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Establishing National Identity in Public Space

Public Monuments in Slovenia and Serbia
in the Nineteenth Century

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Memory, Nation and a Heroine of the Modern Age

The Monument to Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja

Irena Ćirović

The 19th century was a period marked by the development of monument culture in Serbian communities. Especially during the last decades of the century, after gaining the state independence, initiatives to raise public national monuments intensified. As in other European countries, marked with a kind of 'monumentomania', monuments and their formal opening ceremonies had become one of the most important media in the establishment of the national memory.¹ As the strengthening of the fledgling state and civil society took place, so grew the need for public monuments as places that generate collective identity.² As Aleida Assmann puts it, national monuments represented "a symbolic medium in which the history and politics of groups and individuals merge together into a whole. /.../ These monuments are sanctuaries where one individual can take part in the cult of the nation."³ This conception of national monuments had even more significance for Serbian communities outside of their home state, such as those in Austria-Hungary, where the national question was addressed by their problematic status.

Under the policy of creating a national memory, the monument to Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja was erected in the early 20th century. In typological terms, it belongs to the group of monuments dedicated to deserving poets and writers, 'the heroes of letters' or 'the poet-heroes' as defined by Thomas Carlyle's classification.⁴ The erection of these monuments was concentrated during the period between the last decade of the 19th and early 20th century, mostly related to Belgrade as the capital. At the time, the repertoire of monuments extends to deserving individuals from various circles of scientific and cultural activities, recognized by the significance of their work for the national welfare.⁵ Their celebration and commemoration by monuments was at the time a process of generating heroes of the modern era, shaped by the ideals suitable for national identity.

¹ From a greatly enlarged bibliography on monuments, nationalism and memory, I note only the most relevant sources to the present study: Thomas NIPERRDEY, *Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 206, 1968, pp. 529–585; Reinhard ALINGS, *Monument und Nation. Das Bild vom Nationalstaat im Medium Denkmal – zum Verhältnis von Nation und Staat im deutschen Kaiserreich 1871–1918*, Berlin-New York 1996; Avner BEN-AMOS, *Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism*, *History and Memory*, 5/2, 1993, pp. 50–81.

² On the subject of national memory and monuments in 19th century Serbia, see Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ, *Umetnost i nacionalna ideja u XIX veku. Sistem evropske i srpske vizuelne kulture u službi nacije*, Beograd 2006, in particular pp. 274–308; Igor BOROZAN, *Reprezentativna kultura i politička propaganda. Spomenik knezu Milošu u Negotinu*, Beograd 2006; Miroslav TIMOTIJEVIĆ, *Takovski ustanak – srpske Cveti. O javnom zajedničkom sećanju i zaboravljanju u simboličnoj politici zvanične reprezentativne kulture*, Beograd 2012.

³ Alaida ASMAN, *Rad na nacionalnom pamćenju. Kratka istorija nemačke ideje obrazovanja*, Beograd 2002 (*Arbeit am nationalen Gedächtnis. Eine kurze Geschichte der deutschen Bildungsidee*, 1993), p. 51.

⁴ Thomas CARLYLE, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, London 1840, pp. 183–232, 93–137.

⁵ Miroslav TIMOTIJEVIĆ, *Heroizacija pesnika Vojislava J. Ilića i podizanje spomenika na Kalemegdanu*, *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, 47/48, 2000/2001, pp. 187–211; Miroslav TIMOTIJEVIĆ, *Heroj pera kao putnik. Tipološka geneza javnih nacionalnih spomenika i Valdecova skulptura Dositeja Obradovića*, *Nasleđe*, 3, 2001, pp. 39–56; Snežana MIŠIĆ, *Kult Branka Radičevića u srpskoj vizuelnoj kulturi krajem 19. veka*, Novi Sad 2009.

Erecting a monument to Milica Stojadinović was a part of these processes at the beginning of the 20th century. However, compared to the dominant discourse on memory of national heroes, this case seems more specific because it is the first public sculptural monument dedicated to a woman in the Serbian community. Therefore interestingly, it was the emergence of the cult of a new heroine who was introduced into the male-dominated national pantheon. At the time, a few female cults were present, but these were reduced to national rulers and saints,⁶ none of which were commemorated with a sculptural monument. The first appearance of a monument to a deserving woman, moreover to a poetess, therefore stands out as a phenomenon. Especially significant for understanding the context of its construction are the social norms and gender politics of the time, when the participation of women in the public sphere was still severely limited. Thus, by analyzing the first monument of a woman we can gain a closer insight into the contemporary relations of gender, nation and collective memory.⁷ My intention is to examine the factors which determined how this particular individual, Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, became recognized and extracted into the sphere of the national memory. The analysis will also include examination of the process of her 'heroization', culminated in a public monument, which she became worthy of.



1. Anastas Jovanović: Milica Stojadinović, talbotype from 1851, City Museum, Belgrade

The Forgotten "Fairy of Vrdnik"

Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, or the "Fairy of Vrdnik" as she was called, is not a sole female phenomenon in Serbian literary circles of the 19th century. She has several female predecessors and contemporaries who were taking part in literary work.⁸ However, among them, Milica Stojadinović undoubtedly stands out as the one who established her identity as a female author both with her work and life values. Because of that, she was even considered to be the first Serbian female poet. And yet, unlike other prominent figures from the same sphere, the public recognition of her work

⁶ MAKULJEVIĆ 2006 (n. 2), p. 115.

⁷ On nation and gender, see Nira YUVAL-DAVIS, *Gender and Nation*, London 1997; *Gender Ironies of Nationalism. Sexing the Nation* (ed. Tamar Mayer), London 2000; *Women, States, and Nationalism. At home in the nation?* (eds. Sita Ranchod-Nilsson, Mary Ann Tetreault), London 2000; *Art, Nation and Gender. Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures* (eds. Tricia Cusack and Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch), Burlington 2003.

⁸ On Serbian women's writing, see Celia HAWKESWORTH, *Voices in the Shadows. Women and Verbal Art in Serbia and Bosnia*, New York 2000.



2. Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, 1907

and significance has not been held in continuity, nor did it serve to bring her existential survival. Already during her lifetime she became socially marginalized, forgotten in her misery and poverty.

