

INVISIBLE ARCHIVES

Women in the periodicals
from Vardar Macedonia
between the two world wars

Ivana Hadjievska
Jana Kocevaska





*Invisible Archives: Women in the periodicals
from Vardar Macedonia between the two world wars*

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Skopje, 2021

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Nada Boškowska

FOREWORD



Before you is the work of a small group of young scholars who have made it their mission to help make the invisible visible in history. There are many groups that remain invisible or are only dimly illuminated: they had been marginalized in the respective society, produced hardly any writing themselves, and are also often passed over by those who shape the respective discourse and also by historiography. They may be, for example, marginalized social groups or discriminated minorities. In our case, the invisible belong to all social strata and are by no means a minority: the book is devoted to Macedonian women in the period between the two world wars.

Macedonian society was - and to some extent still is - strongly patriarchal. What the Austrian historian Karl Kaser wrote about the Balkan family was also true for Macedonia until the socialist period: The overwhelming part of the population lived in the countryside¹ and there, as a rule, in complex households consisting of several related nuclear families that formed a community of production and life. Roles and scopes of action were strictly defined according to gender and age. Living conditions were tight in this poor region, yet - or perhaps because of this - it was important not to mix the

1 As late as 1953, 75% of the working-age population in Yugoslavia worked in agriculture. (Kaser 2008, 256).

male and female spheres. Strict rules about who could do what and who was subordinate to whom maintained the traditional order. For the women who married into a foreign extended family, this meant primarily subordination and the search for their own place. A new identity had to be built up in a complex structure, the identity of daughter-in-law and sister-in-law, who no longer even had her own name: she was now the “nevesta”, and if she was addressed by name, it was derived from the husband’s name - Kirovica, Koljovica, Lazovica.

Role expectations could certainly be of help here: If it was clear what the status and duties of the youngest or oldest daughter-in-law were, for example, it was easier to get along and fit in. Although the male members of the complex family also had to subordinate themselves, the women were on the lowest level of the hierarchy. In addition, their room for manoeuvre was very much confined by a tight corset of shame and the threat of losing respectability. All this should not lead us to the erroneous conclusion that women had no influence at all. Especially in the role of mother, women had power. The Macedonian folk songs, in which the “stara majka” plays a prominent role, bear impressive witness to this. She is the emotional centre of the family and holds the strings when, for example, the son or daughter is to be married off. Fathers, on the other hand, hardly appear in these songs.

Women played a surprisingly active role in the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Studies show the many tasks they took on, harbouring komiti, providing courier services, smuggling weapons, getting arrestees freed, or making the long journey to Bitola to complain effectively to the consuls about mistreatment by the Ottomans. There were even women who took up arms themselves and joined the Komiti (Boškovska 2017; Ковилоски 2008). The folk song also sings about them.

Even though research findings are referenced here, overall, women's or gender history is still too little represented in Macedonian historiography. On the one hand, this has to do with the fact that other issues have dominated historical research up to now, especially the need for national affirmation. The period between the two world wars was marked by great efforts in Bulgaria, Greece, and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to suppress all signs of a Macedonian national consciousness. Only in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and only there, could institutions develop that serve nation-building everywhere: Educational institutions, cultural institutions such as museums and theatres, and last but not least, a historical science that narrates history from a national perspective. And for this purpose, the focus is on other issues, not the position of women or gender issues in general. On the contrary, there is a very strong focus on the national struggle and male heroes. The problems with neighbouring states that Macedonia has had since its independence, have further accentuated this role of historiography; again, many resources have to be devoted to the affirmation of the Macedonian nation, so that other issues do not receive the attention they deserve. The new memorial landscape in Skopje, in which women are practically absent, illustrates this very well.

All the more welcome is the initiative of the team of researchers who, led by Ivana Hadjievska and Jana Kocevaska, have dedicated themselves to the task of making visible the women of the interwar period, searching for them and, whenever possible, giving them a name and a biography. The team decided to work with contemporary periodicals for this purpose. Three periodicals were meticulously studied and bibliographically recorded in detail for this purpose: The 1937/38 Skopje-based "Luč. Mesečni časopis za kulturna, ekonomska i socijalna pitanja", the Yugoslav student journal "Smena", and the Sofia-based "Илюстрация Илинденъ". Magazines are important sources, especially those that had a certain circulation and thus were capable of influencing and shaping public opinion.

In the present case, however, it must be taken into account that on the one hand, the population was largely illiterate and that on the other hand the authors and editors could by no means write in freedom. The Yugoslav regime was repressive for most of the time and suppressed everything Macedonian. Thus, hardly anyone dared to express their views openly if they did not agree with the official line. If the “South Serbian” intelligentsia expressed Macedonian views, they intervened. A domestic press was almost non-existent. In 1938, 1,223 titles were published throughout Yugoslavia, of which only twenty were in the Vardar Banovina, including not a single daily newspaper (Бошковска 2019, 327). The state supported only those press organs from which it expected to strengthen a “correct” (Serbian) national consciousness, while the other titles had to quickly cease publication for political reasons. Insofar as they were able to exert influence, it remained limited to Skopje. Among these press products, which appeared only for a short time, was the journal “Luč”, examined in this book, which was launched by young Macedonian intellectuals and could only appear from June 1937 to May 1938. Some of its contributors were supporters of the United Opposition, others of the ruling Yugoslav Radical Union, but most were unaffiliated. The political orientation was by no means uniform, yet Serbian ultranationalists successfully called for the suppression of the journal (Ibid. 115-6).

“Илюстрация Илинденъ”, which unlike “Luč” could appear until 1944, was also subject to political influences. The authors were undoubtedly committed to the Bulgarian view of the “Macedonian question.” This influence of Bulgarian national interests becomes very tangible when Bulgaria joined the Tripartite Pact on March 1, 1941. While previously a factual tone had characterized the coverage of Hitler and the Third Reich, the April 1941 issue immediately published a paean to Car Boris and the alliance with Germany, as well as a panegyric to Hitler, who was portrayed as an emissary of God for the Bulgarians. The “unity” of the Bulgarians, achieved thanks to Hitler, is praised and Hitler is sung about as the liberator

and savior of the Ilindenci homeland. To what extent the “Ilindenci” expressed their own convictions with these abstruse eulogies would have to be investigated.

The project on which this book is based is one of a series of similar projects in the region that focus on women’s history. It aims to communicate its findings not only to the scholarly community, but to a broader interested public. Unfortunately, the pandemic made it necessary to cut back on the original concept. Since work in archives and libraries was made difficult or even impossible, the focus is now on those materials that were accessible in digitized form. It is therefore absolutely desirable that the newspapers and periodicals published in Vardar-Macedonia in 1918-1941 are researched much more intensively and also digitized in order to make them accessible to research. This is especially true for those few that existed for a longer period of time. Probably the most important is the monthly literary magazine published in Skopje from 1926, first called “Mesečni pregled” and later “Južni pregled”. From the beginning, the magazine also published songs and folk tales in the Macedonian dialects. It was edited by Petar Mitropan, the Russian language lecturer at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, and soon had such a good reputation that poets and writers from all over Yugoslavia published there. It managed to last longer than any other journal in Macedonia, until December 1939 (Ibid. 324).

It must be emphasized at this point that the focus of the present study is entirely on ethnic Macedonian women. The region of Macedonia had and still has a proverbial ethnic diversity and it is absolutely desirable to make visible the women of the other ethnic groups as well. However, the amount of financing and the relatively short duration of the project did not allow to broaden the scope and to involve additional researchers in order to be able to consider more groups.

It is not surprising that the researchers found few texts written by women.² The great upheavals of urbanization, literacy, and legal equality did not occur until the socialist period and did not come to fruition until the 1960s. In the period between the world wars, Yugoslav Macedonia remained a neglected province in which the state not only failed to invest, but rather exploited, for example by paying far too low prices for tobacco, an important and for the state lucrative crop. One could certainly speak of a colonial situation. Poverty was striking, health care was almost non-existent, and infant mortality and malaria were rampant. The illiteracy rate was almost 84% in 1921 and was only slightly reduced to 70% by 1939 (Ibid. 264, 293; Glas Pologa 1939, 4); among women, it was even higher. The thin layer of intellectuals included only a few women, who are hardly tangible. It will still require intensive archival study to locate them.

Much more often, women appear as objects to whom roles and characteristics are attributed. You are invited to look into the texts of Zdravko Stojkoski, Ivana Hadjievska, Jana Kocevska, Manja Veličkovska and Frosina Kruškarovska, to get a picture of it or to do your own research in the periodicals based on the bibliography prepared by Marina Mijakovska.

² Milica Radojković, one of the women, found on the pages of "Smena" (1931), probably studied in Belgrade, because there was no law faculty in Skopje.



Ivana Hadjievska
and Jana Kocevská

INTRODUCTION

Dear readers,

The authors of the book in front of you will lead you into a world that no longer exists, but upon its cultural foundations, many national, cultural, linguistic and gender patterns in our present-day world have been built. What we have in mind specifically is the world whose identity is delimited by a national firmament. What we have undertaken here is a critical reading of some segments of our history and interpretation of the narratives about the past with regards to women's participation in it. This book is dedicated to a period of Macedonian history defined within the chronotope on the territory of Vardar Macedonia between the two world wars. In the period between 1918 and 1939 numerous political, economic and social changes occurred that initiated modernisation processes among the population inhabiting this space. The processes were particularly important from two aspects. Firstly, they added to the class divisions in this area, already with a sizeable legacy from the Ottoman Empire. Secondly, they influenced the attitudes of the different political and ideological population groups, which, during this period, rapidly contextualized within the broader European political processes and ideologies.

We are mostly interested in the everyday life and reality of urban and rural women on the territory of Vardar Macedonia. More particularly, we examine the changes that the 20th century brought into women's lives in a political sense, regarding their visibility in the public sphere. We search for this visibility of women in the press as an explicit type of medium. Our research was focused on three sources of periodical literature covering national and social issues: *Illustration Ilinden* – a publication of the *Ilinden Organization*, *Luč* – a monthly review for cultural and social issues, and *Smena* (Change) a magazine of the Yugoslav students.

We systematized the finds from these sources in a form of a specialized bibliography that provides an index of the incidence of women as subjects and objects in press contents. This systematization of the finds was accomplished in the Name Registry too, wherein directly we detected the names of the women behind the press headlines and contents, and consequently, the bibliography was further developed with regards to its topic. These two key parts of the book were analysed in three authorial texts from the fields of historiography and literature. When formulating the theoretical and methodological framework of this research, we perceived a need, but also an excellent opportunity to examine historiography with regards to gender issues, from librarian and archivist aspects. The result of that was an expert document reviewing the public policies in education and culture that became a part of this book.

The press as an important source for reconstruction and analysis of women's history

Before we explain the reasons why these three sources from periodical literature were selected and what was the method applied, or literally the “road” we selected when drawing bibliographic descriptions and thematic knowledge from these sources, we believe that it is important to give a brief overview of a more general question – why is it important to research the press and periodical literature in order to expand the knowledge about women's history?

The press, more specifically, the scarce periodical literature from that time, as research sources provided a complex and richly nuanced picture of the current cultures because the contents of these sources are generally concerned with the society in the broadest sense of the term. According to the experts in this field, many magazines of a more general nature, and especially women's or feminist press (where it had emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries) are a particularly important source for the reconstruction of women's history. We started from a premise that a special emphasis on women's history is necessary when delineating our research because we agreed with the perception that the patriarchal and androcentric traditions in all societies to date had filtered the official memory and public archiving mostly through the male gaze and the patriarchal views of the existing order. For this reason, in the sources of periodical literature, we can search for and find thematic contributions about many aspects of the status of women in the societies, about their education, their participation in public life, professional life, in the greater or smaller local and international historical events, and also proof for women's affirmation as authors.

On the other hand, through analysis of sources from periodical literature, we can reach interesting conclusions about the power of public discourse and who articulated that power. Most of the media, and various magazines, newspapers, bulletins, and organs in

the past were owned, created, edited, and managed by men coming from patriarchal contexts. This had an effect on the creation and enforcement of the dominant cultural, social, moral and value patterns in public life. The power of the media discourse, depending on the political and ideological affiliations of the individuals and groups that participated in the press culture, moulded women most commonly as mothers of the nation, martyrs, people's heroes. At the other end of that spectrum – those women's roles and activities that were undesirable for the established order were criticized. In our research, the gender patterns intertwined and intersected mostly with the national identity patterns, which only additionally sheds light on the historical context of the period in which the researched sources came into being. With these selected sources from periodical literature, we had a chance to study women's history of this area in the context of the established official national narratives about history and in the context of the *master* narratives¹ about the past. By doing so, we believe that we have enriched national history with another aspect – that of women's history.² At the same time, this approach can contribute in a more general sense: toward a more critical approach to the narratives about that national past and toward the deconstruction of the role

1 Master narrative is a theoretical concept in the studies of nations used for easier understanding and explaining of the causes why certain narrative constructions of the nation became dominant in certain regions in Europe. It is an important concept because master narratives of the collective past are used by people to built, rationalize and finally, to identify with the particular versions of the past. The critical analysis of master narratives does not mean extinction or dissolution of master narratives. The concept invites towards deeper analysis of the mechanisms and conditions of the "eternal" construction and deconstruction of master narratives. Nevertheless, an analysis isn't possible with plain reviews of history, the history of ideas and textual interpretations. The questions that need to be raised are the ones about the cultural and political relations of power in societies that are constructed as nations. (Berger 2006, 9).

2 Although the fields of arts and humanities and comparative literature on national level are not presented with particular discipline that studies periodicals and periodical sources, the foundations for that kind of research are build by the publicist and first holder of a PhD dedicated in the field of journalism in the Macedonian context - Boro Mokrov. His research was focused on the beginnings of periodicals and print culture on the territory of Macedonia and especially on the emigrational press between the two world wars. In his studies he has also reviewed the periodicals that are the focus of this book. (Мокров 1980; 1988; Мокров и Груевски 1993).

of women, which in the processes of national-building, as in other historical events, were most commonly romanticized and related in a form of an anecdote.

The method and approach to the researched sources from periodical literature

The original research materials used in this book are part of the collection of rare periodicals in the National and University Library St. Clement of Ohrid in Skopje. From the information we acquired in the preparation process before starting work, we learnt that the Department for rare periodicals has about 200 titles published in the 19th and 20th centuries in various formats. Out of these titles, altogether 22 titles have been digitalized as part of the Digital Library platform of this institution (dlib.mk). The selection of the three sources that served as a focus of our research was determined by two factors: the first factor was related to the necessity to have sources rich with contents that could help reconstruct women's history and women as participants in the public sphere within their local and national communities; the second factor was directly related to the pandemic that overrun the entire planet in the period 2020-2021, imposing the necessity to work with sources that were fully digitalized and freely available, since work and access to libraries and archives were made difficult.

With regards to the first factor, we must clarify that in the case of Macedonia, there were no strictly female, even less feminist magazines in the 20th century, as is the case with other countries from the immediate Balkan environment.³ Until 1944, when *Make-*

³ Examples: „Ženski glas“ (“Women’s voice”) (1899 – 1944) (Bulgaria); „Žena“ (“Woman”) (1911 – 1914) (Kingdom of Serbia); „Domaćica“ (“Homemaker”) (1979 – 1941) (Kingdom of Serbia; Kingdom of Yugoslavia); „Ženski pokret“ (“Women’s movement”) (1920-1938) (Kingdom of Yugoslavia); „Hrvatica“ (“Croatian woman”) (1939 – 1941) (Croatia, Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Local, one of the more known women’s periodicals was “Kalendar Vardar” issued by Serbian patriotic and conservative women’s humanitarian society Kolo Srpskih Sestara (The Wrath of Serbian Sisters) (1906-1913; 1920-1940).

donka – Organ of the Women’s Antifascist Front of Macedonia (1944-1953) was first published, women in press culture had been referred to only in the general public newspapers and magazines, and in them, they were mainly placed within the patriarchal discourse, fittingly, since this reflected the status of women and the women’s question in this region at the time. For this very reason, from the digitalized periodical literature in the domestic libraries, we had to select magazines that reflected the reality of the population in a polyphonic manner and to start from them in this, to a certain extent, pioneering research.

With regards to the second factor, we set ourselves a goal to transform the limitations of the pandemic that gravely affected the research processes into a potential for stimulation of processes of digitalization of research sources. That is to say that most of the library collections during the pandemic were closed and everyone’s work and visits to the archives, institutes and libraries was rendered more difficult or was temporarily interrupted, owing to the newly introduced distance work or other manners of working in these institutions that were imposed by the circumstances.

Illustration Ilinden was an organ of the Ilinden Organization of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria. The magazine was printed in Sofia, in Bulgarian, from 1927 until 1943, and belongs to a category of magazines with the highest circulation. The program goals of the magazine consisted of maintaining the memory of the Ilinden Uprising and of all combatants that participated in the national movements for the liberation of Macedonia and its autonomy, regardless of their ideological affiliations. The magazine depicted a comprehensive picture of the life in the towns and villages throughout Vardar Macedonia, accompanied by numerous narrative, graphic and photographic descriptions, and all this seasoned with explicit romanticizing and patriotic sentimentalism. Regarding the incidence and visibility of women, all detected contributions in the *Illustration Ilinden* could be divided thematically into the following

areas: women as chief carers and nurses in the community; women as participants in the national movements; the education of women and girls in the existing school networks. When women were authors of the texts in the concerned sources, they appeared mostly as authors in the journalistic genres, such as biographies of men important for the local community, or travel writing, and as authors of poetry and prose in the romantic, sentimental and patriotic spirit.

Luč and *Smena* were magazines in Serbian published and circulated in Vardar Macedonia, mostly in Skopje. *Luč* was printed in Skopje and served as a public outlet for the authors that wished to write about local cultural and social topics, mildly inclined to the left and supporting the labour movement. *Smena* was a students' magazine circulated in the academic circles all over the kingdom of Yugoslavia, while in Skopje its main distribution was at the Faculty of Philosophy. In the focus of these periodicals were the social and political circumstances of the population in the historical contexts of the kingdom of Yugoslavia. The predominant discourse is that of the policies of the Yugoslav, and especially Serbian, political elites regarding the Macedonian question⁴ (*Smena*), or the discourse of the representatives of the new social and economic classes, including the working class, and introduction of the leftist ideas in this part of the world (*Luč*).

In the magazines printed in Serbian, there was a greater incidence of women as authors, mainly of modern forms of poetry and prose, in which they dealt with their internal feelings and attitudes. In comparison with *Illustration Ilinden*, fewer bibliographical units were excerpted from the Serbian periodicals, and the reason for this was the more modest number of years in which they were published. It is important, however, that these three very different printed media capture the complex intertwining of the political and

4 The term "Macedonian question" refers to the conflicts from the 19th and 20th century raised about the political destiny of the territory of Macedonia after the gradual dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and its final withdrawal from the Balkan region.

national contexts, where the gender characteristics of the text and context emerge as an additional indicator for the forms of female impact in the public sphere.

Bibliographies as detective stories

As far as the method of compiling the bibliographical part of the book is concerned, we could term it a specialized bibliography, selected from three entirely digitalized periodicals: *Illustration Ilinden*, *Luč*, and *Smena*. They are all attached to the digital platform of the National and University Library St. Clement of Ohrid in Skopje. The bibliography was compiled following the international standard ISBD(CP) – International Standard Bibliographic Description of Component Parts, and in its condensed version, with the omission of the name of the periodical and its ISSN number, but with pagination, for the purpose of better clarity and precision of the bibliography.

The principle followed when in the research process we selected bibliographical entries was to detect textual contributions with women as subjects, or main objects, of the text, regardless of the sex of the author of the text. It was a much more common occurrence in the periodicals printed and/or circulated on the territory of Vardar Macedonia to have women as objects of the text written by a male author. Reviewing the *Illustration Ilinden*, we detected altogether 72 bibliographical entries; 9 in *Luč*; and 6 in *Smena*. The discrepancy in the number of bibliographical entries was mainly caused by the different lifespan – the number of years in which they were printed – of these periodicals, that is to say, that *Illustration Ilinden* was printed in the course of three decades, while the other two researched magazines *Luč* and *Smena* survived as media for a much shorter period of time.

Although bibliographies are mainly used as boring aids or information tools in academic research, we believed they can be envisaged and used as 'detective stories' that give clues for the discovery of 'cases', that is, for the construction of micro-histories of women from the past, about whom we had known only fragmented stories. By doing so, we can create new educational and academic paths for the creation of even more precise methodologies when compiling bibliographical descriptions of the sources from periodical literature, but we can also encourage our readers to build their exploratory and critical approach to the narratives from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, especially concerning the role of women in the past. This required us to place in a shared context many women that were generally, or for some particular reasons, marginalized and remained completely unknown in the narratives of the national past. For instance, we hoped to broaden the knowledge about the work and activities of the humanitarian Zaharija Šumljanska from Bitola, her cooperation with another humanitarian, Tima Ikonomo-va. Another fascinating story was that about a group of teachers from Ohrid, whose most prominent members were Aspasiya Miševa Kanevčeva, Evtimica Jančuleva and Slavka Puškarova. They were active in their communities in the period between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, publicly as intellectuals, and clandestinely as members of the Macedonian revolutionary organizations. In addition to this, they networked among themselves, founding their own women's association. There are many records about women being brave fighters, equal to men. These testimonies, in an interesting manner that is yet to be thoroughly examined, intertwine the familial and collective motivations and the circumstances in which these women chose to participate in the public sphere and especially in combat and be militant, an area strongly associated with men and virility. Such is the history of the two sisters in law from the village of Lera near Bitola, Srebra and Donka Ušlinovi, who, driven by their family situation and relatives involved in revolutionary activities, joined the liberation strug-

gle, and despite their social status of rural wives and mothers, oft donned the 'chetniks' attire or a military uniform.

The Name register is an appendix to the bibliography. It consists of the names and surnames of the women detected in this research. Where possible, their names were accompanied by biographical data and bibliographical links to the textual contents in the press where they were located. We focused on broadening the information about women from the titles compiled within the Bibliography. But, in addition to this, the Register takes a step further, detecting names in the titles that, owing to the methodological framework of the book, did not become part of the Bibliography. The aim was to lay the foundations for further research of the bio-bibliographical portraits of the women whose role within their communities was probably important but were nonetheless omitted from all historiographical and literary narratives.

It is important to stress that, although we used academic tools in the research process, our approach was mostly essayistic. That is to say that we left space for our readers if intrigued by certain issues, to continue with their own research in greater detail. This is especially applicable to the complex questions from the national and political history as an important part of the context that interested us but was not the main focus of our research.

We believe that when the readers finish this book, they will find out that the world in which the women from our bibliography lived and worked was a world of global and transnational interconnecting, of great ideological movements and political shifts, in which these women participated actively within their own communities. A world that, perhaps, against our presumptions, we cannot understand so effortlessly today, as easy it might be to imagine it through imagology, most commonly by relying on the already entrenched folk and romantic elements.

Research finds

The bibliography was 'enlivened' and theoretically equipped with the three authorial texts accompanying it. These texts bring the historiographical, literary, anthropological and linguistic aspects of the incidence of women in the researched source from periodical literature closer to the reader and more comprehensible. The topics treated in the authorial texts were envisaged as cohesive perspectives that add to each other with the purpose to facilitate the comprehension of the bibliography. The first text is by Zdravko Stojkovski, in which he outlined the historical context and the social and political circumstances of the period in which the researched sources originated. He clarified the social factors that determined the different kinds of identities and the political motivations of the population as an important pretext for the understanding of the status of women in the private and public spheres.

The themes where women were the focus of interest in the detected contents of the bibliographies were analysed in Ivana Hadzievska's text, in which, through the lens of women's history she analysed women as historical subjects with different kinds of effects on their communities, such as the educational sphere, or the national movements, or humanitarianism.

Manja Veličkovska and Frosina Kruškarovska dealt with the linguistic and symbolic aspects of the incidence of women in the press in the historical period before the codification of Macedonian as an official language. In this co-authorial text, they discussed the positioning of female characters as lyrical subjects and objects in the texts from that period.

The bibliography was compiled by Senior Librarian Marina Mijakovska. Her professional systematization and listing of the texts from the periodicals that served as sources made the search through the periodical literature much easier and helped sharpen the focus on the women's quotidian experience at the time. The

Name Register was compiled by Jana Kocevka and helped locate the women from the contents detected in the bibliography directly, with their names and surnames and short biographical note.

The book concludes with a Review of the public policies prepared by Biljana Kotevska. The purpose of this expert document is to follow the aforementioned goals in order to encourage an institutional response to the educational and academic challenges when researching Macedonian women's history and further digitalization of sources.

The important role of a consultant in the process of formulating the methodological framework and research questions was given to Professor Dr Nada Boškovska, to whom we are immensely grateful. Her approach to the subject directed us to new discoveries, but also developed into one of the most precious things in any research – mentorship. And for this reason, she wrote the introduction to the book.

Archives of invisible women or invisible archives of women's history?

The book was entitled *Invisible Archives* because we wanted to address two important terms that fundamentally explain the goal of our research and its epistemological horizons. The term 'invisible' we used to refer to one of the basic aspects of the research, and that was the quest for women in the contents of magazines of a more general nature, not specifically women's magazines. As we have already mentioned, until 1944 when *Makedonka – the Organ of the Antifascist Women's Front* was published, there were no women's, let alone, feminist, magazines in Vardar Macedonia. By this terminological association with *invisibility*, we wished to raise the awareness about the selectivity or exclusivity of historiographic and literary canons when women, either as authors, subjects or objects of printed sources, are concerned.

