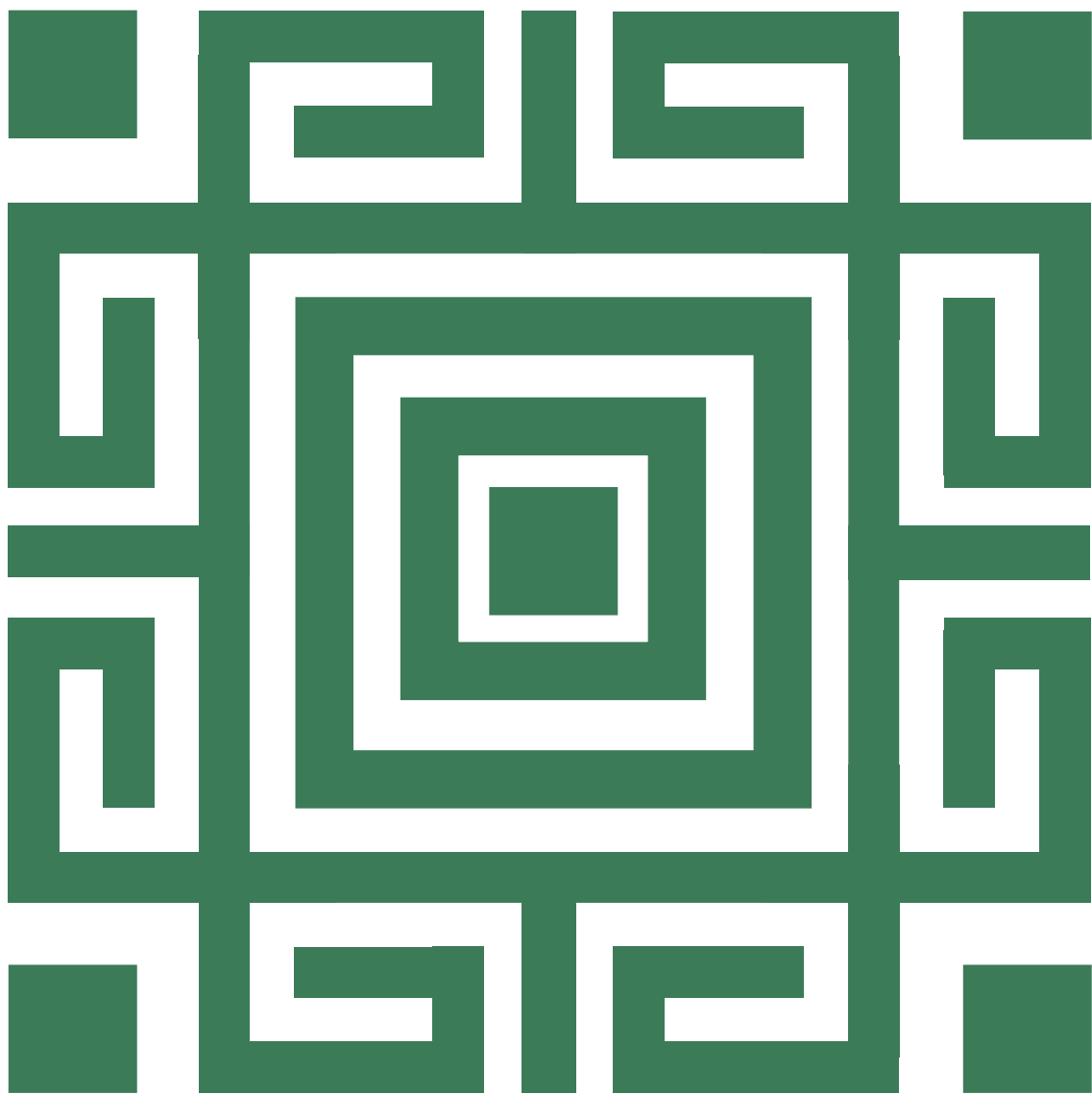


METROON

Dragana Radojičić, Ivana Bašić

Maps and Memories



Dragana Radojčić and Ivana Bašić
MAPS AND MEMORIES

Драгана Радојичић и Ивана Башић

МАПЕ И СЕЋАЊА

THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOGRAPHY SASA

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Volume 4

Dragana Radojčić and Ivana Bašić

MAPS AND MEMORIES



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ИНСТИТУТ САНУ



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МОНОГРАФСКА ИЗДАЊА
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*To Nevenka Spasojević – Nena,
without whose quiet dedication to work at the SASA
Institute of Ethnography we would be somewhat at a loss.*

CONTENTS

- I Authors' Foreword / 13
- II Travel Metaphors / 21
- III The SASA Institute of Ethnography
– an Administrative Journey Into the Past / 35
- IV A Man who is Curiously Compassionate / 63
- V From Anthropogeography to Anthropology:
Paths and Branches of Serbian ethnology / 75
- VI Covering “white” areas / 99
- VII “Not all those who wander are lost” (Invitation to the Voyage) / 125
- Summary: the end of the journey. Departure / 139
- Bibliography / 153
- Selected maps / 161

САДРЖАЈ

- I Реч аутора / 13
- II Метафоре путовања / 21
- III Етнографски институт САНУ
 - једно административно путовање у прошлост / 35
- IV Човек који радознало (са)осећа / 63
- V Од антропогеографије до антропологије
 - стазе и рачвања српске етнологије / 75
- VI Покривање „белих” површина / 99
- VII „Није свако ко лута изгубљен” (Позив на путовање) / 125
- Резиме: крај путовања. Полазак / 139
- Библиографија / 153
- Одабране карте / 161

I

AUTHORS' FOREWARD

In this monograph the reader encounters actors, spaces, times and events that are directly connected to the geographic maps that ethnologists used during the ethnological research and that are now part of the archives of the SASA Institute of Ethnography. All these are sketched with basic and main strokes. Even though there is no classical dramatic unity of time, place and action, the space, time and actors of past and present events are connected in a special relationship of complementarity and confrontation, with the thread that connects being geographic maps and ethnological field research.

The first scene in this drama of travels and memories of them, preserved in the archives in the form of geographic maps, which is intended not just for reading, but also for watching the marks of numerous departures and field stays, brings a reminder of the essence of ethnology and anthropology, which is the travel into the unknown and the meeting of others. It is dedicated to the travel metaphors that present the main outline of key concepts – life, death, good and evil, love and knowledge of numerous world cultures, defining man as a being that travels. It is then moved on to the journey into the past of a scientific institution that deals with people and their cultures, their

movement through travelling – i.e. the SASA Institute of Ethnography. The next chapter emphasizes the importance of ethnological travels and numerous field experiences, bringing two testimonies on field research, both of which are very personal this time, unlike the previous administrative testimony. They show that, although time passes and technology keeps developing, the essence of ethnology and field research does not change significantly.

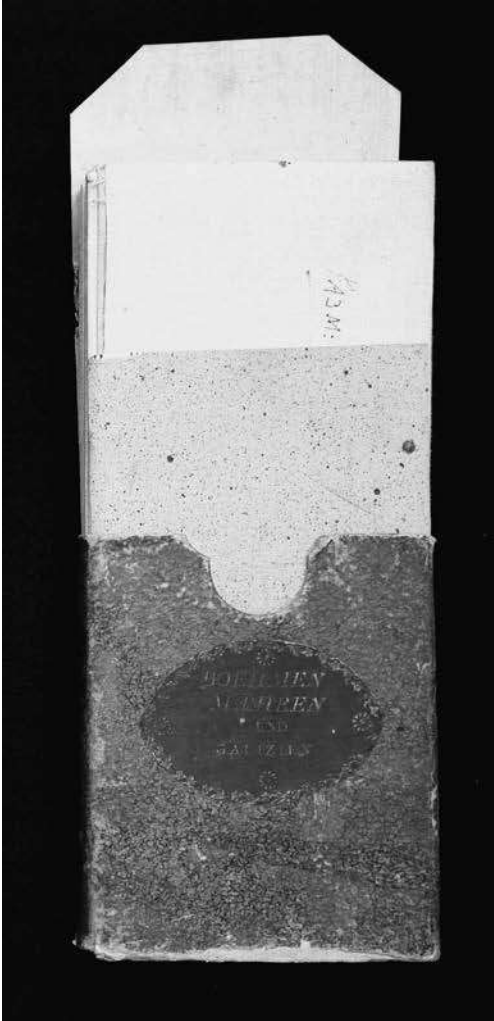
We are then back to the days of the founding of the SAS Institute of Ethnography. Coincidentally, the beginnings of ethnology and anthropology in our country are inextricably linked to maps and geography, since they started developing within the anthropogeographic schools of Jovan Cvijić. Apart from the founders of the SASA Institute of Ethnography, the main actors were Cvijić's first associates, with their tasks and maps of their journeys, which would pave the way for the modern ethnological and anthropological research of the current members of the Institute.

Cartographic material, forgotten in the old cabinet, became a kind of symbol of the founding of the Institute of Ethnography, with the paths of the first associates, the routes of their first field trips and their research tasks, recorded on these dusty, decades-forgotten geographic maps. Describing the current state, we provide insight to future researchers into the beginnings of ethnology in Serbia, while at the same time we express gratitude and all due respect to the previous generations researchers employed at our Institute. The scanned geographic and ethnological maps that will find their place in this book were their guides on their field trips throughout Serbia. Reminders of past scientific research can be a specific road sign for new generations: remembering what has been done so far and the way it has been done can open new research paths and roads. In the twist of some long-passed road there may be riddles worth answering and questions worth asking again.

Nostalgic spirits always believe the past was better. Futuristic spirits believe the future will be more important and more advanced. Ethnologists and anthropologists, considering the fact that they live equally in the past and the present worlds, predicting the future, know that cultures are continuums and that all the events and changes started at some point and somewhere and that the passed time is actually the road branching in different directions of the future. We, therefore, invite the reader to, in the jubilee year of the SASA Institute of Ethnography, go down the former paths again, which were drawn by hand on a plain piece of paper or on printed geographic maps as points of movement, stays and meetings. Some of these meetings happened, but sometimes they were planned and prepared for, but, for some reason, did not happen. We return to the times without Google and other search engines, without digital maps, satellites and GPS navigation, but also to the times of freedom of movement and frequent field research, times that we are slowly starting to forget now in what is already the third year of the pandemic, slowly forgetting the poetics of the encounters of the former field research.

It is the field research that enables a deeper understanding of what we call intangible cultural heritage. Theoretically, we have been dealing with the issues of heritage authenticity, heritage permanence, and heritage dynamics, but also the commercialisation of heritage. All these issues create diverse, often ambivalent, concepts and programmes for the implementation of intangible cultural heritage. This includes a large number of agents: the heritage producers and its users, and the institutions that recognize it and protect it, with long-term goals, presenting it as an important accomplishment. However, the concepts and policies of non-material cultural heritage are always marked by the duality and ambivalence of the storage process with the aim of protection, conservation and representation of the heritage, captured and recorded in one moment,





*Three maps in covers:
Austria and Styria, The
Kingdom of Hungary,
Moravia and Galicia (an
early form of GPS).*

and the practice, which, as it still continues, presents a living tradition and is, accordingly, subject to a range of transformations. Heritage and tradition at the same time are shown as a result of past events, but also as a legacy of modern processes, without which their identification and protection, their character of the exclusive and representative good of different cultures would not be possible. At the same time, they still exist as the everyday current practices of human communities. The elements of intangible cultural heritage, when used for census and protection purposes, cannot respond to the rule of heritage immutability. It is constantly changing, since it is alive and dynamic. Therefore, all the time, when it comes to cultural heritage, there is a constant trend towards removing stereotypes, diversification, and a decentralisation of the intangible cultural heritage, which makes its registration and systematisation much harder. Field research is focused on recording the past forms of the non-material heritage and the current communities and their practices that, introducing new elements, add layers to the heritage from the past, and not just within state and national borders, but to all the spaces that are marked on the maps of cultural diversity¹. These scattered maps of living traditions enable humanisation and mutual connections, based on empathy, which itself is based on recognizing similarities in differences. They ensure the humanity of mankind. Therefore, they should be researched with awareness that there are no fully drawn ethnological maps or completely researched fields, but only a chain of endless field trips and researchers who often return to the places they have already been and among people whose customs, beliefs and practices they have already recorded. The aim of this monograph is, among other things, to remind that

¹ For more information see Ivanović Barišić 2012, 7–15.; Gavrilović 2012, 15–26; Žikić 2012, 27–44.

AUTHORS' FOREWARD

cultural tradition is a living phenomenon, since something that is dead cannot be passed on.

The creation and publication of this book was made possible by numerous people, associates and friends of the SASA Institute of Ethnography. We owe special gratitude to the Archives of Vojvodina and especially to its director Nebojša Kuzmanović, PhD, and his associates, as well as to the great team who scanned and protected the old maps and, thus, ensured their presentation to the public. The SASA Institute of Ethnography's editors of monographs and its publication Metroon, have helped publish this book. We also owe special gratitude to the translator and the proof-reader. Finally, we owe gratitude to all the current researchers of the SASA Institute of Ethnography, who keep the curious spirit of this house alive and are always ready to embark on a new journey with the aim of returning with precious gifts of knowledge.



TRAVEL METAPHORS

People are travellers. When we talk about life, we will often hear the syntagma *life's journey*. In the Serbian linguistic image of world travel metaphors are used to talk about life. We are first *at the beginning of life's journey*, then *we go through life, reaching its end*. The metaphor of life as a journey is not only a characteristic of the Serbian linguistic image of the world, it is almost universal. In addition to life, death is also conceived as a journey. The idea of death as a passage to the afterlife, as crossing the river *Lethe*, the river of the underworld and the river of forgetfulness, by sailing in a ferry that carried the deceased from the banks of the river Acheron to the entrance of Hades via the rivers Styx and Cocytus is wide-spread. The ferry is steered by Charon (Χάρων), whose name means "strong light", although he is a son of Erebus and Nyx (son of Darkness and Night). The story appears in various forms and in different cultures, including ours. Two coins are placed over the eyes of the deceased so that they could pay the ferryman for that last journey from the earthly life to the new, afterlife. Death is also expressed by the metaphor of flying, that is, by the metaphor of the soul's journey to the kingdom of Heaven.

The notions of death are supported by the belief in the metamorphosis of the body and rebirth from the mother elements,

earth and water, and are influenced by the agrarian cults, where the metaphor of the body as a seed and the idea of the fertilizing power of death are present, while the view of death as the soul's journey to the kingdom of Heaven has developed from the idea of the soul-double, which, parting from the body, travels to a new, spiritual life.

Mankind, therefore, understood the laws of its life as the law of transformation that exists in nature. This transformation has always been connected with a journey to different spaces –earth and water, as maternal elements where the transition to a new birth takes place, or as an ascending journey – the flight of the soul to the etheric spaces of immortality. Crossing the river, going down, going up – all metaphors of travel.

The pan-cosmic understanding of life implies that a man disappears in the all-encompassing womb of life – *the matrix*. Crossing to another world confirms a man's individuality (salvation) or universality (nirvana). Behind the concept of rebirth lies the desire for immortality, which couldn't be satisfied just by the consolation of the endless chain of births of beings, which the agrarian cults of fertility and the concept of *maternal death* offer. From the idea of personal immortality – both spiritual and physical, the idea of death as a journey into a new individual life developed, where the desire for the immortality of the body was not negligible.

Even though many religious systems speak of eternal life in terms of spiritual life, we would have to agree with Eliade that (with the exception of Orphism, Platonism and Gnosticism):

“Middle-eastern and European anthropologies imagine an ideal man not as a unique spiritual being but as a materialized spirit.[...] Moreover, one can point out in certain millenarian movements the eschatological hope of the resurrection of the

body, a hope shared by Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam" (Eliade 1983, 64–65).

The feeling of life, expressed through a metaphor of *life's journey* as a *journey towards death*, has tried to solve this both general and intimate drama, coming up with different solutions, from the idea of rebirth to the idea that life is just a dream, after which we wake up in real life. This idea of life as a dream, followed by the awakening to the light of the absolute, otherworldly presence, contains a metaphor of a journey – it is the journey of the soul from intoxication and sleep, from the world of shadows, from the captivity of Plato's cave, to the state of true awakening, full awareness and knowledge of the absolute Truth. Hence, it can be concluded that death in archaic awareness is always some kind of new life, which implies a process of movement, but it is not just an idea, it is a complex picture. Death as a separate concept does not really exist – it is always spoken of through metaphors, and the dominant metaphor is one of passing or travelling (going to the abode of ancestors, to a distant land, to the heavenly, eternal life). Even the metaphor of rebirth is connected to the idea of a linear path – from the afterlife to a new, eternal life, or with the idea of a cyclical journey, the constant circulation of beings, departures and returns of the souls from the afterlife to the earthly life and vice versa (the idea of reincarnation).

S.M. Tolstoy points out that the word *smrt*, as shown by Ivanov and Toporov, from the point of view of an Indo-European retrospective, is actually not devoid of inner form and that its original meaning of "disappear" is attested in the ancient Hittite texts, and that its corresponding semantic development of "disappear" – "die" is, in fact, an ancient euphemism. This is the starting point of a whole series of metaphors of death as a journey in the Slavic world (Толстая 2008,

441–454); which becomes clearer when compared with pie.**dheu-* (3) “pass” > *die* – “die”, as well as Church Slavic *daviti*, Russian *davit*, Serbo-Croatian *daviti* “choke, drown”. < ie. **dhei-*, *dhōu-*, all of which are Pan-Slavic causative that has no parallels in Baltic languages, and is related to German *tot* “dead”. This metaphor of death, but also the metaphor of life as a journey towards final self-knowledge, also appears in Branko Miljković’s verses:

“The word death! Thank her for not stopping me/To travel into myself as into the unknown, /Where if I don’t find myself and the meaning that saves/I will find my double and his gold” (Branko Miljković’ The awareness of a Song)).

The concept of death as disappearance (cf. Buck 1965) seems to be related to the disappearance of the sun into the darkness or immersing in water. Hence, probably, the widespread representation of death as crossing the river in a boat, or the image of the “last ride”, as described by Andrić in *Conversation with Goya*:

“Once, while playing, I drew a water surface in the evening glow and on it a boat which left its wavy wake in the water. [...] Without hesitation the man named it. “The Last ride” although nothing gave it away” (Andrić).

S.M. Tolstoy distinguishes between the “anthropological” and “cosmological” circle of images. The anthropological circle is related to the themes of the substance of the soul, the place where the soul resides in the body, the origin of newborn souls and the separation of the soul from the body at the time of death or a temporary separation of the soul, e.g. in a dream. The cosmological circle opens a large number of topics, including the soul’s posthumous journey, its

time on earth until it takes its designated place in heaven or hell, the soul's ways of existing in another world, its periodical visits to earth and home, and its hypostasis and demonological traits. The ritual of *zadušnica*, the Serbian All Souls Day, has been preserved to this day, which includes lighting candles, rarely fires, so as to illuminate the way to the underworld for the dead. From the idea of the Sun as a god to Christianity, man's life path was illuminated by faith in the divine, eternal light.

Representations of the journey from life to death, and vice versa, are associated with the images of light in darkness. Light is the guide, the light that illuminates the path through darkness until the final, enlightened destination. Although the Sun usually appears as a life-giving, active symbol it can also be a psycho-pomp. In that role, it also appears in the story *Summer in the South* by Ivo Andrić:

"That splendour, it is a wonderful, steep and swinging bridge on which a person climbs without weight and without borders. [...] because now some rays of light, like escalators, carry a man themselves, the further away the easier, towards some huge crimson doorstep somewhere above; and behind it glimpses of new threads of rays and light stairs are already visible, which make a man's walk into an ever faster flight noiseless" (Andrić 1964: 255–256).

The sunny flight upwards in this story, just like in the mythical symbolism, is at the same time a plunge "downwards" and it ends with disappearance.

Man's attitude towards life is marked by both myth and magic – these are the first comprehensive human understandings of one's own existence. For Morin (Morin 2005, 139), these understandings

of life and death express the dialectical request of individuality – to be saved from ruin, but at the same time fit more firmly into the world; to oppose the world, but at the same time to participate in it.

Belief in rebirth is indicated as a general concept inherent in archaic, oneiric, children's, poetic and even philosophical consciousness, and this idea is recognizable in the Serbian linguistic image of the world. Rebirth, reincarnation and metempsychosis imply, together with cosmic participations, the preservation of the individuality that dies and is reborn by going through natural transformations. Within the idea that all that is must be complete, there should exist *coincidentia oppositorum* at all levels and in all contexts, and mythical concepts of life should be observed.

In all these concepts, metaphors of travel emerge. This archaic idea can be recognized even in scientific theories. Namely, Freud's theory of the instinct of life and death is based on the assumption of a tendency to return to the original state, which is, in this case, manifested as an instinct of living beings to return to the inorganic state. It turns out that Freud's theory of the instinct of death is a repetition of the mythical concept of life as a journey towards death, dressed up as science:

"It would be counter to the conservative nature of instinct if the goal of life were a state never hitherto reached. It must rather be an ancient starting point, which the living being left long ago, and to which it harks back again by all the circuitous paths of development. If we may assume as an experience admitting of no exception that everything living dies from causes within itself, and returns to the inorganic, we can only say 'The goal of all life is death', and, casting back, 'The inanimate was there before the animate'" (Freud 1994,39).

Although expressed differently, this Freudian attitude conveys nothing new but the well-known idea of “*Dust you are, and to dust you shall return*”, which contains the idea of returning to the original matter, to the place of origin, after the journey of life.

Human life, therefore, is persistently expressed through metaphors of travel, which can be illustrated by common phrases, *life's path, life's course, go through life, (important) life step, step into life, deviate from life's path. Life is the sea*, and a man is a sailor, an eternal seafarer and a wanderer, who occasionally or permanently settles down in some safe *life harbour*, after numerous *life storms* or a *stormy life* (see Bašić 2016).

Love too, as an integral part of the instinct of life, is expressed through metaphors of travel. Love could be defined as an attractive force (*desire*) that nudges us in the direction of the desired object, the aim of which is the creation of a whole. Hence, the concept of *Love is a physical and/or mental force*, which emphasises the movement of the subjects towards the desired object, and where the metaphor *Love is a journey* comes from.

This concept is expressed in the verses of Miloš Crnjanski: “Love is an endless journey / where everything is allowed” (Crnjanski, *Traveler*). The definition of love by longing or desire that stems from some “lack” is present in Diotima’s definition of Eros from Plato’s *Symposium* – he is the son of need (*Penia*) and *Poros*, whose name originally means “path”, “especially the path and the way that leads to abundance and power” (see Notes and Explanations of Miloš Đurić in Plat. *Symp.*). Love, therefore, is determined by *need, want or desire*, that is, by “travelling” to the object. This love journey, wandering *through the waters of love*, occasionally ends (or only begins then) *by entering the marriage port* (see Bašić 2021).

The metaphor of movement, the way up and the way down, the right and the wrong way, is at the core of our ethical notions of good

and evil. The analysis of the original lexical iconicity of the lexemes *good* and *evil* shows that they are determined by the symbolism of the sun and solar movement, that is, that our later ethical notions were originally formed within the cult of the sun. Their iconicity can be defined as a representation of the “good sun” (as a manifestation of the good side of the deity, the fertilizing sun, that gives life, prosperity, comfort and it is represented by the image of the newborn sun, rising sun or sun during the winter solstice), and as a representation of the “evil sun”, which can burn and kill, and therefore represents the negative aspect of the sun – the aspect of greed and failure, followed by a journey downwards, or a fall, “caused by arrogance or madness of power” (Chevalier/Gheefrbrant 1983). The semantic component of movement, the meaning of “idem” (go/am going) is noted in the Baltic parallels *gariu*, *garėti* (cf. *u grem* “idem”) and can stem from the fact that the sun is considered an active principle and the movement of beings is analogous to the sun’s journey.

Art depicts the sun’s rays as alternately flat and curved, they symbolically represent light and heat, where the flat rays symbolise the light which has the symbolism of the life giver and wealth giver. On the other hand, the curved sun rays symbolise heat, and the excessively curved rays symbolise the heat that causes destruction. Hence, the motivation for naming evil as something “curved”. Apart from that, the idea of evil as a “crooked, steep, rough” solar path can be understood in another way, as a path of the sun that sets, goes down and disappears because it has become too large and transformed into the evil, destructive sun. This double symbolism of the evil sun is connected through the holiday of the summer solstice, when the sun, although at its strongest, indicates a period of darkness and decline (for more details see Bašić 2019).

The metaphor of movement, travel, is, therefore, connected to the key concepts of human existence – life, death, love, good, and evil.

