Malach Center for Visual History on its 10th Anniversary:

Compendium of Papers of the Prague Visual History and Digital Humanities Conference 2020

PraViDCo

2000

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CHARLES UNIVERSITY
Faculty of mathematics and physics

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Foreword

Slightly more than ten years ago, the Malach Center for Visual History (CVHM) has been established as a joint Center of the Library and the Institute of Formal and Applied Linguistics at the School of Computer Science, Faculty of Mathematics and Physics at the Charles University, thanks to the efforts of several Faculties of the University. It is now part of the LINDAT/CLARIAH-CZ Research Infrastructure, which connects institutions working in the Digital Humanities and Arts fields in the Czech Republic and forms a national node within the CLARIN and DARIAH European networks. The Center supports interdisciplinary approach to oral and visual history data including access, processing, research, education and training. While the Center started as an Access Point to the Visual History Archive hosted at the University of Southern California, its goal has always been to serve as a place where digital materials are available from several sources, to allow a unique opportunity for researches to access them at one place. At the same time, the staff of the Center provides expertise – both technical as well as expertise on the content of the visual history recordings themselves – spanning all the collections.

The yearly CVHM seminar has been a signature event since the very beginning, organized for the first time in January 2010 as an opening event and every year since then, always close to the International Holocaust Remembrance Day, which falls on January, 27. It always featured interesting invited talks, often from abroad, including from the U.S., Germany, France and other countries. There were papers given by researchers working on oral history topics, from academic institutes to high school projects. It also included talks on language technologies that help to access the oral history collections more precisely and conveniently.

This year, the seminar has been extended to two days and became a conference with an open call for papers, called Prague Visual

History and Digital Humanities Conference (PraViDCo 2020). Papers selected by an international committee for presentation at the conference are published in these proceedings and openly available on the web. We hope you will enjoy the presentations and discussions at the conference. We wish you not only good time in Prague, but also fruitful discussions with other participants, resulting in new personal connections, ideas, and projects!

In Prague, January 16, 2020

Jan Hajič
Director
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Malach Center for Visual History on its 10th Anniversary

JIŘÍ KOCIÁN, JAKUB MLYNÁŘ AND PETRA HOFFMAN-NOVÁ

The year 2020 marks ten years since the foundation of Malach Center for Visual History at the Institute of Formal and Applied Linguistics of the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics of the Charles University Prague, Czech Republic (Malach CVH). During the first decade of its existence, Malach CVH established itself as an important locus of intersection for humanities, social sciences and digital technologies. It has become a widely recognized institution dedicated to digital oral history and genocide history in particular.

The cornerstone of Malach CVH activities is the facilitation of access to large collections of oral history interviews. Malach CVH was initially created as an access point to the USC Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive (VHA). This ever-growing collection of interviews with witnesses and survivors of genocides, especially the Holocaust, currently contains nearly 55,000 audiovisual recordings of oral history interviews in more than 40 languages. Since 2018, the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies of the Yale University Library with more than 4,400 audiovisual recordings of OHIs is also available at Malach CVH. In addition, the users of the Center can also work with smaller collections – Refugee Voices archive (150 English interviews), and a small portion of interviews from the Jewish Holocaust Center in Melbourne (15 interviews with people of Czechoslovak origin).

Although the interviews in above-mentioned these collections result from convergent documentation efforts, and share the main methodological basis, the databases are highly variable in their level of tech-

nological sophistication. Therefore, during the last three years, one of our long-term goals has been the development of a unified user interface that would provide users with the possibility of easily acquiring relevant results without the necessity of separately accessing the individual collections or oral history interviews.

Malach CVH and its collections also became the testing ground of various projects coming from the domain of computational linguistics and digital humanities, carried out prominently in collaboration with researchers of our home institution, the Institute of Formal and Applied Linguistics. To mention at least one, AMALACH (i.e. Automatic speech recognition and Machine translation-based Access to a Large Archive of Cultural Heritage) Phonetic Fulltext Search Engine had been making its baby steps already before the birth of our Center. Developed as a joint project of the Department of Cybernetics University of the West Bohemia University in Pilsen and our home institution, it provided a completely different angle of searching and approaching the content present in the Malach CVH materials, currently in three languages: Czech, Slovak and English.

Apart from providing access to the oral history databases, Malach CVH participates in research and educational activities, collaborating with other faculties of the Charles University, as well as institutions in the Czech Republic and worldwide. Over the years, our center has been the venue for numerous educational seminars for teachers from the Czech Republic and abroad, summer schools for international students, and many group visits of university students pursuing various undergraduate and graduate coursework. In 2019, we started our internship program, which allows students to familiarize themselves with the technological and content aspects of our work. Given the occasion of celebrating the 10$^{\text{th}}$ year of the Malach CVH existence, we decided to substantially extend the program of our annual January anniversary conference, which we newly entitled *Prague Visual History and Digital Humanities Conference* (PraViDCo). By adopting this name, we desired to express in the broadest possible sense the thematic and methodological scope representative of the interdisciplinarity which, as we believe, is the very essence of the Malach CVH. On the first day of the Conference (January 27, 2020),

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colleagues from our long term partner institutions agreed to accept our invitation and presented their experiences corresponding with our own activities: taking care of digital archives of visual history testimonies, including new sources, finding efficient technological solutions, using the materials in research and teaching and attempting to reach out to audiences beyond academia. We could not have been more satisfied with the composition of the first day in terms of thematic and disciplinary variety that our guest speakers represented. As keynotes, we were honored to host Martin Šmok from Shoah Foundation, University of South California, USA (presentation title: *Education through genocide testimony: Visual History Archive of USC Shoah Foundation, IWitness and IWalks in the Czech schools*) and Stephen Naron together with Jake Kara, representing Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library, USA (*Striking a Balance Between Ethics and Access: The Fortunoff Archive's Approach to the Digital Humanities*).

The majority of our guest speakers then formed two panels. The first one, entitled *Institutions and Oral History in Europe, "Micro" and "Macro" Perspectives and Possibilities, Research and Technology*, focused on institutional contributions to promotion and accessibility of knowledge. It included contributions by Adam Hradílek, from Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, Czech Republic ("Oral history projects of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the importance of USC Shoah Foundation collection for Institute's research"), Natalia Otrischchenko from the Lviv Center for Urban History, Ukraine ("Bringing stories to locations: The Fortunoff Archive and Oral Histories in/about Lviv"), Michael Loebenstein, from Österreichisches Filmmuseum / Visual History of the Holocaust, Austria ("A media archeology of destruction: Exploring the visual history of the Holocaust") and Martin Bulín, University of West Bohemia, Czech Republic ("Full-text search through MALACH archive using speech recognition").

The second panel dealt with *Interdisciplinary Research and Visual History Archival Collections* presenting specific individual research experiences of Kateřina Králová BOHEMs Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University ("Traumatized Mother-Child Relation:

The Case of Jewish Camp Deportees from Greece"), Hana Kubátová, VITRI Research Center, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University ("Biographies and Belonging in the Holocaust") and Ildikó Barna from Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary ("Solving the puzzle. The use of multiple sources in the exploration of Hungarian Jewish Displaced Persons and refugees after the Holocaust"). These panels were followed by the Awards for the Malach Comic Competition Winners as well as the screening of a documentary movie *Terezínští hrobaři* ("Terezín gravediggers") by director Olga Strusková and produced by the Czech Television.

The second day of the conference (January 28, 2020) gave the floor to the contributions collected from mostly junior researchers from all over the world, who swiftly responded to our open call for papers and which you can find in a written form in this book. These papers went through a selection procedure which included a double-blind review process assuring that they meet desired criteria. We are again honored by the interest of those who decided to participate in the first iteration of our international conference, but also tremendously thankful to those who invested their time in reviewing and commenting on the papers, co-shaping them into their final form.

The order in which we organized this compendium reflects precisely the order in which they were presented during the PraViDCo 2020 conference program. Its structure follows an underlying logic of four panels gathered according to the papers' disciplinary, methodological, theoretical and also thematic relatedness. The first section focusing on the *Historical Research Practice in the Digital Era* gives the floor to digital humanities' application in history. It opens with the paper of Jan Škvrňák, Jeremi Ochab and Michael Škvrňák from the Masaryk University in Brno, Czech Republic (paper title: "How to detect *coup d'état* 800 years later"), which employs social network analysis in a quite unusual case of investigating political alliances in the Medieval period in the early Kingdom of Bohemia. They manage to disentangle shifts of power and their impact on the world of aristocracy back then. Mauricio Nicolas Vergara ("Historical GIS Study of Avalanche Accidents in the Alps during the First World War") describes in the following article how natural disasters were an under-

estimated element in the military campaigns of WWI in the Alpine area – remaining an underestimated factor in interpreting its history today. His paper presents a GIS approach allowing for a better understanding of this phenomenon. Magdalena Sedlická and Wolfgang Schellenbacher from the Masaryk Institute of Czech Academy of Sciences ("Holocaust Testimonies in the Digital Era – EHRI Online Edition") then describe a meticulous process of a creation of a visual history database with all the options and modules that our contemporary times require. As they demonstrate, interdisciplinary understanding of the adopted methods, but also the end-user perspective is key to reaching their goal – formation of a useful UI for researchers, teachers, students and members of the public.

The second section provides an insight into *Approaching Emerging Sources* from varying angles in the domain of historical research in the context of digital sources. Vanessa Hannesschläger from the Austrian Academy of Sciences ("'Retro-editing': The edition of an edition of the Karl Kraus legal papers") presents a project which serves as an example of reshaping a source already in existence with the technology nowadays at hand. Opening new possibilities of research and public access to sources are the ultimate values for which any similar digital archive should strive. Eva Grisová, from Jan Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem, Czech Republic ("Employment of a database for research of the so-called long nineteenth century"), then demonstrates on a concrete example how the visual history interviews with Holocaust survivors present underexplored dimensions informing researchers about time periods preceding their primary focus. Corroborating between classical archival sources and testimonies, she puts together pieces of puzzle that emerge as a vivid picture of a person's life. Nataša Simeunović Bajić from University of Niš, Serbia ("'Our oath to you comrade Tito': Toward digital Yugoslavia as sacred space of cultural memory") presents a curious case of a phenomenon commonly known as *Yugonostalgia* "materializing" online. Observing grassroots open access archives, printed and visual media repositories, YouTube videos, online media outlets as well as social networks, she analyzes how online sphere became a true vir-

tual museum and open space for individual and collective memory sharing and forming.

The third part of this book looks in closer detail into qualitative analysis in the context of the *Holocaust and Its Representation in Visual History Testimonies*. Jakub Seiner, National Pedagogical Museum and Jan Amos Komenský Library, and Lucie Šafirová, Charles University, Czech Republic ("Přemysl Pitter, 'Operation Castles' in the witnesses' memories in the Malach Centre for Visual History"), investigate stories of the Holocaust survivors who had experience with a system of care centers developed after the end WWII in Czechoslovakia by Přemysl Pitter and his colleagues. Pointing to the most important shared elements in their recollections, the paper focuses on the long term effects and impressions which lasted throughout the life of the survivors, who experienced these institutions mostly as children. Jakub Bronec from the University of Luxembourg ("Czechoslovak Jewish Emigrants in the clutches of the Luxembourg prewar migration bureaucracy") sheds light on a little-known case of Czechoslovak Jews who decided to seek shelter in the state of Luxembourg, which did not prove the safe haven they desired. He is providing an insight into the systemic persecution these people faced which is a part of larger research project that works with visual history testimonies as well. Karolína Bukovská from Freie Universität Berlin, Germany, and Jakub Mlynář from the Charles University, Czech Republic ("Prisoner tattoo as a situated social object in Holocaust survivors' visual history testimonies"), analyze in detail the context, form and models in which showing and discussing Nazi camp survivors' prisoner tattoos occurs in the visual history interviews. In the discussion they develop, an important and often overlooked impact that the interviewers have on this type of sources also comes to the forefront.

In the last section, *Identities, Beliefs and Humanism in the Modern Era* make their appearance as key topics forming a broader conceptual discussion as well as a value framework into which the visual history sources are firmly set by their content and usage. In the following cases, the authors focus on various producers and mediators which participate in the processes related to these impor-

tant phenomena. Deepika Kashyap from the University of Tartu, Estonia ("Internet Folklore and Online Mediated Identity: A Theoretical Approach to Nyishi Identity in India"), looks at the question of the identity of the Nyishi minority in India mediated in the on-line sphere with the aim of its preservation and consolidation. She observes what mechanisms and with what success play a key role in the process, in which the internet is used as an open access repository built from below by the people themselves documenting the cultural elements which constitute Nyishi identification. Lauri Niemistö from the Jyväskylä University, Finland ("Militancy and moderation: A visual analysis of polarization and normalization of female suffrage movements in the cartoon representations of Punch magazine, 1905–1914"), presents a case of how and to what ends the widely popular British satirical magazine Punch visually represented women rights movement at its peak. He demonstrates that knowing historical context in detail is of utmost importance for a correct understanding of the tropes and allegories that mediate socially constructed meanings from a time period of not that long ago. Komlan Agbedahin from the University of the Free State, South Africa ("Crisis of human dignity and mega sporting events tragedies") evaluates a recent scandal from the African football championship as a representative case of suppressing human dignity and human life value as primary imperatives in order to conform business and political interests. He also points to the fact that online sources allow us to reconstruct the event, including personal testimonies of the witnessing football players whose colleagues were killed in the military incident. Our volume (as well as the conference) concludes with a paper by Karin Hofmeisterová from the Charles University, Czech Republic ("The Emergence of the Serbian Orthodox Church from the Ashes of Yugoslav Socialism: Religion as a Chain of Martyrial Memory"), who demonstrates to what extent can the issues of identity, religious beliefs, collective memory, victimhood and politics get entangled in the case of the Serbian Orthodox Church during the last four decades.

To conclude, we hope that readers will appreciate this brief glimpse into the full palette of different topics, methodologies and approaches

that Malach Center for Visual History came into contact with throughout the first ten years of its existence. We hope that our horizons will continue to expand and the Center will persistently serve as a meeting point for scholars, teachers, students and anyone who is interested in learning more from the experiences of people who were willing to share their life stories, despite the tragedies and hardship they had to endure. The Center will strive to facilitate these indirect and direct encounters, also through future iterations of the Prague Visual History and Digital Humanities Conference.

How to detect coup d'état 800 years later

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Introduction

The thirteenth century in the Czech lands is undoubtedly the most interesting period for the nobility. After the prince period (until 1198), the throne is surrounded by "magnate" families with precisely defined family relations, and the lower nobility rise in numbers. It is the last period when a staggering social rise is possible for a broader number of aristocrats and warriors. Over the century, the Estates are relatively precisely established.

When the economic and social gap between the lower and higher nobility widens, political development becomes dynamic. After an almost invariable group of families around the monarchs has been established, the impossibility of political upheaval led to the uprising of part of the nobility and the civil war in 1248–1249 (Vratislav, Bláhová, Frolík, Profantová, Bělina, Borovička, and Hlavačka 2000, 371–387; Žemlička 2002, 166–185).

Using social network analysis, we attempt to describe polarization within the nobility, identify who joined the uprising in the ranks of margrave Přemysl Otakar II (Ottokar II) against his father king Václav I (Wenceslaus), and how it influenced their chances to be appointed to high-ranking positions within the kingdom.

Whereas social network analysis has been qualitatively used by some medieval historians (Ruffini-Ronzani 2016), current scholarship on the Czech civil war focuses on individuals (Jan 2008, 85–100). It hypothesises that cliques around Václav I and Ottokar II based only on the holders of offices during their reigns. Our analysis relies on more detailed data (co-occurrences in the charters, reminiscent of

co-authorship networks; Newman 2001, 404–409) and more advanced method (centrality measures coupled with clustering).

Data

The data concerning relations between Václav I and Ottokar II and the Bohemian nobility were collected manually from the charters released between the year 1198 and 1283 (Fridrich, Kirsten, Šebánek, and Dušková 1904–1982). In total, we collected data on approximately 2300 noblemen from 568 charters. Identification of individuals was at times ambiguous – for example, Jan; Jan, the son of George; and Jan of Brno appearing within a few years, might be one, two or three men – leading to arbitrary choices.

The core of sources are several dozens of documents from the 40s and early 50s of the 13th century, mostly issued by Václav and Ottokar, less frequently by the Church and rather rarely by the nobility. The vast majority of these are legal acts, donations to monasteries and churches, or town privileges. The documents geographically cover the whole territory of Bohemia, Moravia (here was the base of Ottokar), Austria (since 1251) and also Saxony.

The position of the nobility in these documents is mostly passive. As guarantors of legal acts, they are included in lists of witnesses. These lists maintain certain rules (the most important people at the beginning, relatives side by side), but the scribe had a decisive influence on the list, not the publisher or witnesses.

A cross-check with other sources was not possible: a) there are only a few charters common to Regesta Imperii or Monumenta Germaniae Historica and Czech sources; b) Two shorter annalistic works are mentioned about the uprising itself – Annales of 1198–1278 and The Stories of Wenceslaus I., often in a very lapidary way. Annales say that "King Wenceslaus was driven of the throne", "Czechs and Moravians were defeated and fled from Most." In 1248, "The Vyšehrad church was burned; Ctibor and his son Jaroš were executed." The Stories are longer than Annales, but mention only five noblemen (two of them are unknown to charters; Emler 1874, 282–308).
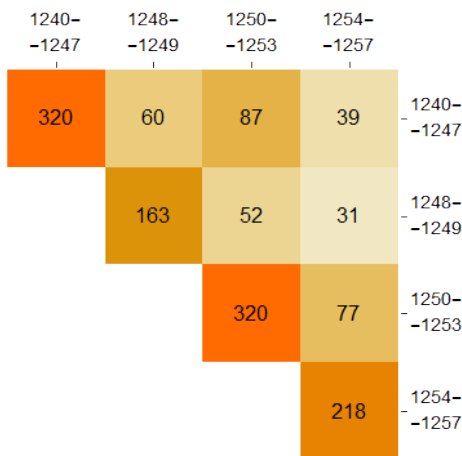
Figure 1: The diagonal provides the number of noblemen included in a network for a given period. The off-diagonal tiles show how many noblemen appear in two given periods

At this time, we cannot follow social relations in their proper sense; we can only determine the agnatic kinship (women in charters are an exception), the kinship between individual generations can only be thought of to discover names typical of another genus. The limited dataset is also the reason why we did not decide to use traditional social network analysis but to observe co-occurrence of persons. Performing temporal network analysis[1] was limited by the yearly resolution of the data (with maximally 20 documents and 150 persons per year, and much fewer on average) and no way of inferring causality of co-occurrences (Kim and Diesner 2017, 9).

Methods

The primary concern of this paper lies within the relations between noblemen. From the charters, we extracted weighted networks of noblemen (as network nodes) and their co-occurrence in charters (as links; the weight of a link is proportional to the number of

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[1]For reviews, see Holme and Saramäki (2012, 97–125) and Holme (2015, 234).
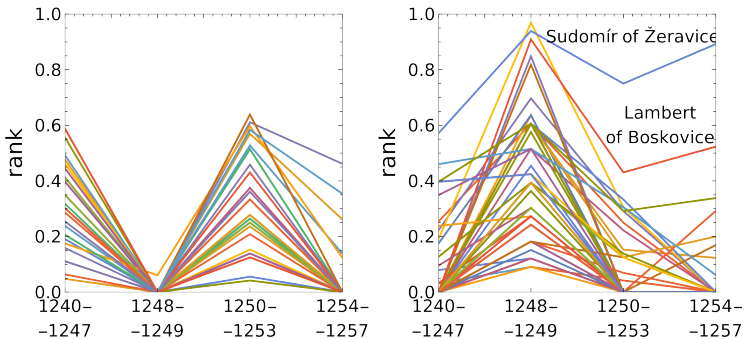
Figure 2: Changes in the centrality of nodes in the network. Left: a cluster of people thriving under Václav I, whose position declined under Otokar II. Right: cluster of people who gained their position during rebellion; two example noblemen are indicated

co-occurrences) in four periods 1240–47, 1248–49, 1250–1253, 1254–1257. The length of the first and last period was chosen so as to build networks of comparable sizes. We analyzed only the largest connected components of such networks, in order to meaningfully define quantities such as shortest paths connecting any two people or their centrality indices (which are measures of nodes' importance in the network or simply: their ranking Bonacich 1987, 1170–1182; Koschützki, Lehmann, Peeters, Richter, Tenfelde-Podehl, and Zlotowski 2005, 16–61).

