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Meeting Ilija Jakovljević: Sociological analysis of theatrical play *Logorilijada* in the context of contemplating an individual within totalitarian societies

Abstract

This article presents reception and sociological analyses of the theater performance Logorilijada from the aspect of the position of an individual in totalitarian societies. The play is about Ilija Jakovljević's time spent in prison, his tragic life and death, accentuating several universal questions and lessons from his destiny that could be substantial for the future as well. It can be concluded that tragic position of Ilija Jakovljević is not only the result of unfortunate historical and social circumstances, but it is tragic because of the deprivation of all human, moral, and legal assumptions related to the idea of human being and its truly existence and meaning in the world.

Keywords: *Logorilijada; Ilija Jakovljević; camp; individual; totalitarianism*

Once upon a time we dreamed of a sweet imaginary fire and the vaults of a crowning feast, but he, Sackever, saw man in his utter ugliness, in his physical and spiritual degradation.

Marc Chagall

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Introduction

Art that aims to be constructive should have its affirmative social and humanistic tendency. Regardless of changes in the context of understanding art today, populist and quasi neo-liberal thinking that this tendency has no place in art, anti-tendency and *l'art pour l'art* principles cannot be accepted by anyone who cares about art becoming an instrument of progress for a society. Placing art and its purpose in itself is a lie and mimicry, speaking in a historical context and it is also a reaction, in the context of contemporary social needs. This attitude towards art and artistic creation affirms art as an equal manifestation of a wider spectrum with science and technology. The objections art is exposed to have their basis and justification in antisocial action by individual artists. The basis of artistic creation remains, quite naturally, much broader than could be determined in a strict analytical framework, but the end result, the goal of art, should be projected into the sphere of intellectual and humanist understanding.

Art that does not create a 'new life' and that does not act as transformation in the direction of elementary human values and ideals, comes down to a conscious or unconscious tool in the hands of both surviving and constructed realities. The difficult position of a large number of today's artists, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, lies in the deep irreconcilability of the idea grasped by the personal situation of artists and intelligent observation of development laws, and the force of supported vain social values. The position of today's artists and art institutions represents a compromise between awareness of the better and 'forced labor' for the values that prevail. One of the results of this situation is often excessive individualism, such as social resignation and 'invisible' protest. In this way, the artist seeks absoluteness in himself, because the society he creates in does not provide it (Hegel's 'unhappy consciousness').

In contrast to such passive protests, conscious artists go in such a way that within the society they operate in, they draw ideological power from the real bearers of ideological forces and thus question them. This kind of art is clear, it enlightens the subject and the non-metaphysical, devoid of irrational darkening and discretion in emphasizing the reality that hurts. For the confirmation of artistic truths lies in its last resort, the formation and strengthening of consciousness. Therefore, artists give neither advice, nor solutions, nor a cure. They should beware of 'giving lessons'. Certainly, they should not be moralists, in the sense that they remind others of their obligations while relieving themselves of personal responsibility. They should just give 'suggestions'. This

term, regardless of its daily use and wear and tear, remains the most impressive, because it emphasizes the ethical relationship. Precisely by working to change oneself under the influence of acting upon the conditions of one's existence, it is pointed out, someone else is also suggested a way of acting upon conditions that equally affect them, and which are ultimately common to us. Advancing in his artistic work, he shows an example of how acting under these conditions produces a new, better environment, and demonstrates how this new and better environment creates space for new experiences and how finally this whole path is the path of another.

One example of such art is the play *Logorilijada*³ by the Croatian National Theater in Mostar in co-production with the Marin Držić Theater in Dubrovnik. Thus, in this work, in the context of the applied methodology, the method of content analysis was used, more precisely the method of visual content analysis.

The play talks about the days of Ilija Jakovljević's detention, his tragic life and death, but what is important to emphasize is that it opens several universal questions and lessons from his destiny that would be valid for the future. Every day and every hour brings us opportunities to make a decision that determines whether or not we will be subjected to various forces that threaten to destroy our integrity, degrade our personality, annul our rights, endanger our freedom. This play directly reminds us of the need for critical analysis on an individual level, what Hemingway calls a 'shit detector', or what Hegel considers self-reflection from the aspect of placing the Self as an object of observation.

As the creators of the play themselves emphasized, this is a dramatic synthesis of the last seven years of Ilija Jakovljević's life, based on material from Ilija Jakovljević's diabout his detention in the Ustasha camp Stara Gradiška 'Concentration Camp on the Sava', a collection of his poems 'Storm lyrics' and a novel, 'Tomb of Boris Davidovič' by Danilo Kiš.

