was to a certain extent an inverted example of the customary museum practice which treats the masterpiece as central point of the exhibition and uses video recordings to interpret, or explain the use of a particular object. This exhibition exposed the spiritual and material in synchronization: spiritual heritage is based on the notion that the materialisation of the spiritual, the idea of the ancestor, or belief in local deities will forever have its material, visual expression and statement.

And here are a few examples, three highlights from the exhibition:

The Soso-Bala Cultural Space

The *balafon* sacred instrument, known as Soso-Bala, was used as the symbol of freedom and cohesion among the Mandingo community that spreads across the territory that was once the Kingdom of Mali. The instrument was first owned and played by King Sumanguru Kanté who belonged to the 13th century Soso dynasty. The sacred *balafon* is a type of xylophone, a meter and a half long, made up of 20 carefully cut wooden keys of different length under which are placed several resonators – calabashes with holes. According to legend and written

Njagasola, u severnoj Gvineji. A starac Balatigi, najstariji u porodici, je taj kojem je Bala poveren na čuvanje. Samo on može da svira na drevnom instrumentu, na značajnim svečanostima, kao što je proslava muslimanske Nove Godine ili na sahranama. Takođe, Balatigi je taj koji je zadužen da uči umeću sviranja na balafonu decu različitog uzrasta. Tako on i njegova porodica u Mandingo društvu, imaju ulogu onih koji su izborili sebi važnu poziciju u zajednici - prenošenja znanja za budućnost.

Tradicionalno nasleđe Gelede

Tradicionalne igre s maskama Gelede izvode pripadnici Joruba-Nago zajednice koja naseljava države Benin, Nigeriju i Togo. Već više od jednog veka ova ceremonija se izvodi da bi odala počast velikoj majci Ija Nla i ulozi koju su žene i majke imale u procesu društvene organizacije i razvoja Joruba društva.

Gelede ceremonije izvode se svake godine posle žetve, značajnog događaja, i karakterišu je rezbarene maske, igre i pevanje, na jeziku naroda Joruba koje ima značenje istorijskog pamćenja Joruba-Nago populacije. Ceremonije se obično izvode noću na velikom platou, mestu okupljanja. Prvi se pred publikom pojavljuju pevači i bubenjari, zatim orkestar i na kraju maske u raskošnim raznobojnim kostimima. Maske i odeća igrača se dugi period pripremaju. Maske se rezbare, a nošnja veze, boji i aplicira, ostvarujući kompleksnu i impozantnu celinu. Masku Gelede upotpunjaju figure životinja na vrhu: zmija – simbol moći, ili ptica koja ima značenje glasnika.

Makiši Maskarada

Makiši maskarada izvodi se na kraju Mukande, godišnje svečanosti inicijacije. Ovaj ritual je uobičajena praksa kod naroda Luvale, Čokve, Lučazi i Mbunda, koji žive u severozapadnim i zapadnim provincijama Zambije.

Svaki inicijant dobija određenu ulogu u ceremoniji maskiranja. Čisalike je moćan i bogat čovek velike duhovne snage, Mupala je „gospodar“ i duh zaštitnik sa natprirodnim moćima. Pvevo je ženski lik, predstavlja idealnu ženu, ali je takođe zadužen za muzičku pratnju rituala i igre.

Makiši je još jedan maskiran lik, predstavljajući duh umrlog pretka koji se vratio u svet živih da bi pomogao dečacima – inicijantima u za njih značajnom trenutku. Završetak rituala je slavlje kada celo selo učestvuje u pantomimi i igrama do kasno u noć.

Ovo su samo neki od detalja sa reprezentativne izložbe u Alžiru, koji otkrivaju spiritualnu suštinu afričkog kontinenta za koji je rečeno da je njegova umetnost „umetnost hiljadu plemena i hiljadu plemenskih stilova“.

Narcisa Knežević Šijan

sources, in the past the *balafon* was constructed either by the king himself or a *djini* (magician). The original old Soso-Bala instrument is kept in a special oval altar with other sacred objects in the ancient village Njagasola, in northern Guinea. A Balatigi, old man, the oldest in the family, is entrusted to the care for the Bala. Only he can play the ancient instrument at important ceremonies such as the Muslim New Year celebrations or funerals. Also, Balatigi is the one responsible for teaching children of different ages the skills of playing the *balafon*. In such a way it is he and his family in the Mandingo society who carry the role of those who have earned the very important position in the community of passing down knowledge for the future.

Traditional Gelede Heritage

Traditional Gelede masked games are performed by members of the Yoruba-Nago community that inhabit Benin, Nigeria and Togo. For more than a century, this ceremony has been performed to honour the great mother Ija Nla and the role women and mothers had in the social organization and development of Yoruba society. Gelede ceremonies are performed each year following harvests and significant events, and are characteristic for their carved masks, dances and song in the language of the Yoruba people; the language is a symbol of historical memory among the Yoruba-Nago population. The ceremonies are usually performed at night on a large plateau, a place of assembly. The singers and drummers appear first before the audience, then the orchestra and finally, the masks dressed in luxurious colourful costumes. The masks and costumes take a long time to prepare. Masks are carved and costumes embroidered, coloured and attached creating a complex and imposing assemblage. The Gelede masks are completed with an animal figure at the top; a snake as symbol of power, or a bird as messenger.

The Makishi Masquerade

The Makishi masquerade is performed at the end of the Mukanda, an annual initiation ritual. It is the traditional practice of the Luvale, Chokwe, Luchazi and Mbunda peoples that live in the north-western and western provinces of Zambia. Every initiate is given a specific role in the masking ceremony. The Chisaluke represents a powerful and wealthy man with spiritual influence and Mupala is the “lord” and protective spirit with supernatural abilities. Pwevo is a female character representing the ideal woman and is responsible for the musical accompaniment of the rituals and dances. The Makishi is another masked character, representing the spirit of a deceased ancestor who returns to the world of the living to assist the boys, i.e. the initiates, in their hour

Treća Evropska konferencija o afričkim studijama, ECAS, AEGIS Lajpcig, 4-7.juni 2009.

„Re-spacing Africa“

Evropska konferencija o afričkim studijama ECAS (*European Conference on African Studies*) održana je po treći put 2009. godine u Lajpcigu. Iako je ova konferencija, koja se bijenalno organizuje u različitim gradovima Evrope, relativno skoro ustanovljena, predstavlja naučni skup od kojeg se u budućnosti mnogo očekuje. Pokretač konferencije je mreža AEGIS (*Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies*, ili u slobodnom prevodu Afričko-evropska grupa za interdisciplinarne studije), koja se bavi istraživanjima u oblasti društvenih i humanističkih nauka, sa ciljem da poboljša razumevanje o savremenim afričkim društvima u svetu promena nastalih procesom globalizacije. Akademski i naučni potencijal, odnosno naučni kredibilitet AEGIS-a zasniva se na strukturi ove organizacije, s obzirom na to da su njene članice naučni instituti za afričke studije pri prestižnim univerzitetskim centrima zapadne Evrope.

Treća konferencija, čiji je domaćin bio Univerzitet u Lajpcigu, održana je na temu **redefinisanja prostora Afrike** (*Re-spacing Africa*). Skup na kojem je učestvovalo preko 1000 afrikanista različitih naučnih profila, bio je posvećen pitanjima preoblikovanja Afrike uz razmatranje prostora kao dimenzije ljudskog delovanja i analitičke kategorije (bilo da se radi o socijalnom, zamišljenom, simboličkom ili nekom drugom prostoru) i sa njim povezanih procesa globalizacije, transnacionalizacije, regionalizacije, deteritorijalizacije/reterritorializacije i migracija, na svim nivoma. Na panelima su najviše bile zastupljene teme iz domena političkih, socioloških i ekonomskih studija. Značajan prostor je dat prezentacijama iz oblasti urbanih socioloških i kulturoloških istraživanja. Dubok utisak ostavio je dokumentarni film o životu u predgrađima Johanezburga, *Howzit! Life in Johannesburg*, u kojem je data komparacija uslova života između slamova sa crnim stanovništvom i elitnih belačkih zona. Paneli na temu umetnosti bili su malobrojni, a radovi su se odnosili na savremenu umetnost i na savremene interpretacije afričke umetnosti. Težište diskusija je stavljeno na sagledavanje umetnosti kao prostora za nove reprezentacije i politizacije afričkog kulturnog identiteta, u lokalnim i globalnim okvirima. Kao posebno sadržajan može se izdvojiti panel o umetničkim festivalima i novijoj umetničkoj sceni (*Art Scenes in Africa and the Global Art World*) na kojem su predstavljeni savremeni tokovi afričke

of need. The completion of the ritual is celebrated with the entire village attending and participating in pantomimes and dances that last late into the night.

These are just a few details from the exhibition in Algeries, which reveals the spiritual essence of the African continent and its “art of a thousand tribes and a thousand tribal styles”.

Narcisa Knežević Šijan

The Third European Conference on African Studies, ECAS, AEGIS Leipzig, June 4th - 7th 2009

“Re-spacing Africa”

The *European Conference on African Studies* (ECAS) was held for the third time in 2009, in Leipzig. Regardless the fact that this biennial conference, held each time in a different European city, was established fairly recently, it is nevertheless considered to be a very promising scientific gathering. The initiator of the conference is the AEGIS network – *Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies*, which undertakes research in the fields of social sciences and humanities, in order to improve understanding of contemporary African societies in light of changes that have occurred as part of the globalisation process. The academic and scholarly potential, i.e. the scientific credibility of AEGIS is derived from the structure of the organisation whose members are scientific institutes for African studies at prestigious university centres in Western Europe.

The theme of the Third Conference hosted by the University in Leipzig, was **Redefining African spaces** (*Re-spacing Africa*). The meeting, that received over 1000 participants – Africanists of different profiles, was dedicated to the issues of reshaping Africa, where space was applied as a dimension of human action and an analytical category (whether it be a social, imagined, symbolic, or other type of space) in the analysis of processes of globalisation, trans-nationalisation, regionalisation, de-territorialisation/re-territorialisation and migration, on various levels. The panels mainly covered topics pertaining to political, social and economic studies. There was a considerable number of presentations from the field of urban sociological and cultural research. The documentary about life in the suburbs of Johannesburg *Howzit! Life in Johannesburg* which compared living conditions in slums inhabited by black

umetnosti, kroz političke i globalizujuće aspekte festivala u Abuđi, Kalabaru, Dakaru, Kairu i Johanesburgu, i predstavljanje savremenih umetničkih scena u Angoli, Kamerunu i Keniji.

Panel koji je za temu imao preoblikovanje muzejskih i umetničkih izložbi Afrike (*Re-shaping Africa exhibits*), ticao se savremene evropske i zapadne interpretacije afričke umetnosti, kroz medij izložbe. Pored toga što je dotaknut problem autentičnosti predmeta i saradnje muzejskih stručnjaka sa privatnim kolezionarima, u središtu razmatranja bili su muzeološki koncepti izlaganja afričke umetnosti i materijalne kulture. Predstavljeni su primeri muzeja u Ontariju, Berlinu i Beogradu. Izložbena delatnost Muzeja afričke umetnosti u Beogradu predstavljena je radom *Izlaganje identiteta: slike Afrike u Muzeju afričke umetnosti (Exhibiting identity: Images of Africa at the Museum of African Art)*.

Plenarno predavanje *Pan-africanizam u dobu Obame (Pan-Africanism in the Age of Obama)* održao je predsednik američke asocijације за afričke studije, Pol Tijambe Zeleza (*Paul Tiyambe Zeleza*), izrazivši entuzijazam za novo, aktivnije američko usmerenje prema Africi, koje bi moglo da promeni percepcije Afrike u globalnim razmerama.¹ Iako su evropske kolege bile suzdržane u svojim reakcijama na novu politiku SAD i njene potencijalne istorijske implikacije po Afriku, konferencija je ispoljila težnju organizatora ka globalnom umrežavanju sa neevropskim centrima za afričke studije, prevashodno američkim. Takođe je primetna inicijativa razvijanja saradnje sa afričkim naučnim centrima, uprkos još uvek nedovoljnem odzivu afričkih stručnjaka na samoj konferenciji. Jedan od okruglih stolova je bio posvećen preispitivanju lokalnih uslova pod kojima stručnjaci u Evropi, Africi i Severnoj Americi obavljaju istraživanja i nastavu u domenu afričkih studija, uz razmatranje mogućnosti njihove međusobne saradnje i zajedničkih projekata.