We used node strength (sum of weights of its links) as a proxy for its centrality. Next, to each person appearing in the networks we attributed a vector of four values: their network strength in the four consecutive periods. These vectors were agglomeratively clustered with the use of so-called "chessboard distance" into groups of noblemen whose centrality underwent similar changes due to the changes of reign (Duda, Hart, and Stork 2001, chapter 10.9).

Results

In Figure 1, we show that the networks of decision-makers in the consecutive periods overlap at most in one third, indicating consid-
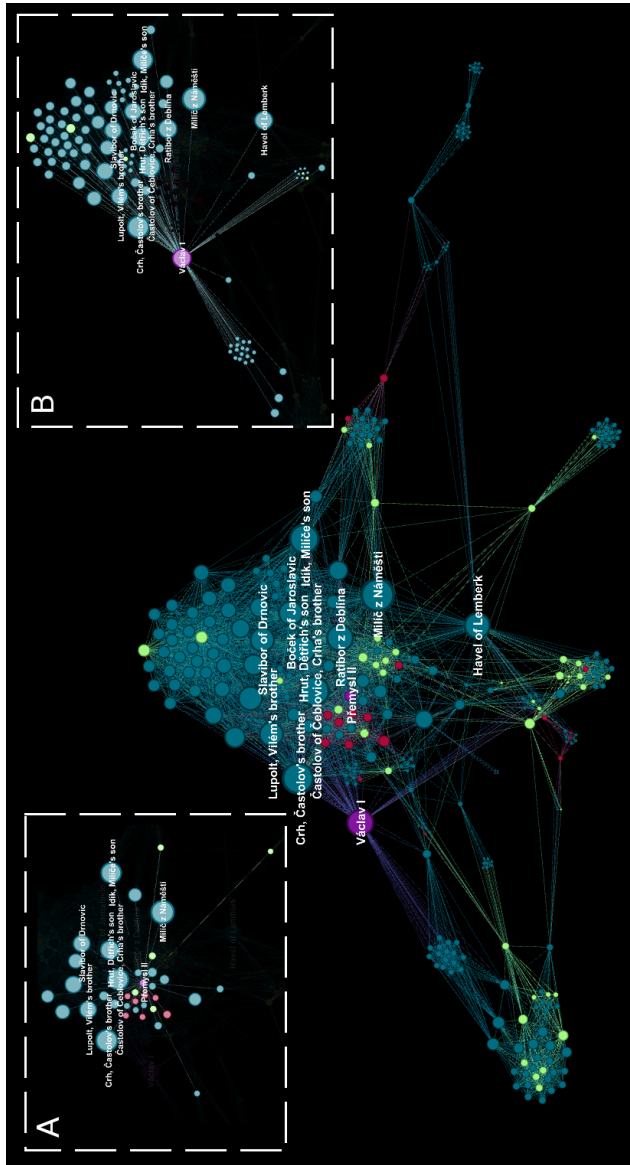
Figure 3: Network constructed from charters issued in 1240 – 1247. The size of the nodes is proportional to their strength. The kings (purple) and 10 noblemen with the highest centrality are labelled. Red nodes correspond to the cluster that thrived during the rebellion. Light green nodes correspond to the cluster of people thriving under Václav I. Insets A and B show Přemysl II's and Václav I's subnetworks, respectively

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erable rotation of posts. Next, as shown in Figure 2, we automatically found two groups of people: benefitting or losing from the uprising. Using that information we extracted the names of noblemen hypothetically loyal to Václav I or opposing him. In Figure 3, we show one of the analysed networks, notably with future rebels in vicinity of Ottokar II, and some filial and brotherly kinships within the highest-ranking noblemen.

Conclusions and Outlook

The results show that almost 800 years later, we can still identify the people involved in coup d'état and how it influenced their power in an important period of Czech history. We aim at extending this study by incorporating other information from the charters, e.g., their geographical location, the posts held by the noblemen or family membership. Methodologically, we plan to explore other centrality measures as well as community detection to corroborate the results with different techniques and use bootstrap approach by generating ensembles of random networks with realistic properties to assess statistical significance of the results further. In terms of historical sociology, an interesting task would be to compare characteristics of the above networks with other known – contemporary or historical – social networks and obtain a complementary insight into the (power) relations in medieval societies.

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GIS study of avalanche accidents in the Alps during the First World War

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The first centenary of the First World War (WWI) has seen historians study and remark on the particular historical circumstances that set the stage for the apocalyptic scenario of this war, such as industrial warfare, attrition warfare and mass-conscripted armies. However, in historiography, the geographical dimension has not always been thoroughly considered for the understanding of the factors that defined the extent of this catastrophic event. Indeed, it has almost gone unnoticed that the particular historical circumstances of the war, among their worst consequences, determined one of the main features of this war: the possibility and the resolution to extend the battlegrounds for the first time in history to one of the most inhospitable environments in Europe, the Alpine high mountain environment.

For more than two and a half years during WWI, over an approximately 600 km long front in the Alpine range, hundreds of thousands of soldiers lived and fought in many places where battles had never occurred and, in some cases, where no human being had ever set foot. Fighting the war in such a geographical context brought the armies face-to-face with an unexpected enemy – the natural environment – which often became even more lethal than the weapons of the opposing forces. Nature inflicted casualties on both the Italian and Austro-Hungarian armies in a variety of ways (e.g., frostbite, lightning, landslides, etc.). Among these, avalanches played a particularly critical role. The estimations found in the literature of the number of avalanche-related casualties on the Alpine front are re-

markable and range from 40,000 to 80,000 casualties (e.g., Angetter 1995, 258; Berti, Berti, and Berti 1982; Fraser 1970; Hämmerle 2017; vom Lichem 1974; Roch 1980).

Despite their critical importance, the causes and consequences of avalanche accidents in the war have not been studied in-depth. Important information about the characteristics of this natural phenomenon during the war has been reported by the many first-hand accounts written during the war, such as diaries and letters, and by works written after the war, such as biographies, autobiographies, memoirs and narrative histories. This kind of narrative of the war, although it is of crucial importance for understanding the role of the environment at this front, it has the disadvantages that it presents a local character, it is extremely heterogeneous between the different sources, and it is not entirely reliable.

As a result of the little interest and the kind of sources mainly adopted in historiography so far, our current knowledge of the role played by avalanches is rather uncertain and incomplete. This is particularly true not just for the actual extent of the consequences of the accidents determined by natural phenomena (e.g., number of casualties and psychological impact on soldiers), but also for the actual factors that led to the causes of these accidents. Specifically, regarding the causes of the accidents, it is not clear yet if they were more related to the lack of the armies' preparation and the haughtiness of the commanders or to the uncommonly extreme weather conditions that occurred in the Alps during the war.

The interdisciplinary research project that I am conducting aims at providing a larger picture on the causes and consequences of the avalanche accidents in the Alpine front, particularly including materials and digital methods that have not been considered yet. With regard to materials, this project considers not just the personal diaries, memoirs and narrative histories of the war, but also the documents produced by the armies, which are currently held in archives. So far the Archive of the Italian Army (Rome) and the Cartographic Archive of the Military Geography Institute of the Italian Army (Florence), and a number of libraries, as the National Library of the Italian Alpine Club (Turin) were visited, where materials like unit's

diaries, technical reports, studies and maps from military units and offices were consulted. These documents in comparison to individual narrative accounts present the advantage that the information contained about avalanches has been collected for larger parts of the front with more standardized and systematic methods. These characteristics of the armies' historical documents foster their collective and statistical study.

In order to develop a fresh methodology in the historical research of the Alpine front, the research methodology for this project is primarily based on the collective, statistical and interdisciplinary analysis of the historical sources. This kind of approach is allowed by digital technology, such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS). In particular, in this project, an historical and geographical database of avalanches that occurred during WWI has been created. The information on the avalanches has been extracted along the years from the literature of the war as well as from the armies' historical documents held in archives.

Currently, the database contains 188 avalanche entries. Some of these avalanches in the database occurred multiple times. In total, the database counts 245 avalanche events. On this current set of data, some preliminary analyses have been conducted. These analyses have concerned spatial distribution and the statistical characteristics of the avalanches. Concerning the consequences of avalanches, these analyses show that, of the 188 snow avalanches in the database, 68% caused one or more accidents, while almost 89% of the accidents resulted in human victims (military and civilians). In the accidents also animals and different kinds of infrastructure were involved.

In addition to the useful information about the consequences of avalanche accidents, the analyses developed with the database offered also precious results for a better understanding of the causes of the accidents. Essential factors that determined the large amount of accidents are human related. Indeed, the analyzed data shows that, among the snow avalanches that determined accidents, the same snow avalanche determined almost 1.2 accidents in media. This recurrence is not irrelevant, when the media of victims per accident

was 11.1, and led to think of a lack of sufficient preventive measures by the commanders of the armies.

The interest for studying the relationship between the environment and WWI has grown lately, particularly during the last centenary of the war (e.g. Bürgschwentner, Egger, and Barth-Scalmani 2014; Daly, Salvante, and Wilcox 2018; Danielsson and Jacob 2017; Tucker, Keller, McNeill, and Schmid 2018), however rarely these studies have been based on quantitative methodologies or materials and methods associated with natural sciences. The interim results yielded so far confirm that this research project: 1) can provide a picture at large scale that would be impossible to achieve without digital methods, 2) can complete the information obtained from individual narrative accounts and 3) can support or reject some suggestions that are present in the literature regarding this front. Moreover, GIS, offering the possibility to integrate historical and geographical information, allows us to obtain a deep understanding of the relevance of geographical aspects in military history (see, for example, Vergara, Bondesan, and Ferrarese 2017). Therefore, the approach that we are developing in this project also considers the study of the spatial and temporal relationships of the database of avalanche accidents with other databases. For instance, in our analyses databases concerning historical aspects, such as those of military emplacements, and databases concerning geographical aspects, such as those of meteorological conditions during the war and topography, will be included. It is expected that the study of these spatial and temporal relationships will lead to gain a more profound knowledge, particularly concerning the causes of avalanche accidents.

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Holocaust testimonies in the digital era – EHRI Online Edition

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In the last decades, much effort and investment has been made to preserve and digitize archival sources. Various institutions and archives are widely sharing their materials online and making their sources more accessible. This process brings many challenges and raises diverse questions, which historians and archivist, but also scholars from the field of digital humanities must face. The following paper aims to contribute to the ongoing debate on how to deal with Holocaust survivor accounts in the digital age by introducing the online edition[1] of early Holocaust testimonies, which was created within the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (EHRI) project.[2]

In the past few years, the topic of immediate postwar Holocaust survivors' accounts was rediscovered by researchers and historians.[3] For the EHRI project the early Holocaust documentation was important and significant as well, which led to the development of an annotated online edition, that presents documents in the digital environment in a new way. In the first phase, the international editorial team of Holocaust scholars from EHRI partner institutions – the Jewish Museum in Prague, the Wiener Library for the Study of the

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[1]Testing version of the EHRI edition is available on the EHRI ET (2019) website.

[2]More information regarding the project is available on its website (EHRI 2019).

[3]Most significant is the contribution of Laura Jockusch, who published a book on the postwar documentation campaigns and projects in various European countries (Jockusch 2012; Cohen 2007).
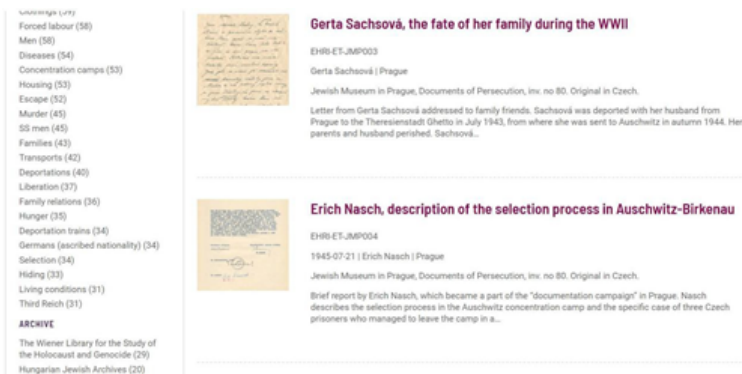
Figure 1: Preview of a page from the online edition

Holocaust & Genocide, the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, the Hungarian Jewish Archives, Yad Vashem and the Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences – had to define what will be considered as an early Holocaust testimony for the purposes of the online edition. Experts from collection holding partner institutions were asked to select a sample of 20 accounts from their collections, which would best suit the criteria of an early Holocaust testimony. Due to the content of available collections 'early' was internally defined as an eyewitness account of the persecution of Jews starting with 1933 (Nazi takeover in Germany) until approximately the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem (1961). It is important to point out, that no effort was made to achieve a thematically balanced set of documents. The most crucial aspect for the team was to present a typology and the diversity of early Holocaust accounts. From this reason, it was decided to stay as open as possible.

Partners were encouraged to look for various types of documents – letters, questionnaires, protocols and others. The focus of the edition was on written testimonies only; the edition does not include audio nor video interviews.

One of the main goals was to make the sources more accessible not only to scholars but also to students and the wider public, therefore the edition provides all testimonies in English translation. At the same time, however, the transcripts are also available in their original

language, including Hungarian, Polish, Czech, German, Dutch and French. EHRI online edition currently includes over 90 early Holocaust testimonies related to the persecution, fate and experiences of Jews from various European countries. It is however considered as an open-ended and ongoing project. At the moment the editorial team is working on a set of over 30 testimonies in Yiddish, which should be included in the edition till the end of 2019.

The editorial approach to the edition respects the testimonies not only as important sources of information but also as unique textual documents. As much as possible, the documents are published in their entirety to allow their reading from beginning to end. Moreover, the editors also reproduced their format and materiality, including the headers and footers, and provide a scan of the original document.

The editors decided in favor of a detailed annotation of documents which serves two main functions: 1) it provides readers with contextual information, by referring to authority sets (EHRI Terms 2019; EHRI Ghettos 2019; EHRI Camps 2019; EHRI Organizations 2019; Geonames 2019) and further explanations; 2) it allows to treat the documents as research data which can be reused and aggregated with other documents in the future.

Documents published in the EHRI online edition of the early Holocaust testimonies are encoded in the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) P5 standard, a widely adopted format for digital editions. Despite numerous existing approaches to the publication of TEI documents online, no available solution fitted the requirements of EHRI digital edition. The team, therefore, opted to develop its own set of tools and a front-end platform based on a simple but powerful existing open-source software, Omeka, and its Neatline mapping plugin. This set of software tools is modular and can be combined or extended in different ways to fit the needs of specific editions. The requirements for the EHRI edition software followed the real-world editorial process, including the selection of documents, their transcription, annotation and translation.

The EHRI online edition of early Holocaust testimonies puts emphasis on using links to established controlled vocabularies (EHRI for Holocaust-related entities; Geonames for geographic information).
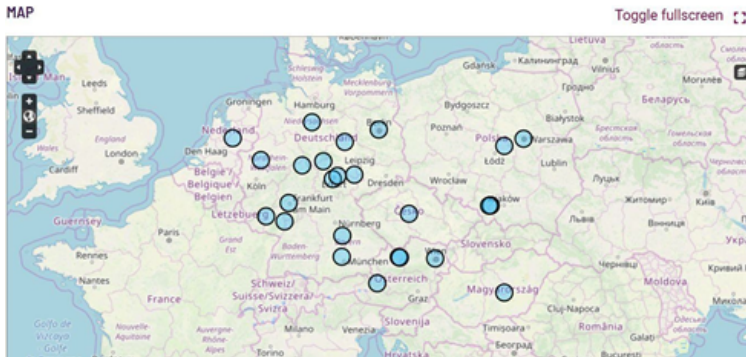
Figure 2: Example of Neatline mapping presentation

Figure 3: Example of a testimony header

The annotation of documents, therefore, consists primarily of tagging and linking words or expressions within the documents. The annotation was done in common text editors where the entities were linked using URLs. Once the annotating and text editing was finalized, the documents were converted to the TEI XML format. The team used an open-source tool, Odette, for this purpose and extended its stylesheet to recognize these types of entities and encode them accordingly based on the URLs used as references. The TEI files produced in this way were checked by editors and cleaned of any unwanted formatting. An EHRI-TEI-enrichment utility created normalized entries for linked entities in the TEI header (using the EHRI API, Geonames metadata and other resources), which were later used to drive the faceted browse and map visualizations.

The resulting TEI documents are then uploaded to the Omeka web publication platform and the EHRI Editions plugin automatically populates the database based on the content of the XML file. Interactive map presentations were created based on the TEI data.

It is important to point out, that the aim of EHRI team was not only to create the above described edition, but to establish a platform of online editions, which in the future could be used also by other research teams for their edition publication purposes. The first edition of documents (BGF 2019) was published online on the EHRI platform in 2018. It was dedicated to the topic of Jewish refugees from Austria fleeing through the Czechoslovak- Austria border in 1938. Next to that EHRI, partners from the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich are currently working on the online edition of Holocaust diplomatic reports, which should be available within the coming months.

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"Retro-editing": The edition of an edition of the Karl Kraus legal papers

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Introduction: Historical context

While the Austrian Karl Kraus (1874–1936) is most commonly perceived as a satirist, writer, and editor of the magazine Die Fackel, his intensive preoccupation with justice was often observed. Although Kraus' attitude towards the courts in the Habsburg period had been predominantly critical, the constitutional reform of the Austrian Republic in 1919 and the abolition of the death penalty marked a decisive break for the author. He especially welcomed the reform of the Press Law of 1922, which marked the beginning of a growing fondness for litigation. In the same year, Oskar Samek became his lawyer. In the course of the following 15 years (until Kraus' death), they were involved in over 200 court actions together.

Despite of Kraus' commitment to the law, the influence legal proceedings had on his satire and the othe r way around was barely thoroughly researched – which was on the one hand since cultural and literary historians often shy away from the interpretation of legal documents. Only Reinhard Merkel, a professor of criminal law, attempted to understand the connection of "Strafrecht und Satire" in Kraus' Fackel from a jurisprudential point of view (Merkel 1994). The project described in this paper aims to bridge this gap by (re-)editing the papers documenting Kraus' and Samek's actions and making them available in an open access/open data/open source digital edition.

Initial position and starting point

The material documenting Kraus' and Samek's court actions is held by the Vienna City Library. This corpus consists of roughly 8000 sheets of paper. Luckily, transcription is only a minor part of the project members' tasks: in 1995, Hermann Böhm published the records of cases from the Karl Kraus papers as a 'mixed edition' ("Mischedition") in four volumes (of roughly 300 pages each; Böhm and Kraus 1995). However, Böhm made a number of editorial decisions which are today out of date and not suited for a digital format, which is why a new edition of this material has become a desideratum among Kraus researchers as well as a wider research community interested in historical legal documents.

While Böhm did a tremendous service to the research community by making the previously unpublished records available in book format for the first time, the aim of his edition was to create a laywoman/layman friendly version of the texts in order to serve as large a readership as possible. This had a number of consequences. For instance, Böhm chose to leave out addresses, dates, salutes, and signatures in his transcriptions of the letters included in the corpus. For numerous other document types (e.g. summons, formal announcements of court dates, requests), Böhm only included metadata but no transcriptions; he wrote short introductions for each court action which include information on hearing dates and so forth, but did not include the transcriptions of the summons that provided him with this information. In the case of accompanying material (such as denigrative newspaper articles Kraus took to court), Böhm followed an inconsistent approach and transcribed it in some cases, but not in others, obviously making the choices of what to include on the basis of a personal rating of the documents' significance. Additionally, the move of the material to the manuscript department and the rearrangement of the entire Kraus collection in the course of the Karl Kraus Online project (Prager 2019) lead to the discovery of further documents.

