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AN IMAGOLOGICAL READING OF JOSIP KOZARAC'S *TENA* OR HOW SLAVONIA BECAME *UNRESTRAINED*

On the 160th anniversary of Josip Kozarac's birth (1858–1906)

The article will imagologically analyse Kozarac's story *Tena*, published in 1894 in the journal *Dom i svijet* (The Home and the World). The colonial past of Slavonia and the imperial policy of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy have been eternalized in the story, and can be read and decoded with a postcolonial key; therefore, the apparatus of postcolonial theory and criticism is applicable to its interpretation. Since the *Other* is of crucial importance in postcolonial theory, the article will focus on hetero-images and the identity markers of Others who contributed to the sad narrative of the fate of a Slavonian Posavina (the region of the Sava River basin) village at the end of the 19th century, and of the village beauty Tena, and contributed to her submissiveness arising from colonial and gender repression, and social poverty. The article will track the process of stereotyping, beginning with a prototype originating in the life of Vrbanja, and continuing with Kozarac's narrative and the literary character of Tena until reaching the stereotype of unrestrained Slavonia.

Key words: *Other, colonialism, capitalism, hetero-images, self-images, stereotype*

INTRODUCTION

The historical framework of Kozarac's story *Tena*¹ is the Austro-Hungarian military campaign as part of the colonial imperial policy of European powers, conveyed at the *Congress of Berlin*, and the wider context of the im-

¹ Josip Kozarac, *Tena*, *Dom i svijet*, Ilustrovani list, Published by Knjižara Lav. Hartmana (Kugli i Deutsch), Zagreb, 1894, no. 1, p. 1–3; no. 2, p. 19–20; no. 3, p. 35–37; no. 4, p. 51–54.

perial endeavours of the 19th century and the creation of a geopolitical map of the world with great empires. Kozarac's literary discourse contains colonial experiences, hegemonic practices and the liberal-capitalist ideologemes of the more advanced west, the representations of the dominant Other, and the subordinate, inferior, marginal, backward Slavonia as a transitional space and area of contact.

According to Edward Said, literary writing is a creative blend of fact and fiction, and the reality depicted in a literary text is not ideologically neutral but depends on imperial policies.² Josip Kozarac's Slavonia, especially in the story *Tena*, observed from a postcolonial perspective,³ is a territory where colonial interventions of several centres of power took place, a transitional space where the influence and interest spheres of various imperial powers intertwined, an area on the edge of the West, and a meeting point with the European Orient, or the Western East. The colonial relationships connote power, and the holders of power in the colonial past were the representatives of imperial power, while in the upcoming capitalist relationships they are the holders of capital, Westerners with a more advanced culture, and Europeans, while in a patriarchal society they are men.

Slavonian Posavina was until 1881 part of the Military Frontier, the militarised and centralised buffer zone that, as a demarcation line between two large legitimate state communities, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, separated one identity from the other. Under a strict military

² Edward W. Said, *Orijentalizam: zapadnjačke predodžbe o Orijentu*, Konzor, Zagreb, 1999.

³ Postcolonial theory and criticism is a literary and cultural criticism that studies the interactions and the clashes of European peoples and societies, and colonised peoples. It studies the conflict between a more powerful and a weaker culture, and the struggle that happens when one culture dominates the other.

SUBJECT: the role of literature in the production of the Other

MAIN PRINCIPLES:

1. challenging universalism,
2. acknowledging the Other,
3. criticism of the Eurocentric view of other cultures,
4. rejecting the canon of the West's supremacy,
5. enabling the marginalised groups or geographic areas to self identify and establish their own value systems.

METHODS:

1. exposing the stereotypes of colonised peoples, their cultures, civilisations, languages, etc.
2. identifying the double standards and criteria Western authors apply to themselves and their culture, and to others and different cultures.

Cf. Lukač-Zoranić, Amela, „Postkolonijalna kritika u engleskoj književnosti“, *University Review* (Univerzitetska misao), issue 07/2008, p. 49–57. http://www.academia.edu/4887229/POSTKOLONIJALNA_KRITIKA_U_ENGLESKOJ_KNJIZEVNOSTI [Visited on 12 January 2018]

administration and discipline, all domains of life were supervised, and human rights and freedoms were violated, while repression and a system of corporal punishment (beatings, canings) resulted in the blind obedience and servility of border guards. The Austrian military strictly controlled both the private and the public sphere of life, made impossible the break-up of co-operatives, and used force to maintain patriarchy, as that is how the foundations of economy were preserved, and progress was stifled. Due to the demilitarisation in 1873 and the encroachment of capitalism, the old patriarchal frontier Slavonia, with a pre-modern society and a hundreds-year-old traditional and regional culture, started to change. Instead of progress, changes often led to the economic and moral downfall of numerous maladaptive and incapable of coping with changes people who were not able to handle the shift from a collectivised to an individual economy (Tena's father Jerko Pavletić), which is why their ruined farms and houses were bought by foreign immigrants (Jaroslav Beranek, Czech, German and Hungarian settlers, etc.). The Austrian regime allowed the foreign capitalists to exploit the natural resources of Slavonia, primarily the oak forests (Leon Jungman), without taking care of the local population. The arrival of capitalism brought money and the possibility of easy gain into Slavonia, and everything was sold and bought without any criteria (Tena).

