

je zadržkov pri ocenjevanju razlogov – mnogokrat neplemenitih in nepremišljenih - ,ki so vodili Salandro in Sonnina, še prej pa Viktorja Emanuele III., k italijanski intervenciji maja 1915«.

Razprava, ki je prav gotovo marsikje znova prisotna ob lanskem oziroma letošnjem jubileju, vendar hkrati preseneča ob tako izkušenem in renomiranem avtorju, kakršen je Almerigo Apollonio, ter seveda ob vrsti del italijanskih, avstrijskih, slovenskih in hrvaških avtorjev, ki jih avtor prav gotovo pozna in so, kot uvodoma rečeno, uspela preseči okvire nacionalistične retorike. Delo, v katerega je nedvomno vložil veliko truda in dosedanjih izkušenj in ki bo nedvomno razširilo obzorje mnogih bralcev, seveda ni namenjeno zgolj njim. V roke ga bo vzel tudi marsikateri zgodovinar in poznavalec obdobja, ki ga v njem obravnava, zato pri tovrstnem zgodovinskem čtivu in tematiki, ki jo obravnava, avtor tega ne bi smel spregledati in zanemariti.

**Salvator Žitko**

Todor Kuljić (2014): TANATOPOLITIKA. SOCIOLOŠKOISTORIJSKA ANALIZA POLITIČKE UPOTREBE SMRTI (Thanatopolitics. The sociological-historical analysis of the political use of the death). Čigoja štampa, Beograd, 423 strani.

Man is a being who thinks and uses death. In the course of history, a mere fact of finiteness of life did not only inspire complex philosophical contemplations and caused restlessness, but also a political utilisation of death anxiety, which is not less complex. Moreover, not only do undertakers make a living through the death, but rulers as well. The subordinated are deliberately deceived by death. Thanatopolitics deals with political use of death, grave and corpse. The important dead people are claimed as integrative symbols of the order of the living. Critical thanatology goes even further and studies social inequalities in dying and ideological utilisation of death. Prescribed norms in dealing with death are a part of ideology which justifies inequality of the living. Criticism of various thanatological ideologies i.e. utilisations of death by the living ruling groups is the topic of Kuljić's book. How do the rulers control the subordinated through funerals, graves and commemorations? A wider thanato-sociological frame is needed to study this complex and historically changeable activity. The analysis of each historical epoch started with hegemonic interpretation of death and with the vision of a good death. These contents justify, directly or indirectly, the interests of ruling groups: the dead go to heaven of hell, after death their souls transmigrate to another living



body through reincarnation or they become an eternal part of the nation or the class. Thanatopolitics studies various political and ideological use of death, while thanato-sociology studies a deeper interest aspect of these activities. Thanatopolitics is a part of the culture of remembrance and its frame in this book is not outlined ethnologically or historiographically, but sociologically, stresses author.

The first part of the book gives elements of theoretical and conceptual frame and the relationship between thanatopolitics and thanatosociology is defined. Three aspects of study of thanatopolitics are explained: (1) historical, (2) symbolical – ritual, and (3) class aspect. Social and political aspects of death are defined as well as rituals, symbols and different desirable visions of death. In consideration of social-integrative public ritualisation and symbolisation of death, attention is paid mostly to grave and funeral. Commemoration of the dead evokes emotions, then it turns into a myth, and finally it becomes social-integrative cultural memory which is used to justify rulers power. Today, there are also attempts to transfer charisma of the dead to the living through burial rites. The aim of burial rites is to transform the vanish-

ing of an individual into stimulation for renewal and demonstration of imperishable group entities: religion, ideology, state or party. Each funeral demonstrates the way a group overcomes and accepts death. A ritual over a corpse in politics should ensure loyalty to a group aspiring to retain or seize power, while the funeral itself is used to tranquilise political groups after shake-ups.