Since 2012, Katharina Prager (who is also the lead of the project described in this paper) has worked with the Kraus collection at the

Vienna City Library in order to build the platform Karl Kraus Online. There, facsimiles of the entire Kraus legal papers collection are presented. However, the searchability of the documents is limited as no full text is available. While Karl Kraus Online offers structuring that helps users navigate through the material presented, the vocabularies and other metadata structures used by the platform do not follow standards commonly applied in digital humanities projects. Therefore, one of the tasks of the project described here is to build on the structuring work done in the Karl Kraus Online project and transforming its filters and metadata into structured vocabularies and making them compatible with other standards such as the Conceptual Reference Model (CIDOC CRM) (2019), and linking them to other sources already available in digital form.

Digital resources to enrich the edition

Karl Kraus Online is not (or only rudimentarily) interconnected with other digital resources. The platform provides metadata for the documents presented (date, place, type of document, persons involved, institutions involved), but apart from the person data (which are connected to the records of the German National Library's authority file for the German speaking area Gemeinsame Normdatei GND; GND 2019) none of them are connected to structured digital data resources (e.g. places are named as places, but do not contain geo information). In the digital edition, we will therefore build on the work done in Karl Kraus Online and use the data already collected by enriching, expanding, and interconnecting it with other resources (e.g. GeoNames).

As suggested by the project title "Intertextuality in the Legal Papers of Karl Kraus," the underlying research question that is driving the development of the digital edition described focuses on the interconnections of Kraus' legal papers with other texts. Therefore, we will connect our project with the Austrian National Library's historical newspaper digitization project (ANNO 2019), which offers a IIIF interface.

The most interesting resource for learning about Kraus' way of thinking and mode of (literary) argumentation is his aforementioned magazine Die Fackel, which was a periodical published, edited, and (at the time of the court actions) exclusively authored by Kraus. The author did not only act legally against his offenders, but also made their offenses the topic of his own articles and writings. Investigating similarities, differences and interconnections between his Fackel articles and the applications, the correspondences with (potential and actual) defendants, and of course the rulings by the courts will therefore give the most meaningful insights into questions of intertextuality. Again, the project team can rely on a valuable resource already available in digital form: Die Fackel was fully digitized, edited and made available online by the Austrian Academy of Sciences' institute Austrian Academy Corpus AAC in 2007 (AAC 2019). Thanks to the Online Fackel, we will not only be able to investigate intertextualities between the legal papers and the Fackel, but also to make them available to users of our edition in a structured form.

Conclusion and outlook

As the project is still in full progress (it began in September 2018 and will run until August 2021), the structure of the interface that will present the edition (to be) created is not yet fully developed. However, a number of fundamental decisions have already been made. Most importantly, we have agreed on two initial entry points for users: one possibility will be to enter directly into "expert view", another to browse and read the Böhm version of the text. Users that choose the Böhm entry point will encounter a more friendly interface but still, have the possibility to switch to expert view if they wish to learn more about the documents. The expert view will enable a more in-depth analysis of the material, providing facsimiles, transcriptions, and commentary (including extensive metadata) in a joint presentation. Most importantly, the metadata to be attached to the documents will allow us to offer complex filter functions and search functionalities, which will offer a valuable addition to the fulltext search enabled by the transcriptions.

At the end of the project, we hope that we will have created a digital edition that does not only exploit the current means digital technology is able to offer, but also joins together the accomplishments of Böhm's edition, Karl Kraus Online, ANNO, and the Fackel Online and benefits the Kraus community as well as other fields of research by not only connecting these resources but extending them.

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Employment of database for research of the so-called long nineteenth century

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USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive's database of oral history interviews accessible at the Malach Centre for Visual History provides a wide range of Holocaust evidence. For researchers focusing on earlier or newer historical periods, the great advantage is that the interviews inform not only about the Second World War, but also life before and after it. When correctly selected, the interviews may also be used for research activities dealing with the so-called long nineteenth century, the First World War, or the break-up of Austria-Hungary. In a relatively long period of time it is possible to pay attention to many different topics such as increasing anti-Semitism, living conditions of various social groups, changes in religious experience, etc. – not to mention its interdisciplinary use of the interviews.

In my research, I have been long engaged with the life of Moravian Jews in Vienna, especially during the fin de siècle period. There are several different sources available for work on this subject, from official documents, through fiction, journals to period public press. USC Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive soon proved to be very helpful, as I can extend this base to include oral history as well. In the context of historical work, it is necessary to use multidisciplinary and comprehensive approaches that will allow us to see the widest possible perimeter. We can put some subjective variables into a historical framework, which we have created with the emphasis on written sources, which have long been considered the only "pregnant and true" sources. Oral history provides us with an analysis of the past, it does not place much emphasis on the reconstruction of real

events (Vaněk and von Plato 2008, 83). The overall result of such work then appears to be more comprehensive and somewhat closer to the experience of the direct participants of history.

I decided to use this short paper as one practical example. As an example of how the database may be used, I chose the Emil Fuchs and his family, a case of an Austrian state railway employee who came from the town of Velké Meziříčí and settled in Vienna at the end of the 19th century. In the following text, I will try to combine several different sources that we may use for a given period and this particular family in the context of historical work. It should be noted in advance that it is a small locket, of which aim is not to map the significant events, but to illustrate the possibilities that even in the case of entirely unknown personalities we have. I will focus especially on how the database can enrich us with information.

The first mention of Emil Fuchs is found in Jewish birth registers. The record from 1881 states that on 13th August in Velké Meziříčí, house no. 34 a boy named Emil was born. The father of the child was a local businessman Juda Fuchs, and the mother was Marie, née Brattmann (NAP Rec. no. 1350). Another source of information is the census of 1880, which speaks of the Fuchs family in more detail. We learn that Juda or Jakob Fuchs (also a native of Meziříčí) was the owner of one of the local glue factories. The family was one of the better situated in the city. At the time of the birth of Emil, eight people lived in the Fuchs' house. Apart from Jacob Fuchs and his wife Marie, Jakob's parents Moses and Helene Fuchs, Jakob and Marie's sons Julius, Johann and Arnold, and a Catholic maid Karolina Staňková. The whole family spoke German, except for the servant Staňková (SOkA Fol. 172).

We do not know much about Emil Fuchs' childhood. He most likely attended a local German elementary school to receive "German" education. At the age of 18, Emil Fuchs went to Vienna where he worked for the Austrian Railways. Thanks to Visual History Archive and, in particular, to the interview given by Mr Fuchs' daughter, Marie, we now have the opportunity to look at the life that Mr Fuchs and his family had in Vienna at the beginning of the century.

Emil Fuchs had married in Vienna. He and his wife Paula, neé Neustadt, had two daughters, Elise and Marie. While in Velké Meziříčí the Fuchs used to live in a small space with an extended family (which was very common before the half of the nineteenth century), the household in Vienna was formed by so-called nuclear family. Primarily, it was the result of the improvement of their social status. After all, Emil Fuchs was a state employee and his wife was a teacher at one of the Viennese grammar schools. She spoke perfectly both German and French. Especially her daughter Marie looked up to her very much. The younger daughter of the Fuchs was a timid child, while the older Elise showed not only a great aptitude in learning but was also a favorite among children (VHA ID 44629).

The Fuchs lived in the city district of Alsergrund (district IX, adjacent to the Leopoldstadt district) in the street Bleichergasse. This urban district was founded in 1850 by merging seven suburbs northwest of the first urban district of Innere Stadt. During the second half of the 19th-century urban development took place here, which has been preserved to day without major changes. This district was bordered north and west by a line of walls, in the south by Alserstrasse and Maria Theresienstrasse, in the east by the Danube Canal (Seis 1878, 275–284). Especially the growing Jewish middle class tended to settle here.

The Fuchs lived on the fourth floor of the house without a lift and a garden. Their apartment had three rooms, a kitchen and separate bathroom. Emil Fuchs' daughters shared a bedroom here (VHA ID 44629). To get even closer to the reality of the environment in which the family lived, we can use other testimonies from the Archive's database provided by other interviewees for the given place and time. The Jewish middle class occupied a particular area of Alsergrund, mainly the southern part of the district. This area was bordered by Währingerstrasse and Porzellangasse (Rozenblit 1984, 82). Bleichergasse is incidentally directly adjacent to Währingerstrasse. For example, Walter Austerlitz Austin, whose grandmother came to Vienna from Moravia and whose father was an employee of one of the Vienna banks describes his childhood in this part of Vienna.

> "We lived together in a very roomy apartment in 9th district Alsergrund, on the third floor, room 21. It was a very roomy apartment in a quiet modern house, one minute from Franz Josef train station. It had about 7 rooms. We used to meet in the dining room... Not far was Donau Canal where usually in the evenings young people used to go around, especially in hot days. Lichtenstein Park was very close. There kids used to play there. There also used to stamp collectors exchanges. I also collected stamps. Our family life was very nice." (VHA ID 2907)

According to the testimonies, the Fuchs had a good standard of living. Those Moravian Jews who came to Vienna in early waves of immigration were quite prosperous. They moved to take advantage of new opportunities and achieved some wealth and respectability relatively easily. These Jews were already members of the middle class or quickly achieved this status in Vienna (Rozenblit 1984, 35).

The religious life of the Fuchs family was rather cold according to the video testimony of Marie Ross. The Fuchs were very liberal, and they did not strictly follow religious orders. Emil Fuchs' daughters attended religion lessons taught at their school, which were also given to Catholics and Protestants (VHA ID 44629). Similarly, Walter Austin described the situation in his family:

> "Our family was not religious. Fathers backside was religious... We went to synagogue from time to time. We used to have celebrated Yom Kippur and New Year Eve too. We celebrated Christmas too with tree. We had some servants; they were quite often Czech. We also gave presents for them. We had a tree for them and they liked it too. We celebrated Passover too. Maceses, carp. Grandmother made it to us with a special sauce; once a month we had a goose. It was a common thing." (VHA ID 2907)

An interesting detail about the coexistence of Jews and "Gentiles" can be found in the testimony of Mr Kurt Pick:

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"We were very unpracticizing, very assimilated. My Grand-father practiced but not kosher. My father had religious education. We celebrated for example Passover. There used to have the best silver on table and china and we invited family. My mother allowed me to invite some of my non-Jewish friends. I had bar-mitzvah, I had to learn the text from Torah. I learned it in Hebrew by heart. Even my non-Jewish friends came to synagogue and they were very proud to me. I went to grandfather's synagogue which was very lively, children were running around. My mother for example was not interested in Judaism at all. She had ginger hair and strong Viennese dialect, none would ever thought that she was Jewish."
(VHA ID 36303)

Therefore the Fuchs belonged in that group of emigrants, which tried to fully assimilate into Viennese majority and they became less religious. It also corresponded to the current situation in Christian society.

In this way, we could go on and on, expanding the information base with details from various aspects of the life of the Fuchs family and other families living in this part of Vienna in the early twentieth century. It opens up the possibility of far-reaching comparisons and, above all, we can penetrate the everyday lives of people we have hitherto known only as names and data from registries.

Since both parents of Emil Fuchs had already died, his daughters had no grandparents to visit. However, they had a lot of aunts and uncles, especially from their father's side. Paula Fuchs had only a sister and a brother, but her brother lived in Germany and so his family rarely saw him. In the summer, the Fuchs were going away from Vienna to the countryside. They especially loved one village near Bad Ischl, where they enjoyed a landscape full of mountains and lakes. Elise and Marie could ride a bike here and swim in the river (VHA ID 44629).

In this way, Maria Ross, the younger daughter of Emil Fuchs, described her childhood in Vienna. Here, of course, it is necessary to

ponder the subjectivity and possible distortion of individual memories. Oral history is criticized by some historians in comparison with other sources for its excessive subjectivity and, consequently, unreliability. It is true that the memories of individual respondents are interpreted after a certain amount of time which influences this interpretation. The motivation of the interviewee to provide testimony and many of other factors also play a role here (Vaněk 2008, 20). Our memory does not store constant and always the same memories. Its basic feature is a selection and a rather narrative formation of the meaning of the past (Tuček 2014, 244). Certain witnesses may, over time, consciously or unconsciously idealize a certain period of their lives. For the Holocaust survivors, it will most likely be the period when they were in the family circle before World War II. Of course, it cannot be assumed that the memories of all Viennese Jews for a given period would be equally idyllic. However, in most of the testimonies I chose with time and local relevance for my research, I noticed a positive perception of this past. For example, Helen Foster said in an interview that her family did not have much money. In Vienna, they lived in a precinct which was inhabited mainly by the working class. Their apartment, where parents and three children lived, had only a living room, kitchen and one other small room. The family lived very modestly.

However, Mrs Foster adds that she was a very loved child. She likes to remember her father taking her to school regularly on Sundays. He himself went to read the newspaper to the cafe and then picked her up. Their family was branched and very close (VHA ID 9441).

Owing to oral history, people who have been overlooked have the opportunity to speak. Its strength lies in authenticity. The participants of the historical event or historical period have the opportunity to talk about them (Vaněk and Dunaway 2008, 44). Alexander von Plato called oral history the historiography of experience (Vaněk and von Plato 2008, 84), and that is, I think, what I was particularly interested in this example. To place the story of human life among the fixed data given by written sources.

To conclude the story of Emil Fuchs and his family, it should be noted that the last source to speak of Emil Fuchs and his wife is the list of the murdered Austrian Jews. In September 1942, the Fuchs were taken from Vienna to Little Trostinec in Belarus, where they were murdered (DÖW 2014). Both sisters Elis and Marie fled to England in time to save their lives (VHA ID 44629).

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'Our oath to you comrade Tito': Toward digital Yugoslavia as sacred space of cultural memory

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Introduction

An effort to describe the interplay between *digital* and *human* has become the main dialogue of the last two decades. If we look at the development of society using a diachronic perspective, it is evident that the progress of any technology triggers many changes in our lives. This mostly refers to the forms of social organization today that is very different compared to those in the past. As a matter of fact, regardless of the perspective, we look at the things happening around us, we will eventually realize that social reality cannot be and should not be created without considering *techne*. This is particularly significant for the articulation of cultural memory, which is a very important resource for future generations. The contemporary world, with the profound turn to digital, allows more and more people to get acquainted with their cultural heritage by using software and various applications. Access to online libraries, the ability to see an exhibition on the phone, or to take a virtual tour of a museum is just some of the things that can increase the number of people who participate in the cultural life of a community. Without any doubt, the Internet and new devices have great innovative potential. However, the above are all examples of an official macro-level or cultural policy. Moreover, there is one more type of cultural memory preservation that comes from ordinary people who are considered nostalgic. In line with that, what will be described here is Yugo-

nostalgic generations and their intention to create micro archives in the digital environment.

Theoretical background

In this article, I use three concepts: digital culture, cultural memory, and Yugonostalgia. In terms of their meanings, they are all different from each other. However, when we talk about differences and distinguishes nowadays, we have to take a view of insistence on inter-disciplinarity as a key capacity of our society. The theoretical interest of choosing three different concepts is based, ambitiously, on conclusions and suggestions of Jose van Dijck "to establish the need for a cross-disciplinary conceptual tool that takes into account the notion that *'personal' and 'cultural' are the threads that bind memory's texture: they can be distinguished, but they can never be separated"* (see Hatter 2008). Also, the interconnection between these categories can be seen by thinking through "memory-based making – facilitated by digital tools, published on digital networks and saved mostly in rogue digital archives" (...) (De Kosnik 2016).

Even two decades ago, it was becoming evident that big digital or connective turn is on the way. Digital culture exists because interplay happens between the digital and the culture. Digital culture is advancing rapidly. As Gere said, "Digitality can be thought of as a marker of culture because it encompasses both the artifacts and the systems of signification and communication that most demarcate our contemporary way of life from others." (Gere 2009, 16). Progress was being made and now we live in a world superconnected (Chayko 2017) and supersaturated (Gere 2009) by new technologies and digital tools. On the other hand, Assman's concept of cultural memory raises a complex view of cultural patterns transmission from the past to the present. He concluded: "Cultural memory exists in two modes: first in the mode of potentiality of the archive whose accumulated texts, images, and rules of conduct act as a total horizon, and second in the mode of actuality, whereby each contemporary context puts the objectivized meaning into its perspective, giving it its relevance." (Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 130) In essence, culture memory is be-

coming the central story of our time. The cultural memory surrounds us and shapes us. Cultural memory has discursive nature. However, connective turn (Hoskins 2017) reinforce cultural memory practices. This means that connectivity with the past produces new ways of thinking about the past. In light of fact like this, the appearance of Yugo-nostalgia after the dissolution of Yugoslavia introduces the discursive power of socialist culture. Yugonostalgia stems from the cultural memory of the people who lived in Yugoslavia. With that in mind, what counts as a point when discussing the creation of Yugonostalgia is arising of, metaphorically speaking, digital Yugoslavia. Martin Pogačar expressed importance of digital in these words:

> "Moreover, the digital/digitised past is much more easily stripped of chrono-logical "factuality" and is much freely edited and manipulated (not that it was not before, but the scale and invasiveness of "unauthorised" interpretations is unprecedented). Memory, remembering and vernacular archiving and cultural heritage discourses empower individuals to co-create micro-narratives and micro-archives based on excavated content." (Pogačar 2014, 117)

Much has been written about *digital*, but Pogačar introduces *micro-narratives* and *micro-archives* as its new virtue in the case of Yugoslavian cultural memory. As a cultural construct, cultural memory belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not a static term and cannot represent a complete process. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, for the most part, shared and common past was deliberately denied. In public discourse and in the mass media, the mention of Yugoslavia was in an almost exclusively negative context. New republics have been established amidst new rules and values. In the new post-socialist environment, there was a complete turn to the present and the future. This turn was obvious and expected. As an unproblematic national being, *Yugoslavianity* was not maintained. However, the national being is not the only element of social reality arisen from the discursive nature of Yugoslavia. The existence of Yugo-nostalgia and Yugo-nostalgic people shows that

things are different when it comes to cultural identity and culture as a fluid and never-ending process. For ordinary people, the political, economic and social changes did not bring the long-awaited post-socialist "better life". Therefore, Tito is one of the dominant cultural and communicative patterns (see Bajić et al. 2012) that form a connection between cultural memory and Titostalgia (Velikonja 2008) and keep Yugonostalgia alive.

Tito and Yugoslavia: mediatized memorization

Tito has become one of the most popular presidents of the 20th century with a very good reputation around the world. He was a life-long president of Yugoslavia. Aside from the controversial political aspects and conspiracy theories that have arisen after his death, he had central role of initiating and forming the Non-Aligned Movement in the era of the Cold War. Today, almost 40 years after his death, when we type Josip Broz Tito into Google we have about 1,280,000 results. He died in 1980. In that moment, television commentator was preparing his voice in front of cameras before saying "Comrade Tito has died." (YouTube 2008). And this significant sentence became an ontological issue in post-Tito era and anticipation of rapid decline of socialist Yugoslavia. Tito's funeral was the biggest event of this kind after Kennedy's. As Time magazine noted, it really was an epochal funeral. We might say that the whole world paid their respects. However, many, many years since Tito's death and funeral, the myth of Tito still lives on in memories of ordinary people. In May, hundreds of people visit House of flowers in Belgrade. Two dates are important: May 4 and May 25. Yugoslavia celebrated Tito on 25 May from 1945 to 1988. Tito died on 4 May. Thus, in the context of the anthropological approach, we have the full symbolic circle of life that begins and ends in spring's central month, May.

The past has become a sacred site of memory. "Memory work turns memories into a part of the rhythm of everyday life to avoid erasure" (Nandy 2015, 602). Because of this, every year's media coverage of Tito's May articulates a significant representation of cultural activities that go, hand in hand, with the post-socialist rhythm of

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Figure 1: House of flowers (RTS 2017)

everyday life. More than that, it connects cultural heritage, cultural tourism and public memory in mediatized space. For new generations, Titostalgia also has become digital.

Toward digital Yugoslavia

In a brief discussion on previous pages, we have come full circle to the perspective of the past as a discursive field. It is not something given to us; rather, it is a social construction related to cultural context. Thinking of discursivity as basic truth for further reading, allows us to call attention to the interaction of digital archiving, Yugoslav past and cultural memory. In today's digital environment, numerous web sites, forums, blogs and Facebook pages preserve memories of the former Yugoslavia and keep the *Yugonostalgic* virtual community alive. As Pogačar truly said for post-Yugoslav scattered throughout the world, the Internet serves as an affordable means of reestablishing and maintaining broken links: "In this view, digital media offer nearly two-decades- worth of individual, grassroots interventions into Yugoslav socialist past and post-Yugoslav presents" (Pogačar 2016,

Figure 2: Yugopapir

16). For example, *Yugopapir* is an independent and non-commercial website which searches for and preserves the articles from Yugoslav newspapers and magazines.