The term 'archives' we used to fit the research finds into a frame, treating archives as a basis for accumulation, preservation and, eventually, the canonization of the sources for women's history. With this term, we wished to refer to the need for a serious and systematic approach to collection, systematization, selection and protection of the preserved, researched and interpreted sources from the field of women's history. In addition to this, the formula 'archives of sources for women's history' we wished to take a step further, following both regional and worldwide practices: digitalization of sources. This will democratize the sources and make them more easily accessible, but also stimulate the use of digitalized sources, which, in turn, will stimulate the institutions in charge to continue their efforts in favour of digitalization of sources and research materials. In this respect, an integral part of this research project is the creation of a digital base of sources in the field of women's history and its continual growth and development together with the accompanying electronic and educational materials that might prove useful for various societal factors. We have achieved this by creating the web page nevidliviarhivi.mk.

Therefore, we can say that this book has in fact a dual goal, in addition to the most important and most general – to contribute to the field of women's history in our region. The first goal is to take a step toward the creation of a basis for collection and preservation in a single location, new and already existing sources and knowledge related to the topic. The second goal is to stimulate cross-institutional co-operation and contribute toward connecting the actors and factors interested in academic research of women's history and in an educational and activist approach to it. We believe that these goals might be a fair contribution to our national academic progress in the sense of educational and digital emancipation.

This research project would not have been possible without our partners' cooperation and support: Heinrich Böll Stiftung – Sarajevo Office, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of North Macedonia and the City of Skopje. We are particularly grateful

for the cooperation with the National and University Library St. Clement of Ohrid – Skopje.⁵ We would like to express our gratitude to the other members of the Centre for Research of Nationalism and Culture, who were not directly involved in this project, but greatly contributed to the quality of the final result with their commentaries and remarks.

5 The opinions and the methodology behind this book published by CRNC-Skopje belong to the authors and to the publisher and do not express the opinions and the working methodology by any of the mentioned partners. The publishing of this book is strictly for nonprofit causes.

Zdravko Stojkoski

**ISTORICAL
CONTEXT**



Social and political circumstances in Vardar Macedonia and the position of women

The period between the two world wars, or between 1919 and 1939, was a period of upheaval and revolution in many areas of social life, both globally and locally, in the Balkan context. One of these areas was the intergender relationships, or more precisely the issue of women's rights and status in society. A great part of these changes shaped the subsequent social circumstances permanently, and their effect is largely felt even today.

This text will attempt, in the given space, to offer a general picture of the circumstances in Vardar Macedonia, as a constituent part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and as a part of it, a part of the region, and the world as well. In this context the circumstances in which women could live, work and be visible in society will also be presented. But the goal is not only to present historical circumstances but also to open certain questions, think them over in a broader sense and make comparative analyses of the place and role of women at that time, their struggle and challenges, as well as their legacy for the future generations.

The World after the Great War

The brief period of 20 years between the two great world wars at the end of the 20th century might be best described as the “age of extremes” (Hobsbawm 1994). The end of the First World War, also known as the Great War, marked the beginning of a new era in international relations. The Treaty of Versailles from June 1919 redrafted the European map of states. The old empires, such Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman and Russian Empire were definitely relegated to history and several new states emerged in their place, with smaller territories and populations, but more homogenous ethnically and nationally.

These changed international relations created new divisions and conflicts among the advocates of the new order and its opponents. In an economic sense, the extremes spanned from the initial optimism for the ensuing renewal, prosperity and speedy industrial and technological development, to the economic crises of the twenties and the Great Depression of 1929, with all its consequences for ordinary people’s lives. The economic crises, poverty and social inequality led to a crisis of liberal democracy and to a rise of radical ideologies, primarily communism and fascism. The success of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 gave hope to millions of poor and subjected people throughout the world, that a devoted revolutionary struggle could lead to a radically different and more just society. At the same time, at the other end of the spectrum was military fascism and Nazism that wished, at all cost, to re-order the world according to their own values based on extreme nationalism, extremism and racism. The victory of fascists in Italy, and later on in Germany, Spain and other countries, as well as the irreconcilable ideological differences that emerged led to another inevitable global military conflict.¹

¹ For more on the social and political relations in the world after World War One, see: Henig (1995); Hobsbawm (1994): 21-222; or Pelz (2016): 115-156.

The women's struggle for the realization of their own rights to a better status in society transpired in such circumstances of 'insecure peace'. In the long history of women's struggle for equality, the 1920s are considered 'the first feminist wave in the world' (Sanders, 2001). This is the time when women from all over the world raised their voices in the struggle for greater political rights and primarily for universal suffrage. The October Revolution and the many advantages that women in the Soviet Union had, however temporary and limited – such as the right to abortion – only further stimulated the rise of the international women's movement (Godsi, 2021, 14).

Generally speaking, women, in the period between the two world wars. Improved their social status in many countries in the world. They won greater political rights, including the right to vote, more opportunities for work outside the home, and their numbers in education, in the press and literature, increased and their role in the society as a whole generally strengthened (Walters, 2005, 86-88). Despite the significant successes, equality was nowhere near achieved. In many countries, including some of the most liberal countries in the West, as well as in the communist Soviet Union, many very strong patriarchal elements survived that promoted the traditional female role as the foundation of the family. In the years that followed, women had to fight new struggles, whose tangible results would come only in the years after the Second World War.²

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the new 'world' order

One of the new states to emerge on the historical stage with the Versailles system of international relations was the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

² On the status of women and their struggle for equality in this period see: Walters (2005):86-97; Sanders (2001) and Francisca (2015).

after 1929.³ This state was supposed to embody the striving for unification and unity of the South Slavic peoples. However, from the very start, the state had to deal with many divisions and contradictions. According to the 1921 Constitution, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was established as a unitary parliamentary monarchy based on 'integral Yugoslavism'. The official state ideology recognized three constitutive peoples: Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, with an addition that they are in fact 'the same people with three different names' (Wachtel, 2008, 103; Petranović, 1988). This ideology primarily privileged the most numerous ethnicity in the country – Serbs, and especially the Serbian political and civic elites, close to the royal dynasty of Karadjordjevic. This dynasty was the foremost and most consistent advocate of the idea for unitary Yugoslavism. Unlike them, most of the other unrecognized ethnicities, including Macedonians, but also the majority of Croats and Slovenes and their political elites, distrusted this ideology, and many openly opposed it and rejected it. They asserted their own ethnonational identity rather than this Yugoslav unity and loyalty to the Serbian king. Thus, the proclaimed national unity, on which, the Serbian ruling elites and their supporters insisted steadily, and often aggressively, contradicted the reality of Yugoslavia as a rather heterogeneous country with many different regions, ethnic and religious groups, that had previously lived in different circumstances for a very long time and were consequently on a different level of political, economic and cultural development. These, as it transpired, irreconcilable differences were at the core of the complex political and social relations and were the reason for the numerous conflicts that burdened the country from the very start.

In the short period in which it existed, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had to face numerous challenges and perils, which it mostly failed to resolve and later build the minimum of cohesive elements that would provide its stability, integration and common

3 On the nature and character of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia see: Petranović (1988); and Perović and others (ed.) (2017): 349-550.

life for all different interests groups and identities in the country. The reasons for this should be traced in the multitude of complex factors, such as the weakness of the state's democratic capacities, in the great divides and conflicts between the major political forces that culminated with murder in the Parliament in 1929, followed by the introduction of royal dictatorship in January 1929, in the chronic inefficiency of the state organs, in the repressive apparatus of the police that treated all that opposed the official political line with unnecessary cruelty. To this, we should add the disadvantageous economic circumstances characteristic of the entire interwar period. The state suffered from uneven economic development and from great social inequality and poverty and this produced strong discontent and social conflicts.

The adverse circumstances of the state's foreign policy and the world economic crisis only worsened the situation. As a creation of the Treaty of Versailles, in its foreign policy, Yugoslavia was close to the victors in the Great War, primarily with France and Great Britain. While with some of the revisionist states opposing the new order it had a very problematic relationship. Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary had open claims to parts of Yugoslav territory. Yugoslavia's international position was additionally complicated when Nazis assumed power in Germany in 1933, and especially after King Alexander's assassination in Marseille, the following year. The assassin was a member of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), Vlado Černožemski. The assassination was organized by the Ustaša movement headed by Ante Pavelić with logistic support by fascist Italy. In the years that followed, the ruling elites desperately tried to spare the country from involvement in the ever more certain future conflict in Europe. This was first attempted by coming closer to Nazi Germany, and then with the Cvetković-Maček Agreement from August 1939 that was to work as a solution for the Croatian question. Despite all this, the country failed to avoid the war and the quick defeat of the royal army in the April War in 1941 led to its complete demise and division. This

moment marked the beginning of a new struggle for freedom and at the same time, of a new era in the relationships of the Yugoslav peoples.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was not a positive example when women's rights were concerned and the rights of other vulnerable categories of its inhabitants. Women of the kingdom during this interwar period kept their traditional role of homemakers, mainly not engaging in the labour market. And unlike in some of the European countries, they still could not vote and avail themselves of the opportunity to participate more significantly in political decision making and in the social life as a whole (Wachtel, 2008, 104). The new circumstances that came into being with the division and occupation of the country marked a new beginning for women's struggle for equality and better life as well (See also: Poljak and Ivanova, 2019).

Vardar Macedonia: between integration and (de)nationalization

The Treaty of Versailles from 1919, with minor changes, sanctioned the division of the geographic area of Macedonia as established in the previous wars. The portion that ended as a constitutive part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes or Yugoslavia became known under the name Vardar Macedonia.⁴ In an administrative-territorial sense, this region was first divided into Skopje, Bitola and Bregalnica districts, and in 1929, with the new territorial organization of the Kingdom, it became part of Vardar Banovina. The seat of this Banovina was in Skopje, and in addition to Macedonia, it included parts of present-day Kosovo and Southern Serbia.

⁴ On the interwar period in Macedonia, including Vardar Macedonia, for the purposes of this text, we used Boškovska (2017); Katardjiev; Rossos (2008) and Heraclides (2021).

The social and political circumstances in Yugoslav Macedonia closely depended on the general situation in the Kingdom, as well as on its regional and international position. Serbian administrative, political and military elites took over the government and treated this territory as a 'historically' Serbian country that Serbian people had fought and died for in all previous wars and, therefore, it was only natural that gained it. The terms Macedonia and Macedonian were excluded from the Serbian and Yugoslav political life. Instead of them, the most commonly used names were 'Southern Serbia' or 'our south', while the population was referred to as Southern Serbians.

From the very beginning, the authorities were aware that the majority of the population did not identify as Southern Serbians and even opposed the determinant, refusing to accept it as its own name. This resistance was ascribed to the economic and cultural underdevelopment of the people, and to the influence of the Bulgarian political, educational and religious propaganda in the preceding period. At the same time, the authorities were convinced that by applying a strict and systematic policy of 'nationalization', they would quickly be able to change the awareness of the people and successfully integrate it within the Serbian and Yugoslav nation. The success of this national policy was believed to be of crucial importance for the survival of the Serbian awareness in this area, but also for the survival of the Kingdom as a whole. The implementation of a consistent and firm policy of 'Serbization of Macedonia' was meant to send a clear message to the other separatist movements in the country, especially to those concerned with the Croatian question (Boškowska, 2017, 37).

The measures taken for realization of the listed goals included activities of a political and propagandist, as well as cultural and educational, but repressive, character. They were implemented by the organs of the state, including the repressive organs of the police and army, but also by the political parties and other legal civic organizations. They were all of the Serbian denomination

and mostly Serbian settlers and colonists were involved in their activities and the tiny section of local loyalists. The majority of the population, regardless of their religious and national affiliation, was excluded from the opportunities for employment within the state administration, and from more serious participation in the country's social and political life. The existing political parties and the civil servants' cast made all kinds of efforts to win the trust and loyalty of the local population, especially during elections. And yet, these efforts never bore much fruit and the distrust that existed between the Macedonian population and the regime authorities remained never changed or improved throughout this entire period. Responsible for this state of affairs were the repressive apparatus of the state, its restrictive laws and limitations of the rights and freedoms of the citizens, as well as the cruelty with which the authorities dealt with the proclaimed enemies of the state and other transgressors that violated the existing 'law and order'.

Economically, Vardar Macedonia was one of the least developed regions in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Throughout this period, the region remained predominantly rural, and agricultural and farming country, with insignificant infrastructure, badly urbanized and with health services of very bad quality. There were only a few industrial enterprises, with uncompetitive production and employing a small number of workers. The working class mainly consisted of railway workers and employees in the tobacco monopoly, including the craftsmen, tradesmen, and day-labourers. People's expectations for improvement of their situations, for faster economic growth and more just distribution of the land, were failed. The ruling classes, suffering from chronic inefficiency, irresponsibility and corruption, except in the implementation of the national policies, did not care almost at all about meeting the needs and demands for improvement of their economic situation by the population at large. In the course of the entire interwar period, Vardar Macedonia was treated only as a source for cheap raw materials and cheap produce. All this was yet another important reason for the growing

discontent of the population with the already unwanted regime. Therefore, despite all their efforts towards 'nationalization' and 'integration' of the country, these Serbian authorities in Vardar Macedonia were largely remembered as foreign, assimilating and occupying power.

Education and culture

Education and culture were among the basic instruments in the realization of the national policies. The lack of funds and the bad policies of the authorities are reflected in these sectors as well. A very small number of pupils was involved in the educational process and this was particularly the case with the female children, and especially among the Muslim population, where almost no young Turkish or Albanian girls attended school within the regular educational system. With respect to women's education, the urge was more to have girls attend specialized schools, such as the schools for seamstresses, nurses, and teachers. The role of the civic organizations was particularly important in this area. One such organization was the Saint Sava Society, another was the Kolo of Serbian Sisters and there were others. These specialized schools, in addition to the acquisition of skills and the desired national affiliation, were concerned with the preservation of the traditional status of women as homemakers. (Boškowska, 2017, 69).

The educational reforms from 1928/29, the number of schools was reduced and only three schools for complete secondary education were left in Macedonia, in Skopje, Bitola and Tetovo (Ibid., 223). The authorities justified their policies with the chronic lack of funds and with the necessity to spend them sparingly. Macedonia further suffered from a chronic lack of teachers, as well as buildings for the schools. Many of the teachers that had been employed by the Exarchate or other non-Serbian schools were forced to leave their jobs and move mainly to Bulgaria. Guided by the national policy of

Serbization, the state insisted on appointing only loyal teachers, transferred mainly from Serbia proper. Only a few local teachers remained and they were treated with distrust, often sent to work in different parts of the country, away from home (Ibid., 209).

Women in this respect were considered even less trustworthy and the tendency was to employ as few women as possible because the principals of the schools complained that ‘they were bad inside the schools and completely useless outside them.’ (Ibid., 60). A female teacher from Bitola was suspended because she often ‘used the local dialect instead of the standard Serbian language’ in her teaching. The teacher defended herself that it was in fact the pupils insisted on using that dialect and writing in it because they considered themselves ‘Macedonians speaking the Macedonian language’. The inspector, nonetheless, refused to accept her explanations, insisting on his perception that it was in fact the teachers that did not have sufficient knowledge of the Serbian language and, consequently, did not use it. This last remark did not refer to schools only. The authorities complained that people used ‘the local dialect’ in their everyday communication. These practices were deemed worrying and more and new measures for their termination were constantly demanded (Ibid., 213-214).

For the purposes of higher academic education, there was only one educational institution. This was the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, opened in 1920 as a branch of the University in Belgrade. The number of students attending classes at the faculty was relatively low, amounting to only 50 at the beginning, or several hundred later on. It is interesting that at the end of the nineteen twenties, the number of female students was higher than that of male students. The reasons for this were cited in an article of the Yugoslav student magazine *Smena* from 1930. According to the author of the article, most of the female students were in fact daughters of civil servants from Skopje and other nearby towns in ‘Southern Serbia’ that did not want to have their daughters study away from home. The other (male) students were mainly from the poorer classes with no funds

to enrol in the universities in other cities (Treu 1930, 9-10). Generally speaking, the predominant opinion was that Skopje, in comparison with the other educational centres, such as Belgrade or Zagreb, offered less as far as the quality of the studies was concerned. Most students avoided the city because there was not much in way of culture and entertainment, as well as because of the limited opportunities for additional earnings from student work (Ibid., 7-11).

The activities of the faculty could also be reduced to the implementation of the state's national aims and for this reason, the teaching staff consisted almost exclusively of professors from other parts of Yugoslavia. It was almost impossible for the locals to get a job there, not even as administrators. Macedonian students, whose number greatly increased in the nineteen-thirties mainly avoided the Faculty in Skopje in search of better education, preferring the Universities in Belgrade or Zagreb. And it seems that the authorities preferred it so, to have all that wanted higher education leave Macedonia, believing that this would contribute to these students' easier 'nationalisation' (Boškovska, 2017, 60). A significant number of Macedonian students went abroad to study in Sofia, Vienna, Paris and other places. These students often joined the progressive student movements in these places and sometimes they even created their own organizations (Ibid., 236-240).

In order to win the trust of the local population, the regime often used a multitude of civic organizations, although known among the people as regime organizations. These were the following organizations: 'People's Defence', 'Sober Youth, the Kolo of Serbian Sisters, Saint Sava Society, the Sokoli Organization, many reading groups and associations of war veterans and disabled people. Some of these soldiers' organizations were of an openly militant and national chauvinistic character and were not at all accepted by the population as such. In general, the members of most of these regime organizations were Serbian settlers and colonists, war veterans and members of the rich urban classes whose interests were firmly connected to those of the government. One of those organizations

was the Kolo of Serbian Sisters that united politicians and civil servants' wives but also admitted female teachers and other rich and prominent ladies. The members of this association engaged mostly in humanitarian activities, such as collecting donations to assist poorer families, donations for erection and maintenance of public buildings, providing funding for women's professional school, organizing courses, seminars, excursions, and exhibitions in order to present female labour work and engagements. In all these activities, they always managed to emphasize that the main goal consisted of 'bringing people closer spiritually' and 'maintaining and strengthening people's patriotic and national awareness'. For that purpose, this society closely collaborated with all other regime organizations and was also amply supported by the authorities (Beličanski, 1988, 327-334).

Not unlike all other social relations at the time, both newspapers and literature were heavily controlled and censored by the government. The main source of information for the population 'in the south', were Belgrade papers such as *Politika*, *Pravda*, *Vreme*. Local papers and magazines were very rare in Vardar Macedonia. With insignificant circulation, they were short-lived and inconsistently printed. Among the more important papers and magazines published intermittently, were the daily *Vardar* that survived the longest, *Our Stara Serbia*, *The Voice of the South*. *The Voice of Polog*, *Naša Reč* and a few other relatively short-lived publications (Boškovska, 2017, 257-263) In addition to these legally printed publications, illegal literature was also widely distributed, such as the publications with revolutionary and Marxist contents, distributed among the sympathizers of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. This forbidden literature was brought into the country from the neighbouring states, mostly from Bulgaria. Some of it (books, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, etc.) was published by the Macedonian organizations in Bulgaria. Among the most popular was the illustrated magazine *Illustration Ilinden*, published by the Ilinden Organization in Sofia.

At this point, it would be interesting to mention the magazine *Luč*. It was first published in Skopje in June 1937, as a monthly for cultural, economic and social questions. Its aim was, as cited in the first issue, to unite 'all intellectuals in the South'. It is characteristic of this magazine that, in addition to the representatives of the Banovina government, many regional Macedonian activists and intellectuals were involved in its politics and editing, contributing their articles.

Most of the texts in the magazine discussed the status and contributions of the people from the 'South', or their history, traditions and culture, or talked about Yugoslavia and the unity of the Yugoslav nation. But the critical tone that could be traced with regards to some current issues and problems, the frequent use of Macedonian dialects, as well as the very use of the terms Macedonia and Macedonia irritated the authorities a great deal and precisely a year after the first issue, in May 1938, the public prosecutor proclaimed the magazine illegal (*Ibid.*, 88-91).

Illegal organizations and the resistance in Vardar Macedonia

The unfavourable circumstances in Vardar Macedonia, the repression by the authorities and the discontent among the majority of people created favourable conditions for the emergence of various powers of resistance. The first and foremost and quite important form of resistance against the state of affairs in the society was the passive resistance of the ordinary people against the nationalizing and exploiting policies of the authorities, such as all those forms of defiance mentioned above: the refusal to use the official Serbian language; the distrust displayed toward the political parties, state institutions and regime organizations; the boycott of celebrations of important events, dates and personages from Serbian history and tradition; preserving their own customs, norms, etc.

In addition to this, various forms of active resistance also developed. Among the numerous individuals and organizations that were the proponents of this resistance, we should cite the activities of the Internal Macedonian Organization, IMRO, as an heir of the pre-war revolutionary organization that, during the Ottoman rule, fought for autonomy for Macedonia and renewed its activities after the war. The organization was now mainly active in Bulgaria and in Pirin Macedonia, but often sent armed units in Vardar Macedonia, where, at the onset, they engaged in clashes with the Yugoslav military and police forces. As a reaction to the actions undertaken by IMRO, the authorities organized raids among the civil population and accompanied their raids with repressions of the rural population mainly. These clashes were one of the main reasons behind the worsening of the political situation and the overall security of the land, especially in the first years after the war. This helped only strengthen people's fear and revolt against the authorities, but, gradually, against the revolutionary organization as well. During this period, IMRO lost its previous substance, turning into a bare weapon of the Bulgarian Court in the realization of its Greater Bulgaria interests in Macedonia. IMRO changed its tactics and chose assassinations, murders and terrorism instead of direct clashes. Until the organization was officially banned by the Bulgarian government in 1934, its assassins had carried out numerous terrorist actions and assassinations, both in Bulgaria and in Yugoslavia. These and the numerous internal clashes between the different factions of the organization killed many members of the governments in both countries, but also many prominent members of the Macedonian liberation movement. Some of the assassinations executed on the territory of Vardar Macedonia resonated strongly with the public, such as the murder of the General Mihailo Kovačević in Štip in October 1927 and the murder of the police superintendent Velimir Prelić in January 1928. The latter was killed by a female assassin, Mara Buneva, on the embankment of the river Vardar in Skopje.

Another well-known event preceded the assassination of Prelić by Mara Buneva. This was the arrest and the court case against a group of students from the Skopje Faculty the previous year. They were organized in the Macedonian Youth Secret Revolutionary Organization or MYSRO and were accused by the royal authorities for subversive activities and were sentenced to long prison sentences. The court case attracted international attention and Bulgaria and the Bulgarian press tried to use the situations to present their case that 'Bulgarians' were persecuted in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Another form of resistance was the organized communist and workers' movement. This resistance was embodied mainly in the activities of the illegal Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and for a certain period of time in the activities of IMRO (United), an organization that branched from the united IMRO after the split in the organization caused by the publication of the May manifesto from 1925. Closely related to these political forces that supported class and revolutionary struggle and were shortly anti-Yugoslavia, was the organized workers and union movement. Although not very numerous, the working class was active and organized various events, such as gatherings and picnics for May Day, but also protests and strikes where the workers could express their discontent, whether because they felt exploited, or were badly paid, or worked in bad conditions. An active factor in all this were women, both as housewives and workers. During the great strike of the tobacco workers in Prilep in 1938, for instance, a large number of women got involved, in support of their male colleagues and husbands. In the clashes between the protesters and the police that happened in the days that followed, when the police attacked the gathered people with truncheons and rifle butts, one female worker 'bravely jumped on the police superintendent', while another 'attacked a policeman and took his sword away from him'. (Dimeski 1988, 253).

The name of Rosa Plaveva cannot be avoided when we discuss the role of women in the workers' movement and the struggle for

emancipation. As a seasoned fighter from before the war, in April 1920 she organized the workers from the tobacco factory to show their solidarity with the railway workers from Skopje. Together with her husband Ilija Plavev, got involved in the work of the independent unions, the illegal Communist Party of Yugoslavia and other organizations and individuals closely related to them. For her activities, Rosa was often arrested and imprisoned and was cruelly tortured and beaten while in prison. Her brave deportment and the brazenness in her attitude to the authorities earned her the popular moniker 'Deli Rosa', meaning Brave or Crazy Rosa, but she was also called 'the second Rosa Luxemburg' (Vaskova, 1993, 21-24).

More Macedonian organizations were formed in the years immediately before the Second World War, such as the students' society *Vardar* and the political movement called Macedonian People's Movement (MANAPO). The *Vardar* society was formed in 1936 as a legal students' organization that united the Macedonian students with the students from the universities in Belgrade and Zagreb. The society's members were mostly progressive students that later joined the communist party and the National Liberation Movement. The progressive character of the association and the contacts that some of its members had with the communists were a reason enough for the authorities to ban it only after a year of its existence. Closely related to the *Vardar* society was the Macedonian national movement MANAPO. What these two organizations had in common were that they were founded by representatives of the new and young Macedonian intelligentsia, raised and educated in the circumstances of the post-war period. Unlike before, they did not see the future of the Macedonian question as an exclusively anti-Yugoslav solution, but, largely following the example of the Croatian question, they sought recognition of Macedonians as a separate nation and creation of an autonomous state of Macedonia within a future reformed Yugoslav federation (Heraclides, 2021, 77; Boškowska, 2017, 84-88).

The Kingdom's government, nonetheless, embroiled in a great internal crisis and under the external pressure of a new and imminent war, had no time, nor an opportunity to pay attention to these Macedonian demands. The Macedonian question and the right of the people to live in a free and just society were to be solved in the years that followed, that is to say in the National Liberation War and revolution.