Predviđeno vreme od 20-30 minuta za izlaganje pojedinačnih prezentacija u mnogim slučajevima nije bilo dovoljno da obuhvati i diskusiju, imajući u vidu opširnost predstavljenih istraživanja i broj radova po panelu. Preovlađujući utisak konferencije bio je njen internacionalni, ali i interdisciplinarni karakter, s obzirom na raznovrsnost tema i aspekata proučavanja (sociološki, ekonomski, politički, kulturološki, istorijski, antropološki, umetnički, književni, lingvistički, itd). Međutim, tek ostaje da se utvrdi u kojoj meri i na koji način je interdisciplinarnost realno primenjiva na aktuelna proučavanja u domenu afričkih studija, ako se ima u vidu da će mnoga saznanja o Africi u okviru pojedinačnih disciplina i dalje ostati fragmentisana i nedovoljno utemeljena, u nedostatku institucionalne saradnje sa afričkim stručnjacima. Konačno, ukoliko ova konferencija odslikava savremene naučne tendencije u proučavanju

populations, on the one hand, and in elite white zones, on the other, left a lasting impression. There were only a few panels dedicated to art, and those papers tackled issues in contemporary art, as well as contemporary interpretations of African art. The discussions focused on reviewing art as a space for new representations and politicizations of African cultural identity in a local and global framework. Particularly informative was the panel on art festivals and the new art scene (*Art Scenes in Africa and the Global Art World*) that presented current trends in African art through political and globalising aspects of festivals in Abuja, Calabar, Dakar and Johannesburg, and contemporary art scenes in Angola, Cameroon and Kenya.

The panel that dealt with the topic of reshaping museum and art exhibitions of Africa (*Re-shaping Africa Exhibits*) concentrated on contemporary European and Western interpretations of African art, through the exhibition as medium. Aside from addressing the problems of authenticity of objects and cooperation of museum professionals with private collectors, museological concepts of exhibiting African art and material culture provided the focus of the panel. The cases of museums in Ontario, Berlin and Belgrade were presented. The exhibiting practices of the Museum of African Art in Belgrade were presented in the paper *Exhibiting identity: Images of Africa at the Museum of African Art*.^{*}

The plenary lecture *Pan-Africanism in the Age of Obama* was delivered by the president of the American Association for African Studies, Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, who expressed his enthusiasm for the new, pro-active American orientation toward Africa that could bring about a shift in the perceptions of Africa in global proportions.¹ Although European participants of the Conference were more reserved in their reactions to the new USA policy and its potential historical implications on Africa, the Conference reflected the organizers' tendency toward global networking with non-European Centres for African Studies, primarily American centres. The initiative towards developing collaborative projects with African scientific centres was evident, despite the actual insufficient number of African professionals present at the Conference. At one of the round tables the local conditions under which experts conduct their research and teaching in African studies in Europe, Africa and North America were considered, and the possibilities for mutual cooperation and joint projects were examined.

The allotted time for individual presentations (20-30 minutes) in most cases proved to be insufficient to include discussion, given the extent of each research project presented and the number of papers by the panel. The prevailing impression of the Conference was its international and at the same time interdisciplinary character, considering the variety of topics presented and

vanju Afrike, može se sa tvrdnjom reći da se one danas kreću u pravcu preispitivanja, redefinisanja i integriranja prostora afričkih studija.

Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

Napomene:

* Autor rada i prezentacije je Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović, kustos MAA.

¹ Zanimljivo je napomenuti da su se datumi održavanja konferencije poklopili sa zvaničnom posetom američkog predsednika, Baraka Obame, Nemačkoj.

research approaches applied (sociological, economic, political, cultural, historical, anthropological, art, literary, linguistic, etc.). However, it remains to be determined to what extent and in what way the interdisciplinary approach is actually applicable in current research conducted in African studies, bearing in mind that in the framework of individual scientific disciplines knowledge on Africa will remain fragmented and insufficiently grounded in the absence of institutional cooperation with African experts. Finally, if this Conference reflects contemporary trends in scientific research in Africa, it is safe to claim that they are now moving towards reexamining, redefining and integrating the field of African studies.

Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović

Notes:

* The paper was presented by, Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović, MAA curator.

¹ Interestingly enough, the Conference coincided with the American president Barak Obama's official visit to Germany

Deseta konferencija EASA Ljubljana, 26. - 30. avgust 2008

"Experiencing Diversity and Mutuality"

Deseta konferencija EASA-e (Evropske asocijације socijalnih antropologa) održana je u Ljubljani od 26. do 30. avgusta 2008. godine na temu *Iskustva diverziteta i uzajamnosti*. Tema konferencije usmerila je istraživače, odnosno učesnike, izlagače i uređivače radionica da dublje analiziraju i otvore pitanja direktnog – etnografskog – iskustva diverziteta i uzajamnosti u etnologiji i antropologiji: „u evropskoj godini *interkulturnog dijaloga*, od antropologa se očekuje da sumiraju različite aspekte diverziteta sa svojim komplementarnim pojmom uzajamnosti.“

Na Konferenciji, u organizaciji Odeljenja za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju Univerziteta u Ljubljani, ponuđeno je 114 radionica, prihvaćeno više od 1000 naučnih i stručnih radova, održano je niz okruglih stolova, diskusija, prezentacija, radionica, susreta i pratećih programa, poput filmskih projekcija i promocija naučnih publikacija i knjiga.

Plenarne sesije sa temama *Uzajamnost u praksi: izvan svetova u sukobu, Upotrebe diverziteta i Nepokretnost: novi izazovi antropologije u globalizovanom svetu* uvele su izlagače u razmatranje pojmove *uzajamnost* i *diverzitet* u nauci (antropologiji) u istorijskim, političkim, moralnim i socijalnim okvirima, dok je sam izbor teme konferencije svedočanstvo o njihovoj izraženoj prisutnosti na naučnom polju u savremenom trenutku. Takođe, sagledane su i posledice ova dva pojma po etnografsko iskustvo, između ostalih,

The Tenth EASA Conference Ljubljana, August 26th - 30th 2008

"Experiencing Diversity and Mutuality"

The 10th EASA (European Association of Social Anthropologists) Conference carrying the title *Experiencing Diversity and Mutuality*, directed researchers, i.e. participants, presenters and workshop conveners to thoroughly investigate and initiate the questioning of the direct/ethnographic analysis of diversity and mutuality in ethnology and anthropology: “in the European year of *intercultural dialogue*, anthropologists will critically assess different facets of diversity together with its complementary: mutualism.”

The conference, organized by the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Ljubljana, offered 114 workshops, accepted more than 1000 expert and scientific papers, organized several round tables, discussions, presentations, workshops, meetings and additional events like film projections and the promotion of scientific publications and books.

The plenary sessions that focused on the themes of *Mutualities in Practice: Beyond Worlds in Collision, The Uses of Diversity and Immobilities: New Challenges for Anthropology in a Globalised World* introduced the participants and presenters into reassessing *mutuality* and *diversity* in science (anthropology) from historical,

manipulacije i nus-pojave ove vrste naučne usmernosti. Plenarne sesije obeležile su ton trodnevnih stručnih susreta i debata relativno jasnim kritičkim stavom prema pojmu uzajamnosti i kategorijama koje ga određuju poput: participacija, saradnja, solidarnost, reciprocitet, pregovaranje, medijacija, i to u globalizovanom svetu.

U okviru radionice *Diverzifikacija antropologije: politika istraživanja, ili istraživanje u politici?* (*Diversifying anthropology: politics of research or research in politics?*) u sazivu dr Aleksandra Boškovića (Institut za društvene nauke, Beograd) i Vesne Godine (Fakultet društvenih nauka, Ljubljana), predstavljeni su radovi (i diskutovano je na temu): *Posmatranje izvan okvira etno-rasnih klasifikacija na južno-afričkim univerzitetima: antropološka intervencija*, kao reakcija na incidente rasnog zastrašivanja i ponižavanja na kampusima u Južnoj Africi. U izlaganju Vilijama Fišera napravljen je teorijski osvrt na relativnu zapostavljenost etnoloških analiza političkih partija: odsustvo analize političkih stranaka unutar okvira studija političke antropologije, u suštini iskazuje pretpostavku o relativnoj nevažnosti političkih stranaka, kao oblika socijalne organizacije (instrumentalizacije). Posebnu pažnju učesnika privukla je kontraverzna prezentacija na temu, u antropologiji „ozloglašenog“ Human Terrain System: *Uhvaćeni između akronima: HTS, AAA i politika etike*. Na istoj radionici Muzej afričke umetnosti u Beogradu predstavljen je kroz rad *Koncept uzajamnosti i diverziteta u socijalističkom i post-socijalističkom periodu: Muzej afričke umetnosti u Beogradu*. Tačka povezivanja svih radova izloženih na radionici *Diverzifikacija antropologije...* jeste činjenica da specifičnosti društvenih i političkih okolnosti na različite načine, ali neumitno, utiču na naučnu aktualnost određenih tema, same antropologe, kao i njihov rad unutar različitih institucija u kojima rade (muzeji, fakulteti, državne službe, i sl.).

Od posebne važnosti za polje muzeologije, bila je radionica *Zbirke itinerera* koju je vodila Barbara Plankenstajner iz Etnografskog muzeja u Beču sa Majkl Rolandsom sa Univerzitetskog koledža u Londonu, čija se osnovna tema fokusirala na različite oblike prikupljanja predmeta materijalne kulture, ne samo u institucionalnim okvirima, već i u individualnim, svakodnevnim praksama čime se kreiraju *mikro zbirke* koje se mogu isčitavati kao

political, moral and social perspectives, whereas the title of the conference was testimony to their presence in current deliberation of the scientific field. The consequences of these two notions on ethnographic experiences, also manipulations and side effects of this kind of scientific orientation, were also addressed. The plenary sessions set the tone of the three-day specialized meetings and debates with a relatively clear critical positioning towards mutuality and categories that determine it, such as: participation, collaboration, solidarity, reciprocity, negotiation, mediation in a globalised world.

The *Diversifying Anthropology: Politics of Research or Research in Politics?* workshop convened by Aleksandar Bošković (Institute for Social Sciences) and Vesna Godina (Faculty of Social Sciences) presented the papers (and discussed on the theme): *Seeing beyond ethno-racial classifications at South African universities: an anthropological intervention* as a reaction to incidents of racial insults and humiliation on South African campuses. William Fisher's presentation was a theoretical review of the relatively scarce ethnological studies of political parties: "the absence of the analysis of political parties within the writings of political anthropology, in effect constitutes an assertion regarding the relative unimportance of political parties as a form of social agency". Participants of the workshop were particularly drawn to the presentation on the subject of the, in anthropology "notorious", Human Terrain System, titled *Caught Between Acronyms: HTS, AAA and the Politics of Ethics*. The Museum of African Art in Belgrade presented its work through *The Concept of Mutuality and Diversity in the Socialist and Post-Socialist Period: The Museum of African Art, Belgrade*. The meeting point of all the papers presented at the *Diversifying Anthropology...* workshop is the notion that certain social and political circumstances inevitably, although in different manners, affect the scientific popularity of certain themes, anthropologists themselves, as much as their work inside different institutions they are employed in (museums, universities, state (civil) services, etc.).

