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TRAVELOGUE –

ON CONTEMPORARY UNDERSTANDINGS OF CITIZENSHIP AMONG EUROPEAN JEWS

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*I dedicate this collection of books
to my mother, Grete Barth.*

*She taught me to keep a diary, and
I learned from her that keeping a
diary is a way of life.*

INTRODUCTION: WHY JEWS? WHY EUROPE?

«It is certainly true that anti-Semitism has modified Jewish existence (if only by threatening it, making it more scarce, and at times exterminating it); and perhaps it has affected the idea that particular Jews have of themselves – but this on the ground of a prior ‘historical’ reality and authenticity one has to call Judaism, and that defines in an implicit manner the relation of every man to himself. Being Jewish, therefore, cannot be the simple reverse of anti-Jewish provocation; nor is it a break with the incognito into which the Jew must vanish, not only to be secure but in some sense to be himself – absence thus being at the same time his refuge and his definition. Being Jewish signifies more, and doubtless something it is essential to bring to light.»

(Maurice Blanchot, 1993: 124-125)

When people co-operate, and succeed in their undertakings, even as resources are short and perspectives are bleak, how do they manage? And, when do they fail? We can admire fellow humans for their achievements, and leave it at that. But we remain puzzled and have learned little. If we go deeper we are challenged. People sometimes manage to develop affordances under suboptimal -political and -financial conditions. But sometimes they also fall apart, humanly and organisationally. It is as though they at odd times succeed in creating something from «nothing», while at other times failing.

The enterprise of rebuilding Jewish life in Europe fifty years after the «Holocaust» (*Shoah*) is a case in point. The marginal existence of Jewish survivors after World War Two (WWII)¹ is co-extant with the

¹ Holocaust = (henceforth) Shoah
World War Two = (henceforth)
WWII

²The Maastricht Treaty (TEU):
Treaty of the European Union.

historical marginality of the *Shoah* inside the Nation-State. At the beginning of the 1990s, however, a Jewish revival in Central- and Eastern- European countries followed the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, and – at the European level – after the Maastricht Treaty in 1992². Out of many years of post-war gloom came a vision of a Jewish Renaissance: the possibility of surviving as Jews in European states, while at the same time thinking and acting as European citizens.

The present *Travelogue* takes the reader on a journey through this largely unknown territory that emerged with the prospects of deepening and widening the EU in the 1990s. The territory emerged through a series of activities engaging Jewish community leaders and volunteers, crisscross the East-/Western European frontier, to organise a meaningful dialogue between ideas and evidence of *change* in Europe: *e.g.*, a dialogue between new ideas and older evidence – what could be expected from Jewish community services, over and beyond securing a minimum of Jewish life in Europe to facilitate, at need, Jewish emigration to Israel?

In the 90s a number of Jewish organisations wished to move beyond the *status quo*, and embark on the road of Community development: developing Jewish community services through civil society involvement. A greater visibility in civil society, in many European countries, required the development of Jewish life beyond its semi-clandestine existence: implying essentially a qualitative change of place in society. The European demand for a Jewish demography – establishing how many Jews live in Europe – pressed for such change in very concrete ways, at the local level of Jewish community administration: retrieving and sharing demographic information (which is sensitive after fifty years of Communism and the *Shoah*).

Historically, the transition from the semi-clandestine existence of the *ghetto* into the commonwealth of citizenship is associated with emancipation and assimilation. However, on the contemporary scene, the absence of European cultural homogeneity precludes the assimilation of any group. Hence, moving the commonwealth of citizenship to the European level summons integration, rather than assimilation. The *Travelogue* seeks to establish a comparative ethnography of Jewish communities and organisations adrift between semi-clandestinity and integration: inquiring comparatively into the cogenerative process of (a) building security and trust and (b) developing services alongside international networks.

Therefore the *Travelogue* is not concerned with an evolutionary movement from semi-clandestinity to integration, but rather with drawing out the dynamic possibilities of their coexistence. Indeed, our initial puzzle and challenge is related to the fact that while integration is an affordance – presupposing semi-clandestinity – the reverse does not hold. In effect, the detail of the interaction and exchange from which these affordances are generated should not be overlooked: including the interaction and exchange with the anthropologist.

Thus, the six books of the *Travelogue* are about the generation of affordances in different areas by social actors: the affordance of demography (*book 1*), the affordance of European projects (*book 2*), the affordance of networks (*book 3*), the affordance of ritual (*book 4*), the affordance of war-testimonies (*book 5*), the affordance of relief (*book 6*). The synoptic concern, running through all six books, is the inquiry into the ideas and realities of service, and service as the intentionality of transactions: i.e., what transactions are acquainted with.

In neither of the six books the generation of affordances can be reduced to the anthropologist's autocratic supply of sociocultural context to his fieldwork inquiry. Affordances rather represent collective achievements that may/not emerge through transactions between social actors. Affordances are generated by certain dynamics of communicative interaction – transactions in knowledge – allowing something to happen, which was previously deemed necessary but impossible. The ethnography in the *Travelogue* is engaged with a tracery of this type of change: i.e., the shifty process of what actors, on different community- and organisational arenas, can effectuate together – in relation to each other and to the anthropologist.

The element of reflexivity, imposed on the materials by this ambition, is necessary in order to understand the dynamics of change *generatively*, and at a level of interaction from which the ethnographer, by definition, cannot withdraw: mapping affordances, generated by the anthropologist's participation, helps to situate which level of communicative interaction, among actors, generates nonzero-sum processes – even as the resources are limited and horizons are closed. This is the extended, mean and lean sense given to the concept of ritual in the *Travelogue*, which is rounded up in the conclusion by a model of generative processes in disordered systems (F. Barth, 1992).

The *Travelogue* takes the reader from St. Petersburg, Vilnius, Warsaw, Kiev, Bucharest, Sofia, Budapest and Prague (*book 1*); Prague,

Brussels, Strasbourg and London (*book 2*); Zagreb (*book 3*); Zagreb and Sarajevo (*book 4*), Sarajevo (*book 5*), Paris (*book 6*). On all these journeys I am concerned with citizenship as the civic affordance to act, and with Judaism as a sociocultural universe of value generation.

The *Travelogue* is organised in books, rather than chapters, because a) the sections of the *Travelogue* are comprehensive of their topics, b) they belong to, and thereby serve, their topics, rather than the other way around. This being said, the methodological approach I used when I wrote the books is *neither* particularist nor universalist: by using a comparativist approach – as the ‘third way’ between particularism and universalism – the writing of the *Travelogue* eventually became driven by the model-understanding that emerged in that process. The result is a methodological approach centred on the ethnographic contents, while driven by a model that I developed iteratively – through comparison – as an emergent property of the process, according to road-map outlined below.

GUIDE TO THE METHODOLOGY AND THE BOOKS

The *Travelogue* is crafted with the intention of making this six-book volume an *ethnographic read*: the methodological approach is content-centred and model-driven.

Accordingly, the ethnography has been *developed* layer by layer, rather than authored by a single, complex, gesture. The development of the ethnography therefore has been a *designing process*, rather than one of traditional authoring (or, of traditionally conceived authoring). Below, I survey all three layers of data-design:

I — The *first layer* of ethnographic writing unfolds in the ethnographic fieldwork itself. During this initial process of ethnographic design, three heuristic concepts were used, to establish the comparative dimensions of the variety of fieldwork-arenas to which the six books relate: i.e., information policies, literacy practices and symbolic economies.

1) I used the label ‘information policies’ to tag my process of gaining access to ethnographic materials, on arenas where the detail of *verbal contents* as such, whether delivered orally or in written form, was emphasised by the informants.

2) Then I used the label ‘literacy practices’ to tag interactions with my informants on arenas where the *modes of access* as such, turned out to constitute the chief source of ethnographic input.

(3) Finally, the label 'symbolic economy' was used to tag processes of communicative interaction between my informants, rather directly than with me, on arenas where they bargained over transactions in knowledge.

(II) The *second layer* of the process of designing ethnographic data features the management of field-notes in the anthropologist's diary. I used three analytical concepts in the elaboration of meanings, during and after fieldwork: i.e., details, implications and intentions.

(1) I applied the label 'details' to diary-materials in which the minutes of circumstantial events were noted in anticipation of their possible contextual importance in the aftermath.

(2) While I applied the label 'implications' to *behavioural* sequences I experienced in the field, which might be acknowledged as consequential at some later point, and reveal themselves as *acts* (i.e., as they became worked out as such by my informants).

(3) Finally, the label 'intention' was used to tag interactions in which the informants' awareness of their own acts was reflectively applied to their awareness of each others' acts.

(III) The *third layer* in ethnographic writing is concerned with the deconstruction of *meanings* with the purpose of designing *interactions*. At this level, the following conceptual frameworks were used: books, graphics and interactions.

(1) The label 'books' was used for the *tactical* reasons mentioned in the previous section, to level with realities shared by actors and to work as chief containers of the ethnographic *description*.

(2) The label 'graphics' was used for the exercises in visualisation created for the purpose *strategic analysis* – which was carried out as I went – in order to later facilitate the reader's ability to capture my networked data, in the form of elementary *gestalts*.

(3) The label 'interactions' was used in the *operational synthesis* of the ethnography, in which (a) the relationship between the books and graphics of the *Travelogue* are defined as *actions*, while (b) the integration of these actions and their effects, into the ethnography, are defined as *interactions*.

The maturity of the design process grew alongside the maturity of my field-experiences and my assessment of these in the aftermath: therefore the maturity of the design – as defined in terms of the above three layers – caught up with the maturity of my field-experiences.

Though the three layers interpenetrate throughout the *Travelogue* the first layer dominates in the 'opening game' of the ethnography,

the second layer dominates in the 'middle game', while the third layer dominates in the End Game (*cf.*, *Frames*).

As *anthropological read*, the *Travelogue* is structured in the following way: *book 1* relates the ethnographer's vagrancy in quest for *target* fieldwork sites; *book 2* gives a *background* on Jewish political involvement in the process of European integration; *book 3* surveys the empirical challenge featured by one of the targeted fieldwork-sites (Zagreb); and in *book 4* a methodological template to meet this challenge is developed.

Then, in *book 5*, the ethnography is devoted to the *detail* of testimonies of humanitarian activists in the other of the two targeted fieldwork-sites (Sarajevo). Next, in *book 6*, I draw the *implications* of these testimonies for understanding archival materials, which I consulted in Paris, on the humanitarian aid in the war-ridden Post-Yugoslavia. Finally, in *Frames*, a warehousing of the findings from the entire *Travelogue* is brought about, to model actor *intentions* at different junctures and propose a systems-theory framework to understand interactive dynamics of collective designs.

In a postface – called *Design* – an inventory of constraints that canalised the writing of the *Travelogue* is drawn. It begins with the obstructions intentionally brought into *Travelogue* by the developing and executing a graphic expression and a visual grammar. The account then evolves to include the anthropological literature that similarly constrained and enabled the *Travelogue*, and brought up a theoretical framework (*cf.*, pt. 3 sup.) intended to place the *Travelogue* in a wider anthropological debate.

VALUES AND SIGNATURES

The idea of stalking a way from meaning to interaction is proposed as a way of engaging with cultural meanings and understandings – beyond the entanglement – through the *deconstruction* of society, culture, meanings and values as things. To the extent that it has been possible, I therefore have done research *with* my informants – rather than on my informants (Buber, 1959). Similarly, in elaborating the ethnography, I have attempted to write *with* theory, rather than about theory (Ingold, 2007).

Taking this step beyond interpretation – and, concomitantly, beyond interpretive anthropology – makes way for an ethnographer's existential engagement with the lives of other people, as a legitimate peripheral participant. To understand the reality of other people, the anthropologist

must somehow level with it. Participation, then, becomes extended as a form of existential pitching – seeking convergence and resonance – that takes place at all layers, in the process of *writing ethnography*.

In the text have avoided broadening the list of literary references beyond what is needed to work with the ethnography. In earlier versions a much larger number of references became cumbersome and made the *Travelogue* a difficult read. In the reference to the present range of titles, I also distinguish between *conceptual references* – in which the reference is to a core idea – and *technical references* – in which the reference is to the detail of an argument. In the former case, only dates are used, while in the latter case page-references are included.

I have used side-notes, rather than foot- or end-notes, in order to support the reading of the *Travelogue*: wherever possible, the side notes are inserted differently on the left-hand and right-hand pages throughout, to enhance readability. On the right-hand pages the notes appear at the same height as the line with the note-reference, in order to follow the eye-movements of the reader as closely as possible, while on the left-hand pages the side-notes drop a line below the line where the note-reference appears, for the same reason.

As a memory-aid to the reader the organisation-acronyms and the key concepts of Judaism that occasionally demand some detail are sometimes repeated and appear several places – in variations adapted to contextual relevance – in the *Travelogue*. This is to prevent the reader from having to leaf back and forth in the books, and make information available just in time, on the spot. In addition, a list of acronyms, names of persons and their functions as well as a glossary of key *Hebrew*, *Yiddish* and other non-English terms are inserted at the end of each book.

An index of figures is presented at the beginning of the *Travelogue* and the index of words at the end. Finally, the *Travelogue* is set in sabon (10 points), titles in bau (16 points), subtitles in bau (9 points). Passages in bau indicate: a) diary transcripts, b) interviews with informants, c) tables and lists. The graphic design has been worked out collaboratively with designer Anders Hofgaard (Node-Berlin), and the ‘drawing hands’ element on the back cover is by E.C. Escher.

I have made my informants names semi-anonymous – by using the general rule of reducing first and last name to their two first letters (whenever there is a need to avoid confusion between informants with the same initials): in effect, they are anonymous to outsiders, and recognisable only to people with previous knowledge of the field.

Finally, I have included two bibliographies in the compound volume: 1) a commented bibliography in the form of an archive index that covers a sample of my sources [together with the side-notes the bibliography constitutes an alternative device to the classical index, for a more organic read]; 2) a conventional list of references to sources that I have read or consulted during my research- and writing-process. The index of figures is placed, with the map of they journeys, at the beginning of the compound volume, to underscore the importance of the visual pitch in the work I hereby submit for defence.

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My warmest thanks are owed to my father, Bjørn Barth, for his working through the *Travelogue* in its final stages: his curious and untiring intellect, his practical mind and his unbending enthusiasm

have been a source of inspiration for me, and a decisive impetus to go through with this project and carry it out to its end. And to my daughter Sophie Charlotte Barth for being my soul-mate, champion and literary critic. My thanks go to my colleague and friend Rune Flikke for his keen awareness of my work, his wisdom and exquisite sense of sources. I would also like to honour the memory of Prof. Eduardo Archetti, who early encouraged my interest in bringing semiotics into anthropology.

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1995 - OSLO
 ST. PETERSBURG
 VILNIUS
 WARSAW
 KIEV
 BUCHAREST
 SOFIA
 BUDAPEST
 VIENNA
 BERLIN
 PRAGUE
 LONDON
 JERUSALEM
 ZAGREB
 SARAJEVO
 PARIS
 STRASBOURG
 BRUSSELS - 1999

JOURNEY PATTERN

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BOOK 1

SPANNING THE FRINGES – VAGRANCY TO PRAGUE:
ST. PETERSBURG, VILNIUS, WARSAW, KIEV, BUCHAREST, SOFIA AND BUDAPEST

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CHIEF ACTORS:

1. ST. PETERSBURG

Mr. Zu – Editor of local Jewish gazette
Mrs. NaAz: my translator, assistant and reference informant
Mr. AlFr – Executive Director JASP
Mr. BaFi – Cantor
Mr. MK – Jewish Businessman

2. VILNIUS

Miss. OZ – Librarian at the Library of the Jewish Community
Mr. SiAl – President of the Jewish Community
Mr. EmZi – Lithuania's representative to the Council of Europe
Mrs. EsHa – American Jewish author, OZ's benefactor
Mrs. Br. – Head Librarian at the Library of the Jewish Community

3. WARSAW

Mr. PiBa – Researcher in International Law (Stefan Batory Foundation)
Mr. SzSz – President of the Jewish Community
Mr. AdRo – Editor of Dos Yidishe Vort

4. KIEV

Mr. YoZi – President of the Va'ad
Mr. Re – Civil Servant
Mr. YoPe – Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Jewish Studies

5. BUCHAREST

Mr. NiCa – President of the Jewish Community
Mr. MiBa – The Jewish Community Rabbi

6. SOFIA

Mr. MiBo – Sociologist (Soros Foundation)
Mr. RoDj – Executive Director of the Shalom Centre
KB – Rabbi of the Jewish Community
Mr. YoGu – Lawyer of the Jewish Community
Mr. EdSc – President of the Jewish Community

7. BUDAPEST

Mrs. EvKaGr – Officer at the Alapaduanyi
Mrs. JuFr – Interpreter at the Bálint Centre

MAJOR ORGANISATIONS:

GENERAL

1. ECJC – European Council of Jewish Communities
2. JDC – American Joint Distribution Committee (the Joint)
3. YIVO – Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut (Institute for Jewish Research, N.Y.)
4. Sóros – Open Society Foundation
5. Sukhnut – Jewish Agency (Israel)
6. B'nai B'rith – International Jewish (non-denominational) charity (Hebr. The Children of the Covenant)

LOCAL

1. JASP: Jewish Association of St. Petersburg
2. Jewish Community of Vilnius
3. Jewish Community of Warsaw
4. Stefan Batory Foundation (Sóros - Warsaw)
5. Association for Jewish Organisations and Communities (the Va'ad)
6. The Jewish Community of Bucharest
7. The Shalom Centre (Sofia)
8. The Alapaduanyi (the the Joint – Budapest)
9. The Bálint Centre (Budapest)
10. Habonim Dror (Budapest) – The Builders Freedom, secular cultural Socialist Zionist youth movement.

ABBREVIATIONS

JCC = Jewish Community Centre
JC = Jewish Community

BOOK 1:
SPANNING THE FRINGES –
VAGRANCY TO PRAGUE:
ST. PETERSBURG, VILNIUS, WARSAW, KIEV,
BUCHAREST, SOFIA AND BUDAPEST.

James [...] traces the difference between 'knowledge about' and 'acquaintance' to the presence or absence of fringes. Every topic or theme is surrounded by fringes, a halo of relations, references, and pointings...
(Gurwitsch, 1964: 309)

My plan for the journey through St. Petersburg, Vilnius, Warsaw, Kiev, Bucharest, Sofia and Budapest in 1995 was to conduct a survey on my way to the first research conference organised by the European Council of Jewish Communities (ECJC) in Prague. Though I had been engaged with topics of Jewish thought and history for some years, I was a complete novice in matters concerning the practicalities of community organisation. I hoped that my journey and the conference would help me in determining which local fieldwork-sites were most likely to provide an empirical focus (a) of value to my project and (b) of concern to Jewish representatives of the ECJC member-communities. I wished to make a selection of fieldwork-sites that could bring light to my research-questions while at the same time being socially robust (Nowotny et al., 2001): in practice, this meant that I needed to do a pilot-fieldwork to develop my research questions.

The form eventually assumed by my ethnographic inquiry departed from some rather naive preconceptions I nurtured at the outset, before my journey, concerning the possibility to conduct a straightforward inquiry on Jewish populations and community services, as well as the community's involvement in civil society, by using a method of semi-structured interviews. Since I was preparing for the research conference, as were the Jewish leaders with whom I was to meet during the trip, my questions appeared to be forthright and directly relevant to the issues that were to be discussed in Prague. I wanted to compare what the

leadership chose to share with me when I asked my questions on local premises, with how they subsequently would act and speak in Prague and use this as a background to decide on the matter of fieldwork locations mentioned above. Eventually, I realised that the nature of my undertaking was to unravel how *literacy practices* – i.e., local practices of gate-keeping, gathering and storage of Jewish sources – were translated into *information policies*: i.e., selective dissemination of information as investments, with the anticipated outcome of contributing to perceptions of urgent issues in the ECJC-core, as well as among its broader membership.

Throughout the journey, I was received with respect and kindness, and I followed the injunction of ECJC Ex.Dir.¹ MiMa – who facilitated my sojourns – not to prevail too long on busy Jewish leaders and community personnel². The one common denominator among Jewish leaders everywhere, is that they are short of human and financial resources, overburdened with work as well as with the hum and buzz of needy community-members, whom they incessantly have to attend. Wherever I landed, during my journey, I routinely asked community leaders to advise me on an assistant – or, reference informant – who could talk with me and take me around during my short stays, or I could ask them to identify human resources in their own organisation whom it would be possible and interesting to interview.

Thus, by following the loops of feedback and redundancy in repeated interaction (Bateson, 1972: 409) I was able to engage a tracery of networks, which, in places with large Jewish communities – like St. Petersburg and Kiev – led me to personnel belonging to conglomerate Jewish associations of ‘opposite camps’. Though such competing Jewish organisations are politically distinct, they are conglomerates and networks of their activities and personnel tend to overlap in everyday life. Occasionally, one also meets individuals whose dexterity in keeping out of conflicts – from moral or professional excellence – keeps them in high consideration by such opposed parties. These individuals readily become reference informants to the ethnographer (Thomas and Bouquiaux, 1976). They should be understood as ‘fringe personalities’: «...though they are not the most ‘integral’ (representative) persons in the community,» I was explained in St. Petersburg and later in Kiev,» they may be the most interesting ones». At critical junctures such individuals are invaluable resources.

In the minefields of overlapping competitive networks such individuals were my guides and mentors: they brought me safely through the quick changes, at a proper time and place, required for the type of

¹Ex. Dir./ = ‘Executive Director’.

² Ex. Dir. MiMa insisted that I phoned him before leaving to receive a «proper propaedeutic» for the journey.

questions I wanted to ask. The gross urban *topology* (*i.e.*, the appropriate time and place to raise different aspects of the same questions) eventually emerged from the daily exercises of walking and talking down dusty mega-boulevards, and tiny alleys in lush green backyards, on the way to ever new encounters: the choice of the place of interview mattered as much as the choice of the people whom I might interview. In the former Soviet cities, the heritage of Soviet ways of «making do» was still the bread and marmalade of everyday tactics (Certeau, 1984): the *Ars Sovietica* of how to write a letter, to whom one should address it – and *when* – roams the streets, informing the tasks and occasions (Barth, 1972) of urban encounters. Life-situations in which individuals are strained by attending 4-5 jobs, sometimes more, and living in fear for losing one of them, required an interpretive effort from my informants to bring my questions to place where they could be answered without jeopardising their complex life-ways.

Jewish demography depends on which organisation makes the count, has the most reliable archives, writes the best reports and has the most legitimate representatives and capable administrative office-personnel: the latter being particularly important in communities where the digitalisation was still low in the mid-nineties, and the Jewish demographic archives were kept in endless rows and stacks of shoeboxes. These archives were withdrawn from direct public access and represented organisational assets to their keepers and wardens.

The type of information with which I ended up was therefore «informed information». If it was not confided clandestinely, while walking the streets and there was no one else around to listen, it was entrusted to me as a friend in the privacy of a kitchen, or passed on to me as a fellow in the office-surroundings of Jewish community premises. Accordingly, the tasks and occasions that structured the *urban encounters* – on matters concerned with «figuring out» the Jewish community – are better understood as literacy practices, constituted by the street-wise *modus operandi* of community organisation, than as obstacles separating the ethnographer from the information s/he is looking for. Assuming existence of a civil society accordingly turned out to be a trap: there is no neutral ground of information-access in social- and economic realities where survival is a struggle. Neither is there a policy saying that such access should be precluded. In fact, there is more often than not a «mismatch», or incongruence, between the contents of information – whenever accessible – and the value of this information as estimated and imputed by social actors.

Making sense of the information we gather, under conditions of dearth and need, is difficult to defend as long as the people from whom we ask information have no immediate interest in it (beyond the expected benefits from sharing it). As a consequence, the form of travelling in which I had engaged – joining into the stream of Jewish travellers, be they tourists, volunteers or representatives of Jewish organisations – and the special type of rapport afforded in the space-time of the journey, contributed to set my pilot-fieldwork on a qualitative track. The survey-materials from which I wanted to extricate some numbers, prior to the identification of sites for more extended fieldwork, eventually were neither more detailed nor reliable than the ones I would gather later, during conferences or from the personal archives of ECJC Ex. Dir. MiMa in London (*book 2*). In effect, I had to abandon my ambition of establishing a sample of numbers passing through the sieve of a standard research methodology: the best I could hope for was to use the contingencies of my journey to establish a distinctive context for the data I collected during the trip.

As an effect, I became sensitised to the difference between (a) when people are telling you stories and (b) when they are telling you their story. The latter category of statements, when the «truth» barrier in the ethnographer-informant relation was broken, kept wandering from testimonies on current – political, social, cultural – events to reminiscences: in St. Petersburg, Vilnius and Kiev, recalling Jewish life from the days of the Soviet Union, memories of intra-territorial tourism from those days, kitchen-table society³, photographs, visits to Jewish graveyards. On the other hand, the first category of statements – which are devoid of confessional purview – may constitute simple ways of responding, depending on the type of respect and consideration assumed in the relationship: they are representational, discursive, discontinuously makeshift and sometimes official. However, this waywardness regularly observed by the ethnographer in the horizontal plane, as it were, are easier to handle (and therefore to understand) if represented as vertical order of overlapping – but ontologically discontinuous – priorities.

The journey through St. Petersburg, Vilnius, Warsaw, Kiev, Bucharest, Sofia and Budapest was carried out in a period of 28 days: which is an average of 4 days in each city. I travelled by plane: alternately living in hotels and enjoying private accommodation.

³ Cf., Gullestad, M. (2001). *Kitchen-table Society: a Case Study of the Family Life and Friendships of Young Working-Class Mothers in Urban Norway*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

1ST STOP: ST. PETERSBURG

Once I had dropped my baggage at the *Hotel Neptun*, exchanged some American dollars for Russian roubles, had my passport registered and the registration taxed in the lobby, I left my residence by the Obvodny Canal, strolled through the Pushkin Park and disappeared into the streets of St. Petersburg. With a map of the city in one hand and the fax I received from the JASP in the other, I found my way to an address in the Rubinsteyna str. that turned out to be inside a courtyard, and with no signposts to indicate which door was the JASP entrance. When walking off the public track of squares, parks and boulevard and penetrating the shielded life-worlds of backyards, St. Petersburg is transformed into a labyrinth where trails take over from streets.

Once inside the organisation's premises on the ground floor, the offices, which looked as though they had been accommodated inside a private flat, at first struck me by their informal, actually a bit theatrical, appearance. I was received by Mr. Zu, a jovial fellow, the editor of the local Jewish gazette, who wished me welcome. He also taunted me, in a friendly fashion, for not speaking Russian. After some waiting, I eventually caught up with Mr. AIFr – the administrative head of the JASP – with whom I had been corresponding from Oslo. I entertained him as shortly and comprehensively as possible on the survey that brought me to St. Petersburg. My questions on demography and organisations (who is Jewish, the need for social services, civil society involvement of Jewish community organisations under the JASP umbrella) were straightforward and simple. I explained the purpose of my survey, the itinerary of cities and Jewish Communities I intended to visit and suggested the possibility that I later might initiate a news- and chat-group, on the web, with the contacts established during the journey (the possibility of organising this activity under the auspices of the ECJC). But my carefully prepared speech failed to elicit the answers I had hoped for. Rather, it provoked utterances of non-understanding, even among a choice of well-educated community professionals that happened to be around: *I/we don't understand your questions!* This was rather disconcerting since the stacks of archived documents and the 5000-volume library nearby, appeared to contain the very type of information I was looking for. This being said, arrangements were made for a guide – Mrs. NaAz, the English teacher at the *Gesher*⁴ School – who could bring me around and assist me in covering the interviews I needed for my pilot-fieldwork.

⁴ Hebrew term: /Gesher/ = 'bridge'

I later discovered that some of the responses I got from AIFr at the JASP were more likely spurred by fear than caused by my failure at getting the message across: *i.e.*, the fear of stepping in another's turf and keeping one's own from intrusions. While I still thought I was struggling with a communication problem,

⁵ Hebrew term: /Hesed Avraham/ = 'Kindness of Abraham'.

⁶ Hebrew term /Kabbalat Shabbat/ = Reception of the Sabbath.

⁷ Asimov was originally from Petrovichi 16 km East of the border between Russia and Belarussia.

⁸ Skull-cap or *Yarmulke* (Yid.) used by Jews during religious rituals as well as in social, cultural and public events to an extent depending on their Jewish religious denomination and degree of observance (Lau, 1997: 25): «... our sages forbade any male to walk more than four cubits (about eight feet) without head covering. While the use of the head covering was limited in ancient times to certain specified occasions such as prayer, over the course of centuries it became the external sign separating the Jew and non-Jew, and an indication of the Jew who observes the commandments.»

⁹ At the time of the interview, the Director reported that the hospital was helping about 10.000 people (i.e., of 150.000 total population).

due to the slippery stones of my sometimes academic language, I tried several alternative procedures and raised the questions I wished to ask, at natural places in the flow of plain conversation. Since these initial linguistic attempts had but little success in eliciting the information I was seeking, the geographical radius of the inquiry was eventually expanded to include a walkabout of considerable range in the city of St. Petersburg.

The tenseness of the ambience peaked as we were received at a Jewish health-care centre called *Hesed Avraham*⁵: the Director's tone of voice was rash, his handshake was cold and sweaty. When I asked him if the health-services provided by the centre were available to non-Jews, he answered me that they were, but only Jewish people sought their assistance at the centre. Furthermore, I asked him whether the medical services dispensed at the centre included features relating to special Jewish needs, and whether these needs – such as circumcision and caring for the dead – were sensitive to the Jewish/non-Jewish background of the personnel: does the health centre employ non-Jewish doctors? Same type of answer: the Health Centre does, «...but only Jewish doctors choose to work here.» He then rushed off to the Centre's *Kabbalat Shabbat*⁶. A picture of Isaac Asimov – of whom it was claimed that he was originally from St. Petersburg – was looking at us from an empty wall⁷. As we left the room and went out into the courtyard, the type of semi-private/semi-public open spaces clustering behind the street-facades of residential areas in the centre of St. Petersburg, we met a person walking out from the Israeli Cultural Centre wearing a *Kipa*⁸, which was nowhere to be seen in open streets.

I later found that the real problem was not whether or not the hospital was a harbinger for the open society, but actually in getting a greater proportion of the Jewish population to benefit from its services⁹. A debate had taken place inside the Jewish community as to whether it was right for Jews to accept the services provided by Christian missions. This explanation was given to me by my guide (Mrs. NaAz) who happened to know the Director, and his family. In apology she confided: *You know, your questions they scare me too!* Having passed the 'truth barrier', she now explained to me that the Director's *father* was a mathematician, and therefore more inclined to engage openly in discussions on social issues. This openness extended to physicists, and to some extent to people with university education in natural sciences. Their mind for figures, logic and generalities created an ambience among them for openness on dangerous topics, which otherwise, among people with more practical minds, was rare.

During the debrief after *Hesed Avraham* we planned our next interview strolling inside the *Russian Museum*. We admired a portrait of Ivan Pavlov by

artist Valentin Serov: the distinguished Russian physiologist had been portrayed by Serov surrounded by the homely atmosphere of a living-room, and framed by windows giving onto a summery garden, with apple-trees in the background. I commented that this intimacy surrounding an academic figure like Pavlov, was rather surprising to me: my superficial knowledge of Pavlov's ideas and biography, made me quickly associate to Skinner's American behaviourism and his nightmarish vision for behavioural psychology as a basis for *political order* in *Walden Two* (Skinner, 1942). But I also evoked Maxim Gorki's pamphlet on how he as a little boy, in the domestic atmosphere and distinguished intimacy with his grandfather, had learned to read. Could she tell me more about the connection between education and the intimate sphere?

Her response to this question was to invite me home to have dinner in her kitchen and meet her husband: we had planned to go to a concert conducted by Yehudi Menuhin in the evening, and it was difficult to make separate dinner arrangements on such short notice, she argued. The prospect of eating creamed mushroom soup and home-made potato fries, in my assistant's kitchen, was far more attractive than the dreary hotel on the Obvodny Canal, so I accepted. This sudden turn of events, however, reminded me ever more of Favret-Saada's field-diary from Normandy (Favret-Saada, 1981), in North-Western France, when she all at once had been transported from the official reality, in which witchcraft did not exist, into a sphere where exorcists, cartomancers and diviners were teeming. Like Favret-Saada, I had made a remark that thrust the relationship from cool ambivalence to an all-inclusive confidence and trust.

Earlier that day, she had mentored me on schools and educational activities – of Israeli, JASP, Orthodox and Lubavitcher Hassidic¹⁰ denominations – the computer-centre, health centre, research units, which I also had heard from AIFr at the JASP headquarters, and did not add much to what was on the JASP's homepages on the internet. Having become her confident she made me jump into the «wormhole» that would take us from her kitchen, to a leading figure from the opposite camp, to the Cantor BaFi – his services in the Great Choral Synagogue and his work at the Jewish Federation. After listening to this exceptional baritone and his cantorial repertoire, during the *Shabbat* morning service (*Shaharit*), we were invited to his tiny flat. He spoke Yiddish, Hebrew and knew a little French from his opera-career. He belonged to this Russian category of artist who lived only in and for art, and expressed a candid and mild-mannered dismay at those who departed from its quality standards: «It is not enough to come from Israel, and know Hebrew, to think that you can sing!»

He belonged to a conglomerate association that competed with the JASP to secure a financial basis from JDC-money¹¹. This situation was similar to the

¹⁰ Lubavitch is the name of a Russian town (lit. the City of Love). Hassidism is a charismatic movement in Judaism that started with the Baal Shem Tov (Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer) in the 18th century (1698-1780 C.E.) Poland, emphasising the experiential dimension in Judaism. The Lubavitcher Hassidim are a branch of this movement, also called *Habad* (an acronym for *Hokhmah* [Wisdom], *Binah* [Understanding] and *Da'at* [Discernment]); it is a name used for the movement, but also names the teaching professed by the movement – to announce the deep connection between knowledge and perception in the World to Come).

¹¹ /JDC/ = [American] Joint Distribution Committee (coll. «the Joint»).

one I found in Kiev: the common denominator of the «opposed» associations – competing with those I had been introduced to by the ECJC – was that they had nurtured closer ties with the political establishment and the bureaucracy *apparatchiks* – through education, culture and networks. Though their local basis was solid, they were entrenched in the old ways and methods of dealing with problems which, at this point, were not harmonised with Western ideas on management and accountability. This was the explanation given to me in both places. In some cases, however, these opposed parties were associated with the European Jewish Congress, a Modern Orthodox international organisation under the World Jewish Congress.

In the afternoon, Mrs. NaAz brought me along to meet with a businessman – Mr. MK – who belonged to an allegedly growing group of *Yordim*². His perspective, he claimed, was one of the material community (*i.e.*, the *de facto* existing but non organised Jews): he belonged to those that would celebrate the Jewish Holidays in private – in the time of the Soviet Union – and would now be users/beneficiaries of Jewish community services, especially the schools, inasmuch as they were better and cheaper. He claimed that the members of his *Jewish Businessman's Association*, did not identify with the Jewish Community, and in general fashion attended the Synagogue, but sparingly. His initial cautious demeanour was similar to what I had experienced with other informants, at all encounters, with the exception of the kind and jovial Cantor. The reason given, invariably, was their fear of losing their jobs or putting friends and peers in danger.

Though the readiness and action potential of the Jewish community structures were comparable to what I had seen elsewhere – the size of the community taken into account – attracted rather small segments of the Jewish population, and did not appear as a safe-haven for a substantial community (in the sense of a broad-minded arena where people would come and bring the strength of their fears down to size, and in proportion with the effectiveness of their collective resources¹³). Reminiscences from the Soviet era were weighing heavily on the milieus and individuals with whom I met, and their ability to respond to my inquests was hampered by the prevailing material conditions after the liberalisation of the Russian economy. Among the people who had the time to talk to me during my short visit, I found that the fear of anti-Semitism co-varied with the state of their material conditions and social isolation: future prospects and collective orientations have an impact on how events like a much discussed distribution of anti-Semitic flyers on the Nevski Prospect – the most official street in St. Petersburg – are perceived.

Most of the information I acquired during my stay in St. Petersburg could have been conveyed to me at the JASP in an open atmosphere. But if I could

¹² There were about 10.000 *Yordim* I was told (of which 3000 had filed an application for a Russian passport). Hebrew term */Yordim/*: 'people who descend – *i.e.*, people who first settle in Israel (*/Olim/*), acquire citizenship and then go back to where they came from, or settle elsewhere. These denominations come from (Hebr.) */Aliyah/* and */Yerida/* – ascent and descent – and are the same words that are used when being called up (*Aliyah*) to read the *Torah* and stepping down (*Yerida*) when the one called up goes back to his seat.

¹³ In my field diary I note that about 1000 individuals were counted to be, in some capacity, active in the Jewish community.

simply walk about in St. Petersburg – talking to a wider range people and thereby getting the knowledge I was seeking – what was the point of holding it back? And what difference did it make to me, as an ethnographer? Evidently, the information that gave me a panoramic glimpse of the situation of Jews in St. Petersburg, is itself *socially informed*. And receiving «forbidden knowledge» clearly implicates the ethnographer in a different way than if it had been freely given. Yet, the general lack of openness was a public code and was not a special treatment restricted to guests. Sharing was confined to non-public and non-official spaces in the intimacy of friendship, or more clandestine spaces. Conspiracy thrived on the circulation of information: as much fostered as it was presupposed.

This puzzle made the visit a lot more interesting than what I was expecting when arriving St. Petersburg: the practices that surround the archival documents and the knowledge they might reveal, may themselves be understood as *practices of remembrance*. After all, seeking the company of documents and books – not to read but to reflect and remember – is a common experience. Yet, when this type of activity surfaces in collective behaviour, under the economic pressure of a largely de-politicised environment, it is transformed into a characteristic of the *social field*¹⁴: in Kurt Lewin's terms, the Jewish community organisations in St. Petersburg were passed an *unfreeze* and were in the middle of a *change process*. Relations of power and autonomy were subtle and fragile. They certainly did not solicit the intervention of outsiders. There are leaders of opposed, or contending, camps that did not speak to each other, but the gap between such leaders was filled by people within talking range. One of the crucial issues of these struggles was which one ended up receiving the bulk of financial aid from the outside¹⁵.

For me as a newcomer there were two models of responsibility, under the circumstances: (a) to act as a change-facilitator [*i.e.*, a community-worker – or, volunteer – with a project]; (b) to assist the process of remembrance – the piecing together of mental fragments¹⁶ – oriented towards a *refreeze*. The premises of Jewish community organisations are places where people come (a) to solve current problems and concerns; (b) to remember. My role as an anthropologist was to take on the latter role and to be observant of the former. But not in St. Petersburg. The historical research conducted from the JASP was wide-ranging – with knowledge about and projects in sites far off the metropolis – and had an NGO standard of knowledge with its own language with the dynamic of resonance, anticipation and positioning outlined above.

As an NGO, the JASP attempted to develop a common Jewish cultural framework which was wider – or, more general – than the internal lines that divide the Jewish community: cinema-evenings for the elderly (with films like

¹⁴ Lewin, Kurt: 1952 [1947], «Frontiers in Group Dynamics» in Lewin, Kurt, *Field Theory in Social Science - Selected Theoretical Papers*, pp. 188-237, London: Social Science Paperbacks & Tavistock Publications.

¹⁵ The most frequently quoted external financial supply was JDC money («Joint» money).

¹⁶ Cf., Nicole Lapiere (1989) in which the distinction in Hebrew between *Lo Tishkakh* (don't forget!) and *Zakhor* (remember!): these two injunctions relate to memory as a trace – to be heeded – and memory as a part of active recall (*i.e.*, re-membering as an act of piecing together and embodiment).

Spielberg's *Schindler's List*), activity-based religious education, following the pace of the Jewish calendar, assistance to Jewish people who wished to migrate to Israel, social care, research on demography, history and anti-Semitism etc.. The organisation sought a political balance between: (1) not to engage deeply enough to become part of the divisive issues of the Jewish community [internal point of view]; (2) to be sufficiently engaged to be considered useful by a threshold number of people [external point of view].

2ND STOP: VILNIUS

¹⁷ I had been on two short fieldtrips in 1992 and 1994.

¹⁸ In Vilnius there were about 3500 Jews in 1995.

¹⁹ Before WWII Vilnius was nicknamed the Jerusalem of the North, on account of its depth and scope of Jewish learning. This is significantly due to the election of Vilna (Russ.) as *Kebillah Rosh Beyt Dim* – i.e. a Supreme Court for a *Galgal* (network) of 5 cities (Pinsk, Vitebsk, Grodno, Brest Litovsk [Brisk] and Vilna) – as well as the scholarly life and deeds of Elijah ben Zalman Kremer (the Vilner Gaon – *Gaon*: as the Babylonian Geniuses, *Geonim*, of the 8-10th century C.E.).

²⁰ Today there is one synagogue in Vilnius, while there were about 110 before WWII (counting family synagogues and shtibl – Yiddish term: /shtibl/ = 'small house' [referring to the denseness of the atmosphere rather than to the physical size].

²¹ YIVO – *Yiddisher Visnshaftle-ker Institut* (founded in 1925 in Vilna, Wilno, Vilnius – in Yiddish /Vilne/). The young lady was in close family with a known Bundist – Jakosil Portnoj. In this sense, she belonged to the YIVO

I had been in the Lithuanian capital for longer visits previously¹⁷. In order to live near the centre of the city I chose to live in a hotel. Mrs. OZ, who was as a librarian at the Jewish Community, and who had worked with me at two earlier occasions, was waiting at the airport, and brought me to the hotel she had selected: the *Zalasis Tiltas* Hotel on the *Gediminas Prospect*. Actually, I didn't really have to land in Vilnius, since the state of the Jewish community was known to me from my two prior visits. But I wanted to show my respects to President of the Community, whom I would meet later at ECJC events. There were about 6,5 thousand Jews in Lithuania – most of them living in Vilnius¹⁸ and Kaunas. Owing to the large Jewish population before WWII (250.000) and its high level of Jewish learning, the community had an exceptional wealth of documents and books that kept the librarian employed. The President of the Community – Mr. SiAl – was in the family-line of Strashun, after whom the most prestigious Jewish library in the region was named¹⁹.

The community had a Jewish school: the number of non-Jewish children attending the *Scholem Aleykhem School* reflected the attitudes of their parents, who – in the words of the Headmaster – thought highly of Jewish education. Moreover the Jewish community premises, 50 meters off the Synagogue²⁰, included a Museum alternating between historical and contemporary exhibits. The archive is the pride of the Jewish community. The archival materials were claimed by YIVO²¹ in New York, according to my informants, since a major part of the same collection of materials was secured by Max Weinreich – who founded YIVO in Vilnius – as he decided to leave for America, just before the atrocities broke out in Lithuania, while he was attending a linguistics conference in Copenhagen in 1941. However, when the other half of this material surfaced, after having been heaped up in an abandoned church basement during the Soviet period, the Lithuanian Jewish Community fought to remain the warden of this part of this cultural treasure.

The Community succeeded in its endeavour, owing in part to the Jewish background of Lithuania's representative to the Council of Europe Mr. EmZi, and

his struggle to win recognition for Yiddish as one of the Lesser Used European languages, requiring special attention and actions²². But the legitimacy as the former northern capital of Yiddishland was not enough to secure the return of a major share of these documents, which had been shipped to Frankfurt am Main by Alfred Rosenberg during WWII²³, and remained stored there till the mid-90s, when it eventually was returned to YIVO. These struggles with YIVO were not fought in a hostile spirit, however, since YIVO is a vibrant carrier of the Lithuanian heritage (*i.e.*, the broad intellectual culture linked to Yiddish language) but it was determined: as much as living knowledge is needed to keep and attend documentary sources, archives are needed to build a Jewish community and its local presence in the larger society.

In fact, OZ – the librarian – had been brought over to the USA, by a known American Jewish writer²⁴ to attend an intensive course in Yiddish at YIVO, in New York. She had a passive knowledge of Yiddish, on account of her parents who were native speakers from before WWII, and who used the language regularly among themselves and with friends. The terms of the YIVO-grant was for her to stay at least two years in Vilnius, as her community of origin, upon returning at the end of the course. After she returned to Vilnius her father died. He had been ill for many years, and she had remained single to be able to take care of him, outside working hours. The sense of void left by him turned her grief into depression. She worked herself through it and cultivated a rare excellence in librarianship, and was working with a team of historians.

After I had settled and unpacked my things, we agreed to join at the *Kosher restaurant Yerushalayim d'Lite*²⁵ next to the community, and talk about her experiences from the US and in order to schedule some interviews in Vilnius. After a round of inquiries, setting up interviews and identifying interesting sources, as she was accustomed to from our previous encounters, she told me that right before her father died – at the hospital – he sighed: *Ikh leg vegk di leikhel!* – «I am putting away the spoon!» The words were not for her, but directed to a visiting friend. During all the years she had cared for her father she had never been addressed in Yiddish. She understood that he was leaving the struggle, and had resolved to meet his end. In that moment she realised that she would henceforward have to depend on herself. Nothing Jewish was intentionally passed on by her father, and she expressed her feeling of rupture. But it was from this sense of aloneness, that she made a commitment: she did not know where she would go in her future life – she had family in Israel, yet her life was here in Vilnius.

Earlier she had considered the possibility of going back to her old working place at the National Library – on account of a counterproductive form of competitiveness prevailing in her present working place – but she was now

«almanach» of major historical families and figures (*book 3*).

²² Yiddish was determined as ‘a lesser used language’ the same level as, for instance, Gaelic and Romanès.

²³ Alfred Rosenberg – who had the title of *Reichskommissar für Besetzte Ostgebiete* – sampled a selection of the Jewish books he confiscated in Vilnius – then Polish Wilno – and had two «secretaries» from the Jewish ghetto working for him to this effect. The purpose was to secure a research basis for *Jüdisches Wissenschaft ohne Juden* (Jewish science without Jews) when the genocide was completed. The rest of the books he got his hands on were turned into cellulose, those on parchment – for instance the Torah scrolls (*Sefer Torah*) – were transformed into objects for more menial purposes (for instance, for the manufacture of slippers). Among Jewish scholars Jewish sources in improper hands have been termed as ‘captives’ or ‘prisoners’. Before WWII 245.000 Jews lived in Lithuania, 25.000 survived.

²⁴ *i.e.*, by author EsHa, who is originally from Vilnius.

²⁵ *Yerushalayim D'Lite* – Jerusalem of Lithuania – as the local Jewish newspaper. Kosher restaurants qualify as such when it serves Kosher foods that are prepared and served in a Kosher way (which entails a careful separation between milk and meat -foods, -utensils and -dishes; which usually means that restaurants are either milk- (*Halavi* or *Milkish*), meat- (*Basari* or *Fleishikh*) restaurants. There is a third neutral category (*Parva*) which includes vegetables and non-fertilised eggs from Kosher birds. The difference between

mixing and separating is dependent on whether the utensils and dishes are porous, on temperature, and properties of the foodstuffs [onion, for instance, is warm and so adds heat even at cold temperatures].

determined that even if she changed her job, she would want to work «something Jewish». She had passed her psychological *trauma*, and her vouching for a «Jewish career» was certainly not political, as she systematically kept out of community quarrels, and constituted, in this sense, a personal choice that came from her identifying with an emerging awareness: *i.e.*, the awareness of being alone, and giving expression to this aloneness. In a larger Jewish community, she could easily have worked with an advanced team of historians. Her responsiveness to others featured the wider range of her competence, which was to produce high quality bibliographies at a research level. This competence is part of an historiographic practice in Jewish tradition. A *literacy practice* with another face than the one I met in St. Petersburg: *i.e.*, the world of documents is accompanied with history tracking practices that can be applied interchangeably on written statements and oral sources.

After dinner, OZ invited me home for a cup of tea in her kitchen. I brought the music cassette which the Cantor – BaFi – gave me in St. Petersburg: I was eager to let her hear it, since I hadn't even heard it myself – I had only heard his praises sung at the Jewish Community in Oslo, after a concert he had given there some years back. While we were listening to the rich timber of BaFi's voice, filling the room from the loudspeakers of OZ's cassette-player, she brought a huge box full of old photographs from her maternal grandparent's life in Kovno (Kaunas), from the time they owned and ran a Sanatorium. She showed some childhood pictures of herself together with her father, who was forty when she was born. She also showed me pictures from when she played Brecht with the Riga group, as well as a couple of graduation pictures. She even had a picture of Noah Jakosil Portnoj: a leading Bundist, an old time acquaintance of Lenin and – in her words – «a pirate».

In reality, her ancestry won her some fame during her stay in New York, at YIVO and Columbia University, as the author EsHa later testified, when she sent me an article written by her «adoptive daughter» – of whom she was quite proud – in the YIVO newsletter (of which I too was a regular reader, at that time). From her pile of pictures, OZ showed me a picture with Zachary M. Baker (Head Librarian at YIVO) that also eventually ended up in one of YIVO's newsletters from overseas. She was actually a bit distressed about this attention she'd got in New York, since she was struggling with a senior librarian at the Jewish Community of Vilnius: thrifty Mrs. Br, who had worked with her father and nurtured an ambition, after his death, of being the single person with a real authority and competence on Jewish archives and books in Vilnius²⁶. As we were discussing pros and cons in this matter, she showed me offhandedly the picture of a three year old boy in her close family with long curly blond hair: it

²⁶ According to OZ, Mr. Br was exercising her authority in Librarianship by monopolising the right to sign letters and send faxes (in my experience rather a bottleneck than a hub).

was taken the day his first hair-cut. No pair of scissors had ever passed through his hair till that day – an Orthodox Jewish custom.

The religious education of the post-war generation among the Jewish survivors in Vilnius was virtually nil. Yet, there were certain things that were simply done. Such as getting male infants circumcised on the 8th day after birth. The operation was carried out clandestinely by doctors who could be trusted. The picture of the three year old boy, taken on the day of his first haircut was not very old, yet not recent enough to be part of some recent Jewish revival trend. Besides such matters were not a subject matter of conversation. There were certain things that were done by secular Lithuanian Jews, in some families. That's all. OZ was not speaking of these acts as central values and big issues, but as part of such things that are kept in order and have to do with preserving and sustaining a sense of normality. In her secular outlook on the world – in her aloneness and her loss – she was also a traditional Jew.

For a while I thought that the traditional Jewish items that kept emerging at odd times, in such encounters round about in Eastern Europe, were like shards of earthen vessels, fragments surfacing in archaeological finds. In hindsight, it appears that I was under the spell of a slightly dogmatic Foucault reading: the kitchen-encounter was neither about unearthing fragments of OZ's past nor a confessional, and understanding the emergence of the picture – or, other such events with OZ – as residues of a pre-WWII *episteme* that dropped out of discourse during Communism, and surviving only at the level of practice, eventually seemed far-fetched. Like in St. Petersburg, it gradually appeared to me that the clandestine element of living as a Jew in Vilnius was a thing of the *present*. Though this element certainly brings to mind the still recent history of the Soviet Union, it also belongs to Jewish history everywhere in the *Diaspora* (i.e., outside of Israel). The occasional explanation for this way of being is the fear of anti-Semitism. But even though grounds for this fear can be disconcertingly real, it also belongs to a cultural phenomenology in which the *relationship* between (a) the *separateness* from other people – in this sense, being «chosen» – and (b) the *risk* of being Jewish is intrinsic. In addition to being historical it is a metaphysical element of what might be called, from lack of a better term, *Jewish phenomenology*.

The use of the term 'metaphysical' should be carefully distinguished from 'religious'. The term 'metaphysical' belongs to a philosophical tradition of *clarification*: understanding the nature of the world and the impact of this nature on human condition. In the present context it relates to a world *in becoming* and the *ethos* of the Jewish people as the vanguard in this transition. Separation – or, *chosen-ness* – is here not a condition that may *a priori* be conflated with

purity (*cf.*, Douglas, 1966). Separation is a condition of fluctuation between abjection and privilege. Purity – and its personal attribute holiness – emerges from a religious practice working reflectively on separation through the regular performance of Jewish ritual and study. Jewish religious practice reflects on separation by iterating it *inside* the Jewish life-world and thereby *unfreezes* and initiates a process of change, within the metaphysical condition (*i.e.*, the condition of separation-*cum*-risk). The religious «alchemy» deals with the transformation of the *sacred* – that which is set apart – into *holiness*: personhood is at once healed and elevated above the human condition prior to separation. Separation-*cum*-risk is a *liminal* condition (van Gennep, 1960 & Turner, 1967): betwixt and between humanity at a lower and higher state – *in limine*: on the threshold.

This is why traditional elements as the ones evoked above do not *a priori* belong to the apparatus of any Jewish religious denomination: they are traditional – certainly – but neither Hassidic, Modern Orthodox, Masorti nor Reform. They do not originate in formal religious institutional frameworks that constitute a separate domain of study. This is why I am not concerned here – nor in the books to come – with the theological questions that divide the Jewish religious world. Even as I am concerned with explicit religious materials, I am dealing with them as with existential elements that are part of *someone's* Present. This existential dimension is simply constituted by the choices of actors that mobilise a sample of a shared Jewish cultural repertoire to enact 'separation', only to identify – across the *aggregate* of such actions – the *synergies* that connect them to the real world, from the position of separation. This connection also summons the extended sense of *ritual* on which I will elaborate quite a deal (Leach, 1964: xiv):

«'Ritual' is a term which anthropology uses in diverse senses. My own view is that while we only run into paradox if we try to apply this term to some distinct class of behaviours, we can very usefully think of 'ritual' as an aspect of all behaviour, namely the communicative aspect.»

In other words, I am not concerned with the completeness nor extent of religious knowledge and ritual actions in Jewish milieus, but with aspects of being Jewish that are autonomous from the denominational issues that may emerge in regard of the *type* of synergy, between the word and the world, nurtured by Jewish people. For instance, during the interviews with potential members of my prospected internet news- and chat-group – which I undertook the day after the kitchen-table encounter with OZ – it became quite clear that the challenge of «making it», in order to keep a home and to raise and educate children, was a focal priority among young adult Jews in Vilnius, under the present conditions. In 1992 – *i.e.*, during my first visit – this was not the case: at

that time people were busy with surviving. In 1995 it was possible to aspire to living a decent life. Under these new conditions it appeared a luxury to engage in research-discussions on Jewish identity, demography and anti-Semitism (which was not the case in 1992). The people I interviewed belonged to the same core of families involved in the Jewish community and with personal histories similar to OZ's. People were busy building new lives after national independence in 1991. If historical precedent of the Lithuanian (*Litvaker*) Jewish tradition had prevailed, the Jewish Community of Vilnius would have been Modern Orthodox²⁷. However, in the present mid-nineties, a number of religious activities were initiated by Rabbi Sholom Krinski (*Habad*²⁸) to enhance Jewish life in Vilnius. As far as I could see, these activities were subject to debate but – on the whole – quite welcome, at this time.

As I left Vilnius I started having serious doubts about the slogan of statistics *If you don't count it, it doesn't count*. At the ECJC level it certainly counted a great deal, but at the local level in Vilnius it didn't, and only in very complicated ways in St. Petersburg. I started to ponder on whether *literacy practices* – the organisation of remembrance and Jewish *presence* in society – had to cross a critical mass of human and financial capital for *information policies* to become relevant, and what kind of organisational dynamics of cultural exchange have a purchase *below* that level. This question was to remain unresolved, however, throughout this initial journey and could only be discussed more thoroughly after a longer period of fieldwork.

3RD STOP: WARSAW

The journey to Warsaw was mainly focussed on preparations for my next stop in Kiev. This camp-base was required because the practicalities related to accommodation and local contacts in Kiev could not be arranged from Oslo at this time, in 1995. Moreover, Warsaw was also my first opportunity to make contacts with the Central- and Eastern European network of *Sóros*²⁹ centres – *i.e.*, the Open Society Foundation – before going flying to Kiev. Although I saw that a meta-stable methodology was emerging from my windy path in St. Petersburg and Vilnius, it also promised to be quite demanding: intellectually, psychologically and physically.

My impression was confirmed as I visited the *Stefan Batory Centre* (*Sóros*) where my host PiBa entertained me with a lunch-conversation on questions concerning international law that were certainly relevant for our common research effort at the ARENA-programme, but at the same time illustrated the problems of *critical mass* and *threshold* that are rarely treated in detail by

²⁷ Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik – the postwar leading figure of American Orthodoxy – was of the foremost leading lineage of Lithuanian (*Litvak*) Rabbis.

²⁸ The religious activities under the Rabbi Krinski were considered historically ironic since the Lithuanian Jews – or, the *Litvaker* Jews – were renowned *Mithnaggedim*: those that say 'no' (to *Hassidism*). In the 18th century, a *Hherem* (ban) was even set upon the *Hassidim* by the Vilner Gaon (*i.e.*, a proclamation for the ostracising of certain identified persons – weaker form of ostracising than *Nidui*, social isolation, and limited to restricting access to infrastructure and commodities).

²⁹ The *Sóros* centres are named after the George *Sóros*, the finance tycoon (of Hungarian Jewish origin), who wished to devote a substantial amount of his fortune to the development of an open society (Karl Popper) in Central & Eastern Europe.

social science research on law, economics and politics above the national level. Though demographic figures on minority groups have become quite relevant in Europe, such figures are invariably shrouded in uncertainties, since the question of *who* could legitimately carry out a full minority census – besides the minorities themselves – is highly problematic. In other words, minority censuses are sometimes interesting to other people than those empowered to carry them out. Formulating an *information policy* may, or may not, be interesting to minority organisations that are empowered to do such studies. And the expanded notion of ‘government’ that aims at involving such organisations sufficiently to take such an interest may be understood, in this context, as *governance*.

However, there are number of aspects of such efforts of self-administration – in order to partake of larger processes of political organisation – that does not necessarily address the needs of the community in an obvious way. This is the case of large-scaled supranational entities such as the EU in relation to its member states, but also of organisations like the ECJC in relation to its member communities. There are, for instance, dimensions relating to citizenship that are normative and are only obliquely related to populations. European citizenship represents an idea of using the Market (*i.e.*, the institution) as a method of fostering a political identity. And, as most ideas, it becomes politically empowered when it is adopted as an ideal across national boundaries, and communities – as well as organisations – compete to excel in it. There are other achievements that count in the relations between populations than size. And something more/else is in practice required to warrant membership in supranational organisations than catering to the expressed need for a policy of information-routines in such organisations. After we finished lunch PiBa and I agreed that we should maintain contacts and that I would return to him as soon as I was back in my office, at the Oslo University.

As a preliminary theoretical assessment of the positioned view of a transnational membership-based community (ECJC) the discussion at the *Batory* Foundation was inspiring and useful. Later that day, I planned to call on President SzSz at the second floor of the Jewish Theatre, where the offices of the Jewish Community were located, and ask for a meeting. But he was abroad, and in his place I was received by Mr. AdRo – the editor of the Jewish newspaper *Dos Yidishe Vort*³⁰. He stepped in for the President who was absent from the Community. Through our conversation I was introduced, by this mild-mannered man, with a community that was focussed on keeping a high level of cultural activities in Poland, and did not emphasise international co-operation. I had received the address from OZ in Vilnius, and the Community was not on the Joint’s list of JCC³¹ that I kept in my bag. Yet, the Community received support from the Joint. When I talked about the ECJC, the research conference

³⁰ This newspaper was a successor of *FolksShtime* that had been transferred from Lodz and integrated with *Yidishe Shriften* AdRo explained to me.

³¹ JCC = Jewish Community Centre.

in Prague and the figures I had received at the *Batory* Foundation, Mr. AdRo corrected the nominal figures of a total the Jewish population in Poland counting 15,000 persons down to a number between 7,000 and 10,000: «Not more,» he emphasised. He also pointed out that some organisations that called themselves Jewish – in Poland – were quite recent, and were made up by people who had not counted themselves as Jews for very long. Finally, he showed me a picture of President SzSz during an European Jewish Congress (EJC) event, which indicates that the Jewish Community Centre was likely to follow Orthodox criteria in defining who is Jewish.

After my meeting with AdRo my stay in Warsaw was coming to a close. Arrangements for accommodation and contacts in Kiev had been made through the intermediary of a kind elderly Polish lady, with whom some Polish-Jewish friends in Oslo had put me in contact. Before leaving, I wanted to see the Nozyk Synagogue in Warsaw. I moved through the ruins of what remains of the Warsaw ghetto and was surrounded by a lush and green area with many trees, and a number of modern high-rises at all sides. I spent some time finding the synagogue, and when I finally arrived it was closed. Nevertheless, I stood for a moment and contemplated the entrance, and the passage from the prophet Isaiah (56:7) which ones finds above the entrance of many Synagogues flashed through my mind:

Ki Veyti Beyt Tefillah Yikra l'Kol ha-Amim
«My House is a House of Prayer that Calls on all the Peoples.»

The Synagogue is a closed space in the sense that you have to know Jewish prayer for it to really open up: a Synagogue is built as much by the ritual performance of the congregants as by stone and mortar. Yet – in this puzzling statement – it calls on everyone.

4TH STOP: KIEV

In 1995 Kiev was an outpost at the outer border of the «money belt»: landing as a tourist with cash alone and no personal contacts was as unthinkable as to secure a local livelihood without a parcel of land. In this sense, Kiev was quite unlike any place I had been so far. And the conditions reminded me of the ones I had seen in Vilnius in 1992, and – later – in Sarajevo.

However, the Jewish cultural institutions in Kiev were undoubtedly stronger and more vibrant than in St. Petersburg – mainly on account of the Solomon University and the Vernadsky Library³² – and the Jewish Council³³, counting a number of outstanding intellectuals among its members. The questions, relating

³² The largest single collection of Jewish books, documents, posters and manuscripts preserved throughout the Soviet period, being kept clandestinely and smuggled from place to place. YIVO was actively involved in working with these materials to the point that they became the basis of a prestigious library in the Jewish world.

³³ The Jewish Council was the *other* («old time» Soviet) community organisation in Ukraine; *i.e.*, parallel to the Federation in St. Petersburg, whereas the organisation on my JCC list was the Association of Jewish Organizations & Communities. It was much easier to «move between» the two organisations in Kiev than in St. Petersburg.

³⁴ Including mixed marriages is relevant on account of Israel's *Law of Return* that entitles a person with a Jewish grandparent on either side to migrate and apply for citizenship in Israel.

to which organisation became endowed with JDC-funds, appeared to be less «poisoned», and more pragmatic, in Kiev. For instance, I was explained that an individual who received JDC, or «Joint», support in his academic career would, at this time, automatically set out on a different track than the careers of the old system leading to the Academy of Science – in which the Kiev Jews have long-standing traditions: at times to the point of dominating it. And on account of the strength and self-confidence held in this domain, the crossroads of the Solomon University and the Vernadsky Library was an arena of partial overlap between the two conglomerate factions.

However, the *Association of Jewish Organizations & Communities* held the international connections, had developed a readiness for migration-management, prided itself of the most exhaustive demographic archive on Jews living in Ukraine, and wrote reports on anti-Semitism, recently presented in Brussels, of «... no lesser quality than the Israeli one» in the words of the towering President YoZi., of the *Association of Jewish Organizations & Communities* – or, the *Va'ad* – in Ukraine. However, President YoZi did not present the *Va'ad* as a motor for Jewish emigration from Ukraine. His pride lay in the size of the Ukrainian community, and had a political view of the 140.000 difference in his figures as compared to the census of the Jewish Agency (*Sukhnút*, Israel). He wanted his community on the world-map of the largest viable Jewish communities, and tended to spend his speaking-time, in international conferences, on lengthy demonstrations of this point. The difference between his figures and *Sukhnút's* figures, he claimed, derived from the fact that this organisation based itself on the official figures, whereas he had the marriage records – including those of «mixed marriages»³⁴.

These inventories derived their significance from the *Va'ad's* ability to take care of Jewish people, whatever their definition, including those who came visiting Ukraine. It was not possible to determine whether these efforts paid off. However, it's immediate willingness to respond to the situation of Jewish people – whatever their denomination – on Ukrainian territory was clear: the Hassidic pilgrims who started coming in numbers after 1991, to visit the graves of their founding *Rebbes*, are a case in point. The *Va'ad* – which certainly included people with no Hassidic sympathies – were still concerned the problem that there were no structures to accommodate them (which includes, of course, the detailed logistics of *Kosher* travelling).

The strength of these human resources, however, appeared in the context of socio-material realities, which were disturbing in both their human and physical consequences. The monetary economy was on the verge of breakdown, and the citizens were largely reliant on multilateral bartering – with its complex *savoir faire* – gardening on rooftops, chicken and rabbits on balconies and land-plots

at the outskirts of the city. The signs of the impact of nuclear contamination were everywhere present on the streets, where well-dressed mothers and their sick children were begging for money to buy medical care. They were not the type of people that would have been brought to begging under normal circumstances.

One of the *Hassidic* groups (Lubavitch) had created a programme for contaminated children in *Chernobyl*, which they told me about when I visited their offices at the top of the *Brodsky* Synagogue (which under Ukrainian State-ownership was transformed into, and still was used as, a puppet theatre). To appraise the relationship between the human attitudes and organisational resources, that characterises sections of the Jewish milieu internally, the thrust of upholding this resourcefulness can neither be understood in terms of inclusion into nor exclusion from a common *Jewish identity*, but rather in terms of access to that external or internal reality, depending on which Jewish group (featuring a sense of differentiated *belonging* rather than branding *identities*). The following song, written by the *Brave Old World* evokes this point:

Chernobyl

*A maysele fun okh un vey
Pasirt in land fun KGB
Dort im mitn Ukraine
Rut zikh sheyn nit mer di shkhine*

*Zogn zog aykh dem pshat
Az in Tshernobil baym Pripkyat
Darf di shkhrine mer nit rien:
Fun zikh aleynt tut alts sheyn glien*

*Energie, oy, s'iz a prakht
Nor a toysel hot men gemakht:
Dort in land fun rus dem shtoltsn
Hot men di velt shirt nit farshmoltsn*

*Alts in ordnung, kharasho!
Hot gezogt der Politburo
Nor baym rekhtn un baym likn
Hot men moyre, milkh tsu trinkn*

*Zint der tsimes fun Pripkyat
Di gantse velt hot feyent salat
Fun Kamshatke biz Kanade
Trinken darf men limonade*

Chernobyl

A tale of grief and woe
Came to pass in the land of the KGB
There, in the middle of Ukraine
The *shkhine*³⁵ no longer rests

I'll give you the lowdown
In Chernobyl by the Pripkyat River
The *sh'khine* needs no longer glow –
Everything is already glowing by itself

Energy – it's great
But someone made a mistake
There in the proud land of Rus,
They almost melted down the world

Everything's under control, just fine,
Said the Politburo
But on right and left
Everyone is afraid to drink milk

And since the mess on the Pripkyat
The whole world is afraid of salad
From Kamtchatka to Canada
Everyone has to drink soda.

³⁵ Yiddish Term :/Sh'khine/ = / Sh'khináh/: Hebrew term – the Divine Light, or Presence, of the Almighty in the world, usually of feminine definition (always among *Hassidim*), and is part of the Kabbalistic set of representations of communication between the upper and lower Realms, in the Tree of Life (*Etz Hayim*). The feminine is here the dynamic aspect, whereas the male aspect of the Almighty is permanently elevated (*i.e.*, in His Place).

*To vos hob ikh tsu yenem ort?
S'iz idn voynen dort,
Itstert, af di kever oves,
Es tantst a nayer malkhamoves*

So, what does this place have to do with me?
It's Jews who used to live there.
Today, on our ancestors' graves
A new Angel of Death is dancing

*Meyn nit, as dos ken gesbeyn
In yenem vaytn land aleyh:
Tsi in Kiev, tsi in Detroit
Khapn vest dem zelbn toyt.*

Don't think that it can only happen
In that far-away land
Be it Kiev or Detroit
Death will catch with you all the same.

The poem neither includes nor excludes the traumatic reality it evokes, but *levels* with it. Several informants described Anti-Semitism in terms that evoked this style of relating to catastrophes that won't be denied. A distinguished researcher (Council) exemplified contemporary anti-Semitism in the following way. Recently, there had been an attempt to reintroduce the term 'zhid' (Polish for 'Jew') into Ukrainian language. Since before 1917 (*i.e.*, the Revolution), there was no such term – the term in use was 'yevrei'. Those who want to reintroduce it refer to Polish Usage. In 1995 came the first issue of *Slovo* – the name of a nationalist paper 'The Word' – which is anti-Semitic. This journal, or newspaper, is not the organ of some association; so it only represents itself, affirmed Mr. Re. It previously belonged to the society for Ukrainian language, and was handed over to *Prosvita* (a movement of national revival), that refused to take over... A whole issue was devoted to an article written by a person writing under the pseudonym of 'Elohim' (*sic!*) in the Netherlands (1941) proving that the German style of playing chess was superior to the Jewish style (Netherlands Gazette, *Nederlandszeitung*). Another newspaper – the *Rada* – for instance gave voice to claims that the Jews started WWII: this article was authored by a professor in history. At first the 'Rada' – from Norse 'Rad', I was told – was published regularly, then it disappeared. Many authors and journalist disappeared (left) because they disagreed with the editors.

The sober and mild-mannered man in front of me clearly had made an exposé of anti-Semitism as a form of lunacy. Kiev is and has been the hotbed of a number of charismatic excesses³⁶. Relating to these with sobriety and reason is the hallmark of Jewishness. The particular brand of mysticism one finds on the upper footsteps of Judaism, come after fulfilling the call of sobriety at the face of critical events. It is put to a different use, as it were, than when fringe processes generate the type of marginal and clandestine phenomena I have been considering thus far. Here, there are procedural aspects of how internal relations are generated that, somehow, *contain* the relationship to society or the outside world of events. Conversely, the presence of the Jewish community was

³⁶ The Beylis affair in 1911 is an historical example (*cf.*, Malamud's novel *The Fixer*, 1966). It is the Eastern European parallel to the Damascus affair (1840) and Dreyfus affair in France (1892-1904 [pardoned], 1906 [proved innocent]). However, the accusations to which Beylis was subjected were closest to

tangible – and could be felt – in city of Kiev and did not have the same degree of clandestine outlook as in St. Petersburg. Rather – in regard of its literacy practices – it was an «island of Reason».

During my stay I made friends with the young Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Jewish Studies Mr. YoPe who was about to leave for Jerusalem to study at *Or Someakh* – a *Litvaker Yeshivah*³⁷ in the outer *Mea She'arim* – where he received me as his guest in November 1995. In Kiev I simply passed to ask him for a *tefillah ha-derekh* – a wayfarers prayer – for me to study on my way to Bucharest. He took a Hassidic *Siddur*³⁸ dismissed it as «non-Kosher» and took another one of which he made a copy. We were to meet again at the end of this journey in Prague and – later – in Jerusalem.

5TH STOP: BUCHAREST

The flight with the Romanian air-company Tarom became an adventure since I had to wait in line on account of my I having failed de *reconfirm* the flight-ticket. It was my first time in my adult life to fly a propeller. And we also had to wait more than two hours before take-off, in a heat wave that suddenly hit down on Kiev. The passengers gave a show of liveliness that represented a cultural leap compared to what I had seen so far. The couples were dressed in attire worn by Europeans in the 1950s, and their way of being intimate in couples – husband and wife – reminded me of my childhood years in France and sojourns in Italy. Romanian is a Latin language and therefore marginally understandable to a person with a Latin linguistic background.

I lived through a short cultural shock before coming to terms with behavioural standards with which I was vaguely familiar, a language that was semi-transparent and food with a Mediterranean flavour. But at the same time everything was absolutely different. Tasting this enduring sense of bewilderment I landed in Bucharest in good spirits. But the trip had also started to wear on me. Arriving at the hotel in the late afternoon, I was assailed by a sudden drop in mood from seeing armed policemen on every corner, old guards with baseball bats in just about every shop and from having to live in a hotel. The standard of living was much higher than in Kiev, people had something to lose and criminal careers stuck out from the struggle for survival that I had witnessed on my last stop. This is the price of seeing the world in movement. The effort of establishing ever new relations from scratch – based on mutual respect and understanding with people in fret of time – was making a heavy toll on my nerves. But in movement one sees things that otherwise are blocked by static observation.

those of the Damascus affair: Beylis was charged with the ritual murder of a child, to have used its blood for ritual purposes. In this blood-libel affair writers who had authored blood-libel accusations were drawn in as «expert witnesses» to the Court. These Mediaeval procedures were taking place in the years before WWI, while Kiev was modernising and a hotbed of a number of inventive modern enterprises, significantly by people of Polish and Jewish origin. In that period a monument of Bogdan Chmelnicki (Cossack leader who initiated pogroms in Jewish settlements of genocidal proportions, in the mid-17th century [1648-49]) was being erected in the centre of Kiev. According to the original plans (which exist in drafts) Chmelnicki on horseback was intended to trample on the crowded figures of a Pole, a Jew and a Tatar. In Ukraine there are officially 130 different minorities and no natural boundaries (The root 'kraj' in Ukraine means an interstitial space, or frontier, it is the same as in the Former Yugoslavian Krajna). In this context, the Holiness of the Earth is the one dominating representation linked to autochthony. During a visit at the Lavra Monastery in broad daylight, to see the Jewish silver exhibited there, I was told, by a police guard that an exorcism was taking place inside the church.

³⁷ *Yeshiva*: *Talmud* School for lower and higher degrees of Jewish studies [derived from 'sitting, sitting and meeting together'].

³⁸ *Siddur*: Prayerbook (same root as in Seder (*book 4*) and means 'order' – here: the order of prayer)

³⁹ *Shabbat* starts Friday evening and ends Saturday evening (like Jewish days in general, the diurnal cycle goes from evening to evening).

⁴⁰ In the *Ruth Yel* Kosher restaurant there is a majority of non-paying guests. The restaurant was for the major part financed by the «Joint».

Early next day, I strolled to the Jewish Community facilities which, in Bucharest, are located in the Courtyard of the Synagogue. I presented my card at the reception with my request to see the President of the Community Mr. NiCa, and I was directed to his Secretariat at the second floor: as I was walking up a venerable staircase I looked at photo-portraits of Rabbi Moses Rosen – the Rabbi who had managed to protect the Jewish community and secure emigration to Israel during the Ceaucescu regime: I had just bought a memorial publication written in his honour. It was Friday morning, Dr. NiCa was overloaded with tasks he had to complete before *Shabbat*³⁹ and he was travelling – like me – on Sunday. The waiting-room was solemn and surrounded by doors of exotic wood. Dr. NiCa was not really available that day, but made himself available in a kind manner which made me think once more of ECJC Ex. Dir. MiMa's injunction of not prevailing too long on Jewish leaders.

I was eventually let in and upon seeing my card he said «Ah, Mr. Barth!», as though he had been expecting me for quite some time. As with most other of the Community personnel here in Bucharest we spoke in French, since – as he confessed – *I speak English as a Spanish Cow!* The conversation with NiCa was not an interview but a strange dialogue, during which he answered all my questions, even before I had them ready in my mind. In 1995 there was 14.300 Jews currently staying, and probably remaining – in Romania. The future of the Jewish community was uncertain on account of the aging population. After WWII the population had shrunk from 400.000 to the current size, due to emigration (about 350.000 to Israel). The population was spread in 36 different localities – counting a minimum of 20-30 members to constitute a community. The community in Bucharest had a Kosher-restaurant – *Ruth Yel*⁴⁰ – from where 700 meals were distributed every day to elderly and sick people who could not get out of their homes (so-called 'meals on wheels'). The community published a newspaper twice monthly, called *The Jewish Reality* that had previously been published under the name of *The Mosaic Cult*. The Doctor argued that times are changing and a type of high quality communication to a larger public on Jewish achievements and activities was an important initiative against anti-Semitism.

In the middle of this concise and friendly conversation a delegate from the American Embassy also entered without previous appointment. He entertained NiCa with on the importance of human rights to the USA and – accordingly – to the state of economic relations between their two countries. He expressed his concern about the situation of the Jews in Romania. NiCa, who cared in all possible ways for his community, talked to the delegate about the state of anti-Semitism, of course: «It is very important not to generalise about anti-Semitism,» he continued «not everyone in Romania are anti-Semitic. And the real anti-

Semitism is socially insignificant. It is important to let people understand who Jewish people are, and what they do.» In 1995, an impressive number of books on Jewish contributions to science, industry, culture, arts and poetry had been published with this in mind: «In Romania there is a College of Minorities and we are active there,» he rounded up.

NiCa's show of mild-mannered intellectual strength – even compared to what I had seen anywhere else – gave a striking demonstration of openness to a person, who in the preceding context was very clearly an outsider, on matters that were internal to the Community as well. His plan was to continue the work of Dr. Rosen (*cf.*, Rabbi Rosen mentioned above) in matters concerning the openness of the Jewish community: «He will now be succeeded by a Rabbi from Jerusalem. There were four very good candidates, and the election was postponed for several reasons.» Firstly, they had to take place more than one year after Rabbi Rosen passed on. Another was that Rabbi G withdrew the day before the elections. Rabbi T and Rabbi W were two other candidates. The Commission was composed of members from Israel and Romania. Eventually, they settled for MiBa from Bar Ilan in Jerusalem, and who had worked in South Africa for some years.

«On the arena of domestic politics...» continued the Doctor – who obviously had a knack of guessing what his visitors wanted to know – and went on to lecture the American guest on the current plans of erecting a statue of Romanian WWII-hero Antonescu, which had caught international media-attention, and some characterised as anti-Semitic, to honour the man who re-conquered Bessarabia⁴¹ from the Soviet Union and Transylvania from the Hungarians. The 200.000 Jews who lost their lives as a direct consequence of Antonescu's activities, caused guilt in many years in the after-war: «But now, people don't exactly know what democracy means,» said the Doctor «for the time being it has been synonymous with making a lot of money, quickly. So, the idea of erecting a statue in honour of Antonescu, spurred by the military, was devoid of historical reflection,» he concluded «and was probably a bit stupid!» The 1940 rebellion – in which many Jews lost their lives – set in motion the process whereby 400.000 of 800.000 Jews in Romania lost their lives during WWII. But its rationales were such that it is difficult to label this uprising as anti-Semitic.

⁴¹ Bessarabia, currently Moldova

Before leaving, the delegate from the American Embassy wished to ask NiCa a personal question. When he'd been in Rome, he had watched in dismay the reliefs on the walls of Circus Maximus representing the triumph of Ancient Romans returning from a campaign with the treasures looted from the Jewish people. He said that he knew this war-loot had subsequently been

⁴² Hebrew term: /Sefer Torah/ = 'Pentateuch (Torah) handwritten on parchment (from a Kosher mammal) and stitched together to form a scroll'.

⁴³ Hebrew term: /Aron (Ha-) Kodesh/ a cupboard (the Arc) in which the Sefer Torahs are kept – in the hierarchy of value of ritual objects the *Aron Kodesh* comes second to the *Sefer Torah*.

⁴⁴ Hebrew term: /Yad Vashem/ = Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem, or the Hall of Names.

⁴⁵ The *Shtibl* was used by regulars thrice daily for the morning- (*Sharharit*), afternoon- (*Mincha*) and evening- (*Ma'ariv*) prayers.

⁴⁶ Dovid Weiss Halivni: well known Talmud scholar from Sighet in Transylvania (as Elie Wiesel), who came to visit Oslo, a couple of years before, on his way to be awarded with an honorary professorship at the University of Lund, in Sweden.

shipped to Carthago by Saracen pirates but, as far as he had heard, no one knew ever since what had happened to the treasure. The Doctor's response to the American delegate's interest in Ancient archaeology was to inform him on the current destiny of ancient Jewish treasures: Romania had recently sent 3000 *Sefer Torahs*⁴², as well as an *Aron Kodesh*⁴³ which was to be exhibited in *Yad Vashem*⁴⁴, like the sample of stones from the Odessa Synagogue. It was quite clear that Dr. NiCa refused to assume the position as a *victim* in relation to the American, nor did he allow his Romanian Jews to be perceived as such. *His power rhetoric was guided by two objectives: (a) to make a demonstration of the Jewish Community's policy of complete openness; (b) to be on top of things.* As far as I could see, he succeeded on both accounts.

NiCa eventually started talking about his daughter who emigrated the USA. The delegate asked: «will she come back?» The Doctor answered – she's American: and my son is Canadian. He couldn't resist having at least something in his vicinity carry the imprint of his vocation: being a Doctor in virology and a member of the Academy of Science he had called his dog Virus... it was clear that the conversation was coming to an end. And as the Delegate prepared to leave I started to gather my things. The Doctor gave me a wink, however, indicating that he wished me to stay – which I did. After the American gentleman had left, we switched back to French and he excused himself for not having covered the matters we discussed properly, but that he had no idea that the Americans were coming to visit. I answered him that I had found the conversation quite instructive.

The Community had founded a publishing house, and was scheduled to issue ten books in 1995. And the Doctor talked to me about the six Synagogues that were active, though only *Shtibles*⁴⁵ were in use thrice daily. The meeting ended with a quiet note with a group of community leaders who gathered with us, did some small talk in *Yiddish, English* and *French*. There was no rush around the Doctor – he did his work, and joined into the conversation from time to time. These fellows knew how to sit together and «be around»: at this critical juncture of my journey, it felt like a gift. Eventually, I was shown around in the Synagogue which had the same atmosphere of fertile repose. Dovid Weiss Halivni⁴⁶'s assertion of a basic tenet of Jewish faith came to my mind: *the universe is affected by the way we act.*

Before leaving I took a stroll in the courtyard and remained contemplating the green painted benches, in shallow niches of the Synagogue's outer wall. They were partly covered with marble plaques commemorating the people who used to sit there. Yet, there was still space left to sit down: an homage to the visitor, or stranger? Perhaps. But I saw no one sitting. And I felt the benches

were communicating an idea rather than being intended as *actual seats*. As such they also conveyed the sense that Jewish people – in this place – do not pass away, but rather *pass on*. The benches were not exotic, but expressed in an exceptionally *concrete* way an abstract idea: the right of the [general] *other* is a place left *open* as the result of [specific] people's enduring effort throughout life. This idea is congenial with the idea of *citizenship*: *i.e.*, the idea that the city has a potential of acting as a refuge, and should persevere in building this potential through the generations.

The visit to the Bucharest Jewish Community, thus, provided an example of how an *information policy* – *e.g.*, NiCa's policy of total openness – is underpinned by a *symbolic economy*. It is on account of the latter that the Jewish Community of Bucharest can have an impact far beyond what a naive appraisal of demographic figures allows to predict. Dr. NiCa certainly demonstrated that a command of facts is of paramount importance to community leader communicating with the outside world (*cf.*, *information policy*). But in crossing the threshold from asserting the presence of a group in society (*cf.*, *literacy practices*) to demonstrating the value contributed by that group to society – beyond creating jobs and paying taxes – then the *symbolic economy* will provide a fruitful focus.

Airports constitute a different sort of space than modern cities: though they too are uniquely accessed, and inflections of the same, they agglomerate different travellers than those I met in the Jewish world. At the Banasea airport I met a young Japanese fellow. He became my travel-mate. He was studying to become a businessman and travelling in Europe was part of the personal education he needed to be successful in Japan. He was equipped with a Japanese travellers' guide that turned out to have much more detailed information than mine, and it was thanks to him that we – after landing in Bulgaria – bought a bus-fare into Sofia, which saved me for the ever haunting question of a taxi ride – did I pay too much?

6TH STOP: SOFIA

My Japanese fellow stepped off the bus before me. A few stops after he'd left I asked the driver whether the next one was mine. In the Bulgarian fashion he shrugged his head in affirmation, the way other Europeans do when they mean 'no'. This is common knowledge but hard to act upon. I had to make a conscious effort to pick up my baggage and leave the buss. It was the right decision. Or, rather, the bus-driver's information was correct. Gestures are compelling and they resist linguistic coding.

⁴⁷ Bulgaria is predominantly Christian.

After settling in a tourist hotel – a modern high-rise not far from the centre of the city – I went to have dinner with my Japanese travel mate and then went to bed. Early next morning I took my map and disappeared into the mesh of streets, and saw a *Mosque* for the first time on this journey⁴⁷. Sofia is in the heart of the Balkans and – though it is far from the seaside – the capital been developed as a vacation resort, with an infrastructure for mass tourism. I made my way to Graf Ignatsiev str. 17 to make an appointment for an interview at the local Sóros Centre – the Commission for Defence of Human Rights – where there were human resources allocated specifically to minority-group research. The Centre partook of EU-projects under the EU-PHARE programme. I got an interview with Mr. MiBo at 10:00 hours.

In Warsaw, Kiev and Bucharest the meetings at the Sóros centres had been interesting as such, but barely overlapping with what I was working on through my field-inquiries in Jewish communities. One reason why it turned out to be difficult to establish workable connections, was that the staff at the Sóros-centres I had visited was untrained in social science, and that its chief competence lay concentrated in the areas of law, ICT and economics. Consequently, their grasp of statistics did not allow a discussion of the qualitative issues at the basis of their own knowledge-foundation, and it was difficult or impossible to develop a differentiated understanding of minority-situations, reflecting the minorities' own understandings.

At the Sóros Centre in Sofia, however, it was possible to conduct this discussion because their minorities' expert – as well as other members of the staff – had sociological training, and consequently they knew how (and why) to distinguish results of sociological surveys from more exhaustive statistics. The objective of the Commission was to locate diffuse ethnic tensions and take initiatives to highlight the human rights dimension in them. Through the discussion with the minorities' expert – Mr. MiBo⁴⁸ – it appeared that one reason for the quasi-absence of any reference to Jewish minority groups, in information shared by the Sóros centres I had visited earlier, is that their small size – in comparison to other minority groups – places them, as it were, below the threshold of statistics. In Bulgaria, for instance, there are 6000 Jews and 1 million Gypsies. Another reason why minority research focuses on Gypsies and Pomaks⁴⁹, in Bulgaria, is that Jewish people are beneficiaries of Jewish aid from abroad. In MiBo's perspective, research on minorities was based on need, and pro-actively related to improve their social and material conditions.

The life conditions among Gypsies in Bulgaria, as related by MiBo, underscored this point. However, when the implication of belonging to a «sub-statistical» group and not being defined alternatively by material *need* is

⁴⁸ MiBo had a Hungarian family names after his father. His mother was Belgian. He had lived a few years in Newcastle and had worked on a Norwegian oil-rig, for some time. The Commission for the Defence of Human Rights was working with a concrete approach and on a broad basis to forestall infractions on Human Rights in the Bulgarian society.

⁴⁹ The Pomaks are an ethnic group in the southern mountains of Bulgaria – they are Muslims. They are regularly the targets of

tantamount to the nonexistence of the group – not in *fact* but in *right* – then another problem arises which is experienced by Jewish groups, just about everywhere. Though there are a wide range of social issues which the Jewish Community addresses through its services, there are other areas where this may not be possible nor desirable.

The Commission's method of approach to sociomaterial conditions is similar to what I found everywhere in Jewish Communities. But the Jewish autonomy and innovativeness in this domain – distinguishing it from other minority groups – makes it easily slip out of programmes for multicultural education, in the national school system. And in countries where the nationalist frenzy for historical reconstruction was booming – which was a common denominator everywhere in East and Central Europe, as well as the Balkans, in 1995 – activities like screening media-publications and broadcasting, selecting materials that have possible inflammatory effects on ethnic conflicts, focusing on the most unpleasant ones, analysing their contents, headlines etc., writing back, carrying out interviews or creating arenas for public debate and foster dialogue are important, indeed. But when the group which is a target of inflammatory publications itself must and can carry out the above preventive activities – this is frequently the case of Jewish communities – then it also becomes vulnerable to accusations of «owning the media.»

Discussing these matters with MiBo was entirely unproblematic. And I learned from my interview with him that selecting fieldwork-sites with Jewish Communities that are perceived by the outside world as active participants in the general civil society, was of paramount importance to my project. I left him to have a late lunch and reach my appointment at 15:00 hours at the *Shalom*⁵⁰ JCC. The *Shalom* Centre was the only JCC on my itinerary from where I had received an actual invitation, arranged through a phone call before I left Oslo. As a consequence, I was quite surprised when I realised that nobody appeared to know anything about the invitation, even the secretary to whom I had spoken in Oslo and had sent me the fax. But, as usual, things were (re-) arranged and I had two interviews at the Jewish Community that afternoon, and one next day in the morning.

The first interview was with Mr. RoDj – the Assistant to the Country Director of the «Joint» in Bulgaria. He was welcoming and open-minded: as in Bucharest, there was no problem whatsoever to discuss matters concerning the subject of my inquiry. However, the interview with RoDj was the noisiest one I had during the entire journey. Phones were chiming with requests from Jewish tourists who asked questions about the restaurant: «You can have vegetarian food, if you like (...) If it's *Kosher*? (...) It's *Kosher* in the sense that we do not

inflammatory speech and portrayed as agents of Islamisation in Bulgaria. This is a situation well-known at a larger European scale: e.g., the fears of Islamisation via Bosnia (Book 5).

⁵⁰ Hebrew Term: /Shalom/ = peace.

⁵¹ ORT was originally an organisation (St. Petersburg in the early 1900) preparing Jews to settle in Israel by offering education in agricultural techniques and engineering. In the mid-90s ORT was involving in disseminating computers and creating computer centres inside Jewish Communities, with the purview of developing professional training facilities that could meet the demands of the knowledge society.

⁵² Hebrew term: /Bris/ (Ashkenazi pronunciation) = Brit -(Mila) Hebrew term: /Brit Mila/ = 'incision of the Pact' (circumcision). Under normal circumstances circumcision of a boy takes place on the eighth day after birth, if not jaundiced or otherwise not in complete normal health.

mix meat and milk, but our meat is not *Kosher*.» The Chief Rabbi KB came in a couple or three times, to have RoDj take care of a few things We greeted each other briefly – very informal and relaxed fellow who spoke *Judeo Español*. Then a few others popped in, who were leaving to take off abroad, etc. All was very friendly, but at the same time it was quite difficult to concentrate and keep track of our conversation.

RoDj's cherished plan was the development of a high-tech centre at Jewish Community with the help of ORT⁵¹. His mind was busy in finding ways of not only getting computer hardware into a hi-tech space inside the *Shalom* Centre, but also in acquiring the necessary software and making the Centres' computer-based services available to Jews in different parts of Bulgaria. For the moment the state of the art was one computer – his own – receiving all the mails at the community to cut down on costs. He told me that the ORT arranges computer-assisted courses for people who prepare for *Bris*⁵². A number of Jewish men in the community were not circumcised and consequently a preparation for the ritual adapted for adults had been set up. Some places in East- and Central Europe this was a consequence of 40 years of communism. According to RoDj, there were two major circumstances that were conducive to this effect: (a) religious rituals of this kind were forbidden by the political authorities of the country; (b) parents would fear for their sons to stick out at school – gym-showers etc. – and, concomitantly, be identified as Jewish.

In Bulgaria the Jewish School was 100% financed by the State, its schoolchildren were both Jewish and non-Jewish, and its curriculum only departed from the national educational programme on two subjects: it offered courses in Judaism and Hebrew. The school counted 250 pupils and was for the time being limited to the primary school level. However, a Jewish educational programme for secondary school was on the doorsteps, RoDj explained. The «Joint» provided TV, video-stations, computers, money for camps and a cabinet for dental care at the school. The other targeted group were elderly people who were offered a physical education programme – the Health Club – at the *Shalom* Centre at a daily basis, cultural activities as dancing and singing, and they were also offered a service of free meals in the restaurant.

While the Community's efforts for schoolchildren and elderly in the community were targeted and quite clear, the internal projects directed towards the main adult population appeared to be a stockpile of poorly coordinated efforts, that had a fragmenting effect on the activities at the JCC (according to the local «Joint»/JDC volunteers). Aside from an ambitious – and successful – cultural programme directed towards the Bulgarian society, the «Joint» nurtured visions for projects that called on the involvement of several

Jewish international organisations at the same time, while having limited human resources on the spot to sustain and develop these projects. In the eyes of the two young American ladies working at the Centre as community volunteers for *the Joint*, this situation was far from satisfactory.

The interview with RoDj., however, ended on a humorous note: as a consequence of 'mixed marriages' between *Ashkenazim* and *Sephardim*⁵³: he himself, for instance, had a *Sephardic* family name while his mother was *Ashkenazic*. This was also the case with Mr. YoGu, whom I was to interview the day after. While the President of the Community Mr. EdSc – who was out travelling during my visit – had an *Ashkenazi* family name, while his mother was *Sephardic*. RoDj and YoGu – despite their family names – belonged to the 5% *Ashkenazim* of the Jewish community, because of their mothers, while EdSc with his *Ashkenazic* family-name, for the same reason, belonged to the *Sephardic* group (95% of the Jewish population). These were joking matters at the *Shalom* Centre, he emphasised. Yet, the reader should note that though Jewishness passes through the mother both among *Ashkenazim* and *Sephardim*, all other lines of inheritance pass through the father (or, the patrilineage)⁵⁴.

In 1995, being Jewish in Sofia was much a family issue and the community was devoted to take care of them. During our interview at 12:00 hours the following day, Mr. YoGu, a lawyer, told me that «politics» – or political discussions – were banned in the community: there were 50 Jewish organisations prior to WWII, and with 3000 Jews in Sofia and 19 local organisations where the remainder of the Jewish population in Bulgaria were living in 1995. They didn't need more fragmentation in the community than they currently had to manage. Mr. YoGu was managing the restitution process of Jewish private property, which was *pro forma* donated to the Bulgarian state in 1961. Under the present rule of law these «donations» were no longer legal. And consequently these private properties were not subjected to contestation *in right*, but there were a number of practical obstacles to their restitution (tenant rights from the communist period which, combined with the current need for renovation could make these properties a major source of expense rather than income to the legal owners).

The current organisations accordingly took care of the wide range of Jewish interests in the external society, while organisations branding different ways of being Jewish did not exist – at least not officially – in 1995 (e.g., at the difference from Kiev). The *Shalom* JCC is an umbrella organisation for a federation of local Jewish community entities. The Consistory – an institution dating back to the Napoleonic wars and Jewish emancipation – holds a plenary assembly every three months, and is otherwise led by an Executive Committee. The Members of *Shalom* are: WIZO⁵⁵, the Invalid's Association, the Lawyers'

⁵³ Ashkenazic Jews are originally from the Rhine land – who migrated and spread after the Black Plague (peaking in 1348-1350 C.E.) Eastwards in Mediaeval Europe – who speak Yiddish (Weinreich, 1965). While Sephard Jews are originally from Spain from where they spread after 1492 (Post-Moorish period following the Spanish *Reconquista*) to Italy, Northern Africa, the Balkans and Turkey – alternatively to coastal cities in Northern areas of Europe – who speak Ladino/Dzhudezmo/Judeo Español, *i.e.*, a dialect of 15-16th century Castilian.

⁵⁴ Before WWII, Jewish parents whose children married across the Ashkenaz/Sephard divide would sit *Shiva* – or, mourn – their children. In other words, the Ashkenaz and Sephard Jewry were not two different lineages, but two distinct Jewish groups. Today this is changing. There are no recognised religious motifs to explain this chasm and it is socio-cultural rather than of religious origin. In other words:, there are different ways of being Jewish – with varying degree of recognition within the group – and in addition there is the other kind of Jew. The Yemenites similarly distinguish themselves as a different kind of Jew. Today these groups coexist mainly as distinct traditions of knowledge. Their current interest lies in how the rules of matriliney prevail in inter-marriage some communities accommodate elements of the three traditions in their services (as, for instance, in Oslo).

⁵⁵ WIZO – Women’s International Zionist Organisation.

⁵⁶ Hebrew term: /B’nai B’rith/ = ‘the Children of the Covenant’ (a non-sectarian charitable organisation devoted to integrate Jewish support in the area of culture, education and humanitarian aid, founded in New York City in 1843, today with regional branches all over the world).

Union (Member of the International Jewish Lawyers Union), the Bulgarian Student’s Union (*Ha-Shomer Ha-Tsa’ir*) and *B’nai B’rith*⁵⁶. The Chief Rabbi and the Religious Council of Sofia are members of the Consistory: «...there is no conflict between the two legal bodies,» YoGu concluded. The religious community is organised under the Central Religious Council in Israel.

After thanking everyone and greeting them goodbye, I got my baggage at the hotel and rushed to the airport. *I was flying with Malev – the Hungarian national air-company that recently had merged with Alitalia – and the University travelling-agency in Oslo had booked me on Business Class flight. As a consequence, I could enjoy a couple of hours in a comfortable Lounge together with Japanese and German Businessmen. Though the absence of English- or French-speaking people was striking, the commodities and catering were conference standard, and I felt that I was starting my journey back to the West. The smooth and superficial ambience of «standard travelling» gave me solace.*

7TH STOP: BUDAPEST

By the time I reached Budapest, my inner sense of time and place was lost. I was lagging behind with writing out my notes, and every new event started to agglomerate with redundancies (Bateson, *idem*) from places I had already been. It was as though the unity and complexity of my experience were apace but increasing geometrically. As a consequence my brain started to produce sensations of intense recognition of places, things and events I had never seen before, and dug «wormholes» in the urban space-time in which I was moving. I no longer had the sensation of having been in different cities, but rather that I was moving into the same city, from different sides of the periphery, into the core, through different gates. And my mind was consequently inventing a literary trope in which miscellaneous experiences from this journey could communicate. At the time I was, of course, in no condition – nor in position – to harness this trope and bring it under my control. However, the compelling figure of how the present volume had to be organised later emerged from that experience.

At the time, there were other reasons why Budapest should emerge in my mind as a cultural equivalent of a «black hole». The cultural activity in this city is overwhelming and just about everything significant published elsewhere on the globe is translated into Hungarian, as I was told by the cultural attaché to the local Norwegian Embassy: on account of the difficulty of the language, furthermore, fairly little is published from Hungarian into other languages, she told me. Budapest is a separate cultural «biosphere» at the backdrop of Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was the receptacle for the Oriental cultural impulses

when it was part of the Ottoman Empire from 1526-1699. The city's choice of public baths, hot springs, culinary traditions and Gypsy music are cases in point. Hungary remained the Oriental pole as the country was integrated in the Hapsburg Double-Monarchy in 1867. Though the city's merger of ancient Buda at the slopes of the Donau with plains of Pest at the hither side of the river, is an urban structure with an elevated fortified position, a river-based logistic and a commercial centre on the plains that resembles Prague, Budapest is a different sort of centre than the other capitals of Central Europe: in the belt of Slavic cities that surrounds it, the historical influence of Budapest is commonly under-communicated.

The *Dohány* Synagogue in Pest, the largest of the city's 22 Synagogues, and the largest in Europe, was the first to be built in a Moorish style (1854-59). Though there are a number of smaller Orthodox synagogues in Budapest, the particularity of the services conducted at the *Dohány* Synagogue – as well as the majority of Jewish congregations in Budapest – is the use of Hungarian language, which originated with the *Neolog* movement and the establishment of the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest 1877. Though this contributes to make the services difficult to follow for the mainstream Jew who is accustomed to services in Hebrew, this Modern concept of Jewish community and the Orientalist architecture spread from Budapest to, for instance, Zagreb⁵⁷.

In the Budapest Jewish community⁵⁸, the high level of community services development – in all the social, educational and cultural sectors – was associated with the *Balint Centre*⁵⁹, yet the fear of Anti-Semitism in Budapest was pervasive. The fear of anti-Semitism was explained to me by the programme coordinator of the Social Support Foundation Mrs. EvKaGr, who also worked as a public relations officer at the *Alapaduai* (Hung. the «Joint»/JDC). She drew a picture in which two major groups of significant Jews were divided by their place in society: those politically and intellectually involved who were linked up with the *Sóros* Foundation, and those involved in the life of the apparently wealthy Jewish community whose activities were based on the miscellany of other financial sources.

At that time the *Sóros* foundation emphatically did not give money to specifically Jewish projects, said Mrs. EvKaGr, on account of its non-sectarian profile. Not even to Jewish newspapers⁶⁰ I was told. In the context of anti-Semitism the *Sóros*-Jews appeared as hidden Jews, in comparison to the declared Jews of the community creating propitious grounds for conspiracy theories. Again, the Vice President of the Democratic Forum was expelled by his own party after having expressed the same type of views which initiated the *Beylis*-affair in Kiev at the beginning of the century: accusations of blood

⁵⁷ Cf., book 4: the Zagreb Synagogue was built in 1867, in Moorish Style. So were The Great Choral Synagogue of St. Petersburg (1869), The Great Choral Synagogue of Vilnius (1903), and the Brodsky Synagogue in Kiev also contains «Moorish» elements (1898). The Neue Synagoga in Berlin (1859-66) in Moorish Style, was initiated the year the *Dohány* was finished. Their architecture represents Orientalism in Historicist architecture and is notably inspired by the early Romantic «rediscovery» of Al'Hambra in Granada (Spain).

⁵⁸ Budapest is comparable by its demography to St. Petersburg. Some figures claim a Jewish population of 80.000 to 120.000 – according to my informant at the *Alapaduai*, there would be about 200.000 Jewish people in Budapest, if counting the mixed marriages.

⁵⁹ The *Bálint* Centre is named after the rich and prestigious Bálint family after a substantial donation to the Budapest community.

⁶⁰ During the war in Sarajevo, however, this attitude, and concomitantly the *Sóros*-policy, was changing (*book 5*).

⁶¹ *Matza* – Unleavened bread for Passover (Pesah).

⁶² The same reticence to the circumcision of boys that I noted in Sofia, were expressed by Mrs. EaKaGr.

⁶³ *Genitza* is a «morgue» of books, where they are kept till they could be buried with proper ceremony.

⁶⁴ At this time the Berlin Community was busy managing the mass-migration of Jews from Eastern Europe – Russia in particular – and was one of the main hot spots of Jewish migration outside of Israel, at this time.

⁶⁵ /Masorti/ (Hebr. term Europe and Israel) = 'Source Judaism' = ~Conservative Judaism (USA).

libels, unholy mixtures in the preparations of *Matza*⁶¹, old stories of conspiracy. He later formed his own party the *MIED* (the *Hungarian Party for Truth and Life*) but got 1% of the 5% needed to enter the Parliament. In effect, «...he had become a political zero,» claimed Mrs. EvKaGr. However, the more diffuse fear of anti-Semitism she exemplified with the reluctance among Jewish parents to circumcise their boys. Circumcision had been used as the main method of identification of the otherwise quite assimilated Jews of Budapest during WWII. The father of EvKaGr had been sheltered in Raoul Wallenberg's house.

Her experiences of Jewishness had been restricted to symbolic acts and artefacts with which she had grown up during communism. She saw that the necklaces with Jewish emblems like the *Magen David* (David Star), or the letter *Hai* (Life) were special, but she did not know what they meant. She also noticed the people in her circles put stones on the tombstones whenever graves were visited, rather than flowers. These were distinctive signs of something mystical, the meaning of which she eventually came to appreciate. At the time I interviewed her, her notion of being Jewish – demographic figures notwithstanding – was that «... you should have something to do with the Jewish Community,» and that in Jewish families there was equal rights between parents and children⁶². In the case of EvKaGr's interview it was impossible for me to separate the order of response to my questions from the remembrance initiated by her. I found her deep inside an old building behind a room full of papers looking like a *Genitza*⁶³, in a computer room full of machines and people, looking and working like switchboard-operators: this was the social section.

Mrs. EvKaGr gave me the names of some organisations that are active in Hungary: the Hungarian Cultural Association of Jews, *Sukhnut*, *Habonim Dror*, *B'nai B'rith*, *Bnei Akiva*, *HaShur*, *Keren Kayemet*. Some of them are small associations with 30-100 active members. There are also WIZO (*cf.*, f.n. 58), and the American *Joint*. Finally, there is the Lubavitcher Rabbi Barukh Oberlander who works to increase the number of Bar Mitzvah's – and currently the number are increasing, concluded Mrs. EvKaGr.

After leaving Budapest, I landed in Vienna and Berlin: the Jewish Communities there were out of the ECJC-loop (like Warsaw). The communities were vibrant but bound up in activities to a point that interviews, of the type that I had carried out thus far, were out of the question⁶⁴. Before landing in Prague, for the research conference, I passed through London, where I had made an appointment with one of the leaders of the *Masorti*⁶⁵ Movement there – Rabbi JoWi – before I started out on this journey. When I reached his home in Finchley, I realised that I was saturated with experiences from my vagrancy in Jewish Europe, to the point of not being able to say a word. So, I listened to him speak.

ROUNDUP OF THE PROCESS

The fringe concept determines a notion of the dynamic relation between a periphery and a centre. My movements in East- and Central- Europe were located, in the space-time of my journey, at the complex fringe of the central arena and core event that I was approaching by small steps – the ECJC's research conference in Prague, in July 1995 – by visiting the local Jewish communities that would be later represented in Prague, and talking to their representatives. The fringe-concept evokes the series of rugged episodes during my journey through St. Petersburg, Vilnius, Kiev, Bucharest, Sofia and Budapest on my way to Prague. Moreover, the choice of passing on my experiences from these life-worlds in the form the roughly stitched patchworks of a *travelogue*, is motivated by two major concerns:

- (1) the greater part of the Jewish communities and organisations in Eastern- and Central Europe were «patchy» in their knowledge of Jewish tradition and piecemeal in their performance of religious rituals: yet, local religious practices *connect* (a) the names of local organisations and people, with (b) *Jewish signposts* that underscore the *uniqueness* of this connection. In this way, Jewish experience is definitively Jewish and emphatically *local*. The signposts of Judaism are readable to Jews from elsewhere – for instance, inside organisational frameworks like the ECJC – because they partake of *survival* as the **core reality** of Jewish peoplehood⁶⁶.
- (2) though the empirical inquiries of the ethnographer are conceived in common terms as work – *i.e.*, fieldwork – they can never be structured by a fixed set of methodological tools. In fact, the tools themselves change with the ethnographer's understanding of the objective reality to which they apply. Accordingly, the changes and shifts in methodology may be used to reflect these objective realities. By following the stream of how people's reality allows itself to be told, the methodological practice of the ethnographer becomes meta-stable.

This meta-stability evolved in more than one locus, and in stages:

- (a) after insuring a minimum of security for my informants and myself, I embarked on a journey, which – from utter ignorance of what was awaiting me – can only be qualified as *vagrancy*;
- (b) establishing *trust* became relevant in areas where security could not be insured in a general fashion, and the demeanour

⁶⁶ Judaism is archaic dialectic a counterpart to the ancient Egyptian religion, YoPe later explained me in Jerusalem: Jews are concerned with the ritual care for the living in as much detail as the Egyptians were concerned with the dead. The value of survival remains core, outside the context of religion,; even as the detail of knowledge and religious ritual is not cultivated, and as this detail is transferred to non-religious areas [such as humanitarian aid, reporting on anti-Semitic acts and migration] and modernised it still sustains a considerable symbolic force. While Jewish statistics is subject to fluctuation – and, concomitantly, is unreliable – there

are endless stores of shoeboxes or computer-files filled with names of Jewish people. In this regard, Jewish collective values correspond with highly individualised practices of Jewish care: «Yet,» YoPe would continue «Judaism is also a dialectic counterpart to Greek philosophy, and its humanism: Judaism life – including its physical manifestations – is metaphysical. In Alexander the Great's words,» he concluded, «the Jews were the philosophers of the East.»

- of my informants in this phase, raised my awareness of the relevance of *tactics*, in the process of establishing trust;
- (c) *services* are relevant in areas where trust cannot be insured in a one-to-one basis, and provide a human and material infrastructure of a broader scope than trust-relations, though still time narrowing down the population of *possible others* – this infrastructure forms a basis for a variety of *strategic* exploitation;
 - (d) *contacts* are relevant in areas where services cannot be insured in a general fashion, and the strategies of my informants – in areas where local contacts could not be expected to have a bearing – became visible in their different ways of perceiving me in the wider categories of players at the ECJC conference and the process of *change* associated with it; in other words, I had acquired a network in the ECJC before the conference in Prague.

In the next book we will see how such mutual expectations are formed when actors engage in programming collective activities: we move onwards to the European *project*-world, and the role of the ECJC as a mediator, innovator and coordinator of projects and activities involving Jewish Communities across national borders, shifting between the frameworks of the Council of Europe and the EU.

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS

(In order of appearance)

Aliyah (Hebr.) = Ascent (stepping up)

Olim (Hebr.) = Those that ascend

Gesher (Hebr.) = Bridge

Kabbalat shabbat (Hebr.) = Reception (beginning) of the Sabbath (henceforth *Shabbat*)

Kipa (Hebr.) = Skull-cap, or yarmulke (Yid.).

Shaharit (Hebr.) = Morning service

Yerida (Hebr.) = Descent (stepping down)

Yordim (Hebr.) = Those that descend

Kosher (Hebr.) = Functional standard of food-stuffs and utensils according to Jewish law

Shtibl (Yid.) = Small synagogue

Va'ad (Hebr.) = Council

Sukhnut (Hebr.) = Jewish Agency

Tefilah ha-derekh (Hebr.) = Wayfarer's prayer

Siddur (Hebr.) = Jewish prayer-book (meaning 'order')

Shabbat (Hebr.) = Sabbath

Sefer (ha-) Torah (Hebr.) = Torah scroll

Yad vashem (Hebr.) = A hand/memorial and a name (holocaust museum and research centre)

Aharon ha-kodesh (Hebr.) = *Torah* cupboard

Shalom (Hebr.) = Peace

Bris (Yid.)/*Brit Milah* (Hebr.) = Covenant of circumcision

Shivva (Hebr.) = Seven (days of mourning)

Hebr. = Hebrew word

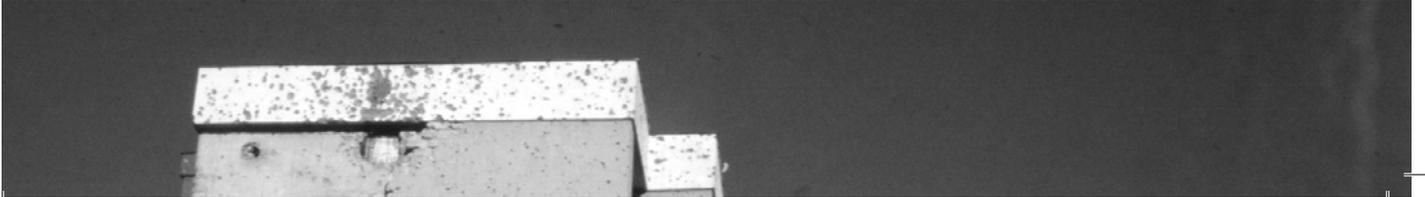
Yid. = Yiddish word/pronunciation



BOOK 2

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CHIEF ACTORS IN BOOK 2

DaLe (ECJC) – President

MiMa (ECJC) – Executive Director

AISe (the Joint) – Director for Community Development in Europe and Latin-America

SrMa (ECJC) – Croatian Executive Committee Member

JoWe – Project Manager (Centre for Jewish Learning – TEMPUS programme)

IsSi – General Secretary (WJC)

MAJOR ORGANISATIONS

EU – European Union Council of Europe

ECJC – European Council of Jewish Communities

AJC – the Joint

AJC – American Jewish Committee

EJC – European Jewish Congress

WJC – World Jewish Congress

JPR – Jewish Policy Research Institute

CER – the Conference of European Rabbis

CEJI – Centre Européen Juif d'information

FSJU – Fond Social Juif Unifié

SSJ – Service Social des Jeunes

WZO – World Zionist Organisation

La Benevolencija – Humanitarian organisation based in Sarajevo [Sarajevo JC]

Friends of la Benevolencija – network organisation of friends supporting La Benevolencija

BOOK 2: MINUTES OF THE ECJC PRAGUE, BRUSSELS AND STRASBOURG

«A new European paradigm – eschewing the nationalist conceptions of the past in favour of a less unified, more dynamic as well as more uncertain kaleidoscopic model – should be embraced by all Europeans. Freed from the age-old choice between total assimilation and ghettoisation, Jews, in many ways the prototype of the new European, have the chance to belong in Europe as never before – as well as the chance to participate fully in the construction of the new, pluralist Europe.»
(Diana Pinto, Prague, 1995)

IDEAS AND EVIDENCE OF CHANGE

In 1992 the organisation ECJCS¹ was largely dormant. It was re-launched, in the same year, under a new presidency and executive leadership for a period of one year. The new leadership had to prove its worth by demonstrating – in that short period – what can be achieved through organisation, in terms of (1) mobilising Jewish communities and organisations to come up with projects in the areas of community leadership, culture, social services and religious/secular education while (2) establishing a platform of autonomy for the organisation [ECJCS] by brokering a financial basis for its projects. During the one-year provisional mandate from 1992 to 1993, the organisation succeeded in establishing a threshold balance in its own finances, and thereby granted the organisation with sufficient legitimacy to secure its power-basis, and start working with the two above with Jewish communities and organisations. The ECJCS was then renamed ECJC². The change of name was to signal that the organisation no longer was limited to the development of services inside Jewish communities, but also to the organisational development of Jewish Communities in the larger setting of European integration (which was no longer seen as a circumstantial

¹ ECJCS (founded in 1968) = European Council of Jewish Community Services.

² ECJC = European Council of Jewish Communities (in 1993).

³ Treasurer of the ECJC reported in 1994 that the «...European Council [ECJC] has dramatically increased its activities...» while reducing its budget: the income sources for 1995 are membership fees, foundation-grants, and JDC/ Joint-grants. Communities were urged to «invest» as much as possible in the European Council in the form of membership fees. A long-term goal remained the continued reduction of JDC / Joint funding.

⁴ By 2003, the ECJC had 41 country members and 70 member organisations. In comparison the demographic assessment of the Jewish population dropped from 4 million in 1995, to some 2,3 million in 1997. This drop was in part due to the massive emigration of Russian Jews to Israel and the USA, but also to uncertainties deriving from the methodological problems of how one should count – which criteria are used to determine Jewishness – and of making an exhaustive appraisal of the total Jewish population in Europe (no matter the criteria).

⁵ TEU = Treaty of the European Union, or Maastricht Treaty. In the TEU – where EU Citizenship is declared – it is simply stated that all the laws and regulations of the TEU apply to the European Citizen.

environment of Jewish organisations but as a context for their activities). By 1995³ the ECJC succeeded in being perceived as the emerging organisation that could redraw the map of Jewish life in Europe, in response to the political and economic changes spurred by the aggregate work of the Council of Europe and the European Union (EU).

The organisational instruments of the ECJC were developed in a pragmatic spirit, and were not designed in passive compliance with the ideological objectives of European integration. The organisational objective of the ECJC was to bring clarity into the current situation of Jewish communities and organisations in Europe, by charting their needs and their potential for mutual assistance. This authentication of the basis for co-operation by charting the reality and variety of needs was the rationale for both the 1995 research conference in Prague, and – later – the 1997 follow-up in Strasbourg. In a general fashion, the gross features of European integration were reflected in the ECJC's two-tiered method of approach: (1) by organising voting rights on a country-basis [following the membership structure of the Council of Europe, it increased the number of *country-members* from 30 to 40 in the mid-nineties]; (2) by using the EU-method of multiplying the number of arenas of co-operation cross-cutting national boundaries [which eventually led to an increase of member-organisations by far exceeding the number of country members⁴]. The executive leadership's strategy to capitalise on this difference – by increasing it and integrating it – reflected its ambition to go beyond the ECJC as a network-organisation, and transform it into a network with a facilitating but strong bureaucratic core.