Thanatopolitics does not see fear as simple anthropological anxiety about vanishing, but as an important emotional political potential. Changes in society have always been a frame of changing the consciousness about death and political use of death. Modernisation, dissolution of patriarchal society, decline of religion and advances in medicine, they have all been essential impetuses to change in attitude towards death. The disappearance of fear of God's judgement has not only changed the fear of death, but the utilisation of death as well. Every thanatopolitics is the political economy of death: from the antique slave trade to the exploitation of gold teeth of killed people in Auschwitz. It is about preserving the privileges of the living through the dead. Criticism of justification of inequality by natural or violent death is the object of thanatopolitics as a scientific discipline. Thanatopolitics i.e. the utilisation of death cannot be understood without consideration of real social conflicts which determined hegemonic ideal context of comprehension of death (mythical, religious or secular) and its interpreters (prophets, priests or party officials). In the course of history, the ruling groups have always organised and purposely irrationalised the fear of unwished death and imposed hegemonic vision of a good death. The theoretical principles of comparative approach to this praxis have been elaborated in a wider way. In this Kuljić's book thanatopolitics is not understood only as ideological praxis, but also as a scientific discipline. The overview and criticism of different historical patterns of ideologisation of death is an attempt to found thanatopolitics as a scientific discipline. Research priorities of thanatopolitics were clearly defined through analysis of historical material.

The second chapter is entitled "The beyond as the political capital". The relations between metaphysics of death and the politics are here considered as well as the evolution of dealing with death from ancient times to modern era, and changes in public utilisation use of the corpse. Religious thanatopolitics is here mostly dealt with because it is understood neither as a simple superstition nor historically ephemeral delusion; on the contrary, it is understood as an ideological factor which is still strong. Due to the lack of after-death experience, symbolisation of inexperience is very imaginative, persuasive to different extents, but always politically usable. Most part is devoted to the use of death in Christian political ideology, to the role of purgatory as a sign of capitalism and to the role of pest as a factor in changing of feudalism. Inexhaustible imagination used for intimidation by hell in political theology requested political

obedience and biddability. Introduction of purgatory was the apex of clerical thanatopolitics in the Middle Ages and theological response to growth of complexity of social structure. The 14th century pest surely accelerated important social and economic changes and weakened the church showing its impotence.

The third chapter is entitled "Liberation of death". If the political manipulation with the beyond was shaken up by the 14th century pest, at the end of the 18th century the Enlightenment definitely broke the same illusion. Weakening of grace of God and disappearance of belief in the Judgement Day changed the political potential of death. Microscope and telescope equally prompted a revolutionary blowing apart of the idea of God-ordained afterlife and anonymous heaven or hell. The first instrument demystified human body, while the other one demystified heaven. The change of the criteria of imperishability changed the political potential of death as well. The Judgement Day was replaced with moral and political estimation of a dead person's merits and his/her contribution to revolution and the nation, not to the church. The state became a new actor of thanatopolitics. It took over the church's role in regulation of dying and ideologisation of death. Changes of visions of a good death i.e. socially acceptable way of dying, are given here. During history a vision of desirable death waved between natural death, violent (heroic) death and death of our own free will (suicidal). Guidelines for a good death were a basis for the political use of it in every period. The difference between traditional, modern and postmodern death is noted here. The main historic forms of social death i.e. nullifying and depriving a living or dead individual of his/her social role are analysed (planned oblivion, slavery and hidden social dying). Slavery is estimated as an extreme form of social death and disappearance of institution (party, state), which has purposely cherished authority of a leader, has always been important for political death.

Heroes and martyrs as real and constructed social roles are often used in thanatopolitics as positive heroes. These are politically most usable versions of death and role models of desirable dying. The difference between heroes, who were predominantly victims in the name of ideology, and martyrs, who perished in the name of faith, is shown using historical and modern examples. It is about political use of chosen endurance which ends with dying in the name of faith or political beliefs, which the group uses purposely (from the early Christian martyrs to contemporary suicide bombers). A hero and a martyr are later constructed by a group exploiting their member's death of his/her own will to satisfy the needs by remembering them. The nineteenth-century phenomenon of cult of national victim was a milestone in ideologisation of heroism. From that time on, martyrdom for the nation as a pious act, which was purposely cherished, irresistibly suppressed Christian martyrs in the name of the faith and became thanatopolitical canon law of every nationalism stresses author.