The mission of this website is very important because these records can also be used by those people who, for scientific reasons, study this period, and who would spend much more time looking for such information in libraries and archives. Another similar website is called Sećanja (2019)("Memories"), and its very name is truly nostalgic. It shows different aspects of life in the former Yugoslavia - from literature and recipes to music and film. Moreover, there are blogs by different authors who use their own memories to build a narrative about Yugoslavia. On the other hand, there are blogs that tend to become new digital museum. For example, Yugoslavia – Virtual Museum (2019). Many films, TV series, cartoons, music and old commercials were uploaded to YouTube. There are also countless Facebook pages: Ujedinjena Jugoslavija (2019) ("United Yugoslavia"), SFR Jugoslavija (2010) ("SFR Yugoslavia"), Titova Jugoslavija (2014) ("Tito's Yugoslavia"), Obnovimo Jugoslaviju (2012) ("Let's rebuild Yugoslavia"), Tito doing stuff (2019) and so on.

This is a heterogeneous, mediatized melting pot that exists thanks to the democracy and openness of the Internet. In digital Yugoslavia, Tito remains the most powerful symbol. The matter of this conclusion can be perceived in the following headlines: "Our oath to you comrade Tito even today" (Druže Tito mi ti se [i dalje] kunemo) (BalkanDiskurs 2015), "Josip Broz - good from top to bottom" (Josip Broz dobar skroz) (Portal novosti 2019). Signifying the past belongs to old generations, but also to the new generations, those born during and after the breakup of Yugoslavia. In the digital environment, they share emotional expressions and passions. Positive frames, idealistic images, old black and white photos, personal and collective memories, light motives, articulations, fairy-tale patterns, and metaphors

have become universal matters. The context of all this is re-narrating Yugoslavia as an ideal place for living. However, we are facing a complex process of Yugoslav memorization shaped by new technologies:

> "It is not a particularly ground-breaking observations that digital media technologies, spearheaded by social media increasingly wearable technologies, have afflicted the now, why, what and when of communication, the narrative we turn our lives into and how, and the stories we tell when we are storytelling. Not least, they open up questions of what future potentialities and imaginaries we weave into our individual and collective, converging and conflicting presents" (Pogačar 2016, 19).

From all these reflections, two things are significant about re-narrating and memorization strategies: coexistence of 'good' past with not so good present which always has political implications, and virtual rebirth of digital Yugoslavia as an avatar of aspiring ideal Yugoslavia.

Instead of a conclusion

Taken together, the four remarkable concepts we can see in an attempt to rebirth digital Yugoslavia: reification, re-narrating, representation, and reinterpretation. It is not necessary to count websites, pages, blogs, clicks, likes to show to what extent cultural memory reach broader significance. My intention here was to try to create theoretical and methodological approach adequate to investigate lived culture, as Raymond Williams defined it, but now shaped by the digital realm of complex interactions of cultural memory activities. In order to understand Yugonostalgia, we need to appreciate every individual or collective attempt to create archival memory as a fundamental goal in today's saturated world. Memorization is dynamics. Memorization in contemporary society is digital at every level of matter.

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Přemysl Pitter, "Operation Castles" in the memories of witnesses in the Malach Centre for Visual History

Jakub Seiner, National Pedagogical Museum and
Jan Amos Komenský Library, and Lucie Šafirová,
Charles University, Czech Republic

Přemysl Pitter was born in Prague on 21 June 1895 and became known for dedicating his life to humanistic work.[1] During the First World War, he joined the army as a volunteer but, under the weight of the wartime reality, he refused to hold or shoot a weapon (Lajsková and Šimek 2018, 4). According to his own words, during the war, he converted to a belief in God and for the rest of his life, he was an ardent believer, which led to many of his actions and activities. Pitter also continued in his denial of military service in the interwar period, when he joined the peace movement and started working for an organization that provided care for youth in Žižkov neighborhood of Prague: the Youth Care Association (Faltusová 2008, 10–11). Pitter tried to secure funds for a new building for the youth and it was in this period that he met his closest co-worker – Olga Fierz (1900-1990; Lajsková and Šimek 2018). In 1933, his plans came to fruition when he met the well-known builder and philanthropist Karel Skorkovský, who supported his idea, and the building for youth, Milíč House, became a reality (Faltusová 2008, 16). Milíč House was open to children of all nationalities and religions. Pitter preached to the public and many of his international guests lectured there.

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[1] He died in the year 1976 in Switzerland. Pitter was forced to immigrate to Germany by the Czechoslovak communist authorities in the 50s; later he moved to Switzerland.

During the first years of the Second World War, Jewish children were also welcome in Milíč House and the sanatorium in Mýto.[2] When the Jews became obliged to wear the Star of David on their clothing, Pitter explained to the other children that it was not a negative symbol, quite the opposite: "Wearing the yellow star is no dishonor. On the contrary, did you know, children, that Jesus Christ was also a Jew? He was born in the Jewish land of Palestine and his first followers were also Jews. What can we do in this period, children? We have to try to rectify the injustices and help those who are facing injustice." (Sedláčková 1994, 47)) Pitter also tried to help Jewish families during the Protectorate era. He was interrogated by the Gestapo for helping the Jews. He rescued a small child from a mixed marriage in the spring of 1945 (Matějček 2017, 15). During the war, Pitter and his colleagues were already thinking about how they could help children after the war. They realized that, for children, this chaotic era would be periloous and they would need to take care of them due to the horrors of war that they endured. However, at this time it was not certain that they would survive. Přemysl Pitter saw that the post-war period would be especially dangerous for children who survived the Holocaust. He tried to arrange for places where he could assemble children returning from the worst conditions, the concentration camps (Faltusová 2008, 29). The Terezín ghetto was liberated in May 1945 but was immediately closed; quarantine was declared because of a typhus epidemic (Adler 2006, 269–271).

"Operation Castles"

"Operation Castles" was an amazing humanistic work that was undertaken from 1945 to 1947. Pitter and his co-workers decided to establish sanatoriums for children who survived the Nazi camps. Later, German children were also brought there from detention camps along with children of all nationalities who needed help. The conditions in the liberated camps were terrible. By chance, Pitter discovered

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[2]The sanatorium in Mýto was established in the year 1938 for children who needed medical rehabilitation.

that he could use Baron Ringhoffer's castles for sanatoriums: Štiřín, Olešovice and Kamenice, and a little bit later he also arranged for the use of Lojovice Castle and the Ládví Villa (Kosatík 2009, 195–196). The first group of 40 children from Terezín were brought to Olešovice Castle on 22 May 1945. The castles were not only open for children, but young adults (around 19–20 years of age) could also come. They officially worked there and helped with running the activities (Matějček 2017, 19). Pitter organized "Operation Castles" under a mandate from the Health and Social Commission of the Czech National Council. Pitter and his colleagues very quickly transformed the castles into sanatoriums that were ready to accommodate children.

Until now, 25 interviews with children who were in sanatoriums during Operation Castles have been found in the video testimony databases accessible at the Malach Center. The search for the former children participants of the "Operation Castles" is quite difficult. There are lists of children who were brought to the Castles in the collections of documents from the Archive of P. Pitter and O. Fierz, but the lists are not complete. Sometimes important information is missing, or there are not any records about the children. Many children have different names in the lists, another date of birth or there are similar identification issues in the records. It is fascinating to observe that some of the narrators mention their stay in the sanatoriums or speak about P. Pitter, while some of them do not mention anything. The questions that were answered by witnesses were formulated quite generally, as is common in a biographical narrative. The interviewer usually asked the narrators about their lives after the Second World War and on.

During an analysis of the interviews, four related crucial phenomena appeared in the testimonies which were presented by the narrators. The first was the environment and care given to the witnesses in the sanatoriums. For the survivors, a stay in the castles was a step back towards a normal life. Michael K. remembers: "And it was the first time that we slept on a regular bed. I even had a nightgown, was embroidered name of count. And we set the tables and used forks and knives. Which was something that we haven't done

for three years." (VHA ID 15962) They were very well treated. As Hana Č. remembers: "I only remember the children's home. That I was awfully glad because we slept in white beds with bedsheets and it was different there. And we liked it there." (VHA ID 32580) Michael K. says: "Well these were all children, mostly orphans, who were just there in the country and played in the gardens and ate good food. And there were volunteers, I guess, who took care of us and tried to bring us back home alive." (VHA ID 15962) They needed someone that could show them how they could live after that. For witness Yehudah B., it was probably Přemysl Pitter, as he remembers:

> "After the war, we children didn't care about anything. And we didn't believe in anybody. Why should someone do something good for us? Everyone wanted only to kill us or somehow abuse us, to take away the food and so on. And it took a long time till we ... regained a belief in human being. By the way, there is a drawing in Yad Vashem, which I dedicated to Přemysl Pitter, where you could see a man is taking out a little Muselmann child from the camps towards the light a palm, the symbol of Israel. And the dedication has name to the man who gave me back the belief in human beings and so on ... His humanity, his example, he didn't want anything from us, just goodness, a thing we didn't experience through all the war." (VHA ID 26983)

The children went through an unbelievably difficult period, as Michael K. comments: "It was difficult to imagine having a normal life without parents. This was a new phase of my life to reconcile myself to the fact that I'm alone." (VHA ID 15962)

The second aspect which they mentioned was food. Of course, for children who survived Nazi camps, food was a very important topic. Tommy K. remembers: "Someone clever came up with the idea that the children should get away from there. Because of our health and also so we could eat well. So they brought us to sanatoriums close to Prague. And there we started to eat well, they fed us well." (VHA ID 4106) Almost every witness mentioned that the food was

really good in the sanatoriums in their interviews. Nevertheless, one narrator remembered differently: Martin G.: "The food was not nothing special. They skimped on our food. We said that they were probably saving food for the Third World War." (VHA ID 8742) It might have been because Pitter was a vegetarian and vegetarian food was also served in the castles. In his memories, Martin G. remembered that he also did not like the rules in the sanatoriums, because he could not go where he wanted. He also remembered that: "We couldn't go out, which bothered us, so we broke the rules and we climbed over the gate and went for a walk to the tomb of Baron Ringhoffer. But they found out and started some long investigation and after that, we were punished." (VHA ID 8742)

Martin G. also spoke about the strange approach of tutors to the children: "They didn't know or understand who we were. The tutors from the sanatoriums knew children from reformatories, but not children from decent families, who had mothers. It was also forbidden to send correspondence there without censorship." (VHA ID 8742) We do not have any other information about censorship from other witnesses. Martin G. did not like the conditions in the sanatoriums at all: "There were very specific conditions. Strange conditions." (VHA ID 8742) The narrator probably could not follow other rules after the war and after a long period spent in a Nazi camp, which influenced his life.

The next aspect which was spoken of is the religious background of Pitter and "Operation Castles". The children felt Pitter's strong Christianity, but, on the other hand, they had different experiences and sometimes they refused his point of view. For example, Greta K. remembered that for her it seemed ridiculous when Pitter explained to them what death means in a childish way (VHA ID 27285) because the experiences of Greta K. and the others from the Nazi camps were non-transferable and they were witnesses to death every day in the camps. For many of the narrators, it was very difficult when German children also came to the castles. Many of them could understand this step through Pitters humanism, which was based on his Christianity.

Přemysl Pitter and his co-workers also tried to find new families for orphans. Some of the witnesses were not satisfied with the adoption process because they had to go to Christian families. This is the case of Zuzana W. She was adopted by a Catholic family, where the mother was an alcoholic. She felt that the purpose was to convert the children to a new religion. Zuzana W. remembered:

> "It is strange that so few children survived. And I think, I also have reasons for that. I think that there was a purpose, that Jewish children should not be Jewish anymore. Why didn't they wait a longer time to see if someone from our families would come back? Mr. Pitter was probably a kind person, he meant well. However, he had something that I call a missionary calling, which is completely alien to Judaism. He thought that everyone had to be baptized. So I came to a catholic family and the family was the way it was." (VHA ID 11226)

But it was very difficult to find a Jewish family that could take care of a small baby after the war. Moreover, on the other hand, the castles were visited by rabbis and Zionist promoters (VHA ID 4106). This point of view is understandable because the narrator projected the tough conditions in her life to her memories. The Christian belief of Pitter was so important because without his faith "Operation Castles" would not have happened.

The last dominating type of survivors' recollection in the presented context is the search for roots. Narrators who did not know their families speak about this topic very sensitive for them. During "Operation Castles", Pitter and his co-workers took care of a total of 810 children from different countries and many nationalities. The number of Jewish children was probably around 266 (ČAPP Inv. no. 51288, 3). We cannot give an exact number because, as I mentioned before, many of Pitter's children did not have any information in their records. Besides providing care for children, Pitter and his colleagues also started a very difficult job – searching for the parents of orphaned children and, on the other hand, trying to find lost children for the parents. In this case, they continued cooperating

with German authorities until the year 1950 (Lajsková 2015, 14–15). Nevertheless, their efforts to help find relatives continued if someone asked them. Many orphaned children without any relatives were brought to the sanatoriums at a very young age. They did not remember anything from their lives before the Nazi camps, even their recollections of their parents were missing. It remained a traumatizing experience for these people later on. All their lives they have tried to find any records about their families, relatives and roots. For example, Zdenka H. was six years old when she came to the sanatoriums; she did not know anything about her background. Her answer to the question about her mother in her testimony was: "I can give you her name, but I can't tell you anything about her. I don't remember. Her name was Helena F," the same as the answer about her father: "I don't know anything about my father. Again. All I know is what I've heard. He was a representative. He was already taken to Łódź in 1942, possibly 41." (VHA ID 31999) It was very traumatic for her and she started searching on her own. In Israel in the 60s, she met one of Pitter's former children, who tried to help her. He gave her a contact for Olga Fierz, who was involved in finding the roots of Zdenka H. In her testimony, Zdenka H. remembers: ". . . she was the first help. She actually sent someone to Zdíkov, and there was somebody she wrote in letters, I've still got Olga's letters, a Mister X ... and they actually went in the village, where I was staying with my mother. And they get somebody involved and they officially looked through records. . . " (VHA ID 31999) Olga kept in touch with Zdenka H. through correspondence. It was not easy for Olga to write letters to Czechoslovakia, as she wrote in one letter to Zdenka H.: "I don't know myself who is the very helpful old man who took up the matter of inquiring after your relatives, let's call him Mister X, in ČSSR many people are very cautious about correspondence with the West, they get in some trouble with their authorities." (ČAPP Carton 15a).

From the correspondence with a wider circle of helpers, we can read how difficult it was to correspond from Czechoslovakia. It was not possible to use the ordinary post office. Someone who could go to Western Europe had to smuggle the letter out and then post

it (ČAPP Carton 15a). Many people tried to help Zdenka H. find her relatives. In the end, they were quite successful, because Olga, their friends and nameless helpers in Czechoslovakia found relatives of Zdenka H. in Czechoslovakia. It was unbelievable for here, as she related: "When this letter came, saying that you have step-aunts. Again I just read the letter. I lived alone, I sat down, I couldn't cry. I just thought – is this really possible?" (VHA ID 31999) This process was stressful and difficult, as Zdenka H. wrote to Olga in the letters "... hearing all this news after 41 years is very exciting but also very upsetting." (ČAPP Carton 22). It was excrutiating for the narrators if they did not have any memories or information about their families. They have tried to find any information about their roots for their whole lives. As Zuzana W. says (she was 3 years old when she was brought to the castles.): "I am still obsessed, whether I will find a trace or not... As long as I am alive, the war will never end for me ... I do not know if I still have a chance to find any clues somewhere, sometimes I ask myself, if it makes any sense yet. Whether my son and grandson would want to know. I, however, hope so." (VHA ID 11226)

Some of Pitter's children kept in touch with him and also with Olga Fierz for the rest of their lives, because Pitter and Fierz also cared about their lives when they get older and help them further. Both Přemysl Pitter and Olga Fierz were honored with the state of Israel's Righteous Among Nations award for their work. Some of Pitter's children supported the case for the awarding – Yehudah B.: "And we the children managed also that he got a medal of the Jewish State and the tree in Yad Vashem for the Righteous One of the non-Jews." (VHA ID 26983) Many children appreciated that, for example Zdenka H.: "I think that it is a nice gesture, to, you know honor these people. Because they did lot of good work." (VHA ID 31999)

Interestingly, some of them speak a lot of about their stay in the castles, but some of the narrators do not even mention that they were there. This is part of oral history; it is up to the speaker what context he attributes to each situation. For some survivors, this period is very important, while for the rest of them it is only a

less significant part of their rich and sometimes very difficult lives, perhaps because the interviewer did not ask them directly about this topic. We have to notice that many of the survivors joined Operation Castles as very young children, so they cannot even remember it, though most of them speak a little bit about it. Even if they have remembered nothing, it is still important period of their lives. For the researcher, it is also remarkable to see how the lives of the children from the sanatoriums have developed, to follow their steps, as they have lived in different countries and places – in the Czech Republic, Israel, Germany, South America, Great Britain, etc.

Přemysl Pitter and Olga Fierz and their colleagues helped children in a period of chaos and violence and they tried to find a safe shelter for them. Even though Pitter and his co-worker tried to provide the children with the best care they could, the non-transferability of the children's experiences could cause misunderstandings and not-so-positive memories on the part of some narrators with regards to some aspects of their stay in the sanatoriums. But in spite of the very difficult situation in the post-war period, the organizers of "Operation Castles" were successful. In the children's memories, the work of Pitter and his co-workers is generally highly appreciated. It is very important to mention that "Operation Castles" was implemented in absolutely severe conditions, in a specific situation where universal values were not valid. For hundreds of children, "Operation Castles" was a remarkable experience and helped them to survive.

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Czechoslovak Jewish emigrants in the clutches of Luxembourg pre-war migration bureaucracy

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Presented contribution attempts to find answers to the following questions, among others: How did Luxembourg officials deal with Jewish refugees from Eastern European countries? Did the Luxembourgish authorities distinguish or give priority to citizens of particular nations? Who was involved in the approval process? Who played the most active role and collected the most controversial information about Jewish immigrants?

The alleged collaboration of Luxembourgish officials was largely elaborated in a report entitled *La collaboration au Luxembourg durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (1940–1945) – the state administrative deliberately supported and collaborated with the Nazi regime (Artuso 2013). As a follow-up to this initiation, Denis Scuto, a professor at the University of Luxembourg and his team launched a new project, LUXSTAPOJE, to continue the research. The project aims to systematize and extend the analysis of individual records held by the Luxembourg "Foreign Police" (*Fremdenpolizei*). It endeavors to link macro-historical studies with micro-historical or prosopographic studies on the Holocaust in Luxembourg. It focuses on a specific group of people who lived in a specific territory, i.e. foreign Jews who lived in Luxembourg in the late 1930s. The researched team has been investigating how exclusionary measures were accepted and what role was played by Luxembourg's *Police des étrangers* ("Foreign Police") and the Luxembourg Ministry of Justice in the process of denaturalization.

To analyze the revocation of citizenship in-depth, I will present the detailed database containing several cases of refugees from Czechoslovakia who came to Luxembourg in the 1930s. I will illustrate the administrative process of denaturalization based on this sample of Eastern European immigrants from a transnational perspective.

The contribution will also demonstrate the phenomenon of emigration as Luxembourg's "destiny".(Gloden 2001) It is a phenomenon that has undergone both dips and periods of continuity, but one that has overall never stopped. For two centuries, foreigners have been arriving in Luxembourg to participate in the indigenous and open market and to work in agriculture and industry. Over the past hundred years, many have just passed through, but others have settled permanently. The mobility of citizens has been a key feature of migration until the present day.(Scuto 2012) What has changed is the major trends in migration and the economic sectors that are attractive to immigrants. The Czechoslovak Jewish workforce encompassed various professional backgrounds from iron ore miners to lawyers.(Scuto 2010)

This research mainly draws on data from individual Foreign Police files. This approach has enabled me to examine the interactions between the state, individuals and legal players. I have also explored the holdings of the Luxembourg National Archives, especially a number of invaluable files containing family portraits of Czechoslovak Jews who disappeared during the war. Thanks to these files and the meticulous work of the Luxembourg Foreign Police, we can piece together the portraits of people who came to Luxembourg for a variety of reasons. Unfortunately, their post-war destiny is unknown in most cases but based on the existing material, I can at least roughly predict their fate.