The focus of the realistically set story *Tena* is the fate of a village beauty, depicting the social changes and historical events of that time. Besides the masculine and feminist ideologemes, it is possible with an imagological analysis⁴ to determine the relationship of Us and the Other, and find the hetero-images with the images of the Other about the traditional community of a Slavonian Posavina village at the end of the 19th century, and self-images with the image a community forms about itself.

THE OTHER IN *TENA*

The realistic discourse implies social motivation and the conditionality of characters and the plot, therefore, Tena, the main protagonist, does not decide on her existence and status in the society. The beauty that makes her stand

⁴ Imagology studies the images of foreign countries and peoples (hetero-images) and of one's own country and people (self-images). The cultural imaginarium is a collection of characteristic imagemes of a certain culture within a particular period. An imageme is a collection of characteristic images of a subject (usually ethnic) in a certain culture. Since an imageme implies images coloured with values, its background contains a certain *ideologeme*. When understanding imagemes, surrounding imagemes and ideologemes of culture to which the observed imageme belongs are important. Cf. Davor Dukić, „Predgovor: O imagologiji“, eds.: Davor Dukić, Zrinka Blažević, Lahorka Plejić-Poje, Ivana Brković (tb), *Kako vidimo strane zemlje: Uvod u imagologiju*, Srednja Europa, Zagreb, 2009, p. 5–23.

out has a crucial impact on her position in the society and decides her status as a social outsider⁵. Tena is the embodiment of an existential outsider – she is excluded and left out of dominant social norms due to her looks, behaviour and talent, while her physical attributes make her an above average beauty, and her free behaviour pushes against the restrictions of a patriarchal community. As an existential outsider she is a projection of the foreign and the different in the unconscious self, and not only encourages reflection on mechanisms of social exclusion but also triggers such mechanisms. The perception of the different implies the activation of cultural and worldview definitions. The different fosters in a traditional environment a lack of understanding and conflicts, which lead to its marginalisation and discrimination, or causes fascination with that which is different as well as provokes the wish to get to know and come in contact with the otherness, gradually create interactions in the coexistence of all, acknowledge diversity, and accept the different as desirable. Tena is attracted by the unknown, foreign, new, by that which transcends the boundaries of the known, deviates from the usual and goes beyond the default: the Czech soldier Beranke, the Romani Đorđe, the Frenchman Leon, even though Leon is as a typical Other both repulsive and irresistible, in which we recognise the Lacan's paradox:⁶ „The differences in class, education, and the way of life between her and Leon, all this repulsed her more than attracted her to Leon.“⁷

Who are Tena's lovers?

The theme of Kozarac's story is the moral degradation of the village beauty Tena, to which the men with predictable gender roles contributed: an Austro-Hungarian soldier – the Czech Jaroslav Beranek, a wood trader – the Frenchman Leon Jungman with German roots, a trough maker and a musician – the Romani Đorđe, and the Slavonian farmer Joza Matijević. All, besides the local Joza Matijević, are just passing through Slavonia, either living there temporarily or just traversing it, and are of different social status, national and cultural identity, and with a different relationship towards the region of Slavonia.

How did they end up in Slavonia?

In Kozarac's story *Tena*, as well as in the rest of his opus, Slavonia is a migration space through which pass various imperial and interest groups. As observed by the postcolonial theory, Slavonia, depicted in the literary dis-

⁵ Hans Mayer differentiates two groups of outsiders: *existentialist outsiders*, who cannot, due to their physical, ethical or psychological predispositions, be or become the majority, and *intentional outsiders*, who due to their intellectual commitment break the norms of society. Hans Mayer, *Autsajderi*, Zagreb, 1981.

⁶ Andrea Milanko, „Poredak Realnog u lakanovskoj psihoanalizi“, *Filozofska istraživanja*, vol. 31, no. 2, Zagreb, 2011, p. 407–416.

⁷ All quotes are from the story *Tena*, taken from: Josip Kozarac, „Tena“, Josip Kozarac, *Djela*, ed. Emil Štampar, Zora, Zagreb, 1950, p. 341–373.

course of Josip Kozarac, is a transitional space of the Western colonial and imperial power in its expansion to the Orient, while Slavonian Posavina is eternalized as the frontier between the East and the West, and the Sava River is a natural, geopolitical, state, cultural and civilization border from the Ottoman Other in a *restless* Bosnia, that has to be moved and was indeed relocated within the narrative time of *Tena* with the movement of military troupes and activities.

If we remain, keeping in mind the historiographical knowledge, focused on the Austro-Hungarian troupes located along the Sava River with the intention to „cross into Bosnia at an opportune hour“, we can indirectly place the time of the plot of the Kozarac's story *Tena* to 1878, when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, gained, based on the Article 25 of the Congress of Berlin, held from 13 June until 13 July of 1878, the mandate from the great colonial powers, Germany, France, Italy, Great Britain and the Russian Empire, to establish its rule and administration over Bosnia and Herzegovina, and set out to take over with their military the territory that belonged to the Ottoman Empire, in order to prevent the creation of a Slavic state at its southern border, after the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, Romania and Bulgaria was recognised. The 13th Zagreb Army Corps was sent to Posavina, its 20th division crossed the Sava River near Šamac and Bosanski Brod on 28 July 1878, and its 18th division crossed it on August 1, when they continued to penetrate into northern Bosnia up to Banja Luka, Maglaj and Jajce. Kozarac in his literary discourse confirms the chronology of the war and the movement of troupes across the Sava River with the folk concept of time: „It took place sometime in the middle of summer“. The war operations lasted from 29 July until 20 October 1878, when the occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina came under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.⁸ These are the historical facts of the institutionally verified history, while the historical experiences of the common folk are formed by the narrative about the relationships of villagers, especially local girls and women, with soldiers who were mainly Slavs and were sent to the war campaigns in Bosnia. Sergeant Jaroslav Beranek from the Czech regiment was deployed to the house of Jerko Pavlečić, at the street number 40 in an unnamed Slavonian Posavina village⁹.