The conclusion is that different contents are hidden behind formal symbolism of heroic death because liberations brought by heroes are also different: religious, national and class. For sociology, the content of victimhood is as important as its symbolism, which is reviewed in details in the chapter “Death as viewed by the left wing and the right wing”. The left wing heroised death of revolutionaries in their fight for equality against the class enemy, while the right wing gave charismatic quality to the warriors killed in fight against the national and racial Other. It happened that the fascists and the communists had opposed views not only on the desirable visions of society, but also on death. The fascists found virtues in quality of national blood, while the communists found them in class consciousness, hence different attitudes towards death in these two ideologies.

The title of the fourth chapter is “Political funerals”. Apart from integrative role of funeral rites, every organized acts of remembrance in memory of dead ruler has normative functions. Memory of the dead should ensure continuity and order. As a rule, a triple scattered funeral ceremony (protocol composition and procession, the content of a speech and the musical message during interment) refers to desirable values of the ruler’s successors. In this context funerals of Josip Broz Tito, Franjo Tuđman, Slobodan Milošević, King Aleksandar II Karađorđević and Zoran Đinđić are here analysed. Prevailing group symbols are underlined (military, civil, clerical, workers, etc.), then dominating conceptual contents in moralism in tombstone rhetoric (religious, secular, class, national, state or party component), what activism of rhetoric over the catafalque is like (liberating, formal, revanchist, conciliating), which emotions should be incited among the mourners (pride, gloom, injustice), to what extent are stressed the deceased person’s authority and reputation (regional, national or supranational), which are central figures of speech (justice, fatherland, nation, democracy) and what is the structure of mourners. The said funerals were demonstrations of diametrically opposed values (Yugoslav, national, class and clerical) within sorrow and piety. Political funerals are emotionalized group rites everywhere, with a dead ruler having the role of unifying national symbol and a symbol of duration and continuity of the state. The group attending the funeral attempts to tailor the meaning of life of the deceased to their own values. The politics rationalises, generates and creates preferable values and demonstrates it publicly during the funeral rite. The meaning of life of the deceased is officially submitted to general desirable values, the deceased being indicated as a role model for the living, and the will of the deceased is constructed. A mass funeral of a public figure is a part of the process of creation of identity and of public demonstration of solidarity with certain values.

The fifth part of the book is about monuments as spatial memorial which ensures piety and identity. Monuments do not signify only the place of interment, but they

are also symbolic constructions of the meaning. They do not pass on the messages of the dead, but the living use them to communicate with the living. The petrified-stone memory memory testifies about groups which were so powerful in certain times as to participate in the public space and about the particular place certain groups occupied in a specific historical and spatial hierarchy of memory. Author’s attention is mostly drawn to the role of monuments in the modern history. Since the 19th century on, there have been monuments erected everywhere in memory of the state founders. The most commonly seen monuments represented a horseback rider as a universal metaphor of established unity imposed from the top by means of blood and iron. In this part of the book, the evolution of erection of monuments in our region is reviewed as well as tearing down of monuments after the fall of socialism, but also the changes in meaning of the grave and the monument. Everywhere the public monuments demonstrate fight and death as the price of group (class and national) unity. The public monuments of kings, princes and national leaders of the region are elaborately analysed as important symbolic capital of new Balkan states. Tearing down the communist public monuments was an important testimony of change of values and identity. This strong spatial revolution of memory was a Europe-wide phenomenon, while in the Balkans it was the most frequent in Croatia and Kosovo. Today’s monuments are erected in memory of national victims and the victims of the communist era.

The differences between conventional monument and antimonument are analysed in the chapter about antimonument. Conventional monuments manifest glorious state-centric, often national one-dimensional memory. They celebrate the cult of war, hero and national or ideological liberation. However, antimonument is multi-dimensional, it manifests several alternative emotions, it embraces antiheroes and society. Comparison of aesthetic and political side of classical monument and antimonument is given here. In spite of constructive criticism of conventional monuments, it has been shown that not even the basic vision of antimonument is deprived of ambivalence which may be comprehended as a tension between relativism and demonumentalisation. Debates about antimonuments in Germany (Memorial to the Murdered Jews in Europe in Berlin) and in the USA (Vietnam Veterans Memorial) are considered. It has been shown that at the end of the 20th century new European states renewed nationalism and classical monuments (horseback riders) without any critical self-reflection. Attention has been drawn to the fact that due to the normalisation of nationalism, antimonuments are not relevant in our region either.