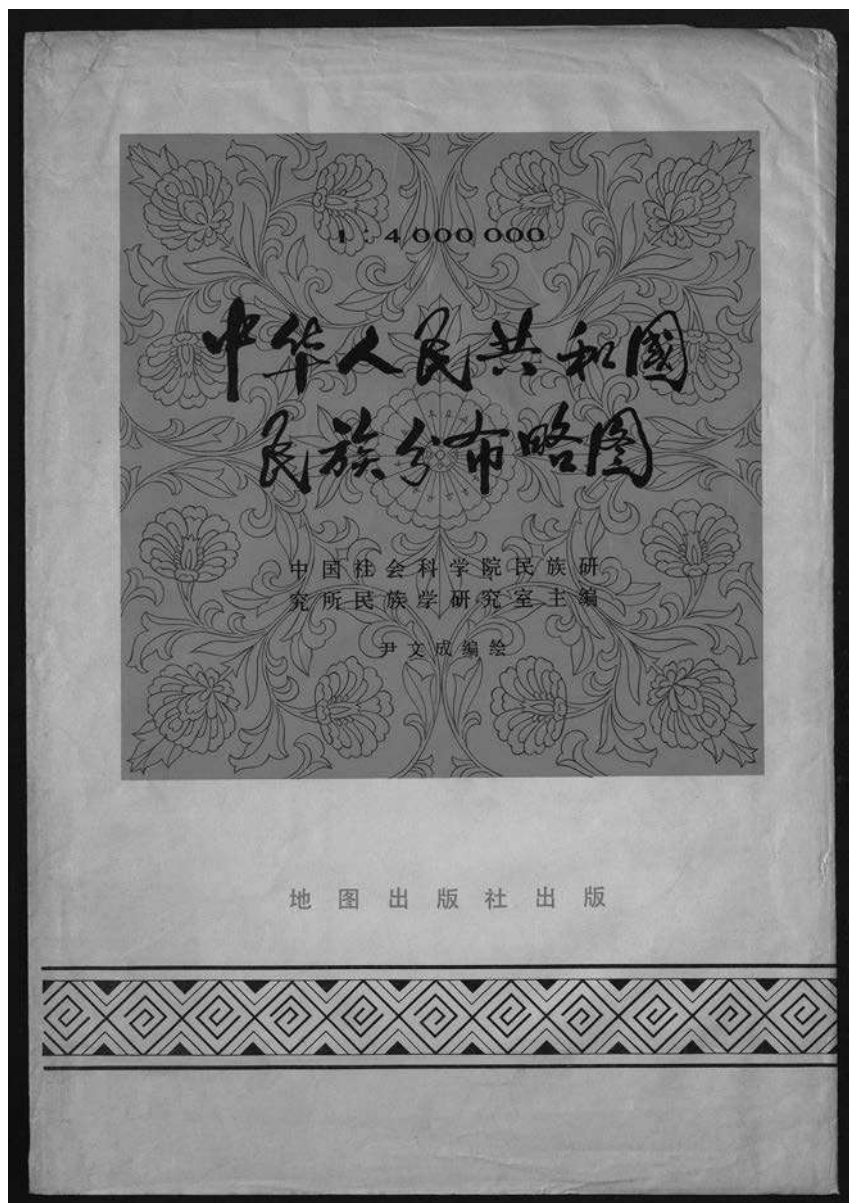
It is connected to the realisation of the world, and of oneself. Understanding is often spoken of as a path travelled – *the paths of knowledge, the rise of human thought, stepping out of the darkness of ignorance into the light of knowledge...*

People, therefore, learn about the world by travelling, and their *life paths* become an integral part of their identity: *they have travelled the world* is a phrase used to praise someone who has travelled a lot and experienced and learned many things. Seeing life as a journey also influenced scientific terminology.

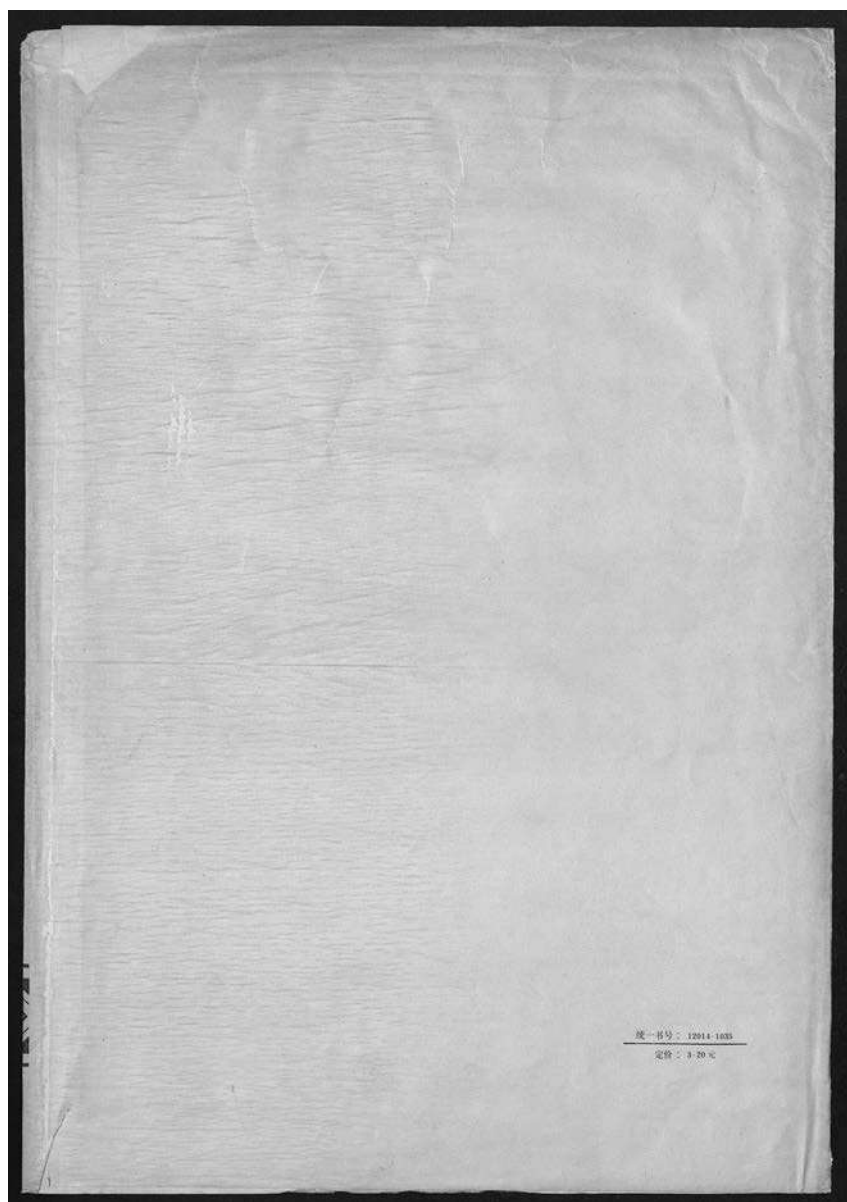
In contemporary ethnology and anthropology, we can increasingly hear the term *memory mapping*. Our interpretation of the world, our memories, our emotions are also perceived in cognitive theories as *mental maps*, as visual diagrams with the help of which we select the most important information and logically connect and memorise it. Mental maps transform abstract and uninteresting information into a form that enables easier processing and memorising, visually and spatially connecting the key ideas.

People experience the world by moving. They go to the distant, unknown places, meet different cultures, meet the Others, in order to understand them better. By moving, the unknown and the foreign become close and feel like ours and meeting others is always a way of self-discovery. Travelling is the cradle of ethnology and anthropology, distant exotic worlds and cultures became ours, thanks to our need for movement. The scientist is an eternal traveller.

Experience has always required mapping practices. The directions of our travels and relationships with the people and objects we encounter on the way are not predetermined. There is not only a movement from the starting point towards the destination, as one might think when looking at a geographic map, but there are true maps that are created in the moment, during the process of the research journey, creating “new roads and paths”, new winding traces



A dream of exotic travels: The cover of a map of Asia from the SASA Institute of Ethnography's Archives.



of movement, points of residence and points of stay. Every ethnological map is, in fact, a thread of intertwined lines, of arrivals and departures, multiple returns to the same place, recording traces of the presence and absence, life with people who, from subjects, become friends, from Others become close ones. Maps that are drawn or used before going to the field become the maps of our lives, filled with memories and emotions, and discovery. Several dots or notes written on the geographic maps that served as guidelines during the field research, become meeting hubs of life, hubs of connecting to places and people, hubs of new knowledge and traces of their creation, which intertwine with previous traces and create memories and emotional threads of numerous experiences, gatherings and meetings.

Mapping ethnographic research transforms from the means of preparing for the trip into an experience of movement and stay, into a way of discovering new spaces and faces, ancient customs that are new to us, different cultures, views of the world and different ways of life. Every journey is a discovery.



THE SASA INSTITUTE OF ETHNOGRAPHY – AN ADMINISTRATIVE JOURNEY INTO THE PAST

A wide range of social changes inevitably reflects on the work of scientific institutions. Scientific paradigms, methods, dominant attitudes, and current topics keep changing. However, when it comes to ethnology and anthropology, what remains constant is – field research.

In 2001, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of Serbia requested from a variety of scientific institutions monographs on their work concluding in up until 2000 and their status. The monograph on the work of the Institute of Ethnology, initiated by the then director, Nikola Pantelić, PhD, and written by Dragana Radojičić, PhD, and Marija Đokić, together with geographic maps and other archival material of the Institute, became part of the archives. Since 2000, the SASA Institute of Ethnography has made significant progress in its work: the total number of associates has increased, a large number of its associates received the highest titles, numerous significant pieces of research have been conducted, we have visited many fields, and we have published extensively, both monographs and serial publications. The SASA Institute of Ethnography has become a modern, scientific research institution.

It started like this.

75 years ago, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts made a decision to establish the SASA Institute of Ethnography. The key assignment that SASA presented before the Institute was to “organise systematic and planned research of settlements and the origins of our people, their lives, customs and beliefs, as well as the folklore in our country”. The first associates of the SASA Institute of Ethnography faced the serious task of researching “the overall material, social and spiritual culture, ethnic processes and ethnic identity from an ethnological point of view”. The totality of the material, social and spiritual culture and different identities and identity processes are an endless and inexhaustible topic, together with everything that aims to encompass the concept of the wider meaning of culture. Since the beginning of its work, the SASA Institute of Ethnography has adhered to an extensive and serious work goal, constantly including new topics, but also implementing innovative solutions, especially in the areas of new theoretical foundations and the application of new methodologies.

Regarding the work of the SASA Institute of Ethnography in the previously mentioned monograph, we can read the following:

“As an independent institution, established by the Serbian Academy of Sciences, the SASA Institute of Ethnography took on the role of the central scientific institution in Serbia for fundamental research in the field of ethnology. This has been constantly confirmed in the past decades, regardless of the difficulties and issues the Institute has faced in its work and development.

For the constitution and organisation of the scientific work of the SASA Institute of Ethnography, the scope and significance of previous ethnographic and ethnological results were vitally important and binding. On the foundations set by Dositej Obradović and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and later

continued by the Society of Serbian Letters, then the Serbian Learned Society, and, finally, the Serbian Academy of Sciences, from its establishment in 1886, the Law on Serbian Academy of Sciences, article 5, states that it works on ‘ethnographic research... of Serbs and Serbian neighbours’.

On the initiative of Stojan Novaković, as early as in 1894, *The Serbian Ethnographic Journal*, which is one of the most significant scientific periodicals, still in publication even today, and known and recognised both in our country and abroad, was established. *The Serbian Ethnographic Journal* has four sections: *Settlements and origin of the inhabitants*; *Folk life and customs*; *Folk tales* and *Discussions and archives*. One hundred volumes cover the main scientific questions and studies of folk life and culture. Many regions and settlements, origins of population, and traditional trades, along with some aspects of housing and folk architecture and a selection of topics from the field of material culture were anthropogeographically researched.

A large number of books, monographic studies and synthesis from the area of folk life and customs and folk art were published and, finally, a number of studies and discussions dealt with specific individual themes. Thus, *the Serbian Ethnographic Journal* presents today an enormous corpus of original materials, syntheses and discussions regarding the ethnology of Serbian people, and as well direct or comparative materials and studies on neighbouring peoples and national minorities. The greatest accomplishments and acknowledgements in this work, in the period before the Second World War, belong to J. Cvijić, T.R. Đorđević and J. Erdeljanović, and their associates and successors V. Radovanović and B. Drobnjaković. On the foundations laid by the president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences at the time, Aleksandar Belić, and based on the study of the corresponding member of the SAS Vojislav Radovanović, in

1947, the decision to establish the SAS Institute of Ethnography was made. The first few years of the Institute's work focused "on the constitution, gathering of the associates and employee training for the scientific-research tasks". (Source: SASA EI Monograph).

The main task of the SAS Ethnographic Board was to examine whole areas and settlements in Serbia and some neighbouring regions and some complex ethnographic issues in order to thoroughly research the development of settlements, and the culture and ethno-genesis of the Serbian people and national minorities. The first decade of the work of the Institute of Ethnography was marked by continuing this tradition, established through *The Serbian Ethnographic Journal*. The founder and first director of the Institute, Vojislav Radovanović (1947–1957), with his associates, among which were the academician Aleksandar Belić, corresponding member Borivoje Drobnyaković, academician Dušan Nedeljković, academician Aleksandar Deroko, Professor Petar S. Jovanović, PhD, Professor Milenko S. Filipović, PhD, research associate Petar Ž. Petrović, academician Bransilav Kojić, and others, well-known researchers of the time, mostly ethnologists, anthropogeographers, folklorists, linguists and architects, continued the research in this direction.

Since the time it was founded, the Institute of Ethnography has always paid special attention to the development of younger researchers, although it has not always been easy to find them. Even during the first year of work, the Institute had four scholarship students, two at the Department of Ethnology and two at the Department of Geography at the Faculty of Philosophy, in Belgrade.

In addition to organising and developing scientific research work and developing new research associates, publishing activities were also being initiated. Two *Questionnaires for research* were published in 1949, as Occasional Editions. Publishing within the Special Editions of the Institute of Ethnography, where monographs are usu-

ally published, started in 1950. A *Collection of Works of the Institute of Ethnography* was published the same year. The first book of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography*, which consisted of a number of articles, discussions, studies and other works, of almost 700 pages, was published in 1952.

The formation of the scientific library of the SASA Institute of Ethnography started at the same time as when the Institute was formed. The library had over 3,600 books and journals in 1950. Since 1949, professional and scientific lectures have been held at the Institute of Ethnography, associate visits to scientific meetings, both at home and abroad, have been organised, and guest appearances and scientist exchanges with well-known scientific research institutions from many countries and the exchange of many publications with different institutions have taken place.

Borivoje Drobňaković (1957–1961), a corresponding member of SASA, became the head of the Institute, and he continued to successfully develop scientific research and publishing activities. Since 1958 the research scope, tasks and work programmes have been expanded. The work has, since that year, been directed at the following:

“Ethnological, anthropogeographical and socio-economic research of folk life, folk art in the past and present, and especially research of the influence of the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation that changed the habits of our people” (Source: SASA EI Monograph).

The SASA Institute of Ethnography experienced some setbacks in the past, mostly due to difficult financial situations, and other weaknesses, in the period when the director of the Institute was Professor Mirko Barjaktarović, PhD. *The SASA Institute of Ethnography Bulletin* was not published for a period of eight years (1961–1969).

АДМИНИСТРАТИВНА ПОДЕЛА ВОЈВОДИНЕ НА ОСНОВУ ЗАКОНА О АДМИНИСТРАТИВНОЈ ПОДЕЛИ ВОЈВОДИНЕ ИЗ 19. АПРИЛА 1960. ГОДИНЕ
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Копирање дозвољено ПРОПАГАНДА — НОВА РАЈ



*Map of
administrative
division of
Vojvodina from
1947, year 1947.*

Nevertheless, research focusing on issues of the transformation of folk life were still conducted. A book about the peoples of Yugoslavia of the time was being prepared and the endangered settlements in Đerdap Gorge and other large construction ventures in the period of the country's development were researched. The Institute was also dedicated to the research of national minorities in Vojvodina (Rusyns, Ukrainians, Slovaks and the Romani people).

The renewal of the work of the Institute started when the academician Branislav Kojić became the director of the Institute (1969–1971). He revived the publishing activities: all the remaining volumes of the Bulletin were published as double or multi-volume publications, and the regular publishing of the Bulletin was regulated soon after. The enhancement of research and publishing activities continued in the period from 1971 to 1973, when the director of the Institute was the academician Atanasije Urošević.

The SASA Institute of Ethnography continued its research in accordance with the broad set of assignments, gathering researchers from several different professions and engaging a great number of external associates. This period produced some important results, both in terms of volume and content: a large number of studies, articles, discussions, and monographs about studies in Serbia or other parts of Yugoslavia were published and not just by the Institute. Among the more important research that is worth mentioning was that of national minorities in Vojvodina and of Serbs in Romania, especially in the village of Svinjica in Đerdap Gorge.

In the monograph on work of the SASA Institute of Ethnography about this period we can read the following:

"From 1971, and during the following decade, when the directors were the academician Atanasije Urošević, Professor Milorad Vasović, PhD, (1973–1978) and Professor Petar Vlahović,

PhD, (1978–1992) the work of the Institute was focused on the following projects: *Constant monitoring of changes in folk culture*; *Research of the settlements endangered by large public works* and *Monographic anthropogeographical-ethnological research*. For the first two thematic blocks, the research was undertaken in 26 chosen settlements on the territory of Serbia, then in several settlements preparing to be relocated or already partly/completely relocated to new locations (Đerdap).

Research was also held in the settlements on the route of the Belgrade–Bar railway construction, in the area of the construction of the “Đerdap I” and “Đerdap II” hydro-electric plants, then in the suburbs of five industrial cities (Belgrade, Kruševac, Leskovac, Pirot and Novi Pazar), where special attention was paid to the changes of traditional culture and the influence of industry and the city on the lives of their residents. In this period, the scope of field research was increased and the publishing activities were also balanced and increased. Milka Jovanović, PhD, and Desanka Nikolić, PhD managed the Institute from 1982 to 1984 and Professor Dušan Bandić from 1984 to 1989, when Nikola Pantelić, PhD, research associate, became director of the Institute, a position he still holds. In the 1990s, the associates of the Institute worked on the project *Ethnic and ethnological characteristics of the people of Serbia*, then a lot of attention was dedicated to the sub-project *Ethnological study of the Serbian immigrants*, after which the topic was decided and the *Ethnological research in urban areas* was started. In that and the previous period, the first preparations were made for the synthetic work of the *Serbian Ethnological Dictionary*” (Source: SASA EI Monograph).

From 1991, as part of the new project *Ethnology of the Serbian People and Serbia*, the previously started long term research works continued, somewhat expanded and innovated in terms of content and a

more specific approach to the issues addressed and with a tendency to introduce new methodological procedures and new content, as well as to review and analyse the data from a more modern theoretical perspective. At the same time, the Institute was recognised as a central scientific-research institution and its leading role in the area of ethnology in Serbia on the joint project under the abovementioned name, was confirmed.

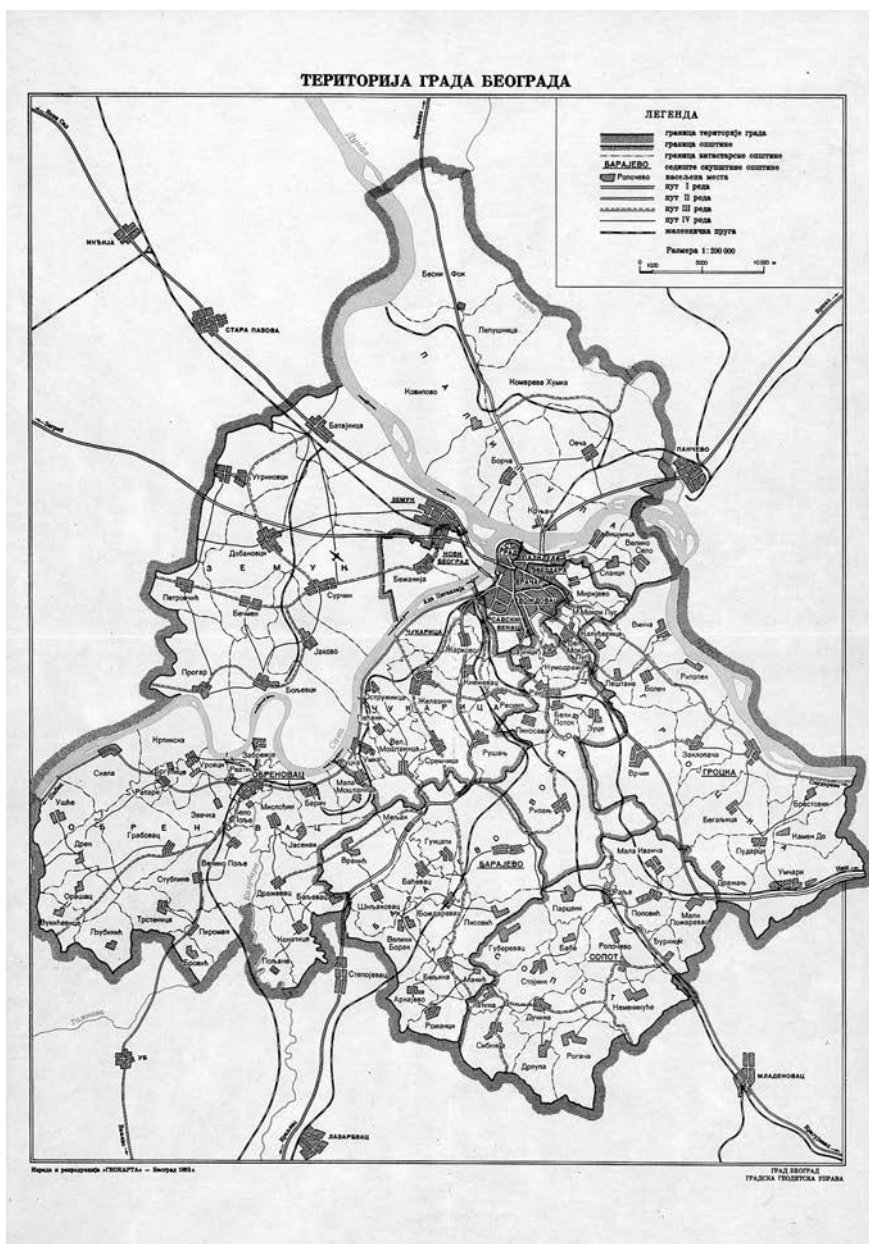
The main goal of the project *Ethnology of the Serbian People and Serbia* was to systematically research the life and customs, ethnic and ethnological phenomena and processes on the territory of Serbia and of Serbs abroad, as well as the contact, intertwined and overall relationships of cultures of Serbs with the cultures of other ethnos throughout history in time and space. These defined long term goals and tasks of long term programmed orientation make up the content of the project and the plan of work for the period from 1996 to 2000. The project had six thematic units, or sub-projects:

- „1) *Ethnic and ethnological characteristics of the people of Serbia;*
- 2) *Serbs outside Serbia and national minorities in Serbia;*
- 3) *Ethnological research of the urban units on the territory of Serbia* (these three topics were the direct assignments of the research associates of the Institute);
- 4) *Folk life of Serbs in Serbia – an ethnological encyclopaedia and*
- 5) *Family and culture* (realised by the Department of Ethnology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, and the Centre for Ethnological Research of the Department of Ethnology of the Faculty of Philosophy, in Belgrade).

- 6) Topic *Ethnological monograph of Vojvodina* was later added, on which associates of the Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad worked.

Among the set tasks in the comprehensive long-term project were:

- development of general and individual level of knowledge about ethnology of Serbs and Serbia in terms of fundamental questions as well as applicable results
- multiplying of the ethnographic and other fund of documentary materials that enables analyses, comparative research and certainty of conclusions;
- giving complete answers to the questions ethnology and the concrete project deal with, and which occur especially during dynamic processes and changes in the structure of the rural and urban population and as a consequence of the general currents of development paths, society changes, especially with large migrations from the countryside to the city as well as due to social and many other events not just in the last few decades, but even now. The answers should be reached through the study of individual topics, specific areas and complex regional projects. Modern ethnology is called upon to describe and interpret the intertwining of traditional (folk-rural) and contemporary culture, the transformation of the patterns and/or stereotypes in the culture of rural areas and the preservation of traditional patterns and behaviours among urban people, mostly relocated from the countryside in the last few decades of the 20th century.
- providing answers to the questions regarding ethnic identity, its characteristics and features, preservation and transformation.



Map showing administrative-territorial division of Belgrade areas, year 1950;

Furthermore, answer to the degree of ethnic acculturation and cultural duality of Serbs who live in foreign ethnic environments abroad;

- modernisation and improvement of the theoretical methodological approach and procedures in thematic and general ethnological research. The degrees of improvement will be expressed through the writing and publishing master and doctoral papers, especially after the completed research studies, which will enable the advancement of each researcher and the affirmation of ethnology” (Source: SASA EI Monograph).

In the period from 1996 to 2000, the realisation of the stated goals and tasks of the long-term programme orientation continued, which formed the foundation and content of the project and work plan for this period, with some minor changes and adjustments of the previously mentioned topics. The monograph further specifies the way the work is organised:

“The topic *Ethnic and ethnological characteristics of the people of Serbia* was divided into two thematic blocks a) monothematic and regional-thematic research and b) complex monographic research of individual regional units or rural communities.