⁸ Tomislav Farkaš, *Bosna od Berlinskog kongresa do Prvoga svjetskog rata*, Graduate thesis, mentor Zlatko Đukić, University Josip Juraj Strossmayer of Osijek, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Osijek, 2017.
<https://repozitorij.ffos.hr/islandora/object/ffos%3A2490/datastream/PDF/view> Visited on 6 March 2018.

⁹ The better informed literary historians know that it was Vrbanja, a village on the banks of the Sava River, since Josip Kozarac expressly confirmed that he wrote about the fate of a real young woman from Vrbanja.

Jaroslav Beranek, the representative of the imperial military power and the colonisers (through economic immigration)

Jaroslav Beranek is the character of a soldier-warrior, the conqueror of lands in Bosnia, and later a coloniser in Slavonia. The archetype of the warrior is one of the four male Jungian archetypes, along with the father, the son and the wise old man. In Kozarac's story *Tena the myth of the experience of war*¹⁰ is actualised, of war into which a soldier goes enthusiastically, eager for victory and glory. War belongs to the male world reserved for victories and exploits, after which follow social affirmation and glory, materialised as medals and public recognition. Besides being a skilled and disciplined warrior, he is also loyal to the imperial authority, and loyal to Monarchy as a state community. The army's stay at the Posavina village before leaving for war is depicted as a festival: „...those days were for the entire village an uninterrupted festival, an everyday fair, a joyful wedding...“. According to Roger Caillois¹¹, war and festival are connected by the focus on the community (collectiveness), and an individual is no longer important, unlike the soldiers-warriors who are ready to fight and sacrifice for the common cause. The village population gave unreserved support to the soldiers as fighters for the common cause, which is why when they were accompanied to the Sava River: „Posavac took everything that was best in his house, to let the soldier leaving for war feast for one last time...“. The opportunism of the soldier-warrior got its historical-legal foundation and justification from the *Congress of Berlin*, based on which Austria established its hegemony and supremacy over Bosnia, while Slavonia was a transit space for the passing of military troupes. Despite the victory and occupation of Bosnia, social affirmation did not arrive, and Beranek came once more to colonise Slavonia as an impoverished Czech immigrant-coloniser. The imperial-colonial attitude of the Monarchy towards Slavonia was replaced by the narration about the mass immigration of foreigners and the occupation of fertile Slavonian land as its greatest natural resource: „And so came to be that crisis, the consequence of which was the mass arrival of Czechs to Slavonia. (...) At that time Czechs poured in and bought everything, up to the last acre of land“. Among them was Beranek, an economic immigrant and a war invalid. Josip Kozarac formed positive hetero-images of Czechs as model farmers who brought more modern farming practices to Slavonia. At his first meeting

¹⁰ George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, Oxford, 1991, p. 4–16.

¹¹ For more details vd: Roger Caillois, *L'homme et la sacré*, Paris, 1950, Roger Caillois, *Quatre essais de sociologie contemporaine*, Paris, 1951, Roger Caillois, *Rat i sveto*, Evropski duh rata, Beograd, 1995.

with Slavonian Posavina, Beranek could not „stop wondering at the abandoned fertile fields, neglected orchards, and rundown stables. He swam in warmheartedness, in how he will put everything in order, and make it all tidy like a beehive“. With a positive hetero-image of immigrants to Slavonia, especially of Czechs during the time of an agrarian crisis and the dissolution of co-operatives, Kozarac associated a negative self-representation: „...the immigrants – whether from the North or the South – in that same culturally backward region, on the same land, bought from the natives, advance and get rich as if in their own cultural ancestral homeland from which they have arrived, – while the natives flee the plough“.¹² However, Beranek's intentions to buy after the war a house and a farm in a Slavonian Posavina village, to rebuild and improve it economically, and the situation in the narrative program was such that for 200 forints he bought the house of Jerko Pavletić at the street number 40 and his rundown farm with eight acres of land, and offered his hand, the only one left after the conquest of Bosnia, to Jerko's morally fallen and ruined only daughter Tena, left impoverished. The crippled Czech immigrant and the poor local *cura* (young woman) with a suspicious past intended to stay and build a better future that would „rebuild the house of Jerko Pavletić, revive the abandoned fields, and ensure a better life for future generations“. Whether they succeeded remains unanswered.

Failed farmers lost their farms because they could not pay the taxes, while foreign human resources used their knowledge and labour to plough the fertile Slavonian fields for a better future. The imagological analysis of Kozarac's opus and the story *Tena* leads us to conclude that the key to interpreting Kozarac's images of collective identity in Slavonia of his time is neither ethnic nor confessional identity but social, professional and moral identity. Josip Kozarac forms with self-images and hetero-images the image of Slavonians and others with a primarily social and class identity, while ethnic identity is in their shadow. He establishes the collective identity of Slavonians in contrast to other national identities, and confirms his vocation as an excellent Smithian economist. The model of constructing the social Other is a Western contemporary model that insists on rationality and development, individual freedom and the possibility of self-realisation on the basis of equality. Therefore, in his opus the characters who advocate productive work and economic development, and gaining capital morally, are presented as axiologically positive, which is why Dubravko Jelčić considers Josip Kozarac a missionary of work, whose texts we „read today as gospels of labour“.¹³

¹² Josip Kozarac, *Živi kapitali*, Collected works, vol. VII, Printed and published by Knjižara St. Kugli, Zagreb, 1937, p. 45.