From a museological aspect, the most important was the *Collection Itineraries* workshop moderated by Barbara Plankensteiner from the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna and Michael Rowlands from University College, London, whose main theme focused on different forms of collecting objects of material culture, not solely in institutional frameworks, but also in individual everyday practices that create *micro collections* that can be read as personal biographies of the collector. The workshop instigated a lively debate about the creation (and possible interpretations) of personal biographies through life-long collecting (*Aesthetics of care among the elderly*) and participants were informed about the

lične biografije prikupljača. Na radionici je pokrenuta živa debata o kreiranjima (i mogućnostima čitanja) ličnih biografija kroz životno prikupljanje predmeta (*Estetika brige kod starih ljudi*), a učesnici radionice su upoznati i sa problemima sa kojima se kustosi suočavaju pri determinisanju i identifikaciji predmeta unutar muzejskih zbirki (*Sakupljeni-zapostavljeni: fiktivna biografija keramike iz Asjuta, Egipta*), kao i sa novim inicijativama i „neobičnim“ rešenjima muzejskih inicijativa, izlaganja i predstavljanja sopstvenog nasleđa prema zapadnom modelu na primeru Jola Muzeja u južnom Senegalu (*Sakupljanje-izlaganja sebe: muzej foto-prilika*). Na kraju, bilo je osvežavajuće utvrditi da na izvestan način Beograd, odnosno Muzej afričke umetnosti uspeva da prati svetske tokove kroz svoju izložbenu i kritičku delatnost: jedno od izlaganja bilo je posvećeno temi preispitivanja pitanja na koji su način različiti tipovi zbirki i predstava (*images*) instrumentalizovani za artikulisanje i izražavanje socijalnih i interpersonalnih odnosa, porekla i sukoba, i to na primeru kamerunske Stanice Bandžun (Bandjoun Station) – kreativne radionice umetnika Bartelemita Toga, koja privlači i školuje lokalne umetnike u sferi vizuelnih umetnosti.

Bijenalna konferencija EASA pruža priliku stručnjacima da u svojim oblastima delovanja počnu da primenjuju neke od zaključaka do kojih se na predavanjima i u okviru radionica došlo. Priprema za Konferenciju sama po sebi je čin preispitivanja naših pozicija i odgovornosti, a verovatno najveći doprinos ove vrste naučnog susretanja je u tome što se tokom tri dana sumiraju najznačajnija dostignuća na mnogobrojnim poljima istraživanja socijalne antropologije, i to ne samo tekuća pitanja i aktuelne ideje, terminologije i pojmovi koji su deo naučnog vokabulara *sada*, već se pruža mogućnost pogleda na negativne aspekte ili posledice određenih diskursa kako u ispitivanim „životima“ tako i u nauci.

Emilia Epštajn i Marija Ličina

problems that most often trouble curators in determining and identifying objects that form certain collections (*Collected — neglected a fictive biography of ceramics from Asyut, Egypt*); also, the topic of new initiatives and „unusual“ museological solutions resulting from varying efforts, displays and presentations of one's own heritage according to a *western model* using the example of the Jola Museum in southern Senegal (*Collecting/exposing the self: the museum as photo opportunity*). Finally it was quite refreshing to conclude that in certain ways Belgrade, i.e. the Museum of African Art is able to follow global trends through its exhibiting and critical practices: one of the presentations was directed at questioning the ways in which different types of collections and images are instrumentalized to articulate and express social and interpersonal relationships, dissent and conflict us the Cameroonian Bandjoun station – creative workshop of artist Barthelemy Toguo that attracts and educates local artists in the sphere of the visual arts – as example.

The EASA biennial conference offers experts the opportunity to start implementing some of the conclusions reached through lectures and workshops, in their own spheres of engagement. Preparing for the conference is in itself an act of reconsidering our positions and responsibilities, most probably also the greatest contribution of this type of gathering on a scientific basis, lies in the fact that over the course of three days the most important accomplishments in the many fields of social anthropological research are summed up, and not solely the current questions and popular ideas, terminologies and notions that are part of the scientific vocabulary *now*, but also it offers the possibility of gaining an overview of the negative aspects or results of certain discourses in both researched “lives” and science.

Emilia Epštajn and Marija Ličina

2004

24.JUN

Afro festival – tradicionalni festival afričke kulture u Muzeju afričke umetnosti.

Otvaranje izložbe: **Crno telo, bele maske** pristupa temi percepciji Afrike u okvirima evropske i srpske kulture i umetnosti od početka 20. veka i umetnosti – od avangarde do '60ih godina i vremena nesvrstanih. Kroz izložbu se razmatra pozicija afričke umetnosti unutar svetske kulturne baštine i preispituju odnosi prema Africi u okviru postkolonijalnih studija.

Autor izložbe i kataloga: Dejan Sretenović, glavni kustos Muzeja savremene umetnosti

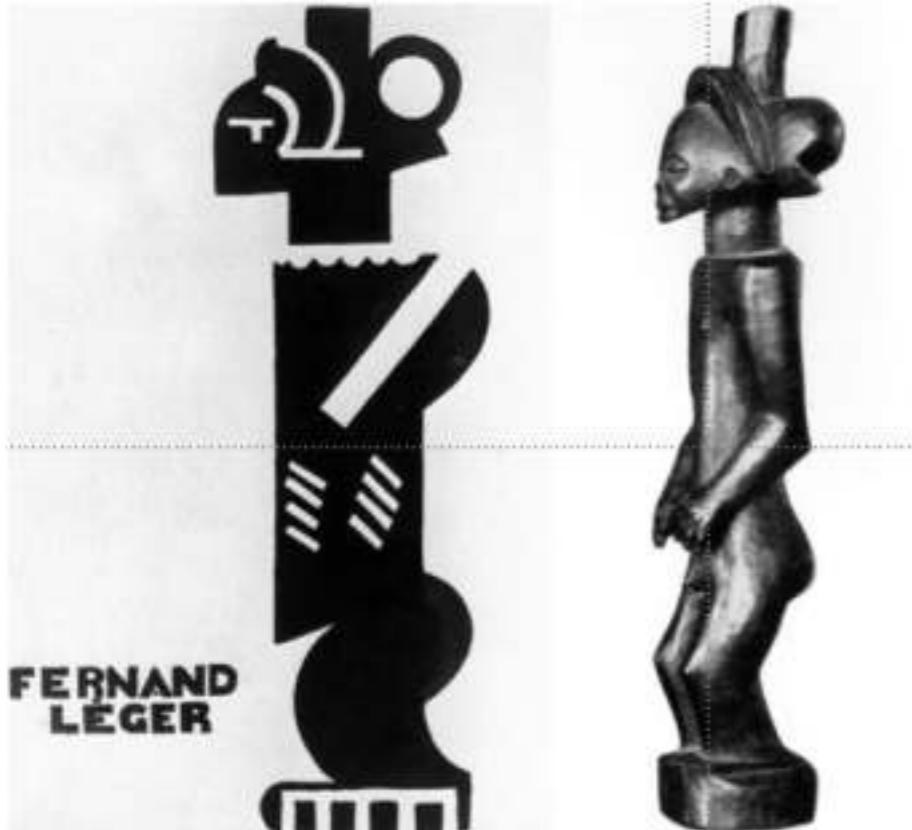
25.JUN

Program: **Afrički Video Dens** baziran na tri filma o savremenim afričkim koreografima koji uzdižu telesnu snagu i senzualnost kao *lite motif* svojih radova. Organizovan u saradnji sa Francuskim kulturnim centrom i kanalom Arte France.

12.AVGUST

Poklon Muzeju: Dr Ljubica Đorđević je poklonila zbirku afričkih predmeta kao uspomenu na sestričinu Dubravku Bojović. Zbirka sadrži 107 predmeta (skulpture, maske, predmeti od rafije, kože, tikve, kao i predmete od metala, kameha i keramike) i 13 slika (ulja na platnu) iz Gane i Konga.

Sa izložbe **Crno telo, bele maske**, autora Dejana Sretenovića, MAU, 2004.



24 JUNE

Afro Festival – annual festival of African culture at the Museum of African Art

Exhibition opening: The exhibition **Black Body, White Masks** focuses on the perception of Africa inside the framework of European and Serbian culture at the beginning of the 20th century – from the time of avant-garde art to the 1960ies. The exhibition reconsiders the position of African art in the context of world cultural heritage and questions Europe regard of Africa in the context of post-colonial studies.

Exhibition and catalogue by Dejan Sretenović, head curator at the Museum of Contemporary Art

25 JUNE

Event: **African Video Danse** comprised of three films based on the work of contemporary African choreographers who use the strength of the body and its sensuality as *lite motif* of their films. The program was organized with the support of the French Cultural Centre and Arte France channel.

12 AUGUST

Bequeathment: Medical Doctor Ljubica Đorđević donated a collection of African artefacts in memory of her niece Dubravka Bojović. The collection consists of 107 objects (sculptures, masks, objects made from raffia, leather and calabash, also pieces in metal, stone and clay) and 13 oil paintings from Ghana and Congo.

From the exhibition **Black Body, White Masks** by Dejan Sretenović, MAA, 2004

10.DECEMBAR

Izložba: Umetnost moći – moć umetnosti: Bronzana skulptura zapadne Afrike prikazuje predmete iz zbirke Muzeja afričke umetnosti i predmete iz privatnih zbirki sa posebnim usmerenjem na umetnost drevnih nigerijskih centara, kao što su Ife i Benin. Bronza je blisko povezana sa kraljevstvima Afrike i svedoči o kompleksnim afričkim društvima i bogatom estetskom izrazu.

Autorka izložbe i kataloga: Narcisa Knežević-Šijan

10 DECEMBER

Exhibition: **The Art of Power – Power of Art: Bronze Sculpture of West Africa** exhibition displayed objects from the Museum of African Art and private collections, mainly highlighting the ancient Nigerian centres Ife and Benin. Bronze is closely connected to African kingdoms and is testimony of the complexity of African societies and rich aesthetic expression.

Exhibition and catalogue by Narcisa Knežević-Šijan

2005

18.MART

Muzeju gostima: **Iz muzejskih zbirki u Centru za kulturu Sopot**.

4.APRIL

Izložba: **Albert Švajcer** u Galeriji Kolarčevog narodnog univerziteta. Organizovana u saradnji sa Institutom za socijalnu medicinu Medicinskog fakulteta u Beogradu, Studentskim udruženjem dr Albert Švajcer, uz podršku Gete instituta iz Beograda. Na izložbi je Muzej afričke umetnosti učestvovao prikazom materijala iz Konga i Gabona – ritualnim maskama i tradicionalnim skulpturama.

19.APRIL

Manifestacija: **Dani Beograda - Dani bronze**; Predavanja: **Konzervacija bronce** – Aleksandra Džikić-Nikolić, istoričar umetnosti i konzervator Centra za konzervaciju „Diana“; **Motiv životinje u tehnići bronce** – Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić, viši kustos MAU; **Kult vladara i inspiracija umetnika** – docent dr Senka Kovač, Katedra za etnologiju i antropologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu; **Umetnost moći - moć umetnosti** – Narcisa Knežević-Šijan, direktor MAU.

18 MARCH

Touring exhibition: **From Museum Collections** in Centre for Culture Sopot.

4 APRIL

Exhibition opening: **Albert Schweitzer** at the Kolarac People's University Gallery organized in collaboration with the Institute for Social Medicine at the Faculty of Medicine Belgrade, the Student Association "Doctor Albert Schweitzer" and with the support of the Goethe Institute in Belgrade. The Museum of African Art participated with a display of artefacts from Congo and Gabon – ritual masks and traditional sculptures.

19 APRIL

Event: **Days of Belgrade – Days of Bronze**; Lectures: **Bronze Conservation** by Aleksandra Džikić-Nikolić, art historian and conservator at the "Diana" Conservation Centre; **The Animal Motif Cast in Bronze**, by Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić, MAA senior curator; **Cult of the Ruler and the Artist's Inspiration** by Senka Kovač (PhD, Docent) at the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade; **The Art of Power – The Power of Art** by Narcisa Knežević-Šijan, MAA director and art historian.