The goal of monothematic and regional-thematic research is to identify phenomena and processes in life and culture as well as to determine functions and meaning of the studied phenomena in synchronic and diachronic sense. The culture of the modern village, as well as the city, cannot be, in the contemporary ethnological approach, observed or studied separately from the influence of the city on the village and vice versa (education and professional work, urbanisation of the settlements, indus-

trialisation, etc.) and the facts about the great overflow of rural people to the cities that, at least for a while, maintain multilevel and varied connections of different intensities with the relatives in the village or with the village as a native community. The research in this part of the subproject is focused on attempts at discovering transcultural processes and their consequences. Studies of the culture of the village and the city should provide scientific answers to the questions related to maintaining continuity or discontinuity, as well as the transformation of traditional qualities and values in the village and the city, and maintaining the traditional awareness and some features that have the goal of the ethnic identification of the city population. Therefore, this part of the project contains a range of topics that the majority of researchers from the Institute work on, and in the past period there were several scientific meetings on these issues and a number of collections of works and monographs have been published.” (Source: SASA EI Monograph)

As the red thread of all the topics that the SASA Institute of Ethnography dealt with in this period, the most common topic is travel. Field work, stays in the rural areas affected by transformations, life and conversations with the respondents about their experience of changes, the examination of an identity preservation strategy and identity changes among national and ethnic minorities, and among Serbian expats in the world, participation in their everyday life and observations of life of traditional forms in new environments, all in order to produce studious monographs, remained key features of this period too:

“Complex monographic research includes unexplored and little searched areas, settlement complexes or individual settlements with the primary aim of ethnographic research of

more issues and the collection of new material that will, when analysed, enable the definition of the village at the end of the second and the beginning of a new millennium and show perspectives for further development and possible trends of the transformation of traditional culture.

The results of research of this topic are among others, the monographs *Heritage and Contemporariness*, *Meaning of Serbian Fairy Tales*, *Land-Beliefs and Rituals*, *Gornje Dragačevo*, and the *Serbian Mythological Dictionary*. The two previously mentioned thematic blocks include research done in cooperation with the Workshop for Ethnological and Cultural Studies – Svrljig, *Spiritual and Material Culture of the People of Eastern Serbia and Neighbouring Areas*. The results of the work are mentioned at the annual international gatherings in Svrljig and published in *Ethno-Cultural Annals* (I–VII).

Through the topic of *Serbs outside Serbia and national minorities on the territory of Serbia*, studies of the life and culture of Serbs abroad continued. The results of many years of work confirm that the ethnic characteristics of Serbs in their ethnic and cultural space as well as abroad, and their cultural contacts or clashes with the culture of other ethnic groups, are important for the understanding of ethnic and acculturation processes for certain theoretical-methodical principles and are applicable when determining cultural politics and attitudes towards Serbs outside Serbia (monographs: *Serbs in Chicago*, *Serbs in Canada*, *Serbs in Lover (Hungary)*). The works on research and writing studies: *Serbs in Banja Luka at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century*; *Serbian expats in the USA*, and *Serbs in Budapest and its surroundings* are ongoing. There are also works on the research of Serbs in Battonya (south-eastern Hungary) and the renewed research

on Serbs in the village of Svinjica, near Đerdap (Romania) being prepared [...] As part of the topic *Ethnological monograph of Vojvodina*, the study of customs from life cycles of Serbs in Vojvodina was conducted" (Source SASA EI Monograph).

The Institute of Ethnography has continuously enriched both topics and approaches and, within its studies, in addition to traditional ethnological topics, the work of the SASA EI has been enriched with research related to issues from the field of symbolic and social communication, and the role of the modern media:

"The subject of the research of the topic *Ethnological research of the symbolic communication* is the structure and function of traditional and contemporary verbal and non-verbal symbolic communication. Several works realised in the projects of the Institute contain ethnologically relevant problems of communication. Certain issues of the epic tradition, myths, legends, ritual and magic communication, as well as the symbolism of art, folk architecture, dance, music and theatre language as phenomena and their role in nonverbal communication were examined. In addition to the abovementioned, the functions of the modern media and forms of social communication (print media, TV, radio, different meetings, etc.) as a factor of change and stability were studied, as along with their influence on the emerging forms of modern traditionalism" (Source: SASA EI Monograph).

From today's perspective, the year 2000 seems like the distant past. To some, possibly even very distant, since it maybe marks their year of birth. To others it maybe seems a not so distant past but rather a period of the most productive or perhaps the happiest years of their life. For many of us it was *the year after* – the year after the unfortunate

1999, when weapons travelled and people mostly travelled once more as refugees, leaving their homes and seeking refuge here and there.

In spite of this, in chapter “2.1.2 Scientific research conducted in 2000”, of the SASA EI Monograph, produced that year for the purpose of acquainting the Ministry of Science with the history and activities of the Institute, we read a report that is written in somewhat dry, bureaucratic language, in which we cannot sense the traumas of war, but can feel the enthusiasm put in the research work and publication of the results:

“The work on the realization of the scientific-research project *Ethnology of Serbian People and Serbia* in 2000, as well as in previous years, was focused on the study of the Serbian people and other peoples, such as national minorities and ethnic groups with which the life and culture of Serbs are closely connected. Additionally, efforts were also focused on the preparations for the Institute to publish the results of the work, and to present the research accomplishments and assumptions at scientific meetings both at home and abroad, with the aim of affirming the value of ethnological scientific research work and informing the scientific and wider public about the work of the Institute.

The project lead and coordinator of the work on the comprehensive project *Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia* is the SASA Institute of Ethnology (henceforth the Institute). *The Department of Ethnology and Anthropology* and *the Centre for Ethnological and Anthropological Research* of the Faculty of Philosophy, in Belgrade as well as and a selection of external associates, took part in the realisation of the project. The head of the project was the director of the Institute, Nikola Pantelić, PhD. The Institute worked on four thematic units:

- a) *Ethnic and ethnological characteristics of the people of Serbia :*
- b) *Serbs outside Serbia and national minorities living on the territory of Serbia;*
- c) *Ethnological study of the symbolic communication;*
- d) *Monograph of Vojvodina.*

The topics: *Folk life of Serbs and Serbia-Ethnological encyclopaedia of the Serbian people* and *Family and culture*, were covered by the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, and the Centre for Ethnological and Anthropological Research, whose work will not be mentioned, since it is completed autonomously, and financed through the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade” (Source: SASA EI Monograph).

In addition to the basic objectives and research tasks, their methodology was also described. Apart from those segments of the scientific work that belong to the work of the administration, and which come after travel and meetings, field research and direct communication with respondents have the important place, as always, in ethnological and anthropological work. People and the things that matter to them cannot be understood without meetings and dialogue:

“In the research work, diachronic and synchronic research was applied as before, as well as historical-comparative, functional, structural-typological, semiological-analytical and other methods, together with appropriate techniques suitable for the ethnological work such as: direct field research, interviews and surveys, observation, use of material objects of culture, written, art and other sources and scientific literature. The methodology and technique of research were aligned and depended on the subject of research, the given tasks and goals and the researchers’ opinions.

The goals of the research are: identification of ethnic and ethnological phenomena, issues and processes, and defining their functions and meanings” (Source: SASA EI Monograph).

Descriptions of projects show the eternal ethnologic complaint, which appeared before the year 2000 and will appear again in most annual reports sent to the relevant ministry: lack of money for travel, whether the goal was to stay in the field or to go to the archives, because archives are also a kind of travelling, for meeting people and having dialogues. “This travel” to the archives is a journey through time, a journey into the past, immersing oneself in the forgotten texts that require rereading and a new comprehension.

We can read in the monograph:

“The work of the associates on the topic *Ethnic and ethnologic characteristics of the people of Serbia* in 2000 was conducted according to the implementation of the annual plan within the Project for the period from 1996 to 2000.

As in previous years, the obstacle preventing the complete implementation of the plan was insufficient financial resources, namely for the field research and work in the archives and museums outside Belgrade. That is why the field work, as was the case in the past, was conducted mostly with the associates’ modest self-financing. In spite of the difficult conditions in 2000, regional and thematic, monographic research was continued as well as the masters’ and doctoral theses. The results of the research carried out in the previous period of work on the Project (1996–2000) began to be summarised and were scheduled to be presented in 2001, along with the results achieved within the individual thematic units.

In accordance with the main goals of this topic, most work was done on processing ethnographic and other materials (memoirs, archival documents, documents from folk art and statistics and others). Field work material was gathered in Šumadija, Vranje, Bečej, near Svrlijig, near Belgrade: the villages near Avala, and Lazarevac.

We would like to highlight the participation of one associate (who gave a presentation) at an international event in France, which was dedicated to family, as well as the participation of three associates (who presented their works) at the international scientific conference *Folk architecture and culture of residence in the light of ethnology in eastern Serbia and neighbouring areas*, held in Zaječar” (source: SASA EI Monograph).

After the summary report on the achieved results, the individual reports on results the associates of the SASA EI (both the employees and external associates) accomplished in individual projects were given. There is a list of names of our colleagues and their scientific contributions for the mentioned period. Some of them are no longer with us, some are retired, and some have risen to the highest scientific titles from the position of an trainee or research assistants, in doing so directing the current and future work of the Institute. There is a list of topics mentioned which include those already forgotten, and from today’s perspective, somewhat debatable ethno-psychological research, then research into myth, religion, folklore, customs, family, marriage, national minorities, Serbs in the region and in diasporas, all the way to the maturing of the Belgrade high school students, anthropological research of communication, media, literature and today, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the current topic of medical anthropology. Our researchers did not travel much. The most intensive international cooperation in terms of conference participation was with neighbouring Bulgaria.

During the year 2000, field and archival studies continued in the Republic of Srpska and Hungary for a month. The study of Serbs in California started (3 month-stipend holder MSTD) and a seven-day-long survey in Slovenia was carried out. The associates on a subproject participated in two scientific meetings: in June in Sofia and in November in Banja Luka. In parallel with the research of new forms of symbolic communication, created during wars, traditional ethnological research on the customs of Serbs in Vojvodina took place, the result of which was *The Ethnological Monograph of Vojvodina*.

The monograph further details the organisation of the SASA Institute of Ethnography. From the attached report, we can read that the SASA EI at that time had only four PhDs and nine magisters. Two years later, in 2002, when Dragana Radojičić, PhD, became the head of the Institute, the Institute had only two PhDs. Today, the Institute has developed into a scientific institutions with 31 doctors of science, 7 of whom are principal research fellows and seven research associates.

The title of “magister” is already somewhat forgotten, unlike today’s master’s degree. It is something that already belongs to the past, before the introduction of the Bologna Declaration, signed in 1999. Those who defended their magister’s thesis after four years of undergraduate studies remember the scientific work as being very serious and demanding and the title of magister had seriousness and dignity. It was the time before the introduction of the European scoring system in Serbia, a time when scientific contribution was measured by concrete insight into what was published, and the content and quality of the scientific work, and not quantitatively, by points and rankings on journal lists. Then came the time when the declarative goal of changing the education system was to “improve mobility by overcoming obstacles to free movement, specifically: give students the opportunity to learn, give them access to study and relevant services; recognise and value teachers, researchers, and

administrative staff for their time spent in Europe researching, teaching or learning, without prejudice to their statutory rights" (Bologna Declaration).

Students and researchers from Serbia have never travelled less than in 1999 and in the year that followed. In later years, mobility was mostly increased by the so-called "brain drain". Fortunately, the associates of the Institute of Ethnography, in spite of everything, stayed here and maintained their scientific research activities. During that period, the Institute of Ethnography recorded two stays abroad for the purposes of writing a doctoral thesis; one at Harvard and one in Hungary. At that time, those employed by the SASA Institute of Ethnography were:

"Researchers: Nikola Pantelić, PhD, Ivan Čolović, PhD, Dragana Radojičić, PhD, Lasta Đapović, PhD, Zorica Divac, MA, Miroslava Niškanović, MA, Miroslava Malešević, MA, Miroslava Lukić-Krstanović, MA, Mirjana Pavlović, MA, Mladena Prelić, MA, Jadranka Đorđević, MA, Ivica Todorović, MA, Aleksandra Pavićević, MA, Sanja Zlatanović, Dragomir Antić

Library: Aleksandar Janković, Milina Ivanović Barišić, Biljana Milenković Vuković

Secretary of the projects and Editorial Team: Marija Đokić

Secretary of the Institute: Nevenka Spasojević

Custodian: Radmila Pejanović

THE SASA INSTITUTE OF ETHNOGRAPHY – AN ADMINISTRATIVE JOURNEY INTO THE PAST

Name, title	Scientific title	First and last year of employment	Reason for employment termination, periods of work absence
Pantelić Nikola, PhD	Principal Research Fellow	01.04.1987.	
Čolović Ivan, PhD	Principal Research Fellow	01.10.1990.	
Drljača Dušan, PhD	Principal Research Fellow	01.11.1960.- 31.12.1998.	Retirement
Nikolić Desanka, PhD	Principal Research Fellow	01.06.1973.- 31.12.1994.	Retirement
Radojičić Dragana, PhD	Senior Research Associate	15.02.2001.	
Đapović Lasta, PhD	Research Associate	01.09.1970.	
Bratić Dobrila, PhD	Research Associate	01.05.1979.- 30.04.1999.	Unjustified absenteeism
Divac Zorica, MA	Research Assistant	01.02.1976.	
Malešević Miroslava, MA	Research Assistant	01.05.1979.	<u>Paid leave / excused absence: USA stay at Harvard University</u> 01.03.1992–31.12.1992. Unpaid leave: (USA) 01.01.1993–31.12.1993 01.01.1994 –30.06.1994. Work on doctoral dissertation at Harvard University
Lukić Krstanović Miroslava, MA	Research Associate	01.04.1982.	

Antonijević Dragana MA	Research Assistant	15.10.1984– 30.04.2000.	Moved to a different organisation
Niškanović Miroslav MA	Research Assistant	25.11.1992.	
Pavlović Mirjana MA	Research Assistant	01.04.1987.	
Prelić Mladena MA	Research Assistant	01.12.1991.	<u>Paid leave: Budapest</u> 19.03.1995–30.11.1995. 01.12.1995–01.12.1996. Work on doctoral dissertation, stipend provided by Local Serbian Council in Hungary <u>Unpaid leave: Budapest</u> 01.12.1996–01.12.1997. Work on doctoral dissertation, stipend provided by Hungarian government
Ivanović Zorica MA	Research Assistant	01.05.1996– 01.06.1998.	Moved to a different organization
Žikić Bojan MA	Research Assistant	01.12.1996– 31.01.1998.	Moved to a different organization

Name, title	Scientific title	First and last year of employment	Reason for employment termination, periods of work absence
Đorđević Jadranka MA	Research Assistant	15.09.1999.	
Todorović Ivica MA	Research Assistant	15.09.1999.	

Pavićević Aleksandra	Research Assistant	01.10.2000.	
Vlahović Breda	Senior Research Associate	01.02.1962– 30.06.1996.	Retirement
Antonić Dragomir	Senior Research Associate	15.05.1974.	
Zlatanović Sanja	Research Assistant	15.09.1999.	

(Source: SASA EI Monograph)

This part is followed by a table that will, hopefully, be unclear to future generations. Next to the name and the last name of the researcher and the project title there is a number of researcher-months. That was the period of transition to project financing, which will lead to an even more uncertain and marginalized position of the scientist in Serbia. From employment for an indefinite period of time, we switched to funding for a definite period of time in duration of the project (four years). The researchers began receiving remuneration proportional to the number of researcher-months they were engaged instead of salary. Now, in 2022, the return to institutional funding has begun and is slowly being adopted.

4.1.2. Researchers in the MESD in the year 2000

Name and last name	Project Title	a) Number of research months
Nikola Pantelić PhD	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Ivan Čolović Phd	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12

Lasta Đapović PhD	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Zorica Divac MA	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Miroslava Malešević MA	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Miroslava Lukić Krstanović MA	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Mirjana Pavlović MA	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Miroslav Niškanović MA	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Mladena Prelić MA	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Dragana Antonijević MA	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Jadranka Đorđević MA	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Ivica Todorović MA	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Aleksandra Pavićević MA	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	3 Started working from 01.10.2000.
Dragomir Antonić	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12
Sanja Zlatanović	Ethnology of Serbian people and Serbia	12

(Source: SASA EI Monograph).

Below the table with the number of researcher-months per project, the table 4.1.4 was supposed to be provided, with the request to provide the list of the researchers who went abroad. Instead of the table,

there is a short reply: “None of the researchers from the Institute has gone abroad in the past ten years.” From 1990 to 2000 travels, except the field research in a limited space, some rare study stays abroad (two researchers doing their doctoral thesis abroad), mobility of researchers in terms of departures and returns to the homeland amounted to 0 researchers.

IV

A MAN WHO IS CURIOSLY COMPASSIONATE

The SASA Institute of Ethnography's associates have remained loyal to field research. From those who belonged to the first generation of researchers after Cvijić's anthropogeographic school, to which they will be indebted, and who used geographic maps when they went to the field, the maps that in the meantime became part of the Institute's archives, to today's researchers who are equipped with digital maps, global positioning systems (GPS) and modern cameras. However, has the field changed significantly for ethnologists? Judging by the testimonies from the field, two of which are documented here, one from Marija Đokić who started working in the Institute in 1976 and one from Danilo Trbojević, who came to the Institute in 2022, but is an ethnologist with rich field experience, the essence of field research, despite significant technological advances, has remained the same.

An ethnological journey, in spite of different means of transport, usually ends with walking along various roads and paths or knocking on peoples' doors. Door to door, in order to meet people from whom we try to learn something about their lives, customs, culture, and an understanding of the world and to, by talking with them,

learn the most about ourselves; about one's own emotions, fragility, health and sickness, sadness and laughter, about one's own humanity. Perhaps most is learned about empathy, which is the foundation of understanding and an essential anthropological characteristic, without which the ethnological-anthropological explanations would be too much like dull inventories. Both testimonies about undertaking field research are a kind of auto-ethnography and the answer to the question "what is an ethnologist/anthropologist?" It seems that the most accurate answer would be – a man who is curiously compassionate.

Marija Đokić

Field research of Nova Varoš and Zlatar in 1983 or 1984

"The three of us are about to leave to the agreed location: Lasta (Đapović), Dragan (Antonić) and me. Gagi arrived late in the afternoon to pick me up, and then we set off with the plan to spend the night in Požega and to continue our journey to Zlatar early in the morning. I left the kids at home, although they were ill, one had whooping cough and the other two had scarlet fever. It was hard for me to leave them, but at the same time I was looking forward to a little break!

We spent a night in Požega, Lasta and I at my relatives' and Dragan at his. When he came in the morning to pick us up, I couldn't swallow or speak. As the day went by I was getting worse. When we arrived in Nova Varoš we went straight to a doctor in the health centre. A diagnosis of scarlet fever and 10 penicillin shots. What to do next? We agreed to go to Zlatar to spend the night and to decide in the morning whether we would continue or not.

We settled into the rooms, Lasta and I of course together. We went to dinner, it was still hard for me, and Dragan ordered wine with dinner. I told him I couldn't eat or drink, and he told me: 'Turubatovička, have some drink, you will see, the first sip is difficult but after everything goes smoothly.' And it really was like that! When we went to the bedroom, Lasta said: 'I need to sleep next to you in the same bed (king-size bed), and my dad is sick too! What will happen to me?'

Naturally, we had a laugh, and everything ended well. However, we returned to Belgrade after two or three days, nobody got sick, and I felt better. Everything was somehow easier with friends, laughter and understanding."

Danilo Trbojević

Anthropologist and a man: field research as a space of (internal) dialogue

"My first (extensive) field experience in the villages near Knjaževac in 2007 was marked by new knowledge, gaining experience of conversation with the 'respondents', but also certain demystifications and re-examinations. To be more precise, the approach by which the respondent is asked questions, according to the pre-established pattern, was often impractical. Simply speaking, they didn't want to be a 'respondent-object' but a 'speaker-subject' in the interpersonal interaction. Informal conversation, long and comprehensive, on the other hand, very often resulted in 'material' that compensated for the limited quantity with quality.

Ethnographic material gathered in this way included the deep knowledge, intimate memories, experiences, and

attitudes of the respondent. This approach created a new dimension of the methodological equation which, through the relationship towards the respondent, created the feeling of openness, trust and, finally, closeness. The last feature would prove to be crucial, not just in the case of one respondent but in the whole village and even region. This mentioned feature is of the utmost importance for the research scope of the ethnologist/anthropologist, especially if he does the research several times in the same region.

Over time, the field research redefined my approach to respondents and communities. I redefined my starting position from the implied 'double insider' towards a 'double outsider'². This raised the question of the 'humane in the anthropologist'. In other words, the questions asked was 'what can the anthropologist do for those who helped him'. Or, in general, what can I do for the people and communities I visit. In reality, the question was if the anthropologist needs to do something for the community or people, if it is just a job and how much it hinders him on the path of knowledge. Over time, these questions faded.

The first experiences in isolated rural communities contributed to an understanding not only of the beautiful or creative aspects of rural leisure or imagination, but also to all the hardships of rural life. I will never forget my first respondent (in one remote village in the Knjaževac region),

2 Slobodan Naumović presents a basic framework for the identity positioning of the researchers in relation to the communities or topics they research through the opposition of insiders, that is, outsiders. For more information consult: Naumović, Slobodan. 1998. „Romanticists or Double Insiders? An Essay on the Origins of Ideologised Discourses in Balkan Ethnology”. *Ethnologia Balkanica* Vol.2: 101–120.

whose house looked so dilapidated that at first we assumed it was abandoned. When we gathered courage, entered the yard and called the host, the door opened, with a strange groaning sound, and the man, whose appearance was the clear image of the suffering of a sick and neglected man, appeared in front of us. The man was wearing black glasses without a single lens, and his old and dirty clothes were covered in paper and straw from the floor of the utility room where he slept. The shirt, unbuttoned to the chest, revealed a deformed pyramid-shaped chest. My colleagues and I, were, to say the least, quite shaken. It seemed the man was trying to crack a smile or greet us with his hands, but the mumble seemed more like a call to help than coherent speech. After several unsuccessful attempts to communicate with the man, we excused ourselves and hurriedly moved on. Although we tried to find some help in the village, the locals told us that was the common situation and 'we were trying in vain'. There is no mobile network so help cannot be summoned, and nobody expects that the 'people from the cities' would come to the 'remote area' for one of the many old and sick. The man was left to die.

During the same field research, I came across one old woman who was sitting behind an old and run down pigsty made from chat and was moaning as if she was dying. Again, the neighbours commented that they knew about the situation but that 'it is the way it is'. For these people, in the stated logistical circumstances, we couldn't do anything, but I remembered their suffering and our helplessness. During this field research we did manage to help some people. My colleague and I helped an old teacher load a few tons of corn onto a trailer. To return the favour, the man loaded us on his

tractor, drove us to the mountain and showed us the 'record', that is, the space where the sacred trees are located and where the villagers come to celebrate the so-called Zavetina festival.

A few years later I came back to this area to conduct independent research. Due to the limited budget, I walked to the village and around the villages, which allowed me to get to know the natural beauties of the area but also to receive a nice reception from the villagers. I remember that on my way to the village of Radičevac I noticed an elderly woman who was carrying something on her back. She was walking at a slow pace and, due to the burden on her back, she was almost touching the ground. I caught up with her, taking care not to scare her³, greeted her and offered to carry a sack of several kilograms of peas. I remember that the elderly woman did not show fear but just said: 'Grandma's man'! I walked to her old house that was in the middle of a yard on such a slope that I couldn't understand how she planned to climb to the house. Talking to the elderly woman I learned about some local beliefs, but also that she had children and grandchildren in Switzerland, who call her once every ten days on the phone of one of the neighbours. She kept joking and saying: 'Grandma's man'!

Many people in this area were practically left to themselves and their solitude, and it seemed that even a mere visit and a conversation with them had a positive effect on their mood. Also, the mentioned events affected the openness of the

.....
3 One should bear in mind that the communities in this area are old and isolated and that "strangers" are not always welcomed. The same day, on the way through the forest, a small off-road vehicle overtook me, only to return so that the driver could ask me whether I was "vehabija" and "what I was doing there". When I explained what I did, the driver and the crew were not really satisfied with my explanation but they did take me to Šarbanovac.

respondent, that is, the quality of the material, even though, *at the end of the day*, that seemed secondary. A similar situation occurred in the nursing homes in Knjaževac and Tršić, where the people that the nurses brought to the guest room spoke about experiences or topics that, under the normal circumstances, would have been pushed to the level of cultural intimacy⁴. These people were so abandoned and deprived of the sense of value that this conversation, as it seems, gave them a way to step out of the usual routine of a nursing home. I remember one bed-ridden old woman on the third floor of the home. I was told that she was a retired police inspector. The woman was relatively lucid and she told me about the beliefs in her region. However, it turned out that, thanks to her belief in demons, she had been traumatized since early childhood and even after decades spent in the police service, she couldn't sleep with the lights off. I tried to help her by telling her how I, from a scientific perspective, viewed demonological narratives, but it seemed that my attempts at rationalizing did not change her ontological view of 'the butterfly' or 'witch that (according to her parents) sucked her blood when she was a child'.

Fortunately, I haven't been in many similar situations. My presence or approach has more often been directed towards

⁴ "Cultural intimacy", in the context of my research, represents the corpus of cultural ideas or beliefs, that is, a system of symbols, signs, and meanings characteristic of a certain group. These cultural concepts, important for the specific cult identity of the group, are often hidden from the "outer world". The main reasons to hide them are most often the idea that a person outside the community cannot understand the local cultural concepts or the fear that the group will be negatively valued by those who observe the world from a position of the carrier of an external, dominant culture. For more information consult: Herzfeld, Michel. 2004. Cultural Intimacy. Belgrade: Biblioteka XX vek.

breaking the wall of 'cultural intimacy' through a hybrid model of researcher-narrator. I have often told my interlocutors general stories from other parts of the country and let them know that they 'could hardly surprise me (negatively)'. The interlocutor understood that I value their uniqueness, that they are not alone in the knowledge, experiences and even loneliness. In this way, people found it easier to 'open up' and enjoy the dialogue that was based not only on me collecting information, but also on *our* exchange.