¹³ Dubravko Jelčić, „Josip Kozarac danas“, in: *Josip Kozarac, književnik i šumar*, Scientific

Leon Jungman, a commercial agent and the representative of foreign capital and economic exploitation

Leon Jungman, a commercial agent and a representative of a Parisian company for wood purchase, that is, a representative of European capital, arrived to Slavonia with the intent to profit, and for temporary work:

Around All Saints' Day wood traders started to arrive, to work over the winter on those beautiful oaks, the pride and joy of Slavonia, that they bought at the auction. Instead of regimental troops, a whole army of workers from Primorje and Kranj regions has gathered and scattered like ants throughout the glorious forest. Among the traders, who trade in wood, were the Viennese, the Bavarians, the English and the French.

With him and other wood traders, money, capitalism and liberalism arrived to Slavonia, and the free labour market opened up in Posavina forests, forests that were massively exploited and devastated with unprecedented logging. Leon belonged to the advanced West and the French, and his project is identical to the project of liberal capitalism. The most important to him were capital and profit, without any moral scruples, and the plan how to best exploit the natural resources of Slavonia, while still enjoying himself:

...he did not come to Slavonia to forever remain there, to become a resident of that country, to breathe and sigh with it; no, he came to benefit from what is beautiful and valuable, he came to become rich in that country, and when he did become rich, he said: „Fare thee well, beautiful land, I don't need you any longer, I'm leaving for my own land, to my family, to spend that which I have gained from you!“ Tena was the same to him...

The imagological analysis shows that the relationship Us – the Other in the semantic field can be perceived in the catalogue of the differences between the traditional and pre-modern Slavonian Posavina and the advanced modern West. The difference is formed by dissimulation strategies and by emphasising the differences of the Other. Leon is repelled by those characteristics of Slavonians that are undesirable in the Western, modern culture – laziness, backwardness, poverty, passivity, negligence, indolence, and greed and desire for easy money, but cannot resist their sensuality, seductiveness and lyricism, since the typical Other is, according to the Lacan's paradox, both repulsive and irresistible at the same time. Leon and other representatives of economic exploitation are actually attracted the most to the natural resources of the Other, the Slavonian forest, and from 1880 until 1914 the greatest logging of the region

conference proceedings on the 80th anniversary of Josip Kozarac's death, Special issue, vol. 4, JAZU (Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts), Centre for Scientific Research in Vinkovci, Vinkovci, 1988, p. 23.

took place, when centuries-old giants were lost. Josip Kozarac as a forester was a witness to and a harsh social critic of the arrival of foreigners and the foreign capital to Slavonia, who extracted material gain from it and had a bad influence on its society, morally degrading it and leaving behind a wasteland. Leon Jungman is the representative of foreign capital, and a foreigner passing through, who had materially exploited the forest resources of Slavonia and the poor girl Tena from Vrbanja without a drop of love: „he wasn't in love with her, she was not his wife, she was to him like any other woman...”

After leaving Slavonia for Podravina, Leon received Tena's letter, written „in folk verse, plaintive and soft, with a folk song welling up from her heart“. Affective and ideological reflections of the image of Slavonia, equivalent to Herder's imagemes of Slavs, appear in the reflexive reaction of Leon Jungman to Tena's letter full of emotions and written in folk verse:

Oh, Slavic poetry, oh, the soft Slavic heart! Who would today know whether you will one day rule the world or forever just imagine your greatness and genius!

Kozarac inputs into Leon's thoughts slavophilic imagemes, created by August Ludwig von Schlözer and developed by Johann Gottfried Herder, that had prompted Slavophilia and the Pan-Slavic movement during the 19th century, the century when national thought flourished. Herder's ideas were resumed and expanded by Šafarik, Kollár and the Illyrians for the Croatian national revival, developing the idea of Slavic reciprocity as Pan-Slavism, Austro-Slavism, Illyrism and Yugoslavism.

Tena's letter in the form of a folk versed song is the expression of her soul, Slavically soft and delicate, concludes Leon in accordance with Herder's ideas. A German philosopher of Romantic nationalism, Herder favoured poetry, believing that reconciliation and rapprochement of European peoples can happen only through collective poetry¹⁴ and learning, (*Letters for the Advancement of Humanity*, 1871) because poetry, according to him, was always the first reformer who with its joyful doctrine can advance humanity. Herder introduced the notion *Volksgeist*, believing that the spirit of an individual people and its identity lie in its culture and language, and thus favoured oral folk poetry. He thought the soul of a people can be seen in its culture and language. The folk genius is recognisable in the forms of a national cultural practice and we consider it the creator of cultural nationalism. Herder's notion of *Volksgeist* and the imagological description of Slavs with positive images and assessments in his work *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*

¹⁴ For his idea that the greatest works of poetry do not belong to an individual person or an individual people but to the whole of mankind, Herder must be thanked for pioneering the concept and the notion of world literature.