24.JUN

Afro festival

Tribina: **Jamajka – Afrika – Srbija**; učesnici: Jovan Matić, Saša M. Marković, Goran Cvetić, Zoran Čirjaković, Tatomir Toroman.

Nastup: **Afrika – Brazil – Srbija**, prestavljanje grupe Centro Cultural Senzala de Capoeira – Beograd.

Muzički program: **Afro Fiesta**; učesnici: Nebojša Jazzmate Atanacković/B92, Tatomir Toroman/B92, Bojan Džumbus Mitrović/B92.

24 JUNE

Afro Festival

Platform: **Afrika-Jamaica-Serbia**; participants: Jovan Matić, Saša M. Marković, Goran Cvetić, Zoran Čirjaković, Tatomir Toroman;

Performance: **Africa-Brasil-Serbia** technique demonstration by the Centro Cultural Senzala de Capoeira club from Belgrade;

Music: **Afro Fiesta**; participants: Nebojša Jazzmate Atanacković / B92, Tatomir Toroman / B92, Bojan Džumbus Mitrović / B92.

14.AVGUST

Otvaranje izložbe: **Ašanti – umetnost, kultura, nasleđe** koja je predstavila tradicionalni umetnički izraz naroda Ašanti iz Gane. Izloženi predmeti: keramika, tradicionalni prestoli i tkanine iz zbirke Muzeja afričke umetnosti, predmeti iz privatnih zbirki i iz Muzeja istorije Jugoslavije.

Autorka izložbe i kataloga: mr Ana Garić

14 AUGUST

Exhibition opening: **Ashanti – Art, Culture, Heritage** was based on the presentation of the traditional art of the Ashanti people from Ghana. Exhibited pieces included ceramics, traditional thrones and textiles from the Museum of African Art collection, artefacts from private collections and the collections of the Museum of Yugoslav History.

Exhibition and catalogue by Ana Garić (MA)

8.OKTOBAR

Izložba: **Tkanine Afrike, veliki formati;** u Sava Centru je uz nastup izuzetne trupe savremenog baleta ansambla Žorž Momboje, priređena gostujuća izložba. Izložene su reprezentativne tkanine iz Malija, Gane i Obale Slonovače, značajne po simbolizmu u koji je upisan kod osnovnih vrednosti i verovanja lokalne afričke zajednice. Autorka izložbe:Narcisa Knežević Šijan

24.NOVEMBAR

Otvaranje: "inter.views/mz+zw" by Werner Puntigam and Klaus Holinetz; instalacija se sastojala iz serije fotografija („mozampics“ Vernera Puntigama), audio-vizuelne instalacije („echoe/S“ V. Puntigama i K. Holineta) i audio snimaka („mbirations“ V. Puntigama i K. Holineta). Instalacija organizovana od strane Kulturnog Fronta Beograd, u saradnji sa MAU i podršku Austrijskog kulturnog foruma i Grada Beograda – Sekretarijata za kulturu, i B92.

17.DECEMBAR

Instalacija: **Precious Memories;** izložbom je prikazana veza magije igre Majкла Džordana sa posvećenošću kojom afrički plemenski umetnik stvara svoja dela. Kroz svoj multimedijalni rad, umetnik je uspeo da poveže prostor Muzeja afričke umetnosti sa savremenim društvenim simbolima.

Autor umetničke instalacije:Zoran Naskovski

8.OCTOBER

Exhibition: The **African Textiles: Large Formats** display at the Sava Centre in Belgrade. The display complemented the performance of contemporary ballet troupe lead by Georges Momboye. On display: representative textiles from Mali, Ghana and Ivory Coast, important for their symbolism and inscribed code of basic values and beliefs of the local African communities.
Exhibition by Narcisa Knežević Šijan

24.NOVEMBAR

Installation opening: "inter.views/mz+zw" by Werner Puntigam and Klaus Holinetz; the installation consisted of a series of photographs ("mozampics" by Werner Puntigam), audio-visual installation ("echoe/S" by W. Puntigam and K. Holinetz) and audio recordings ("mbirations" by W. Puntigam and K. Holinetz). The installation was organised by the Cultural Front Belgrade, in collaboration with the MAA and with the support of the Austrian Cultural Forum and the City of Belgrade – **Secretariat for Culture, B92.**

17.DECEMBAR

Installation: **Precious Memories;** The installation aimed at expressing the connection between the magic created by Michael Jordan's play and the dedication of the African tribal artist while he creates his art. Through such a multimedia piece the artist was able to merge the MAA space with contemporary social symbols.

Art installation by Zoran Naskovski

2006**20.MART**

Otvaranje izložbe: **Afrika: umetnost i značenje** u galeriji Francuskog kulturnog centra u Beogradu. Bogatstvo i raznovrsnost afričke umetnosti prikazano je izborom muzejskih predmeta kao što su: skulpture, maske, tkanine i muzički instrumenti.

Autorka izložbe i kataloga: Narcisa Knežević-Šijan

11.JUN

Program: **Obojeni svet** preispituje osetljiv i tabuiziran pojam „obojenog“ i na taj način pretvara Muzej afričke umetnosti u mesto otvorenog dijaloga, aktuelizujući savremene tendencije u takozvanim *indigenous* kulturama. Urednik programa: Mihael Milunović, umetnik i slobodni kustos
Radionicu: gostujući umetnik Barthelemy Togo u kreativnoj radionici sa studentima Fakulteta umetnosti u Beogradu.

12.JUN**Obojenisvet**

Okrugli sto: **Među prijateljima** – razgovor sa umetnikom Barthelemy Togo; Loran Hedi (direktor Muzeja Sent Etjena), Tomas Meser (nekadašnji direktor Guggenheim, Njujork) i Mihael Milunović (urednik programa Obojenisvet).

11.JUNE

Program: **Coloured World** experimental program questions the delicate and tabooed notion "coloured", transforming the MAA into a place of open dialogue and bringing to attention the current tendencies in so called *indigenous* cultures. Program director: Mihael Milunović, artist and freelance curator
Workshop: Artist in residence Barthelemy Togou in creative workshop with students from the Faculty of Art, Belgrade.

12.JUNE**Coloured World**

Roundtable: **Among Friends** – talks with the artist Barthelemy Togou; participants: Lorand Hegy (director of the Musée de Saint-Etienne), Thomas M. Messer (former director of Guggenheim, New York) and Mihael Milunović (Coloured World program director).

13.JUN**Obojenisvet**

Otvaranje izložbe i instalacije: **Tranzit(i) i Omaž Zdravku Pečaru;** u okviru projekta Obojeni svet, u MAU su predstavljeni radovi jednog od najznačajnijih umetnika Afrike, Barthelemy Togoa. Multimedijalni umetnik iz Kameruna, Barthelemy Togo, predstavio je rad koristeći najrazličitije medije, od klasičnih (crtež, akvarel, grafika, skulptura) do najsavremenijih (instalacije, performansi, video projekcije).

Autor izložbe i instalacije: Barthelemy Togo

13 JUNE**Coloured World**

Exhibition and installation: **Transit(s)** and **Hommage to Zdravko Pečar;** as part of the Coloured World project, the MAA exhibited the artworks of one of the most prominent artists of Africa, Barthelemy Togou. The multimedia artist from Cameroon, Barthelemy Togou presented his work through various media, from the classical (drawing, watercolour, graphics, sculpture) to the most contemporary (installation, performance, video projections).
Exhibition and installation by Barthelemy Togo

23.JUN**Afro Festival**

Otvaranje: **Crno, crveno i belo,** umetnička instalacija. Zasniva se na tonskim zapisima bluza i njegovim izvornim interpretacijama američkih crnaca, berača pamuka i zatvorenika, preko njegove transformacije koja se kreće preko bugi-vugija, rok-en-rola, do repa. Predmetni inventar ovog projekta, kutija od pleksiglasa sa granom pamuka, crvena fotelja, gramofon, ploče i cd, fotografija klupske ambijenta sa interpoliranim likovima pevača, formiraju genezu bluza. Ona se ovde može pratiti preko prvih zapisa Delta bluza, do sadašnje visoko tehnološke industrije zvuka. Na otvaranju: **Bluesploitation:** Goran Simonoski, **Boogieology:** Lluis Coloma Saradnik: Vladislav Pejak.
Autor instalacije: Zoran Naskovski

23 JUNE**Afro Festival**

Opening: The **Black, Red and White** multimedia project is based on blues sound recordings and original interpretations by Black Americans, cotton pickers and convicts, following its transformation from boogie-woogie, rock and roll, down to rap music. Objects used for this project are a plexiglass box containing a branch of cotton, a red sofa, gramophone, vinyl records and compact discs, a photograph depicting a club *ambiance* featuring portraits of singers. These elements aim to represent the genesis of the blues which can be traced from the first sound recordings of Delta blues, to the modern high-tech sound industry. Opening event program: **Bluesploitation:** Goran Simonoski, **Boogieology:** Lluis Coloma; Project associate: Vladislav Pejak.
Installation by Zoran Naskovski

15.SEPTEMBAR

Izložba u gostima: **Maske i tkanine Zapadne Afrike** u Narodnom muzeju u Kragujevcu. Umetnost afričkog kontinenta ispoljava se kroz brojne medije. Kroz izložbu je predstavljen izbor iz bogatog muzejskog fonda, reprezentativnih primera afričkog tkanja i drvorezbarstva - dveju formi koje se ostvaruju u različitim materijalima i tehnikama, ali koje su vezane nizom komplementarnih funkcija i značenja.
Kustosi izložbe: mr Ana Garić i Emilia Poznanović

15 SEPTEMBER

Exhibition opening: **Masks and Textiles of West Africa** at the National Museum in Kragujevac. The art of the African continent is materialised in a number of media. The exhibition is based on a selection of representative examples of African weaving and masks – two art forms that are different in their materials and technique, but are also complementary in certain functions and meanings.
Curated by Ana Garić (MA) and Emilia Poznanović

24.OKTOBAR

Muzej u gostima: **Južno od Sahare** u Muzeju Srema, Sremska Mitrovica. Izložba je zasnovana na izboru maski i tkanina iz zbirki Muzeja afričke umetnosti i fotografijama Marli Šamir (iz foto-dokumentacije MAU).
Kustos izložbe: Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

24 OCTOBER

Exhibition opening: **South of the Sahara** at the Museum of Srem, Sremska Mitrovica. The exhibition is based on a selection of masks and textiles from the Museum of African Art collections and photographs by Marli Shamir (from MAA photo documentation).
Curated by Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

31.OKTOBAR

Otvaranje izložbe: **Pogled na umetnost Kuba (iz privatne zbirke Giber Ersona).** Četrdeset izloženih Kuba tkanina istovremeno su i najtipičniji izraz umetnosti naroda Kuba (Bakuba) u DR Kongu. Ove tkanine su izradivali tkači naroda Kuba u centralnom Kongu, u oblasti reke Kasaji, od finih niti rafije. Utkani geometrijski motivi u tkaninama stvaraju optički efekat neprekinutog pokreta.
Autorka kataloga: Valeri Erson
Kustos izložbe: Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

31 OCTOBER

Exhibition opening: **Regard sur les Kuba (from the private collection of Guibert Hairson).** Forty exhibited Kuba textiles are the most typical expressive form of the Kuba (Bakuba) people from the DR Congo. These textiles woven from very fine threads of raffia were made by Kuba weavers in the Kasai river region of central Congo. Woven geometric motifs of the textiles create the optical effect offlow.
Catalogue by Valerie Hairson
Curated by Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

30. NOVEMBAR

Otvaranje: Instalacija **Gwenyambira – a Tribute to Simon Mashoko** predstavlja omaž jednom od najznačajnijih izvođača iz Zimbabvea na instrumentu mbira. Autori zvučne/video/foto instalacije su **Klaus Holinetz, Michael Pilz and Werner Puntigam (Austria)**; sound/video/photo installation as homage to one of the masters of *mbira* music in Zimbabwe. The program was organised with the support of the Austrian Cultural Forum, Cultural Front Belgrade, Austria-Zimbabwe Friendship Association and the City of Belgrade – Secretariat for Culture

30 NOVEMBER

Installation: **Gwenyambira – a Tribute to Simon Mashoko**, by **Klaus Holinetz, Michael Pilz and Werner Puntigam (Austria)**; sound/video/photo installation as homage to one of the masters of *mbira* music in Zimbabwe. The program was organised with the support of the Austrian Cultural Forum, Cultural Front Belgrade, Austria-Zimbabwe Friendship Association and the City of Belgrade – Secretariat for Culture

2007

21. FEBRUAR

Seminar: **Susreti Marlo**, seminar o kulturnom menadžmentu održan je u Ministarstvu za kulturu Republike Srbije, uz učešće francuskih muzejskih eksperata. Direktorka Muzeja Narcisa Knežević-Šijan održala predavanje: *Muzej afričke umetnosti kao regionalni centar za prezentaciju afričkog nasleđa*.