The individual files of Czechoslovak Jews, together with personal video testimonies from the USC Shoah Foundation database, offer new insights into this segment of Luxembourgish Jewish pre-war history and allow historians to take a more multifaceted approach to this historical problem. They will illustrate the remarkable military precision dedicated to applicants who wanted an identity card or a residence permit that would allow them to work and stay in Lux-

embourg before and after the war. I will also complete these data about personal documents such as photos, diaries and genealogies. It is evident that as the conflict drew nearer, the bureaucratic screws were tightening and the number of applications that were declined increased considerably. Here is one example of all:

> "Lydia Strobel[1] will be officially asked to leave the Grand Duchy once she ceases her artistic activities. The unprecedented growth of artists in Luxembourg leads us to the conclusion that we must reduce the number of permits for this category. In the future, our officials will only issue work permits with a limited expiry date. We must be aware of the rising number of artists, especially 'mediocre' musicians who are staying in our country with documents past their expiry date. They have to find a job somewhere else because they serve no purpose for our society." (ANLux MJ-Pet 239609)

Each record contains a memorandum indicating the significant dates in chronological order and the declaration of arrival, which was compulsory for all foreigners over 15 years old. Foreign Police reports were as detailed as possible. They included information about living conditions, citizenship, physical and mental health, and finally yet importantly, they informed civil servants about taxes and rent. I was also able to uncover the destinations where people settled after leaving Luxembourg.(Scuto 2018)

The records contain many other confidential documents such as applications to renew ID cards: these forms appeared in 1936 when the first ID cards had to be renewed. The files also contain work permits, official decisions by the Ministry of Justice in Luxembourg, Foreign Police reports on the suitability of applicants issued by different states, interventions of lawyers, personal correspondence, reports from ESRA and so on. (Wagener and Fuchshuber 2015)

The datasets drawn from the Foreign Police reports are an invaluable treasure for scholars. They provide meticulous details about the

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[1]Lydia Strobel, a Czechoslovak artist who arrived in Luxembourg from Switzerland.

Czechoslovak applicants who intended to extend their stay in Luxembourg and apply for a new ID card. These reports represented the first stage in the bureaucratic process to obtain the coveted permission from Luxembourgish authorities. People who intended to apply for repatriation after the war then had to complete a long and detailed questionnaire about their relationship with Luxembourg, their physical and mental health, and lastly but importantly their financial situation. (ANLux MJ-Pet 250191; ANLux MJ-Pet 251955)

The third stage took place at the Ministry of Justice, which had the task of examining all applications submitted by both individuals and state authorities. In the event of a positive decision, the applicant received an official letter signed by a Government Adviser, then a Luxembourgish ID card. Negative decisions issued by the Ministry of Justice indicated that the application had been irrevocably rejected. These decisions involved consulting the Public Prosecutor's Office to determine the deadline that would be granted to each immigrant to leave Luxembourgish territory. From 1938 onward, the Ministry of Justice often dealt with urgent applications from Jews wanting to unite their families stranded in Germany or Austria.

This research also explored a few unfortunate Czechoslovaks who were deported forcefully from Belgium or France to the Litzmannstadt and Theresienstadt ghettos, which slightly increased their chances of survival in comparison with those (mostly Polish) Jews who were deported to extermination camps in Poland. The project also revealed a fascinating case of Antoine Slunecko, a Jewish tailor born in Sezimovo Usti who had managed to survive the war in Luxembourg and after few attempts, he received the Luxembourg citizenship by naturalization in 1953. (Cerf 2001)

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Prisoner tattoo as a situated social object in Holocaust survivors' visual history testimonies

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Introduction

The practice of tattooing has been part of human culture since the dawn of history (Caplan 2000). Indeed, the social meanings related to tattoos vary significantly in different eras and geographical localities. In contemporary Euro-American society, social scientists often point out the relation of tattoos to identity construction (Atkinson 2003; Turner 2008; Velliquette, Murray, and Evers 2006) and emergent tattoo subcultures (Roberts 2015), as well as explore motivations for tattooing and tattoo removal (Armstrong, Roberts, Koch, Saunders, Owen, and Anderson 2008; Wohlrab, Stahl, and Kappeler 2007)). Currently, tattooing is no longer considered a body-modification practice typical for lower social classes (Rees 2016). Tattooing has become fashionable, and it is a respected art technique (Kosut 2006; Sanders and Vail 2008).

In this paper, despite the mentioned cultural shifts toward the voluntary nature and social acceptability of tattooing, we focus on some cases of tattooing as an involuntary "branding" practice, which is a historical form of exercising total physical control over one's person, such as in the case of human slaves (Caplan 2000). In terms of empirical material, our study is based on the USC Shoah Foun-

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dation's Visual History Archive (VHA), which includes more than 55,000 audiovisual recordings of interviews with witnesses and survivors of the Holocaust and other genocides or collective violent acts (see Mlynář 2015). The VHA is searchable by several tools, among which is also Index Search, based on a large thesaurus. Keywords related to "prisoner tattoo", defined as "[r]egistration numbers tattooed on the left arm of prisoners selected for forced labor in a number of camps", are used in thousands of testimonies. This is, of course, primarily based on the fact that inmates of Auschwitz concentration and extermination camp were tattooed during the intake procedures (Kogon 1974, 50). The identification number was given only to those who were not sentenced to immediate death in the gas chambers, but to the slow and gradual "liquidation by work" (Herbert, Orth, and Dieckmann 2002, 720) that they were obliged to perform in the camp.

Tattoo as a social object

We examined 24 VHA interviews in Czech containing keywords such as "prisoner tattoos", "prisoner tattoo removal", "prisoner tattoos (stills)", and "prisoner identification number". Many of the interview recordings include segments where the tattooed prisoner number is shown to the camera (e.g., see Figure 1). In this paper, we focus on such locally situated production and achievement of the prisoner tattoo as a social object. As we explain below, social objects are emergent features and conditions of situated social practices: "all social objects – including words and meanings – are created by participants using shared assembly practices that orient legitimate and sanctioned systems of interaction" (Rawls 2019, 145). We focus on the identification and exemplification of some of these collaborative situated practices in the latter half of our paper.

The words "social object" are used in accordance with the American sociologist's Harold Garfinkel's employment of this term. In his early work, Garfinkel studied the constitution and maintenance of social objects such as personal identity (Garfinkel 1956) or the "red" (Garfinkel 2012). For Garfinkel, and the followers of his version of sociological inquiry called ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967, 2002),

Figure 1: Bela P. (VHA ID 48382) shows her left arm with the prisoner tattoo

our world of everyday life consists of social objects – such as traffic jams, queues, conversational greetings, playgrounds, kitchens, weeks, dog walkers or hurricanes. Social objects are recognizable and visible gestalts, meaningful arrangements of material artifacts, persons, and their mutual activities, in space and time. The criterion of visibility is crucial: social objects are routinely and unproblematically visible as delimited, countable, describable objects for competent members of a given society. As one of Garfinkel's students wrote: "One notion of visibility is that real-worldly objects have to 'reside' somewhere in the world where one could go looking to find them. This residence is not a 'place' in the real world, but is the constituted sense of an object as accountably locatable in the world, either physically or through knowing how to look via some technical operation." (Baccus 1986, 5) Concurrently, the French phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty reminds us that "the world is what we see and … nonetheless, we must learn to see it" (Merleau-Ponty 2013, 4). The fact that we are able to see-in-the-world various social objects, make practical sense of them, and incorporate them seamlessly into our courses of actions,

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is not a naturally given fact. It is instead a procedural, methodical accomplishment of the acting members of society, who constantly do work in order to achieve and maintain the "object constancy" (Mehan and Wood 1975, 11–12) of social objects for all practical purposes. For us, in this paper, the Auschwitz prisoners' tattoos, as presented and produced in the VHA testimonies, are social objects that are constituted and maintained by the locally situated work of the participants present on the spot during the interview recording.

Some situated practices of a tattoo showing

In this section, we describe situated practices that constitute the prisoner tattoo as an interactionally achieved and maintained social object in the VHA interview settings. Our analysis is inspired by the principles of ethnomethodological video analysis (Knoblauch, Schnettler, Raab, and Soeffner 2006; Heath, Hindmarsh, and Luff 2010; Broth, Laurier, and Mondada 2014), although due to space limitations we offer glossings rather than detailed descriptions. The interactional sequence of tattoo showing often occurs once in the course of the life-story narrative, and later again, at the end of the interview, in an additional segment dedicated to the documentation of "still images" (personal letters, family photos, etc.). In this section, we focus only on the former cases, i.e., showing the prisoner tattoo during the life-story narrative part of the interviews. We present our findings in three subsections. First, we focus on embodied action of the interviewee herself or himself, such as gaze, gesture, bodily movement and shifts in physical orientation. Second, we provide some initial observations on the features of the tattoo showing as instructed action, consisting of utterances by the interviewer and camera person. Third, we dedicate our attention to the cinematographic practices of camera work such as zooming, panning and tilting that make the prisoner tattoo visible, i.e. recognizable, as a social object for audiences of the resulting audiovisual material that is available in the VHA. It is, however, necessary to point out that all these practices are separated only analytically: in praxis, they occur in parallel

and in concert, they are temporally produced all at once, or almost simultaneously, reflexively intertwining and conditioning each other.

Embodied action

According to the examined material, the practice of tattoo showing occurs in two different temporal positions. In the first case, the tattoo showing follows the instruction of the interviewer. This is often motivated by the interviewee's narration, for example when she or he describes camp intake procedures in Auschwitz (VHA ID 9709, segment #12; VHA ID 6806, seg. #54) – see Figure 3. However, in other cases, the request for showing the prisoner tattoo comes up without any relation to the narrated story, for instance at the very end of the interview, after the narrator's conclusion of her or his life story (VHA ID 16004, seg. #46) – see Figure 2. Second type of tattoo showing arises from the interviewee's own initiative. Voluntary rolling up the interviewee's own left sleeve in order to show her or his prisoner tattoo serves various purposes: it is used as illustration (VHA ID 31396, seg. #38) and proof (VHA ID 11190, seg. #59) of the described experience, as a visual reference to interviewee's Jewish identity (VHA ID 14355, seg. #96), or as a special addition to the interview which might be, from the narrator's point of view, appreciated by the interview team (VHA ID 10372, seg. #40; VHA ID 8347, seg. #57). The embodied action constituting the very practice of a tattoo showing bears some resemblances to the interactional organization of the phenomenon of "showings" in video-mediated interaction (cf. Licoppe 2017).

Instructions and comments

The practice of tattoo-showing, which usually lasts a few seconds, is only rarely left without any further comment (VHA ID 16004, seg. #46-47). This almost ritualized practice within the oral history interviews with Holocaust survivors sometimes takes the form of instructed action (cf. Garfinkel and Rawls 2002, 197ff.). The interviewees are asked to roll their sleeves up (VHA ID 14355, seg. #20)
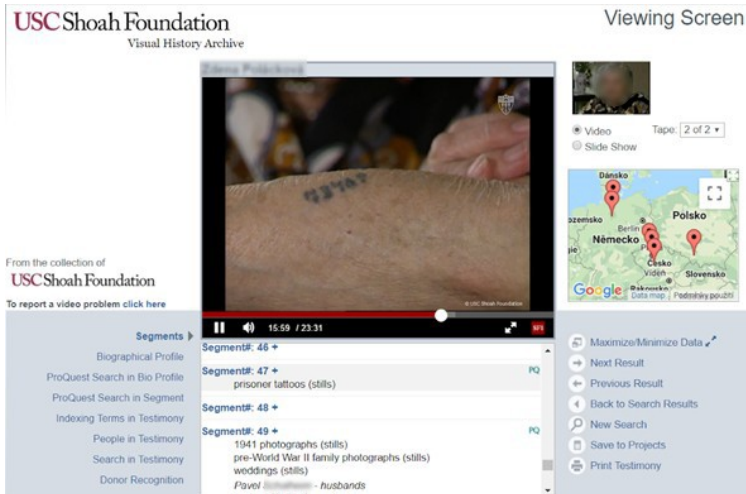
Figure 2: After the interview, Zdena P. (VHA ID 16004) is asked to show her tattooed prisoner number.

Figure 3: Pointing on his tattooed prisoner number, Jiri F. (VHA ID 11190) gives proof to the narrated story.

– see Figure 4 – or to move aside their right arm, so that the camera can capture the prisoner tattoo properly (VHA ID 17836, seg. #62). The narrators are further requested to present (VHA ID 15051, seg. #41) or read aloud the number tattooed on their forearm (VHA ID 31396, seg. #38). These requests sometimes even give an impression of an "exam", in which the interviewees should demonstrate, whether they still remember the number given to them in Auschwitz (VHA ID 31114, seg. #75). Should they "fail" in this "exam", they are encouraged by the interviewer to look at their forearm and to use the tattooed number as a hint (VHA ID 28592, seg. #71). A large group of interviewees, on the other hand, pronounces their prisoner number almost automatically, without any explicit instruction (VHA ID 9709, seg. #12).

The simultaneous visual and acoustic presentation of the prisoner identification number is often accompanied by "online commentary" related to various aspects of the tattoo (cf. Heritage 2017). The interviewees refer to the process of tattooing (VHA ID 8036, seg. #85), the pain caused by the tattooing needles (VHA ID 31396, seg. #39) and the subsequent swelling of their forearm (VHA ID 42298, seg. #71). Also, the appearance of the tattooed prisoner number is being discussed. The former Auschwitz inmates comment on the tattoo size (VHA ID 13933, seg. #19) – see Figure 5, its color (VHA ID 8819, seg. #35) or aesthetic value (VHA ID 16024, seg. #101). Their remarks often concern the symbolic meaning of the tattooed identification number, too (VHA ID 8036, seg. #85). By "becoming" numbers, they felt to be dehumanized (VHA ID 9468, seg. #63) and "branded" like cattle (VHA ID 31114, seg. #74). Some Holocaust survivors perceived the tattooed prisoner identification number as "the worst" humiliation (VHA ID 16004, seg. #47) and stigma (VHA ID 17262, seg. #43). Nevertheless, numerous interviewees refused to remove their Auschwitz number after the war (VHA ID 31396, seg. #39), as they did not regard it as something to be ashamed of (VHA ID 16373, seg. #59) (cf. Schult 2017).
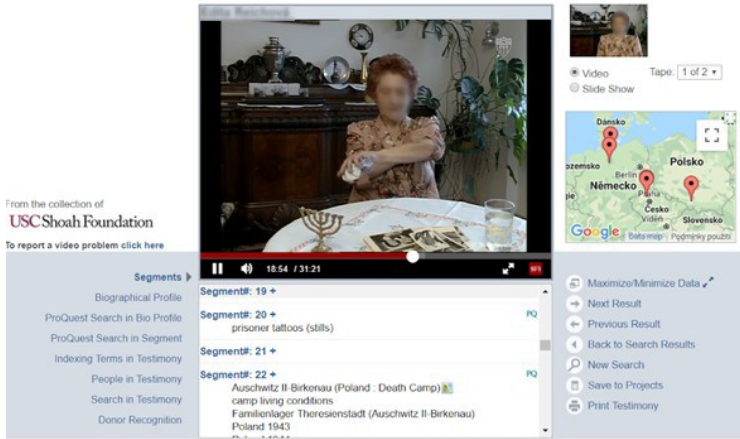
Figure 4: Edita R. (VHA ID 14355) is asked to roll up her sleeve in order to show her tattooed prisoner number.

Camera work

An essential part of the practice of tattoo showing in VHA interviews is the camera work. As Broth, Laurier and Mondada remind us, "[m]oving the camera – panning shots, zooming in and out, and the like – is a powerful sense-making and categorizing device, focusing on details and making them relevant (immediately for the filmmaker and the filmed persons, later on for the final recipient of the video)." (Broth, Laurier, and Mondada 2014, 17) Within oral history interviews, the camera frame usually remains static for several hours capturing solely the face or upper body of the narrator. Therefore, a detailed focus on the interviewee's forearm often presents the only active work of the camera during the storytelling. The sudden zooming in (see Figure 6) underlines the importance of the showed tattoo and makes it to an auratic object (Benjamin 2017), which invites a more detailed view. Zooming in on the interviewee's forearm follows either the instruction of the interviewer to show the tattoo (VHA ID 14021, seg. #140), or the voluntary decision of the narrator to present his or her prisoner number (VHA ID 25440, seg. #91). However, the active camera work does not always necessarily enable the viewer to
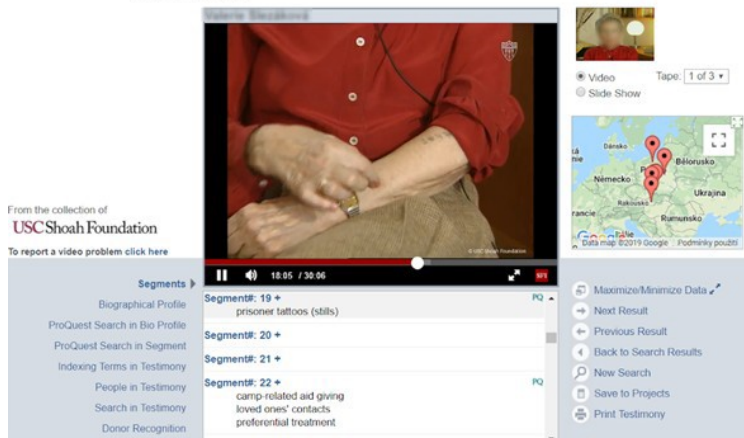
Figure 5: Valerie S. (VHA ID 13933) demonstrates various sizes of tattooed prisoner identification numbers.

see the tattoo properly: slow reaction of the person operating the device (VHA ID 9709, seg. #12) or wrong angle (VHA ID 14366, seg. #39) make the tattooed number illegible. After the act of tattoo showing, the camera often moves from the interviewee's left forearm to her or his face, in order to get to its original position (VHA ID 25440, seg. #91). In the examined interviews, there are also practices of tattoo showing which do not provoke any camera work (VHA ID 16373, seg. #57) – see Figure 7. This passivity of the camera is sometimes probably since the prisoner tattoo is planned to be captured properly at the very end of the interview together with other personal materials of the interviewee (VHA ID 28592, seg. #172).

Concluding remarks

"I have learnt that I am a Häftling. My number is 174517; we have been baptized, we will carry the tattoo on our left arm until we die," Primo Levi wrote in his remarkable book If this is a man (Levi 1959, 22). Over the past 70 years, the prisoner tattoo has indeed become an important symbol of the terrible events of the Holocaust, and the

Figure 6: Camera zooms in on the forearm with tattooed prisoner number.

Figure 7: During Katarína G.'s (VHA ID 15051) tattoo showing, the camera stays in its original position.

Auschwitz camp in particular. However, it seems that this symbolic meaning of prisoners' tattoo was culturally constructed only in the later post-war years as an aspect of the social identity of Holocaust survivors. The fact that Auschwitz prisoners were systematically tattooed with their numbers was apparently not very well-known in the immediate post-war years, as illustrated by the example below, taken from an unbelated interview from 1946. American psychologist David P. Boder, who himself conducted over 100 audio-recorded interviews with displaced persons in Europe, many of whom would be now called "Holocaust survivors" – but the term did not exist yet in 1946 –, is wondering about his interviewee's forearm:

> DAVID BODER: What is this? The . . . the . . . from the . . . what is the . . .
> ISRAEL UNIKOWSKI: This is from Auschwitz. The number.
> DAVID BODER: Eh . . . [In English] I notice on his left arm the following tattoo B-7687. He tells me that that is the tattoo that was made on his arm in Auschwitz—All right. Nu?
> (Voices of the Holocaust 2019)

Prisoner's tattoo as a social object is first and foremost constituted by the immediate local environment in which it is shown, made consequential, discussed, read aloud, or used as evidence of veracity; as well as providing means for bringing an aura of authenticity and almost sacred awe. Practices which we listed and partially described in this paper relate to the specific context of oral history interview and the interactional constitution of prisoner's tattoo as a social object within such a context. As we explained above, these practices establish a *gestalt contexture* (Gurwitsch 1964, 134) composed of an interplay of embodied action, instructed action, and camera work. The audiences that work with audiovisual oral history interviews then interpret the video- captured courses of action within the cultural and social frameworks that are often very distant (temporally or geographically) from the original sites of interview production. This

is, of course, true for all film material: in her treatment of "a socio-logic of the film text", Lena Jayyusi stresses that "[w]e understand the film image in part because it reproduces on screen whatever scene or object the camera was turned onto in the first place – because *it is an image of something* in the real world. However, our understanding of it is a conventional one, not because the image itself is coded in a way unique to it, but because we understand the perceptual world of everyday life through our concepts, our language, and our cultural knowledge in the first place. We *see through* this cultural knowledge." (Jayyusi 1988, 272   original emphasis).