In effect, the ECJC's hybrid policy reflected a systematic approach. In one aspect (1) the European membership policy was inclusive and parallel to that of the Council of Europe. In another aspect (2) the European political dimension – which distinguished the *new* from the *old* ECJC – negotiated the differences between Jewish communities from Eastern and Western Europe that came about with the TEU⁵ in 1992. In its promulgation of EU-citizenship the TEU brings legitimacy to other political *foci* than the State, and grants citizenship to individuals – or, physical persons – as the constituent legal persons of the Union (and by extension, as members of the European polity and society). Communicating the *contextual relevance* of these changes, while programming coming initiatives with the ECJC member-communities – and thereby networking new working habits inside the organisation – were objectives that executive leadership

of the ECJC brought to the research conference (which accounts for major features of the conference design).

The ECJC research conference in Prague⁶ (1995) was well attended: about 190 representatives from Jewish communities in 40 countries. On the background that the ECJC had been re-launched as an organisation in 1992, the Prague conference was characterised by a number of participants as a turning point. Ever since its inception in 1968, the objective of the organisation to operate as a bridge between the East and West. It was now alive and afoot inside a renewed organisational framework. The objective of the 1995-conference was to probe the potential of deepening the collective identity of volunteers and professionals working with Jewish community services⁷, as a method to broaden inter-community co-operation across East-/Western Europe. Making higher ends serve modern needs was also – and always – a way of broadening the range of the Jewish experience, to encompass the emergence of the European civil society in the contemporary setting.

The representatives, on the other hand, came with hopes to draw attention to issues of importance to their communities and with biased expectations of what the conference – as a whole – would bring about. This fragmentary input was welded together to form the variety of trans-community co-operation projects from which innovation was expected to emerge: after having proven its worth in establishing an accountability for the organisation, the next objective of the executive leadership was to be approved by the members as the competent facilitator, mediator and coordinator in service development and organisational renewal. The executive leadership itself perceived the connection between the administrative and innovation capability a key to its success as a hub in organisational development – between communities, but also inside communities.

The latter point was a subject of debate among the participants. A number of representatives saw the inter-community project agenda as a way of providing a basis for trans-national networks of viable personal contacts between community workers. They questioned the reach of the executive leadership's ambition of making the matrix of European integration communicate – under and beyond the ECJC – into the communities. However, by using citizenship as its framework of address at the two research conferences – thereby making each and every European Jew its ideological target – and by making the civil society a focal issue at the research conference, the executive leadership

⁶ The conference was arranged by the ECJC (European Council of Jewish Communities), in co-operation with the Joint and the American Jewish Committee (AJC), and under the auspices of Secretary General of the Council of Europe Daniel Tarschys (Professor in Political Science [Public Administration] at the Stockholm University).

⁷ The deepening of the collective identity within the ECJC – among the community members – was the point of changing the name from ECJCS [European Council of Jewish Community Services] to ECJC [European Council of Jewish Communities]: thus, the organisation moved from dealing with internal development and management of community services to be an entrepreneur on the social market and to partake of the European civil society.

created an agenda for the involvement of community services in the larger European development, which entailed a *de facto* politicisation of the internal process.

THE INTEGRATION OF DIFFERENCE: A POLITICAL ADDRESS

The unique blend of the ideas and evidence that was taking place at the ECJC research conference, was spurred by Diana Pinto, in a key-note speech that had an enduring ideological impact on the organisation and its members (Pinto, 1996 [1995]):

«Jews in today's Europe are 'voluntary' Jews: they are no longer anywhere defined by the state or officially constrained in any way. Jews are free to stop being Jews, to emigrate and, most importantly, to define their Jewishness in whatever terms they like. Jewishness has ceased to be something shaped by the state and has become an integral component of European civil society. Jews must have the courage to identify themselves with that civil society, to loosen their anachronistic ties to the state and to encourage greater flexibility in the definition of who is or is not a Jew.»

The 'voluntary Jew' is a secular counterpart to the religious 'Jew by choice'. In Judaism every Jew is ideologically the recipient of a religious tradition by *choice* (Elazar, 1992): historically, this choice did not take place in the context of the present civil liberties, but inside Jewish communities that lived under the protection of State tolerance (Attali, 2002). In Pinto's terms, the choice of living as a Jew in the European society (a) after the *Shoah* and (b) beyond the State is *voluntary*: there are no social pressures to force Jews by birth to assume a Jewish identity, and if they so wish they can live whatever life they want outside the radius of the Jewish community. For Jews to live within that radius it must be attractive (Pinto, *ibid.*):

«If Europeans must adjust to the reality that they are living in a brand new continent, Jews – and European Jews in particular – must come to grips with an even more startling fact: never in the history of Europe has a moment been so propitious for its Jews as the present.»

Hence, Pinto did not address the audience at the Prague research conference with the old message of integration – *Jew at home citizen in*

public – but with a message of Jews being *at once* (a) different and (b) involved. This response to the contemporary normalisation of Jewish/non-Jewish relations – pre-empted on the European scene – is much in resonance with Martin Buber’s concept of Hebrew humanism (Buber, 1948): being *with* the others though not being *as* the others. In the context of European integration, the multiplication of involvement in civil society was anticipated to have a bearing on the normalisation of internal Jewish relations, with the imminence of a unique European Jewish contribution to the progress of world Jewry (Pinto, *ibid.*):

«Jewish history and culture have been rooted in Europe for more than two thousand years – and the products of Jewish creativity have long enhanced European culture. A European framework is the logical dimension for the future. It is up to European Jewry to become the third, equal, partner – with the United States and Israel – in building a revitalised, world Jewish identity.»

Pinto’s speech was an ideological *tour-de-force* that sought to establish a novel basis for Jewish authenticity, by emphasising the uniqueness of the novel and propitious conditions in Europe. Her performance was the only one to address the European dimension of the organisational change that was given an official status by the ECJC’s executive leadership. And as such it was clearly a front-stage performance.

Under the hum and buzz of the plenary sessions – a long series of presentations on social services, education, leadership and country reports on anti-Semitism – the Executive Committee quietly withdrew to convene, at the back-stage of the conference, and later reappeared to debrief the plenary: though clearly intended to empower the Executive Committee, the debrief was not given in the form of top-down allocations, but in the form of a *co-ordination* plan to get the most out of member organisations’ ongoing activities, for their mutual and third party benefit, in the form of an ECJC-calendar.

There was a precedent for this approach. The bureaucratic instruments developed by the ECJC from 1992 to 1995, and beyond, proposed a translation from the language of political vision into a method of organisational procedure. These instruments gave the executive management a *procedural power*⁸. The ECJC disseminated this power among its members, in the form of *knowledge sharing*: creating a precedent of working habits beyond the autocratic style

⁸ Bureaucracy – *i.e.*, power of the office’ – should here be understood in the late modern sense of the EU: *i.e.*, it represents an EU-style ideologically aware bureaucracy that seeks to involve – rather than exclude – its users and thereby transmit certain well proven working habits [not to be confused with ‘routines’, *cf.*, *Frames*]. By 1995 the ECJC became a user-driven planning cell for organisational development in European JCCs, and by its activity it became a focal node for Jewish political organisations like the European Jewish Congress (EJC), EU-lobby entities like the CEJI (*Centre Européen Juif d’Information*), European Union Jewish Students (EUJS), the Conference of European Rabbis (CER) and JPR (Jewish Policy Research Institute, where Diana Pinto’s speech at the research conference eventually was published).

⁹ ECJC minutes

¹⁰ Hebrew term: /Le'Atid/ = 'for the future' (in Europe).

The centre was founded by six partners: the ORT, CBF World Jewish Relief, the FSJU, the JDC, the Doron Foundation, and the ECJC. The Rich foundation later came in with project-financing. From the ECJC Minutes (1994): «The Centre will organise and run training courses, workshops, and thematic seminars in addition to offering publications, a Jewish Leadership Library, and consultancy services. Programmes will offer a dual track approach incorporating instruction in both Judaism and Management. It is intended to create a space where Jewish leaders can meet, exchange ideas and information, expand knowledge, and acquire skills. « *Le'Atid* is also a model brand of a hat – of the Borsalino make – which is used by a number of Orthodox Jews. The visions of how modernity and tradition integrate are divided, in the Jewish world, between the proponents of «modern kashrut» and those who vouch for «kosher modernism». These amalgams may be opposed within the Jewish world, but none of them are opposed to modernity *per se*.

of «old school» Jewish organisations. The proliferation of this form of empowerment occurred through the ECJC's bureaucratic EU-style of facilitation and mediation between its members. This strategy of empowerment – through mediation and brokerage – was not based on control of vast resources, but on the use of innovation to canalise resources in productive ways.

The instruments developed by the ECJC enabled its members in claiming organisational autonomy vis-à-vis «old school» organisations on emergent issues – like the restitution of Jewish private property after Communism and WWII – for which there was no central strategy, nor pre-calculated policy, in the organisation: the ECJC's ability and readiness to respond to emergent issues with emergent strategies was its strength. But, according to the Croatian representative in Executive Committee Mr. SrMa, and to the American *Joint* Director for Community Development in Europe and Latin-America Mr. ALSe⁹, the following general observation on projects applies to the ECJC: the impact of the results obtained in ECJC-activities were difficult to trace at the community-level. Though the ECJC conference-minutes reflect an organisation that is highly receptive to the input from its members, the value created by the organisation for its members remained 'value added' to various forms of *outreach* provided by other international organisations. In effect, it was difficult (1) for the ECJC penetrate beneath the supranational level of trans-community co-operation, while (2) it was difficult for other organisations to dispute the position of the ECJC at the European level. The ECJC developed its own organisational logic that was hinged on European trends and developments, while beneath that level it was effective primarily at the network level of personal contacts.

Nevertheless, the ECJC did front two major initiatives to *connect* its network organisation with activities, management and development at the community level: (1) *Le'Atid* Europe¹⁰ – The European Centre for Jewish Leadership; (2) The *CareLink* – the European Jewish Crisis Fund.

- (1) The *Le'Atid* Centre became located near Geneva in Switzerland, and was created as a retreat-centre, in early 1995, and offered intensive courses in modern management techniques conducted in the Jewish traditional setting (*kosher* meals, religious -lectures and -events).

- (2) The *CareLink* – or, the process of establishing a European Crisis Fund – was derived from the lessons learned during the crisis in Yugoslavia, when hundreds of Jewish refugees first arrived in Zagreb and Belgrade and had to be cared for. A permanent Crisis Fund was established for the hour of emergency, to enable a quick and effective response.

Le'Atid offered training facilities to develop and sustain an ideal of Jewish leadership: modern management skills were taught in a Jewish traditional environment. By November 1995 the Centre had trained about two hundred people, with this integral outlook on Jewish community building, and in response to the following need¹¹: «It appears that Jewish communal organisations within Europe either deal with educational issues (*i.e.*, the transmittal of Jewish knowledge and values), or with social psychological problems (including social welfare). But the people we serve need both.» By fostering this refurbished concept of Jewish leadership, *Le'Atid* also underscored the seminal importance of a renewed Jewish personhood – or, integral self – which does not correspond to an explicit strategy of restructuring Jewish identity, but rather makes personal experiences of Jewish life collectively relevant by the mere fact of having to learn how to make them work together with new life conditions emerging in Europe.

The cultural basis of *Le'Atid*, in the differentiated Jewish communities in Europe, was much broader than the scope of the synthesis proposed by the Centre. As is indicated from a report on Women in Jewish Communities in which contemporary experiences of Orthodox Jewish women, to whom the ECJC minutes refer (Goodkin & Citron, 1994 [in source]), on the traditional ritual bath (*Mikveh*)¹²:

«Bournemouth women suggested that in order to appeal to young women, *Mikveh* design should aim to create 'a beautiful place... like a modern health club'. This view was underscored by Liverpool women who reported that this topic generated considerable interest among young teenagers. Meanwhile, some Birmingham women noted with irritation that they were not adequately consulted in the decision to build a new *Mikveh* in the town until that decision had already been taken – by the men!»

The subject of concern of the ECJC executive – when including this document among the minutes – was evidently not to underscore

¹¹ Minutes from Seminar held at an ECJC Statutory Meeting (General Assembly) in 1994: «This is not how the Rabbis imagined it! - The Jewish Family in the Year 2000».

¹² Jewish law requires women to go through a process of ritual cleansing after the end of their period and seven days of «whitening», according to the laws of the *Niddah*. The *Mikveh* is a ritual bath closing these days and marking the passage from a state of ritual impurity to purity, and availability to direct and mediate physical contact with her husband. The ritual bath has to be built according to religious specifications and must contain «living water» (*i.e.*, water from a flowing natural source conducted directly to the pool through channels that are used for no other purpose).

the importance of personal input of this type *per se*, but to attract the threshold number of users, regardless of whether they are paying members, or the Jewish Community is receiving financial aid from abroad. The crucial issue for *community services* being its threshold ability to address the detail of «needs» required to be attractive in times of peace, and for the Jewish Community to be of use in the hour of *need*. The number of members, or users, of Jewish Community services is not only important from the economic point of view, but its *competence* in brokering Jewish survival is critical for the political representativity of the organisation inside the ECJC: both in terms of securing the continuity of Jewish life locally, and in terms of being a reliable partner in the hour of need, when the best use of crisis-funds place high demands on international co-operation. This was not only the case during the wars in Post-Yugoslavia, but also in Ukraine: the ECJC minutes report the concerns of the Executive Committee as the Paris-office – in the summer of 1993 – started to receive mailings from the Jewish Council of Ukraine «...which is a separate and distinct entity from the Association of Jewish Organisations and Communities in Ukraine [the *va'ad*] which is affiliated to the ECJC.» (*book 1*).

The Care-Link was an initiative arising from the «...*ad hoc* manner in which European Jewish communities responded to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. While the ECJC Emergency Relief Task Force was created for this purpose and was successful in soliciting financial and material aid from individual communities across Europe, it became apparent that there existed no structure in continental Europe to channel such relief on a regular and reliable basis. It was essentially intended to function as a European CBF or JDC¹³. Funds could be solicited from foundations, individuals and the European Union.» It was proposed that a working group examined the possibility of establishing a fund, and the possibility of maintaining in each country a network or organisation to raise funds and be prepared to respond to the next emergency. It was further concluded that the CareLink should be a legal entity distinct from the ECJC. In the first run, President DaLe and Ex. Dir. MiMa were elected to take on the first period of CareLink leadership.

The organisational model of the CareLink was inspired by the network of «Friends¹⁴» established in support of the Jewish Humanitarian organisation *La Benevolencija* in Sarajevo, during the war on Bosnia in 1992-95. The network of «Friends» had raised a substantial amount of cash and contributions in kind, responding to the shifting reports

¹³ /CBF World Jewish Relief/ = 'Central British Fund for World Jewish Relief'; /JDC/ = 'American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee' – or, the «Joint».

¹⁴ The Friends of *La Benevolencija*. *La Benevolencija* (Judeo Español) = The Good Will. The way the «Friends» operated during the war on Bosnia (1992-95)

on current needs from *La Benevolencija* in Sarajevo. «Friends of *La Benevolencija*» committees were established in Amsterdam, Brussels, Berlin, and Munich. Concomitantly, the CareLink resulted from the wish to expand the efforts of the network to maintain a continuous Jewish involvement against ethno-religious violence as exemplified by the non-sectarian efforts of *La Benevolencija* in Bosnia. It was agreed that the existing charitable bodies would be approached to deal with situations as in Ukraine, till the CareLink was functioning.

Le'Atid Europe and the CareLink represent two distinct initiatives that received a lot of attention from the ECJC – emerging at regular intervals in the minutes of the Executive Committee from 1992-95 – which at a glance may appear to be unrelated. However, the organisation of relief in the Bosnia-crisis developed in similar areas covered by services in communities living under peaceful conditions. Thus, the variety of services, typically reaching across the private and public domains, was similar. But whereas the attractiveness of services – including religious services – were delineated in the ECJC-minutes in terms of their sensitivity to *secular needs*, the obligation to assist a community in need was invariably noted as a *Jewish religious duty*.

The extension of this duty to non-Jewish populations, by providing non-sectarian humanitarian aid, was a policy that developed by *La Benevolencija*, that became policy in the ECJC and politically correct among its country members. Similarly, the tendency of seeing community services – even in the religious domain – in their context of secular needs, is tributary of a much looser coupling between the secular/religious- and public/private- divides, than previously allowed by the formula for modern Jewish life in European nation-states: Jew at home and national citizen in public. The new formula defines a ‘front-stage’ where widely publicised consumer-identities reach well into the private sphere (beyond the public sphere of «tastes» and into the realm of reflective practices) and a ‘back-stage’ where Jewish personhood slides relatively freely between *religious* and *secular* definitions (and beyond the private sphere of «family-traditions» and into the realm of civil society). If semi-clandestinity always has been a characteristic trait of Jewish life (Blanchot), the new formula frees this semi-clandestinity of its strict *loci* and previous confines.

The religious/secular divide is no longer governed by the private/public divide, and the *indeterminacy* that instead governs their relationship grows out of the necessity, at the level of Jewish

was a fresh example of how networks can be efficient in crisis situations, and supplement the financial resources canalised in the ECJC from large humanitarian organisations of different origins: American (the JDC, or the «Joint», as the largest single contributor for the last 80 years), British (CBF World Jewish Relief) and French (FSJU Fond Social Juif Unifié).

communities, to *attract* in times of peace in order to *save* in times of crisis. To be sustainable both under normalcy and emergency, *services* must reach beyond the Jewish community. And to be sustainable in its secular and religious definitions Jewish personhood must reach beyond the private sphere. The question is: How? How does this situation come about? And, and how exactly does this re-sizing of Jewish community and personhood take place?

ROUNDUP

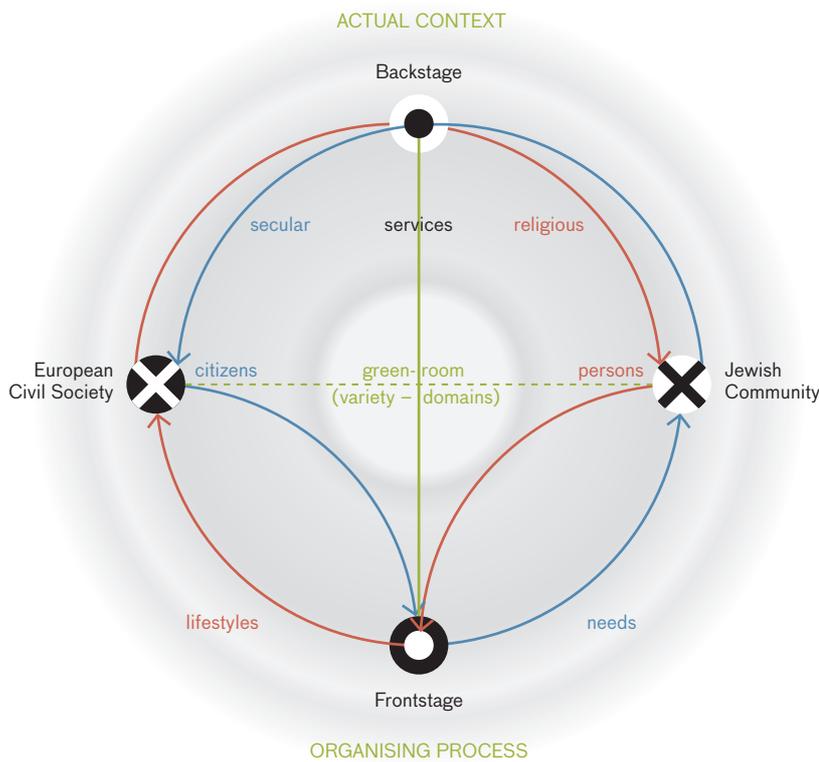
In the remainder of the present book, this issue will be analysed in greater detail. The processes of communicative interaction in which positions are created and reflected warrant the assumption of a third space between the front-stage and the back-stage of the standard theatre model (*cf.*, Goffman, 1959): *i.e.*, this «between space» in conferences – the space of coffee-breaks and corridor-talk – is here called a *green-room*. It is a teeming space with special properties deriving from its occurrence as a *structural heterogeneity* inside a larger organising process. Owing to these properties the green-room represent a – more or less recognised – affordance for reflective practice.

The green-room is the place where the actors hang out between the sets: it is a space of waywardness in which the free-play of contingencies provide the actors with a pool of enablers (that make them disposed to realise a potential that previously did not exist) allowing them to re-size their acts and adapt to an upcoming circumstance and perceive affordances. The green-room provides accelerated growth conditions for *affordances*: *i.e.*, what allows something to happen that was previously impossible. In the following schema, a suggestion is made for how a new space of services may be conceived as a *frontier* (*cf.*, Cohen, 2000), or a *contact zone* (Pratt, 1999), between the organising process and the actual context of delivery, in which affordances are generated and positions are engaged (*fig. 1*).

This elementary graph (right) features the new mind-map of Jewish identity and personhood in Europe, that emerged from the research conference in 1995, and the new sets of relations between Jewish communities and the European civil society at the frontier of services: however, at the close of this general inquiry, there are a number of questions as to whether the *re-sizing* of competencies developed in projects was a part of the affordances generated by the ECJC.

The ECJC's executive leadership wanted to communicate project-competence through its participation in the innovation of services, by operating as a facilitator, mediator and coordinator. But the project-based programming of community initiatives, as laid out at the research conference, was hinged on the planning instruments of European supranational entities: the EU and the Council of Europe. The question of the effective reach of project-based programming, beyond the sphere of interaction with the European entities paying for it, cannot be separated from the administrative efforts of the project-owners – applying and accounting for funds – that enter a complicated pattern of dependencies with these very entities. Beyond this sphere of dependency, a project may or may not be equipped to attract and serve other audiences (such as the users they are intended to attract and serve).

fig 1 – The «Orb» of Services
(Lys Graph)



In Jewish community organisations the dependency on survival carries the load of a major historical precedent: Jews must help themselves. As a shared and ongoing concern, the programming of initiatives for survival are *activity-based* rather than project-based. Clearly, the imperatives of attracting and helping – as constituent components of a service – entail very different requirements, priorities and concerns. Consequently, the joint objective of *attracting* and *helping* is managed in a variety of different ways by Jewish community organisations: and inasmuch as they fall apart, changing into separate concerns and mutually excluding alternative priorities, we would hesitate to call them *services*. On the social market services are intrinsically defined by the requirement of having to attract and serve. The difference between attracting and helping others is a difference that makes a difference (pace Bateson, 1972: 448-466) but to reach from mind to matter, the difference must be integrated: then it becomes a difference that matters (*i.e.*, properly a service).

The following sections on the programming of initiatives for regional co-operation, social welfare and Jewish education – as related in minutes of the ECJC – bring out the detail of this discussion and the book to its conclusion. The quest for a meaningful dialogue between ideas and evidence of change in Europe – in the minutes of the ECJC executive – eventually boiled down to the quest of a productive dialogue between good project-ideas and people, in different areas of ongoing activities.

CASE 1 – REGIONAL CO-OPERATION

The ECJC project initiatives, to create regional networks in the Scandinavian Baltic, Central European and Mediterranean areas, were conceived at early stage in the renewal of the organisation, from 1992 onwards. The speedy influx of member organisations from the East increased the load of urgent challenges, which the ECJC Executive Committee decided, after a period of reflection, should not be addressed and resolved in isolation. The regional projects were initiated in part to prevent such isolation, but also to create connections between small- and medium-sized Jewish communities, so as to obtain a critical mass of cultural exchange and encourage (matrimonial) matchmaking.

The pilot-project in which the idea was tested gathered the cities of Bratislava, Milan, Munich, Prague, Venice, Vienna, Zagreb and Zurich

into a Central European network. This pilot eventually evolved into the *7countries/8cities* project. The first challenge lay in establishing the communications between the Jewish communities in these cities to meet the demands of the ECJC-FaxLink: *i.e.*, the hardware needed – computer, laser-printer and fax – to operate the ECJC newsreel, the function of which is to gather and disseminate information on network-activities. The Baltic & Scandinavian regional network was next in line. And finally, the Mediterranean region that eventually came to include Bulgaria and the North-African Jewish Communities. All three regional networks were based on the idea of linking Eastern Communities with Western Communities to avoid isolating the load of challenges taken on by the ECJC – and, by implication, its members – as the process of European enlargement was gaining pace.

The Eight Cities Regional Network

«A seminar has already taken place, in which the people responsible for Jewish schools from the eight cities that are interested in the project, participated as well as an encounter between the social workers from the same communities. A framework for an exchange on commercial opportunities between professionals and enterprises from the various cities is under structuration, while other initiatives – covering the entire range of community bodies and interests – are under study.» (The Bulletin of the Jewish Community of Milan).¹⁵

¹⁵ *Bolettino della Comunità Ebraica di Milano* (09.93, my translation).

The *7countries/8cities* project was initiated with a broad and diversified agenda: fora for Jewish students in the region, the press and museum curators, co-operation on the production of common educational materials for Jewish schools in German, social help as well as a JCC-based framework for Jewish businessmen's regional network. Though activities were initiated in all of these areas, quite a few failed to take on at the level of inter-community co-operation and came back to the ECJC as pending activity-areas. The one area with a sufficient pull to warrant regional cohesiveness, however, was in the museum-sector: co-operative activities and programmes linked to Jewish Museums.

In this area it was agreed that the educational objective of Jewish museums is to reach a Jewish and non-Jewish public with knowledge of the historical, cultural and religious contexts, and to familiarise the visitors with Jewish traditions and heritage. A need was expressed to reach out to new audiences, in which mobile – «travelling» – exhibits

were considered as important as permanent exhibitions. Jewish Museums should host cultural activities and function as attractive centres of Jewish culture, a communal gathering place offering a programme of concerts, films, lectures, discussions and a place of informal interaction. A properly organised Jewish Museum should be open and pluralistic, to promote culture as a bridge between Jewish communities as well as in the relation between Jews and non-Jews. However, it was deemed essential that Jewish Museums stay in control of their activities, and reach an understanding with local authorities on the importance of the Jewish part of their own culture and that it should be recognised, preserved and supported.

To effectively reach this objective, a number of areas of practical co-operation between the Jewish Museum, and their curators, in the 8 cities, were outlined. The curators agreed that a common design template for posters used by the Jewish Museums in the 8 cities, with the names and addresses of all museums, should be prepared. It was also agreed that by sharing programme-updates every three months, the Jewish Museums would distribute a common one-page programme of museum- and cultural events in the region. Given the general interest for travelling exhibitions in the region, it was considered important to keep the exhibits within an affordable range, like photographic exhibits that only require the translation of text materials. The first travelling exhibit of this type was called *Shabbat* (Sabbath), and was initiated by the Jewish Museum of Vienna. Furthermore it was decided that a common booklet (financed on a paying-for-space basis) was announced. The possibility of a shared representation of the *7/8 Museums* in international fairs and expositions was discussed.

The Baltic-Scandinavian Regional Network

The visions for the Baltic-Scandinavian regional network were similar in scope and range as those of the *7countries/8 cities* network. The plans for the network were initiated with a conference in Tallinn (Estonia), in mid-93 – the next meeting being scheduled for Copenhagen in -95.

First and foremost, a need for information between Jewish communities was felt, and an information-centre in Tallinn – where translation-services into English, Russian and Baltic languages could be provided – was planned in order to meet this need. Otherwise, as in the *7/8* pilot, cultural co-operation was at the top of the agenda, and the 2nd

festival of Baltic Jewry was scheduled to take place in Vilnius, 1994. A meeting for Jewish librarians was planned in Copenhagen in 1994. And the *B'nai B'rith* pledged to support these activities (*cf.*, f.n. 56, *book 1*).

To promote exchange in the area – as part of the plan to promote Jewish tourism in the region as well as exchange between youth-groups – children's groups and professional groups were created. A meeting to promote such exchange was scheduled to take place in Sweden in 1993. A Jewish womens' meeting was planned to take place in Turku (Finland) in 1994. With regard to social services an agenda for issues to be raised in larger ECJC-gatherings was agreed, along with the contents and data of community-reports that were important in this connection.

Finally, a draft-concept of a Jewish Fund for the Baltic and Scandinavian Communities was to be prepared by the Tallinn Community in co-ordination with the other regional communities prior to the festival in Vilnius. And a resolution proposed by the Riga Community on the issue of compensation to the Holocaust-survivors in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia from the German government was accepted.

As in the 7/8-pilot, the cultural activities represented the major pull in the regional network initiative. The Vilnius Festival which gathered an array of Jewish cultural expressions in theatre, music, dance and cinema attracted public from the entire region, including Jews that have little or nothing to do with the Jewish Community, as well as a sizeable non-Jewish audience.

The Mediterranean Regional Network

The document excerpts from the ECJC Minutes on the Mediterranean Regional Network were all in French, and the invitation to the founding conference was directed to community professionals. In this meeting a regional newspaper – or Bulletin – was launched: the *Guécher*¹⁶ was intended for a large audience, and to be sent by the JCCs to their members. Its objective was to present practical information on activities in the region, as well as to enhance the consciousness and identity of the Jewish communities in the Mediterranean region. It was decided that each institution – or, JCC – was responsible to appoint a person to feed the *Centre Fleg* in Marseille, the *Guécher*-publisher, with interesting information. The *Maimonide* Centre in Toulouse presented the prospects of a tourist guide for the entire region, with a cost profile.

¹⁶ Hebrew Term: /Guécher/ (Fr.) =
= /Gesher/ (Eng) = 'Bridge'.

¹⁷ Ski-camps were organised by Milan for the age groups 18-30 years, Barcelona for the 14-18 age-group. A week for young musicians (age group 12-18) was planned in Marseille, etc.

The programme of activities in the Mediterranean Regional Network placed informal activities for youth on top of the agenda¹⁷. The community of Rome offered a seminar for youth group leaders – or, *Madrichim* (Guides) – and a Youth Festival. In general, the Mediterranean network emphasised the pooling of community-activities, rather than proposing a Jewish cultural programme aimed at a diffusely defined Jewish/non-Jewish audience. The *Fleg*-Centre organised a festival of Mediterranean song, music and dance in 1995, where all communities were invited to participate. Finally, the benevolent – or, charitable – societies from each Community and their families were invited to gather with the objective of advancing the regional consciousness and promoting exchange between the communities. In this purpose, each representative was asked to deliver a list of benevolent committees in their communities along with their addresses.

In all three networks the cultural output in regional mobility – coupled with matrimonial exchange – was the focal issue, though the co-operative repertoires developed in each regional project were differently sealed: (a) in the Central European *7countries/8cities* network the activities developed a thematic cluster gravitating around the Jewish Museums estate, (b) in the Baltic-Scandinavian networks the activities converged on *performing arts*, while (c) the Mediterranean network significantly focussed on its *youth culture*. These differences relate to the historical conditions in each network, with regard *e.g.* to inter-marriage¹⁸.

¹⁸ Inter-marriage = mixed Jewish/non-Jewish marriages and families.

The scope of social planning, as delineated in the ECJC-minutes, is for the formal Jewish community – the Jewish Community centre – to reach out to what is determined as the ‘substantial community’: *i.e.*, to attract the Jewish population *likely to benefit* from the services developed by the formal community (*cf.*, JASP in St. Petersburg, *book 1*), by pooling experiences of professional and voluntary Community workers, differentiating the services and insuring their quality standard. In the case of the Mediterranean regional network, the constituent component of the ‘substantial community’ is the Jewish family, in the 7/8 pilot and the Baltic-Scandinavian network it is not.

This may in part be explained by the variable power and autonomy of the Jewish families *vis-à-vis* the bodies of the Jewish Community: the power and autonomy of the family is emphasised amongst the *Sephardic* Jewry – that are more numerous in the Mediterranean region – whereas the empowerment of social and educational bodies with more autonomy

is typical of the Northern and Central European *Ashkenazic* Jewry (*cf.*, Bahloul, 1992). On the other hand, the difference may also be explained by the size of the Jewish youth-population in the Mediterranean region, their integration into the Jewish communities as well as the attitudes to inter-marriage with which they are met.

All three cultural networks were formed to enhance lateral mobility between East and West in the North, Centre and South of Europe. These regional «slices» did not encourage cultural mobility and exchange between the North and South, and were based on the assumption that territorial proximity and local vernaculars – rather than Hebrew, Yiddish or Judeo Español – facilitate cultural cohesion between Jewish communities in the Nordic, Central and Mediterranean European regions. This priority reflected a concern for the secular needs of Jews in these areas – and their authentication – but not their *levels* of Jewish culture (*cf.*, activities in the area of Jewish education p.78, which reflects its organisation as a separate non-local domain in the ECJC).

CASE 2 – SOCIAL WELFARE: EVALUATING NEEDS

When the ECJC was re-launched with a new leadership in 1992, one of the first decisions made by the Executive Committee was the dissolution of the sitting Social Commission. The function of the late Social Commission had been to formulate social policy and -projects. As the new members from the East of Europe were joining the ECJC, the challenge of poverty and unemployment at once increased and changed in character¹⁹. The ECJC engaged a massive effort to search for new solutions on the broadest possible basis, in order to (1) reach out to more people with (2) social services of superior quality.

The importance accorded to the second point was emphatic since the experience with social workers lacking the cultural understanding to work with Jews from different backgrounds, had become a growing problem, and an effort to «build bridges» was considered a prerequisite to come up with effective solutions to social problems. Another issue was linked to the lack of professional social workers needed in communities with skewed demographic profiles and an inordinate number of elderly persons. Training volunteers locally was discussed as one possible response: «While bringing Eastern European professionals to Western communities can provide valuable training, it can also

¹⁹ President DaLe noted that «... the Social Commission had in the past been a dynamic and integral part of the European Council but unfortunately became non-functioning due to the transitional changes in recent years.» (ECJC Ex. Com. Minutes).

create unattainable expectations. The task for Western European Jewish communities is not to 'westernize' Eastern Europe, but to help them to develop their own solutions capitalizing on existing resources.» The direct value of 'Western knowledge' was also questioned since «... a 65 year-old in Eastern Europe may be physically 'older' than his counterpart in the West due to different lifestyles and living conditions.»

People who live different places learn differently *how to live*, and the local art of living extends to inter-generational contacts. The idea of bringing elderly people and children together for mutual support, comfort, understanding and learning was a recurrent theme, both in the West and the East: «Helping to open school cafeterias on Sundays to provide meals for the elderly,» combined with «'foster grandparent' programmes whereby families of individuals are matched with an elderly person in the community for regular visits,» was recommended, and many – the *Joint* in particular – vouched for feasible programmes of this kind throughout the CIS²⁰ countries. Similar ideas on what can be done to initiate self-help groups for Holocaust-survivors, recordings of personal testimonies and educational programs in local schools, were discussed. The discussions in the social network of the ECJC, clearly demonstrate an awareness, among the participants, of the setting in which learning takes place: the threshold between the setting in which learning takes place and the setting in which the training is used, should be as low as possible to create value for its beneficiaries.

The discussions on unemployment were conducted on a different note. The differences between the contents of the reports on national unemployment-situations, given by representatives from Western and Eastern Europe, is as striking as the varieties of solutions proposed to meet this challenge, in Jewish Communities. The national unemployment figures presented by representatives in the social network had for example passed 10% in France and reached 15% in Belgium. The 20% unemployment rate in Poland – with its recovering market economy – was within the range of what was expected. However, in Ukraine the 10% registered unemployment rate does not make sense unless seen in relation to 1000% inflation-rate in the early mid-nineties. In crisis economies, salaried work rarely represents the major source of income: people are forced to rely extensively on multi-lateral bartering, and acquiring a job, *as such*, does not solve a problem nor create a livelihood (*book 1*).

In the Western communities, on the other hand, the all-importance of having a job, to make a living, gave rise to a number of similar

²⁰ CIS = Commonwealth of Independent States (Former Soviet Union).

course-packages in which jobless Jews were offered training in writing CVs and job-applications, job hunting and networking, voluntary work and retraining, interview-technique and change-management, time and stress management, self-employment. The French representatives, however, were concerned with moving the discussions from the number of people reached by the social sections in the ECJC network, and focussing on the ideas, effectiveness and quality standards on which social services are based and succeed in sharing with the users: in the case of unemployment, to get jobs (rather preparing to get jobs). The French wished to demonstrate that such efforts are realistic only if the mind-set of the jobseeker is changed. Their priorities and concerns reflected an innovative conception of helping users and creating an attraction for the contents of their proposal.

The French had developed a programme for individual and group training based on a method developed by Romanian born Prof. Reuven Feuerstein. The organisation spearheading this approach was the *Service Social des Jeunes*²¹ (SSJ). The SSJ was created in 1942 to save children from Nazi deportations. SSJ now provided services to all segments of the Jewish population. The agency deals globally with the problem of unemployment, offering carefully monitored, individualized assistance. Professor Feuerstein's *instrumental enrichment programme* (IEP) aims at restructuring the mental logic of its beneficiaries and was originally developed to train orphans with disadvantaged backgrounds to integrate into society. The method is based on his observation of these children: though they performed poorly on classical intelligence-tests, they gave a more performant general impression. On this background, he created a series of tests that went beyond their current knowledge, to assess what they were capable of learning. These assessments were in turn used as a point of departure to restructure their mind-sets, based on the premise that individuals are all intelligent – regardless of their level – and are capable of improving themselves, given the adequate training with a professional who *mediates* between the person and her/his capabilities.

As framework to improve employment capabilities, the course required the users to attend training-sessions of fifty minutes thrice weekly, for a duration of two years, in which capabilities of spatial orientation, analytic perception, classification and comparative reasoning, temporal relationships, the understanding of an assignment, identifying instruments needed to pursue a goal are restructured, with the purpose of improving learning capabilities. The length of the programme was argued

²¹ /SSJ/ = 'Service Social des Jeunes' (Eng. Social Service for the Youth).

by referring to the need of achieving lasting change. And the trainees of the IEP programme at the SSJ were reported to have a success rate of 75% in seeking employment (and getting the jobs).

The French contribution – spearheaded by the SSJ – was the idea which beyond comparison was devoted the most extensive space and attention, in the minutes of the executive. The skills provided by the IEP addressed the employment challenge – of «making do» – regardless of economic conditions. The French delineated a programme for the development of a *competence* in *re-sizing competence*, which combined innovation in services with a focus on the social education of the person to manage knowledge.

At the backdrop of these discussions, the *Social Commission* was re-established in 1994. The interest in re-establishing the Social Commission of the European Council was explained by the need of a «think-tank» composed of senior professionals, and chaired by a lay Executive member, to produce ideas for ECJC programming in the field of social welfare. The IEP is a case in point, since it couples (a) the need to reach more job seekers with (b) the imperative of providing higher quality services. But first and foremost it represents the epitome of what one could call *survivor competence*: connecting to local capabilities while building bridges to useful experience from elsewhere.

CASE 3 – REFRAMING JEWISH EDUCATION

The European Conference for Jewish Educators – the *Limmud* – was the first all-European conference programmed by the ECJC. The plans started in 1992 and the conference was held in 1994. Beyond the FaxLink information, regularly dispensed by the ECJC, the *Limmud* was advertised in the local JCCs and regional network-channels all over Europe, and was therefore very well attended. Because of the broad grass-root response from the communities, the ECJC became involved in the practical detail of the conference and was in daily contact with conference-participants. The conference was scheduled to become a biannual event.

In preparation for this major challenge – which was much a *rite de passage* for the ECJC – a series of consultations were initiated by the organisation in order to establish: «What are the main bottle-necks in formal Jewish education in Europe? Are there any specific experiences, recommendations or resources developed in France which could serve

other, in particular smaller, Jewish communities in the area of formal education? What, in general, could a body like the ECJC do within its limitations as a small, enabling servicing agency to enhance formal Jewish education in Europe?»

The general problem of shortage of Jewish teachers was particularly felt in Europe since the geography of small communities isolates Jewish teachers who often conduct their activities in an atmosphere of professional loneliness. On this basis it was decided that a panel of educational consultants with European «...experience and language facilities should be composed. The panel will act as a pool of experts some of whom could be sent for 2-3 days into a community with those responsible for formal education to formulate a diagnostic analysis, provide intensive consultations, respond to needs, suggest solutions and contacts, and mainly map out training programs, often tailor-made.» The objective of these consultations was, once again, to decrease dependency on outside agencies and develop a medium-term vision for consolidating the school systems. A complementary policy was developed to encourage community-based exchange of educational programmes across national borders, as an extra-curricular activity.

A major challenge was seen in overcoming the fragmentation of Jewish education in Europe, to get Jewish education out of its international isolation, and overcome the isolation of the Jewish teacher «... whether she teaches in London, Helsinki, Tallinn or Larissa.» The objective of education in the European *Diaspora* is to prevent the children from growing up Jewishly illiterate. In the history of Jewish education this in itself a cause for alarm, since Jewish education and survival are tightly linked in the understanding of the Jewish – especially, Orthodox – sense of his, or her, own purpose, as the following statement brings to the fore (excerpt from minutes):

«In the nineteenth century, Samson Raphael Hirsch pioneered the modern Jewish day school as a stronghold against assimilation. After the destruction of the Second Temple, when Jewish life lay in ruin, Rabbi Yochanan ben Zakkai predicated the Jewish future in the academy at Yavneh. After the destruction of the First Temple and the return of the Jews from Babylon to Israel, Ezra summoned people to Jerusalem and taught them Torah.

The result was that the Jews survived. They lacked power, but they had no less potent form of security. They knew who they were and why. Today, possibly

²² *Tohu bohu* is a French word relating to the noise – or, *din* – of many people talking in a large gathering of people. The French representatives were playing with the double-meaning of the word *tohu va'bohu* featuring in the first verse of the Genesis: (Gen. 1.1) *Beresbit bara Elokim et hashamayim v'et ha'arets. V'ha'aretz haitah tohu va'bohu* – and the Hebrew meaning of the words is translated by 'unformed and void' in the Old Testament («1. In the beginning G-d created the heaven and the earth. 2. Now the earth was unformed and void»). Ex. Dir. MiMa made a point out the choice of this name.

²³ Although it is lexically correct the translation of 'tefillah' with 'prayer' is problematic from the point of view of ritual practice: Jewish «prayer» is in reality a performance of a composition of many different prayers (found in *Siddurim* – prayerbooks, or 'order' of prayer) – with different language, style and genre reflecting its historical context – combined with song and movement. In other words, Jewish prayer is a musical and poetic performance, carried out in a sometimes chaotic and sometimes orderly communal setting in a Synagogue, under the leadership of *Shaliakh Tzibur* (leader) who can be a professional *Hazan* (Cantor), but not necessarily.

the contrary is true. Yes, we have emerged from our powerlessness, but do we know who we are and why? I believe that the answers to these questions are much more complex than they have ever been. And what is complex can not be easily taught. Therefore we must move Jewish education and the role of the Jewish teacher to the highest place on our Jewish agenda.»

This statement was given during a conference on Jewish education in the period between 1992 and 1994, in Prague 1995, with the purpose of bringing attention to the Eastern Communities, and bringing them out of their isolation. During this conference questionnaires were distributed to 285 educators, who attended the conference (105 from France, and 38 from Hungary). The questionnaires gathered data of two broad categories: (a) information about educators and their schools; (b) educators' thoughts and beliefs on various educational issues. Given the wealth of attitudes and orientations it was later suggested by the French that the first all-European conference on education – *the Limmud* – should have an educators' market place called *Tohu Bohu*²². An interesting detail emerges from the Executive Committee Minutes, in which the different outlook of Jewish education surfaces in the relevant units of planning: local planning committees are not drafted for countries, but for groups of cities.

When the *Limmud*-conference eventually took place in Zwolle in 1994, it gathered 200 participants from 28 countries. Small task-groups of about 10-15 participants were created for the conference-workshops, and were deliberately composed with a mix of nationalities, backgrounds and languages. The task-groups focussed on a particular educational challenge or problem, a curriculum topic «... or a set of materials, resources or media.» The topics on the programme included: teaching values and ethics; family and community education; programming with limited time and resources; anti-Semitism and dealing with the pressures of the outside world; the *Shoah* beyond Anne Frank; teaching *tefillah* (prayer²³); training educators on and off the job; history; educating in a community with no day-school; Jewish literature.

The objective of the organisation was also to create peer-groups with members working with similar topics in comparable settings, to look for links between projects, developing common programmes, apply for funding from European agencies, to assess resources and materials, and prepare for a future with computer networks.

Beside sharing these community-building instruments among Jewish educators from all over Europe, the conference hosted the *Tohu Bohu* – the *Shukh*, or market place, archetype of the *green-room* – in which Jewish educators were given some time to communicate their concerns, agendas and ideas freely, outside the conference programme structure. Once each day there was a wide choice of sessions during which experienced guests and conference participants gave demos, discussed and displayed new ideas, programmes and projects covering the entire range of Jewish educational activities. Finally, the conference was topped by the *Lishmah* track, advertised in the following terms:

«All of us have some knowledge of the basic Jewish texts. Some of us have studied at advanced levels, other have only recently begun to encounter the richness of Jewish sources. But for all of us we can ‘turn it and turn it, for everything is in it’. These sessions will be given by experienced teachers who will bring a new perspective on these sources for even the most knowledgeable among us, and bring them to life for those with less knowledge. The sessions will cover Bible, Talmud²⁴, Midrash²⁵, Philosophy, *Hasidut* and mysticism, and Prayer and liturgy. Sessions will be available in all the main conference languages. Where possible a teacher may be able to give the session in more than one language.»

After the conference, the ECJC was congratulated by both WZO Education Departments: the Heads had participated at the conference and were impressed by it. Succeeding with the *Limmud* was important for the ECJC, from a strategic point of view, since succeeding with Jewish education is a condition *sine qua non* of empowerment and having a voice on the world Jewish scene. And while Ex. Dir. MiMa was congratulated by the ECJC Executive Committee for «...bringing about a Conference of this scale and quality in a rather short time,» the energetic Ex. Dir. was already starting to plan an «...even larger sequel to the conference – *Ha Ma’ayan II* (‘The Source’) – as early as 1996.»

The range of scope of Jewish and organisational issues that were programmed for the *Limmud* in 1994, however, clearly went beyond survival, to search a way to reach for a sustainable development of Jewish education in Europe: that is, a way of combining Jewish education in the traditional sense – and its symbolic association with Jewish survival – with the change of institutional structure in Jewish education required to be considered relevant and eligible for funding from the EU.

²⁴ *Talmud*: Jewish early jurisprudence (work closed in the 6th century C.E. [common era]) classified according to topics.

²⁵ *Midrash*: Jewish early jurisprudence, classified according to Biblical themes (referred concretely passage by passage to the Bible).

²⁶ *European Encounters I* (1996) was heavily represented by the B'nai B'rith districts 15 and 19, and was dominated by projects of economic development in North African Countries (*i.e.*, linked to the EuroMed or, Barcelona process)..

²⁷ The code of Jewish law Shulkhan Arukh was printed in Venice in the mid 16th century C.E. (*book 4*) and contained the opus magnum of Joseph Caro, including the *Mappa* of Moyshe Isserles of Cracow, with the most important Ashkenazic Minhagim (Customs).

²⁸ Hebrew term: /Midor Ledor/ = 'From Generation to Generation'.

²⁹ The new constitution pledged:

(a) to provide a forum for inter-European planning and co-operation in areas of education, culture, and social welfare.

(b) to enhance the quality of Jewish life through the development of community institutions and to assist through targeted training the skills necessary for the implementation of policy making, budgeting, staff development and other communal management issues.

(c) to alleviate poverty and distress for Jewish people in Europe

During a workshop devoted knowledge-sharing on ways to secure EU-funding – *European Encounters II*²⁶ in Brussels, 1998 – Prof. JoWe, who was successful in obtaining funds from the TEMPUS-programme and ventured the establish two centres of higher learning in Judaica, in Venice (Italy) and Crakow (Poland). Venice and Crakow are two traditionally important centres of Jewish learning and publishing²⁷. Though the teaching-methods were to be traditional, the admittance was non-sectarian and the certificates given credits at any European university. JoWe's emphasis in his four-year application process to the EU was on the importance of placing the Jewish heritage among the contributing traditions to European civilisation (Eisenstadt, 1997).

MIDOR LE'DOR²⁸ – A NEW GENERATION OF EMPOWERMENT

In 1997, the politicisation of the ECJC was marked by a certain number of institutional reforms, as it changed its name from European Council of Jewish Communities' Services, to European Council of Jewish Communities (September 1993).

«A discussion ensued concerning the name of the organisation. Upon recommendation of the Executive Committee, it had been recorded in the new Constitution²⁹ that 'This organisation shall be known as the European Council of Jewish communities (ECJC)'.»

A remark was made to «... the apolitical nature of the ECJC, noting that political statements take a long time to have effect. Our goal is to provide aid and support while awaiting a political solution.» (DaLe, President of the ECJC).

However, with the emergence of EU governance – involving an increasing range of NGOs – the boundaries between the 'political' and the 'nonpolitical' became increasingly blurred. And when the post-Soviet and WWII restitution came up as a strategic issue at the ECJC research conference in Strasbourg (1997), it became clear that the mobilisation-power of the ECJC was an informal political factor with which explicitly political organisations – like the World Jewish Congress (WJC) – had to count: in fact, the ECJC was the only competent organisation on the type of non-state politics that was emerging in Europe with the EU.

In the early summer of 1997 Gen. Secr. IsSi (WJC) intervened at an ECJC research conference, where the restitution issue was one item on a crowded agenda. He addressed the plenary of invited conference participants, including the European Jewish Communities' leadership,

with an appeal. The appeal was not on the official programme, and was directed towards Central- and Eastern- Jewish representatives primarily. The contents were directed at establishing the historical legitimacy of the WJC in taking care of the rights of Jews all over the world, in direct dialogue with their governments, and to have spoken and acted for Jews behind the «iron curtain» in the days of the Soviet Union, in particular.

However, as the responses were returned by representatives of Eastern communities, they were explicitly concerned with the forms of co-operation, communication and co-ordination on the issue of property restitution (which was the understatement of IsSi's address) and made a very clear statement of the perception that the European network, and the ECJC as a facilitator, was of utmost importance to enhance the *quality* of the relationship and connection between (a) local communities in the countries where restitution processes were conducted, and (b) the efforts of the WJC at the international level.

Under the circumstances, the response was an act of solidarity with the remainder of the ECJC countries, and the number of influential individuals – including members of the ECJC Executive Committee – that gathered at the Executive Council conference held by the WJC in Oslo in the early winter of 1996, to come up with a collective stand on the restitution issue there (Bruland and Reisel, 1997). The day-to-day management of the process of clearing the questions concerning post-WWII restitution lay heavily on the shoulders of local communities, even as the cases were conducted on behalf of a much broader Jewish population, with background in the country but now living abroad. It was argued that without co-ordination of the process with communication and consultation at the grass-roots level of European local communities, the WJC interventions would not be tuned to local political conditions, and could cause political damage to the Jewish population living in Europe, in their relationships to their governments at the national level and as a European minority.

Thus, objections to the WJC bilateral – country-by-country – approach were given a normative expression, reflecting the reality of the network of Jewish leadership in Europe which, by this time, was highly operative. The sensitivity and compliance to the European political conditions, conversely, increased the potential of the local Jewish communities to partake of the financial resolution, wherever they were brought to conclusion in such terms.

Though the European Jewish response was largely in support of the WJC initiative, it was explicitly critical of the WJC's autocratic style of

leadership, and this was one step towards a politicisation of the ECJC which was outside – and even contrary – to the ECJC’s formal agenda, at the time. The gentleman’s agreement with the EJC (European Jewish Congress) – which was created as a branch of the WJC in 1986 – not to duplicate efforts in their activities, committed the ECJC not to concern itself with «political» aspects of Jewish life in Europe, but concentrate on the development of community services. The degree of involvement of Jewish communities in civil society and day-to-day obligations to Jews elsewhere, however, is a consequence of «europeanisation» whereby an increasing number of general issues also had become Jewish issues.

In the early stages of the ECJC networking, the German Jewish Communities were outside of ECJC activities, on account of the massive influx of Eastern Jewish immigrants – from Russia, in particular – did not even attend an ECJC conference on absorption held in Antwerp in 1995, and nurtured institutional ties with the EJC primarily. Early in 1997, the WJC held another Executive Council conference in Berlin where a number of Eastern- and Central- European leaders were invited.

Eventually, when Secr. Gen. IsSi later made his intervention in Strasbourg (*supra*), this is where he had to go in order to talk to a full assembly of Jewish European leaders – according to the widespread understanding among the participants: in this sense, the ECJC had – in its own vernacular (*supra*) – succeeded in building a ‘substantial community’. At this point the German Jews had become more active in the ECJC, and increasingly operative in the network.

As a political «victory» this turn of events was rather ambiguous: the reluctance from the ECJC, as an organisation, to take on the proceeding of restitution-processes was not only related to its formal competency vis-à-vis the EJC, the dialogue with national governments being by definition outside its province, but its substantial concerns with the possibility that the entire issue could lead to the increase of anti-Semitic sentiments. As a consequence, the ECJC vouched for methods of a mainstream European NGO.

On the other hand, by making the network operate on the restitution issue – as a grass-root initiative in the ECJC – the Jewish leaders behaved like European citizens, whose particularity was to have the *Shoah* on its record of personal and historical experiences. In spite of the increase of its *de facto* influence on the internal management of the restitution issue, the ECJC included a caution of countenance

and politeness in the public image of its connection to this process. To accommodate German sensitivities, the programme activities of the EU relating to the fight against xenophobia and anti-Semitism in Europe did not include an agenda for historical projects concerning the events of WWII³⁰.

³⁰ Personal communication from a Head of Division in the EU-Commission.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

By the close of the 1995-97 period, the ECJC had moved from (a) Jewish European politics, as spearheaded by Diana Pinto in 1995, to (b) European Jewish politics, as voiced during the encounter with WJC Gen. Sec. IsSi in 1997. By virtue of having become familiar with the *modus operandi* of European politics, it moved beyond to become an actor in Jewish politics on the world scene (with its American and Israeli counterparts). The ECJC never claimed a formal political mandate; yet it became an actor as the political buffer between local and global players. In fact, it was the *only* organisation with the initiative to manoeuvre into place a new space-time of interim policies, procedural intelligence and governance that emerged from the process of European political and economic integration. By 1997 the ECJC had become an attentive and responsive network-organisation, operating at a high speed, whose activities – however – were difficult to trace: both in terms of local Jewish community-impact and in terms of harbouring conclusive results as an international organisation. The competence of the ECJC was (a) to monitor the large pool of resources in the organisation – regional, social, educational – [macro-capacity] and (b) canalise it, with good timing and a hands-on understanding of local and cultural conditions [micro-dexterity], to where it was needed: but without operating the controls at either end of the process. Its impact compares with the Stoics' definition of influence: a drop of wine in a glass of water (Guérin, 1992).

If the ECJC had acquired a process-competence that was difficult to document, it depended on the recognition of the parties it had served, to whom the evidence of the ECJC's impact was concrete. But for this reason it was also vulnerable to the contingencies of remembrance and human forgetfulness. The work carried out by organisations like the ECJC is not invisible – however – since it is publicised in readable reports, at conferences and through informal channels: but it is difficult to account for, and therefore this type of work can slip from evaluations of its *de facto* effectiveness, and terms of success and/or failure. Thus,

the objective of establishing a way of accounting for the ability of effectively joining (a) *macro-capacity* with (b) *micro-dexterity* is taken on board in the travelogue – as a major target – and will be pursued in subsequent books.

The issues with which the case-examples from regional co-operation, social welfare and education were introduced earlier in this book, however, can already be rounded up in some detail. As already noted, the need to attract and to help represent *a priori* discrepant values and concerns were both felt by the ECJC-executive: yet, they somehow combine and make up essential features of what we may understand, in a general fashion, as *services*. A *service* that attracts without helping is not adequately characterised as such. On the other hand, a *de facto* capability to help that does not attract users is inoperative. Therefore creating a sufficient attraction, in order to help, is a type of transaction that intrinsically defines a service. However, the priorities of *attracting* and *helping* only can serve a front-stage definition of services: they do not address the affordances and the actual context.

In fact, attracting and helping are better understood as an output from the transaction that takes place on the back-stage of services between (a) the capacity of pooling resources and the timing of their allocation; (b) the dexterity in acquiring a hands-on knowledge of local and cultural conditions. Attracting and helping combine synergetically whenever actors succeed (1) at making their logistic capacity and their human skills – or, «dexterity» – communicate [*i.e.*, helping], and (2) at communicating this «communication» to others [*i.e.*, attracting]. Parties that depend on each other because one has the capacity and other has the dexterity, may be assisted by a third type of player with the competence of re-sizing the two parties' competencies, in order to initiate the transaction and establish a workable synergy. The process of re-sizing may succeed or fail, and is represented here in the following graph (*fig. 2*).

Of the cases presented earlier in this book, only two of three cases can account for a transaction, in the above definition: the social welfare case and Jewish education case both succeed, while the regional network case fails. The social welfare case succeeds – in the sense of being accountable – because it includes (a) local knowledge, (b) pooling of resources and (c) resizing-competence, as triangulating policy elements: this is what can be expected of an extended search-conference of the type presented in the case, and in a think-tank (*e.g.*, the Social Commission).

The Jewish education case succeeds because the building of a pool of experts in Jewish education (capacity) and the first-hand knowledge of the loneliness of Jewish educators (local knowledge), are interfaced by arrangements for an educators' marketplace – a *Shukh* – which, in the graph below, features as the 'green room'.

In the regional network cases, these elements become conflated and difficult to separate. With more documentation this appraisal could change. However, in the copious materials made available by the ECJC executive – in the minutes themselves or adjoined to them – no such attempt was made. Furthermore, the accountability of the two other cases does not pay tribute to their success beyond being accountable: that is, an important criterion for a further discussion of their substantial success/failure is fulfilled. The empirical processes in which *conditions* for discussions of success/failure are created, deserve more attention;

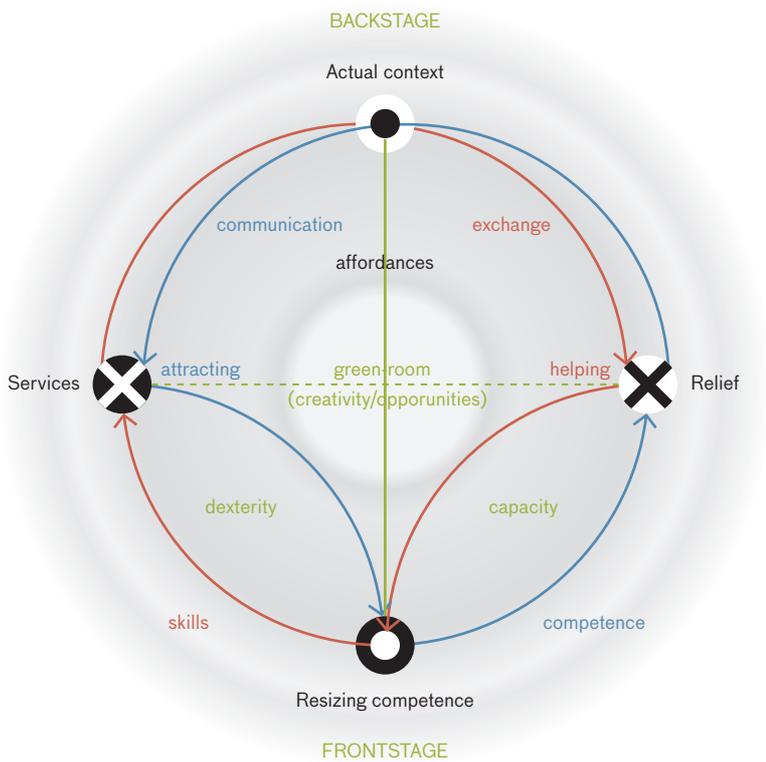


fig 2 – The «Orb» of affordances (Lys Graph).

and so do the processes in which such conditions fall apart (and foster indeterminacy). The capability of *integrating difference* therefore may usefully be considered a distinctive feature of processes that generate an *affordance* for discussing success/failure, while the lack of capability annuls this affordance: dissent may be a constructive part of a discussion in the context of co-operation, or it may foster the disengagement of relationships in an organisational stalemate.

The ethnography of the travelogue from Zagreb and Sarajevo will be used to analyse these two prototypes of generative process, in further detail. The programme for this analysis, discussed in the present book, is outlined in a model of communication: while (a) the communication between dexterity and skills constitutes the *effective procedure* without which a service is inoperative, (b) the effective communication of this capacity to users is the condition for its *social existence*. In this model of two-tiered communication the two elements either can operate in synergy, or they can disengage from one another. When they are synergetic, the two tiers of communication form a compound that defines the *ritual*: that is, a synergy between two tiers of communication – the one effective, the other existential – that makes an *event* surface as an *experience*.

This broadened notion of ritual – reaching beyond official ceremonies, though certainly including them – may draw attention to some issues that otherwise are difficult to comprehend: evidently, a number of operations – that are successful in conjugating *capacity* with *skills* – may take place without our knowing about them. When made aware of this possibility we have no way of deciding the scale, or magnitude, of such operations. On the other hand, our experience may be completely out of proportion with an event: hence, the possibility of *re-sizing* and the problem of bringing competence, in this domain, *down to size*. Diana Pinto's speech, discussed earlier in this book, up-sized the research conference in 1995 to European proportions. On the other hand, in 1995 the ECJC could be down-sized to the two full-time employees that were interviewed for this book in the basement of a fashionable address in London³¹.

A third alternative is to define the operations of the ECJC as those involving the skills and capacities brought to the table by a much larger group of personnel than the two professionals from London (though certainly including them). The cases presented earlier are examples of this. Presently, this view can be argued as not more than fair. And it

³¹ The European Jewish claim for autonomy and emancipation on the Jewish world stage was the cause and banner of Ex. Dir. MiMa. When his years of service for the ECJC were terminated he moved to his home-country Germany and became the Director of the Jewish Community of Berlin.

apprehends the ECJC as a *synarchy* – a system of joint rule – that the model of two-tiered communication may serve to delimit. Nevertheless, the real challenge lies in *describing* the dynamics of mobilisation of such networks in the context of real events, and the processes whereby an experience of these events are formed and conveyed by the group. This will be done in the following book, in the order of procedure described below.

POINT AND COUNTERPOINT

Whilst *book 1* is written in an experience-near fashion, the present *book 2* taps into the *political events* of reorganisation in the ECJC. In the books to come these two approaches are combined in a reflective way, in order to catch the productive aspects of the combination. This combinatory feature is of major importance, since actors combine their record of events, and their experience of these, by following a variety of productive itineraries. These productive combinations take place in processes of interactive participation and exchange between actors. And on this basis, the processes described and analysed in the ethnography related in the following books, are understood as *generative* rather than interpretive.

In *book 3*, on the Jewish community of Zagreb (*cf.*, the *7countries/8cities project*) a generative analysis is developed from ethnography on the breakdown and subsequent regeneration of affordances (*i.e.*, to attract and help users). In *book 4*, this process is modelled by placing it in a ritual context: in the broad sense defined above and the religious sense proper. In the same book the inherent capability of a religious ritual – the Jewish Passover, or *Seder*, ritual – to span affordances through the series of transactions it contains, is analysed in a step-by-step fashion.

Book 5 is devoted to a testimonial account of how the humanitarian activists of *La Benevolencija* in Sarajevo experienced relief-work under the conditions of war on Bosnia, from 1992-95. Finally, *book 6* is devoted to the record of events from that war in the *Joint's* country representative's personal archives in Paris, and how the affordance to *attract* and *help* was generated by a number of synergies between logistic capacities and human skills, building a global capability in which the *Seder*-ritual was integrated into a process of two-tiered communication.

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS

(*In order of appearance*)

Niddah (Hebr.) = Separation (when ritually impure)

Madrichim (Hebr.) = Guides

Limmud (Hebr.) = Learning

Siddurim (Hebr.) = Pl. of *Siddur* (order [of prayer])

Lishmah (Hebr.) = For its [the Torah's] own sake

Talmud (Hebr.) = Early jurisprudence of Jewish law (completed ca. 200 C.E. and 600 C.E.)

Midrash (Hebr.) = Seeking out (interpretations and stories)

Hasidut (Hebr.) = The tenets of piety (cf., *Hassid*)

Ha Ma'ayan (Hebr.) = *The source*

Midor le'dor (Hebr.) = *From generation to generation*

Shukh (Hebr.) = *Market place*



BOOK 3

THE ZAGREB ALMANACH

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Locating the Jewish community in the urban landscape of Zagreb

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CHIEF ACTORS IN BOOK 3

1. SK – Urbanist
2. NePo – Former President of the Jewish Community and Croatian diplomat
3. JaBi – Jewish businessman and operator
4. SiGo – Former President of the Jewish Community, liberal politician and editor
5. OK – President of the Jewish Community (sitting)
6. HK – President OK's mother
7. Z – President OK's sister
8. ToFr – Young Jewish artist
9. ZdSt – Elderly Jewish physicist
10. Fux – Ministre of Research
11. MiMi – journalist (general and JC publications)
12. ZG – journalist in Feral Tribune
13. IgGo – historian (SiGo's son)
14. JD – journalist and human rights/ecumenic activist
15. LU – Director of the art Paviljon
16. MiSi – Fundraiser
17. MaZa – former/would-be Cantor
18. W – Honorary President
19. Dr. S – doctor with roots in Bosnia, and ambitions in the Zagreb JC
20. MoMe – Cantor (Shaliakh Tsibur employed as Hazan)
21. MiWi – leader of the religious section
22. DuSt – leader of the Youth Group
23. R – animator, your theatre director
24. MiBi – social section volunteer

25. BraPol – President of the Salom Freiburger Association

26. SoMA – Former President OK's secretary, subsequently JaBi's personal secretary

27. RoRo – florist

ENTITIES:

JC – Jewish Community (the institution – distinct from the substantial, or empirical, Jewish community)

JCC – Jewish Community Centre

Salom Freiburger Cultural Association (Zagreb)

Novi Omanut – Newspaper of the Salom Freiburger Cultural Association

Bilten – News bulletin of the Jewish Community.

Motek – Magazine of the JC Youth Group.

Habonim Dror (visiting from Budapest) – The Builders Freedom, secular cultural Socialist Zionist youth movement.

HDZ = President Franjo Tujman's political party – the Croatian Democratic Union (Cr. Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica).

BOOK 3: THE ZAGREB ALMANACH¹

«Modernisation was not forced upon the citizens of Zagreb from the outside. It started developing from the inside. Young specialists appeared who studied in Vienna, in Prague, Budapest, and some of them in Paris too. These young people who went abroad were coming back, and they were given positions in all kinds of institutions. The 1870s is the beginning of the *Gründerzeit* in Zagreb. So, this is the period in which the need for national differentiation and emancipation started to develop. Not only here but in the entire Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This national emancipation couldn't be expressed politically, so it was expressed culturally.»

(SK, Urbanist, Zagreb)

THE URBAN SPACE: OPEN AND CLOSED PUBLIC PLACES

Between the lower slope of Sljeme in the North, and the bed of the river Sava in the South, the Croatian capital squeezes East-West alongside the railroad-track, where the modern city was built during the *Gründerzeit*. The Mediaeval quarters at the foothills of Sljeme – midway along the stretch – rise above the plain, on two fortified mounds. These two townships on the Medvednica hills had separate jurisdiction till the middle of the 19th century: on the one hand Gradec² with the Parliament and the civil institutions – a residential area of the distinguished older families of Zagreb, or *Purgers*³ – on the other hand Kaptol, the Catholic Bishopric. Between the two mounds, the artisanal quarters secured the economic life-ways of the city before the late 19th century *Gründerzeit*. The residential suburbs are divided between (a) the mansions⁴ of notable families in the forest clad hill-tracks above the three cities, and in the plain hither the railroad tracks – on both banks of the river Sava – where (b) the high-rises built after WWII tower with their numerous inhabitants. The 20th century habitat spreads into the flat country of

¹ The *almanach* [in this spelling] is a denomination that has been used for the list of ruling aristocratic houses of Europe (the *Almanach of Gotha*), people who made acquired fame during the French Revolution (*Almanach des Gens de Bien*), the revolutionary calendar, listing information on chronological and cosmological events, unusual events, periodical cycles in nature and prophecies for the coming year.

² Gradec, or Gornji Grad (Croat.) Old City.

³ 'Purger' stems from German 'Burger', enters a larger vocabulary of Germanic terms, which is characteristic of the Croatian spoken in Zagreb. The use of the term 'Purger', furthermore, is largely situational and carries an oblique political load. Gradec, which is the residence area of our reference - 'Purger', is the stronghold of the ancient bourgeoisie: in 1355, Dante Alighieri's grandson Nicolo founded a pharmacy there. 'Purger', however, can also mean a supporter of the once Dinamo football team.

⁴ The palace of the President of Croatia Franjo Tuđman was one of these domains.

⁵ HDZ = The Croatian Democratic Union (Cr. *Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica*).

⁶ The football club of *Dinamo* – the football team of the city of Zagreb – had been renamed the Football Club of Croatia, by presidential decree, which was subject to contestation by the citizens of Zagreb. The blue striped scarves and hats are a sign of urban patriotism, and political contestation. The mayor was eventually not merely approved by the HDZ, but selected by the ruling party: the opposing parties could not come to an agreement on the terms of their opposition to the HDZ, which by the HDZ was characterised as ‘illogical’.

rural areas towards the national airport. An initial step of restructuring this part of town is a high-tech National Library, which was the pride of the prevailing political power in 1996, since 1991 – the HDZ⁵. Still, this area remains a ragged boundary-area, where the city gradually dissolves into the countryside. There are two frontiers in the city: the *Gründerzeit*-frontier from the hills to the railroad, and the Post-WWII frontier – hither the rails – within and beyond the perimeter of the river Sava.

The Jelacic Square, which is at the crossroads of the three «historical» cities, is the Public square of Zagreb *par excellence*. It is situated where the valley separating the two Mediaeval citadels lands on *Ilica* – the longest avenue in Zagreb, parallel to the railroad, stretching out the full length of the city: an urban boundary demarcating the *Gründerzeit* city from the foot-hills of Sljeme to the north, as the railroad-tracks on the slopes the river Sava demarcates the *Gründerzeit* city to the south. The City Hall, built in the historicist architecture of the *Gründerzeit*, is placed at the gates of the old city: it gives unto the Jelacic Square – midways on the full stretch of *Ilica* – and is a privileged locus of political demonstrations: such as the demonstration in support of Radio101, when the HDZ Government had withdrawn its licence and financial support in the Fall of 1996. The Jelacic Square – like a number of public spaces in Zagreb – is part of an urban situation with clear functions, contrasted by a correspondingly diffuse political situation in 1996/97. The Radio101-demonstration was a case in point: an independent radio-station broadcasting pop-music and light talk-shows mobilised an odd crowd of football supporters and urban intelligentsia, or *Purgers*. Appeals in support of the legally elected Mayor – which the HDZ had not accepted – were accompanied by the lighting of candles, and *Dinamo* supporter songs⁶. Inside the city, the football supporters from the 20th century suburb like to call themselves «*hooligans*», while on the national football arenas they are known as *Purgers*. The two categories of *Purgers*, in reality, represented two types of political empowerment in Zagreb.

The main marketplace in Zagreb is uptown from the Jelacic Square, towards the North between the two mediaeval citadels, and is the area allocated to people coming in from rural areas to sell vegetables, fruits, meat and merchandise. Below the Jelacic Square, the parks and squares of the *Gründerzeit* city gather educational, scientific, and cultural institutions side by side. This urban space grew alongside the development of *liberal professions* and *fine arts* during the modernisation

of Zagreb⁷. This modern bourgeois substratum of the city concludes with the Hotel Esplanad, in the South, by the railroad. It yet constitutes the most prestigious ballroom establishment for receptions, masked balls and marriages.

Finally, in the northern hills of Sljeme, the well-preserved Mediaeval Fort of Medvedgrad towers over the city. In this elevated stronghold the present government built a monument called the 'Shrine of the Nation': an epitaph commemorates the sacrifices and independence of Croatia. The significance of this location is double: on the one hand the Fort is part of the archaic symbolism embraced by the nationalist government; on the other hand the effective defence of Sljeme during the war of 1989-1991, was of great strategic importance (the city of Zagreb was hit on 5-6 occasions with minor impact).

The buoyant cultural life of Zagreb, is characterised not only by a particularly assiduous attendance of concert halls, theatre scenes, museums, galleries, coffee shops, news press and books, but also by the public character of this culture. It features, in the eyes of the citizens, a *public* culture and – the corollary – a culture of *publicity*. Every New Year, the largest daily newspaper (*Vjesnik*) publishes a canon of the greatest author, the musician, the artist (etc.) of the year, based on the opinion of fifty select connoisseurs. This window-dressing of cultural distinction in mass-media is representative of the visible signposts left by the cultural bourgeoisie in public space: they are gate-keepers of urban arenas that are at once – paradoxically – public and exclusive, while placing these selective arenas into a democratic framework of mass-media communication. And the existence of the cultural establishment may be felt at each major cultural event: their appearance is a manifestation of an incessant social sanction – or, quality control – on education, professional performance and design. The Arts *Paviljon* is the epitome of these civil institutions: it is neither a museum – in the sense of having a basis of permanent collections – nor a gallery; neither does it exhibit unknown contemporary artists. Rather, it is a place reserved for retrospective exhibits setting the standards for good art, authentic artists and rare pieces. In the context of the right wing authoritarian government of Tudjman's Croatia, however, the mass/street alliance also gave voice to a criticism of the state of human and civil rights that succeeded in getting media-attention.

Thus, the discretionary power of «high culture», generally, in its ambivalent relation to State authority, is defended by the gatekeepers

⁷ Newer architecture inspired by Le Corbusier is also found in the lateral parts of the modern city.

of *critique*: *i.e.*, the power of select cultural wardens defines the civil category of urban personhood – the bourgeois citizen – by impressing an external framework of moral standards upon a broader section of educated citizens, with a number of presuppositions on how the moral person of the educated bourgeois is thought to correspond with the inner qualities and life of an aesthetic vision. It presents us with the challenge of understanding personhood; not in terms of cultural history in Zagreb, but by reference to cultural *histories*, as the major relevant dimension of the construction and management of a ‘public face’, maintained by social sanction. The possibility of exerting such civil pressure submits the educated individual to a certain number of constraining factors.

Thus, the relative autonomy of this civil prerogative – in relation to State power – the guardianship of «culture» and the social management of cultural entitlements, defines a public space of a particular type: the *closed* «public places» of distinction (*cf.*, Bourdieu, 1979), in contrast to the *open* «public places» of demonstrations (*cf.*, Touraine, 1997). The most typical member of this establishment is the educated petty-bourgeois that rose to prominence after WWII, with the establishment of the Socialist State of Yugoslavia, and the demise of the bourgeois class proper – whose members were the authors of the Modern high culture. The most salient feature of the Jewish Community of Zagreb is that it claims a place inside the Modernist cultural elite (*i.e.*, with an international level). Within the Jewish Community, however, one feels the presence of members who – for pragmatic reasons – at the time of the independence associated themselves with the sphere of political influence, in which the nationalist party HDZ exercised state-power. The young Croatian state (1991) was characterised by an oligarchic ownership-structure after the recent denationalisation (privatisation) of socialist state assets. On this background there was a certain internal division inside the Jewish community, before and during my fieldwork in 1996/97, as to what kind of members of the Croatian society Jewish people should be: how to be different while integrating the difference. How did the Jewish community enter the fabric of open and closed public places in Zagreb, in the context of the expanding city and political change? The community had members that were *Purgers* of both categories, and their co-existence inside the JCC⁸ was not easy.

⁸ JCC = ‘Jewish Community Centre’.

PART I

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY: BETWEEN SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS

The urban divide of *street-wise* and *educated* Purgers in 1996 had its equivalent inside the Jewish community and featured a generation gap between the youth group and the adults. At that time, the young males were the first people a newcomer to the Zagreb Jewish community was likely to meet: at the *security booth* by the entrance on the ground floor, the ORT⁹ computer-centre in the basement, the café-bar at the first floor, or the youth club at the third top floor.

The typical young male member of the Jewish Youth Group cultivated an active interest in football, and the Jewish Community had its own *Maccabee* team¹⁰. A number of the young men were also supporters of *Dinamo*, and prided themselves of being «Hooligans», *Blue Bell Boys* or *Purgers*, in the football-supporter sense. They connected with a network of Croatian Army volunteers with whom it was understood – as in the remainder of former Yugoslavia – that Jews «...had no part in this war». During the war this was relatively unproblematic, because the international arms embargo on Croatia created a situation where there could be no general mobilisation, and to be a volunteer for the Croatian Army was the prerogative of a privileged few. Consequently, the bulk of the youth group was sent by the Jewish Community – or, individually, by their parents – to spend a year overseas in the US (Cherry Hill, New Jersey) from 1991-92, without losing face as *Purgers*, and without their status as city patriots being seriously brought to doubt: they could leave and return with dignity. Though Jews were not considered, in the ethno-religious sense, as Croats, they were considered as authentic city-dwellers – legitimately voicing urban patriotism – and were considered in this specific sense as Croatian citizens.

In 1991, one of the rare physical impacts in Zagreb, during the recent war (1989-91), occurred at the Jewish Community premises: a bomb exploded inside the confines of the Jewish Community on the Palmoticeva street, and destroyed – or, damaged – the entire building and most of what was in it, with the exception of the Jewish library. No casualties, however. After the explosion a spontaneous demonstration mustered in support of the city's Jews, and 3000 citizens (non-Jewish) made the symbolic walk from the cemetery to the main political square of Zagreb – the Jelacic Square. The police

⁹ ORT – Society for the Promotion of Handicrafts and Agriculture among Jews, created in St. Petersburg in the 1880s, with the permission of the Tsar. Later concerned with other forms of practical training, such as currently computer training (*book 1*).

¹⁰ The Maccabee movement was initiated in response to the exclusion of Jews from participation in sports – national teams and international competitions, in particular – which was the case in most European countries, till WWII. Thus, a growing concern with health and fitness that was the hallmark of sports, in general, the *Maccabee* movement was founded to offer the same possibility of developing a team spirit and international competition for Jewish youth. In some countries, there have been some local teams known as «Jewish teams», such as Tottenham (UK) and Ajax (Netherlands). In the current setting, however – and, in Zagreb, particularly – the *Maccabee* movement is a Jewish «old-timer» which does not have the progressive ideology as I did in the past.

¹¹ The *Ustasha* was the Fascist Croatian organisation in power during WWII (the NDH – the Independent State of Croatia), led by Ante Pavelic. The anti-Federalist position during the recent war included a fairly heteroclitic category of ideological positions, sharing the one view that the Federation of Yugoslavia was utterly dominated by the Serbs: in the administration, the army and key positions in society.

¹² The President of the Jewish Community – Mr. NePo – was later appointed Minister Counsellor at the Embassy of Croatia in Washington D.C. In this circle of Community Leadership, one of the Jewish toughs JaBi won renown by breaking the blockade against Dubrovnik in 1991, bringing in food and medicine. He did this by using a Jewish Community flag which was specially designed to look like an Israeli flag from afar. JaBi maintained an admiring relationship to Defence Minister Gojko Susak, and became a wealthy operator during the war. He was instrumental in clearing the way for the Jewish refugee convoys which started to come from Bosnia in 1992. In his vision people ranked in toughness and generosity, rather than by political ideals. He later went into the business of buying debts while operating on behalf of a known American credit-card company, and created a lot of havoc in the daily newspapers by hiring a Boeing 747, to celebrate his wedding with an air hostess.

¹³ The English translation came out in 1996 (original in 1988-89). It was not available in Croatian English bookstores. However, the President of the Jewish Community, received a copy with Dr. Tudjman's dedication. The original estimates the

investigation on the explosion was concluded. And the *official rumour* was that it was the work of Serbian saboteurs, whose intent was to fire up sentiments against the alleged *Ustasha*¹¹ – as the Serbian state propaganda had branded all Croatian anti-Federalists – to create a public opinion against the nationalist government in Zagreb – abroad, as well as inside the country.

The Government of President Franjo Tudjman was quick to allot a lump sum of four million *Deutsche Mark* (DM), for the rebuilding of the Jewish Community facilities. Though this gift was welcome, it also heated internal divisions on what kind of Jewish community was to be rebuilt in Zagreb. The debate eventually went public in the daily newspapers, and the members of the sitting Jewish Community Presidency – maintaining good relations with the Government¹² – were accused of embezzlement and lack of both religious and cultural vision. This highly irregular situation came about in conditions of national crisis when the inflation-rate was 1000% and the newspapers periodically gave voice to anti-Jewish calumny. The Jewish Community premises, however, eventually became lavish – with a luxurious interior design, decorations of Jewish artwork and a high-tech *security* control-booth at the entrance. In many ways, the collective shock and sense of disaster provoked by the explosion, and the money that provided the JCC with the opportunity of a new start in Post-Yugoslavian Croatia, fed a paradox that was typical for the relationship between the Jewish community and the Croatian society at large: the JCC became empowered under conditions of a continuously perceived threat.

The trouble of discerning articles written against Jews in the press from plain anti-Semitism was pervasive and recurring. The President Tudjman, reputedly a doctor in history, wrote a series of statements that were offending to the Jews in the book *Horrors of War – Historical Reality and Philosophy*¹³. These were subsequently removed from the book, but only in the English edition, I was told. In the same period, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was published in several editions, without government intervention, but was sold in numbers making it a best-seller during a short period, and characterised by Tudjman as a «... unique document of political discourse». This typology of *genre*, without actual reference or dismissal of the contents, is a case in point. The news that police stations in Herzegovina were adorned with portraits of *Ustasha* leader Ante Pavelic (from WWII), were similarly not subject to public dismissal by the Government. But, rather, such expressions

were characterised, in general comments to a series of similar events, as cultural expressions of national sentiments to be treated with some *bonhomie*, and not to be taken too seriously. A special care was taken not to offend the sensitivities of the Hercegovinian substratum of the Croatian population: Herzegovina being at once the stronghold of Croatian nationalism, the bastion of Defence Minister Gojko Šušak, and the border coastline adjoining the Bosnian Republic¹⁴. While the President sought to appear with some cultivated amusement when pronouncing himself on such incidents, and their related topics, his long-term concern was simultaneously the Croatian definitive *exit* from the «Balkans», in order to join the family of Central European nations.

Finally, President Tudjman launched the initiative to create national monument at the WWII extermination camp Jasenovac. His idea was to create a *Monument for the Reconciliation of all Croats*, by burying the bones of the now dead camp gaolers together with the concentration camp victims (Serbs and Jews). This idea of posthumous intimacy between opposed parties – victims and executioners – was repugnant to the local Jewish Community, and to public opinion abroad. However, it was part of a broader interest in Jewish things expressed by the President, who always appeared at public events organised by the JCC. This sense of affinity was grounded in a set of nationalist ideas according to which Croats – like the Jews – are a Biblical people. Not only in the sense of having suffered in exile, as the Croatian Diaspora (*sic!*) during the socialist period, but also in terms of etymological research, displayed in propaganda materials, arguing for the antique origin of the Croatian people as documented by Hebrew, Sumerian and Ancient Indian sources¹⁵. The Presidential policy of laying strife aside and sharing into the ancient glory of legend and myth, had a constitutional bearing in Croatia; the declaration of Croatia's existence – as a polity – from the seventh century was promulgated by the national constitution.

The type of association proposed by the HDZ-regime presents a number of difficulties for the Jewish Community, however. On the one hand, the cosmogony of the Croatian people, cherished by the sitting regime at the time of my fieldwork, had some striking similarities with historical bearing attributed to legends and myths of origin by the *Ustasha* during the NDH¹⁶ – which, as far as the Jews are concerned, was but a criminal genocidal regime¹⁷ – and a number of identical symbolic expressions: as, significantly, the monetary unit (the Kuna) and the Croatian names of the months in the calendar. Thus, the friendly

real figure of Jews dying during the *Shoah* to about 1,5million (personal communication HK, while she was reading the book).

¹⁴ In the human landscape of Zagreb the Hercegovinian politico-economic entrepreneurs – many of whom were in construction – were quite visible from their unpolished manners, gaudy suits, white socks and mobile phones. They were known among the citizens of Zagreb to be linked up with the HDZ network. The deceased Defence Minister Gojko Šušak was born in Herzegovina in 1945, emigrated in 1969, and returned as a wealthy Toronto Pizzeria owner in 1989.

¹⁵ An official Croatian tourist guide exhibited samples of ancient Croatian script: I noticed it was written in Hebrew turned upside down. I disregarded this oddity for some time, but I later saw it as typical of a pattern of exchange in which the need to communicate on things Jewish is accompanied by the denial of the need to know Jewish things. Hence, the proliferation of irreverence and irrelevance keeps on returning to the same address, and forces the recipient continuously to clean her doorstep of empty packages. It is the pervasiveness, exuberance and repetitive character of irreverence-cum-irrelevance – rumours without addresser but with a clear addressee – that produce the sense of threat and historical precedent in the recipient.

¹⁶ Croatian term: /NDH/ = 'Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska' (Eng. *the Independent State of Croatia*, 1941-45).

¹⁷ 75000 were registered before the Ustasha genocide, 15000 survived (catalogue of the wandering exhibit *Jews in Yugoslavia*

via, Muzaejski Prostor, Zagreb). There were about 50 camps distributed over the Croatian and annexed territories during the NDH (1941-45); the most known being Jasenovac and Stara Gradiska.

association with the Jewish Community desired – or, indeed, demanded – by Tadjman’s government, was not possible without dealing with the thorny issues of WWII. On the other hand, a too close association with the regime could not be cultivated by the Jewish Community on account of the association it desired and maintained with the cultivated modern bourgeoisie, which has some historical basis: since Jewish architects and musicians, doctors and lawyers, designers and entrepreneurs were prominent during the *Gründerzeit* till WWII. The Jewish struggle for public recognition, in *this* domain, went along with internal debates on anti-Semitism of another type, concerning the Jewish paradoxical access to and exclusion from full recognition and bourgeois distinction.

Yet, there is no doubt that this association represented a shared desire and dominant identity-policy in the Jewish Community of Zagreb, during my fieldwork. From the demise of the Yugoslavian Federation, to the early days of the Croatian Republic from 1991 onwards, the Jewish Community had changed its presidency several times, and the line of succession is an indication of how the members of the Jewish Community saw fit to present themselves as Jews in the larger society: the liberal-left JC President SI Go voluntarily ceded his place when he elected into the Croatian Parliament: he was succeeded by nationalist NePo, who was in turn relieved by President OK. The latter JC president was the only one to be elected twice after independence, and belonged to the educated petty-bourgeois group with a history of low-profile Party-affiliation during the socialist period. The Government’s reminiscing nationalism gave rise to an activity on contemporary cultural arenas that provided the Jewish Community with opportunity to discover its friends and enemies.

The Jewish Community, thus, had to conduct its public policy at the cost of keeping a precarious equilibrium, since, on the one hand, it was caught at the cross-fire between the symbolic struggle¹⁸ over the urban space in Zagreb, and for a recognised rank of prominence among notables appearing at cultural events, inauguration of exhibits, musical events, etc. Hence, the debates on the renaming of streets and squares, after independence: as the Square of the Victims of Fascism which became the Square of those who died for Croatia, and a number of similar examples, were the subject of attention and debate in the Jewish Community. Though few of the daily newspapers – such as the *Vjesnik*, *Panorama* and *Globus* – were explicitly critical of the regime, the press – stronghold of urban liberty – was independent. The *Feral*

¹⁸ These struggles were *symbolic* in the sense of searching for a *modus operandi* of taking the city into possession after the Croatian independence in 1991. During my fieldwork the process of denationalisation of property had already taken place – leaving the former public wealth of the Yugoslavian Federation into the hands of about 200 families – and the government policy was

*Tribune*¹⁹, *Novi List* and the *Tjednik* were overtly critical. The HDZ government, on the other hand, had quasi-monopoly on audio-visual media. And the type of political events enjoying popular impact were generally not tuned to articulate debates and high learning: after the rumour spread that the Croatian President Tudjman – on account of an etymological analysis of his name – meant «foreigner»²⁰, he exclaimed during a public appearance: «Thank God, my parents were neither Serbian nor Jewish!»

This oblique reference to the genocide combined with the implication of a good Croatian pedigree, was typical of the ambiguous rhetoric employed by the President, his government and the HDZ. And serves, in way of introduction, to illustrate the small possibilities for manoeuvre the Jewish Community had at its disposal: during the period of my fieldwork the leadership was steering between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*. On the one hand, Jewish participation, in external and internal fora, was committed to the personal discourse of liberal professions, cultivated name-dropping, public appearance and official presentation of personal competencies inside the Jewish Community. On the other hand, it was committed to establish a Jewish religious platform – after the demise of socialism – that was sufficiently traditional to be accepted by Jewish communities abroad, and at the same time avoiding to be perceived on the domestic arena as an *archaic* residue, brought to fruition by the Croatian State. The strategy of survival was to associate as much as required with the Croatian State, and as much as possible with the modern cultivated bourgeoisie.

This is the backdrop on which the processes inside the Jewish community are analysed, in the present book. The processes of securing and allocating economic resources significantly involve the brokerage of *personal competencies* – which reflect, for the greater part, the prevailing life conditions and external economic realities – but also require *personal discreteness*: a taste for the withdrawn charm of inner experience with an extremely intense, and emphatically private, character. These key-experiences are nonetheless of capital importance to develop an understanding of the moral integrity of Jewish personhood, in the Jewish Community of Zagreb, and the cross-generational tensions to which it was subjected – almost daily – inside the community space. The challenge of integrating of the differences between young and old, gravitated around the question of what kind of Jew the community should set up as an ideal for its members, and

about to consolidate the new relations of private ownership by inviting foreign capital to invest in Croatia. Thus, the terms of settlement of the recent war, as in the aftermath WWII, were significantly those of internal mobility in Croatian society. The Government had essentially acquired a capital during the war of 1989-91, and during my fieldwork was attempting to take it into possession.

¹⁹ The *Feral Tribune* is a tabloid size irreverent and satirical gazette – it was popular in cities and had a large distribution.

²⁰ Tudjman = lit. 'foreign man' or 'stranger'.

also what kind of Judaism. When I arrived, anti-Semitism – primarily – unified young and old, while when I left it was clear that the Jewish Community was going to hire a Rabbi. Between the «old-time» and «new-school» Zagreb Purger, distinguishing the old and the young at the JCC, the process of *unfolding* and *enfolding* Jewish personhood in Zagreb became the research-question that was pervasively reflected back to me in my fieldwork.

KRISTALLNACHT

November 9th 1996 a small delegation gathered at the Jewish Community premises to drive off into the war-ridden landscapes – towards Slavonia – and attend commemoration of the *Kristallnacht*²¹ in the camp area of Jasenovac, where Serbs, Jews and Gypsies had been submitted to mass killings, during the NDH period (1941-45). The museums had been looted by the Serbs during the recent war, and it was claimed that the marshy camp-area was subject to considerable military strategic attention: the Croatian Army had defended the area from fear that the Serbs might destroy it and subsequently blamed the Croats and subsequently use it for «anti-*Ustasha*» propaganda. All that was left in the museum-hall, at the gate of the camp area, were shreds of photographic posters depicting the horrendous evidence of violence against human physical integrity beyond imagination during WWII. Sidelong the empty exhibit-area, a cinema-hall, in which the *Ustasha* camp personnel watched their own killings on film, was transformed by the recent war into a desolate ruin in which rows of benches were the only remaining indications of yesterday's sadistic acts. On, the windy path through the field of reeds, towards the enormous concrete monument, built during the socialist Yugoslav period, a serpentine of people from a human rights organisation, the Gypsy organisation and the Jewish Community, strolled with muffled conversation till the circular enclosure of the monument was entered. The ceremony was short with few speeches. The head of the Gypsy organisation first intoned a song in Romanès, and then in Hebrew – *Hava Nagila*²². The Jewish President OK, wearing his black *yarmulke*, kept silent.

After the ceremony, the small gathering had been spotted by the local Croatian police-force: the tiny troop with machine-guns caught up with us at the gate and announced that our group was under arrest. An informal interrogation was conducted to clarify the purposes of the

²¹ *Kristallnacht*: November 9, 1938 – Synagogues were ravaged and then burned. Jewish shop windows were broken. Jews were beaten, raped, arrested, and murdered. The pogrom rampaged throughout Germany and Austria. Police and fire-fighters stood by as synagogues burned and Jews were beaten, only taking action to prevent the spread of fire to non-Jew owned property and to stop looters – upon Heydrich's orders.

²² *Hava Nagila*: old Hassidic tune to which Abraham Z'vi Idelson wrote the lyrics in 1918, to celebrate the British victory in Israel and the Balfour Declaration (transl. let us rejoice and be happy) in 1917.

group, for having entered a restricted area. The affair was clarified by the President OK, who mentioned a few influential connections, but mainly got through to the local police-corps by a display of bonhomie, and good-natured chit-chat: «No harm intended, we all have to live together, this is a peaceful gathering... and we are leaving now.»

In the evening, an exhibit was opened at the Jewish Community gallery – on the top floor of JCC in Palmoticeva str. – with pictures of Charlotte Salomon who, like Anne Frank, had been living her days of hiding and waiting, during WWII. Charlotte Salomon recorded her day-to-day observations and experiences in a diary: Charlotte Salomon had chosen the artistic medium, expressing her talent in gouache, and her pictorial series were subtitled with her own texts written in German. Charlotte Salomon was eventually deported to Auschwitz. Some more people had joined our group, and the speeches were the same as earlier only in shuffled order; the President OK speaking last, short and concise – as during the TV- and radio-broadcasts from the event, which was at once inaugurating the exhibit and introducing the debate on the state of Human Rights and anti-Semitism in Croatia, taking place downstairs, in the conference-hall at the second floor, after the inauguration. Hosting this broadcasted arena for dialogue was a source of prestige for the JCC, primarily among the educated urban bourgeoisie within which human rights and minority issues were a subject of concern, reflecting – in this way – the values and positions of an elite with limited national impact.

As Croatia entered the Council of Europe, the Croatian President Franjo Tudjman expressed on domestic TV that it is «... yet too early to speak of Human Rights in Croatia.» The country was still in a post-war situation, not sufficiently secure, to monitor and ensure human rights claimed the Croatian Government. However, beyond the daily recapitulation of recent history on TV – summing up what happened that in the years after 1991 – the internecine warfare in former Yugoslavia was conspicuously absent from public debate. Instead, WWII-topics were strikingly salient and ever recurring in the debates on politics and identity in Croatia²³. The news of political killings taking place daily, the insecurity of moving about in rural areas, and the logistics of illicit trade in the backstreet-alleys of Zagreb²⁴, came in muffled voices, in a polity publicly enchanted with nationalism – whether by subscription, or contention. In the eyes of informants, the hegemonic political discourse effectively smoke-screened the core issues of economic justice – fairness and equity – under the prevailing conditions of Nationalist

²³ See, for comparison, the *book 5* on Sarajevo.

²⁴ A non-Jewish Croatian businessman, with whom I conducted a background interview, wanted to do straight and honest business. He explained to me that he used most of his free capitals to insure the logistics of his services and trade items, and to find out the solvency and precedent of his customer in paying dues. It makes it very difficult to invest, he explained, for the time being.

²⁵ The term 'ethnic Jews' is used to determine people who are considered by others and consider themselves as Jews. During the fieldwork period in 1996/97 the Jewish Community of Zagreb was not a Rabbinical estate, though a process was in course to accept a Rabbi and to be accepted by a Rabbi.

Newspeak (Orwell), though such concerns were frequently expressed in everyday conversations. The discussions at the JCC, however, were rarely concerned with minority issues *per se*, and had predominantly a more general – humanitarian – orientation: when concerned specifically with Jews, discussions engaged with details of Jewish history, and the need to reach a broader audience with this knowledge.

The following ethnography is an account of life *by fragments*, in which the construction of personhood will be explored through a series of episodes related by ethnic Jews²⁵ in Zagreb. The episodic style was imposed by the constraints of doing fieldwork in a city, but is also chosen to give the reader a sense of the JCC as a particular type of place: *i.e.*, the movement back and forth between the private and public sphere, which – in the case of Jewish citizens – passes through the interstitial space of the Jewish Community. I became interested in the JCC as a symbolic crossroads – or, a hub – between general morality and Jewish ethics (Margalit, 2002), and the process of integrating the difference between the private and public spheres that generated a variety of moral trajectories and careers inside the JCC. In this book, the JCC scene therefore includes an arena of a particular type: a *green room* – *i.e.*, a teeming-place where actors gather between the sets, relaxing and shifting gears, between the front-stage of narratives and the backstage of power tactics, providing materials on processes of communicative interaction, and exchange, that can be analysed generatively.

At the public front-stage, cultural events were major *foci* of attraction during my fieldwork, and the intellectual distinction vested in them included little concern for the economic conditions required to produce such events. Economic conditions were systematically under-communicated in the public sphere, though they were a source of perpetual private concern. The present book's focus on *turbulence* in the JCC, therefore, conveys an attempt to explore how the troublesome back- and front-stage management of change, originates from the dynamics of communicative interaction at the JCC-hub, -hinge, or -«between-space». The noise and unrest of this interstitial space is that of a potential space – alternately creative and destructive – and to grasp its dynamic a three-step between the private space, the public space and «the *green*» will be used all the way – in different orders – to mature the argument inside the ethnography.

THE PRIVATE SPACE – BETWEEN FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

As a preliminary arrangement for my sojourn in Zagreb, I received accommodation in the flat of President OK's mother HK, who had recently become a widow. Her flat, on Jabukovac str., was located in lower forest-clad foothills of Sljeme. She eventually became my landlady during my entire stay in Croatia. An elderly and retired lady, she could look back on a career as a Hospital Director, and was elected Minister of Health under President Tito, in the late 70s early 80s. She belonged to a generation who, by virtue of being retired, were confined to domestic spaces, and of whom it was tacitly accepted that they would remain Yugoslavs for the rest of their lives. HK was early at relating these values to me, and related one of her recent experiences of odd encounters between nationals of former Yugoslavia during a conflict, which – in her eyes – was construed.

She presented herself to me as a person living a withdrawn life in the flat, surrounded by her lush greens: she was choosy and severe with whom she called her friends. But it so happened that a lady, whom she had befriended at work, was an identical twin: her sister had married in Venice, and she herself had a Serbian lover. As she had injured her knee her twin sister had come up from Venice, to care for her during the recovery. HK went to pay her a visit – for once, without phoning in advance – to make her the surprise and comfort her. The visit started on note of confusion, since it was her twin sister – whose existence HK ignored – who opened the door: HK made her entrée without noticing the difference, and thought she was her friend. In the light-headed atmosphere following the initial *quid-pro-quo* – the intended surprise and the resulting mix-up – a bottle of whiskey and some glasses were brought to the table «...and we started gossiping about men – as women frequently do,» HK said chuckling.

The twins eventually asked HK if she had a lover. She said no. Really? No, never: and if she ever were to remarry it would be with her deceased husband, whom she still adored. If not, it would be another Jewish husband: «And, if not Jewish?» the twins persisted – then, HK answered a bit outraged, it would have to be a Serb! Hearing this reply, they covered her with invectives, and exposed a choice of anti-Serbian prejudices: «...they are culprits of the worst kind, murderers and bastards!» – HK looked curtly at her watch and said «I think I have stayed a bit too long!» Upon leaving she encountered the Serbian lover,

coming down from upstairs. She asked him, outrightly: «Did you hear anything?» He gave her a short bow – *I would like to compliment you on your taste!*

HK's point was to convey a sense of the contradictions – and the utter incomprehensible character – of the recent war: proclaimed values and actual practices were contradictory, and the contradictions unpredictable. In HK's story, women's talk turned into war-talk. The uncontrolled hatred was expressed by her former friend and twin sister, who were both were highly educated, and by no means enthralled by President Tudjman's «Newspeak». Nevertheless, their outburst was on par with a situation – in the aftermath of the war – in which people were less inclined to receive and visit people *at home*. The domestic space traditionally being the sanctuary of relaxation – and détente on civil etiquette – in which a lavish and ostentatious consumption was *a must* whenever guests were received at home. In the absence of this panache, social gatherings in the home-sphere became constrained and explosive.

The economic system under Tito's regime was liberal, she explained, though allowing a real market-competition. Through his non-Alliance policy Tito managed to secure huge international loans for the Yugoslavian Republic, and the pink mixture of socialist economy operated an elaborate system of subsidies, which turned out to produce considerable economic differences between the Federate Republics. The war between Serbia and Croatia – and, later, the war on Bosnia – was regularly described to me by HK, and other informants, as an economic war concerned with dividing the spoils of a no longer viable regime: nationally, to be sure, but also, perhaps more importantly, internationally. At the macro-level, international money was no longer pumped into Croatian economy, but into building the open society, democratic and European institutions, cultural and research establishments.

Peoples' private economies did not allow to represent personhood on family home-stages anymore: so, bourgeois people preferred to meet in coffee shops, cafés or one of several cultural areas in Zagreb. In these milieus Slavenka Drakulic was admired and criticised as a *dissident*: both for her account of how they had survived communism (Draculic, 1992), and for her implacable description of Croatian identity in terms of how they currently were reorganising their consumption (Draculic, 1996). For Jewish people and their friends, the Jewish Community was one important arena for families to get together, at the occasion

of various social encounters: (1) by lack of resources to of carry the expenses of feasts, but also because (2) such encounters had been regular throughout the Yugoslavian period, and were habit and custom.

As for me, I was integrated as «member of the family» as an act of friendship from HK (with the rights and obligations derived from this in the Jewish Community setting). Like other Jewish homes I visited in Zagreb, HK's house was full of plants and cacti: a jungle, in her own words – she was a lover of order, and a nature-lover. Being a member of the family, in her view, was first and foremost an allowance for liberty, to feel welcome and well received in her home: «I am different from my late husband,» she said «I could live in Zagreb, or anywhere else, but not in a city where I had to wear a yellow star.» Her comment upon hearing the news-reports on the HDZ-Government's statement that it is too early for human rights in Croatia: «*Che porcheria!*» – what a pigsty!

THE COMMUNITY SPACE AND ITS FUNCTIONS

The premises of the Jewish Community Centre were located in one of the 18 apartment-buildings owned by the JC, before WWII. All of the JCC real-state was located in the *Gründerzeit* city. Behind a heavy doorpost – adorned with a skillfully crafted *Mezuza*²⁶ – a high-tech security booth with bullet-proof glass, and a shuttle-door used whenever larger groups were entering the building, after due inspection of invitation cards and IDs²⁷. Above the ground floor there were three more, that were accessed either by elevator or a monumental staircase, softened with a grey velvety carpet. The most prominent social spaces were on the first and the second floor. The café and the conference-hall one floor up from the ground-level, were adjoined by large areas, that were used for various cultural functions and receptions. At the second floor, specifically *Jewish* functions were accommodated: the Jewish Library and the 'Temple' (*i.e.*, the *Synagogue*). All doors, glassworks and artistic wall-decorations in the building were made by ToFr: a talented a young Jewish artist.

The gallery of the Jewish Community, which was moderately visited and frequently used for other purposes²⁸, was located at the third floor, alongside the Youth Club and a corridor of adjoining offices with the Salom Freiburger²⁹ Cultural Association, the office I shared with the Community newsletter *Bilten* (later *Kol*), the office of the Social Section,

²⁶ A *Mezuza* is a parchment with Hebrew inscription fixed to door posts of a Jewish dwelling, inside a cylindrical container marked with the letter *Shin* (for *Shaddai*, the Almighty). The scroll contains the *Sh'ma* Israel («Hear, O Israel...», Deut. 6.4) and a second passage (Deut. 11, 13-21), with the injunctions to love God, to study *Torah*, to read the *Sh'ma* twice daily expressing the uniqueness of and calling upon the unity of God, as well as to wear *Tefillin* (Phylacteries – or, black prayer straps with cubic leather container with the letter *Shin* one for the arm and one for the head – containing the same passages as the *Mezuzot* plus two passages; Ex. 13, 1-10 and Ex. 13, 11-16), and fix *Mezuzot* to door-posts and gates of Jewish confines. As they are worn and fixed the contents of *Tefillin* and *Mezuzot*, thus, are, as it were, self-obviating artefacts (their contents are proclaimed while being worn and installed, and the contents enjoins Jews to wear, install and proclaim them).

²⁷ These security arrangements vary in terms of high-tech equipment but are by no means unique to the Zagreb, nor the other Jewish communities in Post-Yugoslavia. Relatively thorough security controls are found at the entrance of most JCC in Europe, and, to most people who come to the JCC, it is something they are used to.

²⁸ Such as the Womens' Group aerobics class.

²⁹ Salom Freiburger was a 'Neolog' Rabbi ('Neolog' is Reform Judaism, similar to *Masorti* or Conservative) who, despite the fact that his connections with the Catholic Archbishop Aloisius Stepinac of Zagreb had the occasion to flee the country, chose to follow fellow Jews to Auschwitz.

³⁰ Cf., book 5, the testimony of the *Engineer*.

³¹ I.e., the same lot that, at other occasions, would pose as 'hooligans' and Dinamo football-supporters (supra).

and the office of *The Joint/La Benevolencija*³⁰ which was about to close down and eventually be replaced with the fund-raising enterprise of the Community (*Magèñ*). In the basement the Womens' Group hosted a workshop for handicrafts (mainly pottery), while the ORT Centre offered a park of computer-consoles, used by the Youth Group, mainly – with the exception of the prominent retired physicist Professor ZdSt – for mailing, word-processing, surfing on the net, and courses in simple programming held by a computer-whiz group, who prided themselves of being 'Nerds'³¹, included both Jewish and non-Jewish individuals.

Walking up the stairs from the basement to the ground-floor one could take (a) left turn passing the main entrance to the offices of the Presidency – the President's office, the Executive Director's Office, and the Honorary President's Office used for receiving official guests – and the Hall of the Community Council, or (b) right turn to the Kindergarten, the accountant's office, dealing with all payments in and out of the Community, alongside the archives of Community members. The first aisle (a) was where the JC politics were made, while the second aisle (b) was important in defining my status in membership-terms at the local community.

To account for my presence to the Croatian authorities, I was attributed the status of *voluntary worker*. This followed from my coming to Zagreb on the recommendations of a Norwegian Jewish lady, a fellow member of President OK's in the ECJC Executive Committee, and on good terms with him. As a result, I could not rent an office outside the Jewish Community building, as was my original intention (to get access to a broader section of the Jewish population with a presumably larger sample of the Jewish population that did not go to the JCC nor benefit from its services). This was the result of a series of measures for my 'protection', which were not communicated directly to me by President OK: living with his family, I also was under his responsibility. Such security measures were communicated to me by people who, in their personal capacities at the Community, had been delegated a responsibility for me: when I was invited by the Youth Group for a pick-nick in the Sljeme hills, the first weekend after my arrival, the outing was called off on account of the insecure conditions presently prevailing in the Croatian countryside: people with war-psychoses, still armed, were roaming about put our and prospected pick-nick in jeopardy. This is how the cancellation was handed down to me. Both the invitation and the cancellation were communicated by one of the Youth «Hooligans»: Dinamo supporting Blue Bell Boys – at the security booth.

When I subsequently insisted that I should pay for my office on the third floor, this was done in order to pay a tribute to the Zagreb JC, not being a member, in order to secure my right to participate in the moral community, and not suffer the overprotection of a «guest». My presence was then cleared with the Ministry of Science, where I gave a brief *exposé* of my fieldwork project, and subsequently encouraged to apply for a research grant. After having reassured the Minister Fx of the independence of my research funds, the logic of successive redefinitions and evolving dependencies placed me as an ‘international person’. The process of my positioning inside the JCC, thus, is conveyed by this story of step-by-step navigation in the matrix of dependencies between actors, which is of methodological importance since fieldwork under urban conditions, of this type, requires the anthropologist to engage in a series of transactions that generate an *affordance* for fieldwork. Other transactions would have generated a different affordance, and they therefore need to be put on the table, for the reader’s reference.

My negotiated identity created some problems when I later attempted to hire an assistant (who would not work for me unless receiving salaries that professional interpreters were receiving at the UNESCO). It was considered arrogant by some of my would-be assistants, that foreigners came to Croatia only to «... show their money..» Finally, after a series of aborted attempts to integrate me into the educational structures of the Community – using to the template of ‘voluntary worker’ – I was situated in the fabric of sociocultural relations at the Jewish Community when I gathered a little group of artists and intellectuals in my office, a *Jüdisches Lehrhaus* (Rosenzweig), to host a workshop – leaning Judaism from the inside – and by authoring a few essays on selected Jewish topics for the *Bilten*, the *Novi Omanut* (Freiberger), the *Motek* (journal of the Youth Group) as well as for President OK³². In sum, my activity shifted from attending a passing security issue to one defined alongside the other services provided by the Community – which accounts for the type of osmosis the emerged between my activities in the JCC and the ethnographic record – while sharing into the semi-clandestine personhood of Jews in Croatia. The work to accommodate my needs and to define a way of serving others, had to strike a balance in order to justify my presence in the JCC. I struck a balance between *othering* myself and *servng* others: one possible equilibrium among a number of possible alternative equilibria. All the same: the specific balance I struck between these two requirements during my fieldwork must

³² Such as preparation for radio-interviews on circumcision (*Brit Mila*)

necessarily constitute the co-ordinate reference for my observations and the ethnographic worlds drawn up in this book.

To get my office in an operative condition and become integrated into the community as a social anthropologist, I had to be situated in the fabric of socio-cultural relations as something different than a 'voluntary worker': in effect, I became a hybrid – at once a voluntary worker and at the same time part of the JCC elite. This otherwise impossible combination made me exempt of many of the entrapments that constrained everyone else, and gave me a considerable amount of freedom. This accomplished, I could assure my own 'security' – and accommodation – through independent networks, when I later left to do comparative fieldwork in Sarajevo.

³³ These are the Festivals, or *Hagim*, of the Jewish ritual calendar [only the Biblical and the Rabbinical festivals are included here]: *Rosh Ha-Shana* ('Head Cycle', or New Year), *Yom Kipur* (Day of Atonement), *Succot* (Festival of Booths), *Shemini Atzeret* (Solemn Assembly), *Simhat Torah* (Joy of Torah), *Hanukkah* (Festival of Lights), *Tu Bi Sh'vat* (New Year of Trees), *Purim* (Lots), *Pesah* (Passover), *Lag Ba'Omer* (33rd day of the Omer Count), *Yom Yerushalayim* (Jerusalem Day), *Shavuot*, *Tisha B'Av* (Destruction of the Temple). The Jewish ritual year is in reality composed of two cycles starting exactly 6 months apart and weaved together in a complex way (but with many easily recognisable correspondences) by the Festivals or *Hagim*.

³⁴ The *Luah* contains information on festivals, weekly *Torah* portions and commemoration of deceased persons and family-members on the day and date of their passing on (Yid. *Yortzeit*): this personal dimension of particular dates is extended by small donations to the Synagogue offered by the close family members of the deceased on that day.

THE ALMANACH

After WWII – in socialist Yugoslavia – the gatherings for the Jewish Holidays at the JCC had taken on a secular character. Yet, the rhythm of the Jewish year followed the pace of the *Luah*: a little booklet, to which all members of the Jewish Community are entitled, with the dates of the Jewish festivals (*Hagim*³³); the days given by their fixed place Jewish lunar months are indicated alongside the dates of the common year³⁴. The moving dates of the Jewish *Hagim* in the solar year, however, do not migrate through the entire cycle of the solar year, as do the Moslem lunar dates. The calendar year is alternately corrected every two or three years, with a cycle of full correspondence running over 19 years. In effect, the Jewish-calendar remains obliquely referred to the solar year. The resulting annual chronology is at a slight difference with the solar calendar, and the Jews in Yugoslavia were always aware of the phase difference separating the Jewish Community from the rest of society – with its subaltern rather than contentious notion of 'Jewish time'.

As the Jewish festivals lost foothold in the domestic sphere, the time of the ritual calendar mainly became the time of the Jewish Community: as a result of (1) emigration to Israel after WWII and (2) the secularisation of the Yugoslavian society, in which a policy of religious tolerance was exercised from 1954 onwards. The JCC became a place for everyday socialising and occasional parties: the calendar became the backbone of a number of leisure-activities organised in connection with Jewish *Hagim*, such as games of chess, bridge and ping-pong. The children- and youth-camps – in winter and summer – remained an institution facilitating and

encouraging dating among young Jewish couples, and also provided a Jewish educational framework in this period. However, in the latter half of the 1980s, during SIGo's presidency, there was a revival of interest in the pre-WWII Jewish cultural heritage, culminating with the wandering exhibit *The Jews of Yugoslavia* (1989 onwards), which gave an impetus to the establishment of the Salom Freiburger cultural association, the revival of the pre-WWII periodical *Omanut* (i.e., the periodical *Novi Omanut*, from 1993 onwards), single publications as the *Mishpokhe* – the chronicles of 26 prominent Jewish families, facsimiles of older publications, originals from activities in Rabbi Freiburger's time, reports on anti-Semitism and Jewish demography, *Novi Liber* (SIGo) as well as the irregular edition of the youth-magazine *Motek*, the *Bilten (Ha-Kol)* that started from -87 and became regular after -89.

These media are less of interest here as traces of past events – or, historical documents – than as *imprints* of a process of ongoing cultural diversification inside of the Jewish Community, in the years immediately before and after Croatia's independence: i.e., a period of remembrance activities among the Zagreb Jews. The Jewish *Almanach* – a generic concept for the anthologising of articles, on the full range and miscellany of Jewish essays, activity reports, traditional and academic topics and professional careers – will provide us with a model of the diversification in consideration³⁵. This type of occasional expanded versions of Jewish yearbooks have occurred at critical junctures of change in Jewish lifeworlds³⁶, at which the specific sample of cultural units selected for these, are not merely concerned with the tracery of *origins*, but are prospective in their concern with *outcomes*. Therefore the *Almanach* is here used as a concept for (a) a panoply of texts, (b) a range of cultural events and (c) the generative dynamic that produces this form of diversification³⁷ (fig. 3):

³⁵ The genre of the *Almanach* was explained to me by MiMi during an interview, as an extended and more elaborate version of a Yearbook, that had been published at irregular intervals. Like Joseph Patai's *Almanach* in pre-war Budapest – *Mult et Jövös*.

³⁶ Joseph Patai (1994). *The Middle Gate: a Hungarian Jewish boyhood*, Philadelphia: JPS.