Danilo Kiš built a 'tomb of words' for the victims of all totalitarian systems, 'the only service that a real tragedy does when it leaves the survivors, as well as its victims, speechless', as Josif Brodski wrote in the preface to the American edition of this space-scale service for all of us.

³ The play *Logorilijada* was performed in Zenica during the 18th Festival of Bosnian-Herzegovinian drama in Zenica entitled 'Walls of Freedom', April 28th, 2019, at the Bosnian National Theater in Zenica, as part of the competition program. The play was directed by Ivan Leo Lemo and the dramaturgy is signed by Dragan Komadina.

Who was Ilija Jakovljević?

According to the Croatian Biographical Lexicon of the Miroslav Krleža Lexicographic Institute, Ilija Jakovljević, a writer, critic, publicist and lawyer, was born in Mostar in 1898. He was educated in Sarajevo and Zagreb, where he spent the majority of his adult life. As a supporter of the Croatian Peasant Party, he also edited *Croatian Journal*, where he tried to use his temperamental style and unusually individualized political articulation to make a liberal-democratically based critical deviation from the royal Yugoslav regime, Bolshevik internationalism and revolutionism, but also from wild nationalism⁴. He was a journalist and editor of *Tinder*, *People's Politics*, *Croatian defense*, the already mentioned *Croatian Journal* and *Contemporary*. He was the president of the Croatian Writers' Association in the period of 1939-1941.

During the Independent State of Croatia, he was arrested in October 1941 in Zagreb and detained in the infamous Ustasha camp Stara Gradiška together with the so-called Masonic group (professors, scientists, doctors, intellectuals) until December 1942. After leaving the Stara Gradiška camp, Jakovljević joined the Partisans in 1944, and after the Second World War, more precisely in 1948, he was arrested again, but this time by the Communists on charges of colluding with former Croatian Peasant Party leaders. According to some other sources, Jakovljević was arrested in order to be forced to testify in the "Hebrang case"⁵. He died in the Glavnjača prison in Belgrade on October 28th, 1948. Due to the totalitarian nature of the communist regime and the method of liquidating dissidents, his death was officially recorded as 'death under unexplained circumstances', alleged to be a suicide, although it is reasonable to assume that he was killed in a prison cell. He was only 50 years old.

The most significant works of Ilija Jakovljević are *Studies and Columns* (1919), collections of poems *Poison of Memories* (1940), and *Storm Lyrics* (1945), as a valuable and authentic testimony of captivity and suffering in Stara Gradiška imbued with religious humanism. Jakovljević expressed his social and humanistic engagement in the collection of native short stories *Home* (1923) and in the novels *At the Crossroads* (1925) and *In the Dark* (1945).

His deeply moving records of the Stara Gradiška concentration camp were published in the book *Concentration Camp on the Sava* (1999). 'In Stara

⁴ Ivan Lovrenović, *Ilija Jakovljević i zemlji grobova*, <http://ivanlovenovic.com/clanci/zapisi/ilija-jakovljevic-u-zemlji-grobova>, objavljeno 07/02/2012, p. 1; [17/06/2019]

⁵ Mile Lasić, *Kultura sjećanja (Pledoaje za izgradnju kulture sjećanja i u regiji Jugoistoka Evrope)* (Sarajevo: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2011), p. 68

Gradiška, detainee Ilija Jakovljević, through the bars of his cell, recognizes famous people under the moonlight who are taken to their deaths by Ustasha guards and listens to footsteps from the corridor that may be coming for him, and at the same time writes fragments giving birth to the most valuable literary testimony from Ustasha concentration camps.⁶

Lovrenović reflects: 'Now, with this newly discovered manuscript from Stara Gradiška, this unfortunate and strong man is disturbing us again - from half a century of grave distance - and warns us that nothing has essentially changed. Describing the world of criminals and victims of the Stara Gradiška camp with Dürer's precision, hovering over the phenomenon of evil and crime by the insatiable interest of moralists and anatomists at the same time, but also elaborating political and civic events, Jakovljević, in many places, even with striking detail - writes as if he was writing about our past war and current time⁷.

Ilija Jakovljević, as a survivor of Stara Gradiška, still preserved his faith in the unconditional meaning of life and the meaning of the role of a true intellectual. His faith continued even after he was detained once more, in the Glavnjača prison in Belgrade, and died there.

In Frankel's vocabulary, it is about the meaning of '*in extremis*'.