This cultural layer is also loosely connected to the newly developing meanings of the prisoner's tattoos in certain societies: for example, in contemporary Israel, there are some members of the "Third Generation" (i.e., the grandchildren of Holocaust survivors), who deliberately and voluntarily have their grandparents' number tattooed on their forearms (e.g., Astro 2016, 112). As a material and bodily practice, this material form of memory transition and reconfiguration brings forward a vast set of research questions, which are, however, already far beyond the scope of our paper.

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Internet folklore and online mediated identity: A theoretical approach

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Introduction

Internet folklore has modified the definition of folklore; now, we can produce the folklore anywhere through the internet. (Blank 2009; McNeill 2013; Wood and Smith 2005) Through the internet and online communication tools (Facebook, YouTube, Google App- Nyishi World App) Nyishi people are taking the initiative to save and spread their culture and identity in the society. In the age of mechanical reproduction of culture, people are actively participating and representing themselves on the internet. The internet has provided a space for every individual in the society which is safe for the person to exercise their agency. (Kennedy 2014) The engagement of every individual in cultural production gives birth to the concept of folklore. Folklore deals with the culture produced by everybody in society instead of the few selected ones. (McNeill 2013) So, it is essential to understand the culture, how it is produced and its reception in society.

Why the folklore has to deal with the informal cultural tradition or informal institutions? What gives a clear knowledge about the society or community? As far as folklore is concerned, it is much expressive than any other form of culture and artistic production. (Toelken 1996) Folklore tells about the absurd social practices and customs, and definitely, it represents the unselfconscious self of one's own. (Dundes and Bronner 2007) To understand the culture or a community one should closely observe and document the everyday life of people, the slang, the jokes, the proverbs which have been floating around the people now and then. For example, if the first

fairy tale or Grimm's fairy tale (1812) would have documented the slangs, swearing words, proverbs, and jokes which are frequently used by every German kid in their life, then we would have a different understanding of German people. If one needs to understand the Nyishi culture than the jokes, proverbs, slangs would give a much clearer idea than the custom and culture which is socially acceptable. What makes some practices socially acceptable and some unacceptable? Who decides it? Cultural hegemony and state apparatus are worth noticing to understand the production of culture, and how the power and institutions influence our cultural thinking. State apparatus, the ideological state apparatus and repressive state apparatus are some degree responsible for the cultural production and manipulate or impose the bourgeois world view which discards the thinking of proletariat. (Althusser 1970)

Now, things have been changing with the advancement of modern technologies and apparatus. It is interesting to look into these apparatuses in the democratic and free space like social media and the internet. The penetration of the internet or the WWW (world wide web) has reproduced culture and tradition. Does the reproduction of culture on the internet carry forward the essence of art or culture? As the Frankfurt scholars are very much sceptical about the influence of technology on art and aesthetics, and the capitalistic production of culture it is interesting to see how the culture survives in the age of mechanical reproduction. (Benjamin 1936) What makes the culture survive? What is the essence of art? The essential thing about the survival of the culture is deeply embedded in the variation and circulation of culture. The production of memes or the slapping of text on pictures is just the extension of our unconscious mind which might otherwise be interdicted in our everyday life (Dundes and Bronner 2007). The production of culture on the internet has revolutionized the idea of culture and its social and political affinity. Here, we need to understand the field of cultural production where the manifestation of the social agents is involved (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993). We also need to look into the idea of network society and imagined community which is the byproduct of mechanical reproduction and technologies. (Castells 1989; Anderson 2006)

Understanding Folklore

To understand folklore, we need to understand the concept of "folk" and "lore." The present-day definition of folk is different from the Eurocentric view of folk as a lower stratum of society. According to Alan Dundes, folk is the group of people who share at least one common factor (Dundes and Bronner 2007). The informal or unofficial level of cultural understanding is the "folk" level, the level on which cultural knowledge is shared, enacted, and propagated by regular, everyday people (McNeill 2013). What is culture then? According to Ward Goodenough "a society's culture is whatever it is one has to know or believe to act in a manner acceptable to its members." Sometimes we learn the culture from the instruction we have been given, and when there is no instruction, we just follow and observe the people to understand the culture. This informal or unofficial realms of our cultural lives make us a folk group. Folk group or the folk have both the institutional and non-institutional aspects, and when we tell them folk, it is their unofficial selves. So the folklore is informal, traditional culture. It's all the cultural stuff – customs, stories, jokes, art –that we learn from each other, by word of mouth or observation, rather than through formal institutions (McNeill 2013).

When we talk about traditional in folklore, it means passed on. It is important to note that calling something "traditional" does not mean it is "old." A brand-new legend or rumor can be passed along via e-mail to thousands of people in just a few days – and that is still traditional. Traditional simply means passed on, whether that's over many generations or just a few days, resulting in the same expressive form cropping up in multiple places (McNeill 2013). Formal institutions do not allow one to express his/her unconscious mind or suppressive mind. Folklore is the outlet for an unconscious; suppressive mind "one finds a people's own unselfconscious picture of themselves" (Dundes and Bronner 2007). It is not something relegated to primitivize others – historically or socially – but rather a behavioral pattern that everyone exhibits. "Folklore offers a socially sanctioned outlet for the expression of taboo and anxiety provok-

ing behavior. One can do or say in folkloric form things otherwise interdicted in everyday life." (Dundes and Bronner 2007)

Folklore passed on using person to person contact. Moreover, an item of folklore may be changed by different individuals by their own individual needs, the demands of a particular social context – the make-up of the audience. Lynne McNeil points out these aspects of variation and transmission in her book "Folklore Rules." She lucidly explains the essential aspects of folklore, what makes folklore and what not. Variation and "passed on" is an important aspect of folklore. Folklore needs to pass on through time, sometimes remaining the same, sometimes changing. This is why the task of collecting and analyzing folklore can never be completed. Tomorrow's version of a folksong may or may not be the same as the one we know today which in turn may or may not be the same as the one which was known in the past. So folklore, by the nature of its transmission, is malleable, adaptable, changeable, and mostly anonymous, and this makes it way more culturally and expressively communicative than any other mechanical production of culture and art. To identify the folklore, one must be focused on how the folklore has traveled (McNeill 2013).

Nyishi Folklore

Nyishi is the largest ethnic group in Arunachal Pradesh. It has been believed that they are the descendant of the great ancestor Abotani. The term 'Nishi' or 'Nyishi' is an ancient Indigenous word. It has been derived from two words, i.e., 'Nyi' or 'Nyia' and 'Shi' or 'Shing.' The word 'nyi' means 'Human,' descendants of Aathu/Aatoh Nyia, the son of the Aabhu/Abho Thanyi, while 'shi' or 'shing' means 'Being.' Accordingly, Nyishi stands for 'Human Being.' The Nyishi believed that the entire universe is divided into three worlds, i.e., earth, heaven, and the netherworld. Sachang (Earth) is a dwelling place for living creatures including man, animal, and plant; Nyedo (Sky) is the abode of Gods and Goddesses, and other celestial bodies, while Weyi/Nel Nyoku is a place meant for the life after death. There

is also an imaginary world called Talang Nyoku, which lies between heaven and earth.

Nyishi people believe in many legends and folk tales related to their culture and tradition. The story of "Tai Bida and Mithun" is the most popular folk tale which floats around the Nyishi world. Rituals are important aspects of their everyday life. They have rituals related to the creation, agricultural, immediate healing, treatment, and medication, inflicting opponent, purification and reconciliation, the death of human, omen, oath, and ordeals, peace, prosperity, and protection. Also, jokes and proverbs are important aspects of Nyishi folklore. It has been evident that the folk from Nyishi community are actively participating in the online activities, through their Facebook page, they are affirming their culture and identity. They are updating the Nyishi folktales, legends, stories, customs, and tradition on their Facebook page, and attracting people from both inside and outside world.

The online selves of Nyishi people are related to offline contexts where the individual or a group of people perform in real life. The online Nyishi community is just an extension of offline context, i.e., Nyder Namlo temple, which is working toward the protection of Nyishi language and propagating Nyishi identity and culture offline. The concept of identity and culture is now closely associated with the interface between technology and society. The computerized society has changed the meaning of knowledge and truth. It is having a radical effect on identity and culture. The gender paradigm is also changing due to the widespread use and accessibility of the internet.

Folklore and Internet

The Internet has influenced the folklore, culture, and tradition of a community to a great extent. If we look into the internet; especially YouTube and social networking sites we will find numerous video clips, photographs, and articles on the various form of folk dance, folk music and festival from different parts of the world. Assimilation of folklore into mainstream society has become a trend; the classy example is a fusion of folk song in Coke Studio. All these are

possible because of the advancement in communication technologies. It has completely changed the orientation of many social elements. In this "participatory culture" media play an essential role in the circulation of culture and tradition. Media participation in networks is a lot about taking some existing media object and remaking it with our own spin; we can see tons of example on YouTube or app-based service or social networking sites. The folklorists played an essential role in archiving the culture and tradition or the folklore, but, the contemporary folklore has its own version. Traditional folklore indeed had a different orientation away from modern communication and technology, but the world is changing; the 21st-century generation is digital-normal in a newly networked world. If we want to study the folklore, and culture and tradition in the present day than, we must consider internet where folklore is often practiced, created and circulated.

The Internet has created a shared body of knowledge about how to behave in a digital setting or the virtual world. As Bruce Mason notes, the Internet "is a 'virtual' home to many millions who have gone ahead and made the Net a space in which to create a lived culture". (Blank 2009) It is true that developments in technology has spread the folk art and culture, and reduced the geographical and physical barriers, but one should examine the agents involved in the propagations of culture, especially the folklore. Since it is a cultural form of communication and expression, a lot of social elements are involved in it. If we closely observe the existence and function of folklore, we will find that folklore is a part of our daily life. According to Alan Dundes, folklore "includes myths, legends, folktales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, curses, oaths, insults, retorts, taunts, teases, toasts, tongue-twisters, and greet and leave-taking formulas."(Dundes 1965, 3) It also includes folk costume, folk dance, folk drama (and mime), folk art, folk belief (or superstition), folk medicine, folk music, folksongs, folk speech (e.g., slang). Furthermore, consciously or unconsciously we use the various form of folklore in our day to day life.

The four functions of folklore also deal with the common situations from everyday life. It is a medium of communication which

often surfaces in our everyday life. As a communicative process, folklore deals with social interaction and societal values. It is important to know the meaning of folklore and the usage of it, what is communicated to whom and where. Gramsci, the Italian Marxist Philosopher who is famous for coining the word "hegemony," is critical about the folklore. He is critical about folklore in respect to hegemony. Folklore is tied with the bourgeois culture, and it creates inequality in society. According to him, one should be associated with folklore with a critical viewpoint and analyze it concerning society. Folklore is not "pretty much what one wants to make out of it"; it is a definite realistic, artistic, and communicative process. Proverbs and riddles have distinct syntactic and semantic structures that separate them from the regular daily speech into which they are interspersed. It has been evident that folklore has certain distinct features which make it unique. However, in the digital age, "remix of culture" the aesthetic of the folklore, i.e., art, music, dance, etc has appeared. Of course, the concept of "remix of culture" is subjective. Nevertheless, the traditional folklore is dissolved in the course of modernity and advancements in technologies and evolved into a new form. Now, it is to see how much the new form has transformed the society or whether it is still the same wine a different bottle.

Folklore can emerge anywhere where informal, every day, face to face social interaction takes place. As Dell Hymes explained in his presidential address at the 1974 AFS meeting, "folklorists believe that the capacity for aesthetic experience, for [the] shaping of deeply felt values into meaningful, apposite form, is present in all communities, and will find some means of expression among all" (Hymes 1975, 346). So the interaction over the network communications should not have treated differently from the real and physical objects. Folklore may take on new forms and shapes and may be transmitted in new ways, but the folklore is alive and well in the digital world.

Internet Folklore and Online Mediated Identity

> "The Internet is like a giant jellyfish. You can't step on
> it. You can't go around it. You've got to get through it."
> – John Evans

The growing impact of the internet on our society is difficult to ignore. We encounter it directly or indirectly in our everyday life. As the Internet developed as a communications facilitator, folklore emerged as recognizably the way it was in the real world. Folk groups are readily identifiable on the Internet, as evidenced by chat forums, blogs, online political activity, fan web pages, and a plethora of other interrelated concepts. The Nyishi community from India has been greatly benefitting by this cultural change. The interface between technology and the internet has created a space for this marginalized group from India. Once an unfamiliar face, now the Nyishi identity is proliferating in the online world. Their folklore and culture has been more valued than ever before. From the earliest moments of the modern Internet's existence, folklore was a central component of the domain, moderating the intersection of computer professionals with hackers, newfangled lingo, and the dispersal of stories, pranks, and legends (Jennings 1990). Bruce McClelland notes that as a result, "the boundary between the actual and the virtual began to become blurred" (McClelland 2000, 182).

According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, the internet is offering an opportunity to rethink folklore (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 302). Even Alan Dundes tells that "technology is not stamping out folklore; rather it is becoming a vital factor in the transmission of folklore, and it is providing an exciting source of inspiration for the generation of new folklore" (Dundes 1980, 17). Internet folklore has changed the concept of traditional folklore and the production of culture. As Robert Glenn Howard tells that "the folkloric expression need not have traditional origin.... but the 'continuities and consistencies' should allow a specific community to perceive such expression as traditional, local, or community generated" (Howard 2015, 201). The changing mode of folklore transmission has given a new face to the extinct folkloric subject materials of Nyishi community. Now,

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the Nyishi youth are conscious of their identity and culture. They have been using the internet, especially Facebook as a platform for preservation and dissemination of Nyishi folk materials. The community has shifted from the traditional model, becoming an online one, which grows very fast.

Informationalism and the new model of development are contributing to a fundamental change in culture. The shifting nature of industrial society to an informational society has created a network society (Castells 2000). Now we are living in a mediated society, where the definition of self and society are blurred. The technology of communication has changed our thought process and the perception about culture. Technologies of communication such as writing have changed the culture of listening and memorizing things. It also changed the value of connectedness and face to face conversation. Cultures without writing systems privilege the sense of hearing as a tool for interpreting reality. Knowledge within these cultures is community-based, and people tend to construct their identities in relation. In contrast, print cultures encourage more individuality and less connectiveness to the community among their participants. Literacy led to people looking for information in the relatively isolated exercise of reading rather than through face-to-face interaction. The dominant sense in literate cultures is no longer the tradition of hearing or sight. The proliferation of electronic media and internet now favor the sense of hearing as well as sight (Ong 2002).

Mediated communication separates the communicators through some technology – from the most straightforward types like paper to the most sophisticated kind of computer devices like a wireless Web unit. It has brought the vernacular into sight. The Internet has altered established notions of social identity, which has made stigmatizing constraints such as gender and race less relevant than they are in the physical world. (McClelland 2000) Now people are living in an imagined community, and they can find close affinity with each other without interacting in real life (Anderson 2006; Kennedy 2014). Internet users understand themselves to be unique individuals, have agency, and exhibit commonly understood forms of consciousness. (Kennedy 2014, 25--41)

If one needs to understand the internet, no identity research is the best place to start with than the work of Turkle. Turkle's studies give us a clear idea about the relationship between identity construction and networked technologies, where he argues that online identity is fluid and fragmented, changes very often (Turkle 1995). Even Helen Kennedy has tasted the same thing with a group of students in her MUD (Multi User Dungeons) project, where she finds out that the students have multiple identities on their home page. (Kennedy 2014, 25–41) Internet as an anonymous environment, identity can be broken into fragments, deconstructed, and reconstructed Identity theory delineates a structure of the self, details the process of identity verification, and predicts the outcomes of identity verification processes (Burke and Stets 2009; Stets and Burke 2014; Stryker 1980; Stryker and Burke 2000). Rooted in structural symbolic interactionism, identity theory assumes that persons construct identities through social interaction and that these interactions are always structurally embedded. When we turn to the study of identity-production in digital media, this slippage between identity as a process and as a product is attenuated. (Poletti and Rak 2014) Identity, as we understand it today, is the process of knowing oneself by an interplay of difference and similarity; at the same time, it is also about knowing one's social place due to a host of technologies outside of one's self, which authenticate and delimit one's existence. The Internet is an ideal channel for the transmission of folk narratives, due to its anonymity and efficiency in the speedy dissemination of ideas.

Judith Butler's theories of identity performativity have an enormous capacity to further our understanding of how people use the profile functions of social networking and why so many people invest such a great deal of time, energy, effort, and emotional investment in social networking maintenance, contact, and communication. To think about the relationship between online activities and selfhood as one where users have preexisting identities "brought to computers from the culture at large" (Green et al. 2008, 11), as if the very process of identity construction, constitution, and formation ceases the moment one sits down at the computer. Following Butler, and viewing identity and selfhood as non-voluntarist, those unconscious per-

formances that cite and repeat discursively given identity categories or stereotypes allows us to explore how online behavior is more than an expression of different ways of doing identity and, instead, as a set of acts and behaviors that constitute those very identities. A reason social networking profiles are so effective for the self-governance and performative articulation of subjective coherence relates to the fact that a subject's performance is only stable, intelligible, and recognizable if it is repeated. Performativity, as Butler points out, "must be understood not as a singular or deliberate 'act,' but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names." (Butler 1990)

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Militancy and moderation: a visual analysis of polarization and normalization of female suffrage movements in the cartoon representations of Punch magazine, 1905 – 1914

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In this paper, I present some results already achieved by discussing the case of women's emerging political agency in cartoons of the Punch magazine and outline my ongoing doctoral dissertation project "Conveying continuity and change: visual representations of political agency in British and German political cartoons, 1898 – 1914". In the final dissertation, this analysis will be extended in the chapter of extra-parliamentary agencies. In the dissertation project, I use a comparative framework to analyze how cartoonists enforced and criticized their political system in general, and politicians in particular. The central phenomenon under analysis is the contemporaries' (middle-class) understanding of their political cultures and agency, and particularly how they transmitted these views to their readership during the time of social and political transformation of the early 20th century. I answer this by studying the different types of agencies, i.e. the monarchy, government, parliament and extra-parliamentary agents (demonstrators and pressure groups).

As primary methods of this study, I use visual analysis, especially iconography and semiotics, with attention paid to discursive comparisons (for iconography and iconology see e.g. Mitchell 1942; Kuusamo 1996; Kuusamo 1990; van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001; Seppänen 2005; Seppänen 2001). Sources for this study are the political and joke cartoons of the British "Punch" magazine, which was a middle-class

and (self-identified) patriotic publication (for the general classification of cartoons see Kemnitz 1973). Visual analysis, in general, is a primarily comparative method, whose application requires knowledge of the visual traditions. In particular, cartoon analysis and iconography scrutinize the common and recurring icons, signs and narratives of certain actors and situations and via their comparison and different uses uncover meanings that represent the broader social and cultural thinking and traditions. The representations presented in cartoons were often derivative of existing popular opinions, reinforcing and challenging them, hence their analysis uncovers information of the topics that were important to the contemporaries.(Coupe 1969; Kemnitz 1973; Scully and Quartly 2009)

Cartoons have the capacity to discuss difficult themes and issues in simplifying ways, thus creating strong perceptions and reactions. The usual functions of a cartoon were to entertain and amuse the reader and to deliver a viewpoint or opinion towards the topic visualised.(Kemnitz 1973; Gombrich 1999; Scully and Quartly 2009) Over time, these visualizations would form a visual narrative and become icons on their own right. Furthermore, through the use of humor the cartoonist is able to discuss controversial subjects, which other forms of media do not so readily feature, e.g. the perceived inaction (or choice not to act) of the prime minister on women's suffrage. Indeed, the uses and quality of humor in societies is indicative of its traditions and customs, views towards other cultures, and the many things that cannot be conversed directly (due to societal inhibitions or governmental prohibitions), but rather with the softening guise.(for example: Allen 2015, 1–3, 8–9) Cartoons might not succeed in explaining the situation, but rather explore the different sides and viewpoints of it, creating definitions for the reader.(Gombrich 1999, 198, 209–211; Miller 2016, 1, 7, 10-13, 226-227) They functioned as a medium of positive (enhancing), negative (criticizing) and reassuring (informative and normalizing) messages, often in the form of opinion, with the additional function of being able to explore even the more controversial topics.

