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И СОЦИАЛЬНОЕ ВРЕМЯ:  
АКСИОЛОГИЯ ВЛАСТИ  
И ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫЙ ИДЕАЛ»**

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**ЛИТЕРАТУРА В КОНТЕКСТЕ ПОЛИТИКИ:  
НЕГАТИВНЫЕ ЭФФЕКТЫ ВЛИЯНИЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ  
ИДЕОЛОГИЙ НА ИСТОРИЮ СЕРБСКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ  
В КОСОВО И МЕТОХИИ**

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***Аннотация.** В статье дается краткий обзор истории сербской литературы в Косово и Метохии с начала XX века до наших дней и указывается, что на протяжении всего этого времени на нее сильно влияли не только бурные исторические изменения, ознаменовавшие прошедшее столетие, но и сильные политические идеологии (в первую очередь воплощенные в коммунистической идее «братства и единства»), из-за которых величайшие сербские писатели в истории сербской литературы рассматривались как маргинальные и «региональные». Этот статус значительно изменился к девяностым годам прошлого века, но политические события 1999 года в Косово и Метохии и нынешнее тяжелое положение его жителей и литературных творцов затруднили создание и восприятие литературы широкой общественностью.*

***Ключевые слова:** Косово и Метохия, литература, политика, идеология, власть.*

**LITERATURE IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICS: NEGATIVE  
EFFECTS OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES ON THE HISTORY OF  
SERBIAN LITERATURE IN KOSOVO AND METONIJA**

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**Abstract.** *The paper provides a brief overview of the history of Serbian literature in Kosovo and Metohija, from the beginning of the 20th century until today, and states that during all that time it was strongly influenced by the turbulent historical changes that marked the last century, but also by strong political ideologies ( primarily embodied in the communist idea of "brotherhood and unity"), because of which most Serbian writers were treated as marginal and "regional" in the history of Serbian literature. That status has changed significantly since the nineties of the last century, but the political events of 1999 in Kosovo and Metohija and the current difficult position of its inhabitants and literary creators have made literary production and reception by the general public difficult.*

**Keywords:** *Kosovo and Metohija, literature, politics, ideology, government*

Any talk about the history of Serbian literature, which was created in the area of the southern Serbian province, Kosovo and Metohija, is unthinkable without taking into account the historical, social and political conditions that the Serbian people went through in their history. A time distance of more than a century allows the history of that literature to be viewed in a completely new context, while it should be borne in mind that many positions have been revalued in the meantime, that is, many writers have received their rightful place in the history of Serbian literature. Turbulent changes in historical trends, the dominance of certain political ideologies and aspirations in the 20th century, the attitude towards the government, these are all facts that significantly influenced the reception of Serbian writers who during the last century and at the beginning of this century created and continue to create in the area of Kosovo and Metohija, whose historical status has been the subject of political and diplomatic conflicts for decades, which is reflected in the very literature and culture that is created and nurtured there.

Hence, the understanding of the poetics of Serbian writers and poets who were connected to Kosovo and Metohija through their life and work and created a different reality with their creativity, which was the ideological backbone of preserving the Serbian national identity, will be easier if one takes into account the diachronic continuity in which the historical heritage more or less formed the basis of their literature. This refers primarily to the literary tradition of Kosovo and Metohija, which began at the end of the 19th century, characterized by ups and downs, interruptions and new beginnings. The strongest historical echoes and scopes of Serbian literature are related to storytellers who created in the first decades of the 20th century, namely three authors: Grigorije Božović, Janićije Popović and Zarija R. Popović. Their poetics was characterized above all by the

fact that it was based on spirituality, history and tradition, preservation of language and folklore, as their status in the history of Serbian literature, on the other hand, was never questioned. They were treated as part of the main stream of the history of Serbian literature, and even when some of them (like Grigorije Božović, who was shot for ideological reasons in 1945 in Belgrade, and his work was banned from the literary public for fifty years), were exiled from the history of literature, they were exiled as Serbian writers, not as "Serbian writers from Kosovo and Metohija".