5. MART

Manifestacija: **Ghana@50** je program obeležavanja 50 godina nezavisnosti ove zapadnoafričke zemlje, koja se oslobođila kolonijalne vlasti 1957. godine. U izložbenoj sali predstavljeno je 400 fotografija na kojima je ispisana čitava istorija Gane. Zatim tkanine *kente*, rađene najfinijim tkanjem od svilene niti, poznate i kao ponos Afrike (*African Pride*), pan-afrički simbol i simbol pripadnosti Africi svih onih Afrikanaca koji žive u dijaspori, pre svega Severnoj i Južnoj Americi.

23. MART

Manifestacija: **Noć Frankofonije** održana u Sava Centru. U okviru programa predstavljen je rad jedinstvenog afričkog stvaraoca, modnog dizajnera, stiliste i kompozitora *Andi Aifa* iz Kameruna, koji je u modnoj instalaciji koristio tkanine nastale kao rezultat radionica MAU. Svojim originalnim stilom, Aif ostvaruje san da „uzdigne afričku modu“. Kao polazište eksperimenta, on uspešno koristi tradicionalni afrički kostim, koji upotpunjuje materijalima kao što su: rafija, lijane, palmovo lišće, afrički kalabaš, školjke i razni reciklirani predmeti.

18. MAJ

Nagrada: Nacionalni komitet IKOM-a (*Internacionalni komitet Muzeja*) dodelio je Muzeju afričke umetnosti nagradu za **Muzej godine** za kontinuirani muzejski rad na sakupljanju, čuvanju, obradi i prezentaciji muzejskih predmeta, kao i razvijanje mnogobrojnih aktivnosti i programa poput izložbi, umetničkih instalacija, predavanja, video i filmskih projekcija, i godišnjih manifestacija poput bazara i Afro festivala koji formiraju identitet Muzeja afričke umetnosti.

19. MAJ

Manifestacija: **Noć muzeja** – značajna manifestacija kulture koja se svake godine održava u Srbiji i više zemalja Evrope. MAU je uzeo učešće programom: *Kuba tkanine* (polazište za eksperiment) koji je rezultirao eksperimentalnim filmom *Somotna duša Konga*, režija Aleksandar Maričić i elektro/house/minimal/tehnovukom DJ Ewox-a.

21 FEBRUARY

Seminar: **The Marlo Encounters** seminar on cultural management was held at the Ministry of Culture Serbia, with the participation of French museum experts. The director of the MAA, Narcisa Knežević-Šijan, held the lecture: *The Museum of African Art as Regional Centre for the Presentation of African Heritage*.

5 MARCH

Event: **Ghana@50** celebrates the 50 years of independence of this West African country that won its freedom from colonial rule in 1957. A finely woven silk-thread *kente* cloth was exhibited in the Museum space along with 400 documentary photographs on the history and economy of Ghana. The *kente* cloth is also known as “African Pride” and is the pan-African symbol of all the Africans in diaspora, primarily those in North and South America.

23 MARCH

Event: **Night of Francophonie** (*La nuit de la francophonie*) held at Sava Centre. One of the programs presented the work of African fashion designer, stylist and composer *Anggy Haif* from Cameroon who included African textiles from MAA workshops as part of his fashion show. His original style aims at “revealing the artistry of African fashion”. He uses traditional African costumes as the basis of his experimental work, incorporating materials such as raffia, palm leaves, calabashes, shells and different recyclable objects.

18 MAY

Award: The National Committee of ICOM (*International Council of Museums*) awarded the Museum of African Art the **Museum of the Year Award** for its continuous museum work based on collecting, preserving, documenting and presenting African artefacts, and for the numerous activities and programs: exhibitions, art installations, lectures, film projections and annual events African Bazaar and the Afro Festival which form the identity of the Museum of African Art.

19 MAY

Event: **Night of Museums** – major international cultural event annually held in Serbia and many European cultural centres. The MAA participated with the program: *Kuba Textiles* (starting point of an experiment) which resulted in the experimental film: *The Velvet Soul of Congo* by film director Aleksandar Maričić and *electro/house/minimal/techno sound performance* by DJ Ewox.

15. JUN

Muzej u gostima: **A in B (Afrikanci u Beogradu)** u Muzeju percepције u Gracu. Izložba je omaž muzejskoj publici i priateljima afričkog porekla kao kompleksno delo sačinjeno iz fotografija Nebojša Babića, legendi i video snimaka, prema izboru mr Ane Garić. Izložba je trajala do 24. juna 2007. Izložba i katalog: Ana Garić i Nebojša Babić

15 JUNE

Visiting exhibition: **A in B (Africans in Belgrade)** at the Museum der Wahrnehmung (MUWA), Graz, Austria. The exhibition is dedicated to the friends of the Museum of African Art and is a complex piece that incorporates photographs by Nebojša Babić, textual material and video recordings conceptualised by Ana Garić. The exhibition closed on June 24th 2007. Exhibition and catalogue by Ana Garić and Nebojša Babić

20. JUN**Afro festival**

Otvaranje izložbe: **Primarna umetnost: slike na stenama, slike na telu** inkorporira fotografije najvažnijih lokacija saharske umetnosti na stenama (akcentiranjem najzanjanijih stilskih perioda) i primere metoda telesnog ukrašavanja u Africi (skarifikacija, tetovaža i oslikavanje). Izložbu je otvorio prof. Čedomir Vasić. Izložba je praćena radionicom koju su organizovali studenti Fakulteta likovnih umetnosti u Beogradu. Studenti su oslikali fasadu MAU muralima koji su inspirisani neolitskim freskama Sahare.

Izdavaštvo: **Primarna umetnost: slike na stenama, slike na telu** je monografija posvećena slikarskom stvaralaštvu neolita i još starijem mediju, *body artu - oslikavanju lica i tela kod drevnih naroda Afrike*. Komparacija dva naizgled različita vida stvaralaštva na afričkom kontinentu – *pećinsko slikarstvo i telesno ukrašavanje*, potvrđuje tezu da su crtež i boja najstariji oblici komunikacije i ljudske potrebe za izražavanjem umetničkog senzibiliteta. Izložba i monografija: Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić

20 JUNE**Afro Festival**

Exhibition opening: **The Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies** exhibition incorporated photographs of the most important sites of Saharan rock art (highlighting the most important style periods) and examples of methods of body decoration in Africa (scarification, tattooing and painting). The exhibition was opened by professor Čedomir Vasić. The exhibition was followed by a workshop organised with students of the Faculty of Art in Belgrade, who painted murals inspired with Neolithic Saharan rock art on the MAA. Publishing: **The Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies** by Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić capital monograph dedicated to the Neolithic paintings of the Sahara and even older technique of body art. The comparison of the two seemingly different creative forms on the African continent – *cave painting and body decoration* – are used to prove the thesis that drawing and colour remain the oldest form of communication and express the fundamental human need for artistic production. Exhibition and monograph by Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić

21. JUN**Afro festival**

Predavanja: **Živi eksponati Afro muz(e)ike** - mr Ana Kotevska, **Značaj ponovljenih istraživanja u antropologiji – Marsel Griol i naučna preispitivanja na kraju 20. veka** - dr Senka Kovač i **Identitet žene u afričkoj književnosti** - dr Vesna Cakeljić. *Ovom prilikom Ana Kotevska, muzikolog, poklonila je MAU originalan muzički instrument, kora, izlične kolekcije.

21 JUNE**Afro Festival**

Lectures: **Living Exhibits of Afro-Muse(um)ic** by Ana Kotevska (MA), **The Importance of Repeated-Fieldwork in Anthropology: Marcel Griaule and Scientific Re-Evaluations at the End of the 20th Century** by Senka Kovač (PhD) and **The Identity of Women in African Literature** by Vesna Cakeljić (PhD). *On the occasion, musicologist Ana Kotevska bequeathed the MAA with an original kora from her private collection.

22. JUN

Rođendansko slavlje: **Muzej afričke umetnosti (30 godina)**; Premijerna projekcija dokumentarnog filma *30 godina Muzeja afričke umetnosti* u trajanju od 19 min., režija Lidija Veljanova. Film je nastao iz arhivskih materijala Filmskih novosti. *Muzička noć u bašti* – gost MAU, Kristo Numpubi, afrički muzičar iz Kameruna koji u svojoj muzici koristi ritam *asiko*, kombinujući ga sa afroameričkim, brazilskim i kubanskim muzičkim pravcima.

22 JUNE

Birthday Celebration: **The Museum of African Art (30)**; the premier of the documentary film: Thirty Years of the Museum of African Art directed by Lidija Veljanova. The Film is based on archival material from the Filmske Novosti archive. *The Evening Musical Garden Party* was celebrated with guest of honour – Kristo Numpuby, Cameroonian musician who combines *asiko* with Afro-American, Brazilian and Cuban musical style.

24. JUN

Otvaranje izložbe: **Put Sahare**; izložba prikazuje 50 dokumentarnih fotografija koje je snimila Natalija Simeonović (akad. slikar), u Akakusu, Libiji. Izložbu je pratila video instalacija umetnice Vesne Đuričić

24 JUNE

Exhibition opening: **Journeying the Sahara** based on 50 documentary photographs taken in Acacus, Libya, by visual artist Natalija Simeonović. The exhibition was complemented with video installation by artist Vesna Đuričić.

JULI

Poklon zbirka: Nina Seferović, etnolog i dugogodišnji kustos Etnografskog muzeja i Muzeja afričke umetnosti boravila je sa

JULY

Bequeathment: Nina Seferović, ethnologist, anthropologist and curator of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade and the MAA,

porodicom u Etiopiji i sakupila vrednu etiopsku zbirku. Zbirka sadrži više od 200 predmeta iz Etiopije: 122 predmeta od keramike, 28 slika na pergamentu i drvetu, 15 primeraka nakita, 17 češljeva, 17 knjiga o istoriji i kulturi Etiopije.

26. SEPTEMBAR

Predavanje: **Afrika: 21. vek – umetnost i transformacija** u Muzeju savremene umetnosti Vojvodine u Novom Sadu - predavanje Narcise Knežević-Šijan i Nataše Njegovanović Ristić, stručnjaka Muzeja. Maskarade, afrički rituali, identitet, simboli statusa u Africi kao trajna obeležja savremenog umetničkog izraza onih umetnika koji su se školovali na fakultetima i akademijama preispitujući nove forme urbane i „popularne kulture“.

24. OKTOBAR

Instalacija: **on stage / back stage**; instalacija Verner Punitigama dokumentuje savremenu afričku modnu industriju kroz foto objektiv fotografa, otkrivajući dešavanja na i iza scene tokom trajanja modne revije u Maputu, Mozambiku.

Nakon otvaranja: **performans ZipHopMusic** je proizvod prostorno-zvučne instalacije MO(VE)MENTS #3. Koncept: V. Puntigam. Koreografija: Ana Dubljević.