I explore how British middle-class cartoonists of the Punch magazine visualized the emerging political agency of women in the course

of the women's suffrage campaigns of the early 20th century as an example case. I claim that the representation of women's emerging political activity consisted of three overlapping phases: 1) distinction: where the two different suffrage agencies become defined in their own different ways; 2) (de)legitimation: a change in their portrayal, as one is delegitimized (even vilified), and the other, conversely, legitimized and idealized; 3) normalization of militancy: i.e. the militancy became frequently and mildly portrayed, with numerous appearances in non-serious everyday cartoons, which is indicative of the militancy itself becoming more normal or every day occurrence for the contemporaries. These three points of inquiry each have unique features, with strong interrelated developments. Images are collected from Punch volumes 124 – 146 (1905 – 1914 first half, around 600 magazines, however 1903 and 1904 were also surveyed for the possibility of relevant material). As a weekly publication Punch took part in the conversation of current events; however, at the same time it established connections to past visual narratives creating long-term continuities as well as immediate responses. The total amount of collected cartoons is 115. Suffrage campaigns appeared in every volume from 1905 onwards, consistently featured for the readers. With these sources, it is safe to say that 1906 was the pivotal point in the emergence of women as political actors in Punch's cartoons, which was done with very strong representations of different agents. Usually cartoons concentrated in immediate political issues for one or two numbers and then moved onto the next (with few exceptions e.g. the ever-present issue of the Irish Home Rule), but women's suffrage campaigns remained a stable subject throughout the beginning of the century.

From 1906 onwards, women increasingly became a recurring political character in the cartoons. However, under the time period of 1907 to 1910 the cartoonists refined their definitions and visualizations of the suffrage campaigners. Indeed in 1906 and as late as 1908 the terms 'suffragette', 'suffragist', and 'Votes for Women' (in different written forms) were virtually interchangeable with little or

no discernible visual congruity (see Figure 2).[1] Over time, suffrag-
ist and suffragette became the two dominant agencies, and Votes
for women only associated with the latter of the two. The gradual
vilification of suffragettes throughout the period was connected with
the increasing portrayal of suffragettes as lower-class people, whereas
the suffragists, or "sensible women", retained their upper and middle-
class appearances (see Figure 1).[2]

In the course of the suffragettes' actions becoming more violent,
the cartoonists increasingly incorporated this into their work, but at
the same time also started to use the visuals of undesired, uncon-
ventional or suspicious characters to depict them. The legitimation
of suffragist image and agency was done simply by showing them
calmly and constructively working with the national political insti-
tutions, most importantly, the Parliament.(Punch vol. 139, 21 13. 7.
1910; Punch vol. 141, 397 29. 11. 1911; Punch vol. 144, 105 5. 2.
1913) The suffragettes' connection to Westminster, however, was not
as positive. They were visualized pestering, and later threatening,
members of the parliament. These direct associations to national
politicians gave the magazine's reader a representation of the agency
as disruptive and negative, since not only were the women repre-
sented as improper actors but also directly hurtful to their cause
(see Figure 3).[3] In this example from 1912, the suffragette's rela-
tionship with her potential supporters in the government is defined
by her fierce expression and intent of inflicting harm to the one specif-

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[1] For example, see Punch (vol. 130), 273 18. 4. 1906; Punch (vol. 130), 320
2. 5. 1906; Punch (vol. 131), 139 22. 8. 1906; Punch (vol. 134), 416 24. 6.
1908 and Punch (vol. 135) 29 8. 7. 1908 for reference. Especially the last two,
which in certain terms visualise 'Votes for Women!' as (first) violent and (second)
enticing, i.e. undesirable and desirable. Also, note that "Votes for Women" was
a paper published by the WSPU established in late 1907, which is affected how
this originally common slogan became associated with the suffragette cause.

[2] From 1906 the classes are compared as a metaphor for fitness and "sensibil-
ity": Punch (vol. 130), 39 17. 1. 1906; Example of comparison of visuals of these
two visuals: Punch (vol. 138), 81 2. 2. 1910.

[3] E.g. Punch (vol. 141), 469 27. 12. 1912, note the revolutionary symbolism
behind the use of the judgment of Paris narrative with French revolutionary
visual icons and switching the gender roles of the original narrative.

ically on her side. Directly representing them as not just unbeneficial political agents, but directly destructive towards their own cause.

Another way of representing the suffragettes unfit was to portray them as negligent mothers, thus questioning their fitness to function in society and unnatural impulses, as, for Punch, motherhood was a central feature of women representations.(E.g. a typical idolising cartoon of motherhood: Punch vol. 133, 323 30. 10. 1907) This at the same time compared them with children, which defined their militancy as nothing more than temperamental irrational protest, which additionally is a terrible example for future generations. This is well exemplified in a cartoon published 5.3.1913, as well as what a typical suffragette's (militant's) arsenal might have looked like in the minds of the cartoonists (see Figure 4).(Punch vol. 144, 191 5. 3. 1913) The suffragette has hidden under her coat a slingshot, firelighter and a hammer along with other tools of destruction. These two are direct references to the different types of violent acts that the organization routinely carried out: the lighter for fires and the hammer for breaking windows. This arsenal is complemented by the "Votes for Women" pamphlet on the floor, which at this point had become an icon associated habitually as a sort of a common sign of suffragettes. In this case, text explicates the visuals. The girl has damaged the suffragette mother's letters for her own selfish goal, which rightfully upsets and surprises the mother. Visuals in tandem with the text create a link between the child's juvenile behavior and the mother's agency, connoting that the woman is ridiculous in her blindness towards what she is doing; an enemy of her own cause with her violent behavior. Furthermore, giving a bad example for her child that violence to achieve one's own gain is justifiable, even though she is blind to her own attacks against "sacred things". The cartoonist oversimplifies the suffragette cause, and represents their agency as negligence towards their womanhood, i.e. being a respectable mother.

To the editors of Punch, it was the suffragists' work through parliamentary channels, which they saw as a part of as the legitimate and beneficial way of acting in their political culture, not active, later militant, suffragette modus operandi. The visualizations of suffragette militancy and violence increase in cartoons mirrored

the development of modes of action, which the suffragette organization WSPU employed. Even though the first images of suffrage actors from 1908 were jokes about misbehaving ("hysterical") women being apprehended by the police, when suffragettes started to employ self-defense measures this quickly became the butt of the joke. Similarly, the same kind of visuals used to feature suffragettes combatting the police were employed to show the peril that MPs had to deal with, even though in these cases, the violence was exaggerated. Then after the assumption of window breaking in 1909, this becomes a common topic, as well as house burning and bomb-throwing in 1913.[4] This does not only exemplify the knowledge of suffragette methods and their publicity, but also the recurring, constant need to alleviate angst and dismiss the significance or impact of these actions. Interesting is that after a new form of militancy is taken up by the suffragettes, the magazine stops the visualization of the others, which further indicates the nature of the cartoonists' agency in the public discourse. They assumed a function, which was to alleviate feelings of stress and threat so that people could carry on with their lives and retained their belief (trust) in society.

The most important narrative in the images is the normalization of violence with constant visualizations and definitions of the militant actions as disorganized. For example, a house burning "Militant" in an image just happens to see a house she wants to burn down and laments not being able to do so, with no direct connection to the suffrage campaign.(Punch vol. 145, 37 2. 7. 1913) Whereas in truth the attacks were often deliberate counters to governmental actions, and when seen fit would be put on hold until the leaders saw fit to answer new injustices with violent actions.(Kent 1987, 199–200, 202). The suffragette is depicted as a lower-class woman with a stupefied expression. The cartoonist has seen necessary to connote and clarify the connection of these irrational actors to the campaign,

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[4]See e.g. Punch (vol. 139), 9 6. 7. 1910, for violence against the police; Punch (vol. 137), 205 22. 9. 1909, for violence against the MPs; Punch (vol. 144), almanac 1913, "Mr.Punch's Russian Ballet", for window breaking (the hammers in the women's hats); Punch (vol. 145), 37 2. 7. 1913, for house burning; Punch (vol. 146), 386 23. 5. 1914, for bomb throwing.

by implanting a "Votes for Women" leaflet on the ground. For the misguided and random actor in the image, the franchise campaign is an afterthought, thus connoting that these (disorganized) women are not the true agents behind the suffrage campaigns and that the reader should not bestow any legitimate concern on their actions. The suffragettes in these images are misguided criminals, who should be ridiculed and left for the authorities, and the franchise issue itself is conducted by the government and the moderate actors, who knew better than to terrorize their fellow men. The ridicule in cartoons was one example of the public belittling and demeaning discourse on women actors. Susan Kent shows how militant women were reduced to sexually frustrated hysterics in contemporary argumentation, and conversely how the suffragettes argued against this. (Kent 1987, 197–8, 202–203); However, Laura Mayhall demonstrates how suffragettes took advantage of different public places, and were also characterised as serious political actors, e.g. in newspapers (Mayhall 2003, 146–148). Furthermore, the topos of a ridiculous, violent woman was rarely employed, but nevertheless a typical one. This would usually be employed to make fun of women who break traditional roles and men who are too weak to uphold said roles. E.g. in a domestic setting and outside it. (Punch vol. 130, 82 31. 1. 1906; Punch vol. 139, 189 14. 9. 1910 respectively)

The other side of the coin was to portray and poke fun at the idea or possibility that any woman could be a militant. This narrative was presented and perpetuated on numerous cartoons through 1913.(Punch vol. 144, 124 12. 2., 231 19. 3., 499 25. 6.; Punch vol. 145, 70 16. 7.) These humorous observations of societal tensions visualized the magazine's readers how ridiculous it was to assume that any woman could be a militant. In the cartoons, the "Suspect(ed Sex)" was represented as ridiculously weak compared to the robust policemen casting the suspicion, e.g. an old woman or a child. The increasing appearance of references to female violence (and the representation of this violence) throughout the end of review period demonstrates not only how the violent reform campaigns and agency became increasingly acknowledged, but also the decision of Punch's editorial staff to explain and belittle this serious and violent behav-

ior (see Figure 5). Indeed, there is a constant need in the cartoons to make light of suffragettes and their violent actions; this is to enforce the feeling of safety and stability, at the same time reminding the readers of the appropriate forms of action in the representations of suffragists, which provide a counter topos, an alternative, to the prominent suffragette activities. The magazine, however, took steps to limit the publicity it was bestowing to the militants, as it did not refer to the prominent actors by name, and omitted potentially sympathy evoking events and topics from its cartoons. The normalization process therefore, was not only indicative of the evolution of views towards the women's militant agency, but also a reminder of the magazine's stalwart adherence to what the middle-class editors perceived as the correct, constitutional and patriotic form of participation in national politics.

Figure 1: "THE SHRIEKING SISTER" (B. Partridge, Punch vol. 130, 39 17. 1. 1906)
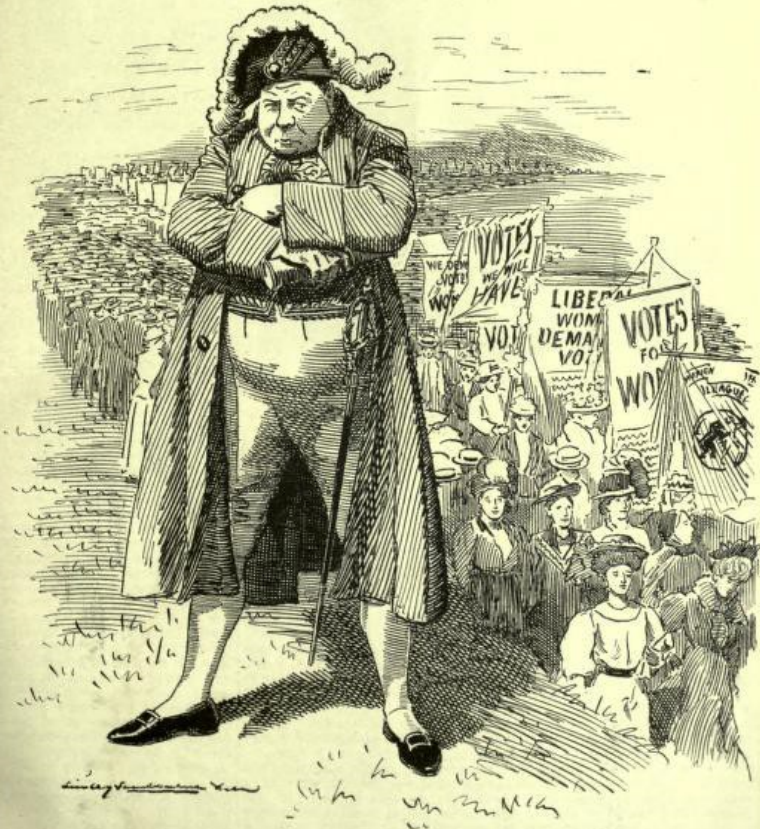
Figure 2: "THE MILITANT SEX" (L. Sambourne, Punch vol. 134, 416 24. 6. 1908)

Figure 3: "THE JUDGMENT OF PARISETTE" (L. Raven-Hill Punch vol. 141, 469 27. 12. 1912)

THE CHILD IS DAUGHTER OF THE WOMAN.

Suffragette (just home after a strenuous day and expecting important correspondence). "HAVE ANY LETTERS COME FOR ME?"

Daughter. "YES, MOTHER, BUT I TORE THEM UP FOR A DOLLS' PAPER-CHASE."

Suffragette. "TORE THEM UP! I NEVER *HEARD* OF SUCH BEHAVIOUR! HAVEN'T I OFTEN TOLD YOU THAT LETTERS ARE SACRED THINGS?"

OUR BOOKING-OFFICE.

(By Mr. Punch's Staff of Learned Clerks.)

IT will be happy news to many that Mr. EDEN PHILLPOTTS has written another epic about Dartmoor folk. In many ways, apart from its actual length (and Mr. PHILLPOTTS was never one for scant measure) I should regard *Widecombe Fair* (JOHN MURRAY) as a big book. Its scope and aim, nothing less than to tell the human comedy of an entire district, make it the largest achievement that its author has so far to his credit. Mr. PHILLPOTTS himself says in his Preface that the idea of the work has been maturing for twenty years; and I for one can well believe it. Look at the very title! It is amazing how a Dartmoor writer can have so long refrained from using it. Sooner or later Mr. PHILLPOTTS was almost morally bound to tell us the true histories of certain immortals, known hitherto only as a string of beloved names. They are all here, they and their families, the *Pierces*, the *Harry Hawkes*, the *Gurneys*, and the rest, even down to *Old Uncle Tom Cobleigh*. You will scarce make their nearer acquaintance without a thrill. These, however, are but a handful amid a crowd of characters to be numbered by the score, so that the book becomes not so much a single story as a collection, from which everyone may choose a different favourite. My own would be the diverting history of *Farmer Sweetland* and his courtships. The spectacle of a pampered egoist, robbed of his self-esteem and, later, happy in its recovery, is very aptly conveyed. I liked *Widecombe Fair* so well that I am the more sorry to find its Preface, already alluded to, revealing Mr. PHILLPOTTS as very cross with somebody. He complains that he has been condemned for the large part played by inanimate nature in his stories. Well, for myself, remembering the delight I have taken—and it is here renewed —in his gift of scene-painting, all I can say is, "Please, Sir, it wasn't me!"

If you are still in any doubt as to where the "life romantic" is to be discovered in our sordid modern civilisation, go to RICHARD HARDING DAVIS. He knows. It centres (I mean centers) in the offices of a great American newspaper. Nearly all the stories in *The Red Cross Girl* (DUCKWORTH) hinge on the possibility of fame or adventure that lie, like the quest of the Grail, before the star reporter of a Transatlantic print. By far the best of these tales, I think, is the one called "The Grand Cross of the Crescent," which tells how *Dr. Gilman*, of Stillwater College, the obscure author of *The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire*

Figure 4: "THE CHILD IS DAUGHTER OF THE WOMAN" (G. L. Stampa, Punch vol. 144, 191 5. 3. 1913)

G. L. STAMPA.
'13

THE SUSPECTED SEX.

Girl (suddenly noticing policeman). "I FAIND IT LIKE THAT. I NEVER DONE IT, MISTER; STRAIGHT I NEVER!"

JEUX D'ESPRIT AT DRURY LANE.

(A tribute to the art of the Russian premier danseur and the two ladies who accompany him in a now famous pas de trois.)

NIJINSKY, there are certain souls
  More blind to beauty than a hen is,
Who, jarred not by the caracoles
  In all your other ballet rôles,
    Take umbrage at your "Tennis."

They do not like your leaps and flings;
  Some trifling disappointment rankles
When, bouncing lightly from the wings,
You flaunt those tasteful trouserings
    Tied tightly round the ankles.

They grumble at the ladies' skirts,
  The Post-Impressionistic setting;
They muse on Wimbledon; it hurts
To see you waste your time on flirts
    And otiose curvetting.

But I, I have the hidden key
  To that coy dance, where others lack it;
I comprehend the mystery;
The large ball does not bother me,
    Nor yet the blood-hued racquet.

You have the core, the inner truth
  (All errors in the husk it pardons)
Of tennis, not the game *sans ruth*,
But tennis, well-beloved of youth
    In old-world English gardens.

With two fair maidens at your call
  Amid parterres of bright geraniums,
Grown tired of hunting for the ball
You yield a captive to their thrall
    And kiss them on the craniums.

But this to me most clearly shone,
  Fantastic sprite from Eastern Europe,
That only three of you were on;
And where, I ask, was James or John
    Who helped to make the four up?

A shadowy motive seemed to go
  Through all those steps and still enliven:
"Shall we pursue the ball? Not so;
It was not we who whacked it. No;
    The criminal was Ivan."

But where was Ivan? Fancy sped:
  Through all the dance's twisting mazes
I nursed his picture in my head,
Couched lowly in the strawberry bed
    Stuffing himself like blazes.

This is the triumph of all art,
  Especially its latest model—
Symbolic images to start
Of things unseen, of worlds apart.
    *   *   *   *
    The press critiques were twaddle.
            EVOE.

"Apart from the honour of the thing there is little material profit awaiting Mr. Alfred Austin's successor, the salary attached to the post being only a paltry £70 a year, with an allowance of £27 in lieu of the traditional sack of butt."—*Liverpool Courier.*

Everybody is talking about Butt—the new breakfast food. Small sack 5/-, larger sack 7/6.

"On opening a double dark slide of book-form the loose plate will have its back towards the plate which is fastened in, and the loose plate will be the one in the lower (odd) number of the slide."—*Photography.*
One of the things we wanted to know.

"At the conclusion of the lecture, Mr. Peter Warren, in the name of the subscribers, handed over to the energetic secretary, Mr. S. Wood, a handsome oak dresser."
    Cullompton Deanery Parish Magazine.
It is Mr. PETER WARREN who strikes us as the really energetic man.

Figure 5: "THE SUSPECTED SEX" (G. L. Stampa, Punch vol. 145, 70 16. 7. 1913)

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Crisis of human dignity and mega sporting events tragedies

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Introduction

Mega sporting event tragedies, whether natural or manmade, are not new. From 1974 to 2017, African football has suffered many tragedies, predominantly stadium tragedies. The attack by the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda – Military Position (FLEC-PM) on the Togolese national football team bus on its way to the 2010 African Cup of Nations (AFCON) tournament in Angola, was a landmark tragedy for the football fraternity in Africa, not only because of the death toll but due to its ostensibly complex nature. Although this incident hit the headlines, there has been a lack of systematic analysis of the nexus between the circumstances, decision-making processes, the roles and intended gains of various actors, namely, the Togolese Football Federation (FTF), the Confederation of African Football (CAF), and Angola, the host country, involved in what may be termed a costly heroism of the Togolese delegates. Dimensions of shared complicities and crisis of human dignity, multifaceted conflicts of interests, and rationalities, all facets of tragedy profiteering, related to this incident, are discussed in this paper.