There were many situations when I discovered much more than I wanted and when there was nothing I could do to help. For instance, one man told me that his wife cheated on him seventy years ago and how the children were not his, whereas in another village a woman told me how she witnessed the murder of a younger and an older brother as a young girl and kept quiet for eight decades. Examples like this put me in the position of a stranger-listener of the confessions rather than an anthropologist. Of course, I am aware my role is not therapeutic, but it seemed that these people felt a little bit better after finally 'opening up' and telling their story to a stranger.

In the end, there were easier and nicer circumstances where the dialogue created a closeness. With my frequent visits to the field, sometimes in the Knjaževac area, and later in the villages near Loznica, I met more people who I visited every time I returned to their area. I sometimes tried to 'skip' a topic that would be of interest to me from the point of view of science, and I would listen to the problems or observations of the interlocutors, out of compassion. Although these were people who, at some point, appeared as 'respondents', we developed a relationship that made me not a stranger but a welcomed guest. Thanks to the mentioned attitude, people like 'Muja'

from Tršić later showed students how to milk goats; 'Aunt Vera' from the village of Planina showed us how to 'cure phobias'; people from around the Tronoša monastery hosted us in the nearby ethno restaurant and the owner refused to accept money for food and drinks; and 'Milka' sent *slatko* (a fruit preserve) or *rakija* (a traditional fruit based brandy) to 'my family' in Belgrade.

Unfortunately, my interlocutors are, in accordance with the demographic image of the village, mostly old men and women. Every time I go to the field in an already familiar area, it turns out that someone passed away in the meantime. I find out about that either by reading the obituaries on the walls of the houses of the deceased or talking to the people in the village. When I hear such news, I feel as sorry as it was difficult to hear about the difficult life experiences of these people.

Nevertheless, in recent years, there has been a new idea on what I can do for the deceased or their relatives. After I learned about 'grandma Vera's', from the forest half way between Tršić and Korenita, passing, Željko, (the owner of a local café), the central figure of the social interaction in this area, contacted me. He informed me about a request from 'Vera's' son, asking whether I had the opportunity to take a photo of the old woman, and that he didn't have that many pictures of her. Unfortunately, I rarely take photos of my interlocutors since that can have a negative impact on the climate in which the dialogue takes place, but instead of photos, I have audio recordings of the conversations. The man was so happy to be able to hear the voice of his late mother again. The recording will continue to testify to the existence of 'Vera' for her children and for her descendants. After forwarding the recordings to him, Željko contacted me

again asking for my address since the son wanted to return the favour with some gifts, coffee and homemade brandy. At first, I thanked him and refused, as that would be an unfair exchange, since the gift of the recordings was proportional to the old woman sharing information first. Still, the next time I visited Željko's inn, the host gave me a tote bag with the gifts from the grateful son.

Inspired by this experience I started thinking about the idea of upon returning to the communities I visited 10 or 15 years ago I should leave my contact details so that the descendants of the deceased interlocutors could reach me and hear again their deceased parents or ancestors that they couldn't, for various reasons, communicate with or visit near the end of their lives.

The ethnologist – 'the field worker', who is often imagined as 'a machine for collecting material', can, at least it seems, be made more efficient, in research and humane terms, through (informal, emphatic) the relationships towards and with the residents of the communities. True, the conversation on general topics, reduces the concentration and time devoted to other interlocutors, but still contributes to 'something'. That something can be the foundation of the creation of mutual trust, which is crucial for the realisation of the goals of the field research such as: overcoming interpersonal barriers and cultural intimacy, understanding the wider context of human experience and the collection of ethnographic material. Methodologically speaking, this also has a positive effect 'in the long run'. This helps with not being perceived as a (complete) 'stranger' in the villages where I was remembered and where I remembered the people, which reflected in the results of the research in the already visited, but also new villages. Thanks

to that, I felt less like a *collector*, and more like a mediator, a mediator between 'different cultural realities'.

Empathy and an informal human relationship with the interlocutor imposed themselves as important additions, perhaps even the starting points (methodology) of the field research. On a personal level, this approach resulted in a positive attitude towards the task I perform, which has often motivated me to persevere with the demanding but rewarding wandering in the mountains and villages – and that is a crucial factor in the serious and long-term performance of field research.”

V

FROM ANTHROPOGEOGRAPHY TO ANTHROPOLOGY – PATHS AND BRANCHES OF SERBIAN ETHNOLOGY

Jovan Cvijić played a key role in the development of ethnology as a scientific discipline in Serbia. Being “the science of people”, at first, as part of the Anthropogeographic School, and then developing in contemporary anthropological directions, Serbian ethnology and anthropology owe much to Cvijić. Well-known and recognised in the world, Cvijić’s entire scientific work was gathered into 14 volumes published by the SASA, 1987–1997. The main characteristics of his work, as Dragana Radojičić notes, were interdisciplinarity and dedication. An important segment of this dedication was reflected in the tirelessness with which he approached field research and which he considered crucial for anthropogeography:

“It is this dedication that drove Cvijić to travel thousands of kilometres across the Balkan Peninsula for more than 38 years, both on horseback and on foot, persevering with an incredible determination. Cvijić’s step beyond the limits of his own time – his modernity and actuality should not be neglected. His scientific work was characterised by interdisciplinarity

and consideration of the research subjects from different perspectives. This was a characteristic rare in Cvijić's time, and today a desirable and almost an imperative quality of every piece of scientific work. Jovan Cvijić, a versatile geographer, is considered a geologist, ethnologist, ethno psychologist, sociologist and historian" (see Radojičić, 2015).

Despite the importance he has for the development of ethnology, Cvijić considered himself a geographer. Creating at a time when ethnology was just being formed as a science both in our county and around the world, and when the Anthropogeographic School marked the beginning of its development, he was particularly dedicated to the field and team work. Later followers of Cvijić agree that these are the characteristics that made his school famous outside the borders of Yugoslavia and the Balkans (see Prelić 2014, 83–97). He organised scientific expeditions, gathering a wide circle of associates from different areas (Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Croatia), from the ranks of teachers, priests, merchants and students. The first *Instructions for the study of villages* were printed in 1896, with the aim to "illuminate all the aspects of the anthropogeographic problems in such a way that their causes can be seen, the causes that are diverse and complicated."

Systematic ethnographic research based on questionnaires was introduced in the Serbian Royal Academy in 1886 (see Radojičić, 2016). In parallel with field research, thanks to Cvijić, ethnology within The Great School was also raised to the level of university studies and the first professors were Jovan Erdeljanović and Tihomir Đorđević. The first Department of Ethnology in the Balkans and then the Seminar of Ethnology, the predecessors of the Department of Ethnology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, today's Department of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Faculty of Philosophy

in Belgrade, were established thanks to Cvijić (see Vlahović 1979, 12). The Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade and the SASA Institute of Ethnography were created and developed from the Anthropogeographic School (see Radojčić, 2015).

Even though Cvijić's Anthropogeographical School was closed down, and later generations did not come up with an original approach but rather their research was based on adopting more or less current world scientific models, Cvijić's extensive legacy continues to be a subject of new critical evaluations and multilevel readings, which went from admiration and gratitude to complete ignorance, concludes Dragana Radojčić:

“There is a long list of people who have contributed to the development of ethnology in Serbia up until now, starting from Dositej's Enlightenment, Vuk's romanticism and Cvijić's anthropogeographical school. It is indisputable, however, that with the appearance of Jovan Cvijić, ethnology became independent and gained a specific tone. His contribution to ethnography is undeniable, whereas the assessment of Cvijić's importance as an ethnologist has been ambivalent in recent years, especially since the 1980s. (Prelić 2014, 91). Cvijić's anthropogeographic school was closed down, without later generations creating their own original approach: contemporary ethnology and anthropology are based on adopting more or less current world scientific models and innovation and originality, as the critical and polemic spirit Cvijić nurtured among his students were neglected. A review of Cvijić's work concludes that his extensive legacy deserves a new critical evaluation and multi-layered readings, free from ideological burdens and superficial views”. (See Radojčić 2015)

Ivana Bašić brings this kind of reading of the legacy of Jovan Cvijić, outside an ideological framework, within the context of the ethnological and anthropological science of Cvijić's time, giving a critical overview of the reception of Cvijić's work primarily in Serbian ethnology and anthropology, as well as in a wider context:

"After World War Two, Cvijić's anthropogeographical research was almost completely marginalised, especially his ethnopsychological work (Jovanović, 1992, 15–18). The Bulgarians A. Beshkov, Lj. Dinev and Z. Borisov called Cvijić 'the flaunting Greater Serbian chauvinist', whereas Dinko Tomašević, in his book *Political Development of Croats*, refers to Cvijić as 'a prominent theorist of Serbian expansionism' who is trying to prove the superiority of the Dinaric race. H. Islami and R. Ismaili, critics from Kosovo, considered Cvijić preoccupied with the political interests of the Greater Serbian bourgeoisie. The condemnations of Cvijić's 'Psychological Types' came from communist circles as well: since there was no class framework in his typology, he was accused of having written from 'the bourgeois stance'. Cvijić was castigated for racism and chauvinism, although Dvorniković held it against him that 'the Dinaric type is not racially determined' and Gezeman set out to prove that Cvijić's 'Dinaric type' did not have a racial meaning, but that it was primarily 'a sociological and socio-psychological notion' (for more, Džadžić, 1988, 192–261) [...] In the period after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Cvijić was criticised for sacrificing scientific objectivity for the sake of a political agenda, Greater Serbia ideas were imputed to him, and his ethnological work was considered an attempt to justify Serbian claims on the Vardar Macedonia (White, 1999, 237–242), despite the fact that Cvijić advocated the thesis of the existence

of the Macedonian people. Even today, especially among ‘the third generation’ of Serbian anthropologists, there are views that Cvijić’s ethnology is ethnocentric and ‘fundamentally concerned with the questions of ethnic borders, the origin and migrations of population and, therefore, almost completely designed to study ‘Serbs outside Serbia’ (Milenković, 2010, 64). From time to time, distancing oneself from Cvijić takes the form of a manifesto, while Cvijić’s legacy is implicitly assessed as essentialist, nationalistic and racist” (Bašić 2016, 665–666).

Contrary to that, assessing the work of Jovan Cvijić, including his most contested work *Psychological Characteristics of Southern Slavs*, Bašić considers that it is a kind of interpretative anachronism of Cvijić’s work, considering his work was often interpreted outside the time context and scientific paradigms of Cvijić’s time:

“These very remarks indicate that Cvijić’s stances are much closer to the future stances of cultural anthropology than to those of romantically based ethnopsychology, although, in his time, he could use neither the terminology, nor methodology of this science. Although Cvijić’s *Psychological Characteristics of Southern Slavs* has been categorised as a work of romantically based ethnopsychology and discarded along with the entire discipline as an unreliable scientific creation, the point should be stressed that Cvijić does not refer to the psychology of the people, but creates the division into anthropogeographical zones, in a fashion that is, in many respects, corresponding with the cultural zones of the contemporary cultural anthropology. We can agree with Petar Džadžić that there are certain places in Cvijić’s work that could be properly characterised as instances of ‘national romanticism in the manner of Herder’,

but they could also be considered a commonplace of scientific discourse of that period and interpreted as understandable national enthusiasm in the period of the liberation wars and the forthcoming unification of Southern Slavs [...] The reception of Cvijić's work after World War Two to the present day in certain respects reveals the reasons for the insufficient development of psychological anthropology and similar disciplines that had their beginnings in the former ethnopsychology. Serbian ethnology and anthropology have not kept pace with significant results concerning the investigation of psychological traits of members of certain types of culture, as were achieved, for example, in the works of Malinowski or within the framework of psychological and cultural anthropology, as presented in the works of authors such as Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Boas, Durkheim, Mauss, Levy-Bruhl, or Levi-Strauss, neither did they produce works in the fields of ethnopsychiatry or cognitive anthropology. It is only recently that studies that follow contemporary trends in the field of cognitive linguistics and ethno- and psycholinguistics have started to appear; these studies also enter the domain of psychological research. Unlike the assessment that Cvijić had the role of a 'triple insider', our assessment would rather be that Cvijić has in fact, over the course of time, acquired the role of a triple symbol – for Marxist-oriented post-World War Two intellectuals, he was a symbol of the monarchist and bourgeois Serbian science; for nationalistic-oriented intellectuals coming from various places, he became a symbol of the Yugoslav idea and/or Greater Serbian pretensions; and, finally, for the generation intellectually matured after the wars on the territory of the former SFRY, he became a symbol of the traditionalist-oriented ethnology and Serbian nationalism. However, this triple and, in many

ways, contradictory symbolism is not so much representative of Cvijić's work as much as it is revealing of the (in)ability of an objective appreciation of the significance and real understanding of predecessors" (Bašić 2016, 669–670).

In essence, Cvijić was, above all, a geographer and anthropogeographer (see Cvijić 1992; Cvijić 1965 [1923] and Cvijić 1987 [1992]), whose scientific work moved within the framework of the current domain of these sciences, occasionally going beyond in the direction that is closer to the understanding of later cultural anthropology.

Anthropogeography, as part of geography, was developed in the 19th century and Friedrich Ratzel, the German geographer and ethnographer, famous for the term *life space* (*Lebensraum*), is considered to be its founder. His most significant work is *Anthropogeography* (*Anthropogeographie*, 1882; 1891). Ratzel claimed that there is geographic determinism, that is, the conditioning of a man's life by natural, geographic and climatic circumstances, the spatial arrangement of people and trade and the cultural features of the space. After Ratzel, geography started answering other questions of social possibilism, that is, the impact of man on the natural environment. This created a new approach, social geography, and other socio-geographic disciplines developed from anthropogeography: geography of population, geography of settlements, economic geography and political geography.

The key representative and founder of the Anthropogeographic School in the Balkans was Jovan Cvijić, whose most significant works are the *Anthropogeographic problems of the Balkan Peninsula* (1902) and *The Balkan Peninsula and South Slavic Countries* (1918). The latter was first published in French and it laid the foundations of anthropogeography and later ethnography and ethnology in this area. Cvijić's Anthropogeographic School marked the beginnings of ethnology in Serbia and the Balkans and it became known outside the Balkans

(see Mastilo 2005). Cvijić's student, Vojislav S. Radovanović, raised the anthropogeographic school to a higher level (see Mastilo 2005; Vlahović 1987; Prelić 2014, 85, 86).

The Anthropogeographic School and the work of Cvijić's students influenced not just the development of ethnology and anthropology in Serbia, but the establishment and development of the SASA Institute of Ethnography. The work of the academician Vojislav S. Radovanović, the first director of the Institute, was crucial for the first decade of the SASA Institute of Ethnography. His interests were varied and did not include only geography and anthropogeography, but also ethnology and folklore as well as a contribution to the development of ethnology and museology in Macedonia. His contribution to the development of ethnological institutions, ethnology as a scientific discipline, the study of the folk culture and museum issues is enormous, as, among other things, states the academician Petar Vlahović (see Vlahović 1979 and Vlahović 1987). He was a "living encyclopaedia". He was open-minded and had creative visions and an understanding of many things today almost unreachable. He was adorned with generosity and ability to respect other people's opinions, even if he didn't agree with them. Radovanović's doctoral dissertation was one of the best and the most extensive anthropogeographic monographs – *Tikveš* and *Rajec*. He started working on it under the guidance of Jevta Dedijer and Jovan Cvijić in 1914.

Since it was founded, the Institute has had Anthropogeographic, Ethnologic and Folklore Departments. Within the Anthropogeographic Department, the Department for Folk Architecture was founded in 1950 and in 1953, the Department for the Sociology of Settlements, whose task was to study society in urban and rural areas through different phases of the socialist construction. Still, this division was more formal than real; It was never taken too seriously

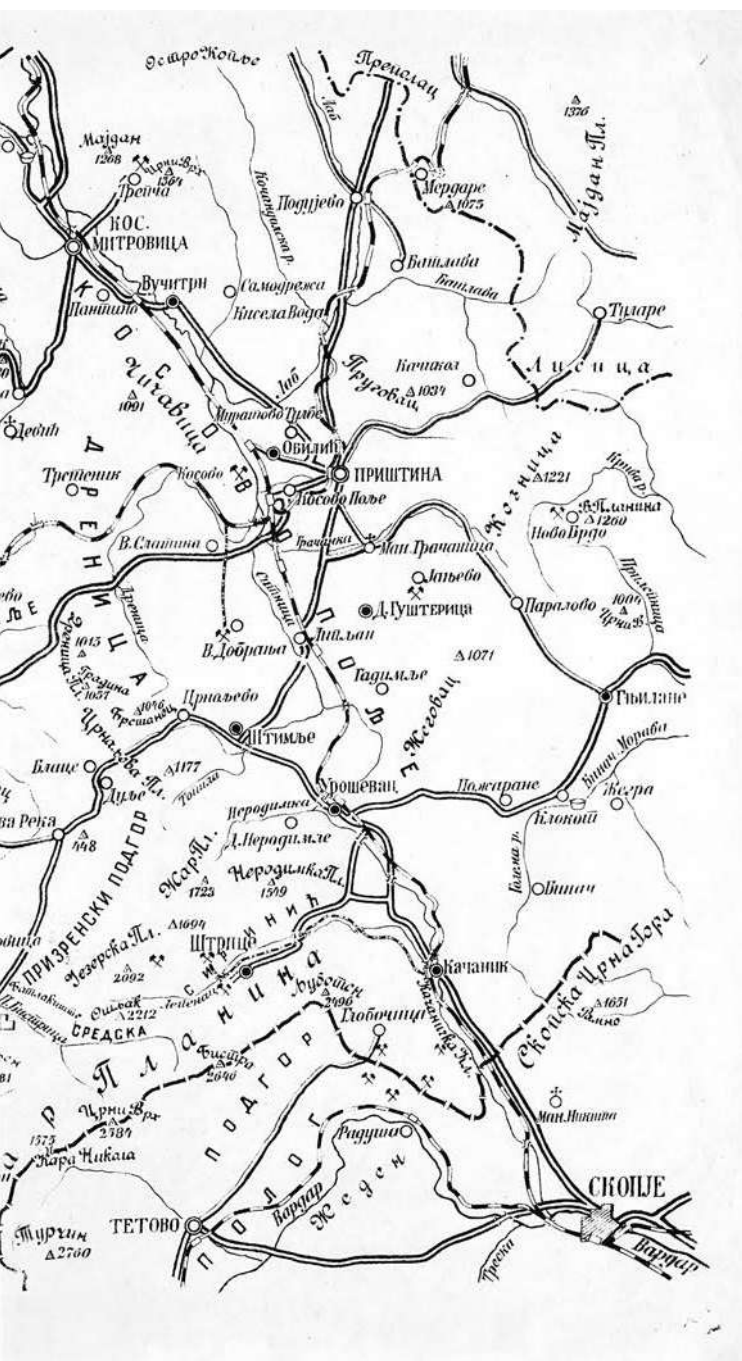
because of the small number of full-time staff at the Institute, given the Institute did not have many permanent employees.

Employees, until the mid-sixties, were characterised by interdisciplinarity (aside from ethnologists, there were geographers, sociologists, economists and linguists), and the structure of the external associates was even more diverse (in addition to the previously mentioned disciplines there were architects, philologists, archaeologists, historians, etc.) The plans of the Institute in the first post-war years show considerable ambition: a large network of associates, plans to develop a questionnaire for the systematic research of large areas and settlements, plans of great synthesis, as well as the systematic use of the archives.

This reflected the post-war momentum and enthusiasm of the early post-war years. However, the small number of employees and, presumably, modest funding, largely limited these ambitious plans, so the reports from this period occasionally state that times were hard and that the general situation called for more modest funding for the science.

Immediately after it was founded in 1947, the SAS Institute of Ethnography, although it gathered a small number of professional researchers, stated that the study of Kosovo and Metohija using the anthropogeographic method was a priority in its work programme, with the aim of publishing a comprehensive monograph. Many experts from other institutions joined the research venture but, as many times before, the humanities lacked funds and the monograph was never published.

Monographic research of the city of Prizren, its unique ethnic and cultural colour was of great scientific importance. The aim of the research was to determine the old and the new in the development process, social relationships and their influence were researched. The research did not only have a theoretical and scientific aim, but was



Situation plan of the
city of Prizren (situation
from 1913), year 1954.

supposed to serve as guidelines for the future construction of Prizren. It referred to the development of the city from the earliest times and each chapter was supposed to contain an overview of the historical development of the area presented. Field research groups studied Prizren from the point of view of anthropogeography (geographic position and territorial development of the settlements, origin, movements, composition, and characteristics of the population, gravitational spheres of the city...), architecture and urbanism (typology and house development, the method of building houses and courtyards, household items, house decoration, urban image of the city, medieval monuments and protection of cultural monuments...), economy (crafts and industry, agriculture, handicrafts, trade and traffic...), ethnology (Prizren dialect, anthropological features, economy, traffic and means of transport, houses, trade and auxiliary buildings, domestic life, food and drinks, apparel, social life, customs, superstitions, fun, folk knowledge...), folklore (oral-Serbian, Albanian, Turkish, Roma music, ethno-choreographic folk art,) literature and written records.

Besides ethnologists, representatives of similar sciences (sociology, architecture, musicology and other disciplines) also participated in the research. The research team for the monographic research of Prizren consisted of: Vojislav Radovanović, Dušan Nedeljković, Borivoje Drobnjaković, Mirko Barjaktarović, Hristofor Crnilović, Petar Vlahović, Srebrica Knežević, Milka Jovanović, Vidosava Nikolić Stojančević, Mark Krasnići, Dragoljub Dević, Milic Ilijin, Branislav Kojić, Branko Maksimović, Slobodan Nenadović, Zoran Petrović, Branko Milenković, Milisav Lutovac, Cvetko Kostić, Petar Šobajić, Radoslav Pavlović, Darinka Zečević, Željko Kumar, Vladimir Đurić, Lepasava Žunić, Rada Marković and others.

The close and lasting mutual contact of religion and people and cultural diversity that existed in other Serbian environments, but nowhere else like in Prizren was documented in the field archives. The results

of this collective field research have never been published. The gathered field and archive material and other material (audio and visual) considering the past period from 1951 until today possess the power of a historical document and the associates of the SASA Institute of Ethnography have digitalised this material and prepared a catalogue and saved it from oblivion. The SASA Institute of Ethnography digitalised the Prizren archival material with the financial help of the Secretariat for Culture of the City of Belgrade and published a catalogue in printed and electronic versions called “The Images, Sounds and the Words of Forgotten Prizren” (Bašić 2017). As Radojičić points out:

“This endeavour is especially important when we realise that there are no Serbian families in Prizren today. The Prizren material is undoubtedly of invaluable scientific, cultural and social significance and that is why it gained more value, the value of preserving the memories of a former common life of different nations and ethnic groups in the area of Prizren” (Radojičić 2017).

The catalogue also contains a hand-drawn plan of Prizren from 1875.

At a time when interdisciplinarity wasn’t given so much importance, but, in accordance with the good humanistic tradition, it was nurtured, SAS Institute of Ethnography gathered representatives of different scientific disciplines, encouraging and supporting their work on mutual project tasks. On the occasion of the 50th jubilee of the SASA Institute of Ethnography, academician Dragoslav Antonijević wrote:

“From the very beginning, the Institute has nurtured a unique methodological principle for field research. The developed questionnaires as a safe guide for field work were a good basis

and, most importantly, the researcher had to, depending on personal talent and inspiration, connect and feel solidarity with the respondents among people who may tell them even seemingly insignificant details that, at times, reveal the most ethnological meaning”.

The work of the SASA Institute⁵ is still focused on research work, where a special place belongs to complex field research. Thanks to them, the SASA Institute of Ethnography has gathered and published extensive ethnographic material.

Although over time the anthropogeographic paradigm has been increasingly abandoned, and since the 1960s ethnologists have dealt with classical ethnological topics, focusing after the 1970s on new directions and approaches (structuralism and understanding culture as a symbolic system, a constructivist approach to identity problems, etc.), elements of the anthropogeographic approach remain present. (Prelić 2017, 73–78).

Not only in Serbia, where the development of ethnology and anthropology had a specific developmental path, but in general, the science of people or *Volkskunde*, which is a term first used by Johann Gottfried Herder (who studied literature, philosophy, law and theology, and was the first to start collecting folk songs; with the exception of the romantic 19th century and national awakenings where the focus was on the “spirit and the character of single nations”) was marked

5 For more information on development and work of the SASA Institute of Ethnography see Barjaktarović 1963, 287–300; Vlahović 1987, 1–301; Vlahović 1979, 9–19; Vasović 1994; Drobnjaković 1948, 27–39; Drobnjaković 1960, 9–41; Đorđević 1926, 45–53; Đorđević 1984, 9–37; Erdeljanović, 1932, 1–206; Erdeljanović 1927, Jovan Cvijić and our science of people, XV–XXXV; Kovačević 2001(I), 1, 1–261, Kovačević 2001 (II), 1–276; Kostić 1952, 8–76 and 166–176; Lukić Krstanović and Divac, Zorica, 2009, 201–221; Lutovac 1974, 75–81; Milenković 2008, 41–50; Pavković 1992, 1–18; Prelić, 2008, 9–25).

by field research. This field research was the study of own people, unlike anthropology (Völkerskunde, Social anthropology, Cultural anthropology), whose beginnings and development were focused on studying other nations, mostly those who were colonized, and therefore the label “colonial” science.