Milica Stojadinović was born in 1828 as the daughter of a country clergyman in Srem (district of Vojvodina), in the village of Bukovac.⁹ With the change in her father's tenure she moved in early childhood to the village of Vrdnik on the slopes of Fruška Gora Mountain in Vojvodina, at the time part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where she spent most of her life. Growing up in a patriarchal family, she was raised in a spirit of national tradition that later affected and marked her entire work. After attending a German school in the town of Varadin (Petrovaradin), she gained a broader education, mainly independently, learning a few foreign languages. She reached literary maturity with the works of Goethe, Schiller and Byron as well as Serbian writers such as Jovan Popović, Đorđe Maletić and Jovan Subotić. She started publishing poems in 1847, and for the next two decades her work regularly appeared in Serbian magazines. A collection of her poems was published on three

occasions, in 1850, 1855 and 1869, which were also the first appearances of books of poetry by a woman in Serbian literature. The publications of her diary entries were also specially recognized on the literary scene, published in three parts in the 1860s.

Participation in the literary life brought her into close contact and cooperation with Vuk Karadžić. While visiting him in Vienna, the circle of her acquaintances spread considerably. Among them were the Montenegrin ruler and poet Petar II Petrović Njegoš, as well as Austrian writers such as Ludwig August Frankl and Johan Gabriel Seidl. With them she maintained a lively correspondence, as with Vuk Karadžić and his daughter Mina. In Serbia amongst the literary acquaintances, the friendship with Ljubomir Nenadović and Đorđe Rajković stands out, as they devote their verses to her. Her acquaintance with Prince Mihailo Obrenović and Princess Julija, under whose patronage some of her works were published, is also of importance.

Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja's entire body of work focused specifically on national and patriotic themes, addressing the historical and contemporary national heroes, rulers and heroes of the battlefields, as well as events that had national significance. However, her orientation towards national themes was not held only within the boundaries of literary work. Her peculiarity is contained precisely in her efforts to shape her own identity with beliefs and values that she viewed through the prism of the national and traditional. A reflection of these efforts is for instance the nickname that she chose for herself, signing her works as Srpkinja (Serbian Woman). Even in the choice of her own appearance she insisted on a traditional and national image, rejecting and criticizing the current European

⁹ For the biography of Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, see Radmila GIKIĆ PETROVIĆ, *Život i književno delo Milice Stojadinović Srpkinje*, Novi Sad 2010. For the complete bibliography on Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, see Radmila GIKIĆ PETROVIĆ, *Bibliografija radova o Milici Stojadinović Srpkinji*, Novi Sad 2007.

fashion trends as non-patriotic. Finding role models such as Schiller's figure of Joan of Arc, which she cited on a few occasions, she completely sees herself as part of the mission for the nation, which she, as an enlightened woman, could achieve. She occasionally indicates that the reason for not marrying is her commitment to her own ideals, framing herself in the figure of a virgin dedicated to the nation. Often, as she is later portrayed in her biographies, emphasis is placed on the episode of her refusal of the offer from a German suitor as an expression of her uppermost patriotism. Along the same line of commitment, she as a young girl took part in current events such as the groundbreaking 1848 turmoil in Austro-Hungarian Vojvodina. Later in 1862, she again took part in a tumultuous event, visiting Belgrade with the intent to encourage Serbian soldiers in the midst of the bombing campaign. With the same patriotic fervor at the beginning of the Serbian-Turkish war in 1876 she tried to lend her services as a nurse, but already impoverished and weak, she was unable to do so.

Her patriotic engagement permeated all social dealings she was involved in, frequently directed at women's issues.¹⁰ For instance, she advocated women's education, seeing it as a prerequisite for the progress of the nation, but remained loyal to the traditional understanding of the role of women. Thus she saw the importance of education of women not so much in emancipatory sense, but primarily within the family framework where women fulfill their primary national task as wives and mothers. So, citing education as 'a foundation of society', she believed that only education "leads to a complete mutual understanding of souls, which is the only condition of marital happiness. A Mother too must be educated (read: and a good woman), because her influence on the children is first, and her call is great and holy, and until we have Educated Serbian Women, there will be no educated Serbian race ..."¹¹ She also critically opposed female fashionable trends, as well as those social models that she marked as unpatriotic. This is evidenced by her moralizing lesson in girls' upbringing: "... hear me, o Serbian parents. It is better that you give your daughters good manners rather than your money which brings hell and unhappiness in spousal relations; and better to teach them to love their church and their kindred, as this writer herself does, rather than teach them to love fashion and vanity of spruce."¹² Seeing tradition as the virtue and base of morality, she proudly wrote about her life in a rural patriarchal parents' home, where in addition to her literary work she also participated in all the traditional women's chores and work on the farm.

After gaining a brief fame, her public recognition was soon extinguished when she, as the result of difficult life circumstances, ceased to work. After the death of both parents she was alone. Having gotten into debt and disputes with relatives around the property, she moved to Belgrade in 1874 in the hope that she would find help in solving her existential problem. However, in the capital she did not encounter the support she expected, and remained on the margins of society. Having fallen into extreme poverty and alcoholism, she died alone in 1878. She was buried in the old cemetery at Belgrade's St. Mark's Church, which only a few newspapers reported in passing. As the old cemetery in the early 20th century changed function, her bones were moved in 1905 to the town of Požarevac, where they were laid in the family tomb of her brother.

¹⁰ Radmila S. PETROVIĆ, M. S. Srpkinja i Draga Dejanović o ženama, *Glasnik Istoriskog društva u Novom Sadu*, 3/1, 1930, pp. 80–97.

¹¹ Milica STOJADINOVIĆ SRPKINJA, *U Fruškoj Gori 1854*, Beograd 1985, p. 35.

¹² STOJADINOVIĆ SRPKINJA 1985 (n. 11), p. 36.