26. OKTOBAR

Predavanje: **Nemačka etnologija i antropologija od Herdera do Frobenijusa** prof. dr Aleksandra Boškovića. Predavanje je tretiralo početke nemačke etnologije i antropologije i najznačajnije autore i teorije krajem 19. i početkom 20. veka.

10. NOVEMBAR

Prince Asfa Wossen Asserate (Dr Phil.), konsultant za afrička i bliskoistočna pitanja pri sedištu Afričke unije i pravnik poslednjeg etiopskog cara Haile Selasija, posetio MAU.

20. NOVEMBAR

Obojeni svet

Otvaranje izložbe: **Mudshots!!** je druga izložba ostvarena u okviru eksperimentalnog programa MAU Obojeni svet, urednika Mihaila Milunovića. Savremeni karipski umetnik Lennon Žno-Batist, deli sudbinu mnogih umetnika-nomada današnjice. Radi između Atlante i Pariza, Njujorka, Brisela, Milana. Na izložbi su prikazana platna velikih formata u kombinovanoj tehnici, sa temama koje uključuju gledaoca u kontraverze savremene umetničke prakse.

Autor izložbe: Lennon Žno-Batist

21. NOVEMBAR

Predavanje: **Književnost holandskih Antila** dr Jelice Novaković-Lopušine. Profesorka katedre za nederlandistiku Beogradskog univerziteta predstavila je istoriju književnosti holandskih Kariba i povezanost sa političkom istorijom ovog područja, sa susretanjem, sukobljavanjem i mešanjem kultura. Autorka je nastojala da istraži u

spent a number of years in Ethiopia with her Family, creating a valuable Ethiopian collection. The collection is based on more than 200 Ethiopian artefacts: 122 ceramic objects, 28 paintings on parchment and wood, 15 pieces of jewellery, 17 hair-combs and 17 books on Ethiopian history and culture.

26. SEPTEMBER

Lecture: **Africa: The 21st Century – Art and Transformations** by Narcisa Knežević-Šijan and Nataša Njegovanović Ristić, held at the Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina in Novi Sad; The lecture focused on masquerades, African rituals, identities and status symbols in Africa as lasting signs of the contemporary artistic expression of those university and academy educated artists who question new urban forms and “popular” culture”.

24. OKTOBAR

Installation: **on stage / back stage**; the installation documents contemporary African fashion industry through the photographer's lens revealing what happens onstage and backstage at fashion shows in Maputo, Mozambique.

Installation by Werner Puntigam

Performance: **ZipHopMusic** – the result of spacial/sound installation MO(VE)MENTS #3. Concept: W. Puntigam; coreography and performance: Ana Dubljević

26. OKTOBAR

Lecture: **German Ethnology and Anthropology from Herder to Frobenius** by prof. Aleksandar Bošković (PhD). The lecture reflected on the beginnings of German ethnology and anthropology and the most prominent thinkers in the field at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

10 NOVEMBAR

Prince Asfa Wossen Asserate (Dr Phil.), Consultant for African and Middle Eastern Affairs at the African Union Headquarters, grandnephew of the last Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie, visited the MAA.

20 NOVEMBAR

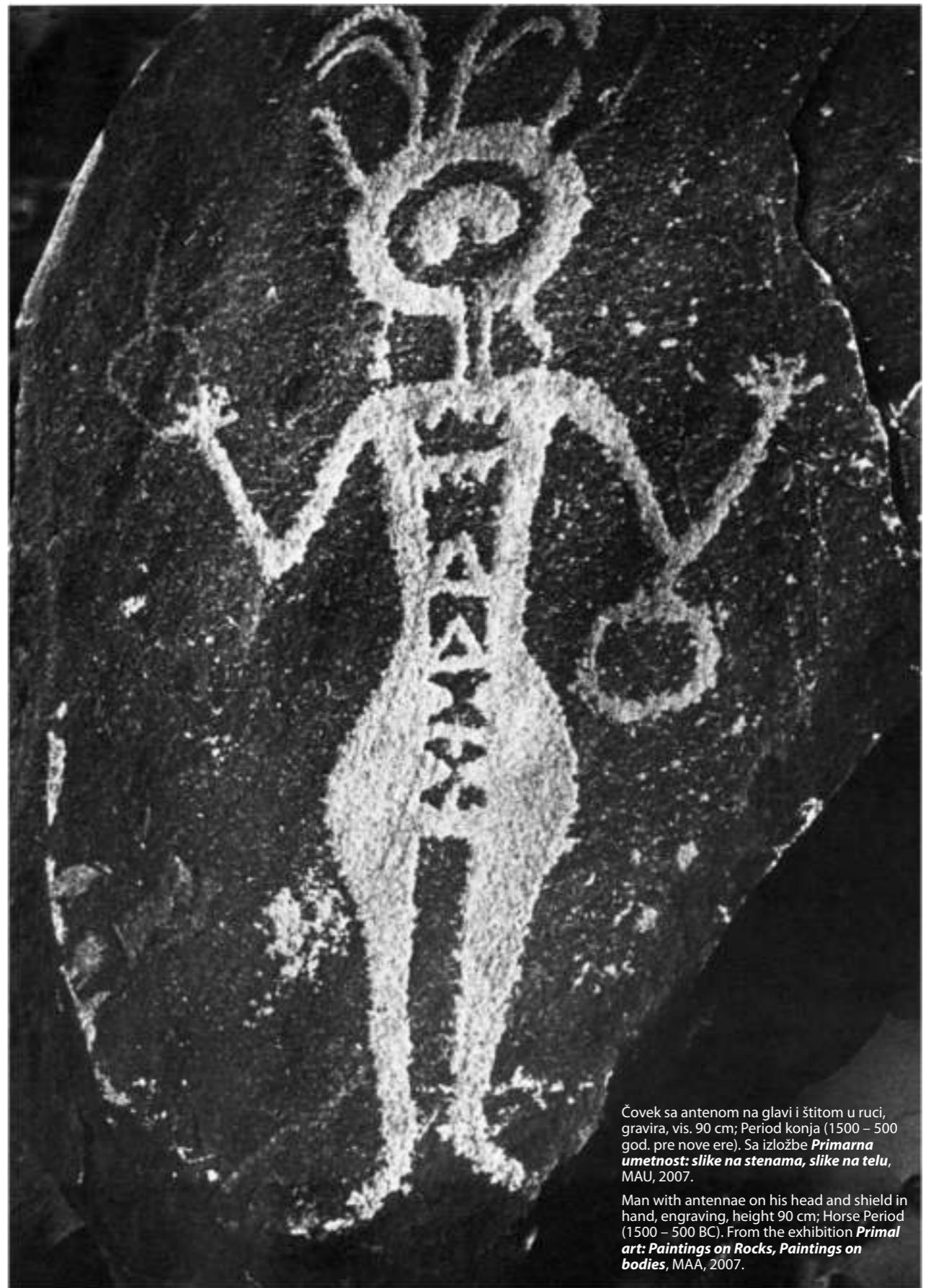
Coloured World

Exhibition opening: **Mudshots!!** is the second art exhibition part of the MAA/Coloured World experimental program by Mihail Milunović. The contemporary Caribbean artist Jno-Baptiste Lennon shares the fate of many contemporary artists/nomads. He “commutes” between Atlanta and Paris, New York, Brussels and Milan. The exhibition displays large scale canvases in combined technique, depicting numerous controversies of contemporary artistic practice.

Exhibition by Jno-Baptiste Lennon

21 NOVEMBAR

Lecture: **Literature of the Dutch Antilles** by Jelice Novaković (PhD). Novaković, professor of Netherlandic Studies at the University of Belgrade, presented the history of Dutch Antillean literature and its link to the political history of this region that is marked by cultural encounters, clashes and merging. She investigates to what extent



Čovek sa antenom na glavi i štitom u ruci, gravira, vis. 90 cm; Period konja (1500 – 500 god. pre nove ere). Sa izložbe **Primarna umetnost: slike na stenama, slike na telu**, MAU, 2007.

Man with antennae on his head and shield in hand, engraving, height 90 cm; Horse Period (1500 – 500 BC). From the exhibition **Primart: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on bodies**, MAU, 2007.

kojoj meri su kulture crne Afrike i drugih vanevropskih kultura utisnule svoj pečat u karipsku književnost pisanih na holandskom.

DECEMBAR

Izdavaštvo: **Marsel Griol i naučna preispitavanja na kraju dvadesetog veka**, dr Senka Kovač. Pored reevaluacije Griolovog rada i istraživanja značaja i metoda ponovljenih istraživanja, knjiga Senke Kovač nudi detaljne informacije o Van Bekovim i Griolovim istraživanjima, kao i Griolovu metodologiju terenskog rada i njegove etnografske zapise o arhitekturi i simbolici prostora kod Dogona.

2008

11. FEBRUAR

Muzej u gostima: **Primarna umetnost: slike na stenama, slike na telu** u galeriji Fakulteta likovnih umetnosti u Knez Mihailovoj ulici.

17. MAJ

Manifestacija: **Noć muzeja**; video program inspirisan bečkom secesijom sa reminescencijama na vreme banatskog plemića Oskara Vojnića, donatora kapitalne vanevropske etnografske zbirku koja se danas nalazi u Gradskom muzeju, Subotica. Na programu: *Laboratorija zvuka* - muzički eksperimentalni studio *Sati-Ino-Kejdž*. Filmska projekcija: *Klabirint*, muzički treš horor u trajanju od 59 min. Režija: Aleksandar Maričić.

23. MAJ

Gostujuća izložba: **Kava kava i betel** (Obred pijenja kava-kave i žvakanja betela u svetu predmeta iz Vanevropske zbirke Gradskog muzeja Subotice) u Muzeju afričke umetnosti. Izložba je zasnovana na van-evropskoj zbirci Gradskog muzeja Subotica. Predstavljena je tradicionalna kultura dalekih predela Jugoistočne Azije i Polinezije koje je na svojim putovanjima, početkom prošlog veka, upoznao subotički plemić i putopisac Oskar Vojnić (1864-1914). Prikazani su ceremonijalni predmeti za obred konzumiranja kava-kave i opijata betel, tape (tkanine od kore drveta) i Zub kita, noževi, batik platna, lile i vajang figure.

Autorka izložbe i kataloga: Viktorija Šimon-Vuletić

27. MAJ

Izložba: **Afrique A l'école : Afrika u školi** u Galeriji Francuskog kulturnog centra u Beogradu; izložba je zasnovana na dečijim radovima (đaci Francuske škole u Beogradu) nakon završetka radionice MAU Les ateliers des Arts Africains. Tokom dva semestra radionice su vodile Narcisa Knežević-Šijan, istoričar umetnosti i direktor MAU, Marija Ličina (kustos MAU), mr Ljiljana Radošević (istoričar umetnosti) i Julija Draškoci (keramičar).

26. JUN

Afro festival

Predavanja: **Istorija jedne ideje** (Murali na fasadi Muzeja afričke umetnosti), Narcisa Knežević-Šijan istoričar umetnosti/direktor MAU;

the culture of black Africa and other non-European cultures left their mark in Caribbean literature written in the Dutch language.

DECEMBER

Publishing: **Marcel Griaule and Scientific Re-Evaluations at the End of the 20th Century**, by Senka Kovač (PhD); Besides re-evaluating Griaule's work and examining the importance and method of repeated studies, Senka Kovač's book offers detailed information on van Beek's and Griaule's research, including Griaule's fieldwork methodology and his ethnographic writings on architecture and the symbolic value of space among the Dogon.

2008

11. FEBRUAR

Touring display: **Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies** at the Academy of Art Gallery in Knez Mihailova Street.

17. MAJ

Event: **The Night of Museums**; video program inspired with the Viennese secession reminiscing the time of Oskar Vojnić, aristocrat from Banat, who donated a valuable non-European collection to the City Museum, Subotica. Program: *Sound Laboratory* - the *Satie/Eno/Cage* musical experimental studio; film screening *Clubyrinth* musical trash horror (59 min.) directed by: Aleksandar Maričić.