Nevertheless, both ethnology and anthropology have always been closely connected to ethnography (*ethnos*, “people” and *graphéin*, “write, describe”), which is focused on field research, that is, the collection and recording of data from the field. Whether we see ethnography only as a necessary phase in ethnological and anthropological work, or as mere collection of materials, whether we understand it as a case study, directed towards the individual, surpassed by ethnology “as a comparative (sub)discipline that studies peoples and their cultures” or anthropology “as a theoretical science about man, cultural and society” (for more information see Đorđević 2017, 11–16 and Stvanović 2017, 79–83), ethnographic research that involves going to the field and considering not only people and their cultures but also the space in which they live, remained an integral part of ethnology and anthropology and the “cultural-historic approach that dominated in anthropogeographic patterns of settlements and populations studies, together with its ethnic categorisations and stereotypes, remained present throughout most of the 20th century” (see Stojić Mitrović 2017, 195).

When it comes to field research, maps and memories, the key word that appears is space. In *The Small Lexicon of Serbian Culture, Ethnology and Anthropology*, whose authors are the associates of the SASA Institute of Ethnography, Srđan Radović gives the following definition of space:

“SPACE” (word of pre-Slavic and old-Slavic origin *просторъ*, лат. *spatium*), together with time, represents a basic form or category of the existence of the material world. Space is a

complex abstract term that is defined in different ways from different scientific perspectives, and most often in physics, mathematics, philosophy and geography. [...] Space can be observed as a relative space, that is, a relational category; in social sciences this definition of space is more like a scene of the experiential relationship to the world of a being, primarily determined by its 'relationship to the environment', which Merleau-Ponty defines as anthropological space (as opposed to geometrical space). In social sciences, Lefebvre's distinction between absolute ('natural') space and social is significant. Social space consists of complex forms of spatiality whose meanings are socially produced, and space can be observed (and considered) on more epistemological and interpretative levels (e.g. Soja's distinction of the first 'real', the second 'symbolic' and the third space, that is at the same time realistically experiential and imaginary). Observing space in comparison to its semantic capacities in cultural-geographic views of Yi Fu Tuan space is opposed with the term place: according to him, space is a location without social connection that wasn't given (cultural) value (somewhat analogous to the concepts of absolute and the first space), and place is a location created by human experience and filled with different meanings. The cultural-semantic characteristics of space became a subject of research with a so-called cultural twist in geographic science, but even today space is more often considered within the concept of absolute space in most social and humanistic research paradigms. The science that primarily studies space is geography and geographical space is space that is organised by society, that is, human communities in relation to the natural environment. Components that comprise geographical space are natural, social and economic el-

ements (social and humanistic sciences often describe social characteristics of space), and the categories of spatial analyses are place, landscape, area (region), territory and human interactions. Besides geography, where space (space of earth surface) is one of the primary research subjects, other social sciences research space, or it presents one of the aspects or frameworks of (individual) research. In anthropology, space as a research subject becomes prominent after the so-called spatial twist, after which space is not seen only as a neutral lattice but like 'an essential component of sociocultural theory' and it starts being seen as a cultural construction, and questions arise as to how it is meaningfully shaped and the like. A sub-discipline that is focused on these questions is called anthropology of space. Before post structural/post-modern changes in anthropological science, space presented one of many frames of ethno-anthropological research – it was certainly important as a framework and scope of field research and had in some paradigms additional significance as an important parameter in scientific explications. That was especially the case in different diffusion approaches, such as considering the so-called cultural circles, cultural areas, cultural configurations, etc. (Frobenius, Graebner, Kroeber and others). In anthropological paradigms that put less emphasis on spatial aspects of culture, space was important as a 'container' of culture that was studied, that is, the location and geographic scope of field research and interpretation. These were most often small and rare indigenous communities, inhabiting a relatively limited geographical area. In continental European ethnologies, domestic population was mostly studied ('societies without the alphabet'), where rural communities and village were very often placed as a framework of the

ethnographic/ethnological field. However, with the dynamic changes in the period of modernism, and the disintegration and transformation of traditional communities that ethnologists and anthropologists studied, there was a questioning of the isomorphism of culture, community and space as a model of disciplinary consideration and the spatial frameworks of research due to intensified migration and globalisation processes. New circumstances brought a re-examination of the (limited) spatial scope of classical ethnographic fields and a reconsidering of the location and locality of ethno-anthropological research. If one or more spatial variables are explicit, and the distinctive variable is interpreted, the research can be considered spatial and spatial variables can be: area, range, distance, direction, isolation, diffusion, and others. If we accept the aforementioned point of view, it could be said that even the first formal ethnological studies in Serbia were, at the same time, spatial. With Jovan Cvijić joining the Ethnographic Board in the Serbian Royal Academy the door was wide open for the implementation of anthropogeographic principles in ethnological research that, at that time, almost completely researched life and the origin of rural populations. The Anthropogeographic School would become the theoretical and methodological framework of early Serbian ethnology, and during the first part of the 20th century a line of research that, according to Cvijić's instructions, regularly described the village, and the rural population and way of life, taking into account the spatial geographical and natural circumstances of the area. Frequently addressed issues, such as origins, migrations and "metanastasic movements", point to a pronounced spatial-geographic component in this research. This approach put geographical area (regional unit) to be a starting point of

the research and it was then explained in detail (natural and social characteristic of the space, elements of culture, origin of populations, etc.) In this way, the studied spatial areas were described mostly in the edition of *Serbian Ethnographic Journal*, especially in the serial (section) Serbian Settlements. Over time, an increasing number of regional units, as part of the newly formed Yugoslavian state, was ethnologically/ anthropogeographically considered and studies that dealt with separate settlements (mostly rural) were completed. In the second half of the last century, anthropogeographic approach would mostly be abandoned in Serbian ethnology and other theories and methodological approaches would become dominant.” (Radović 2017, 345–350)

Even though Serbian ethnology abandoned the anthropogeographic approach, and together with it the study of spatial aspects of culture, ethnologists and anthropologists remained tied to field research, whether it was domestic or foreign locations where we studied “ours” (minority and emigrant communities), whether it was a rural space or, with the anthropologisation of the discipline, an urban area, real or virtual cyber space, for newer generations of ethnologists and anthropologists, as Radović observes, what remains is the characteristic attitude that the “field is all around us”, and space and its characteristics are increasingly a subject of interest in urban anthropology, that is, “in the most recent period more and more thematically and methodologically intertwined with space anthropology”. (Radović 2017, 345–350).



Map showing the main international connections by railways and waterways of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, s.a.



Map showing the migration patterns and places of seasonal earnings in the 19th century up until the 1970s, s.a. (2 sheets).



VI

COVERING OF “BLANK” AREAS

The work of Desanka Nikolić, *Field Research*, testifies to the significance of field research in ethnology and anthropology, as well as in the activities of the Institute (Nikolić 1997, 31–40). At the beginning of the paper, she emphasises the fundamental focus of ethnology on field research: “Ethnology, as it is well known, relies mostly on field research”, recalling that the first period of the Institute’s work could be characterised as a ‘golden age’ of field research when lesser-known and authentic phenomena of the traditional rural culture of the Serbian people could be registered and ‘discovered’ and, when it comes to methodology, the foundations for field research were laid at the Institute. We should not forget that at that time complex monographic research started (as a continuation of the work on monographs as part of *the Serbian Ethnographic Journal*), which even to this day represent the permanent scientific task of the Institute. Their goal was ‘to cover blank areas’, that is, to research ethnologically unexplored areas in Serbia” (Nikolić 1997, 31, 32). Geographical maps were intended for the covering of blank areas, which are now part of the archival materials of the SASA Institute of Ethnography and which we hope will see the full light of day and become a subject of interest of current and future generations

of ethnologists and anthropologists. And this is how our interest in them began.

• • •

Geographic maps are kept in the hallway and one room of the current premises of the SASA Institute of Ethnography. For decades, unnoticed, they were covered in dust. Researchers walked through the hallway of the Institute every day, passing by the large classic wooden cabinet that was purchased in the middle of the last century. In the lower part of that cabinet, closed by a large wooden door and secured with a padlock, are the geographic maps, once the most important equipment of anthropogeographers and ethnologists, the first generations of researchers at the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, later the SASA Institute of Ethnography. The upper part of the cabinet is glazed and contains books. The cabinet is used by researchers to lean on while having a conversation, when meeting in the hallway, or looking at the invitations for book promotions, which are mostly found on that cabinet, and has become a sort of spontaneous meeting point for informal, daily, casual gatherings, or during some seminars, workshops or celebrations at the Institute.

Almost no one ever asked what was in the lower, locked part. Maps, now hidden from view, once served to cover the unexplored, “blank areas”, to record the areas visited by researchers, areas that might be revisited, to make plans for future field research and, of course, to be guides for researchers when they embarked on a journey.

In addition to the spatial blank areas, there are blank, unfilled and unwritten areas of the memories of former Institute researchers, and their memories of the field. Dragana Radojičić, director of the SASA Institute of Ethnography, shared her memory of Miljana Milja Radovanović and her stories about field research, which was

the key motivation to finally take these maps out of the cabinet, form an archive fund and prepare a number of the maps for scanning, to tell their story and record it. It is true, words really fly, and what is written remains.

Miljana Radovanović, PhD, joined the SASA Institute of Ethnography in 1962 and retired in 1987. Her retirement was only a formality since she, as long as her health would permit, until the very end of her life, regularly came to the Institute and was very active:

"Although she was an anthropogeographer, she dealt with various issues from ethnology, folk art and folklore, as well as the history of ethnology (Vuk Karadžić-ethnologist and folklorist, Branislav Nušić – ethnologist and folklorist). As an anthropogeographer she researched settlements, migrations and other topics. She participated in many professional and scientific meetings both at home and abroad", Breda Vlahović writes about her (Vlahović 1997, 62).

Miljana Radovanović's work "Work Perspectives at the Institute of Ethnography" (Radovanović 1972, 13–16) contains a *Comprehensive Map of Field Research at the Institute of Ethnography*, which was handwritten by Miljana herself for the needs of the field.

This is Dragana Radojčić's, PhD, memory of Milja Radovanović and the time she first learned about the existence of the archival geographic maps at the Institute of Ethnography:

"While, during my first few years at the SASA Institute of Ethnography, I regularly returned home by trolley bus number 11, holding Milja Radovanović, the daughter of the first director of the Serbian Academy of Science Institute of Ethnography, academician Vojislav Radovanović, by her hand, I

would learn a lot about the first research, and the various adventures in the field. She would lean on my arm and, smiling, talk about the days when she started working at the Institute. That's how I heard the story about the geographic maps and how she made and listed them herself, wondering sadly who would be interested in them now.

I was really interested, from when I first heard about them, but there was always something 'more important' that prevented work on former field research and the maps in the old cabinet. Collecting the famous points reduced the possibility of dedicating time to this archival treasure, about which, even now, we don't know everything. We can only catch a glimpse and hope that this monograph, where we speak about the archival geographic maps for the first time, might be of interest to the current generations of researchers and encourage them to use this collection for their works and reflections on the field research and the history of the institute they work for and whose history they have now become a part of. We can hope that they will list the maps, make an inventory and description, form an archival fund, perhaps even a catalogue, a digital collection with accompanying metadata, organize an exhibition and, thus, prevent the memory of the beginnings of the work of the Institute of Ethnography, and of the paths their predecessors passed from being forgotten."

Removing the first layers of dust from the geographic maps, we discovered, with the help of our colleague Bojana Vuković, a documentarian/archivist of the SASA Institute of Ethnography, and the expert team of the Archives of Vojvodina, to whose dedication, exceptional expertise, but also enthusiasm with which they approached the work of arranging and digitalizing maps, we owe much gratitude

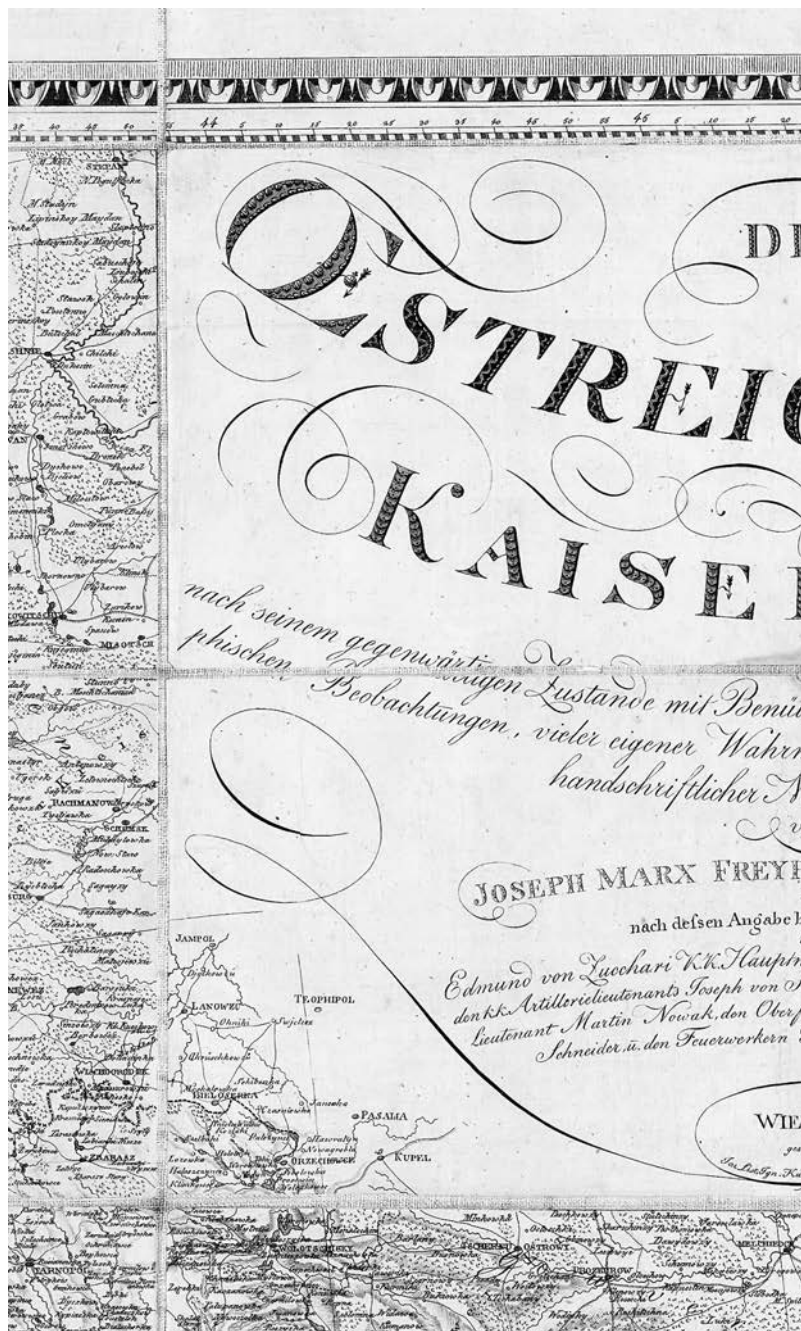
for the realisation of this project that the Institute, at a rough estimate, comprises around 2,500 maps. We should bear in mind that the archive contains a large number of maps from the 19th century as well as maps from the territory of the whole of Yugoslavia, including examples from before the Second World War.

Some of these maps were made at the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and were handwritten by the researchers and some of the maps were received as gifts or bought and carefully preserved. In the beginning they were listed in the inventory book up to number 275 and later on papers.

From those first decades of the work of the Institute of Ethnography only one inventory book was preserved, while other maps were hand listed by Miljana Radovanović on graph paper and there is a proportion without any other descriptions.

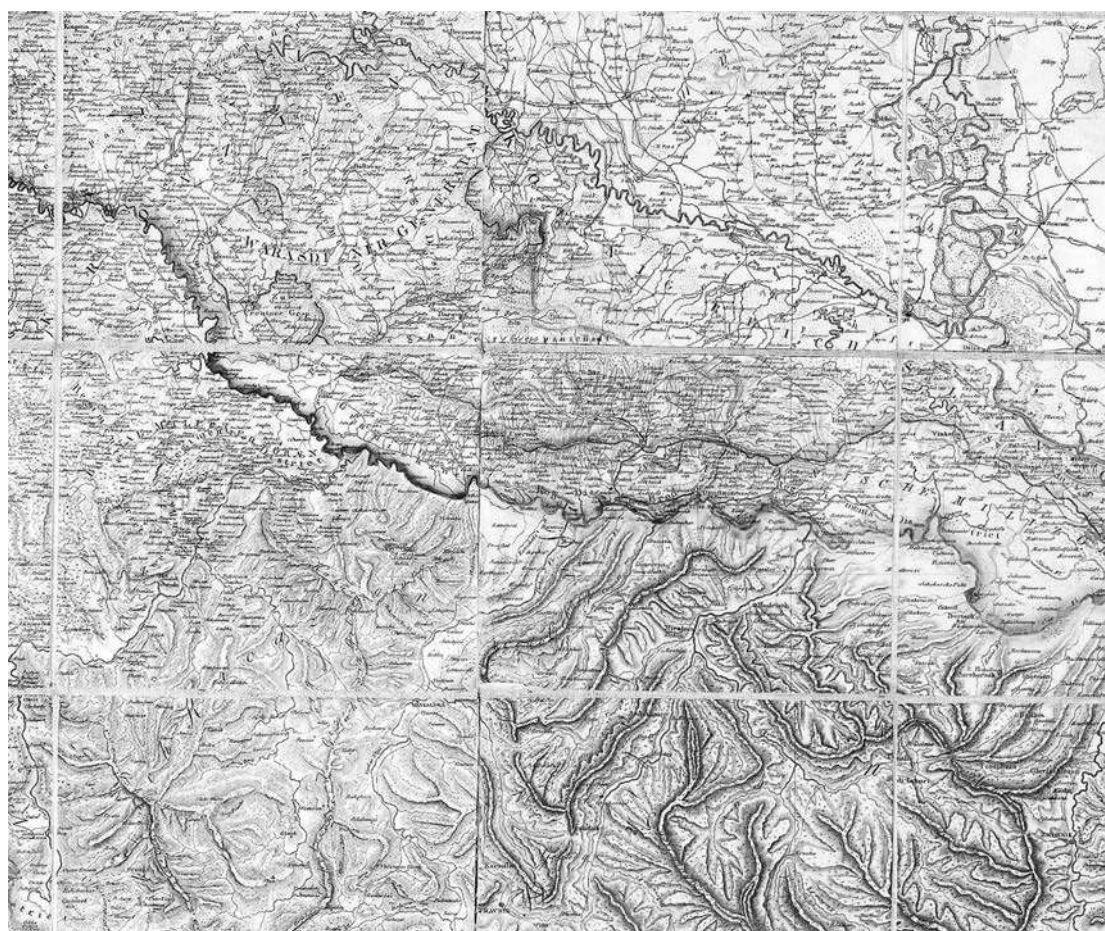
The content of the maps is diverse, some are well-preserved, some ready for "treatment" and restoration, and there are also many duplicates. The experts from the Archives of Vojvodina helped us, without whose assistance and efforts the maps from the Archives of the SASA Institute of Ethnography, which are presented here, would never have been processed or shown to the public. Participating in the processing and the digitalisation of the maps were the following: Zagorka Avakumović and Ljiljana Bubnjević, senior archivists; for scanning and processing the maps we would like to thank Ildiko Mergeš, (senior archivist), Vladimir Mučibabić, (photographer), Vesna Dobrosavljev (archive assistant), Višnja Nikolić (conservator of paper) and Maja Jokmanović (conservator of paper), to all of whom we owe much gratitude.

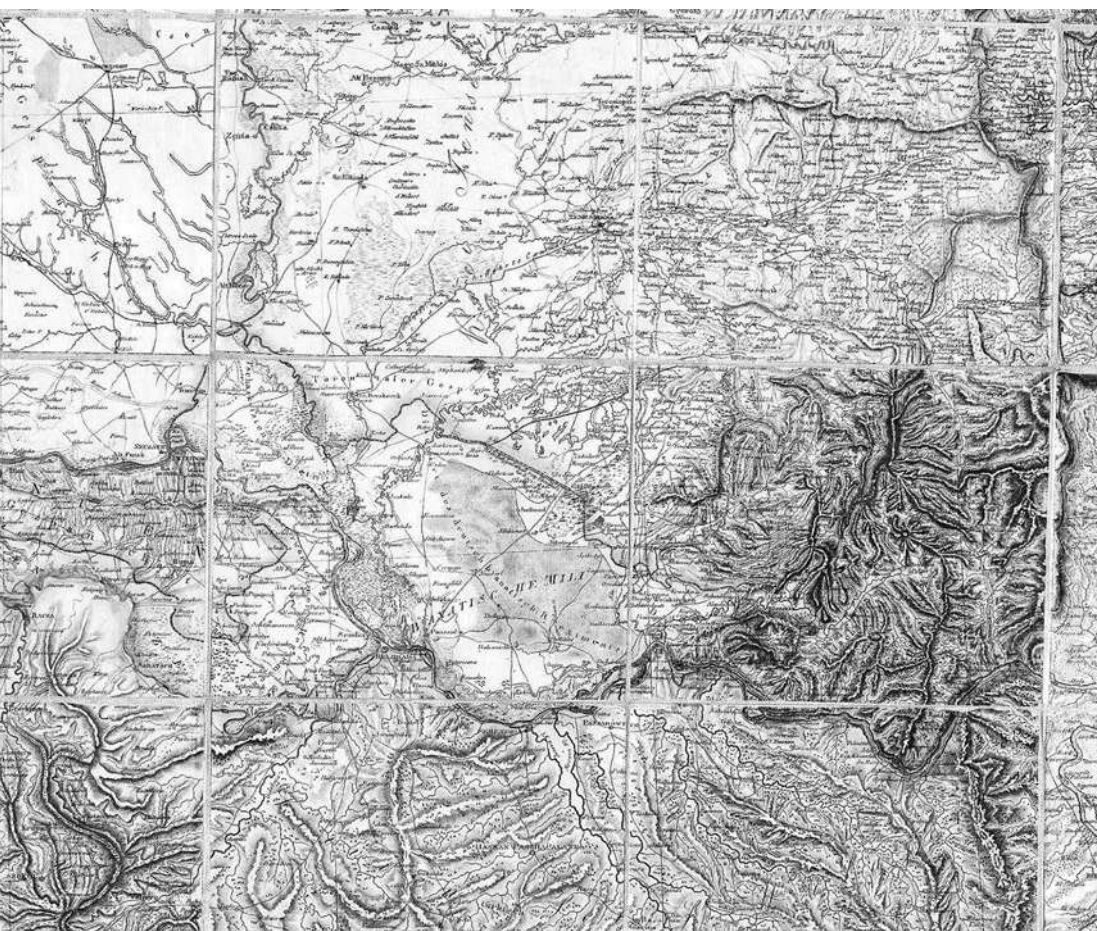
The first step in the long-term work of arranging the archives has been made, but in order for it to be completely organised and listed, it will take a lot of time and serious work. The maps are very diverse in subject and most of them differ significantly from the





The Military Frontier of
the Austrian Empire





С П И С А К

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| 3) Аранђеловац ✓ | 54) Вел. Црвени ✓ | 85) Дебели Југ ✓ |
| 4) Вагдани ✓ | 55) Вел. Чукар ✓ | 86) Дружетићи ✓ |
| 5) Вајина Багта ✓ | 56) Вел. Градиште ✓ | 87) Драгобрати ✓ |
| 6) Врезовица ✓ | 57) Вел. Пчелица ✓ | 88) Дубока ✓ |
| 7) Ванаки ✓ | 58) Врачевница ✓ | 89) Доња Борина ✓ |
| 8) Вранковица ✓ | 59) Врвска ✓ | 90) Драга ✓ |
| 9) Ведајка ✓ | 60) Врх Поље ✓ | 91) Давићи ✓ |
| 10) Брајковац ✓ | 61) Вршица ✓ | 92) Добра ✓ |
| 12) Браничево ✓ | 62) Владимирци ✓ | 93) Добрача ✓ |
| 12) Весеровина ✓ | 63) Вуковић ✓ | 94) Дривача ✓ |
| 13) Вачевци ✓ | 64) Вукићевица ✓ | 95) Дубравица ✓ |
| 14) Вегаљница ✓ | 65) Вујетићи ✓ | 96) Дебци ✓ |
| 15) Вожевац ✓ | 66) Вел. Крш ✓ | 97) Доња Комарина ✓ |
| 16) Вела Црква ✓ | 67) Гарани ✓ | 98) Дубока ✓ |
| 17) Вуковско ✓ | 68) Горња Вуковица ✓ | 99) Деспотовица ✓ |
| 18) Вели Поток ✓ | 69) Голубац ✓ | 100) Доња Шаторна ✓ |
| 19) Вунар ✓ | 70) Глоговац ✓ | 101) Драгијевица ✓ |
| 20) Врв Паланка ✓ | 71) Голубиње ✓ | 102) Драгинац ✓ |
| 21) Вељак ✓ | 72) Глушци ✓ | 103) Дубовац ✓ |
| 22) Вељаница ✓ | 73) Горевница ✓ | 104) Дупљане ✓ |
| 23) Врезовица ✓ | 74) Гроцка ✓ | 105) Ђагубица ✓ |
| 24) Вашичина ✓ | 75) Грошница ✓ | 106) Ђабари ✓ |
| 25) Благојев Камен ✓ | 76) Горнак ✓ | 107) Златово ✓ |
| 26) Вршићи ✓ | 77) Грабовица ✓ | 108) Зворник ✓ |
| 27) Вачић ✓ | 78) Грмић ✓ | 109) Изварица ✓ |
| 28) Вачевац ✓ | 79) Губеревац ✓ | 110) Јана ✓ |
| 29) Воговаћа ✓ | 80) Гружа ✓ | 111) Јабуковац ✓ |
| 30) Вељковица ✓ | 81) Гушчати ✓ | |
| 31) Братунац ✓ | 82) Горњи Милаковац ✓ | |
| 32) Београд ✓ | | |
| 33) Богатић ✓ | | |
| 34) Бранетићи ✓ | | |
| 35) Бољевих ✓ | | |
| 36) Батошина ✓ | | |
| 37) Бучје ✓ | | |
| 38) Брница ✓ | | |
| 39) Бољетић ✓ | | |
| 40) Букови ✓ | | |
| 41) Вадњевац ✓ | | |
| 42) Валево ✓ | | |
| 43) Ваљевска Каменица ✓ | | |
| 44) Венчане ✓ | | |
| 45) Вичица ✓ | | |
| 46) Виошница ✓ | | |
| 47) Вита Вуква ✓ | | |
| 48) Вели Плана ✓ | | |
| 49) Вел. Поповић ✓ | | |
| 50) Вел. Поповац ✓ | | |
| 51) Вел. Крсна ✓ | | |

List of 1:25,000 maps, s.a.