Initiative for the Erection of the Monument

More than two decades after the poetess's death, the appearance of the study of literary critic Jovan Skerlić in 1905 gave impetus to incorporate Milica Stojadinović into the pantheon of deserving persons of the nation. Before Skerlić enacted his textual study, Milica Stojadinović was already mentioned on a few occasions, as in the text of Milan Savić (1898),¹³ in the *Pomenik znamenitih ljudi* (Commemoration of notable people) by Milan Đ. Milićević (1888)¹⁴ and in the book *Znameniti Srbi* (Famous Serbs) by Andra Gavrilović (1904).¹⁵ Skerlić's article published in 1905, however, was crucial for all further initiative that brought her into public memory and that led to the erection of her monument.¹⁶ In his essay, Skerlić elaborated a vision of Milica Stojadinović which determined the baseline for the later reception of her heroic figure. He distinguished Milica Stojadinović not so much for her poetic work, for which he otherwise gives a negative review, but by the exceptional-ity of her appearance and greatness of her spirit. The entire study has shaped the character of the poetess in terms of her being a pure virgin and a noble idealist dedicated to the nation, interpreting the tragic end of her life as a sacrifice for the sake of ideals. Thus, Skerlić's notes formulated Milica Stojadinović as a tragic heroine, whose virtues and commitment to literature led to an almost inevitable doom. Skerlić writes: "For the love of poetry, she misses her entire life and becomes the victim of books and a literary dream of a higher life."¹⁷ The tragedy was seen as an even greater one because of her physical beauty, interpreted as a reflection of her moral values. Thus, as an ideal of femininity, her beauty was given an important place in the construction of a heroic character. The beauty of the "Vrdnik Fairy" and "muse of poets", who never compromised her high ideals with the love of men, further emphasized the tragic tone of her life sufferings.

The study ended with a romanticized depiction of a tombstone; a broken and neglected grave, as a symbol of the life of Milica Stojadinović, and the author urging that her memory be preserved: "a sad memory of the victim of literature and ideals". This rounded a tragic image of noble self-sacrifice, dedicated to the nation, containing large potential for further, massive emotional identification. So the publication of the Skerlić's text was followed almost immediately by the initiative of women's circles to build a monument to the poetess. As a first response in the next year came a poem by Olga Kostić dedicated to Milica Stojadinović, in the magazine *Ženski svet* (The Female's World), a journal of the women's organization Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja (Charitable Collective of Serbian Women).¹⁸ A poem inspired by Skerlić's text, it appeals for the erection of a monument to a merited female author whose tomb fell into oblivion. This was followed by another poem in the same journal, in response,¹⁹ and which was then followed by the concretization of the idea of erecting a monument.

Responsibility for the monument was taken up by Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja from Irig, a branch of this Serbian women's charitable association organized in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.²⁰

¹³ Milan SAVIĆ, Milica Stojadinović Srpkinja, *Letopis Matice srpske*, 169/1, 1892, pp. 1–18.

¹⁴ Milan Đ. MILIĆEVIĆ, *Pomenik znamenitih ljudi u srpskog naroda novijeg doba*, Beograd 1888, pp. 676–678.

¹⁵ Andra GAVRILOVIĆ, *Znameniti Srbi XIX veka*, 3, Zagreb 1904, pp. 50–51.

¹⁶ Jovan SKERLIĆ, Milica Stojadinović Srpkinja – književna slika, *Letopis Matice srpske*, 234/6, 1905, pp. 1–18.

¹⁷ SKERLIĆ 1905 (n. 16), p. 4.

¹⁸ O. K., Milici Stojadinović, *Ženski svet*, 21/2, 7. 2. 1906, p. 31.

¹⁹ Gospođi O. K., *Ženski svet*, 21/5, 1. 5. 1906, p. 107.

²⁰ On Serbian women's organizations in Austro-Hungary, see *Ženski pokret u Vojvodini – prilikom proslave pedesetogodišnjice rada svog izdala Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja Novosadkinja*, Novi Sad 1933.

At the time, Serbian charitable organizations were developed within a network of women's organizations whose activities were directed at humanitarian work as well as cultural and educational activities.²¹ Acting in these areas, they have been the generators of ideas and of a cultural model that encouraged the participation of women in the fields of public work, with particular focus upon the education of women. Like many other female civic associations that operated in Serbia, their program was national in character, focused on targets that were primarily seen in the context of the well-being of the nation.

Such a direction of female public engagements produced a championship of women's associations in recognition of Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, as a person whose credits were necessary to elevate to the level of national importance. In that, of course, the primary role had been gender identification and the need for a modern national heroine who would fit the desirable ideal of women's participation in the nation. Inspired by the mechanisms of establishing the memory of male heroes through monuments, women's circles took the same action and engaged around the personality of the female writer, recognized as the epitome of an enlightened female patriot. Thus, the proclamation of the decision to build a monument says: "Well, as our noble husbands offer a big thanks to great people to make them unforgettable by raising permanent monuments, why wouldn't we, even to some extent repay our debt to our immortal sister Milica for the reputation that she has raised through her work for us Serbian women."²²

The women's cooperative that took up the organization of the erection of the monument was from the town of Irig, the place in the vicinity of the village Vrdnik, the birthplace of the female writer. According to the current practice of the funding of monuments through voluntary contributions, the Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja of Irig announced the start of the action in the journal *Ženski svet*, and urged women's cooperatives and all other Serbian women to donate resources.²³ Furthermore, the proclamation indicated that the sum of collected contributions would determine what kind of monument it would be possible to erect, at what location it would be raised and that the proposals are to be sent directly to the same Irig Cooperative.

Soon, the developed network among women's associations proved effective. In aid of the action to raise a monument, Devojački odbor (Girl's Committee) in Belgrade was formed under the direction of the writer Jelena Dimitrijević and Katarina Holec from the Belgrade *Žensko društvo* (Women's Association).²⁴ Under the patronage of Princess Jelena Karađorđević, daughter of King Peter I, their members were engaged in fundraising and organizing events such as public lectures and charitable parties. They also organized that the old cross which was left on the grave of the writer be transferred to the National Museum in order to preserve it institutionally.²⁵ As a part of continued efforts, Devojački odbor had in 1907 organized and published a memorial book *Spomenica Milice Stojadinović-Srpkinje*, following the existing practice for determining the memory of deserving individuals.²⁶ The publication promoted the character and work of the writer, emphasizing her

²¹ Neda BOŽINOVIĆ, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku*, Beograd 1996; Petar KRESTIĆ, Dobrotvorni rad srpskih žena krajem XIX i početkom XX veka, *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju*, 65–66, 2002, pp. 271–278.