Conclusion

The new order established after World War One that was supposed 'to end all wars' failed 'to bring a just peace and eliminate war in Europe' (Pelz 2016, 127). Quite the contrary, Marshal Ferdinand Foch's predictions proved correct that the Treaty of Versailles was in fact only 'a truce of twenty years' (Henig 1995, 52).

In such circumstances of uncertain peace and extremes in international relations, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as one of the states established with this new order, fought to build its own identity and sustainable future. Therefore, despite its heterogeneous population, the state chose the path of building integral Yugoslavism. In practice, this system favoured the Serbian political elites, closely related to the Karadjordjević dynasty. Most of the other ethnic groups in the country did not accept this model and openly opposed it. That, together with the unfavourable economic circumstances, social inequality and authoritarian and repressive methods of governing made the state exceptionally unstable, in constant turmoil and with numerous internal clashes.

Among those who had not accepted the creation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were the Macedonians and other nationalities that inhabited the same area. For many of them, the establishment of new borders and the division of the territories that had previously functioned as a whole for centuries had many taxing economic consequences and made their lives arduous. More precisely, in

Vardar Macedonia, the part that became a constituent part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the policies of building integral Yugoslavism were reduced to Serbization, that is, forceful imposition of the Serbian language, identity and culture on the local population. The opposition to this assimilation and denationalization, as it was seen by the people, and the preservation of the mother tongue, indigenous culture and right to education and autonomy assumed many different shapes and demanded the application of different methods. At the same time, this national struggle overlapped with the social struggle against economic exploitation and injustices, and for better work and life.

Women participated in this national and social struggle. And even more, all progressive women, both in this region and throughout the world, had another struggle to fight during this period. This was the battle for equality, for the right to work outside the home, for just income, for participation in political life, and in general, for better status and visibility in society. This relatively short period between the two world wars, as well as its unfavourable circumstances, did not provide many opportunities for the realization of these ideals and strivings. And yet, as the historian Ivan Katardziev would put it, this was an important 'time for maturing' and preparation for the imminent struggles and challenges.

Ivana Hadjievska

OMEN'S
HISTORY



The press and women's political activity in Macedonia in the past: themes and examples of women's participation in public affairs and politics in the 20th century

Introduction

This text aims to present the forms in which women participated in the public sphere¹ and in the space of political action and initiative. For this purpose, I will analyse those themes in the press where the lives of individual women were discussed or events related to the everyday problems of women on a collective level.

1 In gender terminology, the distinction *public/private* refers to the division between the workplace and the home in one's individual life. This distinction became normative in the 19th century, especially for the middle classes, as part of the 'social contract', when the production relations in the industrial societies changed and people's economic existence took place mostly outside the home, with men as chief and legitimate providers for the family. In a more general sense, according to some authors in the field of anthropology and women's studies, in most cultures women are placed at home in the private sphere, while men are in the public arena; also according to them, there is a connection between the level of subordination of women in a certain society and the level of distinction between the public and private (Badarevski and Ivanovska, 2012, 51, 117)

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia, to which the territory of Vardar Macedonia belonged in the researched period, was a traditional and patriarchal society, and religion, religious institutions and their representatives wielded great influence among the faithful and in the society as a whole (Čalić, 2013). Direct and explicit sex discrimination was a norm,² written into the Constitution and laws (concerning suffrage, inheritance, employment, fining), always in favour of the rights of men and at the expense of the rights of women.³ Gender roles on the territory of Vardar Macedonia, both among the rural and urban population, regardless of their ethnic affiliation and social status, were patriarchal and traditional, marked by the cultural traits of the Balkans at the turn of the 19th into the 20th century, both Islamic and Orthodox (Perović, 2006). And here, as elsewhere in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, gender division of labour reigned in the sense that different jobs and types of work were assigned to men and women, most commonly in accordance with the existing traditions and customs (Pantelić, 2011).

In the period between the two world wars, the gender roles of men and women underwent a slow and gradual process of modernization (Damjanovska, 2014, 293-311). Industrialization contributed to women's departure from the rural economy and their traditional environment and their transfer to the urban economy and environment. These changes were most intensely felt in working-class families, especially the changes in the everyday lives of the women workers, who, as the available sources inform us, lived often all alone in the cities as boarders and immersed in the new factory environment, where they had to face new challenges in their relationships with men and women in positions of power,

2 According to the censuses of the population, in 1921 in Vardar Macedonia, the female population was 50.35% and was more numerous than the male population with 49.65%. The reason for this were the effective losses of male population in the wars in the 1912-1918 period, and the political and economic migrations, particularly on the territory of Vardar Macedonia. In 1921, the percentage on Yugoslav level was similar. In 1931, in Vardar Macedonia the situation changed in favour of the male population (50.11%) while on a state level, women were still more numerous (50.54%) (Sokolov, 1962,43)

3 See the *Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – Vidovdan Constitution*, Official Gazette of the Kingdom SCS, 28 June, 1921. Article 23, 28, 70, 72.

rather different than those of the patriarchy of the rural or urban family (Hadjievska, 2021).

The political, economic and ideological changes of the 19th century in the Balkan societies created new meanings in women's identity (Hadjievska, 2019). In the Yugoslav context, these changes affected women that belonged to the middle classes in the urban areas of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. In the broader Balkan context, similar changes could be observed in Bulgaria (Hadjievska, 2019). Women's factorization in the public sphere happened through the activism of (ideologically) different women's movements (Božinović 1996; Haan, Daskalova and Loutfi 2006), through the interaction of the educational and professional networks (that were often transnational, see Nazrska/Назърска 2015, 2015a, 2016) and through various forms of humanitarian and philanthropic activity (Prelenda, 2005).

The social potential of middle-class women's initiative in the public sphere was most often planned 'from above', by the state, was and used and integrated into the processes of nation-building. For instance, the education of women was seen as necessary for the fortification of the female ideal of motherhood, which a woman needs, not only to give birth to children but also to raise them in the correct patriotic spirit (Hays, 1996). On the other hand, there was the feminist movement, whose subjects demanded the right to vote and publicly questioned the society's patriarchal norms. They wished to humanize the relationships between the sexes and emancipate women. This can be supported by a local example: the activities and activism of the tandem Rosa Plaveva⁴ and Nakie

4 Rosa Plaveva (Veles, 1878 – Belgrade, 1970), Macedonian socialist, activist for women's suffrage and one of the first women politicians in the Ottoman period. Her activism for emancipation of women she continued in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and later on, in socialist Yugoslavia. Her house was a place where Macedonian and Turkish women activists met to discuss feminist subjects and women's equality. In 1917, on her initiative, some 100 women signed a letter in support of releasing Rosa Luxembourg from prison. Plaveva corresponded with Luxembourg since they were contemporaries who shared the same ideology. In 1920, she founded the Organization of Women Socialists in Skopje.

Bayram⁵ at the beginning of the 20th century in Skopje, guided by their socialist views and realized through many campaigns supporting the right to vote and education. It was the press and print culture that functioned as the central *locus* where debates about the position of women in the household and in public, about the role of motherhood in the societies, about women's associations, etc., took place (Kolarić, 2019; Peković, 2015; Barać, 2015). It was in the first Serbian magazine for women called *Housewife* (1879-1941) that women's right to vote was ever written about (Tomić, 2011, 8). The magazine *Women's Movement* (1920-1938) gave space to women with different ideological affiliations from all parts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to express their views, but it also published texts about the position of women by their correspondents from Europe (Poljak and Ivanova, 2020).

This research of women's history in Macedonian context is to broaden not only the knowledge about women as a group to be studied separately, but also the knowledge about the processes of nation building, national and ethnic identities, local social and political movements, social and class phenomena specific to this region, or in short, to contribute toward a broader picture about the population that lived and worked in this part of the world. This research is spatially and temporally limited to the turn of the 19th into the 20th century – an era strongly marked by the development of nations and nation-building in the Balkans – and has the potential to broaden the picture about women's participation in the reproduction of ethnic and national communities, not only in the biological but also cultural reproduction⁶ of the

5 Nakie Bayram (1889-1962), Turkish socialist, teacher and women's rights activist. She founded the Society of Turkish Women in 1907 in Skopje. She saw the solution to the women's question with regards to Turkish women, in their education and removal of the coverture. She was part of the socialist circles in Skopje and close collaborator of Rosa Plaveva, another socialist and women's rights activist. After World War Two she dedicated herself to the education and emancipation of the women from Muslim communities.

6 These actions in favour of the 'cultural reproduction' of the nation concern the members of the ethnonational community and are realized through the work of a certain group that represents the community and has a direct influence on the passing

nation,⁷ and to point at some specificities important for this region, which specificities were ignored previously, at least not with respect to any deeper theorizing of the factual references about women's contribution to Macedonian history.⁸

Firstly, in this text, I will describe my methodological approach to the theme and I will talk about the type of sources, and the central place of the edited bibliography in this book for the outlining of topics and examples of women and their political activity in their communities, as well as about the tools I needed to work on the text. The central part is devoted to the themes from the researched sources, important for the understanding of the political and public environments in which women could most commonly be found in the press of the researched period. After a detailed overview of the contents of the thematic bibliography, I formulated three main themes: women's initiatives in education; women's humanitarian work; and women's participation in the different forms of popular resistance.

of the values and experiences of the community from generation to the next, while in this transfer of traditional cultural and identity patterns, it uses the formal and informal tenets of education, historical thinking, folklore and art.

7 The terms 'national and cultural reproduction of the nation' were forged by the authors and researchers of the gender aspects of nation, Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias. According to the, the claim that women of the 19th century '(finally) stepped' into the arena of the public sphere is wrong. These authors believe that women have always been there, and even as a central part in the maintaining and reproduction of the communities, in a biological, constructionist and symbolic and political sense. The authors support their stand with a useful typology. They argue that women participate in the ethnic/national processes through: biological reproduction of the ethnic collectives; reproduction of the boundaries between the ethnic/national groups; and as transmitters of the cultural symbols of the communities, thus effecting the cultural reproduction of the communities. Women participate in the ideological discourses that construct, reproduce and transform the ethnic/national categories (Yval-Davies and Anthias, 1989, 7; Yuval-Davies, 1-25).

8 In Macedonian historiography, women's history is most often only a section of the general national history, in the shape of a review of the original materials and data, rarely accompanied by further analysis, or analysed via a gender blind approach. Nonetheless, women's contributions were great as corroborated by the factual, statistic and demographic or economic data and the factors affecting women's lives. An explicit example of one such approach can be found in the *History of the Macedonian People* book 3 (Apostolski, 1969, 335-344 and 452-3). In it women are observed as a group, together with the 'youth' as a group. Vera Vesković-Vangeli had important contributions with her theoretical insight in the historical sources about lives of women (see some examples relevant for this book in Vera Vesković-Vangeli, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1990).

Methodological approach

The fundamental research question I was asking myself during my work on this text was – what do these researched sources from the periodical literature, *Illustration Ilinden, Luč*, and *Smena*, tell us about women’s history in the early 20th century? My thesis is that this research of the press and periodical literature, because of their media and communication characteristics (Kolarić, 2020), can offer a broader picture of the extent and scope of women’s activism in this part of the world in the past, especially if analysed through the lens of women’s history.⁹ I treat women’s history in its epistemological sense, that is, as a humanistic sub-discipline. The reason for this is that I started from the premise that ‘oblivion has gender characteristics’ (Slapšak, 2007), by which I mean that the politics of remembering, historical interpretation and academic canonization of the narrative of the past is determined by the power relations between the groups and subjects that generate the politics. By this, I argue that ‘epistemic injustice’¹⁰ was committed with regards to

⁹ Women’s history is a separate historiographic discipline that emerged at the end of the 20th century in the societies in the West. In the nineteen seventies, a period marked by mass demonstrations for civil and human rights, antimilitarism and questioning of the established political and economic order, under the influence of the second wave feminism, the interest of intellectuals was attracted by the cultural-historical approach in the research of the movements and events from the past with regards to women’s participation in them. The interest in women’s history, with new methodological and theoretical tools, was mainly focused on the research of the social and historical issues concerning the status and experiences of women in different private, public, professional roles in the societies all over the world. One of the chief premises was the need to deconstruct the ‘male gaze’ that filtered the official history and the systems of power that controlled the public archives and remembrance policies. In the socialist societies, where their communist ideology assumed equality between the sex from the start, women’s participation in the historical processes was interwoven in the official national histories, via the narratives about women’s participation in the unions and labour movements, and especially the participation of women in the antifascist struggle as partisans in World War Two.

¹⁰ The humanist Miranda Fricker has coined the term ‘epistemic injustice’, a concept according to which, from a position of power, one could do injustice to someone else, ‘specifically in their capacity as a knower’. She has identified two forms of epistemic injustice: testimonial injustice, when the speaker is treated unfairly with regards to their credibility by the listener, owing to prejudices; and hermeneutical injustice, when the understanding of one’s experiential field is significantly obstructed by prejudices and by the manner in which the resources for the society’s interpretation are distributed and the knowledge in general (Fricker, 2007).

the knowledge of women as subjects in their personal as well as collective history and of women as a group that throughout most of history of humanity was, and still is, treated as Otherness, or the 'second sex'.¹¹

The groups that were researched in this book, as well as the historical context to which they belonged, were observed through the lens of gender roles in the public sphere, as determined by the reproductive and productive activities and roles. And the division of gender roles and activities in the public sphere was most often just a continuation of the gender roles in the private sphere. Consequently, the public role of women was often in continuity with the reproductive activities and roles from the private sphere. The public roles of men were defined through the social activities that provided them with social influence and power (Badarevski/Ivanovska, 2012, 117). Therefore, in this text, I do not perceive the term 'political action' (of women) in its narrower sense, as involvement and activity in the political processes, agitation, events, institutions and organs, but in its broader sense, and placed in the historical context of the communities in which Macedonian women lived at the turn of the 19th into the 20th century.

As a women's political action I take women's initiatives in the public sphere of their communities, whether local, ethnic or national when facing the social challenges of those communities. More precisely, I have in mind the political action of women in the following spheres (and they are the most common in the researched sources): policies of care for the community, humanitarian and social public activity, education and creation of cultural values for the community, and women's specific activities, as well as the symbolic positions that they occupied, as members of secret

¹¹ The term 'the second sex' was introduced in feminist theory by the French philosopher Simon de Beauvoir (1949). In her eponymous work, she argued that in patriarchal cultures maleness is established as a positive norm, while femaleness and femininity as a negative norm, as 'otherness'. According to these norms men stand for rationality and the power of civilization, while women is reduced to her body (biology as destiny) and is essentially alienated from her own political being.

networks or other forms of popular resistance (units of komitadji, political parties, associations and organizations).

In this text, I wished to emphasize yet another moment that I found important in the analysis of the theme through the lens of women's history, and that is the authorship of the sources that were researched here. They were mostly produced by men who wrote and shared information about women's activities in the public sphere but from their point of view. Thus, my 'quest' made it necessary to discover 'women's voice and view', that is, to reveal the identities that these women built in the process of their public activities (Koviloski, 2016; Milevska, 2014, 193), via the mosaic of bio-bibliographical references from the used sources and literature.

The main source in this research was the press, more precisely, the three selected magazines, *Illustration Ilinden*, *Luč*, and *Smena*. The thematically edited Bibliography (see Mijakovska in this book) that marked the texts with incidences of women as subjects or objects of the text was the chief tool I used in my work. When referencing the sources in this text, I used the same manner in which these references were edited in the Bibliography; as well as the Name Register with the names from the Bibliography (see Kocevaska in this book), where the names of the women appearing in the titles in the press were located and, where possible, accompanied with a biographical note. To this data from the sources, often incomplete for the depiction of these women as active agents in the activities and initiatives described in the press contents, I attached data I found while searching relevant references from the fields of historiography, anthropology and history of literature.

Themes and examples

In the review of the texts from the researched press sources, we found women active in the public sphere mostly in education and in the local school networks. In *Illustration Ilinden*, women are

mostly present as teachers, as part of the education system and school networks¹² financed and supported by various political and church authorities of the Bulgarian state, functioning on various locations in the geographical region of Macedonia until the demise of the Ottoman Empire. These female teachers, as individuals, or as a professional group, were especially present in the narratives commemorating the Ilinden Uprising since they were often direct participants in the events; or were present in the lives of prominent historical personages from that period, or were a 'medium' through which the population was to be educated and introduced to the idea about their shared religious and linguistic affiliation, or were simply important as respected figures in the urban environments.

Several examples can illustrate the way in which women realized themselves as factors in the community through their activities as teachers. On the pages of *Illustration Ilinden*, we found Evtimica Jančeva, a teacher from Ohrid, mentioned in the school year of 1896-97 (Shaldev, Hristo/ Шалдевъ, Христо. *Изъ дневника на Н. Пасковъ: (продължение отъ кн. 62-63)*. Year 7, book 6 (66)(1935), pp. 15-16). She was mentioned in the context of 'the educational work' in Ohrid. But, according to the literary historian, Koviloski, Evtimica Jančeva, in addition to being a teacher, was the first woman that authored a polemical text in Macedonian literature. In it, she protested against identifying the female teachers as less suited for the educational profession and demanded equal treatment for men and women teachers, especially because female teachers were pressured to give up their jobs when marrying (Koviloski, 2018c, 11; 2019, 51).

The pedagogue Carevna Miladinova Aleksieva, Dimitar and Mitra Miladinovi's daughter was located in two texts (Bobevski Ljubomir/Бобевски, Любомиръ. *Царевна Миладинова Алексиева: (ќерка на Димитѝар Миладинов)*. Year 8, book 10 (80) (1936), pp.

12 In the processes of nation building, education and school networks are especially important for the cultural reproduction of the nation. On the educational circumstances in Vardar Macedonia, see Jovanović (1983).

1-2; Dimitrov Krum/Димитровъ, Крум. *На Царевна Миладинова Алексиева*. Year 8, book 10 (80) (1936), pp. 2), in which she was presented as an intellectual and a martyr, important for the educational work in general and for women's education in particular, and as a founder of the Girls' Secondary School in Thessalonica called 'Annunciation'. Carevna Miladinova received her pedagogical education in Russia and was an exception: her mother decided that her female child should get higher education when there was a male child in the family that was kept home instead of her. The image of Carevna Miladinova Aleksieva as a recognized intellectual was only reinforced by the information that she was an author of two educational acts – rulebooks about the education of girls (Koviloski, 2018a).

Teachers were often observed being treated as a group in *Illustration Ilinden*, involved in events collectively, directly or symbolically, and in some kind of relationship with the Ilinden Uprising itself. Fairly common presentation was a group of teachers embroidering the standard of the uprising (Ivanov, Плија/Ивановъ, Илиюа. *Учебното дѣло въ Крушовска нахия (подоколия) презъ турското владичество*. Year 11, book 2 (102) (1939), pp. 10-13). Ivanov told the story of the women teachers from Bitola and the Bitola region: Fotinka Petrova, Aspasia Jakimova Dimeva, Aneta Spirova Olčeva; and as a presentation another embroiderer, the teacher Vasilka Pop Hristova Stefanova was found (Badev, Jordan/ Бадевъ, Йордѣан. *За споменитъ на македонскитъ деятели и Знамето на Битолския революционенъ окржгъ*. year 12, book 6 (116) (1940), pp. 3-5). A similar example is the teacher Biljana Karaivanova Trifunova, and she was mentioned, not only as an embroider of the standard of the uprising, but also as a participant in armed clashes (Biolčev, Плија/Биолчевъ, Илија Н. *Вѣстанието въ Костурско (спомени)*. Year 5, No./book 7-8 (47-48), (1933), pp. 12-19). In all these texts, their teachers-embroiders were debated in a solemn tone, with an emphasis on the moral significance of their work or their contribution to the events.

The case of the Ohrid teacher Aspasia Miševa Kanevčeva is particularly interesting. In *Illustration Ilinden* she was found as a narrator in two histories about the activism of the female teachers in Ohrid during the Ilinden period. Her histories were signed by Nikola Kirov Majski as their author, in the form of her memoirs (Kirov Majski, Nikola/Кировъ Майски, Никола. *Прасето ни спаси: единъ епизодъ*. Year 8, book 2 (72) February (1936), pp. 7-9; Ibid. *Мехди бей и охридската болница*. Year 8, No./book 3-4 (73-74) (1936), pp. 13-14). Aspasia Miševa Kanevčeva was a teacher and an intellectual from Ohrid, a wife of the revolutionary Anastas Kanevčev. In the texts, she was described as a 'revolutionary for the Macedonian cause'. She was a member of the secret women's group led by the teacher from Struga, Slavka Čakarova Puškarova (Koviloski, 2018b, 36). Aspasia, together with a group of female teachers, established and managed a humanitarian hospital in Ohrid (members of this collective were Elena Kackova, Poliksena Mosinova, Katja Samardjieva, Fanče Šuleva, Flora Georgieva, Despina Vasilčeva). The published texts indicate that this group of women was engaged in other humanitarian actions as well and cooperated with an English missionary by the name of Lady Braceford. In the two texts where Aspasia M. Kanevčeva was the narrator, women were presented as persons who could move more easily than men during the period of martial law after the Ilinden Uprising. The actual women teachers were presented as persons that were recognized and respected by the community, even by the representatives of the authorities, and such was the relationship between Aspasia Kanevčeva and the Kaymakam¹³ Mehdi-Bey, mentioned in both texts. In the first text, entitled 'The pig saved us', the situation in which the women were found themselves immediately after the Ilinden Uprising was described when the crisis was still active and the civil population was still under threat. The narrator claimed that women in that period were not only worried about losing their heads but also wished to save their handmade dowry from destruction and

¹³ Kaymakam – an administrative title in the Ottoman government. Representative of the vizier or wally in a certain district, the head of the district – kaza.

carried it with them to their hiding places. This was exactly what happened when the inhabitants of Ohrid's neighbourhood called Varoš received the news that Ohrid will be set on fire. They all moved to their local hideaways. These were in fact, warehouses and cellars where Christians used to hide in dangerous situations. They were also used for the safe storage of weapons and members of the resistance against the government. On her way to one such warehouse, Aspasia was intercepted by the Kaymakam Mehdi-Bey. As a representative of the authorities, he recognized Aspasia as one of the town's teachers and told her that the authorities knew for what other purposes the warehouse was used. Using all her cunning, and counting on their religious and cultural differences and prejudices, Aspasia responded that the room was a space used by the family as a pigsty. At the mention of the name of the animal, the Kaymakam and his entourage immediately withdrew and gave up on any further investigation.

In the second text, Aspasia M. Kanevčeva told the story about the foundation and managing of the humanitarian hospital by the group of teachers and young intellectuals, who, as respectable members of the community, managed to win over the well-to-do families in the town to donate and support their humanitarian undertaking. The teachers were motivated to do this after seeing a large number of wounded soldiers and civilians in the Ilinden Uprising. At the same time, the text informs us that the authorities were particularly strict with the population that left their village homes in this period, while those in need of medical care were considered especially suspicious:

“When we learnt about this, we, the teachers in the town, Poliksena Mosinova, Katya Samardjieva, Fanče Šuleva, Hrisanta Msikarova, Careva Botunkova. Atina Šahova, Flora Georgieva, Despina Vasilčeva, Flora Mitova, Elena Kackova and I, Aspasia Hr. Miševa, married Kanevčeva, decided to make a risky but generous gesture and open a hospital. For this purpose, we hired the two-story building owned by Andronik Kopačev in Varoš, the former

seat of the Metropolitan (...) and a part of the house of the Kadino Selo Voivode, Metodija Patčev. We asked the well-to-do families for beds, bandages, sheets, cloth and all the other stuff that one hospital needs and we got it (...) at the same time we were nurses, cooks, janitors, washerwomen and everything else.”

The hospital was a clandestine operation, assisted by the regional committee and the well-to-do citizens, who were discreet with their donations. The attending doctors were also discreet, but the operating of the hospital was not unknown to the authorities. The teachers that organized it were summoned for hearings by the police. The women said that they were not allied with anyone in their work and that they undertook nursing primarily as concerned charitable women who felt sorry for all hurt citizens regardless of their faith and nationality: “We are peace-loving citizens and we look after the peaceful rayah.” They were taken to see the Kaymakam Mehdi-Bey, who told them that he made inquiries among the respectable citizens and they convinced him of their innocence. He was even touched by their work and praised their philanthropy. Besides this, he ordered all bread and milk for the hospital to be paid from his account. After three months of volunteering, the teachers transferred the hospital under the control of the English humanitarian mission led by Lady Braceford and Mr Boyle.

Women as teachers had to face some public censure because they departed from the patriarchal norm, but they were also admired by the progressive citizens and were respected and trusted even by the authorities. This allowed women teachers, as an intellectual and a professional group, to move with greater ease and organize. If there were any doubts about their activities being subversive, they could justify their doings easily. Women teachers as clandestine organizers, or progressive pedagogues, left a legacy of improved education for girls and paved the path for intellectual involvement of women in the popular resistance and in its political and public aspects.

The women we find in the contents of *Illustration Ilinden* were, in most cases, at the front of the humanitarian, charitable and social initiatives in their communities. They stood out as formal representatives or collaborators of domestic or foreign humanitarian missions, or as informal volunteers in the sphere of non-institutional public social care, which, in the interwar period mainly consisted of a collection of voluntary material contributions and organization of informal care. Educated women often worked within the state social and health institutions, which, in the context of the researched space and time, were only nascent. The initiatives of the well-to-do citizens were often organized in cooperation with the humanitarian and women's organizations of women from the middle classes and were materialized as public kitchens, school messes, education funds, old people's homes, orphanages and collections of yearly contributions for the poor and homeless.