³⁷ The *Almanach* is here used in a sense close to Derrida's (1967a) core definition of *différance*: a difference that produces differences – we also recall him stating (*ibid.*) that the *différance* differs; in other words, there are contingencies within the workings of *différance* that challenge accountability: (1) responsibility as pending on the ability to respond, and (2) responsibility given the ability to respond. I will return to these issues and how they impinge on search and accountability in *book 4*. This critical understanding of the *Almanach* contrasts with local understandings, in that: (a) the *Almanach* was part of a symbolic economy of distinction; (b) the self-deconstructive workings of the *Almanach* were below the threshold of the actor's awareness and recognition that may clarify the workings of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1979) in this economy.

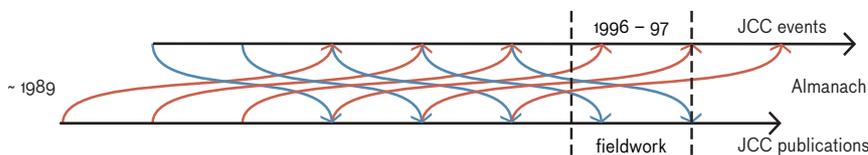


fig 3 – the *Almanach*: the compound cultural activity at the JCC

The majority of the cultural events of the Jewish Community took place at the Centre. The publications of the Jewish Community also were issued from the Centre. As a single locus, the JCC therefore provided the *Almanach* with *the unity of time and place*. Concomitantly, the space-time of the *Almanach* is the *theatre*. A theatre, in the present definition, is conceived as a whole: it comprises a front-stage, a backstage and a *green room*. While the events at the JCC took place at the front-stage of the theatre, the publications were backstage affordances. The green room serves to characterise the teeming-spaces where people and actors hang out between the sets.

As a green room, the JCC constituted one of the arenas of mundane gatherings that kept multiplying in Zagreb after 1991. In this mundane environment, the JCC naturally offered a *front-stage* for a special selection of topics: Jewish cultural and historical topics – to be sure – and contiguous topics (e.g., the *Kristallnacht*). The JCC-media feature a *backstage* of disseminated scripts and disparate readers, among the members of the Jewish Community and their friends.

To pursue the theatre-metaphor, the *actors* and the *audience* are overlapping groups: yet, they are separated, in the sense that (a) the cultural events and (b) their publicised doubles, though neighbouring constructs, only communicate mediately – through individuals – in a sign-production that winds up in *cultural narratives*: the concept of *agonist*³⁸ will here serve to characterise individuals as subjects of these narratives – i.e., actors and audience alike – and produce the negotiated narrative that comes out of the parallel existence and co-articulation of the front- and backstage in the *green room*. The generative dynamic of the *Almanach* comes out of this.

At this level, the theatre operates at a secondary level of sense-making, where the production of signs is caught in a perpetual activity of negotiating, articulating and transcending the initial front- and backstage separation, and in a quasi-perpetual recirculation of certain cultural units – or, signs – that do the job, and work on the double. In Zagreb, the dynamics of this separation and iteration had a number of marginalising consequences at (1) the social level, (2) the trans-generational level and at (3) the religious level.

These marginalising effects were generated by the exchange between actors, whose initiatives and rationales are understood in the theatrical rather than in the discursive framework: that is, with an understanding of theatre as a *reality-producing ritual* – a reality that is proper to the

³⁸ From Ancient Greek: the agonist is a 'contender' – in the present setting, the agonist belongs to the three-partite distinction between actors, audience and contenders, which springs from a theatre in which the participants can shift between being actors and part of the audience, but where this mobility is neither open nor free. In this particular theatre all are contenders, only a few get to be actors, and the majority are confined to the audience. The purpose of the analysis is to deconstruct contention to tap into the non-confrontational theatre that deals with human suffering, which is here identified with the Artaud-theatre.

theatre, to stage the ephemeral in the present tense – rather than a representational device devoted to entertainment and the production of fiction (*i.e.*, narrative). This is why the *green room* is brought into the bargain: it gives quiddity to the theatre as a metaphor, because it is more than a hybrid space, and has characteristics that brings it beyond the makeshift mind-sets of the front- and backstage.

The time-space of the theatre is, in this sense, withdrawn from public space, claiming a reality of its own: a semi-clandestine – or, subaltern – place, in which the withdrawal from broad daylight serves the purpose of questioning, exploring and learning what it means to be ‘someone’ when one is *not* visible to all, and when the presentation of self (Goffman, 1959) does *neither* take place in a public *nor* private space, but in a *third space* – or, *green room*. Hence, the counterpoint drawn out in the analysis of the ethnography is testimonial – rather than narrative – and probes the agonistic³⁹ dimension lived by community-members, both the prominent ones and the marginal. This framework is used as a template for ethnographic description, with the objective of freeing the analysis from the enclosure cultural distinction (Bourdieu, 1979), desconstructing it and manifesting it as a generative process.

To develop a reflective framework, Antonin Artaud’s theory of the *Theatre and its Double* (Artaud, 1938) is used. The *double* is the storehouse of myths, fetishes and nightmares, which are written down nowhere and only exist in the theatre. In the Artaud-theatre this darkness, or double, also is constituted by the virtual audience – an audience that may come to *be*, through an awakening of their senses, at some point of the performance – and from the deep of the stage: the double emerges from the two-tiered interaction (a) on-stage between the actors and the audience [*cf.*, front-stage], and (b) on-stage with the deep stage [backstage integrated as the above storehouse, or deep-stage]. The double emerges during the performance, in what Artaud calls the Theatre of Cruelty: the theatre and its double agglomerated in an intensified – or, precisely dramatic – *life form*⁴⁰.

From this point, the procedure in the following sections will be different from Artaud’s: whereas Artaud’s cruelty unfolds in a critical relationship between the actors on-stage and the audience, the objective of the present book is to manifest the dynamics of how cruelty emerges, how it is lived and produced by actors and how they partake of something very concrete: what Wikan (1990) has coined ‘the distribution of pain in society’⁴¹. The interactive process that generates

³⁹ In Ancient Greek *ágon* is a form of contestation – more harsh than competition, since armed, yet less violent than war. In drama, *ágon* is the conflict on which a literary work turns: *i.e.*, the script. Naming it as such brings us beyond the *signs* of contention to the signals of suffering. The deconstructive priority then lies in the preferring suffering before contention, and moving sense-making activities to a generative understanding of meaning and exchange.

⁴⁰ One month before he died in 1947 Artaud wrote, in a letter to Paule Thévenin (actress) with whom he had been working on a radio-play: « (Artaud, Letter to Paule Thévenin, 24.2.46. Oeuvres complètes vol. 13, p.146, trnsl. Donald Gardener): «I will never again have anything to do with the Radio. I will from now on concentrate exclusively on theatre as I conceive of it, a theatre of blood, a theatre where every performance will be made to win something as much for the player as for the spectator, what’s more it isn’t playing, it is action.»

⁴¹ This means that the symbolic economy of discourse – and discursive power as the epistemic whole of linguistic practices – is deemed too abstract for the purposes of the present ethnography.

this distribution is henceforward called *Ágon*: in this sense, *Ágon* is the *Almanach* deconstructed

However, the claims for this procedure – like Artaud’s – is redemption, and neither serve the gossip nor the cure: by deconstructing mundane narratives of the cultural elite at the JCC – or, *cultural narratives* as they are coined in the following section – it is possible to reveal what is within these narratives and, in this way, to pass from the level of cultural *narratives* to the level of *testimonies* – or, *Ágon* (Part II). These testimonies are presented in the framework of the Artaud-*theatre*, rather than the *confessional* (Foucault), because they are not seen to produce anything beyond themselves, in the time of the theatre: they do not produce *discourse*. They can be subject to isolation, marginalisation, celebration and canonisation in the *Almanach*, but do not do any of these things on their own.

Using the Artaud-theatre as methodological template to endow ethnographic description with a reflective framework is helpful to address the *voiding* that nourishes the formation of a certain type of power, which rather than being tacit arises from communicative dynamics of *flow* from (a) the discursive to (b) the tacit, which constitutes *trope* of power: the emptying or evacuation of the discourse in which recognition or disavowal takes place – throughout my fieldwork in Zagreb it was a lot easier to get things *published* in the JCC-media than to initiate an open discussion on their contents.

The *Almanach* – as a theatre – eventually also appeared as a stage where incidents elicited no reaction amongst groups of spectators: the exceptions, evoked in the testimonial part of the ethnography (part II), therefore are enlightening with regard to the power-politics at the at the JCC, during my fieldwork, and the cultural presuppositions revealed by the degree of surprise produced when they surfaced. As a methodological template the Artaud-theatre features the twilight zones, dead ends, no-man’s land or frontiers of social process, which may be populated by a number alienated people, but also by agonists who foster a type of readability by keeping their acts and people together, while enduring a semi-clandestine existence *vis-à-vis* the world (*book 5*).

Using the Artaud-theatre as a methodological template is – for obvious reasons – not to ease the requirements imposed by the ethnographic text on the readers, but to make the difficulties clear in the form of a methodological contract that reveals the primarily *human*, rather than technical, nature of these difficulties. The Artaud-theatre represents a

methodological strategy to escape both the *tabloid* and *therapeutic* approaches to troubling aspects of human coexistence – as two «master» approaches of capturing the concrete – while at the same time avoiding scientific abstractions that easily bring the theoretical synthesis away from the ethnography. To start with, the Artaud-theatre defines time and space as a *tight place* – a place where it is difficult to live and thrive – sustaining the unity of the theatre and its double, and proceed from there to discover the territories to which this propaedeutic will bring us.

Hence, the objective of using the above framework is to translate *alienation* into the language of theatre: *Ágon* features the expectation – as in Greek drama – that the parts should be *scripted*. In the *project world*, this expectation is generally held by funding institutions. However, the demand for both funding and scripts was pervasively represented at the receiving end, and was a common mentality among the informants at the JCC- during the period of my fieldwork. The combination of requiring support up-front of activities and instructions – to be told what to do – could readily be interpreted as a residue from socialism and the authoritarian forms of empowerment that continued to exist under the HDZ (Tudjman's) government.

But this position was particular to a specific group of people: those who considered the possibility of conducting activities from within the JCC, as voluntary-workers, but also the staff of community professionals. These were people without narratives of personal excellence, and without a status as knowledge-carriers in the Jewish community – unlike those related in the coming section – but worked with JC-services: Almanach-style narratives were also published about this category of actors, under the JCC umbrella⁴², however, in the form of group-, organisational or institutional narratives, rather than narratives on individual excellence and distinction.

Institutions as well as people were eligible to be included into the *Almanach*: (a) people in a position to claim prominence as knowledge carriers; (b) institutions construed as such through their history of serving others. Consequently, there were three main classes of agonists, or contenders: (a) the actors dominating the stage, while retaining a certain aloofness on the floor; (b) the audience dominating the floor [*i.e.*, JCC-spaces], while appearing only from time to time on the stage; (c) the marginal spectators that would never appear on stage [but turned up in my office].

However, all agonists shared the assumption that luck and charisma were important in the life and career of a person: (a) as a prerogative

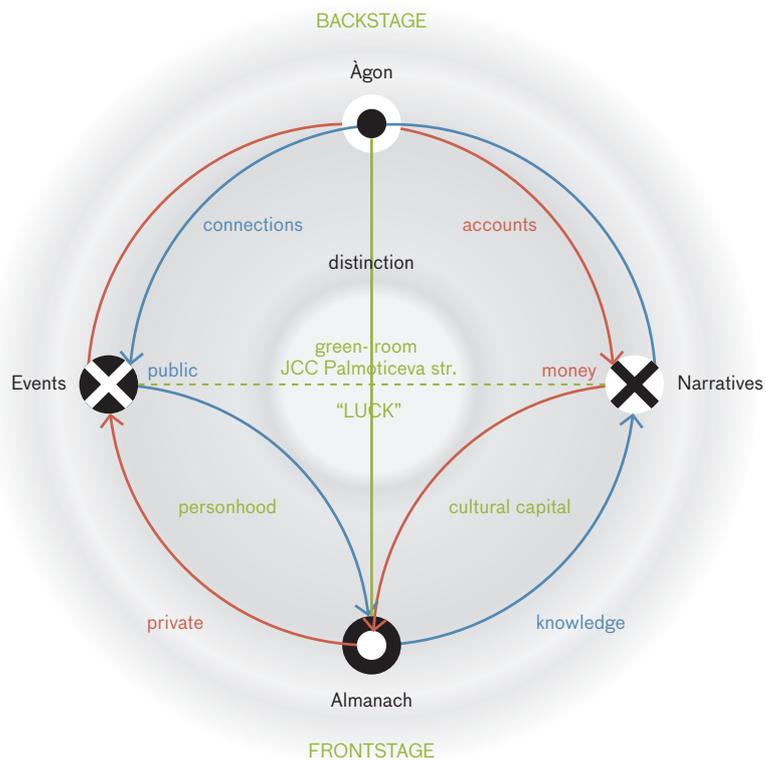
⁴² Such as the *Lavoslav Svarc Dom* – old people's home and day centre for elderly – at the outskirts of Zagreb at the east end of Ilica (main street) – the Social Section, Youth Group, Religious Section, Women's Group inside the premises at Palmoticeva Ulica.

and property of the person [by being lucky]; (b) as an unstable factor that might change [by changing one's luck]; (c) as a curse [being pursued by bad luck]. In other words, the common denominator between the agonists, in the Zagreb materials, is not the lack of control on the factors that governs the life of a person, but the lack of ability to respond to – and thereby assume responsibility for – such factors.

The following visualisation (fig. 4) places the elements of the theatre template in relation to each other⁴³: it provides a fuller visualisation of the dynamics that defines the *Almanach* in relation to events and narratives, while displaying the dependencies that determine the dynamics connecting the *Almanach* with *Ágon*. *Ágon* features the human condition of my informants at the crossroads between (a) accounts [financial and symbolic creditworthiness and reputation]; (b) connections [people who, in function of their personal association, will vouch for each other]. The *Almanach* is a homing-device, or search-

⁴³ The *green-room* is constituted by the teeming spaces of the theatre: i.e., spaces where actors hang out between the sets. In this setting: teeming spaces in the JCC, including my office.

fig. 4 – Cultural economy: Zagreb (*Lys Graph*)



model, for public attention and financial support, depending on the actors' knowledge and family backgrounds. In sum, distinction – featuring the redemption in *Ágon* and recognition in the *Almanach* – traverses the *green room* and is generated from transactions depending on (a) cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1979) and (b) social personhood:

In the following, the ethnography first proceeds by the instances of regular play – that is, the *cultural narratives* of prominent members and personalities that could have evolved into a «yearbook» anthology, of a type similar, to that produced in several formats by the JCC – to familiarise the reader with the model of performance shared by a select group of the local elite. The *Almanach* is a rhetoric figure with a key-importance to our understanding of the symbolic economy in the Zagreb Jewish Community: making an arena predisposed to function to its advantage (Bourdieu, *ibid.*) as a premise rather than a consequence of personal initiative, made the Community at once dependent on and vulnerable to individuals that broke this pattern. The *cultural narrators* and the *pattern-breakers* conjointly prefigure the counterpoints that appear in book four, in which the reference to Jewish ideas and practices yields a different – comparative and critical – description.

CULTURAL NARRATIVES

The above type of dilemma has weighed on my work with personal accounts selected through interviews. The informants' need and wish to confide with the ethnographer were, to some extent, modelled by the cultural sphere to which my informants saw, or wanted, themselves to belong: my informants gave me interviews which they anticipated would provide me – as a writing person – with the raw materials to author something like, or similar to, an *Almanach* input. The restricted readability ensuing from such expectations is defined by (a) certain presuppositions on genre; (b) a forum of readers similar to the cultural sphere to which my interviewees were accustomed. The ethnography moves beyond these expectations: they are scenic texts – with a stage and a floor – bring out life differently than texts locked to the time line of narrative. The time-line of the narrative is historical (it is vectored to the *Almanach*). The time-line of the theatre is generative (it is vectored to *Ágon*).

In present section the reader will be able to survey the stage, while in the following sections (part II) s/he will be able to scan the floor, and

ultimately s/he will be allowed into the *green room* as well as a little peek backstage.

The Feral Journalist

ZG was a journalist in the Feral Tribune : «...in Slovene my name means December. The philosophical background for my lecture on journalism during the 190th anniversary of the Jewish Community, goes back to Milosevic in the beginning of the 1980s. It was the time when propaganda campaigns started among Albanians, Moslems, Slovenes, and anti-Croatian propaganda was initiated. The Serbs in Croatia were greatly influenced by this propaganda. They read newspapers from Serbia, and believed that Croats had something special to them, that they could undertake genocides towards other people, and that this feature was unique to the Croatian people. So, at the time of the arrival of the new government of Croatia, the HDZ government confirmed that propaganda from Serbia.

It was all at a symbolic level. But it influenced the masses, so the revival of certain symbols that in Serbian minds had the meaning of the Nazi- and Ustasha regime, only confirmed what Milosevic was saying in Serbia. The factor, which propelled this revival, was the return of the political emigrants, old Ustashi, but also some new people who joined them during their exile. And [President] Tudjman contributed to this immigration because he made a sort of pact with them. Noam Chomsky said recently that the only element that was missing in the recent war between Ustashi and Chetniks, was the Partisan camp. As IB said in a discussion at the Jewish Community: his estimate of the revival of nationalism is that it was irrational, because it only did harm to Croatia. The Serbs were convinced by the propaganda, and many fled because they were terrified.

Although one heard that there was no anti-Semitism in Croatia, and that the HDZ are Anti-fascists, which is partially true, there is a revival of fascism in Croatia. Tudjman is saying contradictory things, since he waves his anti-fascist flag when he is abroad, but talks a very different language and does very different things when at home. There was a lot of pressure on Tudjman in Croatia: the pressure was exerted by emigration-circles and extremists who wanted some symbols back from the NDH (the Independent State of Croatia). For example the Kuna: they demanded the reintroduction of the Kruna and the smaller unit the Banica – which were the currency during the Ustasha period. The State settled for the Kuna and the Lipa, so that it was made ambiguous.

Another example: Not long ago there was a Government-session, in which a proposition to increase Invalid-pensions, to people who fought during WWII, was discussed; which, under the present arrangements, were 10 times lower than what the invalids from the recent war were getting. To compensate for this difference, they wanted to increase it by 75%, but only to those «... who fought the Croatian war», according to the text recommended, amongst others, by Defence Minister Gojko Sušak. Knowing what this means: the Partisans were *de facto* marginalised, but not explicitly. If the first category of war-veterans were included, then the others – the Partisans – were not liberators.

Their argument was that Partisans were not Croatians, which is not actually true; since also Croatians fought among the Partisans. When these things happen, it is as if the present day Croatia arises from the NDH, though the Constitution says that Croatia is a continuation of Yugoslavia. It is difficult to talk of Jewish journalists in Croatia, because they are few and their contribution is minimal. The only journalist in Croatia who stands forth as a Jew is SIGo. But StPr in Novi List, nobody knows that he is Jewish. As far as critical journalism is concerned, it is the Government's opinion that there is an absolute freedom of the press. People can print whatever they like, and one may find whatever one likes. But one must take into consideration that most of the daily newspapers, and more importantly radio and television are in the hands of the Government.

There are only a few independent magazines in Croatia, and only one daily – Novi List – which is actually from Rijeka: it is more regional, and the Feral Tribune has a much wider influence. For the time being there is no money to print an independent newspaper. The State controls the frequencies: an example is what happened with the Radio 101. The great influence of the Cultural Society of Freiburger, which was created in the mid-80s by SIGo, is that it is culture that holds one together, in such a dispersed community. The Jewish Community of Zagreb was always very specific, after WWII it was called the fortress of assimilation, which the Zionists fought to counter. They were people who thought that they were Jewish no matter what: Jewish Doctors, Architects, Musicians and Lawyers.»

The Publisher (the Father)

SIGo was the President of the Jewish Community from 1986-89: «After the first multiparty election in 1989, the development in Croatia didn't go normally towards democratisation, as in the Central European countries. The transition was not a transition from totalitarianism to democracy, but to authoritarianism. One does not have a totalitarian system in Croatia. Not everything in opposition

is forbidden. There is a small possibility for opposition and human rights. Why did things develop this way? First, there is the factor of Croatian emigrants coming back. These events influenced the development of the life in the Jewish Community.»

When SIGo left his post of President of the Jewish Community in 1989, as he became the President of the Social Liberal Party, these unexpected developments led to certain tensions inside the JC. Under the influence of wartime turmoil, the leadership started to behave like other people in society, in regard of attachments to Croatian national feelings, etc. It created a split and disorder within the Community. After five years the time had come for the normalisation between society and the Jewish Community.

«People had expectations from this war: expectations of benefits for the national community and for themselves. To measure the consequence for the Croatian society, it is necessary to know how the authoritarian system works. The main thing is that of ruling. The HDZ takes over the institutions, following a pattern that one was used to during Communism. It means that the members of the Party receive their instructions from one central point. Then the transmission goes from the Party-members to the institutions. For instance the President appointed a committee of 15 persons, who again appointed a group with 8 members: through this committee the HDZ has succeeded in appointing all the Judges. The Judges of the Supreme Court that were critical, were not re-elected, 1200-1300 judges have been eligible to re-election according to a new law, practically all of these have been appointed by the apparatus of the SABOR, and the list has been known in the office of the President: only by mistake an independent Judge can be re-elected. The Supreme Court, they control it. The last independent Judge was blackmailed with a love-affair and offered an alternative post as an Ambassador. A counter-example is the President of the Academy of Science and Arts: Physicist Ivan Supek, who worked with Heisenberg⁴⁴ as an assistant, he preserved his autonomy throughout the Communist period. He won against the HDZ: they are succeeding in Universities and schools. They do not represent a democratic culture: there are discussions, of course, but the proposals always pass. When Tadjman came home from cancer-treatment, at the Walter Reed Clinic in Washington, he stated that the enemies of the nation are now the Red, the Green and the Yellow. The Reds we know who they are, the Green are the Moslems, but who are the Yellow? the Jews? the Gypsies?

In Croatia, contrary to Serbia, one tries to keep a surface of legality. The mechanism appears to be legal, but certainly is not democratic. Pressures are put on enterprises, to provide people from the ruling party with privileges that the others don't get. The Feral Tribune has been exceptionally burdened with

⁴⁴ Werner Heisenberg (December 5, 1901 – February 1, 1976) a known German physicist and Nobel laureate, one of the founders of quantum mechanics. He was born in Würzburg, Germany and died in Munich. Heisenberg was the head of Germany's nuclear energy program. He is most well-known for discovering the Heisenberg uncertainty principle.

extra taxes, etc. When he became the President of the Jewish Community in 1986, SiGo immediately decided to make the Jewish Community more present in the whole life of Zagreb: to get out of isolation and put the demands of the Jewish Community on the table. And he asked the city of Zagreb to return the site where the Synagogue was destroyed in 1941, and then construct a memorial synagogue there. A long negotiation ensued. The Community got support from Canada, from the Joint, and eventually a letter of intent from the Croatian government ensued. This is how the Jewish Community came out in the public life. The decision to organise the wandering exhibit *The Jews of Yugoslavia*, and bring to presence the values of Jewish objects to the public, was the initiative of the Council of Jews of Yugoslavia in 1988. Another fact, is that of the 2500 Jewish survivors that lived in Zagreb after WWII – 20% of the prewar Jewish population – half of them left for Israel after the war, and had to leave their property behind to have this right. Some converted to Catholicism to survive WWII: How many converted to Catholicism is impossible to tell⁴⁵!»,

The Historian (the Son)

The Praska Str. Synagogue, which was built in 1867, in IgGo's words «...was the largest building in the downtown area at the time. It could be seen from very far. This is the point. Jews were very influential: on the other hand, they were becoming assimilated in the cultural milieu of Zagreb. Not that they were converting to Christianity, but they were really becoming part of society, even those regarding themselves as religious Jews. It was the same concept as everywhere else in the Hapsburg Monarchy. They were not isolated any longer. They were driven into the life of society. Jews were primarily merchants and bankers, this is how they made their money, or they were employed in factories. This is not known among non-Jews. The first generation did not learn Croatian, and preferred to speak a language of a larger scope: like German or Hungarian. Their problems with anti-Semitism became less in the second generation of Jews, who learned Croatian language.

An interesting incident happened in 1938 when the Frankist party intended a debate on the *numerus clausus*⁴⁶ for Jews, since they deemed that Jewish students and medical doctors were too numerous. The Frankist group also wanted the Jews out of the Medical Club of the Faculty. This was a students' club. The Frankist group exerted a lot of pressure in the corridors, the ballot was open not secret, and when the vote took place in 1939 even abstention risky with Nazi-Germany already in the court-yard: yet, the Frankish proposal won only by 162 for, 107 against and 100 abstentions. There are not many

⁴⁵ Implications of this question: a number of Catholic converts are Halachically Jewish (*Halachah* = Jewish Jurisprudence).

⁴⁶/Numerus clausus/ (Latin term) = 'closed number'. Generic term for limited access of defined groups to certain educations and careers.

historical situations in which such data of peoples' opinions on Jews have been available. There are few data on Jews employing non-Jews, and vice versa. They were their own entrepreneurs and so it stayed. A Jew helps and should help another Jew. In connection with this war not a single Jew went to the war, nor should they have.

The Jevreski Preglet – was the Bilten of the Yugoslav Community. This is an important source. Then one should look at newspapers, they contain very little information: there is something only every two or three months. The most important during the Yugoslav period was for Jews to have their rights. It was a society where communism prevailed, there was no anti-Semitism, and people wanted to forget about the war. They knew that Jews were almost annihilated, and felt ashamed about that. But there was this Communist impression: like in all Communist societies. The order of the day, was not to be different, everyone is the same and a comrade. Why should one be culturally different? Why celebrate differently? People were not very comfortable in expressing their Judaism and they became assimilated. Some were conscious of the genocide, even if they were born after the war: one doesn't know the future, and one can never know about this life.

When Tito entered the Non-Alignment policy in the late 50s, beginning of 60s, Nasser was none of the key figures. The relations with Israel deteriorated, and in 1967– during the 6-days war – diplomatic relations were severed. But under Tito, Yugoslavia had voted for the UN resolution in 1948 making Zionism triumph in Israel. When Bronfman⁴⁷ met Tito in 70-72, he asked Tito why he voted this way. He answered: 'Did we really vote for this? I agree, it wasn't right!' One did not want that this conflict should influence the position of the Jewish Community here. There was still openness towards the 'Joint' and some other international Jewish organisations. But contacts with Israel were limited. One did not need a visum for any European state. One could go. But to Israel, not only going, but coming back: people had to pass an incredible bureaucratic game. And it was practically impossible during the 70s.

In the newspapers there were some very nasty comments on Israel, and the policy of the media was pro-Arabic, of course. Even when one does not want it, the Jewish Community is inflicted. It is sufficient that the word 'Jewish State' is used. There was Shabra and Shatila, for instance. This was the responsibility of Israel, but the media said: the Jews did it. However, the situation was in some ways becoming more favourable to Jews. Because the Communist policy was dying and it was despised in the public opinion. The nonalignment movement, for instance, created a stronger connection to Zambia, than to Austria. People saw that this was stupid. It wasn't logical.

⁴⁷ Edgar Bronfman = President of World Jewish Congress (WJC), *cf.*, book 2.

People knew that it didn't make sense. The reaction was that public opinion, and civil society grew favourable to Jews.»

The Human Rights Activist

JD was a journalist specialised on Croatian minorities. Each month she prepared talks about Jewish religion and tradition for HRT (national radio-television): «There are relatively few young people in the cultural group. And to prepare such programmes, one has to know somebody...» JD knows a lot of people, «... and in Croatia this is a quality. Family and career is all that matters for one particular age-group. One is not so much interested in community programmes – once a month, or something like that. People are lazy, it is much easier to stay at home and watch TV. But when I organise a round-table against anti-Semitism, it is always full. Where are the roots of anti-Semitism? Is it the Church – Christian Church – economical reasons, political reasons? Like a minority the Jews are something special in the eyes of the environment. Be it in Zagreb or Belgrade. In Paris it is easier to say that one is Jewish.» JD made some critical remarks about politics in Croatia: «In Israel one can speak in such ways, one can criticise society. In Croatia this is not so.

In Croatia, however, anti-Semitism is not organised. It is sporadic, and one can trace it on an event-to-event base. There have been discussions of Jasenovac, and of denationalisation. There is too much to return to the Jews, because the Jews owned very significant parts of the centre of the town. The biggest problem in Croatia, after WWII, is that there was the first and the second *aliyah* (migration to Israel), and people had to leave all their property behind in order to do that. This has to be solved between Israel and Croatia, as diplomatic relations are entered again: the archives were not damaged by the bomb in 1991 – the Jewish Community has all the names and the dates of departure of these people who emigrated leaving their claims behind. The Jewish Community can be a bridge between Croatia and Israel. Just beside the premises of the Jewish Community, there is the house of the *Hevra Kaddisha*⁴⁸. Such are the important priorities: on the one hand there are individual citizens, on the other hand there is the Jewish Community.»

She meets every day with ZB, member of the Croatian Helsinki Committee, some time in the middle of the day: «There is a good connection with the Social Liberal Party, Anti-fascist organisations, and other minorities, especially Gypsies. There is generally a good relation between minorities in Croatia. There are multi- religious networks, and a civil society.» She attended a ten day retreat in Hrvatski Leckovac, a village near Zagreb, in an Emmaus

⁴⁸ Hebrew term: /*Hevra Kaddisha*/ = 'Jewish burial-society and charity foundation'.

House, together with Malikir Slija, the Islamic Centre, the Moral Rearmament movement – the discussions were on the reconciliation with the Catholic Church, about what it means to be Jewish in the Orthodox Church and in Islam. There were about sixty people from Croatia, and Serbia, from Bosnia and Lebanon, England, Switzerland and Russia: «Dr. Zia from Lebanon, talked about what reconciliation means in everyday life. There was also a Maronite from Beirut. When one sees the problems abroad amongst other people, one may see clearer one's own problems.»

JD talked about what the *Torah* says of forgiveness, and the rules that exist in Judaism for this: forgive but not forget, and so forgive when nature and consequences of actions are understood. She also talked about the primary significance of actions, and the significance to have each day some time for silence. She had no fear that her Moslem or Orthodox colleagues would not understand her; the context is such that one has to hear each other out, and to share vital content. She had visited a lot of roundtables in Hungary, Austria and Switzerland, she said – they did not try to convert her. «During the war the religious communities were too much involved into politics. There were pictures on television of an Orthodox priest blessing the guns. This is crazy. A lot of Catholic priests are connected with the HDZ, and tell us that it is very good and that they support us. The Croatian Catholic Church has now new connections with the Vatican, and the problem with property will be solved with the Vatican.»

Restitution is generally a problem for the Croatian State, not the Catholic Church: «The State fears for its sovereignty, but with the subsidiarity inside the Catholic Church different factions may form from competition between the Franciscan Church, the Jesuits and different small groups, which today is the situation in Herzegovina. The Catholic Church may be using its internal divisions politically. The Catholic Church is one big organism. It is very, very slow. They do not recognise the signs of today. One example is from school: after Communism, there was religion. And it was terrible during the recent war, because the majority belonged to the Catholic Church. One cannot imagine what a Serbian person who had to go out of class must have felt when all the children shouted 'Chetnik! Chetnik! Chetnik!' There are other kinds of Serbs than Chetniks⁴⁹.» She concluded that she wanted to make a documentary about Sarajevo, but was unsure about security. I told her I was going there soon.

⁴⁹ *Chetnik* = the archetype of the Serbian vigilante warrior moved by historical resentment to bouts of violence with extreme brutality and bestiality.

⁵⁰ This interview was arranged by Mišl

The Curator of the Paviljon

LU was the Director of the Arts Paviljon⁵⁰: «This house is neither a museum nor a gallery, but in some sense both. It is an exhibition-space. And it is the oldest space

which was constructed for exhibits: no permanent collections, no funds, and the exhibits are never sold. It is only an exhibition-hall: a very exclusive place. In 1998 it will be 100 years old. In a way, the Paviljon is about the history of Modern Croatian Art. The building is represented all the architecture books on Croatia. It is one of the first montages with iron construction – eight years after the Tour Eiffel in Paris. The skeleton was transported from Budapest, after the Millennial World Exhibit in 1896: because at that time there was no exhibition-space at all. There were Croatian painters educated in Paris, Venice, Munich and Vienna. They decided that they didn't want to be exhibited as part of Hungary, and that they wanted their own pavilion in Zagreb.»

The Pavilion was first constructed in Hungary and then transported to Zagreb: «A big contest for rebuilding it was organised, and two Austrians – Felner and Helner – won the competition. They were builders of other buildings in Vienna, Rijeka, Fjume, Varazdin and in Zagreb: only theatre buildings, however. The Paviljon opened on December 15th 1898, and it was called the first Croatian Salon. It is a very important date the history of Croatian Modern Art. And this house is not a museum and must secure its own funds.» LU is the only person working on historical retrospective exhibits: either groups of artists, or single artists. During the Yugoslav period she had to borrow paintings from the museums: «Belgrade and Novi Sad, mostly from Belgrade. She had a very good co-operation with Belgrade throughout the Yugoslavian era, and appeared on a series of occasions together with President Tito in the newspapers. During the war all the museums stocked their artworks in deposits: everything from Osijek is in Zagreb».

Thus, as a consequence of the war, LU had to stop her activity at the Paviljon – the display of historical artworks. All the important items were stored away: «But it is very important that the establishment of the Paviljon was not closed one single day during the war. It was working throughout.» She took an initiative with the members of the Jury, to make an exhibition of posters – more than a hundred posters – posters against the war. It was called the exhibit of famous poster artists. The exhibit went afterwards to Paris, and to other places. While Osijek was bombed she exhibited selected works from Osijek that the local fine arts establishments had stored in the Paviljon. And there were two historical exhibits: «It was almost impossible. One of them was opened under the sound of sirens. The most tragic is the Vukovar art collection. It was a very good collection. The Serbs entered there and it disappeared into Serbia.

«There are a number of rumours, but no certainty. According to the law of the Former Yugoslavian Republic artworks should be returned to their legal owners. Here many things were interconnected, because some very famous

painters like Bukovac: his works were represented in all collections, and many different museums were the legal owners of these works. There are catalogues of each collection, so this is known. If it belonged to the museum of arts and crafts here, one would know. There are only vague rumours of such pieces. But from Zagreb, however, nothing disappeared. Everything is there. Some of the Jewish Collection is in Belgrade. The only Jewish Museum in Yugoslavia, was called the Jewish Historical Museum, and was in Belgrade. There are some items from Dubrovnik and Zagreb in Belgrade. During the war a complete collection of Judaica was sent to New York, to the Yeshiva Museum for safety – So, now the Yeshiva Museum does not want to give it back. People from Dubrovnik in New York, told them not to give it back.»

In fact, whatever one may think, «...Zagreb is a Central European city, with its beautiful architecture, especially in the parts around the Paviljon: this part of the city was mostly built by Jewish architects or builders, and if we think of architecture as part of art, then the contribution of Jews in this section is enormous. There was a group of wealthy Jewish merchants. They were not only assiduous visitors at exhibits, but also great buyers. This is the period between the two world wars. Many events were organised by Jewish collectors in private homes – these were spirituous moments of the cultural life: people hosted salons, and similar events. If we think specifically about the Jewish artists and sculptors in history, then they simply do not exist till modern times: their's is the era of modern art in the 19-20th century. All other religions had their churches beautifully decorated. That is not allowed in Judaism. So, synagogues had very few ornaments.»

Painters became part of the society of cosmopolitans. There were groups of Jews at the École de Paris, such as Modigliani, Soutine, Pissaro etc. In Zagreb there were very few artists: «There was one portrait-artist in the Biedermeier period. So, the biggest accent is on the 20th century when they began in Zagreb. The bulk of the early Croatian painters came from the Munich school. People like Ivo Steiner, Kraljevic, Racic, Becic and Oscar Herman. Herman's drawings from the Munich-period are equal to Kraljevic, and Steiner – ...who died prematurely... – There was a presentation here at the Paviljon in the 70s (1973) on the Munich school. Nobody presented Herman. The Munich-circle was presented without him, though he was equal to the others. This is anti-Semitism.» LU has a Herman at home: Girl in Green, which was presented to her by the artist. LU knew Herman personally. They never spoke of anti-Semitism. He was very introverted. But all this was readable between the lines: Herman was a curator of a modern-art gallery, and people from the Academy, they just overlooked him.

«They did not give him his rightful place: because in that generation there was a definite anti-Semitic feeling. Now one doesn't know. These are people who reached their top between the two world wars. A second reason for this neglect is jealousy. Most painters reach their peak when they are in their late middle age and then go down. With Herman it was the opposite: his expression and colour developed with age, it grew like good wine. Paintings from his 70s are so young when compared with those from the beginning of the century.» As he grew older he became ever better. Especially the colourist expression grew with age. LU relates an anecdote: «...all the colleagues of Herman were professors at the Academy, and had big flats and ateliers. Herman lived in an ordinary house at the top floor, and worked in an atelier without windows. He actually lived in an attic. And it is unbelievable that he could show colours without daylight.» From her experience, and working 30 years as an art historian, she knows that people who are introverts, one cannot make them talk very much, and they express their thoughts and feelings: «...expressionists and colourists.»

Ivan Rein is another great name. A Jewish artist, he was killed in 1942, in a concentration camp where he was together with Herman. They talked to her later and said about him that «the great painter wore glasses and made sketches. Many of Rein's drawings were in the Museum of the Revolution.» One of LU's friends wrote a Magister Thesis on Ivan Rein, and there was a big exhibit of his works in Zagreb: «Also he deserved a better place in Croatian art history. He is compared to Steiner and Herman, who now definitely have obtained their right place. They were completely assimilated, they thought of themselves as Croatian artists rather than as Jews. There are some Jewish themes in the early works of Herman. In those paintings one can see that somehow he is a Jewish painter: in his understanding, philosophy and dramaturgy – «In that first phase one can feel that he is a Jewish painter, although he doesn't say so. The last expressionist phase of his life one may also feel that he is Jewish.

It is very difficult to make an exhibit with Jewish artists upon request. The Jewish artists that are good enough to have their works exhibited here, are not distinctly Jewish in their art-project – be it by their expression or artistic intention. The others are producers of kitsch.» And LU certainly disapproved that the artistic decorations of the Jewish Community were selected without a competition and a jury. In place like that it is of utmost importance to have great care of the artistic expression: «We should have something else than Jewish artists that paint like Chagal.» At the end of every year the Vjesnik asks 50 prominent people about important cultural events, and they always ask LU. She gives her opinion on the best exhibition, the best concert and the best book. Hers is one of the families selected in the *Mishpokhe* (family chronicle

published jointly by the Freiburger Association and Novi Liber), and her son – a medical doctor – has chosen to contract an Orthodox Jewish marriage – «very Orthodox!» said LU.

The selection of interviews, used to feature the cultural narratives, share a certain number of similarities: once the appointment for the interview were made and kept, the interviews themselves were easily performed. As such they were prepared and controlled events, outside of the context of participation and of practice. The elements in each of the narratives were scrapbook elements – sometimes literally – that were selected out of a larger personal portfolio, or repertoire. The «clippings» given to me were available to be re-circulated for a number of different purposes. This is the distinctive feature of narratives and the sense of this book.

These narratives can therefore be understood as acts of urban remembrance, in which the part of action is to place scrap-elements in a mnemonic environment: these performances belong to the art of memory⁵¹ rather than to the domain of scripts, and – as will be shown in the coming sections – do not belong to the world of *action*, where the deliberations on meaning and value, available in narratives, were thorny, troublesome and difficult to get by. My attempt at assessing meaning and value in the context of *ongoing action* – which is the locus of Jewish ethics – wound up a completely different picture than the one I was left with after the above series of courteous interviews, that were within the *etiquette*. What appeared, then, was the enormous effort and cost required to maintain and sustain the cultural narrative, which belonged only to a certain group of people within the Jewish community.

Now, when we are leaving (a) the cultural narratives to link up with (b) the processes of communicative interaction that dominated inside the JCC, during my fieldwork, we are passing from (a) the actors and their props [*Almanach* narratives], to (b) the *agonists* and their negotiations for meaning and value [*i.e.*, both JCC-elite and JCC-workers are in this sense *agonists*]; starting with the presidential elections that took place in the early spring – between *Purim* (Carnival) and *Pesah* 1997 (Passover). The subsequent sections do not appear in the chronological order of their occurrence during my fieldwork, but in a sequence allowing the reader to comprehend the context around the 190th jubilee, that will be described and analysed with more detail in *book 4*.

⁵¹ Yates, Frances: 1992, *The Art of Memory*, London: Pimlico.

PART II

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

After *Purim* the final run towards the Presidential elections in the Jewish Community of Zagreb started in the early Spring of 1997. The President OK – who was a medical doctor, like his mother HK – had been elected by a tight margin in 1993, and was nervous about the outcome of the following election. His public demeanour was to be *a man of few words*, and, whenever appearing on television or when he spoke on the radio, he was always short and to the point. In general, his electorate were pleased with this, since he, in this way, marked the separateness and integrity of the Jewish Community (whenever it had been the direct or implied subject matter of articles in the press, or in statements from members of the Government). He made the positions of the JC clear by commenting on public criticism and allegation, rather than taking a stand for or against them. Though he had been a low-key pragmatic Party-member in Yugoslavia, he did not argue Left policies. And though he took a critical stand – in the above sense – as an educated member of the cultural elite, he also had his network of liaisons inside HDZ and Government circles. He repeatedly expressed his notion of democracy in terms of the *ideal* of participation, rather than actually *parlamenting* with pros and cons on vital issues.

Inside the Jewish Community he appeared as a thoroughly secular modern Jew, he had worked actively in way of hiring a Rabbi. During my fieldwork there had been a series of candidates for the post. The one clear priority was to explain to the «Joint» – who was a party to the negotiations on account of contributing to the prospected Rabbi's salary – that the Community could not hire the locally bred but well-educated Serbian Jewish Rabbi (a convert): for one, he was a political extremist in Israeli politics, for the other he was Sephardic. However, the Community had great difficulties in deciding for an Ashkenazic Rabbi: the Reform Rabbis, who would be more lenient on conversion, were criticised for not being sufficiently serious, whereas the Orthodox – qualifying by seriousness – could come up with unacceptable conversion criteria: indeed, how to explain to people who have been Jewish an entire lifetime, in their own eyes and in the eyes of others, that they have to convert, if they happened not to have a Jewish mother? These matters

were not settled prior to the Presidential elections. However, President OK insisted that, as a leader, he had worked to hire a Rabbi.

Finally, the prominence and fame of his father, as a Judge and a Jewish leader, had caused President OK to be somewhat encased inside his deceased father's network, and thereby sensitive to the pressures exerted by his mother. For this reason, and on account of low turnouts at the previous elections, the Jewish Community Council had been run under the gerontocratic hegemony of ageing members during the last four years. During the weeks preceding the elections, discussions of alternative leadership were conducted in groups as though they were fomenting conspiracy, rather than open democratic debates. President OK was practically never to be seen at the JCC during the presidential campaign. And there were no organised official meetings to clarify the candidates' intentions, and debate various positions. However, OK's behaviour and the absence of official fora, before the Presidentials, was in striking contrast with the normal situation at the Jewish Community, with the *Salom Freiburger* cultural association, gathering or hosting discussions of all kinds – cultural and scientific – as much as once or twice a week: adding concerts and the launching of new publications. The absenteeism of the President OK was due to angst – his close family's and his own – but it was also his strategy. And this attitude was clear in all the answers he gave me on various topics, during this period: it was quite clear that the series of narratives on Presidents of the Zagreb JCC – as prominent members of the Community and the Croatian society, of which his own was already one – did not work as a script for the part he played during the presidential elections.

A new slanderous and defamatory article written by MaZa – a would-be *Hazan* (or, Cantor) – in the public press, stirred the entire community: the sitting president was denounced as a communist and an atheist. Differences of opinion surfaced inside the JCC: some felt that MaZa was clearly a psychopath others observed that he wrote in the public press because he clearly had no access to, nor place in, internal publications like the *Bilten*, or the *Novi Omanut*. The absence of a leader was felt, however, and a definitive allegiance in OK's favour was building up. At the time of the elections the entire building was buzzing with activity, and communication reached beyond the groups that had formed in connection with the Presidentials, and beyond the regular cliques. It was an official event and everyone – differences in opinions notwithstanding – appeared to be unified by it. In retrospective, President

OK, after his elections, eventually stood forth as a man who knew his community. However, the effervescence spurred by the publication of MaZa article was not calculated, and OK's tactical drill was rooted in his general attitude: gossip does not stick to someone who does not get involved in discussions. In decision-making processes his discussions were never overt, always covert, and the results of these secluded *tête-à-têtes* boiled down to few and strategically important decisions that were presented during lengthy meetings of the JC Council. Accordingly, his power significantly lay in known when to withdraw, remaining aloof during gatherings in which he participated, over and above discussions. Socially, the President and his family – with the exception of his sister Z – were rather isolated from the JCC and kept to themselves.

The new 25-member Council included a number of new faces, and was regenerated with younger members. In the last four years, the Council had been a forum with lengthy debates on practical issues, down to the minutest detail. For this reason it had not been instrumental to the President in the process of actual decision-making. Informants related that the point of these internal debates among the participants was to take up a required amount of speaking-time, and, hence, to «...make an official appearance as a person who *has to be dealt with*». More important than knowing one's community was for OK to emerge, and stand forth, as its leader⁵². My reason for emphasising this point particularly, is that it contrasts with the cultural narrative on leaders: certainly OK's appearance was carefully staged, but the verbal parsimony of this leadership-in-the-making – at the collective level in the JC – was in striking contrast with the comparatively profuse language used by informants to describe leadership retrospectively, in narratives. Imputed leadership is characteristically disjoined from actual processes of steering through decision-making processes. The leadership of President OK was in this sense symbolic: it was sufficient to have secured a sample of successes – with the luck of good timing – rather than operating according to managerial guidelines of consultation and delegation, and clear operating procedures. Real decision-making was not vested in *working habits*⁵³. Rather, they were situational and creative. Concomitantly, the Presidential powers were largely discretionary and autocratic.

The lethargy in the Community management, the President OK had explained to me earlier, as a phenomenon of transition from being a provincial Community in the Yugoslavian Federation seated

⁵² When congratulating him on the phone President OK's mother concluded her words of relief and praise with a blessing: «Your father and grandfather are looking at you from Heaven!» (*Il tuo padre e il tuo nonno ti guardano dal cielo!*)

⁵³ Members of the President's former staff had been at managerial courses linked to the ECJC network, organised by *Le'atid Europe* (for the future of Europe). Such trips were considered as for personal development (by those who went and by others

who didn't). Representatives from other Jewish Communities, and the leadership of the ECJC *7countries/8cities* regional networks that came to Zagreb, made similar comments on the nature of the co-operative contributions coming from Zagreb.

⁵⁴ One of the Cabinet members of President Tudjman's, Davor Stern, was said to have lived several years in Israel.

in Belgrade, and now adapting to the task of becoming the centre of a Croatian Federation, and constitute the main link to disseminated small groups of Jews living in Split, Dubrovnik, Rijeka, Osijek etc. The Jewish Community had marked the change of its place in internal and external relations, by changing its name: it was no longer the *Jevreiska Opctina* of Zagreb, but the *Zidovska Opctina*: changing the Serbian for the Croatian denomination of things 'Jewish'. Among the 900 members who had the right to vote at the 1997-elections, there was a turnout of 30% – a higher percentage than the previous election, but still quite low. The total count of officially Jewish persons in Zagreb was about 1200. However, the real numbers were held to be much higher by the community demographer who worked at a locally based research-institute studying minorities and migration. Her oral estimate was that the population of *real* Jews exceeded the numbers of the official list by 3-4000.

Her definition of *real* Jews was 'people who were at least as Jewish as the current members of the Community', but who either had converted to Catholicism prior to WWII, or descended from such converts. There were, indeed, such Jews: a certain number of prominent people in the Croatian society, some of who were or had been members of the Government⁵⁴. An incident illustrates the type of situation that could come up by confusion of inalienable identities – Jewish and Catholic, respectively: as an old lady of such Jewish descent had deceased, she was buried with a *Mogen Dovid* (David Star) on her tombstone; the ceremony, however, was conducted by a Catholic priest. Prominent Jewish representatives who attended the burial were muted at the grieving family's explicit desire. Such concrete cases provide an explanatory background for the importance of the cultural sphere inside the Jewish Community: being precisely a cultural rather than a religious Community, it represents a humanity larger than life, than if limited to the actual members of the community. In effect, the fuzzy boundaries of the Jewish Community – as a cultural arena – worked as the basis for its explicitly *civil* dimension: the cultural sphere inside the Jewish Community simply partook of the urban space of Zagreb. Its cultural definition ensued from its not engaging too much with the tracery of Jewish origins, and could accordingly be shared by people who nurture other forms of affinities to the Jewish Community, whichever their reasons might be.

The JC demographer's secretiveness, furthermore, was also part of larger picture in which the *facts of crisis* – from the Serbian/Croatian

war in 1989-91, and in its aftermath, the war on Bosnia in 1992-95 – hid a *crisis of facts*. Facts that were considered military intelligence, in a war significantly concerned with ethnic cleansing, were difficult to access by civilians in the aftermath. On the other hand, archives that were built up by civil organisations – conjointly with refugee-transport and -administration – turned out to be difficult to integrate into the fabric of sociopolitical relations, in the sense of transforming them into public archive-resources (deriving from lack of funding and recognition of competencies [national & international])⁵⁵. The Jewish Community demographer suffered the well-known dilemma of the need and desire to publish on the one hand, and the potential risk and damage that may be caused by publication.

⁵⁵ These appraisals were made by non-Jewish researcher working at the same institution as the Jewish Community demographer did.

The demographic figures on the Croatian Jewish population were fragile constructs, and – under the circumstances – the *Almanach* was the prevailing cultural representation of the Jewish community in Croatia, during the period of my fieldwork. It was socially robust, in the sense that the contestation between differently positioned and situated agonists, tended to reproduce some of basic assumptions shared by the community as a group: in the world of events and publicising there are uncontrollable elements that can determine the course of one's life – and the collective life of the Jewish community – that are governed by luck. People can merit their good luck, fight to change it, or deserve their bad luck. Yet, *luck* as such represents a special kind of contract with the uncontrollable, or unpredictable, elements in life – whether it belongs to the random, arbitrary or contingent category. My informants defined *luck* as being at the right place at the right time, and be sure to seize the opportunity when it smiles.

TOMBOLA

The systematic pattern of reactions of suspicion on money-questions in the Community was explained to me by informants as a manner of shock reaction after the explosion in the Jewish Community in 1991 – and the subsequent suspicions of mismanagement and embezzlement of funds received from the Croatian State for reparations (*supra*). Himself a former President of the Community, the Honorary President W, was also considered as a possible spy for the present government, by some members who claimed to have evidence for this⁵⁶, and on account of his previous career as Yugoslavian intelligence-officer. In other words,

⁵⁶ He was quoted to have knowledge of conversations he could

not have overheard, and could not have been conveyed by the other party to the conversation. The President OK confided that he himself did not exclude that the Jewish Community could be bugged, and under surveillance. It is a fact that the care taken not to offend the Honorary President W, also contrasted with the number of outbursts he made, which under regular circumstances would be intolerable to my informants. However, it is also very much part of the Yugoslav heritage, to perceive oneself as being under possible surveillance. A type of surveillance which no-one would «know» of before actually confronted with it. Combined with the type of self-censorship, which ensues from the diffuse idea of being watched (*cf.*, Bentham's jail). Moreover, W was known to have earned money for the Community and kept the budgets in good balance, during his presidency.

⁵⁷ He or s/he that eats leavened bread during these days, shall be excluded from Israel, according *Torah* (book 4).

people were afraid of all types of penetration from outside the walls of the community, and of that the Jewish Community might become a powerless battleground for struggles, in which the Jewish Community had no part. The possibility that the HDZ government had endowed the community with a substantial funding, for the reconstruction of the community, in reality was a subversive act aiming at penetrating and destroying the community was voiced by several informants.

However, this threat was perceived in a context where it was quite clear that the JCC had a form of internal management, which gave some opportunity for internal reallocation of resources received from the outside, for other ends than those for which they were originally intended (much depending on the discretionary powers of a number of stakeholders in different sections of community services). In brief, the major decisions were made on-stage by the community leadership, while the minor (re-) allocations were made from the floor. The JCC had, and was expected to have, its independence; starting with its own accountability. This independence was stated by incidents of the following type. Like a number of other Jewish Communities in Central- and Eastern- Europe, the Zagreb Community received a free supply of *Matzes* (unleavened bread) from Jewish charity organisations abroad, according to the custom that all Jews – rich or poor – should have *Matzes* for Passover (*Pesah*, or *Haggadah*)⁵⁷. In Zagreb, however, these were dispensed from a basement store, in exchange for a receipt from the Accountancy upstairs, certifying that the recipients of *Matzes* had paid their dues to the Jewish Community.

Receiving *Matzes* for Passover, in effect, was the formal right of access to the Jewish Community in general: the right to vote at Presidential elections, and to the Holiday feasts organised by the religious section. As for instance the monthly Family *Shabbat* which Dr. Š –who was of Bosnian origin – had made an institution. This community *Shabbat* was a family gathering, with a festive buffet, accompanied by short homilies presented by MoMe and a member of the religious board, MiWi. Otherwise the gatherings were for eating and socialising. Dr. Š, who had come up with this idea, had been somewhat involved in the refugee convoys during the war, but was very active in way of becoming integrated in the Zagreb community, as a full and prominent member. A bridge player, he attended the Bridge Club more frequently than anyone else. He also had employed the young artist ToFr who had decorated the Community, to decorate his own private clinic. Towards the Presidential

elections – at which President OK was re-elected – he had succeeded in acquiring sufficient allegiance, without conspiring too overtly against the sitting President (OK), to be elected Vice-President. Towards the end of my fieldwork period, he got to accompany President OK to one of the ECJC international conferences. He was, in local terms of some, characterised as a *shtreber*⁵⁸.

The monthly Family *Shabbatot* (pl.), moreover, were created with the preexisting template of Jewish festive and social events, gathering clusters of people inside the café area, at the first floor. These areas gathered attendance during the High Holidays – *Pesah* (Passover), *Shavuot* (Pentecost), *Rosh Ha-Shana/Yom Kipur* (New Year, Day of Atonement) and *Sukkot/Shemini Atzeret* (Festival of Booths, Convocation) – but also for more minor festivals like *Tu bi shvat* (New Year of Trees), which for the most part of the established members is a symbolic representation of an attachment to land Israel; which is not prominent at all in the organised structures of the Jewish Community, but represents a concrete attachment to the large number of members who have family in Israel. The Youth Group, however, whom the year of exchange they spent in Cherry Hill (New Jersey) had given a vision of a religiously more entrenched and embodied form of Jewish life, had mustered to make a more knowledgeable *exposé* on the rituals and symbols of *Tu bi sh'vat*. It was presented by the President of the Youth Group, whose message was received as though he was joking, and was not taken seriously. Even as he took the stage the audience laughed, he produced a shy smile in return of their repeated expressions of mirth and glee. Then the audience, eventually got bored and turned to their dishes and conversations, he started to stutter and eventually went completely pale. His angry reaction in the aftermath: «I am sick of cleaning other peoples' toenails!»

This young man DuSt, whom the community had looked at as a farce, was the permanent and vital element in everyday life at the Community, be it as a voluntary educator in the ORT-centre, in the basement, or the Youth Club in the attic, at the third floor, where the youth used to hang out, play ping-pong, work with their journal *Motek* and party. He was ever present at the gatherings of the Youth Group on Thursday evenings. The youths had a language for things Jewish, after their year in the USA, which they shared with few or no other members in the Zagreb Jewish Community. They were caught in a state of lethargy, which caused a *Habonim Dror* youth leader from Budapest

⁵⁸ *Shtreber* (Yiddish) = one whose personal ambition does not really create opportunities for others than himself.

⁵⁹ Yiddish Term: /mameloshn/ or /
mame loshn/ = 'mother tongue'

– who came once a month to cheer them up – a lot of concern. It became apparent during my fieldwork, however, that these young people had no place to live out the sense of Jewish life, which they acquired abroad, but could not use to take possession of their lives as young Jews in Zagreb. Some of them were attempting to introduce *Kosher* rules – or, *Kashrut* – into their family-households, and even went on occasional drives to Budapest in order to acquire proper meat. Their wishes fell on deaf ears inside the Community, however, and they were inclined to mystical speculation and *Kabbalah*. DuSt himself was a dealer in extremes: he claimed noble Venetian descent, his parents were diplomats, he was in family with Theodor Herzl, Yiddish was his *Mame Loshn*⁵⁹ and translated *Shabbat* newsletters which he downloaded from the Jewish extremist group *Kach*'s homepages (*i.e.*, internet).

This youthful extravagance was on par with his sense of utter futility, which he expressed on several occasions: as during a walk to a nearby Moslem-owned hamburger bar – where they sold under the circumstance «Kosher» burgers – he told me that he was the only one among the male members of the Youth Group who even had *tefillin* (phylacteries); and the image of the 'inverted *Schloss*' – referring to Kafka – was, in his view, a metaphor that conveyed a very precise sense of the Jewish Community: it seemed the place one could not leave, an inside with no outside, condemned to confinement without real possibilities to live and develop as a Jew. Though he was known as an extremist on Israel-issues in the Youth Group, he was yet its uncontested leading figure. The striking story of this Youth Group goes back to their performance of a *Purim-spiel* – in which the story of the *Megillat Esther* is told⁶⁰ – during which they improvised silently with the props for the play, while R⁶¹, who was directing the play, was watching without their knowledge. He decided that the silent performance of the *Purim-spiel* was an excellent concept for this performance, after their return from Cherry Hill, and he encouraged them to work with it this direction. As they went along with this, the Youth Group eventually appropriated this spontaneous form that the *Purim-spiel* had taken, and made it their own. They were awarded a national prize for youth theatre in Croatia, and it became the pride of the Youth Group at JCC.

⁶⁰ *Purim*, means 'Lots' (*e.g.*, dice), and is celebrated on the 14th of Adar (last month before the New Year of Kings [*Rosh Hodesh Nissan*], sixth month following the New Year of Creation [*Rosh Hodesh Tishrei*]). The festival commemorates the rescue of the Jewish people from the fiendish plot of the Grand Vizier *Haman*, to destroy the Jewish people by manipulating the King *Ahashveros* (*i.e.*, the name which Kierkegaard relates to the Wandering Jew) who is identified as the historical Great King Xerxes I of Persia (521-426, B.C.E.): the

The success of this performance and the disaster of the presentation at *Tu bi shvat*, was weighing on my mind during the entire fieldwork period in Zagreb. The tension hovering over the Youth Group, in relationship to the larger Community environments, in just about every

single aspect of day-to-day decisions, came along with another singular expression of contestation from this unwilling and un-voluntarily muted group. This time it was the Youth Group's turn to hit down on a community service, generating yet an inflection of *Ágon*. MiBi was a voluntary worker at the Social Section, on the top floor at the JCC. With the authorisation of the JCC, she took the initiative to raise funds from the *Joint* in Paris, for what she called her *Purim* project – «our project» – she said, winking guilefully⁶². She came from one of the 4-5 families who – according to her – were Jewish on both sides *and* by keeping their domestic traditions throughout the Yugoslav period. A kindly and shy little woman, she had decided that the elderly and needy of the Jewish Community should be given *Mishloakh Manot* for *Purim*: a traditional *gift* of foods and fruits, presented to friends, to celebrate this Jewish *carnival* with happiness. She had gone through the oral contacts with Paris, had patiently corrected all the letters she endlessly got in return from the Ex. Dir. downstairs before she was allowed to mail them. Finally, she was able to acquire the fruits, nuts, *Kindle* (poppy-with-honey cakes made at the Elderly People's Home [*Lavoslav Svarc Dom*] kitchen), paper-plates and glad-wrap. Members of the Youth Group had promised her to help her carry around the numerous plates. However, on the appointed day, they refused to assist her with the delivery, and ended up eating up her store of charitable gifts. I didn't see MiBi again.

This collective action was not carried out as a juvenile prank, but was committed to me in utter seriousness. However, it occurred as the festive ambience of the *Purim* celebrations proper were building up inside the Community, and the story of the *Kindle* disappeared into the general festive consumption. However, the professional fund-raiser MiSl – who was on friendly terms with MiBi, since they had gone to school together – sympathised with MiBi after the incident, though she had seen this coming for quite some time, since she was personally involved and personally affected, by a series of related events. She didn't want to end up as MiBi and was determined to change her *lot*. MiSl was responsible for the preparations of the *Purim* celebrations, the much praised *Tombola* in particular. Through her networks she assembled a collection of choice prizes for the guests: free medical or dental treatment, travels to Tunisia and Tenerife, gift cards from exclusive shops etc. She organised a wealth of dishes for the buffet, and even assisted as the tickets to the lottery were drawn. A known person,

term 'lots' refers the throw of dice when the Vizier determined date to schedule his misdeed (13th of Adar [throwing the lots on this day was considered propitious by Haman, because Moses died on that day in Adar, but what he did not know is that he also was born the same day in Adar]). The Fast of Esther, who was selected as a future spouse for King Ahashveros (without her Jewish origin being revealed to the king), is held on this inauspicious day before Esther's intervention before Ahashveros. The day after the 14th of Adar, the impending doom has turned into victory; and the feast instituted by Esther's cousin Mordechai, who is a testimonial figure in the play, commemorates the providential salvaging of the Jewish people. The *Purim-shpiel* propagated among the Ashkenazic Jewry from the XVI century (C.E.). It appears for the first time in a volume edited in Venice in 1555, (c.e.) by a Polish Jew. There are manuscript versions of the *Shpiel* even before this time. However, the dissemination was enhanced by the invention of printing. Among the religious festivals the *Purimshpiel* is the occasion of letting go. In Zagreb it is often called *Fasching* (i.e., German 'Carnival'), and is a ritual of inversion.

⁶¹ R was the man who created the idea of *Magèn* (*infra*).

⁶² MiBi's regular duty was to visit elderly people at home to give them comfort and company, and to bring them food-packages 3-4 times a year.

⁶³ I told her how Rav Joseph Soloveitchik emphasised the connection between *Purim* and *Yom Kipur* – the Day of Atonement – drawing upon the connection between the two in *Yom Ha-Kipurim*: a day like *Purim* (as a hidden connection between the two apparently so different festivals, the one carnivalesque, the other of utmost solemnity – the rabbinical reason given being that the Jewish people, in the story of *Purim* told in *Megillat Esther*, behaved straightforward in perfect obedience). She smiled broadly upon hearing this from me.

⁶⁴ To pay my rent, I asked many times how much I should pay. She declined to answer every time I raised this question, saying that it didn't matter. As she was living on retirement this was obviously not the case. So I inquired elsewhere what would be appropriate. And tucked a note in DM with the plea to accept a small contribution. This was the «son-relationship».

relatively prominent, frisked a winning lottery-ticket for a friend in the audience: as people were still aghast with astonishment she passed smiling *in fronto*, snatching the ticket while she addressed the public with a smile: *please excuse us, there has been an error!* We will now proceed with the lottery.

This being done, she left the guests to their own amusements, not greeting anyone goodbye, not even President OK. This was her *grande sortie* – an exit which she had been preparing for some time – and for which she was vehemently criticised in the aftermath. The interdiction of displaying regular members for what they are, in such rare moments as the attempted *Tombola*-fraud, was so explicit that the enterprise would have been likely to succeed without her intervention. Her departure, she explained later, in fact made the same point writ large⁶³: point taken and understood by the entire Community, including the Youth Group, and it caused a significant amount of consternation in President OK's family. However, I was still a member of the family, even though I had gone beyond good conduct by having talked to MiSl as a social anthropologist, and considering her an appropriate informant. In this connection, President OK's sister Z called me an arrogant and spoiled brat – «a typical son of an Ambassador» – I retorted mindlessly, calling her a «cynical old garce with a thoroughly narcissistic outlook.» Her mother HK concluded chuckling – with alot of mirth – as though talking to herself: «I see that you understand each other!» Not all culture is public and shared: knowing how to quarrel belongs to the home sphere, and constitutes – as it were – the «private parts» of culture.

We were breathing out, after the affair was closed, in the living-room, inside HK's lush greenery, finishing one of her excellent dinners. From the very outset she had told me *Fai con comodo! Da noi sei come fosse un membro della famiglia...* (act according to your own convenience! With us you are as though you were a family-member)⁶⁴. What had gone on at the Community had nothing particularly Jewish about it, and came out as an expression of a Post-Yugoslav condition, with a distinctive Balkan flavour. The President OK later wrapped up my visit by taking me for a hike in the Hills of Sljeme, from which he had deemed necessary to «protect» me earlier, and later concluded our relationship in a very covert way. HK, however, though she knew of these developments, still maintained the family conception of our relations, and insisted that I should come to live with them in the summer, at their country house on the *Loshin* island, outside the Adriatic Coast.

While the section on the presidential elections relates the story of how a representative of the JCC-elite succeeded in keeping his luck, the present section relates a series of stories of people who want to change their luck but fail. The story of the stage and the floor in the JCC, however, share a common feature: taking the floor at the JCC is a personal risk, and is a time-space of the JCC characterised either by the absence or failure of scripts. The impact of the uncontrollable elements that decides the course of events, therefore, fell short of scripts and was correspondingly accepted with fatalism. This fatalism in the encounter with uncontrollable but decisive events is a deeper aspect of believing in luck, will be illustrated in the next section.

LEGITIMACY AND MARGINALITY

The interview-transcripts in the *Cultural narratives*, in Part I, feature a selection of cases that are representative of the wider social context at the Jewish community, but, yet, in a different way from the odd cases related in the *Tombola* section. The narrative cases are typical: they are representative of the culturally distinguished *Jewish person* in Zagreb. They were selected on account of the internal development – from a more *temporal* to a more *spatial* urban topology – as we moved from one interview to the next. As a sequence, the interviews describe a trajectory that may be taken as a model of how the actors – in their different ways of representing the Jewish Community – address the public sphere (ZG) in the mode of a political intervention (SIGo), turning to how the Jews acquired and were accorded a place in civil society (IgGo), passing through how Jews are taking active part in civil society and build up a model understanding of others (JD), to end up with how the Jewish Community eventually comes to *host* the public sphere, with competent gate-keepers like LU. By that time, however, the public sphere has gone through a process of qualitative transformation: it is now predominantly a cultural, rather than a political, sphere. We also see a transition from a preoccupation with one form of anti-Semitism (*Nationalist* [ZG]), to a preoccupation with another form of anti-Semitism (*Civil* [LU]).

Another aspect of the narratives which is typical and representative, is that the social persons in question – by their entitlements and capacities – are legitimate people, with the right to exercise power, on behalf of other people, within the limits of their cultural estates: these educated and cultivated minds are differently *placed* in public space, and express

an articulate and differentiated awareness of their person. The difference between the typical cases and atypical ones, in the tombola-section, raises some classical social anthropological issues: how should we think about the fact that members of different categories, and at all levels (the ‘third space’ of the Jewish Community *green room*, public space, and private space) are *equal* as members, while at the same time *different* in status (*cf.*, Touraine, 1997)? The individual is equal, inasmuch as s/he partakes of the life in the community, but is different with regard to personal entitlements and autonomy. Thus, at the present juncture, we no longer have grounds to assume that the process of (a) acquiring a membership [equality], and the process of (b) taking it into possession [personal autonomy], may be conflated. They are analytically distinct processes. The next question is how to proceed with this discrepancy in mind.

The theoretical point, which will be argued empirically in the following, is that the process of access to and exclusion from *membership* are not the same as the processes of access and exclusion to more tangible, practical and directed forms of *association*. The cases above, both the typical and atypical ones, involve an elaborate amount of reflexivity on this particular matter, among social actors. The analysis, however, takes off from the reflective insight of my informants, on one decisive point: my informants were perfectly aware of the logic of cultural distinction (*cf.*, Bourdieu, 1979), of which they had a rather pragmatic take: their sense of complicity in social games was explicit, and frequently laconic. However, the processes whereby the Jewish Community became a ‘distinguished place’ – in the sense that *not anyone* would go there – works a parallel form of *othering*: the *lower* type of people (uneducated, primitive etc.) generates the *other* type of Jew.

Later – in the Garden of Sweets – I will discuss a case from a formerly Jewish-owned private enterprise, which now has become a National institution in the production of chocolates and sweetmeats in Croatia: leading up to this industrial case (1) the professional fund-raiser MiSl, will be presented in her environment inside and outside of the JCC [the two following sections]. Afterwards, some remarks will be made on (2) cases where representatives of the Jewish Community either refused to receive, or refused to handle private property. Finally, (3) a process of collective appropriation of the Jewish *persona* of artist Oscar Herman is brought to bear on memories of WWII and on symbolic kinship.

The methodological problem of the following section, is concerned with the subject matter of privacy, and the difficulties it represents in

regard of received notions of ‘objectivity’: by the nature of the contents expressed by informants, and the way they involve the ethnographer, as a situated and positioned being in *private* relationship, they require of the reader that s/he be sufficiently patient to decide whether the effort at objectification in closeness (to other people) really is possible. In fact, this question does not concern the anthropologist nor the reader *per se*, but is the subject matter with which the informants themselves are struggling and groping.

MAGÈN⁶⁵

In preparation of the 190th anniversary of the Jewish Community (*book 4*), the professional fund-raiser MiSl was hired for the duration of the project, and was accommodated temporarily in the office of the Honorary President W. In these lavish offices, she could receive potential donors and give them the feeling – she said – that she was doing them a favour by receiving their contribution. During the recent war she had been an agent of a number of transactions, which were interesting by their creativity. She was concerned with her not being involved in illicit transactions, and this was continuously weighing on her mind. Her flamboyant femininity was an asset she never failed to use, however. As when she got to greet President Franjo Tudjman, at a cultural event: «I am so pleased to meet you! My name is MiSl, my father is a Jew and my mother is Serbian!» The President, amused, took her in his favour, asked her to prepare the Independence Day Celebrations, while entrusting her on several occasions the care of his unpolished Hercegovinians – which she did, taking care to teach them some civilised manners⁶⁶.

Given the undivided success of the 190th anniversary celebrations MiSl was asked to establish *Magèn*, to be the permanent fund-raising office of the Jewish Community. The idea of *Magèn*, however, had originally been brought up by R – the Youth Theatre director – but he eventually had to withdraw from his Community involvement, for private reasons. As a number of other Jewish organisational entities in Zagreb, this one never was brought to cessation and therefore merely laid dormant, till someone else revived it at a later occasion – as by President OK who, in the shine of the 190th anniversary, picked up *Magèn* and entrusted it to MiSl. This honour was short-lived, however, since the enterprise had to be registered as a *private company*, on account of the commercial nature of the undertaking – even though

⁶⁵ Hebrew Term: /*Magèn*/ (Hebr.) = Shield (*i.e.*, the Shield of David, or David Star).

⁶⁶ MiSl taught them to eat French Brie, and to eat it with a knife and fork. Her concerns with table-manners, and the proper use of cutlery as the epitome of the civilising process, were much in line with Norbert Elias main thesis on this subject (Elias, 1982). Herzegovinians are big and husky, and have grown to be that way from years of natural selection and wars: their life is lived in barren land, with sheep and family: very strong family clans. She did not have high opinions on Bosnians, on this particular point. The Bosnian language, furthermore, was a *mix* of Croatian and Serbian in her eyes. They do not distinguish between ‘ti’ (Fr. ‘tu’) and ‘vi’ (Fr. ‘vous’).

the profits were intended for charitable, or nonprofit, purposes – and became quickly transformed into a marginal enterprise in the daily life of the community.

In principle, MiSl was to do *business* for the Community: tourism to Israel, export-import, conferences and – eventually – charity dinners prospected at the *Hotel Esplanad* (a Gründerzeit *âge d'or* hotel, ballroom and restaurant near the railroad tracks [Part I]). This type of hybrid concept turned out to cause a multi-faceted resistance among a range of different actors in the Community. None of the voluntary workers opposed it, however: only the professional staff of community workers. This resentment was mainly expressed by the lower and upper administrative cadre, and the more loosely knitted circle of people who intended to make personal use of the Jewish Community space to promote professional undertakings, in the cultural sector – e.g., President OK's sister Z, who needed a cultural forum and a financial basis to build up her capacity to operate a route for fine arts-trade between her residential Venice and hometown Zagreb. The alleged reason for the harassment of MiSl was the fear that the Jewish Community would provide a respectable front for her to do her own private business – and make millions – as she was already a well-to-do businesswoman with connections.

At the close of the 190th anniversary, the Honorary President W claimed back his office at the ground floor, and MiSl had to move. But to operate an establishment like *Magèn* she needed an accommodation as accessible and presentable to let potential investors, clients and donors feel that they partake of the panache. Anticipating that *Magèn* was a golden deal, however, neither the Board – of which the Honorary President W was a member – nor the Accountancy felt that it would be wise to let her establish *Magèn* outside the confines of the JCC premises. Furthermore, the *Joint's*⁶⁷ announced contribution of \$15,000 was considered by the Accountancy to have been taken from the social budget of the Community, which had recently suffered cuts: not withstanding the *Joint's* policy on such cuts in all countries of Central Europe, and the promotion local charity-establishments like *Magèn*. The result was that *Magèn* was allocated space at the top floor – in the attic – in the innermost office of a long corridor, which previously had been rented by the *Joint/La Benevolencija* for the refugees from Sarajevo, who travelled through Zagreb during the war in Bosnia (1992-95).

MiSl decided to make the best of it, and as the room was a mess, she took steps to have it painted, changed the carpet and had it furnished.

⁶⁷ The *Joint*, or JDC: American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

She was soon addressed by the Accountancy with questions of who was going to pay for all this. In reality, she had got it for free through her connections. As she had given her explanation, the Honorary President W – a former Yugoslavian intelligence officer in the UDBA – paid her a visit in her office, and told her what kind of woman she was, what were her actual motives, the nature of her expensive tastes and how he intended to destroy her from his position at the Board of *Magèn*. He would not speak such words in front of President OK, since *Magèn* now had become his idea, but spoke his mind behind closed doors at the third floor. The women from the Accountancy would in turn spread gossip about MiSl's unseemly *décolletés*. Together OK and MiSl were concerned with the tracery of possible funds, with the consequence that no money was made and for several months no salaries were paid. Eventually, MiSl decided that the project was not viable – at least not for the time being – and that she had to quit before suffering irreparable economic damage.

But she could not make an abrupt exit. The other contentious group of people, with whom she dealt, did not care much about the tracery of funds, but wished to seed their own professional projects – which they saw to the benefit of the Community, since it partakes of the civil society in Zagreb by virtue of offering a cultural forum. As MiSl had extensive earlier experience from similar positions at the Lisinsky Concert Hall, from the prestigious Prostor Museum – and *The Jews of Yugoslavia* exhibit – their expectations of these cultural entrepreneurs were not entirely devoid of realism. So they expected her to bear over with her current working-conditions, until things got better, nourish her forbearance by keeping up the good work, and keeping her petty money-concerns in subservience to the professional calling of people whose cultural excellence surrounded her at the JCC. They also tried to persuade her that she was lucky to be sheltered by the Jewish Community, being half Serbian⁶⁸ (with the implication of being slightly «barbarian»). In other words, if she left she would lack in *inner vision* and be on her own⁶⁹. Eventually, she was prospected the position as Executive Director of the Community, which she could not accept, since the salary would barely suffice to heat the enormous house she had inherited in the Sljeme hill-tracks above the city.

In this period, she received much sympathy and practical assistance from the voluntary workers at the JCC. She was also laughing at the absurdity of the conundrums: «they want me to make money by *magic!*» Yet, she brooded over herself being a poor mother, and was worrying

⁶⁸ Most Jewish marriages of the Community are mixed; but mostly with Catholic spouses, and some with Moslems.

⁶⁹ On account of her marginal status – she was paying her dues, but only her *mother* was a member – she had not been alerted by the Youth exchange in 1991-92 to Cherry Hill, although her daughter belonged to the age-group that went overseas.

about her adequacy as a role-model for her daughter, whom she would like to be honourable. She related a nightmarish experience she had at the tramway, to explain the modalities of her current existence: as the tram made an abrupt stop, she grabbed a woman in the arm to help her not stumble. The arm fell off, and before she realised she had prosthesis in her hands, she felt the accusing glare of fellow passengers looking in her direction. One of them followed her off the tram, and turned out to be a policeman who wanted to ask her out for a drink. She felt like a person whom could treat as a lewd and unnatural creature. After she for a time quit *Magèn*, she returned to the task after one of the originally Jewish Community buildings had been returned, and she could run the business unhampered by the Community administration. However, handling demands kept cropping up by the day.

The most striking feature of this development was MiSl's powerlessness in relating to her home-sphere. It is the first of a series of evidence on the construction of the home-sphere, as generated from processes of communicative interaction, taking place and unfolding on an entirely different arena. During the above period, MiSl felt and appeared as a homeless woman. Even though she was married and had two children. The case of MiSl is more symptomatic than typical: in general, the social construction of privacy took place within the Jewish Community, among people whose personal capacities and entitlements were set, and who had their autonomy without being classified as outsiders. Nevertheless, assessing structural features of how atypical individuals are situated and positioned in the fabric of personal relations, inside the Jewish Community, in order to understand how both privacy and publicity are constructed – though, not causally determined – within the secondary framework constituted by the JCC. MiSl was marginal and atypical, but the interactive processes that isolated and alienated her were not unique.

Another women figure – ZJ – who in some aspects was comparable to MiSl, was the official «mascot» – or, Dame – of the Jewish Community. She had grown up with deaf-and-dumb parents who strove to survive as brush-makers, learned a sewing trade for her and her family to survive on, managed her way through WWII together with parts of her family, by gaining the Italian border (which then was far up in Istria, on account of Ustasha concessions) and gaining the friendship of an Italian high ranking officer⁷⁰ – after the war she became Mrs. Tito's (Pelagija Belousova) fashion-designer. She

⁷⁰ Though the Italians belonged to the Axial Powers, they did not develop a clear anti-Semitic policy, and did not explicitly nurture such sentiments. In a number of my informant's account Italy was a haven in comparison to Croatia, Germany and even Switzerland.

eventually married a wealthy Swiss man, and lived her life in shuttle between Geneva and Zagreb. Uneducated in the sense of the Jewish Community, she was still – without competition – the most generous local donor. ZJ was celebrated as a ‘personality’, and as a person who, even though she had «made it» on account of a creativity much similar to MiSj’s, who had kept the integrity of her vision: she had succeeded in her life and in the Community.

On the other hand, two odd male characters may usefully be mentioned. The one, as much an outsider one could imagine, was known for his Gestapo style leather coat and his fascist political views: though being a Jew by both his parents, he went beyond the sitting nationalist party in extreme right wing opinions. MiSv was accordingly considered a «nut-case», but also the shame of the Community: in his youth he was an active member of the Jewish Community partaking of winter- and summer camps, together with President OK. It was generally agreed that something had happened to his head. However, being Jewish is something inalienable: so, he was ostracised but he could not cease to be Jewish. Another man with the same name MiSv, who came from the Jewish Community of Ljubljana (Slovenia), related to me that he had torn down posters of Ante Pavelic hung up by a group of extremists in the streets of Zagreb. As he was caught by a vigilante of activists he was asked for his name: afraid for his life, he answered that his name was MiSv, and that he wanted to take this posters to show his friends in Ljubljana. The curt reply of the vigilante leader was: «You must give it back: we do not have enough!» This confusion of identities was the gist of the entire affair, in my informant’s view, and caused considerable mirth in some milieus of the Jewish Community. It became a metaphor of the impossible: a Jew being a Fascist anti-Semite.

The other odd character MaZa, on the other hand, went too far with his religious zeal. He claimed to have heard God’s voice, and was given for a short period of time, the function of *Hazan* (Cantor), and conducted prayer services in his own improvised *glossolalia*. He also went out against the presidency in the press (*supra*), accusing different actors of embezzlement and communism. With his religious zeal he intended to represent the economically less fortunate members of the community. And he did have a small group of allies. However, it was eventually decided that the Jewish Community should have person to fill the function of *Hazan* whom at least knew Hebrew. During my stay this function was filled by MoMe a retired policeman of Serbian origin,

who had lived many years in Jerusalem. He became the backbone of the *Heder* (religious school) where he taught a group of children at Sunday school: writing Hebrew characters (*Oysies Meribues*), reading homiletic stories and learning to recite prayers in *Loshn Koydesh* (the Holy Language). He also equipped his adult congregation with transcribed versions of the Friday night *Arvit* (prayer opening the *Shabbat*), in Latin characters. The services were conducted in Sephardic cantillation⁷¹.

⁷¹ This was not entirely according to the vision which the Community leadership had of coming back to normal. The Jewish Community of Zagreb being historically an Ashkenazic community of predominantly *Neolog* definition (*i.e.*, with double faced editions of the *Siddur* – or, prayer-book – in which the Croatian Language edition presented alongside, or *vis-à-vis*, the Hebrew edition, and smaller or larger parts of the service conducted in local vernacular). Under MoMe's leadership, smaller or larger parts of the services were conducted in *Ladino* (or, *Judeo Espanjol*).

⁷² The corollary was laconically expressed by MiSl in the following terms: «You know Theo, what we say here? We have a saying here going way beyond what you are suggesting: 'There is no limit to how little I can do for my salary'».

⁷³ *Kras*, reads 'crash', in Croatian, but reads 'crasse' in French (dirt), and is pronounced 'crache' (spit).

The shared reality which these case-materials allowed me to discover, boiled down to something apparently quite trivial, and is subsumed by MiSl's words: «You know, when they are setting up a social budget, they will do it in such a way that they can also buy shoes for their children...» The above cases demonstrate what happens when such evaluations cease to be expressed as the prerogative of such private «arbitrage». Being seen as stepping out of line – in some sense becoming too obvious – amplified the stigmas of the actors seen in such terms, either in the negative or the positive direction. In fact, provided her success, MiSl hoped that she eventually would be loved and cherished – like ZJ. Atypical as they are, such persons are irreplaceable when the rule of thumb was the following: under no circumstances take on a project – or, even make plans for it – if you don't have the money first⁷². Such views were expressed by a miscellany of individuals, acting in very different personal capacities, at the Jewish Community.

THE GARDEN OF SWEETS

The eminent President of the *Freiberger Cultural Association* BraPol, as he was bespeaking the Jewish origins of the national chocolate producer *Kras*, curtly commented that the brand-name could probably not have been devised with a sales-strategy for French-speaking markets in mind⁷³. He further told me that *Kras* was founded by two Jews – Kajzer and Dojc [pronounced Kayser and Deutsch] – at the beginning of the century (1911). And *Kras* subsequently was nationalised to become the greatest producers of chocolates and sweets in Croatia. They are sold through *Kras*' own sales-units all over Croatia, and in Zagreb the ostentatiously luxurious shops of the firm may be found in just about every quarter of the city.

MiSl (at this point the former Magèn fund-raiser) invited me to make a tour at the factory, where she pulling off a marketing-job. She made it coincide with a tour for wives of diplomats, and we were led around in different production-units with an explicit permission to

«steal» from whichever sweet-meals we wished, while being as explicitly warned against taking pictures. The recipes for the *Kras* chocolate – along with their method of production – are kept secret, and we were kindly asked to be comprehending of this precaution against industrial espionage. The workers were happy, working on shifts, and expressed – when they were asked questions – the pride of working for *Kras*. In the mahogany clad interior of a conference-room, I took my seat together with the Zambian and Haitian Ambassadors' wives: *Kras* sells all over the world, except in Europe, we were explained, though in Croatia, of course, where the company enjoyed a quasi-monopoly:

«This factory is the pride of Croatia. Despite its worldwide success it is the long-lasting confidence of the Croatian people – since 1911 – which is the most important for us.»

During the session MiSl translated for the head of the *Kras* *propaganda*-unit. After the tour was over, MiSl was happy that I did not step out of line, that I had been polite and not embarrassed her. She was soaring with happiness from her return to her world of generous salaries, and free samples, from jobs that she was particularly clever at doing. I had clearly passed the exam of not asking too many questions, contrary to what was my habit inside the Jewish Community.

MiSl's two stories, inside and outside of the JCC, are interesting on two major accounts. First and foremost MiSl was marginal without being financially disadvantaged, nor destitute: she lived in one of the large villas on the Sljeme Hillside, and did not belong to the group of poor Jews in the Community. Her marginality, for instance, was expressed from before her *entrée* at the Jewish Community, in connection with the 190th anniversary, since she was not alerted by the JCC on the convoy of Jewish youths leaving for Cherry Hill in New Jersey, and her daughter therefore missed this opportunity. Her external commercial activities were deemed to bring her a little too close to the sitting government, in the taste of the JCC-elite, while she herself felt that she had more than compensated the questionable nature of these dealings by the work she had done for the 190th JCC anniversary. However, her two stories were also interesting on account of the common features they shared with the brokerage of internal and external relations, in the communication of the JCC – personalities and services – in JCC publications, and public events hosted by the JCC. The JCC elite remained aloof while off stage and did

not get overtly involved in plots. MiSl differed in that she touched the floor, and took a place as a community-worker. This was atypical in the JCC-elite. Her performance on external arenas was highly professional – and in this she certainly matched the elite – but then her *professional touch* was ‘for sale’. This made her morally problematic for the JCC elite. In effect, she was at the same time undesirable and indispensable.

These findings were consistent with other observations concerning the construction of the moral person, recorded in my travelogue from Zagreb: indeed, the adventures of MiSl represent, at a more general level, a detailed case of what we may understand as a private-public *cross-over*. There is more evidence to support that such transitions – *i.e.*, the private-public crossover – were problematic and, indeed, risky. Before going into these cases, a complementary case will be explored: *i.e.*, the problematic of Jewish personhood as a construct that is valid in Jewish space (the JCC), but also validates a space as Jewish. These observations belong in the present book, but are also a necessary prerequisite to understand the ethnography on Jewish ritual in the *book 4*.

ACQUISITIONS

In my office I had some paintings belonging to the artist ToFr – who had decorated the interior of the Palmoticeva str. – which he lent me for the time of my stay. When he came back to get them back, while I was in Sarajevo, before my final departure from Croatia, he was not allowed to take them in my absence, even though the community personnel knew they were his *private property*. However, by his lending them to me I had acquired them. And so, even though they belonged to him, I had to hand them back to him physically: they were in my keep, and so I had to take action, in order to let him get back what was *his*. His private property was acknowledged, but I was a moral person inside the Jewish community: this required me to redeem this property in person. I could not delegate this *right* to anyone else, nor conduct the transaction by phone from Sarajevo, so it was also my *duty*.

Similarly, before my journey to Sarajevo, I had forgotten to pack two parcels with medicine and food for elderly couples in the Bosnian capital, handed to me by two poor women in Zagreb, whom I had never before seen at the Jewish Community. Angry with myself for having let them down, I did everything possible to have someone in the Youth Group give them to the driver of the morning-buss,

departing from Zagreb, with a destination for Sarajevo. No one, in the Jewish Community of Zagreb, would pick up those two bags and deliver them at the Central Buss Station. They could not take that *responsibility*. This was the reply I got. I was eventually able to repair this fault by handing the bags physically to young man from the Jewish Community of Sarajevo, who was going down when I eventually came back to Zagreb.

These incidents caused me a lot of consternation and pondering. Inside the Jewish Community there were many situations of inaction and frustration caused by the fact that people acted in terms of defined personal capacities, could not delegate them to someone else. Such acquired capacities, even though they were not taken into private possession, were yet inalienable within the community. The right to decide over areas, defined even by very elementary instrumental competencies, went along with the obligation to handle the items within the jurisdiction of that competency. A young man offered me, as private gesture, a videocassette with the Youth Theatre's silent *Purim-spiel*. But I had to wait for him to show up one day, and turn on the video-player to actually insert the cassette. As a private person he could do as he pleased – it was his private cassette – but as an individual entitled with personal capacities at the Jewish Community, he could not be relieved from the duty of fulfilling his privilege. This behaviour was acknowledged by Dr. ZdSt.

These procedures are not surprising in and by themselves. But it was nothing like what I had seen in other social settings in Croatia, and a peculiar feature of relations at the Jewish Community. The problem was rather to figure out how this was possible in a Jewish Community so utterly secularised, and in which they had no systematic religious education for a very long time. Indeed, one must go to the comprehensive code of Jewish Law – The *Shulkhan Arukh*⁷⁴ – to find such rules for what are the implications of picking something up, and regulate in detail of different gestures featuring the difference between acquiring something and taking it into possession. I am certain that they had no knowledge of these ways in detail of Jewish laws, but that such ways – by some bodily communication – had been passed on⁷⁵. It begs some serious questioning on the nature of Jewish transmission: more specifically, that particular mode of articulation between status (egalitarian) and personal autonomy (differentiated).

The model of behaviour, demonstrated by a sample of such experiences, demonstrate not only that *acquiring* something and taking

⁷⁴ Cf., book 4, on the *Shulkhan Arukh* of Zagreb.

⁷⁵ This is by no means unique. There are a number of practices like this that are passed on precisely because they are not explained, and are merely enacted. In the absence of all the other ways that makes Orthodox Jewish life run smoothly, however, this idiosyncratic residue – if, at all – was a major obstacle in the day-to-day relations in the Jewish Community.

it into *possession*, not only are different from each other, but each of them separately inalienable. We will now pass unto things that may/not be filled into that gap. If one look back at the way the *Matzes* received from the international Jewish organisations for Passover, one sees that an acquisition takes place, and subsequently a redefinition whereby the Community takes the *Matzes* into possession: to acquire the packs of unleavened bread for Passover, the members had first to pay their dues. Similarly, when the Joint allocated money to the fund-raising enterprise, the Community took this money into possession even before acquiring it from the Joint, expected MiS^I to show a certain demeanour, and some quick results for the Community to be entitled to acquire this money.

In many ways these features of moral personhood are the «most Jewish» inserts into my travelogue from Zagreb, in the sense: (a) that they are likely to represent a challenge for a general reader in anthropology; (b) of being an definite act of removal from the general society. A naïve reading of Jewish ethics and mores – in regard of the latter point (b) – explains the semi-clandestine character, in some aspects of Jewish life, by accusing its exclusivity and *de facto* exemptions from the mainstream society of law. However, this reading overlooks that the prerogative of Jewish law is completely different from what I call the ‘mainstream conception’ of *what can* be regulated by law. The legal arrangements that prevail inside a Jewish Community do not replace – or, act by substitution of – the laws of the general society: they are explicitly called to operate inside the mundane legal framework, and they can because the province of Jewish law is the *redemption* of people and things – the transactions that are constitutive of the Jewish community space – but emphatically *within* the Law of the Land (in the case of the Zagreb JCC, Croatian law).

Jewish law says: the moral person is a legal person as long as we have an *existential* – rather than ontological – understanding of personhood. Being Jewish is not an ontological category determining the membership in a class – or, group – with attributes and properties, but an existential condition linked to a heritage. In other words, Jewish law segments a part of reality which is un-segmented by general law, and that, in general, belongs to moral philosophy and metaphysics. Jewish law brings *closure* to this domain at the level of the individual person and of the community space: this does not mean that the domain is devoid of reflectivity, but that reflectivity is linked to the practical context of performance (and operates, in this context, reflexively). The originality of the Zagreb ethnography, in this regard, is finding

this closure *without* the dialectic *contents* of Jewish tradition, and apparently unrelated to Jewish rituals as the reflexive *containers* – or, vessels – of this tradition. In other words, I found *empty vessels*. Maybe because the JCC context was relatively poor on events that such vessels serve to reproduce as experience.

In sum: Jewish law is intended to bring out something in Jews, their relationship to things and to people around them, which is deliberately *something else* than their generally accepted – or, trivial – properties and attributes. Usually, this break – or, *edge* – is inextricably linked to Jewish tradition and ritual, while the Zagreb materials show that this is not necessarily so. Thus, from behind the minute detail of communicative interaction, conveyed in the present book, a tableau emerges in which the *intrinsic values* made to prevail upon the Zagreb JCC – the type of values cultivated regardless of whether one lives to see the fruits of one's efforts – may be discerned. This tableau is introduced in the next section (c.f. also in *book 4*).

POSSESSIONS

The Jewish Community had on several occasions rejected financial aid from groups of wealthy Jewish businessmen, who had made a variety of offers. JaBi had offered DM 100.000 without obligation to refund, yet with his right to draw 20% on whatever profits was made from this money. The idea of making a private investment in a nonprofit organisation, to acquire benefits of this sort raised some immediate objections. Furthermore, President OK perceived some of these people as representatives of the *nouveau riche* – or *hoshtopler* – with too close networks into the HDZ. Yet, JaBi made an entirely different kind of offer: to pay for a Rabbi's salary – this offer was also rejected by the President OK. On the other hand, he decided to go for *Magèn*: the fund-raising institution was to act as an *intermediary* between the Jewish Community and the donors – by, for instance, organising dinners for wealthy businessmen at the *Hotel Esplanad*, inspired by *Beyt B'rakha*⁷⁶ who were doing similar things in Prague. In the long run asking the Joint to pay for a Rabbi, which local Jewish businessmen were willing to pay, was not a viable policy, in the President's eyes. OK's plans with *Magèn* was to establish a fund-raising entity similar in function to the *Hevra Kaddisha* – the burial society – that had been a charity organisation in the past. The biggest difference between the

⁷⁶ Hebrew Term: /Beyt B'rakha/ = 'House of Blessing' (the blessing is not for the community to receive endowments but for the donor to give them).

Hevra Kaddisha, of yore, and *Magèn* was that the members of the former organisation conducted all its transactions anonymously and were all trusted members of the Community, while the fund-raising activities of MiSl rather depended on her visibility and were hampered by her marginality in the Community. As a consequence, President OK decided that *Magèn* would have its offices located outside of the JCC, and he kindly asked MiSl to return to her former position as the Executive Director of *Magèn*, on those conditions.

This relocation is interesting because it meant that *Magèn* would have a *satellite*-location away from the JCC, as did the members of the *elite*. Another common feature shared by the JCC-elite is that their professional vocation – as well as the representation of what they do for the JCC in the public space – requires a full personal investment: in other words, the ability to handle private-public crossovers – *i.e.*, aspects of the private space projected into the public sphere, and *vice-versa* – was required. From my office at the JCC top floor, I had several experiences of how *delicate* these crossovers could be, and of the dexterity required to handle them. The story of SoMa highlights this point: I became unknowingly involved in the reconciliation between HK – President OK’s mother – who could not forgive SoMa for having left her position by her son at the JCC, to work as a personal secretary for JaBi.

SoMa turned up at my office with a book in her arms. The book was written in Hebrew, on the day-to-day history of the Zagreb Jewish Community during WWII, including the detail of relationships with the Croatian State during the NDH period (Independent State of Croatia). She had lived parts of her childhood and youth in Israel, and knew modern Hebrew quite well. However, there was absolutely no way she could translate the entire book for me, during my stay. Yet, she started on page 1 and began speaking: sometimes just speaking, otherwise commenting the text and quoting from her own experience. This was not unusual in itself, this form of conversation is a way being together, while poring over books, was common and brought to play in a variety of situations, inside the Jewish community – Synagogue, Library, ORT-centre, Café etc. – but the scope of her project was particular: she intended to come not only once but *several times*, she explained. I spoke – but *little* – about these sessions with HK, whom I knew had very strong opinions about the number of her contemporaries in Croatia who were turning the stones of historical accounts, in order to change

them – for allegedly scientific or for overtly unscientific purposes. Yet, she was a regular and passionate reader of General Horstenau's diary, which was being published book by book in the *Feral Tribune*, in which she got many of her views on the *Ustasha* confirmed through a person from the other side – the observations of a German Nazi Officer.

Then, SoMa eventually told MiSi that she intended to invite me at home for *Shabbat*, and that she was sorry not to have done so earlier: this was highly unusual in Zagreb – from what I learned nobody invited each other home for Shabbat these days; largely because of economic reasons, as an explanation. Nothing was communicated to me directly, so I didn't pursue the matter any further. SoMa went on reading, however, translating and commenting: all the detailed accounts of how the logistics of people, money, food and letters were organised during WWII in Zagreb – accounts of similar type as those I was later to get in Sarajevo from the war on Bosnia (1992-95). Eventually, she came up with the idea that we perhaps could have our little homely get together at HK's place. By having operating for some time as an unknowing courier, between these two women, HK was no longer fundamentally estranged to SoMa, and the idea of receiving her at home – on her own grounds – appealed to her. Besides there was no doubt about SoMa's intention – this encounter was about reconciliation and pardon. For SoMa this affair had gone beyond comeliness, since she took this risk of being rejected. The meeting was prepared in HK's home, with cakes, Turkish coffee and fresh white lace- napkins and -tablecloth. The gathering devolved in relative quiet, speaking about common acquaintances and public events. Then SoMa produced a paper from her purse: a paper which turned out to be a health-document of her mother's from 1945 certifying her pregnancy.

HK was visibly moved. In 1945 she and her husband were returning to Zagreb, from a refugee camp in Switzerland, together with SoMa's parents: her mother was pregnant at this point and this document symbolised the post-war arrival in Zagreb. The point was that HK too at this point was pregnant with OK and his sister Z (who are twins). SoMa was not only asking pardon, but going through me – whom she knew HK had proclaimed a member of the family – to address her memories as a *coming mother*. After SoMa left HK asked me what I thought. In fact, it was very moving and so I told her. And after this point of our relationship HK went beyond the point of telling her memories from the camps in Italy and Switzerland, to tell about her husband and her post-WWII honeymoon in Paris, where they had met with artist Oscar

Herman. This, HK said repeatedly, was *the beginning of life*: «Nothing before this counted anymore!»

She told me, in this sway of mood, that Herman was a very discrete character who didn't promote himself, like certain other artists, and that he kept at home, for the most part of the time, in order to work with his paintings. When he went for a walk he was always wearing a tie – correctly – «... and acted as though he was a Doctor or a Banker, you see?» This was related to me by HK in her home, but what she told me was completely consistent with the views exposed on Herman, during a discussion-panel at the community, discussing a TV programme on Herman, which we had just seen in video-taped version. The external attire, and his mild and comely manners, were confirmed by the panel of experts, assembled to discuss whether Herman had received the retrospective he deserved in this programme. LU, who is an expert on Herman (Part I), confided that Herman, when he was at home, took off his shirt and painted naked down to his waist.

This image of homely relaxation, matched the impression of a largely shared view of what the domestic space should be like, and the entire audience, in fact, grew very attentive from this point on. «The artist died...» she continued «...with his paintbrushes in hand: he was like a soldier in front of a battlefield when he worked!» This image of struggle was then concluded with a phrase that made a gush and ruffle pass through the entire audience: «The artist did not paint real light, but *inner light*» this was repeated to me twice during the panel to make sure that I got the message (there was no daylight in his atelier). The audience and the interlocutors were silent. What did these intense moments of silence – or, muteness – mean? Had she gone out of line? She had done something at once impossible and necessary: she was talking to the members of the audience about their private lives. And this is also my point about the construction of privacy – in reference to HK's rather identical evocation prior to the panel – on-stage in the Jewish Community. In this particular situation, the Community space hosted something else, and really different, from the cultural narratives conveyed by my informants in their daily professional environments. The Jewish Community here functioned as a vessel within which unique events from the private sphere could be reproduced in the form of a collective experience.

These episodes relate how two persons belonging to the JCC-elite chose to act as ice-breakers: while SoMa acted as an ice-breaker into the private space bringing an element from the public sphere – an historical

retrospective and a pregnancy certificate – to complete her public-private crossover, LU acted as an ice-breaker into the public space by bringing images from the private sphere – self-imposed discipline and vision – to complete a private-public crossover intended to establish a curator’s understanding of Oscar Herman’s aesthetics, to rehabilitate the works of a Jewish artist in Zagreb’s art-world. These performances, whether at home or at the JCC, were carefully and explicitly staged. They neither belonged to the floor, nor to the cultural narratives in the style of the *Almanach*. And as such they are conveyed in the *Travelogue* as forms of display typical of the JCC elite. The touch and dexterity required to pull them off requires cultural flair and distinction. The poor and marginal Jews also attempted private-public crossovers, but in an entirely different way.

Mr. RoRo belonged to the group of people sympathetic to the *glossolalic* would-be *Hazan MaZa*, who had written the inflammatory article against President OK during his election campaign. RoRo simply turned up in my office one day. He had read an article I wrote in the *Bilten*, and expressed the wish to expound on its contents: particularly in a piece I had written on the *Almanach*, which he thought to address a key issue. Our conversation went in all possible directions, and he also complained of his problems with concentration, his lack of education, and his problems in getting back a large property, which was his wife’s family’s property. The affair had been in the Croatian press: RoRo had received some support from a journalist in Novi List, but it had come down to nothing: the Jewish Community would not help him. He was poor, uneducated after WWII and survived as a florist. Still, the Jewish Community would only vouch for collective restitution – more precisely, Community buildings – and kept these demands, as well as the lack of manner and culture of he who made them, at arms-length distance.

I raised these issues with the wise BraPol – President of the *Solom Freiburger Cultural Association* – alongside a number of other similar questions concerning the refugee-transfer from Sarajevo, which had seemed to leave but few traces in the Jewish Community, were answered apologetically, though the point was taken, explaining: «*You know! We try to help each other while maintaining our dignity.*» This sums up the dilemma. The tendency of spatial division between the JCC-elite and the members in need of Community services, gained in clarity as the plans for the renovation of the pre-WWII synagogue were exhibited, with an impressive range of scenarios and design, at the prestigious Mimara Museum in Zagreb: the hope of the JCC Presidency was to boost the

restitution process, and to build a multi- functional centre, in what was called a Memorial Synagogue. The plans essentially featured a «JCC-expo» environment, for the series of cultural activities that gave the Jewish Community a public face in Zagreb, while the social and religious function were planned to stay where they were in Palmoticeva Street. In other words – relating to BraPol’s statement – the plans revealed a logistic division between the need to preserve one’s dignity and the concern for others: whether speaking of the less fortunate Ashkenazic families in Zagreb, or – as we shall see – the Sephardic refugees from Sarajevo.

MODELS

In this section we are passing from narrative- to generative time. Using the *green room* as the focal nexus to describe the dynamics in the Zagreb JCC, the challenge of modelling the generative dynamics start with the spatial bifurcation between (a) the JC-members marked by misery (b) and those marked by success.

The first category – the common and marginal – were private users of the JCC, in the sense that they came from their homes to solicit various services from at the JCC, depending on their needs. The members of the elite had professional facilities of their own, from where they conducted their activities and received visitors, that are represented in the figure (*fig. 5*, p. 161) as satellites around the JCC-hub: during my fieldwork these two space-times – the space-time of marginality and the space-time of success – were connected, in the sense of being partially overlapping and mainly juxtaposed at the JCC hub. Towards the end of my fieldwork-period the plans to split the two spaces emerged: *i.e.*, the realm of the culturally distinguished and the realm of the socially disfavoured.

During the major part of this period the (c) JCC-workers constituted the human boundary between the common users and the Presidency, while (d) the President was the gatekeeper between the JCC-workers and the elite. If the processes of communicative interaction discussed in the present book are understood as transactions at different levels of *service*, then the services provided by [colour codes refer to *fig. 5*):

- (1) the Presidency defines at the level of *utilities* [the political and financial «piping» the JCC, deemed essential to its existence – *grey code*], while the services provided by

Figure 5 relates what may be understood as the compound *exchange system* of the Jewish community in Zagreb with elements of the above categories and relations of power and dependency between them.

In the system obtained by seeing the JCC as a system of relationship between services, the «non-ware» is the odd element. It is defined by the repertoire of *inalienable prerogatives* – privileges that are at once rights and duties – imputed to Jewish persons inside the Jewish space (the Zagreb JCC). They cannot be transferred freely from one person to another, and do not serve defined utilitarian purposes: hence, the denomination «non-ware». Objects, equipment and resources that (1) are set-aside for a designated purpose to be (2) served by an appointed person, and cannot be touched or handled by others, are defined as «non-ware».

No anthropologist comes looking for «non-ware»: it is was a concept imposed by the force of empirical events that initially were difficult to accept as experiences – because difficult to believe – and were ungrateful subjects of inquiry, because the informants had no rationales for servicing «non-ware», nor did they see the relevance of interpreting them (*cf.*, the *Acquisitions* section above). This was in stark contrast with people's willingness to engage in café-talk about their lives and preferences as private persons and consumers. This is why the moral persons defined in the topology of private and public spaces – focused on the JCC and the Presidency – have been provisionally determined as *closed* and *open*.

The *Teatro Mundi* schema above is designed in concentric circles from a centre to a periphery, to feature the *JCC as a hub*: a representation of the JCC, which is represented as it was talked about by the agonists, and also used by them (daily, periodically or sporadically). It is a *model* in the sense of being neither a 'model of' nor a 'model for': it is a construct in which the patterns of *representation* and of *use* correspond. They are as socially robust as they are immune to discussion, since the sense one should give to this correspondence – in a number of cases – is something actors do not, cannot or do not have to *account* for. A model, in this definition, can *escape scrutiny* in two senses: (a) the model itself is accepted by actors as a given; (b) having a model relieves actors from having to submit their socio-cultural environments to closer scrutiny. This is the definition of a 'simple model'.

The representation of the Zagreb JCC as a hub – or, indeed, a centre – is striking, on the background of the schism between social services and cultural performance, that has been discussed earlier in detail. This

is why I should like to call this category of model ‘non-reflective’, in the concrete sense of relieving and preventing actors from *seeing conflict*: or, *seeing* what would appear, to a complete outsider, a schismatic and divisive process, *as* not so important *after all* (*i.e.*, not core). The corollary is that models, as such, can be of foundational importance to the prevailing order. And, of course, my discovery of «non-ware» begs for such an explanation, on account for the idiosyncratic character of the variety of inalienable privileges belonging to this category (and also its reflexive rather than reflective function).

As emphasised in the present book, most of the Zagreb Jews and the JCC itself were not traditional. In fact, their relation to tradition was extremely ambivalent. It is not possible to extrapolate this ambivalence from fifty years of Yugoslavian socialism and repressive tolerance, in the religious domain, since the Jews in Sarajevo did not know the type of struggle, which in the present book has been termed *ágon*. The definitions of «non-ware» were crystal-clear, in terms of what was allowed, depending on the presence/absence of designated individuals, and the conditions for solving deadlocks were equally explicit: yet there was no discourse about them, and the point was in the *unfolding* of performance – to keep and do what was required. This is why it eventually dawned on me that this demeanour could, and perhaps should, be seen in comparison to Jewish milieus where it *enfolds* content and represents a *positive value*. In other words, the link emerged between «non-ware» in secular services and the religious concept of service – a metaphysical service – of core importance in traditional Jewish milieus.

In traditional Jewish learning the concepts of *Mukhan* and *Muktzeh* determine items that are ‘designated’ for use (*Mukhan*) and are ‘set aside’ from use (*Muktzeh*). Items that are designated *for* use at a certain time and place, can be lifted, handled and used (with benefit) in that time and place. While items that are set aside *from* use – with regard to the same time and place – *cannot* be lifted and handled in that time and place. These are not marginal issues of Jewish learning, but of concrete practical significance for whoever keeps the *Shabbat*: the foods cooked for the *Shabbat* – before entering the *Shabbat* on Friday evening – are designated items (*Mukhan*) that belong to the time and place of the *Shabbat*, while the fire and light needed to cook it are set aside from use (*Muktzeh*) throughout the *Shabbat* till exit Saturday evening. In terms of time and space, the *Shabbat* constitutes a distinctive zone – with its system of foreground and background items – which is separated from

the rest of the week: as such it is a religious metaphor of the Jewish People and the World to Come.

In everyday life, if an item has been lost it is a great *Mitzvah* – *i.e.*, inalienable privilege – for the finder to return it to the owner (*cf.*, *Acquisitions*; my returning of the painting in my office to the artist ToFr who owned). In Biblical Hebrew, *Mitzvot* (pl.) means ‘commandments’ but the unfolding of this concept in the oral tradition and jurisprudence (*Halachah*) the *Mitzvot*, though certainly Divine Commandments, are explicated as beneficial for the one who performs them⁷⁷: for the soul, for the body or both. In other words, the translation of *Mitzvoth* as ‘inalienable privilege’ means that certain actions are required from individuals either they are designated in an everyday life situation, or as part of a ritual arrangement: they cannot be transferred to someone else⁷⁸ (*cf.*, *Acquisitions*; the episode with the tape of the *Purim-shpiel* that was lent to me by the same person who had to activate the video-player in the Community bar/café area, so that I could actually see it). They are obligatory and privileges – thus, ‘inalienable privileges’.

In other words, the *Mitzvot* and what has been coined here as «non-ware» are comparable but not identical: while the latter determination states what the services are *not* – they are nontransferable and non-utilitarian – the *Mitzvoth* create educational (and experiential) environments: the educational environment of a traditional Jew is not the class-room, but the transportable moral environment ruled by religious laws that s/he carries around everywhere, and in all situations of life. Hence the «non-ware» is related to vessels – or, *K’lim* – which is the *totality* inside which Jewish learning challenge is formed, but they are still *nonidentical*. Traditional Jewish learning is not a *total* enterprise, however, since traditional Jews are also part of society and partake of economic life and politics. Rather, it is correctly determined as an *ongoing* enterprise: the *Mitzvoth* enfold Jewish learning (transforming face-to-face encounters into small workshops) in all situations of everyday life. The vessels – or, containers – that emerged as stumbling blocks in the Zagreb JCC (*i.e.*, the «non-ware») did not relate to any specific content: they were simply unfolding entities, and represented in the same sense *ongoing* concerns, but were resolutely empty (or, «lucky»).

The reason that I emphasise *empty* – or, «lucky» – is not a normative idea that they should have been full, is rather that they were clearly and exhaustively defined from the *floor* at the JCC, with its microscopy

⁷⁷ Maimonides (Rambam), *Mishne Torah*.

⁷⁸ Example: the token which is given to a congregant who is designated for the honour of going up to the Torah (*Aliyah*) to testify the reading of a Torah passage, cannot be handed over to someone else – once received and accepted it is an inalienable privilege.

of material detail, but also because they were explicitly determined as devoid of rationale and interpretation. Since they were fully defined – from the agonists’ point of view – they were *not* in the making. As related in this book, the JCC-elite did not partake of this aspect of life in the JCC. The entire process of how the fund-raiser of *Magè̃n Mišl* traversed this space while being pursued by impediments and accusations, only to be herself located in a satellite office outside of the JCC – like the remainder JCC-elite – shows that the flexibility required for her activities as a fund-raiser would not fit into this environment. This may have been the case for the JCC-elite, in general, since when an Orthodox – but outgoing – Rabbi was hired by the President OK, as he was eventually elected for the third time, a similar type of development was recorded by the Croatian- and the Jewish international press, when the Rabbi was dismissed from his position, in the beginning of President OK’s fourth term, in 2005. The Rabbi was apparently very competent and eventually well liked (and well-connected) in the Croatian society. When the Presidency was criticised for this in the Croatian press, it simply declared the sovereign right of the JCC *not to renew* the Rabbi’s 7-year contract.

This Rabbi being Orthodox – and reputedly quite competent in his walk of life – one would think that the opportunities to awake this intriguing category of models, coined «non-ware», from its «historical slumber» were ample. So, alternative explanations must be considered. During the socialist period the Jewish community was not only in a situation of relative, or sheltered, powerlessness but also in a situation of having lost a sizeable number of real estate assets (about 18 major items – or, buildings – belonging to the Community). Such transfers of property to the State affected a wide spectrum of legal persons, during the socialist Yugoslav period. In the Jewish Community, however, a minimal – yet determined – set of pointers to *traditions*, as featured by the Jewish calendar, came with the stern regime of inalienable privileges – featuring a variety of *estates* in the Jewish community – as well as the record and memory of pre-Yugoslavian property. In other words, what we have at hand is something paradoxically Jewish and at the same time emphatically local stuff. Jewish human resources coming in from the outside, often overlook the importance of the locality in what defines intrinsically what it means to be Jewish for those who are living there: *i.e.*, being Jewish as an art and craft of the locality.

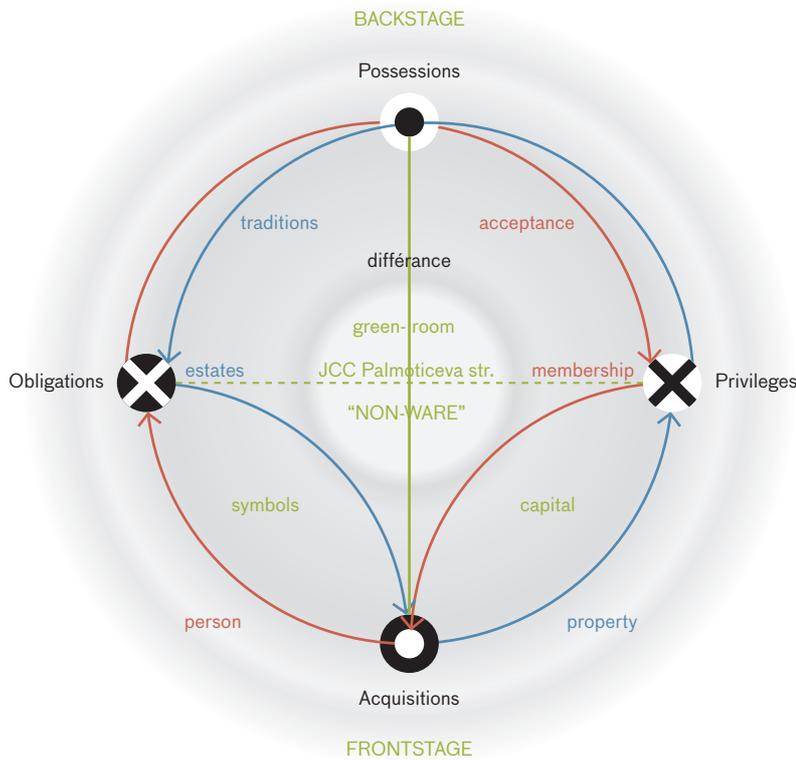
When drawing up these Jewish legal relations in a new visual diagram (*fig. 6, blue code*), it is with a different definition of dependencies and correspondence than the ones used previously (*fig. 4*). In the below diagram – featuring the symbolic economy of the Zagreb JCC – it is not the politics of recognition in the cultural economy which is being highlighted, but another aspect of accountability: while the cultural economy diagram (*fig. 4*) was concerned with people’s accountability before *each other*, the symbolic economy diagram (*fig. 6*) focuses on the same people’s accountability before *their own experience* – whether this experience is connected to their acceptance of themselves as Jews, relates to their share of historical memory as JC members, or to their personal experience (*brick code*). While (1) the cultural economy constitutes the interaction from which social *identities* are generated, the interaction within (2) the symbolic economy has to do with cultural *belonging* and *différance* (Derrida, 1967): removing oneself from the mainstream, while assuming a position on that mainstream and interacting with it (the *différance* is a difference that differs).