(I–IV, 1774–1791)¹⁵ impacted the formation of the concept of a *Slavic soul* that designates „as per the established positive prejudice, a selfless, peaceful temperament, a generous soul“.¹⁶ Herder formed positive hetero-images of Slavs as hard working, peace-loving and humane people, and those are the very characteristics that brought to humankind the improvement of living conditions in the neglected areas that Slavs cultivated as industrious farmers. The criticism of imperialism is part of Herder's ideas. According to Herder, the soft and delicate Slavic soul, and their honesty and non-belligerence have contributed to the Slavs being oppressed and becoming victims of the imperialism of neighbouring peoples.¹⁷ Leon's rhetorical question, „Who would today know whether you will one day rule the world or forever just imagine your greatness and genius“, subversively acted on the Austrian monarchist and imperialist policies that viewed Slavs as a danger that jeopardises its territorial unity. Herder's idea of freedom assumes that all individual peoples should have the freedom of choice, development and agency, which is how he encouraged Slavic peoples in their national homogenisation and identification processes in the 19th century. Considering them extremely positive and constructive historical factors, Herder had foreseen for Slavs a great future in the new Europe. Seeing Tena's soul in her rhymed poetic letter, traditionally defined, the Frenchman Leon Jungman conflates the spirit of Slavonians, which he had the opportunity to get to know, with the Slavic soul with positive hetero-images, and the misgivings for the future of Slavs, even though he himself participates in the overexploitation of natural resources, contributing to the economic and moral deterioration of Slavonia that is going through a huge economic, social and spiritual crisis. The pre-modern traditional society, associated with the patriarchal iconography of the land, home, hearth, and the cradle, is falling apart and opening towards the modern society and culture, where the most important values are profit, capital and individualism. Tena's life story becomes at a symbolic level the fate of Slavonia and its natural resources, primarily centuries-old oak forests, and subsequently of the fertile land bought by foreigners because „Slovenia is like an overripe fruit, fallen from the tree and now being eaten by wasps, bees and flies, only because the Slavonian is too lazy to harvest his fruit trees. Who could feel sorry for him, when a foreigner can live and survive on this land, and he is not able to, even

¹⁵ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideje za filozofiju povesti čovečanstva*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad, 2012.

¹⁶ Hrvatski jezični portal, <http://hjp.znanje.hr/> Visited on 2 March 2018.

¹⁷ Endre Arató, „Karakteristične crte nacionalnih ideologija slavenskih naroda u 1. polovini 19. stoljeća“, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Zagreb, 1973, p. 259–284.

with everything his grandfathers have left him?" Kozarac's narrative influenced the construction of the stereotype of a lazy Slavonian in a rich Slavonia, and unrestrained *cura* and *snaša* (young women), represented by Tena.

Đorđe, a fiddler, a trough maker and a renegade

Đorđe is a Romani, a *gipsy*, a trough maker and an *egedaš* (a fiddler), who as the representative of a Nomadic worldview experiences Slavonia as a *space one travels through*: „They (A/N, Romani) are in a way similar to people à la Leon Jungman: both are sustained by other people's land, a land they do not care for, they do not work for, but are only there while it is worth it“. The Croatian traditional community and the Romani community are closed communities, socially and professionally determined: the locals are farmers, the Romani are musicians, blacksmiths, trough makers, tinkers, and „rarely anyone ever used a plough“. Đorđe, a trough maker, is part of a marginal group that makes and sells troughs in the surrounding villages, and as an *egedaš* earns money playing at weddings, taverns, dances, for gentry and peasants when asked.¹⁸ Music is an expression of Đorđe's temperamental nature, individual and creative energy, and the sublimation of the irresistible erotic energy woken in him by the beautiful and sensual Tena:

Love had laid a veil on Đorđe's eyes and he could not see anyone besides – Tena. Dying of passion, she would have smothered him had that fiddle not been there, into which he poured the tempestuous flames of his heart; he swayed to his own music, he was constantly at Tena's side during the *kolo* dance, now approaching her, now bending towards her, as if he wanted her to hear with those lightest sounds the whisperings of his heart as well...

Music is a meeting point for the Slavonians and the Romani. Many literary works glorify *gipsy music* as the height of merriment of a traditional community and musical practice. The sounds of an *eged* (a fiddle) of the handsome, temperamental and melodious Romani player Đorđe are a musical background to the crescendo of the hedonistic pinnacle of Tena's licentious life and the marching music accompanying her to imminent ruin she could not even imagine. Tena found herself at the climax of unrestraint and abandon, beyond all rules and norms. Tena passionately reacts to his music and dances,

¹⁸ The music culture of Slavonian villages had three types of musicians: tamburica players, bagpipers and fiddlers (*egedaši*). A tamburica player was usually a young man who played for free, and only when a bagpiper or an *egedaš* were not available. A bagpiper was a villager, while an *egedaš* was a Romani. They were paid to play at weddings, saints' festivals, and every Sunday from Easter to Advent. Vd.: Grozdana Marošević, „Podaci o glazbi u monografijama Zbornika za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena“, *Narodna umjetnost*, 34/2, Zagreb, 1997, p. 95–107.

and the dance unites both the body and the spirit. Enjoying the *gipsy* music on the *eged*, accompanied by the dance movements of the beautiful and graceful Tena's body, sound and movement transform physicality into an art form, and art unites the spiritual and the body. Đorđe's fiddle playing and Tena's dance are an ecstasy of hedonism, movement, vitality and physicality. The player is not separate from the music, and the dancer is not separate from the dance or the music, and they find beauty in aesthetic and physical pleasure. Together they bond in the ideal of passion¹⁹ and pure hedonism because Tena soon succumbs to the erotic call of sensuality, negating the closed nature of the two communities, the traditional *šokac* (Slavonian) and the Romani community:

And she, swaying both her body and soul on the wings of furious music, melted, and trembled, until at last she succumbed to the tempest and passion, and frantically pulled Đorđe towards her, making him drop his fiddle and bow.