Women's humanitarian work interwove with their cultural (national) work that involved those members of the community at whom the solidarity and charity were aimed. This humanitarian organized activity had political aspects as well, because the organization of social care for a certain group often involved cultural work with the group, for the purpose of strengthening the religious, national or other identities that were important for the community in that context. And it is exactly through this lens that *Illustration Ilinden* presented the humanitarian efforts of women. Women who organized humanitarian actions were often mutually connected, being contemporaries that inspired each other, or direct collaborators, organized around the women's organizations with which they were involved or through other activities in which they participated. Thus, the orphanages 'Consolation' in Bitola and 'Bitola' in Sofia functioned as centres for social care founded by female humanitarian activists, and for a long period of time connected several of the women presented in *Illustration Ilinden*.

An explicit example of these humanitarian activities and their political aspects we observed in the four texts related to the human-

itarian and teacher Zaharija Vasileva Šumljanska. The text Какъ се основа, уреди и унищожи Битолското сиропиталище: (изъ споменитѣ на Захария Шумлянска)“ (Year 9, book 10 (90) (1937), pp. 8–13), related Zaharija Šumljanska’s memoirs that revealed how women from the educational and intellectual milieu established contacts with the representatives of the diplomatic corps in the larger urban centres with an aim to collect funds and gain support for gaining permission from the administrative authorities for the realization of their humanitarian activities. After the Ilinden Uprising, the number of deserted homeless and orphaned children in Bitola and the region increased. In 1905, Živko Dobrev – the trade consul of Bulgaria in Bitola, in cooperation with the representatives of the church, invited Zaharija Šumljanska to manage an orphanage in Bitola that was to accept children from the entire region. He described her as ‘the most intelligent and energetic citizen of Bitola. You are the most suited to get involved in the foundation and organization of the orphanage, and I believe that if you get involved, we will achieve results better and greater than expected.’ (Ibid., p. 9). In order to meet the expectations, Šumljanska had meetings with the well-to-do trading families in Bitola, first with Nikolaki Robev, and had a positive reception. Robev’s daughter, Vasilka Robeva involved in the initiative as well. She was followed by the wives and daughters of the foreign diplomatic or military representatives in Bitola. According to the text, a municipal assembly was summoned and Šumljanska addressed it, presenting the initiative, and the assembly unanimously approved the establishment of the cultural and humanitarian society ‘Consolation’, whose founder was Živko Dobrev, while Zaharrija Šumljanska was appointed its president. All other advisories and administrative positions were occupied by women from Bitola. In order to gain the approval of the local Ottoman authorities, the ultimate goal of the society – to help the children whose parents were killed as fighters in the Ilinden Uprising – was not made explicit. They established a public kitchen first in the church of the Holy Mother of God in Bitola, opened for all poor people in the city. Later on, in 1906, the administration of

the church offered a building in their churchyard for the establishment of the orphanage. Šumljanska mentioned that when the news spread about the orphanage, the voivode that took part in the Ilinden Uprising personally brought children from the villages, including the three orphans of the Kruševo Voivode Pitu Guli. In order to avoid any suspicions about the possible political background in the establishment and running of the orphanage, Šumljanska herself asked for a meeting with Hilmi-Pasha, who was the administrator of the vilayet, to ask for permission to open the orphanage.

In her memoirs, Šumljanska noted the risks that women took by getting involved with the orphanage. The management of the orphanage demanded that these women humanitarian activists travel a lot and communicate with various factors in the society in order to collect donations. And so, when they needed to collect the donation of the Ohrid Bishop Metodi, to the amount of 20 Napoleons, Šumljanska and certain Madam Rokarova, who was involved in the organization of the orphanage, set off from Bitola on horseback alone. They travelled in bad weather conditions to Resen and from the Resen region to Ohrid. They were not received well in Resen, but in Kruševo they described the local women's hospitality and their good intentions when they donated many of their handiwork for the orphanage. Before the First Balkan War, the number of wards in the orphanage rose to 130. When the wards reached a suitable age, they were sent to Sofia to learn different trades and crafts. When the Balkan wars began, the orphanage was closed.

In the following issue of the magazine, two commemorative titles dedicated to Zaharija Šumljanska were published. Celebratory poem (Dobrevska Sijka/Добревска, Сийка. *Юбилейно приветствие къмъ 2-жа З. Шумлянска*. Year 10, book 3 (1938), p. 8); and a biographical text by the editorial board (*Захария Юлианъ Шумлянска*. Year 10, book (1938), pp. 8-10). In this second text, Šumljanska was presented as a noble and passionate 'patriot and social activist': 'She is always among women, diffusing the darkness layered for centuries, holding speeches, working and founding organi-

zations that raise the awareness about all questions.’ (Ibid.) The text then goes into detail with episodes from her life after the Balkan wars, her moving from Bitola to Thessalonica and her imprisonment in North Africa because of her husband’s political activities, the Polish émigré Julian Šumljanski. Coming out of prison, she settled permanently in Sofia, where she founded and managed the orphanage ‘Bitola’ together with the women’s humanitarian society from Sofia (Minovski, 2014).

Another humanitarian connected with Zaharija Šumljanska’s legacy was Hrisanta Paterova. The text ‘Unsparring giver: an example to be followed (*Щедра дарителка: единъ примѣръ за подражане*. Year 9, book 6 (86, June) (1937), p. 14) was written as a eulogy on the occasion of her death. Paterova was herself adopted and educated in Thessalonica by Kiro Paterov, a well-to-do citizen with origins from the Kastoria village of Zagoričani. Paterova later moved to Sofia, and in her old age, she bequeathed her house to the orphanage ‘Bitola’ led by the Women’s Humanitarian Society from Sofia and founded a humanitarian fund. She was described as a ‘dear, modest, hard-working housewife (...) whose example needs to be supported.’ (Ibid.) A similar example was the teacher and humanitarian from Veles – Tima Ikonomova, who was Zaharija Šumljanska’s contemporary and collaborator. From the biographical text written in her honour (Ivanov, S. H./ИВАНОВЪ, С. Х. *Тима Икономова*. Year 9, book 8 (88) (1937), p. 12) we learn that she reestablished the women’s humanitarian society ‘Ekaterina Simova’ and that she opened a Women’s Economic School in Skopje by collecting humanitarian donations.

Women who were active in the public sphere through their humanitarian activities most commonly came from intellectual and urban environments and belonged to the middle classes (traders’ families), professionally engaged as teachers. Their activities often included political aspects and demanded communication with high representatives of the authorities and diplomats. Although *Illustration Ilinden* presented these women mainly through a patriotic lens, it is indicative that, beyond their patriotism, their

activity contributed toward the improvement of the social care for vulnerable population groups, as well as for the improvement of women's education and emancipation.

In *Illustration Ilinden*, women were especially made visible as participants in the various forms of the popular movement of resistance, most commonly characterized as 'revolutionary' in these texts. The texts were mostly biographies or memoirs about, or by, women who were involved in the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and were active as fighters during the Ilinden Uprising, as the so-called 'komitadji'; or were active as messengers and couriers of information and weapons, assistants and accommodators of other komitadjis. According to historiographical researches, several factors were significant for this involvement of women, from these patriarchal and patrilocal environments, where they were expected not depart far from the norms of their familial community to get involved in forms of resistance, becoming outlaws by joining bands and armed units, or some better-organized forms of resistance, such as their becoming part, or just aiding, the conspiratorial komitadji networks and cells, since these spaces and actions were considered primarily and mostly male. In some earlier literature on this theme, one of the most commonly listed factors was the desire for revenge among the women who had lost most of their family members and their property during some attack on their village by some enemy army or other organized forces; or the need for closeness and safety among the women who had already lost their families and properties, which then pushed them to join the surviving male members of their families who were already outlaws, hajduks, or, later on, part of a revolutionary or political cause (Apostolov, 1972-73). The most famous examples from Macedonian history, folklore and literature are Sirma Voivode, Rumena Voivode, or Ana Maleševska.

Some more recent researches have shed light on the ways in which the Macedonian female population was mobilized in the forms of popular resistance in Ottoman Macedonia and have ascertained that women took part in the resistance en masse

as couriers and assistants, and often as fighters and komitadjis because the authorities treated women's mobility differently. There were examples of women organized in groups of about a hundred, representatives of villages badly damaged in the attacks of various Ottoman (para)military units, that travelled together so that they could file collective complaints and petitions to the diplomats in the large administrative centres such as Bitola (Boškovska, 2017; Koviloski, 2018).

In *Illustration Ilinden*, the women komitadji that joined komitadji units to live a chetnik life high in the mountains were mostly portrayed individually, in their chetnik attire, as was the case with the texts about Jordanka Pukavičarova (Avramov, Stefan/ Аврамовъ, Стефанъ. *По козитъ пжтеки: (предложение отъ кни- за 5 (35). Year 4, No./book 6 (36) (1931), pp. 9-12), Ekaterina Arnau- dova (Bjalev, G. Iv./Бјалевъ, Г. Ив. Пиринската четничка. Year 5, No./book 7-8 (47-48), (1933), pp. 30-31), Tana Kirovska Vasileva (baba Tona) (Bjalev, G.Iv./Бълевъ, Г. Ив. Изъ живота на четитъ. Year 9, book 8 (88) (1937), pp. 10-12). This involvement of women in the komitadji units, and their taking up arms to fight, often had a fam- ilial background, more explicitly described in the case of Magda Gonov – presented in the magazine together with her husband, the two of them described as 'chetnik husband and wife' (Кепов, Ivan P/ Кеповъ, Иванъ П. *Никола попъ Филипovъ. Year 6, book 7 (57) (1934), pp. 14-16).**

Another good example of a 'chetnik family' was the story about the women komitadji Donka Stavreva Ušlinovska and Srebra Domazetova Ušlinovska (Kopitar./Копитаръ. *Донка Ставрева. Year 9, book 8 (88) (1937), p. 13; Nastev, Hristo/Настевъ, Христо. И кауркитъ станали комити: пзрвитъ комитки – дветъ етърви отъ с. Лера, Битолско. Year 9, book 9 (89), (1937), pp. 12-15; X. Сребра Апостолова Ушлиновска. Year 14, book 2 (132, February), (1942), p. 5). They were presented as 'a komitadji sister-in-law tandem from the village of Lera in the Bitola region.' Srebra Domazetova was a woman from Lera, Apostol Iliev Ušlinovski's 'young bride', who*

was active in the MRO's revolutionary network in the Bitola region. Donka Hristova Ušlinovska was a woman from Smilevo and a wife of Apostol's cousin Stavre. In 1902, these two young women, aided by their husbands and families, killed the local bey, Gelep Redzo Sulov, who was notorious as a lecher and who stalked and violated them and other local women. After the murder, all involved in it escaped and joined the chetnik unit of the Bitola Voivode Gjorgji Sugarev. They lived like outlaws, pursued by the authorities. After these events, the two women donned combat uniforms and weapons and became famous as komitadji, leading a family life that defied all customs and norms. But they were still viewed with respect and admiration by the population, as well as by the author of the article about them in the press.

Another role in which women participants in the popular resistance were often depicted on the pages of *Illustration Ilinden* was the role of couriers and assistants for the komitadji units. Very often, these women's houses served as safe havens for the units while inside the villages, or as a place for storing information, books printed materials and weapons. In Kruševo, an illegal unit of the Organization could stay for a longer period of time, and this could be realized only with the active involvement of Kruševo women (Belčeski, 2016). Because of their care and organizing of 'safe networks' of interpersonal relationships within the MRO, these women were often addressed with 'Mother' or 'Grandma', regardless of their age or actual familial status. Such was the case with the women described as 'fearless couriers' in the text signed by Nikola Kirov Majski and entitled 'The Kruševo Courier-Saints' Кировъ Майски, Никола. *Крушовскитъ куриери-светци*. Year 6, No./book 3 (53) (January 1934), pp. 5-8). These couriers were Koca Kostova Negrevska, Grandma Kalia T. Kjukjurovska, Cofka Pecanovska, Para Mateva; and together with them worked the tandem of Taska Ivanova Djivdjanovska and Mara Magdeva from the Kruševo village Dolno Divjaci, where these two women organized the community life when the village was left with no men, who were either killed

in the Ilinden Uprising, or fled or emigrated. A similar example was the case of Para Grdanovska Miteva, 'Grandma Tonka', who ended up being mentioned in the press in the memoirs of the revolutionary Petar Acev (Ацевъ, Калитанъ Георги П. *Първата ми среща съ Йорданъ Пиперката: крушовската „Баба Тонка“ - Баба Пара Митева Гърданоска: (из споменитъ на П. Ацевъ по дейността му въ Крушовско)*. Year 13, book 2 (122, February), (1941), pp. 6-8). The activities of these women, involved in illegal actions and sabotages, contributed to the establishment and outlining of new forms of popular resistance, where women had an important role to play (Krstevski-Koška, 1993, 48, 53, 73, 184, 204).

The magazines *Luč* and *Smena*, published in Serbian, survived for a much shorter period of time, in comparison with *Illustration Ilinden*, and for this reason, fewer examples from them could be gleaned. However, these examples can also show us the ways in which women factorized themselves in the political promotion of the pro-Serbian national idea on the territory of Vardar Macedonia within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (see Stojkoski in this book). In *Luč*, most of the cited examples referred to collected folk songs, sung by women from different parts of the region and in local linguistic dialect. There was only one authorial text by a woman Marija Projčeska, the short story *Lenče* (Projčeska, Marija, *Lenče*, Year 1, No. 4 (1937), pp. 145-148). All these examples are important because they refer to women's everyday problems, most commonly in their family lives in the privacy of the home, but via the medium of the press, these 'female voices', either in the authorial or folk narratives, managed to break through and make women's oral history more visible in the public sphere.

Smena was a students' magazine that was in fact produced and distributed in all higher education institutions of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and was also made available to the students at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje in the interwar period. Women appearing in it, either as authors or as topics, achieved that from the position of students, as part of the modern trends and challenges

of the academic life. Such examples were the text by Milica Radojković entitled 'The present-day female student' (Radojković Milica/Радојковић, Милица. *Дањашна Сѣуденїкиња*. Year 2, No. 1 (1931), pp. 5-8); and the text prepared by the editorial board and entitled 'Curiosities: the percentage of female students against the percentage of male students in different countries' (Year 2, No. 1. (1931), p. 46). The Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was opened in 1920, and although it functioned as an intellectual centre for the exponents of the Serbian national idea, and disseminated the perception of Vardar Macedonia as part of Serbian culture and history, it became a place where views were broadened to encompass modern phenomena, including the higher education for women, and consequently their involvement in the state's social and intellectual life.

Conclusion

The analysis of the press researched in this book informs us about certain aspects of women's history on the territory of Vardar Macedonia, more precisely, about the forms of their incidence and action in the public sphere. Most of the examples are cases of continuing the gender activities and roles of women from the private into the public sphere. Their activities and activism were reflected through the political lens of the editorial board of the three different magazines.

The analysis of the researched press sources through the lens of women's history is more useful for the creation of a picture about the problems of women in the quotidian at the turn of the 19th into the 20th century and their motivation for involvement in public life of their community, but less for construction of full biographies and portraits of the women concerned, because that would require our researching additional sources and references. The roles in which we observed women in the press, more precisely, those women for which the press offered biographical data and references, were in

fact complex amalgamations of their familial and public identities that were never separate and in 'black-and-white', but were mutually intertwined, just as the family status of women was related with their professional or public status, whether as a mother, grandmother, daughter, wife, teacher, writer, student or pupil, komitadji, courier, humanitarian, missionary, patriot, fighter or political or party activist.

In *Illustration Ilinden*, the incidence of women was not on a high level and was mostly mediated: we could observe women mostly as part of topics related to the everyday life of the population, as part of the biographies of many famous historical personages in the researched context and period, and they appeared the least as authors of the textual contents. Even when woman's memoirs of an important local historical event were published, the texts were authored by a man, as was the case with Aspasia Miševa Kanevčeva's memoirs in the texts by Nikola Kirov Majski. In this magazine, the main characteristic of the incidence of women was that we learnt about them only indirectly, in a mediated manner, mostly in texts on the following three subjects: education, humanitarian activities and charity, and the specific forms of popular resistance related to the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (MRO), such as the couriers' service. The textual forms and contents that most commonly referred to women were eulogies, jubilee contents, celebratory poems, stories with dedications and posthumously published memoirs. A specific form of incidence of women in this press source is their portrayal, as an allowed departure from the norm of femaleness and femininity, as komitadji and chetnik fighters, members of armed units of men in the mountains, dressed in combat uniform and armed, as in the case of Jordanka Pukavičarova, Ekatarina Arnaudova, or the 'komitadji sisters-in-law' Donka and Srebra Ušlinovski. In all forms of women's incidence in this press source dominates the patriotic and national-romantic sentiment, emphasized as the foremost quality of their actions, but was also used as justification when the actions, undertaken by women, de-

parted from the private sphere. It was not any different with the examples concerning the public activities of women who were closer to the patriarchal ideal – teachers and humanitarians. Both as individuals and as a professional group, teachers were represented most commonly in actions closest to women’s political action in the community. One explicit example is the case of Zaharija Šumljanska and the case of Aspasia Miševa Kanevčeva, who, within the communities where they lived and worked, engaged with something that we could term ‘philanthropic diplomacy’, which they realized through communication, connection and appeasement of different, often confronted, factors in the society (the local Ottoman administration, trading elites, diplomatic corps, political activists, and even outlaws), and all this with a purpose to draw some benefit for their humanitarian activities – yet again related to the ethnonational cause. Women were most commonly treated as victims, dedicated national workers and social activists, with a great dose of idealization and romanticizing, which is typical for the discourse of the magazine in general.

With regards to the activities of the women referred to here that could be seen as part of the women’s movement or the feminist cause, there is no explicit example to be obtained. In fact, it might be useful to stress that in the specific historical context in which these women lived and worked, it would be wrong to search for feminist action when researching the forms of their activity within the community. In the majority of cases, they acted in favour of the national cause or in defence of the ethnic or religious identity of the community to which they belonged. Although, in the case of Carevna Miladinova, who was an author of legal acts for improvement of girls’ education, or in the case of Evtimica Jančuleva, who publicly opposed the unequal treatment of female teachers, we can recognize emancipatory awareness and critique of the position of women. However, the greatest significance, with regards to the feminist epistemological potentials, of these histories is that they offer fascinating knowledge about women’s lives and mobility that

works as 'parallel histories' within the national master narratives, in which the role of women was most often placed within a narrow patriarchal framework, reduced to performing the biological or cultural reproduction of the nation.

In *Illustration Ilinden*, the incidence of women is connected to their recognition as part of the biblical collective past, which the editors of this mainly memorial periodical wanted to preserve and use for mobilization and achieving cohesion among their target, mostly male, readership – the Macedonian migration in Bulgaria and in Europe. In the magazines *Luč* and *Smena*, women were referred to within the context of the new modernizing processes in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In these two researched periodicals women appeared very rarely and indirectly. In *Luč*, they appeared as singers of folk songs, collected and published by male writers and intellectuals; or in some intellectual commentaries of some social phenomena, such as the question of abortion among the working classes. In the students' magazine *Smena*, women mostly appeared within the context of higher education or like gender stereotypes in the published students' short stories and poems.

Methodologically, as an author of this text, I have no intention, or a possibility to exhaust analytically all the examples of the women detected in the Bibliography and Name Register of the book. New research would be required for that, with an expanded range of sources outside the field of periodical literature, including memoirs, travel writings, biographies, as well as published relevant references, and all this with an aim to focus on and outline historically complete portraits of these women from the past that were important for the processes of nation-building, as well as for various social and political movements.



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**ITERARY-COMPARATIVE
ASPECTS**

The literary representation of women in the press from the interwar period

Introduction

Understanding the representations of women in the press from the interwar period demands a steady eye so that glimpses of women's presence can be captured while sifting through the dense lines. The very few literary texts published in the press were a particular and significant challenge for analysis, since by their own nature and in the context in which we found them, they offered possibilities for multiple interpretations and complex delineation of women from different points of view. These images of women were only fragmented and subtly absorbed everywhere throughout the texts and the challenge consisted of groping for the tesserae to build an erratic mosaic of female motives, images and emotions.

In the focus of this text are the literary presentations of women in three periodicals published in the interwar period on Macedonian territory: the magazine of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria *Илюстрация Илинденъ* (1927-1944), the Yugoslav monthly on cultural, economic and social issues *Luč* (1937-1938) and the organ of the Yugoslav students *Smena*

(1930-1931). They were yielding reservoirs of knowledge about the sociological and cultural arrangements of the lives of the people that lived in the region in the period from the fall of the Ottoman Empire until 1943, and each periodical tended toward different ideology, had different concepts of editing and was published in a different social context.

The aim of this paper is to make a comparative observation of the literary texts presented in these magazines and to extrapolate from it some knowledge about the incidence of female voices and authorship or the lack of it; about the roles and perceptions of women in society and in fictional narratives; and about women's emancipation during the years of these magazines' circulation. In the first part, we discuss the magazines' politics, the presence of literary texts and the gender balance in the authorship of the texts. We address the problem of alteration of the female voice through mediated communication of their stories and the possibilities that this provided to manipulate them. Later, the text focuses on examining women's stories, women's subversiveness during wars and in interwar periods, women's position in the home, in political turbulences and in the creation of societal structures. In these chapters, we discuss the female figure with trickster energy and the representations of the deaths of female characters.

1. The relation between the editorial policies and literary rubrics

The three magazines in the focus of this paper were not primarily literary magazines, but the literary texts they published, as a constituent part of their broader editorial concept, contain important information. From their content and form we extracted meanings that had their origins in the ideological leanings of the magazines, and in the manners in which they worked and

communicated with their readers. Bearing in mind that the context is a key characteristic of periodicals, literary texts published in them must be read through the dialogue they establish with other texts and with the time in which they were published. For this reason, the subject of this analysis were not purely literary texts, but also some of the journalistic texts with literary traits. In this analysis, we did not evaluate them aesthetically. The literary texts published in all three periodical lagged behind the actual tendencies of their time, while in the magazines with more tangible ideological leanings (such as *Иллюстрация Илинденъ*, and to a lesser extent *Лиц*), the purpose of the published literary texts was to support the propagated ideological principles, not to elevate the artistic criteria of their readership. This quality by no means disqualified them as subjects of our research because periodical literature concerns itself with works with informative and documentary functions.

Иллюстрация Илинденъ was a magazine dedicated to the upholding of the memories and ardour of the Ilinden Uprising as an important narrative for the preservation of the identity of Macedonian people. The literary texts published in it were lateral and irregular, and their political and propagandist role outstripped their artistic value. Most of them were short stories, autobiographical prose and poetry, all thematically related to the Ilinden Uprising. *Иллюстрация Илинденъ* published tendentious literary texts, 'with a task and thesis that were not exhausted only with their textual quality, but also relied on the non-textual and non-artistic as well, and corresponded with the other texts in the magazine, building the shared and unique tone in the magazine's rapport with its readership' (Milinković, 2012).¹ By establishing a cult of the past, *Иллюстрация Илинденъ* shed a positive light on the actual pretensions of the illegal activity of their contemporary IMRO-Autonomist (for the historical context see Stojkoski in this book). In *Иллюстрация Илинденъ*, the literary narratives with no clear spatial

1 All quotations used here were translated by the authors of the text. For the original titles of the sources used from the press researched here, see the Bibliography, compiled by Mijakovska for this book.

and temporal determinants could be left to the reader's interpretation, and their emotional potential could be very potent with regards to their political and propagandist aims. As such, they often aimed to prompt nostalgia, assume a moral high ground, feed xenophobia and support the readiness for another armed struggle.

The monthly *Luč* was the only one among the three periodicals analysed that had a special and regular rubric dedicated to literature. The declared aim of the editorial board was to bring together 'all intellectuals from the South' (Boškovska, 2017, 88), that is to say, Vardar Macedonia, and for this reason, most of the works and authors were from here. *Luč* aimed to address all Yugoslav peoples and published articles that criticized current political events, but its readership had no unified ideology and internal political cohesion. Most of the literary works published in it were written in the local dialects or were folk stories and poems. There were only a few contemporary literary works written at the actual time of its publication. This limited scope of themes in the literary rubric resulted in an insignificant incidence of women as authors and with only uniform and monotonous women's stories. This prevented us from perceiving this periodical as artistically and gender progressive for its time.

The third periodical, *Smena*, declared its purpose to 'to fill the gap in students' lives' and to be an 'organ of all Yugoslav students' (Tasić, 2016, 37). It published articles from students and proportionally less literary texts, and they were all works of debutants. Although the articles published in *Smena* were of a more progressive nature, discussing women's and students' rights, when the literary texts are concerned, it has to be said that women authors wrote mostly pastoral or love poetry, while representations of women in the texts by male authors were stereotypical with no exceptions.

When observing the literary representations of women in *Илюстрация Илинденъ*, we discovered two simultaneous but con-

tradictory roles: (1) women as figures of stabilization of nationalism and patriarchy and (2) women as fighters for social freedom and women's emancipation from within the established order. Following the chronology of the texts, in *Иллюстрация Илинденъ* we could observe changes in the representation of women in accordance with the changes in the editorial board, starting with the first editor-in-chief Petar Mrmev (1928-1933), then the Editorial Committee (1934), Hristo Šaldev (1935-1936), and ending with the last editor-in-chief, Kiril H. Sovičanov (1936-1943). In the first editorial period, there are only sporadic literary texts and they are strictly limited as far as the prescribed roles of women are concerned. Before Sovičanov, women authors were completely absent from the magazine, and there was an evident inclination to mediate women's voices via male authors-editors or collectors. Women as authors of literary texts emerged briefly in 1938, and more frequently since 1940. The picture of women was extremely limited in the first years of the magazine's publication, with substantial predomination of the mother figure. In time, the literary representations of women in the magazine changed and moved in the direction of limited gender liberation, with an evident aspiration towards emancipation through education and women winning more significant roles in the society, but without seriously challenging the boundaries of conservative ideology. From 1940 onwards, in the last years of the publication of *Иллюстрация Илинденъ*, the texts authored by women were with patriotic and lamentation motifs, which later, following the general historical orientation of Bulgaria at the time, transformed into explicit points with a recognizable nationalistic discourse.