Throughout my fieldwork the only single issue that really did mobilise the JCC from young to old was the haunting spectre from the days of WWII fascism, during the NDH regime (Independent State of Croatia). Tujman’s HDZ-regime in 1996-97, at once paid homage to a number of symbols from the fascist period – like the calendar, the money system, the historical view of national roots – while pampering its Jewish Community. The confusion of facts – of foes and friends – terrified everyone at the JCC. President Tujman humoured the police officers that hung portraits of Ante Pavelic (NDH) in their departments, while at the same sponsoring ostentatiously the Jewish Community in a number of areas. These were acts that could not be repelled and offers that could be refused. In response, the JCC fought to take a *third* position in the urban life of Zagreb, by siding with the educated intellectual citizens, as well as with cultural and academic institutions.

In this context the understanding of the «non-ware» as *containers* – kept for «luck» rather than to enfold Jewish traditional contents and experience – can turn out to be useful to understand the personal enclosures at the JCC as component aspects of *ritual*: containers are simply component elements of the human *infrastructure* that regularly *vehicles* contents, and themselves surfacing only occasionally as contents. In comparison with the services – whether defined at the goods-, commodity- or utility- level of transaction (defined straightforwardly

at the corresponding level of private persons, the civic elite and the Presidency) – the «non-ware» constitutes a *structural heterogeneity* in the dynamic system made up by the bulk of dynamic processes discussed in this book. However, the ethnography illustrates how the dialectic of (a) designating items *for* certain users, and (b) setting them aside *from* use [of other users] – *i.e.*, inalienable privileges that foster «non-ware» – may be used as elements to model the generative dynamics of how the system [JCC] responds when subjected to the impact of influence from the outside [Croatian society]. Ritual containers kept (empty) for «luck», inside a JCC surrounded by a political climate of fear, partake of the generation of a schismatic process without schismogenesis (Bateson, 1972: 68). By expanding our notion of ritual – to encompass

fig. 6 – Symbolic economy:
Zagreb (Lys Graph).



these elements of communicative interaction – it is possible to analyse the Zagreb JCC as a *disordered system* (Barth, 1992) at the level of generative processes (Barth, 1966).

For whoever wanted to know the Zagreb JCC was fairly transparent: the information-policies based on (a) need to know, and (b) previous knowledge applied in a fairly heuristic fashion, and my task as a field-working ethnographer was – from this point of view – a question of good timing and strategy. The literacy practices in Zagreb did not – as in *book 1* – intervene directly in my itinerancy through various sources and did not impose any particular trajectory in my research as it became pregnant with conclusions about the ways and mores of the Jewish community, or – more narrowly – the JCC in Zagreb. The weighty stuff I found in the cultural and symbolic domain: of which I, for this reason, venture an independent discussion here. It is not sufficient to combine ‘information policies’ and ‘literacy practices’ as component approaches of a compound, and then use these to extract the symbolic economy from the field-materials. The symbolic economy manifests traits that can lack the reflective aspect of information policies and literary practices, while harbouring tensions that are completely beyond their scope: what are the actors’ own search- and accountability models? And, how should we approach them? In *fig. 7* these questions are given a problem-design by representing them in terms of the tension between two systems.

Let’s quickly round up the argument. The tensions mentioned above, may provisionally be assessed in a fairly structured fashion, by considering the cultural and symbolic economies as two systems: a content system and a container system. From a functional point of view (A) the cultural dimension and (B) the social dimension of the Zagreb JCC, are distinct but may be seen as *partially overlapping* sub-systems – *i.e.*, content- and container-systems in *fig. 7* – of the global system. The two diagrams read in the following way.

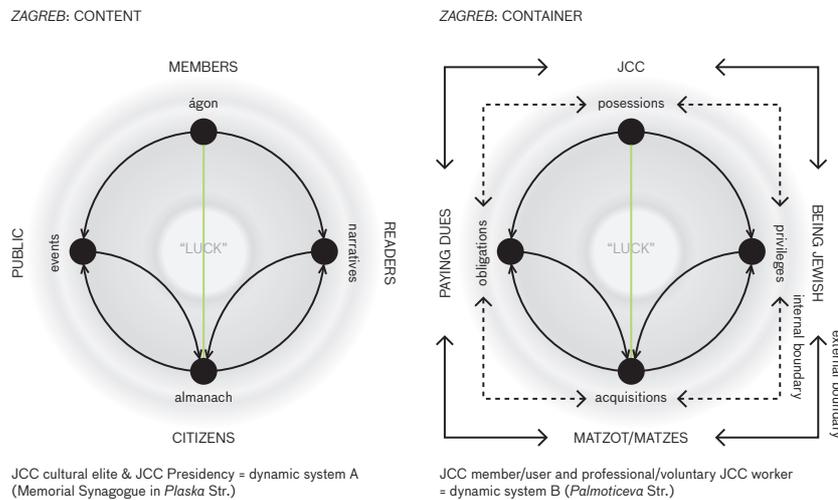
Content System (A): the high performance of the JCC in the area of cultural events and publications – the JCC-face – is the form of social life determined as the *Almanach* (the two lateral arrows indicate its manifestation), the form is a manifestation of a process called ‘publicity’, this process is generated in an agglomerated space called *green room*, and the interaction at this level develops with feedback from events and publications.

Container System (B): the standard performance of the community in the area of professional services constitutes the ‘external boundary’ of the JCC, and constitutes the output manifestation of President OK’s backstage decision processes, and the front-stage of cultural narratives that provided legitimacy for the Jewish social space in the Croatian society, the dynamics of the formation of the *external boundary* is generated from the management of the *internal boundary* – featured by «non-ware» – and the interaction at this level develops with feedback from the compound of a) backstage decision processes and b) frontstage cultural narratives (*i.e.*, the *Almanach*).

From a dynamic point of view, however, the private-public *crossovers* were never functionally integrated: neither into system A nor system B. *Crossovers* were wild cards. This feature is underscored by the *physical* separation in the plans for the Memorial Synagogue, as a «Multi- Functional Centre» with a pervasively cultural definition, which were confirmed and allegedly in the pipeline of the Croatian Government’s decision-process in 1998 (after I concluded my fieldwork). The *crossovers* manifest a non-overlapping dynamic: *i.e.*, a *third dynamic*, unrelated to the partial overlap between system A and system B (as two integrated dynamic systems).

This third dynamic manifests the schismatic processes in the

fig. 7 – Two partially overlapping but ‘tensioned’ dynamic systems.



compound system of A and B, and cannot be understood in terms of Bateson's *schismogenesis*: because the compound system is in some aspects features *subordination*, in other aspects *dichotomisation* – but since we are talking about a dichotomisation with a *leak* (as with the reconciliation episode between HK and SM), or sometimes with a *trickle* (as in the ethnography on *Magèn*), there are also some features of complementarity in the relation between system A and system B.

At the aggregate level, the form of dynamic identified in the compound system, is characterised by a presence of the JCC in the international Jewish press, which is surprisingly high, taking into consideration the size of the Zagreb Jewish community; while, on the other hand, the intellectual and social resources of the JC were exhausted by the management of external and internal relations, which on international arenas was manifested by a very low presence and activity of the JCC in Jewish networks. From the elementary point of view of communicative interaction – featured in fig. 7 – the *triangulation* between (I) content; (II) container; (III) crossover were caught in a *schismatic* dynamic. But these observations are by no means deterministic.

The triangulation between content, container and crossover are characteristic of the reflective models we know as 'rituals': rituals share the general characteristic of models that patterns of representation and use correspond. But, in addition, the ritual includes a model of *correspondence*, and therefore the ritual – as a compound – constitutes a reflective model. The capability of *integrating difference* – rather than assimilating it or isolating it – offers a working definition of what it means to *level with reality*: the scope of experience regularly exceeds what humans can take, and the pressure of catching up with ongoing or remembered experience summons human exertions of a different type (*différance*) than the efforts invested in their levelling with each other (*distinction*). A chasm divides them, yet rituals make claims of bringing people across: most Jewish rituals deal with this chasm and crossing over it. Like nonreflective models, rituals are *core* – in the sense of being socially robust and immune to discussion – but they also are *boundary spanners* that may pick up on fringe activities in a dynamic system (which means [*book 6*] that levelling with reality can bring more than psychological comfort/distress – it is also a knowledge- management relevant issue, crossing over to success/failure in service delivery [*book 2*]). Rituals are models working simultaneously as «wardens» and «pattern breakers»: *i.e.*, a technology, after a manner of fashion, used

by humans to search and account. This is why rituals can never be reduced to strict routine (without being reduced to institutions).

In this understanding, the compound dynamic system, in the present book, may fruitfully be understood as a ‘disordered system’ (Barth, 1992): in a dynamic system where processes are generated from transactions defined at different levels of service – utilities, commodities and goods – ritual constitutes a structural heterogeneity with no predefined function, but emerges as a determining factor when the global system is subjected the impact of influence from the outside. That is, ritual – in this broadened definition – can span affordances in disordered systems: *i.e.*, a change in perception of the realm of action that allows something to happen that was previously deemed impossible. In the Zagreb case, the ethnography on crossovers feature this broadened sense of ritual: *i.e.*, actors who discover that finding a way of crossing the chasm between events and experiences within themselves – in relation to others – can open a bridge in the communicative interaction between actors given the opportunity. But what does such a broadened sense of ritual have to do with religious ritual? I will leave this question pending on the ethnography and discussions in the following books.

The objective of the next book (*book 4*) is to expound the ethnography from Zagreb on this particular issue, and progress in this line of research, by proposing an iterative approach to the *Seder*-ritual (Passover): by conceiving rituals in terms of ‘iteration’ – contrary to the concept of repetition, or routine – we can trace how something is added to the ritual, by the fact of performance and the actual *process*, that becomes part of the ritual as a *result*.

The ritual is better understood in terms of communicative interaction – with artificial and bodily metaphors – than in terms of a cultural text (the interpretations of which would have to be included into the text in order to be iterative⁷⁹). In Jewish rituals actors typically link up with books, as core symbolic objects around which the ritual is organised. But books are also standard elements in Jewish relationships – outside the religious setting – and therefore testing-grounds for a broadened sense of rituals.

On this background, *book 4* starts by featuring ‘the ethnography of books’ as a methodological concept, in order to highlight processes in which books are metaphors of communicative realms – or, interiors – in which actors may engage in particular forms of exchange. Then we will proceed with the ethnography from Sarajevo and Paris in *books 5-6*.

⁷⁹ The text used as road-guide for the *Seder* ritual (order for the two *Pesah* evening meals) – called the *Haggadah* (the Story) – is a case in point: commentaries are added by people who publish their versions of the *Haggadah* – there are a few fixed elements, yet considerable freedom is allowed both in publishing new *Haggadot* and in the performance of the *Seder* ritual. No one and everyone is the author of the *Haggadah*, and it features a communal estate of individual freedom.

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS

(In order of appearance)

Hava Nagila (Hebr.) = Let us rejoice (lyrics originally celebrating the Balfour Declaration in 1917).

Mezuzah (Hebr.) = Door-post (cylinder containing parchment with Torah verses fixed to door-posts in Jewish buildings)

Tefillin (Hebr.) = Phylacteries (lit. prayers) worn during morning prayers during the week (not on Shabbat)

Hagim (Hebr.) = Festivals of various historical origins (biblical, rabbinical, modern)

Yorzeit (Yid.) = Yearly remembrance of the dead, on the day of their passing on.

Matzes (Yid.)/(Hebr.) *Matzot* (pl. for *Matza*) = *Unleavened bread*.

Rosh Hodesh Nissan (Hebr.) = Head of the Month Nissan (New Year of Kings)

Rosh Hodesh Tishrei (Hebr.) = Head of the Month Tishrei (New Year of Creation)

Purim (Hebr.) = Lots (like in casting lots) – Jewish carnival

Mishloakh Manot (Hebr.) = Gifts to the poor (at Purim)

Loshn Kodesh (Hebr.) = Holy Language

Arvit/Ma'ariv (Hebr.) = Evening prayer service

Shulkhan Arukh (Hebr.) = Laid Table (Jewish code of law)

Mukhan (Hebr.) = Set aside for use

Muktzeh (Hebr.) = Set aside from use

K'lim (Hebr.) = Vessels

Mitzvah (Hebr.) = Commandment, and good deed according to it (pl. *Mitzvot*)

Halachah (Hebr.) = Going or walking (path or way)

Seder (Hebr.) = Order (same root as *Siddur*), used for the ritual Passover meal.

Haggadah (Hebr.) = Story (manual or road-map for the Seder).

Hebr. = Hebrew word

Yid. = Yiddish word/pronunciation

H = Guttural H

S = Dental S (Sh)



BOOK 4

THE BOOKS OF ZAGREB AND SARAJEVO

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CHIEF ACTORS IN BOOK 4

1. SoMa – Former President OK's secretary, subsequently JaBi's personal secretary
2. JuKo – Librarian at the Jewish Community Library
3. OK – President of the Jewish Community of Zagreb
4. ToFr – Young Jewish artist

BOOK 4: THE BOOKS OF ZAGREB AND SARAJEVO

*Who am I?
Where do I come from?
I am Antonin Artaud
and if I say it
as I know how to say it
immediately
you will see my present body
fly into pieces
and under ten thousand
notorious aspects
a new body
will be assembled
in which you will never again
be able
to forget me.¹*

¹ Postscript to a poem on the Theatre of Cruelty, in *Artaud – Artaud Anthology* (trsl. Jack Hirschman, San Francisco: City Lights, 1972).

A PRELIMINARY THEORY OF RITUALS AND SYMBOLS

Rituals are not institutional. And symbols are not ideological. The ritual features institutional contents and the symbol features ideological contents, but rituals and symbols – as containers – have properties and attributes of their own, that differ from these contents, and, paradoxically, depart from them. Rituals are also acts of discernment, and symbols are signs of recognition that feed – and sometimes build – human cognition. Rituals and symbols can act as the ferments of human awareness.

A ritual act follows a *path*, while at the same time defining a *trail*: if it is frequently referred to a tradition, a custom or a rule-set, it can also bring about unforeseen experiences – forceful creations – in

actual performance, that are striking in their creative novelty. Rituals can therefore act, at the same time, as wardens of continuity and as harbingers of change.

This dual property of the ritual is shared by the symbol: symbolic attributes, such as pattern, are signatures of systems and therefore, as a material content, the symbol is conservative. In this aspect, the symbol is a *trace*: the sign-post of an ideological system in space, and an integral and constitutive part of an interior (defined externally by surfaces and enclosures). Then the symbol manifests the system as an *opus operatum*.

As a material expression, however, a symbolic form can bring up a creative impetus in social interaction. The symbol thereby becomes a *thread*: an immediate manifestation – an instance, of workmanship – of the warp and woof of a weaving process, or work in progress. It is independent of surfaces and enclosures, since it generates surfaces and defines enclosures. Then the symbol constitutes a systemic *modus operandi*.

In Ingold's understanding (2007: 41-44), a thread is a line that may be experienced as a reality in its own right, while a trace is intrinsically defined in relation to a surface: similarly, whenever actors engage with traces, they can perceive patterned forms of *space* – or, interiors – while threads constitute the space of *form* (*i.e.*, the dimensionality of the surrounding space becomes defined [descriptively] referred to the form *itself*, rather than [conventionally] by a system of coordinates external to it [*cf.*, Mandelbrot, 1989]). Symbols are therefore not simply contained by ritual acts, since they themselves can be operated autonomously as expressive vessels, or containers.

The differentiation *between* rituals and symbols is iterated *within* rituals and symbols separately: (1) the path of a seeker is transformed into the trail of a hunter, in the act of performance of a ritual; (2) the trace of a systemic order is transformed into the thread of a labyrinthine process, through the activity of working with symbols. There are symbolic usages that range beyond the conventional ritual, in which symbols manifest themselves as threads rather than traces: *i.e.*, as *material expressions* in their own right, rather than as *material contents* that are entirely defined by, and dependent on, the existence and performance of a ritual.

The difference between the ritual and the symbol therefore is productive of differences: a dynamic difference, or *différance* (*book 2*). A difference that conceals a productive, or bifurcating, asymmetry. Because of this, rituals and symbols have a much wider reach than

the ideologies, or institutions, within which they are defined: as they bifurcate – off from the circumstances of their official performance or transmission – they branch into the mundane realm, from which they can return, but neither necessarily nor eternally. Rituals and symbols can disseminate into the mundane realm, while they themselves dwindle away as spiritual vessels (*book 3*).

In the mundane realm, rituals and symbols are disseminated in the form of various *interaction designs*, that paradoxically fulfil and deconstruct the ideological system within which they are taught, and return to the pale of sanctity as these interaction designs are consummated in the communicative aspect of transactions. This does not always happen, not by far: interaction designs – no matter how cunning and skilful – are not readily consummated in transactions, and not necessarily crowned with success.

Interaction designs are effective in the sense that they are created by humans through an imaginative coupling of virtual and actual elements of their life-worlds: in generative analysis, I suggest, *interaction designs* are therefore the equivalents of *cultural units* in semiotics (Eco, 1976). The interaction designs that will be discussed in the remainder of the *Travelogue* are: BOOKS, PUZZLES, HOLDING PATTERNS and REBUSES. They relate to the expanded, or disseminated, understanding of rituals and symbols in the following way:

<i>to modus operandi</i> <i>from</i> <i>opus operatum</i>	<i>symbol</i>	<i>ritual</i>
<i>symbol</i>	BOOK	REBUS
<i>ritual</i>	PUZZLE	HOLDING PATTERN

As one out of four types of interaction design, the BOOK is a trace that becomes transformed into a ‘thread’ (Ingold, *ibid.*), as the reader passes from searching the text for a system of meanings (*opus operatum*), to partaking of the process of writing (*modus operandi*).

While the REBUS (*cf.*, Perec, 1999), as a different type of interaction design, is a tracery which is transformed into a hunt: as a trace, the rebus is composed of structurally heterogeneous visual elements – usually, textual elements and illustrations – while as a hunt it has a target solution that may be found.

The PUZZLE is yet another type of interaction design, in which a path of solitary problem solving (*opus operatum*) is transformed into a thread (*modus operandi*) as soon as the solitary practitioner has cracked a solution, whether by accident or design: it then defines its own space. At the difference from a REBUS, the solution essentially disappears and becomes part of the PUZZLE as soon as the solution is emerging. When the pieces are laid and the pattern emerges, we see the motif rather than the winding path of operations that led to it.

Finally, the HOLDING PATTERN is the fourth, and last, type of interaction design that belongs to the above group: the holding pattern is the epitome of the path that is transformed into a hunt. The holding pattern is a formation – a way of moving in relation to others who also are moving – upheld by actors holding the centre, as in a hunting party, which is sufficiently stable to tolerate delays and missed targets.

The HOLDING PATTERN and the REBUS are similar in that they both have external targets: the REBUS has a solution, and the HOLDING PATTERN has an end. They can both be recorded. While BOOKS and PUZZLES are similar in that the work invested in them *a priori* leaves no external trace. They only leave their conscious/unconscious imprint on a subject. Books and holding patterns are opposites, while puzzles and rebuses are their inversions.

However, as material artefacts or symbols, BOOKS may very well become engaged as elements in a REBUS or a PUZZLE, and thereby become elements of transactions in knowledge (with variable success). This is the topic of the first part of the following *ethnography of books* (Zagreb). Then in the closing part, the analysis of the interference of a BOOK and a HOLDING PATTERN in the Seder (Passover) ritual, is a step-by-step analysis of how a BOOK can be transposed or projected unto a HOLDING PATTERN.

In all cases following, the transactions ventured between the sample of different interaction designs, the correspondence sought between patterns of use and pattern of representation is *reflective* rather than simple (*book 2*), since they have to be somehow elaborated, worked out by actors, and are not considered by the social actors as given from the

outset (neither in terms of process nor result). The transactions sought – and sometimes consummated – iterate reflective models.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF BOOKS

The ethnography of books is concerned with BOOKS as symbolic artefacts that function as transportable “door-posts” giving unto symbolic spaces, or interiors, with alternative communicative affordances than those existing in spaces without books (*cf.*, Perce, 2000). Educational activities, such as the interpretation of texts, is but a subclass of the broader activities involving books: such as SoMa’s speaking over a book [*book 3*, Possessions – the Hebrew book on the history of the Zagreb Jews during WWII] as part of an interactive design that led to her reconciliation with HK.

How do we establish the ethnography of BOOKS? A book can provide occasions for tasks that are concerned only obliquely with its contents, while the interpretation of texts – in Jewish education – invariably is concerned with more than one book at the time (texts are generated by the warp and woof of interpretation in a comparative reading of passages from several books)².

The first part of the present survey is concerned with books from the point of view of tasks and occasions (Barth, 1972): the first part, with the biblio-ethnography from Zagreb, is concerned with how personhood is constituted and managed in relation to books. While the second part of *book 4* is concerned with how interpretation is featured by comparative readings and staged in ritual (the Seder-meal in remembrance Passover).

Both sections are concerned with the transition from books to body-metaphors: (a) as containers featuring the existence of bodies and their reality [Badiou, 2006]; (b) as subjective contents that are hinged to these virtual bodies, or embodiments [Csordas, 1994]; (c) as crossovers that transport, infuse and return – or, redeem – the actual body [Lakoff & Johnson, 1999].

This three-step dynamic has a textural and gestural dimension: (1) a textural dimension relating to ‘traces’ and the consecration of a space, or redeeming of the place [occasions]; (2) a gestural dimension relating to ‘threads’ and how reflective practices – or, procedures – are hinged to generative processes [tasks]. These two dimensions are aspects of how actors – even when they interact as a loosely coupled network –

² In Jewish education there is no reading of the *Torah* (Pentateuch) without the minimum of commentaries: the canon of all Jewish commentaries is Rashi – Rabbi Shlomo ben Yitzhaki – who wrote commentaries to the entire Pentateuch in Troyes (France) in 11-12th century C.E., other – modern commentaries – are shorter, contain less Jewish cultural history, and are generally more adapted to the Modern scientific world-view. A regular Jew who studies *Torah* daily, will typically study verses from the weekly *Torah* portion (*Parashat ha-Shavua*) with commentaries, Talmud-pages on key concepts and jurisprudence, and a selection of ethical and practical texts (significantly, from the *Shulkhan Arukh* and Maimonides [Rambam]). As an effect the regular *Torah* Jew has a daily training in comparative readings, and the interpretive skills developed are not based on the reading of a single text.

‘hold the centre’ [gestural dimension] while levelling with realities in the environment [textural dimension]: *i.e.*, like riders on a foxhunt.

This simile is intended to allow the reader to arrive at an understanding of ritual as a reflective model which, in people’s actual practice, can partake of a pursuit (unlike the researcher, *pace* Bourdieu, who comes in either before or after the battle [Bourdieu, 1992]). It is precisely on this point that a reflective model departs from a simple model: while the simple model (*book 3*) is constituted by an assumed correspondence between patterns of representation and of use, the reflective model is constituted by an *elaborated* – or, worked out – correspondence between patterns of representation and of use, whereby the reflective model can be hinged to interactions, rather than simply to cultural meanings.

The exercise presently carried out in *book 4* is to prepare the grounds for a concept of generative model in which the reflective model is taken one step further, to include contingent aspects of ‘searching and tracking’ in a systematic fashion: *i.e.*, to become properly empirical (which the reflective model – or, ritual – needs not be). The elaboration of the generative model, beyond the simple and reflective model, will be carried out in *book 5* and *book 6*.

The following section on precious books – the *Shulkhan Arukh* of Zagreb and the Sarajevo *Haggadah* – introduces the problematic of BOOKS in space and place: in the ethnography from Zagreb, the *Shulkhan Arukh* belongs to the Zagreb JCC, and serves the JCC to flag the Jewish community (on the domestic Croatian arena primarily); in the ethnography from Sarajevo, the Passover *Haggadah* does not belong to the Sarajevo JCC, but still serves the JCC to flag the Jewish community (both on the domestic arena and abroad). In other words, the precious Jewish books in Zagreb and Sarajevo both are metonyms, or flags, for their Jewish Communities. The ethnography will be used to develop the definitions of the metaphor- and metonym- concepts, which in turn will serve to clarify differences in the sociocultural dynamics of ritual practices – or, reflective models – that I found in the two communities.

TWO PRECIOUS BOOKS – TWO METONYMS

The *Shulkhan Arukh* of Zagreb, and the Sarajevo *Haggadah*, are valuable – or, *precious* – in two different but related ways: (1) they are *rare* books [the *Shulkhan Arukh* is a first edition from 16th century Venice;

the *Haggadah* is a parchment manuscript from 14th century Spain]; (2) they are metonyms – or, “flags” – to their communities [the Jewish Community of Zagreb owns the *Shulkhan Arukh*, while the Jewish Community of Sarajevo borrows the *Haggadah* from the National Museum of Ethnology in Bosnia]. As such they are of key importance to understand the symbolic economies of two Jewish Communities.

As suggested, BOOKS are conceptually different from ‘texts’. Books are objects that are *handled* and *appreciated* before and after they are read: either the handling is reduced to taking books out of a book-shelf and placing them back, or whether there are more elaborate regimes of surveillance – *e.g.*, rhetoric regimes of ordering and rearrangement in libraries as theatres of memory [Yates, 1992] – requiring a more elaborate approach to *enter* and *exit* the world of the text. Independently of whether books are defined in secular or religious terms – in a library or a synagogue – there are *ritual metaphors* that belong to the handling of books that are distinct from the act of *reading*. Reading from the *Torah* Scroll, in the ritual context of a Synagogue-service, and reading a book in one’s habitual armchair at home, constitute literacy practices, with meanings and values that are distinct from the contents of reading. The testimonial dimension of *gathering* around books, while walking in-and-out of the talk related by books, to level with reality in inter-personal relationships, is an activity that cannot be subsumed as ‘interpretation’ without missing the point: readability – in whichever form it comes – always takes place inside an *interior* of inter-personal relationships that constitutes, in its mode of connection to the reading process, a hinterland of sorts (before and beyond the reading of any given content).

In the Zagreb case, the procedures of handling, presenting and accessing the antique first editions of the *Shulkhan Arukh*, are concerned with the place of this particularly precious Jewish heirloom inside a private collector’s library: the collector, Dr. Schick, donated the treasure to the Jewish Library (presently, the Zagreb JCC 2nd floor). When I argue that the *Shulkhan Arukh* became a metonym for the Jewish JC, as previously noted, it is at first in the naïve sense that ‘flags’ are metonyms for ‘nations’ (Barthes, 1952). However, this definition-by-simile hides the complex nature of the metonym. In the following discussions, I argue that the metonym brings an ending – or, conclusion – to the metaphor: the *metonym* gives back what the *metaphor* abducts, it actualises the metaphor by proposing an interaction design, and opens the possibility for the metaphor to be consummated in transactions.

³ After the conference the Zagreb youths expressed their feelings of disappointment on how few of the ECJC's "7/8 Communities" had ventured to send their young to Zagreb, with the explanation that it was too dangerous. In addition, their demeanour must be understood in relation to the marginal position of the youth group in the community (book 3).

In other words, the metaphor and the metonym are understood as two phased layers of ritual practice, of a reflective model, or of search and accountability. The following episode will serve as an example. The particularity of the Zagreb JCC – when compared to other Jewish communities – was that the show-and-tell competency was elicited in the presence of books, and was neither part of the public nor private spheres in the JC: show-and-tell over books was a face-to-face exercise, in teeming spaces as the library (and my office at the 3rd floor), and was – in this sense – kept at a personal level of involvement and engagement. In other words, show-and-tell was a *green room* exercise with a testimonial – rather than narrative – definition added. During a youth group gathering in the *7 countries 18 cities project (book 2)* hosted by the Zagreb JCC, it became quite clear that the young Zagreb Jews simply did not manage to muster their *show-and-tell* skills in a Jewish public setting, at the difference from the youth from the other communities that had come to visit them³. Outside the confines of the JCC, however, they did not have this problem. We shall see that this feature does not characterise the youth-group only: it is a general feature of how metaphoric “walkabouts” (e.g., SoMa’s reconciliation with HK) return a metonymic “yields” that can change the state of inter-personal relationships, and with clear reference to the value of holding the centre (i.e., the JCC), but completely outside the province of activities and services at the JCC: it is rather part of a HOLDING PATTERN in which the seminal events that determine the ritual can take place in the periphery rather than at the core of ritual performance.

The ethnography from the Sarajevo JCC represents, in this regard, a counterpoint. In this ethnography the ritual metaphors engaged in handling the precious book exemplar – the Sarajevo *Haggadah* – are directly connected to its contents, since the book contains a ritual instruction of how the story of the Exodus, related in the *Haggadah*, should be shown and told: interestingly, while the textural dimension is salient in the librarian’s description of the books themselves, and their place in Dr. Schick’s collection in the Zagreb JC, the textural dimension in the Sarajevo-case emerges in JCC model of the ritual space (a very thorough *house-cleaning* that precedes the *Seder*-ritual, and that leaves the interior traceless of ferments, was extended by the renovation of the JCC-facilities in Sarajevo).

In this textural aspect, the *Haggadah* is similar to a *Siddur* – i.e., the Jewish prayer-book: the *Seder*-ritual as structured by the *Haggadah*,

and the *Siddur* share the same linguistic root, and mean ‘order’. Order does not only mean ‘order of procedure’ but also includes the larger set of arrangements that have to be *in order* for the ritual to take place, and constitute a wider sociocultural *process* reflected in the model (without the domestic-communitarian hinterland of *Kosher*-arrangements the ritual in principle is *null*). In traditional Judaism, a valid ritual is a compound of symbolic process and ritual procedure – of an elaborated rather than assumed fit – which is why the extended ritual practice can operate as a reflective model.

It makes more sense to differentiate between the Jewish Communities in Zagreb and Sarajevo along these lines, than in relative terms of Orthodoxy: (a) because the Sarajevo JC is Sephardic and therefore only has a concept for Jewish/non-Jewish [and not degrees of Orthodoxy/Reform in Jewish matters]; (b) because the larger symbolic economy of the Sarajevo JC included the ‘Kosher symbolism’-cum-’Jewish rituals’ *compound* (*i.e.*, the reflective model featuring traditional Judaism) while the symbolic economy of the Zagreb JC did not [in Zagreb, all arrangements were mundane – *i.e.*, non-kosher – while Jewish rituals were assigned to a religious sphere, the Temple, inside the community]. The *Haggadah* and *Seder* have a specific background and purpose, as an introduction to Judaism and to educate children. But a different aspect is brought to the fore here⁴: the objective is to feature the ritual as a reflective model that can be integrated – and in turn help to understand – the larger symbolic economy of the Sarajevo JC (*book 6*), because it extends, as symbols do, beyond the pale of sanctity.

⁴ For context and purpose specific for the Sarajevo setting, see *book 5*.

The valuable books of the Zagreb and Sarajevo Jewish Communities are sacred texts of very different types: while the *Shulkhan Arukh* contains a code of Jewish jurisprudence intended for *ritual experts*, the *Haggadah* contains a code of ritual performance intended for *everyone* (including children and non-Jewish guests). The reasons why these two precious books ended up in Zagreb and Sarajevo are, of course, historical. However, the explanation of how they acquired their different *metaphysical* load (*i.e.*, their *presence* in the minds of people as *emblems* of their communities) owes to the different symbolic economies in the two Jewish Communities: *i.e.*, how these symbolic economies are linked up with quite different literacy practices (*modus operandi*) and information policies (*opus operatum*). The construction of the book as a single item in a collection and by association to the person that owned it (the *Shulkhan Arukh*), is different from the ritual

enactment of a story (the *Haggadah*) that integrates passages from a number of different books, thereby staging a comparative reading that invite questions, commentaries and interpretations around the *Seder* table (Sarajevo). They are HOLDING PATTERNS with different interaction designs.

ZAGREB: THE SHUKHAN ARUKH

Inside the Jewish Community, there were treasures kept out of circulation and public sight: (1) MiWi who led the religious committee, was also entrusted the guardianship of the Jewish silver from the Community of Sarajevo⁵, which was in the keep of the Community of Zagreb from during the war [92-95]; (2) The Jewish Community of Zagreb had a number of books returned from the newly established Croatian National Library, and the library had a separate division for Dr. Schick's collection, with over five thousand items, including a first edition of the *Shulkhan Arukh*, of Joseph Caro (1488-1575). The librarian JuKo gave the following description of the precious volumes:

⁵ She promised me very early, during my fieldwork, to show me the collection of Sarajevo silver. However, other commitments kept turning up all the time, and as much as she anticipated the tour, she had it successively postponed. It eventually turned out that she had promised more than she could keep, and that there was more than one voice that had its say in this matter. This was in 1997: the war ended in 1995, yet the conditions were still insecure in 1996-1997.

“We have four numbers 3823, 3824, 3826 and 3825 (in the order of volumes) in a collection of 5225 items: this Shulkhan Arukh (The Laid Table) leather bound first edition (printed by Griffio, or Meyir Jean Grippo, in Venice [Justiniani and Bragadini]) is a series of four volumes: Ora Khayim (the way of life) 459 pages folio, printed 1566 C.E. (Jewish calendar: 5326) it is about everyday life prayers Shabbat, major holidays and fasts, and other holidays. The second volume Yore Deakh (teacher of knowledge) 398 pages folio, printed in 1564 C.E., contains explanations of the rules about food, ritual purity, circumcision, visiting the sick, mourning customs, laws on rents, agriculture, divorce and tithes. The third volume Even Ha-Ezer (the stone of help) 232 pages folio, is the commentary of rules on family, wedding and divorce. On this volume the year of printing is missing: it is signed George Decabelli from Venice. Most probably the same publisher or printer, though. The fourth volume Hoshen Mishpat (the shield of sentence) 460 pages folio 1567 C.E. (5327), contains the commentary on rules in the area of civil and penal law, the rules about courts and judges, and evidences (proofs) loans, property, about partners, stealing and burglary.”

Caro was of Spanish origin (Sephardic), and the *Shulkhan Arukh* represents a major effort in codification of Jewish law. Joseph

Caro was also a Kabbalist. This parallel move towards the formalisation of Rabbinical argumentation and the mystification of the realm of inner vision, and transmission, is not wanton and is found in several major Jewish scholars: for instance, *RaMHaL* (Rabbi Moshe Hayim Luzzato, 1707-1747) whom besides being the great logician of the Talmud, was a poet and a Kabbalist. Moshe Isserles (*ReMA*, 1525-1572, Crakow) completed Caro's major effort in codification of Jewish law, with a commentary (*Mappa*- Tablecloth [*cf.*, the Erect Table]), containing the sinuous paths of Ashkenazic customs (*Minhagim*). Till the modern comprehensive format appeared (Ganzfried, 1991), these two always were printed together: Isserles' text packed around Caro's. The *Shulkhan Arukh* of Zagreb is precious on two accounts: because it is one of the earliest books in Hebrew to be printed; and because such an enormous amount of Jewish books were destroyed during WWII.

Dr. Schick's collection was the largest and most renowned single collection inside the Zagreb JC library. Originally from Austria, Dr. Schick was a prominent member of the Zagreb Jewish Community, and was killed in the Ustasha death-camp Jasenovac. The crown of this collection is the *Shulkhan Arukh*. Though it was rarely displayed, its existence as a Community heirloom and its place in this collection was well-known, and part of the mind-set of Community members. JuKo allowed me to have a look at the *Shulkhan Arukh* and my photographer was also allowed to take pictures. She handled the volumes with care, and, though they were in pretty good condition, she pointed out the ones in particular need of restoration. She later entrusted me the assignment of finding out whether it would be possible to restore the books in Israel, at the National Library, as I was leaving to participate at a seminar with Prof. S.N. Eisenstadt and his associates at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute. I was asked to write a letter of recommendation with specified contents of the assignment, on the standard of the Jewish Community of Zagreb: the letter was subsequently approved by the President OK and the Executive Director of the Community.

In Jerusalem I accomplished this assignment and was directed, by my host at the Van Leer Institute, to the foremost authority on such matters. Upon my return to Zagreb, however – as I delivered the co-ordinates of the contact in Jerusalem – I was informed that the conservators of the Croatian National Library had been entrusted the job: the Jewish Community had accepted, I was told, since the department offered to do

it for free. I was also alerted that it would save the Zagreb Community the trouble of securing the treasure and getting it back safely from Israel, to its proper place in Zagreb Community Library.

When Dr. Schick's collection first had been acquired, the emotional load of the genocide in Jasenovac – where Dr. Schick was killed – was brought to a peak as President Tudjman concretised his vision of levelling the Croatian people with the “Biblical people”, by announcing his idea for the “National Monument for the Reconciliation of all Croats” precisely at Jasenovac (*book 3*). The idea of exhuming the remains of the executioners, and burying them alongside the victims in the camp was still in the pipeline when the Jewish Community opted for the arrangement with the Croatian National Library – that *volunteered* to do the job – which was the most prestigious of Tudjman's series of monumental projects (*book 3*). The efforts of the Jewish Community to establish a relationship with the HDZ-regime, based on *voluntary* exchange, should be understood on the background of the step-by-step process of taking Jewish heritage into possession, which the President OK was conducting vis-à-vis the Croatian Government.

The ‘logic’ of his approach was originated from within the Jewish Community, yet the sequence of establishing a series of voluntarist arrangements, defined a form of interactive policy with contacts in the Government which, as we shall see, had a number of implications for the transparency of Jewish rituals in Zagreb, when compared to the materials I gathered during my field-trip to Sarajevo and Paris (*books 5 and 6*). Essentially, the Zagreb JC rejected President Tudjman's idea of *continuity* of peoples and narratives, and instead vouched for an alternative idea of continuity: *i.e.*, the book as a *metaphor* of the body – or, embodiment (Csordas, *ibid.*) – and the compound as a symbol of personhood, was instantiated in Zagreb by the existence of Dr. Schick's collection (Badiou, *ibid.*). The event of acquiring the collection, in the eyes of informants, a redeemed Dr. Schick's memory from the death-camp and his tragic end, alongside a large number of brethren, in Jasenovac: sending the most precious items of this collection to be repaired by the conservators at the National Library, under the auspices of the Croatian Government, recreates the event of dispossession, but at a metaphoric level. Upon returning the *Shulkhan Arukh* for the second time – preserved and repaired – became a *metonym* of the Zagreb JC, and a hallmark of its distinction and Jewish autonomy (from Croatian memory). The metaphysics of this abduction and

restitution is outlined in *book 1*: Jews are separate, and in this sense chosen, but also at risk in this position and only on the way to a better life. All this occurred without anyone studying and interpreting the *Shulkhan Arukh* in Zagreb: the statute of personhood prevailed over the statute of learning, and the ritual connection between the *Shulkhan Arukh* as a metaphor and a metonym was bespoke and dramatised for a public (*cf.*, the *Almanach*), rather than taught and enacted (*book 3*). The dealings of the JCC with the National Library – and therefore indirectly with the government – was on a long list of political objectives on the wait at the JCC.

THE HEVRA KADDISHA

One of the major internal policies of the Jewish community was to get back on foot the once prestigious *Hevra Kaddisha* (Burial Society), into which respected community members are elected. The members of a *Hevra Kaddisha* are symbolically the wardens of life. A Jewish community with a cemetery but without a *Hevra Kaddisha* has a problem, and *vice versa*⁶. The central function of the *Hevra Kaddisha* is to make sure that all the *Halakhic* requirements are met concerning burial arrangements: and their chief ritual function, in this connection, is the *Tabara* – ritual washing – of the dead body⁷. Among the prewar memories of the burial society the functions of the *Hevra Kaddisha* as a charity organisation was important for the Jewish Community's future plans. It was one of the financial pillars allowing the dominant *Neolog* community⁸ to take care of a small Orthodox community and a community of Sephardic Jews from Bosnia who had settled in Zagreb.

One first step in the direction of creating a foundation for such a Jewish memorial was the rebuilding of a memorial Synagogue at the spot where the Moorish style Synagogue (1867) was torn down in 1941. The drafts for the exact replica of this Synagogue – in carefully selected monochrome computer simulations – were exhibited in one of the major museums in Zagreb (*Mimara, cf., book 3*) during the 190th anniversary. And the plans for the use of the facilities inside the Memorial Synagogue were subsequently drawn up in a glossy pamphlet: the interior was designed for contemporary uses. The plans featured a multifunctional centre: facilities for concerts, conferences and with a library. The Jewish charitable functions, thus, would find its basis in a grand contribution of the Jewish community to the cultural life

⁶ As a rule, the very first thing that is done upon the establishment of a Jewish Community is the purchase of burial grounds (based on Abraham's example – buying a burial ground from the Hittite Ephron for Sarah – in *Hevra*) [*cf.*, Parshah *Haye Sarah*]).

⁷ In traditional Judaism performing this service is known as (Hebr.) *hesed shel emet* – true loving-kindness. Because it a service performed without hope of return.

⁸ The Neolog Judaism came from Hungary: a form of Conservative Judaism, however, based on an extensive use of local vernacular in the liturgy.

⁹ In this context, the restitution of pre-socialist property is an issue. According to the laws relevant to restitution, the law backdated claims till before 1947 (which was the year of the Socialist takeover). However, the laws did not reach back to the period when Jewish property was confiscated. In effect, it was objected by several Croatian civil society organisations, that the Ustashes would get hold on the property they once confiscated, whereas the victims of the Ustasha regime would not.

of Zagreb⁹ (*cf.*, the confluence with President OK's ideas on the fundraising entity *Magèn*, in *book 3*).

This is the framework of the late modern style *Hevra Kaddisha* in Zagreb: the basis of the Jewish Community's legitimacy in the larger society, the *Hevra Kaddisha* was also a policy-instrument to exert pressure inside the Jewish Community, and externally as one of the players in the Croatian civil society. Thus, the President's placements in terms of making (a) the cultural distinction of a new generation of Jews inside the Community convertible in the Croatian public space, (b) integrate Jewish personhood in the wider fabric of sociopolitical relations, and (c) provide Jewish presence with the focus of a precise location in the urban plan of Zagreb that was different from the location of the JCC in Palmoticeva Street. All this was the foresight of a man with a clear vision of what he wanted for his Community, and a definite conception on Jewish integration policies – however, vague as to whether the historically itinerant connection between 'Jewish life' and 'the life of Jews' (*book 3*) would support such broad visions.

This connection is what Jewish symbols elaborate and Jewish rituals teach: however, according to a variety of interaction designs – *e.g.*, PUZZLES and REBUSES, as illustrated in the two following sections.

KNOWLEDGE AS A COLLECTIVE ASSET

During the 190th anniversary celebrations of the Jewish Community at the close of 1996, I asked a series of informants to explain the President's reasons to celebrate specifically *190 years* with the elegance and panache of a jubilee. Some expressed that it had to be on account of the demise of socialism, the still recent end of the war against Serbia, and the change in the function of the Jewish Community of Zagreb in assuming the leadership of the Federation of the Jewish Communities in Croatia (Osijek, Rijeka, Split, Dubrovnik, etc.). Yet, others claimed that the President wanted that old people at the *Lavoslav Svarc Dom*¹⁰ – the Jewish home for elderly, an abode for the living memory of Yugoslavia and the Balkans from before WWII – to see the Gala before they passed on. However, since the yearly editing of the *Lu'ah*, the Jewish ritual calendar (*book 3*), was the prerogative of the Community leadership and a young medical student, certain facts of how the bisextile year – or, system or two overlapping years – of lunar months over a period of 19 years, was difficult to overlook: 19 multiplied by 10 is 190.

¹⁰ Croatian name: /Lavoslav Svarc Dom/ [Croatian term: /Dom/ = 'house'; /Svarc/ pronounced 'Schwarz'] = 'Lavoslav Schwartz Home' [for elderly people].

The months of the Jewish ritual calendar are lunar, but periodically referred to the solar year. The names of the months are the following, and starts a fortnight before *Pesah* (Passover): (1) *Nissan* – 30 days; (2) *Iy'yar* – 29 days; (3) *Sivan* – 30 days; (4) *Tamuz* – 29 days; (5) *Av* – 30 days; (6) *Elul* – 29 days; (7) *Tishrei* [New Year] – 30 days [the first of *Tishrei* is *Rosh Ha-shone*, New Year]; (8) *Heshvan/Mar heshvan* – 29/30 days; (9) *Kislev* – 29/30 days; (10) *Tevet* 29 days; (11) *Shevat* – 30 days; (12) *Adar* – 29/30 days. The New Year (*Rosh Ha-Shana*), which appears midway in the cycle of lunar months, is the end of the cycle of *Torah*-reading in the Synagogue, and the beginning of a new cycle after *Yom Kipur* (ten days later). Though the first month of the Jewish religious calendar is *Nissan* (the New Year of Kings), the first month of the Hebrew year is *Tishrei* (the New Year of Creation). Each month starts the day of the new, or crescent, moon – *Rosh Hodesh*: and there is a gross symmetry between the cycle-festivals of the bisextile year, in this sense these are twin cycles – the one a cycle of unfolding (1st *Nissan*), the other a cycle of enfolding (1st *Tishrei*). *Pesah* (Passover) is always celebrated at the first full moon after equinox (15th of *Nissan* and not 1st). The Jewish New Year celebrations are never instantaneous, but always processes lasting several days, or weeks: *Pesah* is on the 15th of the month of *Nissan*, and then extends by the counting of the *omer* – 7 weeks or 50 days – to *Shavuot* (Pentecost); *Rosh Ha-Shana* is on the first of *Tishrei*, but then there is *Yemei Azeret T'shuva*: a “no man’s land” of repentance extending to *Yom Kipur* – the Day of Atonement – and, after that, to *Sukkot* (the festival of booths) and *Shemini Atzeret* (on the 8th day following the 7 days of *Sukkot* – the Day of Solemn Assembly). *Shavuot* and *Shemini Atzeret* are symmetric counterparts across the bisextile year, concluding the New Year *passages* – or “phase shifts” – in spring and autumn. The default of 11 days to the solar year is compensated by the introduction of a 13th month – a second month of *Adar* or *Adar Sh'nei* – in a cycle of 19 years: 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th and 19th year: bisextile years following the pattern of 3 (I) – 3 (II) – 2 (III) – 3 (IV) – 3 (V) – 3 (VI) – 2 (VII) years (3 + 3 + 2 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 2 = 19). Then a new 19-year cycle starts. The adjustment to the solar year is carried out in the month before *Pesah*.

The reason why I set out to estimate the extent of President OK’s knowledge, in matters concerning Jewish ritual and tradition, was to determine whether or not *Jewish knowledge* was managed in the same way as *general knowledge* in the life of the Zagreb community: that is,

¹¹ For the performance of an official religious reading – as during prayer – *Ha-Shem* is read *Adonai*, and *Elokeinu* is read *Eloheinu*. President OK used the religious official reading. *Ha-Shem* means ‘the Name’ and refers to the (ineffable) Tetragramme (*Yud-Hei/Vav-Hei*), which cannot be said but may be read *Hey-Vav/Yud-Hei* (*Havayah*). During prayer it is proclaimed *Adonai* [written ADNY], which is frequently translated by ‘Lord’ but a more concise translation is (Soloveitchik) is ‘Proprietor’. The letter *k* – or, *kaf* – is used as a substitute for certain letters in the Names of God that are not mentioned in a secular – or, educational context – during which the Name might be accidentally erased [i.e., *Yud-Key/Vav-Key*, or even *Shakkai* for *Shaddai*]. The letter *kaf* is the middle term – nr. 11 – in the Hebrew 22 character alphabet.

¹² The miracle to which this part of the blessing refers is the miracle at the re-inauguration of the first Temple in Jerusalem after it had been desecrated by the Ancient Greeks (book 3): a quantity of sufficiently pure oil to light the *Ner Tamid* – the Perpetual Light – in the Temple was found, but there was only enough for one day – yet, it burned for 8 days: the time it took to make new oil of the same purest quality. In Jewish mysticism the One that encompasses the Seven (8 = 1 + 7) is a symbol of Creation: and the passage from the realm of the Created to the realm of the Creator.

¹³ In other Jewish Communities – whether religious or not – blessings (or, *b'rakhot*) are frequent and certainly standard on Shabbat and other Holidays, in religious Communities blessings are also common in everyday life

whether it was managed as a *personal asset* and kept as a prerogative of *distinguished individuals*. President OK was quite secular in his way of life. His attendance of religious events never included the synagogue service. He limited his attendance to the Jewish religious festivals, and the monthly Family *Shabbat* in the Community café at the first floor. In these aspects, religion appeared to be a «new thing», coming up after 40 years of secular Jewish existence, in Yugoslavia. However, during the ritual lighting of the giant candelabrum used for *Hanukkah* (i.e., the *Hanukkiyah*) in the Lisinsky Concert Hall, President OK performed the ritual before the tuxedo- and gala-clad attendance of mundane Zagreb – including President Tudjman and members of his government – reading the traditional blessings (*B'rakhot*) in the following transcribed form:

Barukh ata Ha-Shem, Elokeinu¹¹ meylekh ha'olam, asher kid'shanu bemitzvotav v'tzivanu l'hadlik ner shel Hanukkah/
Blessed are you, ADNY, our God, King of the Universe, who has sanctified us by your commandments and enjoined us to light the lights of Hanukkah.

And,

Barukh ata Ha-Shem, Elokeinu meylekh ha'olam, she'asa nisim la'avoteinu bayamim hahem baz'man hazeh./
Blessed are you, ADNY, our God, King of the Universe, who has accomplished all the miracles¹² for our ancestors, in their days, at this time.

Finally,

Barukh ata Ha-Shem, Elokeinu meylekh ha'olam, sheheheyanu v'kimanu v'higyanu laz'man hezeh./
Blessed are you, ADNY, our God, King of the Universe, who has kept us in life, who has upkept us and permitted us to reach this moment.

The blessings are spelled out here in full, because they are ethnographically significant: they were said in public – on stage and in front of a mixed audience of people – and I never otherwise saw President OK pronounce a blessing¹³. The *Hanukkah* celebrations – along with *Purim* – had been one of the grand occasions of the pre-WWII Jewish Community of Zagreb, when costume-balls had been organised at the *Hotel Esplanad*, where all of mundane Zagreb, Jewish and non-Jewish, was invited

(book 3). *Purim* and *Hanukkah* are the Jewish festivals that are the most outgoing and partying. Nevertheless, it is quite interesting that *Hanukkah*, above all, is a celebration of the victory against Hellenism – or, Greece, as a political and spiritual dimension from times old – and this dimension of the ritual of candle lighting, was neither expressed publicly nor informally explained to the Croatian guests¹⁴. *Hanukkah* was rather celebrated as a Jewish festive event for Zagreb old-timers. In other words, *Hanukkah* was a vessel for a different content than the ritual content.

Eventually, I ventured to ask President OK directly whether the choice of the 190th anniversary, as an occasion of a Gala event, had anything to do with the Jewish ritual calendar. He was a man of few words, and all he gave me was a wry smile. As in so many other cases, «...only the President knew»: a PUZZLE which, under the circumstances, fitted his discretionary style of formulating and conducting his policies (book 3 – Part II). Pushing the matter beyond this mysterious reply, would have been impossible: in Jewish milieus one may – and should – teach in the context of ritual performance; however, checking on the knowledge of ritual and tradition in other contexts is unheard of: the *Torah* belongs to everyone and it is the responsibility of the individual to learn – or, if not – to not learn. When learning together, anyone can interpret, but it ends there: people might get replies to what they say – in supplement or counterpoint – but no-one would even think about checking overtly the extent of each other’s knowledge. This puts the ethnographer in a difficult position: the interdiction against “shaming” is formal. Yet, learning together is the *only* possibility to assess the extent of each other’s knowledge.

Not being able to press the matter further, I concluded that an affirmative answer actually would not have corroborated my conjecture, nor would his giving a lengthy exegetic exposé of the principles of the ritual calendar – as briefly outlined above – have brought me any further (since intentions would still remain obscure). It is not learned in ten minutes, but only requires a minimum of preparation: the calendar, or *Lu’ah*, is published annually in all JCs. In Zagreb, a young member of the Community who studied medicine in Graz (Austria) computed the calendar. I myself had earlier assisted President OK with an article – or, manuscript for a radio programme – on *Brit Milah* (circumcision): not even this allowed me to gather the extent of what he already knew – it was impossible to determine if he asked me because he needed someone

[the religiously careful should say a hundred *b'rakhot* per day].

¹⁴ This non-mystical aspect of *Hanukkah* is its commemoration Judah Maccabee’s guerrilla troops that managed to evince the Greeks from the Temple Mount and re-establish the Temple functions. The insurrection was an uprising in which a Jewish elite of Priests – the Hasmoneans – and commoners co-operated to organise a resistance against the Greeks. Judah Maccabee is the unifying figure, since he belonged to the elite and led the people in battle. On his shield was engraved *Mi Kamokha Ba’Elim YK/VK* – “Who are like you among the gods my Lord?” [from *The Song at Sea*, Exod. 14:30-15:19] – hence his nickname Maccabee [i.e., /MaKaBY/].

to write, or whether he lacked the knowledge. In fact, I did not feel that my question was very important, but that I was now immersed in a pool of knowledge in which everyone knew their little piece, and were expected to contribute with *knowledge* or *manpower* without having to ask – or, inquire – whether it was the one or the other.

These series of disavowals, derived from the uncertainties linked to individuals who co-operate texts alongside a number of other activities, challenges received notions of the parameters of knowledge. With other Jewish informants in Zagreb, I repeatedly experienced that the novelty of their explicit interest in Jewish topics, were rooted in seminal experiences in the domestic setting: private gatherings on Friday night – associated for instance with card-games – and later recognised as *Erev Shabbat*, walking with grandfather and listening to his stories while absorbed by the sound and the tacking movements of his walking-stick as it joined its own shadow for each stride, Jewish memories belonging in the confines of a Venetian property visited by the family during summer-time, etc. When these post-WWII Jews discovered and questioned their Jewishness, the answers were rarely far away: an uncle, a book, the significance of certain places would unravel their store of answers. A bit off the main track, but never far away: the cognitive equivalent of a Jewish neighbourhood. In these neighbourhoods, personal pursuits of insight and knowledge of things Jewish rarely go straight for the book: the way to a book, and the answers it may convey, usually goes via someone – between “me” and “the book” there is usually someone else interposed. In this sense, Jewish relations can be “bookish” even in the absence of books, and Jews similarly characterised as the *oral people of the book*. The next section offers a particularly striking example along that avenue.

KABBALAH AND DISCOVERY

Only in his thirties had the artist ToFr come to attach significance to the fact that he was Jewish. He knew that there were things his Jewish mother would not talk about: though she had contact with family members, the Jewish Community was a place where she would never set her feet. This marginal topic of the artist’s childhood came in muffled messages from the unknown, to which he at first did not attach great importance. One day, he went to the Jewish Community, as he explained to his mother – *just to see*. And eventually he wished to partake of this heritage, and

become acquainted with Jewish culture. Though his mother's fears derived from a substantial loss of family members during the Ustasha genocide, she eventually was happy that her son took a step she did not dare. In his artistic career he wanted to establish links to creative milieus in Israel, and went living there for some time. During his stay he related his family history to his new acquaintances, and mentioned his father's name Barac (pronounced 'Baratz'): someone who was knowledgeable in *Kabbalistic* lore, told him – during his first sojourn as an artist in Israel – that this was the acronym of a famous Galician Rabbi whose name was Ben Rav Tzvi (BaRaTz¹⁵).

Upon returning to Croatia, ToFr he determined a place on the Adriatic coast named Barac. He decided to visit the site, and found his way to the graveyards. In one of them he found a *Mogen Dovid*¹⁶ (David Star), and names like Tuz, Shrerer and Mirosh. The steps whereby he levelled with a *gestalt* from the depths of shadows in his own past, features a search model: the contents unfolded by this *Kabbalah* inspired abduction (*mapping*), samples a mesh of stray contents that may, or may not, converge with actual information (*tracking*).

During my trip to Israel for the Van Leer seminar, I was asked by the artist and his family to inquire for such information at the *Beyt Ha-Tefutsot* (the Diaspora Museum). His approach to establish a fact – *i.e.*, his father's Jewishness – passed through (a) a mystical procedure of discovery to (b) a modern approach to corroboration/ falsification. The lesson learned from this case, brought me to conclude that it would not be possible to establish the President OK's itinerant knowledge of the Jewish ritual calendar, unless it was possible to establish whether the significance of the number 190 was drawn out of the shadow of his own Jewish experience – in the similar fashion as ToFr unfolded a complex *gestalt* from 'Barac'. Because the *Hanukkah* blessings expressed the concerns ascribed to President OK by people close to him: *i.e.*, that the old people of the Lavoslav Svarc Dom would live to see this moment, and that the crowd of the Lisinsky Concert Hall had survived the recent war. The artist ToFr gave me a free ride through the unfolding of a metonym (*i.e.*, a REBUS), while President OK kept me at bay with the enfolding of metonym (*i.e.*, a PUZZLE).

These insights may fruitfully be brought to bear on what happened to the *Shulkhan Arukh* in Dr. Schick's collection after it had been acquired by the Jewish Community: the initiative to transport the *Shulkhan Arukh* to the Croatian National Library and its subsequent return into

¹⁵ Such acronyms are quite common: like RaMBaM for Maimonides, RaMBaN for Nachmanides, ReMa for Moshe Isserles, Ramhal for Moshe Hayim Luzzato, BeShT for the legendary Hassidic Rebbe *Ba'al Shem Tov*.

¹⁶ /Mogen Dovid/, Ashkenazi pronunciation of (Hebr.) /Magen David/.

the Schick's collection of the Jewish Community Library. When it was received the first time, the *Shulkhan Arukh* had been part of a library remaining a person who died in Jasenovac. The process of (a) researching the possibility to restore it, the decision of (b) sending off to the National Library's conservation department and (c) the work carried out there was concerned solely with the precious Jewish four-volume book which had been printed in Venice in the 1560s. The historical knowledge of this material among the conservators had nothing to do with Dr. Schick and what would become of Jasenovac in the new Croatian state. From the JC point of view, the Conservation Department at the Croatian National Library were instrumental in cleaning Dr. Schick's name and thereby – symbolically – Jewish memory.

Understanding the symbolic economy of the *Almanach* at the backdrop of these literacy-practices, brings to light some aspects of the cultivated secularism that may be unique to Jewish life in Zagreb, but have a sufficiently pattern to compare with other settings, since: (1) Jewish secularism is bound to assume idiosyncratic expressions at any rate [since it is, from a traditionalist point of view, syncretistic]; (2) Jewish secularism in Zagreb appears to be linked simply to the disseminated and decentralised state of Jewish knowledge, with no precondition in the sociomaterial arrangements of *Kashrut*. ToFr – the young Jewish artist – nurtured hopes of a simple correspondence between the patterns of names and places he had teased out from Kabbalistic *gematria*, and the historical pattern of facts. While President OK's official reason for celebrating the 190th anniversary of the JCC was surely to enfold whatever Jewish lore that might have been used to explain his choice: the life of Jews – particularly the elders – enfolds Jewish life. These two episodes are included here to provide further examples of *simple models*. They are not *reflective* models, because the *correspondence* between patterns of representation and use is simply assumed to exist or not, rather than being subject to an autonomous elaboration on which the fact of this existence depends.

The *Almanach* (book 3) is a model of production of narratives on cultural distinction, the conditions of production and the struggle for resources. The *Shulkhan Arukh* is a 'boundary object' (Star & Griesemer, 1989) that belongs at once to the library collection of the dignified Dr. Schick, while connecting with a backdrop of Jewish cultural dynamics through ritual metaphors. The policy of not appearing as ostentatiously Jewish in Zagreb, even inside

the Community premises in Palmoticeva Street, sets the stage for a symbolic economy in which literacy practices operate behind the scenes, and appear as structural heterogeneities whenever they emerge in *public settings*. Yet, it is possible to track and describe in detail how – specifically – these literacy practices afford the narratives of cultural distinction: Dr. Schick’s collection is a model of the *Almanach* – by the variety, quality and contemporary relevance of its contents – while the *Shulkhan Arukh*, contained by this collection, is a boundary object that connects Dr. Schick with a Jewish personhood cultivated by the JCC elite, and the Jewish heritage as a cultural heritage *via* this elite. As an effect the accountability of things Jewish are mundane – in the sense of mundane Zagreb – while people’s search-models – in ToFr’s case and many others – were religiously inspired. With the exceptions described in this section, the metaphoric itinerancy related to BOOKS remains obscure and marginal in the ethnography from Zagreb.

While artist ToFr’s testimony and the transactions concerned with the *Shulkhan Arukh* were explicit, I became involved in a similar metaphoric abduction – without my knowledge – by the entire development in SoMa’s reconciliation with President OK’s mother HK; with the difference that SeMa succeeded in bringing her quest to a conclusion: the interaction design was consummated in a transaction. Apparently, SoMa’s interaction design included both a REBUS *and* a PUZZLE: (1) a REBUS – her sessions of remembrance over the book in combination with her pending invitation for Shabbat in her home, was resolved by a visit in HK’s flat with an intention of reconciliation; (2) a PUZZLE – the sizeable task of reconciling with HK was resolved as SoMa produced the health document certifying her mother’s pregnancy. This impressed HK – who was also pregnant at that time with OK and his twin sister Z – to the point of forgiving SoMa. So her interaction design was crowned with a *de facto* transaction.

Like in ToFr’s case, SoMa’s quest was transformed into a hunt. At the same time it is clear that the subject of reconciliation was the bond of loyalty with HK’s son, the President OK: it was about loyalty to her son as a person and a leader, and about allegiance to the JCC beyond plots and politics. In sum, SoMa’s interaction design came out as a HOLDING PATTERN: a hunting, transacting and holding the centre – in this case, the design is about the realisation of an idea, and of bringing a metaphor from the conceptual down to the actual. Holding patterns are interaction designs concerned empirically with *crossovers*, *i.e.*,

metaphors consummated in transactions, which in Zagreb was focused on the division between the private and public sphere, while similar crossovers in Sarajevo were part of something quite different:

- (a) while the crossover in the process of how the Zagreb JCC made an *emblem* out of its *Shulkhan Arukh*, iterated the standards of how Jewish people lived their lives in private and public, in its dealings with the Croatian civil society and government;
- (b) the crossover in the process of how the Sarajevo JCC made an *emblem* out of the *Sarajevo Haggadah*, iterated the standard of how Jewish people lived their secular and religious lives, in its dealings with the relief and refugee transportation in and out of Sarajevo.

Among the interaction designs hinged to the existence of BOOKS, it would be naive to ascribe the share of REBUSES and PUZZLES to the amount of nonsense generated in a symbolic economy, and the form of social life in Zagreb. As the SoMa case demonstrates, REBUSES and PUZZLES can *shift* into HOLDING PATTERNS.

In actual performance, this has to do with the interlocking of detail, implications and the intentions of actors in designing interactions – in short, it has to do with good *timing*: how the virtual time of *possibilities* lock into the actual time of *social response*. It has to do with the generation of affordances.

What separates the generation of affordances from the creation of opportunities, in the mainstream economic sense, is that it escapes traditional accountability. For this reason, the analysis of interactions designed by individuals – not in one moment but iteratively as they span affordances – constitutes a possible way of accounting for value generation in services.

For this reason, it is important to try honing a detailed grasp of how symbolic activities and ritual acts lock into each other, and how exchanges occur in the interaction between two interaction designs: *i.e.*, the BOOK (the *Haggadah*) and the HOLDING PATTERN (the *Seder*-ritual) below.

In preparation for the Sarajevo ethnography, an understanding of the *Seder*-ritual in the terms outlined above will provide a background for the ethnography from Sarajevo (*book 5*). The exchange between symbolic activity and ritual service and the humanitarian services share

a number of architectural similarities in how affordances are spanned in communicative processes: *i.e.*, the *no-nonsense* extensions of religious services into mundane services I found in Sarajevo (*book 6*).

SARAJEVO: THE SEDER-RITUAL AS A REFLECTIVE MODEL

«God save us from Serbian bravery and Croatian culture!»

(Croatian author Krleža, as quoted by a Jewish soldier from Sarajevo)

In 1989 the Jews of Yugoslavia was opened as a wandering exhibit and shown *inter alia* in the USA and Canada. As a parallel project, a facsimile of the Sarajevo *Haggadah* was produced from photographic plaques stored in Ljubljana (Slovenia), with the permission of the Director of the Zemljeski Museum in Sarajevo, by the Muzejski Prostor in Zagreb. The *Haggadah* acquired a name and fame beyond the exhibit, by virtue of being «discovered» by a British Jewish MP who significantly contributed to the dissemination of this facsimile-version. In effect, Sarajevo was known for its *Haggadah* as the war broke out, which contributed to place the city on the map of prestigious Jewish heritages, and descents. The collective mobilisation for the defence of life in that place, would not be denied. Even more so as the *Haggadah* – after being saved by Moslems and Serbs during WWII – was a local heirloom, in the same sense as other sacred artefacts: such as the Moslem shrine of the *Seven Brothers*¹⁷.

At the end of the war the Sarajevo *Haggadah* (*i.e.*, the original) was transported, to the Jewish community, for the celebration of the *Seder*-meal, which was attended by the political establishment – including the Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic. This was in 1995, three years after the *Beyt Haggadah* transport to Belgrade. The *Seder*-meals in Sarajevo were prepared with great circumspection: including the thorough cleansing of the premises from *Hametz* (ferments), a symbolic activity which is ritually required, and renovation projects – like varnishing floors and painting the Jewish Community building – were timed with the ritual house clearing. The Sephardic religious ceremony was archaic, but carefully translated by the Rabbi who came there for the Holiday, when invited¹⁸. In Sarajevo, the Jews never lived in a ghetto in this part of the Southern Slavic area, only in *Mahallas*: Jewish quarters constructed for functional religious reasons. And

¹⁷ Graves of saintly brothers, used by everyone, citizens of all confessions, to write pleas for good luck on pieces of paper and offering some coins.

¹⁸ This Rabbi, a Serbian convert who is well versed in Sephardic *Halakbic* tradition, but highly controversial for his nationalistic inclination, tending to define Jews as subaltern Israelis; which to local Jews is not only unacceptable, but outrightly dangerous.

¹⁹ In Turkish this term is not positive, but among the Sarajevo Jews it means a rule of law under which Jews were equal to Christians. *Raja* is pronounced / Ra'ya/.

from the time of Ottoman Empire the name of *Raja*¹⁹, which is the structural equivalent for *Purger* in Zagreb, denominated families of people having lived in the cities as of old. Though traditional in ritual, the Sarajevo Jews were progressive in terms of their conceptions on what the *Seder*-ritual was doing for them in Sarajevo. The *Seder*-ritual is an act of remembrance: that as slaves (*Erev Rav*) in Egypt, the Hebrew people and their fellow slaves, had a future. Transported through space and time, to the war theatre in Sarajevo, the function of the *Seder*-ritual was informed by mundane events: the 'mundane event' was war on Bosnia from 1992-95 and the unstable period in the aftermath (as during my field-trips in 1996 and early 1997). Accordingly, the rationale for a presentation of the "ritual technology" prior to the analysis of the ethnography from Sarajevo (*books 5 and 6*) is the understanding that a ritual constitutes a tactic of sorts (Certeau, 1984: 37): the space of tactics is the space of the *other*.

These tactics are not adaptive, but rather seek to impose a *subaltern space* on an alien – or, hostile – war-ridden environment, to create surprise, confusion and emergence of new possibilities. They are also used to sharpen the senses to set the perception of possibilities before the fear of danger (Certeau, *ibid.*). Though, in the analysis of the *ritual technology* I will be using some vocabulary from rhetoric – e.g., the tropes of metaphor and metonym – I do not wish to convey a rhetoric, in the final-causal sense (Todorov, 1977: 45) in the subsequent unfolding of the book – the *Haggadah* – and the *Seder*-meal that enfolds it: if rhetoric is the art of *persuading* (Bourdieu, 1979), then ritual is arguably the art of *convincing*. The ritual does not principally address and entertain the mind, but addresses and engages the body in a generative process (based on an idea, some constraints and their possible/desired outcomes).

In the *Seder*-ritual, the participants prepare and enter this space (the "*other-space*" in which communicative interaction of ritual spans a store of not pre-inscribed affordances) starting out with a symbolic vagrancy – dramatising the Exodus from Egypt²⁰ – and a symbolic closure that fosters a completely different outlook among the participant than when they entered the process. Concomitantly, the *Seder*-ritual has three phases – (1) *metonym 1*: an *unrolling* phase, when the participants move step-wise, through the unfolding of a *metonym* into the darkness of night, towards their salvation, liberation and a better life, which are the core values of the ritual; (2) *metonym 2*: an *enrolling* phase, when participants are moving out of the ritual space – enfolding the *metonym*

²⁰ The Hebrew word for Egypt – / Mitzrayim/ – has connotations to a more generic notion of a tight place, or a fix, that makes the symbolism universally applicable to situations of oppression. In the *Zohar* – mystical teachings of the Kabbalistic tradition handed down in writing in the mid

– as liberated and emancipated *persons* [moving towards their ultimate redemption, or Jerusalem]. In between the two phases there is (3) a festive meal – the *Shulkhab Oreh* – that symbolises the beginning of new life. This intermezzo takes place at the crease (*cf.*, Ingold, 2007, 44-47) between the two metonyms – one before and one after the meal – and cuts through them: the *Shulkhan Orekh* is therefore a *metaphor* – a passage or conduit – connecting the time of the ritual with the time beyond – be it the crack of dawn, or the world to come.

During the *Seder*-ritual, Jews essentially commemorate how ancient Hebrews, under a patriarchal order, became Jews, under a religious civic order: starting this journey by placing themselves in Egypt, a land where they were *strangers*. In some aspects, the ritual is pre-religious, in the sense that it commemorates how the Jewish religion starts, after years of darkness and the fulfilment of a Divine promise to the Patriarchs – turning up from oblivion, hearing the cries of the oppressed Hebrews, remembering the Covenant – then the Hebrews, and their fellows, are brought out of slavery in a miraculous way. The Passover celebration therefore is a privileged occasion for Jews to share with others who they are, and for others to share into this identity – as strangers – if they so wish²¹. Non-Jews are today frequently included into the celebration as guests.

Before going into the details, the following algorithm will come in handy as a “model-tracker” throughout the descriptive section on the *Seder*-meal further down: (1) the *unfolding* phase [*mimesis* or *mapping* → *metonym 1*]; (a) the table is presented as a stage for the master narrative [Passover and Exodus from slavery]; (b) the participants are alternately transported on-stage through acts, blessings, ingestion of ritual foodstuffs and readings [with commentaries and discussions] and back to their positions as a testimonial audience around the table; (X) there is a break in the ritual – the festive meal takes place [*Shulkhan Orekh*²²]; (2) the *enfolding* phase [*metalepsis* or *tracking* → *metonym 2*]; (a) the table is now a stage for a different sort of testimonial [the participants are not only free but called on as gentry, by the head of the table]; (b) there are no symbolic food-stuffs – with one exception [the *afikoman*, below] – only wine, which is accompanied by blessings, and songs of praise, which eventually evolve into song-games [structured by a telescoping trope that eventually brings the *Haggadah* to an ending prolonged into the night].

The analytical importance of the detail given to the description of the ritual below, is that it allows the introduction of two dynamic

13th century C.E. – the name is derived from /m'tzarim/ = ‘narrow straits’ (/mi/ = ‘from’, /tzar/ = ‘narrow’ or ‘tight’)²¹ The other festival in the Jewish calendar of festivals is rather a family event and less open to strangers, is *Rosh Ha-Shana* (Jewish New Year): they are at the opposite ends of the bisextile year – spring and autumn – and therefore exactly 6 months apart.

²¹ Though common today, it is not universal.

²² Same word as *Shulkhan Arukh* = the Laid Table.

concepts, corresponding with the rhetoric types (or, *tropes*) above: (1) while the first *metonym* is understood in terms of the concept of ‘unfolding’, (2) the second *metonym* is understood in terms of the concept of ‘enfolding’, while (X) the *metaphor* is understood in terms of the concept of ‘transcendence’ [primordial → mundane]. By searching the dynamics of ‘unfolding’, ‘enfolding’ and ‘transcendence’ in the ritual *plan* (the *Haggadah*), and iterating this approach by simply following the track-record of ritual *performance* (the *Seder*-ritual) we will extract a generative model of the above two tiers of the ritual, and then return to the Sarajevo *Haggadah* specifically with a fresh understanding of value and meaning of the precious book – the *Sarajevo Haggadah* – in the light of this understanding of the *Seder*-ritual.

CONTAINERS AND CONTENTS – THE HAGGADAH AND THE SEDER

Written communication (Prostor Museum): “*The Sarajevo Haggadah, is an illuminated manuscript book from the latter half of the 14th century, and it journeyed with Sephardic Jews as they were expelled from Spain in 1492. It was most probably in the North of Italy in 1510, and changed hands during the 16th century, and arrived to Sarajevo via Split or Dubrovnik. This Haggadah, has its own history of migration connecting it with the history of collective migration of the Sephardim, at the symbolic level. Among Sephardim the afikoman is not hidden and found by the children, as among the Ashkenazim, but wrapped in a cloth and carried symbolically on the shoulder of each of the participants during the Seder-meal, ending up with the youngest in the attendance*²³, *who accepts the afikoman with the words (Ex. 12:34): «The children of Israel took their dough before it was leavened, with kneading troughs bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders.» He is then asked by the leader «From where have you come?» and child answers, «From Egypt» [Hebr. Mitzrayim connotes a place of constriction, or a tight spot]. The next question is «Where are you going?» and the response is, «To Jerusalem [City of Peace]» Then the leader asks, «What provisions do you have for the way?» and the child answers by pointing to the Matzah on his shoulder...» [cf., Fredman Cernea, 1995: 124] “...There is also a Sephardic tradition of using the Afikoman as a protective talisman for journeys, in general.” As to the Sarajevo *Haggadah*, it presents an interesting example which demonstrates concretely how a BOOK may spur a regressive tracery back to the *beginning* at the level of the*

²³ ‘Afikoman’ word ascribed a Greek origin, meaning ‘dessert’. *Toledot* (Hebr) means at once ‘children’, ‘descendants’ and ‘inferences’. The principle of Divine selection of providential individuals in the Bible, is structured by *ultimogeniture* (the Divine law in this way is contrasted to the prevailing custom favouring *primogeniture*). In the *Midrash* a connection is made between ‘lastness’ and primordiality, epitomised by the aphorism (Rashi) *aharon aharon haviu* – «the further back [the later], the more loved...» (Zornberg, 1996: 230): «...The same Hebrew root, *aber*, covers both spatial and temporal ‘deferment.’». Thirdly, from Joseph Soloveitchik’s philosophical point of view (1989): «The halakhic ruling that *b’nai banim barei hem k’banim*, «grandchildren have the same status as children» (Yev. 62b), is derived from Jacob’s declarations about Ephraim and Menashe»

narrative, while driving the stalking onwards, towards the *end*, at the level of actual performance.

The particular chronological inscription indicating that it might have been changing hands in 1510, is the date Sunday «25. agosto 270»²⁴ – but 25th was a Sunday in 1314 and 1510. This gap, and backdating, has created some controversy as to the actual date, place of exchange and age of the manuscript²⁵, with a bearing on the historical origin of Sarajevo Jews, who left Spain somewhere in between these two dates.

In carrying out the *Seder*-ritual, the participants enact the Biblical events of *Pesah* (Passover) in the time of ritual performance, as if it was relived personally by the attendance: the participants in the ritual partake of the remembrance of being spared, and being led out of Egypt to freedom, by Divine intervention. They are invited to relive the events of liberation as though they had personally been led out of Egypt. In the sense of a ritual drama the liberation is taking place *now*, in a sequence of interactive readings of the *Haggadah*, at the cadence of ingesting of ritual food-stuffs arranged on a special plate (*fig. 8*) with a West → East orientation (*i.e.*, Egypt → Jerusalem): besides the *Matzah* which is the centre-piece of the ritual tray, there are bitter herbs (*Maror*, usually horse-radish), an ash-smear, or roasted, egg, a roasted shank bone (*Zeroah*), parsley, celery, potato, etc. (*Karpas*) to dip in salt water or ‘tears’, finely chopped fruits, wine and nuts, or «mortar» (*Haroset*) and spring vegetables for the season (*Hazeret*). These ritual foodstuffs are disposed in a fixed arrangement on the *Seder* tray – with small variations depending on which teacher (Rabbi) has set local custom – with a geographic orientation, which is always the same. The arrangement is visualised alongside the direction of reading which gives the ritual an overall West → East orientation: from Egypt and towards Jerusalem. It is the direction of the person who leads the ritual that sets this orientation in space (*fig. 8*, next page).

The events related in the *Haggadah* are, thus, set to occur in the actual space of the attendance: *i.e.*, the space which previously has been prescriptively cleansed, or emptied, of ferments (or, *Hametz*). Fermented beverages as whiskey and beer are ritually sold (sealed) to a non-Jew (*Mehirat Hametz*) for the duration of the festival, and subsequently bought back for same [symbolic] price. The interdiction against ingesting fermented foodstuffs of all kinds – all foods containing or having absorbed *Hametz* – does not only bar the ingestion of such foods for eight days, but even from having them within one’s own boundaries: a

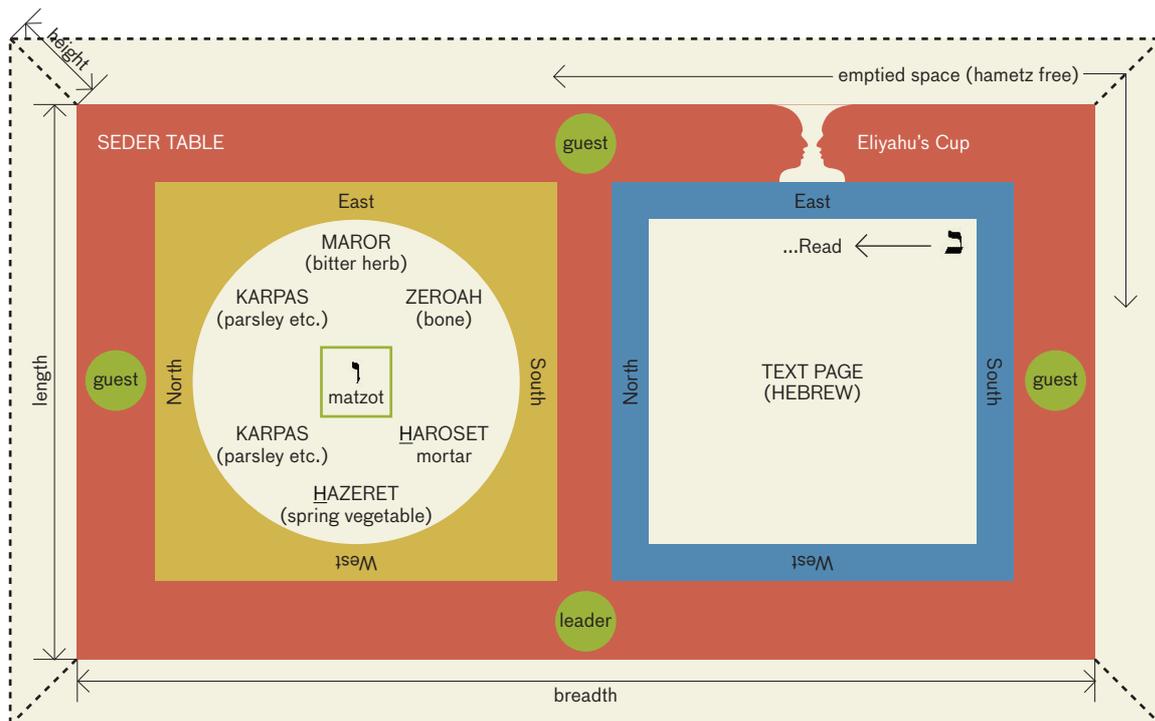
²⁴ The year 1510 is based on the following simple reconstruction: the inscription of the year 270 is short for 5270, the Jewish year of 5270 is the Roman year of 1510. Why the date 1314 is mentioned may be because it is closer to the date when the book was written (judging by the Mediaeval style illumination).

²⁵ The uniqueness of a given exemplary of the *Haggadah* lies in its belonging to *someone*, and the mileage of yearly Passover celebrations it has got on its track-record.

Jew is not only forbidden to have Hametz in his/her possession, but also to store it within the confines of private space (for the entire duration of the ritual). And the removal of Hametz is not only due to an additional dietary restriction in force during the 8 days of *Pesah*, adding to the regular Kosher restrictions, but have to do with the preparation of the appropriate space for the *Seder*-ritual to take place.

Thus, the entire house is cleansed of Hametz, shelves covered with foil and dishes with cutlery are exchanged for a special set used only for *Pesah*. Other cooking utensils – nonporous and crack-less ones that can be cleaned from Hametz – have to be thoroughly *koshered* to be made fit for *Pesah* (either through *Hagalab*, immersion in boiling water; *Libun*, purification by flame; *Iru*, pouring boiling water over the surface; or *Milui v'Iru* depending on the way the utensil/vessel to be *Koshered* absorbs Hametz; according to the rule “as it absorbs so it sheds”). Finally, some bread-crumbs are ritually hidden and after which a ritual search for Hametz (*Bedikat Hametz*) is carried out with the

fig. 8 – Space and Orientation of the Seder meal



feather and a wooden spoon, and subsequently burned (*Biur Hametz*). Then only, in the morning before the *Seder* evening meal, the house is solemnly declared to be free of *Hametz*: «All the leaven and all *Hametz* that is in my possession that I have seen or not seen, destroyed or not destroyed, let it be considered *Hefker* (ownerless/null and void) as the dust of the earth.»

The cleansing of the domestic space – the process of making it fit for *Pesah*, or *Pesahdik* – builds up an attention around the human act of consumption: the house and all it contains, pantries and cupboards, dishes and cutlery and the store of foodstuffs are special for *Pesah*; *Matzot* (unleavened bread, as well as flour made from *Matzah*) and, in general, foodstuffs that are *Kosher* for *Pesah* [which is a stricter category of *Kashrut*]. These are acts of obedience to written sources, and although they constitute the chaotic *preparations* for Passover they are very much part of the compound ritual drama. In the progress of these preparations, however, the house is transformed to be a different type of space, than it is in everyday life in a Jewish household: the thorough removal of something (the ferment symbolizing the procreative element of the human potential to partake of Creation) to leave place for something else: *i.e.*, emancipation from all forms of slavery through direct Divine intervention. *Hametz* symbolises the inflated ego, and removing it thoroughly is an act that truly fosters humility.

The removal of ferments also includes cleaning books and their shelves, as well as all textiles and garments. This thorough cleaning process, which preconditions the validity of the ensuing ritual procedure, is a chaotic and pervasively *textural* process: as a symbolic activity, the cleaning creates a space which is emptied at the cost of a considerable physical exertion, after which the initial moments of the connection between space and place is re-created through the ritual itself, as well as during the seven following days. When the cleaning is finished and the house is ready to host the *Seder*-ritual, there is virtually nothing left that belongs to the rest of the year. And the prerequisite emptiness of the house is not a sophisticated abstraction, but an *emptiness* bought at a very high price: humanly and financially – it is an emphatic emptiness that asserts itself through the efforts and resources invested in it: it creates an *affordance* for the ritual. In other words, it is an emptiness that is *not* an absence: a fertile void.

Everything is done so that the abstract ideas of the *Seder*-ritual should become concrete to the participants. The basic concept is not

externally dissimilar from the type of *role-play* that today are popular among computer-nerd and geeky milieus, even if the anthology of scripts, instructions and commentaries in the *Haggadah* are put together with the concern of conveying a sense of spiritual journey that ends with a transformation – or, renewal – of the soul. But even though this transformation clearly has a Jewish signature, the comparison with role-play may serve the general reader as a mind-set that will make the ritual easier to understand from an external point of view. The adventure conveyed by a successful *Seder*-ritual comes about by the mixing of media: on the one hand the road-map [*i.e.*, the *Haggadah*-anthology, *tópos*: written on folio]; on the other hand the *table* [*i.e.*, the stage of the *Seder*-ritual, *tópos*: spatial arrangement of dishes and foods].

This concludes my survey of the general setup: (a) seated around the table, the participants assume their demeanour as *gentry* through the meal [by reclining to the left on a cushion to drink prescribed cups of wine]; (b) on the table where the mimetic “walkabout” takes place – the participants assume their role as *slaves* about to be liberated from Egypt. The foods ingested during this part of the ritual are but titbits compared to the actual meal – the *Shulkhan Orekh* – that comes when the step-wise departure from Egypt is final. The festive meal is a *time-out* from the ritual, and when finished the *Seder*-ritual starts afresh from a novel point of view: now the company’s vagrancy into the Desert is over, and a new itinerary through which the participants return transformed is initiated. At this point the ritual narrative the participants are no longer slaves, but *gentry*: in other words, the narrative joins up with the spatio-corporal frame which has been the same throughout.

Elie Wiesel’s *Haggadah* (1985) contains some striking illustrations by Mark Podwal featuring the relation between the metonymic layers of the ritual: the metonymic vagrancy – marked by the successive introductions, blessings and ingestions of foodstuffs and drink – takes place on the *table* [stage]. In Elie Wiesel’s *Haggadah*, Mark Podwal for instance made an illustration of the *Seder*-table, starting at the bottom-edge of the page, that disappears into the depth of the book. He lets the vagrancy on the table be contained by the vagrancy in the book. Two dissimilar terms – the table and the book – thereby become connected by a metaphor²⁶. That is, (1) *metonym 1*: (a) which is unfolded by the narrative road-map in the first metonymic part of the *Haggadah* [book]; and (b) enfolded by the participants in the performance the “walkabout” [table] [1(a) + 1(b) = *mimesis* or *mapping*]; (2) *metonym*

²⁶ The connection of two discrete terms to enhance the meaning of one of them is a rhetoric definition of the concept of metaphor: the larger the distance the more powerful the metaphor (Groupe Mu, 1970: 106-112).

2: (a) which is enfolded by the road-map in the second metonymic part of the *Haggadah* [book]; (b) and unfolded by the participants in their journey unto coming year²⁷ [table] [2(a) + 2(b) = *metalepsis* or *tracking*]. So the ritual space is actually a space-time, in which the symbols share some characteristics of myths in general (Lévi-Strauss, 1964-71): *i.e.*, the inversions and reversions of chronological orders and magnitudes, constituting the ritual churn which brings renewal to the participants.

Rather than being simply being carried out in a present tense, the *Seder*-ritual is initiated in the time of *unfolding*: a temporality best characterised as ‘progressive retrospection’ (to express the internal tension between *showing* and *telling*) and the initial phrase in the *Haggadah* recitation proper, is driven on by a series of ritual acts. The showing and telling is what binds the ritual together – and in this sense creates the order, after which the ritual is named (*Seder*) – while the scripts provided by the *Haggadah* are from a miscellany of different books, and come with instructions and commentaries (and there is a considerable freedom to skip parts and introduce relevant texts of one’s own choice). The closing part of the *Seder*-ritual – after the festive meal – is conducted in the time of *enfolding*, and in a temporality best characterised as ‘prospective regression’: *i.e.* a withdrawal from the ritual scene, and the mental re-orientation of the attendance towards the coming year that might lead to Jerusalem – the times of the world to come, and final redemption [of which the Exodus from Egypt is a foretaste].

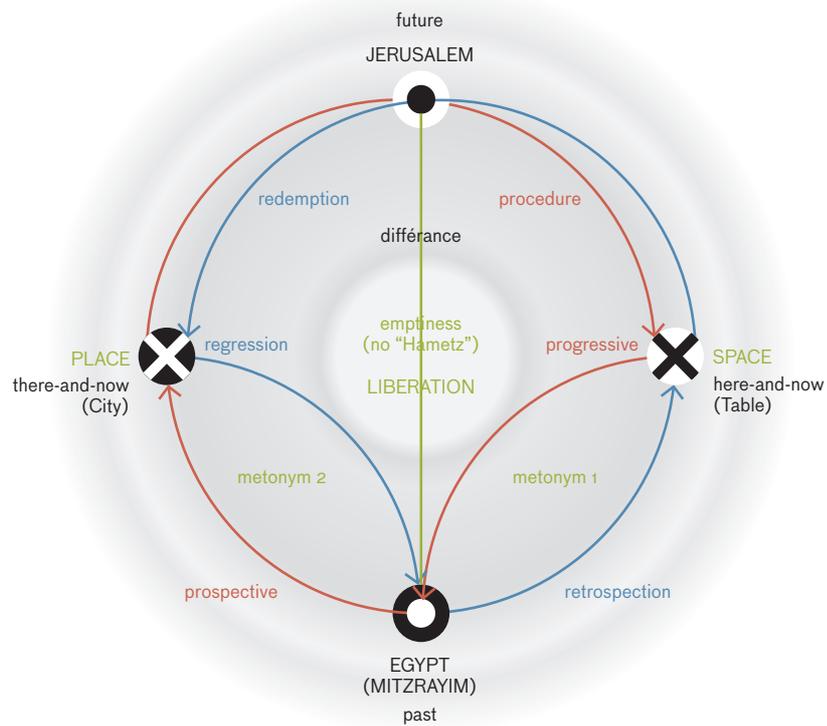
The two terms – ‘progressive retrospection’ and ‘prospective regression’ – are awkward, but fairly precise in suggesting the type of correspondence between narrative representations and ritual procedures which *cannot* be assumed as given, and must be *elaborated* – and make it through a set of constraints – in order to make sense and apply (otherwise they are not reflective models): this moves us from the simple model to the reflective model. Temporal orientations of opposite direction are not contradictory, but are resolved in productively (*fig. 9*, HOLDING PATTERN).

In brief: what does ‘between Egypt and Jerusalem’ mean? It means (a) the Sinai desert, (b) the *Shulkhan Orekh* and (c) the transition-phase between Egypt and Jerusalem [*i.e.*, being on track with the right map]. In the mind and life of a Jew, *Seder* is a ritual with specific people: these family members and those friends. It takes place in a specific city: the emphasis on this point is not sentimental but substantial – the ritual

²⁷ A New Year starts in lunar month of *Nissan* [which is the new year of Kings, used to count the years of kings], while another new year starts at *Rosh Ha-Shana* at the lunar month of *Tishrei* [which is the new year of Torah, or Creation]. The rites of passage to the New Year – from either ends of the bisextile year – is associated with the minting of the matrix for the year to come. This is why these rituals are important to understand how much of Judaism is “in the making” (cf., F. Barth, 1987).

enhances the difference between space and place by re-iterating it. And in this sense Jews are badly described as a wandering people: the *Seder*-ritual may well be described as an art of the locality, and Jews as “place-makers”. While Jews often keep to themselves, they are deeply involved in the place they live, renewing and redeeming it, and it is also their interface for connecting and living with non-Jews. The ethnography from Sarajevo in the next two books demonstrates this point in full.

Fig 9 – The figure establishes a set of dynamic relations, or a holding pattern of dependencies, between non-same elements that are engaged by communicative interaction and exchange taking place in the Seder-ritual: the ritual is here understood in the critical perspective of *différance* – the Seder-ritual is suspended in the productive difference between space and place: the fertile void or emptiness from *Hametz* (Lys Graph).



CONTENTS: PACING THE PLAN OF THE HAGGADAH

A detailed description of the *Seder*-ritual, the plan and contents of the performance, will serve to demonstrate how ritual action extracts benefits from symbolic activities (*i.e.*, preparations – house-clearing and learning). The German terms *fort* and *da* [Freud] are used to indicate the hiding and showing of unleavened bread (*Matza*)²⁸. The play of presence and absence is more pervasive in the *Seder*-ritual than in any other Jewish ritual, which is in part explained by the need to catch and keep the attention of *children* through a rather lengthy ritual (and the time set for the day to start, which in some places be fairly late in the evening). The notes on the interpretations of the ritual detail are included here as examples of what is included in the *Seder*-ritual in order to catch and keep the attention of the *adult* participants. Some of the commentaries are integrated here to catch and keep the attention of the *readers*, but also to give a demonstration of the plasticity of ritual symbolism in relating to a wide range of experiences, while keeping a *focus* – which is a property of the ritual as such (*i.e.*, in performance, or *in actu*). As previously mentioned, the ritual is coached by a leader who either (a) leads the participants through the entire *Seder*-meal or; (b) delegates designated parts to participants who come prepared (the leader then works as a coordinator).

The name of Moses [Hebr. *Moshe*] is mentioned once in the entire *Haggadah*: and the traditional explanation for this is that no man is named more than Moses in the *Torah*, while on the *Seder* eve all attendants are invited to be first-hand witnesses. Some *Haggadot* contain empty pages dedicated to the owner's personal notes.

The 1st Cup: Sanctification

The meal is divided into four main bulks each introduced with a cup of wine, and fifteen named ritual acts (below). The first cup is the cup of *sanctification*. The second cup is the cup of *deliverance*. The third cup is the cup of *redemption*. The fourth cup is the cup of *belonging* to God. These four BOOKS are each divided into a number of subsections (fourteen sections, in all). The cup of sanctification (I) is initiated with the [i] *Kaddesh*: ritual separation of the attendance from other 'nations', of the act of creation from simple causation, of ritual acts from everyday acts, of light from darkness, of the *Shabbat* from weekdays. Then follows [ii] *Urhatz*, the ritual washing of hands without saying a blessing. [iii] *Karpas* consists of spring-greens (for instance parsley, salad, potato etc.)

²⁸ The showing and hiding of *Matzot* (pl.) is connected to the blessing of wine: as wine is blessed before bread, the bread (which has a precedence before wine in the order of creation) are covered, or hidden, in order not to "shame" them.

dipped in salt water. The dipping is so that children should ask about it: one answer being that salt water is like the sweat and tears of people in bondage. The introductory ritual acts are concluded by [iv] *Yahatz*: three *Matzot* are piled on top of each other at the East end of the *Seder* plate: the *middle* one is removed, broken in two and the larger half is wrapped in a cloth, the rest is covered. Only at this point, the well known verse of the [v] *Maggid* (Hebr. ‘narrator’ – passage written in Aramaic) section, initiating the ritual drama proper, is read aloud by the entire attendance (the passage was used as the slogan of the non-sectarian aid of the Jewish humanitarian organisation *La Benevolencija* during the war on Sarajevo [Book 5 and 6]):

Ha Lahma An’Ya...

*– This is the bread of affliction... that our fathers ate in the land of Egypt
All who are hungry let them come in and eat;
All who are needy – let them come and celebrate Passover
This year we are here, but next year we will be in the land of Israel
This year we are slaves, but next year we shall be free men!*

The 2nd Cup: Deliverance

In this BOOK of the ritual, a series of ritual acts (progressive) precede the narrative of remembrance (retrospective), and are performed at a relatively high pace. (a) As the *Matzot* are covered (*fort*), and the second cup of deliverance is poured (II), a series of four traditional questions are asked by the children and answered by the reader. (1) *Mah nishtana... Why is this night different from all other nights? – On all other nights we eat either leavened bread or Matzah – Why on this night only Matzah?* (2) *On all other nights we eat all kinds of herbs; Why on this night do we eat especially bitter herbs?* (3) *On all other nights we do not dip herbs at all – why on this night do we dip them twice?* (4) *On all other nights, we eat either sitting up or reclining. Why, on this night, do we recline and celebrate this festival?* The story itself provides the answers. (b) The *Matzot* are then uncovered (*da*) and the reader proclaims the exodus from Egypt: *We were slaves unto Pharaoh in Egypt and the Eternal our God brought us from there with a strong hand and an outstretched arm.* Then comes an elaboration of the events, significations and implications of the departure from Egypt, which may be carried out *ad libitum*: the more elaborated, the

more praiseworthy. This part may vary in contents and style from one *Haggadah* to the other: the account extends to include a story from a different source – called *Ma'aseh b'Rabi Eliezer* – underlining the central importance of the narrative detail among Talmudic sages, who celebrated *Seder* all night till morning prayer. The significance of this story and its importance to the ritual is profound: the Romans reclined while eating – so the prescribed reclining on a cushion on the left hand is in remembrance of the Roman repression in the land of Israel, which is to say that Egypt is wherever there is repression in history.

Then four passages of the *Torah* are related by the means of a role-play in which four sons are addressed: the one wise, the other mean, the third a simpleton and the fourth one who does not know how to ask questions (which some associate with the four cups of wine²⁹). The roles of the sons are distributed to different participants around the table (often among the children). The wise one asks: *What are those rules, the laws, and the precepts, which the Eternal One our God has commanded you? (Deut. 6:20) – You will instruct him, as according to the prescriptions for Pesah, and tell him: «One does not conclude the repast of the Pascal Lamb with an Afikoman³⁰»*. The mean one asks: *What is this ritual to you? He excludes himself from the community, and would he have been there he would not have been delivered, and you answer him – «It is with this in view that the Eternal one acted for me when I went out of Egypt» (Ex. 13:8)*. The simpleton asks: *What is all this? (Ex. 13:14) – You reply him that with a strong arm [Yad Hazaka] God brought us out of Egypt, from bondage*. The one who does not know how to ask questions: *You tell him that: «It is with this in view that the Eternal one acted for me when I went out of Egypt» (Ex. 13:8)*. At the moment of utter darkness even the faintest gleam of light becomes discernible.

«In view of *this*» may be pronounced as the *Matzah* and *Maror* (bitter herbs) are present in front of each member of the attendance. A hindsight on Abraham's abandonment of idolatry as the seminal event of the *Exodus* – the crossing of the parting waters – initiates a reflection on events related by the *Torah* before and after Egypt, establishing the continuity of prophetic revelation, and the slaves, liberated from bondage, the rightful heirs of the legacy from *Avraham* (Abraham), *Yitzhak* (Isaac) and *Ya'akov* (Jacob), as their *children*. (a) The *Matzot* are covered (*fort*) as the cup is raised: «And it is this promise that sustained our ancestors, and ourselves, since there was more than

²⁹ Meaning that the cup of liberation mentioned initially is the one associated with the mean son, which is also the cup in the full *Seder*-ritual on which one spends the most time (Rabbi Shaul Wilhelm, personal communication).

³⁰ In fact, one does conclude the repast of the Pascal Lamb with an *Afikoman*. So, why then assert the contrary? The repast of the Pascal Lamb is part of the first (mimetic) phase of the ritual, while the *Afikoman* is eaten during the second (metaleptic) part of the *Seder* meal (in between there is the *Shulkhan Orekh*). In fact, there is no terminal closure to this repast, since the preservation of a piece of the *Afikoman* for 'later' – to many, for next *Pesah* – is a material expression of the idea of opening. The difference from expressing this idea verbally, from the action theory point of view, is to 'keep' an opening rather than merely proclaiming it. The ritual is presented as the basic tune with which everything else in Judaism reverberates with individual consciousness in everyday life.

one that wanted to exterminate us; in fact, each generation they are attempting to exterminate us, but the Holy One, blessed is He, rescues us from their hands.» (b) The cup is put back on the table, and the *Matzot* are uncovered (*da*). A parallel is then drawn between on the one hand Ya'akov's toil for Laban for the right to marry Rachel, Laban's deceit as he swapped Rachel for Leah, Ya'akov's toil to earn Rachel – his true love – as his second wife, on the other hand the toil of his descendancy in Egypt. In both cases the relationship between toil and procreation is emphasised: Jacob's and his following counted 70 as he arrived in Egypt. As the Hebrew women bred as insects to – the final population of 600.000 counting only the worthy fraction of liberated Hebrew and other slaves from bondage in Egypt³¹.

³¹ Some refer to this in terms of how Jews appeared to the Egyptians – *i.e.*, as though they breeding as insects. Even though Jews may not numerous they can still be perceived by others as though they are in great numbers and everywhere to be seen.

The resumé of the descent and liberation, thus, establishes a continuity: at the Divine commandment Ya'akov descended to Egypt, he lived in a strange country in Goshen (Gen. 47:4), though restricted in numbers his progeny would be like the stars in heaven (Deut. 10:22), his progeny became one distinct and powerful people proliferating in the land, the «Egyptians made us suffer, impoverished us and imposed harsh labour on our shoulders.» (Deut. 26:6), *suffer* «Well, let us take measures against them lest they grow even more numerous and, if war breaks out, they ally themselves with our enemies, fight us, and expel us from the land» (Ex. 1:11), *suffer* «And one put headmen over this people to burden it with labour and it built for Pharaoh the cities of provision, Pittom and Ram'ses.» (Ex. 1:13), *they burdened us with labour*: «And the Egyptians enslaved the children of Israel with harshness» (Ex. 1:13), *we cried to the Eternal one, God of our fathers, and the Eternal one heard our cries*: «God heard their lament and He remembered His Alliance with Avraham, with Yitzhak and Ya'akov» (Ex. 2:24); *He saw our misery, our labour and our distress, and God removed us from Egypt with a strong hand and an outstretched arm, creating great terror through signs and prodigies in heaven and on earth*. This introduces the account of the *ten plagues*: blood, frogs, vermin, wild beasts, pestilence, ulcers, hail, locusts, darkness, and the death of the firstborn³². A drop of wine is spilled for each of the prodigies as they are recited.

³² In traditional *Haggadot* it is mentioned that Rabbi Yehuda abbreviated the ten plagues to make them easier to remember (the words *Detsah, Adah, Be'ahav*), which according to some were engraved into Moshe's staff (Elie Wiesel's *Haggadah*).

The corollary of (a) the plagues are the successive steps in (b) the salvation of the elect. The steps of the salvation are sealed off from the plagues while devolving in parallel with them. These are the *Dayenu* ('it would have been enough'): (1) *Had God brought us out of Egypt and not done them justice – Dayenu!* (2) *Had God done them justice without*

doing likewise to their gods – Dayenu! (3) Had God done as much for their gods, without killing their first-born – Dayenu! (4) Had God killed their first-born, without giving us their wealth – Dayenu! (5) Had God given us their wealth, without dividing the Sea – Dayenu! (6) Had God divided the sea and not permitted us to cross on dry land – Dayenu! (5) Had God made us cross our feet dry, without killing our persecutors – Dayenu! (8) Had God killed our persecutors and not sustained us for 40 years in the desert – Dayenu! (9) Had God sustained us for forty years in the desert and not fed us with manna – Dayenu! (10) Had God fed us with manna and not given us the Shabbat – Dayenu! (11) Had God given us the Shabbat but not led us to Mount Sinai – Dayenu! (12) Had God let us approach Mount Sinai and not given us the Torah – Dayenu! (13) Had God given us the Torah and not led us into the land of Israel – Dayenu! (14) Had God led us into the land of Israel and not built for us the Temple – Dayenu! The song is held to convey the stepwise character of moving from darkness to light, which cannot be done all at once (the fault of Adam was to try all at once) but only one step at a time³³. The song features a state of mind in which the future – or, final destiny – is unknown, and is in the hands of the Almighty: this is the signature of the mimetic vagrancy.

Then the reader proceeds to a presentation of the *Seder*-ritual items: *Pesah* (Pascal lamb), *Matsah* (unleavened bread) and *Maror* (bitter herbs). While the items are presented – as their connection to *Pesah* (God passing over the houses with its door-posts marked with the blood of the Pascal Lamb) is proclaimed – the attendance is to look at the *Zeroah* (a roasted shank bone) without touching it. Then, the *Matzah* is shown and explained: why do we eat this *Matzah*? *Because the dough of our ancestors did not have the time to leaven when the King of kings, blessed is He, manifested Himself and delivered them.* They had no other provision. Finally, the bitter herbs are shown: why is it eaten? *Because the Egyptians made bitter the lives of our ancestors in Egypt.* In all generations all must consider as if s/he personally left Egypt: «You will tell your child that it is in view of *this* that the Eternal one acted in *my* favour when *I* left Egypt.» (a) The *Matzot* are covered (*fort*) and the cup is raised: «Therefore, it is our duty to thank and to praise and to pray and to glorify and to extol God who performed all these wonders for our ancestors and for us. God brought us out from slavery to freedom, from anguish to joy, from sorrow to festivity, from darkness to a great light. Let us therefore sing to God a new song: *Hallel-*

Also: strictly speaking the plagues are nine plus one – the death of the firstborn corresponding with Passover – *i.e.*, when G-d passed over the houses, not an angel nor a natural phenomenon: it is essentially incommensurable with the other nine.

³³ Fourteen – the number of verses in the Dayenu – is the gematria of *Yad* (*Ha-Zakah*) the (Strong) Hand: which is the same as number of volumes in Maimonides *Mishne Torah*, for this reason called *Yad Ha-Zakah*. Such numerical connections are teleological, in the sense that later events shed light or «explain» earlier events. Yet, they may also be mnemonic devices and the connections made mysterious rather than explanatory. Again, they may be *metaphors* of a particular type (to which we will return towards the end of this book) whereby the ritually amplified and elaborated contents are embodied.

There is a folk-model of this process in the counting of barley grains (*Sefirat Ha-omer*) which starts the second evening of *Seder* and lasts for 7 weeks, or 50 days till *Shavuot* (Pentecost). In this period it is the human body which is cleaned from the habits of servitude (encrustations of evil), through the recitation of the count whereby the different nodes of the *Etz Hayim* (Tree of Life) – with corresponding locations in the human mystical body – are systematically connected: however, only the lower seven *sefirot* are connected [starting with the superior ones *Hesed, Gevurah, Tiferet, Netzab, Hod, Yesod, Malkhut*], whereas the higher three [*Hokhmah, Binah, Keter*] are left out. The lower seven are systematically combined: *Hesed Sheb' Hesed, Gevurah Sheb' Hesed ... Malkhut Sheb' Gevurah* till 7 times 7 pairs have been com-

puted and the count is exhausted [*Malkhut Sheb'Malkhut*]: the 50th day is *Shavuot* [first harvest celebration and the giving of the *Torah*, festival of pilgrimage to Jerusalem]. Generally, gematric permutations may work to transform historic and external symbols into personal and embodied experience. Example: MaRoR (bitter herb) has the same numerical value as MaVeTh (446), which is 'spiritual void' – which, in this understanding, is also a fertile void.

The idea of fifty levels of saintliness and fifty levels of evil corresponding to fifty years of labour have a direct connection to *Pesah* and *Yom Kipur*: Ya'akov worked 7 years for Laban for the right to marry Rachel, then was given Leah as she was the elder (he was lured to marry her) Laban knowing that Ya'akov would work 7 more years to have Rachel (they are not counted as 7 + 7, but 7 x 7). The one remaining year, is indeterminate: it is stagnation, mediocrity and misery. This is the epitome of exile. After the Egyptian exile, debts were remitted and land redistributed with a 50-years interval at *Yom Kipur*. *Sukkot* is the festival of Booths – or the tents used by the Jewish people during the 40 years of wandering in the Sinai (Lev. 23, 42-43) – but also the temporary dwellings used for the *second harvest*, when working on the fields (Ex. 23, 16; Deut. 16, 13): festival of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. During the period of eating – and, sometimes, sleeping – in the *Sukkah*, Avraham, Yitzhak, Ya'akov, Moshe, Aaron, Yosef, and David are symbolically received as guests.

³⁴ *Hallel-u'Yah* (Hebr. Hal-luluyah) = Praise (*Hallelu*) the Lord (*Yah*).

u'Yah»³⁴. (b) The cup is put down and the *Matzot* are uncovered (*da*). The Psalms 113 and 114 are sung. (a) The *Matzot* are covered (*fort*) and the cup is raised: a benediction is read over the Divine deliverance, the attendance gives thanks for having been allowed to reach this night, for the prescription to eat *Matzot* and *Maror* and the foresight of celebrating *Passover* in another country (at this point *Eretz Israel* is still a *heterotopia*, or the *other* place towards which the participants are moving, from the wilderness, or *atopia*, of the desert), to eat the Pascal Lamb and to sing a new song; to thank for liberation, emancipation and redemption. Then the attendance declares itself prepared to drink the second cup of wine, and recites the benediction:

Barukh ata Ha-Shem, Elokeinu Melekh ha'Olam, Borei p'ri ha-Gafen.
Blessed are You, our Lord, King of the universe, who has created the fruit of the vine.

The cup is drunk while reclining on the left elbow. The section of the *Maguid* above is not only the longest one, but it is prolonged in a particular way. The ritual *action* is now at a very slow pace: the *Matzot* have been covered (*fort*) four times, and uncovered (*da*) three times – the act of eventually drinking the wine and eating the *Matzot* is delayed (waiting for nightfall, which is the beginning of the date 15th *Nissan*). Moreover the separation of the *Matzot* and the wine in the time of the narrative (*Maggid*), the initial separation of the ritual (*Kaddesh* [i]) from external factors is now a distinction, which is brought to bear on the relation between elements *within* the ritual itself. The covering (*fort*) and uncovering (*da*) of the [unleavened] bread – or, *Matzah* – has two explanations: (a) one explanation which has to do with the hierarchy between bread and wine in general [bread comes first in the order of creation, but wine is blessed first, and therefore the breads are covered *in order not to "shame" them*]; (b) the other explanation has to do with *designation* for later use [*da*] and *setting aside* from use [*fort*], which constitute a series of *thresholds* in the ritual that dives it into miscellaneous BOOKS or spaces: (1) designation *for* use and (2) setting aside *from* use has been briefly explained in *book 3*, in respective order, as gestural alternation between (1) *mukhan* [designated for – later – use] and (2) *muktzeh* [set aside from – current – use]. These are determinants of the relation between what is at the foreground and the background at different ritual occasions, *Shabbat* in particular, or different ritual phases as in the *Seder*-ritual.

A new «book» of the *Seder*-ritual is now coming up: the ritual subsections again follow each other at a quick pace – but now the precedence of ritual acts over verbal proclamations has been reversed: the successive acts of consumption are conducted at the pace of benedictions. The participants first wash their hands and pronounce the following blessing –[vi] *Rahatz*:

Barukh ata Ha-Shem, Elokeinu melekh ha'olam, asher kid'shanu b'mitzvotav v'tsivanu al netilat yadain!

Blessed are You, our God, King of the Universe who sanctified us with His commandments and has commanded us to wash our hands.

For the [vii] *Motzi Matzah* the reader takes the *Matzot* in their above order (*cf.*, [iv]), and blesses them, while directing his attention to the top one (*Motzi*):

Barukh ata Ha-Shem, Elokeinu Melekh ha'olam, ha'motzi lehem min ha'aretz
Blessed are You *Ha-Shem*, our God, King of the Universe, who draws bread from the earth.

The inferior *Matzah* is put back, keeping the two superior ones (the middle one being only a fragment, broken initially [iv]). And a blessing is pronounced on the commandment and the prescription of eating *Matzah*. Then the participants eat *Matzah* while they *recline* on the left elbow [symbolising the way gentry was eating at the time of the Romans]. After which the [viii] *Maror* is eaten dipped in *Haroset* (a mix of grated fruits [*e.g.*, apple], wine and nuts made to resemble the mortar with which the Hebrew slaves made bricks). Follows the [ix] *Korekh*, commonly known as the Hillel-sandwich: a piece of the lower *Matzah*, with *Maror* in between (to heed the word: «One will eat the Pascal Lamb with *Matzot* and *Maror*» [Ex. 12:8]), as from the time when the Temple stood. At this point the meal proper – the [x] *Shulkhan Orekh* – starts officially. The *Seder* plate is removed from the table during the meal (*fort*)...

Boiled eggs dipped in «tears», symbol of new life, are eaten during the festive meal (the eleventh of the fifteen ritual acts during the *Seder* evening). Eggs also symbolise mourning (*i.e.*, mourning the persecutors, or Egyptians). This is the turning point of the *Seder*-ritual, during which the 'world' – the more mundane festive meal – is let into the primordial space of the *Seder*-ritual.

³⁵ During the second *Seder* evening some maintain the custom of commemorating the repast during which Queen Esther denounced Haman, around which the story of the *Purim* devolves. It closes Esther's fast, which lasted 70 hours. In kabbalistic lore 70 – the gematria of the letter *Ayin* ('eyes') – is associated with the primordial sense of smell and scents. Eleven is the number of ingredients (scents) – prescribed to Moshe by God – contained in the pounded incense, used in the Tabernacle, and, later, in the Temple. These are one of the links to other *Hagim* (Festivals) in the Jewish ritual calendar, already commented (*i.e.*, the ritual performance of one *Hag*, tends to link up with the remainder as an interactive participatory web).

...and replaced at the end (*da*)³⁵. The participants are now transformed, and the ritual process marked by the remaining two cups of wine passes unto the metonymic (exit-) phase – during which the Sinai Desert has become the *heterotopia*, or place of the *other*, while Jerusalem is the *utopia*. It starts with the [xi] *Tzafun*: a piece of the *Afikoman* (*cf.*, [iv]) is eaten, as the *Matzah* should be the last foodstuff given to taste the *Seder* evening.

The 3rd Cup: Redemption

The third cup of redemption (III) is poured. The [xii] *Barekh* is a series of acts of grace performed after the meal. It starts with the Song of Ascent:

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1.
When God restores the exiled in Zion,
We shall be as those who dream.
Our mouths shall be full of laughter then,
Our tongues with song</p> | <p>2.
Then they will say among the nations;
God has done great things for them.
God has done great things for us.
And so now rejoice</p> |
| <p>3.
Restore us once again, O God,
Like sudden floodstreams in the desert
Then those who sow in tears,
Will reap in joy</p> | <p>4.
Those who go weeping
Bearing the seed for sowing,
Will return bearing the sheaves
With song and laughter.</p> |

Restore us once again, O God!

The head of the table (former reader) then enjoins the venerable company of gentry to recite the benedictions (standard grace for meals, or *bentshn*: “rabotai, mir veln bentshn!” [Yid]). The assembly replies: *Blessed be the Name of the Eternal one, from this moment and for all eternity*. The head repeats: *with your permission, venerable Sirs and Masters, let us bless our God from whose abundance we have eaten, and from whose goodness we live*. The solemn assembly replies: *Blessed be our God from whose abundance we have eaten, and by whose goodness we live*. The head repeats the last phrase. And all say: *Barukh hu uwarukh sh'mo* /Blessed be God, blessed be Gods name. The series

of blessings and thanksgivings after this point follow the standard of saying Grace after meals (*Birkat Ha-Mazon*) with additions for *Pesah*: (1) blessing for nourishment, (2) blessing for the land; (3) blessing for Jerusalem; (4) God's goodness. The *Seder*-ritual at this point is entirely verbal, till the drinking of the *third cup*: giving thanks for having reached the life beyond slavery, commemorating the life in Egypt but from the point of view of opening and replenishment – *i.e.*, the stark opposite from the point of view prior to the meal. This spontaneous shift of gears is the (ideal) point of view of the *Eretz Israel* – the Land of Israel – both *liberation* and *emancipation* have been achieved, and the assembly moves its attention towards the theme of the final ascent towards Jerusalem (*redemption*), yet to come. The third cup is blessed – the same benediction as previously – and is emptied by the participants reclining, or leaning, on the left elbow³⁶.