The erotic experience with the fiddler Đorđe is different than the one in Leon's richly furnished rooms, and is focused on extolling moments, without any pragmatics or benefit, that transform into a symbol of vitality and the fullness of life, an ideal of unrestrained and free love, a negation of patriarchal morals, and an overstepping of unwritten but strict rules and customs of the traditional community. In fact, Ivan Filakovac states that with the Romani „this people (A/N, Slavonians) does not marry those people. Nobody speaks the gipsy's language...“²⁰. Both their identities are displaced, Tena is with her beauty, licentious behaviour and by breaking all norms isolated from the expected averageness of a village community and strict rules of behaviour, and Đorđe, as a renegade who had assimilated with the traditional *šokac* community, was loved and accepted in it: „he had distanced himself from the gipsy-ness, with his clothes, speech, and the rest of his life; in fact, he was even not as swarthy as the rest of the gipsies... Đorđe got on well with the other lads, for he was part of their company since they were young, and when they grew up they came to love him for his fiddling. Only when they would fight would they call him a gipsy. There was no greater insult to Đorđe“. Since, according to the postcolonial theory, identity is shaped by differentiating from the Other, and is shown through hetero-images, Kozarac emphasizes the greater amount of temperament and energy in the Romani girl Maruška than in the *šokac* girl Tena, while Đorđe is a renegade, „a young and handsome gipsy, with the last

¹⁹ Ljiljana Gjurgjan, „W. B. Yeats i dekadentizam“, *Umjetnost riječi*, XLVI, 1–2, Zagreb, 2002, p. 92.

²⁰ Ivan Filakovac, *Etnografska građa iz Retkovaca 1898. – 1902.*, manuscript, the Archive Collection of the Committee for Folk Life and Customs, Department of Ethnology, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, p. 97–98.

traces of the eastern tribe in his eyes, slightly curvy hair and pearly teeth“. By mixing with Tena he provoked the harsh opposition of the Romani community that had consciously and on purpose interfered with his marital and erotic life in order to make him return to the right path, and without choosing the means to do so: profanities, schemes, slander, curses, and in the end, revenge and punishment. And they succeeded!

TENA, THE VICTIM OF SOCIAL POVERTY,
AND THE SUBJUGATED SUBJECT OF COLONIAL
AND GENDER OPPRESSION

The gender stereotypes of the female body emphasise female beauty, attractiveness and sexuality, on the one hand, and favour the pure female body with the virtues of diligence, chastity, modesty and integrity, on the other hand. In literature these two stereotypical approaches to the female body manifest in the excessive emphasis of outer beauty and the attribution of more value to the beautiful and healthy female body (Tena Pavletić), and less value and a worse status to an ugly, weak and sickly female body (Ivka Matijević). The traditional community is insidiously hypocritical when it comes to the purity and uncleanness of female nature. While the virtues of chastity, modesty and innocence are considered by the public opinion to be necessary to respect a woman, masculine ideology idealises the female beauty and fantasises about the sensuality of a female lover that has all the characteristics necessary to induce to sin (beauty, sensuality, charm), without showing any interest nor ability for marriage, family, work, birth or raising children. This ambivalence is expressed the best with the character of a *femme fatale* that synthesises the male fear of female sensuality and the irresistible attractiveness of the other, beautiful, dangerous, enigmatic and mysterious female body.

At the end of the 19th century, a woman in Slavonia is an inferior Other, and a victim of colonial and gender oppression. Patriarchal ideology depicts „a true woman“ as a mother and a wife, a symbol of purity and innocence, as the guardian of home, the caretaker of the family and the nation, the angel of the home hearth, model, chaste and capable of taking care of the family, of birthing children and raising them, a loyal servant to the husband and the nation. The representation of „a true woman“ is a reflection of the dominant pattern of patriarchal and imperial oppression, as can be perceived from her position as an object subjugated by man, and from the space of female agency being reduced to the private domain, to the stove, the bed and the cradle, while a village woman is further obligated to perform „female work“ within the gender distribution of work duties and obligations. Masculine and impe-

rial programs of strengthening and maintaining power by subjugating certain groups according to sex, gender, race, and nationality, as well as fears and desires, are inserted into the stereotypes of a woman-mother and a woman-lover. Whether a mother or a lover, a woman should give her master the chance to dominate. A „true“ woman will give her man/husband sexual pleasure, biologically reproduce with him, keep his household, and ensure the stability of patriarchy and the maintenance of power of the existing order, male society and culture. Women must reproduce the found subordinate position in order for men to remain the authority and the pillars of society as well as the heads of the family, and to be able to actively and without hindrance participate in the reproduction of society as a whole. In the imperial patriarchal social system a woman is a doubly subjugated subject. Tena does not conform to the rules and boundaries she was given, her beautiful face and sensual body is where the dominant patriarchal ideology and her identity, fashioned to be different by her body, are conflicted, which is why her fate is tragic – because any deviation is penalised with punishment and exclusion. She has kept her multiply subjugated position as a victim of colonial and gender oppression, as a marginalised, impoverished and defaced woman from the bottom of the social hierarchy who had everything taken away and was left only with her life, and embroidery as an exclusively female field of work, and with taking the hand of Jaroslav Beranek, a war invalid and Czech colonist, with good odds of becoming a „true“, model woman. Kozarac offered that the solution to Tena’s marital crisis was manual labour, but with an opening ending suggested or indicated the possibility of choice between freedom and social coercion.