²² Dobrotvornim našim zadrugama i ostalim Srpkinjama, *Ženski svet*, 21/6, 1. 6. 1906, p. 1.

²³ *Dobrotvornim našim zadrugama* 1906 (n. 22), p. 1.

²⁴ Spomenik Milice Stojadinovićeve, *Ženski svet*, 21/7, 1. 7. 1906, p. 161.

²⁵ Na adresu srpskih Devojačkih Kola, *Ženski svet*, 21/11, 1. 11. 1906, pp. 244–245.

²⁶ *Spomenica Milice Stojadinović-Srpkinje*, Beograd 1907. A similar example is a book dedicated to the poet Vojislav J. Ilić, published in 1895 during preparation for the erection of a monument to him, see TIMOTIJEVIĆ 2000/2001 (n. 5), p. 193.

national significance, while the funds generated from its sales were intended for the monument. The collection of texts, which included the works of distinguished authors, was dedicated to Milica Stojadinović. Thus, the book began with the text of Jovan Skerlić from 1905, followed by the work of Ludwig August Frankl, a friend of the female writer, as well as an excerpt from *Monah Djenadije* by Milorad P. Šapčanin who talks about meeting with Milica Stojadinović. Then, the book included poems of Ljubomir Nenadović, Đorđe Rajković and Svetolik Lazarević which these prominent writers dedicated to Milica Stojadinović during her lifetime. At the end of the book, a few selected poems of the female writer herself were included. The front page of the book featured a graphic portrait of Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, which would then be regularly promoted in magazines.²⁷ The same portrait later served as the model for the monumental bust.

Fundraising continued for several years and the funds arrived at the Irig Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja, mostly coming from different cities' women's organizations and numerous individual contributions. Regular reports were given in the Cooperative's parent journal *Ženski svet*, listing the amounts and contributors by name. Simultaneously, charitable parties and lectures continued, as well the sales of postcards with the image of Milica Stojadinović as a form of collecting funds. After six years, with the collected amount of 1.900 crowns, the erection of a monument commenced. The contract was made in 1912 with the sculptor for a modest amount of 2.200 crowns, on the condition that he would wait for the rest of payment.²⁸

Erection of the Monument

The overall organization of the erection of the monument was focused as much as possible on its national characterization. Initial indecisiveness regarding the monument's location (amongst several options were the writer's birthplace of Bukovac; Vrdnik, where she lived; and Belgrade, where she died),²⁹ ended in the decision to place the monument in Vrdnik. The specific location selected was not in Vrdnik itself, where she had spent most of her life, but in the nearby monastery of the same name. The authorities of Vrdnik Monastery were approached by the Irig Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja in 1908 in order to obtain a permit for the monument.³⁰ Several factors influenced the choice for this solution. Given the fact that the Serbian community in the Austro-Hungarian Empire was disadvantaged, it was not legally possible to raise national monuments in public spaces. Units in which Serbs were allowed to erect monuments were religious and educational institutions treated by the state as a religious entity,³¹ such as, in this case, the monastery at Vrdnik. On the other hand, the importance of the monastery was of primary consideration in deciding the monument's location. As

²⁷ It is not clear what served as the model for the graphic portrait, but most likely it was some of the photographs of Milica Stojadinović. Among those known is the photography of famous Serbian artist Anastas Jovanović from 1851, as well as a photo that is stored in the Belgrade City Library from 1860. In the second photograph there is even a very striking brooch that is shown on the subsequent graphic display. Belgrade City Museum also keeps one of her photographs from the same period (inv. no. KI1 721) which, by the description set in museum documentation, most appropriately matches the graphic display. At the time of writing this paper, photography could not be obtained for viewing.

²⁸ Irig. Izveštaj uprave, *Ženski svet*, 27, 4, 1. 4. 1912, pp. 89–90.

²⁹ Prilozi za spomenik Milice Stojadinović Srpkinje, *Ženski svet*, 22/6, 1. 6. 1907, p. 144.

³⁰ Irig. Izveštaj, *Ženski svet*, 23/4, 1. 4. 1908, p. 81.

³¹ MAKULJEVIĆ 2006 (n. 2), pp. 301–302.



3. Jovan Pešić: Monument to Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, 1912, Vrdnik Monastery

the place where the relics of St. Prince Lazar, one of the most respected Serbian saints, are preserved, Vrdnik Monastery held a position as one of the most important national-religious *topos*.³² With such a status the monastery as a whole was more than suitable for the setting of the monument, as a space whose symbolic meaning of a “sacred place” raised the monument’s effect and national character.

The organization for the monument was not guided by requesting bids or by the formation of a committee of experts to select the artists, which was a desirable practice in the processes of erecting monuments. The Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja of Irig independently decided to directly contract the sculptor Jovan Pešić to whom they gave the job of crafting the monument.³³ The choice of an

³² On the cult of St. Prince Lazar in Vrdnik Monastery in 19th century: Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ, *Srednjovekovne teme u srpskom crkvenom slikarstvu XIX veka*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti*, 32–33, 2002, pp. 198–199.

³³ On Jovan Pešić: Katarina POPOVIĆ, *Jedan zaboravljeni srpski vajar – Jovan Pešić*, *Zbornik za društvene nauke*, 34, 1963, pp. 63–73. There had been a proposal for other artists from the renowned writer Jelena Dimitrijević.

artist was most probably made because of his previous cooperation with one women's association in Belgrade. He previously had been chosen to construct the monument of the writer Vojislav Ilić by the Odbor beogradskih gospođica (Board of Belgrade's Mademoiselles),³⁴ which was certainly an additional recommendation. Limited finances that were collected for the monument were not to be ignored. According to the citation of the association itself, they had a decisive role in contracting the business. The Serbian nationality of the selected sculptor was also emphasized in all subsequent news reports on raising the monument, which had had an obvious significance.