The 4th Cup: Belonging

The cup of belonging to God is poured (IV), along with the *fifth cup* for the Prophet Elijah (who has a separate place at the table, as a witness or chronicler of the Jewish people). He is the prophet from the village of Tishbi in Gilead, who challenged the injustice of the king and overthrew the *ba'al cult*. He healed the sick and helped widows. This prophet being associated with the ultimate redemption of Israel – which is dependent on what humanity does or does not do – and is symbolically invited in during this last part of the *Seder*-ritual. The prophet Elijah (Hebr. *Eliyahu*) is the companion of those who need friendship and comfort – in the Bible he is perhaps the most castigating prophet. In the *Seder*-ritual, he is the mysterious stranger who comes in time, and brings hope to the desperate. He is eternally compassionate, intercedes with God, and is the chronicler – or, «historian» – of Jewish suffering and distress. Nothing is lost to his testimony, and his role is that of the witness. He is the memory of the Jewish people. He is the pacifier. He is to assist and accompany the Messiah, to whose destiny he is linked. *The door into the house is opened*. And in some communities the assembly rises to receive the guest. And a song against injustice and unrighteousness is intoned. *The door is closed*.

The [xiii] *Hallel* is a sequence with psalms of praise, moving beyond the sociodicy of the Jewish people. God is approached from a cosmological point of view, as the Creator (Psalms 115 through 118; 136): the ultimate Maker and Un-maker of things natural and human. During

³⁶ In the *Halachah* – Jewish Jurisprudence – everything starts at the right (the beginning) and ends at the left (the fulfilment, or conclusion); this corresponds with the direction of reading, from *right* to *left*, and is the explanation of Torah scholars for why the Torah starts with a *beyt* (a 'B') rather than an *alef* (an 'A'): the letter *beyt* is closed to the right and open to the left (cf., fig. 8).

the prayer of [xiv] *Nishmat* the contemplative efforts of the attendance is brought to the level of physical elements, in their praeternatural form: the prayer that human beings be raised physically, that prayer become part of their physical nature, that prayer be embodied by human beings at this elementary level – sounding like water in the sea, the roaring of waves, like the space of the firmament; in a thoroughly redeemed human body: the eyes shining like the sun and the moon, the arms like the wings of an eagle in the sky, feet as light as a hart's/hind's. After a final section of blessings and praise, the fourth cup of wine is blessed and emptied by the participants as they recline on the left elbow. As a resumé of the foregoing blessings is read, the attention of the assembly is directed towards Jerusalem and the conclusion.

The final [xiv] *Nirtsah*: the ceremony of the *Seder*-ritual in its prescribed form is now over «... We have celebrated it in conformity with its laws and statutes. As we did this evening, may we do it again. Eternal being who resides in His celestial abode, raise the people that cannot be counted, the offspring of the wine-stock that You have planted, bring them back to Zion soon in joyfulness» – *Lshana haba'ah bi'yerushalayim!* Next year in Jerusalem³⁷! This end is not the end, because the *Seder*-ritual does not really end. It has a perennial dimension, and the Postludium of the ritual extends into the night, or what remains of it. This end after the end deserves special attention: since what extends into the night and eternity, may from an alternative point of view be seen as a shift of level. Among the postludes to the *Seder*, there is a development from the theme of eternity to that of reversibility. *Had Gadiya* (A kid/Lamb) is a song added as a trailer to the *Haggadah* in Mediaeval times. It makes an inventory of a series of contingent events, in which one act applies fortuitously to the previous one. Till God destroys the Angel of Death and the entire causal chain is reversed, and destiny in this case overrules causality (cf., Soloveitchik, 1989).

Refr.: *My father bought
for two zuz a kid (Had Gadiyah)...*

³⁷ These words also close the celebration of *Yom Kipur* (The Day of Atonement): the Leitmotif being that Jews – as Jews – are in a state between liberation (from Egypt) and final redemption (in Jerusalem). After the major Sacrifice which took place in the Temple at *Yom Kipur*, during *Sukkot*, seventy small oxen were sacrificed (Num.29, 12): the number seventy corresponds to the number of people in *Ya'akov's* following, the seventy faces of the *Torah*, and the seventy nations of the world (Talmud Tractate, *Sukkot* 55b).

1.
*...Then came the cat
And ate the kid*

Refr(...)

2.
*...Then came the dog
And bit the cat
That ate the kid(...)*

3.
*...Then came the stick
And beat the dog
That bit the cat
That ate the kid(...)*

4.
*...Then came the fire
And burned the Stick
That beat the dog
That bit the cat the ate the kid(...)*

5.
*...Then came the water
And quenched the fire
That burned the stick
That beat the dog
That bit the cat
That ate the kid(...)*

6.
*...Then came the ox
And drank the water
That quenched the fire
That burned the stick
That beat the dog
That beat the cat
That ate the kid(...)*

7.
*Then came the butcher
And killed the ox
That drank the water
That quenched the fire
That burned the stick
That beat the dog
That bit the cat
That ate the kid(...)*

8.
*Then came the Angel of Death
And slew the butcher
That killed the ox
That drank the water
That quenched the fire
That burned the stick
That beat the dog
That bit the cat
That ate the kid(...)*

9.
*Then came the Holy One
And destroyed the Angel of Death
That slew the butcher
That killed the ox
That drank the water
That quenched the fire
That burned the stick
That beat the dog
That bit the cat
That ate the kid(...)*

(End)

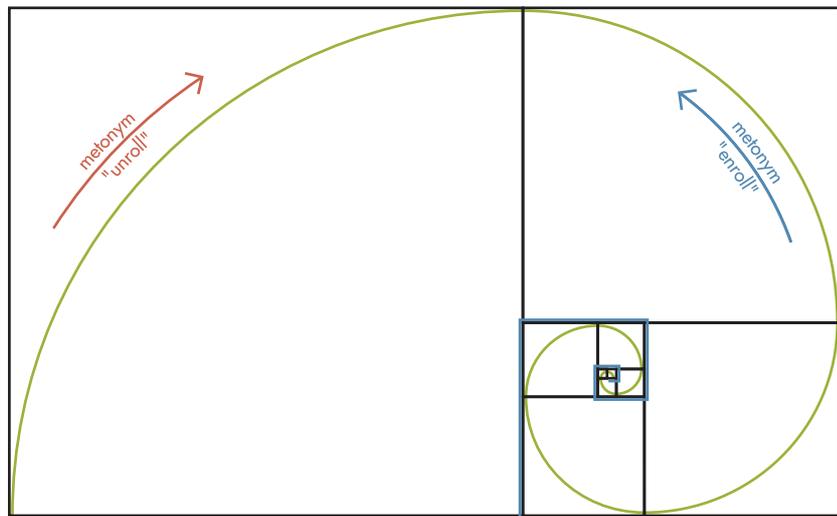
CROSSOVER - JOINING THE METAPHOR

In some *Haggadot* the haggard style of this song is commented as being an “odd tail” to the remainder of the texts in the anthology gathered in the *Haggadah*. And a superficial reading could, effectively, interpret the inclusion of this song as a way of rounding off a never-ending story. However, at the level of contents this song levels with the remainder and shares the form of reversibility with other texts of the *Postlude*³⁸. The notion that ‘destiny’ represents a different chronological vector – or, temporality – than ‘causality’ is all pervading in the *Seder*-ritual, even though the four cups constitute a ritual itinerary whereby the sense that the causality is overruled by destiny, this can by no means be taken as given: on the contrary, it is exceptional. In Jewish thought, this is the signature of Divine intervention – creation rather than evolution. What distinguishes the order of creation from the order of evolution comes out quite clearly in the theatrical form of the ritual.

Consider that, in the context of the ritual, the first series of steps, before the festive meal (*Shukhan Orekh*), are clearly defined in terms of foodstuffs, actions and blessings but are unclear as to where they will

³⁸ *Ha-Ari* (Hebr., ‘The Lion’, Isaac Luria [1532-1572]) commented that the *omer* count (*supra*), which starts the second evening of *Seder*, should be initiated before the Song *Ehad Mi Yodea* rather than as the last ritual act that evening. The song lists a series of mystical meanings of figures – thus, expounding them as ‘numbers’ – running from One (*i.e.*, God) to Thirteen (*i.e.*, the thirteen attributes of God - $13 = 1 + 8 + 4 = \text{Alef Het Dalet}$ [conversion of number to letters] = EHaD = One), with all the cardinal events of revelation listed in between. Like in the song above, all the verses accumulate the strophes of the previous verses in a regressive order (*i.e.* a count-down that becomes longer for each verse).

fig. 10 – Fibonacci sequence in graphic representation as a golden section spiral.



From outside in: blue line-breaks difficult to figure out: 21, 13, 8, 5, 2, 1, 1
centre out: red line-breaks easy to figure out: 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21

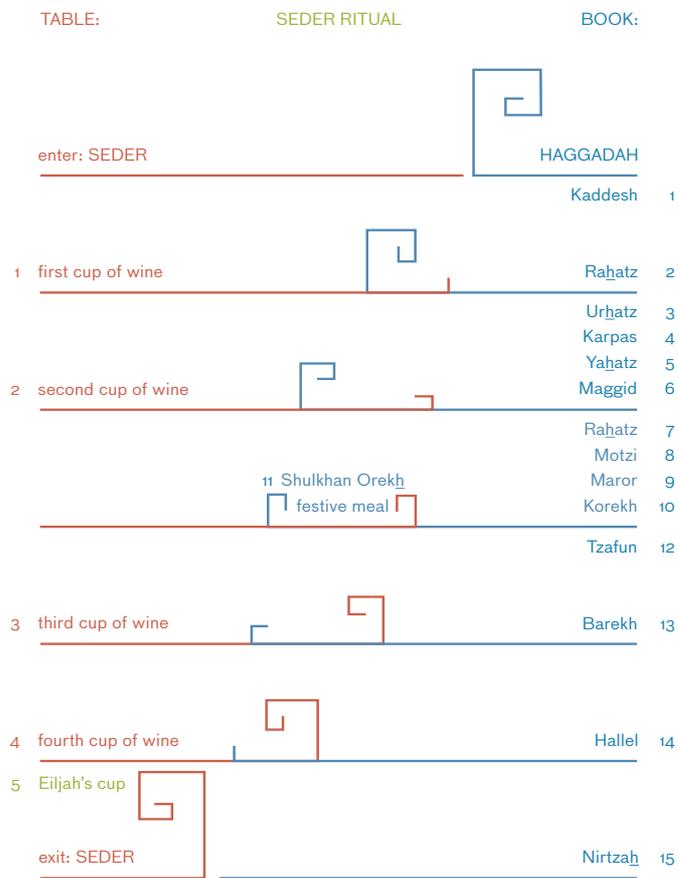
actually bring the attendance: in the phase of metonymic unfolding, the *Seder*-ritual enacts the journey of the Jewish people into the unknown (the Night and the metamorphosis in the Sinai desert). While the second series of steps in the metonymic enfolding phase of the *Seder*-ritual, the narrative contents are more abstract and mystical, while the procedural containers and the tracery of steps are very clear (*cf.*, the reversibility of time in the song-game *Had Gadiyah*, above). Indeed, the time of metonymic enfolding, in counterpoint to the metonymic unfolding, may fruitfully be conceived in terms of ‘prospective regression’: *i.e.*, the end of death – by a regressive causation initiated by Divine intervention – and the beginning of hope in the World-to-Come.

The relation between (1) the “progressive retrospection” in *Seder*-ritual’s phase of metonymic unfolding [*mimesis*, or mapping], and (2) the “prospective regression” in the phase of metonymic enfolding [*metalepsis*, or tracking], can be visualised in a fairly simple way. In *fig. 10*, if we move towards the centre of the spiral it is difficult to figure out, or predict, though possible to *map*, the numerical progression from {21, 13, 8, 5, 3, 2, 1, 1} (periphery-in) that determine where the red line breaks, while it is easy to figure out, and possible to *track*, the second numerical progression [which is a Fibonacci series: {1, (1+ 1= 2), (2 + 1= 3), (3 +2= 5), (5 + 3= 8), (8 + 5= 13), (13+ 8 = 21)} etc.].

This mathematical simile is used here because it illustrates that some series are easy/difficult to figure out depending on whether we read the series *forwards* or *backwards*. This ease and difficulty can be used consciously for didactical reasons, in a ritual setting: although the resistance of the one is featured by the waywardness of the contents, like swimming upstream, the elements are still recognised as the same when “swimming downstream”: but they appear on a hinterland of relationships and forces that are completely altered. This goes for the *mapping* and *tracking* phases in the *Seder*-ritual – only in different aspects: (a) the mapping phase [first metonym], before the festive meal, is easy to figure out from a *narrative* point of view, but *procedurally* confusing, while (b) the tracking phase [second metonym], after the festive meal, is *procedurally* easy to figure out, while it is more diffuse from a *narrative* point of view. The next schema (*fig. 11*), suggests that the ritual turns from the *mapping* phase to the *tracking* phase, simply when the narrative (BOOK) ceases to be the dominant dimension of the ritual – after the *Shulkhan Orekh* (festive meal) – and is overtaken by the procedural dimension (table [HOLDING PATTERN]).

In *fig. 11*, the process of metonymic enfolding starts from the very outset – but is dominated by the narrative dimension – while after the festive meal (*Shulkhan Orekh*) the procedural dimension simply becomes more *salient*, and is much more similar, in all aspects, to Jewish ritual practice at other religious occasions, in terms of saying grace, singing psalms and the type of discussions conducted around the table (that resemble those that are only referred in the *Ma'aseh b'Rabi Eliezer*, in the first phase, before the festive meal).

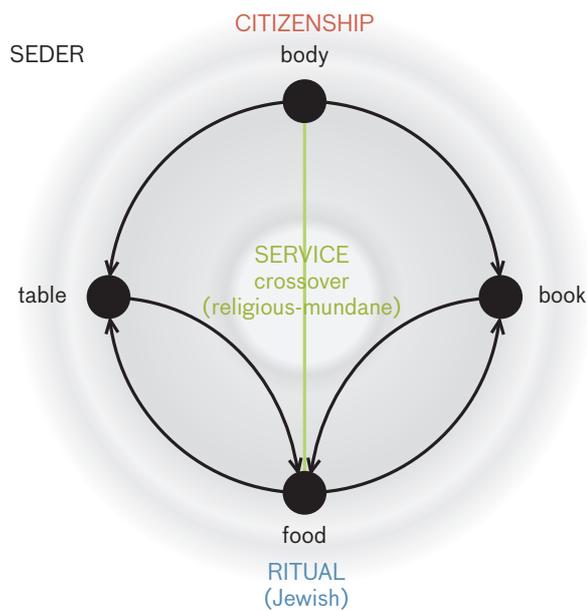
fig. 11 – Exchange between two interaction designs (book and holding pattern [table]) in the Seder-ritual. Metonym 1: in the mimetic mapping phase (from the beginning to Shulhan Orekh) the interaction design of the book dominates the stage. Metonym 2: in the metaleptic tracking stage – from Shulhan Orekh to the end of the Seder-ritual – the interaction design of the holding pattern dominates: between them is the Shulhan Orekh as a metaphor of the Desertic community and the Actual community (i.e., the metaphoric interstice of the Seder-ritual).



The first phase of the Seder-ritual – *i.e.*, when the metonymic unfolding of the narrative-in-ritual dominates in salience – is also the most *secular*: it is, in some sense, resolutely “pre-Jewish”. Some explanations are needed: for Jews, *Avraham Avinu* – ‘Abraham our Father’ – is the first Jew. The Patriarchs and Matriarchs – Abraham and Sarah, Issac and Rebecca, Jacob, Leah and Rachel – carry the entire Jewish people within them: however, it is only after the Exodus from Egypt, that *each and every* individual become Jews like them. In this sense, the Jewish community came about *before* Jewish personhood. According to Jewish tradition (Rashi), the Patriarchs knew and studied *Torah* – *i.e.*, the Teaching – however, it is only after the Exodus – with the rule of Law and the rise of Teachers – that every Jew was expected to know and study Torah (Moses is called *Moshe Rabbeynu* – ‘Moses our Teacher’). The *Seder*-ritual enacts the passage from a Patriarchal to a Civic community³⁹.

³⁹ Note that the Civic community, in this case, has an educational-democratic definition rather than a political-democratic definition: in other words, different institutions are emphasised in relation to democratic rule of law (*i.e.*, liberty, equality and fraternity). A society based on the hierarchy of Priesthood, has its dialectic counter-point in the egalitarianism of learning, in traditional Judaism.

fig. 12 – The Seder-ritual represented as a simple model. The religious-mundane metaphor is here modelled in its assumed mode (*i.e.*, the textural dimension is collapsed and therefore not up to be worked out in its dynamic relationship with the gestural). In this mode, the Seder-ritual is a symbolic idiom, that can be brought along into symbolic activities outside the pale of sanctity (where it is passed on).



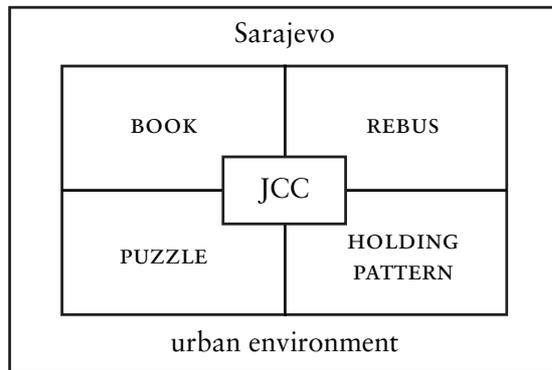
In brief, the *Seder*-ritual enacts the passage from Patriarchal community of Hebrews, to a Civic community of Jews. This is why the *Seder*-ritual is as much a Civic ritual as it is a Jewish ritual, and therefore has a universal message in addition to its Jewish message: and this is why non-Jews, who sympathise with the values of citizenship, today can be and are invited to participate. This religious-mundane *metaphor* is key to understand the importance of this ritual for the Jewish Community of Sarajevo: (a) *textural dimension*: on account of the potential for religious-mundane *crossover* of its content [which has been analysed above]; (b) *gestural dimension*: on account of the potential for religious-mundane *crossover* of its containers [*i.e.*, the metonymic unfolding and the metonymic enfolding]: generating a religious-secular *metaphor*. Both dimensions will be discussed in the two next books, in which the management and organisation of relief and refugee-transport are analysed as processes of communicative interaction.

The addition of the present book, permits an analysis of the ritual as a cultural artefact: analysed as an interaction design, rather than as a cultural text, the *Seder*-ritual develops an *affordance* for religious-mundane crossovers (which is the “delivery” of the ritual service). In other words, contrary to what is the case in the Zagreb ethnography, *crossovers* are not marginal, but core to our understanding of the *model* used by the Sarajevo Jews – during the war on Bosnia in 1992-95 – to tell the world who they were, what they were doing and why they were doing it. In addition to this, a systematic approach to the empirical data of the religious-mundane *crossovers* (desert → location) uncovers an interesting generative potential, in the sense that the *crossovers* are productive of aggregates evolving as the dynamics of patterns and events acquire an autonomous dynamic, and warrant the analysis of models of a different type than the reflective models discussed presently.

In brief, the elementary model that emerges as we go through the ritual in the *complexity* of ethnographic detail, appears, in the above visualisation (*fig. 12*) of the ritual, as a communicative network, which serves as a compass (simulating the compass that participants end up incorporating after having gone through the ritual from year to year). This gestural representation, however, is but a road-map of the elementary items, if stripped down to basics. But it will serve to conceptualise the structure of the ritual as it looks from a procedural, or gestural, point of view; that is, as a *simple model* that is not closed but available to alternative textural associations: whether *random* as

in a PUZZLE, *arbitrary* as in a REBUS, or *contingent* as in BOOKS and HOLDING PATTERNS. Ritual symbolism, therefore, is something more and something else than a trap for human minds: it can be a trap, of course, but it can also come out as a productive maze.

The schema (*fig. 12*) reads in the following way: the Passover celebration in Sarajevo is a civic teeming-space (green-room). The four “cardinal points” from which the participant organise their orientation in the ritual are: (a) the ritual foodstuffs; (b) the table around which they sit [the “stage” of the *Seder*-ritual]; (c) the book from which they read [the *Haggadah*]; (d) the body [from which a certain external demeanour, internal attitude, acts and statements are required]. The cardinal points are connected in the following way: the ritual foodstuffs and their spatial arrangement are represented both on the table and in the book; the body-metaphors evolve, as an interaction between the *table* and the *book* is engaged [*i.e.*, between these *two media*]. As the relative dominance between the two media *shifts* – *i.e.*, from the book to the table – the ritual shifts from (1) the body *unfolding* to engage (2) the body *enfolding*. The present book, thus, is a methodological sequel to *books 5* and *6*.



The *token* book used (*i.e.*, the *exemplars* discussed in *book 5*, rather than the *type* discussed here) acquires a mileage for each consecutive *Seder* it has served to coach, and typically becomes a symbol to the group of people that habitually celebrate *Seder* together. The uniqueness of the Sarajevo *Haggadah* should be understood in this context. Finally, the ritual features the remembrance of the passage from a group of patriarchal Hebrews, along with the group of former Egyptian slaves

that chose to follow them, to a civic community of Jews. The ritual is Jewish in its religious component and secular in its Civic component: the backstage of the *Passover* celebration is Civic, and the “service-delivery” of the ritual is the Jewish religious-secular *Crossover*, that constitutes the main metaphoric affordance *generated* by communicative interaction: crossing over, surviving, repairing the world and holding the centre. The space/place in which the ritual evolves is the subject in *book 5: i.e.*, the Sarajevo JCC.

CONCLUSION

The level of ethnographic detail included in the analysis of the “cultural stuff” in ritual is argued here for the following reasons: (a) it is intended to give the anthropological reader a chance to engage a broader ethnographic assessment of Jewish ritual, based on her own experience; (b) to make a point out of how models can become a lot simpler – at the elementary level – by *adding* ethnographic detail, instead of pondering on generalities of ritual, and engaging a mytho-logic analysis of the Lévi-Strauss (1964-71) type [which assumes that the systemic features of the warped representations typically found in myths, are identified at the structural level].

With regard to the latter point, the present book constitutes an exploration of the alternative conjecture that systemic features of mythical representations can be seen to derive from the ritual action, and the communicative patterns generated by it. Indeed, the autonomy claimed for this ethnographic enterprise from various “schools” in anthropology, lies in the methodological point that *pattern can emerge from details*. However, this point of view on methodology departs from some of the basic assumptions that inform the *extended case* approach to ethnography: indeed, the analysis of ritual as communicative interaction advanced in this book, eschews the functional integration of the turnerian rite-of-passage and social drama (Turner, 1975) to focus on the ritual integration of contingencies by individuals in transactions that generate affordances.

In this regard, I have sought to demonstrate in this book that a model of ritual may be built based on the methodological assumption that “pattern can emerge from detail” as an anthropological equivalent of the *order-from-chaos* assumption in complexity science (Waldrop, 1992). In this perspective, the warped space-time of mythical thought is

but a phase-transition (*cf.*, Wallerstein, 1991) – comparable to the soft hexagonal shapes of the Bénar-cells formed in water before ebullition – which the ethnographic detail serves to place in a broader scope. In this scope, the exotic, and sometimes arcane, attraction of myth is tempered by the modest place it can claim when located in the complex dynamic process of the full ritual (with its lack of closure at the logical level and with its loose ends).

What, then, is the status of the model? The rationale for including the analysis of the ritual form and dynamics of the *Seder*-ritual before the ethnography from Sarajevo is that rituals are considered as *interactive templates* that are learned *communicatively* by participating in *Sedarim* (pl. *Seder*) as described in this book. Such templates are engaged by actors for a variety of purposes – and with a variety of objectives – yet, the functional *output* is typically emergent (and, for this reason,

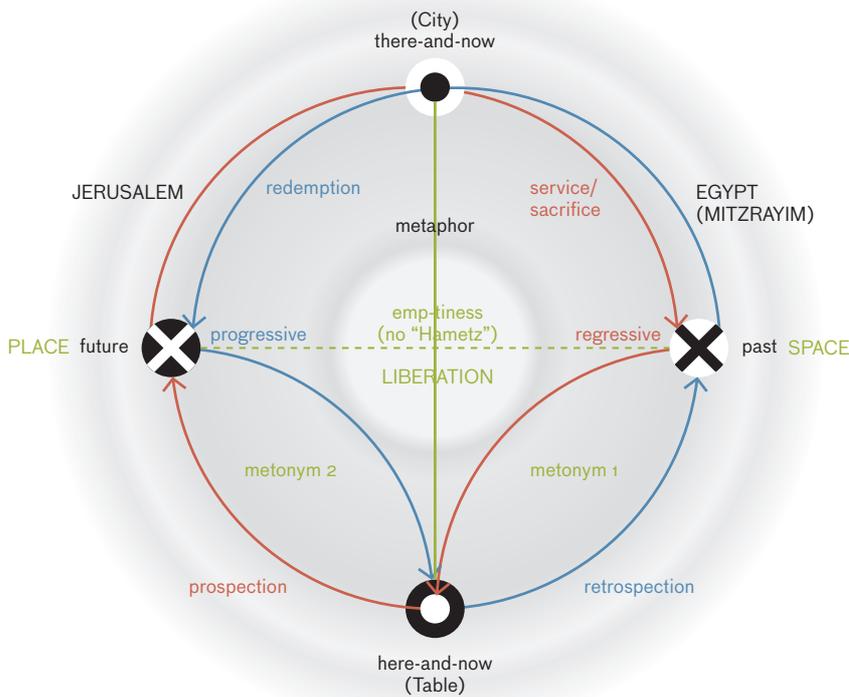


fig. 13 – Metaphor as spatio-temporal folding (dotted line = fold; metaphor = enacted difference; Table = the table around which the ritual takes place, at home or in a Jewish community. City = the city in which the ritual takes place; for instance, Sarajevo). “Know that, when the Israelites do the will of the Place, and singularly when they reside on their land and accomplish their divine ritual by means of sacrifices and other commandments, they stir the higher powers to bestow good on them, in the measure of G-d’s benevolence on their behalf.” (Eliyahu Chayim Ganetzano, in Mopsik, 1997: 192).

⁴⁰ The present *book 4*, is the most "theoretical" among the 6 books of the *Travelogue*: the rationale for inserting the theoretical discussion in the *middle section* of the *Travelogue* is to argue a methodological view of anthropological theory as a teaming space, or *green-room*, of an essentially transitional nature.

unpredictable). But, as we shall see, such emergent output is used as a starting point, "raw material" or – indeed – *input* for new activities; whereby the communicative dynamics of ritual – whenever sustained by actors – becomes *immergent* (in the sense that the output becomes part of the 'deep history' of the ritual).

At the close of this book⁴⁰, it appears that the *deep history* of the ritual is the *affordance* for crossovers spanned by it: for this reason, the answer to the question left pending in *book 3*, is that the *affordance* generated by *ágon* (*i.e.*, the full system) in Zagreb was *negative* (in the sense of obstructing rather than facilitating crossovers). In the next book, we are leaving the 'agonists' of the Zagreb JCC for the 'activists' in the Sarajevo JCC, and *book 5* will serve to build an ethnographic basis for the model of how rituals, services, transactions and affordances are interlinked in the generative analysis of 'disordered systems' (Barth, 1992). The point being that when reflective models span affordances they can – at some point – shift and change into something else: *i.e.* a model that is systematically engaged with spanning affordances, in the sense of also *managing* and thereby *shifting* between a religious sense of service, and 'services' in a mundane sense, which may perfectly well "inhabited" by reflective models, while engaging with the domestication of remote causes in the physical sense of logistics inside a war-zone (*fig. 13*).

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS

(In order of appearance)

Shukhan Arukh (Hebr.) = The Laid Table (Jewish code of law)

Haggadah (Hebr.) = Story (manual or road-map for the Seder).

Ora Khayim (Hebr.) = The Way of Life

Ore Deakh (Hebr.) = The Teacher of Knowledge

Even Ha-Ezer (Hebr.) = The Stone of Help

Hoshen Mishpat (Hebr.) = The Shield of Sentence

Hevra Kaddisha (Hebr.) = The Holy Society

Torah (Hebr.) = Pentateuch (5 books)

Beyt Ha-Tefutsot (Hebr.) = Diaspora Museum (Lit. Diaspora House)

Hametz (Hebr.) = Ferments

Beyt (Hebr.) = House

Mitzrayim (Hebr.) = Egypt

M'tzarim (Hebr.) = Narrow straits

Pesah (Hebr.) = Passover

Hefker (Hebr.) = Null and void (like the dust of the earth)

Hebr. = Hebrew word

Yid. = Yiddish word/pronunciation



BOOK 5

THIRTEEN KISSES – A MANUAL OF SURVIVAL FROM SARAJEVO

PREAMBLE	
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COMMUNITY ORGANISATION AS A SECONDARY FRAMEWORK	p. 272



CHIEF ACTORS IN BOOK 5

EdTo – Bosnian Headmistress (Carl Bildt's interpreter)

1. The President of La Benevolencija
 2. The Philosopher
 3. The Cook
 4. The Soldier
 5. The doctor
 6. The Architect
 7. The Social Worker
 8. The President of the Women's Association La Bohoreta
 9. The Cantor & the Soother of Souls
 10. The Engineer
 11. The Chemist
 12. The Pharmacist
 13. The President of the Jewish Community
- BaCh – The Joint's Country Representative

MAJOR ORGANISATIONS

LOCAL

La Benevolencija – Jewish humanitarian organisation

Merhamet – Moslem humanitarian organisation

Caritas – Catholic humanitarian organisation (locally equated with Croatians)

Dobro Tvor – Orthodox humanitarian organisation (locally equated with the Sebians)

La Bohoreta – Jewish Womens' Association

INTERNATIONAL

The Joint (JDC) – American Joint Distribution Committee

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WHO – World Health Organisation

UNPROFOR – United Nations Protection Force

SFOR – Stabilisation Force (NATO-led multi-national force in Bosnia and Hercegovina)

The Friends of La Benevolencija – network organisation of friends supporting La Benevolencija

BOOK 5: THIRTEEN KISSES – A MANUAL OF SURVIVAL FROM SARAJEVO

«Look at Sarajevo. The capital of Bosnia. An alpine city, like Grenoble in France. In 1984 it hosted the winter Olympic games. The world has forgotten us. Our memories are now war-memories, and ruins are our monuments– like the buildings of the *Oslobodjenje* newspaper, the *National Library*, the *Faculty of Philosophy*, the Students' home and the Post Office. The strongholds of the international presence were the Holiday Inn, the Internet Café and Hotel Europa. High-rises were the outposts of Serbian snipers. This was no accident. We had to crawl through tunnels, at the peril of our lives, to get to regular markets beyond the confines of the city. It was a regular extermination camp.»

(Taxi-driver, Sarajevo)

Together with the *Merhamet*, *Caritas* and *Dobro Tvor*, *La Benevolencija* was one of the locally-based humanitarian aid organisations operating during the war on Bosnia, from 1992 to 1995. All of these organisations were of religious denominations: Moslem (*Merhamet*), Catholic (*Caritas*), Orthodox (*Dobro Tvor*) and Jewish (*La Benevolencija*)¹. In the spring of 1997, while the peace treaty² was still in the enforcement process, they were awarded twice: first by the Bosnian Government, then by the Pope John Paul II during his official visit 12-13th April 1997. The Bosnian Government awarded a Gold medal to *Merhamet* (Moslem), and a silver medal to both *Caritas* (Catholic) and *La Benevolencija* (Jewish). *Dobro Tvor*, the Orthodox organisation, was not included. The Pope endowed all the organisations equally, with a gift of \$50.000. During the official portrait visit, photos of the Pope adorned the city, and people were greeting John Paul II, through the streets of Sarajevo, with a traditional blessing – *the thirteen kisses*. The event had worldwide press-coverage.

In the words of a Bosniac Headmistress³, working as an interpreter for EU-Mediator and High Representative Carl Bildt, Sarajevo once

¹ The exclusion of *Dobro Tvor* did not correspond to a general exclusionary policy towards Serbian people and culture. For instance, Serbs were included in President Izetbegovic cabinet, and courses in Cyrillic alphabet – which is neither used by Croats nor Bosniacs – were still (and emphatically) on the school curriculum at the time of my fieldwork.

² The Dayton agreement was signed December 14th 1995, in Paris.

³ The Headmistress was my hostess EdTo during my two field-trips to Sarajevo.

⁴ cf., Csordas, 1993.

⁵ Mosa Priade (Jewish) who was President Tito's right hand till he died in 1957, held that if Bosnia did not exist, it would have to be invented. In the anthropological sense of this term, it was invented when the Moslem nation – which at that point in time did not have a religious reference – was declared (*i.e.*, as a third category which was neither Serbian nor Croatian [cf., Prof Muhamed Filipovic activism after the reintroduction of freedom of religion in 1954]).

The Moslem-category was contested by the Serbs, during the recent war, as the most evident political construction, only to expand the same argument to the Croats: Serbian nationalism grew from a logic of punishing Croats and Bosniacs for nationalism (as accused by Serbs). Meanwhile, the Moslem Bosniacs had, since the fifties, been to a non-negligible degree Islamised, as a consequence of the exchange with the Moslem world promoted by Tito's policy of non-alliance.

Before that time the Moslems were descendants of landowners and their dependents, from the time of the Ottoman Empire, who converted to Islam from the Bogomil heresy, largely for pragmatic reasons (Malcolm, 1996). Many Moslem nationals, however, have yet scarcely seen a *Koran* or set their foot inside a Mosque: they simply constitute a category of non-Christian Europeans.

The rhetoric whereby the Serbs dissolved the Yugoslav – or, civil – alternative is the following: the Croat is either a Catholic Serb, or a Ustasha (WWII Fascist); the Bosniac is either a Moslem Serb or a Islamic Fundamentalist, and the Chetniks of Krajina are the unholy core of the Serbian nation. With the abolish-

again was becoming a place on planet earth, at the time of this official visit. Being herself of Moslem denomination, she had experienced the war as a *loss of place*: not only did the international order and media-attention fail Sarajevo, but the human landscape of the city was altered beyond recognition. This widely shared experience of social disorientation, was complemented by an ever-recurring perception that the above humanitarian organisations became the conduits of opposed ethnic, or national, policies.

The pharmacies of *Merhamet*, *Caritas* and *Dobro Tvor* were not only organisational strongholds in the medical logistics of the city, during the war, they were also dispensers of humanitarian assistance to those qualifying for such aid according to their family names, I was told by informants. Though the rationale may have been a certain division of labour, the ensuing gross pattern of allocation generated ethnic-confessional boundaries in the city – as well as across and its families – and, correspondingly, created categories of people who scarcely had thought of themselves in national ethno-religious terms before, let alone embodied these denominations as somatic categories⁴, as they later – indeed – became issues of life-and-death. Before the war the citizens of Bosnia were the epitome of Yugoslavs⁵, and of citizens in the sense of the Federal Republic (1974⁶).

The multi- confessional policy of President Alija Izetbegovic's government was one of several intersecting plans for Bosnia & Hercegovina. The cost of the Pope's visit, with security requirements equal to a US President⁷, testifies to the importance attached to the event, as a sign of benevolence to the largely Croatian population of Herzegovina, but also of the intention of returning back to *normal*. In the city of Sarajevo, the multi- confessional ideology is the hallmark of its political culture – its urban culture, or culture of civility. The network of *Rajas*⁸, long-standing citizens of Sarajevo (cultivating courteous cross-confessional liaisons⁹), were proponents for *but one strand* of visions for the city cramming on top of each other, in the aftermath of the war. In the days following the Pope's visit the international military contingent organised a City-Marathon where health-conscious Sarajevans – physically worn down after years of dearth – participated alongside national military teams from all over the globe. The Marathon was organised the same day as the city was again opened for international telephone calls.

The welding power of Sarajevo as the capital of sports emerged, in these days, alongside a demographic situation reflecting abnormal

death patterns (290.000 in BiH) and movements of people (1.300.000) including rural¹⁰ migration to urban centres. The number of «authentic» Sarajevans was estimated to be at 60-70% of the current population inside the capital, according to public figures: 99% according to optimists, 14% or less according to pessimists. It eventually depends on criteria for deciding who is who (which was rather the subject matter of the war). Till recently, the movements of people had been military intelligence, as their seeking refuge would – from a military point of view – make way for conquests or defeats. The war in Bosnia was also a civil war, in the sense that national populations were considered as civilian troops. From a military point of view, the civilians were involved by the acts of war in a way that is largely unprecedented on the European continent. And in this context, the parade celebrating of the universal bond of fitness, through the streets of Sarajevo, was at radical break with the stealth and guile forced upon fleeing populations during the war, since the relation between territorial strongholds and their people, then, was considered to be inalienable. As the Marathon went on inside Sarajevo, this situation was still prevailing a couple of minutes drive outside of the city, at the borders of the Republika Srpska¹¹. The panoply of stacked realities does not stop here.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

While the world was running in the streets of Sarajevo, something quite different was going on, towards the historical centre of the city, on the thither banks of the Milatska River, inside the buildings Jewish Community. Here a team of thrifty ladies were cleaning the facilities for ferments (*Hametz*), while men were painting walls and varnishing floors, in preparation of the Jewish Easter Holidays, or Passover (*Pesah*). The Jews had no part in this war. All warring parties agreed on this. As a consequence, the premises of the Jewish Community had been *exempted space* during the war. Furthermore, the Jews were free to come and go from Sarajevo. As a core of Jewish activists remained in the city, the humanitarian aid organisation *La Benevolencija* became the centre of an explicitly non-sectarian humanitarian effort, in co-operative venture with the afore-mentioned organisations as well as international organisations as the Red Cross and the UNHCR. A particularity of this non-sectarian policy is that it was profiled as an explicitly *Jewish*

ment of the autonomy of multi-ethnic Vojvodina, and Moslem Kosovo in March 1989, the stage was set for the coming war. On the other hand, Alija Izetbegovic in his *Islamic Declaration* was assumed a religious language in defence of the civil rights of Moslems in the Bosnian administration, from 1971 onwards.

⁶ This is one year after the 'Yom Kippur'-war in Israel, and the crisis of the OPEC oil-embargo in Europe.

⁷ The figures of my record are 5.300.000 DM for the Canton, and 1.000.000 DM for the city of Sarajevo.

⁸ The *Rajas* [pron. /raya/] were a denomination under the Turkish *Millet* system. It denominated a category of non-Moslem persons, who were treated as equal before the law (*i.e.*, Jews and Christians). Jews were living in quarters (*Mohallas*) rather than ghettos. The Millet system contained this egalitarian strand, along with the statutory distinction of being Moslem. In contemporary history, the idea that all *citizens* – with some history in Sarajevo – are *Rajas* has become a statutory distinction. When Bosnia was an Ottoman province, there was also an element of resistance in this.

⁹ Courteous visits during religious festivals and holidays, are *de rigueur* in these circles: as, for instance, festivals like *Viskas* (Serbian), *Uskas* (Croatian) and *Bajram* (Moslem [Turkish word]).

¹⁰ For a comparative ethnography on such rural contexts see Bringa (1995).

¹¹ The land-mines had not yet

been removed, and the disarmament of vigilantes was not yet effective.

¹² Among the Sephardic Jews *Haggadah* is often used instead of *Pesah* to denote the Easter Holidays.

¹³ Who is denominationally a "Moslem".

position, in which *Pesah*, with its *Seder* ritual and prayer-book - the *Haggadah* – came to play a significant role (*book 4*).

The first refugee-transport, taking in non-Jews and Jews alike, carried the name *Beyt Haggadah* – the House of Passover¹² – arrived at Belgrade on the evening before April 18th 1992, and the celebration of the of the first *Seder* evening. Then, the *Sarajevo Haggadah*, the illuminated manuscript version on parchment which came to the city some four hundred years back, after the settlement of Sephardic (Spanish) Jews in the city, was in the hands of the Bosnian State (in the vaults of the State Folkloric Museum [the *Zemlejski* Museum]) since WWII, when it was buried for safekeeping by Moslems and Serbs, and saved from the flames of destruction hitting down on anything Jewish within the reach of the German Nazis and the Croatian Ustasha, at that time. This created a special relationship between the Bosnian State and the Jewish Community, during the recent war. In 1995, when the *Haggadah* was lent to the Jewish Community by the State Museum, the Jewish Community hosted members of the Bosnian Government, including President Alija Izetbegovic¹³. Thirdly, the first lines of the *Haggadah* were used to express the rationale for a core of Jewish activists to remain in Sarajevo, to provide humanitarian aid together with their non-Jewish friends:

*This is the bread of affliction that our fathers ate in the land of Egypt
All who are hungry let them come in and eat;
All who are needy – let them come and celebrate Passover
This year we are here, but next year we will be in the land of Israel
This year we are slaves, but next year we shall be free men!*

The Jewish Community in Sarajevo – which is utterly insignificant by the number of its members – is taken into consideration in this book, on account of the effectiveness of its *message*. While (a) the sustained attention of the Bosnian Government to the Jewish community, extended to relations of practical co-operation after the war had ended, in matters concerning municipal reorganisation of medical care, social help and management, (b) this happened on account of the values of civility clearly upheld by the *La Benevolencija* activists during the war: both in regard of its recruitment policy, and the beneficiaries of humanitarian services. The Jewish Community also hosted a number of cultural events during the war that were attended by a miscellany of

Sarajevan civilians, and thereby won the renown of being a stronghold of the pre-war mentality: pluralist Sarajevo in miniature.

But the confines of the Jewish Community building also hosted a soup-kitchen, initiated single-handedly by a Jewish cook and restaurant owner¹⁴, whom the war had driven to bankruptcy, and therefore proposed his services to *La Benevolencija*. By preparing meals and serving them to people, regardless of ethnic origin or religious denomination, he would contribute in way of creating better life-conditions in the mixed neighbourhood around the Synagogue, with the slogan: *Kosher soup is also soup!* Under the discipline of this cook, the Jewish Community premises were kept free of politics, by turning off the television whenever there was a news-broadcast, and fining people who discussed politics during meals¹⁵. In this sense too, the Jewish Community premises defined an *exempted space*. It was exclusively reserved for eating, music and culture, in the Cook's own words.

Through these activities, the Jewish Community could claim an historical precedent in city of Sarajevo, on the basis of recent events, and not be identified solely with the memory of the genocide during WWII. Making effective claims on full membership in the Bosnian society on the basis of an exclusively urban identity, the Jewish Community succeeded in defending an almost impossible position. By staying put it testified to the opposite of the escalation of ethnic tensions that – willingly or unwillingly – swept over the Bosnian people. An episode leaving little doubt that the demonstration had a point much of this kind, was witnessed by Carl Bildt's interpreter (my hostess): she observed the President of *La Benevolencija* – who used to be a personal friend – as he strolled quietly over one of the most dangerous bridges in Sarajevo, in broad daylight, in *his* city, pondering his own thoughts as though it was peace. Not a single shot was fired against him.

During an interview I had with him in Zagreb, he tried to explain what it means to be shelled, to someone who has never had such an experience: «Try to imagine,» he said «that one day, suddenly, each and every person you meet while walking in the streets is saying insistently 'hello!' to you – while, during your stroll, you encounter at least a thousand such people; then, you can have an idea of how it is to be shelled with grenades, bombs and rockets a thousand times daily, and how utterly crazy it is!» Even in this statement he refused to account for these bare facts of war in military terms. Besides tending the presidency of *La Benevolencija* he was also an active member of the International Pen Club.

¹⁴ I.e., the Restaurant *Lucifer* (known for its hot food).

¹⁵ The cook was the grandson of one of Bosnia's Chief Rabbis.

These observations, which are interconnected in the Jewish Community setting, still have their wider relevance to what we could call the nondenominational dimension of civil culture. The loss of place was sensed among a larger section of citizens, as the human landscape was utterly altered, the garbage piled up in pyres on the streets, the parks were used as graveyards and homes were transformed into hospital wards. On the other hand, men were seen strolling about with neatly ironed shirts, their hair groomed in ponytails, while women laid their tables with linen, china, silver- and glassware for a three course meal, though there was only chick peas on the black market that day (Softic, 1995). This is why we need to think of civility in terms of 'culture': similar events may occur at different places, in the same time interval, which are shared by the many precisely *because* they are not traced by to a common origin, religious group or ethny. They are lost in a maze and, in this sense, amazed.

This conception of civility-as-*détourage* (Bourriaud, 2002) is precisely how we should understand the stacks of discongruent realities and positions define neighbourhoods between people, events and levels which in peace time appear in far more distended circles (*cf.*, F. Barth, 1996). The bestial acts of war – which it is difficult to relate without becoming an accessory to their proliferation – come along with connections between people, events and levels, which under normal circumstances would appear patently surreal. By adopting a civil perspective on a war situation, however, it is possible to learn something general about the sociology of citizenship *because* such clusters then appear in a far more condensed fashion, than in periods when political power, in the eyes of citizens, appears to be stable.

Thus, I am concerned with how citizenship is underpinned by a political culture of *civility*, and whether methodological apparatus of generative analysis for studying ethnic groups and boundaries (F. Barth, 1969) is applicable to alternative forms of membership, which are resolutely posed in counter-distinction to *ethnicity*: or, do we need to construct a more complex – and differentiated – concept of 'boundary' (*cf.*, F. Barth, 1989) adapted to conditions where *boundary crossing* takes place at many levels simultaneously, with telescoping inter-connections? In my fieldwork, this question was made methodologically operational by the following series of questions.

How are people, that belong to a particular category, awarded a historical *track record* as citizens in the wider urban community? How

can the ideal of striking a balance between restraint and availability in relation to others – as voiced by my informants – be brought down to the methodological level of exchange and resource allocation? And, if possible, how are they recounted to count in the track-record of social accountability that informs the civil society? In other words: how does *service* define in civil relations, and civic values, in the context of an ethno-religious war? How does *service* define – under such conditions – at different levels of transactions? And how do these levels interact in the generation of an *affordance* for services that nobody thought was possible before the fact? And how could – on the top of it – the Sarajevo Jews use their religious symbols to communicate who they were, what they were doing and why (in a war situation which was ridden with ethno-religious conflict)?

Thus, the process whereby (a) private actors choose to invest their energies in a collective, and are involved in (b) the social organisation of the corporate group within the wider political culture of civility, as well as how (c) individuals eventually acquire a civic language, above group-interests and functional sectors, is what is intended here by ‘citizenship’ (*i.e.*, membership in the *league of communities* inside a city). The following pages show that citizenship – in this sense – may be analysed at the ethnographic level: (a) in the sense of the needed level of detail, (b) in the sense that citizenship can continue to function meaningfully even with the breakdown of the State – left “pending” by the war – and (c) can finally be assessed as the core aspect of political personhood relating to the Civil Society – under the threat of war – rather than the State.

The political *expression* of the idea of wanting to live together is a definition of citizenship (Schnapper, 1997) which concerns the individual who is somehow *enabled*, in its relationship to the State, by a secondary *cadre*, or framework; rather than simply «... relieved from a task for which he is not fitted» (Durkheim, 1963: 109). In the war on Sarajevo, the citizens and humanitarian NGO’s simply had to take on this task: it brought them beyond the goodwill and moral responsibility for fellow citizens, to the political responsibility to organise an ability to respond: or, an *affordance* for services beyond the capacity of the war-ridden Bosnian state. This is why the individuals – whose war testimonies are related in the following – are called ‘activists’.

TESTIMONIES: 'SARAJEVO DAYS AND SARAJEVO NIGHTS'

"We did all this to show the world, that not all Jews are Israeli soldiers."

(President of *La Benevolencija*)

¹⁶ Sephardic Jews are typical Southern Jews, but with a history from Spain.

¹⁷ /Loza/ = 'Schnaps'.

Upon entering the premises of the JC in Hamdije Kresavljakovica street – I had the sense of entering a Sephardic community¹⁶: the place of the *other* kind of Jews. Old pictures of men wearing *Fez*, and women with *Anteria* and *Tucado* were adorning the brown walls of a well-smoked café, with the scent of coffee, *Loza*¹⁷ and Spanish sounding songs hanging in the air. I found these pictures from the other-world of *Judeo-Espanjol* speaking Jews – which I previously had only seen in books – hanging on the walls of the Jewish Café, as the «family pictures» of the Community. Among the members there were people with family names such as Abinun, Finci, Papo, Montiljo, Elazar, Tolentino, Danon, Kamhi, Altarac, Albahari, Gaon, Levy, etc. names with Spanish, Arabic, Hebrew and local origins: the history of migration in names and faces.

But there were also names like Mittelmeier, Wagman, Weinfeld, Sremzer, Ferucic, Levi, Nikolic, Ceresnjes, Softic – people of Ashkenazic origin, who had settled predominantly during the last fifty years of the Yugoslavian era. They were Yugoslavs, really, more than Ashkenazim. They were members of the Jewish community at the same level as the people of the former category. The egalitarian ideology of membership was linked to participation in Community activities, though a statutory element did reside in the historical relation of the Jewish Community with the city of Sarajevo, as a specifically Sephardic community. Only the Sephardim are, strictly speaking, *Raja* (pron. /*Raya*/). And the ritual maintained in the Synagogue is Sephardic.

The joint elaboration of egalitarian and statutory aspects of membership (Balibar & al., 1999) is, however, important to the analysis of the type of membership by *association* to the Jewish Community, changing from a place in the city of Sarajevo – that used to be one of ten where citizens would go to smoke, drink coffee and play chess – to the network of humanitarian activists working under the *aegis* of *La Benevolencija* during the recent war. The Jewish Community grew in numbers, either from people who found sufficient documentation to claim under the circumstances acceptable Jewish ancestry, or people who were simply created Jews for purposes of transportation out of city¹⁸, and who chose to remain so after they reached their destination abroad.

¹⁸ In Time Magazine, the rescue operations of *La Benevolencija* were called a Jewish Schindler's List. About 2/3 of the refugees in these transports were of non-Jewish origin.

On the other hand, there were people who acquired membership in the larger category of *friends*, through the type of association to the Jewish Community they maintained by working for *La Benevolencija*. Finally, a form of *practical association* with the Community was ranked before membership – of whichever definition¹⁹ – in the social record of mutual respect and consideration.

In other words, we have two forms of membership: (1) Jewish membership in the Community, and (2) Civil membership in the city of Sarajevo. The egalitarian ideology sustaining both categories of membership was differentiated in statutory terms, depending on practical forms of association: practical forms of association did not determine membership – Jewish nor Civic – but modified its *social content*.

The testimonies of the humanitarian activists from Sarajevo make a particularly strong case for this view. Since the larger group of civilians defined by association to *La Benevolencija* – either as providers or recipients of aid – were not supposed to exist: neither from the point of view of international news-media, nor the warring Serbs, who had determined Sarajevo as a site of ethnic cleansing. And, more importantly, they did not exist inside the city, other than by reference to the Jewish Community as an *exempted space*.

A post-interpretive perspective (F. Barth, 1994a) on the process of association, furthermore, is warranted by the quasi-absence of *narratives* – among the activists – on experiences acquired in the line of duty, during the war. Instead of collecting narratives, as in Zagreb, I was entrusted testimonies: testimonies are conceived by social actors as given to singular, or exceptional, moments of sharing. They are not made up by freely circulating and re-circulated elements: they are irregular, unlike narratives, and not subject telling and retelling. They are related to *unique* – and critical – *events*, of which the *body* – given to experience through the act of testimonial – becomes the *metaphor*.

The testimonies I recorded emerged situationally, which is not dissimilar from the way the activists in many cases were brought to the Jewish Community and *La Benevolencija* in the first place. As the known human landscape of faces and names imploded when the war broke out – when private savings disappeared over night²⁰ and the warehouses were looted – people were reduced to their bodies. Waiting in the darkness of a basement with unknown people, in cold and filth, for the shelling to stop. People queuing 4-5 hours to have some water, useless worries for sick and elderly family-members who could not be

¹⁹ For instance people who claimed membership without such association – either during the war, or as returnees in the aftermath – would easily be perceived by activists as people who were simply seeking advantages, and had lower status, in spite of enjoying full membership.

²⁰ There was no national banking system in Bosnia, and the other banks simply pulled out: Ljubljanska Banka, Beogradska Banka, Zagrebacka Banka, Privredna Banka, Yugo Banka, Invest Banka, UPI Banka, Vojvodanska Banka, and the banks of big firms. The gold provisions were transported by the Serbs to Pále (Serbian capital stronghold during the war, close to Sarajevo). Personal communication EdTo (headmistress, landlady & Carl Bildt's interpreter).

taken care of and the sole company of their own thoughts, pondering on each act and choice that made the difference between life and death – *each and every day*. The activists were people who opted to give their acts and choices a focus, and specialised in doing whatever their nerves and hidden talents permitted them.

To many of them, this was clearly a trade-off: by making themselves useful in some way their families would be included into the network of recipients. Most of my informants, however, emphasised that the decision of pulling their act together, was a way of reclaiming possession over everyday acts and choices: in other words, to be a person. This type of reflexive accountability, however, utterly lacked a forum during the war in the inter-professional relationships between the activists. They confided to me as a *stranger* in Simmel's sense (1950): *i.e.*, a person who was not a familiar, neither a complete alien, but whom they nonetheless found the ability to trust as *someone*. 'Someone', in the context of war, is simply any nonmilitary person. My informants were used to this, as they related such stories: «A woman came to me and told me that she just had seen her son's head ripped off by a Serbian soldier; she told me very calmly 'Please excuse me, for having you listen, I just needed to tell someone...' – she left: I had never seen the woman, and she did not know me.»

Telling a friend was always dangerous. S/he could be captured and tortured: in this regard, the war on Sarajevo is a case for the strength of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973, 1983). What is communicated was on need-to-know basis only. The command of facts, in the line of duty, was a matter of life and death: but as hard-won as it was, intelligence was scarcely shared with associates. The relationship between associates was that of *trust*: the activist was assumed to know her or his turf, and was personally infinitely more responsible if things turned out bad, than s/he would have been under «normal» circumstances. Consequently, the acquired knowledge of the individual activist was integrated as *experience* rather than stories to be told around, and to be understood retrospectively in terms of 'narratives' and 'genres'.

I propose that testimonies be defined as a special category of verbal statement, coming by through physical association between events and people. Individuals whose integrity have been transgressed, frequently cannot distinguish themselves from the violence they have been committed – be it as witnesses, or as victims. Although the perpetrator is someone else the crime is still their shame, and the traces of this

shame marks the victim's body. Telling, then, is something different than under normal circumstances. The words of testimonies are not ready for circulation, as it were, and are inalienable from the physical person. Such a person must trust that s/he will be believed and endure the risk of abjection (Kristeva, 1980). Whoever testifies must be assured that their «text» will be given to a charitable reading: the events that such witnesses experience in testimonials can turn against them, ravage their minds and bodies, if they are not received in good faith. The truth on the events of war is waiting for generations of historians: the truth of the experience is immediate, and depends only on the sole fact of being received by someone else that listens and remembers.

These were the conditions under which I gathered and was granted the following testimonies. And it explains why no names are mentioned here, only professional vocations. I consider this an expression of civility: the activists that confided with me were all normal people. Our relationship was not a psychotherapeutic one. And they will serve the purpose of wrapping up the manual of survival, closing the *Travelogue*, which is simply an appraisal of how social organisation may be understood under such circumstances, through a generative analysis of membership by association, in a setting where serving others neither has a saintly nor commercial definition, but is about survival, decency and the survival of decency. From this perspective, what is interesting about the following testimonies is that they tell us a great deal of this war, the contentious multi-vocality (Shryock, 1987: 221) inside the Jewish Community, and prewar memories which were emphasised (for comparison with the accounts collected in Zagreb [book 3]).

1 – THE PRESIDENT OF LA BENEVOLENCIJA²¹

The President of the humanitarian aid organisation was coming back to Sarajevo from a Pen Club meeting in Mexico. He is a Sephardic Jew, with a considerable international network, which he used for diplomatic purposes during the war. In the following testimony he gave his assessment of the current refugee situation in 1996, and explained the position of the Jewish Community in Sarajevo:

«People are now trying to return to Sarajevo, but their flats are taken up by people from other parts of Bosnia. The people who were transported out of Sarajevo by us were registered by the office of the «Joint» (JDC – American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) in Vienna – by name, age, education, origin and destination. However, since their tenancy rights were legal under socialist law, the change of legal system presents an additional problem for

²¹ *La Benevolencija* means 'The Good Will' in Judeo Espanjol.

returnees. Now, they have to enter negotiations with local authorities to obtain these rights. In this sense the «Jewish» displaced people were the aristocrats of refugees, as we have the possibility to check on the conditions of return. For the time being, there are no possibilities of returning to Sarajevo. A number of our refugees are in Switzerland, but we don't know whether the Swiss government will go along with this.

In Germany, however, we made a lot of noise; not for Jewish refugees, but for Bosnian refugees in general – this was *La Benevolencija Deutschland*. For the time being, the refugees will not be sent back. We have lived together in Sarajevo for 500 years. The Jewish Community is not so assimilated. When the war went on in Croatia in 1991, we started to prepare ourselves for war by stocking food and medicine from some type of age-old instinct of preparing for crisis. Because Jewish people over 60 generally were evacuated, we had a surplus of medical supply and food when the war broke out in Bosnia, in 1992. So, we could use it for other citizens. As the town was looted from inside people who needed help went to where they could get it. We are only 600 who remained in Sarajevo, and we maintained good relations with all three warring parties, since we were the only group not making territorial claims.

The Jewish world is very well informed on Sarajevo. It is the first time since 1948 that Jews realise that there are other Jewish heroes, not only Israeli soldiers: they saw that the Jews are not greedy selfish, and whatever. But that we are normal people who help other people: that help when it is possible to help. This is the only good thing that happened during the war.»

2 – THE PHILOSOPHER

Her grandparents met in Budapest. She was an Ashkenazi from Hungary, he a Moslem from Bosnia. They met while he was a medical student. The philosopher had her second child four months back. The first was born during the war, in 1995. She told me about it in the JC Café:

«During the first part of the war I started to write a diary. It eventually was a dead end, and I was moving around in circles. After that I didn't feel that I could write more than I already had written. I then started to correspond with pen friends abroad. I became someone who could write to someone else: that was really special. It was important to tell something to somebody who is not from Sarajevo: speaking to someone that was not at that time here. It is very difficult to do that.

Everyone should speak out. All that which happened here, that is now something else, and in two months I will not know what it was like to be here.

Forgiveness, however, is an entirely different matter: forgive whom? Who shall I forgive? I am a teacher in philosophy. Speaking of forgiveness is philosophy. I am happy because no one in my close family died. One of my cousins was killed in East Bosnia: I do not have the feeling that I have to forgive someone. I cannot say that I will not forgive Kara or Milo – I don't know them. I do not know to whom I can/cannot forgive. I cannot say that I cannot forgive the Serbs or Croats. Maybe I can't forgive someone who slapped me, or said something bad to me, but how to forgive, or not forgive, somebody with whom I have no real connection?

Neither can I understand or feel what it implies to say that I forgive/don't forgive Karadzic, or Milosevic. Expanding the life sphere through radio, to types of relationships beyond the direct human relation, is not possible for me: even if it were Hitler. The tragedy is that they are the keeper of an idea. I can hate an idea, and the person as a keeper of that idea. Everything is reflection. When I am carrying water, I am reflecting on the whole situation of the war. I was carrying war. Before the war, I thought of what it would be like to have a cottage in the countryside – Norway, Sweden, Canada. This is not the same: during the war you could see nothing from here, other than the dark. You need just a dl of water, to wash and drink. You have to go anywhere and there is shelling, sniper shots, etc. You are not sure you can go somewhere where that water exists.

Writing in that situation was reflecting about the war, about human beings, about the whole human kind in the entire world. I felt that the world had left us. But, on the other hand, I don't know why the world shouldn't have left us? There was a war somewhere in the East, I didn't know who were fighting, against whom and for which reason. I thought: why do I have to hear about this every night? The war in Croatia was far off too. The war is too far off when it is not at home. When you think everything is nice, nothing is OK. When I published my book, a lady from the Central European University in Budapest sent me a letter to the Jewish Community, with a 50DM note and a letter: '*Dear E., I read your book and I was really touched, good luck with your life*'. This was lots of money at that time. July 1995 my daughter was born, and I gave birth to a son 4 months ago. Having children is new life. They change you completely. You feel something else. I am afraid of another war here. I think of what I should do if something really happens. Stay here, or get out? I stayed last time. Now I am not sure that I would decide to stay.

The Jewish Youth at the Central European University launched a theme, for discussion, suggesting that there is no experience of the *Shoah*. This is not true. The *Shoah* exists right now: 6 million Jews then, maybe 24 million now. When Hitler killed them he killed their unborn children and grandchildren. It is not too

pessimistic to think that human kind is not very kind. I was taught in silence. This is why I said: '*When everything is nice, nothing is OK*'. My grandmother and mother during WWII had to run from the Ustasha and the Chetniks. They had to be very careful here, because they were Jews. After all that, my mother had this new experience in Sarajevo from 1992 to 1995. I have the experience of the *Shoah*: because of Jews and because of Moslems, in this war here. *Shoah* is very much what exists right now. And not just for Jews. *Shoah* is something which is Jewish, but there is another kind of *Shoah*.

When you have one person who kills another person, because that person is another, then that is genocide. It is enough that you have killed just one. I cannot say that what happened during WWII is the same. I am speaking of the idea of genocide. The Croatian Health Minister speaks of genocide as a health risk: you cannot say that genocide is the same as cholera. Sarajevo people are now thinking about who is who. When you speak for multi- this or that, it sounds very nice. But it cannot be like it was. If people now are mad, they are mad for some very concrete reasons. Serbs were on the hills around Sarajevo, and they were shooting at us. I come back to the first question of forgiving. Some people hate all Serbs. Some people from Mostar hate all Croats. My cousin is a Muslim from Mostar: he says, we will live with the Serbs, but Croats never. Others will say the opposite. Different experiences, different opinions. If you want to be a normal person, you cannot remember all.

We have a joke here: *who is guilty of the WWII? Jews and Bicyclists. Why the bicyclists?* The way I became a Jew is very simple. I was just a Yugoslav. I knew that my grandmother was a Jew. This was interesting: I had a few friends who were Jews. It was interesting to be something else. There was an aura from WWII: it was interesting for me that I had part in that historic being. I started to read about Jews, I spoke with my mother, with my grandmother's family, and so on. We have very good connections with them in Hungary, England, USA, Belgium. Relatives who escaped before or after WWII, and after 1956. We had better connections with them than with the Jews here. Maybe this is something particularly Jewish. However, after the massacres of Shabra and Shatila there was an organised protest against that Massacre. It was my duty to protest too. But I saw one panel with a crossed out *Magen David* (David Star), and the inscription *Alle Juden Schiessen* – in that moment I became a Jew.

I felt guilty about my new feeling. Not because I am Jewish. But because I now feel something different from what my parents feel. I don't want you to misunderstand me, but I think it is better to be a human being without that name; because someone had wanted to kill me. The Rabbi has thrown a joke you say? Well the joke: *what is the difference between Auschwitz and Sarajevo*

– *in Auschwitz they had gas!* For people in Sarajevo this was not so black. Jews and Moslems have similar religions, and ethnic groups were not distinct during the war. The grenades do not choose between people. The Jews are the oldest Sarajevans here. They came a few centuries ago. I don't know how many Serb, Moslem or Croat families who are so old citizens of Sarajevo.» The Rabbi in question is a Serb who converted to Judaism (*book 3*).

3 – THE COOK

The Cook is a middle-aged Jewish hippie of Sephardic origin. His grandfather was the Grand Rabbi of Bosnia. As he used to work in the hotel business, he went three years at a Jewish school in Milan. With his blue jeans, white flowing hair, goatee beard, light grey eyes, earth shoes and home grown tobacco, he gave me the following testimony in a kosher Italian he had acquired in Milan:

«Before the war, I had a restaurant. Since the Jewish Community had become my second home, I came to ask what I could do to help. At that time I started out making dinner for some twenty people. This was in September/October 1991. When I came to the Community by the end of April, in 1992, people had nothing to eat. My restaurant *Lucifer* – the food there was spicy – had to close. And so, I took my gear, pots and pans to use them here, in the Jewish Community.

Eventually, we started making meals for 350 persons at our peak. We wanted to increase our performance, but I only had two cauldrons and two assistants. Sometimes three. We worked every day of the week. I was here from the morning – I slept here. My mother was sick: I went to see her, and came back here. When the people here no longer need the kitchen, then my work is finished. *Lucifer* has, by all odds, come to a definite end. We have to start thinking about vitamins, we can buy meat. With the stuff you could buy during the war, or what we had from the transports, this was generally not possible. Once we had paprika filled with rice and meat. The entire city was talking about it. Everybody was helping. One person ate 25 of them. It was a feast. We had not had anything such for more than a year.

Outside the windows of the Café, on the riverbanks, I grew some carrots, salad-weeds and potatoes. However insufficient, it was a source of vitamins. One day something interesting occurred. A French humanitarian truck stopped outside the Jewish Community premises. It just came, we didn't ask for it. They told us to take what they had, and to distribute it as we saw fit, since they had heard that our distribution was good, and honest. This happened frequently, and still does when it comes to medical supplies. We didn't have much, though – as one may say – but most people were satisfied. I heard nobody complain about the

food. But, I was quite severe with shutting out *news*: whenever warring parties were broadcasting their news-reports, I shut off the television. I also forbade the guests to talk about political issues. Yet: they were speaking in muffled voices, since otherwise they would have to pay. What an original restaurant: do not disturb your neighbour! In some restaurants smoking is forbidden, in others one does not speak of politics...

From 1991 till the end of the war, I did not read newspapers. It is difficult to work and to know all these things. Shutting out the war was an act of resistance, you might say. I worked in a hotel with French people. I didn't think that I could speak French, but the French told me I was doing quite well. These things are so important to Jewish people: to be able to help other people, only to help. I have read books on people who helped Jews during WWII: I wanted to thank people for this help – I wanted to return the help. *This idea of returning something to a third party for help received by a second, is a civil gesture, which the cook closed with the following concluding statement: the Jewish Community is the only community which really remained genuinely Sarajevan!*»

4 – THE SOLDIER

The soldier's grandfather and the cook's father worked together in a sock-factory. It was a special tie. The Jews of Sarajevo were not rich like the Jews of Zagreb, the soldier told me. From March 1995 onwards, the soldier came regularly to help his friend in the soup-kitchen. And when the cook eventually married, the soldier held his *Huppa* (marriage baldachin) for a several-hour long marriage ceremony. The soldier had an Ashkenazic name, but was related to the cook through his mother's family. However, his mild-mannered testimony was in quite a different vein, and he did not speak his mind in the cook's hearing-range:

«My father lost a leg, and my mother was tortured by the Chetniks. When I joined army, in the early days of the war, my motive was simply revenge. There were mostly Moslems in the army. About 40% were Serbs, Croats and others.

In the beginning, I thought I would take advantage of my situation to get away, like so many I had seen. But I could not leave my mother, as my father had left for Italy. But four years is a long time to fight; too long being outside of society. However, many of my friends were in the Army too. Being Jewish in the army, was a normal thing: during Jewish Holidays I always had leave. During these four years, I only thought about the war. Keeping track of enemy positions, and scouting behind enemy lines with only a rifle and some shots, surrounded by tanks and heavy artillery. It helped me to get liberated from my opinions. As the war drew on, I started to fight for something. For Sarajevo. In Sarajevo we won, but not in Bosnia.

During the war there were about 50.000 troops in Sarajevo, and 20.000 outside. They moved in and out through a system of tunnels. And it took seven days to replace a company. The tunnels were ready by 1994. And they were quite popular among the civilians, even though they had to pay a tax to use them. There were markets outside the city confines. You could get everything there: even watermelons. The conditions were generally better at the front than inside the city. The logistics were improved and the Army eventually built up some effective resistance; before 1994, inside the city, the means of the Patriotic League were pitiful. The grenades made by the Cantor were like a beer-bottle and a match – extremely primitive.

Military people are the same in every country: American Jews and Dutch Jews. They were told about the activities at the Jewish Community, and were interested. International organisations were alerted that transports in an out of the Jewish Community, passed much more easily through Croatian and Serbian territory. The jobs that the cook and I did were of equal importance. You never know what kind of person you are before you are into it: there are very different kinds of people. As a soldier you have to kill people – sometimes in close battle. But occasionally, when our mission succeeded, I could hardly wait to get back to Sarajevo. Sarajevo is under siege: sometimes I was so proud to be from Sarajevo.

There were a number of cultural events at the Jewish community. Lots of underground rock bands. It was some kind of defence, or survival. They made songs about the war – songs against the war. And we even made our version of the musical *Hair* – adapted to local circumstances, and the events of the war in Bosnia. We had lots of parties here. And it was good to be here after the battle. The only peaceful place in Sarajevo, where nobody talked about the war. The place has a history in the minds of the citizens, and many people came here just for the peace. The Jewish Community has a place in the life of the city. People still come and go here.

The function has changed a lot. Before the war everyone knew that there was a Jewish Community in Sarajevo. But now they know exactly where it is and who are Jews. They perceive the sense of being Jewish. They do not love Jews, but they have respect for Jews. A normal factor for Jews is that there is an opinion about the Jews. It existed in Sarajevo but not in high numbers or frequency. After the war anti-Semitism results significantly from Iranian influence. In Bosnia the Moslems do not share these attitudes. We share each others' customs – the graves of the *Seven Brothers* is a Moslem shrine: everybody goes there, if they are worrying about the future.

I once saw the *Muja Hedin* preparing for battle: they were praying as though they burying themselves, and went to fight as though they already were

dead. They cried 'Allah hu Akhbar!' in battle, and it scared the enemy. I tried this, a couple of times. It worked! – as you see, too long time at war: I also turned up at the Jewish Community in uniform a couple of times.» The soldier had law degree from before the war. He wanted to work in the soup kitchen till he got his mind together, and got back the memories of his learning from before the war. For the time being he couldn't read a book.

5 – THE DOCTOR

The Doctor was considered and considered himself a Serb. His tall and lean figure, his kind face, was known to all in the Jewish Community. He gave me the following testimony: «In the beginning of the war I lost my job at the Faculty. *La Benevolencija* and the Jewish Community accepted me. The application form was two questions: can we trust you? Can you work hard? And that's all.

Before the war, I knew a few of them. And throughout the war we got to know each other better and better. And, from this point of view, I think – I am quite sure – that we never were fighting with each other, or shouting at each other. This doesn't mean that the situation was always ideal. You are not the centre of events. The idea is the target, so everyone is replaceable.

The idea of *La Benevolencija* was the beginning the *Haggadah*: 'This is the bread of affliction that our fathers ate in the land of Egypt...' please come and eat with us! Help as many people as you can, since you cannot help everyone. *La Benevolencija* did not emphasise food-convoys, and put priority on transports with medical drugs. Since with medical drugs you can help more people. With 1000 tablets you can help 100 people.

This is my part of the story. The cook is very important. He fed more than 300 people, and in the beginning he picked some grass and made soup: it was very good soup. This was the Community location. Our activities did not take place here, however: we did not wait for the patient to come, but rather we visited the patient at home. I was more than once surprised how chronic patients can survive among the debris of furniture and shrapnel. The hospitals were crammed.

To prepare myself I read a bit of *Bible*, and acquired a basic knowledge of the *Koran*. The *Haggadah* piece, I got it from the President of *La Benevolencija*. Moving about in Sarajevo, it felt like Auschwitz. My first thought was that I have to help these people the way I can. Because of "Bene" my parents had enough food and enough drugs, all the time people took care of them, so I was relieved to do my job. I thought that my father and mother were still in a good health condition. They needed drugs.

But with people of 70-80 years of age, this is not so. They are almost like little kids, almost helpless. I found the same good language with them, and they accepted me very well. I have to tell that I know much more about them than

anybody else. I am not so happy about that. Their personal records are without any secrets. I know all their doubts, their pasts and so on. One old lady said to me that if I want to be a successful doctor, then I must be a very good diplomat: to persuade my patients to take this and this drug, and take such and such examination. I know their real face, not their masks.

What old people need is lots of talk, and few drugs. Relationships which are sometimes polite, sometimes you must shout, sometimes you must be very hard, "...that's it and there's no bargain." After a few days they accept that fact, but a few days absence is enough to lose the confidence of people. The war is the triumph of stupidity. A lot of young men from this town have been killed because they watched too many Rambo-movies. Those that survived they realise now that every wound is very hard pain. You can lose your friend. You can lose your head. It is not a child's game.

I moved around with a bag of 15 kilos. Not I – we. We had no chance of going back if we had forgotten anything: infusion bottle, bandages, needles, plaster. We used a car to reach the most remote places, and had to walk wherever the road stopped. There was a lot of walking. Sometimes I used a bike. A lousy kid's bike. I could carry it with me to the top of a sky-scraper. I was tired, yes, but not exhausted. Now I am exhausted. At that time it was always in my mind that the Community gave me a job and trusted me. I always had to be worth that trust.

I told myself: '*You cannot change anything. You cannot change anything of this madness in society.*' I am from Sarajevo originally. And the Jewish Community is a miniature version of Sarajevo. *La Benevolencija* includes every nationality. To be correct, on time, is the most important. In the beginning there was the Chemist and me, the health centre, pharmacy and ambulance. With food and medication from humanitarian organisations, the help was well prepared, but also somewhat *ad hoc*. With such deliveries you simply have to earn some kind of trust in international communities. And it does not come over night. The reports must be of high quality: what is distributed, how much, when and how.

What is personally important is the idea that *La Benevolencija* works openly and hard. It was the way my parents survived the war, and maybe more importantly they gave me a chance to show what I can do, and what I know. They offered me a job and stayed behind me when somebody else spat on me. My name was discredited when I started to work here.»

6 – THE ARCHITECT

The Architect was of German Jewish origin. She belonged to the category of higher educated Yugoslavs, whose professional calling was underscored. She

had worked at the Faculty, and retired from her professional career in 1983. Despite her old age and her past as a prisoner of Auschwitz, she was youthful and in good shape:

«I am an architect specialised in urban environment, construction and theory of construction. Before the recent war, Claude Lanzman's film *Shoah* was shown at the Jewish Community. It lasts 9 hours, and was shown in 9 one hour sessions. Very few responded to this film at that time. Though it was, in my view, really something special. It has so much taste and feeling. Even though there is no scene from the camp, you can get the whole idea.

Claude Lanzman's film has so much piety. It should be seen in one session. People asked me how I could watch it for such long hours, and how I had the strength. Well, it is a kind of psychoanalysis of history, and there is an element of healing as well. When I was in Auschwitz there were Ukrainian women at the guard: I never saw women so strong and coarse – awfully anti-Semitic. Neither were the Polish much against what was going on in the camps. I was asked why I remained, during the recent war in Sarajevo. Well, I didn't want to leave Sarajevo, because once I was forced to leave in 1941. I said, that I will not leave by my own will. My husband is a civil engineer, and was no longer in the age of working. To go somewhere and live on charity is an idea we are not used to. If we live some years less, then it is better to live shorter.

It is better to remain in our apartment. Wherever we would leave we would have no future there. I simply could not imagine myself with two suitcases, leaving for some uncertain destination. If I had 30-40 years left to live, then I would think that a future might exist somewhere. But living on charity somewhere else, while others are living here on the fruits of our work, I could not imagine. I am not afraid: yet I feel that this war is not over. The acts of war are getting worse than ever. It was a dirty war. During WWII the whole of Europe was on fire. We could not imagine civilians, the citizens, could be the victims of shooting and bombing; that all the gas, water and electricity should be shut off from women, children and old people. We were not soldiers. During five months we had absolutely no water. It was a war against the city. Against Sarajevo: here the citizens were not only Moslems, but also Serbs and Croats. When we thought there would be a cease-fire in 1995, they again started shutting off these things: what kind of a war is this?

Again there is anti-Semitism now. I am not sensitive to this. I am not afraid of this. I think that other people pay more attention to such things. One may see things now that were unseen before. I am not so sure. It is not so difficult to understand it. There are ideological forces present in Sarajevo, Palestinians, but it does not reflect real prejudice: on the one hand there is an idea, on the other hand there is the reality of other people. I am always on the position that

I am a Jew. I know a lot of people in Sarajevo, and a lot of people know me. Everybody is very kind. I cannot feel any change. The question of scape-goating is the same for everyone: it is directed towards those coming back after the war, in particular. It applies to everyone. That does exist. There was a poem in a newspaper, or – rather – a magazine. The title of the poem was *The Wise Jews are Coming Back*. I found it very anti-Semitic.

When the writer was told this, he said that it was not. But because this poem was written in a newspaper, it entered a polemic in the newspaper. Nobody wrote in favour of the Jews, during the war, but several people wrote against. The author, and those who wrote in favour of the poem, wanted to organise a petition for it. He wrote that he had acquired at least twenty signatures for it in the army. One may find some such signs in the army. But judging by the style of the poem, it is definitely not written by an army person. I couldn't imagine that any such person had the knowledge to write in this manner. It was very prejudiced. The President of *La Benevolencija* said that someone else is fighting, while I am giving food.

There were some anti-Semitic posters put up by the Islamic Youth, during Ramzan²² this year. But if anti-Semitism exists, you cannot feel it. In 1952 I went to Sarajevo. There were no obstacles to my work, and I was a full member of society. None of five former Mayors ever left Sarajevo during the war. They promoted all four religions: all parties, including the Jews. A joke asks what is the difference between a concentration camp and Sarajevo – gas and no gas. I cannot understand this joke. I am originally from Novi Sad. I came here on my own account. I know German, not Yiddish. I am a Jew in my feelings. When Golda Meir says in her book *My Life* '...where have gone those who spoke against Eichmann? where did they take the strength to do it? to say it, to live and make new families?' I cannot understand such views: I am not in a camp, and I am not a survivor.

I was 14 years when I was deported to Auschwitz. I am half Sephardic, through my mother's family. I give lectures about Auschwitz at school. Nobody knows anything. The children of Argentinean Jews, they know nothing. The Eastern Jews accused us of having caused the *Holocaust* on account of not speaking Yiddish, we only spoke German. But German language is full of Jewish expressions. You can hear it even today, as you look at television. During the recent war in Sarajevo, I was not present during any of the transports. Under the socialist regime, nobody was really against the Jewish community. But it was never salient, nothing about the Jewish Community was emphasised. Now the Community has become very important, by its organisation and intention. It includes many members who are not Jewish. As children from mixed marriages: they are accepted now. With the pure families and the mixed families we are a sizeable community, after all.

²² *Ramzan* or *Bairam* (Bosnian) = Ramadan

In the convoys there were more non-Jews than Jews. This was typical. In a situation where there were neither postal services nor telephone. There was a radio station: it represented the sole possibility of communicating with the world outside of Sarajevo. The radio *La Benevolencija* was a radio-station providing a connection between the cities of Sarajevo, Zagreb and Belgrade. The entire city was queuing up there. Collaterals were identified in three cities, so that money (DM) which people wanted to transfer from one city to another was transmitted within each city, instead. Transfers without provisions: letters were transported to Split by road, or by air. It worked very well. For us, the only way to send and receive something was to give this opportunity to everyone.»

7 – THE SOCIAL WORKER

The social worker is of Moslem denomination. She led the Social Section of *La Benevolencija* during the war. Her testimony was given via her daughter whom, in her own words, did not have the nerves to do anything like her mother had done in wartime. She served as an interpreter during the interview:

«The social section carried food, water and medicines to people, in the entire city. Or they carried them to hospitals, at need. She organised that type of work by delegating it to 25 women, many of whom did not belong to the Jewish Community. During the war it was based on volunteers, now it is organised properly: they have a salary, since June 1996. While the war lasted, there was no salary for this. From that time, however, each woman takes care of between 10 and 15 old people. She goes three times to all people in a week.

This work for example includes cleaning up the home, cooking meals – if the old people can pay for water, electricity and gas – or taking them for a walk. The most important thing is chatting and socialising. They are old people without children, they are alone and they need someone to converse with. The most important for people is that they are not alone and useless. And so she was the boss of this group of activist women. Once a month she would organise a party together with her women, to which anyone capable of walking could come. But many old people live too far away, the busses and trams are crammed with people and it dangerous for them.

A part of the city, which was under Serbian occupation during the war, is now included into the programme. There are 15 women now taking special care of this Grbavica area. This whole project shares the same characteristics of care for elderly people. Co-operation with other humanitarian organisations is of big help for both projects. A German organisation has frequently helped with fruits and clothes: warm clothes, warm slippers, and warm underwear. *Hare Krishna* gives cakes. *The Friends of La Benevolencija* in Holland are important because

they give money. The women of the Social Section have now the training to qualify as professional social workers – practical training.

So, now there is an extensive co-operation between the Social Section of *La Benevolencija* and the municipal government of Sarajevo. *La Benevolencija* also runs an old people's home, for those who absolutely cannot walk and those indefinitely without a family. The old person does not pay for this accommodation, and the services of the health personnel, but s/he has to give the apartment s/he lives in to a nurse. The agreement with the health personnel is temporary. They sometimes take care of people downtown: a wartime arrangement.

The EU gave money through Strasbourg. It came about much by coincidence. One of the projects of the Social Section was sectorised across the street of *La mission locale* of the Council of Europe. It gave money to organise such small projects. It is just a part of the jobs taken care of by the *Mission locale*. From March 15th onwards there will be only economic projects: for covering economic deficits and rehabilitation of the economy – something like that. A similar work of re-structuration for the Social Section is engaged on a higher level by *La Benevolencija*.

My mother is a Muslim, who works for an organisation *La Benevolencija*, and is spoken for by the Jewish president of that organisation. She has a daughter who does not want to decide what she is [*i.e.*, she could have a *Jewish father*]. This is the uniqueness of the Sarajevo Community. She is personally tired of all talk about multiculturalism, about a multi-confessional and multi-ethnic society. Although this is where she stands. Partly because all this talk breaks with the normality which she considers to be the issue. During the war she thought that the Jewish Community, in fact, was Sarajevo in miniature. Her personal impression is that she probably lost her job after 25 years of solid work, because she was married to a man who was not a Moslem. The only place where she felt herself like a normal human being was in the Jewish Community. She will continue to work for the Jewish Community, if it is possible. Because, for *La Benevolencija* the most important thing is the human being: the person with two arms, two legs – that is all. All of us have the same needs. All humanitarian organisations certainly had charity. But they only took care of their own members. *Caritas, Merhamet, Dobro Tvor.*

Let me give you an anecdote. In the beginning of the war, a woman came from *Merhamet*, and showed my mother's name on a list telling her that – you, can get help from *Merhamet*. And my mother asked – where is my husband? Where are my children? Her visitor replied: they are not here, they are not Moslems. My mother closed the door: thank you very much, if there is not my husband and my children, I don't need your help! The point of the story is

one thing: Merhamet has real Moslems, Caritas has only Catholics. Only the Jewish Community has all nationalities. These are consequences of the war: the politicians say one thing and do another.

Izetbegovic, when he is on television he is multicultural. But he does other things than what he says. 60-70% who live here now are old-timers, whereas 30% are newcomers. All my friends think like me, friends of mine and my mother think like us – because we chose them and they chose us. There are still many other people who think like me, but there are many crazy people too. All my friends are not, however. 80% of my friends are Moslem and educated: they think like me. In one family, for instance, there may be one religious grandmother, and the grandfather thinks like me. It is a good thing they didn't change the name of the main street [*Tito's str.*].

I don't think that the relation between *La Benevolencija* and the municipality will change, however. It depends largely on the leadership of *La Benevolencija*. Together with Sóros and the Joint, the organisation is now venturing into small business development and management.»

8 – THE PRESIDENT OF LA BOHORETA

She left for Makarska at the Croatian coast in 1994, as a refugee. Her position was strong enough upon departure to claim it back upon return. The premises of the association are inside the Jewish Community. La Bohoreta was a Jewish woman writer, and the Women's Association carrying her name was founded after the war in 1945. The (Sephardic) President's testimony was the following:

«We work now with the same things as we did before the war. Our first task is to attend all the Community celebrations of the Jewish Holidays. Whether it is Hannukah, Purim or Seder. One other thing we do concerns the older members of our community. We help them with chores, and bring fruits and flowers to people who don't go out of their houses.

This is not the Social Section. We do this out of friendship, not as work at a regular basis. We gather here to discuss things regularly. On the first Wednesday of each month there are Tea-parties, and many women come here. We have lectures and different cultural programmes. And we exchange traditional recipes. Before the war I was in a women's section meeting in Belgrade, Zagreb, Novi Sad and Osijek. During the war there were women who spent the entire day at *La Bohoreta*: they worked very much here. Women came here even before the bombing started, and prepared performances and activities for Holidays: because everything from Jerusalem, such as wine and *Kosher* articles, was in *Bohoreta's* hands. And for the children who stayed throughout the war, there

was organised a Heder (Jewish "Sunday School"). When I was little I lived six years in Israel.

In our *Bohoreta* there are not only Jewish women. We have women who are living in mixed marriages, and women with no such Jewish background at all. And now they do work with us. Some of them are not even married. We have registries in which keep track of who is who: not only of Jews, but of friends in the entire city. We are beginning now to think about nationality. Before, nobody knew or thought about it. I notice sometimes when reading names, or watching TV: I record this or that nationality. Before, I never thought about it. I have asked my friends too. Before, family and flat and so on, was important. We were not isolated in public. In Sarajevo there was never a ghetto, during the 15th century, when the Sephardim came here. They came from Spain, after the exodus of 1492. There was a great festival in 1992, celebrating the 400th anniversary of Sephardic community of Sarajevo.

During the war not only the old, but also the young people left. This was not their war. They were not Serbs, Moslem or Croats. My sons could have happened to be on both sides: for instance, Serb and Bosnian – and then they would have to kill each other. Organising at the Jewish Community we learned from ourselves. All the people I knew told me: how you are happy that you are Jewish – it must be the first time! We did not think of ideological things: only practical things. There are a number of completely Jewish families, but not so many compared to the people who came here and said: my grandfather is Jewish, my grandmother is Jewish, and so on. The question of Jewishness is diffuse and open: if you want you can be a member if your grandparent is Jewish. We are doing like in Israel.

My son married a Catholic woman, and went living in Belgrade. They eventually made a Jewish household. But not all young people do that. My two sisters married two non-Jewish men: today, they both live in Israel. My husband was from Macedonia. He was some years older than me. He was alone after WWII, and he came to Sarajevo as a Colonel in the Army, and we met here. But now we couldn't go to the war. As the Jewish community helped all of Sarajevo, people speak the best of us. I provided help to all the people in my apartment – in the 10-13th floor – and gave food and medicines. When later my husband died, they all helped me.

La Bohoreta took that name during the war. We are trying now to do what we could not do before the war. Before the war the only women who came here were old. Next Wednesday 5th of March, there can come 100 women here: we cook something for them, and we listen to music. Now we have a number of

younger women. Because they have no work, or cannot work, they come here and do something. Those who work or are retired cannot live from their salaries and pensions. Sometimes we have to pay their buss- or tram-ticket so they can come here to eat. Jewish people come here, but also other people who live near. The Cook is a very important person: almost President of the Community.»

9 – THE CANTOR & THE SOOTHER OF SOULS

These two persons are practical men, they are responsible for the religious services, and they are completely opposed in their views of the world: what is the nature and function of Jewish religion, and what is the place of the Jewish Community in Sarajevo. The Cantor is the dominant person: he is a music pedagogue by profession, and is a recognised advisor in matters concerning the choice of instrument – violin and bow – among his students. He is a storehouse of ethno- musicological knowledge, and uses age-old Sephardic Cantorials during his services. He embodies the historical memory of the Jewish traditional music, and has a fairly conceptual notion of the nature of religious services.

His testimony cannot be separated from the method of show-and-tell whereby he constructed the space for his multi- confessional discourse, in the *Bascarcia* (Bazar) area in the historical part of the city: *you tell the world what I show you're here: nothing more, nothing less!* After he was engaged in The Patriotic League he had a short diplomatic career for the Bosnian state in Spain, in 1995. Now he disappeared into the age-old network of traders and merchants, at the crossroads of East and West, in the backstreet alleys of stalls, Ottoman fashion, which had been rebuilt a number of times during the recent war, by the staunchly resisting old-timers of the city. Interspersed by an endless series of halts, personal errands and sips of sweet Turkish coffee, he guided me through a market place community of Albanian clockmakers, Moslem Jewellers, Serbian coppersmiths, till we ended up in the street-level office of the descendent of a high ranking (Moslem) Pasha, who was now into real estate. Most of these people were brothers in arms from the resistance, who – notwithstanding the utter lack of arms – had defied the international arms embargo on sovereign Bosnia, preventing the Government to defend its own people, by making their own homemade ones.

Before we reached choir-practice at the Orthodox Church, the Cantor affirmed that there were about 1% of the population of Sarajevo which had changed during the war. Not more. Inside the Orthodox monastery, siding the Church, we met one of his students who was conducting a little audition. After some syrup, we proceeded to the Sanctuary of the Orthodox Church, inside the confines of the Altar where normally only priests were allowed. As we stood

inside and admired the icons, wearing our Jewish kipot (headpieces), the Priest was waiting for us outside. The session at the Fransiscan Monastery of St. Anthony was conducted in a similar vein: a little wine, a little more conversation on multiculturalism, sharing in football enthusiasm, and finally eating Croatian *Sauerkraut* inside the refectory, where the Cantor declaimed an elaborate Sephardic *B'rakha* (Blessing) over the bread, wearing his field-*kipa*, which had made from woollen army-blankets, during the war. Same procedure at the Jewish Community: inside the Synagogue the *Aron Kodesh* (Arch of Covenant, or scroll cupboard) was opened, and the *Sefer Torah* exhibited; as the Cantor concluded: You see? Here we are all friends.

This was his framework – and he demanded my assent – as he proceeded to testify:

«During the war I was the President of the cultural, educational and humanitarian aid of *La Benevolencija*. I am in all religious societies, and participate centrally in inter-religious conferences. Such a conference was organised here during the war, with Uleima Rei Suleiman and Mustafa Effendi Zeric (for the Moslems), Prelog Proto Sinzja (Orthodox), and Vinko Polic who was delegated Cardinal authority (Catholic). We did this so the whole world could see that Bosnia was a multi-cultural and multi-religious country.

Before WWII, there was more than 10.000 Jews in Bosnia, among which 10.000 were Sepharad. Sarajevo was the biggest centre of the Sephardim: the Jerusalem of Bosnia. Sarajevo had one of the most famous religious schools, very well known: *Yeshiva Ha-Gadol* (Great Rabbinical School), one of the pupils of this Yeshiva was *Ober-Rabbiner* Rav Salomon Gaon. In the 500-year old quarter of the historical city, there are 5 religious sanctuaries: one Synagogue, two Mosques, and two Catholic Churches. Like in Jerusalem. Authorities like Rashi were translated into Ladino (Judeo Espanjol) and written in Slavic script. Not Hebrew. I want to publish some such authors – like Buki – provided foreign support.

While preparing for war, we did not think just of ourselves. There was food and medication for everyone. Not only for Jews. It was about helping the town, all of the town. We had dialysis machines, and equipment for drainage; and several hundreds of wheelchairs, which we gave to the city. The kitchen cooked food for everyone during the war. My family is traditional, we were among the Partisans during WWII, and now my two sons are living in Israel: Aron and Mirka – a brigade! So this is what happened: we are all Bosnians, like all the others. We are all patriots. In the *Patriotic League* 25% were Serbs.»

As we met the day after, there was a quick change of subject. The Monastery of St. Anthony had been blown up by some saboteurs – more precisely, the premises in which we had been eating. The ground shook like an earthquake,

and the houses felt like card-boxes wherever one was in the city. Rumours held that the saboteurs were Croatians, unappreciative of the cosmopolitan attitude of the Franciscan clergy in Sarajevo. The Cantor, however, concentrated his efforts on relating another war incident – the visit of an Israeli hardball, hunting down the area to recruit mercenaries... this man: the tough of the toughs. He was reserved, and obviously scared of what had happened.

The comment of the Soother of Souls – a former pilot – was curt: «The Cantor's and Cook's families are opposed: in Bosnian, we have an expression for fifty-fifty: in Ladino it means "I shit you" – this is what it is about, for every group. Behind every smile there is treason. Behind every handshake there is a knife. It is not good to publicise too much what went on here during the war. There is no more than 14% left of the original population of Sarajevo. Perhaps even less. A picture may later be used to identify one person, create living targets for ethnic hatred: I never let my picture be taken at public occasions.»

The Soother of Souls sought the company of Books in silence, together with other Jews who desired an egalitarian community, based on the Laws of Judaism. He did not have any thorough scholarly knowledge of religious books. Rather, he lived with them: as a person lives in a house, or in a neighbourhood, with that right which intimate experience gives to another form of acquaintance. I saw him listen to peoples' grief and loss: his calm attention directed towards that one person, as if nothing else existed in the world at that precise moment. His recitals of the Kaddish for the dead were simple but monumental.

10 – THE ENGINEER

The engineer suffers from a heart condition, which compelled him to leave Sarajevo to have medical treatment in Zagreb. He took responsibility for organising the refugee administration and the transport that went through Zagreb. He led the office of *La Benevolencija* at the third floor of the Zagreb Jewish Community premises. The JDC paid the rent for these offices. The testimony of the Engineer is the following:

«I am myself a refugee, but became in charge of a small office for *La Benevolencija* in Zagreb. I must say that the help of the Zagreb community was very important. In such things it is not only the money that counts. But Zagreb is on the support list of JDC (the *Joint*) as well.

Human relations helped us a lot. At the time where there was no telephone connection, we operated the radio – *The Radio Benevolencija*. We did not only operate this connection for ourselves, but also for other people. Groups of 10-20 people were here around the clock to talk to their families. We connected the radio with the telephone grid, so that they could talk to their relatives in New

York. The invoice for the telephone was very high, and we had to find ideas of how to handle these invoices from the Post Office. The Joint helped us, but also the *Friends of La Benevolencija* in the Netherlands, Germany and France.

The networks of Jewish Communities played a role in setting up the radio, but most of all we were helped by individuals. The problem was a legal one: it had to be registered according to the legal norm. One who gives us money must have a certificate that it is tax deductible. This is difficult from Zagreb. Not to say from Sarajevo. You must consult lawyers who are willing to work free of charge, consult tax-offices and the more. Though I am educated a mechanical engineer, I always worked in the sales organisation. So I know how difficult the arrangements of tax-deduction can be.

The trouble is to move money – not only *between* countries but also within one *countries* – in ways which are transparent to public authorities, and cannot be accused of organised crime. Using the police grid for our radio, as we eventually did, it could also be used for other purposes. So we kept our books open to everyone, not only to the police and tax offices here, but in all other countries where we are collecting money as well. This was non-understandable in formerly communist countries, and there was no competence in this. In Western countries this was normal and usual.

The office in Zagreb started in September 1992, after the first convoy arrived in August the same year. The radio-station was installed, somewhere in October or November 1992, and was in operation until the end of –94, when there was no more need for it. We eventually got the licence from the police in Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade. It was war, and it was closely regulated. Everyone could listen to what we were doing, and it was strictly legal. One of the office's main concerns was, then, how to co-ordinate the co-operation on the convoys going in and out of Sarajevo.

Such co-ordination was not only difficult on account of the utter transparency of communication, but also because the work of securing the passage at road blocks had to be carried out on the ground, with the lower commanding officers: we never went to the top. It would be useless. So, if one was good with Serbs, another would be good with Croats, and a third good with Moslems. That is, at least three people. And it had to be co-ordinated. We could not speak of such problems out loud – provisions would have to be made for it, preparation of alternatives: a very complex organisation.

The first convoy came out the 2nd of August 1992. I was in that convoy. The last one to Zagreb came in somewhere in the end of 1993. In all those transports, never more than 1/3 of the people were on board were Jewish. People came out. Food and medication came in. The figures of distribution of *La Benevolencija*

are very impressive compared to the size. As for acknowledgement for what we did, it is a very complicated thing. The sense of the Moslems as a 'nation', is a new phenomenon. My opinion is that Bosnia is divided by religions and not by nationalities. You will find many family names which are the same between Serbs and Moslems.

The Moslem nation started slowly growing 100 years ago, under the pressure between Serbs and Croats. Now there is a very strong national feeling among the Moslems. The embargo on arms in Bosnia during the war was a very strange situation. It was of no help for Moslems, since they could not defend themselves. Now, the only who helped the Moslems during the war was Iran. Sometimes Libya, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Such was not without a general religious and political influence. The result was the growing of anti-Semitism. Still, it is not till now a very strong one.

There is nothing such as a country without anti-Semitism. The *Ustasha* front-figure in Croatia during WWII – Ante Pavelic – was not a Quisling in a Western sense. It was far more terrible. It was a killing regime. There didn't exist any other similar regime in Europe, under the German occupation. Still there is no law against celebrating such things today in Croatia. The Scandinavia of today is not the Scandinavia of the Vikings. Yet such understanding of historical continuity is, today, current in Croatia. Every fascist, nationalist or totalitarian regime will tell people about myths, sagas and so forth.

There were 1500 members in the Jewish Community of Sarajevo before the war. Of those there are 500 remaining now. But the numbers have grown with people coming to the Jewish Community, and asking for membership. It is a new community. What I feel about the Sarajevo *Haggadah* being spread in facsimile version over the European continent is similarly a paradox. I am not religious. But I feel strongly Jewish. *Seder* and *Haggadah* is one of the dearest things I think of with my family. When I travelled I visited the Synagogue wherever I went.

The Sarajevo *Haggadah* is not a prayer-book but it is part of the history of my people. You must know that during the war I lost my family: they were killed in the Ustasha concentration camps. With my family it is not religion, it is something more. My father had four brothers, they were married and we were sometimes 40 people present at the *Seder* table. The point is not with prayer. It was a family meeting. Something that I will always remember. You must keep in mind that the Jewish community before the war was a very big one, over 10.000 people. Divided into two big groups: the Ashkenazi people and the Sephardi people.»

11 – THE CHEMIST

The Chemist was an eminent Professor in his subject, and was – together with the President of La Benevolencija – one of the most internationally mobile persons in Sarajevo. His family is an old Sephardic family in Sarajevo. His testimony was the following:

«We had our office in Zagreb, but only four of our people were working in Zagreb. We were connecting mainly with the city of Split, at the Adriatic coast. We had our people mobilised, and I hadn't the ambition of maintaining close relations with the Zagreb Jewish Community. Whenever I went there I had the feeling of being the second kind of people. They are trying to be Aryan. The Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and Spain – even Hungary – is different. Zagreb is a place the refugees happened to pass by as they went away.

In our parts the Jews never lived in *ghettoes*, we had some quarters in the old city of Sarajevo. The Jewish people in Croatia are much more Croats than Croats. They are living in isolation. Reactions against Tadjman are too lenient: SIGO²³ is one person, reacting appropriately. One person. I come from a family with religious teachers and Rabbis in an unbroken line from the years thousand (C.E.) till hundred years back. I am really proud of this. As a Professor I am honouring this tradition, in my own way. I have relatives in Croatia and Serbia. With every part of the family it is a different story. During the period of the last ten years, we had completely different opinions on the political situation. When Milosevic came to power, I was against him: I immediately recognised his personality. My cousins were on completely different sides. On the Balkans, and former Yugoslavia, there were three different situations in Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajevo.

Because I live in Sarajevo, and we are not nationalist, we do not have this infection of Balkan policies. Generally, the Moslems in Bosnia are people completely under the influence of European culture. And Alija Izetbegovic, the President, I am with him – he made a declaration about fundamentalism: he is only trying to protect his people and he is dreaming about one Bosnia. He wants to live with Serbs and Croats. Ordinary people, who care about ordinary people, who want to speak with ordinary people: people dreaming about peace. The war was a war against the city. It was a war between Highlanders and Citizens. Radovan Karadzic is really the epitome of the Highlander: while studying in Sarajevo, and living in a dormitory, he was surprised by the city. In his poetry, he is really scared by it – like it was going to consume him. He wrote poetry like this all the time. He wants to get even with Sarajevo: it is his *trauma*. This is my explanation for this war.

At the beginning of the war, along with one man who was a pharmacist, we made a pharmacy inside the Jewish Community; this was for the members

²³ Cf., *book 3*, the Publisher.

of the Jewish Community. After some days a woman came with a little child. She asked: are you the head of the pharmacy? I am not Jewish but my son has fever, I live over here and it is dangerous to go outside. Other people came. And, eventually, there was a permanent queue in front of the pharmacy, which grew longer by the day. And people were waiting for medicaments, even as our supplies were quickly diminishing. First of all, we needed more space, and a Moslem man gave us one room neighbouring the Jewish Community. In effect, we had made the first humanitarian pharmacy in Sarajevo: before Caritas and Merhamet. And, finally, it was a completely open pharmacy: we didn't ask for people's names. Only we gave the medicine and everything was free of charge. That was the whole point.

There were Croatian, Serb and Moslem girls working side by side in the pharmacy. And that was the beginning of the health service of *La Benevolencija*. A lot of people came here, and there was a permanent queue. So we started another one downtown with 4-5 nurses. The same type of Yugoslav mix. Good company. And people were working pretty hard. *La Benevolencija* was the first humanitarian organisation, employing all kinds of people: it was the only place where all could get work. The Red Cross was completely destroyed from lack of people and resources. They simply didn't have enough people to give really good help to the people of Sarajevo. We had good co-operation with Merhamet, Caritas and Dobro Tvor. That was the beginning of the third pharmacy I made in Dobronja (suburb of Sarajevo) – the Head of the hospital was Dr. Haji, from Palestine.

As he was studying in Sarajevo before the war broke out, he worked and stayed here as a citizen. I had an excellent co-operation with him all the time. He is my friend: now, and during the war. It was very dangerous to go to Dobrinja: he drove a handmade *Blinda*. I remember every week I told him: here, Haji, we have dress, eye solution and what not. That was a trip of high risk, and every week he came here to take with him what we prepared. In parallel with this, we found new uses for the ambulance that was donated to *La Benevolencija*, by friends abroad. Transportation of patients to the health team was dangerous for the patients, and reception facilities were poor. So, this ambulance became of importance to the citizens of Sarajevo: we came to people, to treat them. We sent the doctor and nurses, and didn't care about nationality or anything: this is a man, with this type of trouble.

We treated him at home because he had at home much better conditions. Every hospital was full of people. War victims, plainly. The department of the hospital was war-surgery: amputations, prostheses, sewing, etc. Our strategy proved to be pretty good, in this case. Caritas used the same model. Merhamet too. The same model of organisation. Merhamet is bigger, and made the big

deal in Sarajevo: 150.000 Moslems, and later 200.000 people. Merhamet had to take care of a big population, but there was a little bit of politics too. On the other hand, *La Benevolencija* was that symbolic medicine for people – for everyone who came here – because Moslem people represented the biggest user-group. It was the feeling of Sarajevo from before the war.

During this period we made yet another model from our work. From the Doctor's requests and reports I made surveys all the time. Not only concerning the quantities needed, but their adequacy in terms of transportation and use: eye-way solution, dressing materials, antibiotics. What were the needs of the clinics, and so on... from some international aid organisations we got black dressing-materials which are adequate in Africa, Tetracyclines attacking bone-structures if taken by children younger than 7. This was embarrassing: we are Western people and we know what we need. We can tell the difference. When we got this kit from the WHO, it was really stupid. So, we made a new kit, with the name "Sarajevo kit". I addressed the list of medicaments, chemicals and dressing materials directly to the ministry, and subsequently the donations that came to *La Benevolencija* were very good.

We never got the problem with chemicals that had bad data. We didn't have to fight to convince donors that this medicament is not good. On the whole, however, Sarajevo and Bosnia is full of bad over-dated medicaments, which it is very difficult to get rid of. Certain organisations used this war as a dumping-ground. The destruction of such chemicals requires special furnaces, and is very expensive. We were also relieved from this on account of our transportation system. This is another story. Split is a very big warehouse: we made selections there – medicaments were checked for dates. Transportation had to be regulated according to conditions on a 22 km stretch with innumerable road blocks, on the road between Sarajevo and Split. We had to make continuous evaluations like: this we need urgently, or this has to wait.

Sometimes, we were in real trouble. I and N – who were directly involved in the transportations mainly – were two-three times in Serbian jails. But they respected us because we were Jewish. The Croats too. We got across these problems because we are Jewish. Why? Not because we are neutral. In Sarajevo you can sit and wait for death, and still you cannot really be neutral. Inside, you are going to hate these people because they want to kill you. But on the other hand we had respect from all three sides. This is the first time in history, that there is one war in Europe, where Jews are not guilty. Why? That was the strategy of all sides. Don't touch the Jews, because otherwise you will get the whole world against you. Four key-people in the US are Jewish.

But that is only the general reason why they didn't go against us. But what could possibly become of such a general policy when we were alone in the streets, with a truck full of medicaments: what does the ordinary guy know about Jews? The higher posted people always said that "you did a mistake" and asked to have such and such person released. That's the point. Sometimes you know, in a critical situation, that you have to help some other than yourself. Some decisions are tactical drill. Someone asks to 'pass my letter' to someone in Sarajevo: why not? It is the same with food for refugees: as a humanitarian organisation, you cannot say no.

For the people we took out of the city in convoys – who were mostly Moslem, but also Croats and Serbs – we had to make identity papers with Jewish names. They used this name to cross the border. But would need their official documents for whatever was their further destination. We made genealogical trees back to great-grandfathers. A little boy, 10 years old – Mohammed – was minor, and about to give away his identity, as he was travelling alone. He was ready to give an answer. And I told the Croatian soldier that: 'He is my son'. He finally came to me, his face completely flushed. The Croatian soldier just patted the boy's hair. Short communication, without having to speak many words, a person who doesn't care about politics, acts like this in front of people. I have my job. And I never gave my opinion about such situations.»

12 – THE PHARMACIST

The Pharmacist of La Benevolencija is Jewish by her mother, and married to a Serb. She teaches Arabic literature at the University of Sarajevo. She doesn't really care about being Jewish. She and her husband used to be mountaineers. The interview took place in their home. Her testimony was the following:

«The term "Bosnian" – or, Bosniac – applied to all people, and then to Moslems. We are still Yugoslavs. I cannot imagine that I am going to a foreign country, when I go to Croatia. And in Belgrade I was born! On the other hand, we will not understand each other with people who were not here during the war. Those who come here from Israel, or have spent the war in Spain, they are simply impossible and arrogant. They cannot understand how difficult it was just to send a letter.

I have been teaching Arabic before and after the war. As from before the war, there was the Islamic Faculty. And the Islamic secondary schools also existed before the war. Those who want to study Arabic literature and philosophy they come to the University. They prefer our diploma, before the Islamic Faculty: you can't work at the University with it. Maybe this is going to be altered now. Who knows? During the first year of Arabic literature, there is

about 60 students. After the first exams in June, only a few pass and about 12 fulfil. A Rabbi's wife taught me some Hebrew last year, but I am too old to learn to read and write.

Sarajevo is the place where the East shakes hands with the West, but where the West refused to shake hands. When the war broke out in 1992, we lived two months in the cellar, here in this building. And then it seemed that we would get nuts, so we went out. We went to the Jewish Community because they called us to give some humanitarian aid. They started a pharmacy and they collected medicines for the people. People stored food before the war, but no medicines. But they started to collect medicines very early; making rounds at peoples' houses in the beginning. And then, I don't know where from, the Joint started to send. The French (FSJU – *Fond Social Juif Unifié*) were the first: they also collected medicaments.

Going on our rounds we used to find a half-opened bottle and a spoon. Whether it was coughing syrup, or something else. They opened their cupboard and gave it to the Bosnian Jews. We had to tell people to put the garbage out; it is very dangerous. Medicines with expired dates: improperly stored, it is very difficult to do anything with such things. You must have a very special stove to burn medical stuff. We in Bosnia, had one, but now, who knows? There are so many aspects of cleaning up after this war. After the massacre has ended, there is the problem of stealing of children, for whoever all over Europe wants to adopt a child, at all means.

My husband was 11 and I was 3 at the end of WWII. And our children it is their first. The children left for Amsterdam in 1994, and had to stay in Zagreb on their way. Zagreb was weird, my son says, 'Coming from my planet and into the world is weird'. Nothing besides that: being a Jew over there is quite a good thing. To get the idea: when the police asked my son about nationality – he said, "Bosnian": *that does not exist*, answered the police. What is your father's name? I am Jewish. OK, you can pass. My parents spoke German when they didn't want to be understood. How can you hate a language?

I lived in Tunisia. I got a scholarship, which was not enough to go to Djerba, but I stayed in Tunis. I know Jews in Tunisia, but I had no contacts with them. They had merchandise shops, delicatessen, and so on. This was in 1965. I was there two years later the 4th June 1967, when the 6 days war broke out. I had four bad days. Was there a war in Tunisia? They burned down Synagogues and Shops. I don't know how many Jews left for France. Who knows if they ever returned: so the war in Bosnia war is my third.

Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic agreed about the division of Bosnia and Hercegovina. A series on BBC – "The Fall of Yugoslavia" – is

worthwhile seeing: everything is there. As soon as they were finished with the Serbs, they started with the Moslems. The problem is that in Hercegovina – Western Hercegovina – is the cradle of Croatian nationalist movement. Why the war against the cities? In Hercegovina there are shepherd-families: they became professors, doctors and so on – but they remained shepherds. This is a mafia-like organisation and they are exporting it to Zagreb.

They are the most dangerous amongst the rural people. Take the examples of Karadzic and Buha. Buha is a well known philosopher – an expert on Kant. Nevertheless, they don't like urban people. The shepherd family is a tribal organisation where everyone is in family with everyone else. Whoever is outside the scheme is in potential threat. Which extends to everyone who does not understand the things their way. Everyone knows of the organised crime they are involved in. Nevertheless, they constitute a card in Croatian nationalism, which is very welcome by Tadjman.»

13 – THE PRESIDENT OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

²⁴ The President of the Jewish Community was Ashkenazi.

The following speech, by the President of the Jewish Community²⁴, who was later awarded the French Légion d'honneur, was delivered to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, March 1994:

«As I understand matters, our topic is the Yugoslav syndrome. Obviously, I take this to mean that by your definition the Yugoslav syndrome has to do with ethnic cleansing, murder and the devastation of our towns, and cities. I do not accept the definition. The Yugoslav syndrome, if you will recall from history, is the exact opposite of these horrors. The very idea of founding Yugoslavia was to gather disparate people together under one roof, politically, economically, socially and, most importantly, to allow them through their own cultures to express themselves fully. That, ladies and gentlemen, is the Yugoslav Syndrome.

In other words, the opposite of that dreaded European disease, nationalism. The Yugoslav syndrome was murdered by the nationalist syndrome. Historical inaccuracies and pathetic national myth were singled out and vilified. Nationalism is a cancer, it is now spreading throughout the Balkans, when it first grew in Central Europe some 69 years ago you in Western Europe thought it was regional malignancy and you ignored it. The result we the Jews of Europe suffered horribly because and uncaring world turned its back on us then and great Jewish communities, which added so much to Europe's greatness, are no more. But we have survived. No, we are not what we once were. But I want to disabuse you of the very notion of remnant Jews, because for 50 years we have been hard at work building ourselves back up, using the tools with which we were left.

I personally think we have done this quite well. Most importantly, we have not forgotten the lessons of the past. We, the Jews of Sarajevo – this once beautiful magnificent blend of East and West – are now working hard to share those lessons with all our neighbours in Bosnia; Moslems, Croats and Serbs. We Jews know somehow by instinct, how to prepare for the worst and at the same time how to maintain our dignity.

With that frame of mind we now work with 60 volunteers, less than half of whom are Jews, as we give our food, medicine, clothing and even run a radio and a postal service. In other words, in a faded pink Austrian era synagogue on the banks of the Milatska river, I can tell you the Yugoslav syndrome is alive and kicking.

Finally, I will close off with a few works of anti-Semitism, that front-line soldier of every nationalist vocabulary. We Jews came into Bosnia – invited by the Ottoman Sultans, Jews made their way North some 500 years ago – since then we have shared the fate of all our neighbours, through war and peace, good times and bad. And except for the period of Europe's blackest night, we really never knew the kind of anti-Semitism that existed in Northern Europe.

Now, in these horrible times, when our brothers and sisters, relatives and friends are exterminating each other we have been working especially hard to keep our doors open to everyone to provide sanctuary, help and friendship. This, I remind you again, is the Yugoslav Syndrome. And there is no better proof I can offer you than our very existence here.» The speech was received with silence.

It was handed to me towards the end of an interview accorded to me by the former President of the Jewish Community of Sarajevo, in a suburb of Jerusalem – Talpiot – where he now lived. He watched out of the window, and said that some mornings he would wake up to the sound of the Muezzin and believe himself to be in Sarajevo. Towards the end of the war, he followed his family, who are non-Jewish, to live in Israel. For the time being it was the life as a refugee: he did not wish to learn Hebrew, and was hungry for newspapers from Sarajevo. For the time being, he had the sense of being a stateless person, in his own words: a matter of Jewish identity for him, to be sure. An architect by profession, he had trouble finding jobs. His grid of connections was associated with his presidency and with the war, though he had given hospitality to many a religious person passing through Sarajevo, over the years: his grandfather was a Galician *Hassid*.

The former President laid out the idea of a 'Manual of Survival' to me. He wanted to draw from his considerable personal archives, ensuing from his domestic and international correspondence in managing the Jewish Community. By working out such a manual, he was thinking of the possibility of similar

events happening elsewhere – for instance, at the outskirts of Russia. While approaching institutions for support and publication, he was – in his own words – dismissed as an ‘amateur’. His experience, thus, became inalienably linked to the war in Sarajevo. The contents of his archives had a highly inflammatory potential, at the domestic level as well as internationally.

The experience of the former JCC President of the inalienability of his testimony from the place – or, the site – of crisis, is a testimony by itself: a testimony of testimonies. A testimony of the “nature” of testimonies, or perhaps we should say the “human nature” of testimonies. The strong tie between testimonies, place and body of the witness is paradoxically shared by the “box” and the “floor” – the witness and his audience – and recognition is a hairsbreadth away from rejection: (a) the witness risks abjection for authenticity; (b) the audience is removed from the witness – and expresses this condition by silence, or expresses the distance through rejection.

I too became struck with the silence around these testimonies: most of them were given to me in one bulk, during a single interview, and written down as they came: they barely required any editing. But the conditions for giving them were also very clear: they were exceptional, given in the trust of the moment, and with my expressed and explicit understanding that I would not be able to fathom the full extent of what they had been through. So, these interviews were not confessionals: to deal with the resistance – experienced on both sides – we decided to reduce the “bandwidth” of our communication, as well as the hopes for how the testimonies would be met by future readers, in order to maintain a certain realism in our encounters. In other words, the interviews were carried out in an ambience of mutual understanding on decency, and were really quite civil. Yet, as they are written down in their present form, there is still the silence, and the question of what to do with it – if anything at all.