112) Јабланик ✓	145) Лозница ✓	178) Никшић ✓
113) Јасиково ✓	146) Ђипница ✓	179) Орашац ✓
114) Јаворник ✓	147) Ђиповица ✓	180) Осаница ✓
115) Каона ✓	148) Ђиповик ✓	181) Орач ✓
116) Кладово ✓	149) Лововик ✓	182) Осечина ✓
117) Кладурово ✓	150) Лукица ✓	183) Острво ✓
118) Клење ✓	151) Ђиг ✓	184) Ораховица ✓
119) Клокочевац ✓	152) Ђубиње ✓	185) Оградина ✓
120) Кличевац ✓	153) Ђубичевац ✓	186) Орешковица ✓
121) Кнић —	154) Ђубовија ✓	187) Обреновац ✓
122) Кокирић ✓	155) Мали Борак ✓	188) Осиповица ✓
123) Коцељева ✓	156) Марковац ✓	189) Обрех ✓
124) Косјерић —	157) Мало орашје ✓	190) Овча —
125) Корбовец ✓	158) Мироч ✓	191) Памбуковица ✓
126) Костајник ✓	159) Милатовац ✓	192) Пећина ✓
127) Костолац ✓	160) Михајловац ✓	193) Петровац ✓
128) Козла ✓	161) Мосна ✓	194) Петрово село ✓
129) Крива До —	162) Мок. Вратна ✓	195) Планиница ✓
130) Крагујевац —	163) Моклава ✓	196) Плесни —
131) Крепољин ✓	164) Миријево ✓	197) Прахово ✓
132) Кривељ ✓	165) Мрављаци ✓	198) Причевић ✓
133) Крупаа ✓	166) Младеновац ✓	199) Причиновић ✓
134) Кучево ✓	167) Маљен ✓	200) Присливица —
135) Курјача ✓	168) Мијеница ✓	201) Прљавор ✓
136) Кушљево ✓	169) Мала Крсна ✓	202) Подгорац —
137) Кусадак ✓	170) Мухово —	203) Подравно ✓
138) Ковин ✓	171) Мајдапек ✓	204) Пожаревац ✓
139) Крива Река ✓	172) Мрчајевци —	205) Пољана ✓
140) Карбулово ✓	173) Милошево ✓	206) Постеле ✓
141) Лајковац ✓	174) Мали Пожаревац ✓	207) Пољен ✓
142) Лапово ✓	175) Милићница ✓	208) Петрово Поље ✓
143) Лазаревац ✓	176) Мелица ✓	209) Поповица ✓
144) Мелица ✓	177) Матавићки ✓	210) Рагач ✓

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211) Раброво ✓
 212) Радужевац ✓
 213) Раковица ✓
 214) Рахана ✓
 215) Рановац ✓
 216) Равне ✓
 217) Рача ✓
 218) Речка ✓
 219) Ресник ✓
 220) Рогача 2 ✓
 221) Рогачица ✓
 222) Рибашевина ✓
 223) Рипава 2 ✓
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 229) Смолинац 2 ✓
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 233) Старо Село 2 ✓
 234) Свилеува 2 ✓
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 236) Словац 2 ✓
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 239) Сопот ✓
 240) Светозарево ✓
 241) Сењски Рудник ✓
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 244) Стублине 2 ✓
 245) Степојевац 2 ✓
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 249) Сокопа 2 ✓
 250) Сушица 2 ✓
 251) Струганик 2 ✓
 252) Смед. Паланка 2 ✓
 253) Срем. Митровица 2 ✓
 254) Сеча Рона ✓
 255) Срем. Рача 2 ✓
 256) Сурчин 1 ✓
 257) Старчево 1 ✓
 258) Топола 2 ✓
 259) Текија 2 ✓
 260) Трнава 2 ✓
 261) Тилва Уроша 2 ✓
 262) Троглан Бара
 263) Турција Бара
 264) Турси Северни 2 ✓
 265) Тополовиник 2 ✓
 266) Танда 1 ✓
 267) Тометинско Поље 1 ✓
 268) Умка ✓
 269) Уб 2 ✓
 270) Ужовница 2 ✓
 271) Уприја ✓
 272) Црниће 2 ✓
 273) Црнајна 2 ✓

274) Цер 2 ✓
 275) Црни Врх 2 ✓
 276) Ченгиће 2 ✓
 277) Штавица 2 ✓
 278) Шапица 2 ✓
 279) Табац 1 ✓
 280) Штитар 2 ✓
 281) Штубик 1 ✓
 282)

Список

селекция пасаже. 1:50.000.

1. Вулкан с основанием (селективный индекс). ✓
2. Арктический 1, 2, 3, 4 = 5 км. ✓
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List of 1:50,000 maps, s.a.

59) 2. Муравей / 1, 2, 3, 4 = 4 ко.	90) Творец / 1, 2, 3, 4 = 4 ко.
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classic geographic maps as we remember from elementary school or geography classes. Some maps contain information on ethnicity or religious affiliation, others on railways, land type, etc. Until the archive is completely organised and digitalised, these maps will, unfortunately, not be available for use.

We present here only the list of selected maps of Serbia, but we hope that in further work on the organising, listing and digitalisation of the maps, their description and analysis, along with maps from other areas, mostly those from the former Yugoslavia, as well as interesting and rare maps found in the archives will also be included. For listing the maps presented here, we owe our gratitude to our colleagues from the SASA Institute of Ethnography, Bojana Vuković (documentarian/archivist) and Biljana Vuković Milenković (senior librarian).

SELECTED SCANNED MAPS FROM THE SASA INSTITUTE OF ETHNOGRAPHY

1. Historical-ethnographic-geographic maps of Serbs and Serbian (Yugoslavian) countries in Turkey and Austria; year 1873;
– Historical-ethnographic-geographic maps of Serbs and Serbian (Yugoslavian) countries in Turkey and Austria; year 1873 (copy);
2. Map showing the geographical and cultural ties of Serbia with the Adriatic Sea; year 1912;
3. Map showing different religions in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes according to the census from the 31st January 1921 (Muslims, Evangelists and Greek-Catholics), year 1921;
– Map showing different religions in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by municipalities according to the census from 31st January 1921 (Orthodox), year 1921;

- Map showing different religions in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by municipalities according to census from 31st January 1921 (Catholics), year 1921;
- 4. Map showing native languages in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by municipalities according to census from 31st January 1921 (Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian), year 1921;
- Map showing native languages in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by municipalities according to census from 31st January 1921 (Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian), year 1921;
- Map showing native languages in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by municipalities according to census from 31st January 1921 (Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian), year 1921;
- 5. Geographic distribution of Yugoslavs by majority in municipalities (based on statistical data of the census from 1931), year 1939;
- 6. Map of administrative division of Vojvodina from 1947, year 1947;
- 7. Map showing administrative-territorial division of Belgrade areas, year 1950;
- 8. Export map of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, year 1951;
- 9. Situation plan of the city of Prizren (situation from 1913), year 1954;
- Map showing the location of Prizren and its surroundings, year 1954 (3 copies);
- 10. Agrarian geographic map of the People's Republic of Serbia (distribution of plant production), year 1962;

11. Map showing the Austrian Military Frontier;
12. Map showing European Orient, Wien 1887;
13. Map showing the territory of city of Belgrade, year 1969;
- 14 Railways of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia;
15. Map showing the main international connections by railways and waterways of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, s.a.;
– Map showing the railways destroyed by enemy forces, s.a.;
16. Map showing the migration patterns and places of seasonal earnings in the 19th century up until the 1970s, s.a. (2 sheets).

The archive of geographic and anthropogeographic maps of the SASA Institute of Ethnography contains a number of confidential maps and, therefore, a rulebook on the use of confidential maps has been made, signed by the Head of the Main Geodetic Administration, Dimitrije Milačić. It can be seen from the rulebook that serious importance was given to the preparation, preservation and use of these maps, proportional to the significance former generations gave to the areas where they lived and the country they were the citizens of.

It is interesting that we haven't found many hand-written receipts in the archives. Their analyses could tell an interesting story about past field research of the associates of the SASA Institute of Ethnography and their interests at the time. "The Inventory of books and atlases" was preserved. It is a faded notebook where diligent anthropogeographers and ethnologists wrote down every purchased map. There is only one notebook saved, in which 275 maps are recorded, the last of which was about the municipalities and districts

На основу чл. 5 Уредбе о оснивању и надлежности Главне геодетске управе, а по претходном споразуму са Начелником Географског института ЈА, прописујем

П РА В И Л Н И К

о начину примо-предаје топографских карата размере 1:25000.

Члан 1

Сви оригинали топографских карата размере 1:25000 морају се одмах после штампања предати Архиви планова Главне геодетске управе при Влади ФНРЈ, где ће се чувати у нарочитим орманима.

Члан 2

Примо-предаја отштампаних примерака вршиће се у Географском институту ЈА. Овлашћени службеници Главне геодетске управе примће отштампани број примерака од лица одређеног од стране Географског института ЈА и уписати их у нарочито за то устројену книгу примо-предаје. Извршене примо-предаје потписуће оба службеника који су исту извршили.

Члан 3

Отштампани примерци морају се непосредно по пријему предати Архиви планова Главне геодетске управе, где ће се одмах завести у книгу примо-предаје и сваки примерак нумерисати редним бројем.

Члан 4

Приликом предаје карте уписуће се у книгу примо-предаје, на десној страни, назив установе којој је карта предата, редни број примерака и њихови редни бројеви, а сваки поједини примерак снабдеће се штампом Главне геодетске управе са ознаком "строго поверљиво".

Члан 5

Установе, надлежства и предузећа која купе ове карте дужни су да сами установе книгу евиденције топографских карата и воле тачну евиденцију о примљеном броју примерака, а исто тако и о лицима којима су ове карте дате на употребу.

Главна геодетска управа може пре извршена купо-продаје карата тражити од купца писмену обавезу да ће поступити у складу са претходног става.

Члан 6

Лица овлашћена од надлежства, установа и предузећа која купују топографске карте обавезна су да се упознају са прописима чл. 4-8 овог Правилника и да то у нарочито предвиђеној рубрици у книги примо-предаје ових карата потврде.

Члан 7

Надлежства, установе и предузећа којима су карте продате дужни су у року од три дана да обавесте Главну геодетску управу у случају њиховог губитка или уништења.

Члан 8

Оштећено и за радове неупотребљиве карте установе ће вратити Главној геодетској управи која ће их комисијски уништити. По уништењу ових карата комисија ће додатне државе истих раздати у низи право-предаје, у којој ће се означити и датум уништења.

Члан 9

Неизвршење одредаба овог Правилника у погледу евидентирања, чувања и пријављивања нестанка ових карата повлачи дисциплинуку одговорност одговорног службеника уколико негова радна не претставља привично дело.

Члан 10

Овај Правилник ступа на снагу даном потписивања.

13. фебруара 1948 год.

у Београду.

НАЧЕЛНИК
ГЛАВНЕ ГЕОДЕТСКЕ УПРАВЕ,
Д-р. Милешић, с.р.

ГЛАВНА ГЕОДЕТСКА УПРАВА
при Влади ФНРЈ

Бр. 768

13. II. 1948 год.

Београд



НАРОДНА СРБИЈА СРБИЈА
РЕПУБЛИКА НАУКА
СТЕДИТЕЛСКИ ИНСТИТУТ

Бр. 379

30-IV 1949 год.

БЕОГРАД

Релје

кредитног фонда иницијативе
/успеш. и бољег/

7-10. 1956

Младен

Релје на:

- 1) Секунда : Тараки, релје 1:100.000
 - 2) секунда : Тракуме, релје 1:100.000
- за секундарну употребу (19.

подрешена одговорноста)

Насловно право : секунда 1:100.000 Ничи и Јајерас
Брамо 20. VII

18-IV-57г.

Београд.

Зависно одговорноста
свесном Савез. иницијативе.

Ревенс

На (2) две секције 1:100.000 - камак и
кривстај које сам израдио по ЕИСАН за
судбену процједу.

30-X-1957

Високо Ручије

Ревенс

по сензију "Француско" газ. 1:100.000
коју сам израдио по Т. Мозонца -

22-IV-1959

Београд

Рад Бачи

of the SFRY and it was listed on 1st April 1965. It can be assumed that this printed notebook served best for listing due to its structure. The sections were hand-written by the researchers. Based on the different handwriting it can be concluded that map listing wasn't always done by the same person. It is very interesting, from our perspective, to read the sections and look at the faded handwriting, written in different ink.

There are columns: "Number", "Date Enlisted", and "Size". Many maps of very different sizes were found in the archives; for example the scales of 1:2,000,000, 1:3,000,000, 1:5,000,000, etc. The columns that follow are "Author's name and short book title" (here they put the map description); "How many", divided into subheadings ("Notebooks" and "Copies"); the number 1 was usually written in the section "Copies", but there are some with 2,3,5, and 10.

The second page starts with the section "Binding" and it is always left blank. Then follows the section "How was the book procured" (by whose decision, the account number and date). The data entered here is very different and interesting. For instance, it says:

"Purchased from the Naučna Knjiga on account No. 4154 on 11th May 1955" or "Made in SAS IE" as well as "Received from the director of SAS IE", then "Received from the Board"; "Bought from the company Rad on account No. 10.166 from 24th December 1952". Then the section "Value-dinars and " (there are various entries -from 20 dinars, then 38, 50, 75, 450, 960 or even 1,500, 2,000, 3,000 dinars per map); the last section that had the least data was "Comments".

ИНВЕНТАР

Број	Датум вешта- чења	Датум попу- њивања	ИМЕ ПИШЧЕВО и кратки написи књиге	КОЛИКО	
				својом	примерком
1.	15-IV-1947	15-IV-1947	својом Републике Београд-Луба	1	1
2.	"	"	Београд	1	1
3.	"	"	Битољ	1	1
4.	"	"	Бјеловар	1	1
5.	"	"	Брод	1	1
6.	"	"	Бис	1	1
7.	"	"	Тоден (Edessa)	1	1
8.	"	"	Ниша	1	1
9.	"	"	Грэх	1	1
10.	"	"	Дубровник	1	1

КЊИГА И АТЛАСА

ПОВЕЛ	КАКО ЈЕ КЊИГА НАБАВЉЕНА (по чијој одлуци, дат. бр. и датум)	ВРЕДНОСТ		ПРИМЕДА
		Денара	и	
1	по одлуци бр. 248/47 тј.	30		
1	" "	30		
1	" "	30		
1	" "	30		
1	" "	30		
1	" "	30		
1	" "	30		
1	" "	30		
1	" "	30		
1	" "	30		

Својом републике

Књига и атласи (по чијој одлуци, дат. бр. и датум)

The Inventory of books and atlases

ИНВЕНТАР

Број	Датум издавања	Вид издања	ИМЕ ПИШЧЕВО и КРАТКИ НАПОМЕНЕ КЪЛЮ	КОЛИКО	
				својом	проверено
154	16-III 1949	1 изданье	Nelles, Prischina, Sauton	2	2
152	19-III 1949	1 изданье	Der Österreichische Staatsrat Wien 1910	3	1
153	10-III 1949	1 изданье	Erzählung Ungarn 1-10	10	1
154	11-III 1949	1 изданье	Freitag 9. Schachtel von Litteraturreisen	1	1
155	11-III 1949	1 изданье	Freitag 9. Schachtel von Litteraturreisen (Litteratur) u. Achomine	1	1
156	11-III 1949	1 изданье	Freitag 9. Schachtel der Schachtel	1	1
157	18-III 1949	1 изданье	Landthe F. Bulgarien u. Ost-Bulgarien	1	1
158	19-III 1949	1 изданье	Literatur Reisen Litteraturreisen Berlin	1	1
159	19-III 1949	1 изданье	Didona	1	1
160	19-III 1949	1 изданье	Ngelene	1	1

ПОВЕЗ		КАКО ЈЕ КЊИГА НАБАВЉЕНА (по члору одлуке, год. бр. и датум)	ВРЕДНОСТ	ПРИМЕДБА
број като	показало			
		50 франгу бр. 942 у 10-11-68	50	✓
		50 франгу бр. 22 у 11-5-68	200	✓ 100000 100000
1		50 франгу бр. 129 у 9-5-68	500	✓
1		_____	20	✓
1		_____	25	✓
1		_____	20	✓
1		50 франгу бр. 160 у 12-5-68	40	✓
1		50 франгу бр. 234 у 18-5-68	1000	✓ 100000 100000
1		_____	35	✓
1		_____	35	✓

ИНВЕНТАР КЊИ

[illegible]

ГА И АТЛАСА

[illegible]

По ул. К. Остров. Направления движения транспорта обозначены знаками № 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3075, 3076, 3077, 3078, 3079, 3080, 3081, 3082, 3083, 3084, 3085, 3086, 3087, 3088, 3089, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3097, 3098, 3099, 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105, 3106, 3107, 3108, 3109, 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3118, 3119, 3120, 3121, 3122, 3123, 3124, 3125, 3126, 3127, 3128, 3129, 3130, 3131, 3132, 3133, 3134, 3135, 3136, 3137, 3138, 3139, 3140, 3141, 3142, 3143, 3144, 3145, 3146, 3147, 3148, 3149, 3150, 3151, 3152, 3153, 3154, 3155, 3156, 3157, 3158, 3159, 3160, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3164, 3165, 3166, 3167, 3168, 3169, 3170, 3171, 3172, 3173, 3174, 3175, 3176, 3177, 3178, 3179, 3180, 3181, 3182, 3183, 3184, 3185, 3186, 3187, 3188, 3189, 3190, 3191, 3192, 3193, 3194, 3195, 3196, 3197, 3198, 3199, 3200, 3201, 3202, 3203, 3204, 3205, 3206, 3207, 3208, 3209, 3210, 3211, 3212, 3213, 3214, 3215, 3216, 3217, 3218, 3219, 3220, 3221, 3222, 3223, 3224, 3225, 3226, 3227, 3228, 3229, 3230, 3231, 3232, 3233, 3234, 3235, 3236, 3237, 3238, 3239, 3240, 3241, 3242, 3243, 3244, 3245, 3246, 3247, 3248, 3249, 3250, 3251, 3252, 3253, 3254, 3255, 3256, 3257, 3258, 3259, 3260, 3261, 3262, 3263, 3264, 3265, 3266, 3267, 3268, 3269, 3270, 3271, 3272, 3273, 3274, 3275, 3276, 3277, 3278, 3279, 3280, 3281, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3285, 3286, 3287, 3288, 3289, 3290, 3291, 3292, 3293, 3294, 3295, 3296, 3297, 3298, 3299, 3300, 3301, 3302, 3303, 3304, 3305, 3306, 3307, 3308, 3309, 3310, 3311, 3312, 3313, 3314, 3315, 3316, 3317, 3318, 3319, 3320, 3321, 3322, 3323, 3324, 3325, 3326, 3327, 3328, 3329, 3330, 3331, 3332, 3333, 3334, 3335, 3336, 3337, 3338, 3339, 3340, 3341, 3342, 3343, 3344, 3345, 3346, 3347, 3348, 3349, 3350, 3351, 3352, 3353, 3354, 3355, 3356, 3357, 3358, 3359, 3360, 3361, 3362, 3363, 3364, 3365, 3366, 3367, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3371, 3372, 3373, 3374, 3375, 3376, 3377, 3378, 3379, 3380, 3381, 3382, 3383, 3384, 3385, 3386, 3387, 3388, 3389, 3390, 3391, 3392, 3393, 3394, 3395, 3396, 3397, 3398, 3399, 3400, 3401, 3402, 3403, 3404, 3405, 3406, 3407, 3408, 3409, 3410, 3411, 3412, 3413, 3414, 3415, 3416, 3417, 3418, 3419, 3420, 3421, 3422, 3423, 3424, 3425, 3426, 3427, 3428, 3429, 3430, 3431, 3432, 3433, 3434, 3435, 3436, 3437, 3438, 3439, 3440, 3441, 3442, 3443, 3444, 3445, 3446, 3447, 3448, 3449, 3450, 3451, 3452, 3453, 3454, 3455, 3456, 3457, 3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3462, 3463, 3464, 3465, 3466, 3467, 3468, 3469, 3470, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3475, 3476, 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 3481, 3482, 3483, 3484, 3485, 3486, 3487, 3488, 3489, 3490, 3491, 3492, 3493, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3497, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3510, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3523, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3534, 3535, 3536, 3537, 3538, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 3571, 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575, 3576, 3577, 3578, 3579, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584, 3585, 3586, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593, 3594, 3595, 3596, 3597, 3598, 3599, 3600, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3604, 3605, 3606, 3607, 3608, 3609, 3610, 3611, 3612, 3613, 3614, 3615, 3616, 3617, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3621, 3622, 3623, 3624, 3625, 3626, 3627, 3628, 3629, 3630, 3631, 3632, 3633, 3634, 3635, 3636, 3637, 3638, 3639, 3640, 3641, 3642, 3643, 3644, 3645, 3646, 3647, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3652, 3653, 3654, 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3664, 3665, 3666, 3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671, 3672, 3673, 3674, 3675, 3676, 3677, 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 3717, 3718, 3

VII

“NOT ALL THOSE WHO WANDER ARE LOST” (INVITATION FOR THE VOYAGE⁶)

C*arta* (lat. *charta*), is a word of Greek origin, from *χάρτης*, which means a sheet of papyrus or paper. Geographic maps are scaled-down, coded representations of geographic reality, showing selected objects and properties, which depend on the choice and the needs of the cartographer. Conventional maps have been made on paper and that is why, unlike virtual, digital examples, they are called real maps. Besides being a coded representation, a certain dose of deformation is necessary when making geographical maps, since the curved earth surface cannot be shown in a flat plane without any deformations, and the type and degree of deformation depend on the geographical projection. Nevertheless, since maps are the source of information that enables navigation in an unknown space, every geographic map must be accurate, comprehensive in content, and must be aesthetically designed.

⁶ The subheading of the epilogue is an allusion to the song of Charles Baudelaire that starts with words: “Child. Sister, think how sweet to go out there and live together!” that, at the same time, functions as a reminder to newer generations that the essence of ethnology and anthropology is in traveling and being with people.

Maps in the past did not have only an informative value but an aesthetic one as well, and some old maps are considered fine works of art due to their exceptional artistic value. Maps can be topographic, with the usual general geographic elements (landscape, water, vegetation, settlements, roads, borders) while thematic ones show great diversity and are usually divided into geological, pedological, meteorological, hydrological, vegetation, demographic, school, political, historical, linguistic, military, etc. They used to be referred to as special or applied maps before 1934. They can be of different proportions. In addition to the word map, the word plan is also used. These are the maps with the largest scale (up to 1:10,000). Topographic maps that are made in a scale of less than 1:500,000 are called chorographic or geographic overview maps, and can show countries, regions, continents and even the Earth. Apart from land, people also mapped the oceans and seas (nautical maps), as well as the skies (astronomical maps). There is a human need to navigate and organise the meaning of maps, including the earthly, nautical and heavenly expanses, and it didn't stop there. In addition to mapping this world, man has also mapped other worlds, so that there are maps of the Moon (selenographic maps), which were created in the 17th century, based on visual observations, whereas today the maps of other worlds are based on images returned from spacecraft.

The word map comes from the Latin expression *mappa mundi*, "map of the world". The first part, the word *mappa*, means "napkin, towel, cloth" (on which the maps are drawn), and it also means "table cloth, signal cloth, flag". The exact origin of the word *mappa* in Latin is unknown, but Quintilian says that is a word of Punic (Semitic) origin, (compare Talmudic, Hebrew *mappa*, contraction from Mishnah Hebrew *menaphaha*, "fluttering flag, cloth"). Since the 17th century, it has been used figuratively as a "detailed presentation of

something". *Mapping* means the activity or the process of creating images or diagrams to represent something.