Jovan Pešić crafted the bust of Milica Stojadinović according to the current conventions of monumental sculpture.³⁵ The female writer was portrayed according to the concept of idealistic realism, aiming towards similarity with the authentic physical appearance, but with the idealization that conveys moral values and spiritual grandeur of a presented character. The aforementioned graphical image was used as a template for the bust, as a visual description of Milica Stojadinović which at the time was popularized in the press and postcards. So in his making of the bust, Pešić replicated a portrait with characteristically braided hair in the traditional manner, as well as a simple woman's costume. Strikingly prominent is the medallion on her chest; a brooch with a character depicted in a profile portrait. This brooch was obviously a very important treasure for Milica Stojadinović. In fact, it seems that she wears the same brooch on one of her portrait photographs, highlighting it as an important element of her self-presentation.³⁶ From the correspondence material, we can learn that she possessed some jewelry with the depiction of Prince Mihailo Obrenović,³⁷ and also a gold brooch with the figure of Princess Julija which she received from her as a gift.³⁸ The same brooch that she received from the Princess stood out in biographies of Milica Stojadinović as a treasure which also symbolically marked the tragic end of her life. According to the testimony of contemporaries, forced by poverty she offered to sell the brooch to the National Museum in the last days of life. However, the payment was late and made in time only to cover the costs of her funeral and her debts.³⁹

It was specified that the monument be placed in the grounds of the monastery, outside the walls of the dormitories. The bust was set on the slope on the south side so that it faced Vrdnik village, the

This was mentioned in a letter of Stevan Radić, Secretary of Irig Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja. The letter is kept in the Manuscript Department of Matica srpska (inv. no. 22852), published in: Gordana STOJAKOVIĆ, *Diskursne osobine privatne prepiske o knjizi «Srpkinja, njezin život i rad, njezin kulturni razvitak i njezina narodna umjetnost do danas»/1909–1924*, specialist work, Center for Gender studies (ACIMSI) of the University of Novi Sad, 2005, p. 130.

³⁴ The occasion was an open competition which was evaluated by a committee composed of distinguished artists. Although the Committee had decided that no submitted work was suitable, including Jovan Pešić's, the Board of Mademoiselles independently decided and signed the contract with the same: TIMOTIJEVIĆ 2000/2001 (n. 5), pp. 198–200.

³⁵ In a newspaper report it is mentioned that the statue was cast in Prague: Dopisi. Irig, *Ženski svet*, 27/9, 1. 9. 1912, p. 199.

³⁶ The photograph, which is kept in the Belgrade City Library was published in: Milanka TODIĆ, *Fotografija i slika*, Beograd 2001, p. 130. The brooch is also mentioned in the description of the photograph held by the Belgrade City Museum, the digital database Museum (inv. no. Ki1 721).

³⁷ Jewelry is mentioned in the correspondence with Vuk Karadžić and Mina, a gold studded "pin with a portrait of Prince Mihailo": Radmila GIKIĆ, *Prepiska Milice Stojadinović Srpkinje sa Vukom i Minom*, Novi Sad 1987, pp. 46, 72.

³⁸ Letter which Milica Stojadinović received with a gift was published in: *Javor*, 1/1, 5. 1. 1862, p. 7. Princess Julija Obrenović would give prominent Serbian women a gold brooch with her portrait as a reward for their achievements: Verena HAN, *Značaj Anastasa Jovanovića za razvoj srpske primenjene umetnosti XIX veka*, *Zbornik Muzeja primenjenih umetnosti*, 12, 1968, p. 56.

³⁹ SAVIĆ 1892 (n. 13), p. 5, n. 2.

birthplace of Milica Stojadinović.⁴⁰ A stone plinth was commissioned from the Giovanni Bertoto Company from Belgrade, an Italian who at that time led one of the most famous masonry shops. Stone for the pedestal was commissioned from Pirot, South-east Serbia, which was often pointed out in later promotion of monuments. Bestowing such importance to the origin of the material followed the existing practice in monumental design, incorporating the idea of the national territory in the monument.⁴¹ Loaded with national symbols, the pedestal was made in the form of three steps on which the base for the bust is raised. The stand is dominated by engraved decoration in the form of the lyre, a specified attribute of poetry. It was included on the monument as a pictorial emblem which refers to the life's work of Milica Stojadinović, thus forming a memory and 'heroization' through her poetic creativity. Above it stands a carved short inscription *Milici Srpkinji Srpkinje* (To Milica Serbian Woman from Serbian Women), with the year, 1912. Such dedication definitely concretized the idea of a primarily gender relation, as a tribute by all the women of the nation to the heroine of patriotism. This relation of "women to a woman" in a further monumental effect became inverse, where the memory of the heroine became educationally directed primarily at all the Serbian women.

The Unveiling of the Monument

The full function of the monument was realized in the coming celebrations of its disclosure, a public ceremony whose organization was conducted by the Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja from Irig. The ceremony was scheduled for 15 June 1912 (Julian calendar), on the day of Vidovdan, which was also the monastery's feast day. At the same time, that was the most important religious and national holiday, marking the Battle of Kosovo and the cult of Prince Lazar. Traditionally, a mass national assembly took place in the monastery itself on that day, which was in times of crisis particularly effective for the mobilization of a national sentiment. Since 1889, Vidovdan was declared a national holiday, consecrated to all those who sacrificed their lives for the faith and the fatherland.⁴² During this period, the celebration of Vidovdan in the monastery Vrdnik itself took on a character of an organized national ceremony, more articulated and controlled than previous traditional festivals.⁴³

Selecting Vidovdan as the day of the unveiling of the monument to Milica Stojadinović gave it additional impact by linking it with the memory of the historical event of the greatest national importance. The importance of these connections is highlighted by the fact that the ceremony wasn't cancelled, even when it was evident that the monument would not be completed in its entirety in time for Vidovdan. Due to difficulties with the shipment of the stone that was to be used for the pedestal, its design was not even started. Despite this, the decision was made to hold the ceremony

⁴⁰ In the end of 2008 there was an initiative to move the monument into the monastery port to protect it better: Radmila GIKIĆ PETROVIĆ 2010 (n. 9), p. 397. The action was implemented, and today the monument is in the courtyard of the monastery, on the east side of the church.

⁴¹ One of the examples is Branko Radičević's monument, erected in Stražilovo in 1885. The pedestal of the monument is built of stone blocks from all over the Serbian lands, engraved with the names of the mountains from which were taken: MIŠIĆ 2010 (n. 5), p. 64.