In the three magazines, the level of inclusion of women authors was low, and consequently, the representations of women suffered as well. *Иллюстрация Илинденъ* published the first women authors as late as 1938. From the overall review of the texts² we could conclude that, with regards to the gender balance of the authors in the magazine, 21,5% of the analysed texts were by women authors, 59,4% were written by male authors, while for 19% we could not

2 79 from *Иллюстрация Илинденъ*, 44 from *Luč* and 11 from *Smena*.

determine the authorship because the writers remained unknown, or were signed only with their initials. Women authors were even rarer in *Luč* and the reason for this was the magazine's choice to publish a large number of texts from folk literature. Therefore, instead of being signed as authors, women in this magazine were registered as narrators or singers that memorized and passed on folklore. There were only 9% of women authors, 36% of male authors and 56,8% of the texts remained with undetermined authorship. In *Smena*, women authors were 27%, 63,6% were male authors, while the authorship of only 9% of the texts could not be determined.

1.1. Alteration of women's voices

Until 1938, there was an evident tendency to mediate women's voices with interventions by male authors that arranged the texts. This was especially manifest in reported women's testimonies or commemorations of women's lives. For instance, in the texts 'The Pig Saved Us' (Прасето ни спаси: единъ епизодъ / Никола Кировъ Майски. // Year 8, book 2 (72) (1936), pp. 7-9) and 'Mehdi-Bey and the Hospital in Ohrid' (Мехди бей и охридската болница / Никола Кировъ Майски. // Year 8, No./book 3-4 (73-74) (1936), pp. 13-14) by Nikola Kirov Majski, the experiences of the teacher Aspasia Miševa Kanevčeva were affected as direct speech, but visibly framed with the narration of the writer who arranged the text. This approach impacted the treatment of the female voice. Bearing in mind that oral literature was traditionally a female means of expression, the decision for a secondary mediation of women's stories just strengthens the belief that they should just stay in that domain. With such mediation, women were symbolically locked in the domain of the private. The writers who arranged their testimonies for publishing thus gained unlimited and unsupervised freedom and power of interpretation, and of editing and shaping, as well as great opportunities to manipulate the ideas and depictions of the characters. In the story 'The Woman Chetnik from Pirin' by G. I. Bjalev (Пиринската четничка / Г. Ив. Бјалевъ. // Year 5, No./book 7-8 (47-48), (1933), pp.

30-31), dedicated to the woman komitadji Ekaterina Arnaudova, the character of Arnaudova was doubly mediated: by the author and narrator Bjalev and by her commander, and this just increased the possibility for manipulation of the narratives. With this mediation, she was transformed into a legend, made distant and untouchable. This left the reader with the impression that her heroism could not stand all by itself but had to be explained and allowed and justified by men and their mentor-like protection and severe infantilizing.

The reaction of *Luč* was no better when the issue of independence of women's voices was concerned. Men collected and wrote down folk literature, although the majority of oral narrators and singers were women. In *Smena*, there were not enough relevant texts for us to map a certain tendency and the texts that were taken into account do not have this authorship problem.

2. Variations of women's subversions in space

Typologically, in the texts in *Иллюстрация Илинденъ*, most female characters that stood out were heroines, in the broad sense of the word, whose bravery, abilities, noble qualities and deeds were emphasized. They are active mostly: (1) in the mountains as komitadji, assassins and couriers; (2) in the public space, as teachers and charitable workers; (3) inside the home, as mothers; and (4) in support of a cause, as missionaries or philanthropists.

The values promoted in the texts published in *Иллюстрация Илинденъ* were in line with the glorification of the cult of heroism and martyrdom that was greatly respected by the Ilinden Organization³ (an in IMRO Autonomist). In the literary works in *Иллюстрация Илинденъ*, we could not find any ordinary men, with weaknesses, pains, wounds (unless they were heroic wounds) and

³ See more on the Ilinden Organization in the Bibliography compiled by Mijakovska in this study.

there were never any sick people, deserters, nor people who were suspicious about the just cause.

Luč and *Smena* had a completely different discourse and it depicted women mostly as engaged in their everyday lives, in their family roles and in relation to the male characters, most commonly as mothers, wives, and young girls. Only a few of them in the stories have heroic characteristics, mostly bravery and cunning. In *Luč*, unlike in *Иллюстрация Илинденъ*, when the husbands left their homes, abandoning their mothers or loved ones, it was to go to work somewhere abroad, not to war. The patriotic poems published in it had purely patriotic feelings of sorrow for the deserted home and they were never, whether in the context of the magazine, or outside it, mixed up with nationalistic incentives and discourses. Similarly, in *Smena*, the predominant themes were love in the poems, and jealousy, death, friendship and everyday concerns in general of the common people.

2.1. Women in the home

During, and especially after, the battles, special respects were paid to the mothers of fallen fighters. Mothers are present as cult figures in all national narratives. Women become mothers *for* the nation and in this sense, they play a dual role: (1) a symbolic, socializing role and (2) a biological, reproductive role, that comes to the fore in wars in particular (Kolarić, 2017). Her most idealized relationship is that with her son, in which she is the symbolic mediator between the struggle for freedom and her sons-fighters. She raises them in patriotic and self-sacrificing spirit and selflessly gives them up to fight and die for their people. This was the typical mother character in the stories published in *Иллюстрация Илинденъ*: the firm, able and unshakeable old woman waiting for her sons' return for years. Therefore, the mother figure was inextricably linked with the symbol of the house.⁴ In the text entitled 'A Balkan

⁴ In these examples the house is identical to the concept of home.

Woman', Svetlana Slapšak wrote that 'the spaces in which Balkan women could move and be visible were strictly defined' (Slapšak, 2015). When leaving the home, 'the female body was threatened by a symbolic territorial punishment – rape', while 'the home and the captivity in it in it could become ideal subversive spaces' (Ibid.). Inside the home, women had greater control, which they used to transform the space into a unit of action. In the stories, women often appeared on thresholds, in the role of a guardian and doorkeeper, standing on the symbolic 'between'. Women watched their homes being transformed in wars, from a protective capsule into a transit space for the revolutionary currents. And in that transitory space, in that fragmentation of the social tissue, the identity of women got collectivized.

During the period of circulation of *Илюстрация Илинденъ*, the representation of women evolved and gradually women became more independent and publicly active individuals. And yet, with regards to the mother figure, this positive change was only specious because it still took place within the existing, and essentially unchanged, structures and relations. In the short stories about the mothers' loss of their sons in the war, such as 'The Mother' by Avedis Aharonyan (Майката / Аведисъ Ахаронянь Харипъ. // Year 2, No./book 7 (17) (1929), pp. 10-11) and 'Christmas Eve' by Vestala Timčeva (Бъдни вечеръ / Вестала Тимчева. // Year 13, book 1 (121) (1941), pp. 10-11), we could sense the subversive potential of the mother figure as a place of resistance to the heroic narrative: the pain she feels when faced with the loss of her son can implicitly open the question about the necessity of sacrifice. Nevertheless, the mother is sanctioned the moment she dares to doubt and revolt, and with a mechanism of emotional manipulation, she is forced to accept the newcomer (a young man himself) as a substitute for her lost son and to continue to care for him as a fighter in order to redeem herself and be accepted back in the traditional order.

2.1.1. The father figure

Contrary to the strong presence of the mother, the father figure is almost completely absent from most writings. His presence is totally marginal and his character is silent and featureless. The primary identity of men is that of the 'komitadji', and their behaviour must strictly comply with the purposes of the secret organizations, as illustrated in the history of Paraskeva A. Lozančeva (Лозанчева, Параскева А. // Year 8, book 2 (72) (1936), pp. 14-15).

In the poem 'The Father's Pledge' by A. Kiprovs⁵ the lyrical subject is the father who gives his son some lessons about the virtues that need to guide him to a dignified and worthy life. The son should espouse his ideals and persist in his love for his country. The poem is strictly didactic and impersonal, and the father's voice is authoritative and quite the opposite from the tone of the autobiographical, personal and touching memories in the short story 'My Mother' (Моята Майка / Александър Кипровъ. // Year 3, No. book 5 (25) (1930), pp. 4-6) by the same author.

2.1.2. Female characters as holders of trickster energy

Generally speaking, women in these texts always have more flexible identities than men, whose identities are, harder, more harshly outlined and more stable. While men are prominent in all their obviousness as a threatening factor, women often trick the enemy creating an illusion around them. Unlike male characters, whose motivation lies in confronting the threat on the battlefields, female characters are more varied in their behaviour and in their interaction with their surroundings. In some cases, women canalize trickster energy and survive dangers and challenges using deception as defence, as well as to gain urgent advantages. Although female trickster characters are usually rarer than male,

⁵ *Илюстрация Илинденъ*. Editor-in-chief Petar Mrmev, 1930. 'The Father's Pledge', Aleksandar Kiprovs, Year 3, No.5 (25). Ilinden Organization: 'Economic Development', 'Pirin', Sofia.

in *Илюстрация Илинденъ* and in *Лиџ*, cunning women use trickery to confront the enemy, often embodied in the Turkish occupier, physically stronger and more powerful than them. In some of the examples, such as in 'How the Giaur women turned komitadji' (И кауркитѣ станали комити: първитѣ комитки – дветѣ етърви отъ с. Лера, Битолско / Христо Настевъ. // Year 9, book 9 (89), (1937), pp. 12-15) and 'He married a goose' (Се женал за гуска (причала Васиљка Тасић) / Ѓ. Ј. Киселиновић // Year 1, No. 5 (1937), pp. 205-206), women have the ability to create parallel realities and outsmart their opponents with magic or through skillful invention of credible stories. They attack their adversaries alluring them onto their own familiar grounds, or appear in front of them in disguise. Such is their way of revolting against the authorities and established norms and of rethinking the forms of resistance in an environment that was enslaved for centuries. This usually results in an ending that is to everyone's advantage.

2.2. Women active in the male military and political domain

The character of the national heroine is interesting for observation, especially in the early period of *Илюстрация Илинденъ*. Women that departed from the prescribed norms, achieving successes that could equal that of men, were enigmatic and incomprehensible identities for the authors that insisted on viewing them through the traditional female determinants. The controversy of Mara Buneva's character aside (see more in Stojkoski and Kocевska in this book), in the celebratory lyrical poem 'Mara Buneva' (Мара Бунева / Љубомирѣ Бобевски. // Year 3, No./book 1 (21), (1929), p. 6) dedicated to her, the author Bobevski made efforts to find a bridge between the expected female story and this new (for him) 'female' heroism in the character of Buneva. In the text, the author establishes a graphic juxtaposition between the two halves of the poem in which he presents the perceived contradictory dimensions of her personality. First, he talks about the one-

dimensional figure of the mother as the deliverer of ‘giants’ and ‘geniuses’, only to continue in the second half with a contrasting verse: ‘And Mara Buneva was born by a woman a slave’. This aggressive gender contextualization, crisscrossed with the tragedy of Mara’s fatal transgression of the prescribed norms, starkly precedes the eulogy of her heroic and patriotic deed. The author undoubtedly respected and glorified the heroine, but his verses exude regret that she was an unfortunate heroine, not because she lost her life in sacrifice to her ideals, but because she strayed from the traditional ‘path’ for women.

2.3. Women as active factors in the public space

Historically, women could be found in the public space most commonly in the professions such as teachers, nurses, or charity workers. These were positions of great significance for the community, where women constructed social structures and supported safety. For instance, in the text with the memoirs of the teacher Aspasia Kanevčeva, entitled ‘The Pig Saved Us’, it is not by chance that her house was transformed into the central refuge amidst the new crisis. Peasants hid her valuables in there (girls’ dowries were mentioned specifically as a symbol of the expected better future), and from all points of the community, lines of trust were drawn towards the teacher’s house.

Women occupied the place at the helm of many village communities as spokespersons and protectors, tirelessly maintaining the cohesion of the communities as their emotional pillars. They were far-sighted idealists, but also practical field workers and close friends, precious for the maturing of the nation. In another acclamatory poem by Bobevski, dedicated to Carevna Miladinova, the poet described her as follows: ‘She sowed a golden seed in the fertile black soil,/and gave us wings for a radiant flight! (...) For the poor and weak, you were an iron shield!’ (Carevna Miladinova Aleksieva (Dimitar Miladinov’s daughter) / Любомиръ Бобевски. // Year 8,

book 10 (80) (1936), pp. 1-2). These women actively constructed structures – social networks, hospitals, schools and orphanages – laying the foundations of sustainable communities by organizing the efforts of their members. The tone used when writing about them was the same elevated tone used for the military heroines that lost their lives in the national liberation struggle. In the poem entitled 'Jubilee greetings to Zaharija Šumljanska' and dedicated to the benefactor who dedicated most of her life to founding, building and running the orphanage in Bitola, the poetess Dobrevska says: 'You did not blink in the dark, / You did not fear death, / In a column with many other martyrs / you walked the steepest path' (Юбилейно приветствие къмъ г-жа З. Шумлянска / Сийка Добревска. // Year 10, book 3 (1938), p. 8).

2.4. Dreadful accounts about the deaths of female characters

In the analyzed magazines there was a large number of texts with distinctive female characters whose histories ended with dreadful deaths. These depictions of the deaths of female characters were affected in order to incite hatred and revulsion against the enemy, especially when the reader identified it as the figure of the Turk. It is interesting that, when women openly and publicly challenged the enemy or decided to face the enemy outside their home, they always died with a hyperbolized death. In the short story 'My Mother' (Кипровъ // Year 3, No. book 5 (25) (1930), pp. 4-6), the Turks 'cut the woman into pieces and threw her in the well in front of the gate'. Similarly, at the end of the legend 'Veli-Bey's Cave' (Вели беговата пещера : (легенда изъ Бабуба) / Стефанъ Аврамовъ. // Year 8, book 9 (79) (1936), pp. 14-16), the Bey angrily chains Bela Itsa 'to the horse's tail and drags her to the cave, where he cuts her head and throws it into the water.'

In the folk lyrical poetry published in *Luč*, female characters' deaths were swift and terrifying. Women were not given much chance to fight back or choose to live instead of sacrificing for the

needs of others. In fact, in a large number of examples from *Luč*, women's deaths were caused by their partners or other members of the family. In the poems 'In an Old Folk Song' (Народне умотворине. Народна стара песма / Ђорђе Ј. Симоновић. // Year 2, No. 3 (1938), pp. 108) and „Boya was Up All Night“ (С'нош е Боја седела / Руша Р. Ђузеловић. // Year 1, No. 4 (1937), pp. 151-152), the male characters infantilize their wives by giving them banal and sadistic challenges, which they fail. This is then understood as a breach of the patriarchal rules, impudence and violation of the male honour. In these two stories, the murders were initiated by the wicked mothers-in-law, and this only continued the promotion of the established tradition of enmities and revenge among women.

In some of the poems, women finally managed to speak only when they died in the world of the afterlife. They had no real opportunity to become lyrical subjects and existed only as objects of perception. In the poem 'Dogs Barking, Bad People Coming' (Кучишта лајат, лоши људе идат / Руша Р. Ђузеловић. // Year 1, No. 4 (1937), pp. 153-154), sung by Gjuzelović, the female body of the sister who saved her brother was muddled and crippled, and yet, at the end, only the well-being of the male subjects was discussed. Finally, an extreme example of such complete immobilization of the female body we found in the poem 'A Sad Ohrid Poem about Building in' (Једна охридска „жална песма“ о узићивању (певала Анастасија К.) / Људовит М. Бодулић. // Year 1, No. 4 (1937), pp. 150-151), as one of the numerous variations of the widespread motif of building the female character inside the walls in order to make the building more permanent.

Conclusion

The comparative research of the representations of women in the literary texts in the magazines *Illustration Ilinden*, *Luč*, and *Smena* revealed a few of the possible levels of observing women and female characters in the press from the interwar period. This text is an attempt to analyze the layered patriarchal lenses that muddle the readers' experience.

The researched periodicals published only a limited number of literary texts with a limited range of topics. Women authors were rare and female characters and experiences were depicted in a limited and uniform manner. This certainly did not make them gender progressive in that historical period. Female characters were most commonly limited to acting inside the home and in the name of the nationalist cause, without their merit being aptly recognized. On the other hand, they found ways to act subversively and independently by making united points of solidarity and taking an active part in the struggle for national liberation and rebuilding of the society.

Fortunately, these tailored representations of women in this discourse fall apart at the seams and betray the manipulative practices by the authors, and this opens up a possibility for a better insight into women's activity in that period. The re-reading of these texts will give us new insights that will then generate different meanings and this is one way to retrieve the arrogated independence of the female voice.



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I *Илюстрация Илинденъ* (1927 – 1943)

Илюстрация Илинденъ was a magazine of the Ilinden organization in Bulgaria. This was an emigrant organization founded in 1921, made up of several cultural and legal emigrant societies most of whose members participated in the Ilinden Uprising, while the rest were upholders of the memory of the national liberation movement, and other emigrants. At the head of the organization were Arsenij Jovkov, Georgi Zankov, Petar Acev and Slavko Abazov. Active collaborators and authors published in the organ of the organization were Krste Petkov Misirkov, Dimo Hadji Dimov and Vojdan Černodrinski. The Ilinden Organization became the most numerous Macedonian legal emigrant organization in the interwar period and *Илюстрация Илинденъ* had the highest circulation in comparison with the other Macedonian legal periodicals.

This rare periodical was printed in Sofia in the period between April 1927 and May 1944. There were ten issues per year and the circulation varied between 1 400 and 5 000 copies. The magazine was monthly. This was an illustrated organ of the Ilinden Organization of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria, dedicated to preserving the memory of the Ilinden Uprising.

The Ilinden organization, in the period between 1921 and 1924, had a well-developed cultural and educational activity and organized mass celebrations of Ilinden, thus helping create an archive about a large number of fighters, events, personages and places related to the Ilinden Uprising. This reflected on its organ, *Илюстрация Илинденъ*. The magazine published relevant announcements, photographs, travel writings, biographies and memoirs of the participants in the uprising. The editors made efforts to provide significant literary works by authors such as Vojdan Černodrinski, Venko Markovski and others.

Editors of the magazine were: Petar Mrmev, Kiril Hristov Sovičanov, Hristo Šaldev, Lazar Tomov, Luka Grupčev, etc. From Year 7, book 1 (61) 1934, the editor-in-chief was Hristo Šaldev. From Year 8, book 5 (75) 1936, the editor-in-chief was Kiril Hristov. From Year 8, book 1 (71) 1936 the editor-in-chief was Hristo Šaldev, while from book 6 (76) 1936, the editor-in-chief was Kiril Hristov.

The magazine *Илюстрация Илинденъ* is in the library collection, processed as part of the Collection of rare periodicals of the National and University Library Saint Clement of Ohrid in Skopje. This title is under the pressmark PC III 8 / ISSN:C400-9916 / COBISS-MK ID:80370442. The periodical is an original, but the library has the issues from Year 8, book 1 (71)-kn. (80) 1936 onwards only as a photocopy. In the collection of the National and University Library we have the issues from Year II, book 1 (11) (1928) to Year XV, book 10 (150 No.) (1943). The complete collection of this title in 14 volumes was digitized and is publicly accessible to the users of the digital library. The magazine can be found on the web page www.dlib.mk. This bibliography is a thematic index of the incidence of women as

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Periodicity of issues:

Year 1, No. (book) 1 (1, April), 2)2), 3 (3, July), 4 (4), 5 (5), 6 (6), 7, (7), 8 (8), 9 (9), 10 (10) (1927-1928)

Year 2, No. (book) 1 (11), 2 (12), 3 (13), 4 (14), 5 (15, April), 6 (16, May), 7 (17, June), 8 (18, July), 9 (19, October), 10 (20, November) (1928-1929)

Year 3, No. (book) 1 (21, December), 2 (22 January), 3 (23, February), 4 (24, March), 5 (25, April), 6 (26, May), 7 (27, September), 8 (28, October), 9 (29, November), 10 (30, December) (1929-1930)

Year 4, No. (book) 1 (31, January), 2 (32, February), 3 (33, April), 4 (34, June), 5 (35, September), 6 (36, November), 7 (37, January), 8 (38, March), 9 (39, May), 10 (40, June) (1931-1932)

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Великйятъ македонски съборъ въ Горна-Джумая / Боян Мирчев. // Year 5, No./book 4 (44) (1933), pp. 3-13

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1. БИОЛЧЕВЪ, Илия Н.
Въстанието въ Костурско (спомени) / Илия Н. Биолчев. // Year 5, No./book 7-8 (47-48), (1933), pp. 12-19
2. БЈАЛЕВЪ, Иван Г.
Пиринската четничка / Г. Ив. Бјалевъ. // Year 5, No./book 7-8 (47-48), (1933), pp. 30-31

Year 5, No./book 9-10 (49-50) (September-October 1933)

1. ТОМОВЪ, Л.
Пленяването на Мисъ Ел. Стонъ и г-жа Катерина Стефанова Цилка / Л. Томовъ. // Year 5, No./book 9-10 (49-50), (1933), pp. 25-30

V

Year 6, No./book 1-2 (51-52, November-December 1933), 3 (53, January 1934), 4 (54, February 1934), 5-6 (55-56, March-April 1934), 7 (57, May 1934), 8 (58, July 1934), 9 (59, September 1934), 10 (60, October 1934) (1933-1934)

Year 6, No./book 3 (53) (January 1934)

1. ТОМОВЪ, Л.
Подвигът на Мара Бунева / Л. Томовъ. // Year 6, No./book 3 (53) (1934), pp. 2-4
2. КИРОВЪ Майски, Никола
Крушовскитъ куриери-светци / Никола Кировъ Майски. // Year 6, No./book 3 (53) (January 1934), pp. 5-8

Year 6, book 4 (54) (February 1934)

1. КИРОВЪ Майски, Никола
Крушевските ученици революционеря / Никола Кировъ Майски. // Year 6, book 4 (54) (1934), pp. 4-6

Year 6, book 7 (57) (May 1934)

1. КЕПОВЪ, Иванъ П.
Никола попъ Филиповъ / Иванъ П. Кеповъ. // Year 6, book 7 (57) (1934), pp. 14-16

VI

Year 7, book 1 (61, November 1934), 2-3 (62-63, December 1934 - January 1935), 4-5 (64-65, February-March 1935), 6 (66, April 1935), 7-8 (67-68, May-July 1935), 9-10 (69-70, September-October 1935) (1934-1935)

Year 7, book 6 (66) (April 1935)

1. ШАЛДЕВЪ, Христо
Изъ дневника на Н. Пасковъ: (продължение отъ кн. 62-63) / Христо Шалдевъ. // Year 7, book 6 (66) (1935), pp. 15-16

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Year 8, No./book 1 (71, January), 2 (72, February), 3-4 (73-74, March-April), 5 (75, May), 6 (76, July), 7 (77, September), 8 (78, October), 9 (79, November), 10 (80, December) (1936)

Year 8, book 2 (72), (February 1936)

1. КИРОВЪ Майски, Никола
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(told by Aspasia An. Kanevčeva, a former teacher from Ohrid)
2. ЛОЗАНЧЕВА, Параскева А. // Year 8, book 2 (72) (1936), pp. 14-15

Year 8, No./book 3-4 (73-74), (March-April 1936)

1. ЧЕРНОДРИНСКА, М. В.
35-годишниятъ юбилей на Войданъ Чернодрински. // Year 8, No./book 3-4 (73-74) (1936), pp. 8-9
2. КИРОВЪ Майски, Никола
Мехди бей и охридската болница / Никола Кировъ Майски. // Year 8, No./book 3-4 (73-74) (1936), pp. 13-14
3. КЕЦКАРОВЪ, Антонъ
Четническото движение въ Охридско: (продължение оъ кн. 2 (73-74) / Антонъ Кецкаровъ. // Year 8, No./book 3-4 (73-74) (1936), pp. 14-18

Year 8, book 9 (79) (November 1936)

1. АВРАМОВЪТЪ, Стефанъ
Вели беговата пещера : (легенда изъ Бабуба) / Стефанъ Аврамовъ. // Year 8, No./book 9 (79) (1936), pp. 14-16

Year 8, book 10 (80) (December 1936)

1. БОБЕВСКИ, Любомиръ
Царевна Миладинова Алексиева: (керка на Димитар Миладинов) / Любомиръ Бобевски. // Year 8, No./book 10 (80) (1936), pp. 1-2
2. ДИМИТРОВЪ, Крумъ
На Царевна Миладинова Алексиева / Крумъ Димитровъ. // Year 8, No./book 10 (80) (1936), p. 2

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1. НАШЯТЪ X редовенъ конгресъ. // Year 9, No./book 4 (84) (1937), pp. 3-10

Year 9, book 6 (86, July) (July 1937)

1. ЩЕДРА дарителка: единъ примѣръ за подражание. // Year 9, No./book 6 (86) (1937), p. 14

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1. МАРКОВСКИ, Вениаминъ
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2. А., С.
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1. БЪЛЕВЪ, Г. Ив.
Изъ живота на четитѣ / Г. Ив. Бълевъ. // Year 9, No./book 8 (88) (1937), pp. 10-12
2. ИВАНОВЪ, С. Х.
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3. КОПИТАРЪ
Донка Ставрева / Копитаръ. // Year 9, No./book 8 (88) (1937), p. 13

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1. НАСТЕВЪ, Христо
И кауркитѣ станали комити: първитѣ комитки – дветѣ етърви отъ с. Лера, Битолско / Христо Настевъ. // Year 9, No./book 9 (89) (1937), pp. 12-15

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1. ШУМЛЯАНСКА, Захария
Какъ се основа, уреди и унищожи Битолското сиропиталище: (изъ споменитѣ на Захария Шумлянска) / Захария Шумлянска. // Year 9, No./book 10 (90) (1937), pp. 8-13
2. СКРЪБНА вестъ за Захария Юл. Шумлянска / Илинденска организация. // Year 9, No./book 10 (90) (1937), sp.