When I had finished the first round of interviews, I flew to Paris in order to work on BaCh's archives of reports and letters from the operations between the warehouse in Split and the war-theatre in Sarajevo. Then I flew back to Zagreb to attend the Presidential campaign and elections in the JC, and returned to Sarajevo for Passover, to attend the celebrations and the Seder-ritual. There were about 400 participants at the Seder-ritual – Jewish and non-Jewish – with the ritual arrangement and full details as described in *book 4*. The ritual was led by the visiting Serbian Rabbi, and was conducted – with the Rabbi's simultaneous translation – in three languages: Hebrew, Serbo-Croatian Bosnian and English.

The Joint's country representative BaCh was present at the Seder-celebration, and was assigned the task of leading the participants through the

Dayenu ('it would have been enough', cf., *book 4*). It was an evening devoted to the ritual doing, the blessings and the interpretations – with light conversation during the (central) festive meal only – along with some public addresses about the time and place: the war was over, the Sarajevan society was going back to “normal”; which was, under the circumstances, something mysterious and unknown. Indeed, for most people, there was no going back – except, perhaps, for those who had been away – and there was a way ahead to a new life in Bosnia. For better or for worse.

COMMUNITY ORGANISATION AS A SECONDARY FRAMEWORK

«Are you in favour of a sovereign and independent BiH [Bosnia and Hercegovina], a state of equal citizens and nations of Moslems, Serbs, Croats and others who live in it?»

(Text of the Referendum 29 Feb.-1 Mar. 1992)²⁵

How far can we insist that the above testimonies are distinguished from narratives by virtue of being unalienable from the persons who spoke them? It is argued here, clearly, that this is justifiable to the point of presenting the testimonies here in their unabridged form. But may we, for this reason, consider them – in the same move – as completely beyond theory and general comprehension? Probably not. But we must step gingerly. The details of the account in the 13 testimonies, however, manifest substantially different positions.

While the President of *La Benevolencija*'s testimony was concerned with strategies concerning returnees and politics (there are other Jewish heroes than soldiers [in Israel] and victims [of the *Shoah*]); the Philosopher related how she survived as a person during the war by keeping up her correspondence with a pen-friend abroad and was concerned with personhood as a condition for forgiveness; the Cook related his experiment with his utopia of the Sarajevan community [the “*other-place*” of the Soup Kitchen, where he organised his civil resistance against the reality of the war]; the Soldier was concerned with the fuzzy boundaries of territories and identities during the organisation of resistance for Sarajevo; the Doctor related how he found – as a Serb – refuge in the Jewish community while choosing to remain in order to help his city with medical home-care as a good citizen; the Architect was rather concerned with the comparisons that had been made – during the war – between the city and an extermination camp [Auschwitz]

²⁵ The Bosnian national assembly voted for independence October 14th 1991, when Radovan Karadzic (Montenegrin Psychiatrist and Poet, and leader of the Bosnian Serbs) had marched out in protest. When the referendum was carried out in 1992, the Serbs put up road-blocks in the Autonomous (Serbian) areas, to prevent civilians to join the ballots. In the cities, however, many Serbs voted for the motion.

and nurtured a scepticism as to whether the Sarajevo JCC – despite its wartime activism – would see the end of anti-Semitism; while the testimony from the Social Worker – belonging to the Moslem majority inside the city – emphasised the difficulties of Bosnian pluralism that she had experienced from the ground; again the President of the Women’s Association *La Bohoreta* unfolded the principles of statutory membership versus association as they were reflected in the activities, people and archives of the organisation; the Cantor and Soother of Souls represented extreme positions on the current situation and state of cross- confessional and ethnic relations among the old-time Sarajevans; the Engineer featured his part as an activist abroad who had set up the creative communication channel [that helped civilians while changing the organisation’s way of reporting out from the war-zone]; the Chemist was focussed on the human dignity and standards that *La Benevolencija* developed for medical kits [that were adopted by the WHO]; the Pharmacist was bent on the dangers of old medicines and outraged by international “charities” that used Sarajevo as dumping grounds for medicines that were poison and should have been destroyed; finally, the Former President of the Sarajevo JC was concerned with how people with the experience as *Benevolencija* activists were received either with silence or rejection.

With this summary in mind there are two challenges that hit the eye: (1) how it is possible to link up a world of unique experience – which is inalienable from body and place – with a world of facts, the discussion of which is generally accessible? (2) how is it possible to understand the transactions – that generate an affordance for *services* – whereby (a) the logistics of *goods* [relief] from the outside world were transformed into *utilities* – the transactions and services for survival in a city – inside the war-zone, and whereby (b) the logistics of communication transformed a *commodity* [the two way radio-channel] into a system of reporting to the outside world? The two challenges are related. While the book on Zagreb (*book 3*) featured the crisis of facts, relating to the facts of crisis, the systems dynamic in Sarajevo drove this problem one step further: *i.e.*, the *evacuation* of facts [and their record in BaCh’s archives in Paris].

Book 6 shows how this arrangement was emergent rather than intended and planned. However, the shared characteristic of all activists of *La Benevolencija* – whether Jewish or non-Jewish – is that they left something of themselves when they entered the humanitarian organisa-

tion of the Sarajevo JC, and they brought something new along when they left: essentially, they were not the same when they came and when they left. This change may either be seen in the framework of the war and as a result from what activists did during that war – and the experiences they acquired – or, alternately, it may be seen as a feature of Jewish Communities, general: you may meet someone called Al, and haphazardly get to know that he’s a Nobel laureate in physics. Inside the JC sphere, most people may know him simply as Al: he may draw on his experience and resources as a physicist, but yet he will be Al to himself as to everyone else.

In other words, there are certain facts about people – private and professional facts – that are marginal, and kept at bay, in the JC sphere. If it is *Shabbat*, then it is actively avoided. So, when Jews are together they are in their own back-yard, as it were, or – which is equivalent – the Synagogue courtyard. Like neighbours with a certain number of rules and customs. So, *La Benevolencija* and the Sarajevo JCC feature two organisational frameworks for two largely overlapping – and sometimes identical – activities: the first organisational framework is Civic (and secular), the other organisational framework is Jewish (and religious). In other words, the religious-secular Crossover was nothing one had to go and look for, in Sarajevo, and reads: *all ferments out, new people in*²⁶.

So, with this simile in mind, the question “who ran the operations – *La Benevolencija* or the Sarajevo JCC?” makes no sense: as with the *Seder*-ritual (*book 4*), the answer is *both*. The question of *how it can be both* is analysed in further detail in the next book. In present book, the most important conclusion is that this *two-tiered* organisation (based on the synergy between *statutory membership* and *voluntary association*) contains a paradox: it is neither Nationalist, for obvious reasons, nor Multi-culturalist, since Jewish. Consequently, Hannah Arendt’s (Arendt, 1951) assessment of Nationalism – growing in periods when National feelings of belonging are weak – applies in this case: in Bosnia the ethno-religious nationalisms rose while the country was falling apart. The Jews and their friends were clearly urban patriots that believed in the Bosnian idea.

This is why the sociological framework is insufficient to understand the urban co-existence in Sarajevo, and the integration of the Jews into the life of the city. The war and its testimonies are enfolded in the narrative of this book: they are thereby transported from the realm – or, *green*

²⁶ The symbolism of ferments (*Hametz*), cf., *book 4*.

room – of testimonies, into the realm of citizenship. But citizenship, thus enfolded, is but a reflective model proposed to the reader as a procedure operating mainly at a symbolic level. The real process – that should be understood *politically* rather than sociologically – is a *slow transition* from wartime testimonials in the presence of an anthropologist, to recognition in the urban commonwealth in the aftermath of the war. In that setting, the analyses of the mechanisms of exchange and communication – or, *transactions* – are interesting only inasmuch as they are linked up with the *critical mass* of the humanitarian efforts, and their aggregates, and point out differences that made a difference in the Sarajevo polity.

In sum, we are now passing from a reflective to a generative level of modelling: from (1) the ethnography of *crossovers* existing as stories in an inter-personal network within and beyond the Sarajevo JCC – similar to those that turned up in Zagreb, but not exceptional like them – to (2) the mechanisms of how a loosely coupled network, with a activist rather than an institutional form of leadership, can (a) *span the affordances at the organisational fringe* while *holding the centre*, and (b) remain effectively accountable for results. The next, and final book, of the *Travelogue* is therefore devoted to a generative understanding of a search and accountability model developed by *La Benevolencija* – in co-operation with *the Joint* – during the war on Bosnia (1992-95).

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS

(In order of appearance)

Sephardim (Hebr.) = The Jews from Sepharad (Spain)

Heder (Hebr.) = Jewish religious school

Hebr. = Hebrew word

H = Guttural H

Please consult the glossaries in the earlier books to supplement.



BOOK 6

THE ACCOUNT OF THE LIFELINE

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CHIEF ACTORS IN BOOK 6

IvCz – The President of the Jewish Community of Sarajevo during the war

JaFi – The President of La Benevolencija

BaCh – the Joint's Country Representative

JaBi – Croatian Jewish businessman and operator

BraPop – The President of the Jewish Community of Belgrade

SoEl – Community and SFOR -worker

NiEl – cookery book author

BOOK 6: THE ACCOUNT OF THE LIFELINE

«JDC's September Surprise: The true potential of this aid channel has only recently been grasped. Direct communication with Sarajevo was cut off in July. In August the Jewish Community of Sarajevo began sending out bus convoys of Jewish and non-Jewish refugees to Croatia where they were met by JDC representatives and assisted by the local Jewish communities in Split and Zagreb. Not until the fourth convoy in mid-summer did IvCz, the President of the Sarajevo Jewish Community, and JaFi come out for consultations.»

(BaCh, the Joint/JDC, Paris, 1992)

THE FIRST HARVEST: A SPACE OF SYNTHESIS

When I left Sarajevo in 1997 to consult the JDC¹ Country Representative BaCh's personal archives² in Paris, I was struck by a *déjà vu* from earlier phases of my fieldwork, as the plane hit the landing-strip at the Charles de Gaulle airport: I was assailed by memories of my journey crisscross Eastern and Central Europe in *book 1* of the *Travelogue*, and my subsequent landing in Prague for the ECJC-conference, which initiated the research that led to *book 2*. Yet, the results of the archive-work in Paris did not turn out that way. And my initial reaction was largely due to the ethnographer's emphasis on face-to-face relations in the context of fieldwork, and the corollary scepticism to archive-studies as an empirical source when studying dynamic processes.

When I realised the radical extent of the *evacuation* from the war zone, which was not limited to the evacuation of refugees but expanded to the evacuation of facts, I reframed my understanding of the archive-materials as a material aspect of the wider network engaged in (a) the logistics of relief and (b) the organisation of a response to the humanitarian crisis, as a result of the war on Sarajevo. As I reached this

¹ *The Joint* = short for JDC Joint Distribution Committee, alternately AJCD = American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee.

² The official JDC documents were archived with a 20 year confidentiality clause.

decision, I realised the naiveté of my assumptions at the time I conducted the initial survey (*book 1*): travelling around in East- and Central Europe I had been essentially been digging for information, as though the human beings I met – my informants – were *relays* to what I was looking for. Essentially, I assumed that there is something called information that can be *got*, provided the skill and method. In Sarajevo, I realised – through the interpersonal experience and trauma of testimonials – that, in some cases, *the informant is the message*, physically or bodily, and that whatever they gave me was a link to that message.

Therefore the concept of ‘network’ is here defined as *the voluntary association of human beings and artefacts in a group of people*: human beings acting as nodes – exchange points – in a mesh of connecting artefacts. The record of reports and letters that I consulted in BaCh’s archives, thereby could be seen as belonging to a larger category of links, while the activists, whose testimonies I collected in Sarajevo, similarly belonged to a larger category of nodes, crossings or exchange-points. The objective of the present book is to join the links I assessed in Paris to the nodes I probed in Sarajevo: the access to his personal archive represented the possibility for me to «connect the dots». It became quite clear to me that BaCh himself, by giving me access to his personal archive, wanted to act as such a node: he was still active in Sarajevo – at this point, travelling in and out – he wanted to show me his side, and how the Joint monitored and engineered the humanitarian effort; from Paris and Split, mainly.

The documents I consulted in Paris, thereby could be reflected into a properly methodological framework for how we can use and understand written sources in anthropology. In relation to the testimonies received in Sarajevo, the archival sources I consulted in Paris represented a different aspect of *voice*. Under normal circumstances, these two dimensions of voice – oral and written – would have been collocated, or at least exist within a closer range of each other. And therefore the distance between them, their tearing apart by the war, is in this book part of a research problem: as such, the distance is an index, like smoke to fire, that points to the fact that there, indeed, was a war on Sarajevo. But beyond this fairly obvious point, there was – more importantly – a *change* in how the evacuation of facts proceeded, during the war, in a way that reflects on the organisation and logistics of relief from 1992-1995 (*book 5*).

In the ethnography of the *Travelogue* this problematic of the field – divided between Sarajevo and Paris – is transformed into a

methodological problem. The testimonials I collected in Sarajevo and the records from the BaCh's archives in Paris are written sources of a different type: they engage us in two different tracteries. I will be concerned with the structure and workings of their relationship, rather than with the fact that they are written: as a repository of facts, an archive makes claims for information – and also on truth – that exists *independently* of humans. The testimonial level of writing (trace 1) will therefore be used to *deconstruct* the archival level of writing (trace 2). The proposed approach to deconstruction is different to the one explicated by Derrida (1967a, 1981), in that we are referred to (a) levels of *voice* in what we are trying to understand (*explanandum*), and are referred to the articulation of two (b) levels of *writing* only at the methodological level (*explanans*). The targets are:

- (a) the change in the organisation of relief – the *Joint/La Benevolencija Lifeline*³ – and
- (b) the methodology required to extract ethnography – or, data – from two written sources of the above type (a).

The latter issue (b) is methodological in the sense that it will impact on our understanding of (a). To meet this challenge, I will turn once more to the Artaud Theatre⁴, in which the asymmetric – yet, constitutive – relation between the «stage» and the «floor» represent two levels of *voice*. The voice of testimony is the language termed by Derrida as *glossopoeia*: *i.e.*, a language which is non-imitative, at the origin, when the word has not yet been born, when articulation is no longer a shout but not yet discourse, and when repetition is almost impossible (Derrida, 1967b). On the other hand, the voice of the archive prepares and rehearses narrative (*book 3*): clippings and scrapbooks of historical and cultural units constituting a repertoire for circulation and recirculation, presentation and representation. The gross relations of performance were the ones that (1) *La Benevolencija* performed for the Joint; (2) *the Joint* performed for a larger network of donors.

This arrangement is a model, in the generative sense, rather than simply a reflectively 'worked out' relationship between patterns of representation and behaviour; which, for simplicity reasons, will be gathered here in a single concept of 'operations' (that includes artefacts). The rationale for considering operations as generative models will appear in the case-base on *crossovers* below. For now, it will suffice

³ The *Lifeline* was a denomination used by *the Joint* to disseminate its co-operation with *La Benevolencija* on the logistic organisation, representing the totality of operations inside and outside of the war-zone, in the form of a single logistic organisation.

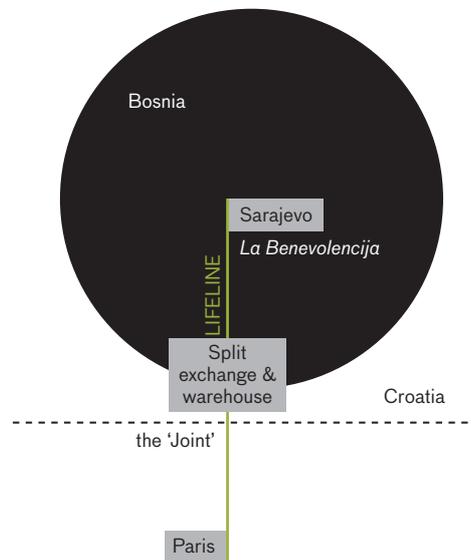
⁴ The relevance and groundbreaking importance of the Artaud-Theatre to deconstruction was emphasised by Derrida (1967b).

to conceive that operations are the resolution of *dependencies* on the ground. My take on the archival materials in Paris was correspondingly to probe the evolution of dependencies between *La Benevolencija* and the *Joint* in the time-span of the war, in various areas of operations and accountability (particularly in the area of removing unnecessary obstacles between the two partners in the area of reporting). The transitive arrangement, outlined in the points (a) and (b) above, suggests a simple complementarity between the two partners, and conceals the tensions due to the structural heterogeneities in this relationship: it therefore also conceals the interactive features of the partnering process. The concept of ‘operation’, therefore, will serve to highlight the fitting together of actions in the partnering process, as an aspect of mapping a larger field of activities. The figure below features a mapping of this type, in which complex activities of the network are mapped into a single gross operation: the *Joint/La Benevolencija Lifeline* (fig. 14).

In the present book, teeming spaces – or, *green rooms* – constitute the principal point of departure: Mary Louise Pratt’s concept of ‘contact zones’⁵ are used to hone the analysis of such teeming spaces, and thereby increase the empirical detail and differentiation of what has been discussed throughout the books of the *Travelogue*, at a fairly

⁵ (Pratt, 2005: 519): «I use this term to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today. Eventually I will use the term to reconsider the models of community that many of us rely on in teaching and theorizing and that are under challenge today.»

fig. 14 – *The Joint/La Benevolencija Lifeline* - generic name, or brand, of logistic operations in and out of the war-zone.



general level (*i.e.*, as *green rooms*). The contact-zones with which we are concerned here are not cultural (Pratt, *ibid.*) but rather interactive: we are concerned with operations as the meeting, grappling and clashing of *tasks* between the *Joint* and *Benevolencija* workers, alongside their understanding – and eventually their clarification – of *occasions*. In the ethnography of the present book (a) tasks and occasions are emergent, (b) the understanding of encounters are asymmetric, and (c) changes as the exchange and communication between the *Joint* and *La Benevolencija* crosses a threshold of convergence on intentions (F. Barth) towards resonance (Wikan).

To get a chance to grasp the ethnographic detail of the dynamics of this change, the process of communicative interaction in the wider network, which we take into consideration in the present book, may fruitfully be understood in terms of the following foursquare set of contact-zones, in which the *Joint*'s and *La Benevolencija*'s perceptions were asymmetric, though the operations were collaborative: (1) a contact-zone concerned with *security* [the security of people in the logistics of transportation, in and out of Sarajevo]; (2) a contact-zone concerned with *services* [the development of services in the logistics of utilities inside Sarajevo]; (3) a contact-zone concerned with *trust* [trusting communication in the logistics of reporting]; (4) a contact-zone concerned with *connections* [logistics of «non-ware», setting aside from use, or »tithing«]. The more structured approach warranted by the use of contact-zones, allows us to bring together (a) the model-tier concerned – so far, intuitively – with processes of *communicative interaction*, and (b) the model-tier concerned with defining *services* at different levels of transaction; in (c) a generative analysis of *affordances* in disordered systems.

The reports and letters from BaCh's archives in Paris related essentially a documentation on needs inside Sarajevo, based on assessments of the developments inside the city from 1992 onwards – and on the use and distribution of resources received from the outside. The change in the procedures of reporting was the following [in the sample of documents presented to me]: while a number of messages and reports were written by *La Benevolencija* at first (early dates), the reports were predominantly written by the *Joint* in the end (later dates). This change points towards the commoditisation⁶ of trust achieved by *La Benevolencija* during the war – through an open radio channel devised for the exchange of services across the former Yugoslavian territory –

⁶ Appadurai, Arjun (1986): «Introduction», in *The Social Life of Things – Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

eventually allowing *La Benevolencija* to communicate with *the Joint* by oral messages and assessments of the needs inside the city. Under normal circumstances, *the Joint* would assume leadership and administrative control, in all four contact zones, when working with Jewish local or regional partnerships. In Sarajevo, however, *La Benevolencija* assumed the leadership in matters concerning (1) the security of transportation, (2) the development of services, (3) the commoditisation of trust [in time], as well as (4) the portfolio of contacts in Sarajevo that eventually came to include a network beyond the war-zone [the *Friends of La Benevolencija*].

Through this change, *La Benevolencija* increased its competence as an actor on the local scene and eventually became a distributor of a sizeable volume of relief also coming in from international non-Jewish sources. This change certainly does not belittle the role played by *the Joint* during the crisis: on the one hand, *the Joint* constituted a reliable logistic and administrative hub operating outside the war-zone – the operations outside were no less complex than inside, and the reports written by *the Joint* were key in the dissemination to the outside world of (a) the operations inside Sarajevo, and (b) the innovative ways of conducting this Jewish joint effort and what one might call (c) *the idea of Sarajevo* [i.e., the idea of living as Jews among non-Jews, based on a civic bond]. *The Joint* is the single most important Jewish outreach-organisation outside of Israel, and universally acclaimed in the Jewish world as a robust and trusted partner: judging by the relief that came in, the Jewish world believed in the idea of Sarajevo, the joint management model and the efficiency of the operations.

In sum, in the network model advanced in this book, proposes an ethnographic extension of the ‘strength of weak ties’-concept, developed by Granovetter in sociology (1973, 1983): i.e., an extension of the network of activities conveyed by the testimonials in *book 5*, to the analysis of the dynamics within and between these activities, and proceed from there to the generative analysis of the symbolic economy of the organisational process. This extension includes contact-zones (Pratt) as arenas of weak-tie *encounters*, which, in the ethnographic materials that interest us here, are typically asymmetric. Then we are not primarily interested in the asymmetry between Sarajevo and its *other* (epitomised by the war theatre *in situ* vs. its media coverage) but between *La Benevolencija* and the *Joint*. In its relation to *La Benevolencija*, the *Joint* is not the *other* but what I suggest calling a *near-me*: i.e., an

asymmetric partner in a proximal relationship. At the activist-level, the near-me does not have to participate in the chaos of value-creation and the frontline of service-providing, but it gets regular input from me (*La Benevolencija*): the near-me therefore can act as a ‘semiotic middleman’ – a sense-maker in the network – that interfaces me and the *other*. In the ethnography of the Sarajevo crisis, the *me*-position was held by the *activists* inside Sarajevo, while the actors in the other-position were mobilised in the external network of donors, outside of the war-zone: in its working-relationship with *La Benevolencija*, it is clear that the *Joint* was a *near-me*. But so was the network called *Friends of La Benevolencija* that burgeoned from *La Benevolencija* inside Sarajevo (as an informal network recruiting from ECJC members – fig. 15).

Granovetter’s (*ibid.*) point is that the *acquaintances* of friends – rather than friends directly – afford opportunities of economic consequence: in the ethnographic extension proposed here, the *near-*

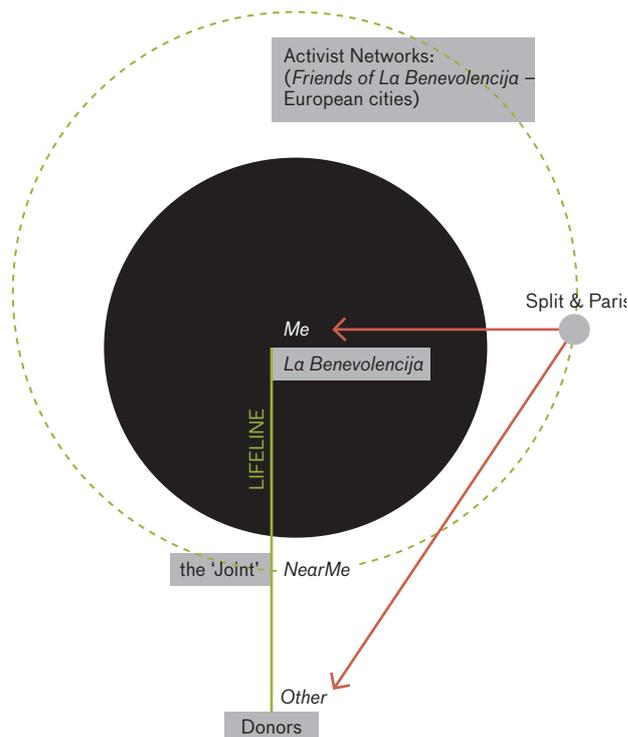


fig. 15 – *The Joint/La Benevolencija Lifeline* as the humanitarian effort developed into a system of loosely coupled services and its hinterland, in and outside the war-zone, evolved into a ‘weak tie’ (Granovetter) network: cf., the system of loosely coupled HOLDING PATTERNS, featuring the dependencies and dynamic relationship between non-same elements, in the graphs accompanying the *crossover* cases below.

me-nodes act as a two-way *interface* – the content of the *near-me*'s sign-production has impacts not only an *other* but also impacts *me*: (a) the external viewpoints certainly affected the activists on the inside of the war-zone, but also (b) there are events that are internal to the experiences of the activists – given in testimonial form in *book 5* – which, depending on external responses and pressures, are revealed *in time* (to others and to themselves). For this reason, the *near-me* can act at the frontline of sense-making, without being at the frontline of the actions inside the war-zone. The importance of such a semiotic frontline increases, to the same extent as the *near-me* also is a resource-provider: the Joint was a dominant resource-provider, while the *Friends* less important in volume (though, they were quite responsive and flexible in their responses from an early stage).

For the *near-me* to play this role in the long run – as was the case during the *Joint/La Benevolencija* partnership – the security, service, trust and connectivity of the *operations* must be reasonably robust. Accordingly, the operations may be represented, or actually translated, into *transactions* in the foursquare variety of contact-zones defined above. In this way, the partnership can be described with the use of the same analytical terms, even as the relative weight of frontline-engagement – with regard to sense-making in operations – *changes* between the two partners. The description of the communicative interaction and the exchange-process dimensions of a single dynamic system, has a number of crucial implications for the methodological issues discussed here: (1) the evacuation of facts is generated by the interplay of transactions in different contact zones; (2) the use of oral testimonies to deconstruct the archives of written reports, yields an ethnographic readability of the global operations that were part of the war-effort, which is not available from either of the two sources alone (*i.e.*, a yield of ethnographic data).

In essence, this means that if we consider *me* and *near-me* as a complex system, subject to internal changes, then (1) the repository – or, «stock» – of services and *experiences* is managed by *me*, while (2) *near-me* manages the repository – or, «warehouse» – of *facts* and relief. The point of not only looking at the dynamic system in terms of (1) the logistic arrangement of its *economic* organisation, but also in terms of (2) the communicative organisation of its *cognitive* dynamics, is to address the problem of inalienability of the activists' war-experiences from *place* [to which they become linked by the events of crisis⁷] by

⁷ Cf., Testimonial of the President of the Sarajevo JCC, *book 5*.

studying the evolution in the proxemics (Hall, 1966) of the me/near-me relationship: *i.e.*, between (a) the me that holds the experience and the competence, which present themselves as inalienable from the body of the holder, and from the place of crisis where they were formed; and (b) the near-me that holds the facts and representations that are subject to remote circulation and representation, and are readily shared with a larger, if not universal, audience. Bringing to awareness the evolution in the proxemics between me (holding the *experience*), near-me (holding the *facts*) and their movements (holding the centre) deconstructs the inalienability of experience from body and place, and brings the *remembrance* of Sarajevo along side the *events* that *took place* there to a broader audience.

The following exhibit, features the elements of the deconstructive approach outlined above, and their internal relationships. It reads in the following way: facts are artefacts in which the compound of events and their remembrance is constructed. Facts can claim sovereignty – or, at least hegemony – over human experience. The deconstructive approach is to reverse this hierarchy, and thereby hinge the facts that map human activities to the reality of the human experience from which these facts depart. This is not a revolutionary take, but represents an intervention to span the affordance of the empirical materials from Sarajevo and Paris, to get the experiences conveyed in the testimonies (*book 5*), out of the war-ghetto, and explore the contact points-between the facts from the Paris-archive and the symbolic economy of *La Benevolencija* in Sarajevo, and thereby leave the level of inquiry confined to literacy practices and information policies (in *book 1* and *book 2*), move beyond the assessment of boundary spanning and core knowledge, as two dimensions of symbolic economies, to a properly generative – and autonomous – understanding of such economies.

The objective of the ethnography of the *Joint/La Benevolencija* Lifeline is therefore to compare how (a) the transactions in our foursquare contact-zones generate forms of *voluntary association* among the activists under conditions of extreme pressure, and to show the way (b) *human beings* and *artefacts*, in logistics and communication, also are subject to voluntary association in ways that expanded the humanitarian network of activists and relief, *both* inside and outside of Sarajevo.

The joining of efforts in contact zones is a symbolic process⁸ that brings out the creative potential of voluntary association: indeed,

⁸ In its etymology the concept of 'symbol' springs from the idea of joining [*siimbalein*] two matching shards (which in antiquity were used as signs of recognition in hereditary relations of hospitality, over large distances in the Mediterranean region). In brief, *symbolic* is here intended in the sense of actors matching shards of heterogeneous practices.

operating as a network is a creative choice, because what appears to exhaustively described in terms of asymmetry in human interaction – owing to the claims on ‘relations’ among humans, and the claims on ‘exchange’ at the level artefacts – thereby can be reversed: in networks, humans are nodes of exchange while artefacts are communicative links. In networks, the ties are weaker than in groups of familiars, and tighter than among the anonymous masses: therefore, networks, in this definition, represents a social compromise – or, the ‘third way’ of the civic attitude – for which groups of people may opt under particular circumstances (including the asymmetrical conditions characterising contact zones).

It is impossible to ascribe this creativity entirely to endemic processes inside the war-zone (me), or, alternatively, hold it to be determined by the environment (other): when passing from other to near-me, the European network of *Friends* crossed what I would like to call the *civic boundary* (cf., F. Barth, 1969, 1989). The asymmetry of the relationship does not cease – in conventional parlance – yet, by opting for the network mode of organisation, operations become collaborative. They are freed from the burden of letting their differences rule. In response to war, networks can operate defence tactics.

When speaking of citizenship in this way, it is not *virtual* citizenship (as conveyed by rights and duties) which is our concern, but *actual* citizenship: *i.e.*, moving beyond spectatorship (Debord, 1971) and integrate the perception of the *other* into the field, or province, of action, thereby bringing up the relevance of a phenomenology of belonging. The humanitarian activists of *La Benevolencija* cultivated this practical sense of belonging, from inside Sarajevo.

And thereby we understand that the relationship between me and near-me is not a privileged and frozen relationship, but a positional and dynamic one: the activists of *La Benevolencija* were the *near-me*’s of many categories of people *inside* Sarajevo. They made an existential choice: the war on Sarajevo was not *their* war. In this sense, the relief work is better understood as the activities of people in a network, in which the bonds to the war are abandoned, that in a manner of fashion organised the effort without anyone actively organising it. Anyone with (a) the skills and (b) the mind-set to effectively *wage war* on the *war* could work for *La Benevolencija*. In other words, *La Benevolencija* had a model: this model is different from the simple and reflective ones previously assessed, and is generative in a sense that will be demonstrated in this

book. The humanitarian effort had a participatory and interactive rather institutional style of leadership: the model of search and accountability was a working-model used by the activists in all of their operations, while the leadership worked as a coordinator and facilitator, linking up the activities with possibilities and opportunities.

In the wider scope, civic networks are informed by the idea of wanting to live together (Schnapper, 1998), but the dynamics of recruitment are focused on the desire of being a *political other* to fellow human beings, as well as on the perception that the willingness to be accessible and available to others – in this sense – is a ferment of change: it is creative. This creativity, however, is not moved by a revolutionary impulse. The ferment of change is manifested in the nurturing of *affordances*: the emergent reality of possibilities, of what lies within reach of human activities, that previously appeared as unrealistic or impossible. This was the attraction of Sarajevo to intellectuals as Suzan Sontag, Bernard-Henri Lévy, or the little crowd supporting the Sarajevo List – initiated by Lévy in 1994 – for the European Parliament elections⁹. They subscribed to the *idea of Sarajevo*.

To the members of Jewish community of Sarajevo it was an important message, to others as well as to themselves, that they subscribed to this idea *as Jews*: to my informants their Jewish identity was co-constitutive of their ability to partake of civic networks, and act as citizens. In this light, my vagrancy from war-experiences (of informants) to the order of facts (in archives) are hinged on the capacity of *enfolding* critical events, through acts of remembrance that allow their *unfolding*, when, under more peaceful conditions, new capabilities for living together can mature and hatch. For my Jewish informants there is a religious dimension in this process within and beyond the war – to which we will return in the Second Harvest – but not only: it is also political and civic.

At the most mean-and-lean level, the following analysis searches and tracks the transformation of *information* – in its stochastic definition – into *data* (i.e., *intentional signs* [Todorov, 1977]) as a generative process, related to (a) the constraints of war [the first harvest] and (b) the constraints of peace [the second harvest]. The objective is to show that the relative salience – and internal composition – of the *virtual* and the *actual* are different at war and peace, and thereby show how the exchange between acts and events – under different constraints – yield quite different dialogues between the imaginary and the real, between

⁹ The slogan of Bernard Henri-Lévy's campaign was: «Europe begins in Sarajevo!» The movement was dismissed by Régis Debray in the left journal *L'Express* (30.11.2000) as a flop and a revolutionary «oldie»: the nostalgia and spleen of a group of intellectuals grown to adulthood through a career of political protest. In this retrospective round-up, the debate landed on the 'role of the intellectual in crisis' track.

ideas and evidence of change. The world is a different place at war and at peace – to be sure – but how do we include this difference into our notions of who is a citizen, and our relationship to the other?

ENTER: THE WAR-ZONE

During the war in 1992-95, the extent and implications of the material and human damages in Sarajevo was not on the minds of the ca. 300.000 (JDC, 8 June, 1993) citizens who led a daily struggle to survive the shelling from the surrounding mountains. Neither were the unequal terms of survival among different substrata of citizens readily apparent. Such differences, as well as their implications, dawned on people after the end of the war, as the meandering path towards a viable economy and a decent life confronted them with tremendous tasks, even as their strength and resources were depleted. People who had stayed and not lost their flats still could see themselves as internal refugees: the physical and human landscape of Sarajevo had changed, and to a number of survivors it was no longer the same place.

As peace was in construction, so were the perceptions of the war and its facts. If the task of the ethnographer was to find out what *really* happened in the four years of belligerence – in the historicist sense of facts and events – the processing of testimonies in the ethnographic record, with the purview of reconstructing the facts of events, would have been the work of a Truth Commission. Sometimes the shirtsleeve explanations given by people either reflected current concerns and pragmatic alliances, while at other times they were quite robust and had the durability of facts. In Sarajevo the possibility of siding with the *city*, and its Oriental variant of European cosmopolitanism, existed only for the Jewish Community and for the individuals who chose to join them (*book 5*). Furthermore, this possibility presented itself only for the Jewish community in *Sarajevo*. In Mostar, the Jewish community was caught in the tension between two factions – Croats and Moslems. Whereas in Belgrade, Jewish relief could not be explicitly non-sectarian as the presence of non-Jewish refugees of various unclear denominations was largely unofficial.

In Sarajevo, the Jewish community could uphold the urban tradition of civility as an alternative to the factionalism of civilians belonging to the three ethnic-religious groups at war: Bosniac-Moslems, Croat-Catholics and Serb-Orthodox¹⁰. Yet, in the aftermath, the Jewish

Community was considered by the media as a resource in the process of reconstruction of the Bosnian capital, democratic institutions, business, and was at the same time a subject of «scapegoating» for not having worked greater miracles with its trans-national networks at an earlier stage¹¹: these grappling encounters and clashes on facts, were political moments in the bridging of war-experiences with the facts of the emerging post-war order. The positive salience of the Jewish Community in public space made it an easy target for other people who had fared comparatively well or worse, during the war. However, the stability of relations with Bosnian Government authorities, which the Community sustained throughout the conflict, was a product of the *de facto* organisation of relief and development, taking place behind the scenes of public discourse. Thus, the media-settlements of scores between different ethnic-religious groups, making up the inventory of comparable moral assets, and «benchmarking» degrees of suffering and flaws in the post-war recapitulation, had a non-discursive match in the concrete relations of exchange and learning, from which the logistic organisation of the humanitarian effort in Sarajevo emerged.

LOGISTICS AND INFORMATION POLICY

This logistic organisation, however, reached far beyond the confines of the city of Sarajevo, and was never a stronghold with a control of predictable resources, inside the urban confines. The Jewish mobility is the key to how this organisation could emerge. Though the JCC was free to evacuate all Jews, about 600 remained in Sarajevo during the war, to operate a passage in and out of the city: *i.e.*, the Joint/*La Benevolencija* Lifeline¹². And of the total amount of relief dispensed in Sarajevo from the Lifeline less than 10% was distributed to Jews¹³ – including refugees in Makarska, Split and Zagreb. To remain with the military terminology (Certeau, *ibid.*), however, the approach of *La Benevolencija* remained *tactical* in the sense of adopting procedures – and defining standards for these – which regularly led to new experiences and courses of action in the un-sheltered field of the urban war-zone. These were fed back into the repertoire of procedures by a system of reporting to the co-operating party *outside*: the JDC, or the *Joint*, mainly.

These reports did not have the function of distinguishing the Jewish collective identity in public discourse on Bosnia abroad, nor in the internal competition for prestige among Jewish relief organisations. Rather, they

¹⁰ The absorption of religion into the maelstrom of *ethnicity* was largely a product of the recent war events, but also – according to informants – a part of a longer history of aligning ethnic identity and religious confession. Thus, there had been a long-standing erosion of the civil potential of religion. In Bosnia, however – more than anywhere else in the Federation of Yugoslavia – this potential had been warranted by the existence of Moslem Croats, Catholic Serbs, Orthodox Bosniacs, etc. The rigorous alignment of confessional affiliation and ethnic identity, however, was a military construction which in the early days of the recent war, created confusion among the citizens rather than animosity (Colic, 1994).

¹¹ A Bosnian Serb poet published a poem, which was pointed out as anti-Semitic (a charge which the poet denied), in one of Sarajevo's main newspapers (*book 5*). The poem's narrator is speaking from the Bosniac Moslem point of view, and complains that not enough Jews were killed in the recent war in Bosnia. Had more Jews been killed early on, the poem states, the West would have been more likely to have intervened and stopped the bloodshed. But the Jews were taken out of danger and returned when they are no longer useful. The subsequent charges and counter-charges of anti-Semitism resulted in the publication of one article after the other in the local press, and each time with a new version of the poem reprinted. This type of warped grasp on reality is not that uncommon: a mix of respect, fear and hatred for an imputed Jewish strength. In the post-war context of former Yugoslavia the Jews are left exposed as a sensitive group who live on all sides and whose

loyalties are being questioned everywhere.

¹² In the Paris documents the lifeline denomination is the one most frequently used. Occasionally the term 'lifeline' is substituted with 'pipeline'.

¹³ BaCh, personal communication.

¹⁴ Place of the *other* in national statistics. 'Are you in favour of a sovereign and independent BiH [Bosnia and Hercegovina], a state of equal citizens and nations of Moslems, Serbs, Croats and others who live in it?' (*book 5*)

became part of instrumental effectiveness of the distribution, for which *La Benevolencija* had assumed the responsibility. At the same time, the pattern of distribution in the city took on some communicative features: the fact of its non-sectarian pattern, and the replication of this profile within the confines of the Jewish Community premises, made the non-sectarian humanitarian effort, under the circumstances, the Jewish thing to do. In the landslide of ethnic-religious *othering* that took place in Sarajevo, the Jews on their side represented the *other* of this schismatic collective process, and sometimes an alternative to it. In this sense, the compound information policy of the *Joint/La Benevolencija* Lifeline was not directed towards publicising the good deeds of external benefactors, but was thoroughly integrated as an aspect of the logistic system. And the conversion of international resources into arrangements for survival in Sarajevo constitutes a form of transaction, which was specific to the *Joint/La Benevolencija* Lifeline: *i.e.*, the transformation of aid with a monetary value in the outside world, into utilities of survival inside the war-zone.

After the war, the Jewish Community sought to pass on the wartime innovations of *La Benevolencija*, which had kept the idea of Sarajevo alive in the Jewish community, to the city of Sarajevo. It was prompted and asked to contribute in a number of reconstruction efforts: municipal welfare and health-services, rehabilitation, entrepreneurship of small businesses, building democratic institutions, etc. Separate considerations of this transition will be given in the closing section of this book (*Second Harvest*). However, it is important to note – from the outset – that although the Jewish Community enjoyed its acquiescence during the war, the activities of the Jewish community were outside the province of the *Bosnian Government*, or – rather – at its fringe. In Michel de Certeau's terminology (*op. cit.*: 37), the space of tactics is the space of the *other* – in Sarajevo: the Jewish Community took on itself the task of defending this space¹⁴. Which, in the context of the recent war, defined it as a resolutely civil party – in this sense, the Jewish Community and *La Benevolencija* was never neutral: it was partisan to the «League of Communities» as the idea of Sarajevo, and the organisation appeared to the outside world as the vessel of this idea.

On the other hand, the *contents* – documents of the report out-of-zone – enfolded into the instrumental effectiveness of the logistic organisation made no ideological claims for resistance and subaltern civil identity. Rather, it was a bounded, responsible and accountable relationship of trust learned by people inside and outside the war-

zone, working under extremely different conditions. Concomitantly, there were two regimes of information policy: (a) from the outside *previous-knowledge* was required to provide the humanitarian activists in Sarajevo with working-conditions [this was the basis for my access to BaCh's personal archives]; (b) from the inside the information policy of humanitarian activists who were waging «war against war» – as they could be captured by military personnel in the exercise of their vocations – was based on *need-to-know*. As a network affordance one could characterise the compound information policy as 'loosely coupled'. The process of accommodation between different positions in the network – internal and external – is one of step-by-step convergence (Barth) and resonance (Wikan): *in the time of process the nodes of a network are not fixed, but in movement, and as an operating procedure 'loose coupling' generates a formation – rather than a form – in which 'holding the centre', making up for incomplete knowledge at the individual level, is sufficient to insure efficiency in the dynamics of collective movement and features a sense of belonging in the activist group, as well as eventually among the wider group of users and donors.* Belonging reaches further than group identity.

It is therefore from the combination between (a) the claims to a subaltern civic belonging, through the pattern of *distribution* of non-sectarian relief, and (b) the enactment of convergence-criteria of accountability by integrating *reporting* – and in this sense holding the centre – into the logistic organisation, that a network emerged: *i.e.*, a network of consultation, co-operation and communication, with the parent-organisation in Sarajevo, emerged as a centre when it cloned sister-organisations in capitals all over Europe (*book 2*)¹⁵: *i.e.*, the network called the *Friends of La Benevolencija*. As we shall see, the emergence of such forms from the *push-and-pull* of the two policies is not simple, but it may nevertheless be analysed in detail. Need-to-know is a policy of sifting information to protect people from causing damage to each other, while *previous-knowledge* is a policy of filling-in people on the pieces they miss when their partial knowledge can cause damage.

Such policies are heuristic, decentralised and civic in the sense that they do not address private individuals nor deal with public information. There are generations of this problematic down the way from security, services, trust and the personal connections, across contact zones: the constitutive *asymmetry* of contact zones can be 'compensated' by *loose*

¹⁵ In my record from BaCh's personal archive in Paris, it appears that the European Jewish Community leadership gathered as early as in November 1992, in the ECJC framework, to plan and co-ordinate their efforts. At this time donations were en route from the Jewish Communities of Helsinki, Stockholm, Bratislava, Brussels, Antwerp, Vienna and Sloniki. One year after the war broke out in 1992, a grass-root movement initiated by an Austrian filmmaker in Amsterdam, started the cloning of *La Benevolencija* in friendship organisations all over Europe. The point being that they organised their effort under the leadership of *La Benevolencija*, as members of the Sarajevo organisation with the ECJC as the co-ordinating nexus. The Dutch government joined in by matching the contributions of the *Friends* (of *La Benevolencija*).

coupling. This is a form of deconstruction – because the asymmetry ceases to be frontal and is disseminated into the entire system – while at the same time a form of ordering: resonance in a flock can emerge from simple tactics among its constituent individuals. The gains of being different, of devoting oneself to a particular activity, are immediate: your family is taken care of and you build a fund of what might be called, from lack of a better word, ‘civic capital’.

Sarajevo was the centre of a number of European left-liberal intellectuals, and the Sarajevo List worked to move the international attention – e.g., the Council of Europe – towards the real situation in the city and its symbolic importance to European identity and heritage. The element of political contestation in this cultural demonstration of high-level European ideals was quite clear, and representative of the Bosnian sentiment during the war, transforming the Jewish Community of Sarajevo into a locus of creative tension between: (a) the liberal left activism for a cosmopolitan and multi-cultural city; (b) the universal Jewish injunction to help other Jews in need. On the one hand Sarajevo became a place of activist pilgrimage – harking back to the Spanish Civil War – for intellectuals¹⁶. On the other hand, a number of Jews in the city did not wish to be rescued out of Sarajevo, and in fact refused to leave.

¹⁶ The climax of this support for Sarajevo and Sarajevans, according to local accounts, was when Samuel Becket's *En attendant Godot* was directed by Suzan Sontag. Setting up this play was widely approved among Sarajevans as an act of someone who stayed in Sarajevo to something for and with Sarajevans.

CROSSOVERS

The crossovers between (a) logistic operations and (b) communicative interaction in the variety of contact zones of the *Joint/La Benevolencija* Lifeline, constitute the subject matter of the following cases. By accounting for relief in gross units of weight – i.e., in *tons* of relief – a language was invented by the *Joint* to communicate with donors, and goad them to think in *logistic terms*: i.e., donations in kind from all over Europe and of a *truck* from (Jewish/non-Jewish) donors in Europe and the USA in 1994. The central *foci* of relief – such as the ‘soup kitchen’ and the ‘pharmacies’ of *La Benevolencija* – were included into the accounts by *numbers* of meals and prescriptions, whereby the finer grain of quality-standards and composition of what was needed at all times, summoned a division of labour among the European sister-organisations: requiring a co-ordination across vast territories, as well as national and cultural boundaries, developing operative networks and infusing the contributors with a sense of partaking of a subaltern

European identity – vested by maintaining the unity of civility and logistics – as it succeeded¹⁷.

1st Crossover: Beyt Haggadah

«As the situation in Sarajevo continued to worsen, negotiations were initiated with all parties to devise a land route and safe passages for a series of bus convoys to continue the rescue effort. Between August and November 1992, six bus convoys carried 1,053 people from Sarajevo to Split through a long and tortuous road, passing 38 checkpoints in total.»

(Early report BaCh's personal archive)

The war between Serbia and Croatia was described by Country Director BaCh as a warm-up operation for the *Joint*: while BaCh was still in Vienna in 1991, the global responsibility of the *Joint* to rescue Jews wherever they are in danger, led him to make contacts with the American Embassy in Zagreb, concerning the possibility of evacuating Jews living in Osijek. As the organisation was getting the organisation of the evacuation on rails, it turned out, during consultations with the Jews of Osijek, that they did not want to be evacuated. When people don't want to be rescued, the *Joint* remains obligated to do what they ask. This is exactly what happened as BaCh had moved his unit to Paris, and the war broke out in Bosnia (1992). Here the *Joint*'s role gradually changed in emphasis from being an agent in rescue and relief, to become a partner in reconstruction and development after 1995.

Neither was the President of the Jewish Community of Sarajevo IvCz was not interested in coming out – though he was put under pressure – nor to prepare a refugee-transportation for Jews out of city, when the violence broke out April 6th 1992. The barricades were being erected between the Jewish Community premises inside the city and the airport¹⁸. Moreover, the relations between the Sarajevo President IvCz and the Croatian Jewish businessman JaBi (*book 3*) – who claimed to be able to remove impediments and get around obstructions – were so bad that no co-operation would come about at this point: President IvCz strongly asserted that Mr. JaBi did not know what he was talking about. In the end, everything was left with President IvCz. He phoned the day after to ask on behalf of his community to get some people out immediately. With the co-operation of the President BraPop in the

¹⁷ These developments bring to mind Arcadius Kahan's notion of 'internal migration' (1983) according to which the mobility of capitals, human beings, goods or ideas from more developed to less developed areas, contributes to market-building (in the present case it contributed to the logistics of relief).

¹⁸ Throughout the war there were grey zones between military and civil personnel, and internal barricades erected by criminal organisations and 'private armies' such as Juka's (first a 'Moslem', then a 'Croat'), erecting barricades within the confines of the city. Which created trouble for *La Benevolencija* in its transports. The general situation was that the convoys needed personnel with local acquaintances among the warring parties since each battle arena tended to be self-contained (the *Joint*, 15 February 1993).

Belgrade Jewish Community, the three managed to sort out internal differences enough to organise an airlift, with three planes chartered from the Yugoslavian air-force, and the evacuation took place on Friday April 17th, and all refugees were safe and sound for the *Seder* evening (Passover) and *Erev Shabbat*, the night to Saturday 18th. This refugee transport was called *Beyt Haggadah* (the House of the *Haggadah*); first by the refugees, and then by the Jewish leadership.

In the case of the *Beyt Haggadah* refugee-transport, the crossover resulted from a *value conversion*: while the ritual symbolism provided the participants in the rescue operation – refugees and activists – with a cognitive *map*, the constraints and the consummation of the rescue operation lent *reality* to that map. This particular type of transaction in which (1) the voluntary nature of association between human beings and artefacts (in ritual) and (2) the forceful events in hour of truth, are subject to (X) an exchange, generating an affordance for the social actors – partaking of the transaction in different capacities – allowing them to relate productively in that situation.

The vagrancy inherent in metaphors, and the uniqueness of the itinerary that constitutes their signature, accounts for the variation and complexity in the bulk of *crossover*-cases, which all follow this basic pattern: actions that successfully enter into an exchange with events and their traces, rather than being forced or passively constrained by events, generate affordances that are experienced by actors, encourage them in relating productively in a situation that would otherwise be a dead-end. The symbolic language and real vessels (airlift), at some point, becomes exchanged for real language and symbolic vessels (ritual upon arrival).

Hence, the *crossover* – *i.e.*, the generative process of a metaphor in becoming – has an *instrumental* component and an *interactive* component: a) instrumental operations apply to *events*, whereby they produce *signals* [*i.e.*, contents], whereas b) communicative interaction [*i.e.*, containers] spans *traces*, and thereby produce *verification*. This is how action, in relation to events and the traces ascribed to them, can a) produce signals through instrumental operations, and b) produce verification through communicative interaction, whereby X) action can be transformed into an experience in the cogenerative aggregate of a) the signals produced by a designed operation [airlift] and b) the verification produced by the interaction design [ritual]. The short-term *implications* of operations and the long-term *intentions* of interactions, are negotiated and integrated in the *details* of the experience [*beyt*

Haggadah, cf., testimonies book 5]. This, in turn, is why details are crucial elements in testimonies: in the intermittence of the testimonial experience, details are the *vessels of truth* – they somehow convey the afterlife that connects the words of the testimony and the body of the witness (book 5). Clearly, traces are *contingently* connected to events, and events and traces are made to correspond by the synergy of operations and interactions. And this is why, when they come to pass, that the detail that connects them, indeed, is truly unique. Evidently, such details do their job because they function as holistic *reductions*.

Generally, the Jewish norm that ritual should be performed in such a way that it is always close to reality – *i.e.*, to have an actuality – is a *literacy practice* [book 1] that anticipates and postpones the access to vital information, and keeps the practitioners warm while remaining stand-by. The logistics of bringing aid into Sarajevo from the outside (moving outside in) followed much the same two-tiered protocol, as the one defined above, but was rather busied with the management of *information policies*, focused on *previous-knowledge* and *need-to-know* tactics in the management of security, services, trust and connections. The transactions of the refugee transport – moving inside out – reflected these concerns: (a) the creation of ‘new Jews’ for the purposes of transportation [cf., the Chemist, book 5]; (b) the confirmation of ‘all Jews’ for the occasions of the *Seder* ritual. The metaphor in becoming is generated by the process of an exchange: while the refugee-transportation produced twists and turns in the preparatory phase, the *Seder* ritual enfolded the refugee-transport. The HOLDING PATTERN – which is the double metonym explained in book 4 – therefore is a the compound in which a metaphor may/not occur (depending on the success of the operations).

As part of the humanitarian action, the performance of the ritual turned out to be effective: it was very difficult for Jewish organisations elsewhere to overlook the strength of this weak tie. Yet, it constitutes a relatively simple and concrete example of how *ritual contents* melted into the logistic organisation of the humanitarian operation, and, concomitantly, how the fact that the airlift included both Jews and non-Jews, was deflected from the attention of the warring parties. Some of the non-Jewish refugees converted to Judaism after this, from gratitude, the President of Belgrade Jewish Community told me¹⁹, and not for pragmatic reasons (since Israel was one of the places refugees from Bosnia were received in the aftermath, whether they were Jewish or not).

¹⁹ For instance people who claimed membership without such association – either during the war, or as returnees in the aftermath – would easily be perceived by activists as people who were simply seeking advantages, and had lower status, in spite of enjoying full membership.

²⁰ There was no national banking system in Bosnia, and the other banks simply pulled out: Ljubljanska Banka, Beogradska Banka, Zagrebacka Banka, Privredna Banka, Yugo Banka, Invest Banka, UPI Banka, Vojvodanska Banka, and the banks of big firms. The gold provisions were transported by the Serbs to Pále (Serbian capital stronghold during the war, close to Sarajevo). Personal communication by EdTo (headmistress, landlady & Carl Bildt's interpreter).

²⁰ Personal communication President of the Belgrade JCC BraPop.

²¹ Personal communication BraPop (President of the Belgrade JCC) in Oslo.

²² The definitions of semantics and semiotics used here are derived from Émile Benveniste's linguistics (1976): semiotics denotes coded language (like the language of bees), while semantics denotes the slow, laborious and uncoded development of *deep meaning* (distinctively human).

However, the evacuation had been a daring enterprise on account of the first-time experience, first-practice learning and personality differences.

After this first evacuation and when the Jewish Community in Zagreb had inaugurated its renovated premises in Palmoticeva Street, the *Joint/La Benevolencija* office was set up in a room at the top floor²⁰ (*book 3*), and was functioning from that point on. As already seen the two-way radio – and the communication between Zagreb and Split – constituted the technical standard solution which, in the eyes of humanitarian aid organisations outside of Sarajevo, encoded the efficiency of the Split-Sarajevo connection, for the transportation of relief-supplies into the war zone: despite the fact that there were 38 roadblocks between Sarajevo and Split, and by far fewer between Sarajevo to Belgrade²¹. According to the JDC report, 1500 Jews were evacuated in the course of 1992 – 900 to Belgrade, the remainder to Croatia and Slovenia. An equal number of non-Jews came out in these transportations.

The *Haggadah* remained the symbol of *La Benevolencija*'s work in Sarajevo, and was subject to another type of synergetic correspondence than those previously considered: the coupling of *two* two-tiered terms – (I) (inside/out): (1) (a) the *Haggadah* and (b) the Jewish Community as a provider of refuge for all categories of people in need [semantic labour²²], (II) (outside/in): (2) (a) declarations from international organisations and military presence in Sarajevo in support of *La Benevolencija*'s competency and adequacy as a distributor [holistic construct], and (b) the specifications which *La Benevolencija*'s health team then could issue to the World Health Organisation (WHO) [semiotic encoding, *cf.*, Eco, 1976] – with the subsequent change of standards of medical supplies and equipment, which turned out to significantly improve the efficiency of a very small staff (*book 5*).

The two-tiered model of *symbolic economy*, or the value creation, managed from the Sarajevo JCC on the banks of the Milatska River, almost functioned as a «factory» of loosely coupled *crossovers*, that subverted the war-zone, and created a potential of responsiveness to humanitarian initiatives coming in from the outside. The *war-zone*, imposed by the Serbian Chetniks, never became a closed system, on account of these and similar initiatives in Sarajevo: the siege became disturbed, as it were, by *peace*. In the present case, a view of (1) Jewish *ethos* is advanced through the assertion of the practical pertinence (Prieto, 1975) of the *Seder* ritual symbolism. It is combined with (2) the official recognition of *La Benevolencija*'s competency and pioneering

capacity, in the domains of pharmaceutical distribution and health care, as an activist organisation for general civil rights.

From the point of view of Jewish organisations, the general recognition of skills and knowledge in the second assertion (2), is decisive to validate/reject the first assertion (1) – although the comprehension of that point requires a Jewish cultural background (*book 4*), or familiarity with Jewish culture. This is not only tributary of the fact that values converted in a crisis-area may circulate, but also of *the possibility* to share into the experience of the logistic organisation: whether it be comparatively small and innovative (*e.g.*, *La Bene*), Jewish communities scattered over the European continent (*e.g.*, the *Friends*), or larger and more experienced American organisations (*e.g.*, the *Joint*): in the language of the *Joint*'s reports, the ideal of being «... an oasis of civilisation, in a sea of barbarism». Following differently vectored couplings – (a) from information to allocation [inside/out]; (b) from allocation to information [outside/in] – demonstrates how the activities of *La Benevolencija* generated an heterogeneous structure of relief into the *war-zone*: featuring (a) as Jewish *ethos*; (b) as civility.

Before coming out for consultations in September – together with the President of the Jewish Community IvCz – the President of *La Benevolencija* JaFi also became the president of a fledgling inter- (ethno-) religious aid-coalition comprising the Serb-Orthodox (*Dobro Tvor*), the Croat-Catholic (*Caritas*) and the Bosniac-Moslem (*Merhamet*). The emerging perception among Jewish organisations at large was that Jews can survive only where there is multi-ethnic tolerance, in the case of Sarajevo, featuring in the concreteness of immediate responses. Thus, the *phase shift* in the *Joint/La Benevolencija* Lifeline approach: getting relief in, rather than simply getting Jews out (JDC, 12 March 1993):

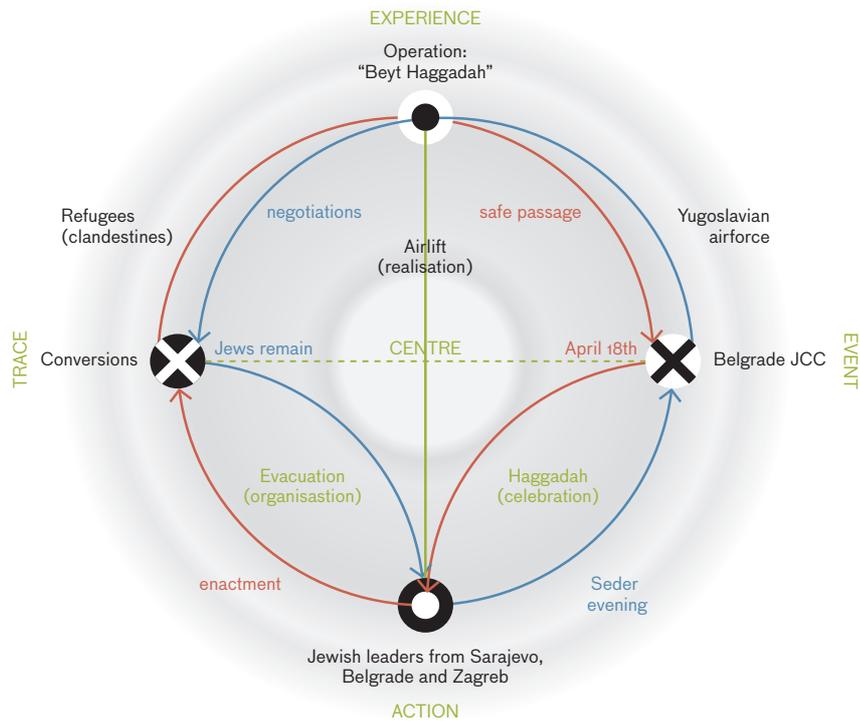
«CBF stepped up its shipments and other Jewish communities began to respond to our appeal. From Helsinki, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Brussels, Bratislava, Vienna, Geneva, Milan, Livorno, Rome and Athens... European Jewry sent funds and supplies for non-sectarian distribution to the JDC-La Benevolencija Lifeline. other relief organizations found that one could trust the blue menorah symbol of La Benevolencija: UNICEF, Merhamet, and even the French Government (...) gave us supplies to send in.»

The graph (*fig. 16*, next page) features the nodes and links of the operation «Beyt Haggadah» that put the presence of the humanitarian activists of *La Benevolencija* on the map of international aid

organisations: *La Benevolencija* got positive attention as a proactive and resourceful local organisation that managed to involve the Yugoslavian air-force in a refugee transport with many non-Jewish clandestines.

The graph can be read along two dimensions: (I) textural dimension: a *holding pattern* of two-tiered elements interlinked by relations around a centre [in relation to which all elements are equal]; (II) gestural dimension: as a *process graph* featuring the symbolic economy of the humanitarian effort, which is divided three sectors (1) (a) the first metonymic sector [lower right], (b) the second metonymic sector [lower left] both in the lower *action* area (experimental activist area), and (2) the top sector features a metaphoric layer that joins the two former, in the *experience* area. The green central link, or coupling, at once symbolises and instantiates the compound [which is why it goes from being actively experimental to actively experiential; the compound being a reductive whole].

fig. 16 – 1st crossover: the figure establishes a set dynamic relations, or a HOLDING PATTERN of dependencies, between non-same elements that are engaged by communicative and exchange engaged in the Beyt Haggadah operation (Lys Graph)



2nd Crossover: Pharmacy and Home-Care

The first pharmacy operated by *La Benevolencija* quickly came to serve between 1000-1500 people per day, within the first year of the war. Warehouse arrangements were made, where medicines could be classified according to their use and expiry dates. The inventory was kept by the computer-centre at the Jewish Community. First-aid stations were alerted, in order to allow patients to be equipped with the obligatory prescriptions. Qualified pharmacists were working in direct contact with patients, assistants with the packing of medicines only. 1993 became the year when the building of a platform for an innovative medical service was initiated, by the establishment of two new pharmacies meeting about 50% of the needs of Sarajevo for medicines (*La Benevolencija*, Annual Report, 1993), in 1994 the city pharmacies started to operate more normally and *La Benevolencija* went down to operating two pharmacies with a 10-person staff. A board-member of *La Benevolencija* (*book 5*, the Chemist) delivered a report from the health service of which he was in charge, including a communiqué from the High Officer of the UNPROFOR, certifying that he... «is a member of the Board of Directors of ‘La Benevolencija’ and is responsible for the procurement and distribution of medicines for this organization in Sarajevo. (...) ‘La Benevolencija’ according to UNPROFOR and UNHCR personnel, has the reputation of being the best and most honest of all of the humanitarian organizations in Sarajevo.»

At this point the UNHCR was opening its air-transport to humanitarian aid of all origins, provided the reception was cleared in Sarajevo. Furthermore, it also declared, contrary to earlier practice, that the distribution of such aid inside Sarajevo needed no longer to be conducted through the UNHCR network. After the health-service had been specifically ranked for the quality of its logistic organisation by the UNPROFOR, the Head of Division of *La Benevolencija* addressed the standard of the health-kits coming in (*book 5*), and the inventory of specifications worked out by *La Benevolencija* eventually became the WHO standard in Sarajevo. In 1992, the city of Sarajevo had asked *La Benevolencija* to open an outpatient clinic, financed by public funds. The experience of this type of hospitalisation – based on daily home-calls by doctors and nurses²³, rather than dangerous transportation of patients – was a background for the draft proposal of new standards, which made a significant difference to the quality of services and efficiency of the logistics²⁴. A commitment to this work rather than the

²³ In 1993, the first-aid station *La Benevolencija* carried out 2.680 medical checkups, 870 house calls and 248 cases of hospitalisation at home (*i.e.*, 10-15 days). By 1994 there were four doctors and five nurses.

²⁴ In the Annual Report of *La Benevolencija* for 1994, it is written that: «The main objective was to achieve the optimal co-ordination of all the segments of the organization, to raise the quality of services up to the highest professional level, and to optimise the efforts of all the segments of the organisation.»

²⁵ Here the term 'existential' is used in the sense of acting in the line of implication of previous actions, rather than in conformity with preexisting sociocultural norms, responding to a breakdown in the normal social, political, and cultural framework.

²⁶ There was very little turnover in this staff of 60, in the entire war-period

Jewish denomination of the organisation testifies to the proliferation of the tactic of utility-conversion among humanitarian activists, in the reception and transmission of relief, and the assumption of the war as an existential condition²⁵ of *La Benevolencija*'s total staff of 60²⁶, less than half of whom were Jewish (JDC - 15 February, 1993):

«A Serbian woman who volunteered a few months ago to help our Community, Mrs. P. is on her way to Belgrade to take her 11 year old daughter now staying with her sick mother to Prague, leave the girl there with associates and then return to Sarajevo and the *La Benevolencija* pharmacy. This level of commitment to a city and an ethos they all love is not atypical.»

On the other hand, the *Joint/La Benevolencija Lifeline* became a recognised player in the humanitarian logistics, for a number of international religious or nondenominational Jewish organisations, other NGOs and international organisations. Consequently, the organisation and its activists worked at the nexus *between* (1) the macro-communication at the trans-national level, which was part of the logistic organisation in that it handled transportation arrangements for supplies of diverse origins into Sarajevo, and (2) the micro-distribution among the conglomerate of organisations inside Sarajevo. These two levels are distinct, since the agreements with the trans-national party never corresponded to the mere delivery of the negotiated cargo to the local branch of the same organisation in Sarajevo. In other words, there was an element of what could be called 'humanitarian arbitrage' operated at this nexus by *La Benevolencija*. Agreements on distribution inside of Sarajevo, depended on *de facto* capacities of distribution – since, in this regard, each relief organisation is accountable to the donors – and, concomitantly, the negotiation of non-sectarian forms of distribution: the aggregate result being that the JDC could report to be one of the largest suppliers of humanitarian aid, outside governments, to Sarajevo. Thus, in order to be adequately understood, the activities of *La Benevolencija* inside Sarajevo – *i.e.*, the activities of its own relief work – has to be properly situated at the interstice between the above macro- and micro- processes, which is reflected by the organisation's own internal structure (*La Benevolencija* Annual Report 1994, BaCh's archive):

«The first... 'objective' ... was to present ourselves to the local public as an organization that does not forget about our cultural heritage, in

spite of the difficult circumstances that the city and the entire society live in. The second objective was to connect, as successfully as possible, many new 'La Benevolencija' organizations in many European countries into a consistent network of organizations that know what to do, how and when to do it in order to help the parent-organization and its activities with providing aid to Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina.»

The specification of the contents and standards of the Sarajevo health-kit (later adopted as the standard of the WHO) and the arbitrage with humanitarian aid coming in, represent two interesting aspects of the differently permeable boundary into and out from Sarajevo, discussed in the previous section: on the one hand, *La Benevolencija* is assumed to be able to carry out the arbitrage of humanitarian aid coming into Sarajevo *because* it is Jewish (and therefore had no part in the war); on the other hand, the health-care activity that was initiated from a Jewish ethical framework (*book 5*, the Chemist), gave rise to a generally accepted standard for First-Aid equipment. These reversals of prevailing expectations, delineated in the previous section, are characteristic of a situation in which *marginality* is a resource: a fact of which the Jewish Community of Sarajevo and *La Benevolencija* were very much aware. Though the management of marginality in the Sarajevo JCC was quite different from the Zagreb JCC (*book 3*), it was still a source of vulnerability – when society remembers in big letters, then how will it remember its Jews?

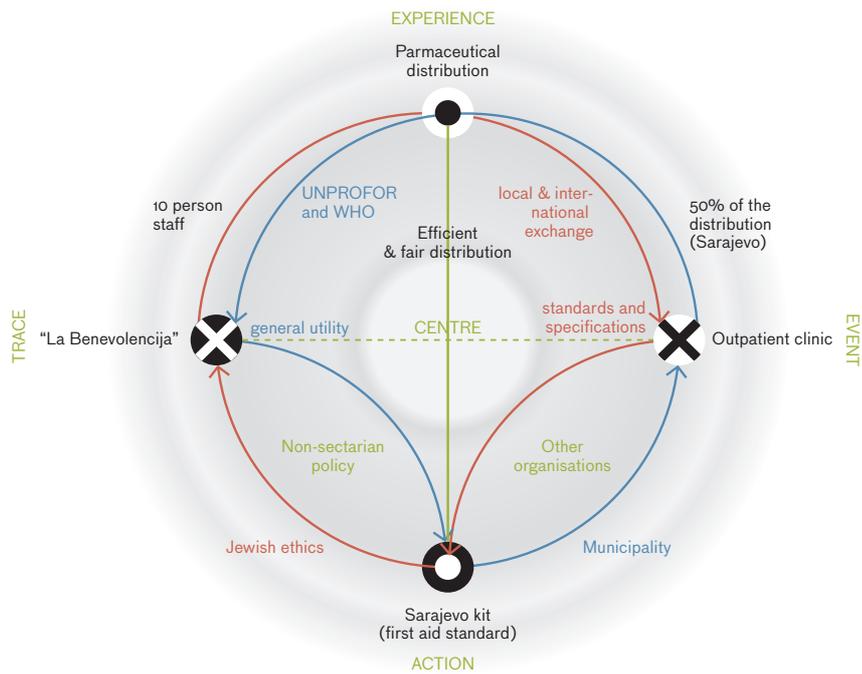
The above graph (*fig. 17*) features the nodes and links of the operation «pharmaceutical distribution» that brought the competence and capability of the *La Benevolencija* activists and the organisation to the attention of international organisations: *La Benevolencija* got positive reactions as an efficient distributor that managed to operate on a non-sectarian basis while co-operating with other local organisations and the municipality of Sarajevo. The graph is read in the following way:

- (1) the (a) first metonym: the «Sarajevo kit» [content] unfolds *La Benevolencija*'s experiences in developing an outpatient service, at the request of the Municipality, where standards and specifications for health equipment were necessary to address the needs of patients, and to facilitate the co-operation with other local humanitarian organisations; is *transformed into* (b) the second metonym: the «Sarajevo kit» [container] enfolds the general utility

of *La Benevolencija*'s activities, its profile as a non-sectarian service provider, but also the basis for its exertion in Jewish ethics.

- (2) then (a) and (b) are featured by a metaphor – visualised in the top sector of the graph – which is the pharmaceutical distribution [dissemination]: a staff of 10 people covering, at its peak, 50% of the distribution in Sarajevo, which is noted in UNPROFOR and WHO reports, both of which co-operate with *La Benevolencija* (WHO on the development of the kit). The «Sarajevo kits» symbolise and spur the efficiency of the pharmaceutical distribution. In relation to each other the elements of the graph are (1) *asymmetric* and (2) *hierarchical*, while the system of dependencies featured by the nodes and links of the same graph are all (3) *equal* in relation to the centre. The graph features a *holistic reduction*.

fig. 17 – 2nd crossover. The figure establishes a set dynamic relations, or a holding pattern of dependencies, between non-same elements that are engaged by communicative interaction and exchange-feed taking place in the pharmaceutical operations. The graph shows the set of dependencies featuring what might be fruitfully understood as a holistic reduction: the reduction is holistic because it is disseminated into the entire systems (i.e., all the nodes and links), whereby a much wider and complex context is reflected (Lys Graph).



3rd Crossover: Benevolence and Remembrance

In the Post-Yugoslavian war, the Jews were not only the epitome of *historical victims* subject to universal identification among the warring parties – who declared: «Now we know how you must have felt!» (*i.e.*, referring to the *Shoah*) – but were also subject to a generic categorisation as the *other* by the non-Jewish activists, and among the Jews themselves, when the Jewish neighbour who had been *a victim* and now became the ‘benefactor’: *i.e.*, an interesting moral cliché. The Jews, who in prewar demography surveys invariably were subsumed into the category of *others* – on account of its size – acquired a positive load during the war for a number of citizens in Sarajevo who had no wish to be recruited into the struggle of opposing ethnic, national or religious groups through the rhetoric cultivating the purity of equivocal ethnic groups, in a Bosnian society where mixing had been a major policy in Bosnia during the entire Yugoslav period. To these people the *otherness* of Jews became a refuge. A passage from the *Pirkei Avot* was quoted in writing, and orally, almost as frequently by *Joint/La Benevolencija* activists as the introductory verse of the *Maggid* (book 4 - *Haggadah*), highlighting this odd encounter between non-nationalistic citizenship and the long history of Jews remaining amongst themselves, and staying apart (*Pirkei Avot*, Sayings of the Fathers, 1:14).

If I am not for myself, who [will be for me]?
If I am only for myself, what [am I]?
If not now [when]?

From this traditional point of view it was also quite legitimate for Jewish organisations and communities abroad to partake of the humanitarian effort, and its non-sectarian form, in Sarajevo. An article in the *Times Magazine* made the point, in the same traditionalist terms: «Family and home, the living and the dead, united a need that is as profound as the mourning in the *Yizkor*²⁷, when the dead are remembered. Then each man standing in the synagogue asks, »Lord, full of compassion« to grant ‘perfect rest’ to those ‘who were victims of the vilest atrocities in the countries under the Nazi domination...’ Like in former Yugoslavia (...) They will also exclaim passionately, ‘In their memory I offer charity and would do good,’ And that is precisely what the Jews of Sarajevo did during this recent war, adding

²⁷ Prayer recited during the *Yom Kippur* service, in Ashkenazic communities, during which it is a tradition that those who have both parents alive should leave the confines of the synagogue, for the duration of the prayer.

to the *Mitzvot* – the store of human goodness, which is at the root of all civilisation.»

However, the terms of definition of the Sarajevo Jews – who are *ethnic* Jews²⁸ – at the wartime exit is a different issue. As we shall see, this period is marked by a series of negotiations of the terms of remembrance: both with the citizens of Sarajevo and with the Jewish world. There are two general values, or concerns of general impact inside the Jewish Community, on which this negotiation was based: (1) the experiences related by my informants were, at the time of my fieldwork, as much part of 5757 years of Jewish history as the events from the same period in any Jewish community; (2) the achievements of Jews in leadership – *i.e.*, in the larger society – has a counterpart in the central role of learning in all Jewish communities.

These concerns began to emerge in reports in the year of 1995, which was at once the darkest year of the war in Sarajevo, but also the year when the war came to a close with the Dayton agreement. The acts of symbolic recognition had begun to tick in from the autumn of 1994 onwards²⁹, when President IvCz was decorated with the French *Légion d'Honneur* (Chevalier) by the French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, and these signs of international mobilisation nourished the hopes that the end of the war was in view. Such acts of recognition devolved in parallel with a series of questions on Jewish identity in the community, and what kind of Jewish community it would be in the future. An episode in the streets of Sarajevo illustrates this point.

I was accompanying a Jewish lady (SoEl) through the streets of Sarajevo. She commented repeatedly on her lapses of memory. We just came out of the Jewish Community building and she had forgotten a number of things, which she said she'd planned to take along as we were heading towards her apartment, at the other end of the city. She told me that she could plan on doing something, and then forgot about it five minutes later. The symptoms had come after the war, and she interpreted them as part of a post-traumatic stress situation along with an impairment of her eyesight. Upon entering her apartment SoEl told me not to take off my shoes – even though there was no warm water yet and cleaning still was strenuous: «this is not a Moslem home,» she explained³⁰.

SoEl belonged to a Sephardic family with long roots in Sarajevo, and had rare skills in traditional cuisine: while eating her sweetmeats we looked at a video from her daughter's wedding, who had married an

²⁸ Though the number of *Halakhic* Jews in Sarajevo was higher than in Zagreb, the Jewish Community shared the same situation of not having a Rabbi, and thereby not being defined as a Rabbinical estate.

²⁹ In 1995, *La Benevolencija* received the International League of Human Rights Ossietzky medal (Berlin), and the Carnegie Foundation's Wateler Prize (the Hague). The *Jewish Chronicle* declared *La Benevolencija* the newsmaker of the year (earlier awards to Steven Spielberg, Schindler's list, and the Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin).

³⁰ In a Jewish traditional household one takes off one's shoes only when the members of that household are mourning (during the mourning week *Shivvab*, after someone has passed on).

Ashkenazic Jew in the US. As one of the known activists throughout the war, she was worried about the future of the community: how many of the people who had come to the community in times of hardship, would remain Jewish in the aftermath? How would it be possible to live a Jewish life in Sarajevo with Jewish refugees coming back who were arrogant and did not share the war-experience? SoEl was currently sharing her time between the Jewish Community, and the SFOR. Somehow, she explained, the Jews of Sarajevo have been changed in their way of being Jewish, by the war and by the experiences acquired as activists. This did not happen as a result of external influence but rather an effect of expanding the range and scope of Jewish ideas and symbols in a war situation – rather than the opposite: something historically unique. The returning Jewish refugees lacked this experience. The graph in *fig. 18* features post-war status of Jewish citizens in Sarajevo in a dynamic model (*cf.*, reading instructions for previous graphs).

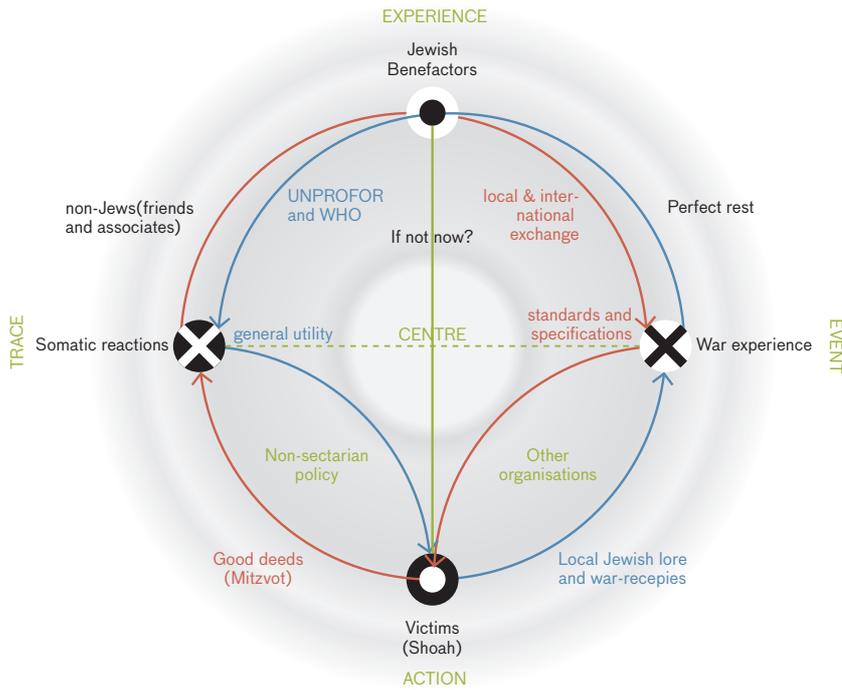


fig 18 – 3rd crossover. The figure establishes a set dynamic relations, or a HOLDING PATTERN of dependencies, between non-same elements that are engaged by communicative interaction and exchange-feed taking place among citizens (Lys Graph).

4th Crossover: Fairness in Distribution

«At a special meeting in Zagreb, Messr. C. and F. described the unique status of La Benevolencija to JDC President, Mrs. S.H.; CBF Executive, Mrs. C.M. ; and JDC staff members. They detailed just how and why the Jewish community was trusted by all sides and how other relief organisations actually felt safer having their aid come in under the sign of the Blue menorah³¹ than under their own name.»

³¹ The blue menorah is the emblem of the humanitarian organisation *La Benevolencija*. A menorah is a seven armed candelabrum, often used as a Jewish symbol at the same level as the David Star, the letter *Het-Yud* (*Hai*, Hebr. 'Life'). Worn on a necklace these are interchangeable signs of Jewishness. The menorah, however, is a widespread emblem of Jewish communities and associations and it is the oldest of these symbols (it is described in detail in the *Torah*, *Exod.* 25:31-38).

Although George Sáros himself was acknowledgedly Jewish, the Sáros Foundation in principle did not grant funds to Jewish projects (*book 1*), since – as such – the Foundation held that JCC's did not *specifically* contribute to the development of open society institutions in Central- and Eastern- European countries. However, the Sáros Foundation began funding special food shipments to Sarajevo for non-sectarian distribution. *La Benevolencija* was entrusted this distribution and all payments were made in advance by the Foundation: the food was distributed among the humanitarian organisations *Dobro Tvor* (Orthodox-Serb), *Caritas* (Catholic-Croat), and *Merhamet* (Muslim-Bosniac). This first round of gross distribution was supplemented with a second round of non-sectarian distribution: *La Benevolencija* set aside 25% from incoming food-supplies, to be distributed through its *soup kitchen*. In this way, the distribution of the remaining 75% among the local humanitarian organisations in Sarajevo, was extended by *La Benevolencija*'s own policy of non-sectarian distribution in the Jewish Community soup kitchen (*book 5*).

These arrangements feature a particularly striking instance of synergetic coupling between two flows – of goods and information – *inside* the city: the food was subject to non-sectarian distribution, as according to the agreement with the Sáros Foundation, and this non-sectarian distribution was emphasised twice by *La Benevolencija*, by virtue of being carried out twice, at two different levels of scale (*cf.*, two-tiered metonym in the first crossover): (1) the distribution among humanitarian *organisations* in Sarajevo [organisations]; (2) the distribution among *people* in Sarajevo [soup kitchen]. In other words, there was not only a general pattern of non-sectarian distribution established in the city at large, but in addition a specific *confirmation* of that pattern within the confines of the Jewish community. Setting aside 75% of the incoming foodstuffs off its own use, *La Benevolencija* marked its boundaries, and communicated that beyond its own turf there

were other organisations providing relief to the citizens of Sarajevo. It thereby recognised that there were humanitarian activities in Sarajevo *off* its own grounds. In this contact-zone, *La Benevolencija* managed its organisational connections through «tithing»: the organisation shifted from acting in the first person – and thereby appearing as a «solo player» – to become a near-me; that is, a player in the larger neighbourhood of players in Sarajevo. Without subscribing to these principles of fair-play, *La Benevolencija* would quickly have been perceived as a partisan organisation, according to my informants, and thereby drawn into the struggle.

La Benevolencija applied for funds to cover a regular shipment of three truckloads of food per month. At the same time it applied for funds to switch from coal to gas, and improve the capacity of the kitchen by installing suitable stoves. Again the manoeuvre was completed at one level, and confirmed at another: (a) reporting on the conscientious effectuation of the distributive task, and signalling the readiness of *La Benevolencija* to sustain the effort; (b) drawing on this experience to plan the improvement of *La Benevolencija*'s performance, and applying for resources to realise them. Here the capacity of the cook was encoded in the standard of stove considered as «suitable»: given the proper standard the cook could double his performance. This operation of coupling (a) the fairness of distribution and (b) optimal efficiency through standardisation, is striking in its simplicity. However, the iteration of its elementary procedures produced a variety results and solved problems in other areas than cooking, with *a priori* no obvious solutions (*cf.*, previous and following crossovers).

These allocations took place in the first months of the war, in 1992. The importance of these early events lies in the particular configuration that later would become a generic feature of the *Joint/La Benevolencija Lifeline*. Rather than being a technical device to ship goods and people in and out from Sarajevo, the *Lifeline* multiplied the logistic concept linking up people both inside and outside of the city: access remained the main problem throughout the war, on account of periodic embargoes, road-blocks and so on, which forced the logistic organisation – *La Benevolencija* and its partners – to develop multiple alternatives.

We need a non-linear model to explain how opposite flows – aid in, reports out – can be coupled to generate crossovers that acquire the character of a third *alternative*, as the emerging framework of an evolving and collusive compound: the sense of civil contestation as

³² This specification is of importance not only with regard to the sustenance of a truthful account of identities and relationships, and their internal development through this particular co-operation. The passage from a 'charitable' framework – and, concomitantly, a hierarchical relationship between donors and recipients – to a common identity in the civil contestation of war – in the current European framework – represents a *de facto* politicisation of the relief work.

³³ In September 1992 three drivers who worked for a major relief organisation, tried to get at destination in Sarajevo single-handedly. None of their trucks arrived at destination (*La Benevolencija*): one was confiscated, one had its supplies diverted, the third was stuck in Germany. The logistics of this organisation eventually rounded up in the JDC warehouses in Split.

shared framework of donors and recipients, between humanitarian activists and citizens³², toppled the initial hierarchy between donors and recipients and created the basis for a new type of provisional relationship, or alliance. *La Benevolencija*'s success in converting aid into relief inside the war-zone, was perceived from the outside as a *unique* competence, without which the external partners' commitments to Sarajevo could not be fulfilled. In effect, the Jewish ethic of helping Jews in need became extended to the general morality of civil action in Sarajevo, among Jewish humanitarian networks, way beyond Sarajevo. The tactical space of humanitarian operations inside the war-zone was structurally heterogeneous to the hegemonic representation of the Sarajevo as a war-theatre, and spread way beyond its boundaries. It had long-term implications for the relations of accountability between *La Benevolencija* and its patrons.

In 1993, *La Benevolencija* reports that the JDC and the CBF World Jewish Relief have joined in equal partnership in the organisation of aid to Sarajevo, and the Friends of *La Benevolencija* which were organised in large European cities – starting with Amsterdam – are committed by their relationship to the *parent*-organisation in Sarajevo. The procedure of the international organisations to delegate the management of distribution from Split onwards, into the Bosnian Hercegovinian territories, did not spring from the reality of local conditions from the very outset, but came about gradually through a period of trial and error, during which these organisations effectively learned, through experience, that *La Benevolencija*'s activists were the only people capable of securing that the transportation convoys, in and out of Sarajevo, effectively arrived at destination³³. In other words, in the contact zones – concerned with the security of personnel, shipment and distribution – the organisation of the effort in forms of mutual empowerment, came about in time. The learning-process laid out in the documents (BaCh-archive), furthermore, not only indicates such relations of mutual delegation, but also the gradual encoding of the capacities of each co-operating unit.

The international organisations had to abandon counterproductive strategies of marking their organisational boundaries (*e.g.*, refraining from branding the transportation and management of relief, inside the war-zone) in favour of routines optimising the knowledge and resources of the differently located units outside and inside of the war-zone. Competition was abandoned in favour of co-operation and fostering complementarity between asymmetric efforts: in the contact zones of

co-operation, the proxemics of exchange evolved both to reflect trust-relations in communication as well as in logistics. And the encoding of competencies occurred through the differentiation of capacities between the co-operating units, in areas which, by delegation on the ground, are precisely *not* subject to preconceived hierarchy or segmentation of organisational capabilities, but rather given to analysis on the ground: – *what is coming in and which people do we have available at the moment?* And then: – *what can we do?* In the following graph the features of the fairness-crossover are represented by a set of internal relations and dependencies, in which the soup-kitchen is the core metaphoric node (as according to a number of informant statements [book 5]).

The graph (fig. 19) should be read in the following way: the link between large scale transactions, like redistributing 75% of the incoming

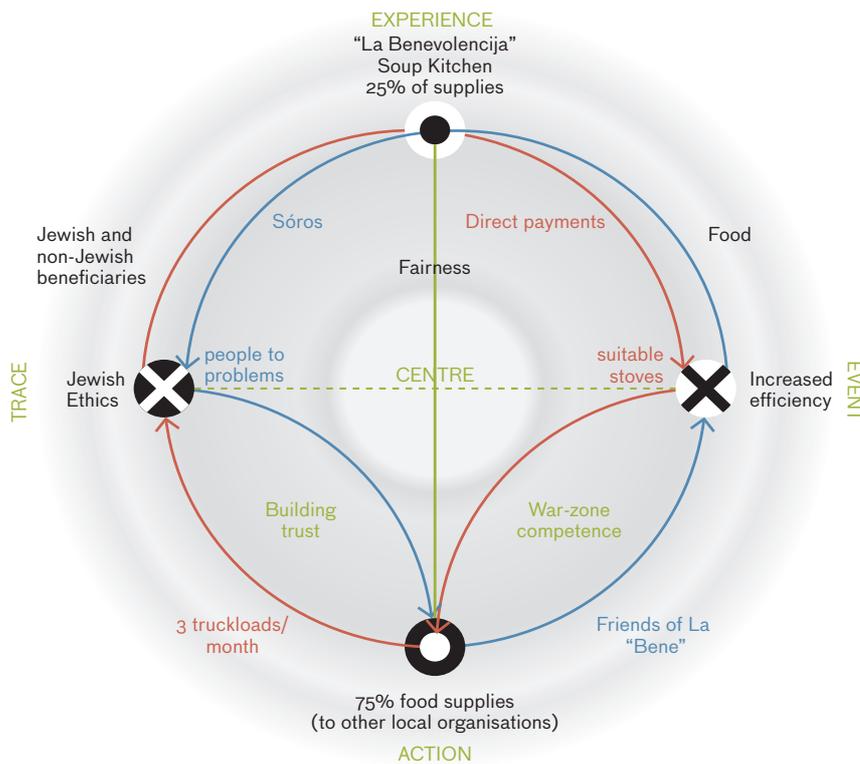


fig. 19 – 4th crossover. The figure establishes a set dynamic relations, or a HOLDING PATTERN of dependencies, between non-same elements that are engaged by communicative interaction and exchange-feed taking place in the food distribution operations (Lys Graph).

store of foods, and small-scale operations as procuring suitable stoves for the Cook's activities in the soup-kitchen at the JCC, represents the type of contrastive combination that spurred enthusiasm and activities abroad, as among the *Friends of La Benevolencija*, and thereby a typical metonym of the war-zone competency earned by «*La Bene*» activists inside the war zone (e.g., selling home-crocheted yarmulkes/*kipas* from Sarajevo all over Europe [unfolding]). It was also a metonym of an organisational model – of bringing people to problems – depending on the conjuncture of incoming truckloads. When the organisational model of «*La Bene*» was presented to outsiders, almost no one, regardless of their line of activity, did so without reference to the cook. This metonymic enfolding, which easily lent itself to build trust, was joined with competence into a metaphor: *La Benevolencija* as a fair distributor, working for all Sarajevans, and trusted to act in this capacity even by initially resilient organisations like the *Sóros Foundation* (*supra*). More difficult operations requiring more specialised relief in and more dextrous reporting out, were boosted by this simple example and emblem of fairness: the green link indicates the symbolisation and instantiation of fairness (idea-cum-reality feed).

The point being that these heuristics of emergency applied both to relations between humanitarian organisations outside the *war-zone*, and between the activists inside Sarajevo: this type of organisation – that is based on a marginalist economy – can function when there are at all times more needs than those that can be met, and the exchange value of an item is determined by its utility when last available. This feature becomes more evident as we move our attention from (1) how the flow of goods and information became organised from the point of view of *distribution*, with regard to communication [*i.e.*, semantic uncoding], to how (2) they became organised from the point of view of *communication*, with regard to distribution [*i.e.*, semiotic encoding]. These opposite flows constitute two differently oriented crossovers on account of (a) the substantial differences between the two flows at the outset [*i.e.*, aid and information], and (b) the divergence between distributive and communicative itineraries in the logistic organisation, which is evident as we follow the empirical extensions of the points (1) and (2), above: we have seen (1) how distribution evolved to integrate certain communicative functions [*cf.*, the contact zones of «tithing», security, services and trust], we will now turn to (2) how communication evolved to differentiate certain distributive functions.

As we turn to procedures of communication, the establishment of standards may ultimately be seen to result from the *encoding* of competencies amongst autonomous, but mutually dependent, units through transactions: the coding emerges as a management tool, rather than as a structural feature predisposing individuals to think and act in certain ways. Thus, the encoding of competency has to do with the management of knowledge in co-operative relationships, transforming such competencies into *personal* capacities (*cf.*, testimonies, *book 5*). The process whereby which standard procedures and specifications are developed, concomitantly, integrates the activity of reporting into the logistic organisation as a form of communicative interaction – however, through a completely *different* itinerary than reporting on the flow and distribution of goods.

If we organise our survey of synergetic couplings by proceeding from distribution to communication, as in the above case, or whether we proceed from communication to distribution, the map of the itineraries *are not the same*³⁴. As a consequence, the concept of ‘coupling’ – inherent in the two-tiered metonym – brings analytical clarity to how the *fringe*, introduced in the epigraph to *book 1*, may be made to operate as a boundary: a boundary no longer demarcating the inside and the outside of a zone, but a boundary with its own finitude by virtue of being *differently permeable* from the one side than from the other side (which is the critical feature of a *contact zone*). Wherever the participant is located – inside or outside of Sarajevo – this asymmetry is the basic condition for the proliferation of humanitarian aid into the war-zone: the spiral of involvement is such that each new step is accomplished according to the same fundamental procedure, but does not allow one to retrace one’s steps. To follow the loops out a different procedure is needed: it also features a completely different itinerary. The victory of deliberateness over random and arbitrariness also features *incrementality* (which is perhaps not entirely unexpected).

This is true of any transition out of the war-zone: either we speak of refugee transports, the end of the war or all the cases of synergetic coupling in between, which will be discussed below. Boundary spanning can change the boundary and transform it into an asset and an affordance.

5th Crossover: Communication and Communications

In BaCh’s reports, the *Lifeline* concept extended to a communication device, also funded by *Sóros* for non-sectarian purposes, and was

³⁴ We may observe a similar shift in *Models of Social Organisation* (F. Barth, 1966), when Barth goes from distribution to communication – with the interface of Gofman’s role theory (1959) – his analytical focus is the micro-system of the skipper, the net-boss and the fishermen. Then he goes the opposite way – as analytical features of the communicative process are reaped from the first study – to the macro-systemic features of how such seafaring units distribute their efforts upon the open sea, into sub-aquatic landscapes of rocks and sandbanks where shoals of fish are found.

organised according to a similar two-tiered dynamic: the possibility of reaching out to family and friends in *other* cities, through an open «two-way» radio telecommunication channel, was extended bilaterally by a flow of exchange and services *within* each of the cities connected – Sarajevo, Zagreb and Belgrade – in such a way that exchange of money, goods and services which normally would take place *between* the cities, now was replaced by exchange of utilities *within* the cities (*book 5*), and worked way – as a *spin-off* – for a commoditisation of trust.

Instead of being able to take care of ones' relatives directly, the citizens of different cities made oral contracts with each other «on the air» – through the Radio *La Benevolencija* – and assisted each other in taking care of family members in this way. The communication-channel was used not only to initiate such transactions, but also to confirm that they had taken place. The iteration of the synergetic coupling takes a new turn at this juncture: while the *Joint/La Benevolencija Lifeline* unfolded the standard operating procedure 'aid in/reports out', the cities linked by the radio-channel now enfolded this procedure. And even more so as the synergetic coupling of communication and distribution, this time in the organisation of internal logistics, confronts us with forms of process we should understand in terms of *proliferating crossovers* (Sperber, 1984: 87):

«Some sets of representations include representations of the way in which the set should be distributed. An institution is the distribution of a set of representations which is governed by representations belonging to the set itself. This is what makes institutions self-perpetuating. Hence to study institutions is to study a particular type of distribution of representations. This study falls squarely within the scope of an epidemiology of representations.»

By underscoring *crossovers*, rather than what Sperber, gratuitously, coins as 'institutions' – given that institutions broke down during the war and gave way to intermittent actions – I wish to highlight that the rules, roles and resources that usually define institutions in social science, are conspicuously *absent* from the picture when a city is being shelled by heavy artillery, at a rate of thousand times per day³⁵. The complex process whereby aid from the outside is converted into utilities of survival, or relief, is not based on a predictable, nor stable, influx of resources but the transformation of whatever is at hand – or, came into Sarajevo – at the moment. In this aspect, the humanitarian activists resemble more Lévi-Strauss' *bricoleurs* than his *ingénieurs* (Lévi-

³⁵ Cf., testimony 1, The President of *La Benevolencija*, *book 5*.

Strauss, 1962: 294). But they differ from the *ingénieur*-type, by making their *bricolage* their *systematic* method of approach: the developments of specifications and standards emerge from double-loop learning³⁶, under conditions of operation when it is impossible to determine afore hand what is to be done when³⁷: concomitantly, the development of specifications and standards are a key feature of converting goods and services into utilities (through the consummation of transactions of the type discussed here). The *montage* constitutes a third alternative approach (Buck-Morss, 1989: 67): each new element put into the montage, maps the cognitive direction in which the montage is evolving, while, on those very same terms, fostering the critical realisation of the fictions conveyed by the other elements. The *monteur* therefore can be an *ingénieur* or a *bricoleur* depending on the tasks and occasions – or, more generally, on how operations generate affordances.

The civic network inside Sarajevo, for instance, became extended through the Radio *La Benevolencija* arrangement, and is yet another instance of the generalisation of metonymic *crossover*: (1) the telecommunications served a number of actors, who were involved in transactions serving their individual purposes [information], while (2) the process simultaneously served to document and communicate the situation of the citizens in Sarajevo, along with their overall distributive needs, via the Zagreb-office to the logistic centre in Split [documentation]. In this case, the two logistic functions of communication and distribution were not coupled conceptually by a core of organisers and activists only, but created a *crossover* between these functions among a broader substratum of citizens. Through the operation of the two-way radio connection, the Split and Zagreb offices alerted the donors abroad of these needs in Sarajevo, and bank accounts were set up to receive international wire transfers. At the same time it allowed the citizens of Sarajevo to feel that they were still part of this world (*La Benevolencija*, 1993).

If compared to the comparatively simpler case of the distribution-of-food scheme, of which the two-way radio constitutes an iteration, these two cases of synergetic coupling have some important common features: (a) the elementary terms of the synergetic coupling are two-tiered, and include a separate action of confirmation as their second tier; (b) the first of the terms targets fairness [among civilians], the other targets efficiency [among activists]. In these two senses, the coupling works a connection between two *separate* terms which made the *Lifeline* something more than the simple movement in and out of

³⁶ Single-loop learning: doing things right. Double-loop learning: doing the right things (Argyris & Schön, 1978). Triple-loop learning: questioning one's right to do something (under distributed and mobile learning conditions [Flood, Robert & Romm, Norma, 1996]). The point made with crossovers in the text is to show how these learning-loops are combined.

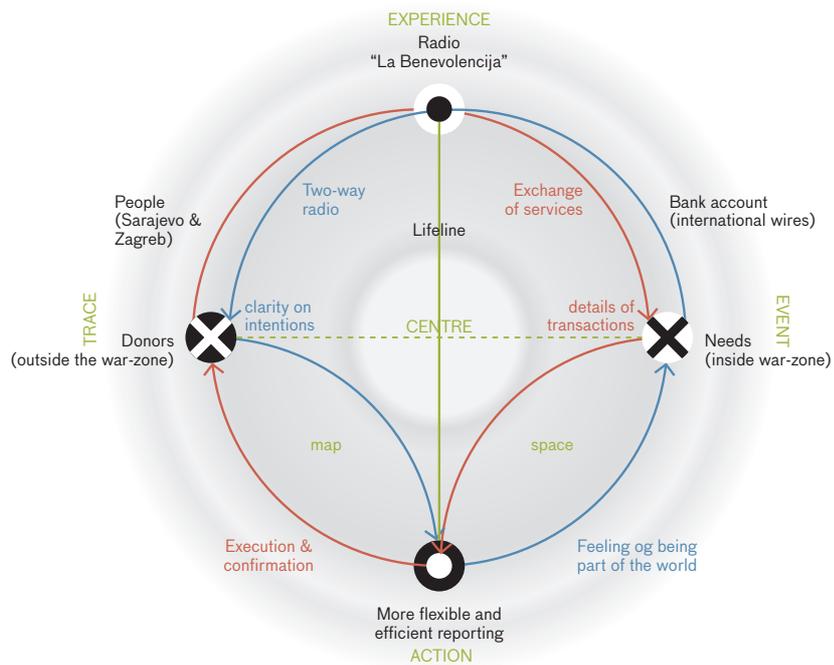
³⁷ The «Travelling Agency» making travelling arrangements for the humanitarian activists with UNHCR transportation was jokingly nicknamed *Maybe Airlines*.

Sarajevo. The example clearly demonstrates that the two flows – goods and information – even as they are integrated as functions of the logistic organisation, communication and distribution are not connected simply as means to an end: not only because they do not empirically follow the same itineraries, since they correspond to materially discrete processes in time and space, but because a careful distinction between the two flows, allows us to chart how they are *specifically* connected (fig. 20).

The crossover in the two-tiered metonym is, as already pointed out, related to a particular type of transaction: if one element of the metonym serves to *map* the other, the latter imparts its *reality* to the former³⁸. In semiotic terms, the ‘mapping element’ is *iconic*, while the ‘realising element’ is *indexical*: but the concepts of *icon* and *index* only serve to conceptualise their difference of itinerary at an abstract level. The ‘iconic logic’ is the internal efficiency between the constitutive elements of the map. The ‘indexical logic’ is the external efficiency between

³⁸ The map being coupled to the event, and the event being nested in the map, they are differently permeable to each other, the compound being collusive yet unstable by virtue of containing its own boundary.

fig. 20 – 5th crossover. The figure establishes a set dynamic relations, or a HOLDING PATTERN of dependencies, between non-same elements that are engaged by communicative interaction and exchange-feed taking place in the operations of communications and reporting (Lys Graph).



the constitutive elements of an operation. The elements in question, referring to the bulk of crossovers above, are not abstract signs, they emerge in concrete operations. Nor are their itineraries abstract; they are asymmetric in relation to each other, and their *convergence* is step-by-step (Barth, 1995): in other words, the double metonym seals a) a two-tiered process of communicative interaction and b) logistic exchange, and constitutes the nexus that may fruitfully be understood in terms of *resonance* (Wikan, 1992).

The crossover, thus, brings together two series of unique events and seals them with the double-metonym: resonance, therefore, becomes a storehouse of memories even as it, for security reasons, is evacuated of facts. The intension of words, sentences and statements that John Searle has confided to *aboutness*, is here conveyed non-discursively by *acts*: aboutness is not here a propositional attitude (*cf.*, Searle, 1983), but a *operational attitude* reflecting the relationship between acts. Because they are extended by artefacts, acts can be *about* each other and, if sufficiently convergent, can be sealed in this relationship (field and acts, then, yield facts). Moreover, the exchange between acts that seals them in a double-metonymic relation is *asymmetric*: while the act that charts the other (iconic function) has a *semiotic* effect, the act that imparts reality to the other (indexical function) has a *semantic* bearing. And, finally, the relationship between the two is neither random nor arbitrary: it is voluntary and, if chosen, it is willed (and thereby contingent). But systems, in which asymmetries are constitutive of the system, and disseminated into the entire system, do not appear as systems for anyone who are part of it: rather they appear pervasively *dis-ordered*.

This is why the dynamics of voluntary association between human beings and artefacts is of core-interest to us here, because it shows us how networks, of a particular type, can be generated: asymmetries in human relationship, as resulting for instance from specialisation, may be mapped and reproduced by artefacts. But by doing so the relationship is changed, since the mapping artefact becomes coupled to the relationship, transforming it into a process, and thereby nesting the asymmetry in an artificial environment where it can be (a) monitored; (b) managed. The voluntary association of human beings and artefacts in network, can remove tensions from asymmetries that – without this association – are irresolvable *contact zones*.

This is why crossovers can become part of operational processes when empirically linked to rituals and symbols (and the sequel of

³⁹ This point links up with *book 1*, where the implications of moving – during the journey – while writing the *Travelogue* is discussed in relation to my exertions in building a method for the type of fieldwork on which I had embarked.

interaction designs): *i.e.*, a reflective model that involves artefacts in the dissemination of asymmetries – by mapping and reproducing them through operations – constitutes a *procedure* which is congruent with the *process* it maps and reproduces. However, this reflective procedure also generates a *depth* in the actors' perception of the process they monitor and manage, which changes the way actors work as well as the possibilities, or opportunities, they can see in their *work*³⁹. The system, then, ceases to be chaotic and becomes complex: rituals and symbols are structural heterogeneities with an ordering impact on the proxemics in a *disordered system*. When the conditions of action are intermittent, rituals and symbols are non-routinely: *e.g.*, they can play a role in the domestication of remote causes.

Therefore rituals and symbols can transform an *other* into a *near-me*, a stranger into a citizen: these dynamics of recruitment generate networks, because they demonstrate and convince actors that *aboutness* is not a distanced external relationship with the world, but results from a relation of greater proximity and closeness (even as the actors are far apart, since what is at stake are different qualities or attitudes of being engaged with the world). This transformation of the *other* into a *near-me* features the proxemics of crowded spaces – or the crowd-sourcing of *green rooms* – in which spatial closeness is replaced by a synergetic relationship between human beings, and their activities, in a relationship of mutual concern, or *service*: networking – or, urban proxemics – can generate forms of *pragmatic* altruism. Urban proxemics, in this sense, represent the ethnographic basis for the anthropology of citizenship (*i.e.*, assumed rather than imputed citizenship) featuring how people may engage with each other *on unequal terms*, even as contact-zones have evolved to include forms of remote co-operation (in a physical sense) that can reach a surprising level of co-ordination, at the level of operations, because the proxemics developed artificially, indeed, are effective. The trade-off then becomes more apparent: altruism generates new *infrastructure* where the war is breaking the old one down: in effect, we are dealing with transactions in which market-building is part of the bargain. This is the point of drawing attention to 'symbolic economies', during reconstruction they become candidate innovation-policies, and platforms to domesticate the pressures of the economic environments in new ways.

EXIT: THE WAR-ZONE
THE SECOND HARVEST: HOLDING THE CENTRE

«Where is the key that was in the drawer?
My forefathers brought it here with great love,
They told their sons: This is the heart of our home in Spain
Our dreams of Spain.»

(Bel Mooney, «Saviours Scorned»,
The Times Magazine November 30th, 1996).

In a summary, BaCh stated that the Joint helped about 1.900 Jewish refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and there were about 900 Jews remaining there in 1996, plus some returnees. At the outbreak of the war in 1992, he pursued, the Jewish Communities counted about 1.100 Jews. This, he concluded, is Jewish mathematics at the end of the twentieth century. From 1991 onwards, *La Benevolencija* reports that people who defined themselves as Yugoslavs came to the community and joined it: they had papers certifying that they were, indeed, of Jewish origin. Their explanation was the rise of nationalistic parties and slow dissolution of Yugoslavia. And when the war broke out, Jews would join the Community with accounts such as: «I was never much of a Jew before, but you've taken such care of my wife and child while I was isolated in Sarajevo, that from now on I will be a Jew.» Among the warring republics Jews had a psychological equivalent of a «special status».

The community these new-old members joined, was clearly defined in historical terms. In 1966 the JC had marked the 400th jubilee of the arrival to Sarajevo, and marked the quin-centennial of the *exodus* from Spain in 1492 («*Sefarad* – 1992»). Nevertheless, the year of 1992 marked a time of confusion, disorientation and wanderings. The Bosnian idea had been a miniature of the Yugoslav idea, and although the censuses demonstrated a steady growth of individuals declaring themselves nationals, by various ethnic denominations, the war put these individuals into some severe dilemmas, given how inter-meshed relations of kinship were in terms of the same categories. The following example is not atypical. A young man had grandparents from each different ethnic groups – Serb, Croat, Moslem and Jewish – his Grandmother told him «Go to my people, they will help you» – which he did. The particularity of this group, furthermore, was its non-partisan policy. Among the total number of 2.300 refugees transported

out in convoys from Sarajevo, less than half were Jewish (the rest were declared Jewish). And from 1992-95 150.000 letters from the citizens of Sarajevo to their families abroad and their replies, were transported and distributed by *La Benevolencija*. They used other means than warfare to make a very strong statement about who they were: a non-territorial group with a long-standing history as citizens of Sarajevo, which few other citizens may rival and seriously contest.

When the reports of *La Benevolencija* included terms as ‘culture’ and ‘heritage’ in the early days of the war, it is the cultural heritage of Sarajevo and its tradition of coexistence that is called to attention. In the Annual report of 1995, a number of specifically Jewish cultural activities are presented under a separate entry: *i.e.*, the ‘culture and religion department’, with no prior mention in earlier reports, presented the *Regesta* – a book containing data on Jewish humanitarian organisations – the journal *Wall Paper* devoted to Israeli literature, a collection of scientific papers compiled from Sefarad-92 was published, the diary and correspondence of a philosopher (*book 5*) was issued under the title *Sarajevski Dani Sarajevski Noci* (published in Canada as *Sarajevo Days Sarajevo Nights* [1995]), as well as the book *The Stories of Sarajevo Sephardim* published in Split in Judeo Espanjol, Croatian, English and French. Yet another book was in the process of publication and listed under the activities of the computer centre: a Bosnian Jewish cookbook.

The latter book was written by SoEl’s (*cf.*, 5th crossover) sister NiEl, and contained a number of conspicuous additions to traditional Sefardic cooking in Bosnia – recipes from the recent war. These dishes were not only inserted to allow outsiders to have a taste of the war. The El-family had a long-standing tradition of knowledge in Jewish science and folklore: NiEl’s father, for instance, had published a book on the Judeo Espanjol literary genre of *Romanzes*, and another book on Sephardic herbal pharmacy. Furthermore, the grounding of the *La Benevolencija* venture in the *Haggadah* is now subject to a new type of confirmation, than the ones previously considered: «This is the bread of affliction...» which our ancestors ate in Bosnia. What we are seeing here, in the elementary terms of successive crossovers, is no longer an act of performance, but of *semantic encoding* (I). That is, an extension structurally similar to those subject to semantic uncoding in the early days of the war, but here given to the encoding of a written format – which is what presently interests us. It became coupled with a learning process,

in which active members of the Jewish community sought to strengthen their practical knowledge of Jewish customs – especially in the domains of *Kashrut* – and sent pleas to the international community to acquire books for this purpose⁴⁰. The application of these standard operating procedures of Jewish ritual, are instances of *semiotic enactment*: that is, the assertion of a competency structurally similar to semiotic encoding earlier, but here given to enactment of capacities – personal capacities in the pale of sanctity. The subject of this synergetic coupling is how to be Jewish in the Bosnian way⁴¹: a process of remembrance was initiated with regard to war events, which under no circumstances my informants could ever forget – *i.e.*, featuring a slow transformation of events that cannot be forgotten, into a past that can be remembered⁴². The city that the activists had fought for, during the war, was a subject of mourning in the aftermath. The conversion of aid into relief that was *unfolded* during the war, was now *enfolded* in books.

Thus, the synergetic coupling between the local history of crisis-management and Jewish ritual – which is generic – constitutes a bridge to ‘normal life’ – a Jewish modality of *being there*, or *Dasein* (Heidegger), in which it is the modality rather than being that is interesting: since Jews in Bosnia, as in the *Diaspora* in general, sustain their right of existence without territorial claims. In fact, this is what allowed the humanitarian activists in *La Benevolencija* of other origins to *act*, ethically and morally, as *provisional Jews*. The viability of a Jewish community is determined by other criteria, and constructed with other templates than citizenship in a territorial state. For instance, JDC reports that in mid-March 1996 it planned on sending Rabbi MT to Bosnia for a month to teach and lead Pesah Seder in Sarajevo. The JDC made plans for the rabbi, a special JDC sponsored *Haggadah*, and sponsored *Pesah* food to reach the other Bosnian Jewish communities as well – Mostar, Tuzla and Zenica⁴³ – in which *La Benevolencija* was to establish branches. The President of *La Benevolencija* JaFi saw Rabbi MT’s visit as a test: *i.e.*, would the extraordinary sense of community-solidarity engendered by the war carry over into an interest in Jewish learning? How should we understand a situation like this? Why would people have to learn what they already knew – or, even had lived – through their practice during the war?

On the one hand this type of initiative was directed towards the rugged and plain wartime ritual knowledge among Jewish people, but at the same time this type of roundup in a second-time-learning is about

⁴⁰ My copy of Blu Greenberg’s *How to Keep a Traditional Jewish Household* was practically «confiscated» by an eager group of such members. The «loss» was eventually compensated with a shiny new copy of Moritz Levy’s *Die Sephardim in Bosnien*. A lot of emphasis was put on this exchange as a way of paying me back. Such eagerness was not without practical foundation in already existing protocol of cleaning the Community premises before *Pesah*.

⁴¹ Cf., Tone Bringa’s ethnography on being Moslem the Bosnian way (1995).

⁴² As a remark of contextual relevance it should be noted that the words *lo tishkakh* (don’t forget) and *zakhor* (remember) are altogether different in Jewish tradition (cf., Nicole Lapierre, 1989).

⁴³ There are otherwise some small Jewish communities in Grbavica, Doboje and Banja Luka.

⁴⁴ This approach had a parallel in another JDC project called *Esperanza*, aiming to promote the use and cultural knowledge of *Judeo Espanjol*, in the formerly Yugoslav communities (including Zagreb which defined itself explicitly *Ashkenazic*). The general situation is here the same as with Jewish ritual knowledge: some people have good knowledge, others rusty, some passive and even dormant knowledge. In terms of living memory, what is lacking, thus, is not knowledge, but a clear problematic of transmission (among peers and between generations). The rationale for the promotion of a *Judeo Espanjol* programme *Esperanza* was the establishment of a new common language: new, in the sense of a new territorial situation. The Open Society Foundation later supported the *Esperanza* project.

⁴⁵ Acquiring and redeeming a cemetery is a foundational act of a Jewish Community. A mourning person, furthermore, is required to depend on others the first days of mourning. As is written in Mo'ed Katan 27b (Talmud): «Said Rab Judah, as citing Rab: A mourner is forbidden to eat of his own bread on the first day [of mourning]. 21 as the All-merciful said to Ezekiel: And eat thou not the bread of men. 22 Rabbah and R. Joseph alternately provided the repast to each other.»

institutionalisation of Jewish life in a new era – the new society emerging from the cinders of destruction – and in a certain sense establishing a Jewish settlement on new grounds⁴⁴: as though a collective migration had taken place, a new beginning for the very people who had fought for their sense of feeling at home in the city during the war, could easily have transformed them into *internal refugees* to be assisted materially and spiritually for their future self-reliance in the aftermath (JDC, 5 June, 1997):

«*They (the various Jewish organizations that helped her and her family) brought back the sense of belonging, the feeling that although we had lost our 'past lives' there was still life to look forward to.*»

The question of how the Jewish community of Sarajevo communicates internally with regard to its close and remoter past is easily left out from lack of immediate concern. Insisting on the crossover from (a) accepting the terms of post-war disenchantment to (b) enfolding the war-experiences into Jewish books, as metonyms of survival, of is one way of making up for this shortcoming. The political, and sometimes hegemonic, character of Jewish internal relations become otherwise very difficult to discern: this clearly appears as we pick up the tortuous question of equity of post-war order in the opposite direction – moving from the prevailing conditions of reclaiming private property and the entrepreneurship of reconstruction in Bosnia, to the shaping of a Bosnian Jewish legacy under the new conditions of peace. From the point of view of Jewish legacy, the question as to whether Bosnian Jews were given to eat their own bread, in the sense of the Bosnian Jewish cookbook, is objectively difficult to answer for two main reasons: (1) the continuity of Jewish presence had been depending on outside resources for years; (2) during these years of war Jewish people had been effectively prevented from mourning their dead⁴⁵.