FROM THE GENDER STEREOTYPE TO THE CULTURAL STEREOTYPE OF SLAVONIA

Tena provided and started something well-known about Slavonians, in the form of, however, already existing mental images, that is, stereotypical images and imageries. Gender stereotypes of the female body and sexuality impacted the creation of a cultural stereotype of an *unrestrained* Slavonia.²¹ Tena greatly contributed to it by entering the literary reality (Kozarac’s story *Tena*) from an extraliterary reality (seated in Vrbanja’s life), and from it the Croatian cultural imaginarius as a symbol of Slavonia and its fertile land that accepts everyone into its arms, and became a stereotypical Slavonian woman. Julije Benešić confirmed with his essay „*Raspojasana*“ *Slavonija*

²¹ Hrvatski jezični portal: *raspojasan* (T/N, translated as *unrestrained*), in a very good mood, giving oneself licence to say what one means, to sing and enjoy oneself [unrestrained mood]; fully relaxed and comfortable. <http://hjp.znanje.hr/> [Visited on 2 March 2018].

(„Unrestrained“ Slavonia) published in 1911 in *Savremenik* (The Contemporary) that this stereotype, with a textual origin, was already generally accepted and widespread in public communication as an intertextually established and well-known place in cultural memory. Joza Ivakić confirmed in 1914 the great influence of Tena on forming stereotypes²², even though he discriminated her with a whole range of emanations of restrained and unrestrained Slavonian women and men, giving only a single explanation and excluding any critical analysis, and belonging to mass communication as an intertextually present and recognisable general place, as a well-known incomplete notion that is not empirically verifiable but is textually confirmed within the time sequence of the literary socialisation of readers:

Many have misinterpreted „Tena“ by perceiving her as a prototype of a Slavonian woman; therefore, little by little an opinion formed in our public that almost every Slavonian woman is wanton and loose, and that all there is in Slavonia is immorality and mud.

Reljković and Josip Kozarac have definitely contributed to this opinion being formed, as they have viewed Slavonian life from its dark side, with a noble and patriotic intention to heal wounds and show the way how to eliminate shortcomings. In this they went a bit overboard. The Slavonian life has its better sides. (...)

Josip Kozarac's *Tena* was, therefore, begun to be thought of as the only and the general kind of a Slavonian woman. And this generalising is in its very foundations completely wrong and erroneous. This kind of women can be found in any land and any country; they have been here since forever, and will continue to be until the end of time.²³

The beautiful Tena Pavletić, seated in the life of Vrbanja, where young Kozarac was a forester's trainee, entered into his art narrative that eternalised the sad story of the fate of female beauty in Slavonian Posavina at the end of the 19th century and influenced the formation of the stereotype of an *unrestrained* Slavonia. The stereotyping can be recognised in the physical characteristics, psychologisms and predispositions of temperament, and in attributing characteristics to a certain community or a nation and a general place in the form of generalised statement that cannot be empirically proven but can be textually confirmed. The descriptive adjective *unrestrained* promotes a single attribute of the essence of Slavonia, resulting in the blending of descriptive and normative, and the confusion between a discourse and a norm. The stereotype is the mini-

²² Daniel-Henri Pageaux, „Od kulturnog imaginarija do imaginarnog“, eds.: Davor Dukić, Zrinka Blažević, Lahorka Plejić-Poje, Ivana Brković (tb), *Kako vidimo strane zemlje: Uvod u imagologiju*: Srednja Europa, Zagreb, 2009.

²³ Joza Ivakić, *Selo u hrvatskoj književnosti*, Rijeka, 1914, p. 17–18.

mal form of information as it derives from a single descriptive adjective, the adjective *unrestrained*. Even though she was different and atypical, Tena affected the creation of a stereotype according to which the whole of Slavonia is unrestrained, wanton, unbridled, loose, unbuttoned, joyful, mischievous, salacious, reckless, frenzied and profligate.²⁴ The process of adjectivation or attribution, that is simultaneously also the process of qualification, brings a disturbing, caricatural, clichéd, simplified and warped image of Slavonians in culture, an image that is as a stereotype the vehicle of the definition of the Other, a simplified and incomplete declaration of the Other, the expression of collective knowledge and the permanent erroneous conclusion, similar to a caricature or a schema, but recognised as a generally accepted, consistent, recognisable place due to frequent repetitions, primarily in literary texts.²⁵ A stereotype, a clichéd statement about a certain type of people, group, community or a nation and their way of life, appearance, behaviour, and the like, is formed as a textual and cultural construct in several phases:²⁶ the idea of Slavonia as a pleasant biotope, an arcadia without care or problems (*imagination*), expressed with the adjective *unrestrained*, influences the formation of an image of the unrestrained, unbridled and carefree people who live in a utopia and prosperity, succumbing to carnal pleasures and vices, is seen as absolute (*totalisation*) and considered valid and real (*naturalisation*). The image of an *unrestrained* Slavonia is generalised. According to this image, all Slavonians are full of vice and uninhibited (*generalisation*), and the Slavonians who are industrious and live an honest and chaste life are excluded and discriminated from the presented schematism.²⁷ This confirms that a stereotype is an ellipsis of the mind and reasoning, that it does not see the whole picture but excludes critical analysis, is not confirmed in empirical reality, is not verifying the facts but only referring to textual reality; therefore, a stereotype is not seen as true nor false but has a strong rhetorical, receptive and axiological impact, especially in the discourse of cultural valuation.²⁸ The beautiful and

²⁴ Julije Benešić, „Raspojasana“ Slavonija, *Savremenik*, Zagreb, 1911.