Tragedy of the individual within totalitarian societies

A man living in a totalitarian society feels the reality that surrounds him as a set of various pressures, each of which is inhuman in nature and aimed at man as an individual. Primarily, it is a reality that puts the collective in the first place and not the individual, doing essentially everything to destroy the authenticity of the human being. Then, such a reality, fills the needs and concrete desires of people exclusively with empty phrases and general places. It is also a reality that instead of living, changeable, concrete language, is addressed by hackneyed phrases, empty slogans, and words of distorted meaning. Furthermore, in the context of different models of totalitarian societies, there are common characteristics. The model of any totalitarian society is a model in which there has been a complete centralization of power and which is in the hands of a relatively small group of people. It is based on a perfectly trained and obedient bureaucracy only interested in maintaining the state of things, the state of reality, in a petrified state, without any changes, be-

⁶ Slavko Golstein, 1941. *Godina koja se vraća* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik; Sarajevo: Synopsis, 2012), p. 45

⁷ Lovrenović, *op. cit.*, p. 2

cause change threatens their existence. Such systems, which, as a rule, always speak in the name of the people ("The whole people!"), in all its declarations, totalitarianism, in fact, does not count at all with the state and the people. Every totalitarianism also contains an element of contempt for those it rules. Totalitarianism in culture is only a fraction of such systems, which in the twentieth century, as it seems to us, affected the whole humanity, taking the most different forms and colors. But their essence, their external and internal vibrations are similar. Their mechanisms are similar. "Totalitarian politics, far from being only anti-Semitic or racist or imperialist or communist, uses and abuses its own ideology or political factors until the basis of true reality completely disappears, from which ideologies originally draw their power and propaganda potential"⁸. Thus, the 'results' of totalitarian policies spawned one of the worst aspects of totalitarian societies - the incomprehensible became comprehensible and the unimaginable conceivable⁹. These are societies where a well-organized leading political group bases its power on the silence of the majority.

In order to continue to warn and develop conversations about critical intellectual engagement and critical art and its poetics of resistance to totalitarian ideologies, the example of Ilija Jakovljević, although unknown to the general public, can also help place reflections on the position of the individual in totalitarian societies in a more modern context. European writers and intellectuals in the world would have a clearer and better understanding of his fate than all the local 'condensed provincials', who dread people with 'different' attitudes, integrity and opinion. Those who know or have known what the conscience of people like Ilija Jakovljević means in today's European opinion, such as the greats Solzhenitsyn, Levi, Miloš, Brodsky, Kundera, Kertes, Konrad, Kiš, Rushdie, Pamuk, and many others, understand very well and will confirm that the distance and disobedience of individuals to the service of totalitarian ideologies does not mean abandoning their spiritual, cultural habitus or leaving it to others, but, on the other hand, that it means a free search for the best way to fight for the idea of human freedom. Those people who have a good understanding of the works of these and other such artists and the true value of their intellectual achievements, see and know that the original intellectuals never gave up the fight and that they led their fight mostly alone. In this struggle, intellectuals who did not obey various totalitarianisms did achieve the basic condition to incorporate their critical

⁸ Hannah Arendt, *Izvori totalitarizma* (Beograd: Feministička izdavačka kuća 94, 1998), p. 12

⁹ 'Modestly, twenty million people lost their lives during the period of Stalinist terror, which was later delicately called the period of mistakes and distortions'. Aleksandar Solženjicin, *Arhipelag Gulag* (Beograd: Rad, 1988), p. 11

consciousness into their art. Their intellectual engagement, social and cultural sensitivity, their critical art stood up against every kind of dilettantism, mediocrity, one-mindedness, vulgarity, barbarism and killing. They turned dissatisfaction with historical events into spite, into the aesthetics of challenging bad taste and rebelling against the totalitarian violence of history, defending the principles of individuality and personal freedom of each individual.

Thus, in the play *Logorilijada*, each of Jakovljević's words is a confession in solitude, each of his verses is a prayer of a loner. His every word is imbued with the idea of the defeat and defiance of individualism in a world of enormous injustices and inhumanities. Danilo Kiš also wrote: 'About strong individuals immersed in the stream of historical events in decisive moments of historical reality, about individuals carried by the flow of history, but who (individuals) want to preserve a clear sign and mark of their individuality, to 'swim with the flow' in spite of everything, to single themselves out in an anti-individualistic time from the endless mass of like-minded people, about people, therefore, for whom doubt is the basic compass, if doubt can still be a compass'¹⁰. From Kiš, we have obtained an archetypal image of intellectuals in all epochs of totalitarianism and a civilization of violence and death, which resists immersing with general vain standards and confessions of collective consciousness. The tragic hero of the play *Logorilijada* is recognized by his inner moral attitude, by his refusal to be a member of the 'haunted world'. Brought before the inquisitors of both systems, he does not agree to succumb to the humiliations he faces, does not admit his 'guilt', as if guided by the words of Danilo Kiš: 'I want to live in peace with myself, not with the world'¹¹ remains consistent with his beliefs and feelings.