⁴² Miroslav TIMOTIJEVIĆ, O proizvođenju jednog nacionalnog praznika. Spomen dan palima u borbama za otadžbinu, *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 9/1–2, 2002 [2004], pp. 69–77.

⁴³ MAKULJEVIĆ 2006 (n. 2), pp. 309–310. For the example of Vidovdan celebration in Vrdnik Monastery, see the report of the 500-year anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo: Ravanica, na Vidov-dan 1889, *Ženski svet*, 4/ 7, 1. 7. 1889, pp. 203–204.



4. Ceremony of the unveiling of Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja's monument, Vrdnik Monastery

on the appointed day, with the bust placed on an improvised set placed on the base of the stand.⁴⁴

The ceremony was planned as a celebration with an elaborate program, focused on fulfilling the monument with special meanings. It was made up of segments that were at the time already established as usual parts of public ceremonies. Thus, the central element of the event consisted of speeches which were aimed at confirming of the magnitude of Milica Stojadinović, serving as educational sermons to the audience. Choral societies performed between sermons, as a compulsory performative act which gave the event a greater and more theatrical meaning. Also, the laying of wreaths at the monument as a symbolic act of establishing the immortal glory encompassed and completed the entire process of heroization of Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja.

The festivity began in the morning, after the liturgy in the monastery church.⁴⁵ It was opened with a welcome speech by Stevan Radić, Secretary of Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja from Irig, who

⁴⁴ Radić's letter to Jelica Belović Bernadžikovski, the manuscript department of Matica srpska (inv. no. 22853), published in: STOJAKOVIĆ 2005 (n. 33), p. 128; see also: *Dopisi* 1912 (n. 35), p. 199.

⁴⁵ The program of the ceremony is given in a few women's magazines: Zorka JANKOVIĆ, Podizanje spomenika Milici Stojadinović-Srpkinji u Vrdniku, *Ženski svet*, 27/7–8, 1912, pp. 154–162; Otkrivanje spomenika Milici Stojadinović «Srpkinji», *Žena*, 2/7, pp. 425–427; K. H., Otkrivanje spomenika u Ravanici Milici Stojadinovićevoj – Srpkinji, *Domaćica*, 33, 7. 7. 1912, pp. 217–224.



5. Jovan Pešić: Monument to Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, 1912, Vrdnik Monastery

was one of the people credited for the monument.⁴⁶ Then came the solemn act of revealing the monument, or rather the bust. Miss Katica Barković removed the drape. She was given the honor by the Irig Cooperative to decorate the bust with a garland of natural flowers. The mixed chorus of a singing association from Mitrovica sang a prayer *Voskliknite gospodevi* (Praise the Lord), which was followed by a speech by Olga Kostić from Šid, a respectable lady who was one of the main initiators of a monument. The sermon on the work and life of Milica Stojadinović was followed by the laying of wreaths by representatives from *Devojačko kolo* (The Girls Circle) from Sentomaš. This solemn act was succeeded by the Ruma Choral Society mixed choir's performance of the song with lyrics by Milica Stojadinović *Mojoj Fruškoj Gori* (To My Fruška Gora Mountain), whose melody was composed for the occasion by Isidor Bajić. At the celebration a written sermon by Savka Subotić, one of the most influential public female figures, was read. Her extensive presentation, read by Professor Milan Jovanović from Novi Sad, concentrated on the moral and educational lessons, as well as the

⁴⁶ Branislav JOVIČIĆ, Stevan Radić i Dobrotvorna ženska zadruga 'Srpkinja' u Irigu, *Godišnjak biblioteka Srema*, 10, 2009 [2010], pp. 115–118.



6. Jovan Pešić: Monument to Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, 1912, Vrdnik Monastery

role of women in society. Another rhetorical act was included in the program: the recital of a poem *Pred spomenikom Milice Stojadinovićeve-Srpkinje* (In Front of the Monument to Milica Stojadinović-Serbian Woman), by a certain poetess called Mira. A poem dedicated to the monument was recited by Olga Barković, followed by the last performance, the popular choral dirge *Što ćutiš, Srbine tužni* (Why are you silent, o sad Serbian), sang by a male vocal group Jedinstvo (Unity) from Rakovac.⁴⁷ They gave the final dramatic tone to the entire ceremony, closing its emotional patriotic charge.

Representatives of many Serbian women's organizations from far and wide attended the unveiling ceremony. This dominance of female guests was a logical outcome in the whole act of the memorization of a heroine, which was headed by and executed throughout female circles. This also can be taken as an indicator of the strong network that existed between the women's associations. So the celebration was attended by the representatives of Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja from Novi Sad, Mitrovica, Vukovar, Osečka, Indija and Zemun. Among the guests were the representatives

⁴⁷ The composition is the work of Davorin Jenko, based on the lyrics of Vladimir Vasić. Otherwise, the original is called *Nek dušman vidi* (Let the enemy see), but became known for its opening verses.

of *Žensko društvo* (Women's Society) and *Savez ženskih društava* (The Association of Women's Societies) from Serbia, as well as *Savez Srpkinja* (The Union of Serbian Women). The magazine *Ženski svet*, was represented by its editor Arkadije Varađanin. Among the guests, as representatives of other type of associations were the Serbian Orthodox craftsmen singing troupe from Zemun.⁴⁸

The celebration was also attended by high officials such as the prelates and clergy who on that day held religious services. Among them, as a guest came Prizren Metropolitan Nićifor Perić.⁴⁹ In addition to representatives of the church, the presence of Jovan Skerlić, who inspired the whole idea of erecting the monument, and of Tihomir Đorđević, both distinguished professors of Belgrade University, gave the legitimacy to the celebration.

After the unveiling ceremony all of the guests gathered for a banquet. The reception was held in the hotel Kasina which was hosted by the Irig Cooperative. Among the guests at the banquet was Ljubica Pavlović, niece of Milica Stojadinović who gave her token of appreciation on behalf of the family. The end of the banquet also marked the end of the organized part of the event. That afternoon, guests were free to continue the celebration, walking in the surrounding countryside, accompanied by spontaneous performances of singing societies.