²⁵ Daniel-Henri Pageaux, „Od kulturnog imaginarija do imaginarnog“, eds.: Davor Dukić, Zrinka Blažević, Lahorka Plejić-Poje, Ivana Brković (tb), *Kako vidimo strane zemlje: Uvod u imagologiju*: Srednja Europa, Zagreb, 2009, p. 132.

²⁶ Vd.: Dubravka Oraić-Tolić, *Hrvatski kulturni stereotipi*, eds.: Dubravka Oraić-Tolić, Ernő Kulcsár Szabó (ur.): *Kulturni stereotipi, Koncepti identiteta u srednjoeuropskim književnostima*, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (University of Zagreb), Institute of Literary Studies, Zagreb, 2006, p. 29–45.

²⁷ Anica Bilić, *Stereotip raspojasane Slavonije*, Gradska knjižnica i čitaonica Vinkovci, Vinkovci, 2013, p. 210.

²⁸ Daniel-Henri Pageaux, „Od kulturnog imaginarija do imaginarnog“, eds.: Davor Dukić, Zrinka Blažević, Lahorka Plejić-Poje, Ivana Brković (tb), *Kako vidimo strane zemlje: Uvod u imagologiju*, Srednja Europa, Zagreb, 2009, p. 132.

sensual Tena entered the literary discourse, and as a representative of hedonist Slavonia the Croatian cultural imaginarium through stereotyping, reinforced the negative identity image and the images of Slavonian women, and enabled the continuity of literary constructions and representations of a group identity about Slavonia with a negative value. The stereotype of *unrestrained* Slavonia is a monomorphic and monosemic image in the cultural imaginarium and the symbolic world but is well established in the culture of memory and the reader's horizon, and is widespread and well-known as a literary, social and cultural construct. Although we are living in the time of using irony regarding stereotypes, the status of Kozarac's text as an anthological and canonical text of Croatian literature contributes to the strengthening and the vitality of the stereotype of *unrestrained* Slavonia in the cultural system, and when establishing discursive relationships in the real world as well as connections with other art media, since stereotypes are polycontextual and can be reactivated at any moment in different surroundings. The intention of present time is to question stereotypes and discover in them any indications of phantasm, ideology, utopia and the similar, and their interpretation.²⁹ With this article we have tried to trace the colonial and gender oppression in the literary representation of the character of a woman and the stereotypical image of Slavonia.

CONCLUSION

With his eyes of an acute social analyst and his writer's plume, Josip Kozarac detected the imperialist and hegemonic practice, and the colonial and exploitation activities of the Other in the region of Slavonia. The hegemonic and imperialist practice, the power of money, and the intrusion of innovative capitalism into the Slavonian Posavina village at the end of the 19th century have influenced the narrative about the Posavina beauty Tena, the symbol of the land of Slavonia, who had impacted the creation of the stereotype of *unrestrained* Slavonia. Slavonia itself and the relationship towards the Other is represented by the character of *Tena* who gave to the Other everything she had. Today Slavonia is like Tena, beautiful and impoverished, full of natural resources but lacking people who will demographically and economically „re-build, revive the abandoned fields, and ensure a better life for future generations“, and remain faithful to working the land and revive the dead capital.

²⁹ Jean-Marc Moura, „Kulturna imagologija: pokušaj povijesne i kritičke sinteze“, eds.: Davor Dukić, Zrinka Blažević, Lahorka Plejić-Poje, Ivana Brković (tb), *Kako vidimo strane zemlje: Uvod u imagologiju: Srednja Europa*, Zagreb, 2009.

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IMAGOLOŠKO ČITANJE *TENE* JOSIPA KOZARCA ILI KAKO JE SLAVONIJA POSTALA *RASPOJASANA*

U povodu 160. obljetnice rođenja Josipa Kozarca (1858 – 1906)

U članku ćemo imagološki analizirati Kozarčevu pripovijetku *Tena*, objavljenu u *Domu i svijetu* 1894, i osvijetliti je inovativnim čitanjima. U *Teni* je fiksirana kolonijalna prošlost Slavonije i imperijalna politika Austro-Ugarske Monarhije te ju je moguće iščitati i dekodirati u postkolonijalnom ključu stoga je aparatura postkolonijalne teorije i kritike primjenjiva u njezinoj interpretaciji. Kako je u postkolonijalnoj teoriji pojam *Drugi* od presudne važnosti, u članku ćemo usmjeriti pozornost na heteropredodžbe i identitetske marke-*re* Drugih koji su dali svoj obol tužnom narativu o sudbini prostora slavonsko-posavskoga sela krajem 19. stoljeća i seoskoj ljepotici Teni te pridonijeli njezinu submisivnom položaju, proizašlom iz kolonijalne i rodne represije te socijalne bijede. U članku ćemo pratiti proces stereotipizacije počevši od prototipa sa sjedištem u životu Vrbanje preko Kozarčeva narativa i književnoga lika Tene do stereotipa raspojasane Slavonije.

Ključne riječi: Drugi, kolonijalizam, kapitalizam, heteropredodžbe, autopredodžbe, stereotip