The conflict between the individual and the institutions of totalitarian rule is not based on a rational opposition of arguments, because the guilt is fabricated, nor is its goal to establish the truth, because the investigator only seeks confession. The developmental dynamics of such a conflict takes on the characteristics of a 'negative dramaturgy of crime' because everything is subordinated to a predetermined goal "so the victim is bloodier if the distance from its fulfillment is greater"¹². In addition, the conflict constantly loses its balance because the fictitious accusations are arbitrarily multiplied while the accused persistently remains bound to his truth following the tragic path of the victim. In such a perverted judicial performance, Solzhenitsyn sees a symbolic picture of a totalitarian system in which fiction acquires the attributes of supreme truth, and false values and lies themselves rise to the pedestal.

¹⁰ Danilo Kiš, *Homo poeticus* (Podgorica: Narodna knjiga, 2010), p. 177-178

¹¹ Danilo Kiš, *Grobnica za Borisa Davidoviča* (Beograd: BIGZ, 1990), p. 132

¹² Solženjicin, *op. cit.*, p. 20

The tragic basis of the play *Logorilijada* is not the tragedy of man's ontological position, that is, his awareness of the mortality of being, of transience, of misunderstanding as sources of anxiety and loneliness. This play does not give a universal view of the position of the human being nor does it give a relief of the eternal pattern of human misery. *Logorilijada* follows the direction of the classical feeling of a tragic situation in a modern form, i.e. it observes a human being in a struggle between two irreconcilable forces: the demand and right for human freedom and the order imposed by violence. On the other hand, the classical pattern of tragedies leads from the conflict of Prometheus with the gods, Antigone with the law, Phaedra with the fatal legacy, Hamlet with the obsessions, while the world of *Logorilijada* is doubly tragic both in the context of the conflict and its resolution. Accordingly, the victim is tragic not only because of being subject to the fateful character of the conflict and its consequences, but also because in great historical predictions the ethics of suffering is deprived of any value and reduced to a mere liquidation technique or is an 'anonymous act' in service of state reasoning. Thus, again, those mechanisms of the so-called 'Historical rationalities' are revealed, which, in the name of rigid principles of ideological prophetism, accept and justify murder as a means of political reckoning and a measure of reason in matters of the human world.¹³ In that sense, the play *Logorilijada* presents the tragic position of the individual in totalitarian systems as a drama of man in history and places the conflicts in the depths of the human soul in the context of the historical stage and the modern world. Ilija Jakovljević suffers as a victim of Camus-like fatality, which ends in the form of political punishment. Captured and accused without real evidence twice, he too suffers in the name of irrational principles that have absolutized their mindless power as supreme and inviolable authorities. In this tragic rift between reason and power, we can see how by absolutizing repressive logic and power, every value order turns into the fatality of its submission.

All the concentration camps of the world

One of the *leitmotifs* of this sociological research of the play "*Logorilijada*" is Terry Eagleton's claim that "there is something inherently offensive to be oppressed"¹⁴. On the other hand, the expression "treat human beings as human beings" is very old, but that does not mean that it is completely comprehensible to everyone. According to Avishai Margalit, the explanation of this particular term is an important part of the attempt to describe the notion

¹³ Salman Rushdie, *Džozef Anton: Memoari* (Beograd: Vulkan izdavaštvo, 2013)

¹⁴ Terry Eagleton, *Kultura* (Beograd: CLIO, 2017), p. 101

of humiliation, since to humiliate someone means in most cases to treat a human being as a non-human, as an object or animal. His central thesis is that humiliation usually implies the humanity of people who are humiliated.¹⁵ Humiliation, oppression, rejects another human as inhuman, but the act of rejection presupposes that man is rejected. Margalit claims that even the conditions that represent the highest form of cruelty reveal the fact that the people who are responsible for them know very well that they are dealing with human beings. "Nazi propaganda often compared Jews to rats: rats poison wells, and Jews were seen as "poisoners of culture." However, a prisoner cannot be a rat, despite the Nazi propaganda that equated them. Even Heinrich Himmler, the arch-racist, was forced to admit in his famous speech before the SS commanders in Poznan that killing people in the camps was not the same as killing rats. Thus, the effort that the killers invested in suppressing their natural feelings towards these wretches was incomparably "heroic" than if they only killed rats. The special cruelty towards the victims in the forced labor camps and death camps - especially the humiliation that took place there - happened the way it happened because they were people"¹⁶. It can be concluded that one of the explanations for humiliation is in fact exclusion from society. But this exclusion is not based on the belief or approach that the humiliated person is an object or an animal. It is based solely on this type of behavior, behavior towards people as lower beings. However, one should not be deceived by overestimating these elements. Much more striking is the dullness and fear in the face of the inhumanity that reigned in the camps. It would also be wrong to take comfort in the belief that there were - in addition to a few torturers - many people in the camps who could hardly be called selfish but only mediocre. Reality is infinitely worse.¹⁷ Frankel also points out to us that human beings are divided into two categories: "the decent ones and the others"¹⁸. The word 'decent' incompletely explains the German word 'anständig' but it refers to behavior. "But how easily that behavior turned into disgust"¹⁹.