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1. ДОБРЕВСКА, Сийка
Юбилейно приветствие къмъ г-жа З. Шумлянска / Сийка Добревска. // Year 10, No./book 3 (1938), p. 8
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Year 10, book 7 (97) (September 1938)

1. НАЙДЕНОВА Спирова, Йорданка
Предъ каймакамин / Йорданка Спирова Найденова. // Year 10, No./book 7 (97) (1938), p. 11

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Year 11, book 2 (102) (February 1939)

1. ИВАНОВЪ, Илия
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Баба Кръга : споменъ отъ Струга / А. Н. Мушмовъ. // Year 11, No./book 9 (109) (1939), pp. 8-9.
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1. ХРИСТОВЪ, Кирил
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1. ТИМЧЕВА, Вестала
Моята молитва / Вестала Тимчева. // Year 12, No./book 7 (117) (1940),
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1. МЕЛЕТИ, Ружа
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р. 2

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Year 13, book 1 (121, January), 2 (122, February), 3 (123, March), 4 (124, April), 5 (125, May), 6 (126, July), 7 (127, September), 8 (128, October), 9 (129, November), 10 (130, December), 1941

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1. ТИМЧЕВА, Вестала
Бъдни вечеръ / Вестала Тимчева. // Year 13, No./book 1 (121) (1941),
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2. ФИДАНОСКА, Мелетиева Ружа
Бъдникътъ / Ружа Фиданоска Мелетиева. // Year 13, No./book 1
(121) (1941), р. 14

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1. ШИНГАРОВА, П. Р.
Македония е свободна / П. Р. Шингарова. // Year 13, No./book 9 (129)
(1941), р. 7.

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1. АЦЕВЪ, Калитанъ Георги П.
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1. МЕЛЕТИ, Ружа
Ще дойдемъ ний! / Ружа Мелети. // Year 13, No./book 3 (123) (1941),
р. 11

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1. ХРИСТОВЪ, Кирил
Декларацията / Кирил Христовъ. // Year 13, No./book 4 (124) (1941),
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Year 13, book 5 (125, May), (May 1941)

1. МЕЛЕТИ, Ружа
Очакване / Ружа Мелети. // Year 13, No./book 5 (125) (1941), p. 5
2. ДРУМЕВЪ, Ангелъ
Учителката отъ Конско / Ангелъ Друмев. // Year 13, No./book 5 (125) (1941), pp. 11-12.

Year 13, book 10 (130, December), 1941

1. МЕЛЕТИ, Ружа
Честита ни нова година / Ружа Мелети. // Year 13, No./book 10 (130) (1941), p. 1

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Year 14, book 1 (131, January), 2 (132, February), 3 (133, March), 4 (134, April), 5 (135, May), 6 (136, July), 7-8 (137-138, September-October), 9 (139, November), 10 (140, December) 1942

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1. ХРИСТОВЪ, Кирил
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2. К. (anonymous)
Пишатъ ни отъ Скопие : тяржеството на лобното мѣсто на Мара Бунева / К. // Year 14, No./book 2 (132) (1942), p. 5.
3. Х. (anonymous)
Сребра Апостолова Ушлиновска / Х. // Year 14, No./book 2 (132) (1942), p. 5
4. ИЛИНДЕНЪ
Списъкъ : на избититѣ лица по време на Илинденското възстание въ с. Цапари-Битолска околия / Илинденъ. // Year 14, No./book 2 (132) (1942), p. 15.

Year 14, book 6 (136, July), (July 1942)

1. ВЕСЕЛИНОВА, Райна Цв.
Подпоручникъ Борисъ Сугаревъ : (спомени по случай 39 годишнината отъ героиската му смъртъ) / Райна Цв. Веселинова. // Year 14, book 6 (136) (1941), p. 6.

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1. ПОЗДРАВИТЕЛНИ телеграми до конгреса / Олга Радева. // Year 14, book 7-8 (1942), p. 25.

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1. Г-ЖА МАРИЯ Дяконъ Ив. Младенова. // Year 14, No./book 10 (140) (1942), p. 11.

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Year 15, book 3 (143, March), 1943

1. МАКЕДОНСКИЯ женски съюзъ
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Year 15, book 7 (147, September), 1943

1. МЕЛЕТИ, Ружа
Плаче народа / Ружа Мелети. // Year 15, No./book 7 (147) (1943), p. 3

Year 15, book 9 (149, November), (November 1943)

1. ДЕЙКОВА, Олга
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Year 15, book 10 (150, December), (December 1943)

1. ДЕЙКОВА, Олга
Од София до Св. Наумъ / Олга Дејкова. // Year 15, No./book 10 (150) (1943), pp.7-10

II *Luč*: a monthly covering cultural, economic and social issues

Luč: a monthly covering cultural, economic and social issues (in Serbian 'luč' means light) was a magazine that covered cultural, economic and social issues. It is a rare periodical that started its circulation in 1937. It was printed in Serbian in the period from 1 June 1937 until 20 May 1938. Its owner was Gjorgji Kiselinov, and together with Dr Boris Arsov, he was its editor-in-chief as well. The magazine was published in Skopje as a monthly. It was printed in the printing house 'Nemanja' in Skopje. Articles published in it were written by people with different professions: pharmacists, MPs, lawyers, traders, book-sellers and philologists. Among its contributors were Blagoj Blagoev, Dimitar Gjuzelov, Anton Panov, Radoslav Petkovski, Ceko Stefanov, Teodosij Robev, Filip Kavaev, Metodija Andonov Čento, and others. On 1 May 1938, the magazine was transformed into a joint-stock company with 28 shareholders. The magazine was banned by the public prosecutor because it published articles and contributions that criticized political events and the government itself, as well as other social anomalies. This periodical is part of the collection of the National and University Library

Saint Clement of Ohrid in Skopje. The library has the Year I, No. 1 (1937) – Year II No. 5 (1938) of this periodical. This title is under the pressmark PC II 32 / COBISS-MK ID:26122764. The magazine is digitalized and publicly accessible for the users of the web page dlib.mk.

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Једна охридска „жална песма“ о узићивању (певала Анастасија К.)
/ Људовит М. Бодулић. // Year 1, No. 4 (1937), pp. 150-151
3. ЂУЗЕЛОВИЋ, Руша Р.
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1. КИСЕЛИНОВИЋ, Ђ. Ј.
Се женал за гуска (причала Васиљка Тасић) / Ђ. Ј. Киселиновић. // Year 1, No. 5 (1937), pp. 205-206

Year 1, No. 6-7 (November-December 1937)

1. НАРОДНЕ умотворине // Year 1, No. 6-7 (1937), pp. 279-282

Year 2, No. 3 (May 1938)

1. СИМОНОВИЋ, Ђорђе.
Народне умотворине. Народна стара песма / Ђорђе Ј. Симоновић.
// Year 2, No. 3 (1938), p. 108

Year 2, No. 5 (May 1938)

1. НАРОДНЕ умотворине. Народне лирске песме из Скопља // Year 2, No. 5 (1938), pp. 204-205
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Социјална хроника : насилни побачај као социјално зло / Антоније М. Чакмаковић. // Year 2, No. 5 (1938), pp. 209-212

III *Smena: Organ of the Yugoslav Students*

Smena: Organ of the Yugoslav Students was a magazine of the Yugoslav students. It is a rare periodical that published articles by students. It was published in Serbian and it was printed in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Subotica and Skopje. Its owner was J. H. Stanković. It was published from 1930 to 1931. The texts in the magazine were printed in both Latin and Cyrillic alphabets. The magazine published poems, short stories, chronicles, articles about the students' associations and industry in the country, etc. The National and University Library Saint Clement of Ohrid has photocopies of this periodical from Year I, No. 1 (1930) - Year II, No. 7/8 (1931). This title is kept under the pressmark PC II 120 / COBISS-MK ID: 23568396 The magazine is digitalized and publicly accessible for the users on the web page dlib.mk.

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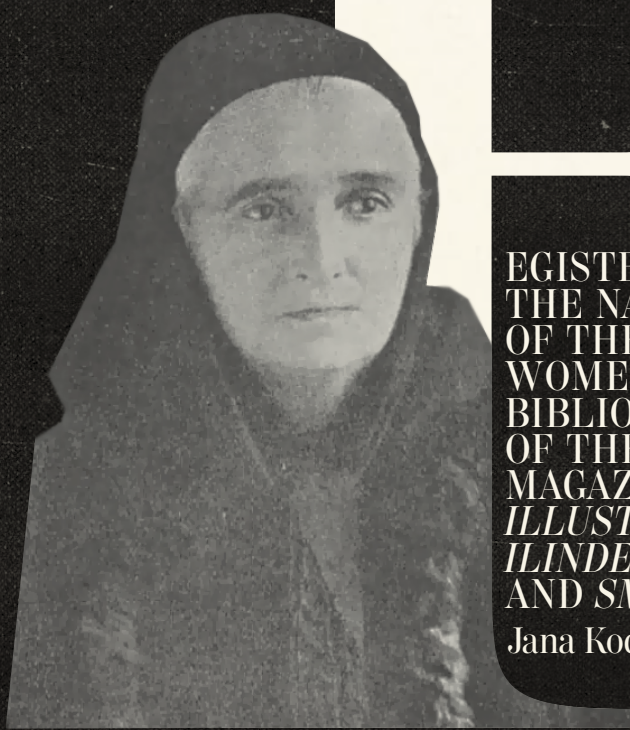
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1. TREU, Rudolf
Skopski Filozofski fakultet i njegovi studenti / Rudolf Treu. // Year 1, No. 1 (1930), pp. 7-11

Year 2, No. 1 (1 January 1931)

1. РАДОЈКОВИЋ, Милица
Данашња Студенткиња / Милица Радојковић. // Year 2, No. 1 (1931), pp. 5-8
2. ЗАНИМЛИВОСТИ : проценат студенткиња у односу на студената у појединим земљама // Year 2, No. 1 (1931), p. 46
3. ПИЛИЋКОВИЋ, Дора
Ноћ у шуми / Дора Пилићковић. // Year 2, No. 1 (1931), p. 27
4. ПОПОВИЋ, Иванка
Десетогодишњица скопског Филозофског факултета / Иванка Поповић. // Year 2, No. 1 (1931), pp. 65-67
5. ПИЛИЋКОВИЋ, Дора
Ову песму шуме јаблани / Дора Пилићковић. // Year 2, No. 1 (1931), pp. 8-9

REGISTER



REGISTER OF
THE NAMES
OF THE
WOMEN IN THE
BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF THE THREE
MAGAZINES
ILLUSTRATION
ILINDEN, LUČ,
AND SMENA.

Jana Kocevská, author

Instead of an index of the most important names and terms, there arose a need during our work on this book to compile a register of the names of all the women detected in the rare periodical literature, in the sources edited here as a Bibliography. The register of names presents the women 'hiding' behind the titles from the edited Bibliography of this book and are relevant for the texts discussed here. The order of the names in this register is alphabetical and focuses on the bibliographical connection between the name and the contents of the researched sources. Where it was possible, where there was factual and historiographical data, a short biographical note was added to the name. A more general purpose of the register was to enable further research in women's history. We believe that the approach that involves systematization of specific segments of the original data, as was the case here, by collecting evidence about the women who were active on different levels and were important in their communities, and therefore left their mark in the public sphere and the media, we hope to have increased the potential for further elaboration of old research data and initiated some brand new research in the field of Macedonian women's history. The register is a constituent part of this book, and as such, it is part of the methodological framework of this research. Therefore, it should be read together with the authorial texts that contain important historical and contextual information for the readers. The register offered here can be seen as a partially interactive information instrument. Its aim is not to provide full biographies or portrayals of the persons behind the detected names, or to delve deep into historiographical narratives about the political and identity history of the listed persons, but to serve as a landmark that stirs researchers' curiosity, incites readers to acquire more knowledge about women's history, to move from the press stories researched here onto other types of sources and literature.

I *Illustration Ilinden*

ALEKSIEVA, MILADINOVA, Carevna. (1856, Struga – 1934, Sofia) An educator and intellectual, engaged in both educational and literary work in Macedonia. Her particular interest was the education of girls. She was Dimitar and Mitra Miladinov's daughter. She founded the high school for girls called 'Annunciation' in Thessalonica. She founded and managed a girl school in Prilep. She died in a tragic tram accident on 18 December 1934 in Sofia.

Царевна Миладинова Алексиева :
(ќерка на Димитар Миладинов) /
Любомиръ Бобевски. // Year 8, book
10 (80) (1936), pp. 1–2;
На Царевна Миладинова Алексиева
/ Крум Димитровъ. // Year 8, book
10 (80) (1936), pp. 2; Учебното дѣло
въ гр. Прилепъ и Прилепско / Илија
Иванов. // Year 11, book 9 (109) (1939),
pp. 10–12;
Любомиръ Бобевски / К. Хр. // Год.
12, бр./кн. 8 (118) (1940), стр. 7.

ARNAUDOVA, Ekaterina. (1874, Libjahovo – 1958, Sofia), Komitadji, member of Jordan Stojanov's unit. She chose the life of a chetnik following the example of her family members. In *Illustration Ilinden*, she is presented as the 'fearless Pirin chetnik' in a komitadji attire and with arms. It is interesting that in other biographical sources, she was described as a person 'not suited for family life' (with a meaning that she challenged patriarchal norms) and that, apparently, she was first accepted in the unit disguised into a man, and only later, fighters in the unit discovered that she was a woman (this infor-

mation more of a local legend, but it does corroborate the unique examples of women who excelled as respected fighters among the komitadji). Except as a chetnik, she was also active as a humanitarian, working on finding homes and providing education for deserted children. She adopted seven children herself.

Пиринската четничка / Г. Ив.
Бјалевъ. // Year 5, No./book 7-8 (47-
48), (1933), pp. 30–31.

BUNEVA, Mara. (1902, Tetovo – 1928, Skopje) member of IMRO, known as the 'assassin' (or as the 'terrorist') on the account of the successful assassination she carried out in 1928, killing Velimir Prelič, a high representative of the Serbian authorities, in Skopje. She finished secondary school in Skopje between 1915-1918 when some of the territories of Vardar Macedonia was under Bulgarian rule. In 1918, when this territory became a constituent part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, her family moved to Bulgaria, where Mara Buneva went to high school. In Sofia, influenced by the contacts and relations of her family members with the network and ideology of IMRO, she joined the organization and became an active member. Having succeeded in murdering Prelič, Buneva committed suicide and this had a profound effect on the members of IMRO and the movements and organized groups related to the Organization and on the émigré community all over the Balkans, Europe and North America that supported this ideology. This was reflected on the pages of *Illustration Ilinden*, where she was eulogized as a martyr for the 'Macedonian

cause'. In Macedonian official historiography and in the public history of the socialist period, Mara Buneva was perceived as a controversial figure, although she and her deed were rehabilitated in the nineteen nineties by groups of supporters and 'mnemonic warriors' mostly on the right of the political spectrum.

Чаво: (Посвещава се отъ преводача Мара Бунева) / Аведисъ Ахаронянъ Харипъ. // Year 2, No./book 9 (19) (1929), pp. 11–15;
 Мара Бунева / Лубомиръ Бобевски. // Year 3, No./book 1 (21), (1929), p. 6;
 Подвигътъ на Мара Бунева / Л. Томовъ. // Year 6, No./book 3 (53) (1934), pp. 2–4;
 Лубомиръ Бобевски / К. Хр. Сов. // Year 12, No./book 8 (118) (1940), 7;
 Мара Бунева / К. Хр. Сов. // Year 14, No./book 2 (132) (1942), 2–4;

DEJKOVA, Olga. A writer. She published many journalistic and travel-writing articles in *Illustration Linden*.

Отъ Софија до Св. Наум / Олга Дејкова. // Year 15, book 9 (149) (1943), pp. 8–11;
 Од София до Св. Наумъ / Олга Дејкова. // Year 15, book 10 (150) (1943), pp.7–10.

DINKOVA, Slavka. (1848, Thessalonica -1869, Thessalonica) An educator, intellectual and feminist. As early as a pupil in primary education, she showed great interest in linguistics and education. She was mentored by one of the leaders of the national revival, Dimitar Miladinov. She wrote the article „За въспитанието на девоиките“ (“Македонија”, II, 14, 2.III.1868). She opened a school for girls in Thessalonica (around 1866).

The school worked in a room in her family house and the girls were educated for free. The urban elites from Bitola, Veles and Prilep, as well as the tailors' guild from Thessalonica, supported her and sponsored her work. Her school was also supported by Hristo Uzunov. Publicly, she expressed her view that equal educational and social opportunities for women and men were necessary as a precondition for a happier society and for the cultural development of people. Because of her attitude, some researchers consider her the first feminist in Macedonian history. She published articles and translations of didactic and novel-like materials related to the issues related to girls' education and she was very much against the limited opportunities for girls in education. She was one of the most significant female writers of the 19th century. She died very young at the age of 20.

Изъ вестниците и печата. / Хр. Силянофъ. // Year 9, book 3 (83) (1937), pp. 14–15;
 Училищното дѣло въ Солунската кааза презъ 1911-1912 уч. год. / И. Ивановъ. // Year 12, book 5 (115) (1940), pp. 14–16.

DJEROVA, Evtim, Slavka. (1876, Ohrid – 1943, Sofia) A humanitarian, patriot and activist member of the women's movement among the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria. She was a member of the Ohrid-Struga women's society, and later on in Sofia, she became the president of the Macedonian Women's Society.

Славка Евтимъ Джерова / Македонския женски съюзъ. // Year 15, book 3 (143) (1943), p. 7.

DJIVDJANOVSKA IVANOVA, Taska ('Jovanica') A courier and organizer from Kruševo, the village of Dolno Divjaci. She was active during the Ilinden Uprising. She participated in sabotages and assisted and accommodated komitadji. In *Illustration Ilinden*, she was presented together with Magdeva Mara from the same village as an activist tandem. On one occasion she convinced some Ottoman officer not to burn the village down in retribution for a komitadji's attack (See: MAGDEVA, Mara).

Крушовскиѣ куриери-светци / Никола Кировѣ Майски. // Year 6, No./book 3 (53) (January 1934), pp. 5–8.

DOBREVSKA, Sijka. An intellectual and writer. The President of the Fifth Regular Congress of the Macedonian Women's Society from Sofia. She corresponded with the educator Carevna Miladinova Aleksieva. She cooperated with the humanitarian Zaharija Šumljanska. She was married to Bulgarian General Simeon Dobrevski (born in Kratovo). In *Illustration Ilinden*, she was published as the author of the eulogy dedicated to Zaharija Šumljanska.

Юбилейно приветствие къмъ г-жа З. Шумлянска / Сийка Добревска. // Year 10, book 3 (1938), p. 8.

FIDANOSKA, Meletieva Ruža ('Meleti'). A writer of patriotic prose and poetry. The only female author of poetry published regularly by *Illustration Ilinden*.

Вардаре! / Ружа Мелети. // Year 12, book 9 (119) (1940), p. 1;
Свободна ще си ти! / Ружа Мелети. // Year 12, book 9 (119) (1940), p. 2;
Бъдникъѣ / Ружа Фиданоска Мелетиева. // Year 13, book 1 (121) (1941), p. 14;

Ще дойдемъ ний! / Ружа Мелети. // Year 13, book 3 (123) (1941), p. 11;
Очакване / Ружа Мелети. // Year 13, book 5 (125) (1941), p. 5;
Честита ни нова година / Ружа Мелети. // Year 13, book 10 (130) (1941), p. 1;
Плаче народа / Ружа Мелети. // Year 15, book 7 (147) (1943), p. 3.

GONOVA, Magda. A komitadji from the unit led by Gone Beginin from Kukuš. Gone Beginin's wife. In *Illustration Ilinden*, they were presented together as 'chetnik spouses', dressed in komitadji attire, with arms.

Никола попѣ Филиповѣ / Иванѣ П. Кеповѣ. // Year 6, book 7 (57) (1934), pp. 14–16.

GRDANOVSKA MITEVA, Para, 'Grandma Tonka' (Mitevica). An Ilinden revolutionary from Kruševo. She was called 'the komitadjis' mother' because of her activity as an assistant and accommodator of komitadjis in her house. Georgi Tomalevski and Petar Acev mentioned her in their memoirs.

Първата ми среща съ Йорданѣ Липерката : крушовската „Баба Тонка“ - Баба Пара Митева Гърданоска : (из спомениѣ на П. Ацевѣ по дейността му въ Крушовско) / Калитанѣ Георги П. Ацевѣ. // Year. 13, book 2 (122) (1941), pp. 6–8.

Раняването на Дамянѣ въ Груевѣ въ с. Слатино презъ 1904 год. // Year 9, book 3 (83) (1937), p. 6.

'Grandma Velika' In *Illustration Ilinden* she was described as a 'great helper and accommodator of the komitadji units' from the village of Smilevo.

Изъ живота на четитѣ / Г. Ив. Бѣлевѣ. // Year 9, book 8 (88) (1937), pp. 10–12.

IKONOMOVA, Tima. (1861, Veles – 1937, Sofia) An educator and humanitarian. She was the vice-president of the local Red Cross. She revived the women's society 'Ekaterina Simidchieva' and opened the Economic School for Girls in Skopje. She cooperated with the humanitarian and educator. Zaharija Šumljanska.

Тима Икономова / С. Х. Ивановъ. // Year 9, book 8 (88) (1937), p. 12; Учебното дѣло въ гр. Прилепъ и Прилепско / Илия Иванов. // Year 11, book 9 (109) (1939), pp. 10-12; Иванов, Ил. „Училишното дело во г. Скопје и скопската околија во 1911/1912 учебна година“. Year 9, book 9 (89), Sofia, November 1937, pp. 11.

JANČEVA, Evtimica. An educator and writer from the end of the 19th century. She is believed to be the author of the first polemical article (written by a woman) in which she protested against the public discrediting of women that worked in education.

Изъ дневника на Н. Пасковъ: (продължение отъ кн. 62-63) / Христо Шалдевъ. // Year 7, book 6 (66) (1935), pp. 15-16.

JANČULEVA RAKIDJIEVA, Evgenija. Born in 1875 in Prilep. An educator and writer. She was a women's rights activist and a participant in MRO. She was the Principal of the High School for Girls in Prilep and was married to the doctor Jordan Jančulev.

Учебното дѣло въ гр. Прилепъ и Прилепско / Илия Иванов. // Year 11, book 9 (109) (1939), pp. 10-12

KARAIVANOVA PETKOVA, Nedela (Grandma Nedela). (1826, Sopot – 1894, Sofia) She ran one of the first schools for girls in Prilep (opened

in 1865). She is acknowledged as the founder of female education in Macedonia. Her daughter, Stanislava Petkova Karaivanova Balkanova continued in her mother's footsteps and became a respected educator.

Учебното дѣло въ гр. Прилепъ и Прилепско / Илия Иванов. // Year 11, book 9 (109) (1939), pp. 10-12.

KARANOVA, TRIFUNOVA, Biljana. A teacher from Bitola. Participant in the revolutionary activities during the Ilinden Uprising. Daughter of Trifun Karanov, a public intellectual from Bitola. In *Illustration Ilinden*, she was presented as a leader of a group of teachers from the Bitola and Kastoria region that embroidered the standard of the uprising – an important symbol that boosted the morale of the community that revolted. She wrote her memoirs in which she described the activities of the inhabitants of Bitola, Kastoria and Kičevo region during the uprising in great detail, including the fact that they often chose opposing sides.

Въстанието въ Костурско (спомени) / Илия Н. Биолчев. // Year 5, No./ book 7-8 (47-48), (1933), pp. 12-19.

KIROVSKA VASILEVA, Tana ('Grandma Tona'). (1862, Osinčani – 1932, Pazardjik) A participant in the Ilinden Uprising. She became a legend in her native Osinčan, Kastoria region when in self-defence, she killed the attackers that broke into her house.

Изъ живота на четитѣ / Г. Ив. Бѣлевъ. // Year 9, book 8 (88) (1937), pp. 10-12.

KISELINOVA, Aspasia. Eustace Kiselinov's daughter from Ohrid, an assistant of the Ohrid Voivode Dejan Dimitrov called The Rock. This girl, at the age of sixteen, was an accidental witness at the spot where Voivode Dejan Dimitrov killed an Ottoman officer and was consequently considered his accomplice. The girl escaped together with the voivode and the authorities officially proclaimed her his accomplice. After the organized search for them in Struga and Bitola, they were caught in Bitola. Her family was tortured, Voivode Dejan was burnt at the stake and Aspasia was sentenced to death by hanging. She managed to escape and hid in Sofia with her brother.