After the war the direction of the extended relief-transaction is gradually *reversed*: while moving from communication to distribution turned out to be more determining in the generative analysis of emergent forms of fairness-*cum*-efficiency under war conditions [refugee-transport and medical service], moving from distribution to communication turns out to be more determining in the generative analysis of emergent forms of equity-*cum*-viability after the war. The reversal of direction in the relief transactions does not entail a simplistic assumption on «pay-back time»: the model of *relief delivered/reports required* – as the ubiquitous template of accountability practice – may obscure the processes of social

organisation and communicative interaction: this is deleterious since the finer grain of detail determines our ability to grasp humanly effective forms of reciprocity, with a sufficient precision to address the issue of re-commodification (*cf.*, Appaduraj, 1986) in the post-war setting, and accountability in relations of transaction under peace-conditions.

The subject matter of reversal is clear and simple: under war-conditions converting goods into utilities is a measure of success, but when a war ends the opposite conversion is expected to take place – the experience with survival-utilities is expected to provide a basis for an economy based on goods and services. The meaning of this phase-shift in collective behaviour, is that the citizens' ability and willingness to call on each other is drastically reduced. This raises some interesting questions concerning the possible mode of continued existence for the utilities of survival after the war: indeed, as an essential dimension of *peace*. The answer to this question is clearly dependent on the players that were involved during the war.

In the early days of the war, BaCh mapped the human landscape that had a bearing on relief-work in divided Yugoslavia, by defining the following six categories: (1) the nationalistic supporters of the regime; (2) neutral Jews who are targets of political manipulation, who tend to align with the Jewish Community leadership [with whom the Joint is working]; (3) liberal dissidents, outspoken intellectuals speaking in the name of democracy and against anti-Semitism; (4) providers of humanitarian aid, such as those working with the Joint [and the ECJC]; (5) foreign critics and defenders; (6) businessmen and profiteers. This classification served the purpose of evaluating the potential of Jewish populations in relief-work.

After the war, the framework of reconstruction entailed a comprehensive regrouping of priorities. Huge international debts, the vast destruction of the industrial production potential (ca. 90%), the inadequacy of the remainder to deliver convertible goods after the end of priority access to Central and Eastern European markets, the dissolution of networks of brokerage and distribution within what used to be Yugoslavia⁴⁶ changed the focus of the *Joint's* effort from *relief* to *development*. And it devoted itself, more precisely, to the development of entrepreneurship and small businesses⁴⁷.

This re-orientation was part of a general effort to make the competencies built up by *La Benevolencija* convertible and useful within the scope of reconstruction. It ventured to organise non-sectarian

⁴⁶ The population of Yugoslavia was 24 million, whereas the population of Bosnia about 2,5 million.

⁴⁷ (8 October 1996, JDC): «Now the Joint is the main overseas philanthropic arm of the American Jewish Community. Why are we undertaking such a non-sectarian project in economic development? First because we believe that if you recognize a need and can respond, then you have an obligation to do so.

Second, and perhaps more important, we see Sarajevo in these days as the epicentre of a massive earthquake threatening the Biblical ideals of Western civilization. It is here in Sarajevo that the ties between the different strands of our civilisation are being tested.»

practitioners' courses under the leadership of *La Benevolencija*, with financial assistance from the UNHCR, the S ros Foundation and the Swedish friendship association of *La Benevolencija*, in which the following subjects eventually were taught: business planning, marketing, book-keeping and finance for individual entrepreneurs. The courses aimed at conveying the entrepreneurial spirit, the ability to develop business ideas, researching prospective markets and forms of association allowing businessmen to keep in touch in the aftermath. The courses had been established in the autumn of 1996, books with course-materials were edited by the end of the year and the project was en route at the time of my last field-trip: thus, the Small Business Development Centre (SBDC). It was planned as a self-sustaining project from which the *Joint* eventually would phase out. Loans for reconstruction were accorded by the World Bank (and others) at concessionary rates.

The *Joint/La Benevolencija* created its niche by arguing that a one-sided emphasis on the reconstruction of infrastructure in Bosnia would not likely yield viable results, if no investments were made in developing the potential of human resources, as grass-root training programmes were not currently available. Conversely, plans to transform *La Benevolencija* into a *skills bank* – brokering skills and opportunities – were devised to preserve and expand the professional staff of people associated to *La Benevolencija* in an advisory capacity, as they eventually would be employed and pick up their salaries elsewhere. In the interim the voluntary workers of *La Benevolencija* became salaried, with support from the Deutsche Bank and the EU, on reconstruction projects concerned *inter alia* with the procuring of bricks, rehabilitation, etc. *La Benevolencija* had now a reputation of being unequalled when it came to small, talented, imaginative and well-focused operations – *i.e.*, how to do and what to do in this complicated environment, while enjoying a reputation integrity and effectiveness.

The concreteness of involvement in the process of reconstruction from the detail of mortar and bricks, via the trans-national connections, to official recognition at all levels allowed the *Joint* and *La Benevolencija* through its German branch, to exert influence on the German government's plan to repatriate 300.000 Bosnian refugees in 1996, and postpone it. The plan was dismantled on account of the state of housing in Bosnia (*book 5*), the magnitude of destruction and the relocation of people inside the country: most refugees found someone else living in their flats upon returning. At home *La Benevolencija*

was to host a conference – together with the Council of Europe and the Open Society Foundation (*Sóros*) – on national reconciliation and democratic rights. Despite the prominent role of the Jewish Community leadership as backers in the process of recovery and reconciliation, the members of the Jewish Community had considerable trouble in acquiring access to what the Jewish Community spokesperson termed as «our own apartments».

On the one hand, the community leadership voiced the sentiment that because of the work accomplished by *La Benevolencija* during the war, getting back the flats for the small number of community members was the least one should expect. The problem, however, which added to the physical state of housing, was to determine by which right private property should prevail after the end of socialism. Although the consensus was shared that reparations should be made for socialist expropriations, the relations of ownership prior to 1947 were subject to dispute: whereas the Serbs were content with the land ownership as they had been prior to socialism, the Moslems wished to revert to property rights as of before 1919 (when Moslem landholdings were broken up and distributed among Serbian peasants).

Moreover, the position of the Jewish community was as in Croatia: a redistribution of property as of before 1947 enacting restitution by giving back formerly Jewish property to individuals who acquired it in connection with the Ustasha genocide, would be neither equitable nor fair. Withstanding this chain-reaction of positions the Jewish Community had substantial interests in these questions, and promised to become more partisan than they were while the city was under Serbian siege. However, during the war, from lack of other assignments, the community lawyer (Moslem, by name) had made a careful inventory of Jewish property holdings prior to WWII: fifty community holdings and ten thousand properties. In the post-war climate, the community leadership reported that the chances of acquiring legitimate property-rights by reference to this documentation, was more likely to succeed than claiming rights on the basis of ownership or tenancy rights as of before this war (*i.e.*, as of the socialist era). If indeed, there was a connection between contributions to economic viability in Bosnia and effective claims to equity in the restitution of private property, in the Jewish case, it was by virtue of an infrastructure of crossovers, establishing Jewish presence in the city of Sarajevo, deserving a more detailed discussion on account of how it mobilised the *Joint*, *La Benevolencija* and the Bosnian Government.

In an article in the *Times Magazine*, Bel Money established a metonymic link unfolding the (a) the long-standing history of Sephardic Jews in the city of Sarajevo (b) the keys to the homes in Spain, from where they had to leave in 1492 that some families have kept as heirlooms of a cherished memory for 500 years. She established a second metonym enfolding (a) the recent momentous war efforts of *La Benevolencija* into (b) how the Bosnian Government proceeded in matters concerning the restitution of private property in aftermath. The concerns of *La Benevolencija* and the *Joint* diverge somewhat with regard to the impact of this article, however: whereas *La Benevolencija* recorded that the international diffusion of the article did increase the expediency of the Bosnian Government in the efforts to assure the return of the apartments left by the refugees, in BaCh's positive reaction addressed to the Editor of the Magazine, the *Joint* representative in Paris drew attention to the entrepreneurship and small business project.

The point of bringing attention to the post-war positioning of organisations, actors and networks is not to point out how the reduced outlook imposed on the Sarajevans in the reconstruction phase, made them revert, from lack of better alternatives, to *path dependency*. Throughout the *six books* of the Travelogue, I have on the contrary emphasised how various attempts to chart Jewish populations, resources, community-needs, organisations and properties do not create management affordances, unless a sufficiently rich account of the social realities in which these ideas are seated is literally taken into the bargain. Accountabilities that are based exclusively on mere inventories (which as maps, are nothing more than ideas about people) invariably run into trouble. The ethnographic strategy of letting pattern emerge from detail can, on the other hand, probe these realities, and it enters a relationship with anthropological discourse which is similar to that of the testimonies from Sarajevo with the *Joint's* archival record in Paris.

In the context of war, the transactions between acts that serve maps – or templates – to other acts that impart reality to the former, are fairly easy to point out and argue. But under non-war conditions the flow from communication to logistics is reversed: information and publicity precedes delivery because the recipients at all levels are expected to pay for what they receive, before they own it. At face value it therefore appears easier to study the social dynamics of logistics and communications with the eyes of an ethnographer, and reap the

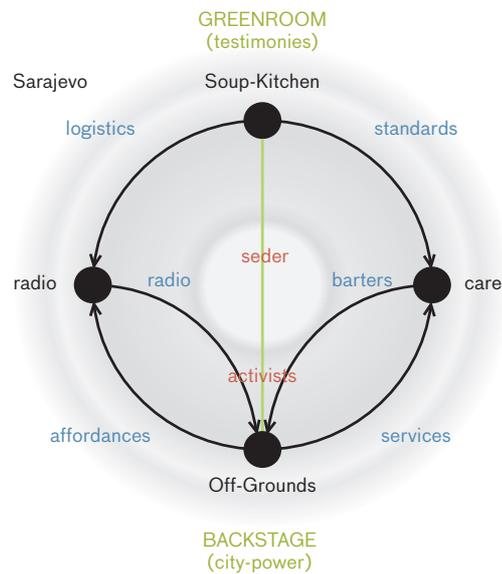
political dimension of these dynamics in the anthropology of citizenship. However, if we revisit the problematic of «non-ware» in *book 3*, we are brought to ponder on certain aspects of property management in Jewish tradition. In the *Shulkhan Arukh* – or, its widely used abridged version *Kitzur* – we read that Jewish jurisprudence distinguishes between acquisitions and possessions: whereas acquisitions represent inventoried property, possessions represent property claimed in situations of *actual* use (distinguishing what is designated for use [*mukhan*] and set aside from use [*muktzeh*]). In the previous section on crossovers, this type of division is easy to accept because it does not relate to property, but to aid with no other strings attached to it than it should be distributed fairly, and because this form of division emerges in response to the conditions imposed by war.

In Jewish tradition, however, this division – relating to property – is designed to operate whether at war or at peace. Under non-war conditions it is invisible to the larger society, precisely because Jewish law and jurisprudence operates in areas which are un-segmented by general law (*book 3*). Under the pressure of war and as a result of the JCC-decision to maintain a Jewish presence in Sarajevo, this foundational feature of Jewish property management came out in the open. The separation is foundational in two meanings: (a) the laws of this separation are kept and done in connection with the Shabbat, and all festivals (*Hagim*) during the Jewish religious year; (b) separation is the condition for the interplay of actions in each domain [two-tiered metonyms and crossovers]. The two-tiered metonym that procedurally worked as a vessel for the *Joint/La Benevolencija*'s combined Jewish and civic statements during the war on Sarajevo (1992-1995), therefore may be visualised as in the form of a *simple model* (*fig. 21*). This is visualisation of the *symbol* – what Derrida (1967) called the closure of representation in the Artaud Theatre, or what Lewin (1951) called re-freeze – that seals the step-by-step convergence of asymmetric processes in the contact zones, studied in the crossover-cases (*cf.*, ENTER: the war-zone). It is a simple model; which means that it is not created to monitor nor manage metonymic and metaphoric tropes. It is therefore suggestive of what has been called the 'centre' in the sections devoted to *crossovers* (war-zone, above): in those sections the reflective model was subjected to different empirical environments, and this variation was used to tease out the features to be included in a properly generative model of disordered systems.

At the close of this exercise we have a stack of five exemplars, as a possible representation of the organising process of *La Benevolencija* in five shuffled time layers. The schema displays a similar development in a sequential way (fig. 22). The chronology is a little bit different than in the stack of five *crossover* exemplars. But this is because the some of the networks with organisational cores exhibited above were participating in more than one activity (cf., Sóros, fig. 19 & fig. 22). *The Joint* is not mentioned in either case because it is everywhere present, in the way described in the opening sections of this book. The present schema (fig. 22) has the advantage of offering a fairly simple visualisation of (1) the chronological succession of the activities; (2) the aggregation of activities in organisational time [*i.e.* the temporality of aggregates as step-by-step increments].

On the other hand, this way of visualising the organising process of *La Benevolencija* has the disadvantage separating networks and operations as though their belonging to distinct ontologies was self-evident. The point of iterating the reflective models (*crossovers*) is to show that this is far from evident. Nevertheless, if evaluated by what it adds, rather than by what it removes, the synoptic chronology of fig. 22 brings to view a different way of seeing the ‘centre’ element in the

fig. 21 – the figure represents the relations of dependencies concerning the soup kitchen as a simple model.



reflective models. In the reflective models, the ‘centre’ is defined as the element with regard to which all the other elements are equal (which otherwise are systematically asymmetric). In *fig. 22* the *Haggadah* is placed at the centre of a visualisation with seven layers, in a way suggesting that there are not one centre per layer, and that the centre is synonymous with what might be called a ‘synoptic point of view’: in other words, a point of view that runs across the stack (rather than within each layer).

When used for search and accountability reflective models do not feature a mysterious centre that has to be ‘found’: it is not a needle in

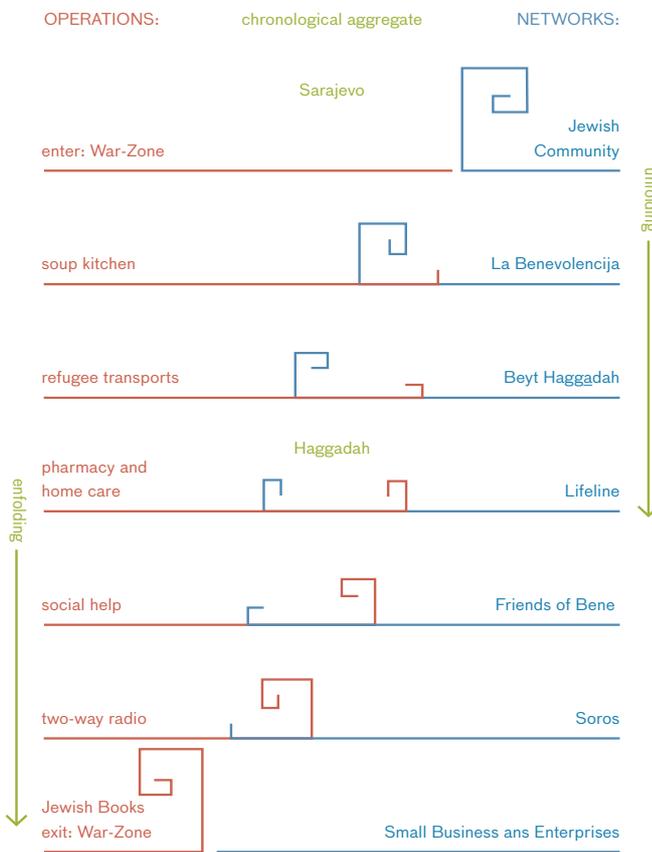


fig. 22 – relation between mapping and tracking in networks and operations, in the humanitarian effort of La Benevolencija (and the Joint) during the war on Bosnia in 1992-95. In the terms used in the beginning of the present book, the schema features the traffic across the ‘contact zone’ (Pratt) at different times and on different arenas, thereby featuring what the ‘integration of difference’ – or, différance – means at the level of operations and networks.

a haystack, but a needle that runs across the haystack and comes out with a sample. And, as suggested by the above commentary to *fig. 21*, simple models and the ‘centre’ share the same characteristics: we can iterate a reflective model with as many empirical systems as we want, but we will never succeed in inferring the centre, nor in showing how the reflective model is derived from the core. And this is precisely the point of the simple model: it is neither a model *of* something, nor a model *for* anything. So, the relation between the reflective model and the ‘centre’ is always *contingent*: so also, the relation between the reflective model demonstrated in *book 4 (Haggadah and Seder)*, and the reflective models iterated in the *crossover* exemplars here (*book 6*) in which the *Haggadah & Seder* compound is used as a simple model (*i.e.*, the centre in *fig. 21*). *The model is a correspondence between a pattern of representation and of use.* This *correspondence* may be: (a) assumed [simple model – primordial]; (b) elaborated [reflective model – transcendent], or (c) operational [generative model – emergent and mundane]. Such correspondences may be fraught with PUZZLES and REBUSES – and actors do sometimes get lost in them – on the other hand, they may be brought to a conclusion, or an end, in HOLDING PATTERNS and BOOKS.

Comparison presupposes a synoptic point of view, before which a sample of terms are compared. As a form of knowing imagination, comparison is generative on condition that this point of view also is imagined. I have tried to do this throughout the *Travelogue* by the use of visual elements: their function is to act as a different point of view than the points of view featured in writing (the point of view of the subject matter, in counter-distinction to the points of view in dialogue). The elements in the graphs are extracted from themes developed in the text, and are used to compare them while at the same time featuring the comparison. This is why they are models or elements of a model, according to the way of combining and integrating models explicated above. But by being successively used to compare, while at the same time featuring an autonomous point of view, on the issues developed in the text, they eventually become themselves a subject of comparison in text. The relationship between writing and visualising – as content and containers – ends up being reversed.

From a methodological point of view, alternating between the written and visual points of view afford a type of triangulation that evolves throughout the *Travelogue*: this triangulation epitomises the dynamic of search and accountability, which has earlier been discussed as ‘boundary

spanning'. This way of picking up affordances in an ethnographic material – or, any other domain – is generative only inasmuch as it is combined with a definition of service. Doing fieldwork and writing ethnography both require the anthropologist to serve, in addition to searching and accounting; and, as such, it features the integration of service and affordance in a designed operation. Walking the talk – during fieldwork – and then talking the walk, in the aftermath. It's a long walk and a lot of talk: but the fieldwork to text-work crossover transforms fieldwork, via a metabolic process of sorts, into ethnography. It is body-learning left behind for learning bodies.

But whom does it serve? The informants did not ask for it. In the broader scope there is no offer nor demand for it. It appears, then, that serving, in its root, is a way of levelling with reality, and thereby cogenerate human opportunities where – previously – there were none. The «*La Bene*» activists in Sarajevo walked up a trail where angels fear. They don't need my words to be characterised, praised or appraised: but I do think that they needed someone to pass on their ways, so that they might be remembered. What I will remember from the activists is that despite the human potential to extend their activities in time and space, even under the worst conditions, there is yet a fragility of learning, linked to the vulnerability of the human body. Between the material world and the world of ideas there is a wondrous piece of «wetware» – at once porous, reflective and resonant– capable of assuming, elaborating and, most of all, maturing correspondences within and beyond the two. First foremost, therefore, I will remember their respect for *human life*.

So, what are the lessons learned from Sarajevo and Zagreb? For the reasons evoked these conclusions will necessarily be normative, and will be formulated in the language of generative analysis and systems theory, as I conclude this *Travelogue*. A lesson learned that concludes the present book concerns the *Shoah*: the *Shoah* represents – to the common mind – the catastrophe of a systematic, engineered and tacitly acknowledged genocide. In Sarajevo, I learned something in addition to this. In the shadow of the *Shoah* – an event of far-reaching consequence: the thwarting of the possibility of Jews all over Europe to act as citizens during WWII, and the struggle to level with the echoes of this load. The experience and the message from the Jews of Sarajevo was the reverse from this precedent: *See who we are! See what we can do! We are not victims.*

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS

(in order of appearance)

Beyt (Hebr.) = house

Haggadah (Hebr.) = *Haggadah* (Hebr.) = Story (manual or road-map for the Seder).

Yizkor (Hebr.) = prayer mourning the dead (at *Pesah*, *Shavuot*, *Yom Kipur* and *Sh'mini Atzeret* [the 8th day of *Sukkot*]).

Hebr. = Hebrew word

לֹא יִקְשֶׁה בְּעֵינֶיךָ בְּשַׁלְּחֶךָ אֹתוֹ חֹפְשִׁי מֵעִמְךָ כִּי מִשְׁנֵה
שִׁכְרֵךְ שְׂכִיר עֲבָדֶךָ שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים וּבִרְכֶךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכֹל
אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשֶׂה:

... It shall not seem hard unto thee, when thou lettest him go free from thee; for to the double of the hire of a hireling hath he served thee six years; and the Lord thy God will bless thee in all that thou doest...

(Deut. XV, 18)

ETHNOGRAPHIC PHASES

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FRAMES: MODELLING DISORDERED SYSTEMS

In this section of the *Travelogue*, the game that the Japanese call *Go* will be used as a modelling metaphor (Perec, 2003). In *Go* there is an opening game, a middle game and an end game: these three phases have different dynamic characteristics, and I wish to use these phases as a metaphor for the gross evolution of the inquiry across the books of the *Travelogue*.

In the beginning, the opening moves of the *Go*-game are simple extensions of elementary rules: a «war game» of sorts, *Go* is played with white shell- and black slate- «stones» on a wooden board with a 19x19 – or, 13x13 – lacquered black grid, where the pieces are disposed on the intersections as they populate the wooden board. The point of the game is to score points by making «captives»: if white is surrounded at all sides by black – and thereby loses its «liberties» (sic!) – then black takes white (and vice versa).

In the initial phase of the game, the elementary moves are brought to a level of complexity where «territories» emerge on the board: this is the gross dynamic developing and aggregating across *book 1* through *book 2*. Then we enter the middle game, in which the «territories» emerge as *patterns*, and during which the rules remain simple but the winning strategy is *deep*. The middle game serves to characterise the gross dynamic building up from *book 3* through *book 4*.

We are now in the *end-game* – which extends from *book 5* and *book 6* – in which a multi-located tactic is used to squeeze out the maximum of points from the result of the two earlier phases: the end-game, featuring in the present section and the section on design closing the *Travelogue*. Presently I will bend my efforts to extract the lessons learned from the six *books*, following a methodological itinerary which is different from both the opening game and the middle game.

In *Go*, the end-game is devoted to details of the patterns emerging from the previous phases, and to counting points (which in *Go* is part

of the game, since the count depends on the detail of how situations on the board *can be read* according to a set of rules, and are indeed read depending to the individual player's skill).

The theoretical literature on the end-game in *Go* is typically made up of a number of examples, rather than an abstract theory, methodology or set of guidelines¹. The examples are set to demonstrate: (a) how points may be extracted from a number of given situations [in terms of actual captives]; (b) how points may be extracted from extrapolations of the end-game [which closes when the two players consecutively declare 'pass' or by an umpire before the possibilities of the game are exhausted²].

The sequence of developments in the *Travelogue* from the opening, middle and end-game will in the following section be retold with different model narratives: (a) warehousing; (b) regrouping; (c) assessing; (d) counting. This foursquare phasing will be iterated layer-wise in a synoptic reading of the *Travelogue* presented in the four subsequent sections: (1) Warehousing the *Travelogue*; (2) Lost and Found; (3) Retracing the Itinerary; (4) Conclusion: Counting what Counts.

The metaphor of the *Go*-game, however, goes beyond the structural simile: the purpose of the exercise in the modelling section, is to include war-zones – and their possible alternative dynamics – into our understanding of organisational change, and the importance of the difference between ritual and routine in the management of these dynamics, as well as to our general understanding.

The generative analysis approach to disordered systems outlined in this section constitutes a «war-room» model of organisational change: conceptually, a cinematographic framing device generating an affordance for *phase perception* of generative processes in disordered systems³. We are taking a definitive step from mapping (ethnography) to tracking (modelling).

OPENING GAME: WAREHOUSING THE TRAVELOGUE

Book 1 – My Journey to East- and Central Europe

When I departed from Oslo in 1995 my intention was to make a field-survey of *citizenship* in Central and European Countries. The countries I visited were in a pre-accession phase to various alternatives of association and membership with the European Union and the Council of Europe. My methodological approach was to assess citizenship as a multilayered

¹ Ogawa, Tomoko & Davies, James: 2000, *The End-game*, Elementary Go Series, Vol. 6, Tokyo, Santa Monica, Amsterdam: Kiseido Publishing Company.

² The stones that lose their liberties are removed from the board, and are called 'captives' – at the count, however, a certain number of stones on the board are termed 'dead' when they can be taken against all defence, even if the player who controls them plays first (Dicky, 2001; p. 18).

³ This approach combines the conceptual frameworks of 'obviation' (Wagner, 1986), 'synopsis' (Wittgenstein, 1967 [Granger, 1990]) and 'stylistics' (Granger, 1988): beyond the large signifying units of discourse – which, pace Barthes (1964), have been understood as *signs* – there are *signals* buried in ethnographic detail that are beyond the scope of signs. A reader in ethnography evidently catches these signals. However, to gather them in the form of a complex – yet, cogent – perception requires specifically a *synoptic* reading. That is, a perceptual recognition of family resemblances across textual layers, 'books' or 'language games' (Wittgenstein, *ibid.*). As such, synoptic reading constitutes a reflective model of reading, in the sense that in the 'facts of style' (Granger, 1988) emerge when the relation between form and content is worked out as a type of work: a work with meaning, or a work of working out meanings. This is but a first of two steps, in locating meaning in a material process. The formation of a perceptual sensitivity to this

material process brings us to the next step: the only perceptual input which is not eradicated in the sensory impoverished environment of a text, are the temporal relationships that lie in the fabric of ethnographic detail. The synoptics (Virilio, 1988) of obviation – linked to the cinematographic framing device, evoked in the main text – features a genuinely *generative* level of modelling: what is *produced* in the ethnography by the empirical process (Barth, 1966).

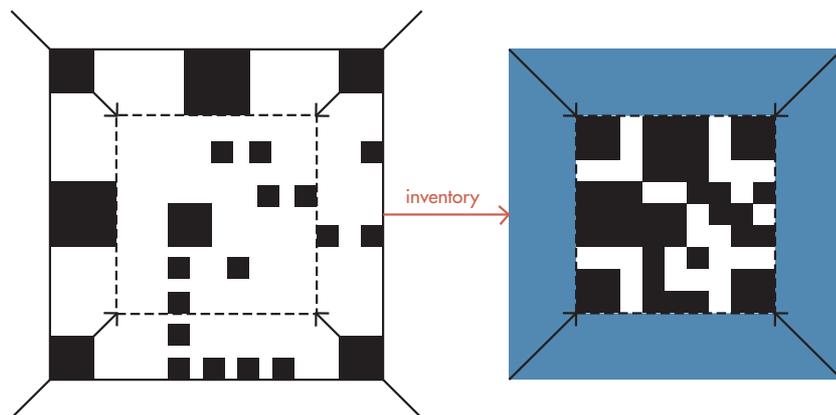
⁴ I use the term ‘European Diaspora’ to determine proliferation of the European polity – which has a non-territorial, or weak territorial, definition – within and beyond the Nation-State, including at the level of citizenship.

fig. 23 – Mapping-strategy (mimesis): bringing disparate elements together into a reduced space, and then explore emergent patterns (Go Graph).

social construct: its demographic, cultural, political and historical layers evolving at different speeds, intensity and depth. The metaphor I used during my journey was therefore to conduct a multilayered reading – or, survey – of citizenship in the «European Diaspora»⁴.

My choice of conducting my fieldwork in European Jewish Communities, in particular, was motivated by the perception that (a) these communities promised to be sufficiently cohesive and present a sufficient variety to be fruitfully compared; (b) they were ideologically involved in determining the viability of Europe as an alternative political framework to the Nations – in the aftermath of the *Shoah* and 50 years of Communism – and the possibility of establishing a European Jewry, committed to the European idea, in autonomy from the US and Israel as the two main pillars of world Jewry.

I was seeking the evidence of a European reality outside the precincts of the Nations, preexisting our contemporary European institutions and now interacting with it: a Europe of citizens existing before the Council of Europe and the European Union (in a similar fashion as the Religions in Europe had been precursors of the Nation-States). But I wanted to survey the evidence of these processes from the ground. My idea was to see if citizenship could be studied – in a similar fashion as ethnicity (F. Barth, 1969) – as a boundary phenomenon: understanding citizenship as the social organisation of political difference within a community.



Jewish people are implicated by these dynamics in a unique way because they are at economically and culturally integrated in their countries of residence, while periodically marginal in the social processes of access and exclusion in their national polities.

However, the journey through seven Jewish communities, on my way to the first ECJC research conference in Prague (1995), quickly revealed that it would not be possible to tap into the sample of empirical layers that interested me at each stop – even superficially. The piecemeal glimpses into the community organisations that I visited, were to some extent produced by (a) the encounter, (b) the occasion of the ECJC research conference still ahead, and (c) the tasks that busied the community professionals and voluntary workers at the particular time of my sojourn.

In effect, the journey worked to deconstruct and disseminate my multi-layered understanding of citizenship (as a socially produced category of political personhood) and my attempts at creating a portfolio of «snapshots» from community organisations – surveyed along the same comparative dimensions – failed. At each stop there were canalising factors that constrained my efforts in some aspects, while enabling them in others: an infrastructure of human relations featuring a specific *modus operandi* of containing and communicating information.

From my first stop in St. Petersburg, I found that the patterns of resistance that spurred by my inquiries, and affordances I spanned in the process, were part of the realities of the organisations, while the inventory of facts I was sampling from conversations with community professionals, and voluntary workers, charted a territory which was not in simple correspondence with these realities.

Concluding from these experiences it should be underscored that the list of traits – compiled in such inventories – are ‘simple models’: patterns of representation easily conflated with patterns of use. By attempting to *establish* a correspondence, I learned as much about the communities through the resistance to the survey as from the survey-contents themselves. Models can be falsified: a content that is generally assumed to correspond with its container is a model that can be falsified by showing how generally – and empirically – the content corresponds with the container. And then we have a new and different model.

The crisis of the simple model – on which the fact sheet approach was based – surfaced step-wise from: (a) the variety of methodological problems featured by the journey of *book 1* [Journey at the Fringes];

(b) the difficulties in gathering materials for a unified description at the European level, in *book 2* [Minutes of the ECJC].

In a larger scheme, the function of the journey related in *book 1* was to expose myself to ethnographic flooding – featuring a maximum of empirical variation – in order to compress professional subjectivity into working relations with JCC people, with whom I was planning to conduct my fieldwork. While the function of the inquiry for *book 2* was to span the demand for the type of fieldwork-relationship I could offer from the needs that were identifiable at the European level in the organising process of JCCs (*i.e.*, by modelling the working habits and loose ends at this level).

In *book 1*, the common denominator of the methodological questions that emerged from my journey was the specific resistance I met in each community organisation, in a variety of forms, and in the discovery that the affordances for the questions I wished to ask – indeed – were emergent, and therefore had to be considered part of the empirical inquiry. The ratio of resistance and affordance were site-specific: they varied from one JCC to the next in the cities where I stopped. The unfolding of good leads and false routes were unique for each city and community organisation I visited.

Yet, bringing them together here – in the form of an inventory – makes these initial steps appear as *itineraries* of discovery and falsification. In both St. Petersburg and Vilnius the kitchen-table testimonials and urban walkabouts were settings in which the better part of my inquiries were accommodated. In Vilnius, however, the relation between this way of acquiring information and talking to community professionals – during more formal interviews – were acknowledged and encouraged, while in St. Petersburg the private and public arenas appeared as clearly separated spheres. This difference – *i.e.*, the *modus operandi* of the separation vs. integration in the private and public spaces – later turned out to be an important feature of organisational dynamics in Jewish Communities of Zagreb and Sarajevo (*book 3* and *book 5*).

More generally, the *details* I wanted to bring out through interviews were not freely circulating and randomly available contents. Rather these details were considered, by the actors themselves, as entities with an incremental potential to aggregate *implications*: by virtue of being linked up with the *intentions* of a variety of players, in the field. In function of their knowledge of players and arenas, such implications were apparently hinged to the relative isolation/integration of *sharing* in these arenas.

This came out immediately in the survey cases from St. Petersburg and Vilnius. In Kiev it came out more mediately: during my stay in Kiev all the interviews were official in the sense of taking place in a formal interview, at an appointed time, during working hours with people in their offices; but under the circumstances prevailing in the streets, the media and politics these «islands of reason» were marginal and testimonial in genre, in the way that offices can when they are not in charge and neither the political nor economic conditions are under control. Power was not bureaucratic in Kiev at that time. The pervasive regime of multilateral bartering fostered the development of other types of cultural organisation.

The survey cases from Kiev and Bucharest were in this sense similar: the enlightened conversations took place during official interviews, in both cases, while the main sources of information were from informal conversations in St. Petersburg and Vilnius. This is interesting since, judging by the standard hopes for quality of life expressed by my informants, economic conditions were more similar in Lithuania and Romania at the time of my journey in 1995, while the conditions in St. Petersburg and Kiev were dominated by the struggle for survival. But while the economy in St. Petersburg was predominantly monetary, the economy of survival in Kiev was dominated by multilateral bartering: as later, in Sarajevo, Kiev was at the boundary of the «money-belt».

The general need to communicate information about the Jewish communities to the ambient world was also differently perceived by the community professionals and voluntary workers in the seven cities that are included in *book 1*. In Bucharest the need to communicate the cultural life and history of an ageing Jewish population targeted the Romanian public opinion, opened the Jewish Community to the larger society in a situation where religious freedom had been granted to a large extent to the Jewish population – in comparison to many other Eastern and Central European countries – during communism: the Jewish Community's information-policy reached beyond this secluded freedom, to connect with a burgeoning Romanian civil society.

In Sofia it was a lot easier for me to probe the specificity of this connection: in fact, Sofia was the only city I visited where the activities of the Open Society Foundation (*Sóros*) helped to chart the *policies* of the Bulgarian authorities in the area of minorities, through the use of proactive social surveys, which greatly helped me in understanding the answers I got at the Jewish Community Centre (*Shalom*) in a wider

context (in the other cities where I stopped the *Sóros*-people were engaged in national legislation processes – and *if* in minority issues *then* in this aspect – in setting up a computer infrastructure, as well as promoting computer literacy).

Interestingly, size taken into account, the *Shalom* Centre – representing a sub-statistical group and therefore fell out of minority policies in some areas – also was without comparison the most active in involving a large number of Jewish international NGOs into the development of the Jewish community, to meet the challenges of the Post-Communist Bulgarian society. Some of these organisations (*e.g.*, the *Joint*) were worried that this diversification would jeopardise the *critical mass* of man-hours, co-ordinated effort and management needed to pass the threshold of durable results in any of the corresponding development areas.

The Community leadership, on the other hand, argued involvement in substantial policy areas as well as the engagement of the resource-variety and international cooperation needed to progress in these areas. These two approaches to develop socially robust community services, focussed my attention on the importance of *accountability* for information policies, in areas such as demography: while the requirements of accountability in international NGOs reflected a fairly *generic* approach to *services* – directly applicable to [documented] needs – the local community’s accountability was dependent on the *specific affordances* of the local society and polity, and to come up with the facts at need.

This difference is due to the fact that local Jewish Communities do not develop with the help received from international NGOs alone, but from the results obtained by dealing with the ambient world (the larger society and political authorities), but not only. As I landed in Budapest – the last stop on my field survey – I became aware that language barriers (represented by Hungarian language to foreigners and foreign languages to Hungarians) combined with a surplus of documentary sources – the depository of a fairly large and complex community – created a situation in which getting the ‘total picture’ would take the JC efforts beyond the horizon of immediate and pressing needs.

From this point of view, information policies based on ‘need to know’ do not necessarily manifest confidentiality regimes – as can be the case when accountability constitutes a separate activity – but instead integrate accountability into the economy of change: in such cases

the information policy should be considered as a systemic property: *i.e.*, which has to do with (a) the *modus operandi* of transactions in knowledge, on domestic arenas; as distinct from (b) the *opus operatum* of various status-reports going out. Evidently, as my knowledge – and hands-on education – in Jewish organisational issues increased, I could barter for information: informants would rarely give less than the evidence for what I already knew. In other words, ‘previous knowledge’ played an increasing role in encounters and interviews with informants as I progressed on my journey.

The restrictive affordances of knowledge sharing at the JASP in St. Petersburg⁵ were manifested alongside the intention of representing a self-reliant organisation, required by its regional role in the Russian setting. While in Kiev⁶, this type of domestic target did not exist at the time of my field-survey: on the contrary, the *Va’ad* put in a considerable effort in synthesising exhaustive reports on anti-Semitism in Ukraine – taking pride in possessing the most exhaustive archive of Jewish citizens among the Jewish local and foreign organisations represented in Ukraine – they were destined for audiences on the international scene (significantly the ECJC).

In Vilnius⁷ the building of a professional competence to vouchsafe the keep of valuable documentary resources in the Jewish community of Lithuania, had little to do with the civil society on the national scene but were connected to the ambition of the Jewish community to remain a cultural node of *Yiddishkeit*, and claim a tiny share of the prestige it had in days of yore. On the local scene the Jewish community was profiled by the educational services of the Jewish school – open for Jews and non-Jews alike – and on the international stage in the Council of Europe⁸.

In Bucharest⁹, the considerable affordance for knowledge sharing reflected a very active approach – after communism – to communicate with the Romanian society beyond the confines of the religious community. The involvement of international Jewish NGOs – like the *Joint/JDC* – was in simple, targeted areas, while the organisation was in not in need of building its competence neither in the domain of religious education, culture nor services. In this regard, my stop in Bucharest led me unto a contrastive case to the one sampled in St. Petersburg, since the organisational autonomy effectively claimed by the JCC in Bucharest, was the objective of the JASP while its restrictive information policy was the stark opposite of what I met in Bucharest.

⁵ St. Petersburg: a 150.000 share of a total Jewish population in Russia of more than 1M [all figures approximate and politicised for reasons exposed above and in *book 1*]; 600.000-700.000 in Moscow.

⁶ Jewish population of Ukraine: 460.000-600.000 [all figures approximate and politicised for reasons exposed above and in *book 1*]

⁷ Jewish population of Lithuania: 6.500 [all figures approximate and politicised for reasons exposed above and in *book 1*]. In Poland the demographic figures on the Jewish population varied between 7000 and 15.000 depending which Jewish organisation was asked.

⁸ Lithuania was represented by EmZi at the Council of Europe, who take an active part in developing the Council’s policy for the preservation and promotion of lesser used languages in Europe (*Yiddish* being one such language).

⁹ Jewish Population in Romania 14.300 [all figures approximate and politicised for reasons exposed above and in *book 1*]

¹⁰ Jewish population in Bulgaria 6000 [all figures approximate and politicised for reasons exposed above and in *book 1*]

¹¹ bulk of Hungarian Jewish population in Budapest 70.000 [all figures approximate and politicised for reasons exposed above and in *book 1*]

In the same regard, the materials from Sofia yielded a case on a JCC (the *Shalom* Centre) with the same policy of openness as in Bucharest, but with a younger and less mature organisation, just recently reviving after the fall of communism in Bulgaria in 1995¹⁰. The materials gathered in Budapest¹¹, again yielded a different case, which in one feature was different from all the others: the aid from abroad significantly came from Hungarian Jewish organisations abroad – and from families such as Bálint and Lauder. The help received from abroad therefore had a domestic reference, which significantly lacked in the other cases: the help came in under a climate of overlapping understandings of historical precedents, and the premise of belonging to the same commonwealth of Hungarian Jews (notably in the area of anti-Semitism).

In sum, the seven stops on my itinerary in East- and Central Europe provided me with an outline of organisational knowledge based on the questions about the detail of Jewish community demography and civil society-involvement in my survey: I came home with very different data than those I set out to gather. The cases immediately brought up two dimensions of comparison, accounting for the variation across the cases: (a) an agglomerate of intentions manifested by the JCCs joint involvement in co-operation with Jewish international NGOs and in substantial policy areas on the domestic political stage [featuring *information policies*]; (b) the integration of the arenas – *i.e.*, the private/public sites – where information was made available to me, in relation to the official institutions [featuring *literacy practices*].

At the level of methodology these gross sources of findings were clearly distinct. On the one hand, (a) I had official interviews with an appointment and usually a single shot to get the answers I needed [information policies alternately based on ‘need to know’ and ‘previous knowledge’]; on the other hand, (b) I had street-wise interviews, conducted during urban walkabouts or in private, intimate and informal spaces – the latter sources usually came about during a sudden shift in the relationship with people that I met more than once, and with whom I spent an extended amount of time. While the formal interviews yielded *more* or *less* – depending on the chemistry of the conversation and my success at asking relevant questions – the informal conversations yielded *all* or *none*.

Then a *third* dimension was the acknowledgement of the informal interviews as a supplement – and sometimes a basis – by the community professionals and voluntary workers with whom I had official interviews, and whether or not they were actively encouraged by the same people.

I considered this dimension as a indicator of *trust*: (1) between people with time-schedules that made them variably available to me; (2) in the work being done in the JCCs, and the likelihood that they would appear to me in ways beneficial to the organisation, if seen from the point of view different concerns, and with different ways of knowing. The assumption of this type of internal cohesiveness was experience-based for the people who had such trust, and communicated as if it were simply a matter for me to see for myself.

THE OPENING GAME: BASIC CONCEPTS

The presence/absence of this trust in matters ranging from security, services and networks is what made me take an active interest in *rituals*: *i.e.*, the communication between different ways of knowing a particular subject matter, whether this communication takes place between individuals, or within individuals (or both). This concept of ritual is defined in the broadest possible fashion to include everyday tasks for which there is not necessarily any official occasion. The notion of ritual action thereby takes us within and beyond social encounters, to focus on the propensity of certain acts to draw out social *implications*, from the *detail* of knowledge and the horizon of actor *intentions*, emerging from such acts. Rituals are considered here as a special class of intelligent acts – or, ‘reflective models’ – rather than confessional acts that subscribe to certain beliefs (be they secular or religious).

Rituals are, in a general fashion, simply intelligent acts that feature in a field of effective communication, in which the domain and boundary of this field – representing different ways of knowing – are connected by such acts. A field of this kind is not structured in a static fashion, but is dynamic and evolving: rituals are acts that tap into the newsreel of this evolution, while they themselves are *contingent* to the substantial concerns that constitute the organisational subject matters. Rituals, therefore, are *structurally heterogeneous* to the matters of substantial concerns they tap into, and are as such part of what Fredrik Barth (1992) has called a ‘disordered system’. These concepts do not, so far, tell us anything of how we should understand the (a) *modus operandi* and (b) empirical dynamics of rituals – or, reflective models – and we will return to this later (middle- and end-game).

According to this definition, rituals may be conceived as acts – or, tasks – that interface between (a) information policies and (b)

literacy practices [as respectively (a) core/dominant, or, territorial and (b) peripheral/residual, or, boundary spanning, aspects of knowledge management] and are elements of what has been determined as ‘symbolic economies’ in the *Travelogue*, from *book 1* and onwards: rituals, therefore, are interactive nodes in a knowledge network, that interfaces between *managing* services (core strategic level) and *scouting* affordances (fringe tactical level). The point being that ‘symbolic economies’ can vary a great deal as to whether they integrate or isolate these two dimensions. The common denominator, across various Jewish settings, is that the rituals themselves are *existential* in the sense of a) departing from an epistemology of separation and b) varying ontologically with regard to the aggregates of incremental acts (which are never simple compilations, *book 6*). In sum: how Jewish actors are differently *implicated* in Jewish/non-Jewish relations across the cases.

The following inventory of findings from *book 2*, unfolds an example of ritual action in a generative process within the network-bureaucracy of the ECJC. In the broader scheme of the *Travelogue*, *book 2* serves to transport what was previously defined as the *secular metaphysics* of Jewishness, into a political context in which the epistemology of separation and the ontology of incrementation are attributes of Enlightenment and Modernism – with its *liberties* and democratic *governance* – which from *book 4* and onwards, affords a broader perspective on Jewish religious rituals. In Judaism the separation between the religious and secular realms are contained inside tradition, while the separation between religious and secular realms in enlightened modernism framework claims a rupture with earlier theological-political tradition.

Book 2 – Analysing the Minutes of the ECJC Executive

While the warehousing of *book 1* produced a model of ritual suggesting a framework of generative analysis of how symbolic economies bring together core and peripheral *ways* of knowing – to account for the variation between the cases in the survey – *book 2* provides an empirical *sample*: by warehousing an example of the broad take on ritual in the second book, it is possible to develop the model further and bring more clarity to ritual and routine as empirically distinct phenomena; and how, under certain conditions, there are shifts from (a) *ritual* [conjunction between core and peripheral ways of knowing] to (b) *routine* [disjunction between core and peripheral ways of knowing].

The ECJC constitutes such an example because it is elementary: in the ECJC minutes, the Executive Council and the networking members feature core-/dominant- and peripheral-/residual- processes, in the highly procedural knowledge management of a tiny bureaucratic unit that brings these two processes together in targeted policy areas, at the global- and regional European levels (Nordic, Central and Mediterranean). The notion of ritual outlined in the preceding subsection shows its advantages when warehousing the findings of *book 2*. It allows us to consider the documents of the Minutes – of which I was permitted to read and make manuscript copies in the offices of the bureaucratic cell of the ECJC in London (the Ex. Dir. and his Secretary) – as the representational face of a reflective model.

From the point of view of generative analysis this is an advantage because the documentary materials, then, do not have to be considered either as materials *of* or *for* interpretation. In fact, the assumption that written materials call for a methodological discussion of interpretation, smokescreens another, very different, dimension: *i.e.*, the tracery of incremental acts that emerge from the *description* of the content/ container correspondence in such materials¹². Indeed, the bringing out the detail of policy development – at the global- and regional- European levels – features a distribution of organisational intentions in *process time*: the time in which the procedural intelligence of the bureaucratic cell takes hold and, eventually, becomes empowered.

As documents, the minutes of the ECJC are not themselves descriptive: they are bureaucratic instruments used to drive a process onwards, by featuring the sequence of implications of the agenda, and sometimes even of its priorities. The listings of the Minutes, accordingly, are similar to the order of a *queue* and constitute a *computational* aspect of policy development: a ‘queue’ at once constitutes a *designed* order and an order of *execution*. In the former aspect (design) it features a random arrangement imposed on the elements from the outside and appears as a simple *compilement*. While in the latter aspect (execution) it induces a contingent relation between the elements, and appears as a *group* with certain aggregate properties of internal composition.

These two alternatives – the *compilement* and the *group* – appear to be exhaustive: the possibility of acting without acting, or manoeuvring without intervening, grants an «invisibility» which is the backbone of bureaucratic empowerment. Procedural empowerment constitutes an opportunity-situation in which the bureaucratic cell can develop into

¹² In the traditional hermeneutic vernacular this descriptive phase, which comes before interpretation, is called *Auslägung*.

an *isolate*, or – alternatively – can *integrate* with substantial activities: these alternatives reflect the different affordances generated by project- and activity-based planning, as discussed in *book 2*, and the present warehousing of these findings will here serve to clarify the difference between routines and rituals.

Initially routines and rituals appear as neighbouring constructs: the use of Jewish symbols – Jewish -history, -world, -calendar, -festivals and -events – as ordering systems (Schmidt & Wagner, 2004) that do not have the function of demarcating Jewish identity, or ethnicity, from the outside world and in relation to it, but imbuing cohesiveness to the materials in a way which is typical for ritual communication, is distinct from routine at the level of their *impact* in that communication (*i.e.*, as a generative impetus in the symbolic economy of *organising processes*). The impact of ritual is similar to that of routine in the sense that it designates and classifies of various types of information-content. Yet, the difference of ritual from routine comes out as we examine how – and in the last instance whether – they relate to different ways of knowing, and thereby pick up on – or, domesticate – *affordances*.

My take on the documentary materials I accessed in London (*book 2*) was structured by the same chronological order of themes as the research conference in Prague (1995), and starts out with an account of the general ideas and evidence of change, which were fairly similar in scope and depth to the assumptions on European identity, which I myself nurtured before I embarked on my journey to Eastern- and Central- Europe in *book 1*. However, the facts and ideas of the ECJC at the global European level were more explicitly imbricated with issues of financial accountability than were the realities with which I was presented at the local – and regional – community levels during the journey. The ECJC executive had one year (1992-93) to come up with a viable idea and management practice for the organisation: coming up a vision to spur activities and bring balance into the budget.

The idea – or, vision – was to explore and exploit the confluence between European integration (in both the sense of the Council of Europe and the European Union) and the integration of Jewish co-operation on development and management of JCC services, with a political focus on the possibilities of European citizenship (*cf.*, Diana Pinto, *book 2*): the possibility of giving citizenship – as an idea and as a fact in the EU – a Jewish voice, was ascribed by speakers and participants at the research conference as linked to the post-national

framework within which multiple loyalties are legitimate, and can be expressed and coherently articulated inside a cogent whole. Evidently, this political content, ascribed to European citizenship, is different from Jewish national identity as a framework for citizenship in Israel. This difference was also underscored at several occasions – and different communitarian ECJC arenas – when the discussion turned up.

The ECJC-Executive positioned itself with a European Jewish idea in counter-distinction to the Israeli Jewish and American Jewish idea: the European Jewish idea was civic rather than national, and politically invested in civil society rather than self-determined. The articulation of dependencies in the post-national framework – beyond the confines of the Jewish community – to some degree reflected demographic changes (by inter-marriage and in the pattern of urban habitat) but also reflected an orientation towards the development of frameworks for non-sectarian services and humanitarian aid, that made ECJC as likely a partner in the process of European integration as any other NGO. However, in the programming of activities with Jewish local, or regional, JCCs these visions became deconstructed in a fashion much similar to the way I experienced with my field-survey during the journey related in *book 1*.

The difference, of course, is that the ECJC executive sought to be an agent of change – working with JCCs to this end – while I sought to capture the pattern of how they were moving. And as I leafed through the Minutes it became quite clear to me that the procedure of the Ex. Dir. represented a more hard-wired practical approach than my methodology. Yet, this harder form of procedural rigour produced as much variety – and loose ends – in the regional programming of activities, as well as in the social and educational policies, as I did by pursuing my inquiries during the field survey. This is why the detail of this programming unfolds the encounters between the ECJC executive and the local/regional JCCs, and is of comparative interest to the way I experienced the different push-and-pull between central and peripheral ways of knowing in each community.

In ECJC's proactive approach to the development of services and management of JCCs, wiggling through by emphasising now the attraction and then the effectiveness of services, defined its own push-and-pull. The need to increase the professional level of community workers and the *religious duty* to save fellow Jews and their neighbours at times of need, was emphasised alongside the unique historical opportunity – in the contemporary European setting – of being Jewish

xxx

by *choice* (rather than by social stigma). The educational programme in management for community professionals and voluntary workers at the *Le'atid Europe* retreat centre (Switzerland), similarly emphasised the need to pair welfare *and* religious needs. Again, CARELINK – the crisis fund, which, like *Le'atid Europe*, was organisationally separate from the ECJC – was designed to provide relief on a non-sectarian basis and uphold religious life (*i.e.*, the Sarajevo model).

This separation of (a) the *educational* and (b) the financial dimensions of outreach to JCCs in Europe, reflects working-conditions inside the ECJC, in which the possibility of combining (a) *design* and (b) *execution* of activities was limited and canalised by the interaction with networks of local/regional JCCs. In effect, the bureaucratic cell of the ECJC worked with constraining and enabling factors that were similar to the ones I met during my journey, but in addition had *a domain of its own*: this domain was mean, lean and compact as long as the cell networked activities among the ECJC members, but could be augmented at need with educational (*Le'atid Europe*) and financial (CARELINK) resources.

Presently I will emphasise that this division of educational and financial resources and, concomitantly, the design and execution dimensions of organising processes, represents an intermediate position between the traditional Jewish society, in which such a separation is *minimal*, and the modern Jewish communities, in which the separation can grow a *gap* (and in which the joint management of educational- and financial- resources can become difficult and awkward). The traditional setting can be compared to a trade where *master* craftsmen are dealing with the real world – at the core of activities – while at the same time the peripheral participation of their *apprentices* is not only *legitimate* (Lave & Wenger, 1991), but presupposed and encouraged (till the apprentices are eventually integrated into the core activities as «journeymen»). While in the modern institutional setting education and financial decisions are routinely relegated to separate arenas: the routines that *classify* people and problems, and *designate* them to these separate arenas, are guarded by a hierarchy of [ranked] gatekeepers.

The organising processes – in which the ECJC executive held a procedural power – are interesting precisely because it represents a mix between the traditional and modern patterns (or, ideal types) above: it may thereby help to model the difference between *routines* and *rituals* in organisational dynamics. While routine relegation of people and problems to separate – educational and financial – arenas can represent

a resource that augments bureaucracy (by augmenting the educational and financial powers separately) it can at the same time reduce its power in other aspects: for instance, whenever it is productive to bring people and problems together, and this is necessary in order to obtain results [as bringing together different ways of knowing]. Most of the encounters between ECJC members facilitated by the ECJC executive, were of this type. While, on the other hand, the *Le'atid Europe* and CARELINK resorts – in terms of separating people and problems – represent the modern type.

Contrasting traditional vs. modern approaches to organising processes, however, becomes cumbersome, beyond a certain point, since a number of contemporary knowledge management approaches, based on action research, use processes in which people and problems are brought together as a major methodological framework¹³. For this reason, it may be preferable to separate between ritual and routine as contemporary features of organising processes, rather than coining the one as traditional and the other as modern. In the ECJC organising process their coexistence is one of relative salience: the Executive Committee would withdraw (*book 2*, p. 63) to discuss matters that if brought out in the open would demand separate powers (and the routines of classification and designation to govern them). Though ritual and routine may coexist in organising processes, this coexistence is difficult.

Again experiences from action research may give useful insights: it is often difficult to reap the fruits of processes bringing people and problems together – and use a ritual approach to connect different ways of knowing – when they subsequently are returned to routine organisation. In sum, rituals and routines can generate organisational dynamics that are opposed, while they can coexist as complementary *competencies* in an organising process, held by individuals and networks of individuals. This is why there are aspects of organising dynamics that cannot be resolved at an organisational level, but call for a re-framing of certain management issues at the personal and inter-personal level. The ensuing concept of personhood defines a management potential within each individual to couple competencies that – when bluntly transposed at the organisational level – feature incompatible organisational dynamics (*book 3*).

Individuals can mind a gap that frequently winds up mindless contradictions, to which individuals become powerless, when transposed at the organisational level. An individual can manage a

¹³ *cf.*, Reuven Feuerstein's Instrumental Enrichment programme – spearheaded by the *Service Social des Jeunes* – gives a particularly striking example of this (*book 2*, p. 77). The contemporary emphasis on first practice learning – learning to learn (OECD) – also highlights the people-problem nexus [rather than the solution-problem nexus]. In this re-orientation of priorities the value of opening by the question – and coming up with good problem definitions – is key.

calendar of events – containing both symbolic and substantial activities – that requires that individual to shift between ritual and routine competencies. But there is no plan that can tell people how they should do so: either such a plan would have to depend on routine (by separating between routine or ritual occasions), or it would have to depend on ritual (by integrating ritual and routine tasks). Which means that we are be back to the modern and traditional *types* again. In effect, there are shifts managed at the individual and inter-personal level, based on environmental cues, that escape organisational planning, but yet play a significant role in organising processes: if seen and used in this way, calendars are representational components of a generative model. The ECJC did compile such a calendar of events.

The concept of ‘disordered systems’ is defined in response to these difficulties: a system that is disordered by the impact of dynamics that are beyond the system, while manifesting emergent forms of management that are fed by activities at its boundaries. Therefore the notion of ‘boundary activities’ can constitute an extension of substantial activities, in the same way as ‘peripheral ways of knowing’ can extend domain-specific ways of knowing: just as (a) rituals, or reflective models, couple and connect these different ways of knowing [so that they can communicate], (b) emergent management strategies, or generative models, can couple and connect the *fringe* and *core* of the substantial activities that make up the system. Boundary activities, then, constitute the tactical resource of a disordered system: they are transformed into relevant input whenever ritual activities connect the core and the fringe of the system.

Ritual and substantial activities are contingent on each other, while the relation between routine and substantial aspects of projects is arbitrary (from the point of view of routine) and random (from the point of view of substance), because routines are based on *simple models* – *i.e.*, assumed correspondences between representations and actions. The possible alternative dynamics that are generated from these modelling elements, are not exhausted by the programming of project events in the ECJC Nordic, Central European and Mediterranean regional networks neither of the social- and educational policies presented in *book 2*.

The Minutes of the ECJC executive provide no data on how the ways of knowing and the activities in the ECJC member networks partook in the cogeneration of this calendar. It is a fact, however, that

when the ECJC became the forum in which the Secretary General of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) was led to address the plenary of European Jewish leaders – gathered in one single place – during the research conference in Strasbourg (1997), this was a surprising turn of events not only for the WJC, but also for the ECJC: it constituted a *de facto* politicisation of the ECJC (a fact of controversy and contention itself within and between the organisations).

THE OPENING GAME: AUGMENTED CONCEPTS

In the *Travelogue* the choice of engaging an analytical discussion of models does not appear before in *book 3*. They appear in the warehousing of *book 1* and *book 2* above, because the present section [*Frames*] is conceived as a modelling space: *i.e.*, a reduced space in which findings come closer to one another and are somewhat removed from the narrative trail of the *Travelogue*. Thus, the section intended to enhance – or, augment – the findings appearing in a wayward and disseminated fashion in the six books.

Three types of models are introduced in the warehousing section and developed through the *Travelogue*: the simple model, the reflective model and the generative model. The simple model is assumption based: it is a human artefact – a pattern – in which the constituent type (representation) and instance (behaviour) are assumed to correspond. In the simple model, the design and the execution are assumed to constitute a single unit: implementation is intrinsic to the model, and considered as imminent by the actors.

Routine is one face of the simple model, while the researcher's fact sheet (or, standard documentation) is another. One could make a point out of whether or not routines *really* exist. An alternative point to make, and perhaps more fruitful, is that routines impose constraints with which the environment may comply or, alternatively resist. The fact sheet, as a knowledge representation, is such a constraint. If sustained, notwithstanding environmental pressures, the simple model develops into an isolate, with the immediate effect that issues that require learning, and additional financial resources, are delegated to external instances.

If learning and resource allocation are taken into account, then the variety of *model* changes from the simple to the *reflective* model. The reflective model integrates learning-challenges and cost-factors it takes

to *elaborate* the correspondence, or communication, between type and instance. The difference between a reflective and simple model is that the reflective model is accountable for its implementation (while in the simple model implementation is assumed). Ritual is a good example of a reflective model. In the ritual the learning and cost of elaborating a correspondence – in time – between core and peripheral ways of knowing are included.

The generative model goes beyond the reflective model by including operations and transactions. Generative models go beyond elaborating the correspondence between type and instance to realise an actual *exchange* between substantial- and boundary- activities, obtaining a variety of synergies. The monitoring of contents and the management of the human infrastructure that contain them, are here integrated into a dynamic of transaction, in such a way that the exchange between a type and its instantiation generates affordances that make *de facto* services possible (as group assets).

This model concept does not require the *model of/model for* contrast (Geertz, 1973) to come up with interesting distinctions: in fact, this model concept – with its variety of «upgrades» – makes the separation between action and behaviour obsolete. There is no behaviour without representation: twitches are automatisms (like information), while winks are intentional (like data) – as such they can exist conjointly and take vary different parts, in a single model of process. Moreover, a variety of such models may coexist, interact, compete or co-operate in the deeply implicated ways featuring in the ethnography of the *Travelogue*.

In the Middle Game patterns are explored at a level of ethnographic detail where such forms of implication cannot be ignored, because of the variety of human intentions-*cum*-automatisms that are expressed at this level. The emphasis on ritual – or, reflective models – in the *Travelogue* is related to its propensity to work as an intermediary between simple and generative models: (a) like simple models it cuts off loose ends [*i.e.*, it designs reductions]; (b) like generative models it links up core and peripheral forms of participation; (c) it is unique in that it cuts loose ends to re-tie them in new ways [which neither the simple nor the generative model do].

MIDDLE GAME: LOST AND FOUND

Book 3 – Socialising with Disruption in Zagreb

When leaving for Zagreb¹⁴, I left the mind set of Jewish travellers, international organisations and the comparative assessment of local JCCs: I cut off the loose ends that a field-survey, bordering unto the life in local Jewish communities, necessarily produces, to start afresh with as few expectations as possible of what I would eventually would discover. The choice of Zagreb was motivated by the *7 Countries / 8 Cities* project (*book 2*) in which the Jewish Community of Zagreb was one of the participants. But this baggage did not entail, nor presuppose, any methodological continuity from the fieldwork I had been conducting to this point.

On the contrary, my research strategy was to pick up the 7/8-related activities as they turned up and in proportion to their relative importance in the full panoply of services and activities at the Zagreb JCC: in practice their importance turned out to be quite marginal. Moreover, the attention I had given – so far – to ‘information policies’ and ‘literacy practices’ were transformed into background issues, in the new fieldwork setting: in Zagreb I was interested in empirical and analytical dimensions of the symbolic economy: that is, the dynamic process in which *information policies* and *literacy practices* would eventually emerge – either connected or disconnected – and with characteristics that were amenable to neither, and therefore calling for a separate ethnographic inquiry. In analysing the symbolic economy in the Zagreb JC, I departed from the chief content of distinction and dominance that circulated and prevailed in normal conversation among the people I met inside and outside of the JCC.

¹⁴ JCC counted 900 voting members, for a population of 1200 regulars and a total population of 3-4000 non-registered Jews (including converts) in Zagreb.

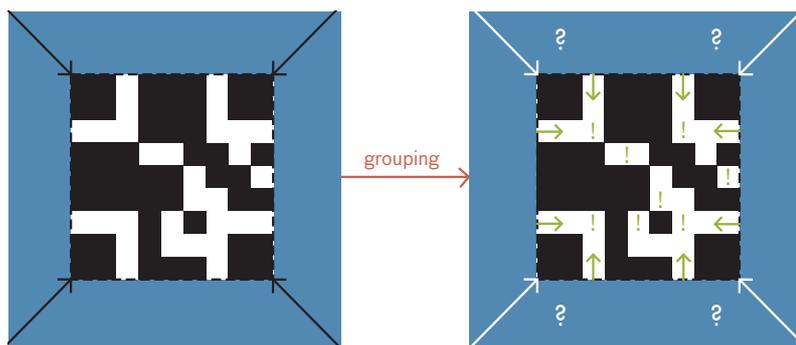


fig. 24 – strategy of mapping (mimesis): entering the pattern with the purpose of exploring improvements that can enhance the exploitation of the ethnography (*Go Graph*).

What I had considered as core and peripheral ways of knowing, was now brought down to a problematic of how core and peripheral actors were differently engaged in substantial- and boundary- activities. The actors that were represented as central by the community – through a series of events and publications featuring in the *Almanach (book 3)* – had their base locations, from where they carried out their operations, outside of the JCC facilities. In their regard, the JCC functioned much as a *show room* for internal and external spectators (*i.e.*, members of the Community and members of the cultivated Civil Society in Zagreb). In other words, the boundary activities – that were conspicuously disconnected from the standard services at the JCC – were the prerogative of an elite.

On the other hand, the peripheral actors in Zagreb were socially marginal and economically disadvantaged, and the typical recipients of the variety of social services offered by the JCC. Their demeanour and ways of knowing were *riffruff*: they were kept out of good company and considered a problem whenever – now and then – they had their issues voiced. The community professionals and voluntary workers engaged in the community's substantial activities – *i.e.*, standard JCC services – were neither core nor peripheral actors; who did not count as outstanding people in the *Almanach* of notorieties, yet having considerable informal power hinged to the day-to-day implementation of administrative routines (they were institutional actors in the sense that they were simultaneously invisible and empowered).

The institutional actors were directly instrumental in creating a climate in the JCC – which is richly described in the ethnography of *book 3* – that led to the transfer of the activities in the fund-raising entity *Magèn* to a location outside the facilities of the JCC, and accessory to the JC President's decision of locating the main bulk of cultural activities in the Memorial Synagogue to be, as soon as the decision of returning the old Synagogue property was in the pipeline of the Croatian Government. The core-group of actors – who were close to the JC President – were the cultural entrepreneurs of the Jewish Community: they attended cultural events inside and outside of the JCC, but they rarely attended the social events at the Jewish Community.

The religious events at the JCC were divided in two main categories: the social events in the bar area – like the *Family Shabbat* – with buffets introduced by a minimum of customary blessings and a brief causerie on a Jewish traditional, or philosophical, topic. These events were attended

by the bulk of mainstream bourgeois and the marginal members. The other religious events took place in the «Temple» at the third floor of the JCC: these religious events were attended by the socioeconomic «unfortunates», as well as by some members of the youth-group. These religious events were simplified versions of the standard Jewish religious service, though conditioned by the traditional requirement of a *Minyan* (the presence of 10 males).

Only the religious events organised in the public sphere – like the candle lighting ritual of *Hanukkah* in the Lisinski concert hall, at the occasion of the 190th anniversary of the JCC – were attended by all categories. Such public cultural arenas mobilised the cultural elite, who were there in their right element. The institutional actors of the JCC were explicitly targeted by the event, since one of the President's expressed rationales for celebrating the 190th anniversary – rather than the bicentennial – was to allow WWII survivors at the Jewish old people's home (the *Lavoslav Svarc Dom*) to live to see this event. The religious people attended because it was *Hanukkah*. The arena that gathered the good part of the Jewish population in Zagreb therefore – and somewhat paradoxically – took place in a public cultural space, in the presence of the nationalist right wing Croatian President Franjo Tudjman (and members of his cabinet).

The elite – the *Almanach* core group – were the entrepreneurs of the exchange between cultural activities at the boundary of the JC, and the substantial activity of insuring collective security concerning all: the transaction 'cultural excellence' for 'security' was the key policy of the JC President during my fieldwork period, and in the aftermath. Securing Jewish presence on cultural arenas granted public visibility and the support of the remainder of the Civil Society elite, in Zagreb. While it was recognised that the Jews in Croatia – as in the remainder of the former Yugoslavian republics – had «no part in this war», in the early nineties, they were all the more assertive in their claims of having a part in the history of urbanisation and modernisation of Zagreb.

The formula of Croatian citizenship for Jewish people was therefore to *appear* and *act* as urban patriots (an attitude that was also shared by youth group, in popular cultural expressions such as football-supporter rallies and networks). The *model* of the cultural elite – *i.e.*, their mode of appearance in public and their ways of acting in the Croatian cultural elite – therefore was clearly *generative*: it was an experienced-based strategy of synergy between cultural excellence and security. In contrast

to this strategy, the propaganda-stunts of Tadjman's HDZ-government and the internal incursions of discontent marginal members, were seen as periodic catastrophes at the JCC – with which the Jewish cultural vanguard had to deal. Whenever there were external threats to Jewish security, the community became homogeneously mobilised in support of the elite, but also rallied around a sentiment of Jewish belonging (*i.e.*, being Jewish in counter-distinction to public displays of Jewish identity).

This sentiment of Jewish belonging was rooted in a traditional symbolism that was expressed outside official events and frameworks: it came during wayward and street-wise conversations and with the confidentiality of the «kitchen-table» type. I became involved in them because my daily activities at the JCC were connecting *events* in the private and public realms, when engaging into the JCC as a teeming-space (or, *green room*). I was certainly not the only person who made use of the JCC in this way: the good number of people who came every day to spend a couple of hours in the bar, library or computer-centre did likewise (which is furthermore supported by the fact that I became unknowingly implicated in the transactions of reconciliation between two estranged women).

I got access to the arenas of the Jewish cultural vanguard by building a reputation (through seminars, publications on Jewish traditional topics and academic discussions). I was included into the private sphere of the President's family. The socioeconomic unfortunates approached me either with reference to what I had published, or as it became known in the community that I was going to Sarajevo, and then returning to Zagreb. At the JCC I enjoyed an independence vis-à-vis the institutional actors because I paid my dues to the Community, in the form of a good price for my office. The latter engagement, however, was unique in that it was the only one that implicated me in model patterns that were beyond my control.

At the JCC there were a number of personal prerogatives – inalienable privileges that were at once exclusive and obligatory – with no explanation given by the community professionals and voluntary workers who detained them, beyond a verbal statement iterating the actual pattern of behaviour. This category of 'simple models' struck me as unusual and particularly interesting because they lacked the external rationales of administrative routines. I became implicated because, as a person with a daily presence at the JCC and a formal agreement about

office-rental, I was expected to act according to that estate: an artist who – upon my invitation – came to reclaim a painting, which was his property (and I had borrowed), was not allowed to do so but in my physical presence, to hand him the property in my custody. Neither was the security personnel, with whom I was on good terms, allowed to carry a parcel with medication that had been entrusted to me, to put it on a buss, so that I could retrieve it in Sarajevo.

These were oddities for two reasons: (a) one has to go to rabbinical sources to see them described; (b) while these inalienable privileges were upheld without any reference to Jewish traditional sources, or contents, whatsoever. This discovery is what made me think about containers independently from contents; which in Jewish traditional sources are evoked as ‘empty vessels’, while setting in motion my own attempt at rethinking the model-concept in symbolic anthropology. The other discovery – with a similar and complementary importance – were the stray patterns crossing the JCC teeming space, connecting the private and public realms in ways which were rare, laborious and difficult: this vagrant elaboration of contents – which affected and changed human prerogatives and relationships – I called *crossovers*. Such crossovers could be axed on secular contents or religious symbolism, but had invariably an intensely personal character.

The process of relocation outside of the JCC premises of MiSl’s fund-raising activities for the JCC, in the business entity called *Magèn*, is one example of a crossover: as a marginal JCC member MiSl was atypical because she was financially well-to-do, while she never fitted into the environment of institutional actors – the category of community professionals mainly – and therefore eventually was somewhat ambiguously defined as part of the elite¹⁵. A second example is SoMa’s process of reconciliation with HK – the mother of the JC President who was my landlady – after having distanced herself by quitting her job at the JCC to work with one of her son’s rivals. Finally, the artist ToFr’s wayward query in *Kabbalah*, which was a part of his leaving his family’s existence as clandestine Jews and attempt to bring not only his undeclared Jewish mother but also his declaredly non-Jewish father into the process of returning to the JC. In all of these instances of walkabouts in symbolic contents, I became personally implicated.

At the face of this puzzling collocation of empty containers and contents without conclusive human infrastructure – save the one I could offer as a confident and a go-between – at the JCC, summoned a deeper

¹⁵ In a similar fashion to the community benefactor J, who had grown wealthy by working for years as a designer and seamstress for Yugoslavian President Tito’s wife.

discussion of ritual than afforded by the ethnography in *book 1* and *book 2*. The challenge that was raised in the warehousing section is therefore stable, and has now gained in empirical substance: inquiring into the workings of reflective models – in cutting loose ends and retying them – is what the sundry containers and contents outlined above, were featuring *separately*. To unify them in a deeper understanding of the symbolic economy in the Zagreb JCC, I turned to the ethnography of books: hoping to gather ethnography, for my anthropology of citizenship objective, conceived as the construction of Jewish personhood within the fabric of civic relations in Zagreb.

The graph that shows the mapping strategy in this section (*fig. 24*), highlights the reduction incurred by the construction of citizenship on local terms (*i.e.*, my fieldwork): if citizenship – in the framework of the nation-state – is understood as the social organisation of political difference, then the Jews in Croatia were situated by others and positioned themselves at the boundary of these dynamics. Their claims to Croatian citizenship were argued on the basis of historical – and urban – terms, rather than on contemporary territorial and geographic terms. A challenging problem therefore lies in describing the reduction that we in more evocative terms might call the ‘art of the locality’, and its role in the construction of Jewish membership in the *political commonwealth* of ‘constitutional persons’. The part played by books in severing and retying loose ends – and, concomitantly, in reworking loose ties – is therefore the core issue raised in the following roundup of *book 4*.

BOOK 4 – SAMPLING REFLECTIVE MODELS

The advantage of defining models as patterns of corresponding representation and behaviour, is that the existence of externalisations – such as books – no longer constitutes a problem, but instead becomes a resource. Externalised representations involve an element of design and deliberation placing representations squarely within the province of cultural artefacts (rather than e.g. psychological constructs). When such externalisations are considered as the ‘representational face’ – or, component – of a model, then the difference between representational and behavioural component of the model gains in clarity, and more readily summons an *elaboration* of their correspondence (thereby defining the model as *reflective*).

As an active and representational compound the systemic integration of human being and artefact therefore can form a reflective model. *Book 4* features two cases of such reflective models. The first case on the *Shulkhan Arukh* in Dr. Schick's collection at the JCC library, shows how severing a hallow of relations, references and pointings¹⁶ suggested by President Franjo Tudjman's project of creating a monument for the memory of All Croats – by exhuming the bones of the executioners and burying them together with the victims at the Ustasha death-camp of Jasenovac – and their transformation into a fringe of acceptable relations, was realised through a process of transferring of the precious volumes of the *Shulkhan Arukh* for repair and conservation at the Croatian National Library and of their subsequent return to the library and the collection within the JCC confines.

¹⁶ Cf., epigraph to *book 1*.

While this first case is concerned with the reflective model – the compound of books and people – as a 'black box', or an *external* empirical point of view, the second case is concerned with the *internal* workings of a reflective model: more specifically the elementary workings of a religious ritual – the Seder ritual – and the type of correspondence featuring between its performance and the book used as a ritual road-guide, or handbook: the *Haggadah*. This difference is important: while the first case is discussed in terms of the 'literacy practices' and the 'information policies', as disjointed dimensions of the symbolic economy in the Zagreb JCC, the second case contains the analysis of a ritual transaction inside a unified conceptual framework; which brings out some unique aspects of the reflective model that cannot be reduced to an interface between simple and generative models.

The second case is therefore important in that it shows how rituals – as reflective models – can feature an *idea*, in the sense of bringing together the type and instance of a pattern, in a unified *locus*. This analysis shows us how an idea can be a model, and more specifically how the Jewish Passover ritual became an idea – or, a reflective model – in the organisation of humanitarian aid in Sarajevo (*books 5 & 6*): *i.e.*, severing the ties to literacy practices and information policies, in the ethnographic sense, to pose the problematic of the reflective model in a more radical way, and then turn to the loose ends of the testimonials (*book 5*) and how they were subsequently retied in new ways (*book 6*). The second case therefore brings us to the brink of the end-game.

On the background of the ethnography assessed in the preceding paragraph, the first case is fairly straightforward and simple. The

Shulkhan Arukh is contained by a larger collection of books which is Austrian Dr. Schick's legacy in the JCC-library in Zagreb: understanding this collection as a *container* is warranted by the cultural characteristics of how books are handled, beyond the standard technicalities of librarianship, in this library: a place where people come as much to talk and reminisce over books as to read and borrow books (observations and Librarian JuKo's statement). The correspondence between the contents of books and the ways of knowing, linked to the human interaction that contains them, is elaborate, rather than simple and assumed.

A description of the contents of the *Shulkhan Arukh* was part of the catalogue of the collection, in which the books were *designated* to certain contents: *i.e.*, the collection was constituted by a designation system and a classification system, featuring the technicalities of librarianship. The librarian JuKo had her fact sheets that – together with the ordering practices that defined a library in her keep – constituted the share of expertise she would share with users, as a part of the wider social interaction concerned with books, which could qualify her – in her own words – as a 'social worker'. Her fact-sheets and ordering practices are evidently instances of a 'simple model' (in a way the issues belaboured in of the four volumes, in her description, certainly is not).

However, the maintenance-policy developed for the four volumes came about as a process in time, including at once cost evaluations and a collective learning process the maintenance would incur: the maintenance policy was at once a physical process – requiring skills and expertise from the outside – and a management process, where several alternatives were given due consideration (one of which I was asked to inquire about in Jerusalem). When the JCC opted for the alternative of having the volumes transferred to the *high-tech* National Library, that was the pride of President Tudjman, this domestic solution represented a maintenance-policy at three levels: (a) the physical maintenance of the volumes; (b) the maintenance of the JCC ownership of this precious first edition of Yosef Caro's *Shulkhan Arukh*; (c) the symbolic maintenance of the heirloom as a major emblem of the JC's distinction [and separateness].

It is noteworthy that the maintenance policy that «won» hinged on an arrangement with the Croatian cultural public sphere, which was identical to the one staged at the occasion of the 190th anniversary, in the Lisinski concert-hall: it engaged the same boundary traffic with President Franjo Tudjman's government, and it presented the same

interest for Jews of all categories at the JCC (*cf.*, previous section). But, at the difference from the 190th centennial events of the *Hanukkah* season, the transfer and retrieval of the *Shulkhan Arukh* involved the temporary transfer of the prerogatives of the JCC Librarian – which under normal circumstances were inalienable – to people outside of the JCC premises (*i.e.*, the conservators at the National Library). In effect, the transfer went beyond the showpiece at the Lisinski concert hall.

In other words, the transfer of the *Shulkhan Arukh* to the National Library and its return to the JCC Library, was a ritual in the sense of a reflective model connecting a simple model of Librarianship and a generative model, bringing about a synergy between (a) the substantial activity of the Library as a community service, and (b) the peripheral activity of the conservation team at a location outside of the JCC, at the National Library.

The enterprise was, in some aspects, similar to the regular ‘cultural excellence’ for ‘security’ transaction. The nature of the contacts and trust relationship with the personnel at the National Library were of the type in which the cultural elite excelled, while the operation was also typical of the response to the type of security threats perceived in President Tudjman’s plans for the war-monument for ‘all Croats’ at Jasenovac: Dr. Schick was killed at Jasenovac and his physical remains buried there. However, the transfer and retrieval also included religious elements: (1) the contents of the *Shulkhan Arukh* [the Jewish code of law in a comprehensive and systematic presentation]; (2) the assumption of the metaphysical link between people and books, and the treatment of books as persons¹⁷.

In sum, the biblio-ethnography on the *Shulkhan Arukh* of the Zagreb JCC leaves us with a unique example of a reflective model – or, a broadly defined ritual – that effectively included a religious type of connection between content and container; though quite ambiguously so, since the type of person represented by Dr. Schick and the personhood cultivated by the vanguard of the JC were similar, or identical: Dr. Schick was a bourgeois with a liberal profession and broad academic culture, with some Jewish traditional features. Dr. Schick was the prototype of an enlightened Jewish Ashkenazi.

However, the muffled voice of Jewish symbolism also is included in this reflective model, in a way that is typical of the setting in Zagreb: where religious symbolism is evacuated from the core of JC activities, while key to how Jews – in critical situations – are ‘holding the centre’

¹⁷ In Jewish traditional settings religious books that fall to the floor are kissed as they are (immediately) picked up, and are ritually buried when no longer fit for use. A book can also be used to increase a boy’s age to have a *Minyan* [quorum of 10], in which case they form a *Tseruf* [Hebr. ‘substitute’]

even as their habitat is spread in the entire city (as ever it was in modern Zagreb): this disseminated form of Jewish belonging became quite evident as the JCC would withhold the members' ration of *Matzot* – unleavened bread – for Passover, as an effective way of sanctioning the payment of overdue membership fees.

This concludes the roundup on the first case in *book 4*. As previously mentioned, the ethnography of this broader sense of ritual succeeds in capturing how reflective models can interface simple- and generative models, and also how the reflective model brings together core and peripheral ways of knowing; the compound also features the cutting and retying of loose ends that constitutes the transformational power of the ritual, or reflective model. But the elementary workings of the ritual remains enclosed in the reflective model, which therefore appears – in this aspect – as a black box; nevertheless, the reflective model in the first case is not an elementary model.

I will now turn to the analysis of a traditional Jewish ritual – the Passover ritual – that offers this possibility. The ethnography from Sarajevo relates the transfer of a precious Jewish book, which is similar to the first case: however, in Sarajevo the precious book did not belong to the community but to the Bosnian National Museum of Ethnology. Unlike the *Shulkhan Arukh*, the antique book transferred to the Sarajevo JCC in 1995 is not a book on the Jewish code of law – destined for religious experts – but a ritual road-guide destined for ordinary people: the *Haggadah*. It was transferred at the occasion of the a Community celebration of Passover, where the President of Bosnia – Alija Itzebegovic – and members of his Cabinet, attended at the JCC alongside the members of JC and their friends.

I attended a similar Community celebration two years later, in 1997, when a similarly mixed crowd of about four hundred people attended: approximately the same number of people that were fed by the charitable organisation *La Benevolencija* during the war, when the soup kitchen at the JCC was operating at its peak. The actual transfer of the antique *Sarajevo Haggadah* in 1995 is interesting because it displays similar boundary dynamics between the JC, the government and civil society, as in the Zagreb case. Citizenship features the social organisation of political difference at two levels: (a) the Jews as a group that had separated itself from the ethno-religious struggles during the war (1992-95), (b) the Jews as political members of the distinctive Bosnian civic community. The Sarajevo JCC and its humanitarian organisation *La*

Benevolencija had made a substantial contribution in upholding the city during the recent war.

The Jewish ritual itself is of importance because the Sarajevo community was at once more laid-back and more traditional, as Sephardic Jewish communities often are (Heilman, 1992). This means that the economic aspects of ritual arrangements and the learning process during the preparation of the ritual are explicit and emphatic: they are an integrated part of the ritual as a reflective model. The human and financial efforts invested into the preparation of the ritual are considerable, and constitute a tangible context for the ritual performance on the two consecutive nights when the *Haggadah* is read and the *Seder* meal is consummated. The preparations that lead to the performance of the religious ritual, constitute at once a preparation of the minds and bodies of the hosts, as well as a substantial activity at the JCC: the preparations of the *Seder* ritual – and the 7 additional days of ferment-free diet – are constitutively part of the service space of the JCC.

There is a close link between the Passover/*Pesah* preparations and community services linked to *Kashrut* (e.g., the availability of Kosher food) and rabbinical counselling. More generally, the JCC-services related to regular aspects of Jewish religious practice and the services that are directed towards more secular needs do not belong to separate life-worlds. This is why the full process – beyond the ritual procedure as such – that defines the performance of the religious ritual is fully operational inside an horizon of secular intentions. Services linked to Jewish religious and secular needs are neighbours inside the JCC¹⁸. The originality of the Sarajevo JCC lies how it expanded this neighbourhood to operate beyond the confines of the JCC, in the way it disseminated its repertoire of secular services under a Jewish emblem in the entire city, and hosted non-Jewish friends inside the JCC (including at major religious occasions such as *Pesah*).

The horizon of secular intentions is different and distinct from the intentions invested and elaborated in religious ritual. Yet the particular way of cutting and retying loose ends, which is typical of the *Seder* ritual, was part of the cultural stock of skills that was integrated into the human infrastructure – in the likeness of a technological platform – in the organisation of humanitarian relief. The use of the *Seder* ritual as a reflective model in the organisation of humanitarian relief during the war, poses some interesting challenges as to how the ideas that are represented and enacted in the ritual were

¹⁸ This feature is by no means unique to the Sarajevo JCC as a Sephardic JC, but is mainstream in most JCCs. In this regard, the Zagreb JCC was atypical.

shared by people who evidently knew it and were familiar, with the people to whom these ideas were new concepts and the relevance of which emerged in the context of war. The answer to this question is that the recruits – Jewish and non-Jewish – learned the ritual through their activities during the war.

This modelling framework is based on the possibility that the *modus operandi* of the ritual – in cutting and retying loose ends – (a) is identifiable and unique; (b) can be learned and applied outside its official performance. Under regular circumstances the learning conditions preceding the official performance of the ritual are multiple and informal. And in some ways the official ritual may be seen as an exit-procedure from this multifarious learning process, which is demanding in both human and material efforts. This feature is typical of models in general: if the performance of the official ritual is an exit procedure from the informal learning process and efforts preceding it, the contents of the *Seder* ritual relates to more metaphysical aspects of exit: *i.e.*, the exodus from Egypt. The representational and practical *faces* of exit thereby coincide and correspond.

However, the modalities of this correspondence belong to the ritual itself: one might say that the correspondence is not only elaborated inside the ritual, but in some sense initiated there. The ritual space, within which the show-and-tell of the *Seder* meal takes place, is a place of crisis. After the nine first plagues sent by G-d to the Egyptian Pharaoh – to punish him for resisting and ever going back on his word of letting the Jewish people go – his country is left devastated and desolate, save for the surviving human beings. In the nine iterations of these confrontations – followed by a variety of plagues [3 of the water, 3 of the earth, 3 of the air] – the Leitmotif is the difference between G-d and Pharaoh. At a human level, the Pharaoh is the symbol of the boastful and scorning ego, while on the divine level Pharaoh, who was worshiped as a god, is different from G-d by the fact of having a body.

The *incorporeal* reality of G-d is underscored and is generally part of the foundations of Judaism¹⁹: for this reason, G-d's unity resembles no other unity: G-d's unity is *unique*. In human beings the unity of word and deed represents a laborious moral undertaking, while at the Divine level it is part of G-d's nature: speaking and acting is the same. Human being is perfectible so s/he can approach this ideal, but will never ultimately reach it. Meaning that the ultimate correspondence between design and execution, between representation and action, type

¹⁹ E.g., Maimonides' 13 principles of faith and the prayer *Yigdal* which traditional Jews say every morning.

and instance begins and ends outside of human beings: in the scope of human life – and the bodily existence – they are but parallels, no matter how small the distance, and like parallels only meet in infinity.

From a logical point of view, this doctrine has some common features with Bertrand Russell's theory of types: in a general fashion, type and instance (or, token) do not correspond – and cannot be equated (*cf.*, Badiou, 2006). Judaism follows up by adding: whenever they do correspond, the correspondence is specific (at the human level, located) and – ultimately – *unique* (at the Divine level, universal). This means that from Russell's point of view, models come about by a logical short-circuitry: they cannot logically exist nor be granted a semantic substance – that is, in a general fashion. However, in the life-ways of human beings that anthropologists describe in their ethnographies, no fashion is general. It is specific and located, for those concerned, and ultimately unique.

The alternative negative statement in Jewish thought is that the correspondence between type and instance cannot be realised in full – or, brought to unity – inside human being: this lies beyond the possibility of the human body. This is why the seeds human hope lies in the existence of other human beings: by serving others human beings can ultimately save themselves, *pace* Hillel: «If I am not for myself, who [will be for me]? If I am only for me, what [am I]? If not now [when]?»²⁰ In Sarajevo, the humanitarian activists of *La Benevolencija* had a first hand experience of this: by helping others – within the scope of their capabilities and competencies – their families and they themselves could be saved: when the infrastructure in a city breaks down, there is no way a person can single-handedly take care of the differentiated needs of a family. As the activists discovered this, they went from despair to hope, and helped as many people as they could: helping others is a strategy of survival in a city, because a city cannot survive without an infrastructure (if not technologically driven, then humanly).

²⁰ *Cf.*, quote in *book 6* used as a slogan by *the Joint*.

For a number of them this realisation was indeed a discovery – that unforeseen affordances could be generated – and break-through at the personal level (testimonies, *book 5*). They acquired a wealth of experience on human interdependency inside the city of Sarajevo, during the war. However, the organising process that generated these affordances did not occur by activities moving in all directions, to help people. Their activities had to be sustainable to really be of help and made known, in order to reach out: what one, for simplicity, could call

the Hillel-realisation was but a metaphor of what came about as the waywardness through despair to hope unfolded. The Hillel-realisation became a physical reality and a bodily experience to them.

To be sustained their activities had to be known – and acquire a social robustness – inside as well as outside of Sarajevo. In the act of serving others they were not engaged in simple exchange with the needy, they were communicating about services: in each act of service they also communicated the idea of *La Benevolencija* – and, in effect, the services delivered helped people while also circulating, and becoming a metonym for *La Benevolencija*, and its idea of the organising process for relief in Sarajevo, based on mutual dependency. The Hillel-realisation as a metaphor unfolded in the lives of the humanitarian activists – and embodied by them – eventually became enfolded as a metonym for *La Benevolencija* and the Hillel-realisation.

The nexus between the metonymic unfolding and enfolding of the Hillel-realisation – in the organising process of the humanitarian help of *La Benevolencija* – was the soup kitchen: this is where the activists met to eat between their excursions into the city, and shared their meal with people from the neighbourhood – non-Jewish and Jewish. The kitchen was the service that most frequently appeared, in conversations with informants, together with the first lines of the *Maggid* in the *Haggadah*:

*This is the bread of affliction that our fathers ate in the land of Egypt
All who are hungry let them come in and eat;
All who are needy – let them come and celebrate Passover
This year were are here, but next year we will be in the land of Israel
This year we are slaves, but next year we shall be free men!*

And the arts of the Cook – despite dearth and war – resulted in a line of dishes, which, in the hearts of the guests, tasted like festive meals. The soup kitchen was an image of liberty, equality and solidarity that would not be denied. For this reason it was also important, since the self-interested motivation of the *La Benevolencija* – its help to self-help – was raised and criticised more than once. These attacks were considered as anti-Semitic, and taken in the sense that no matter what Jews do – or, whichever activities they initiate and manage – they cannot win.

In the *Haggadah* the battle that is not won, even as victory is a fact, is conveyed by the story of the tenth plague. In succession of events

related by the *Haggadah*, it is eventually G-d, without any intermediary or messenger, who enacted the 10th plague – the death of the firstborn – and brought the Jewish people out of Egypt. Even then Pharaoh would not acknowledge defeat. During the festive meal of the *Seder* ritual – the *Shulkhan Orekh* – eggs are eaten in salt water, to mark grief for Pharaoh and his host who went to their own death, and the celebration of new life ahead.

However, the subtle and difficult problems lie precisely at this point. The services dispensed by the humanitarian activists – during the war – were two-tiered: (a) on the one hand the relief was physical, they were taking care of bodies; (b) on the other hand the services were upholding the morale among the Sarajevan citizens that benefited from *La Benevolencija*'s relief. The enfolding of the *Benevolencija*-idea into the relief-providing activities was therefore not a regular publicity move. Yet, the ambiguity could never be completely removed because the *idea* – even as it was detailed and matured by experience – at some level remains an *idea*, as relief remains relief.

Yet, a recurring theme among people who had lived to see and hear more than they could bear, was the crisis of personhood they had experienced: what it means to be someone, what it means to fall a part, what it means to lose it, and what it means to cease being human (*book 5*). For them the decision to cut the ties with the war was brought to completion with a rejoinder at this level. In this view of things, providing relief was an activity designated to help people remain people, rather than for the *La Benevolencija* activists to acquire the status of saints. To be people they needed other people, and this was what their humanitarian effort was about.

This rounds up the search and accountability linked to the *Seder* ritual and the *Haggadah* as the behavioural- and representational faces of a reflective model. But the *Benevolencija* activists' approach of helping themselves remain people, by helping people remain people, went much beyond physical relief. Their idea developed in a direction of preparing a readiness for peace by helping people and each other, to develop as people though the war. The activities of the Radio *Benevolencija* and the cultural activities at the JCC indicate this. So the idea of *La Benevolencija* was threefold: (a) create a relief-organisation to survive the war [*i.e.*, the Hillel-realisation]; (b) develop sufficiently robust services to deny the war; (c) sustain and develop people-to-people relations to prepare for peace.

In this section, I have tried to develop an autonomous view of the reflective model by attempting to show how a reflective model has domain of its own, and that its existence owes to more than merely operating as an intermediary category, or interface, between simple- and generative models.

END-GAME 1: TYING LOOSE ENDS (BOOK 5)

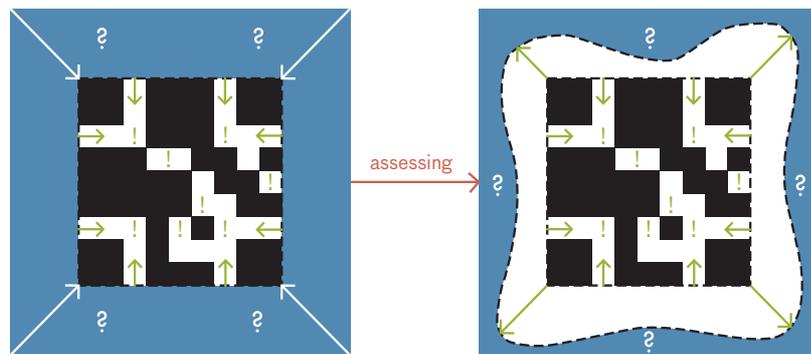
Book 5 – Jewish Différance

The major discrepancy between my ethnographic materials from Zagreb and Sarajevo can be summed by the relative order of importance attributed to *distinction* and *différance* in the symbolic economies of the two JCCs.

In the Zagreb JCC sociocultural *distinction* – excellence in academia and the fine arts – prevailed over Jewish *différance*: *i.e.*, separating oneself from the mainstream as a Jew, while relating to the mainstream in productive – and sometimes contentious – ways from this position.

At the Sarajevo JCC the situation was the opposite: while Jewish *différance* can serve to characterise the way *La Benevolencija* took a position against ethno-religious warfare and for the values of citizenship as the Jewish thing to endorse during the war on the city in 1992-95. In stark opposition to the ways in the Zagreb JCC, the Jewish leadership of *La Benevolencija* systematically underplayed distinction as ‘valid currency’, without hiding the value of its knowledge and excellence in

fig. 25 – Tracking-strategy (metalepsis): organising a pursuit; using the pattern as ‘hunting party’ in the ethnography (Go Graph)..



substance. In other words, the social *mobility pattern* was different at the Sarajevo JCC than it was at the Zagreb JCC.

I did not and will not attempt to explain this variation, since this is a priority that threatens to trap the analysis in determinisms I wish to avoid: either differences in sociomaterial conditions, the political environment or a combination of the two were readily available. Rather, I am interested in variation in generative terms: *i.e.*, the dynamics that under identical constraints would produce different results. This is also more consistent with how both JCs see themselves in relation to their environments and sociomaterial conditions.

So, I am interested in the impetus of change and evolution that comes from within the organising processes, that feature different symbolic economies in Zagreb and Sarajevo. In the modelling space afforded in this section, I am therefore interested in the *push* of the testimonials from Sarajevo in *book 5*, in a symbolic economy where nonmembers could join into activities at the JCC by association. In the Sarajevo case, the JCC is therefore a teeming space – or, *green room* – of a different type than in Zagreb. A number of the interviews that ended up among the testimonies were conducted inside the community cafeteria that was still functioning – at the time of my fieldwork in late 1996 and early 1997 – as a soup kitchen, though in reduced scale.

The same personnel of activists that were doing their jobs in providing relief during the war, were still active, with their future pending on the outcomes of political talks and strategies for the reconstruction of Sarajevo. A few interviews were carried out in private homes. But the barriers between the domestic- and community- spheres were not like in Zagreb. The activists were talking to me in their capacity of humanitarian activists, and neither as private nor as public persons. In their professional activities they were constantly commuting between home-spheres and the JCC. The agents of a *green room* – an interstitial space between the private and public realms – that was in the streets and in bars all over the city, as much as at the JCC.

For this reason, the testimonies themselves reflected transient states that would change or pass with the post-war conditions, and the return to *normal life* – «whatever that might be!» And therefore they are conceived here as *crossovers*, even before further analysis of the relation between the chief contents of the symbolic economy of at the Sarajevo JCC (*book 6*) and the readiness vested in the variety humanitarian activities that circulated, and contained, them during the war. In my

interviews I invited them to engage a hindsight-reflection on experiences that they basically wished to leave behind. These experiences were containers of knowledge that might be valuable to me – and others – yet were part of a mobilisation pattern and readiness that belonged to the war.

I conducted my interviews in such a way that the semi-structured interview guide, which I had internalised prior to these interviews, included questions on how (a) the activists decided to join *La Benevolencija* [which forced them back into the disillusioned mind-set from before they joined], (b) how the services they provided came to be, and their prospective on (c) how they envisaged their activities and lives under peaceful conditions in post-war Bosnia. I quickly came to realise, however, that the idea of continuity between the three phases, or modalities, of involvement – notwithstanding how the activists had been and would be differently implicated – was nonsense in practical terms, and unrealistic.

From a modelling point of view, an alternative framework to work with the testimonial statements, therefore, is to consider the three phases I included into the interview-guide as phase shifts: (a) cutting loose ends [the impossibility of coping in solitaire and the proposal of bringing in activities into the *Benevolencija* network]; (b) developing activities as part of a collective contestation of the reality of the war]; (c) retying loose ends [developing war-time services in preparation for peace]. Then, they can be seen as – parallel – ongoing concerns, rather than stages in a linear story-line of war, and be appraised for their dynamic of convergence/divergence in the generative time of process (rather than the cumulative time of history).

The *crossovers* therefore may be seen as determined in the wear-and-tear of these three tiers. This facilitates the re-framing of *resistance*, *affordance* and *service* as the three tiers of appropriation, which in fact I sensed in the changing attitudes of my informants from the very beginning of my research-project, during the initial survey in East- and Central Europe, as constitutive but piecemeal dimensions of the «human landscape». In the present, more matured, perspective, these personal dispositions – or, dynamic components of personal orientation – cannot be assimilated into each other, nor mutually colonise one another. Nevertheless, they presently appear more integrated and more interconnected – on the background of the Sarajevo testimonials – than they did during my initial quests and queries.

Focussing on *crossovers* brings up a challenge of developing a model of choice. What is the difference, at this level, between the activists in Sarajevo, and the agonists in Zagreb? What characterises the difference between these two categories of actors? Seen as a moving formation – as a shoal of fish, as a flock of bird, or riders on a foxhunt – the two JCCs featured different teeming patterns.

In Zagreb, holding the centre – as a steering principle in such formations – was an existential tactic applied by individuals only when in *remote* connection with the JCC: it was then they felt like Jews, in the sense of belonging and Jewish *différance*. At the centre, however – that is, at the JCC – ‘holding the centre’ meant something else: it was a control regime, and a power game, that evacuated from collective relevance the sentiments people nurtured when on their own.

In Sarajevo, this steering principle was also featuring in the centre: both in the sense of religious activities being part of proximal and practical day-to-day relations, in the sense of sending out people on various humanitarian missions, and in the sense of attracting a number of individuals to join and become activists. In other words, holding the centre is a steering principle that activists in Sarajevo also managed to sustain in the proximal mode, the remote mode and in the shifts between the two. This means that inter-personal relation between the activists – as a weak-tie network (Granovetter) – worked differently than in Zagreb.

In Zagreb the weak-tie network was operative among the cultural elite – the vanguard of satellites outside the JCC – and were upheld during cultural events at the JCC and then evacuated the premises. Otherwise the JCC was used as a teeming-space by people who were specifically *not* deeply involved in the community organisation. These observations summon a better comparative understanding how weak-ties are maintained and sustained as people shift to close interaction, and the factors that have a bearing when they fail to do so.

This brings us to the problematic of *contact zones* (Pratt): *i.e.*, the management of asymmetries that emerge on arenas of encounters, where actors interact in the close mode. A reformulation of the problematic of contact zones, and their constitutive *asymmetries* between actor sets, may be required at this point. If the problematic of asymmetrical relations in contact zones emerge whenever *functional hierarchies* – related to tasks and occasions – become *structural hierarchies* (related to person, status and group).

Hence the following working-hypothesis: there are teeming dynamics that interfere into the dynamics of extrapolation of ‘structure’ from ‘function’ with the effect of perturbing and diverting these dynamics. These interventions have to do with managing the dynamics of resistance, affordance and service (the modalities of personal readiness, creativity and commitment in actors) and bring us to the subject matters and materials discussed in *book 6*. Presently [*Frames*], the symbolic economies of the Sarajevo- and Zagreb JCCs that draw differently on *distinction* and *différance* may now be reformulated.

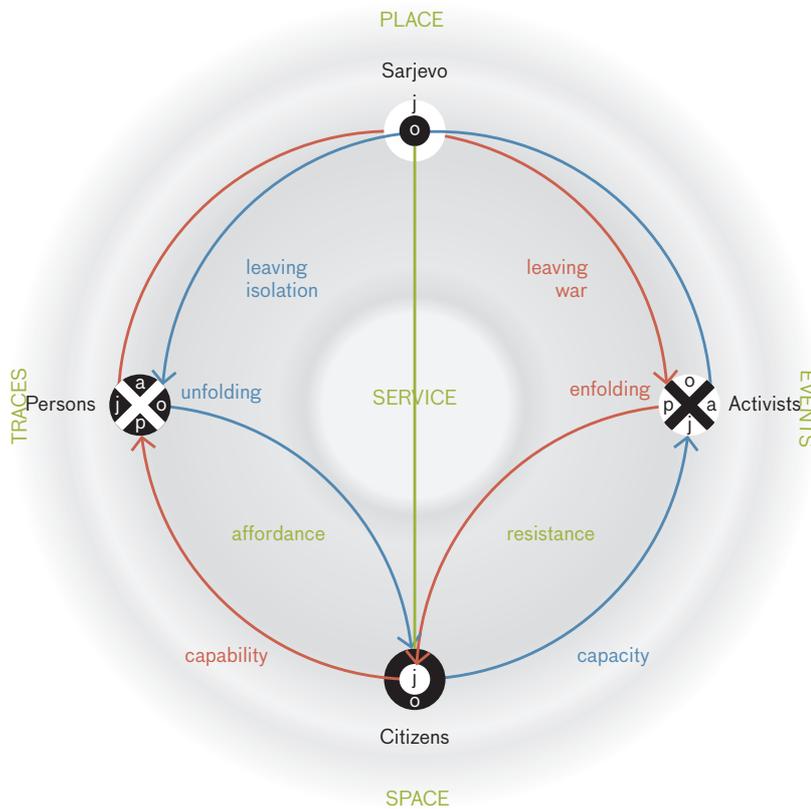
Arendt’s discernment of nationalism as loss of depth in the civic sense of belonging (Arendt, 1951), is amenable to how the dynamics of *belonging* crosscut and alter the politics of *identity*, public appearances and marginalisation. In the dynamics of belonging, *différance* comes before *distinction*. In the line of thought inspired by Arendt (1960) the corollary of the reflective model I have called Jewish *différance* (separating oneself from the mainstream to assume positions in relation to it) is the *art* of the locality: growing the roots that connect space to place is – in the urban context – an art, and not natural growth that connects blood and soil by a secret tie.

The personal relationship to the place, and to others via the place, was key to all the informants that gave me testimonials in Sarajevo. The JCC, epitomised by the soup kitchen, was referred to as «Sarajevo in miniature». And the informants also regularly told me that they did their efforts during the war «for Sarajevo». Were they talking about an idea? Were they talking about the city? The answer is *both* (*book 5* and previous section). Sarajevo was the connection in the people-to-people work that engaged the activists. And Sarajevo was the frontier that ensured people with different ethno-religious background the possibility of a peaceful coexistence.

So the place, in this sense, is both a boundary and a connection: a *gatekeeper* of weak-ties at the level of ethno-religious identities, and the reality of connection at the level of belonging to Sarajevo, which is the key to ‘citizenship’ in the anthropological sense of the term. Evidently, the profundity of this sense of place is related to the history of the connection, and the time spent in the city. Newcomers that infused Sarajevo from the countryside – coming in as refugees – certainly were not ascribed the mix between weak-ties and connection. And outsiders were also largely uncomprehending to value of this mix, which at

face value is an *oxymoron*. Karadzic did not understand it and, in my informants' say, he hated it.

In the language of models, which is being developed here, however, the alternative to the oxymoron are pragmatic contradictions: simple models produce pragmatic contradictions if not expanded by reflective models, and reflective models produce unwieldy complexity if not canalised – and made to converge – by generative models. Upgrading models from simple, reflective to generative levels constitutes a readiness potential to respond, and the human infrastructure of responsibility. The argument is one of pragmatism rather than of cultural sophistication. The dimensions of the complex dynamics that includes the three levels of modelling are represented in the *Lys*-graph.



Lys-graph (cf., Design annex)
 – global assessment: empirical dimensions in the anthropology of citizenship (Sarajevo): j = Jew; o = other; p = person; a = activist.

The graph should be read as follows: from bottom – right to left – and up. The alliance of Jews and ‘others’ under the banner of *good citizenship* in Sarajevo, was a pragmatic translation of Jews as ‘other’ in the context of the ethno-religious war: all parties agreed that Jews had no part in this war. And the pragmatism of *La Benevolencija* was to make it possible for others than Jews to join this position: *i.e.*, citizens of Sarajevo also had no part in this war – hence the idea of saving the city by resisting the war. In effect, the category of Jews came to include a group of unspecified *others*. There was a pragmatic correspondence between the representation of Jews as *others*, and the inclusion of *others* by the Jews into their category (*i.e.*, a category to which the belligerent parties related). In other words, at this level, we have a simple model.

Then a set of metaphors were used to account for how such others found their way to the Jewish community, as the city was devastated by the Serbian shelling, from around the surrounding heights, Sarajevo came to represent the counter-image of citizenship and rights: it was compared to Auschwitz – an extermination camp, not a city. This was the city where people had to cope – and fight a hopeless struggle to remain persons in their own eyes – before they started to work as activists. They experienced a loss of place, and the ‘space of the other’ was the space of the Serbs. In this context, the Jewish Community was a place one could go to (as one of ten places people would go to smoke, play chess and drink coffee before the war). A place of survivors, a place for survivors, a Sarajevo place that had survived and still prevailed.

By doing so, the people who used the services of *La Benevolencija*, or joined the organisation, *left isolation*. This unfolding of wandering, waywardness and shift was a metaphor that emerged in the testimonies: not as a rhetoric element in a standard story, but as a container of a different story, which is about the change in capabilities that occurred as they – users and activists – discovered a possibility in a state of darkness, imposed by the war, and used it. This is the beginning of a subaltern life-world: a life-world represented in contestation to the war, enacted accordingly and eventually experienced as such. The activities developed and sustained by *La Benevolencija* – at the JCC and in the city of Sarajevo – boasted a subaltern ontology, or *différance*: a capacity to separate oneself from the mainstream reality – the war – and assume productive positions in relation to it was enfolded into the space-time of humanitarian relief. A space with claims to place: in this case, the ‘space of the other’ is the space of tactics (Certeau, 1984).

This spatial ontology of services makes claims for Sarajevo: the services developed by the organisation of relief-providing, including Radio *La Benevolencija*. And, more generally, this organisational experience was used as knowledge asset for competence-building and business-development during the post-war reconstruction. This is a second level of enfolding – or, metonymy – in which experiences acquired in the humanitarian defence of the city, were transformed into human resources for the reconstruction of the city. These peacemaking efforts however did not emerge heuristically after the war, but existed throughout the war. Firstly, because people were in different maturity-phases in discovering and growing with these options. Secondly, because actors may shift between phases, thus, operating parallelly in different areas. Thirdly, because the nonlinear integration of the three levels brings us to the generative model (and a deeper sense of aggregation vs. simple complement).

At this point we come to the critical juncture of the analysis developed here: in the graph above, services are not social services because they are part of the generative dynamics whereby the citizens partake of the life in the city. In other words, they are understood within a political framework. This is different from the Zagreb JCC where the cultural vanguard acted as citizens on behalf of the JC, while the services of the community belonged to the internal sphere of the community, and were internal issues. There were of course budgetary issues that were brought into the public sphere, and into political discussions. But the services *themselves* were not political tools, or instruments. This is clearly different from Sarajevo. And the difference harks back to the issues discussed in *book 2*: in the new European polity – and in the wake of European citizenship – the ECJC became *de facto* political on account of how service-development was interlinked with other issues on the national political stage (*e.g.*, restitution). But this change of identity – which was argued for such pragmatic reasons – was controversial (particularly to American Jewish organisations – the WJC and the Joint mainly).

In the above graph, ‘services’ are represented in two tiers, with a *religious core* surrounded by a halo of secular services. The integral entity is a compound of services organised around a core of *otherness*. In Judaism, G-d is the absolute Other (Levinas) or otherness upheld as a *Principle*: the unity of type and instance, representation and action, word and creation, in an absolute place. G-d features the unity that

cannot be realised in human being – and which therefore is unique – and for that reason at once the subject of resistance and the mover of affordances. Moreover, G-d is not completely external to human being: G-d is manifested in human being through the soul, and can as such be experienced. In this religious phenomenology, being a Jew is to live with this Other inside: to separate oneself from the world of Creation, to join and develop in the world of the Creator, and then to link up with the world of Creation again with this *altering* experience. G-d is incorporeal but is embodied by human beings; *i.e.*, embodied as *other*. In this sense, dynamic *otherness* is core to Judaism and also has a bearing on close relationships. And it is maintained and developed, in closeness, through a certain number of time-bound practices, sustained learning and obligatory economic transactions. In the present terms, the core of religious services includes simple models, reflective models and generative models: the weakness of ties, the reality of the connection.

In the context of *secular services* G-d is a generative model: *i.e.*, a model that intervenes, perturbs and deviates the dynamics that transform functional hierarchies (tasks and occasions) into structural hierarchies (based on person, status and group). From a secular point of view, G-d features the domestication of remote causes. The last and concluding section is intended to draw an outline of the generative inventory – or aggregate – of this process of domestication, and thereby address some fundamental issues of accountability, which will allow us to return to some of the initial quests and queries of the *Travelogue*. The presence of an «archetypical» model-cluster – with simple, reflective and generative components – results in a classification of JCs that crosscuts the existing ones (Sephardic, Ashkenazic [Orthodox, Hassidic, Conservative and Reform]).

The ensuing classification is based on qualitative aspects of Jewish presence in the larger society, and the analytical dimensions of variation: the big difference goes between JCs where this conglomerate model exists and where it does not (rather than how far the conglomerate extends into secular matters). The first big difference runs between JCs run on ‘Jewish identity’ (Zagreb) – *i.e.*, the politics of recognition – the JCs run on ‘Jewish belonging’ (Sarajevo) – *i.e.*, the politics of citizenship – which has a profound impact on the perception and management of anti-Semitism. The second minor difference – *i.e.*, how far the religious conglomerate extends into the secular environment (which is considered here as internal to JCs) – constitutes a source of variation with ethnographic interest mainly.

END-GAME 2: COUNTING WHAT COUNTS (BOOK 6)

Book 6 – Bringing it All Together

A major theme in the *Travelogue*, and particularly of this modelling space [*Frames*], is the importance of models in human life formations. They are cognitive constructs of a dynamic and evolutionary type. People have models and anthropologists have models. As dynamic constructs models are subject to embodiment and enskilment: (a) in the sense of entities that are assumed as bodies [cf., Csordas, 1994]; (b) in the sense of a «philosophy in the flesh» [cf., Lakoff & Johnson, 1999]. Despite the difference between these understandings, it is their dynamic connection in time, which is emphasised here. I wish to situate this idea of models as embodied constructs in relation to Bourdieu's theory of the *habitus*.

The notion of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1979) serves to conceptualise a structuring structure – of bodily schemata – which manages a conglomerate of capital (with a volume and structure that varies from person to person) in different fields of practice. In contrast, the theoretical understanding I am proposing here features an unstable compound of the two above types of body-intelligence – with a representational [embodiment] and behavioural [enskilment] component – that can intervene into, perturb and divert structural integration. The model conglomerates that interest me are structural heterogeneities: it is the

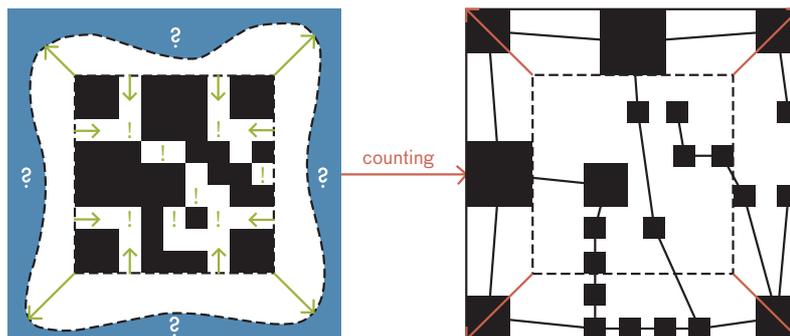


fig. 26 – strategy of tracking (metalepsis): picking up on initial conditions and assumptions; assessment of networks and operations in the *Travelogue* (Go Graph).

compound dynamic of (1) functional integration and (2) institutional deconstruction, which is at the core of the theoretical enterprise of featuring ‘disordered systems’ [Barth, 1992], and the generative analysis of ‘disordered systems’.

The difference between these two approaches is highlighted by the problem of how we should understand *non-answers* in social science methodology (Bourdieu, 1979). In human life formations where the act of separating oneself from the mainstream – while interacting productively with the mainstream from this position – is of constitutive importance, it is clear that *non-answers* to research inquiries are imminent. Indeed, the dialectic and dynamic of resistance and affordance, then, cannot be understood as externalities (that one might choose/not to include in an exercise of methodological reflexivity), but rather becomes the subject matter of the inquiry, *before* any form of survey can be meaningfully envisaged. Before we count, we must know *what* we are counting and *why* it counts.

These issues started cropping up from day one, in the inquiries related by the *Travelogue (book 1)*: they exerted a gravitational pull throughout the six books that progressively matured and was brought to fruition. The dynamics analysed in *book 6* familiarises us with processes in which new entities – services and aspects of services – constantly emerge: these entities are of a type that the actors involved (remotely, proximally or actively) would not believe in before the fact. Evidently, war conditions may justify particularly stern forms of scepticism. However, the dialectic of resistance/affordance inside the war-zone forced the actors to calibrate their realism with something else: their realism proved time and again to be «unrealistic». In other words, the inventory of what *counted* was in constant change.

In statistical terms the variables were not only multiple, but emergent. In games terms the points counted depended on the creativity of the players: the most noteworthy creative move being the inclusion of the count into the game. This move is what motivated my inclusion of models into the ethnography. This move has not watered out the model concept, but enhanced and strengthened it. Similarly, the inclusion of the count into the game does not warrant – in a pejorative sense – creative accounting. Rather the participant dimension added to counting serves to test the interest and validity of the count. In addition, it affords a possibility of critical evaluation of counting: when it is – in which phases – it is productive.

²¹ In BaCh's personal archives it was recorded that the *Joint* helped out 1900 Jews during the war, while according to the record of 1996, 900 had remained in Bosnia Hercegovina during the war: in 1992 the records counted a mere 1100 Jews in Bosnia. In other words the population had doubled.

Locating the count to the end-game evidently reflects this view of phasing. During the war on Sarajevo (1992-05) the Jewish population grew²¹: (a) in terms of citizens created as Jews for the purpose of their transportation on *La Benevolencija*'s refugee convoys out of the war-zone; (b) in terms of citizens that remained who documented their Jewish precedent as a result of their approval of *La Benevolencija*'s humanitarian efforts in the relief sector [the point being that these were people of whom the Sarajevo JCC had no prior knowledge, and who had vouched for plain citizenship]. If one brings this problematic to the European level, there is evidently a population of *passing* Jews and non-countable Jews.