The political changes brought about by the Second World War, however, completely changed that relationship and interrupted the continuity in the development of Serbian literature, so that it will continue only in the decade after the end of the war, but literature will now be treated completely differently. Namely, the political ideology known as the idea of "brotherhood and unity" will play a decisive role in the field of cultural, artistic and literary work, so everything that was created / written in the Serbian language from then until the mid-eighties of the 20th century will instead under the term "Serbian", be classified under the term "Kosovo". Although it is clear that this idea was purely political (and, as it will turn out later, formed one of the basic backbones for the realization of Albanian aspirations for the independence of Kosovo), it had a very strong negative effect on the history of Serbian literature as a whole, because in this way, many valuable writers and their works remained outside the main stream of Serbian literature that was created in central Serbia. There were almost no Serbian writers from Kosovo and Metohija in school and educational programs, and when, due to their obvious and indisputable literary and artistic value, they were given a place, they were treated not as "Serbian writers", but as "Serbian writers from of Kosovo and Metohija" (such is the case with the greatest writers: prose writer and critic Vuk Filipović (1930–1990), poet Darinka Jevrić (1947–2007), poet Lazar Vučković (1937–1966) and many others). The time distance of more than half a century points to the undoubted tendentious isolation of this literary region and distance from the mother country by forcing creativity in the Albanian language and the latent but conscious inclusion of Serbian writers in the body of literature of Kosovo and Metohija, which was supposed to have a multinational and multicultural character. The aspiration, whose background was political and not literary in nature, resulted in some writers continuing their development outside the area of this province (Čedo Vuković, Božidar Milidragović, Danilo Nikolić, Rade Nikolić), while those who remained to a certain extent obeyed new literary standards and laws.

Because of the imposed idea of "brotherhood and unity", many Serbian writers who lived and created in Kosovo and Metohija are themselves turning to new thematic-motive and cultural contents, but this turning was conditioned (although not justified) by the ruling political ideology and social engagement of literature. It seems that government and literature have never been so close, that is, political ideology has never had such a strong influence on literary works than in the first decades after the Second World War. This is evidenced already by the first post-war stories whose authors, in order to establish a new spiritual climate of

brotherhood and unity (which never really took root), instead of their own, turn to the culture of their compatriots and find a source of motivation in them. In this sense, one can talk more about *geopolitics* and less about *geopoetics*, especially if it is taken into account that the literary works of the immediate post-war generation (above all prose works) cannot enter the more valuable anthological selections [1, p. 65]. This can primarily refer to prose (especially novels), while poetry was the dominant part of literature created in the Serbian language in Kosovo and Metohija in the second half of the last century. Although it had representative role models at the beginning of the century, the literature created in the Serbian language in the 1950s and 1960s was more a reflection of the social conditions in this area rather than an effort to continue the literary tradition. An additional difficult circumstance was the fact that this literature was created "in minority conditions, even though in the home country" [2, c. 11].

Poetry, in a way, was more independent from political ideologies and the demands placed on it by the new policy of the SFRY, persistent in the belief that one should be a "Yugoslav" rather than a "Serbian" writer. Poetry managed to break away from the constraints of political ideology and the expectations of the literary and cultural public, and to establish a more or less independent position in the literature of this province. The poetry had an emphasized national content and as a basic poetic and ideographic hub - the Kosovo myth and the Kosovo commitment, in the way that Zoran Mišić described it in the famous essay "What is the Kosovo commitment" from 1961, as primarily spiritual and poetic determination [3, c. 246]. That determination is "part of the poet's metaphysical defense against the new apocalypse" [4, s. 257], against the deep tide of decay, new historical sufferings, new persecutions brought by the end of the 20th century. This was best demonstrated by the entire constellation of Kosovo-Metohija poets, from Darinka Jevrić, Lazar Vučković, Radoslav Zlatanović, Radosav Stojanović, Radomir Stojanović, Ratko Popović, Stojiljko Stanišić and others. In the poetry of these poets, a new poetic spirit was embedded based on sacred and secular heritage, historical past and mythical poetic ideas, but such a poetic spirit was nurtured in the Serbian poetic tradition long before this generation of Kosovo Metohija poets. It was, on the one hand, stimulated by the awakening of national consciousness and the culmination of several decades of attempts to marginalize everything that was valuable in the Serbian culture of Kosovo and Metohija, especially in literature, but it should also be borne in mind that the celebration of six centuries of great Kosovo battles (1989) was approaching, as one of the central events of Serbian political and spiritual history.

Of particular importance is the event that took place in 1985, when the difficult and unfavorable socio-political and literary situation in which Serbian writers and the Serbian people as a whole in Kosovo and Metohija were, led to a rebellion of forty Serbian writers who in the autumn of 1985, signed an Open Letter to the Society of Writers of Kosovo, protesting against, as they pointed out, the continuous narrowing of their living and spiritual space, the continuous suppression of their own language (let us remind here that the suppression of Serbian national identity in the area of the southern Serbian province was

particularly intensified after the Constitution of 1974 when Kosovo and Metohija had the de facto status of a federal unit of SFRY, although formally it was still part of Serbia). That public letter, which caused a great scandal in the ranks of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, was later cited by many historians and literary scholars as a turning point and the announcement of Slobodan Milošević's arrival in Gazimestan on Vidovdan in 1989.

