

Double-Censored Freedom? Cultural Memory's Censorship of Intimacy Writing in *Moj život* by Maga Magazinović

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*Maga Magazinović (1882–1968) was a Serbian dancer artist and teacher. In this article, I analyse her little-known ego-document *Moj život* (2000), considering it as an example of first-person narrative due to her strategies of presenting intimacy in literature through genres such as diary and confession. I use cultural memory to research Magazinović's contribution to the cultural life of Serbia (memory object), what she transferred to her intimate description (memory medium), and then has been deliberately excluded by censorship from collective memory as inconsistent with the canon of Serbian cultural memory. Magazinović's intimacy writing broke all cultural taboos by describing close relationships and emphasizing the romantic ones, through her free thinking, blatantly advocating for feminism, and exposing the female private realm so far isolated against both the prudish nature of patriarchy and the new socialist reality. Therefore, I show the emancipatory perspective of a woman's body that frees itself from censorship limitations and its unconventional expression of intimate emotions through modern dance and writing. Moreover, I underline that this perspective in cultural memory was regulated by two censorship systems: that of moral/erotic nature in Kingdom of Yugoslavia and ideological/political one in socialist Yugoslavia.*

Keywords: Serbian literature / autobiography / intimacy / cultural memory / censorship / Magazinović, Maga / emancipatory discourse

Maga Magazinović (1882–1968) was a pioneering Serbian dancer, artist and teacher.¹ Her little-known ego-document *Moj život* (*My life*), was written in the 1950s and not published until 2000. In *Moj život*, Magazinović describes her life from childhood and for the subsequent forty-five years (1882–1927). It is an example of first-person narrative, a narrative presenting intimacy in literature through genres such as memoirs and confession. It opens with an introduction by Jelena Šantić, “Maga Magazinović—Luk vekova” (Maga Magazinović—The Arch of the Ages). Šantić, a ballerina, dance historian and critic, was supported in her work on Magazinović by three generations of Magazinović’s family: Rajna Gazeman, Maga’s daughter; Radmila Popović, Maga’s daughter-in-law; and Marijana Popović, Maga’s grand-daughter. She did not live, however, to see the completion of her work and it was Marija Janković who prepared it for publication in 2000. *Moj život* therefore has many authors, but its protagonist, her autobiographical text and her contribution to Serbia’s cultural heritage are the subject of this discussion in the context of the work of cultural memory and the role of censorship towards unconventional figures in this country of former Yugoslavia. I use the model of Małgorzata Czermińska’s autobiographical triangle (Czermińska 2020) to assess the spectrum of author-reader relations and, therefore, to indicate the possible reasons for absence from the cultural memory. In Magazinović’s many ego-document stances and her balancing of the triangular strategies of testimony, confession and challenge in her autobiography I see one of the reasons for the censorship process. The second reason is her-story, the subject of this intimate description.

Autobiographical herstory

Magazinović was born in Užice in the western part of the Kingdom of Serbia, where she spent her childhood and attended school (Viša ženska škola). She studied philosophy (Filozofski fakultet) in Belgrade, where she had moved with her family. Upon graduating from the University of Belgrade (1904), she began working at the National Library, where she was the first woman to do so, and on the oldest Serbian newspaper *Politika*, where she was the first woman jour-

¹ This text was created within the project Preludium Bis 2 number UMO-2020/39/O/HS2/02719: “Cultural memory and the Serbian emancipatory discourse in autobiographical texts by Female Authors (nineteenth and twentieth centuries)” and financed by the National Science Centre in Poland.

nalist (1905). She published essays and theatre reviews but also her own literary texts, mainly short stories, and translations of plays. Her first published article “*Obrazovanje ženskinja u Srbiji* (Education of women in Serbia)” (1905) is of great importance. It is telling that she began her journalistic path with this topic. Magazinović was keenly aware in her own education she was an individual beneficiary of women’s emancipation but also saw its importance from a broader, group perspective, as an opportunity for the development of young women in general. She fought for the right of female students to take examinations on the same basis as male students, initiated the establishment of the Women Students’ Club (*Klub Studentkinja*) and led its activities. The members of the Club became known primarily for their fluency in foreign languages, so they translated pedagogical, socialist and feminist texts. The club also initiated the idea of breaking the Faculty of Law’s exclusion of female students. Thanks to her persuasion and academic competence Magazinović became the first female law student in Serbia. She did not, however, graduate. Graduation was not the goal, but she set a precedent and paved the educational path for future female candidates to study law at the University of Belgrade.