Охридскиятъ войвода Деянъ
Димитровъ / С. А. // Year 9, book 7
(87) (1937), pp. 14–15.

KUKJOROVSKA T. Kalija. A courier from the Kruševo region.

Крушовскитѣ куриери-светци /
Никола Кировъ Майски. // Year 6,
No./book 3 (53) (January 1934), pp. 5–8.

LOZANČEVA, BIOLČEVA, Paraskeva, Anastas. (1880, Prilep – 1936, Sofia) An educated woman and IMRO activist. With her family, she lived in Bitola for a long period of time, where her father, Kosta Biolčev, ran his business. She was married to the revolutionary Anastas Lozančev, who owned a photographic atelier in Bitola and participated in the political events in the background of the Ilinden Uprising.

ЛОЗАНЧЕВА, Параскева А. // Year
8, book 2 (72) (1936), pp. 14–15.

MAGDEVA, Mara ('Magdenica'). A courier and organizer from Kruševo, the village of Dolno Divjaci. She participated in sabotages and assisted and accommodated komitadji. In *Illustration Ilinden*, she was presented together with Jovanica Djivdjanovska from the same village as an activist tandem. (See: DJIVDJANOVSKA Taska ('Jovanica').

Крушовскитѣ куриери-светци /
Никола Кировъ Майски. // Year 6,
No./book 3 (53) (January 1934), pp. 5–8.

MAMARČEVA-McCARTNEY, Nedela. (1898, Trnovo - 1989) A doctor and intellectual, member of the Bulgarian women's organizations involved in higher education. Her father, Dimitar Mamarčev was an officer. She studied medicine in Graz and Bern and graduated in 1917. She married Carli McCartney, a specialist in the history of Central Europe and Hungary. She worked as a correspondent for the newspapers *Zora*, *Mir*, and *Bulgaria*. In 1977, she bequeathed her property to the Association of women in higher education.

Един утешителенъ за насъ
проблясъкъ / Никола Кировъ
Майски. // Year 8, book 7 (77) 1936,
pp.15–16.

MIHOVICA 'Moštanka'. This incomplete and derivative name was mentioned in *Illustration Ilinden* in a text dedicated to the work of the women in the courier service of MRO – 'the *postalion* women' as they were called. The text described the way in which 'women's bands organized in the villages with a task to help the

revolutionary cause. It also described the hierarchy of these female courier services.

Пощенската служба при Вътрешна македоно-одринска револуционна организация преди Илинден / Киселинчевъ В. Лазо. // Year 8, No./ book 7 (77) (1936), pp. 8–10.

MIŠEVA KANEVČEVA, Aspasia Hr. Anastas. An educator from Ohrid, intellectual and revolutionary. She was part of an informal women's organization related to the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. She was also connected to the activities of MRO through her husband, the revolutionary Anastas Kanevčev. The other members of the informal women's group were the teachers from Ohrid: Slavka Puškarova, Elena Kackova, Poliksena Mosinova, Katja Samardjieva, Fanče Šuleva, Flora Georgieva, and Despina Vasilčeva. These women organized humanitarian actions to help the population that suffered and was impoverished during the Ilinden Uprising and in its aftermath.

Прасето ни спаси: единъ епизодъ / Никола Кировъ Майски. // Year 8, book 2 (72) (1936), pp. 7–9;
Мехди бей и охридската болница / Никола Кировъ Майски. // Year 8, book 3–4 (73–74) (1936), pp. 13–14.

MLADENOVA Iv. DJAKON, Marija. The President of the Women's Humanitarian Society 'Consolation' from Bitola, founded in 1905. She opened a soup kitchen and a Bulgarian economic school for girls called 'Maria Luisa' with 60 students.

Г-ЖА МАРИЯ Дяконъ Ив. Младенова. // Year 14, book 10 (140) (1942), p. 11.

MUŠMOVA HADJOVA, Krsta. She was from Struga and married in Ohrid. When Ottoman soldiers killed her only son she commenced a 'legal battle' with the state, starting with the court in Ohrid. In such cases, the courts usually adjudged compensations in return for public forgiveness for the murders by the families. Most families accepted compensations for murdered members, but Krsta held a speech in front of the gathered citizens and refused the compensation.

Баба Кръта : споменъ отъ Струга / А. Н. Мушмовъ. // Year 11, book 9 (109) (1939), pp. 8–9.

NAJDENOVA SPIROVA, Jordan-ka. A writer. The author of the poem dedicated to the revolution in Kruševo, published in *Illustration Ilinden*.

Юбилейно приветствие къмъ г-жа З. Шумлянска / Сийка Добревска. // Year 10, book 3 (1938), p. 8.

NEGREVSKA KOSTOVA, Koca. A courier from Kruševo.

Крушовскитѣ куриери-светци / Никола Кировъ Майски. // Year 6, No./book 3 (53) (January 1934), pp. 5–8.

PATEROVA, Hrisanta. (1862, Zagoričani – 1937, Sofia) A humanitarian. As an orphan from the Kastoria village of Zagoričani, she was adopted by the humanitarian Kiro Paterov and lived for a period of time in Bitola. Later on, she dedicated her life to humanitarian activities such as accommodation and care for children and in Sofia, she founded the orphanage 'Bitola' and managed the 'Macedonian Women's Charity Association'.

ЩЕДРА дарителка : единъ примѣръ за подражание. // Year 9, book 6 (86) (1937), pp. 14.

PECANOVSKA, Covka. A courier from the Kruševo region.

Крушовскиѣ куриери-светци / Никола Кировѣ Майски. // Year 6, No./book 3 (53) (January 1934), pp. 5–8.

PETROVA Fotinka, JAKIMOVA, DIMEVA, Aspasia, SPIROVA, Aneta, OLČEVA, Sp., POP HRISTOVA STEFANOVA, Vasilka. Educators from Bitola. In *Illustration Ilinden*, they were cited as the embroiderers of the standard of the Bitola revolutionary district during the Ilinden Uprising.

За спомениѣ на македонскиѣ деятели и Знамето на Битолския революционенѣ окржгѣ / Йордан Бадевѣ. // Year 12, book 6 (116) (1940), pp. 3–5.

POP GEORGIEVA ČERNO-DRINSKA, Marija. A theatre actress. Acted in the play Macedonian Blood Wedding by Vojdan Černodrinski. She was married to Černodrinski.

35-годишняѣтѣ юбилей на Войданѣ Чернодрински. // Year 8, No./book 3-4 (73-74) (1936), pp. 8–9.

PUKAVIČAROVA, Jordanka. A komitadji from Samokov. She was a member of the unit headed by Pavel Davkov from Gorna Djumaja. In *Illustration Ilinden*, she was presented together with her unit, dressed in komitadji's attire and with her arms.

По козитѣ пѣтеки : (продолжение отѣ книга 5 (35) / Стефанѣ Аврамовѣ. // Year 4, No./book 6 (36) (1931), pp. 9–12.

SIMIT(D)ČIEVA, Ekaterina. (1872, Skopje – 1899, Kumanovo) An educator and humanitarian. She was Tima Ikonomova's assistant and collaborator in the School for Girls in

Skopje. She was killed in Kumanovo by Turkish soldiers. Her replacement in the school in Skopje was Zaharija Vasilova Šumljanska. In her honour, her friend and collaborator Tima Ikonomova named the newly opened Economic School for Girls after her. (See: IKONOMOVA Tima).

Тима Икономова / С. Х. Ивановѣ. // Year 9, book 8 (88) (1937), p. 12.

ŠINGAROVA, P. R. An author of patriotic poetry and prose in *Illustration Ilinden*. She started writing children's books after World War Two.

Македония е свободна / П. Р. Шингарова. // Year 13, book 9 (129) (1941), p. 7.

STANIŠEVA, Luiza. (born in 1877 in Graz). An intellectual with German-Croatian origins, married to Dimitar Minov Stanišev, a notable from Galičnik. She worked as a humanitarian and volunteered as a nurse during the Serbian-Bulgarian war. She was awarded the Decoration for Services to the Red Cross of Austria-Hungary. She headed female feeding groups in the region of Galičnik and Reka and she founded the humanitarian society *Ivan Bigor* there.

ЕДИНѣ голѣмѣ дарителѣ. // Year 5, book 2 (42) (1932), pp. 5–6.

STEFANOVA-DIMITROVA, Katerina-Cilka. (1868, Bansko – 1952, Tirana). A teacher born in Bansko and the local representative of the American protestant mission. She was educated in the USA in a protestant school for nurses. In New York, she married Grigor Cilka, an Albanian and another fellow protestant who studied theology in the USA. When they got married,

she was remembered locally as ‘the great Bitola mother’. In her birthplace, Mogila, a monument was erected in her honour.

Какъ се основа, уреди и унищожи Битолското сиропиталище : (изъ спомениѣ на Захария Шумлянска) / Захария Шумлянска. // Year 9, book 10 (90) (1937), pp. 8–13; СКРЪБНА вестъ за Захария Юл. Шумлянска / Илинденска организация. // Year 9, book 10 (90) (1937), sp.; Юбилейно приветствие къмъ г-жа З. Шумлянска / Сийка Добревска. // Year 10, book 3 (1938), стр. 8; ЗАХАРИЯ юлиянь Шумлянска / Year 10, book (1938), pp. 8-10. Сиропиталище Битола / Кирил Христовъ. // Year 12, book 2 (112) (1940), pp. 10–12.

TATARČEVA, Tibault Martha. (or Magda, according to some press sources). An intellectual from Switzerland. A member and leader of women’s émigré organizations in Bulgaria and a member of IMRO. She was Asen Tatarčev’s wife. He was a doctor from Resen and a member of IMRO. In 1933, a publication of hers was printed in Geneva, written in French and entitled ‘An Appeal by the Macedonian Women to the International Public and the Representatives of the Free Peoples’.

Великияѣ македонски съборъ въ Горна-Джумая / Боян Мирчев. // Year 5, book 4 (44) (1933), pp. 3–13.

TILOVA, Evtim Zarinka. A humanitarian from Struga. She led the women’s humanitarian society in Ohrid. In 1890, she moved to Sofia, but continued organizing humanitarian activities in Ohrid and Struga. In her parents’ home in Struga, she started a shelter for persons that suffered the

most in the aftermath of the Ilinden Uprising.

Какъ биде изпратена една скромна, но заслужила. Стружанка / Ив. Х. // Year 12, book 2 (112) (1940), pp. 13–14.

TIMČEVA, Vestala. An author of patriotic prose and poetry, born in Skopje. A regular contributor to *Illustration Ilinden*. After World War Two she was a writer and publicist in Bulgaria.

Моята молитва / Вестала Тимчева. // Year 12, book 7 (117) (1940), p. 2; Бъдни вечеръ / Вестала Тимчева. // Year 13, book 1 (121) (1941), pp. 10–11.

TOMOVA, Kipra. (‘Grandma Kipra’) A courier. In *Illustration Ilinden* she was presented and photographed as one of the many women couriers and accommodators of komitadji.

Изъ живота на четитѣ / Г. Ив. Бѣлевъ. // Year 9, book 8 (88) (1937), pp. 10–12.

TRIČKOVA, Fakija, STANOEVA, M. Knejinja, POP NAUMOVA, Spasa, HRISTOVA, Fani, HALČOVA, Flora. Teachers from Kruševo, in the school year 1916/1917.

Учебното дѣло въ Крушовска нахия (подоколия) презъ турското владичество / Илиюа Ивановъ. // Year 11, book 2 (102) (1939), pp. 10–13.

UŠLINOVSKA ILIEVA DOMA-ZETOVSKA, Srebra, Apostol. (1886, Lera – 1942, Varna) As a young bride and wife of Apostol Ušlinovski in the village of Lera she was attacked and ravaged by the local Bey Redjep Redjo Suijo(v). Since Bey’s behaviour affected all women in the village, her sister-in-law Donka Stavreva Ušlinovska among them, the two sisters-in-law organized the murder of the Bey. After the murder, they escaped to the nearby

mountain where they were discovered by the unit of the Resen Voivode Slavejko Arsov, who gave them uniforms. Srebra's husband Apostol Ušlinovski joined them as an outlaw because he also had connections with the MRO. After the Ilinden Uprising, they became members of Gjorgji Sugarev's unit. (See: UŠLINOVSKA STAVREVA, Donka).

Донка Ставрева / Копитаръ. // Year 9, book 8 (88) (1937), p. 13;

И кауркитъ станали комити : първитъ комитки – дветъ етърви отъ с. Лера, Битолско / Христо Настевъ. // Year 9, book 9 (89), (1937), pp. 12–15;

Сребра Апостолова Ушлиновска / X. // Year 14, book 2 (132) (1942), p. 5.

UŠLINOVSKA STAVREVA, Donka. (1880/5, Smilevo – 1937, Varna). A komitadji from the village of Lera, Bitola region. While her husband was away for work, Donka was harassed and followed by a Turk. She killed him and buried him together with her sister-in-law, Srebra Apostolova. After the murder, the two women escaped in the nearby mountain, where they were discovered by the unit of the Resen Voivode Slavejko Arsov and he gave them uniforms. She became known as 'Donka the Komitadji', and was deemed 'equal to men' in the sources. She was a volunteer in the First Balkan War. Her destiny brought her very close to her sister-in-law Srebra Ilieva Ušlinovska and in the sources, they were often described as a tandem. (See: UŠLINOVSKA ILIEVA (APOSTOLOVA), Srebra).

Донка Ставрева / Копитаръ. // Year 9, book 8 (88) (1937), p. 13.

И кауркитъ станали комити : първитъ комитки – дветъ етърви

отъ с. Лера, Битолско / Христо Настевъ. // Year 9, book 9 (89) (1937), pp. 12–15.

UZUNOVA, ČAKAROVA, Anastasia, Dimitar. (1860, Struga – 1947, Sofia) The revolutionary Hristo Uzunov's mother. She was respected by the community as a woman that lost family members for the revolutionary cause during the Ilinden period. In *Illustration Ilinden* she was mentioned in a biographical text dedicated to the members of the family Uzunov and in a text dedicated to the women that embroidered the standard of the uprising from Ohrid and the Ohrid region: BOJADJIEVA NASTEVA, Kostadina, SAMARDJIEVA, Klio, ŠANOVA, Aneta, MILEVA, Aspasia, PARMAKOVA, Poliksena.

Четническото движение въ Охридско : (продължение отъ кн. 2 (73-74) / Антонъ Кецкарвъ. // Year 8, book 3-4 (73-74) (1936), pp. 14–18; Почитъ на Илинденци къмъ майката на Хр. и Антонъ Узунови / Бужбовъ и Ионевъ // Year 13, book 8 (128) (1941) p. 7; Учебното дѣло въ Крушовска нахия (подоколия) презъ турското владичество / Илиюа Ивановъ. // Year 11, book 2 (102) (1939), pp. 10–13.

II *Luč*

GJUZELOVIĆ, Ruša R. A singer and narrator of folk songs and stories.

С'нош е Боја седела / Руша Р.
Ћузеловић. // Year 1, No. 4 (1937), pp.
151–152;
Кучишта лајат, лоши људе идат /
Руша Р. Ћузеловић. // Year 1, No. 4
(1937), pp. 153–154.

PROJČESKA, Marija. A writer. She wrote prose for the magazine *Luč*.

Ленче / Марија Пројческа. // Year 1,
No. 4 (1937), pp. 145–148.

TASIĆ, Vasilka. A singer and narrator of folk songs and stories.

Се женал за гуска (причала
Васиљка Тасић) / Ћ. Ј. Киселиновић.
// Year 1, No. 5 (1937), pp. 205–206.

III *Smena*

PILIČKOVIĆ, Dora. Writer of poetry and prose. An author published in *Smena*.

Ноћ у шуми / Дора Пилићковић. //
Year 2, No. 1 (1931), p. 27;
Ову песму шуме јаблани / Дора
Пилићковић. // Year 2, No. 1 (1931),
pp. 8–9.

RADOJKOVIĆ, Milica. Author contributor to *Smena*. She studied law in Belgrade.

Данашња Студенткиња / Милица
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Biljana Kotevska

**REVIEW OF
THE PUBLIC
POLICIES**

Gender, history and historiography: towards gender-sensitive policies for setting gender equality and gender visibility as priorities in the development of Macedonian historiography

Executive summary

The awareness about gender, gender equality and the social power relations related to them is not part of our history or historiography. In Macedonian historiography, women are generally invisible or viewed as unimportant, part of the folklore, the quotidian, the ordinary, and consequently, as part of history that is also unimportant. They are *ahistorical* subjects. In this short review of the public policies, we argue against this point of view and in favour of setting gender equality and gender visibility as key priorities in the development of Macedonian historiography.

Although the legislative framework in Macedonia offers good foundations for planning and implementing policies that would enable setting gender equality and gender visibility

as key priorities of the development of Macedonian historiography, this review has established fairly clearly that the following is missing: (1) strategic documents for systematic and serious strategic treatment of the of librarian and archival activity, (2) integration of the gender perspective in the strategic documents concerning cultural development, (3) elaboration of the aspects that are important for the aspect of gender equality in historiography, through practical activities and measures in these strategic documents. Because the treatment of gender equality in academia in general, and in librarian and archival activities more specifically, is only in a rudimentary stadium, we give several recommendations that can serve as general directions to initiate activities that would set gender equality and gender visibility as key priorities in the development of Macedonian historiography.

We recommend:

- ◆ Implementation of the strategic priorities for gender-sensitive education, taking into account women's absence and invisibility as a basic manifestation of gender stereotypes in history;
- ◆ Adopting a strategy for the development of science and research activities that would include historiography with a completely integrated gender perspective, including an intersectional review;
- ◆ Revision of the existing strategic documents in order to treat the problem of gender inequality as a systemic problem, in historiography, and in science and in scientific research in general, as well as in archival and librarian activities;
- ◆ Consistent implementation of the Law on equal opportunities and the Law on prevention and protection against discrimination so that all legal and physical entities fulfil their obligations;

- ◆ A comprehensive and in-depth study of the policies that would analyse the obstacles and challenges for the development of historiography and the activities closely related to it, such as librarian and archival activities.

Introduction

The struggle for visibility and focus on gender is a crucial segment of the contemporary developments in historiography and it started long ago. The absence of women from history books in our region was clearly noted almost half a century ago. Lidija Sklevicki wrote as early as the nineteen seventies and eighties that Yugoslav history books had more horses than women (Sklevicki, 1996). This absence has continued to the present day (see Kotevska, 2015) and it is systemic, affecting even the process of digitalization of historical and cultural heritage, both here and all over the world. The development of historiography is closely related to the development of librarian and archival activities, and that is related with the developments in education, but also with the development of museum activity. Therefore, gender, the inclusion of gender, and gender visibility in historiography is a complex problem that requires a systemic solution, which, as we are going to show here, is missing at the moment.

Feminists¹ have organized to fill this gap. For instance, having identified that there is insufficient library material – literature written by women, and feminist literature – gathered around the initiative called ‘Share a woman author’, female activists collected donations and distributed books to several libraries all over Macedonia (Smilevska, 2021; Share a woman author 2021). Since

1 A rare example of other actors engaging with this issue is the project ‘Gender perspectives in history’ conducted by the Forum Civil Peace Service and the History Teachers’ Association in Macedonia, whose aim was to ‘deconstruct gender stereotypes, but also to open paths for studying social history instead of the mainly militarized and ethnocentric historical narratives (See Mladenovski and Stamenković, 2020)

2014, 'Fight like a girl!' and 'It's First and It's a Girl' have organized several events to generate and edit the content on Wikipedia about prominent women who contributed to the historical and social life in the country, thus aiming to close the gender gap in this free online encyclopaedia. (*Fight like a girl!* 2014) Similar actions have been organized globally. For instance, since 2017, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York has been organizing similar events to close the gender gap through generating and editing content on Wikipedia (MoMA, 2020). The problem with deficient systemic solutions, however, still remains.

In this short review of public policies, on the basis of the existing sources and data, we will argue in favour of setting gender equality and gender visibility as key priorities of Macedonian historiography and in favour of undertaking activities and measures in this direction. We will do this with (1) a short review of the importance of gender in historiography, but also in the related fields of librarian and archival activities, (2) a review of the domestic legislative framework and framework for implemented policies, and (3) recommendations.

This document is a short review of the significance of the issue in focus – about the policies and vice versa. Its aim, above all, is to clarify why this issue is a worthy subject for decision-makers and for all other concerned parties. For this reason, the document is based on existing data and sources, available through desk research. Once it is established that the issue is recognized as important by decision-makers, the next necessary step will be to conduct a comprehensive and in-depth study of policies, as we recommend here.

Although primarily focused on historiography, this document partially includes the institutions engaged in librarian and archival activities, because, although they have different methods, competencies and procedures in their work, they are among the key factors when the focus on gender and visibility of gender in

historiography is concerned. Some of the challenges are specific to the issue that is in the focus of the document – gender equality. The recommendations of this document are devoted to them. Some of the challenges are related to, and are derived from, the general challenges of historiography, but also of librarian and archival activities, most of them resulting from the current scarcity of materials and human resources. Because the focus of this document is to recognise the absence of gender and achieve greater gender visibility in historiography, these latter challenges will be omitted from the focus of this review and should be subjected to additional analysis.

1. The problem

1.1. The importance of gender in historiography and in library and archive work

The general absence of the gender perspective in historiography, libraries and archives has been discussed many times before (Moseley and Wheatley, 2008; Hill, 2011; De Yong and Koevoets, 2013; Delap, 2016; Beard, 2017; Ruiz, 2018). From all these sources we know that even decisions that seem benign, such as how much and what from the press will be archived, can have devastating effects on the possibility to study gender equality through the centuries. This is especially the case in situations where what was kept in the archive and what not as a result of prioritizing, and as usual, the part of history that was considered unworthy or less worthy is precisely the place where we can find data about women's existence and lives (Moseley and Wheatley, 2008). These decisions were most commonly made by the higher political circles, from which women were traditionally excluded. This, not only refuted the possibility for women's active involvement in the decision-making that concerned them, and was against the democratic principle of participation, but also helped this approach dictated from above take root and

result in the omnipresence of (the construction about) ‘powerful men’ (Moseley and Wheatley, 2008).

History shapes the understanding of those whose lives were/are considered worthy of being recorded and documented. History, as we know it today, is incomplete because it has missed 50% of the population. It teaches us that women’s lives were not worth it. This deletion of women is just a continuation of the oppression to which women were exposed for centuries. Women are considered ‘ordinary’ (Moseley and Wheatley, 2008), ‘quotidian’, and therefore unworthy or less worthy subject of historiography.² Because this was the traditional treatment of the knowledge about/from/of women, women’s lives and their role in historical processes, most commonly they stayed part of oral history only. Thus, the problems of oral history as a source of great importance for historiography, and libraries and archives,³ become relevant for the issue that is in our focus here.

142 The traditional principles, methods and structures established in historiographical work have metastasized to the tiniest pores, such as the understanding of the terms ‘credible’, ‘reliable’, etc. They are a product of the society in which we live and they are, by nature, exclusive, shutting out women and reproducing the matrix of the ethnically dominant heteronormative male values that deem everything women do of lesser importance. The work women do in these institutions is part of this matrix, and the common horizontal segregation is thus approved. In such a system, the deafening absence of women is the chief indicator that the problem to which this document is dedicated exists.

The gender perspective is of crucial importance in overcoming the false universalism (Sklevicki, 1996) that historiography produces with its ‘gender blindness’. By including the gender perspective,

2 Irrespective of social history as such.

3 Authors have already published their experiences and data about the challenges in the work with oral sources and archives (see Mirčevska, 2019).

we can approach the existing sources differently, in a new manner (Lerner, 1979, 10-14), but we can also 'deconstruct the traditional perceptions of the female subject and reconstruct it from its anonymity in history' (Buss, 2011, 2). This is the key step in getting to know Macedonian experience and existence as a whole, but also to distinguish it from, and/or enter into a dialogue with, that of other countries with whom we share similar or the same history. Although in the other Yugoslav republics, there are more and more books published and knowledge gained about the women's question in history (see Bonfiglioli, 2008; Lóránd 2018), this is not the case with Macedonia. Therefore, our historiography cannot enter into an equal dialogue and join the conversation that is going on at the moment and offer its own new finds. For this reason, the first step is to identify and name the problem.

1.2. Gender equality, historiography and the domestic law and policies

1.2.1. Gender and the legal framework

The legal framework of interest here is determined by several laws. Some are important for the institutional framework, while others for the material. However, all of them lack the gender perspective and have no special provisions for cases when gender equality is not respected. The Law on equal opportunities for women and men obliges the institutions to work on implementation, improvements and promotion of gender equality in their work. From this source are derived the recommendations we included at the end of this document, aimed at these key institutions and other relevant factors. The key institutions with regards to this issue are the Ministry of Education and Science, Ministry of Culture, Institute of National History, the State Archives of the Republic of North Macedonia and the National and University Library Saint Clement of Ohrid – Skopje.

According to the Law on the organization and operation of state administration bodies, two ministries are of crucial importance for this issue.⁴ The Ministry of Education and Science, among else, conducts the affairs related to 'education and teaching of all types and levels; organization, financing, development and improvement of the teaching, education and science;' (Law on the organization and operation of the state administration bodies, Article 23). The Ministry of Culture, among else, 'conducts the affairs related to monitoring, analyzing and proposing by-laws and measures for development and improvement of culture; organization, financing and development of the net of national institutions and financing programs and projects of national interest in this field; protection of the cultural inheritance; publishing, ...library, archive, ...activities, ...monumental celebration of events and prominent individuals of national interest' (Ibid., Article 26).