The conclusions of the book by the Prof. Todor Kuljić (Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade), are the following. Thanatopolitics is a permanent fight about meaning being imposed and the protection of group interests through various symbolisations of the dead. The considered vari-

ous historical patterns of political utilisation of death testify about survival of general symbolic integration patterns over death. Historical view was supposed to show different strength of the connection between death symbols and politics and a variety of factors (technical-technological, conceptual-ideological and class-stratum) which modified this connection in different times. Beside a more specific class function, imaginative political utilisation and symbolisation of death had a more general social-integrative function. The basic universal thanatopolitical pattern runs like this: individual is mortal, group is not. Symbols of death are therefore symbols of imperishable group. In the course of history different types of political collectives have been emphasised as supreme imperishable wholeness in the sense of moral and values. Consequently, dying for a politically supreme collective is heroised as a good death. Politisation of death developed in the form of moralisation of unselfish dying for a group, but also in the form of threatening with torment in the beyond. These two thanatopolitical patterns have been analysed at the examples of funerals, arrangements of graves and various impositions of visions of a good death.

Two basic European contexts which facilitated the use of the beyond have been noted. The first is a pre-modern context which is visible in every place where illiteracy, ignorance and superstition reigned. In the thanatopolitical sense these circumstances were used by the church above all, but also by various mystic prophets. The other modern context of hegemonic use of the beyond is characterised more by identity and less by mysticism. The rituals related to the beyond are less connected with the direct path towards him because the superstition scope is narrowed due to a higher degree of enlightenment. Death is now politically used to strengthen national and confessional identity.

Interpretation of different symbolizations of death is understood in the book as a part of critique of ideology. Symbols are not interpreted exclusively as empty metaphors. Concentrated comprehension of life-death relation is always present in them. It is the meaning that every hegemonic epoch consciousness and every power impose as a reward when justifying the interests of the ruling state-organised and church-organised groups: the deserved heaven, canonisation and declaration of martyrdom or a variety of secular recognitions of sacrifice

and heroism. The analysed symbolic thanatopolitical orders have been built in different conceptual frames during history: magical, religious and secular. In the very disproportional development of human consciousness about death and the beyond, the key evolutionary and revolutionary factors which have induced changes of key thanatopolitical ideological formulas are marked: wars, epidemics, advances in medicine and engineering, enlightenment and social revolutions.

Methodically, the Kuljić's book is a combination of symbolism and critique of ideology. It has always been born in mind that every power use death and prescribes norms for foreground of deserved life, but it has never been forgotten whose class interests are protected by actual authority. Infusing sociological structural approach was aimed at overcoming formalism of symbolism and functionalism in explanation of thanatopolitics. Namely, it has always been important which institution and which class has the monopoly on the use of death and on prescribing the desirable way of dying.

Today, a nation is a hegemonic political collective of postmortem affiliation. In modern capitalism the belief in immortality of the nation is combative, imaginative, symbolic overcoming of physical end of individual. At the end of the 20th century national monuments were renewed. Antimonuments were not accepted as alternative forms of memory. Remembrance of glorious national rulers serves every authority to present itself as a link in a chain of immortal national collective. In addition, endurance of the subjects of those same rulers is not the issue. Confessionalisation of the nations and readiness to be the nation's victim has been the main thanatopolitical potential since the end of the 18th century. Religious vision of imperishable political collective was restored in a new way in anticommunist frame at the end of the 20th century. Even today, thanatopolitics may be always recognised where there is authority attempting to convince the subjects that afterlife is not a mere continuation of this life, but a noble participation in imperishability of political identities (confession, nation or race) and every time when winning the subjects over for this conviction is used to present the own interests as general ones, stresses in the conclusion author T. Kuljić.

**Avgust Lešnik**