All the camps and political prisons that have been recorded in history represent, in Adorno's words, one universal pattern, and that is anger towards the weak. This pattern, according to Adorno, is directed, above all, towards those who consider themselves socially weak and - rightly or not - happy.²⁰ How-

¹⁵ Avishai Margalit, *Pristojno društvo* (Beograd: Radio B92, 1998), p. 101

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 103

¹⁷ Viktor Frankl, *Zašto se niste ubili, Uvod u logoterapiju* (Zagreb: Aurum, 2014), p. 13

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 14

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 15

²⁰ Theodor W. Adorno, *Vaspitanje posle Aušvica*, Treći Program, No. 127-128, III-IV, 2005, 245-258, p. 247

ever, if barbarism is hidden in the very principle of civilization, then there is something desperate in trying to rebel against it. Sociologically, Adorno believes that if we are trying to prevent the return of death camps, concentration camps, then that attempt must be in the shadow of the aforementioned awareness of despair. However, he says that the attempt to prevent their recurrence is a necessary and important attempt, although the basic structures of societies even today, cannot guarantee the world we want. Given that there are extremely limited opportunities to change the objective social and political conditions from which such events arise today, the desire to do something “so that it would never happen again” must be pushed to the subjective side.²¹ Adorno here primarily thinks of the psychology of the people who commit such evils. He does not believe the appeal that we should turn to true and eternal values, values that would be shrugged off by those who are inclined to do wrong, would help. Furthermore, Adorno does not believe that enlightenment on what positive qualities adorn persecuted minorities would be of great help. Adorno emphasizes that the roots of what happened should be sought in the persecutors, not in the victims who were killed, tortured, and humiliated.²² “Those killed are not guilty, in any sophistic and caricatured sense in which some are still trying to construct that guilt.” Only those who showed unscrupulous hatred and anger on the victims are guilty²³.

In this context, the play “*Logorilijada*” is also a testimony, not unique, but of exceptional importance and value because of the tendency for such important testimonies to be nothing more than mere historical anecdotes. None of the horrors of the camps and prisons here are made relative or ‘sweetened’. Here the mental and physical states not only of the detainees they went through in the camp but also of their torturers and executioners are described with exciting accuracy, at a time we will primarily call “before going down to hell rather than the way of the cross” in a Frankel-like manner²⁴. The theatrical ‘presentation’ of Jakovljević’s testimonies from the camp was composed skillfully and tensely, thus introducing us to Jakovljević’s narration and poetry itself, which makes the play deep and ambiguous. Thus, the play was never reduced to just a brutal story about ‘camping’. Viewers can learn a lot from such fragments. They can learn how human beings behave in situations where they can lose nothing but their bare lives. The alternation between the flows of emotionality, hopelessness, cruelty, apathy, bloodthirstiness, fear and deep despair is interesting. Here, and in a philosophical sense, we encounter the central theme of existentialism, and that is suffering. Life is suffering and

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 246

²² *Ibidem*

²³ *Ibidem*

²⁴ Viktor Frankl, *Zašto se niste ubili: Uvod u logoterapiju* (Zagreb: Aurum. 2014), p. 13

to survive means to find the meaning of suffering. For if, in Nietzsche-like terms, life has any meaning at all, then both suffering and dying must have meaning. But there is no person who can tell another person what that meaning is. Every man must discover it for himself, and every man must take upon himself the responsibility which the chosen meaning of life and the principles he advocates inevitably impose on him. If he succeeds in this, man will rise and overcome regardless of the difficulties and sufferings he encounters, and ultimately, with death itself.