At that time, not long after graduating from the University, she started to work as a teacher (1906) and was simultaneously involved in the Abrašević theatre group, where she both acted and sang. For several years she repeatedly applied for a scholarship to study abroad but was consistently declined in favor of candidates from better connected families. She saved for several years in order to afford travel to Munich in 1909, where she immersed herself in life among artists and political debate about socialism, before moving on to Berlin to study German philology. Inspired by the performance of the Canadian dancer Maud Allan, which she had seen in Belgrade in 1907, and the Munich art scene, she decided to study dramaturgy under Max Reinhardt in Berlin (1909–1910). There she was taught both ballet and modern dance by Isadora Duncan’s sister Elizabeth. While at university she met her future husband Gerhard Gesemann (1888–1948), with whom she travelled extensively throughout northern Europe during her stays in Germany and before their marriage—in their premarital relationship, Maga only spent time with Gerhard when she came to Germany. In *Moj život*, she confesses to her many doubts about how she might reconcile a long-distance relationship with planned motherhood and her passion for her work, as well as the age difference between her and her future husband, Gesemann

being several years her junior. In 1910, Maga Magazinović opened her own performing arts school, School of Rhythmic and Fine Arts (Škola za Ritmiku i Plastikku) in Belgrade. At the same time, during the school vacations she would travel to Germany, particularly Munich, to advance in her artistic and pedagogic ambitions with, among others, Emile Jacques Delacroze. Not long after, Gerhard came to Belgrade to meet Maga's family just before the First Balkan War (1912) and they got married on the eve of the Great War (May 1914). She writes about the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 and the First World War (1914–1918) from the perspective of everyday life, describing life under Austro-Hungarian occupation, an account of her war migrations in Serbia, the deaths of her mother and brother, her marriage to Gerhard, the trauma of motherhood and the death of her first child, the world left behind after the evacuation of Serbian troops in 1915, the so-called Albanian Golgotha, and the departure of her husband Gerhard with them. After his betrayal, of which she found out when she had come to visit him in Switzerland, and her separation from him, she describes the birth of their daughter Rajna, later co-editor of an autobiographical study of her mother's writings. The last pages of *Moj život* are backstage stories and programs of plays, concerts and choreography, relationships with audiences and critics. She makes no mention of the Second World War: her autobiography comes to an end in 1927.

All this Magazinović included openly in the ego-document she began writing on her seventieth birthday, 14 October 1951. She opens her story with astonishment at her own persistence and professional activity, despite the political turbulence and war. She depicts her birthday with a bitter description of her loneliness but also describing her feeling of calm in the face of her imminent death. This introduction to the description of her life is simultaneously an element leading to what Philippe Lejeune called the conclusion of a clear "autobiographical pact [...] with the reader, that is, the recognition of the identity occurring between the author, narrator and protagonist of an autobiography" (Rodak, "Autobiografia" 44). It is complemented by a referential pact, i.e. a kind of promise by the author to the reader to bear witness to the truth:

It came to mind to me today to describe my life. [...] I know that I am not an important figure of any kind, with neither talent nor intellect, nor even love for dance or the performing arts in general. Perhaps, however, it will be no exaggeration to portray the course of one such life and, on its example, education: the upbringing and teaching of girls at the end of last century and

the beginning of this century, as well as the struggle and effort of my generation for every inch of both academic and artistic knowledge, and especially for the attainment of an academic success, today so easily accessible to all, to girls and boys, to the poor as well as the wealthiest. One thing, however, I fear in this endeavor: will my memory be sufficiently accurate and clear, and will I be able to lay out the paths of this memory with the necessary honesty, and as humanly impartial to myself and others as possible? (Magazinović 42–43)²

It is precisely this understanding of autobiography, based on the pact of truth-telling, that may have proved decisive regarding the cultural censorship of Maga Magazinović's herstory.