According to the Law on Scientific and Research Activities, the Institute of National History, 'as a public scientific institution is an independent institute, founded with a decision of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia to conduct affairs of a high strategic and national interest for the Republic of Macedonia' (Law on Scientific and Research Activities, Article 2 (8)). Some of the goals of this Law are 'equality of women in science', but also (continual improvement of scientific and research activities; the reciprocal connection between science and education; coordination of the subjects that conduct scientific and research activities; ...improvement in the application of the research results' (Ibid. Article 4). Competition and equal opportunities are among the principles on which scientific and research activities in Macedonia are based (Ibid. Article 3).

The State Archive of the Republic of North Macedonia conducts the affairs related to the maintenance and protection of the archive materials disposable to the Republic; ordering and processing the

4 Because of its authority with respect to gender equality, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy is also important. His role, nonetheless, is of secondary importance for the purposes of this document, and was not mentioned separately.

material and archive researches (Law on organization and operation of the state administrative bodies, Article 34). Unlike with all previously cited activities, when archival activity is concerned, the principle of equality was explicitly defined by law only with regards to the use of the public archival material (Law on archival materials, Article 42 (1)).

The National and University Library Saint Clement of Ohrid – Skopje, was founded to develop librarianship, culture, science and education, and to satisfy the demands for information from librarianship' (Law on libraries, Article 7 (2)) and performs special duties,⁵ but also the same duties as all other libraries.⁶ The principles

5 (1) 'it studies the situation and conditions for development of a library network, the organization and improvement of the librarian activity and gives expert opinions and suggestions; 2) it coordinates the work of the libraries in the Republic of North Macedonia; 3) it collects, processes, keeps and provides access to the librarian material, related to Macedonia and written in Macedonia by authors from the Republic of North Macedonia, published anywhere in the world; 4) it provides the necessary expert assistance to the libraries in the Republic of North Macedonia; 5) it suggests initiatives for adoption of measures and regulations for improvement of the librarian activity and the expert education of librarians and promulgates bylaws from its area of expertise; 6) it prepares and publishes up-to-date bibliography of the Republic of North Macedonia, *Bibliographia Macedonica*, as well as different kinds of retrospective and special bibliographies; 7) it prepares instructions for expert processing and keeping of the domestic librarian material of national importance; 8) it provides continual education of the librarians in the Republic of North Macedonia; 9) it organizes cooperation among the libraries, especially in the area of procurement, expert processing, lending and exchange of librarian material; ... 12) it determines the conditions under which special protection is provided for foreign librarian materials, when this material as an insured exhibit;... 14) it fulfils the role of a Center of the librarian information system of the Republic of North Macedonia, it organizes and coordinates the networking and functioning of the libraries within this librarian information system and the activities within the system concerning mutual 15) it proposes promulgation of regulations for the technical and protective measures for keeping and maintaining of the librarian material; 16) it keeps central catalogues of the librarian material; ... 22) it runs an information system for the scientific research activities in the Republic of Macedonia; 23) it attaches periodicals from the Republic of North Macedonia in foreign information services and indices of periodicals with free access; ... 25) it organizes, coordinates and digitalizes librarian materials and librarian goods following international and national standards and criteria, using international technology.' See Law on Libraries, 66/2004; 89/2008; 116/2010; 51/2011; 88/2015; 152/2015; 39/2016; 122/2021; Article 18.

6 '1) they procure, research, collect, expertly process and study, protect, keep, publish, inform, present and lend librarian material for use; 2) they promote and affirm the librarian collections of the Republic of North Macedonia via exhibitions, lectures, literary readings, seminars, courses, film screenings and other forms of activity; 3) they provide conditions for use and expert and scientific study of the library collections; 4) they publish specialist publications, catalogues, guides and other information material; 5) they keep entry records, inventory, basic catalogue and other types of records and

of equality and non-discrimination are not part of the primary law defining this institution.

This short review clarified that gender equality and the gender perspective are not determined as a goal or a priority in most of the laws that define the work of the key institutions. But this does not imply any deficiency of legal obligations regarding gender equality. Quite the contrary. The Law on equal opportunities for women and men, as *lex specialis*, is valid for these activities as well. The principles and tools determined by this law are important for history both as research activity and in education, but also for librarian and archival work.

According to the Law on equal opportunities for women and men, 'the aim of this Law shall be the establishment of equal opportunities for women and men in the political, economic, social, educational, cultural, health, civil and any other sphere of the social life.' (Law on equal opportunities for women and men, Article 2 (1)), and all institutions referred to above are obliged to implement it' (Ibid, Article 3). They have to implement the general measures prescribed in this law, including those 'that introduce systematic inclusion of equal opportunities for women and men in the process of creation, implementation and monitoring of the policies and the budgets in special social spheres, including the exercise of the functions and competences of the entities of the public or private sector.' (Ibid. Article 5 (3)). General measures are also the measures that provide equal opportunities for women and men in education and professional education. In relation to this, the law prescribes that: 'The state administrative bodies responsible for activities in the field of education and labor, the institutions

documentation; 6) they maintain library card indices, catalogues and data bases; 7) they conduct expert processing and keep the domestic librarian material of local interest; 8) they engage in bibliographical and information and documentation activities; ... 10) they participate in the library information system and in the maintenance of the bibliographic data base; 11) they digitalize the librarian material; 12) they participate in the maintenance of the national mutual bibliographical base of the central catalogues and data bases.' Source: Law on Libraries, 66/2004; 89/2008; 116/2010; 51/2011; 88/2015; 152/2015; 39/2016; 122/2021; Article.16.

that deliver education and professional training shall be obliged to make analysis on regular basis concerning the contents of the curriculums, programs and textbooks in terms of promotion of equal opportunities of women and men.' (Ibid., Article 6 (4)). In addition to this, the law prescribes 'mechanisms for elimination of prejudices and stereotypes concerning the implementation of equal opportunities' from the professional training programs, textbooks and teaching aids and the pedagogical and andragogical methods (Ibid., Article 6 (3)). These institutions are also obliged to undertake special measures for the purpose of overcoming the existing unfavorable social status of women and men, resulting from a systematic discrimination or structural gender inequality resulting from historical and socio-cultural circumstances.' (Ibid. Article 7), and they include 'program measures' as 'measures directed towards awareness-raising, organizing activities and drafting and implementing action plans for the purpose of motivating and promoting the equal opportunities.' (Ibid., Article 7). Additionally, according to the Law on prevention and protection against discrimination, 'all state bodies, bodies of the local self-government units, legal entities with public authorizations, and legal entities and natural persons... are obliged to undertake measures or actions aimed at promotion and improvement of equality and at prevention of, and protection against discrimination' (Law on prevention and protection of discrimination, Article 3 (2, 3)).

It now clearly ensues that all these identified institutions with authority to address the systemic problem with the exclusion and invisibility of gender in historiography are legally obliged to work on its resolution. In addition to this, the resolution of this problem is part of the strategic priorities of the Government that, together with other strategic documents in North Macedonia, will be discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

1.2.2. Gender in strategic documents

The public policies related to gender equality and historiography are from the fields of education and culture, together with the national strategy for gender equality. North Macedonia does not have a strategy for science. The public policies from the field of education that were adopted (Strategy for Development of Education 2018-2025 with an action plan, 2018) and in preparation (Draft Concept for the Primary Education, 2021), include aims such as eradication of gender inequality and promotion of gender-sensitive education. These documents are more than satisfactory basis for future activities (Strategic plan 2021-2023, 2021). However, the major problem that remains is the absence of any science strategy. This leaves a crucial section of strategic issues uncovered by any current strategic document that would define the efforts in the area of gender equality and historiography and makes the strategic planning and financing of activities very difficult.⁷

Unlike the public policies in the field of education, the public policies with regards to culture, which need to include both librarian and archival activities, do not have gender and gender equality as their priorities, either as a practical goal or a valuable lens through which to view and plan the cultural development of the country. This 'gender blindness' results in policies that aim at solving general challenges, which undoubtedly affect women as well, but completely ignore the gender-related challenges. As they are, these strategic documents, although declaratively supporting equality as the highest principle, either fail to mention gender equality at all, or mention it only symbolically, and address it very superficially and fleetingly.⁸ This is the case with the national strategy for gender equality with regard to culture. For this reason, we offer a brief

7 Although planning is currently covered by programs for scientific research activity, the last was adopted in 2021, these programs are only general and offer no strategic direction or vision, or more specific directions for the treatment of the important aspects of gender equality in historiography. See: Program for the scientific research activity for 2021, Official Gazette of the Republic of North Macedonia, No. 3/2021; 115/2021; 167/2021.

8 The treatment of librarian and archival activities themselves is the same.

overview of gender equality in the strategies for the development of culture.

The chief document concerning the public policy for culture – the National Strategy for Development of Culture in the Republic of Macedonia in the period between 2018-2022 detects weaknesses in our cultural policies, including their reactivity, the absence of policies created upon proven data, but also focused on the so-called ‘national interest’, which was justly identified as a factor that ‘narrows the range of activities and all programs and projects that do not express this national interest are neglected’. This is also crucial for the attention, space and resources allocated to gender equality, especially because gender equality and the history of women’s rights have never been seen as something that is part of the ‘national identity’, or as something of high priority, or supported in any way at all. Starting from a factual situation like this, the strategy has two general aims – ‘to assure equal cultural rights for all’ and ‘to create conditions that encourage the freedom and diversity of creation and of cultural identities’. These guarantees of the cultural rights of women in general, and of women from different ethnic, social, sexual, political and other groups, entail acting specifically in the direction of the realization of the two general aims of the strategy. The same can be applied to the specific aims, such as ‘cultural opportunities for everyone’ (and especially ‘to support artistic creations, and the cultural development, education and creative potential of the country’) as well as ‘cultural capital, diversity, cooperation’ (and in particular for ‘the improvement of the mutual understanding and dialogue and fair inclusion of the vulnerable and marginalized groups in the cultural production and social and cultural life’ and for ‘provision of protection, management and evaluation of the cultural heritage in accordance with the contemporary European practices’), but it can also be applied to the specific goal ‘Reforms’ (especially to the ‘introduction of changes into the legislative framework that directly or indirectly affects culture in order to remove the unsuitable

administrative limitations') (National strategy for the development of culture 2018-2022, 2018).

In order to realize these goals, the strategy sets the following as its principles for strategic development: 'equality, access, participation and rights', founded upon the 'right to culture as an inviolable human right'. Within its strategic direction and priority 'From multiculturalism to interculturalism', the strategy imagines this priority as imposing a moratorium on 'the subsidies for programs and projects that support nationalism, xenophobia, ethnic, religious and sex discrimination', while in 'Care for diversity', the emphasis is on the plural cultural identities, that is to say, on the groups with different specificities, based on their different social or class status, gender, sexuality, special needs, etc.' The strategy claims that 'the needs of all marginalized groups in the society must not be ignored' and among its long term goals, it lists 'respecting the need for further intensifying of the cultural expression of these communities/groups through a continuation of their permanent inclusion in programs/projects in the annual programs of the national institutions and of the independent cultural scene.' But these aspects are not in the least elaborated, and there is no integrated gender perspective anywhere in the document. So, in its present form, this strategy does not prioritize or create any solid basis for addressing the problem of gender equality with regard to the librarian and archival activities. Additionally, the strategic plan of the Ministry of Culture for 2021-2023 does not envisage any activities with respect to gender equality, except for the 'Preparation of an Analysis to precede the drafting of an Operational Plan for 2021 for implementation of the National Action Plan for Gender Equality 2019-2021' (Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Culture for 2021-2023, 2021).

The National Strategy for Gender Equality aims to 'improve gender equality in the society in which women and men, girls and boys, would have equal rights, access to resources, opportunities and protection in all spheres of life, for a comprehensive sustainable

economic, demographic and social development and progress of the country, that is, a society in which women and men will have the same privileges and responsibilities, and will realize them in a true mutual partnership.' In the section 'Strategic documents important for gender equality, this strategy mentions the National Strategy for Development of Culture.

The National Strategy for Gender Equality only fleetingly touches upon gender equality in education and culture. In the section that gives an overview of the present situation, there is a very short, superficial and fragmentary discussion about gender equality in these two fields. In culture, the text cites that 48% of the 2 955 employees in the national cultural institutions are women, but there is no mention of their actual status in them, or whether there is gender segregation in some specific branches of culture, or whether and how the existing cultural infrastructure is adjusted to women's needs. There is also no mention of the situation with regards to programming and gender equality, of the possible encouraging measures that are (not) undertaken in favour of gender equality, or, of measures for bolstering gender equality among employees, such as training in gender sensitivity or diversity sensitivity. This focus on the institutional employees neglects the women employed in the independent cultural sector completely. The strategy mentions that the budget of the Ministry of Culture has included the gender aspect, but the argumentation offered in support of this claim makes it clear that only some of the envisaged funds ended up in female hands, that is, out of 104 financed projects, only 9 had women as the main title bearer (8%) and 8 had legal entities (7%). In the publishing field, 29% of the publications were by women authors, in electronic publishing 28% were projects managed by women or dealt with gender themes (National Strategy for Gender Equality – version adopted by the Government of the RNM 2021, 18-19). As far as education is concerned, the number of female pupils and students in all levels of education is mentioned, as well as the introduction of comprehensive sexual education.

Additionally, women are not viewed as a heterogeneous group with regards to any of these aspects, and that different groups of women might have different needs is not taken into account. For instance, women with disabilities might have one kind of needs, the Roma women another, etc. Women are essentialized and presented as a homogeneous entity, viewed strictly through the lens of their sex. Furthermore, the complexity of the problem with gender insensitive education is simplified and it is suggested that 'fully sensitive and equal education will be achieved by maintaining the process of education among the girls from vulnerable groups and by supporting girls to get education in fields that are traditionally considered 'male', and which are usually better-paid professions with a greater choice of jobs, (that is to say, they are considered professions for the future), and by providing the right conditions for women to get promotion in high education and science with special measures for stimulation and support'. Except for this, only the need for infrastructural adaptation is mentioned, such as the introduction of better menstrual hygiene and comprehensive sexual education.

The manner in which the present situation is processed, and its priorities, ignore the gender aspects in education and culture and also ignores the availability, accessibility, acceptability and suitability related to them. The presented specific goal 2.6. 'Gender-sensitive education and science' and the specific goal 2.11. 'Improvement of gender equality in culture' both are not based on identified situations and on the narrative about the priorities. Still, they are much better formulated and engaging with the question of the visibility of gender issues. However, some crucial points are omitted, and we propose that (1) in education – the extent of gender equality in scientific work that should go beyond counting graduate students, different academic titles, professors, project leaders and papers by sex, and it should also include the themes of the projects and papers, as well as follow the structure within the framework of the group of women, with attention to the women from the ethnic

communities and the women with disabilities, it should introduce women's visibility in traditionally male subjects, such as history, and (2) in culture – it should engage with the issues concerning the accessibility of the infrastructure, the elements of the right to culture and it should depart from the treatment of women as a homogenous entity.

Lastly, but perhaps most importantly, as far as the two fields of education and culture are concerned, throughout the entire strategy, when it defines the existing situation and the set priorities and specific goals, there is a noticeable absence of the perception of gender inequality as a systemic problem. Bearing this in mind, the interventions planned with this strategy can have only limited results, without the long term systemic and structural changes necessary for the proper eradication of gender inequality.

Before we move to the recommendations, and in order to illustrate everything said above, we share the experiences during the research for the project *Invisible Archives*, whose product is the publication in your hands.

2. From the experience of *Invisible Archives*

The first stage of the research project *Invisible Archives* – the incidence of women in the press published and circulated on the territory of Vardar Macedonia, consisted of ‘communication and visits to relevant institutions for the purpose of collecting research material, and constituting a research inventory and selection.’ This was realized in the period October 2020-March 2021 in the National and University Library in Skopje, in the Department for Rare Periodicals, as well as in the digital space of the institution – dlib.mk. Because this stage is of direct significance for the subject of this review of public policies, the focus of these paragraphs is on it.

The author of this review asked her project collaborators⁹ that conducted this stage of the research for a reflection on their experience with the collection of the materials, with a main focus on the experiences that contributed the most to making the research process easier or harder.¹⁰ With a single exception,¹¹ in the reflection of the project, the challenges that the collaborators had to face included those most common general challenges and challenges that were more closely related to the researched topic. As the most common general challenges, the project collaborators cited the slow response to their requests for access to materials (see: Hadjievaska, 2020; Smilevska, 2005, 7-8), the dominant climate of making you feel unwelcome, the lack of any support for the researchers, evident in the absence of any assistance during their work in the institutions, but also the non-existence of printed catalogues and/or bibliographies of the available collections and materials,¹² and the only rudimentary communication with the stuff. The project collaborators found that the challenges more closely related to the particular topic of the research were also great. According to them, the ‘female themes’ were seen as either something new, vague and exotic, or were approached as an anecdote, which is a rather unprofessional approach to academic research (Hadjievaska, 2021), as well as the fact that the ‘national themes and great “historical” episodes were predominant, regardless of the point of view of the remembrance policy from which they were observed (whether it was explicitly patriotic or civil, or some other point of view and approach)’ (Ibid.). The example of the current digitalization for the Digital Library at NUL, dlib.mk, is quite a good illustration of these

9 Ivana Hadjievaska and Jana Kocevka.

10 Basic source: Ivana Hadjievaska, ‘The experiences and challenges of the researchers during the collection and working with the materials in the first stage of the research process for the project *Invisible Archives*, correspondence (25.08.2021).

11 dlib.mk was considered a positive exception to the rule, despite some objections that were cited further down in the text.

12 ‘The researcher was left to her own devices, when the searching possibilities were concerned, and in the organizing of her travels to different locations and personal contacts, and was forced to make her own tools, a register or a collection contents with the items and materials of interest.’ (Hadjievaska, 2021).

points. There was no explanation about the priorities, focus and dynamics of the digitalization, including the actual selection of the topics on which it focused (for instance, the project collaborators informed that the only Macedonian women's press *Makedonka – Organ of the Women's Antifascist Front*).

The project collaborators believe that some of the reasons that might have contributed to these obstacles were the situations in which the expert professionals were overladen with administrative obligations, and the lack of finances and human resources (Ibid.). And judging by the previous list of challenges, we could add the general lack of awareness about gender equality, as well as about the power relations in this context, and this lack of awareness then spilled over and got into every pore of the work of these institutions, when setting the digitalization priorities, for instance.

This indicates that it is necessary to increase both the finances and human resources of archives and libraries, including the training for gender sensitization. In order to examine the nature and range of these obstacles and to offer valid recommendations for their elimination, an in-depth policy study needs to be conducted that would include an analysis of these obstacles, as recommended in the following and last section of this analysis.

3. Conclusion and recommendations

From the information cited above, we could conclude that the legislative framework can work as a good basis for planning and implementing policies that would push gender equality and visibility to the fore as key priorities needed for the development of Macedonian historiography. It was determined that there are no (1) strategic documents for science and a serious strategic treatment of librarian and archival activities, (2) integration of the gender perspective in the strategic document for development of culture,

(3) elaboration of the aspects important for gender equality with regards to historiography through concrete activities and measures in these strategic documents. Since the treatment of gender equality in science in general, and in librarian and archival activities in particular, and historiography consequently, is in a rudimentary stadium, we would like to offer several recommendations to serve as general directions to initiate activities that would set gender equality and visibility as key priorities for the development of Macedonian historiography:

- ◆ Implementation of the strategic priorities for gender-sensitive education and with regards to history, among else, by ridding the history textbooks from heteronormative male values. Because the main focus is on eliminating gender stereotypes and discrimination from the textbooks, the absence and invisibility of women as a basic manifestation of gender stereotypes in history should be treated as such in the current activities for elimination of gender stereotypes and discriminations from textbooks.
- ◆ Adoption of a strategy for the development of science and research activity that would include historiography, with a fully integrated gender perspective, including an intersectional review.
- ◆ Revision of the existing strategic documents and of the Strategy for gender equality, which is in the process of being adopted, in order to treat the problem of gender inequality as a systemic problem and to plan interventions that would lead to long term systemic and structural changes, including changes in historiography, but also in science and research in general, and in the archival and librarian activity as well.

- ◆ Consistent implementation of the Law on equal opportunities for women and men and the Law on prevention and protection from discrimination in order to realize the obligations of all legal and physical entities, including the key institutions identified here, with regards to their integration of the gender perspective in their policies.
- ◆ Preparation of a comprehensive and in-depth study of policies that would conduct an analysis of the obstacles and challenges in the development of historiography and the activities closely related to it, such as librarian and archival activities. This study should also map the lack of materials and human resources very precisely.



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BIOGRAPHIES OF THE AUTHORS

Nada Boškowska Leimgruber is a full professor in Eastern European History at the University of Zurich. While she is teaching a broad range of topics, her focus of research is twofold. On the one hand, she has been working and publishing on pre-petrine Russia, dealing especially with social and gender aspects. Her book on Women in 17th century Russia (*Die russische Frau im 17. Jahrhundert*, Köln: Böhlau 1998) received wide attention. In the last years, the Balkans and especially the history of Yugoslavia came to the centre of her research interest. She has been working on the last years of Ottoman rule, published a book on Yugoslav Macedonia 1918–1941 (*Das jugoslawische Makedonien 1918–1941. Eine Randregion zwischen Repression und Integration*, Wien: Böhlau 2009) and several articles on the period between the world wars as well as on the transformation years.

Ivana Hadjievaska holds a Master's degree in history from the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje. She has received an award from the Frank Harcourt Manning Foundation as a student of the year (2018) and the Recognition of the University Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Skopje for highest success in studying (2019). Her research interest is specialized in the field of social history, history of women and memory politics. She works as an independent researcher on projects that connect her research interest with inclusive education and local activism.

Jana Kocevska graduated from the Institute of ethnology and anthropology in Skopje. She works in the Association for promotion of women's equality "Tiiiiit!Inc" and is co-founder of the feminist festival "Firstborn girl". Also, she is co-founder of the Center for research of nationalism and culture (CINIK) in Skopje. She collaborates in the organizing of Skopje's Pride Weekend and on the Festival for Critical Culture in Skopje - CRIC. From October 2021 she is a president of the Management Board of JADRO - Association of the Independent Cultural Scene. Main topics of her interest are gender equality, cultural policies and human rights.

Zdravko Stojkoski is a history teacher and holds a Master's degree in the field of cultural studies in literature. He has lectured history and social science in middle school and high school. Recently he's been working as a historian in the Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia. He has participated in many national and international projects, conferences and courses. He has published articles, books, essays and reviews in scientific and literary journals.

Manja Velickovska (b. 1995) graduated from the Department of General and Comparative Literature at the Faculty of Philology "Blaze Koneski" at The Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. She works as an editor and younger researcher. She is currently enrolled in MPhil studies in Aesthetics at the Department of Philosophy at the same university. She is employed in Coalition MARGINS as a program assistant. She has experience in the publishing industry and many collaborations in the realization of a few local cultural festivals. In 2018 she became an active member of the regional group for literary critic "Pobunjene čitateljke". Since 2021 she is vice-president of JADRO - Association of the Independent Cultural Scene.

Frosina Krushkarovska (1992) Graduated from the Department of General and Comparative Literature at the Faculty of Philology “Blaze Koneski” in Skopje. Junior editor at Templum publishing and co-editor and translator at the online magazine for culture “Okno” since 2019. Co-organizer of the literary festival for small fiction “Another story”.

Marina Mijakovska holds a PhD in literature studies and works as a senior librarian. She writes poetry, prose, essays, literary criticism and scientific articles. She has graduated and earned her Master’s degree at the University Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Skopje at the Institute for general and comparative literature studies at the Philological Faculty “Blaze Koneski” in Skopje. Mijakovska is a member of The Macedonian Writers’ Association (MWA). She has participated in many international literature manifestations in the country and abroad. She has been awarded a few literary awards on a national and international level, among which the Award “Danica Ručigaj,” by the MWA in 2019.

Biljana Kotevska is a Research Coordinator in the European Policy Institute – Skopje. In the past fifteen years has worked as a researcher for policy research organisations in South-East Europe and as an expert and consultant for IGOs (EU, CoE and OSCE) and NGOs on various human rights issues, including equality and non-discrimination, gender equality, economic, social and cultural rights, national human rights institutions, and minority rights. Dr. Kotevska holds a PhD in Law from the School of Law, Queen’s University Belfast (United Kingdom) awarded for her doctoral research on intersectional inequalities in the post-Yugoslav space. She has been awarded individual competitive scholarships and research grants, including the Chevening Scholarship and the Civil Society Scholar Award.



Before you is the work of a small group of young scholars who have made it their mission to help make the invisible visible in history. There are many groups that remain invisible or are only dimly illuminated: they have been marginalized in the respective society, produced hardly any writing themselves, and are also often passed over by those who shape the respective discourse and also by historiography. They may be, for example, marginalized social groups or discriminated minorities. In our case, the invisible belong to all social strata and are by no means a minority: the book is devoted to Macedonian women in the period between the two world wars.

(...) The project on which this book is based is one of a series of similar projects in the region that focus on women's history. It aims to communicate its findings not only to the scholarly community, but to a broader interested public. Unfortunately, the pandemic made it necessary to cut back on the original concept. Since work in archives and libraries was made difficult or even impossible, the focus is now on those materials that were accessible in digitized form. It is therefore absolutely desirable that the newspapers and periodicals published in Vardar-Macedonia in 1918-1941 are researched much more intensively and also digitized in order to make them accessible to research.

From the Foreword
by Nada Boškowska