From the original representation of spatial reference points, mankind has moved on to the mapping of the universe, but also to the mapping of inner microcosms, to genetic maps, as well as mind maps (cognitive maps). In fact, mapping has always been about recording the meaning and preserving knowledge, no matter what the maps were dedicated to. The visualisation of concepts is something that is inherent in human thinking. Hence, today's conceptual mapping is developing increasingly. This is a technique of visualising connections between different concepts, or making diagrams that show connections between them, which serve to stimulate the production of ideas and increase creativity, and are, at the same time, a form of the preservation and summary of knowledge and its hierarchy.

This book is dedicated to preserving the memory of the beginning of the SASA Institute of Ethnography and summarising knowledge of its work, as well as retaining the memory of places former associates of the Institute visited, researched and recorded. Finally, it recalls the memories of some former theoretical assumptions on which the development of ethnology in Serbia was based, of which maps were an integral part, bearing in mind the fact that ethnology started as part of anthropogeography, reminding us of the development path of ethnology, with its occasional diversions and wanderings.

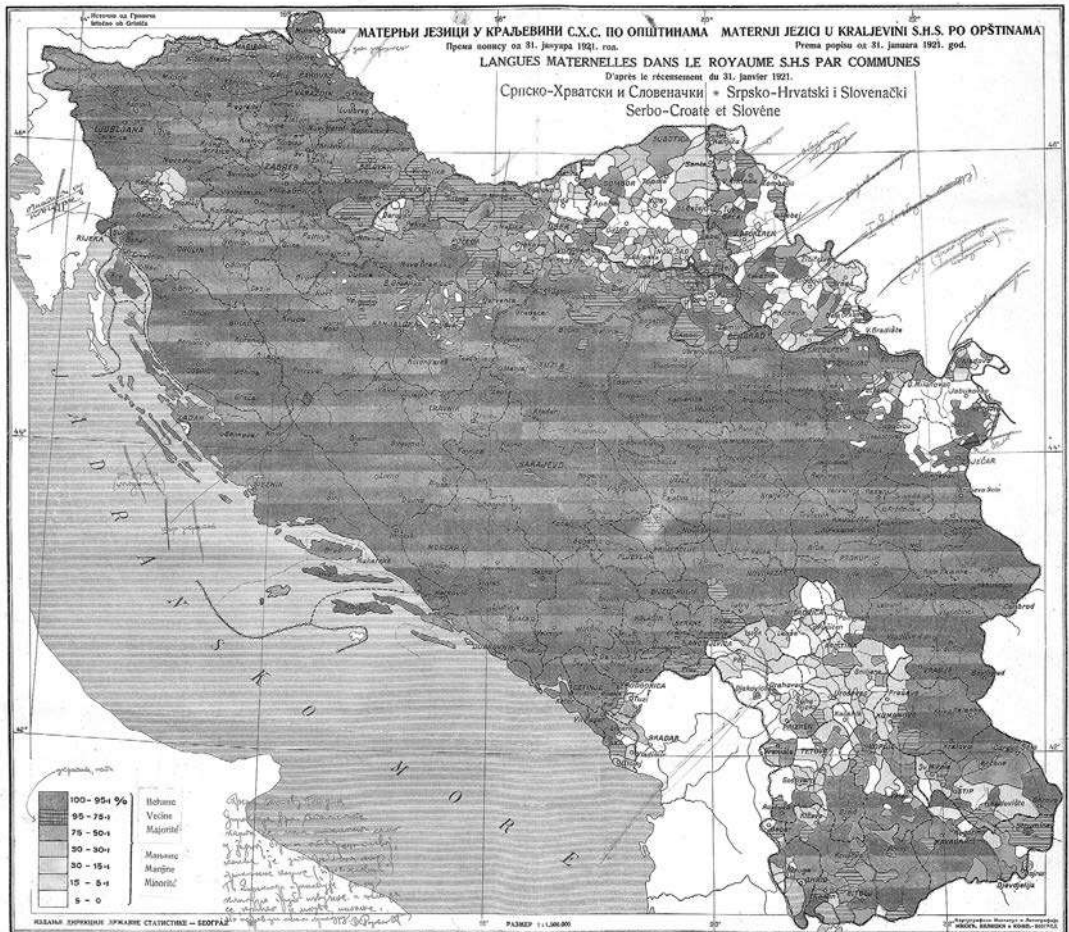
The current associates of the Institute have the task of listing, processing and digitalizing these memories, which are preserved in the form of geographic and ethnographic maps from the archives of the SASA Institute of Ethnography, and thus enabling some new cognitive insight and research adventures and travels, even in the virtual world, to some future generations of ethnologists, inviting them on new journeys. Both the journeys and the subsequent encounters are the cradle of ethnology.



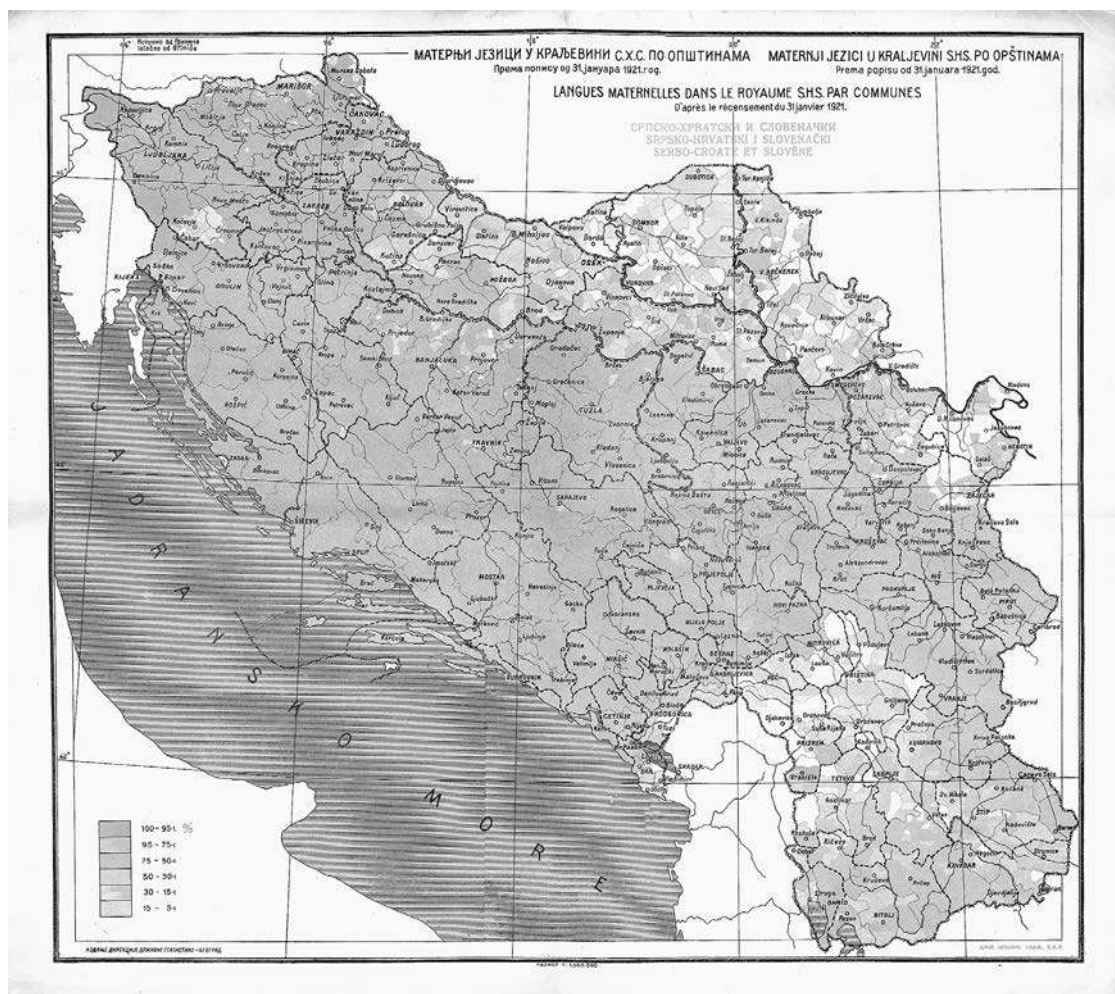
The map showing an overview of the field research of the SASA
Institute of Ethnography

We end the book by recalling the words "Not all those who wander are lost" by the great lover of maps, author of cartographic imaginings, and creator of the geography of fictional worlds and anthropology of fantastic creatures, J.R.R. Tolkien, who began his famous novel *The Lord of the Rings* by drawing a map⁷. He concluded that it is easier to make a story starting from a map than a map starting from a story.

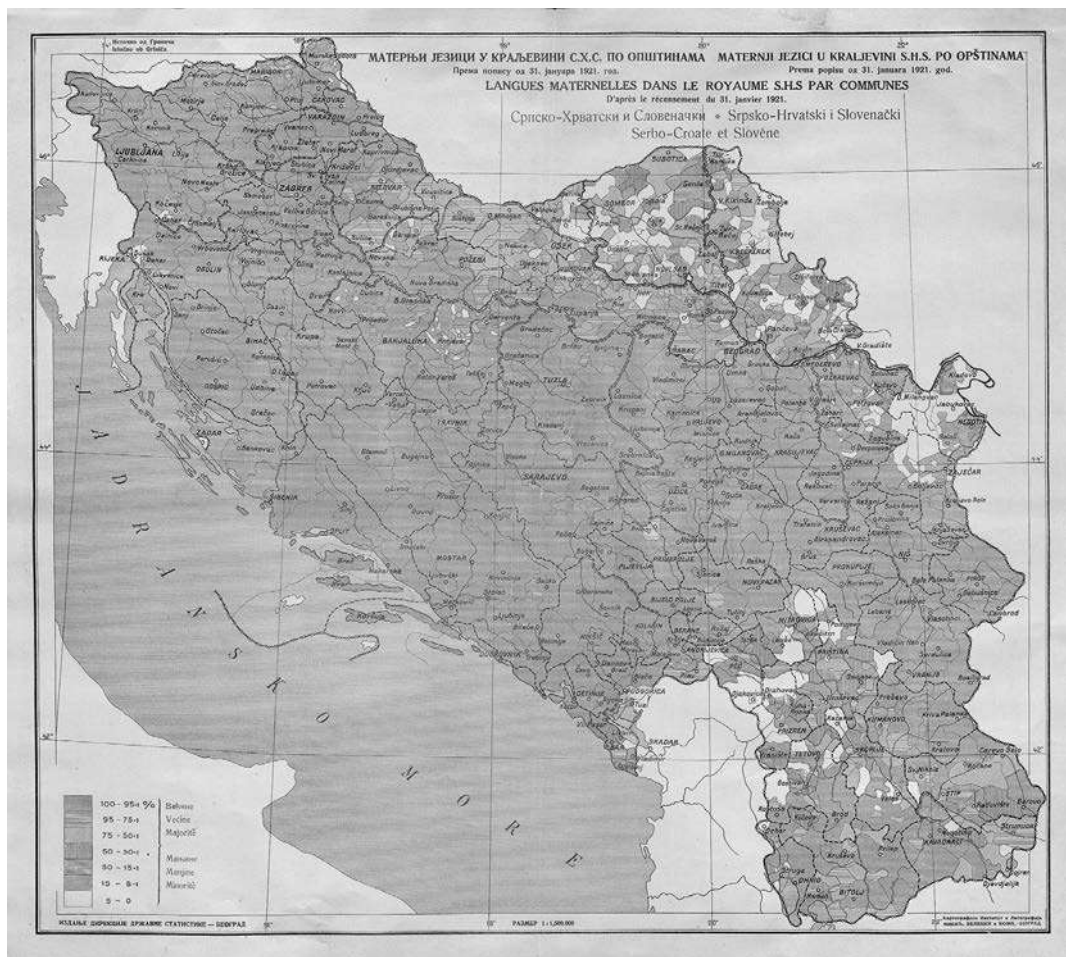
.....
7 "I wisely started with a map, and made the story fit (generally with meticulous care for distances). The other way about lands one in confusions and impossibilities, and in any case it is weary work to compose a map from a story..." (The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien, 1981, p. 177).



– Map showing native languages in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by municipalities according to census from 31st January 1921 (Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian), year 1921.

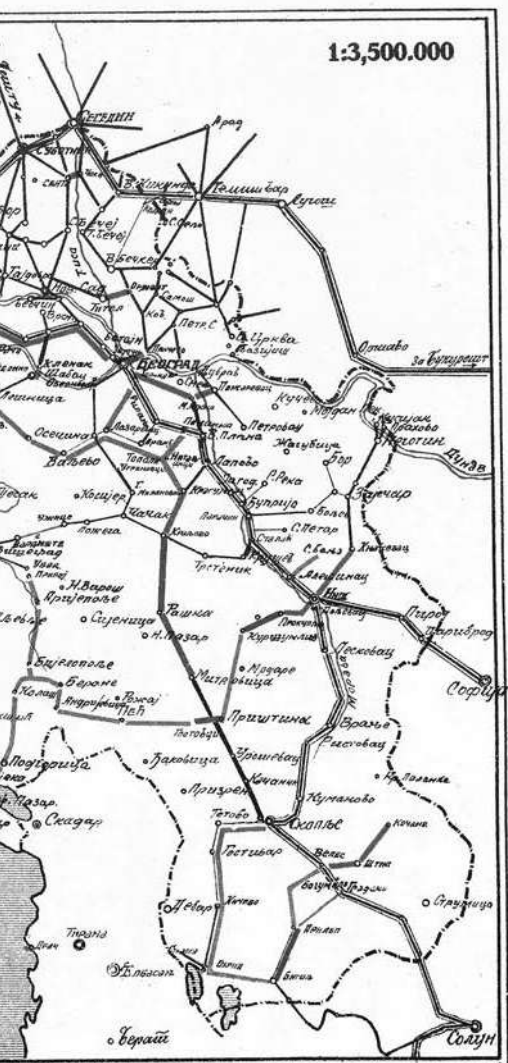


Map showing native languages in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by municipalities according to census from 31st January 1921 (Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian), year 1921.

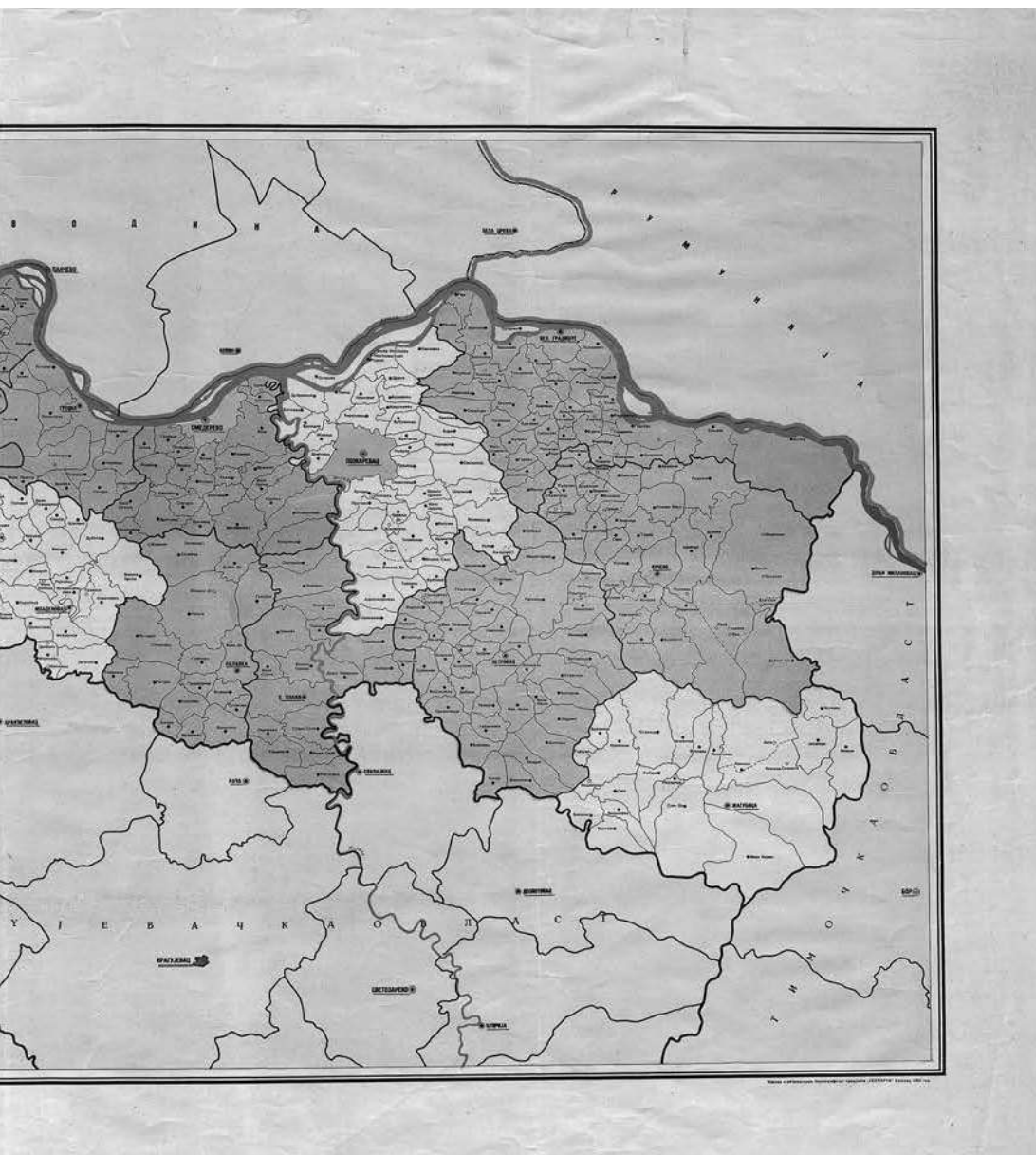


– Map showing native languages in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by municipalities according to census from 31st January 1921 (Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian), year 1921.

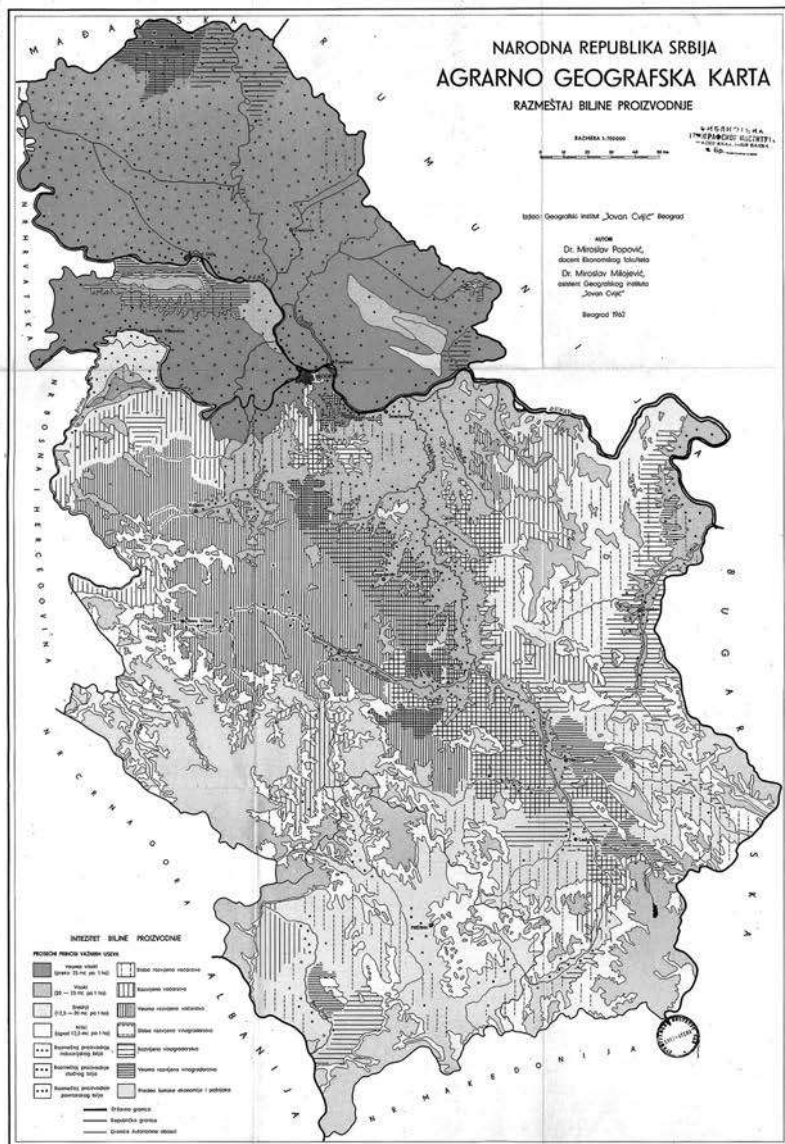




- Railways of the
Kingdom
of Yugoslavia.



Map showing administrative-territorial division of Belgrade areas, year 1950.



Agrarian geographic map of the People's Republic of Serbia
(distribution of plant production), year 1962.

РЕЗИМЕ: КРАЈ ПУТОВАЊА. ПОЛАЗАК

„Мрзим путовања и истраживаче. А управо се, ево, спремам да причам о својим експедицијама. Колико ми је времена било потребно да се на то одлучим! Прошло је петнаест година откад сам последњи пут напустио Бразил, и током свих тих година често сам помишљао да се посветим писању ове књиге; сваки пут би ме у томе спречили нека врста стида и гађења. Чему? Треба ли потанко препричавати све те сувопарне појединости и безначајне догађаје? У послу етнолога нема места за пустоловине; оне само оптерећују ефективан рад тежином недеља или месеци проведених у путу; докони сати чекања да извор информација постане приступачан; глад, умор, понекад и болест; и непрестани ситни и јалови послови који једу дане и своде опасан живот у срцу прашуме на имитацију служења војске. Чињеница да је потребно толико напора и залудних трошкова да би се дошло до предмета проучавања не даје никакву вредност ономе што би пре требало сматрати негативном страном нашег заната. Истине које тражимо тако далеко, добијају вредност тек кад се ослободе те јаловине. Наравно, можемо провести

шест месеци путовања, лишавања и мучног напрезања да бисмо дошли до једног јединог необјављеног мита [...]“ (Levi Stros 1990,7).

Ово је чувени почетак *Тужних тропа* Клод Леви Строса, чије је прво поглавље насловљено „Крај путовања. Полазак“. Занимљиво је да је превод *Тужних тропа* код нас објављен најпре у оквиру библиотеке „Страни писци“ (Зора, Загреб, 1960), што значи да су били третирани као литература, а не као научно, етнолошко/антрополошко дело, те да је Леви Строс своју популарност дуговао више овом делу, него својој структуралној теорији и истраживањима сродства и мита (опширније в. Гавриловић 2018). Леви Стросово дело осветлило је, као што Гавриловић каже, позицију антрополога у свету на другачији начин од тадашњих, па и садашњих популарних представа о антропологу као хероју, истраживачу и авантуристи.

Иако српски етнологзи и антрополози углавном никада нису били у прилици да се баве егзотичним и удаљеним местима нити да проводе превише времена на терену, ипак је део ових популарних представа пренет и на њих, па су код нас замишљани, макар делимично, као путници и авантуристи који одлазе у неке руралне забити, изоловане од нашег уобичајеног, модерног света, у неке просторе у којима је време некако стало, и у којима се чува нетакнута традиција, макар у сећањима и прповедањима најстаријих испитаника, или та традиција, иако унеколико преобликована модерношћу, ипак има значајнији утицај на свакодневни живот њихових житеља, него што је то случај у животима нас, урбаних и модерних. Село и његови житељи у тим популарним представама добијали би дах егзотике и постајали Други, довољно различити од Нас да би постали достојан предмет етнолошког интересовања. Егзотизација села

праћена је, као што је то иначе случај са разним видовима егзотизације, и извесним надмоћним позиционирањем не само етнолог/антрополога, већ уопште нас, урбаних, у односу на „њих“.

Можда су се српски етнологи у пракси лакше и брже суочавали са чињеницом да се свако проучавање Другости заправо своди на разумевање Сопства, будући да је размак између проучаваоца и проучаваног у случају српске етнологије био знатно мањи и у просторном, али и у културном смислу, у односу на прве антропологе који су збиља проучавали удаљене и егзотичне светове и њихове житеље и културе. Међутим, колико год то повремено другачије изгледало, размак између антрополога и испитаника, а посебно када је реч о истраживању блиског Другог, своди се, заправо, на то да антрополог поседује апстрактна знања која му омогућавају да податке које на терену добије систематизује, среди и протумачи у складу са одређеним правилима којима га његова наука снабдева, а која нужно мењају описану стварност испитиваног објекта, будући да је она увек одређена имплицитним правилима саме заједнице коју антрополог испитује, а не правилима антропологије, тако да се антрополог увек на крају сусретне са сопственом сликом о – Другом.

Сложићемо се са Леви Стросом да је збиља помало разочарајуће предузимати тако велики и исцрпљујући подухват да бисмо се на крају суочили са сопственом културом и самима собом, укључујући и оне аспекте културе и сопства који нам се често не свиђају и од којих смо желели да се дистанцирамо, узимајући себи привид објективности и позицију „бољег“ разумевања стварности од нашег „егзотичног“ и „примитивног“ објекта истраживања, те да бисмо коначно доспели до самореклепсије и до свести о сопственој неминовној субјективности, што јесте својство не само антропологије већ свих тзв. „меких наука“. Односно, да бисмо се на крају тог пута сусрели са самим

собом. То је нешто што заиста може резултирати отпором, па и мржњом, оном мржњом коју Леви Строс на почетку *Тужних тропика* признаје, а која се често може чути и у приватним антрополошким ћаскањима, уобличена као шала да своја истраживања започињемо као антрополози, а завршавамо као мизантропи.