The autobiographical triangle: Magazinović's relationship with the reader

Małgorzata Czermińska's theory of the autobiographical triangle is an extension to the description of the author-reader relationship. The triangle is a visualization of the relation of three autobiographical stances, which "are not related to any specific genre, but to the position of the speaking I in relation to the object [world-I-you] of the statement" (Czermińska 26). The first stance, "witness [world], appears most often in memoirs devoted to events of historical importance and to people whom the author met in his or her lifetime and considered sufficiently significant to convey an image of them to future generations" (26). It is like an epic picture of the world. The second stance, confession, is closer to the notion of the lyric, as the subject of autobiographical reflections here is the author's intimate world (I). Challenge is the third autobiographical stance, distinguished by Czermińska, which resembles a dialogue in a play: "It shifts the weight of attention from the artefact to the artist's contact with the audience, and opens up the space for play, provocation." (48) In such an autobiographical account, the author "overtly renders the viewer the essential frame of reference against which [the ego-document] exists." The "strategy of constant changes of tension," moving the reader [you] to constant vigilance, is also significant (48–51).

Czermińska points out that "in the case of a particular text we can only speak of the domination of one dimension over the others, but never of the exclusion of any of them" (Czermińska 31). In the case of *Moj život* the dimensions of confession and testimony balance

² All translations from the works of Magazinović are by the author.

each other, intimate writing being intertwined with an account of the world around. We can see this in the way Magazinović writes about the sphere of inner transformation and her own motivations for seeking to influence the world:

The Faculty of Law had so far been the unquestionably male domain of studies. In our club [of female students] we arranged to conquer this domain. I decided to enroll in the Faculty of Law. There was a deal of wrangling around this [...] but I enrolled despite the opponents of this “female invasion” [of the university] [...] After two months, D. Rokić enrolled, and it was she who first graduated from this faculty. Since I had graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in 1904, I ceased to attend the Faculty of Law. The goal of my enrolment was achieved: the Faculty of Law had opened its doors to female students. (Magazinović 176)

About relationships:

For me it was mainly age that made the difference. We were also from different countries. The difference in the way he and we lived. And finally, perhaps the biggest obstacle: how I would manage to reconcile art and motherhood [...] I came home Hamlet-like: “a tear in one eye, a smile in the other!” My mother was old, kind and loving, but I was no longer the same person who had set out into the world, full of beautiful dreams. I had seen a great deal, heard a great deal, visited a great many places, met a great many people, experienced a great deal of beauty. (Magazinović 282)

About the non-normative in art:

During the break I was with Nadezhda in her dressing room [Maud Allan]. The dancer wore small flesh-colored panties. She said that it was “polizeilich verboten aufzutreten” [forbidden by the police to appear] without panties under her outfit. Her English body was flushed and seemed, in its slenderness, completely unblemished and “over-gendered,” and she also referred to it as such. Quite like a naked child. Only in Saloma’s costume, in gestures that were consciously sensual, could she give the impression of being feminine. (Magazinović 216)

Or about courageous choices:

[after being declined twice to study abroad due to other female candidates’ better family connections and in spite of Magazinović’s superior qualifications:] I, dear Professor,³ will nevertheless go to study in Germany at my own

³ This is about Bogdan Popović (1864–1944), a highly respected Serbian literary historian. He was a professor at the University of Belgrade and editor of the most important literary journal, *Srpski književni glasnik* (1901–1940). In his publications

expense, without your competitions; and thus I ended this uncomfortable state of affairs with yet another explanation. (Magazinović 204)

From the stance of confession, we read at once a desire for honesty with herself and with the audience. At times the author makes self-referential comments: about recollection, uncertainty about her own memory (“She married, if my memory is not wrong, some officer whose name I do not remember,” 81); she also follows memory in her story (“Since I’m on the subject of clothes, I’ll describe the fashion of the time,” 82); and she explains the reason she is writing about something (“I don’t remember exactly the dates of these visits. I bring them up to give an insight into the mood and understanding of gender relations in society at the time and the struggle of women in the early twentieth century for equal rights with men,” 175). We also find in these quotations features of testimony, through which we learn about the world at the turn of the twentieth century from the perspective of a Serbian artist, among other herstories of the socialist movement, in which the author consciously addressed gender equality:

We then translated Clara Zetkin’s treatise *Students and Socialism*. From Lily Braun *The Women’s Movement*. We also studied and discussed John Stuart Mill’s *The Subjection of Women*. At that time the most prominent German feminist of the time Käthe Schirmacher, the Danish literary figure and advocate for women’s rights Karin Michaëlis and even the English suffragette Lady Aberdeen came to Belgrade to campaign. (Magazinović 175)