The Cabinda Enclave Attack

The 2010 African Cup of Nations hosted by Angola, which was perceived as a large festive sporting event, suffered a setback from the

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outset. On 8 January 2010, the Togolese national football team bus, en route to Cabinda from its training base in Congo Brazzaville, was attacked by FLEC-PM insurgents (McAnally 2010; Daho 2015; Human rights watch 2010; Obilalé 2015; Shaw 2010; Smith 2010; Sturcke, Myers, and Smith 2010; Trapido 2010; The Associated Press 2010; White and Norrish 2010). The military aggression claimed the lives of the assistant coach, the media officer and the driver, while several other members of the convoy sustained gunshot wounds. This was not the first time armed attacks had been carried out against athletes.

In 1972, during the Summer Olympics in Munich, eleven members of the Israeli Olympic team were killed in the athletes' village, by a faction of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Black September. As a symbolic proof of solidarity, delegates from some countries discontinued their participation in the competition. For instance, some Dutch delegates and the Olympic team from the Philippines left the competition, while members of the Norwegian team stayed but refused to participate in the competition (Karon 2000; Gallagher 2002; The Independent 2006; Fleisher 2012). In 2009, the Sri Lankan cricket team bus came under fire on its way to Lahore's Gaddafi stadium; about six security personnel were killed, and several team members injured in the attack (CNN 2009; Hussain 2015; Samiuddin 2018).

While the Lahore attack and that on Israeli athletes in Munich, debatably, were unpredictable, the Cabinda Enclave attack was highly predictable, owing to the pre-tournament security situation in Cabinda and available information. Because of its resources, particularly oil, Cabinda has attracted regional and international actors, with very complex and confusing deals, ferocious and greedy competition among multinationals with related strategic political and economic considerations (dos Santos 1983). Politically, Cabinda has been the bone of contention for various Angolan political forces, including the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and FLEC. Besides, the area was known for extrajudicial killings and

torture (Amnesty International 1998). The 2002 peace agreement which ended the three-decade-long war of the Angolan central government with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) did not seal the fate of FLEC fighters. Distinctively, the FLEC movement has splinters, particularly as a result of the agreement (Porto 2003, 1). The Angolan government's co-optation of some key FLEC leaders did not actually annihilate the separatist movement but fragmented it into pernicious separatist movements with fragmented identities and operations. Usually, in armed conflict situations, such fragmentations automatically lead to pernicious guerilla tactics: the initial command structures which could facilitate negotiations have been dismantled. It becomes difficult to find credible representatives of the resultant factions, which are also infiltrated by criminal elements who seize every opportunity to make their presence known. These are usually uncontrolled fighters capable of indiscriminately carrying out deadly assaults. The Cabinda Enclave, therefore was an unsafe terrain during the African Cup of Nations. The militarized escort of delegates to stadiums, particularly after the Cabinda incident, attests to this.

In addition, in the aftermath of the attack, one of the FLEC leaders said, "we are not terrorists, the attack was not directed against our Togolese brothers. Anytime the Cabinda armed forces perceive an Angolan convoy, they always shoot" (Obilalé 2015, 139); this assertion implies that there have been attacks of the FLEC fighters on Angolan military convoys in the past. Besides, according to reports, the border between Angola and Congo Brazzaville was excessively militarized when the Togolese team reached the border. Obilalé (2015, 93) accurately pointed out that they were not informed that they were going to war. This begs the questions, which Obilalé (2015, 140) asked: "What was the Togolese national football team going to do in a war-torn enclave? Why didn't we take a plane to avoid unnecessary risk?" One plausible answer is that profiteering undermines human dignity.

Football profiteering and a crisis of human dignity

One key aspect of mega sporting events, such as AFCON, is their income-producing capacity, which tends to override any other aspect of the event. According to Chiweshe (2014), across the globe, football has become a billionaire dollar industry. But what has not been given enough attention is the dehumanizing hallmark of this industry. Such tournaments are governed by business rationalities, which to a great extent undermine the human dignity of the players. Bonefeld and Psychopedis (2005) echoed this by pointing out that human values, including dignity and integrity, are considered scandals within the economic rationality and political power; therefore, human beings have come to be considered mere resources. The incident of Cabinda should be understood from this economic rationality. Obilalé (2015, 142) accentuated this by stating that the Confederation of African Football (CAF) is a "telling machine without humanity."

The concept of human dignity has been widely used in debates woven around politics, political philosophy, human rights, activism, covenants, and political, social and economic rights (Egonsson 1998; Benhabib 2011; Bonefeld and Psychopedis 2005; Carey, Gibney, and Poe 2010; Chan and Bowpitt 2005; Gomez and Crowther 2011; Heyman 2008, Kateb2014; Lindner 2011). Some authors such as Hobbes have equated dignity with honor linked to social status, position, social order, social recognition (Hobbes (1996), 59 as cited in Bonefeld and Psychopedis 2005, 4); other authors propose a separation of dignity from position and social status (Bayefsky 2013, 810; Krause 2002, 15). For instance, Krause posited that all human beings are entitled to human dignity, the intrinsic worth of a human being. One fundamental hallmark of human dignity is its reciprocity; people should accord others the dignity they want to be accorded and be ready to be receivers and givers of dignity. Kateb (2014, 6) supports this view by asserting the following: "I cannot claim just for myself or my group, but must claim for all human beings." The onus is on human beings regardless of their social status, class or race, to ensure that other human beings are treated equally with dignity. According to Kant, because of the inherent worth of human beings, they

should be treated "not as mere means but also as ends in themselves" (Bognetti, as cited in Bayefsky 2013, 811). The value which should be placed upon human beings that is "above all price" (Rachels 1986, 1) in Kantian terms, has been neglected or sacrificed on the altar of personal, national, and organizational gains in the case of Cabinda attack.

The Togolese Football Federation should have conducted the necessary prior risk assessments before embarking on the fateful journey. Such security assessments would lead to facts based on which sound decisions could be made. The lack of reliable pre-tournament logistical arrangements is not new in Togolese football circles. The Togolese Football Federation (FTF) has been affected by persistent internal quarrels revolving around the selection of national team managers and match bonuses for players, corruption, leadership tussles, embezzlement, unaccountability and logistical problems (Kuvo 2015), infighting between players and coaches, and players themselves and bonuses-related problems (FIFA.com 2006; Obilalé 2015). Similar inconsistencies which affect the Togolese football are noticeable in other African countries and beyond (Pannenborg 2010; Khumalo 2013; Chiweshe 2014, 27). Even the global football governing body FIFA has been affected by corruption (Agence France-Presse 2016; BBC News 2015; Global Witness 2015; Siciliano and Jamieson 2016). If, despite all these shaky preparations and management of football, players agree to participate in tournaments, one could expect them to be accorded the minimum dignity, even though taking part in continental or world tournaments contributes to individual career development. The Cabinda Enclave incident illustrates an aspect of the gross neglect of the value which should be placed upon human lives.

Interview excerpts from players such as "fired on like dogs" (France24.com 2010) or "machine-gunned like dogs" (Cass 2010) point to one fact that is the disregard for human dignity. One could expect that when players are invited to represent their country in international tournaments, they should also be protected in order to achieve the purpose for which they were invited in the first place. This incident shows that, in the case of Togo, players are dehumanized. After

the attack on the convoy, the Togolese authorities sent a special aircraft to bring both the living and the dead delegates home. Similar measures could have been taken in the first instance to avoid the attack. According to Edwards (2011), the only fragment of information provided as the rationale behind the decision of the Togolese delegates to enter Angola by road was to save money. Saving money in whose interest? Since nothing has been done by the Togolese government to clarify the processes which led to this regrettable decision, the government and the federation are complicit. The real profiteers of this costly heroism have never been clearly identified and held accountable. The misappropriation of funds allocated for the 2017 African Cup of Nations in Gabon, attests this shared blame (Afedo 2017; Godson 2017; Le Changement 2017).

According to FIFA rules, the host country is primarily responsible for the security situation during the tournament. Angola partly failed to fulfill that mission. All Angolan land borders are controlled by state border management agencies. Even though African land borders are generally porous (Addo 2006; Agbedahin 2014), the movement of convoys such as the Togolese national football team could not evade border management officials. The Cabinda Enclave was still a volatile region when AFCON was to take place (Porto 2003; Mabeko-Tali 2003; Human rights watch 2009; Macdonalds and Ndiaye 2010). Prior to the tournament, journalists were arrested for trying to report on the precarious security situation in the Cabinda province (Human rights watch 2009). Of course, by decrying the prevailing insecurity in the region, the Angolan government's chances to host the tournament would shrink. Some days before the tournament began, an Angolan minister, said to be without portfolio, and former FLEC member, in a cavalier statement, described Cabinda enclave as peaceful and indicated that the FLEC was no longer a threat to peace and stability in the region (Sturcke, Myers, and Smith 2010). Again, human dignity was sacrificed on the altar of political calculations, personal honor, and toxic national pride. The successful organization of the tournament was a way for the Angolan government to silence its critics and detractors. Pragmatically, a successful trip of the Togolese convoy by road would strengthen the case of

the Angolan government. According to information gleaned in the build-up of the tournament, by the BBC TV presenter, commentator and blogger Piers Edwards (2010), "it didn't really matter how well Angola's national team do [sic] in the tournament, for the country has already won simply by hosting the finals."

The role of the host country needs to be interrogated. The Togolese national team was possibly used to showcase Angola's readiness to organize the tournament. By hosting the African Cup of Nations, Angola would prove to the world that it was ready to ensure the security of players, fans, and other delegates from various countries. Allowing games to be played in a historically unstable region, such as Cabinda, was a symbolic message to the world: Cabinda was stable and peaceful. Such political calculations tend to undermine human dignity. The Togolese team fell prey to that crossfire between pre-tournament security claims and the Angolan government's persuasive strategies. A Togolese player claimed that they had been shocked and had questioned why CAF agreed that matches could be played in a context of war.

While hosting sporting events such as the African Cup of Nations is a privilege that every country should aspire to, using this for pure political calculations is unethical and an expression of social injustice. Angola, the host country, can also be considered complicit in the Cabinda incident.

The Togolese prime minister expressed doubt about Angola's readiness to ensure the safety of players after the tragedy. Accordingly, he instructed the Togolese delegates to return home, clearly stating that it was impossible to be mourning the dead and participating in the festive event simultaneously (Sportsmail reporter 2010). CAF reacted astoundingly, threatening to ban Togo from participating in the 2013 and 2015 AFCON tournaments. Although FIFA's intervention prevented CAF's decision from materializing (FIFA.com 2010a; FIFA.com 2010b), the decision to force players to play after the traumatic experience of an armed attack, is symptomatic of the crisis of human dignity which characterizes football governing bodies; simply put, this was a project of dehumanization rooted in capitalism or advanced capitalism (Butler 2018). Referring to CAF, Edwards

(2010) observed that "This is a ruling body for whom money talks and with about 80% of CAF's revenue coming from the Nations Cup, it's no surprise at all that no political will has been shown to stop the tournament" despite the attack on the Togolese bus. I submit that when laws begin to serve purposes that are antithetical to the human dignity project they seek to ensure, they should be repealed. In this case, CAF rules were used to terrorize or sanction a nation whose players were still in a state of trauma. Any organizational well-being which undermines human dignity, is suspect and is epitomized, in this case, by the CAF.

Conclusion

This paper has established that mega sporting events taking place in this era of Advanced Capitalism, are fraught with political and economic calculations which undermine human dignity and social justice. The Cabinda Enclave attack points to lingering management inconsistencies showcasing a dehumanizing asymmetric relationship between football management bodies and players. Football in Africa and the rest of the world is not without tragedies. The attack by FLEC-MP insurgents in the Cabinda Enclave on the Togolese national football team is only one illustration of this. This tragedy exposed the crisis of human dignity which characterizes football locally and internationally. The incident also highlighted the conflict between economic rationality and human dignity. The circumstances in which the Cabinda Enclave attack occurred was handled and the actions and reactions from various actors involved are indicative of the existence of soccer profiteers and parasitic networks on various levels. It has also been established that the Togolese Football Federation, CAF and Angola, the host country, to a certain degree, were all complicit. The aggression engineers comprised the Togolese Football Federation, Angola, the host country of the 2010 African Cup of Nations, and the Confederation of African Football. These entities, wittingly or unwittingly, were involved in exposing the Togolese team to the firing line of the FLEC. Each of these groups has diversely envisioned some profit by taking such a risk.

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The Emergence of the Serbian Orthodox Church from the Ashes of Yugoslav Socialism: Religion as a Chain of Martyrial Memory

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In the 1980s, the world has experienced an unexpected revitalization and the assumption of public roles by those religious traditions which both theories of modernity and secularization had believed were becoming ever more marginal and irrelevant in the modern world (Casanova 1994, 5). Scholars across disciplines were, therefore, encouraged to develop new theoretical approaches which would capture the unprecedented phenomenon and conceptualize mutations of religion and religious in an era characterized by structural uncertainty and symptomized by the plurality, mobility, reversibility and transferability of all markers (Bauman 2000). Also, in the context of socio-political transformation(s) of the communist countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, religious institutions slowly began to emerge from the limited zone of pastoral service and penetrate the public sphere. Depending on particular religious traditions, historical trajectories and (back then) present socio-political conditions, they, however, adopted various agendas and actions to re-define their position vis à vis the state and society.

In the paper, I focus on the mobilization of the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) in the light of the crisis and eventual collapse of the Yugoslav state. What was the main strategy of the SOC to break with its marginalization and the high level of the secularization of Serbian society(ies)? What has been the crucial role which the SOC

acquired and cultivated in the public arena? To answer these rather complex questions, I lean on theoretical literature dealing with modern forms of religion and on my long-term research of primary sources that encompass official documents of the SOC, Serbian Orthodox media and public performances of church's representatives since the 1980s until today. Most of the primary sources were translated into a digital form. Such practices reveal that the SOC has been well aware of the power of visual representation and the importance of new means of mass communication, through which ecclesial actors could articulate the voice of the church in the public sphere.

French sociologist of religion Danièle Hervieu-Léger argues that late modern societies are "amnesic" in character, having difficulty perpetuating a sense of collective memory (Hervieu-Léger 2000, 123). Nevertheless, the more ousted the compact presence of the past in the present is, the more desperate these societies are for it (Jakelic 2010, 199). The search for collective memory as a precondition of collective belonging becomes even more urgent in the context of high level of societal and psychological insecurity stemming from significant socio-political changes that deconstruct the firm system of significations expressing the ideal ordering of the world (Bauman 2000, 2). Religious institutions which can be ideal-typically defined as traditional institutions governed by the imperative of continuity and religion connecting the past, present, and future believers by invoking the authority of tradition constitute the reservoir of memory and provide a very effective response to such insecurity (Hervieu-Léger 2000, 145). The "return" of religion as a reaction to serious destabilization frequently goes hand in hand with ethnic revival since religious and ethnic are similar in socially functional terms, offering identification on the basis of imagined genealogies, the one related to soil and blood and the second constituted through belief in myth and metaphysical source (Hervieu-Léger 2000, 157).

The violent dissolution of Yugoslav multinational and multiconfessional federation created suitable conditions for religious and ethnic revivals strengthening their interconnection. Serbian Orthodoxy, as a historical collective Christianity that merges religious, and ethnic principles represented an ideal source for both imagined genealogies.

These have, however, not been firmed or primordial but dynamic categories. The SOC naturally established itself as one of the crucial actors involved in their continual re-constitution and re-definition informed by the specific chain of memory (Jakelic 2010). Following the broader victimhood turn in identity (re)constructions and memory politics, the collective memory was to be oriented towards negative historical events symbolizing suffering, heroic sacrifice and eventual resurrection. Such tendency was only intensified by the armed conflict in which claims for abstract as well as real victimhood became the most powerful discursive tool in national politics and purposeful policy at the international level since the world's sympathy lies with those who are understood as victims (MacDonald 2005, 1–2). The SOC fully embraced and reinforced such orientation and defined itself objectively and subjectively as a chain of martyrial memory, whose continuity transcends history.

In the chain of memory perpetuated by the SOC, the Battle of Kosovo (1389) followed by the Ottoman conquer of Serbian lands and the so-called new Kosovo, i.e., the genocide against Serbs committed by the Croatian fascist movement Ustasha during the Second World War became the pillar historical events serving as a metaphorical microcosm of the Serbian eternal victimhood and decisive markers of Serbian collective identity. Since the 1980s, the SOC has regularly been employing the two events as archetypal reference points to any other suffering and as a prism through which the past, present and future were to be interpreted. Serbian Orthodox media and church's representatives have been using martyrial imaginary accompanied by "aesthetics" of brutality, torture, and anonymous dead bodies to deal with rather secular – historical and socio-political – issues (Verdery 1999, 20–21).

After the fall of Slobodan Milošević's regime in 2000, the SOC strengthened its position of the most important carrier of the collective memory of victimhood and developed a broad range of activities in this respect, including educational, informative and very effective commemorative practices. In 2003, the Holy Synod of the SOC established the Jasenovac committee, of which priority has been to preserve "the memory of the Great Martyred Jasenovac, the new

Serbian Kosovo, and taking care of the Remembrance of the Newly Martyred ... who died for Christ and the Serbian name ... and the locations where they perished" (SPC 2005). In 2015, the focus of the Committee was officially broadened to all places of Serbian suffering – yet mostly encompassing other victims as well – in former Yugoslavia related primarily but not exclusively to the Second World War (Radojković 2019). Such a decision empowered the efforts to Christianize the sites of martyrial memory, i.e., marked them by Christian symbols, which have been cultivated spontaneously by individual believers and systematically by the SOC as an institution. Since the late 1980s, the SOC has invested a lot of funds to erect churches and crosses devoted to martyrs, especially at the places of the paradigmatic historical events of Serbian heroic suffering. Only in this way, the agents of the church argued, the martyrdom was to be transformed into resurrection and salvation.

From a perspective of Christian (Orthodox) theology, the focus on suffering and special position of martyrs in the chain of collective memory is highly surprising since the "Christian memory is the recollection of Christ and of all persons who have been His witness throughout history. By its nature, the liturgy is a memory, remembering the sacrifice" (Bigović 2011). The first churches were built on graves of martyrs, their bones have been embedded in altars. Martyrdom and remembrance is the way of the church's existence (Ćulibrk 2003). Hence, liturgical commemorations through which a catharsis of believers' painful memories is completed and transformed into a comfort in belief are— at least in theory—at the very essence of every Christian church. However, when analyzing the SOC's agendas performed in public since the late 1980s onwards, one could notice that the theological language and argumentation with references to supernatural reality were either absent or subjected to metaphorization (Köhrsen 2012, 280). The links between religious symbols and codes and its original (religious) meaning became obscure, dramatic, and increasingly ambivalent. These symbols served primarily as a sign of belonging to the ethno-confessional community of memory, and as such, they were made available to collectives and individuals to ease feelings of incertitude and insecurity.

Eventually, one can conclude that in a time of a serious historical rupture – facing the collapse of Yugoslav socialism followed by the violent dissolution of the common state – the SOC entered the wide public arena primarily as a traditional institution embodying the continuity of memory on upon which collective identities were to be reinvented and renegotiated. It rarely contextualized itself as related to God and navigating believers to personal salvation. The pastoral role of the church based on Orthodox theological doctrine was provided only for a narrow circle of active observants. At the same time, most of the SOC's public performances served to promote the collective memory of martyrdom as a source of ethno-confessional belonging (Hovorun 2018, 12). The SOC's most important and visible way of self- presentation in public, which has been preserved until today, proved to be the most effective strategy to emerge from marginalization and approach wide and highly secularized population. It led to the development of a strong sense of collective belonging among Serbs, yet the level of personal religiosity and observance has remained rather low (Blagojević et al. 2010, 140). Serbian Orthodoxy has thus become a cultural marker of identification and disassociation clearly defining the boundaries between "we and others" rather than being an active faith.

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