23. MAJ

Visiting exhibition: **Kava-kava and betel** (Kava-kava drinking and betel chewing ritual based on the non-European collection of the City Museum in Subotica) at the Museum of African Art. The exhibition is based on the non-European collection of the City Museum in Subotica. The display presented the traditional cultures of the distant regions of South-Eastern Asia and Polynesia encountered at the beginning of the 20th century by local noble Oskar Vojnić (1864-1914). The exhibition incorporated objects used in the kava-kava and betel consuming ceremonies: tapas (tree-bark cloths), whale tooth, daggers, batiks, pipes and vayang puppets.

Exhibition and catalogue by Viktorija Šimon-Vuletić

27. MAJ

Exhibition: **Afrique A l'école: Africa in School** at the Gallery of the French Cultural Centre in Belgrade; the exhibition based on the artwork of children from the French School in Belgrade upon completion of the MAA workshop Les ateliers des Arts Africains. The workshop (lasting two semesters) were realised by Narcisa Knežević-Šijan, art historian and MAA director, Marija Ličina (MAA curator), Ljiljana Radošević (art historian) and Julija Draškoci (ceramist).

26. JUNE

Afro Festival

Lectures: **The History of an Idea** (Mural Paintings on the Walls of The Museum of African Art) by Narcisa Knežević-Šijan, art historian and

Murali (osvrt na zidno slikarstvo Južne Afrike (Ndbele, Basoto), Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić, istoričar umetnosti/viši kustos MAU

Filmska projekcija: **Ernest Mancoba at Home**, Režija: Bridžet Tompson (Južna Afrika), posredstvom B.Tompson.
Veče u bašti: predstavljanje galerije **Moya Afrika**

27. JUN

Afro festival

Radionica: Kemo Soundioulou Cissoko (Senegal) – gostujući muzičar, majstor djembe-a, dundun-a i kora-e.

28. JUN

Afro festival

Muzejski razgovori: Atelje pod vedrim nebom: **Moji dani u Oshogbo-Nigerija**; učesnici: Ljiljana i Boris Pavlić, vrsni poznavaoци afričke umetnosti i Narcisa Knežević-Šijan, direktor MAU.

29. JUN

Afro festival

Koncert: **Umetnost kore – zvuci Senegala u Beogradu**: Kemo Sisoko i prijatelji (Igor Vincetić – Oromowa, Veljko Nikolić – Papa Nik, Dušan Janković – Amadou Lerue, Milan Štulić – Lima Star); Umetnik Kemo Cissoko, iz čuvene muzičke familije griota, ostvario niz značajnih gostovanja (koncerti, radionice, artist in residence) širom Evrope, S.A.D i Japana. 2002 godine osnovao je grupu Doman Doman.

28. AVGUST

Konferencija: **Iskustva diverziteta i uzajamnosti** – Deseta EASA (Evropska asocijacija socijalnih antropologa) konferencija u Ljubljani; predstavljanje naučnog prikaza Koncept uzajamnosti i diverziteta u socijalističkom i post-socijalističkom periodu: Muzej afričke umetnosti u Beogradu kustosa MAU Emilie Epštajn i Marije Ličine.

23. OKTOBAR

Otvaranje izložbe: **Impresije, Maroko** predstavlja Maroko kao inspiraciju umetničkog fotografa Marka Todorovića. Fotografije otkrivaju dinamizam i neobičnu razlučenost marokanske umetnosti, sjaj arhitekture i umetničkih zanata u ukupnosti drevnog načina života. Izložbu je pratila power point prezentacija istraživanja Muzeja afričke umetnosti pod nazivom Iz kustoske beležnice, Aleksandre Prodanović-Bojović, sa tri segmenta tradicionalne umetnosti Maroka - zelij mozaik, keramika i nakit.

Autori izložbe: Narcisa Knežević-Šijan i Marko Todorović

6. NOVEMBAR

Program: **Nacionalni dan Angole**; godišnjica je obeležena otvaranjem izložbe dokumentarne fotografije sa prizorima iz istorije savremene Angole.

7. DECEMBAR

Izložba u gostima: **Primarna umetnost: Slike na stenama, slike na telu** u Gradskom muzeju, Subotica.

MAA direktor; **Murals** (a retrospective of the wall paintings of South Africa) by Nataša Njegovanović-Ristić, art historian and MAA senior curator

Film projection: **Ernest Mancoba At Home**, dir. Bridget Thompson (South Africa), courtesy of B.Thompson. Garden party: Introducing the **Moya Afrika** Gallery

27 JUNE

Afro Festival

Workshop: Kemo Soundioulou Cissoko (Senegal) – visiting musician, master djembe, dundun and kora player.

28 JUNE

Afro Festival

Museum talks: Open Air Atelier: **My Days in Oshogbo, Nigeria**; participants: Ljiljana & Boris Pavlić, African Art connoisseurs and Narcisa Knežević-Šijan, MAA director.

29 JUNE

Afro Festival

Concert: **The Art of the Kora – Sounds of Senegal in Belgrade**: Kemo Cissoko & Friends (Igor Vincetić – Oromowa, Veljko Nikolić – Papa Nik, Dušan Janković – Amadou Lerue, Milan Štulić – Lima Star); African Musician Kemo Cissoko comes from the famous griot family from Senegal and has held a number of significant concerts, workshops and artist residencies across Europe, USA and Japan. In 2002 he formed his own group Doman Doman.

28 AUGUST

Conference: **Experiencing Diversity and Mutuality** – 10th EASA (European Association of Social Anthropologists) Conference in Ljubljana; paper presentation by MAA curators Emilia Epštajn and Marija Ličina: The Concept of Mutuality and Diversity in the Socialist and Post-Socialist Period: The Museum of African Art, Belgrade.

23 OCTOBER

Exhibition opening: **Impressions: Morocco** presented Morocco as the inspiration of art photographer by Marko Todorović. The photographs reveal the unusual complexity and dynamism of Moroccan art, its architecture and rich craftsmanship as part of the pervading cultural identity. The exhibition was complemented with a power point presentation based on the MAA research, titled Excerpts from the Curators Notebook by Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović, portraying three segments of traditional Moroccan art: zelij mosaics, ceramics and jewellery.

Exhibition by Narcisa Knežević-Šijan i Marko Todorović

6 NOVEMBER

Event: **Angola National Day**; the anniversary was celebrated with an exhibition of documentary photographs that portrayed the main historical events that made contemporary Angola.

7 DECEMBER

Touring exhibition: **Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies** at the City Museum, Subotica

17. DECEMBAR

Otvaranje izložbe: **Mwana hiti: više od lutke** predstavila je materijal iz privatne zbirke belgijskog kolezionara Gibera Ersona: stubolike inicijacijske figure, štapove statusno povlašćenih članova zajednice, teralice za muve, kutiju za čuvanje lekovito-magijskih supstanci, stolicu-presto, kašike za ceremonijalno pripremanje, služenje i konzumiranje hrane, kao i više od četrdeset ukrasa za kosu, češljeva i ukosnicu.

Autorka izložbe i kataloga: Emilia Epštajn

17 DECEMBER

Exhibition opening: **Mwana hiti: More than Just a Doll;** the catalogue and exhibition are based on the private collection of Guibert Hairson. Initiation trunk figures, staffs of high-ranking members of the community, a fly whisk, container for medicinal and magical substances, a memorial post and throne-stool, spoons for the ceremonial preparation and food consumption, as well as more than forty hairpins, combs and hair decorations are brought together by one image – the *mwana hiti*.
Exhibition and catalogue by Emilia Epštajn

2009

2. MART

Otvaranje izložbe: **Tragovi/Traces, Call & Response** u Francuskom kulturnom centru u Beogradu. Na izložbi su Muzej Afričke umetnosti i Muzej kej Branli iz Pariza istražili načine predstavljanja Afrike kroz etnološke muzičke predmete. Izložba je postavila u odnos muzejske predmete: muzičke instrumente, crno-bele filmmove o Africi iz sredine 20. veka i muzejske plakate (postavljene kao instalaciju).

Autorke izložbe: mr Ana Sladojević i Marija Ličina

Predavanje: **Koncept Muzeja Kej Branli**, Iv le Fir, direktor Odeljenja za nasleđe i zbirke u Muzeju Kej Branli u Parizu

2 MARCH

Exhibition opening: **Tragovi/Traces, Call&Response** at the French Cultural Centre in Belgrade. The Museum of African Art and the Musée du Quai Branly reviewed different ways of presenting African art based on important ethnographic pieces of musical instruments. The exhibition juxtaposed museum objects such as musical instruments, black and white films about Africa from the mid 20th century and museum posters (courtesy of the Musée du Quai Branly).
Concept and installation by Ana Sladojević and Marija Ličina, MAA curators
Lecture: **Concept of the Musée du Quai Branly** by Yves Le Fur, Director of the Department of Heritage and Collections at the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris.

10. MART

Romold Bliez Fonkua, direktor Publikacija *Présence africaine* i profesor francuskog jezika i komparativne književnosti **Mark Blok** univerziteta u Strasburu posetio MAU.

6. APRIL

Muzej u gostima: **Primarna umetnost: Slike na stenama, slike na telu** u Centru za kulturu Sopot.

12. MAJ

Muzej u gostima: **Primarna umetnost: Slike na stenama, slike na telu** u Narodnom muzeju u Zrenjaninu.

16. MAJ

Manifestacija: **Noć muzeja**; na programu: **Povratak Afrići** - afrički koreni rege muzike - koncert muzičke grupe *Irie Fm* i Igora Vincetića, perkusioniste. Uz koncert posetnici su razgledali tematsku izložbu *Mwana hiti* (figurativna umetnost Tanzanije), kao i stalnu postavku Muzeja.

JUN

Pokloni Muzeju: tokom 2009. MAU je putem poklona dobio vredne muzejske predmete: fetiš iz Konga (od Živojina Tomića, etnologa), 8 originalnih tabli sa berbernicom iz Kameruna (od Nj.E. Dženet Garvi, Ambasador SAD i Kamerunu) i 5 predmeta iz različitih delova Afrike (od dipl. eng. arh. Miodraga Dobričanina).

10 MARCH

Romuald Blaise Fonkua, Director of Publication of the *Présence africaine* and professor of French language and comparative literature at the Marc Bloch University in Strasbourg visited the MAA.

6 APRIL

Touring exhibition: **Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies** at the Centre for Culture in Sopot.

12 MAY

Touring exhibition: **Primal Art: Paintings on Rocks, Paintings on Bodies** at the National Museum in Zrenjanin.

16 MAY

Event: **The Night of Museums: Return to Africa – the African roots of reggae**; line-up: *Irie FM* (concert); exhibition: *Mwana Hiti: More than Just a Doll* (sculptural art of Tanzania) and the MAA permanent exhibition.

JUNE

Bequeathments: In 2009 the MAA acquired through gifts the following valuable museum artefacts: Congo Fetish (from Živojin Tomić ethnologist), 8 original barbershop signs from Cameroon (from H.E. Janet Garvey, Ambassador of the USA in Cameroon), 5 artefacts of African provenance (from Miodrag Dobričanin dipl. eng. arch.).

6. JUN

Konferencija: **Re-spacing Africa** -3 Evropska konferencija za afričke studije ECAS, AEGIS, Lajpcig; prezentacija kustosa MAU, Aleksandre Prodanović Bojović: *Izlaganje identiteta: slike Afrike u Muzeju afričke umetnosti*.

25. JUN**Afro festival**

Otvaranje izložbe: **A u B**; izložbu je otvorila dr Miroslava Lukic Krstanović (Etnografski institut SANU)

Publikacija: **A u B** autora mr Ane Sladojević i Nebojša Babića. Katalog *A u B* prvi je pokušaj Muzeja afričke umetnosti da aktualizuje pitanje afričke zajednice u Srbiji i identiteta ljudi koji su na neki način, poreklom, porodično ili preko jezika, povezani drugom sredinom (u ovom slučaju Afrikom).