And at the same time the features of a confession. Magazinović reveals herself to the reader through the honesty of her motivations. By introducing the reader to the sphere of *intimacy writing* a closer author-reader relationship is established. The stance of confession, focused on continuous development, the emancipation of thought and self-discovery through new experiences, becomes at the same time the stance of *challenge*, although in a different sense from that defined by Czermińska, thus not in the sense of a linguistic or textual play. The stance of challenge is created by what is recorded on the carrier of memory (the manuscript of the autobiography), i.e. Magazinović’s *herstory* itself and the fact of telling this herstory. As autobiography is “‘both a linguistic creation and a social act: by announcing that it will tell the truth, and by telling the truth about reality, it engages in interpersonal relations.’ Its individual subject ‘is not an illusion, but a fragile reality’” (Rodak,

on literature, he refused to include the works of women.

“Review” 250). As the following discussion will show, autobiography, through relating the author’s life, becomes a challenge to the politics of cultural memory. We will therefore come to a point where the text, as a carrier of cultural memory in a specific socio-political situation, may be subject to censorship.

Cultural memory, its formation and the censorship of memory

Paweł Rodak observes that “in autobiography, there is an indelible tension between the experienced, the remembered and the described and, by analogy, between three times: the time of living, the time of remembering and the time of writing” (Rodak, “Autobiografia” 44). This relationship brings us to the issue of cultural memory. According to Aleida Assmann’s memory theory, communicative memory is the basic unit of cultural memory. Communicative memory is characterized by the lack of a unified form of memory, which it acquires post factum, i.e. after being embedded in a story that stabilizes these memories, the *carrier of memory*. It is also limited in time and it begins as a vivid memory that “blurs always with the expiry of the third generation” (Assmann 87). This kind of memory in the case of *Moj život* is fundamental. It is thanks to this communicative memory that Magazinovič’s testimony and confessions were published at all and thus saved from the ultimate censorship of oblivion. I refer here to the group of women who stored the manuscript, compiled and published it and, as her former students, continued her artistic work.

Cultural memory, on the other hand, enjoys great longevity in the collective memory and “only takes shape through subjective perceptions, evaluations and assimilations, supported by the media, cultural institutions and the educational system” (Assmann 88). It has a crucial impact on the construction of individual and collective identities. In Magazinovič’s case such circumstances conducive to the emergence of cultural memory are only just beginning to emerge by dint of the publication of the autobiography thirty-two years after the author’s death and in the wake of promotional cultural endeavor associated with it. Her memoirs still need to go through “social processes of selection and canonization based on educational institutions” (Assmann 57). In doing so, attention should be paid to the notion of *power*, which influences cultural memory by creating a content-centered canon that constitutes “the ideas shared by the members of a social group about its past” and at the same time implies “the cultural creations formed

within the group for remembering” (Wawrzyniak 539). Ewa Bińczyk also notes that “there is no power not intrinsically associated with the field of knowledge. Power is also the distribution of ignorance, of what is silenced” (Bińczyk 68), and therefore subject to censorship. Starting from such a theoretical framing of the notion of power as a tool of historical politics, through which the elite pursues “such representations of the past from which the legitimacy of the power relations prevailing within that group would be derived” (Wawrzyniak 544), we arrive at a socio-political-cultural situation in which Maja Magazinović’s autobiographical herstory could not exist.

Context for censorship

Magazinović’s autobiography is focused on the years dominated by the narrative of the state, i.e. socialist Yugoslavia, which emerged after the Second World War and lived the legend of a heroic struggle with the old order. The story of the new historical policy therefore had no place for a voice from the bourgeois past (*Moj život*), which also addressed feminism and presented a different vision of socialism. This brings us to the vectors of forces of autobiographical tension “between the experienced, the remembered and the described and [...] the time of living, the time of remembering and the time of writing” (Rodak, “Autobiografija” 44). As the domain of interest here is censorship by oblivion, i.e. censorship established by the power of the fear of losing control, reduced to ignoring and seemingly assigning women only emancipated roles in the socialist state, it may be noted that the resultant moment of “autobiographical tension” falls during the non-publication of *Moj život*, a period of almost half a century, from the 1950s to 2000.