7. Monument to Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, Vrdnik Monastery

Reception of the Monument and a New National Heroine

The unveiling was followed by the further promotion of the monument and the heroine-like character of Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja. The printing press played a central role in this, as the new mass medium that took on a leading position in the promotion of national events.⁵⁰ News of the monument was spread by women's magazines which dedicated more to this issue than other papers. Thus, *Ženski svet* (Female's World), *Žena* (Women) and *Domaćica* (Housewife) included extensive articles

⁴⁸ JANKOVIĆ 1912 (n. 45), pp. 161–162.

⁴⁹ Among the invitees were Archimandrite Ilarion Zeremski, Archpriest Gerasim Petrović, Abbot Sergije Popić, Archdeacon Irinej Ćirić, and Milutin Stojadinović, see JANKOVIĆ 1912 (n. 45), p. 154.

⁵⁰ On the importance of the press in popularizing national monuments, see Kirsten BELGUM, Displaying the Nation. A View of Nineteenth-Century Monuments through a Popular Magazine, *Central European History*, 26/4, 1993, pp. 457–474.

on the whole event of the unveiling of the monument.⁵¹ They also published photographs of the monument, as a secondary means of interfacing between a wider audience and the monument, providing more widespread participation. The articles also transmitted complete individual speeches that were held at the ceremony for the purpose of educational impact on the audience.

In the citations of published sermons one can more clearly locate the structure of the heroic character in which Milica Stojadinović was produced. For example, a published sermon of Olga Kostić contained an overview of the life and work of the female writer, emphasizing her extraordinary spiritual and patriotic virtues.⁵² Her character has been interpreted in the context of the first Serbian female poet, a woman who by education and her patriotic efforts was ahead of her time. Her virtues as a whole were enlarged by the tragedy of her life, a life that was entirely dedicated to the nation. Empathy and gratitude for that self-sacrifice which paved the way for a modern Serbian woman, was further exclaimed by the theatrical rhetoric, culminating in the assertion:

“We understood you, Milica. We understood you too late, but still! Forgive us that you’ve waited so long for us! We did not know what we had, nor what we lost. We did not repay you until today, and you were the one that gave a name to Serbian women. / You were indeed the one who died for her kindred! This is the greatest and the most terrible poetry. Forgive us for that pain!”

Set in a discourse of heroic suffering for all the women of the nation, Milica Stojadinović created an ideal set up for a public female role model.⁵³ Thus, in the sermon of Olga Kostić the victimhood of a poetess was immediately upgraded to a lesson for today’s assignment of women in the nation. The role of a woman was seen primarily in the light of education as one of the prerequisites for the prosperity of the whole nation. Women’s education at the time was one of the main issues that was advocated in women’s civic circles, but affirmed primarily through the traditional set of gender roles.⁵⁴ Thus, the discourse on an enlightened woman dominated first and foremost through the framework of the family and through her role as a wife and a mother. These were main ideals and predetermined social norms for women’s activities and their role in the nation.⁵⁵ Thus the woman as a mother was her main feminine task, both in terms of the reproduction of the nation, and in the upbringing of children which was the principal female domain. In order to contribute to the nation as a mother, the request for her education and enlightenment was necessary, primarily so that she can pass on to her descendants the correct moral and patriotic education. Olga Kostić notes the same concept in her speech at the unveiling of the monument to Milica Stojadinović. She supports the vision of enlightened women as a prerequisite for the survival of the nation’s culture with the allegation:

“A Serbian mother is aware of her responsibilities and position in society. She knows that she needs to love and look after her home and her own tradition, to reject everything that disturbs the peace and the well-being of her family; to educate her children so that no influence will separate

⁵¹ See n. 45.

⁵² *Ženski svet*, 27/7–8, 1912, pp. 155–158; *Domaćica*, 33/7, 1912, pp. 221–224.

⁵³ The imagery of heroes’ noble self-sacrifice was one of the key elements in ceremonies of the nation. As Anthony D. Smith, *Will and Sacrifice. Images of National Identity*, *Millennium. Journal of International Studies*, 30/3, 2001, pp. 571–584, states: “In images of the sacrificing or fallen patriot-hero or heroine, the nation is portrayed as a community of will and devotion for whom patriots sacrifice themselves, with their acts of noble renunciation seen as sacred and depicted in increasingly ‘authentic’ ways.”

⁵⁴ On women’s education in the 19th and early 20th century Serbia, see *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima 19. i 20. veka. Položaj žene kao merilo modernizacije* (ed. Latinka Perović), 2, Beograd 1998.

⁵⁵ Ana STOLIĆ, *Rodni odnosi u ‘carstvu podeljenih sfera’, Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku* (eds. Ana Stolić, Nenad Makuljević), Beograd 2006, pp. 89–111; MAKULJEVIĆ 2006 (n. 2), pp. 115–117.

them from their Serbian names, and, it seems that the time has come that we mothers can and should show our children the path, which they should follow through their life!"

Apart from promoting the site, the subsequent editions of women's magazines continued to publish articles dedicated to Milica Stojadinović, to further her popularization. The memory of the national heroine that started with the erection of the monument gradually occupied a place more clearly in the affirmation of modern women's public activity. This is evidenced by a publication issued one year after the erection of the monument. The editorial, signed with the name *Serbian female writers*, published a book *Srpkinja, njezin život i rad, njezin kulturni razvitak i njezina narodna umjetnost do danas* (Serbian Woman, Her Life and Work, Her Cultural Development and Her Folk Art to Date).⁵⁶ It was released by the same Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja of Irig that erected the monument to Milica Stojadinović. The structure of the entire publication was formulated in the context of promoting women's public activities and contribution to the national culture. The book is primarily devoted to contemporary *women of the pen*, i.e. female writers, and those who were active in educational and cultural fields. In addition to their biographies the book included praises of the cultural achievements of women in various fields of art, as well as their charitable work, including topics such as the role of Serbian women as mothers, and women's role in the war. The book that covered the range of women's activities in the nation also included a mention of Milica Stojadinović, a heroine who embodied the desired ideals. In the preface it is mentioned that the very idea of this issue (amongst others) was initiated by the monument to Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, the first Serbian female poet. A substantial part of the book was devoted to her, with texts by Stevan Radić and Mileva Simić, as well as works by Olga Kernic-Peleš and Zorka Janković dedicated to her monument.⁵⁷ Written records that again confirmed Milica Stojadinović as a champion of patriotism were completed by posting a picture of the monument erected in Vrdnik, the main place that materialized the memory of a national heroine. The importance of her monument was confirmed by the fact that among the photographs in the book was the portrait of Jovan Pešić: one of only four men among the many female portraits in the book whose characters highlight their merits in the affirmation of women's work.⁵⁸



8. Pavle Simić: Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja, 1850–1851, National Museum, Belgrade

⁵⁶ *Srpkinja, njezin život i rad, njezin kulturni razvitak i njezina narodna umjetnost do danas*, Irig 1913.