In this manner, we come to the notion of the concept of human dignity, which is very much reflected in the play "*Logorilijada*". 'Living with dignity' is not an empty phrase, because everyone knows - everyone without exception - how great the pressure is that will deprive him of his dignity. Everyone knows when they preserve their dignity and when they lose it, there are few who dare to say that they have never lost their dignity in any conditions and situations, and that in order to preserve it, they have resisted all small and large fears, big and small waitings. He who does not lie in this case knows very well what the salvation of individual dignity is, because of being tempted regularly. For Ilija Jakovljević, to be dignified in one's suffering and to be worthy of it (as Dostoevsky once wrote), means to take seriously that one can perish thanks to one's reluctance, that one cannot - under the pretext of being small, weakened, enslaved - renounce one's will, to be a subject for himself. To assert that only because of our own reluctance - that is, by our own will - can we fail and make the content of that decision come true and disclosed. Of course, dignity can be lost without losing reason - the capacity for irony.²⁵ According to him, one can die without dignity just by convulsing with helpless laughter. But living in dignity is neither funny nor carefree. Responsibility should be borne even for those who have lost all dignity and have not lost political or any other positions, who persuade and force others to deprive themselves of dignity. Because they too, although being 'rags' (Rushdie), belong to this world. They are its product.

Theater - Ilija Jakovljević last refuge

When in the early twentieth century in Germany theaterology was introduced as an independent scientific discipline and as a new science of art, this sealed the end of the previous understanding of theater and theatrical art.²⁶ Since the time of the tendency to literalize in the 18th century, the idea of

²⁵ Milan Kundera, *Besmrtnost* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991)

²⁶ Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Estetika performativne umjetnosti* (Sarajevo/Zagreb: Šahinpašić, 2009)

theater has been created in Germany not only as an ethical institution but also as a “textual” art. At the end of the 19th century, the artistic character of the theater was almost absolutely defined by the dramatic text and the attitude towards literary texts. In other words, the artistic character of a theatrical play was verified through a derived text.²⁷ According to her, the theater critic Alfred Klaar wrote back in 1918 in a controversy about theatrology that the full value of the stage can be confirmed if poetry also gives it content.²⁸ In defense of this claim, and in the context of the play “*Logorilijada*”, we can rely on the philosophical thinking given by Rorty when talking about creating social conditions for the most favorable monitoring of the imperative of self-realization, which primarily refers to poets, artists in general²⁹ and a “romantic intellectual” should be at the center of “self-actualizing culture.” “Romantic intellectuals who recognize contingency in the culture of ‘idols’ twilight’ should take the place of heroes and role models.” The romantic poet, working on his autonomy, on his self-realization, on his re-description, becomes a model of a new, postmodern undivine culture whose idiosyncrasy expands everyone’s vocabulary to deal with reality.³⁰ Analyzing Rorty’s reflections, Mujkić believes that the “self-description” of these “strong poets” could satisfy the utilitarian principle of “happiness of the largest number of people” by giving a “pattern” for self-creation based on the abilities of as many members of one community as possible. *Depriving the possibility of self-creation of a large number of people means a lack of freedom, it means a repressive society in which individuals are oppressed and humiliated because they are not allowed to “be”*³¹. Furthermore, from the aspect of the metaphors of a particular work and its impact on society, Rorty wrote the following: “Only when a romantic intellectual begins to want loyalty only to his own self to be a model for other human beings, only then does his policy tend towards anti-liberalism. When he begins to think that other human beings have a moral duty to achieve the same internal autonomy that he has achieved, then he thinks, in fact, of political and social changes that will help others achieve that. Then he might think he has a moral duty to provoke these changes, whether his fellow citizens want them or not”³². It can be concluded that this approach implies a process of transformation of our own moral self-understanding. The ethical imperatives of self-understanding and self-creation in their application are also

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 25

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 26

²⁹ Asim Mujkić, *Neopragmatizam Richarda Rortyja: Uvod u demokratizirano mišljenje* (Tuzla: PrintCom, 2000), p. 58

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 59

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 59 – 60

³² *Ibidem*, p. 60

aesthetic. The problem of self-creation and realization of personality is the central problem of the time in which we live now, in which strong external pressures prevent this self-creation, i.e. the manifestation of the will of the individual, which is primarily directed to character. According to Golding, this is the central problem of modern thought, and that is the nature of human personality and the reflection of that personality on society. "It is an attempt to try to explain the shortcomings of a society in terms of human nature. The lesson is that the form of human society must depend on the ethical nature of individuals, not on the political system, no matter how logical or respectable it may be"³³.