Magazinović’s intention to publish her ego-document is indicated by two memoir texts which appeared in the periodical *Letopis Matice srpske* (*The Chronicle of Matice Srpska*, January, February 1965) and form part of *Moj život: Sećanja. Detinjstvo u Užicu* (*Memories. Childhood in Užice*) and *Sećanja. Školovanje u Beogradu* (*Memories. Education in Belgrade*). A survey of the bibliography of *Moj život* made it possible to put together a table based that shows the number of Magazinović’s texts published up to 2000 (i.e. when the book was published) in periodicals (excluding her regular column in the daily *Politika*) and in edited collections, books and concert programs, and literature in which she was mentioned:

Published articles and text	Books	Lectures	Concerts	Literature about Magazinović:
14 – 1902-1936	2 – 1932	2 – 1912	72 – 1911-1943	136 – 1905-1940
1 – 1959	1 – 1951	5 – 1920-1924		0 – 1941-1973
2 – 1965		1 – 1937		6 – 1974-1973
1 – 1996		1 – 1938		16 – 1992-2000
1 – 1997				

Table 1: Number of texts published by year of publication

What is clear from this overview is the way Magazinović's works ceased to appear in published form or to be seen at the theatre after the Second World War, even though the author was professionally active until her death (1968). We will probably never know the reason for this, but we can examine the context in which *Moj život* was created and published, and some indications may emerge regarding the herstorical content of the autobiography.

Firstly, attention should be drawn to the gender bias resulting from the patriarchal nature of Serbian/Yugoslav society. We find Magazinović's intimacy writing in texts interspersed with descriptions of stage plays and the body in motion, which testifies to the artist's emancipated and unconventional life. Vera Obradović, an expert on Serbian choreodrama, assessed dance of Magazinović's time as provocative and subversive not only in the field of art but also from the perspective of patriarchal society:

How "indecent" modern dance was viewed in Belgrade at the time is recorded by Zora Prica-Krstić on the occasion of Maud Allan's visit: "When the American Maud Allan, a dancer in the style of Genevieve Stebbins and Isadora Duncan, first presented classical dance in Belgrade (1908), it gave rise to a huge outcry. She first had to dance in front of an areopagus of 'the chosen few,' artists and journalists, and only then did she receive permission from the police to dance before the public barefoot!" (Obradović Ljubinković 16)

This performance by the Canadian dancer was a turning point in Magazinović's professional career. She decided to take up dance professionally, and she learned from another controversial dancers, Duncan sisters. What was important in this style was the way the dance was performed: freely, barefoot, in lightweight clothes that sometimes revealed a good deal of flesh, as can be seen from the numerous photographs

included in *Moj život*, defying the pillars of the culture of songs about male heroes, and this culture was deeply rooted in Serbian society. In her choreodramas, Magazinović brought female characters from the background into the foreground, into leading roles, in order to reflect on their fates. These included the choreodramas *Jelisavka* (1926), *Smrt Majke Jugovića* (*Death of Jugović's Mother*, 1927), and *Kosovka devojka* (*Kosovian Girl*, 1935). It may have been problematic that Magazinović's works predated the era of classical ballet, which was unknown in Serbia at the time. The audience was immediately confronted with modern dance, which was also controversial in those parts of the world where stage dance and ballet had long been known. Magazinović would have been aware of prevalent disparaging associations related to the active role of women in the arts:

At my school, they did not look too favorably on my involvement in the workers' amateur theatre group and choir, or in the workers' movement itself. My former teacher Anđelija Aćimović [...] used to tell my mother how they spoke ill of me because of the time spent in the evenings from 8 to 10 "in the kafana," teaching German to the workers, and also because of my acting and singing in "Abrašević." And even before that, I was castigated for founding the "Students' Club" and translating Ellen Key's progressive work *The Century of the Child*. (Magazinović 200)

On the issue of carnality, it is worth noting that in *Moj život* Magazinović writes with relative openness about the body and sex education:

No one informed us directly about sex, and love was separated out as if in addition. Dada [Maga's sister] began her periods as early as at the end of second grade and cried in the room and covered her head with her fists, shouting "I don't want this!" [...] I thought she was "impure" in a way. (Magazionvić 99)

She also detailed Gerhard's infidelities and her conceiving her daughter, which she decided to go ahead with despite knowing that she and her husband were on the verge of separating. These are some of the most intimate parts of the autobiography:

A great number of photos were sent to him by Kristel: countless nudes, others in swimsuits, and only some with clothes on. For me, it was all too much, especially the disgust at such "sisterly relationships" and at stealing men from each other. [...] I don't comprehend, and cannot find justification for such "impure" relationships! I do not understand how a man or a woman can have more than one human being with him or her at the same time, with whom they share sensual love. (Magazinović 356)

We went to the “Leman” hotel. And then there was my daughter [...]. She arose out of suffering, without faith in him (Gerhard), maybe even without the spark of love? And that was my great sin against Rajna. After all this, I should not have any more children with this man, who was no longer mine in soul. (Magazinović 355)

This is the first contextual pathway to show the breaking of social taboos and the transgression of cultural boundaries in the circumstances in which society marked a woman’s choices and her body with shame. In contrast, an emancipating woman emerges from *Moj život*. The second contextual pathway that may have influenced the phenomenon of censorship by oblivion relates to the involvement in the development of socio-political thought. In order to analyze the gaps in the cultural memory of Magazinović, I want to highlight some clues that indicate this involvement. First of all, I think it may be linked to her work for the newspaper *Politika*,⁴ where Magazinović held a specific, emancipatory position:

I have stocked the “Women’s World” column with news from the West European women’s movement, which at the beginning of the century was extremely vociferous and perceptibly strong, particularly in England and Germany. They fought for equality in academic and professional teaching and the acquisition of ever new positions; the more extremist suffragettes advocated the achievement of political rights, above all suffrage. (Magazinović 184)

Magazinović proudly wrote that it was at *Politika* that she began working as the first female Serbian journalist. The newspaper represented the idea of the unity of all southern Slavs, so essential to the socialist vision of Yugoslav society, but in the Greater Serbian form.⁵ Insofar as the new post-war order was socialist and supranational, as exemplified by the

⁴ “As bases for Serbia’s liberal progressive development Jovanovic advocated universal suffrage, complete freedom of press, speech, and assembly, full local self-government, a reduction in bureaucracy, and the creation of a democratic people’s army. Among his proposed social and economic reforms were progressive taxation, extension of agricultural co-operatives, improvement of public health, and elimination of state monopolies.” (Mackenzie 41) Is that not basically all that Tito denied?

⁵ At first Jovanović, Jovan Cvijić, and other independent Serbian intellectuals from “Slovenski Jug” supported Macedonia’s autonomy rather than its annexation to any of the Balkan states. Macedonians led by Gligor Hadži Tašković advocated an autonomous Macedonia as a self-governing unit in a future Balkan confederation. After conferring with political leaders and journalists, including Jovanović, they issued a short-lived newspaper in Belgrade, *Autonomna Makedonija* (*Autonomous Macedonia*). Denouncing it, Greater Serbian newspapers such as *Politika* and *Pravda* asserted that Macedonia was Serbian and, in the future, must belong to the Serbian state (Mackenzie 43).

slogan of Brotherhood and Unity, and women theoretically had equal rights to men it represented what Magazinović had long been advocating, the new elite needed to be “replaced” with figures unassociated with the old order, which, after all, had been challenged during the Second World War. It is therefore unsurprising that after the advent of the new Yugoslavia, from 1945 onwards, Magazinović was erased from the archives of the editors of *Politika*, although the source of this information gives no details (see Pančić and Zupanec). In *Moj život* Magazinović does not directly describe her political involvement, but it is difficult not to notice her links with the intellectual, bourgeois milieu. In particular it is worth noting the herstorical network:⁶ her close friendship with Delfa Ivanić may have been of particular importance for her being silenced in cultural memory. Frequently in *Moj život*, Magazinović mentions a friendly relationship, teaching Delfa’s daughter for years, or collaborating during the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 in the *Kolo srpskih sestara* (*Circle of Serbian Sisters*⁷), founded by Ivanić, which was primarily involved in the education of girls, and thus, similarly to Magazinović, involved in breaking down barriers in higher education for other women. This friendship is of importance because *Uspomene* by Ivanić (*Memoirs*, written in the 1960s and published in 2015), as detailed by the editor Jasmina Milanović, was explicitly censored by dint of self-censorship motivated precisely by the political situation:⁸

Fearing that certain statements and assertions might be misinterpreted, single words, parts of sentences, and even whole paragraphs, have been deliberately omitted. This is particularly the case with the time that Delfa Ivanić spent in a communist prison in 1944. All deleted passages have been restored to their original places in square brackets [...]. For the same reasons, the events of Delfa Ivanić’s life after 1945 are not included in the manuscript [...] because for her, with the arrival of the new communist regime, life ended and she did not want or could not write about this period. (Milanović 23–24)

⁶ This includes Stanka Glišić, Nadežda Petrović, Delfa Ivanić, Louise Paget, Anka Anđelkovička (“nekadašnja naša prva socijalistkinja,” Magazinović 219), Zora Prica, Ksenija Atanasijević, Isidora Sekulić, Mir-Jam/Milica Jakovljević.