⁵⁷ *Srpkinja* 1913 (n. 56), pp. 7–14, 86–87, 90–91.

⁵⁸ *Srpkinja* 1913 (n. 56), p. 80, fig. 138.

In the context of the monument's reception, the press cites an interesting occurrence related to the monument and its effect within the environs of Vrdnik Monastery. It was noted that devotees who visited the monastery to venerate the monument of Milica Stojadinović mistook her for Princess Milica, wife of Prince Lazar.⁵⁹ The inscription on the monument with only the name and a bust of a woman with a traditional look opened the possibility for this mistaken identification. It was also a logical consequence of the cult of Prince Lazar in the monastery, linked with a cherished memory of Princess Milica, namesake of the female writer.⁶⁰ However, this did not cause resentment; on the contrary, it was seen in a positive light. Thus, a newspaper article stated on Milica Stojadinović: "She was a true Serbian woman, just like an Empress Milica, who offered her love and work for her people." This emerged duality of the monument was apparently seen in the light of strengthening of the cult of Milica Stojadinović. In typological terms, she could be interpreted as a modern incarnation of Princess Milica, confirmed by the tradition as a Serbian heroine of the past, which had already found a place in the national pantheon of saints. So to speak, their conceptual connection was just an extra argument which further strengthened the memory and heroization of Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja.

⁵⁹ *Ženski svet*, 27/9, 1. 9. 1912, p. 191.

⁶⁰ The national importance of the cult of Princess Milica Hrebeljanović is shown in the ceremony of anointment of King Alexander Obrenović in 1889, which included ritual visitation of Princess grave: A. PAJEVIĆ, *Sa groba carice Milice*, *Ženski svet*, 4/7, 1. 7. 1889, pp. 199–204.

Spomin, nacija in heroinja moderne dobe

Spomenik Milici Stojadinović - Srpkinji

Povzetek

Konec 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja so se v srbskem okolju pojavile številne pobude za postavljanje javnih spomenikov, ki so bili eden od najpomembnejših medijev pri vzpostavljanju mehanizma nacionalnega pomnjenja. V okviru teh tendenc je bil leta 1912 postavljen tudi spomenik pesnici Milici Stojadinović - Srpkinji, ki tipološko spada v skupino spomenikov, posvečenih zaslužnim posameznikom iz literarnih krogov, ki so bili za narod velikega pomena. Poveličevanje književnikov v vlogi nacionalnih herojev in ohranjanje njihovega spomina s pomočjo spomenikov je bilo v tistem trenutku že ustaljena praksa. Toda spomenik Milici Stojadinović predstavlja posebnost, saj je šlo za prvi javni kiparski spomenik, ki je bil posvečen ženski.

Nosilci pobude in organizacije postavitve spomenika so bila meščanska ženska društva, ki so imela takrat že razširjeno mrežo delovanja. Njihovo zavzemanje za spomenik je povsem logično sledilo idejnemu programom, ki so jih društva predstavljala javnosti. Ženske iz številnih organizacij so v luči domoljubnega zavzemanja za nacijo vedno bolj sodelovale v javnem življenju tistega časa, in sicer zlasti na področju dobrotelnosti pa tudi izobraževanja in kulture. S takšnimi idejnimi smernicami se je ujemala podoba o Milici Stojadinović - Srpkinji, pesnici iz 19. stoletja. Književnica je veljala za osebo, ki je utrla pot sodobni srbski ženski, in v njej so videli ideal ženskega omikanega domoljubja, kar je ženske kroge spodbudilo k zavzemanju za vzpostavljanje kolektivnega spomina nanjo.

Pobudo za postavitve spomenika je leta 1906 dala Dobrotvorna zadruga Srpkinja (veja iz mesta Irig). Pri zbiranju sredstev so se naslonili na obstoječo mrežo ženskih društev, apelirali pa so tudi na vse srbsko žensko prebivalstvo. Kot že ustaljeni načini zbiranja sredstev na področju ženskega dobrotelnega udejstvovanja so bila organizirana predavanja in javne zabave. Devojački odbor iz Beograda se je zavzel za objavo *Spomenice Milici Stojadinović - Srpkinji* leta 1907. Dohodek od prodaje tega zbornika besedil, posvečenih pesnici, je bil namenjen za spomenik. Večletno delovanje se je končno zaključilo leta 1912 s postavitvijo spomenika z doprsnim kipom pesnice, ki ga je izdelal kipar Jovan Pešić.

Neizogibna komponenta ohranjanja spomina na novo heroinjo je bilo zaznamovanje nacionalne identitete. Tako je bil za kraj postavitve spomenika določen samostan Vrdnik, s katerim je bila književnica povezana in ki je bil obenem tudi nadvse pomemben nacionalni topos. Poleg tega je slavnostno odkritje spomenika potekalo na Vidovdan, ki je eden od najbolj značilnih versko-nacionalnih praznikov. S svečanim odkritjem spomenika pa tudi z nadaljnjo popularizacijo spomenika so se sklenili naporu ženskih društev za uveljavitev spomina na Milico Stojadinović - Srpkinjo, ki je bila javnosti predstavljena kot ženski ideal moderne dobe. Vzporedno z njenim heroiziranjem so se uveljavile tudi sodobne ideje o vlogi ženske na področju javnega dela, zlasti kulture in izobraževanja, razumljene v luči domoljubnega delovanja.