What the play "*Logorilijada*" confirms is that art is able to use different data for one authentic composition, to present a true life under one illusion. When, looking at a play like this, we notice the truth about life, we are not even aware of the role that something completely different plays in it - life itself. It is not just a work about life, one life is invested in it, it is life itself. Speaking of reality, art is reality itself, composed of speech. Art does not stand *vis a vis* reality, so that it could be presented coldly and uninterestedly, but at the center of reality, so that reality itself inevitably manifests itself through it. It is not only a reflection, but also a ground and a medium through which reality itself speaks for itself. In this way, that side of art is created, more precisely its power to realize and defend human beings, certain life attitudes and principles. In addition to the fact that art can speak about our reality, in addition to the fact that art, just like the play "*Logorilijada*" can reveal the truth about reality hidden behind the chaos of the past and its phenomena, and then in addition to its ability to provide reality, cold and alienated human meaning, art also possesses this ability to realize possibilities that perhaps without it would never have been a reality. In this way, art performs an ontological function, creative and poetic, to find an adequate example from reality (such as the life and death of Ilija Jakovljević), giving it a new real attire and turning it into reality again. In other words, striving to get even closer to reality, to its truth, art gives birth to another reality as the materialization of its attempts. What happens in theatrical performances can be described as "re-enchanting the world and transforming those who participate in them"³⁴. At the same time, as we have seen in the play "*Logorilijada*", this character of theatrical performances is mostly articulated through the painting of realities from the past and can serve as a basis for even greater intervention, i.e., the endeavor of objectification of human being and human suffering.

³³ William Golding, *Gospodar muha* (Zagreb: Algoritam, 2014), p. 212 – 213

³⁴ Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Estetika performativne umjetnosti* (Sarajevo/Zagreb: Šahinpašić. 2009), p. 223

If we could say that theater lives with time and people “to whom it communicates revelations about the primordial society and about their very life, as it is, or as it is not, and it would strive to be”³⁵, one can still not say the theater is disappearing with it. In this way, the need arises to avoid simplified sociological contemplation. According to Repovac, it is important to understand that theater, as any other art, is generally an artistic game, something that surpasses the frame of legislation and periodization of social progress, not allowing any limitation or detrition in the given time-space period.³⁶ If it succumbs to pressure, the theater is no longer a game, but an ideological matrix, or a banal reflection of social forms and circumstances. But if the aesthetic aspect prevails over the social, if the universal in art outgrows the paradigms of the time in which it is created, it also does not mean, and in the case of the play “Logorilijada”, that art has lost its social character. Through the aesthetic aspect, it has outgrown the framework of the ideologies of its own time, continuing its game, no less open than society and social life itself.

From the aspect of Kant’s philosophy, aesthetic play has its way of reflecting through institutions and education in them. It gained its unambiguous social character in theaters, art collections, libraries and museums. This way, in Kant’s terms, the restless spirit finds refuge. This subjectivist aspect has many meanings. It represents an endless provocation to find new aesthetic impulses in order to gain new knowledge, discover unknown knowledge or meet death itself like Ilija Jakovljević. And what could be more serious than life and death shaped into artistic expression? In this regard, the timelessness of art becomes an essential definition of aesthetic consciousness as well, which gives works of art authentic value. Since art also operates within a specific time, it draws special aesthetic experiences and ‘lessons’ from it, it further shapes, changes, and adapts them so that the work has some of the universal values of civilization.

Furthermore, when talking about aesthetic experience, it is important to mention the characteristics of the relationship between dramaturgy and theater. In most cases, the theater remains in its essence ‘entertaining’, and thus surpassed when today’s extremely complex social, political and aesthetic experiences are taken into account. In this context, we are wrong if we think that these are different experiences, they are only different levels and ranges of the above mentioned. The first aspect is the ability to crystallize the very essence of such experiences, and the second relates to the way in which a particular experience reaches the public. This is essentially a rule that applies to all arts. So, is there a need to emphasize the importance of a dramatic text

³⁵ Hidajet Repovac, *Eseji o književnosti i umjetnosti* (Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, 2013), p. 405

³⁶ *Ibidem*

that manages to clarify to the viewers the very essence and intention of the work? It does not depend on the theater or the setting of the stage and the actors whether or not the drama will exist, it is rather a reverse approach, that the social, engaged importance and level of aesthetic range of the play, the very essence of the work of art, depends on whether there will be theater in terms of how we consider what the real role of theater is. Thus, a powerful dramatic text in which we can find elements of the mentioned characteristics, provokes today's theater in the true sense of the word, with all its means of expression. Such elements can be found in the text of "*Logorilijada*". These are scenes that we cannot imagine or predict in advance. They represent a way of understanding certain experiences until the essence of the very idea of the work and its reception is understood.

That is why it is not at all simple, in the sociological sense, to perceive and reflect on the social aspects and the social role of art. In order for this perception to be somewhat successful, it is necessary to derive this role from the overall culture of a particular society, in this case Bosnia and Herzegovina, from its historical, social, political, ethical and other conditions that directly or indirectly shape a play or its adaptation.