26. JUN

Predavanje: **Na poziv rase od Sabe** dr Vesne Cakeljić, povodom objavljuvanja kapitalnog izdanja Leopolda Sedara Sengora (Paideia Beograd). Predstavljanje knjige: Vesna Cakeljić i uvodna reč, dr Petar Živadinović (Paideia).

Koncert: **Metamorfoze** – Pijanistkinja Branka Parlić unosi svoju interpretaciju muzike kompozitora Filipa Glasa u prostor Muzeja afričke umetnosti. U kontrastu i međusobnoj intervenciji koja nastaje između muzejskog konteksta i koncertne izvedbe, nastaje nov i jedinstven doživljaj, kako prostora tako i muzike.

Koncert: **Miša Savić i prijatelji** izvode eksperimentalne muzičke kompozicije Đ. Kejdža i drugih savremenih kompozitora.

2/3. JUL

Izložba na otvorenom: **Tkanine Afrike - veliki formati** u okviru pratećih programa Univerzijade koji se odvijao na više lokacija u gradu; Izloženo je 20 reprezentativnih tkanina iz zapadne Afrike sa asocijativnim životinjskim motivima, krokodila, zmije, kornjače. Tkanine su značajne po grafičkim elementima i simbolizmu - svaka boja, svaki znak, predstavljaju simbol koji je čitljiv i razumljiv lokalnoj afričkoj zajednici.

5-20. JUL

Simpozijum: **Umetnost i estetika**, u okviru Drugog panafričkog festivala kulture u gradu Alžiru. Direktorka MAU Narcisa Knežević Šijan održala je predavanje na temu Programska koncepcija Muzeja afričke umetnosti u Beogradu.

24. JUL

Predavanje: **Afro-američka umetnost i kultura**; predavanje gostujuće umetnice i profesora univerziteta u Vašingtonu, SAD, dr Barbare Hardavej, u kojem je predstavljen njen umetnički rad i ključne ideje koje čine fokus njenog umetničkog istraživanja. Dr Barbara Hardavej je održala predavanje o uticajima koji su doprineli oblikovanju korpusa afro-američke umetnosti. Dr Aleksandar Bošković sa Instituta društvenih nauka u Beogradu učestvovao je u programu i održao predavanje: **Konstrukcije identiteta u multietničkim sredinama**.

6 JUNE

Conference: **Re-spacing Africa** - The 3rd European Conference on African Studies, ECAS, AEGIS, Leipzig; paper presentation by MAA curator Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović: Exhibiting identity: *Images of Africa at the Museum of African Arts in Belgrade*.

25 JUNE**Afro Festival**

Exhibition opening: *A in B*; opening word by Miroslava Lukic Krstanović (Institute of Ethnography SASA).

Publication: *A in B* by Ana Sladojević and Nebojša Babić. The *A in B* art catalogue is the first attempt of the Museum of African Art that questions the current position of the African community in Belgrade and their identity which through birth, family, or language ties them to another place (in this case Africa).

26 JUNE

Lecture: **A l'appel de la Race de Saba** by Vesna Cakeljić (PhD) on the occasion of the publication of the collected works of Léopold Sédar Senghor (Paideia, Belgrade). Book presentation: Vesna Cakeljić and introductory word by Petar Živadinović, PhD (Paideid Publishing).

Concert: **Metamorphosis**; Branka Parlić brings her performance of Philip Glass to the Museum of African Art. The contrast and mutual intervention created between a museum context and concert performance bring life to a completely new and unique experience of space and music.

Concert: **Miša Savić & friends** perform experimental musical pieces by J. Cage and other contemporary composers.

2/3 JULY

Open air exhibition: **African Textiles** – Large Formats part of the Universiade programme that took place on different locations across Belgrade. The MAA with 20 representative textiles from West Africa displayed in a semi-open-air pavilion. The textiles are rich in graphic elements and symbolism – every colour, sign or associative animal motif (crocodile, snake, turtle) is part of a particular corpus of knowledge.

5-20 JULY

Symposium: **Art and Aesthetics at The Second Pan-African Festival of Culture, Algiers**. MAA director Narcisa Knežević Šijan held the lecture: The Program and Concept of the Museum of African Art in Belgrade.

24 JULY

Lecture: **African-American Art and Culture**; artist and university professor from Washington D.C., Barbara Hardaway, gave a lecture at the MAA, providing an opportunity for local audiences to get acquainted with her artistic work and the history of contemporary African-American art. Aleksandar Bošković (PhD) from the Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade was participant lecturer talking on the theme: The Construction of Identity in Multiethnic Environments. The lectures were convened by Aleksandra Prodanović Bojović (MAA, curator).

11-13. SEPTEMBAR

Manifestacija: **Afričko selo – Nedelja kulture Južne Afrike** predstavljanje umetničkih zanata naroda Zulu, Hosa, Ndebele, Svazi, Venda, Soto, prezentacija juznoafričkog turizma i privrede, postavka galerije Moya Afrika i izložba **Kulturno nasleđe Južne Afrike iz kolekcije Afričko selo, g. Žarka Tarića**. U programu je bila i Zulu grupa Amagawe koja je prikazala repertoar tradicionalne i moderne muzike i plesa Južne Afrike. U prisustvu velikog broja posetilaca, diplomata i zvaničnika Južne Afrike, manifestaciju je otvorio Nebojša Bradić, ministar kulture Srbije i NJ. E. Mandisa Dona Maraša, ambasador Južne Afrike.

30. OKTOBAR

Program: **Veče Gabona**, multimedijalna prezentacija istorije i kulturnog nasleđa. Program ostvaren u saradnji Konzulata Gabona u Srbiji i MAU.

20. NOVEMBAR

Program: **Novembar – mesec Brazila u Muzeju afričke umetnosti** u okviru programa *Dan afričke svesti, Dia da Consciencia Negra*, u saradnji sa Ambasadom Brazila u Beogradu.

Izložba: **Afro-brazilski rituali: kandomble i umbanda**; Antropolog Ivan Milicević Neto je u periodu 1997-2003 u više navrata fotografisao svetilišta na kojima se održavaju afro-brazilske svečanosti, *kandomble* i *umbanda*. Istraživanje ritualnog ponašanja rezultiralo je dokumentarnim fotografijama ove nesvakidašnje afro-brazilske prakse. *Kandomble* i *umbanda* posvećeni su *orišama*, višim božanstvima afričkih religija sudanskih Nago-Yoruba i Bantu naroda Angole i Konga, koji su sa prvim brodovima došli u Brazil i tamo kreirali ovaj specificki religijski sinkretizam.

Autor izložbe i kataloga: Ivan Milicević Neto, etnolog

Izložbu je otvorio Nj.E. Dante Koeljo de Lima, ambasador Brazila u Srbiji

Na programu: filmska projekcija: **Glasnik između dva sveta** u trajanju od 82 min., režija Pjer Fatumbi Verže; muzički program: *Trio Chocolate*

2. DECEMBAR

Muzej u gostima: U galeriji Lukijan Mušicki u Temerinu predstavljene su dve izložbe - **Body Art u Africi i Južno od Sahare** (umetničko-dokumentarne fotografije Marli Šamir).

Kustos izložbe: Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

22. DECEMBAR

Muzej u gostima: **Južno od Sahare** u Modernoj galeriji Centra za kulturu Lazarevac. Izložbom je predstavljen izbor maski i tkanina iz zbirki Muzeja afričke umetnosti i fotografije Marli Šamir (iz foto-dokumentacije MAU).

Kustosi izložbe: Emilia Epštajn i Marija Ličina.

30. DECEMBAR

Otvaranje izložbe: **Frizerske i berberske i table Afrike**; Izložba prikazuje originalne reklamne table iz Kameruna, Senegala i Centralnoafričke Republike, kao i fotografije berbeskih i frizerskih tabli iz Toga, Benina, Gane i Obale Slonovače nastalih u rasponu od

11-13. SEPTEMBAR

Event: **Africa Village – Week of South African Culture**; presentation of the arts and crafts of the Zulu, Xosa, Ndbele, Swazi, Venda and Soto peoples, also South African tourism and economy, also the *Moya Afrika* gallery display and exhibition: **Cultural Heritage of South Africa from the Žarko Tarić Africa Village Collection**. The program was complemented with the Zulu troop Amagawe performance of traditional and modern music and dance from South Africa. The event was officially opened by Nebojša Bradić, the Minister of Culture of Serbia and H.E. Mandisa Donna Marasha, Ambassador from South Africa.

30. OKTOBAR

Event: **Night of Gabon** – multimedia presentation of historic and cultural heritage. Program organised by the Consulate of Gabon in Serbia and the MAA.

20. NOVEMBAR

Event: **November - Month of Brasil at the Museum of African Art as part of the African Consciousness Day** (Dia da Consciencia Negra) and in collaboration with the Brazilian Embassy in Serbia.

Exhibition: **Afrobrasilian Rituals: Candomble and Umbanda**; During the period 1997-2003, anthropologist Ivan Milicević Neto conducted research in Brasilia and Goiana, studying Afro-Brazilian ceremonies candomble and umbanda. His observations of ritual behavior and trances resulted in a series of photographs – valuable documentary material conveying this particular form of religious practice. The candomble and umbanda rituals and beliefs are dedicated to the orisha's, higher deities of the Nago-Yoruba and Bantu peoples of Angola and Congo, who reached Brazil in the first transatlantic ships, creating as a result a specific religious syncretism. Exhibition and catalogue by Ivan Milicević Neto
Opening word by H. E. Mr. Dante Coelho de Lima, Ambassador of Brazil in Serbia.
Line-up: film screening (courtesy of the Brazilian Embassy) **Between Two Worlds**, (82 min.), dir. Pierre Fatumbi Verger; music program: *Trio Chocolate*

2. DECEMBAR

Exhibitions opening: Two exhibitions were presented at the Gallery Lukijan Mušicki in Temerin – **Body Art in Africa and South of the Sahara (Marli Shamir art and documentary photographs)**. Curated by Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

22. DECEMBAR

Exhibition opening: **South of the Sahara** at the Modern Gallery of the Centre for Culture in Lazarevac. The display presented a selection of masks and textiles from the Museum of African Art collections and photographs by Marli Shamir (from MAA photo documentation). Curated by Emilia Epštajn and Marija Ličina.

30. DECEMBAR

Exhibition opening: **Hairdresser and Barbershop Signs of Africa**; The exhibition presents original boards from Cameroon, Senegal and the Central African Republic, and photographs documenting barbershop and hairdresser signs in Togo, Benin, Ghana and Ivory

1970ih godina do danas; primer su promena koje karakterišu modernu Afriku i njenu popularnu umetničku scenu.

Izložba i katalog ostvareni su uz pomoć Ambasade SAD u Kamerunu i Nj.E. Dženet Garvi, Beke Vučo (prijatelja Muzeja), Džozefa Dendža (umetnika i fotografa iz Kameruna), Igora Vincetića (prijatelja Muzeja), Gibera Ersona (kolekcionara), Dejvida Spetke (Galerija Nigerbend) i Entoni Fišera (Galerija Indigo Arts).

Izložba i katalog: Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

Coast, dating from the 1970-ies to the present day.

The exhibition and catalogue were realised with the help of the Embassy of USA in Cameroon and H.E. Ms Janet Garvey, Beka Vučo (friend of the Museum), Joseph Danije (artist and photographer from Cameroon), Igor Vincetić (friend of the Museum), Guibert Hairson (private collector), David Spetka (Nigerbend Gallery) and Anthony Fisher (Indigo Arts Gallery).

Exhibition and catalogue by Nataša Njegovanović Ristić

Stalna postavka Muzeja, 1977. godina.

Autor postavke: Jelena Aranđelović Lazić, etnolog
Dizajn postavke: arh. Saveta i arh. Slobodan Mašić
Foto-arhiv MAU

Museum's Permanent Display, 1977

Display concept by Jelena Aranđelović Lazić, ethnologist
Display design by architects Saveta and Sloboda Mašić
MAA photo archive.