⁷ *Kolo srpskih sestara*, a humanitarian organisation, founded in 1903 by Nadežda Petrović and Delfa Ivanić, which until the end of the Second World War focused on the education and professional activation of Serbian women and, in times of armed conflict, on supplying food and clothing to prisoners of war, setting up hospitals for wounded soldiers and training nurses. The educational scope of activities was also patriotic in nature.

⁸ In the categories of memory, censorship and self-censorship are often referred to as active forgetting.

Similar glimpses of self-censorship may be seen when reading *Moj život* makes no mention of her connection to the royal court of Serbia, but in the supplement which includes others' recollections of her, Mirijana Popović describes the time Magazinović worked directly for Queen Marija Karađorđević, giving lessons to her children. In her memoirs Ivanić tells that she was related through adoption to the royal family. She also recalls a visit by Magazinović, thanks to whom she met Ljuba Jovanović-Čupa, a controversial political figure in the days of the first Yugoslavia.⁹ This cast suspicion on Magazinović regarding her Greater Serbian or even nationalist leanings.¹⁰ After the war Delfa Ivanić's humanitarian work was officially banned and *Kolo srpskih sestara's* property was seized by the authorities of socialist Yugoslavia. The carriers of the memory of her activities were therefore effectively erased for a long time and replaced by symbols of the new state.¹¹ In *Uspomene*, Ivanić ends her herstory during the Second World War, *Moj život* includes no memories of the Second World War or the time after the war. Popović tentatively suggests that lack of time may have been the reason. During this time Magazinović no longer works for *Politika* and publishes almost nothing.

Based on a comparison of the fates of these two women, parallels may be drawn between Ivanić's and Magazinović's ego-documents in the context of censorship of cultural memory. Censorship takes place firstly because of *class identification*, linked to bourgeois culture in Serbia and its strong position among the elite, which often resonated with the Greater Serbian narrative; and secondly, *gender identification*, at the level of the threat to power by women's independent and emancipatory work.

⁹ Ljuba Jovanović-Čupa was involved with the secret organisation *Black Hand* (*Crna ruka*), which worked for the reunification of all Serbs outside the borders of the Serbian state. Its character is often assessed as nationalist and terrorist. On the other hand, "Jovanovic sided with the pan-Yugoslav element in a debate between proponents of Greater Serbia and Yugoslavia (with or without the Bulgars), which divided the Serbian national movement even after 1918. Jovanovic stands as a sincere, dedicated Serbian apostle of Yugoslav unity, brotherhood and the equality of all South Slavs" (Mackenzie 54).

¹⁰ It remains an open question for a separate study whether such nationalistic tendencies in Magazinović's activities actually existed.

¹¹ This element excellently represents the potential for Ivanić's legacy to function actively in cultural memory. The ban on the activities of the *Kolo srpskih sestara* issued by the Nazi authorities, after all, was enforced well before the written memoirs, and then, after 'liberation', the seizure of the KSS House by the communist authorities and its renaming as the Ivo Lola Ribar (a Yugoslav partisan hero) Cultural Centre.

It was only in the 1970s and 1980s that mentions of Magazinović tentatively began to appear in dance literature, but compared to editions of men's autobiographies from a similar period and area of creative activity, this interest was negligible (see Table 1). Svetlana Tomić, a researcher into women's literature in the Serbian canon, notes:

This is worth emphasizing because no matter what type of history textbooks on nineteenth-century Serbia you open, whether on the history of society or literature, you can hardly find any evidence that women existed in the past at all. (Tomić 126)

The series of memoirs, autobiographies and diaries published in the collection by the Belgrade publishing house Nolit in 1989 represents the apogee of ignorance. The collection consists of twenty-four volumes, of which twenty-one are by male authors, and the remaining three (*Memoarska proza 18. and 19. Veka I, II, Ratna memoarska i dnevnička proza*) are collections of excerpts from forty-three male and three female authors: Jelena Lozanić-Frothingham (1885–1972), Mina Karadžić-Vukomanović (1828–1894) and Milica Stojadinović Srpkinja (1828–1878). Clearly, therefore, the male voice predominates.¹² It was not until the 1990s that work began to recover cultural memory in individual initiatives. This brings us to the year 2000 when Magazinović's memoirs were reliably compiled and published.