On this background an exhaustive census of Jews in Europe makes little sense: the demographics that exist – and their variance – are related to various pragmatic purposes and political views. For this reason, studying Jewish life in Europe is interesting because it provides us with ethnography on the dissemination of citizenship in Europe, in formations – and in relation to a tradition of knowledge – which is not only «pre-bureaucratic» but also «pre-state». Or, in less evolutionary and more positive terms: the study of Jewish life in Europe can host the anthropology of citizenship, in a field where the ethical foundation of citizenship may be studied at the level of social interaction, ritual and economic exchange.

The generative analysis of disordered systems – as a methodology – has a number of potential implications for the management, or design, of organising processes. The implications reduce the possibility of bureaucratic management in some aspects, while increasing the managerial possibilities in others. Identifying and managing model-conglomerates in systems represents an alternative to the monitoring of linear processes in pursuit of simple models. The non-matching relation between information policies and the human infrastructure of literacy practices that contain them, beyond a certain point, develop *pragmatic contradictions*. Complex processes feature partial overlaps between content and containers, with different levels of correspondence, beyond the simple model, bringing together different ways of knowing and generating affordances, in situations where external events summon action, and action is initiated on the basis of creative perceptions of the environment, by the use of frames (*cf.*, Goffman, 1974).

DESIGN: CHOICES AND AGGREGATES

As the *Travelogue* grew into 6 books plus a synopsis it became increasingly clear that it matured before my eyes – as the author – into this particular volume. But whoever apart from me would know and catch the form of this particularity, beyond the warp and woof of covered by the reader in tiny steps or larger leaps? So, I made a number of choices. And I will use this section to tell about these choices.

The first attempts I made at relating this story – the content and form that make up the design idea – I made with graphic designer Anders Hofgaard: he has demonstrated a considerable patience with the interactive style of working that I requested, and considerable skill in realizing these ideas, expressing them and bringing them to life. In this process, I also have benefited from professional dialogues with colleague Maziar Raein – at the Oslo National Academy of the Arts, the Design Faculty – on the subject matter of ‘holding patterns’: *i.e.*, structurally heterogeneous elements held together in a collusive state, as the larger system enters a phase-transition.

One could naively propose that the text and imagery of the *Travelogue* are examples of elements in a phase-sensitive collusive pattern. However globally correct, this assertion is not a good starting point to make the design-choices explicable in any detail. Therefore I will proceed by drawing the itinerary of a quest and design choices made in imagery – or, visuals – and text separately, and then bringing them together in a third account. Though the ethnographic account is conventionally text-centred, I will proceed in the opposite way here. As ethnography presupposes a textual-bias and a subordination of other visuals, the explication of the graphic design conversely demands a visual bias and a subordination of text.

Even as I was conducting my fieldwork – on and off for a period of four years (1995-99) – my teacher in the ethnographic skill and trade (Fredrik Barth) urged me to harness the complexity of my empirical

inquiries by conceiving and pursuing a single and simple set of elementary relationships throughout my research (warning me that any addition or subtraction of elements would affect all the others and the relations between them). Due to the broadness of my theoretical interests and the disorderly manifestations whirled up by the fieldwork process, this requirement was at once easy to comprehend and difficult to implement. Subjectively the «hum» of unity in my experience of a broad range of fields, and the possibility a unified grasp, was pervasive: in fact, this sense – or, «hum» – never left me; but how to convey this sense – or, hum – to others? When we are ‘following the loops’ what exactly does that mean?

After my break from the text- and fieldwork of the *Travelogue* (and the exploration visual modelling during my time at SINTEF) I found that the challenge of accounting for organisational complexity lay in harnessing complexity in the interactive development and use of simple models: usually, by working in parallel with visual and textual media. The compound models developed, comprising visual and textual elements brought to convergence in the computer-based modelling environment, represented attempts to make complex insights visible in simple elementary designs. This experience turned out to be of some value in «massaging» the *Travelogue* materials.

It surfaced as I was working to visualise key parameters of empirical dynamics in a network-model of nodes and links, ending up with a loop-graph in three tiers, featuring on the cover and twelve instances throughout the *Travelogue* – which will henceforward be called the *Lys-graph* (on account of the central set of links that looks similar to the French Fleur de Lys, and also featuring on the coat of arms of Sarajevo city). In the present context, the meaning of this graph is of course not heraldic. It rather emerged – through a series of trial and failure – as a cogent way of representing dynamics in which meaning and organising process somehow lock into each other (Wagner, 1996).

VISUAL LOGIC

The story of the *Lys-graph* begins with a mathematical problem solved by Leonard Euler, in 1736 (Barabasi, 2002). Euler became interested in the Königsberg bridge-problem – an old time puzzle – that was formulated in connection with a competition for mathematicians, proposed by the city. The problem is as follows: two islands in the river Pregel are connected to the surrounding city by a system of 7 bridges – which route does an

imaginary walker have to follow to cross all the bridges, without walking twice the same way? The following image (*fig. i*) conveys a schematic understanding of the problem (the four points – or nodes – A, B, C and D are connected by a system of 7 bridges – or, links).

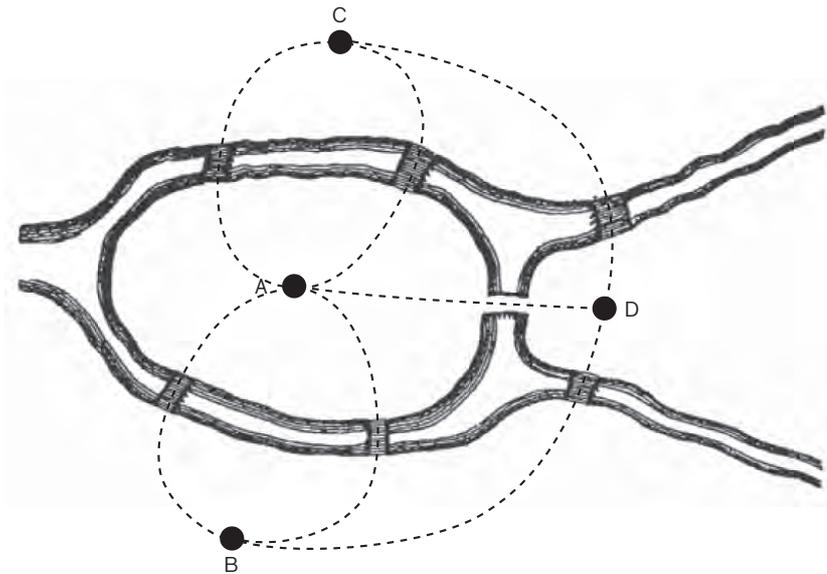


fig. i – THE PREGEL RIVER WITH ITS BRIDGES MODELLED AS A GRAPH.

The problem as such appealed to me, on account of its unidirectional assumptions, since my fieldwork tactics of following the loops clearly was to avoid what in the Japanese Go-game (*Frames*) are called ‘eternity situations’ (Jap. *Ko*) – in other words, repetitive captures, or dead-locks – abiding by the rule: instead of becoming entrenched by moving in circles, find a socially relevant way of moving on (*i.e.*, avoid moving in circles, and avoid being caught in spirals, if possible). Euler’s solution to the problem – which is the seed to mathematical network/graph theory – is that it had no solution: he managed to prove mathematically that any even number of nodes with an odd number of links has no single-path solution. On the basis of this solution he won the competition.

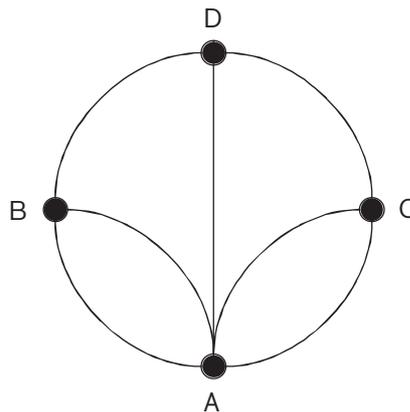
At a theoretical level, my interest in the problem was not mathematical, but rather logical and semantic. From this point of view, I liked the problem but the solution did not satisfy me. In social practice a number of problems are upheld despite their lack of solution: which means that, although it has no solution, we cannot leave the

problem. Solutions sometimes can contribute to discard problems that are part of cultural diversity in a social life form: from an ethnographic point of view this is unacceptable, and may even appear as a driver of marginalisation in relations between ‘same’ and ‘other’ (*i.e.*, the other is subject to «no/solutions», instead of working as a constitutive element in the same/other relationship). To retrieve these characteristics of the problem – and its «behaviour» – I looked for a way of upholding the problem, by reflecting it in a holistic model.

In the process of working and reworking the relation between parameters in network models – that eventually boiled down to one structurally similar network to the Königsberg bridge-problem – the task of explaining the exact visual design to an intelligent other (*i.e.*, the graphic designer) proved that my visual logic was less intuitive than I had expected, and forced me to develop an independent analytical approach, which was robust enough to talk directly about the graphs. This was necessary because the graphic designer simply did not have time to read through the entire ethnography. As a consequence, I had to make clear to myself what I had been tacitly carrying up my sleeve all the way, from the inception to the conclusion of the *Travelogue*: the associations to heraldics were not entirely arbitrary, nor the relation to observed dynamics entirely random; yet the *Lys*-graph was a representation of my choice, deemed sufficiently adequate to model the dynamics that interested me, and was therefore contingent – but also concerned with the subject matter of contingency.

Responding to my dissatisfaction with the Euler-solution, I re-conceptualised the four nodes A, B, C, D and the 7 links connecting them as a set of 3 branchings from 4 nodes: (a) 2 links branch from D,

fig. ii – SIMPLE LYS GRAPH



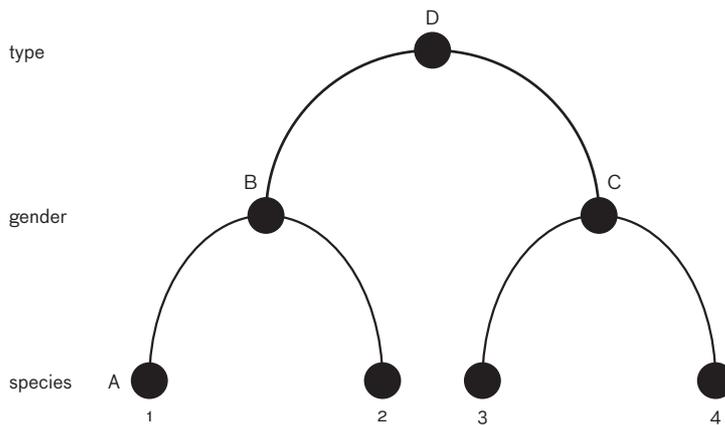
(b) 4 links branch from B and C, (c) 1 link branches from A [it integrates the whole, and is therefore conceived as a *holistic link*]. If these three bifurcations are conceived as occurring simultaneously at four nodal points then we have a *Lys-graph* in its seminal form (*fig. ii*).

The *Lys-graph* integrates classification and comprehension into a single whole, and therefore visualises a model with both analytic and synthetic claims. In this sense, the *Lys-graph* features a pattern that holds a problem: *i.e.*, it is a holding pattern. The problem held by the pattern can be subsumed by the following line of questions: how can reduction – *i.e.*, the cutting and retying of loose ends (*Frames*) – be conceived within a holistic way of thinking? How does holistic reduction pertain to how we think about aggregates (rather than as simple compilations)? How can holistic reduction be located in social practice other than as ‘trouble shooting’?

These are questions that beg to be answered, however, and they have to be rephrased to yield a problem that can be held (rather than simply solved): if we hold that the branching starts from four sides at once – thus generating the *Lys-graph* – then the network is anarchic (one can move around in any direction one wishes), but if the bifurcation starts at one node and moves on to the subsequent ones, then it can only start at D, pass by B and C, while concluding with A. Then the network is hierarchical: in fact, the hierarchy is a solution to the problem of moving one way and iterating the bifurcation in a sequence of two steps. This is a simple problem, and the solution appears to be simple too.

However, if we wish to hold the problem even as we have solved it we have to understand the *Lys-graph* as though it had a natural history.

fig. iii – HIERARCHY



lxviii

I will therefore compare the *Lys*-graph with a conventional classificatory tree expressing the hierarchical relationship between type, gender and species (*fig. iii*).

In the ‘natural history’ of the problem, contained by the *Lys*-graph, the first step – *i.e.*, from type to gender – establishes a secondary level at which any instance of a type may be differentiated in terms of gender. As they are differentiated at this level, they are simultaneously differentiated from the previous (type) level: B and C are at the same level (level 2) while D is at a different level. The solution to this problem is to say that B and C are subordinate to D: but the effect of this solution is that D is «othered» in relation to B and C. Gender is here used as a level of qualitative differentiation under the type-level, which may/not reduce to male/female.

When does this happen? It happens when D is seen from the point of view of B and C, thereby disrupting the sequence (*i.e.*, starting from D and proceeding irreversibly to [B, C] and then read A[1, 2, 3, 4]). Why does it happen? Because all three levels are conceptual constructs and all need to be equally connected to a concrete instance – *i.e.*, something, an event or an occurrence in the world – in order to mean anything. In other words, A, B, C, D are somehow bundled together in relation to a concrete instance [denoted by all three].

A common assumption is that the species is the closest category to what we actually observe. In the history of the hierarchy proposed here – the ‘natural history’ of the *Lys*-graph – it is not: the species is simply the hierarchical construct that is closest to enumeration (*i.e.*, the approach we adopt to an instance when we are ready to count it and include it into an inventory). Counting adds a new level to the two previous ones and also adds a level-difference that «others» the previous ones.

The mechanism of «othering» can function the following way: levels come about as we need to differentiate differently, the differentiation at each level starts to operate autonomously and they begin to drift apart. The classical divide between qualitative and quantitative methodologies in social science may be understood in this way. Is it possible to «wire» them together so that this does not happen? It is, but then we have to be much more circumspect with how we account for what we count, in the sense that we are counting units that are semantically complex and, as such, have to satisfy some requirements of completeness (even as they are structurally heterogeneous, as we shall see below).

The *Lys*-graph represents such a bundle. The links in the *Lys*-graphs used in the *Travelogue* represent: (a) the hierarchical sequence; (b) level-feedback. The vertical link – running from the bottom-node to the top node of the *Lys*-graph – is conceived in Boolean terms (*cf.*, Ragin, 1987): it either «fires» or doesn't and is accordingly attributed the values 1 (fires) or 0 (doesn't). Which means that – *cf.*, the case of the Zagreb and Sarajevo case materials – it is the frequency of «firing» which interests us. It can be high or low, depending on the interplay of constraining and enabling factors canalising the compound dynamics, which are represented in the remainder of the graph. Whenever the green link «fires» it transforms the compound into a token (*fig. iv*).

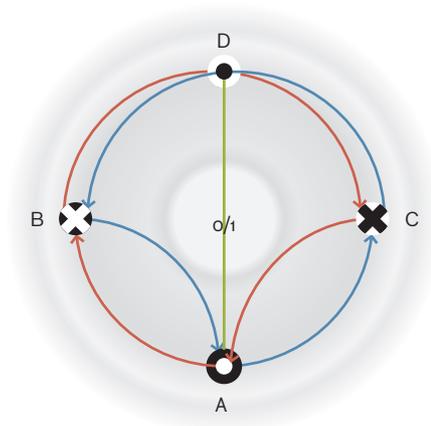


fig. iv – KLEIN GROUP

I will now turn to the nodes of the graph, which – contrary to the ones used so far – represent «intelligent» compounds. They are derived from what Lévi-Strauss (1964-71) called 'Klein-groups' (attributed [unreferenced] to the mathematician Felix Klein): a term, its opposite and their inversions. The node-objects are inspired by Klein-groups in the same sense as the *Lys*-graph is inspired by the Euler-problem.

In the order of appearance in the above graph, the group defines as: (1) term: C; (2) opposite: B; (3) inversions: A and D. This does not mean that I have abandoned D as the principal term but that *the order of operations* is different from *the order of hierarchy*: departing from

and arriving at D would yield either a tautological or teleological result, if we do not conduct our operations from somewhere else.

On this basis starting out with C and B constitutes a middle-out approach to the operations. This way of constructing the problem also is consistent with the concept of deconstruction – which has been regularly associated with the central green link in the *Travelogue* – as well as with the concept of aggregation the groups, represented by the *Lys*-graphs, which is explored here (*i.e.*, the cutting and retying of loose ends that result from subtracting or adding groups).

My objection to Lévi-Strauss' uses of the Klein's group – the logical groundwork of his *méthode exhaustive* – is that it results in expanding (continental holistic) compounds rather than in comparable units developed to increase our understanding the empirical formation of systems. My meandering across the European continent while doing fieldwork, is in some ways similar to Lévi-Strauss meandering analysis across ethnographies written by others. However, the research strategies differ, since Lévi-Strauss seeks universality by extending the research problem – the empirical perimeter and theory – while I have sought universality at the anthropological level of debate by navigating to a field-site where these problems come out with a maximum of *intensity* (Lévy, 2003).

If I use this occasion to benefit from the company of the masters in the discipline of anthropology, by engaging a comparative dialogue with them, it is evidently to better situate and understand the design aspect of the *Travelogue*, and has little – or nothing – to do with my desire to size up with them. Discussing design is to explore what one might call research strategies, but are perhaps better understood as the large units of research activity (the design-counterpart to Barthes signs [Barthes, 1964]). This is an advantage when the road is long, the signposts are multiple and we arrive at crossroads – some of them with quite a few roads intersecting – and at the challenge of featuring this complexity.

The crossroads themselves feature avalanches of events, but are not quite so chaotic as they may appear (*i.e.*, in the eyes of a naïve observer) to the actors that are engaged in them: they know the roads that cross in the zone of intersection – though not necessarily all of them – and they understand the chaotic site where they have to make do, as a place where the relationship between the roads, and the worlds they represent, is squeezed and brittle (Wallerstein, 1991): the complexity they generate through their transactions and the emergent models that come to feature

properties of such disordered systems, constitute the holding patterns characteristic of phase transitions that should be understood as changes of time rather than as changes in time (Wallerstein, *ibid.*).

The point being that there are certain phases of complex dynamic processes in which it is not only fruitful – but mandatory – to give up the idea of levels. The Lys-graph already deconstructs the notion of levels in hierarchy, in favour of a cybernetic model, inspired by Bateson (1972), based on (a) *feedback* between gender and species and (b) *calibration* between species and type [in the generation of compound tokens, instances or groups]. However, as we move on to relations of exchange and communicative interaction in the type of zone outlined above, then we have to go beneath the structural level of the Lys-graph and spell out the semantics of its «intelligent» nodes, at a level of generality included here for sparing readers of ethnography.

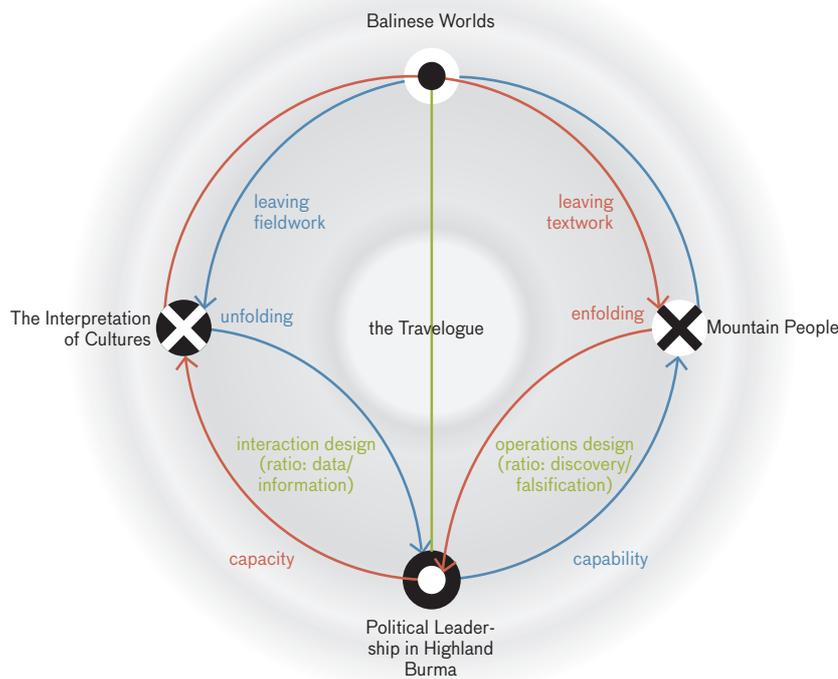


fig. v – THE TRAVELOGUE

The materials of the *Travelogue* summon a broader understanding of how actors are in exchange even as they disagree to the point that their communication breaks down. How do they go on «speaking» to each other under such conditions? To avoid exoticising this type of situation to the recluse of war-zones, it may be brought to bear on relations between anthropologists and their debates. While conducting my fieldwork, I used four monographs as cardinal points to navigate in the direction of the type of ethnography I wished to produce: (a) I navigated between Clifford Geertz's *Interpretation of Cultures* (Geertz, 1973) and Colin Turnbull's *Mountain People* (Turnbull, 1972) as between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*; (b) I used Fredrik Barth's *Balinese Worlds* (Barth, 1993) as a model of variety – and an ethnographic exemplar of empirical variation – and Edmund Leach's *Political Leadership in Highland Burma* (Leach, 1964) as a model of dynamics. It was fruitful to see them like this (fig. v).

I used *Mountain People* to remind myself of the ethnographic challenge represented by unpleasant and awkward situations that emerged during my fieldwork (who to be true to the character of these situations while remaining aware as an anthropologist): I found that these were significantly linked to operational conditions of fieldwork, and a sense of the limits of ethnography – and its authority – accordingly informed by choices. And I used the *Interpretation of Cultures* to remind myself of that finding solace in text – and culture as text – diverted my attention from interaction designs [BOOKS, PUZZLES, REBUSES, HOLDING PATTERNS] and their generative produce [RITUALS and SYMBOLS in context]. In the case of *Balinese Worlds* and *Political Leadership in Highland Burma* I found, the ethnographic elaboration of a variety characteristic of complex societies (Barth), and an ethnographic elaboration of how such worlds can be phase-sensitive, in the sense of being alternately cyclical, bifurcating and irreversible (Leach [*cf.*, also Wallerstein, 1991]). My reference to Barth and Leach goes beyond mere comparison, to assert the importance of their internal relationship: while Leach's ethnography from Burma is unfolded in the larger context of modernity; modernity is core and enfolded in Barth's ethnography from Bali. The reader is invited to note the inversed relation between core and periphery in the two nodes assigned to Leach and Barth in the *Lys*-graph.

Placing the *Travelogue* at the centre of the *Lys*-graph is intended to illustrate how I had a sense of navigating between «drifting

continents», rather than placing my own work at the top of a «food-chain». In other words, the *Lys*-graph serves the navigation at a crossroads: cf., the exploration of crossovers in *book 6*, where a series of *Lys*-graphs are exhibited. The analyses in *book 6* are layered, but not hierarchical: it shows how crossovers are assumed (simple models), elaborated (reflective models) and realised (generative models) in phase-transitions where simple, reflective and generative models collude to form the holding-patterns characteristic of structural heterogeneities in disordered systems (Barth, 1992). Chaos is characterised by disorder, certainly, yet it is materially dense with pressures that have a canalising impact: this also why I have, somewhat boldly, placed the *Travelogue* where I also have postulated a 0/1 condition (green branch, *fig. iv*): the transition from chaos to complexity is the success criterion *sine qua non* for the *Travelogue*. If this transition is not realised through the books and closing sections of the *Travelogue*, then it has failed. At the same time it is clear that this transition also is a reduction, although a holistic one.

The semantics of the «intelligent» nodes thereby becomes clear: we cannot proceed by a generative analysis of meaning in an organising process (activities canalised by constraining and enabling conditions) without taking into account the impact of pressure on the larger system

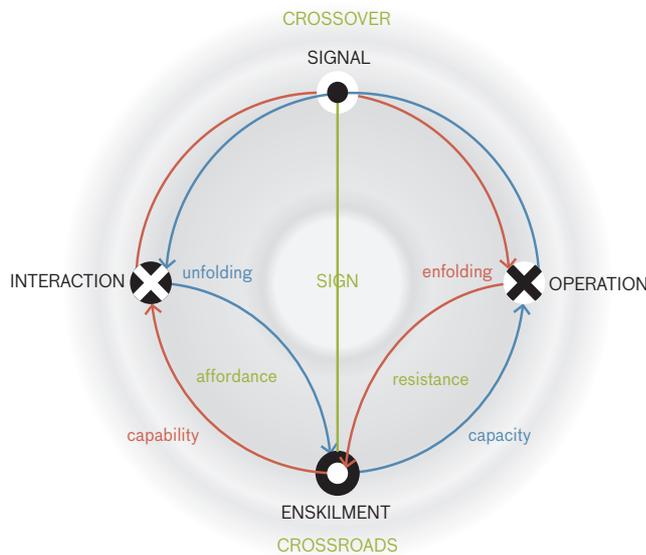


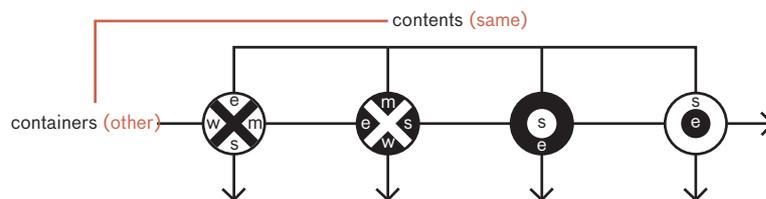
fig. vi – SIGN

– *i.e.*, the crossroads – at which crossovers take place. In other words, there is no point in theorising about signs (in the sense of semiotics) without taking into account signals (in the sense of caption technologies as antennas, radars or bodies). In this line of thinking, the crossed out nodes – in the mid-section of the *Lys*-graph – can be provisionally understood as binary oppositions (operation and interaction) while the circular shapes at the bottom and top of the graph defined respectively as ‘enskilment’ and ‘interaction’ (*fig. vi*)

This representation of the sign inside the *Lys*-graph conveys a sense of structural asymmetry, which is similar to that which Louis Dumont conceived in the structural tradition. It is relevant here, in connection with the explication of the «intelligent» nodes, on account of the informal reflections on the relation between content and container, that I used – at need – in the *Travelogue*. The classical stereotype for this hierarchy: the hierarchy between man and woman in the public sphere is reversed at home (in other words binary oppositions are hierarchical in a way that conveys values and expresses ideology). Translated into the terms used in the *Travelogue*, the ‘term’ and its ‘opposite’ in the above *Lys*-graph may be reflected – in Dumont’s hierarchical terms – as container/content relationships with opposite ratios.

The virtue of the dumontian apparatus (Dumont, 1966) is to have reflected the contents of signification in terms of volume – which in the *Travelogue* is developed in the container concept – and one may articulate these benefits by including these ratios into the dialectics of embodiment (Csordas, 1994): *i.e.*, bodies as a class of phenomena available to human being through perception (this argument, in my view, hinges on the existence of ‘bodies’ as cognitive artefacts of a particular type, subject to enskilment, that can somehow be learned, accepted and used [Lakoff & Johnson, 1999]). But it is the cognitive framework that brings us unto the relevance of taking signals of instances, occurrences or events into account. In the classic gender example [m= man; w = woman; e = enskilment; s = signal] (*fig. vii*):

vii – CODE



The vertical arrangement of man (m) and woman (w) indicate their hierarchy in the male node (*i.e.*, man before woman), while the horizontal arrangement of woman (w) and man (m) in the female node are ordered in the operational sequence of priorities (*i.e.*, woman before man). The elements signal (s) and enskilment (e) represent operational priorities in the male node, while they are hierarchically ordered in the female node. The point not being whether/not this arrangement is empirically corroborated, but to show how Dumont's point looks like when mapped into a Lys-Graph (*fig. viii*):

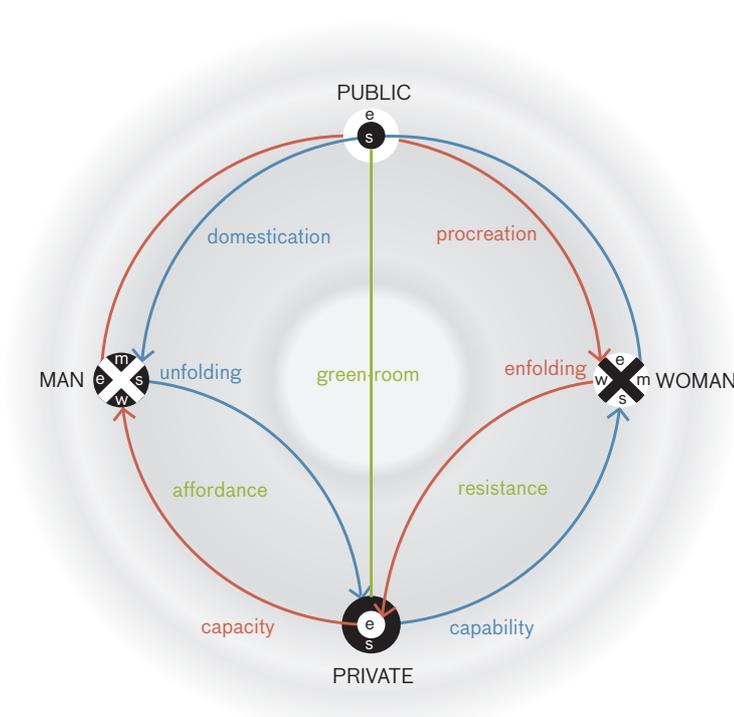


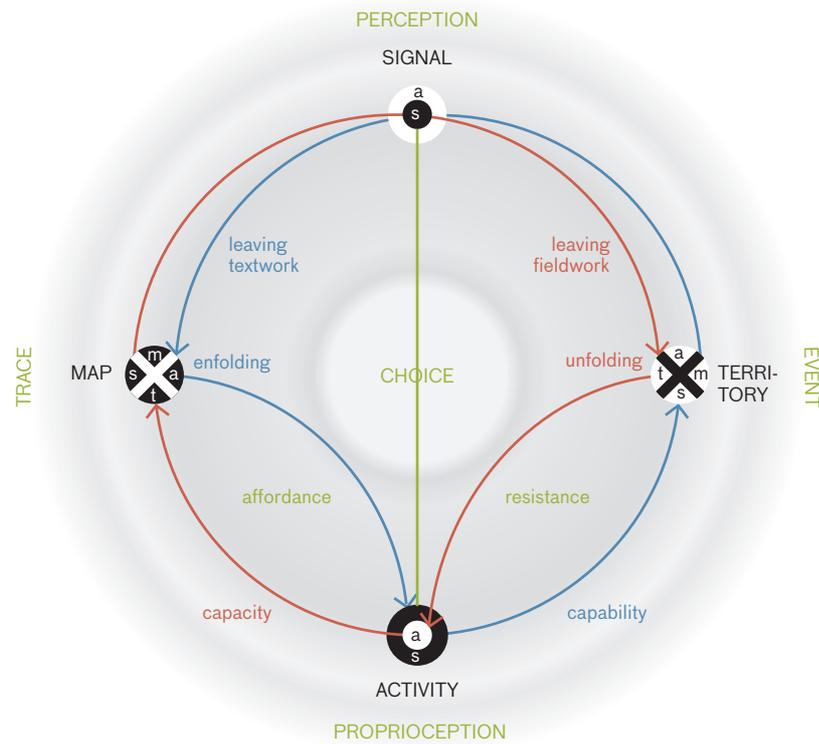
fig. viii - GREEN-ROOM

In practice, however, gender – as relating to type and species – do not come in bipolar form as in woman/man. It nevertheless turned out relevant during my fieldwork in the sense that my navigation in spaces of the *green-room* type [an interstitial space defined as a locus in the books 1 through 6] was predominantly arranged, managed and manoeuvred

by female actors [*cf.*, capability]. Evidently, there is nothing such as complete match with a stereotype. But in general, the gender level – or, the second level in the *Lys*-graph – was tied up in accountabilities of a cognitive (rather than of a structural) type: *i.e.*, the classical example being the ‘map’ versus the ‘territory’. I therefore will now turn from an approach to stereotypes to prototypical thinking (Lakoff, 1987).

During my field-journeys I did not fix my itinerary on a map; rather (a) I determined the territory as I moved onwards; (b) I mapped those territories; (c) while busy with this activity (d) I picked up signals that helped me determine where I should move next. In other words, determining the territory and the map was a cogenerative process, in which the labour invested in this cogeneration, also constituted a receptive activity during which I was picking up signals, catching pointers, relating to cues of what might bring me within and beyond

ig. ix – CHOICE



present inquiries: this was the internal aspect of the journey, and my basis for choosing the *Travelogue* as a genre for the ethnography.

Here, the ‘natural history’ of the Lys-graph comes to a close: the following iteration of the figure corresponds to the level of detail to which the *Travelogue* arrives in book 6 (fig. 26). This will be used as a starting-point to account for the text-design of the *Travelogue* volume. In the graph, the terms that make up the semantics of the «intelligent» nodes are stated here in a general fashion, but will be stated in more detail as we arrive at a joint perspective on models and strategies, as the text-design will be discussed in the coming paragraphs. In the next Lys-graph (fig. ix) ‘map = m’, ‘territory = t’, ‘activity = a’, ‘signal = s’.

Since we now have two fully elaborated instances of the Lys-graph, it will be helpful to hone the governing concepts that underlie the container-content relations which are articulated inside each intelligent node. These elements are ordered into two different categories of pairs: 1) analogue pairs [symbolised by +/-] below; and 2) digital pairs [symbolised by 0/1] below. The analogue pairs are relative and are defined in terms of subtraction and addition: +/- means ‘more of one

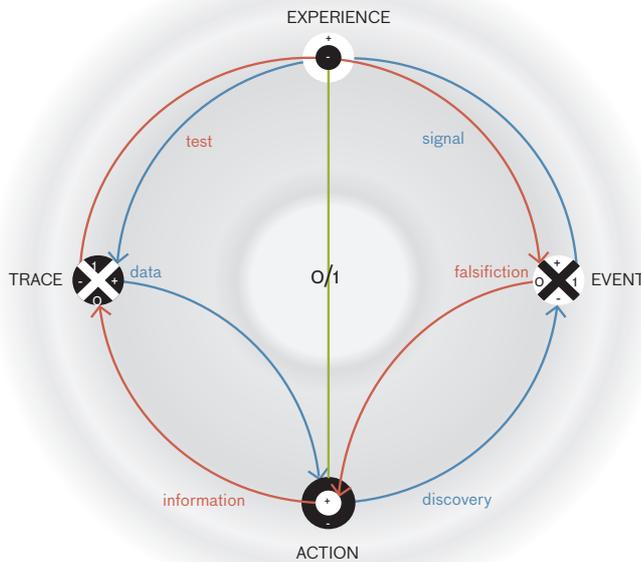


fig. x – 0/1

term implies less of the other term?. While the digital pairs are absolute and defined in terms of presence absence: 0/1 means that either the one or the other term is present but not both. In this Lys-graph information is defined as digital, whereas data are defined as analogue. Information is a stochastic concept defined in terms of code and storage: in this model representation, information generated by human activity is distinguished from signals related to events. Similarly, falsification is defined digitally, while discovery is defined as analogue (which means that discovery and falsification are related in ontologically different terms to events). The blue links in the graph connect: signal, data and discovery. While the red links connect: information, test and falsification (*fig. x*).

The blue and red links define uni-directional loops, of opposite direction, that connect in a variety of ways at the different nodes. In the crossed nodes there is: 1) *exchange* in the black crossed white node; 2) *communication* in the white-crossed black node. Nothing happens between the top and bottom nodes – in which content and containers are inverted – unless the relation between terms that govern them are estimated to realise the central term adequately: these terms are always analogue, while the green link is always digital (*i.e.*, either/or). If this code is used in the design of the Lys-graph, then they are comparable: which means that the loose ends that constitute the hallow of references, relations and pointings (James, *cf.*, epigraph, *book 1*) can be and retied with others, in a way that does not thwart the original context, but can enrich it in various ways. This is the basis for the definition of *aggregates*, that are generated through comparison rather than simple compilations. In other words: the logic of the Lys-graph is the logic of comparison.

This approach to comparison is based on the assumption that events, traces, action and experience form a Klein group: a term (events), its opposite (traces) and their inversions (action and experience). All the terms in *fig. x* are transcendental categories, in the sense that whenever substitute terms appear in Lys-graphs, then they are understood in terms of these (this is assumed in all the preceding graphs here, and is fairly evident in the one that will be presented shortly [*fig. xi*]). Although the Lys-graph is, thus, encoded, it is not an automaton and features data of a particular class: *i.e.*, designed information. To yield its due it must be operated by someone: in other words, it belongs to the class of artefacts that commonly, in physics, is defined as a machine. It features studio-design rather than field-methodology, and in the sense as important

to distinguish as Max Weber's distinction between the studio and the auditorium (Weber, 1919).

In fact, anthropologists distinguish between fieldwork and textwork as mode of subtraction which in turn allows the anthropologist to add them in productive ways, in comparison: if terms are not separated and carefully distinguished, how can they in turn exchange, communicate, compare?

In other words, the distinction between type and token, or the general rule that a group cannot be a member of itself – which are both valid at a general level – can smokescreen the possibility and necessity of testing our theories with empirical findings that are *unique*: if our theoretical concepts and empirical constructs are not arrived at by following different itineraries, the entire notion of test – and testability – is undermined. This is why the global field of the *Lys*-graph is drawn with a «spectral» field (shaded) of the same type as the nodes at the bottom and top of the figure: the reversibility between empirical and theoretical approaches, are thereby expressed by the rotation of the vertical axis from the preceding graph, to the vertical axis in the above

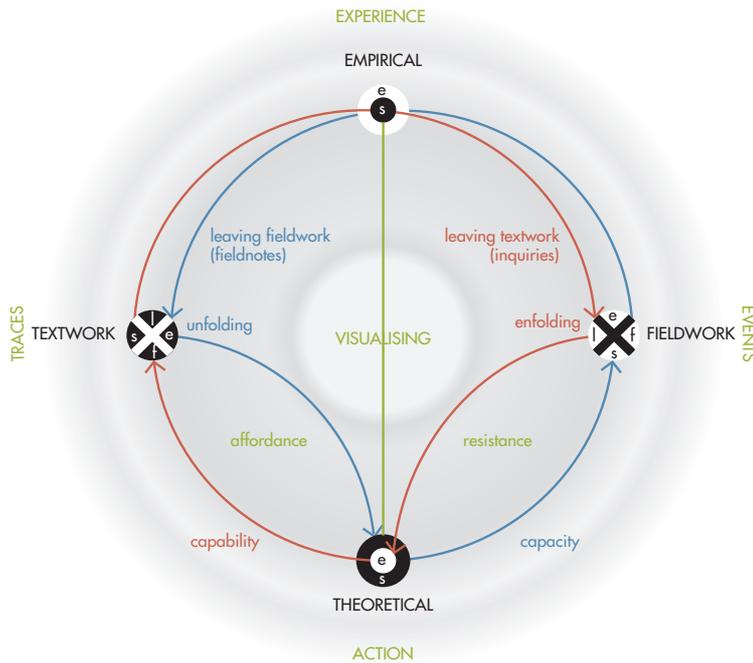


fig. xi – VISUALISING

graph. In the following and closing *Lys*-graph, the global relations between the working-elements of the ethnography therefore are expressed in the following way (f = field; l = literature; e = embodiment; s = signal) (*fig. xi*).

By integrating the semiotic level of signs with the informational level of signals in a single active conception of meaning in organising processes, we are now ready to go about relating the rationales of the text-design chosen for the *Travelogue*; since the strategic and tactical frameworks of (a) literacy practices, (b) information policies and (c) symbolic economies are formulated in the *Travelogue* on the assumption that signs and signals are integrated in actual practice, and that integrating the generation of meaning into organising processes (Wagner), engages meaning at a variable – and changing – depth (*i.e.*, semantic meaning in the sense of Benveniste [1966]).

TEXTUAL LOGIC

The text of the *Travelogue* is organised in six physical volumes as well as synoptic sections [called *Frames* and *Design*]. I have made a number of choices – coached by Anders Hofgaard – to create a curatorial design for the *Travelogue* to take place. Besides conducting a reading test on a selection of benevolent readers – which made us settle for the Sabon type – we organised the design along four cardinal dimensions: (a) horizontality [readability]; (b) verticality [notes apparatus]; (c) reflectivity [text/visual imagery]; (d) counterpoint [shifting genre].

The conceptualisation of (a) the horizontality-dimension helped to determine a fair ratio between the type of language used in the *Travelogue* – a meandering and relatively free sentence structure – and the length of each horizontal stretch across the page. Columns did not work and we wanted a more generous space on each page than the miniature space of a pocketbook: we wanted to leave place for personal notes, and for the reader's thumbs. The result is a global impression, which we decided should not be too far off the mainstream monograph in anthropology. Adding this, we used the (b) verticality dimension to work out a concept of the notes apparatus: we ended up with opting for side-notes, because they are more easily available to the reader, and take on the character of a parallel text: a context for the text.

To use a museum allegory we opted for the curator approach for the design of the notes apparatus – giving them a maximum visibility

in the exhibit area – rather than the conservator approach that would confine them into the archival marginality of endnotes. The footnote alternative I compared to the museum shop, which is a complementary and supplementary space to the main exhibit space. This non-archival concept of the notes- apparatus allowed me to use the notes as reminders – repeating information, at need – instead of an archive with a recurrent problem of duplication. So, the aim is to provide the reader with contextual information, not to avoid duplication. As a result the same information appears several places in the *Travelogue* with different contextual relevance.

The notes apparatus also provide the reader with a vertical count, to indicate to the reader the place s/he's at and give the reader a sense of place. In sum we went for a broader page – in relation to the height – than in the A-4 ratio, and thereby create a balance in each page, the geometry of which is presented at the end of the present section: a 22 cm height x 18 cm breadth solution. Though there is not a one-to-one correspondence with the *Lys*-graph, we created a design in visual resonance with it: there are six books with a synoptic volume, and page solution with lateral elements in symmetry with the vertical line where the pages join. We concluded the design by using the *Lys*-graph as a motif for the front cover.

The visual imagery – the *Lys*-graphs and the remainder – is developed to support the readability of the text by creating a roundup for details that would otherwise remain locally locked loose-ends, which – as they add up – orient the reader in the totality featured, and built up step-by-step, in the *Travelogue*. In the six books, the text determines the pace and the visuals provide support: this primary relationship I conceived as (c) the reflective cardinal dimension of the *Travelogue*. In the synoptic *Frames* section, this relationship is reversed: we thereby shift to (d) the counterpoint dimension. In this closing volume, the visuals are essentially used to pitch a focus – or, the focal gesture of bringing together findings in a reduced space – which is evolving in four steps throughout the roundup: the modelling gestures at the text level are more articulate while the checkerboard patterns used in this section have a textural emphasis (in counterpoint to the *Lys*-graphs that given a gestural emphasis).

The horizontal, vertical, reflective and counterpoint *cardinal* dimensions are in a holistic congruence with the *Lys*-graph (in the synoptic sections the way the notes are laid out in relation to the main

text is reversed, because the text, featuring in the two synoptic sections, is a containing text, where a number of definitive steps are taken beyond the ethnographic content). These dimensions are distributed in the following way: (1) in *book 1* and *book 2* I explore the cost of a simple model of correspondence between people and facts, featuring (2) literacy practices and (3) information policies. In *book 3* the laborious fieldwork conditions at the Zagreb JCC demonstrates the cost of bringing literacy practices and information policies together in a unified ethnography on symbolic economies. In *book 4* the relevance of (4) reflective models for a more efficient and activity-based understanding of symbolic economies, brings up the relevance of (5) literacy practices [book 5] and (6) information policies [book 6] in new ways that are captured in the (7) generative model framework of disordered systems (triggering the possibility of the analytical roundup in the synoptic *Frames* section). In other words, the same elementary relations apply at the container and content levels of the textual logic.

The itineraries leading to these two arrangements are distinct and independent, as demonstrated above. The epistemological issue at stake in the theory of contents and containers, is that two different constructs – the one encompassing the other – can be ontologically distinct while remaining mutually relevant for our understanding of meanings: *i.e.*, meanings that are beyond theoretical semantics, and can be subsumed as empirical semantics (*cf.*, the point on the semantics of ethnography, above). *Contents* and *containers* tap into the same issues, they are distinct from one another, while organised by a dynamic of reversibility in time and therefore have a practical and mutual relevance. This is the theoretical point integrating the visual and textual logic used in the *Travelogue*.

Therefore, in conclusion, some attention should be given to the relation between contents and containers to and the activities of *mapping* and *tracking*: while contents define items that are of value to mapping (-/+ data), containers are mapping items that are simply turned into tracking devices (0/1 information). They are defined as the one or the other by use, and reflect different orientations and priorities of the users. Sometimes they are simply phase-dependent (featuring, as it were, a cognitive life-cycle of reflective models) but always different: both ontologically and epistemologically. And therefore the *Lys*-graph, as a visual model, features the ‘integration of difference’, as belaboured in text throughout the *Travelogue*.

Moreover, since contents and containers are not substantially but functionally different, they are also invertible: the core issue being that they are not symmetrically reversible, but individually invertible. Shifting from mapping to tracking is possible at any time, but it also shifts our pragmatic orientation and alters physical direction. Shifting from the one to the other literally brings us somewhere else in our field inquiries: mapping and tracking, as two aspect of navigation in an ethnographic field, constitutes shifts that puts our empirical findings to the test. If the subject of our ethnographic inquiry really is cohesive and robust, then shifting means that we will discover our previous trails from ever new and unexpected angles.

But if the terms named 'contents' and 'containers' are functionally defined and are not substantially different what is their common subject? As an attempt to answer this question I propose to define 'signals' as the subject of both 'contents' and 'containers': as such, we

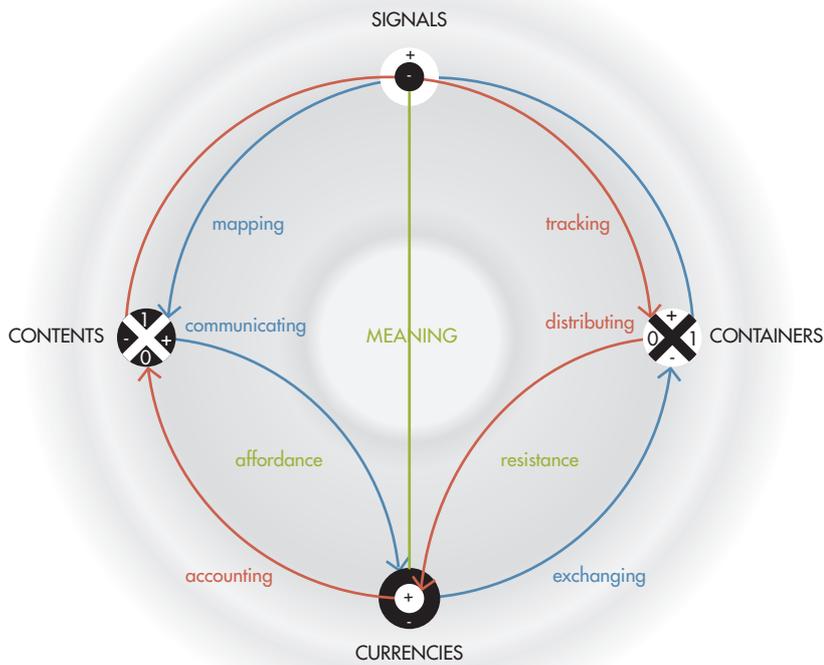


fig. xii – MEANING

pick up *signals* is entities that can be caught up both for the purposes of mapping and tracking. They can be reduced to neither the one nor the other, and typically are captured in the interstitial space-time defined by mapping and tracking conjointly (which is the point of the *Lys*-graph). But because the activities of mapping and tracking are *ongoing*, signals are immediately perceived as having a potential value (*a priori* open an undetermined). These points are summed up in a *Lys*-graph (*fig. xii*).

In this graph a definitive step is taken to go, beyond perception, to *proprioception*: the sense of movement and orientation in space and time, within and beyond the body (body as the environment, and the body in an environment). The concept of ‘currency’ is brought in to suggest the fruitfulness of a shift from ‘capital’ – as a concept of symbolic economies – to the ‘currencies’ of how they are (in fact) managed and generated. If information policies are defined as strategical management referred to mapping, and literacy practices are defined as tactical management relative to tracking, then ‘currencies’ refer to how these are *designed* together in practice.

Experiences with such *de facto* designs become valuable in the sense that they serve to estimate the value of incoming signals. These insights are of course extracted from a series of experiences from a field where the monetary system and regular infrastructure has broken down, and therefore presented an occasion to understand currencies that include symbolic features, but also display some generative dynamics that it may be important to understand as essential aspects of economic processes, in general.

Understanding ‘currencies’ as the fund of experiences with how mapping and tracking are designed together, however, does not immediately connect to how we generally understand ‘currencies’. But if we accept that (a) the existence currencies are the condition *sine qua non* of imputing value to a signal [ascribing more/less value to it as a consequence]; (b) the strength and persistence of a signal is likely to involve it into the shifting traffic of mapping and tracking; then we realise that ‘currencies’ are traces of previous settlements between resistance and affordance, operating as a fund of seminal practices.

The principal reason for abandoning the classical schema of model of/model for lies here: currencies are not patterns, but structural heterogeneities that disappear under the homogenising sheen of money transactions. They do not add logic or structure, but a variety of designs for ‘making do’. Systems dynamics in which signals that

are picked up add to the variety, by combining (or, coupling) others, are the ones that interest me. They increase the convertibility in the system: the type of disorder that interests me is one that increases the convertibility in systems.

The generative model outlined here can be summed up as follows: (1) a signal is picked up; (2) it is then either (a) included as a design element [*datum*] because it is immediately evident that increases the convertibility among the elements that are already used in mapping and tracking; (b) its value is not immediately evident and, if strong and/or persistent, is tested by being successively mapped and tracked [and then only included or discarded]; (3) it is exploited or enacted. This is how I propose to solve the puzzle that something (sometimes) appears to be created out of nothing.

In Sarajevo (1) the new varieties of Jewish leadership that emerged during the war on Bosnia (1992-95), (2) the Sarajevo kit [first aid], (3) Jewish history as the epitome of collective suffering [to other religious ethnies during the war], (4) the effective distribution of food and medicines, (5) the new ways of reporting, were all 'currencies' that came about during the war: they started out as signals that were picked up by the citizens of Sarajevo who integrated them as valid currencies whenever their internal convertibility stood the test, and became trusted by many, ignored by others.

Actors are defined as such by virtue of making semantic decisions, of the type outlined above. To respond to emergent situations actors need to travel lightly. To take responsibility in specific domains, however, requires a heavier baggage. The semantic decisions made by actors therefore depend on the requirements of mobility and the knowledge domain. For this reason, the urban commonwealth generates a multiplicity of differently concerned actors. The dynamics of models in managing this multiplicity are either simple, reflective or generative.

The generative model is elementary enough to yield a working tool: 1) Actors are positioned, 2) Contact points locate interactions, 3) Transactions foster relationships, 4) Opportunities are emergent, 5) Results calibrate aims and objectives – fed back from experiences and effects – and constitute a starting-point for new semantic decisions. This **ACTOR** model is accountable, and *La Benevolencija's* chief currency.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

«The card index marks the conquest of the three-dimensional writing, and so presents an astonishing counterpoint to the three-dimensionality of script in its original form as rune or knot notation. (And today the book is already, as the present mode of scholarly production demonstrates, an outdated mediation between two different filing systems. For everything that matters is to be found in the card box of the researcher who wrote it, and the scholar studying it, assimilates it into his own card index.)»

(Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings I*: 456)

1. Artaud, Antonin:

1938, *Le théâtre et son double*, Collection idées, Paris: Gallimard.

Enter: relevance of Artaud's Theatre of Cruelty in breaking up the theatre metaphor into fragments that can be widely understood as grammatological frames (*cf.*, Derrida).

Background: in the *Travelogue* the organisational aspects of how shame and humiliation results in patterns of how pain is distributed in society, the theatre is the seminal frame used to interface between interactive dynamics and the organisational form manifested by social process, which in the Artaud theatre is already in deconstruction, to be succeeded by the introduction to the ritual frame in *book 4* and crossovers framing-devices in *book 6*, and eventually the modelling of disordered systems (F. Barth) in the synoptic section of the *Travelogue* called «Frames».

Purpose: to start out this long itinerary of framing by featuring the contending – or, agonistic – body, of which the relationship with artefacts is as necessary as it is impossible, is basically unresolved and therefore subject to contentious multi-vocality (Shryock).

Exit: Artaud developed his theatre in the twilight of destruction and redemption that puts on stage – and thereby exhibits – a similar motif belaboured more discretely by Walter Benjamin.

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1972, *Artaud – Artaud Anthology*, transl. Jack Hirschman, San Francisco: City Lights.

Enter: (quotation in the epigraph of *book 4*) the relevance of the flying into pieces and assemblage of a new body in the context of aims and objectives of ritual symbolism analysed in *book 4*.

Background: the dialectic of embodiment in perception (Csordas) and teaching the flesh (*cf.*, Lakoff & Johnson) is pervasively represented in the case materials on ritual symbolism in *book 4*.

Purpose: to highlight the place of the transient – or, ephemeral – qualities conjured by this dialectic, which Artaud brings to the stage.

Exit: the communicative aspect of behaviour featuring in ritual (Leach) is manifested by the *dissemination* of polar opposites (Lévi-Strauss; Turner) into a network of weaker ties (Granovetter) that brings them out of dead-lock.

2. Barabasi, Albert-László:

2002, *The New Science of Networks*, Cambridge (Mass.): Perseus Publ.

Enter: relevance of the Königsberg bridge problem, which mathematician Leonard Euler proved to be unsolvable, to the graphic representation of empirical findings to pursue, develop and mature a line of questioning.

Background: The alternative to the theoretical calibration of questions emerging from the research process – for which this index is set aside – was to find a way of letting the research questions evolve by developing a graph that would allow me to map the ethnography in such a way that new heir, in the line of questions, would hatch at each juncture.

Purpose: to have a fixed procedure to map findings and hone questions throughout, and thereby cut clear of the heavy and heterogeneous theoretical discussions, which in earlier stages threatened to boggle the ethnographic account and take away the reader's attention by impeding a smooth (as possible) read.

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Exit: the idea of using the Königsberg bridge problem came in from the side, after a lengthy iterative process during which I was mainly grappling in the dark.

3. Barth, Fredrik:

1966, *Models of Social Organization*, Occasional Papers nr. 23, Royal Anthropological of Great Britain and Ireland.

Enter: relevance of the generative concept of model whenever the correspondence between patterns of representation and -behaviour comes about contingently among social actors, resulting from the cross-impact of external/internal constraints and human interaction, valuation and choice.

Background: inspired by Leach's interest in ritual as the communicative aspect of human behaviour, I eventually found reasons to distinguish between situations in which actors tacitly assumed a correspondence between patterns of representation and behaviour (similar to Bourdieu's *doxa*), from situations in which such correspondence demanded elaboration (similar to Bourdieu's *habitus*). I proposed a model-understanding of these situations by defining the first categories as 'simple models' and the second category as 'reflective models'. I reserved the concept of 'generative model' for situations in which the correspondence between representations and behaviour could not be assumed at all, in the form of ready or elaborated pattern.

Purpose: to use generative analysis to develop an alternative – or, richer – understanding of economic behaviour, in which tacit values and reflective norms either constrains or enables choice. Thus, the possibility of using frames to model the compound dynamic, and develop a generative approach to affordances (*cf.*, the research question proposed at the very beginning of the introduction in the Travelogue).

Exit: this late modern reading of Models must be understood in the light of Fredrik Barth's ulterior work that has added layers to this seminal text. In 1966 Models came out as a scholarly attack on Radcliffe-Brown's theoretical framework in anthropology. For a reader of my generation

the text comes out as a groundwork for thinking about economics in complex empirical terms, yet – at the same time – as an invitation to come up with analyses that provide an elementary understanding of these.

1969, «Introduction» in Barth, Fredrik (ed.) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries – The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Bergen-Oslo: Universitetsforlaget; London: George Allen & Unwin.

Enter: in Zagreb and Sarajevo, in particular, the social organisation of cultural difference was played on the backdrop of citizenship in crisis (in the sense of breaking down, being questioned and reconstructed in ways suggesting that processes of social organisation do generate varieties of co-existence, in polities based on citizenship).

Background: the canonical phrase by which Fredrik Barth's Introduction sometimes is reduced appears on p. 15: «The critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic *boundary* that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses.» The sensitive issue in Sarajevo was cultural difference vs. social stratification (p. 27): «In more general terms, one may say that stratified poly-ethnic systems exist where groups are characterized by differential control of assets that are valued by all groups in the system. The cultures of the component ethnic groups in such systems are thus integrated in a special way: they share certain general value orientations and scales, on the basis of which they can arrive at judgements of hierarchy.»

Purpose: the boundary that defines the Jewish community, is also the boundary at which the existence of the Jewish community regularly is at stake. This happens typically at the possible, or imminent, breakdown of shared «... general value orientations and scales». Fears of anti-Semitism typically occur when the social stratification within the Jewish community is overlooked, and cultural difference is conflated with social stratification (Jews are rich because they are Jews, or Jews are not equal and solidary with other groups, therefore they cannot enjoy the same freedom as others [and their freedoms subsequently – in one way or the other – is restricted] – the historical examples and experiences of this kind of restrictions are rife and therefore criticisms directed to Jews as a group are viewed with suspicion by Jews). Among Jews anti-Semitism is

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often viewed as bad news for other minorities, and polities where Jews can live in peace are, concomitantly, viewed as standard basis for other minority groups to enjoy freedom and equal rights, and life in a multi-cultural commonwealth is possible. Whether this is empirically the case, is outside of my present scope.

Exit: throughout the *Travelogue* I have been fascinated with how freedom, equal rights and partaking of a multi-cultural commonwealth – basic values in the social life form of Jewish diaspora – are concerns that are articulated within a variety of modes of coexistence. And I have not regarded these as random in relation to these concerns, nor have I emphasised the features of these forms of coexistence that have been arbitrarily imposed from the outside. Rather I have focussed on the aspects of these forms of coexistence manifesting positions that have evolved in time, and in regard to which Jewish communities have been autonomous (almost sovereign) from one another. The boundary that defines the group is, in some aspects, a pending definition in which not only the social *organisation* of cultural difference, but its *contingency*, constitute an important premise of forms of coexistence based on citizenship.

1972, *Analytical Dimensions in the Comparison of Social Organizations*, Reprint from *American Anthropologist* 74(1972) nr. 1-2, Washington D.C.: American Anthropological Association.

Enter: in the action theory perspective on ritual as communication, time is a bias of comparable import as language (Sapir-Whorf). Tasks and occasions are two such biases that impinge on how we perceive the world as we act upon it. Tasks and occasions feature the contingency of encounters that may/not occur, and otherwise is left pending or forced.

Background: in the ethnography from the Zagreb and Sarajevo JCCs it seemed that the deep premises of action were in very different condition. The social integration of ritual, moreover, seemed to have a certain importance in what might be understood as the (re-) configuration of tasks and occasions (as the infrastructure of encounters that might/not occur and therefore remain contingent).

Purpose: to understand action generatively in relation to its emergence from such deep premises, and to understand that the role of ritual in

shaping these premises does not reside in its inherent efficiency, but in its effective communication (at the level of the subconscious, the level of cognition or at the level of enskilment) that such efficiency, indeed, exists in the bringing together and configuration of tasks and occasions in relation to events and situations (*i.e.*, moving from the simple to the generative model)

Exit: the Benevolencija-style of doing well (redistribution of relief from international to local aid organisations) while doing good (soup-kitchen, pharmacy and health-care) features a coevolution of occasions and tasks (*book 6*) that were (re-) configured at several junctures, in response to events and situations. In this context, the Seder ritual became a narrative of the field for the actors involved, a conversation piece between actors inside/outside the war-zone, and a socially responsive interaction design that can be meaningfully connected to the hatching of (a civic) will across ethnic boundaries.

1974 «On Responsibility and Humanity: Calling a Colleague to Account,» in Current Anthropology 15 (1): 99-103.

Enter: both Colin Turnbull's book (1972, *infra*) and Fredrik Barth's response to it drew up a critical issue for me during my fieldwork as I was repeatedly confronted with the challenge of managing dis/likes for informants (non/Jewish alike). I did not accept this as a moral issue, but as a professional one: *i.e.*, a strategic question of how to utilise dis/likes strategically to identify the ethnographic – or, humanly contingent – topics that could be distilled from the ethnographic record. The challenge of living freely but knowingly in relation to social contexts.

Background: when reading Turnbull's book I remember thinking that it was a testimonial on famine that kills, not physically but morally, and a point of no return after which the very notion of society becomes meaningless. As comparative ethnographies of deprivation the narratives from Zagreb and Sarajevo yielded very different accounts. Alex de Waal (1989) again sheds a different light on the effects and outcomes of dearth.

Purpose: In the early passages of F. Barth's diatribe with Turnbull I found that the way I negotiated the premises for my fieldwork in Zagreb (*book*

3) were reflected in these passages (*op. cit.*, p. 99): «To my understanding, it arises from our relative failure to transform anthropology from a rich man's hobby to a concerned human discipline.» And: «It must be concerned in its striving to transcend complacent tolerance and value-freedom to create deeper understanding of the human condition.»

Exit: the diatribe ended on a *quid pro quod* (*cf.*, Turnbull's reply), a proper litigation would have required a set of rules, along with an understanding of addressers and addressees (Lyotard, 1983). This prime example of a conversation that falls apart (the one concerned with professionalising ethnography the other with academic rules of conduct). In face of dearth, following an existential track and the ethnographic record of depravation may be two different language games, but in writing ethnography they do not represent equivalent alternatives.

1975, *Ritual and Knowledge among the Baktaman of New Guinea*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Enter: in his ethnographic analysis of Baktaman ritual Fredrik Barth belabours Leach's notion of ritual as communication. The book lays out in much detail the notion of ritual as a reflective model (*i.e.*, what might be coined the communicative between-space that separates and connects the simple model and the generative model as discussed in *book 4*).

Background: the interest of the Baktaman ethnography is theoretical rather than empirical (since the ethnographic materials are too remote from each other – substantially and geographically – to warrant a comparison at this level). In other words, the interest of drawing on this reference does not lie listing up common traits: gendered ritual prerogatives, food-taboos, ritual phases/stages, the pedagogical use of physical deprivation/discomfort (*e.g.*, abstaining from water) etc.

Purpose: comparing as actively as possible in the analysis of each separate case, warrants a discussion of ritual theory. These elements of ritual theory are summed up as follows: rituals combine ideas and events, which are combined before the fact in the form of designs ('before the fact' means they are experienced by participants on the basis of fleeting

evidence, that acquires the stability/robustness of the fact when the participants endure physical hardships).

Exit: the hardships of ritual mimic the hardships of life, in the sense that the ideas and evidence combined in the ritual thereby can be relevant beyond the pale of sanctity: the ensuing strategies of anticipation and postponement provide the actors with a transitional competence, which is culturally conditioned yet not amenable to simple models – since the correspondence between the pattern of behaviour and pattern of representation (*e.g.*, with regard to outcomes) is neither simple nor belaboured, but kept on hold (immergent [T. Barth, 2005]): the anticipation and postponement that define holding patterns, is a tactic of ‘wait and see’ whereby the pattern of correspondence is neither assumed nor elaborated, but generated (emergent).

1987, *Cosmologies in the Making: a Generative Approach to Cultural Variation in Inner New Guinea*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Enter: relevance of going beyond understanding rituals and symbols in relation to social change – *i.e.*, as vehicles reflecting historical change – to understand rituals and symbols as open constructs in which change is *sui generis* (*i.e.*, as elements partaking of generative dynamics by virtue of being «in the making»).

Background: Jewish life-ways have evolved and diversified in time and space – some of this change does not reflect historical circumstance, but comes – as it were – from within (by virtue of being learned, enacted and transmitted in ways that are contingent on external change and on internal deliberation).

Purpose: In attempt to understand the variation between and within the JCC’s in Zagreb and Sarajevo I had at once to relate to the difference in circumstances that in part explain this variation. But I also had to take into consideration – to the best of my abilities and limited resources – the drifting character of symbolic and ritual practices that had made them evolve into this Ashkenazic and that Sephardic community.

Exit: one reason to participate as actively as possible in ritual practice lies catching this drift (which in combination with circumstance generates cultural variation). In the cited work the challenge of comparing between and within societies is brought down to an elementary simplicity that allows the student of anthropology to do both jobs.

1989, «The Analysis of Culture in Complex Societies», in Ethnos 54 (3-4):120-142.

Enter: cultural complexity faces the anthropologist with the ordeal of managing a wealth of loose ends. By looking at the premises of action – rather than codifying of their results – the anthropologist can track this variety as a resource for social actors, rather than as a problem for the cultural analyst. In this article, the variety is represented by Balinese traditions of knowledge, understood in the context of the dilemmas and concerns of differently positioned actors.

Background: in the Zagreb and Sarajevo materials the distributive aspects of such variety – featuring quite different symbolic economies – created a situation in which the comparison of the ethnographies begged a questioning of how ideas and events were combined in designs before they acquired a factual stability/robustness in the eyes of the actors. The turn to deconstruction in the Travelogue should be understood on this background.

Purpose: to bring deconstruction out of warp of reflexivity to the woof objectification: a similar argument may be brought to bear on Debord's theory of *dérive* – it is frequently interpreted in terms of a post-rational quest of a surreal state of mind, while it was intended by Debord as a habit breaking tactic designed to bring about a record of more objective observations for the purposes of urban planning. Along the same vein, deconstruction may be seen as a methodological approach to contingencies in knowledge (that are specific, rather than simply random/wanton).

Exit: the article opens for the understanding of traditions of knowledge, which – in the context of social relations and emergent events – can be understood as modal constraints (*i.e.*, specific modality not amenable to general categories as the possible/impossible or necessary): in *book 6*

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contingency accordingly features as a modal constraint, subject to human comprehension, that can and should be understood specifically. In the brand of deconstruction developed to this effect, there is an inherent critique of serendipity (as a discovery procedure that lacks the counterpoint of a procedure of falsification).

1990, «The Guru and the Conjuror: Transactions in Knowledge and the Shaping of Culture in Southeast Asia and Melanesia,» in Man 25 (4): 640-653.

Enter: highlight in my personal relationship to F. Barth as my teacher. While translating this article into Norwegian (for a book subsequently published by the Oslo University Press [Universitetsforlaget - Blå serie]) the relation shifted from mentoring to revelation. This disturbing shift occurred during the translation of the introductory lines, in which Fredrik Barth relates how the sound of cracking bamboo, during a ceremony he attended while doing fieldwork on Bali, sent his mind back to his fieldwork among the Baktaman of New Guinea, with the force of a flashback. This audio-visual synesthesia tore the veil of the text I was translating, and I could henceforward see the showing (Conjuror) and hear the telling (Guru) that thereby ceased to appear as the theoretical subjects introduced and intended by the text.

Background: this experience was troublesome on the background of my own critical attitude to serendipity as a discovery procedure (*cf.*, previous commentary). For this reason the article became a datum of the connection between ethnography and design in anthropology, that begged for further understanding. The testimonial note on which Fredrik Barth pitches his article, removed my assumptions that the comparison of the two fields were random or wanton. The ethnographer was the connection, and somehow this connection became instantiated by proxy in the text.

Purpose: the idea that texts can be brought to reflect, or map, contingencies – and thereby become readable – came to me in this way: they can be designed accordingly, or deconstructed to bring about such yield. Such yields/arrangements cannot be comprehended at a general level, but are always specific (sometimes unique). And for this reason they are very much part of the ethnographic stuff that make monographs readable

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and comparison possible: designs can combine ideas and evidence in such a way that contingencies from different human life-worlds can become known to us.

Exit: more specifically, the article made me aware of that the cognitive styles featuring in the article – relating to social organisations of very different scope and scale – lead me to consider the Jewish ritual practice of my own ethnography as one combining visual disclosure and verbal explication: both with regard to the subject matters that are significantly dealt with in the Torah and in Jewish ritual (*book 4*).

1992, «Towards Greater Naturalism in Conceptualizing Societies», in Kuper, Adam (ed.) *Conceptualizing Society*, London. Routledge.

Enter: /24/«If a multiplicity of actors were to engage repeatedly in interactions with these characteristics, what could be predicted about the resulting form? To simulate the kinds of social systems that might emerge one would need to develop rather careful theoretical deductions; but there can be little doubt that these determinants along would predict at best a low degree of order, a perpetual flux both of the present and of people's accounts of the past, overlapping social networks with crosscutting boundaries, and an enhanced ability of parties in stable relations to agree on the interpretation of acts but no inexorable convergence towards unity and sharing of culture. In other words, it seems to depict the kinds of relations and the kind of disordered aggregate of social life that I have posited. The problem would be that it leaves social organization too under-determined and cannot explain the degree of pattern that is regularly reported in anthropological monographs, including my own. Indeed, I would argue that this is part of its strength.»

Background: /25/ «What we therefore need is not a deductive theory of what these systems will be but exploratory procedures to discover what they are: what degree of order and form they show in each particular situation in question. This needs to be discovered and described, not defined and assumed, and each system and its context should be specified in a way that will reveal the contingencies that have shaped it. Through such a procedure, we may hope to arrive at possible parameters for comparative analyses of aggregate social systems and theories about the

sets of processes whereby they are generated – a singularly appropriate anthropological project.

At the initial stage of such an exploration, one certainly cannot know how to identify and circumscribe relevant units, least of all bounded societies. To place oneself in a situation where one can discover what obtains and avoid prejudging the significant scales, patterns, and foci of such disordered systems, it is advisable to start not from the top but with social actors and trace their activities and networks – to ‘follow the loops’, in Bateson’s (1972) terms.»

Purpose: /31/ «To be able to say something about the degree of order, to characterize disordered and unbounded systems, and to read action and interpretation in a foreign culture with sufficient subtlety to record individual differences, we need to proceed with greater precision, better method, and more justified confidence than we are accustomed to muster. Yet, the rewards of attempting it are within our reach and will put our analyses on a better footing.»

Exit: environments that contain disordered aggregates may be called urban – such urban environments acquire system-like features, then submitted to pressure from the outside: under such circumstances the disordered aggregate shifts into a structural heterogeneity of the emergent system, in that it is traversed and canalises a response to the external pressure.

1993, *Balinese Worlds*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Enter: the interest of this work in the present context lies in the inclusion of modernity and modern life among traditions of knowledge that make up the Balinese «worlds». The result of this inclusion is the possibility of taking into consideration the modern «world» as part of a conglomerate considered (*supra*) as part of a disordered aggregate.

Background: the conversation between informants in juxtaposed nonhomogeneous terms – *e.g.*, traditional and modern terms that are not given to mutual accommodation, in the way they are used by actors – calls for this inclusion of modern life along with other worlds, as a strategy to reveal what modern life has in store: both for the actors and the anthropologist. It is in this sense too that it becomes appropriate to talk about multiple modernities.

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Purpose: building an understanding of modern life for all its contingencies, and the processes that generates forms of modern life with parochial traits, leads one to consider that the universal and cosmopolitan ideas, which are part of the modernist baggage, are what needs to be explained rather than assumed.

Exit: there is a tendency in F. Barth's later works to adopt approaches that somehow resonate with deconstruction: when the compounds – societies, cultures, organisations – are pulled apart, we are not left with fragments but with degrees of order that are emergent, that can be discovered, studied and modelled.

1993, «Are Values Real? The Enigma of Naturalism in the Anthropological Imputation of Values» in Hechter, Michael; Nadel, Lynn & Michod, Richard E. (eds.) *The Origins of Values*, pp. 31-46, New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Enter: in the *Travelogue* I repeatedly refer to Fredrik Barth's notion of convergence in relation to Unni Wikan's concept of resonance (*infra*). In the article I am referring to here Barth states the following (p. 34): «Thus values are established as necessary and fundamental components in the modelling of all human purposive behaviour, and value orientations are 'the logical device for formulating one central aspect of the articulation of cultural traditions into the action system' (Parsons, 1952: 12).

In my own work, this stimulated my construction of a model of transactions (Barth, 1966) – not to create the moronic maximizer that I am sometimes accused of having fathered but, among other things, to explore processes that generate value convergences. The argument, put very briefly, rested on the idea that through the consummation of reciprocities with others one generates information on the relative evaluations practiced in one's circle and on its margins; and by virtue of the convertibility of such objects and acts through transactions in what oneself desires, one will learn to ascribe an equivalent value to them as to that which one seeks for oneself. The conception did not presume the unrealistic coherence, integration, and initial sharing of values (...). Yet also it clearly goes too far: I was not able to specify when the effects would be generated in empirical social process and when not. I had forced a too-simple and premature closure on the

model, as revealed if one tries to apply it to phenomena such as ethnicity or gender.»

Background: from the years as a student in anthropology I have been asking myself about the scandal caused by a select group amongst the theoreticians that served to introduce the students with the subjects. Fredrik Barth belonged to that group. However, coming from a French speaking intellectual background I did not see – no matter how hard I looked – the cause for scandal in Barth's works. It seemed alternately to derive from ideological pre-conceptions (amongst the Marxists) and from the anti-theoretical climate prevailing amongst naively empiricist ethnographers. After two periods of acquaintance with him and my reading a longitudinal sample of his works, one salient feature emanated which I summarise with the following statement: there are no things human that cannot be brought down to human being.

Purpose: I wanted to reach the depth of this position, rather than veering into the easy caricatures that can be made when this thought is reduced to one of its fragments. Every human being brings his/her own contingency to whatever idea s/he receives from others, or whatever happens in the environment. Barth's approach is existential rather than utilitarian. But he is no existentialist because he does not reflect existence philosophically – or, against being (Sartre) – but counter-posed to empirical manifestations of social life forms: such as culture and institutions. For this reason Barth does not offer a theoretical system, but an empirical theory that offers a cogency for human affairs: the function of ethnography, then, is to equip the reader with the designs needed to become a contemporary navigator with the competency of locating him/herself in present situations (Westbrook, 2008): *i.e.*, those exhibited in the ethnography.

Exit: coming to this point has been a long stretch. What I took away from what I hoped would come out as a step-by-step convergence with the deeper layer of intentions in Barth's work, was a sense of the futility of the polemics – the lion's share of it – featuring in anthropological debates: they are often ethnographically uninteresting because they reflect the internal dynamics of academic institutions (*e.g.*, the transformation of anthropology as a vocation [Weber] into a discipline [Foucault] – *cf.*, Barth, 2005). There are ideas cultivated by human beings that can

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be extremely difficult to grasp, and – conversely – there are human life-conditions and events hitting down on humans that are extremely harsh: in both cases it is the contingency of human life-forms that makes it possible for human beings to connect, and have a meaningful conversation on ideas and evidence.

1994a, «A Personal View of Present Tasks and Priorities in Cultural and Social Anthropology» in Borofski, Robert (ed.) *Assessing Cultural Anthropology*, New York: McGraw-Hill Inc, pp. 349-360.

Enter: /349/ «There is a need for us to pick up the pieces and somehow resume the tasks of regular anthropology, not by rejecting or ignoring the critiques but by transforming and incorporating them as improved sensitivity and skills» I thought about using this as the chief epigraph in the Travelogue , but it would have been at the cost of the substance of the ethnographic theme and topic, and I did not want to author a volume under a methodological head-line, but rather let the methodological discussions emerge from the ethnography.

Background: I think that Borofsky's volume contributes to a use of ethnography to build down the theoretical barriers that often pervade academic anthropological debates. It seems that a number of the contributors have seized this opportunity to establish conversation on the basis of a re-functioned ethnography (Marcus et al., 2008), and F. Barth is among them. I also felt that my own ethnographic venture had the same effect/impact on the issues of anthropological debate that had concerned me for years.

Purpose: when F. Barth transports the concept of negotiation from inter-human exchange to realm of human cognition – *i.e.*, when a Baktaman gardener decides that the clearing of the forest for a taro-plantation is 'enough' – I have been similarly inspired to transport Lévi-Strauss's concept of the *méthode exhaustive* from the precincts of anthropological theorising to the realm of ritual: if ritual procedure is exhaustive it because it is possible rather than necessary. And therefore adds to the stock of human contingency, which – in my view – is the subject matter of ethnography (c.f., comment on Derrida and deconstruction).

Exit: /360/ «I call specifically for the need to develop models of disordered systems. These must be models capable of representing large-scale social and cultural states-of-the-world without exaggerating and essentializing some salient or convenient apparent regularities into idealized representations of ‘the whole’.»

2002, «An Anthropology of Knowledge», Sidney Mintz Lecture 2000, in *Current Anthropology*, Volume 43, Number I, February (pp. 1-18).

Enter: if Geertz spearheaded the ‘turn to meaning’ in anthropology, F. Barth – in this article – marks the turn to knowledge. If Jewish life and thought sometimes features as Jewish culture, this is mainly in close/remote connection to the rise of the modern nation-state (in general and in Israel). By considering Jewish life and thought as a (multi-faceted) tradition of knowledge, it is possible to survey the distributive aspects of knowledge, and how this knowledge is unequally engaged in filtering individual experience (*cbok 4*, Zagreb, in particular).

Background: The three faces of a tradition of knowledge that are discussed in this article – a substantive corpus of assertions, a range of media of representation and a social organisation – constitute one of the major subjects of inquiry as I embarked on my fieldwork. In the Travelogue these three tracks are pervasive (though they emerged differently configured in different phases of the fieldwork, as well as in the Travelogue, where they are disposed to initiate a corpus, feature a variety of media and are organised into the discipline of anthropology).

Purpose: the turn to knowledge in anthropology – which F. Barth calls for in this article – provides a third and alternative path to cultural and institutional anthropology; the critical issue which I have modestly tried to highlight in the Travelogue is to inquire into the dynamics of aggregates – as generative process in its own right – that are not reducible to a mere compilement. The turn to knowledge, therefore, features the missing link between cultural and institutional approaches in anthropology (or, represents an agenda for such attempts).

Exit: there are rare occasions to reflect about the continuity and consequence in F. Barth’s research, as I read it: to the point of leaving the statement of this continuity up to others (*op.cit.*, p. 1): «Knowledge

provides people with materials for reflection and premises for action, whereas 'culture' too readily comes to embrace also those reflections and those actions. Furthermore, actions become knowledge to others only after the fact. Thus the concept of 'knowledge' situates its items in a particular and unequivocal way relative to accents, actions, and social relationships.» (*cf.*, commentary on the Baktaman monograph [F. Barth, 1975], *supra*).

2005, «Britain and the Commonwealth», in *One Discipline, Four Ways: British, German, French and American Anthropology*, The Halle Lectures at Max-Planck-Institut für ethnologische Forschung in 2002, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 3-57.

Enter: in my reading, F. Barth's contribution to the book constitutes a proto-historical survey of the emergence of anthropology as an academic discipline in the wider context of the British Commonwealth (*i.e.*, featuring the British School) in the years from 1830 to 2000. In the analysis of generations of knowledge – what was to become a discipline and a school – the threescore dimensions of comparison in the 'turn to knowledge' (*supra*) yields an interesting panorama of a process of aggregation that links the explorer's culture of the past with the academic institution of the present. The adventure of British anthropology brings us from a culture of private undertakings (the culture of exploration) to an institution of public utility/good (the institutionalisation of a discipline).

Background: in the *Travelogue* the life-cycle of British anthropology connects to the invention and evolution of the ECJC during the years under Ex. Dir. MiMa (*book 2*). The time-stretch between early aspirations and subsequent expiration in this life-cycle was substantially shorter in the case of ECJC. The question is how the turn to knowledge can pave the way – *de facto* and *de jure* – for equilibria of a different type (than the lateral drift from uniformity-cum-exploration to diversification-cum-codification).

Purpose: to highlight contingency as a third category that is neither random nor wanton (arbitrary). Rules bring people out of their comfort-zone of habit: but they do not have to be arbitrarily imposed on individuals, but can be assumed by them (in which case they are

transported from the realm of habit to the realm of contingency). Similarly, events similarly bring people out of their comfort-zones (*book 5*, Sarajevo): the way they eventually make do (*cf.*, Certeau, *infra*) – rather than resigning to their plight as random targets – also brings them from the realm of habit to the realm of contingency.

Exit: as a part of their training, anthropologists develop an allegorical style of reading, in the sense that they read the texts of their predecessors (eg., Malinowsky and Radcliffe-Brown) as though they were contemporaries. The comparative reading of such «methodological contemporaries» hinges on the allegorical relation of anthropological texts to their fields. The transformation of the other from an alien to a third – which might be seen as the prerogative of anthropological texts – can be redeemed of their historicity, by dating the designs that bring together ideas and evidence (rather than the ideas, the evidence or their co-evolution).

4. Bringa, Tone:

1995, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*, Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Enter: this work had a contextual value during my fieldwork. I did not want to duplicate Tone Bringa's work. On the other hand, her contrasted portrayal of community relations in Bosnian villages the acts of war in their surroundings, matched the view and attitudes of a number of Sarajevans, though the contrast between agglomeration and countryside were amplified in the city (if the war was a paradox in rural areas it was an oxymoron in the cities).

Background: before the troubles started in her town there were mainly Muslims and Roman Catholics living there. People of the town who were Roman Catholic could identify themselves as Croat, but in fact they thought of themselves as local people of this local town, not as part of Croatia. Bringa has seen the process whereby the politicization and mobilization of ethnic groups has invaded local society. Such attitudes and views were common among people who counted themselves as Sarajevans: though Sarajevans, as citizens of the Bosnian capital, also thought of Sarajevo as the epitome of the Bosnian idea.

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Purpose: in the more ideological climate of the city [with its more abstract notions of personhood] my inquiry was bent on understanding how the Sarajevans I met asserted their citizenship, rather than recording the acts of war in what one might call a living ethnography. Since the city of «my» Sarajevans – Jews and the larger group of associates – in the measure possible, asserted itself against the war. In this setting, I became interested in the interactive processes at the logistic level generated a form of resistance that manifested itself locally and abroad. Which is why I moved away from a study of ethnicity and culture (not because I found this lined of research uninteresting, on the contrary, but because certain particularities emerge from the urban setting, on account of the size and density of its population, its extension in space, and its economic importance).

Exit: the capacity of urban economies in developing attitudes and views that are oblivious to the countryside, and rural mentalities, turned into a resource in the context of war. Indeed, the city itself appears to be an oxymoron: its introversion, to some extent, was a condition for its acting as a beacon for surrounding populations in the countryside. Introversion appears as a structural condition for urban heroism at the face of war (a structural condition which is also found in Jewish culture).

5. Buber, Martin:

1948, «The Jew in the World» in *Israel and the World: Essays in a Time of Crisis*, New York: Schocken Books.

Enter: /168/ «When I say that the nations regard us as a specter – and this myth is symbolized in the form of the wandering Jew – we must distinguish between being and appearance. We ourselves know very well that we are not specters, but a living community, and so we must ask ourselves what our nonclassifiability really signifies.»

Background: /169/ «Now, in order to understand our position in the world, we must realize that a twofold desire comes to the fore in the history of Diaspora Jewry: the insecure Jew strives for security, the Jewish community which cannot be classified strives to be classified. These two strivings are by no means on a par. Like all human longing

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for security, this search for security is in itself quite legitimate. Man cannot be condemned to spend his life in insecurity. So the striving toward security is unobjectionable, but the means taken to arrive at this desired end may well be questioned.»

Purpose: /170/ «By maintaining such relations with the nations and being involved in the development of humanity, Israel may attain its unperiled existence, its true security.»

Exit: /171/ «The Jews, to be sure, are not primarily to blame for the inadequacy of the Emancipation, for the fact that they were accepted as individuals, but not as a community.»

1959, *I and Thou*, Edinburgh: Clark

Enter: globally relevant to the kind of participation I tried to iterate at the research and scholarly levels of the *Travelogue*.

Background: participatory observation does not provide a warranty against doing research *on* fellow human beings. Therefore, the adjunction of the conscious attempt of doing research *with* people – rather than on people – had a bearing on what I fed back to my informants, during and after fieldwork.

Purpose: by multiplying my engagement with people, the initial engagement with intransparent and sometimes indifferent, even hostile, relationships, I eventually moved from Buber's I-it relation to I-Thou relations, by inventorising their entanglements (compiling their I-it relations) and juxtaposing them.

Exit: the procedure of layering the record of fieldwork events and their juxtaposition, I see as a way of redeeming them from the interpretive quest, by packing them in such a way that ownership must be either claimed or ascribed.

(*c.f.*, Wittgenstein's aphorisms [packed]: «1. Die Welt ist alles, was der Fall ist. 2. Was der Fall ist, die Tatsache, is das Bestehen con Sachverhalten. 3. Das logische Bild der Tatsachen ist der Gedanke. 4. Der Gedanke ist der sinnvolle Satz. 5. Der Satz ist eine Wahrheitsfunktion der

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Elementarsätze. 6. Die allgemeine Form des Satzes ist: [...] *formula* [...] 7. Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muß man schweigen.»)

7. Certeau, Michel (de):
1984, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, transl. Steven F. Rendall,
Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Enter: /44/ «In ‘forgetting’ the collective inquiry in which he is inscribed, in isolating the object of his discourse from its historical genesis, an ‘author’ in effect denies his real situation. He creates the fiction of a place of his own (*une place propre*).»

Background: this book is a sequel to the theme of the porousness of power (as enforced, in discursive practices, within institutions) that permeates Certeau’s works. For this reason it is difficult to isolate, even to locate, Certeau’s tactics in a concept, definition or model: it is everywhere, and nowhere (and in this sense my repeated reference to p. 37 is rather frenetic): like reading, Certeau’s tactics is better represented as an ongoing activity of poaching, and «making do».

Purpose: /36-37/ «By contrast with strategy (whose successive shapes introduce a certain play into this formal schema and whose link with a particular historical configuration of rationality should also be clarified), a *tactic* is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power. It does not have the means to *keep to itself*, at a distance, in a position of withdrawal, foresight, and self-collection: it is a maneuver ‘within the enemy’s field of vision,’ as von Bülow put it, and within enemy territory.»

Exit: like the boundaries of a text – or, a book – the boundaries of the city are porous: they are oblivious to their surroundings, or environments, only in appearance, and under certain conditions they may become deeply connected. In this sense, Certeau’s field of inquiry is a completely generic inquiry into a boundary – a no-man’s land – in which the weak can stand up to the strong.

8. Derrida, Jacques:
1967a, *De la grammatologie*, Paris: Minuit

Enter: in my early readings of Derrida's *grammatologie* my interest was spurred by the kind of difficulty I met when trying to work my way through. I felt that Derrida was trying to bring philosophical thought from the realm of logical necessity to the domain of human contingency, thereby paving the way for an ethnographic readings of philosophical texts (which by no means make philosophical texts less interesting – on the contrary; the grammatological approach removes philosophical thought away from the confines of the book to the thoroughfares of deconstruction, whereby texts are transformed into contexts).

Background: I think I was attracted to this way of re-configuring readability because it promised to integrate written artefacts in the dynamics social life, rather than seeing them enclosed in a kind of monastic retreat (either we talk of actual monasteries or the Church of Reason). I therefore picked up on deconstruction as a systematic approach of working out contexts without the loss of detail.

Purpose: to develop a non-interpretive take on written materials in the generative analysis of communicative interaction processes, in which an expanded notion of ritual (Leach and F. Barth) would link up with Derrida's concept of *différance*: *i.e.*, the emergence of thought in the open-cast of human contingency, at the margins of philosophy, academic thought and theory.

Exit: in *book 6* the two sources of writing – the ethnography of testimonies to which I give precedence, and the archival writing – resonate with Derrida's notion of double writing, and constitutes a starting point for a deconstruction of hard facts, in favour of a softer approach to events, in which the meaningful dialogue between ideas and evidence has a wider reach and a greater critical purchase than the search for hard facts.

1967b, «Lethéâtre de la cruauté et la clôture de la représentation», in *Écriture et la différence*, Collection Tel Quel, Paris: Seuil.

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Enter: Artaud came in as a key reference in the *Travelogue* on account of the need, and my wish, of focussing the theatre-metaphor used by F. Barth in generative analysis on non-representational theatre: a theatre which is not function as an illustration of a script. This is Derrida's starting point in his essay on Artaud.

Background: the actor dynamics I wanted to capture with this focused theatre metaphor – *i.e.*, *ágon* in Zagreb and humanitarian activism in Sarajevo – did include scripts and representational aspects in Zagreb. But by using Artaud to focus the discussion, I could use Derrida to deconstruct the scripting and the representational aspects.

Purpose: /344/ «Comme Nietzsche – et les affinités ne s'arrêteraient pas là – Artaud veut donc en finir avec le concept imitatif de l'art. Avec l'esthétique aristotélicienne en laquelle s'est reconnue la métaphysique occidentale de l'art. 'L'art n'est pas l'imitation de la vie, mais la vie est l'imitation d'un principe transcendant avec lequel l'art nous remet en communication' (IV, p. 310). [...] L'art théâtral doit être le lieu primordial et privilégié de cette destruction de l'imitation: plus qu'un autre il a été marqué par ce travail de représentation dans laquelle l'affirmation de la vie se laisse dédoubler et creuser par la négation.»

Exit: The Artaud-focus provided by Derrida, also allowed me to view broader scripts – the archives in Paris and my own in the *Travelogue* – in perspective, and relation to the trans-individual aspects of participation (and, concomitantly, of participant observation): /343/ «[...] Le théâtre doit s'égaliser à la vie, non pas à la vie individuelle, à cet aspect individuel de la vie où triomphe les CARACTÈRES, mais à une sorte de vie libérée, qui balaye l'individualité humaine et où l'homme n'est plus qu'un reflet' (IV, p. 139).»

1980, *La carte postale*, La philosophie en effet, Paris: Flammarion.

Enter: if the ethnography in this volume is written in the form of a travelogue, the development of the theory shares some important features with Derrida's postcards: many of the theoretical ideas were developed in correspondence – *i.e.*, by sending mails.

Background: I used correspondence to re-enact the journey in the years after my fieldwork. Correspondence, however, has some disturbing features which Derrida picks up in his dealings with postcards, by including blanks (with missing characters somewhat dogmatically fixed to 52, since the rationale for this, once known and calculated, with time had become forgotten).

Purpose: sending mails has a different impact than simple write-ups – in notebooks or computer – even as the recipient does not respond, or the answer (more frequently than not) is off the mark. The act of sending is an act of dispatching ideas into oblivion. In the case of a response, we expect the ideas to come back to us somewhat re-configured; because the corollary act of sending is the act of remembrance.

Exit: this is why correspondence emulates the journey, and reformulates the programme of participant observation at the level of theory, or theorisation. After its occurrence the door to an event often is closed: we take notes not to forget – yet between that act and the act of remembrance there is a stretch of void. The *other* becomes the warden to whom we entrust what we have lived, till it hatches as an experience.

1987, «Psyché: inventions de l'autre», in *Psyché: inventions de l'autre*, Paris: Galilée.

Enter: in this lecture Paul de Man is the *other*, the invented *other* – the text is Derrida's eulogy to Paul de Man, which he pronounced at Cornell University April 1984 (Paul de Man died in December 1983). In remembrance of his friendship with Paul de Man, whose fidelity in friendship he evokes as rare streak of light, he spoke the memory of his friend through one of his works: *Pascal's Allegory of Persuasion*. The subject of de Man's meditation is the allegory as a laborious genre with demanding truths.

Background: the relevance of Derrida's talk emerged as I was working with the testimonials from the JCC in Sarajevo (*book 5*), in which I was faced – both during the conversations with the *La Benevolencija* activists and working through them in *book 5* – with a sense of durable

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events: *i.e.*, the sense that the events that shook the grounds during the war, were bodily extended in the activists who chose to speak with me, rather than remembered. To them, not to forget wasn't an admonition: at the time they talked to me they couldn't forget.

Purpose: /53/ «Laisser venir l'autre, ce n'est pas l'inertie prête à n'importe quoi. Sans doute la venue de l'autre, si elle doit rester incalculable et d'une certaine manière aléatoire (on tombe sur l'autre dans la rencontre), se soustrait-elle à toute programmation. Mais cette aléatoire de l'autre doit être hétérogène à l'aléatoire intégrable dans un calcul, comme à cette forme d'indécidable à laquelle se mesurent les théories des systèmes formels. Au-delà de tout statut possible, cette invention du tout autre, je l'appelle encore invention parce qu'on s'y prépare, qu'on y fait ce pas destiné à laisser venir, *invenir* l'autre. L'invention de l'autre, venue de l'autre, cela ne se construit certainement pas comme un génitif subjectif, mais pas davantage comme un génitif objectif, même si l'invention vient de l'autre. Car celui-ci, dès lors, n'est ni sujet ni objet, ni un moi, ni une conscience ni un inconscient. Se préparer à cette venue de l'autre, c'est ce qu'on peut appeler la déconstruction. Elle déconstruit précisément ce double génitif et revient elle-même, comme invention déconstructive, au pas de l'autre. Inventer, ce serait alors 'savoir' dire 'viens' et répondre au «viens» de l'autre. Cela arrive-t-il jamais? De cet événement on n'est jamais sûr.»

Exit: conveying the testimonials to writing during fieldwork, and the act of remembrance when working them in text, features the dialectics of redemption, in which the abjection of the victims of war turns to hope for new beginnings. The very possibility of this turn brings us to the corollary: the doors not opened, and the life-worlds not visited, during my fieldwork, in which the human acts and experiences seemed beyond retrieve, and therefore were not subject to ethnographic retrieval.

9. Geertz, Clifford:

1973, «Chapter I/Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture» in *The Interpretation of Cultures – Selected Essays*, New York: Basic Books.

Enter: the translation of interpretation into thick description is a loop in language, that makes the same plea for culture that Dilthey – and Buber – once made for humanism. In both cases, the human life worlds

evoked (rather than sensed and enacted) are conscriptions with fairly sharp edges. Paradoxically, edgy and boundless.

Background: Are there interpretive cultures? In the Zagreb JCC people's demeanour was given to scrutiny at the discretion of each every interpreter: with the exception of obligatory privileges (*book 3*), behaviour was public property. In interpretive cultures the building of purposive action can be extremely difficult. This is why the materials gathered in the Sarajevo JCC came as happy challenge: how to convey the building of purposive action as a generative process, rather than assuming that a twitch (behaviour) shifts into a wink (action) depending on interpretation?

Purpose: I remain pledged to thick description, but for a different purpose than the interpretive quest: in my mind, thick description is closer to deconstruction than to interpretation, in the sense that it works as a homing device for insights and perceptions that emerge from juxtaposed observations. Thick description is an opencast for cognitive experimentation.

Exit: The boundaries to what is public and shared are porous – there are private cultures and sometimes they cross over to the public sphere (which testifies to this porousness). In Sarajevo such cross-overs were not given in private-public terms at all, but represented ways of moving and operating across urban conglomerates.

10. Goffman, Erving:
1959, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York: Doubleday Anchor.

Enter: the concept of backstage in Goffman clearly supports the view that not all culture is public (Geertz).

Background: the discovery of private culture, its impact in organisational processes and the importance of understanding private-public crossovers as diagnostic features of social form was particularly relevant in Zagreb.

Purpose: the deconstruction of the theatre which emerges as an interstitial space (Artaud) in which the green-room is added to front-

and backstage, thereby anticipating the relevance of frames (as mapping devices of transitions [Wallerstein]).

Exit: Goffman's use of the theatre metaphor creates an affordance for emphasising situations in a study concerned with the dynamics of systems.

1967, *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face-to-Face Behavior*, Chicago: Aldine Publ. Co.

Enter: relevance of how interaction-consciousness can obstruct human self-consciousness I human relations (in «Alienation from Interaction»).

Background: the materials from my fieldwork in Zagreb, in particular, made me mindful of the gap between deference to rules vs. demeanour, as two aspects of public culture.

Purpose: develop an understanding of how rituals may be seen as instrumental in fostering a kind of interaction-consciousness that transform, but do not impede on social participation because they are typically bound up with artefacts, which thereby function as interfaces.

Exit: Goffman made me realise that human beings can use interaction-consciousness to generate affordances of participation (*i.e.*, containers afford contents by the mediation of ritual).

1974, *Frame Analysis: Essay on the Organization of Experience*, New York: Harper and Row.

Enter: relevance of multiplying the notion of frame beyond the theatre in the analysis of rituals as the communicative aspect of behaviour (Leach).

Background: my interest in frames came from the need I felt to distil my findings through a cinematographic modelling of the ethnography in the Travelogue (*i.e.*, featuring the organisation of experience, rather than focussing on the meaning of cultural concepts on the one hand, or freezing the symbolic meanings of rituals on the other hand).

Purpose: to develop a way of mapping the share of communicative and non-communicative elements in behaviour (Zagreb vs. Sarajevo).

Exit: I am indebted to Goffman for having located conventions in interactions – which makes them neither random nor arbitrary – leaving open the range of variation in how human actors participate in social organisation.

11. Gullestad, Marianne:

2001, *Kitchen-table Society: a Case Study of the Family Life and Friendships of Young Working-Class Mothers in Urban Norway*, with an introduction by Daniel Miller, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget

Enter: relevance of including materials from cultural realms that make claims on social life despite not being public (Favret-Saada).

Background: there were not more than three instances – during my entire fieldwork – in which such realms asserted themselves as socially relevant (and in all three cases by female intermediaries). But all three instances eventually became turning points in my fieldwork.

Purpose: to show that some realms do not draw their relevance to the ethnography from their extension, but from their intensity (Benny Lévy).

Exit: by coining the term ‘kitchen table society’ Gullestad managed to draw attention to non-public arenas and networks (and, as it were, their social dignity).

12. Ingold, Tim:

2007, *Lines: a Brief History*, London: Routledge.

Enter: in this intriguing essay, Ingold makes an important distinction between ‘threads’ and ‘traces’.

Background: the importance of how symbols can alternate between contained by ritual and being asserted autonomously from them (by actors).

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Purpose: to develop an ethnography in which the alternation between these two «states» featuring the contingency in the container-content relationship can be mapped empirically (the gap between the ritual and symbolic estates were considerable in Zagreb, and much tighter in Sarajevo).

Exit: Ingold involves the reader in a genealogy of graphic choices – talking a line for a walk means either drawing or writing, which can entail a gap between singing and saying. We are invited to hone our awareness of where these choices bring us.

13. Lakoff, George & Johnson, Mark:
1987, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things – What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Enter: what categories of language and thought reveal about the human mind is a question that can be addressed with a cognitive approach [classificatory and algorithmic].

Background: the conjoint use of taxonomies and algorithms to understand the workings of the relationship between types and instances, is up the alley from the way I found it useful to approach the ritual stuff in the *Travelogue* (*i.e.*, reflective models): settings in which prototypes are learned and iterated.

Purpose: the boundaries of such settings are, in turn, porous; which helps to conceive how prototypes can act as containers, with contents the are learned – or, appropriated – through osmosis. Rituals are not only reflective models, but also porous containers.

Exit: the book is laid out in a dogmatic style which puts the problem of categories of language and thought on the table, so to speak, which places them in a zone of influence that does not exist so long as they are tacitly assumed.

1999, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, New York: Basic Books.

Enter: relevance of thinking about embodiment other than in phenomenological terms (Csordas) and in relation to human cognition. Embodied reason as case: information policies, literacy practices and symbolic economies.

Background: in the ethnography of the Travelogue the body reveals itself as at once a metaphor and as a physical attribute of a person. As a physical attribute it is transportable in the sense that people move about. As a metaphor it affords transportation (*i.e.*, an anthropomorphism of the type evoked by Merleau-Ponty in *La phénoménologie de la perception*).

Purpose: to separate between human cognitive affordances that belong to the realm of questions on how brains and bodies are taught, from the phenomenological studies of how humans lend their bodies to the ambient world – animate as well as inanimate – and in this sense to teach their surroundings.

Exit: in actual, practice actors do relate to each other and themselves in these two ways. And as they come to a dead-end – as the bricoleur and the ingénieur (Lévi-Strauss – 56) – they come out as two alternating venues of a makeshift mind-set, in human actors who seek to minimise, or get around, their powerlessness.

14. Leach, Edmund:

1964, *Political Systems in Highland Burma; a Study of Kachin Social Structure*, with a foreword of Raymond Firth, London: London School of Economics and Political Science.

Enter: relevance of Leach's notion of ritual as the communicative aspect of human behaviour, and thereby its potential for understanding human action.

Background: a long-standing fascination for how Leach develops theory in his ethnography, and certain parallels that caught my attention – in early stages of my own project – between his study of *gumsa* and *gumlao* among the Kachin, and features I observed amongst the Ashkenazic (Zagreb) and Sephardic (Sarajevo).

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Purpose: to seek a single model to penetrate the dynamics beneath polar opposites, and hence to avoid a deadlock in the understandings I developed in the ethnography.

Exit: I am indebted to Leach for the idea that communication is interactive before it becomes sealed with words and concepts (*i.e.*, participation is interactive before it is interpretive).

15. Lévi-Strauss, Claude:
1962, *La Pensée sauvage*, Paris: Plon.

Enter: despite its appeal to common sense, Lévi-Strauss's well-known distinction between the bricoleur and the ingénieur spurred a strange combination of restlessness and interest in me.

Background: the following passage brings the core of the matter unto the fore (*op.cit.*, p.30): «La différence n'est donc pas aussi absolue qu'on serait tenté de l'imaginer; elle demeure réelle, cependant, dans la mesure où, par rapport à ces contraintes résumant un état de passage et à se situer au delà, tandis que le bricoleur, de gré ou de force, demeure en deçà, ce qui est une autre façon de dire que le premier opère au moyen de concepts, le second au moyen de signes.»

Purpose: by introducing 'montage' as an intermediary concept, I hope to suggest – by as simple means as possible – the idea of a cognitive style that results from 'hopping back-and-forth' between how events come about (en deçà [hither, or «upstream»]) and how they eventually turn out (au delà [thither, or «downstream»]): as there is an element of random in how the bricoleur interacts with his world (*i.e.*, through signs), there is an element of arbitrariness in how the ingénieur constructs the world (*i.e.*, through concepts). The *monteur* hops back-and-forth between tokens (upstream) and types (downstream), develops a sense of the contingencies in how human beings relate to events, and also gets an idea of how the dynamics that generated these contingencies (as the signature of how human beings relate to events) can be conveyed provided the proper set of frames (Goffman).

Exit: I am indebted to Lévi-Strauss for having laid down the terms of how the first (sic!) – rather than primitive – science relates to modern science (which we therefore understand as the second) with such clarity. I honed my attention to what takes place in the «kitchen of science» (Nowotny, 1991), and the importance of rewriting in the process of discovery and falsification in scientific research (F. Barth).

1964-71, *Mythologiques*, Paris: Plon.

Enter: Lévi-Strauss's reference to Klein groups – defined as a term, its opposite and their inversions – occurs several places in the two last volumes of *Mythologiques*; it has intrigued for a long time, because it seems to deconstruct the concept of binary opposites on which structural analysis is based.

Background: this interest was difficult to pursue because there is only a nominal reference to Klein and no sources quoted on this particular subject matter in Lévi-Strauss's bibliography (even though this concept of group is used in *L'origine des manières de table* pp. 293-295, 315, 332 and 346, as well as in *L'homme nu* pp. 188, 240, 243-244, 289, 581-582). The connection between these passages and similar ideas I found explained in Felix Klein's Erlangen Programme therefore remained uncorroborated.

Purpose: the convenience of the Klein's group is double: a) it allows one to infer a group of four from a single term; b) this group can be used as a template to penetrate beneath the list of traits generated from contrastive pairs, and understand polarisation in relation to a context where it does not exist.

Exit: in sum, I am oddly indebted to Lévi-Strauss, since the Klein's group can be used to work on quadruples that do not fit into a two-by-two matrix, and can be used to model the dynamic of the type of generative process I am concerned with in the Travelogue.

16. Marcus, George:

1986, «Afterword: Ethnographic Writing and Anthropological Careers», in Clifford & Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture*, Berkeley & London: University of California Press.

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Enter: /261/ «The question for the anthropologist is, then, how consequential this literary therapy should be – does it merely add a new critical appreciation of ethnography, which one can take or leave in reading and writing ethnographic accounts, or does it clear the way for re-conceptualising anthropological careers and valorising innovations in strategies for projects that link fieldwork and writing?»

Background: My initial track, when embarking on the journey and the *Travelogue* was a literary one: the idea of connecting fieldwork and textwork was in that sense – and in the sense that *Writing Culture* knew it's heyday when I received my early training as an anthropologist – was inspired by Post-Structural theory, which was a kind of literary theory (Derrida in particular, but also Benjamin). The figure was, as Marcus rightly points out, one of dissemination of writing into the ethnographic, field: *i.e.*, in the mode *experimentation* rather than interpretation.

Purpose: though an anthropological career, by vocation rather than ambition, was at the centre of my efforts, during and after fieldwork, I was oddly enough brought to ever new professional arenas of experimentation: first among engineers and then among designers (art school). The rationale was to achieve a deeper understanding of the nature of my findings in the *Travelogue*, through the exploration of adjacent professional fields. The experimental approach brought me to other areas of retroactive impacts of engrammation: ranging from effective procedures in IT, to design thinking. The efforts to understand the nature of these findings – other than by the interpretive track – was recourse to model-thinking: hence my interest in generative models (F. Barth).

Exit: A recurrent experience during my *Travelogue*-fieldwork was to be caught in cultural time-zones so different from the ones I had known, that my personal experience fragmented to the point of my having difficulty in recalling my experiences from adjacent fields (my first experience of this kind was a visit to a *Haredi* – Ultraorthodox – friend in Jerusalem, my second experience was after collecting the testimonies amongst the *La Benevolencija* activists in Sarajevo). In this sense, the adjacent fields of experience, in the *Travelogue* project, were also timely.

17. Marcus, George & Rabinow, Paul with Faubion, James and Rees, Tobias:
2008, *Designs for an Anthropology of the Contemporary*,
Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Enter: /83/ «This idea of a design process de-centers the significance and weight of the fieldwork process conventionally viewed and makes it more organic and balanced with what occurs before and after it as part of research, particularly what occurs before, since, according to my contraption, so much of the activity of fieldwork depends on being able to construct the site or sites beforehand in a deeply informed, even ethnographic way.»

Background: my idea of conducting a multi-sited fieldwork was motivated by the need to prepare fieldwork – the journey in *book I* was motivated by the need to acquire the prerequisites for a proper fieldwork, in terms of bargaining for information, constructing categories and developing operational conditions for fieldwork. The experimental enskilment from this initial period, however, drifted along with me and became part of my methodological repertoire and baggage, during the fields in Zagreb and Sarajevo (which as a result of the initial procedure became networked, in the sense explicated in the *Travelogue*, into a larger field of ongoing experience and active relationships).

Purpose: as the enterprise developed it became clear that the purpose of my fieldwork was to host an anthropological debate: *i.e.*, that the debates that traditionally would take place between monographs, would take place *within* the monograph. This gesture of inventing a debate – similar to Derrida’s inventing the postcard – was carried out partly to salvage a part of anthropological heritage that seemed important, but also was dear do me, while having two major foci: 1) the devolution of schools in anthropological theory, as a possible [perhaps desirable] effect; 2) what Marcus has coined the re-functioning of ethnography.

Exit: what brought my drifting query from anthropology to design was the concern of re-functioning ethnography, in the sense of investigating into the elementary dynamics of timeliness that developed in the ethnography from Sarajevo: *i.e.*, the wiring of offerings to needs, in

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the development of humanitarian services in Sarajevo, by actors who identified touch-points where the experience and effect of humanitarian aid – among its recipients – were likely to combine. My aim, while working with the *Travelogue* was similarly to wire the object (the volume of 6 books), text and image (graphic materials) into an arena of timely encounter with the reader/user.

18. Pratt, Mary Louise:

2005, «Arts of the Contact Zone» in Bartholomae, David & Petrosky, Anthony (eds.), *Ways of Reading – An Anthology for Writers*, Boston & New York: New York/St. Martin's, pp. 517-530.

Enter: relevance of the asymmetric relations that can emerge from the dialectics of pedagogical aims and contextual objectives.

Background: Pratt's concept of 'contact zones' – referred in citation – was used in the *Travelogue* to pinpoint logistic touch-points where transactions were consummated between actors with very different understandings of the situation (that also included asymmetric power-relations).

Purpose: to examine how an empirical focus on such structural heterogeneities in the organisation of humanitarian aid helps understand how the system is affected when submitted to outside pressures. The organisational changes discussed in *book 6* did impact the exchange in the sense that the initial asymmetries were disseminated to a network of ties that were weak (and egalitarian) but nevertheless worked in a number of different operations.

Exit: using the contact zone as a conceptual framework also proved useful to frame the process of my working in the field: in retrospective, the negotiation of my place as an anthropologist in Zagreb followed the same gross pattern (the multiplication of exchange with different informants disseminated the initial grappling with asymmetric understandings and power-relations, which suggests that disordered systems [F. Barth] feature dynamics of integration that are different from those engaged in acquiring membership in a community [Gemeinschaft], yet also dissimilar from the formal processes of acquiring membership in the larger society [Gesellschaft]).

19. Shryock, Andrew:

1997, *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Enter: Shryock's concept of contentious multi-vocality was relevant to work on differences on knowledge, in a situation when the archives of events are in the making.

Background: Shryock's monograph contained a similar variety of materials that I too found relevant to include in my ethnography, and also featured an ethnographic voice in which the genre of the field-diary was successfully integrated.

Purpose: the concept of contentious multi-vocality allowed me to nail down the problem I was struggling to articulate in my own materials (*op. cit.* p. 314): «One can, of course, write against this androcentric, agonistic discourse, as Abu-Lughod has recently, and beautifully done (...). But this, too, is a literary commitment that slights a world of experience and concern; moreover, it renders much of intellectual and political life in the Middle East immediately unintelligible. Or inexplicable. Thus, when the critics of Orientalism come up against local instances of 'contentious multivocality,' its cultural roots can seem oddly opaque to them.»

Exit: I am indebted to Shryock for a concept that bridged the agenda I took from Leach and the problems I was working to solve in my own ethnography.

20. Turner, Victor:

1967, «Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage» Chapter IV in *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Enter: relevance of the concept of liminality to coin one the constitutive separation between Israel and the nations.

Background: the ever-recurring correlation between being Jewish and being at risk evokes the coevolution between the Jewish *communitas*

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and the ambient *civitas* in European history; extending the liminality – which Turner [pace van Gennep] associates with passage – to a state quasi-permanence, or slow evolution, in the tensioned – sometimes critical – relationship between Jews and the general society.

Purpose: to underscore the non-triviality of Jews partaking in the late-modern European *civitas* through citizenship, by a rather different track than emancipation (and assimilation) from the French revolution (1789), onwards. Under the ideal evoked by Turner with his reference to Baudelaire's poem «Correspondances» (*Les fleurs du mal*), lurks the spleen, the parallel existence of which the poet sees as the sign of transience in his own time (Benjamin).

Exit: by vouching for the adequacy of the simile – *i.e.*, liminality – I found that the transience of relations between *communitas* (Jewish) and *civitas* (general society) to be a core issue (Derrida), that slips away in the tidy sectors of Turner's separation/liminal phase/integration. Instead of seeing *civitas* and *communitas* as polar opposites (Turner, 1974, p. 274) – in which anti-structure becomes integrated in social order – I preferred to see *communitas* and *civitas* as co-evolving – sometimes competing – processes, under conditions when social order at no time could be taken for granted.

1974, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Enter: relevance of paying attention to the detail of symbolic artefacts and ritual practices to establish the variety required for an ethnography affording a wider discussion of social dynamics.

Background: I decided to match the difference between the aims and objectives of ritual symbolism – as conveyed respectively by learning and context – by making a separate study of the Seder ritual (in which I have participated a number of times) and the rich thick account of the ritual context in Sarajevo, because of the ephemera that emerge from the ethnographic record when one proceeds in this way: the dynamics of transience analysed in *book 6* would not have been inside the range of the ethnographic account if I had not proceeded in this way.

Purpose: to make a harvest of ephemera and save them for ethnographic memory. By reproducing the coevolution of *communitas* and *civitas* in the form of the coevolution of aims and objectives of ritual symbolism, the possibilities of comparing within and between ethnographic cases is enhanced (F. Barth).

Exit: the orderly features of social life-forms that emerge when – without single cause – both circumstances and ritual symbolism are changing summon a generative rather than a homeostatic model of dynamics.

21. Wikan, Unni:
1990, *Managing Turbulent Hearts: a Balinese Formula for Living*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Enter: relevance of the dynamic connection between the management of shame and humiliation (Rorty) in interpersonal relationship and the distribution of pain in society.

Background: during my fieldwork it became evident to me that the situations I experienced with people in Zagreb and in Sarajevo represented two very different sides of the management of pain.

Purpose: To establish a basis of comparison between the two field-materials based on their organisational dynamics rather than on contrasting lists of traits (polarising binary opposites).

Exit: I am indebted to Wikan for having pinpointed the challenge of piercing the veil between what can be easily dichotomised as the private and public sphere (when taking interest in social life-forms from a naturalistic point of view, cultural dynamics are simply not divided in such tidy sectors).

1992, «Beyond the Words: The Power of Resonance,» *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 19 (3), pp. 460-482.

Enter: relevance of translation and 'passing theories' (*op.cit.*, p. 461) to the management of asymmetric relations in contact zones (Pratt)

Background: from discussions with Fredrik Barth during one of our meetings.

Purpose: bringing the private-public crossovers introduced in *book 3* to the level of generality needed for the comparative analysis of crossovers in *book 6*.

Exit: indebted to Wikan's article for reference to Rorty and the importance of 'contingency'.

22. Westbrook, David:
2008, *Navigators of the Contemporary: why Ethnography Matters*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Enter: /50/ «Rather than a sequence of interviews, re-functioned ethnography is much more like what in theatre would be an ensemble production, which works through synchronization, or perhaps better, a film montage, in which relations among disparate and apparently disconnected items are established.»

Background: /55/ «To be present is to be on the scene, now. But something that is present has been presented or has just arrived, into the future. The present situation is always the situation of the moment after this one. The present danger has not yet occurred. The danger is present, the harm is anticipated, and in the next moment, the danger will still be there. But the worry is here and now.»

Purpose: /64/ «The double motion of analysis and synthesis, the give-and-take between processes of distillation (the important thing here was...) and recombination (taking this and that together, a relationship emerges in which...) is inevitably a double simplification, but it permits translation from the world, through which the ethnographer has navigated, to texts.»

Exit: /73/ «But ethnography begins from the assumption that one is not authorized within the world of a subject. Ethnographic knowledge reconstitutes itself with each project: in beginning a project, the ethnographer, like the novelist, abandons much of what he learned through the last project. Ethnography travels light, and in doing so, has the potential to offer not just a different perspective but also a different mode of intellectual life, even within the heart of the university, but more importantly, after the university days are over.»

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