French sociologist of art Jean Marie Guyau³⁷ in his work *L'art du point de vue sociologique*, believes that art is threefold social, regarding its origin (from the first cultures to contemporary art, it is involved in social life), its purpose (art is not there for itself, it exists for the sake of society) and its essence³⁸. In the context of the essence of the work itself, leading the authors themselves out of the unknown, aesthetic, social and ethical experiences and reflections are sublimated. In the case of the play "*Logorilijada*", we agree with Lukacs that the drama is preceded by a "program", and we can say that social intentions can be seen in it, but also those intentions that build aesthetic and ethical experience.

In this regard, Jean Divignaud contextualized theater with the history of "collective shadows" and showed that theater, understood as an artistic play carried by a striking dramatic text, has always been a mix of symbols and symbolic interpretation of the world, colliding with cruel reality, trivial in its essence, and that in all periods it needs both escape and suppression in order to preserve its autonomy and freedom as much as possible.³⁹ According to him, it has always been at a distance when it comes to cruel and bizarre reality, probably trying to resist the strong social determinants that inevitably

³⁷ Jean Marie Guyau is a French sociologist of culture and art at a time when this sociology was just being established as a separate sociological discipline, he is the successor of Hippolytue Taine (late 19th century). *Repovac, op.cit.*

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 421

³⁹ Jean Divignaud, *Sociologija pozorišta* (Beograd: BIGZ, 1978)

entered his field of action, especially political and ideological and its aesthetic experience. In this regard, the theater and this play about Ilija Jakovljević goes a long way in search of identity and freedom, for a newer expression that could correspond to the newer aspirations of theater, its aesthetic and ethical ideals, especially when considering issues such as intellectuals position, artists position, domination of one over the other, death camps, social and societal exclusion, injustice and the right to life. The answers to such and similar questions that art has always asked, and still asks today, may seem complicated, insufficient and even superficial, taking into account the prevailing technicality, relativism, and triviality of societies obsessed with consumer culture. But one thing is for sure, theater still must not ignore this factual situation. Theater lives only thanks to the fact that there are people, their destinies and their works which immutable values will always be able to refer to, from different angles and different aesthetic preferences. Didn't Brecht also say that the task of art is not to kill boredom but evil.

Conclusion

The play *Logorilijada* is an important attempt to summarize the bitterness of the last century through the prism of the tragic fate of an intellectual and artist. In the scenes of this play, an artistically shaped trace of a gloomy time remains, a trace in which every spectator can find the real history of a personal, individual, but also collective universal human suffering. If art accepts the principle that testimonies are credible and valuable only if they are authentically individual, then it is more than certain that this principle is fully confirmed in the case of the play about Ilija Jakovljević. If its value is further measured by the way in which the representation responds to the challenges of the present i.e. its time, but also to the challenges of its own existence, then it is sufficient to say the goal has been achieved.

Faced with today's time, its ambiguities and contradictions, this play writes its moral history as well, human circumstances and situations which are not only one life biography of all characters in the play but also a symbolic image of today's world with a disturbed values system. An individual is both a witness and a victim of the historical element with which he is affected and to which he testifies. His rebellion has no power, and his truth is always in danger by force of ideological reasons. Justice is at the service of a fetish system of government that always operates on the principles of infallibility and cruel consistency. In Orwellian terms, the truth is the inviolable monopoly of the centers of power following the blind principle that the individual cannot be right 'against the party'.

The principles of freedom and justice in such distorted value systems are paid with the highest cost - human life. In this way, *Logorilijada* turns the universal theme of the conflict between aggressive force and helpless victim into a contemporary tragedy. Unlike the tragic characters of the classical type, blinded by the inevitability of the fateful mission that the tragic action made irreversible and unchangeable, the character of Ilija Jakovljević in the play is lucid and aware the world around him in closing in towards an impenetrable senseless circle, that the mechanism of that world unscrupulously destroys all human perceptions and all reasons invoking mercy, justice, or truth. Not only is the human being unable to change the character and nature of the aggressive and primitive world, which is no longer absurd by itself in the Camus-like sense, his own position to be a dignified stronghold and shelter that allows at least some free choice is also impossible.

It can be concluded that the tragic position in *Logorilijada* is not the result of exclusively unfavorable historical and social circumstances but is also tragic because it is deprived of all human, moral and legal assumptions related to the concept of man and his primordial existence and meaning in the world. It is the very destruction of ethical standards that is an acute problem for the authors of this play and becomes the focus of their critique of totalitarian ideologies.

The only thing left for Ilija Jakovljević is to rise above the world that denies his existence through his sacrifice, as a kind of tragic redemption, not accepting the shameless logic of that world.

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