Conclusions

Maga Magazinović's autobiographical narrative in the stances of witness and confession clearly clashed with the image of a patriarchal and socialist society portrayed by the authorities and their politics of cultural memory. Through intimacy writing, the stances of witness and confession created in reading the stance of the challenge to the taboo topics and the politics of cultural memory: issue of literature canon, gender canon, and above all the challenge to the position of women in society. What emerges from the autobiography is the figure of a woman emancipating herself and other women, independent, guided by her desires, courageous in her choices and successful in achieving her goals, despite

¹² I would identify here the influence of the emerging nationalist sentiments in the republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the period before the break-up in the 1990s, and thus the rediscovery of national identity. Perhaps this is the reason no place was found in the publishing canon for a socialist, feminist, cosmopolitan dancer.

the discrimination she faced. Magazinović was socially, culturally and philosophically engaged. The perspective of a woman's body that frees itself from the limitations of censorship and its unconventional expression of intimate emotions through her work and writing is a perspective that has been subjected to the double censorship of moral and ideological perceptions that censored literature, such as women's confessions and testimonies of feminist art, that failed to meet the conditions of the official narrative. Importantly, "feminist art [is] about changing perceptions, raising awareness, and pushing for change" (Tumbas 71), which will always encounter resistance from power. Systemic censorship, i.e. that derived from power-knowledge relations, coupled with the position of women in patriarchy, took place through oblivion, and the restorative work of memory was initiated by Magazinović's direct heirs. The autobiographical carrier of memory that testifies to Magazinović's contribution to the cultural heritage of Serbian society, i.e. *Moj život*, was ignored and lost in the stored memory of the archives, and only after changes in the system of power, the distributor of knowledge, and the transformation of society, emerging from a patriarchal regime that regulates canons, can the content of the carrier be reworked in cultural memory and be restored once more to its rightful place.

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Dvojno cenzurirana svoboda? Cenzura intimnega pisanja s strani kulturnega spomina v knjigi *Moj život* Mage Magazinović

Ključne besede: srbska književnost / avtobiografija / intimnost / kulturni spomin / cenzura / Magazinović, Maga / emancipacijski diskurz

Maga Magazinović (1882–1968) je bila srbska plesna umetnica in pedagoginja. Analiziram njen malo znani ego-dokument *Moj život* (2000) in ga obravnavam kot primer prvoosebne pripovedi zaradi njenih strategij predstavljanja intimnosti v literaturi z žanri, kot sta dnevnik in izpoved. S pomočjo kulturnega spomina raziskujem prispevek Mage Magazinović h kulturnemu življenju Srbije (objekt spomina), kaj je prenesla v svoj intimni opis (medij spomina) in kaj je nato cenzura namenoma izključila iz kolektivnega spomina kot neskladno s kanonom srbskega kulturnega spomina. Magazinović je s svojim intimnim pisanjem kršila vse kulturne tabuje, opisovala bližnje odnose, svobodno razmišljala in odkrito zagovarjala feminizem. Pri tem je izpostavljala žensko zasebno sfero, ki je bila dotlej zapostavljena – tako v dobi kraljevine, v času patriarhalnega zagovarjanja krepostnosti, kot tudi v novi socialistični stvarnosti. Zato v članku prikazujem emancipacijsko perspektivo ženskega telesa, ki se osvobaja cenzurnih omejitev, in njeno nekonvencionalno izražanje intimnih občutkov s pomočjo modernega plesa in pisanja. Poleg tega poudarjam, da sta to perspektivo v kulturnem spominu urejala dva cenzurna sistema: moralni/erotični v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji in ideološki/politični v socialistični Jugoslaviji.

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek / Original scientific article

UDK 821.163.41.09Magazinović M.:305-055.2

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/pkn.v46.i1.07>