Окуда онда ипак та истраживачка страст и љубав према путовањима опстаје, из чега црпи своју снагу и истрајност? Одговор се можда крије у психологији сопства, у јунговском разумевању целовитости личности, која је немогућа без прихватања *Сенке*, тј. оних аспеката личности које одбацујемо и потискујемо, пројектујући их у Друге: сусрет са другошћу постаје тако ултимативно средство самоспознаје, односила се она на разумевање личности или на разумевање сопствене и/или „туђе“ културе. Антрополошко истраживање би се стога могло описати као процес самоприхватања или, да се послужимо речима психотерапеута Натанијела Брандена, „одбијања да будемо у контрадикторном односу са самим собом“.

У српској се етнологији, колико нам је познато, још увек није појавило дело које би се могло одредити као аутоетнографија, иако јој је Леви Строс ширум отворио врата, а потоњи јој етнологи и антрополози, почев од Герца, дали теоријски легитимитет, одређујући етнологију као врсту писања, а културу као „причу коју другима причамо о себи“. Још од Франца Боаса, етнографски опис повезан је са причом, и за њега је, као и за Малиновског, етнологија вид проучавања наратива у вези са културним и друштвеним контекстом настанка и рецепције, а етнологија је, према Ван Генепу, читање текстова преко рамена оних којима ти текстови припадају.

Ова је књига заправо покушај својеврсне аутоетнографије једне научне институције – Етнографског института САНУ, покушај да, свесни у потпуности сопствене субјективне пози-

ције, испричамо другима причу о себи, вирећи преко рамена у текстове наших претходника, али и савременика, и смештајући их у одређени временски, културни и друштвени контекст, те уочавајући и документујући читав низ измена тих контекста, од оних који су се тицали друштвене стварности и измена позиција хуманистике, посебно етнологије и антропологије, у Србији и односа друштва према њој, али и оних које су се тицале измена позиције етнолога и антрополога према сопственој дисциплини и њеним почецима и циљевима. Стога је ова монографија, поред чињеничних података и архивске грађе коју доноси, хотимично прожета не само нешто субјективнијим стилем, већ и веома личним причама и сведочанствима истраживача.

Још од уводне „Речи аутора“ наглашава се веза између антропогеографије и етнологије у Србији, која је, када је о Етнографском институту САНУ реч, оличена у старом рол-ормару, у коме је чуван картографски материјал, који су деценијама сакупљали и стварали сарадници Института.

У првом поглављу монографије насловљеном „Метафоре путовања“ дат је покушај објашњења због чега су етнологија и антропологија неминовно повезане са концептима путовања, идејама одлазака и долазака, идејом преласка и промене. Одговор лежи у томе што оне проучавају човека и његове културе, које су пак, од првих митова, испуњене метафорама кретања и пута. Још у загонетки коју је Сфинга поставила Едипу, човек је дефинисан као биће које се креће, као биће које путује и које се мења: „Реци ми ко ујутру иде на четири ноге, дању на две, а увече на три? Нико од свих бића која живе на земљи не мења се као он“.

Кретање, путовање и промена јесу кључна антрополошка својства и око ових концепата концентрисани су бројни митови, обичаји, обреди и предања. Могло би се рећи да целокуп-

но виђење света и људског живота почива на метафори пута. Концепти живота, смрти и бесмртности различитих култура засновани су на њој, а та архаична идеја о животу као о путу може се препознати, не само у митовима и књижевности, већ и у научним теоријама. Наше етичке категорије добра и зла такође су одређене метафорама Сунчевог пута. Готово сви кључни појмови људске егзистенције – живот, смрт, љубав, добро, зло, идентитет и сазнање – обележени су метафориком кретања и метафорама прећеног пута, односно проживљеног искуства. А проживљено искуство захтева чување и преношење. Једно од средстава чувања и преношења јесу речи – испричане и традицијом слушања и понављања или бележењем сачуване приче. Друго су средство визуелни прикази, који укључују и различите праксе мапирања. Мапе су истовремено и путокази за нова путовања и кодирани визуелни описи прећеног пута.

У другом поглављу ове монографије „Етнографски институт САНУ – једно административно путовање у прошлост“, ауторке доносе делове необјављене *Монографије о Етнографском институту САНУ*, коју су, као врсту административног извештаја, на захтев Министарства науке и технолошког развоја Републике Србије, написале др Драгана Радојичић и Марија Ђокић, а која се такође чува у архиву Етнографског института.

Овај део представља сведочанство о једној фази развоја и рада не само Етнографског института, већ и о односу према етнологији и антропологији у нашем друштву, али и о начину на који су се промене научних парадигми, метода, доминантних ставова и актуелних тема истраживања, одразиле на конкретне истраживачке активности сарадника Института, те на формулисање истраживачких тема и планирање и реализацију рада.

Смештајући рад Етнографског института САНУ и у један

посебан друштвени контекст, а то је конкретан однос јавних политика према научној делатности, који може да буде у већем или мањем раскораку са оним што су званични и прокламовани односи државе и њени циљеви, ауторке осветљавају не само финансијске и организационе, већ и административно-правне потешкоће са којима се Институт сусретао у свом раду. Та мање видљива страна научних истраживања итекако утиче на функционисање и развој научних дисциплина, на њихове резултате и домете у конкретном тренутку и у конкретној средини.

Из наизглед штурих описа истраживања и пројеката, али и табела које доносе пописе истраживача, њихових ангажовања и путовања, пажљиви читалац може ишчитати доста тога – од промена друштвено-политичких система на простору некадашње Социјалистичке Федеративне Републике Југославије, потом Савезне Републике Југославије, а затим Републике Србије – до промена доминантних теоријских парадигми и њихове усклађености и/или неусклађености са актуелним научним светским токовима, па до мере стварне подршке коју је наука, конкретно, етнологија и антропологија, добијала од надлежних државних институција.

Ово поглавље функционише и као својеврсни „повратак у реалност“ етнологије и антропологије, односно приказ како она заиста функционише у реалном простору и времену, на супрот поглављу о метафорама путовања, које говори о њеној суштински племенитој и помало идеалистичкој посвећености проучавању културних матрица и наратива, од оних архаичних до савремених, чији је циљ продубљено разумевање блиских и удаљених култура, како бисмо се приближили племенитом разумевању људи и људских заједница.

У III поглављу „Човек који радознало (са)осећа“ ауторке илуструју важност етнолошких путовања и искуства боравка на

терену, доносећи два сведочанства о теренским истраживањима, овог пута веома субјективна, насупрот претходном сувопарном административном сведочанству. То су сведочанства Марије Ђокић, која је у Етнографском институту почела да ради 1976. године и Данила Трбојевића, који се истраживачком тиму Института придружио ове, 2022. године. Иако ова два искуства дели временски размак од безмало пола века, она се, у много чему додирују. Пре свега, у ономе што је, према нашем разумевању, суштина етнолошког и антрополошког односа према свету.

Етнолошко путовање се, упркос напретку технологије и разним превозним средствима, обично заврши пешачењем по разним стазама и богазама и куцањем на нечија врата. Од врата до врата. Да бисмо се сусрели са људима, од којих покушавамо да сазнамо нешто о њиховим животима, обичајима, култури, разумевању света, а да бисмо, разговарајући са њима, понајвише сазнавали о себи. О сопственим емоцијама, крхкости, здрављу и болести, туговању и смеху, о сопственој људскости. Можда понајвише о емпатији, која је темељ разумевања и суштинско антрополошко својство, и без које би етнолошко-антрополошка објашњења била превише налик на штуре (п)описе. Оба ова сведочанства о одласку на терен, својеврсна су аутоетнографија и одговор на питање „Ко је етнолог/антрополог?“ Чини се да би најприближнији одговор гласио – *човек који радознало (са)осећа*.

У четвртном поглављу, под називом „Од антропогеографије до антропологије – стазе и рачвања српске етнологије“, даје се најпре осврт на развитак етнологије као научне дисциплине у Србији и на значај улоге коју је у њеном настанку, али и у будућим правцима развоја, као и у њеној институционализацији, одиграо Јован Цвијић. Иако се за Цвијићево име обично везује традиција антропогеографског приступа у српској етнологији, његово наслеђе може се суштински препознати управо у ин-

тердисциплинарности приступа, тематској разноврсности и сагледавању предмета истраживања из различитих перспектива, који су, посебно у новије доба, све више приметни у српској етнологији и антропологији.

Нажалост, иако је у сопственом научном наслеђу, српска етнологија и антропологија имала основе да изгради оригинални научни приступ и самосвојну етнолошко-антрополошку школу, доцније генерације углавном су своја истраживања базирала на преузимању светских научних модела, често потцењујући сопствену научну заоставштину.

У овом поглављу монографије дат је и осврт на разна критичка читања Цвијићевог дела, али и на рецепцију и вредновање његовог рада изван идеолошких оквира, а у контексту етнолошке и антропогеографске науке Цвијићевог доба.

Поред тога, поглавље је посвећено и раду Цвијићевих ученика, посебно академика Војислава С. Радовановића, који је био и први управник Етнографског Института САН, а који је наследио ширину Цвијићевих интересовања, те се бавио не само географијом и антропогеографијом, већ и етнологијом и фолклористиком, дајући такође значајан допринос развоју ових дисциплина, као и развоју музеологије, али и настанку и функционисању етнолошких научних институција.

Потом се прелази на историјат Етнографског института САНУ од његовог оснивања, када је имао Антропогеографско, Етнолошко и Фолклорно одељење, а у оквиру Антропогеографског одељења и Одсек за народну архитектуру, као и Одсек за социологију насеља. Ова подела, иако је била више формална, сведочи о суштинској интердисциплинарности приступа који је Етнографски институт САНУ неговао од својих зачетака, а то потврђује и структура сарадника, све негде до средине шездесетих година XX века (поред етнолога, били су запослени и геогра-

фи, социолози, економисти и лингвисти, а структура спољних сарадника била је још шароликија и укључивала и архитекте, филологе, археологе, музеологе, историчаре итд.).

Пролазећи кроз планове Института, постаје поново видљива супротност између амбиција, ентузијазма и посвећености етнолога и антрополога истраживањима, јер они планирају систематска испитивања великих подручја и насеља, систематско коришћење архивске грађе, као и прављење великих синтеза и свеобухватних монографија, док се, насупрот томе, у реалности сусрећу са скромним финансирањем од стране државних власти и одобравањем скромнијег броја сарадника.

Етнографски институт је у многоме био испред свог времена. У време, дакле, када интердисциплинарности није номинално даван толики значај, али се, у складу са добром хуманистичком традицијом, неговала – Етнографски институт САНУ је под својим окриљем окупљао припаднике разних научних дисциплина, подстичући и негујући њихов рад на заједничким пројектним задацима. И тада је, као и доцније, све до данашњих дана, Етнографски институт посебно место давао комплексним теренским истраживањима, захваљујући којима је сакупљена и објављена обимна етнографска грађа.

Поред тога, и прва етнолошка истраживања у оквиру делатности Института, била су, захваљујући Цвијићевом утицају, и просторна, и често су обухватала проблеме попут порекла, миграција и метанастазичких кретања, што су данас веома актуелне теме. У савремено доба етнологија и антропологија се, и практично и теоријски, све више враћају теренским истраживањима и свести о њиховом значају (иако је значење *терена* крајем XX и у XXI веку, проширено, те оно све више обухвата и виртуелни, али и фиктивни „терен“), док антропологија простора добија све више на значају.

У завршном, петом поглављу под насловом „Покривање ‘белих’ површина“ ауторке се поново враћају почецима рада Етнографског института САНУ, подсећајући на суштинску окренутост етнологије теренским истраживањима, која су била темељ рада Етнографског института, као и на почетну окренутост Института комплексним монографским проучавањима, која су, упркос повременим неразумевањима надлежних министарстава, остала наш трајни научни задатак.

Ово је поглавље, пре свега, посвећено географским картама које су сада део архивске грађе Етнографског института САНУ, а за које се надамо да ће у пуном обиму угледати светлост дана и постати предмет интересовања садашњих и будућих генерација етнолога и антрополога. Описујући свој почетак интересовања да се овај део архивске грађе ЕИ САНУ представи јавности, доносимо још једно лично сведочанство, односно сећање др Драгане Радојичић на некадашњу сарадницу, колегиницу Миљу Радовановић и на њене приче о теренским истраживањима, које су биле мотивација да се ове карте коначно извуку из ормара, да се оформи архивски фонд, да се извештај број карата припреми за скенирање, те да се прича о њима коначно и забележи.

Полазна мотивација за настанак ове монографије била је, дакле, жеља да сећање на прошлост остане забележено. Друга, али не мање важна мотивација окренута је ка будућности и ка новим генерацијама, за које ово путовање у прошлост може бити сазнајно и инспиративно. За сада назиремо само обриси и надамо се да ће ова монографија, у којој се први пут говори о архивским географским картама, заинтересовати садашње генерације истраживача да искористе ову збирку за своје радове и промишљања теренског рада, али и за историјат куће у којој раде и чије су историје сада и они постали део. Да ће пописати карте, направити инвентуру и опис, оформити архивски фонд,

можда и каталог, дигиталну збирку са пратећим метаподацима, приредити изложбу, и тако сачувати сећање на почетке рада Етнографског института, на стазе којима су њихови претходници прошли, од трајног заборава.

Ово поглавље даље доноси податке о архивским географским картама којих, према грубој процени, има око 2500, при чему треба имати у виду да архива садржи и немали број карата из 19. века, као и карата са простора целе Југославије, укључујући и оне од пре II светског рата, карата од којих су неке израђиване у Етнографском институту Српске академије наука, будући да су их истраживачи понекад својеручно цртали.

Карте су у почетку пописиване у инвентарну књигу до броја 275, а касније на каро папирима где их је пописивала управо Миљана Радовановић, дајући за њих углавном сразмере без других описа. Неке од карата садрже информације о етничкој припадности, религијској припадности, потом о железничким пругама, врсти земљишта итд. У овом делу дат је и списак издвојених карата Србије, које ће по први пут изаћи на светлост дана управо у овој монографији.

Шестим, закључним поглављем под називом „‘Није свако ко лута изгубљен.’ (Позив на путовање)“: завршава се ово путовање у прошлост, враћајући нас на почетке картографије и дајући најпре информације о настанку назива *карта* и *мана*, потом кратак историјат њиховог настанка и преглед врста карата, посебно истичући њихова кључна својства попут кодираности, одређеног степена нужне деформације, њихову информативну, али и не мање значајну, естетску вредност, као и значај за сажимање и чување знања, од почетака мапирања до данашњих дана, закључујући:

„Од првобитних приказа просторних референтних тачака, човечанство је прешло пут до мапирања свемира, али и до ма-

пирања унутрашњег микрокосмоса – до генетских мапа, као и мапа ума (когнитивних мапа). Заправо се увек радило, чему год да су мапе биле посвећене о мапирању значења и чувању знања. Наиме, визуализација појмова својствена је људском мишљењу, отуда се данас све више развија концептуално мапирање, што је техника визуелизације веза између различитих појмова, односно израда дијаграма који показују везе између њих, а који служе стимулацији производње идеја и повећању креативности, али су истовремено и вид чувања и сажимања знања и њихове хијерархизације“.

Монографија *Мапе и сећања* завршава се подсећањем на речи великог љубитеља мапа, писца картографске имажинације, творца географије фиктивних светова и антропологије фантастичних бића, Џ. Р. Р. Толкина – „Not all those who wander are lost“, који је свој чувени роман *Господар прстенова* отпочео цртањем мапе, закључивши да је лакше направити причу, полазећи од мапе, него мапу, пошавши од приче, а у нади да ће неке нове генерације етнолога и антрополога у овом сећању на почетке рада Етнографског института САНУ и у мапама које се налазе у његовом архиву, а које се први пут објављују овде, наћи полазиште за сопствене будуће приче које желе да испричају другима о себи.

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– Map showing European Orient, Wien 1887.

Geographische und kulturelle Zusammenhänge Serbiens mit dem Adriatischen Meere

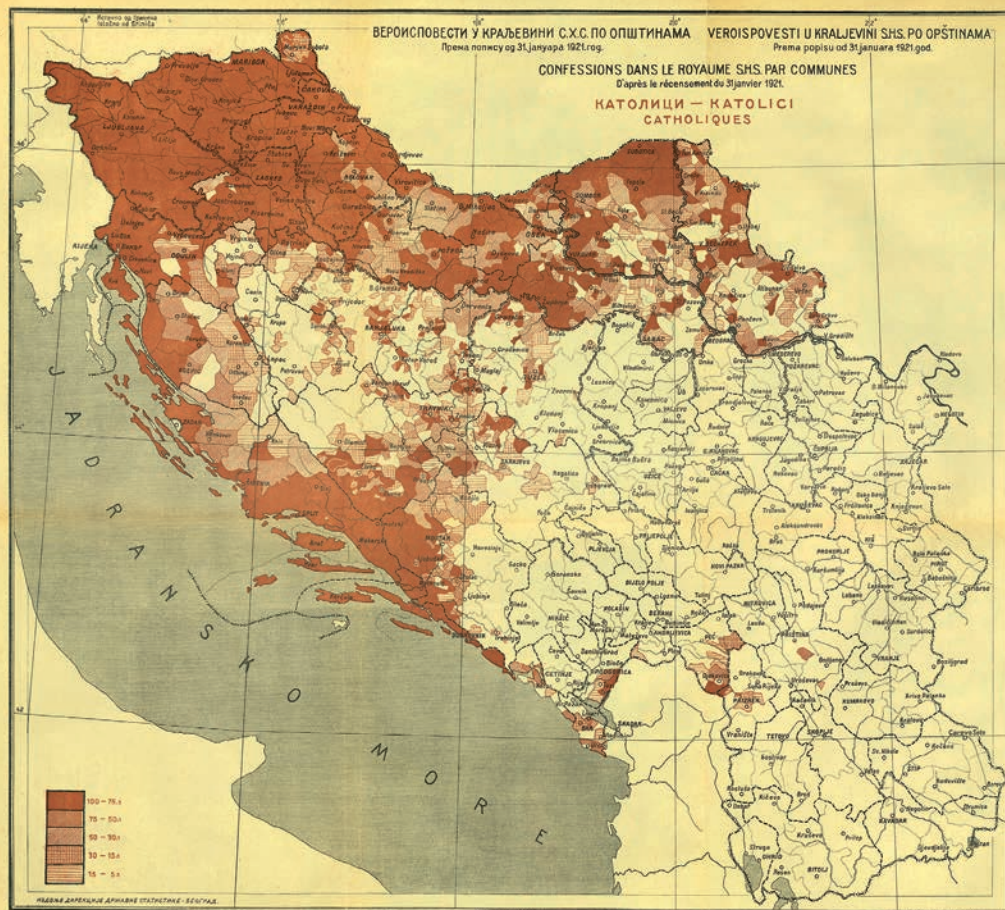
Entworfen von Prof. Dr. Jovan Cvijić

Petersmann Geogr. Mitteilungen

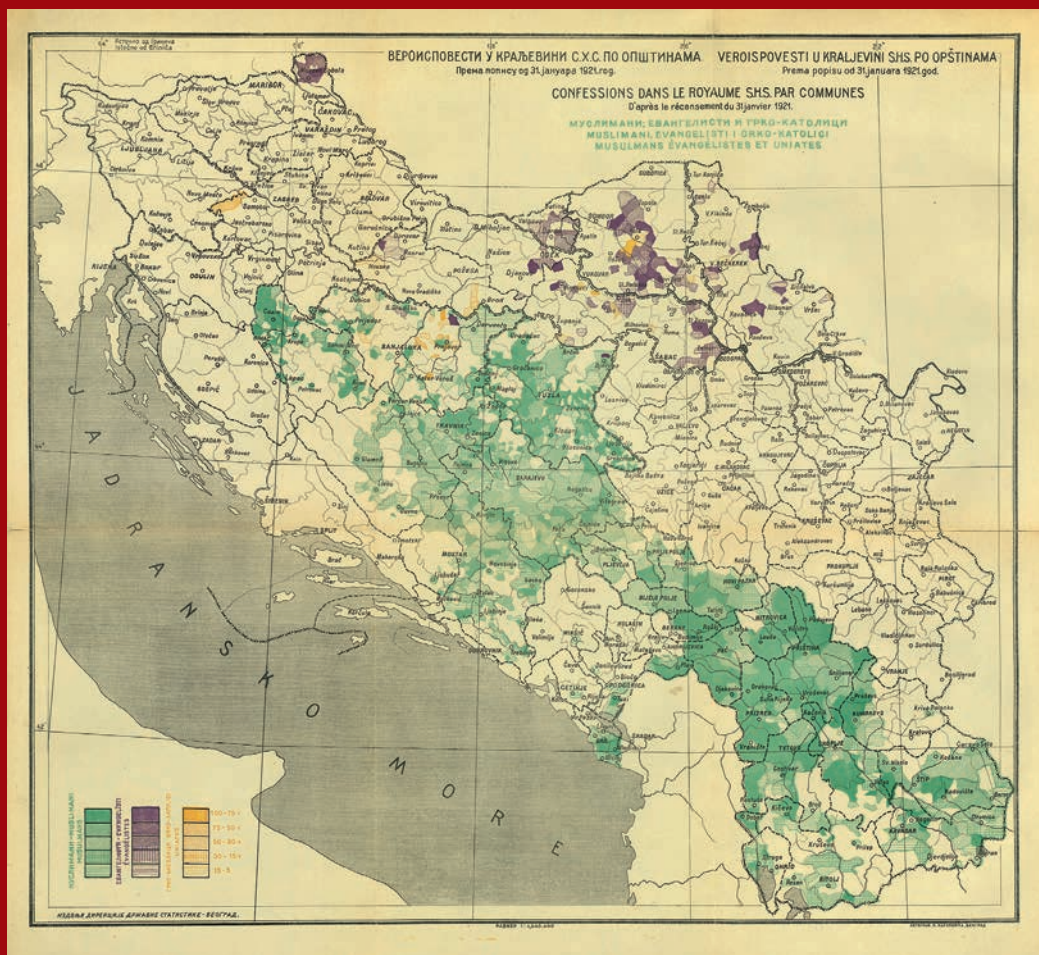
Jahrgang 1912, II, Tafel 52



– Map showing the geographical and cultural ties of Serbia with the Adriatic Sea; year 1912.



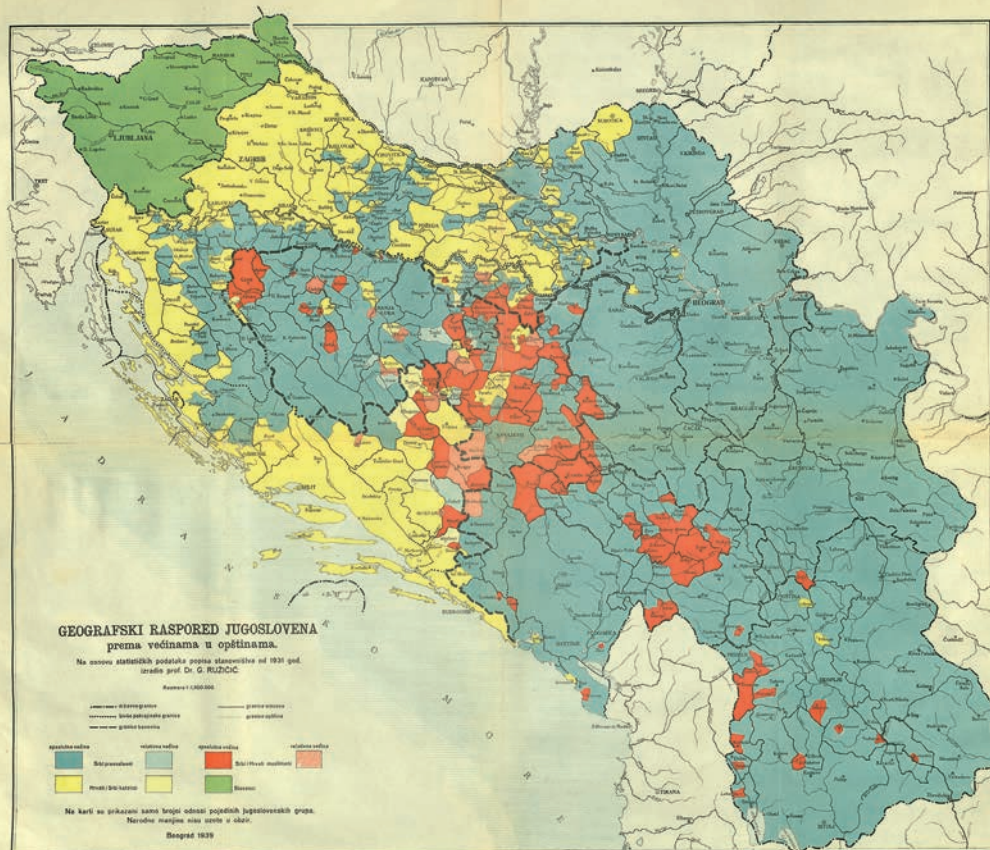
– Map showing different religions in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by municipalities according to census from 31st January 1921 (Catholics), year 1921.



– Map showing different religions in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes according to the census from the 31st January 1921 (Muslims, Evangelists and Greek-Catholics), year 1921.



- Export map of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, year 1951.



– Geographic distribution of Yugoslavs by majority in municipalities
(based on statistical data of the census from 1931), year 1939.