With the coming to power of Slobodan Milošević, the era of socialism ended and the power of the former communist party was abolished, and Yugoslavia was broken up as well as Kosovo as an autonomous region with elements of statehood; thus, the truth about Kosovo and Metohija (primarily that which concerned the unequal position of the Serbian people, the erasure of its tradition, spirituality, history, but also the endangerment of existence through mistreatment, violence, and forced emigration) could, after half a century of silence, be spoken out loud. Furthermore, it could have been given the literary shape of the national charge and libertarian spirit that was first felt in the works of the new and slightly older generation of poets. During the 1990s, new writers entered the literary scene of Priština, as well as other areas, including those whose creativity and cultural work will mark the first decades of the 21st century. Thematically, that literature (especially poetry) turns to the people of this climate, their sufferings, endurance and heroism, their customs. It is imbued with faith in survival and a better tomorrow, it returns to the roots, glorifies tradition and spirituality, describes cultural heritage (churches and monasteries) and is dominated by patriotic and religious feelings, national myths, Orthodox thought and the Kosovo Covenant, compassion for compatriots suffering in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and at the same time there is a sharp criticism of crimes and criminals, as well as Western liberal societies.

The end of the 20th century, however, brings new pogroms. The war for the defense of Kosovo and Metohija, as well as the NATO bombing, will make a large part of the writers continue their work in dispersion, in central Serbia, far from their homeland. Those who remained in Kosovo and Metohija (mainly in the north) also during the first decade of the new century wrote and lived in an almost identical way, representing the most numerous literary grouping in this area. The Serbian population was expelled from all major cities in central Kosovo (Priština, Lipljan), Pomoravlje (Gnjilane) and Metohija (Prizren, Peć), so that even those artists who, despite all the problems, decided to stay in Kosovo and Metohija had been forced to move to smaller areas near larger cities (Gračanica, Štrpce, Goraždevac, Šilovo, Ranilug). In the first decade of the 21st century, Serbian writers remain isolated in ghetto communities, they are denied elementary security and freedom of movement, they face the process of deurbanization of culture, remaining without urban audiences, infrastructure (cultural facilities, galleries, halls, libraries) and more serious perceptions, and thus the reception of their work. The only urban area for Serbs remains the northern part of Kosovska Mitrovica, which, for the first time in history, also becomes the literary center of Serbs from Kosovo and Metohija.

During the first two decades in Kosovo and Metohija, two groups of literary creators stand out - authors who gained affirmation to a greater or lesser extent during the 20th century and writers who began their literary work in this century. One of their common ideological denominators, despite the stylistic-poetic differences and generational distances, is dominant, though not in all, and not present in the same intensity (more noticeable in poetry and criticism than in prose), is the topos of Kosovo and Metohija, and not only as a mythopoetic, but also as a real-historical space. Thanks to this feature, it is possible to talk about the contemporary Serbian literature of Kosovo and Metohija as a separate entity, as a specific ingredient that enriches the overall Serbian literature, even when it has no value that goes beyond the regional framework. Among the writers and poets who stayed to live and work in Kosovo and Metohija, whose value has been confirmed by the history of literature and literary criticism, are Darinka Jevrić, Slobodan Kostić, Aleksandar Despotović, Mitra Reljić, Živojin Rakočević, and especially the writer Petar Sarić (1937) who, even after the bombing in 1999 and his exile from Priština, continued to live and create in Kosovo and Metohija (in Štrpce, Brezovica). His literary efforts (eight novels, four collections of poetry and nonfiction), created from 1972 until today, are an undoubted indicator of the change experienced by the reception of Serbian writers and Serbian literature from Kosovo and Metohija. Today, Petar Sarić is considered a Serbian writer and not a "Serbian writer from Kosovo and Metohija" and his place in the history of Serbian literature is established. That kind of "freedom" in the history of literature, that is, a deserved status, is unfortunately not an indicator of the freedom that writers have today in Kosovo and Metohija. Persisting in almost unimaginable conditions for the 21st century, in the modern ghetto, they become a paradigm and example of the libertarian spirit and developed national consciousness that characterized Serbian writers in the past.

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